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On the Life of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes*

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 Nubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes is renowned as an important master of the *rNying-ma* school of Tibetan Buddhism, and in particular as the author of two seminal works of early Tibetan *Vajrayāna*, the *Mun-pa'i go-cha*¹ and the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*.²

In two previous articles I discussed the latter work, examining the section on dreams in the gradualist chapter³ and gNubs-chen's exposition of *Atiyoga* in the seventh chapter.⁴ In the present essay I would like to bring together the information we have for the life and dating of its author. I will be drawing on the various sources available for Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' life, all the while seeking to distinguish, insofar as this is possible, historical fact from pious fiction.

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¹ gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *Mun-pa'i go-cha*, in NKD, vols.50/wi-51/zhi.

² gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *rNal-'byor mig-gi bsam-gtan or bSam-gtan mig-sgron: A treatise on bhāvanā and dhyāna and the relationships between the various approaches to Buddhist contemplative practice*, Reproduced from a manuscript made presumably from an Eastern Tibetan print by 'Khor-gdong gter-sprul 'Chi-med rig-'dzin, Smanrtsis shesrig spendzod, vol.74, Leh: Tashigangpa, 1974.

³ Esler, Dylan, 'Note d'oniromancie tibétaine : réflexions sur le Chapitre 4 du *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* de gNubs-chen sangs-rgyas ye-shes', in *Acta Orientalia Belgica*, vol.25, 2012, pp. 317-328.

⁴ Esler, Dylan, 'The Exposition of *Atiyoga* in gNubs-chen sangs-rgyas ye-shes' *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*', in *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*, no.24, October 2012, pp. 81-136.

In the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* the author signs gNubs-ban, meaning 'the venerable (Skt. *vandya*) of gNubs', and also Ban-chung, meaning 'small venerable'.⁵ This is none other than gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, who is known as a *bodhisattva* of the fourth stage⁶ and counted among Padmasambhava's twenty-five main disciples.⁷ Indeed, Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las (1640-1718) recounts that Sangs-rgyas ye-shes attained the fourth *bodhisattva* stage while practising in a charnel ground in India, whereby he had a vision of the protectress Ekajaṭī and gained the realization of wisdom arising in phenomena's open dimension (Skt. *dharmadhātu*).⁸ Already in Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer's (1124-1192) *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po*, gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes is listed as one of the twenty-five disciples to have been initiated by Padmasambhava into the eight injunctions (*bka'-brgyad*). He is mentioned at the beginning of the list, after King Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, Vairocana and gNubs Nam-mkha'i snying-po.⁹ Sangs-rgyas ye-shes is also renowned as an eminent translator of both *sūtras* and *tantras*.¹⁰ Concerning gNubs-chen's importance for the *rNying-ma* tradition, Dudjom Rinpoche (1904-1987) cites a saying according to which the *Vajrayāna* of the *rNying-ma-pas* "fell first to gNyags, fell to gNubs during the intermediate period, and fell to Zur in the end."¹¹

Birth

The dates of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes are difficult to establish with certainty, and we will return to this problem below. According

⁵ See gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, p. 497.5; cf. also p. 375.6 (gloss), p. 419.2 (gloss).

⁶ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, Translated and edited by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein, vol.1: The Translations, Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991, p. 613.

⁷ Tulku Thondup, *The Origin of Buddhism in Tibet: The Tantric Tradition of the Nyingmapa*, Marion: Buddhayana, 1984, p. 152. Note, however, that the lists of Padmasambhava's chief disciples vary from each other.

⁸ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, Leh: Tashigangpa, 1972, p. 165.5-6.

⁹ Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po sbrang-rtsi'i bcud*, Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1988, pp. 341f. The first nine disciples in Nyang-ral's list are King Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, Vairocana, gNubs Nam-mkha'i snying-po, gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, rGyal-ba mchog-dbyangs, Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal, 'Brog-mi dPal-gyi ye-shes, Rlangs dPal-gyi seng-ge and gNyags Jñānakumāra.

¹⁰ Achard, Jean-Luc, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret: Recherches philologiques et historiques sur l'origine de la Grande Perfection dans la tradition rNying ma pa*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, p. 17; Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 163.1, p. 167.3-4.

¹¹ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 599.

to Dudjom Rinpoche, he was born in sGrags (Central Tibet) in the first month (*ca.* February) of the water male mouse year (*chu-pho byi-ba'i lo*);¹² depending on the sixty year cycle, this could refer either to 772 or to 832 CE.¹³ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, however, gives the date of his birth as the first month of the wood male mouse year (*shing-pho byi-lo*), which is twelve years later.¹⁴ In this he follows the *rGya-bo-che*, which purports to be gNubs-chen's autobiography.¹⁵ This could refer either to 784 or to 844 CE, again depending on the sixty year cycle. The dates of the earlier sixty year cycle (i.e. 772 CE according to Dudjom Rinpoche, or 784 CE according to Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las) would make gNubs-chen a contemporary of Śāntarakṣita (d. 797), from whom he is said to have been ordained as a monk.¹⁶ Sangs-rgyas ye-shes being his religious name, his secular name was rDo-rje khri-gtsug, and his secret name was rDo-rje yang dbang-gter.¹⁷ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las further specifies that the name Sangs-rgyas ye-shes was bestowed on him in a vision by Vajrapāṇi which occurred while he was in Bodhgayā.¹⁸ This again accords with the *rGya-bo-che's* account,¹⁹ whereby it is noteworthy that some of the lines describing this visionary event in the latter text are found echoed in the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*.²⁰

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 607.

¹³ Dorje, Gyurme, and Kapstein, Matthew, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, vol.2: Reference Materials, Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991, p. 54, n.715.

¹⁴ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 160.5.

¹⁵ gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (attributed to), *Sangs-rgyas ye-shes rin-po-che'i lo-rgyus gnubs-kyi bka'-shog chen-mo*, in NKJ, vol.42/ni, pp. 693-745, esp. p. 696.4. On this text, see Dalton, Jacob, 'Preliminary Remarks on a Newly Discovered Biography of Gnubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes', in Bogin, Benjamin E., and Quintman, Andrew (eds.), *Himalayan Passages: Tibetan and Newar Studies in Honor of Hubert Decler*, Somerville: Wisdom Publications, forthcoming.

¹⁶ Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 17; Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 167.3.

¹⁷ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 605.

¹⁸ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, pp. 164.6-165.2.

¹⁹ Cf. *bKa'-shog chen-mo*, p. 705.

²⁰ See gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, Chapter VIII, §2 (p. 498.4-5). The lines in question are as follows, with the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron's* variants in square brackets: *[dzab [SM: 'dzab] grangs yid la bzlas pa'i tshel /chos nyid sems [SM: blo] la gsal ba'i tshel / [...]]/lha srin [SM: sde brgyad kyis bdag la dbang bskur ro]/ku co 'don pa'i tshel [SM: bton no]*. Note that paragraph numbers for the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* refer to editorial divisions in my English translation of this text, which is yet to be published.

gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes descended from two of the most respected clans in Tibet, the gNubs²¹ and the mChims, from his father's and mother's sides respectively. Before his birth, a sandalwood tree is said to have appeared miraculously in the burial ground of his gNubs ancestors. A Chinese teacher prophesied that this was an omen for the birth of a high emanation and ordered specific rites to be performed in connection with the tree.²²

Travels and Teachers

According to tradition, gNubs-chen was initiated in his youth by Padmasambhava into the *sGrub-pa bka'-brgyad*; his tutelary deity was Yamāntaka and he mastered the fierce spells (*drag-sngags*) associated with this practice.²³ In this regard, it is reported that as he was meditating on Yamāntaka in the caves above bSam-yas, all the deities of Yamāntaka's configuration (Skt. *maṇḍala*) spontaneously appeared before him.²⁴ He is also believed to have received further teachings from Padmasambhava in the rDo-rje rtse-lnga cave on the Nepali-Indian border.²⁵ In the *rGya-bo-che* gNubs-chen is made to say:²⁶

Then the great Guru imparted
To me, the small venerable, all that was needed:
The nine *tantras* of the fierce spells,
Their dissimilar modes of accomplishment, etc.,
As well as all the minor points connected to the activities.

Since in the system of the eight injunctions (*bka'-brgyad*) Yamāntaka is the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī, the *bodhisattva* of sapience (Skt. *prajñā*), gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' association with this practice is particularly significant, both in terms of his exceptional

²¹ In the ancient historical documents, this name is sometimes also spelt sNubs. See Norbu, Namkhai, *sBas-pa'i rgum-chung: The Small Collection of Hidden Precepts: A Study of an Ancient Manuscript of Dzogchen from Tun-huang*, Arcidosso: Shang-Shung Edizioni, 1984, pp. 77f.

²² See gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, preface. This episode is recounted in Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 160.4-6.

²³ Reynolds, John M., *The Golden Letters*, Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996, p. 251.

²⁴ Tarthang Tulku, 'The Twenty-five Disciples of Padmasambhava', in *Crystal Mirror*, vol.4, 1975, pp. 35-74, esp. p. 46.

²⁵ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 607; Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 163.3-4.

²⁶ *bKa'-shog chen-mo*, p. 700.3-4: */de nas gu ru chen po yis/ /drag po sngags kyi rgyud dgu dang/ /de yi sgrub lugs mi 'dra sogs/ /las kyi kha tshar thams cad dang/ dgos pa tshang bar ban chung bdag la gnang/*.

intelligence and his reputed mastery of the arts of black magic. Furthermore, his alleged longevity will not be particularly surprising from a traditional perspective, given that Yamāntaka is in effect the ‘Slayer of the Lord of Death’.

His intelligence manifested itself from an early age, as he is said to have learnt to read and write by the age of seven. It is around this time that he is believed to have been ordained by Śāntaraṅkṣita and to have first met the Nepali master Vasudhara in bSam-yas, who was to play an important role throughout his life.²⁷

During King Ral-pa-can’s (alias Khri-btsug lde’u-btsan) reign (814-836 CE), gNubs-chen is held to have visited India, Nepal and Gilgit (*Bru-sha*)²⁸ seven times,²⁹ making his first trip to Nepal and India at the age of thirteen³⁰ (or eleven, following Klong-chen-pa).³¹ In this he was following the advice of Vasudhara, who, before returning to Nepal, told Sangs-rgyas ye-shes to travel to Nepal and India in search of the teachings.³² Before departing for Nepal, gNubs-chen, who came from a wealthy family, sold some of his lands and orchards to convert them into gold for his journey.³³ Although these trips are held to have taken place during King Ral-pa-can’s reign, it will be seen below that this is improbable historically.

²⁷ Guru bKra-shis, *Gu-bKra’i chos’byung: bsTan-pa’i snying-po gsang-chen snga’gyur nges-don zab-mo’i chos-kyi byung-ba gsal-bar byed-pa’i legs-bshad mkhas-pa dga’byed ngo-mtshar gtam-gyi rol-mtsho*, Beijing: Krung-go’i bod-kyi shes-rig dpe-skrunkhang, 1990, p. 246; see also Rig’dzin Padma ‘phrin-las, *bKa’-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa’i rnam-thar*, p. 161.1-2.

²⁸ According to Beckwith, *Bru-sha*, the Tibetan name for Gilgit, is related to modern names for the Hunza people and their language, Burusho and Burushaski. See Beckwith, Christopher L., *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 116, n.44. On the Burushaski language, see Berger, Hermann, *Das Burushaski – Schicksale einer zentralasiatischen Restsprache*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992.

²⁹ Tulku Thondup, *The Origin of Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 153; cf. *bKa’-shog chen-mo*, p. 734.6.

³⁰ Rig’dzin Padma ‘phrin-las, *bKa’-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa’i rnam-thar*, p. 163.5.

³¹ Klong-chen-pa cites the same passage with some variants and reads ‘eleven’ (*bcu-gcig*) instead of ‘thirteen’ (*bcu-gsum*). Cf. Klong-chen rab’byams, *Chos’byung rin-po-che’i gter-mdzod bstan-pa gsal-bar byed-pa’i nyi’od ces-bya-ba*, Beijing: Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrunkhang, 1991, p. 406. One might note in passing that the attribution of this work to Klong-chen-pa is doubtful, since it employs doxographical categories not met with otherwise in Klong-chen-pa’s corpus, and since the name Thugs-mchog-rtsal found in the colophon does not correspond to any known name used by Klong-chen-pa. See Arguillère, Stéphane, *Profusion de la Vaste Sphère: Klong-chen rab’byams (Tibet, 1308-1364): Sa vie, son œuvre, sa doctrine*, Leuven: Peeters Publishers & Oriental Studies, 2007, pp. 176f.

³² *bKa’-shog chen-mo*, p. 697.3-6; quoted in Rig’dzin Padma ‘phrin-las, *bKa’-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa’i rnam-thar*, p. 161.3-4.

³³ *bKa’-shog chen-mo*, p. 698.1.

In India he studied under Śrīsiṃha, Vimalamitra, Śāntigarbha, Dhanaśīla and Dhanadhala, among others.³⁴ In Nepal, where he returned in his fifty-fourth year, he studied under King Vasudhara. The latter then sent him to his own teacher, Prakāśālaṃkāra, in Vārāṇasī.³⁵ Prakāśālaṃkāra (gSal-ba'i rgyan) was an Indian master also known as Ācārya gSal-ba rgyal³⁶ and Sukhodyotaka (bDe-ba gsal-mdzad); he is said to have written a number of short texts on evocations and empowerments based on the *dGongs-pa 'dus-pa'i mdo*, which were collected, edited and translated by Sangs-rgyas ye-shes.³⁷ After studying the *dGongs-pa 'dus-pa'i mdo* with Prakāśālaṃkāra, gNubs-chen proceeded to Gilgit, where he continued his studies under Dhanarakṣita, Dharmabodhi and Dharmarāja.³⁸ He also studied extensively with Lotsāwa Che-btsan-skyes from Gilgit, who translated many *Anuyoga tantras* into Tibetan.³⁹ Dudjom Rinpoche, whose account in the main accords with that of Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las,⁴⁰ also lists Kamalaśīla, Khrag-'thung nag-po, Dhanasamskṛta, gNyags Jñānakumāra and the latter's disciples, the Sogdian dPal-gyi ye-shes and Zhang rgyal-ba'i yon-tan, among his teachers.⁴¹ From the Sogdian dPal-gyi ye-shes in particular he received the pith instructions relating to the mind section (*sems-phyogs*) of *Atiyoga*.⁴² Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer recounts that gNubs-

³⁴ Reynolds, *The Golden Letters*, p. 251; Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 163.2.

³⁵ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, pp. 608f.

³⁶ gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, p. 412.4, p. 413.3. His name also appears as Ācārya gSal-ba rgyal in gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *rDo-rje gzong-phugs-kyi 'grel-pa*, in NKJ, vol.103/pe, p. 398.2.

³⁷ Dalton, Jacob, *The Uses of the dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo in the Development of the rNying ma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, PhD thesis, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002, pp. 145f, n.20.

³⁸ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 609. Note that according to Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, the full form of Dharmarāja's name is Dharmarājapāla (Chos-rgyal skyong). See Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 162.3-4.

³⁹ See Reynolds, *The Golden Letters*, p. 250. Note that these *Anuyoga tantras* are collectively referred to as *rNal-'byor grub-pa'i lung* and are much quoted in the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*. The bibliographic reference for the *rNal-'byor grub-pa'i lung* (alias *dGongs-pa 'dus-pa'i mdo*) is as follows: *rNal-'byor grub-pa'i lung*, in NGM, vol.16/ma, pp. 2-617. For further details on gNubs-chen's studies of the *dGongs-pa 'dus-pa'i mdo* with these masters and his role in the codification of this scripture, see Dalton, Jacob, 'Lost and Found: A Fourteenth-Century Discussion of Then-Available Sources on gNubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes', in *Bulletin of Tibetology (Special Issue, Nyingma Studies)*, forthcoming.

⁴⁰ Cf. Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 163.2.

⁴¹ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, pp. 607f.

⁴² Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 163.1-2; Guru bKra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 249.

chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes received the combined transmissions of the nine disciples of gNyags Jñānakumāra,⁴³ which indicates that he was separated from the latter by one generation.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, this need not in itself be construed as signifying that he did not meet gNyags Jñānakumāra, since, as pointed out by Germano, the *lDe'u chos-'byung* (11th century) explains that gNubs-chen's root teacher was the Sogdian dPal-gyi ye-shes, but that dissatisfaction with him led gNubs to seek out the latter's own teacher gNyags Jñānakumāra. The same account specifies that his trip across the Himalayas at the age of fifty-four was motivated by dissatisfaction with the teachings which gNyags Jñānakumāra had made available in Tibet.⁴⁵ Hence, it would seem that gNubs, while mainly studying with the master's disciples, did have occasion to meet gNyags Jñānakumāra himself. In the hagiography by Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, gNubs-chen is made to say that he had eleven⁴⁶ masters, of which four were particularly close: Śrīsiṃha, Khrag-'thung nag-po, Śāntigarbha and Vasudhara.⁴⁷ The *rGya-bo-che* further states:⁴⁸

The pith instructions were imparted to me
By the Indian sage Vimalamitra,
The preceptor from Oḍḍiyāna, Padmākara,
The Nepali sage Vasudhara
And the Tibetan sage Jñānakumāra.

In brief, it can be said that in gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes the traditions of *Mahāyoga*, *Anuyoga* and the mind-section (*sems-sde*) of *Atiyoga* converged.⁴⁹

⁴³ Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po*, p. 436f.

⁴⁴ Germano, David, 'The Seven Descents and the Early History of rNying ma Transmissions', in Eimer, Helmut, and Germano, David (eds.), *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism, Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*, Leiden: Brill, 2002, pp. 225-263, esp. p. 253.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 254, quoting lDe'u jo-sras, *lDe'u chos-'byung (Chos-'byung chen-mo bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan)*, Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrunkhang, 1987, p. 321.

⁴⁶ Note that Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las also mentions ten and, quoting the *bKa'-shog chen-mo*, p. 709.5-6, thirteen masters.

⁴⁷ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 164.2-3.

⁴⁸ *bKa'-shog chen-mo*, p. 715.2-4; quoted in Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, pp. 163.4-164.1: *rgya gar mkhas pa bi ma mi tra dang/ o rgyan mkhan po padma 'byung gnas dang/ lbal po'i mkhas pa ba su dha ra dang/ l bod kyi mkhas pa jñā na ku mā ras/ l bdaḡ la gnaḡ ba'i man ngag 'di rnam yin/*

⁴⁹ Tulku Thondup, *The Origin of Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 153. For detailed lists of the various lineages which gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes received, see Tulku Thondup, *Masters of Meditation and Miracles: Lives of the Great Buddhist Masters of*

Although, as noted above, gNubs-chen is said to have been ordained as a monk in his youth by Śāntarakṣita, he later became a non-celibate tantric practitioner, a *mantrin* (*sngags-pa*). In fact, it is possible that his repeated reference to himself as the 'small venerable' contains an allusion to his former status as a monk that is both humorous and self-depreciatory.

Conflicts in Tibet

gNubs-chen's main hermitage was sGrags-yang-rdzong. It is here and in the vicinity that he spent extensive periods in retreat, coming to a realization of the unique self-originated seminal nucleus (*rang-byung thig-le nyag-gcig*) and liberating mind's beingness (*sems-nyid*) after nine months of practice.⁵⁰ As he wanted to settle there with his disciples, the political situation in Central Tibet deteriorated; gNubs-chen's hagiographies place this episode of his life during King Darma Khri-'u dum-btsan's reign (b. ca 803; r. 836-842 CE), though we will see below that this is problematic. The latter king, popularly known as Glang-dar-ma, is believed to have instigated a persecution against the powerful monastic estates. This shift in the government's attitude towards Buddhism must, however, be understood in its proper historical context. Glang-dar-ma's predecessor, Ral-pa-can, had extended state sponsorship of the Buddhist monasteries beyond all reasonable limits, causing a deficit in the government's budget. Glang-dar-ma's attempts to redress the financial situation of the royal treasury appear to have exacerbated tensions between various clans. A series of revolts (*kheng-log*) eventually ensued, and it is these revolts that appear to have been the real cause for the destruction of Central Tibet's religious sites,⁵¹ but Tibetan historians have generally remembered Glang-dar-ma as the persecutor.

During this tumultuous period, two of gNubs-chen's sons were killed.⁵² Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, however, writes that Sangs-rgyas ye-shes had six sons, of which four were killed during the revolt, one died a natural death and one seems to have been lost to

India and Tibet, Boston: Shambhala, 1999, pp. 25f (for *Mahāyoga*), pp. 28f (for *Anuyoga*) and p. 31 (for the mind and expanse sections of *Atiyoga*).

⁵⁰ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 166.3-4.

⁵¹ Davidson, Ronald M., *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2005, pp. 64-68.

⁵² Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 171.4; Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 610.

unembrarrassed debauchery.⁵³ The histories of Dudjom Rinpoche⁵⁴ and Guru bKra-shis (18th century)⁵⁵ inform us that because gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes was the rebirth of the butcher (*gshan-pa*) Ma-ru-rtse of India, he had to continue taming those (presumably by wrathful means) who remained from his previous life.⁵⁶

During this time he faced much hardship, undergoing persecution and three years of poverty.⁵⁷ According to some accounts, in his sixty-first year he destroyed thirty-seven hostile villages with the fierce spell of Yamāntaka.⁵⁸ In this regard, it is believed that he was also an adept of the deity Vajrakīlaya, the mastery of which enabled him to shatter rocks with a touch of his dagger (Skt. *kīla*).⁵⁹ An episode is recounted from this period, where Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, having abandoned his residence of sGrags-yang-rdzong and fled to sNye-mo bye-mkhar, found the surrounding mountains covered with soldiers. He thereupon invoked the protectors of the doctrine (*chos-skyong*), pointed his acacia-wood dagger towards one of the mountains, and the mountain blazed up in flames, burning the hostile armies.⁶⁰ His close connection with the guardians of the teaching is made explicit in the *rGya-bo-che*, which says that he beheld the Bliss-gone Ones (Skt. *sugata*) of the three times and the protectors of the doctrine,⁶¹ as well as in the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* itself, where in Chapter VIII gNubs-chen alludes to the gods and ogres (*lha-srin*) who conferred on him their empowerment.⁶² Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer suggests that during this period of turmoil Sangs-rgyas ye-shes planned to go to Nepal

⁵³ Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po*, p. 447.

⁵⁴ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, pp. 609f.

⁵⁵ Guru bKra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 247.

⁵⁶ Note that gShan-pa Ma-ru-rtse is included in the retinue of the protector deity Srog-bdag dmar-po. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: the Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975, p. 92.

⁵⁷ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 170.1.

⁵⁸ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 611; Guru bKra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 248. Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, for his part, appears to distinguish the destruction of the thirty-seven villages from the intermediate revolt which occurred when Sangs-rgyas ye-shes was sixty-one and which he recounts as a separate event. Cf. Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 168.1-2.

⁵⁹ Tarthang Tulku, 'The Twenty-five Disciples of Padmasambhava', p. 46.

⁶⁰ *bKa'-shog chen-mo*, pp. 733.6-736.3; Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, pp. 611f; Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, pp. 168.3-169.6; Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, pp. 19f.

⁶¹ *bKa'-shog chen-mo*, p. 739.3.

⁶² See gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, Chapter VIII, §2 (p. 498.3).

disguised as a beggar to meet his masters.⁶³ This might refer to the trip that, according to Dudjom Rinpoche, he is said to have made aged fifty-four,⁶⁴ although the dates do not match, since the hostilities of which gNubs-chen was a victim occurred in his sixty-first year. Perhaps the trip referred to by Dudjom Rinpoche is the last he made under relatively normal circumstances, before being caught up in the revolt that was to cost the life of several of his sons. Whatever the case may be, the fact that gNubs-chen came under repeated attack indicates that he held a certain degree of prestige and power in the region, something which probably attracted the jealousy and hostility of rebellious elements.⁶⁵

Other Activities

gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes is famed for using his magic powers (first manifesting nine yak-sized scorpions,⁶⁶ then shattering a nearby bolder with lightening) to frighten Glang-dar-ma, thereby ensuring that unlike the community of monks, the 'white community' of non-celibate *mantrins* (*sngags-pa*) would not be persecuted.⁶⁷ The following passage gives a hint of the master's activities at that time:⁶⁸

I, the small venerable of gNubs,
 Have, from my heart, produced the [enlightened] mind
 according to the doctrine;
 Hateful enemies granted me no respite.
 It is in order to protect the Buddha's teaching
 That hatred was immediately born.
 Thinking of the purpose of great righteousness,
 I studied the documents of the evil spells.

⁶³ Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po*, p. 447.

⁶⁴ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 608.

⁶⁵ Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 20, n.33.

⁶⁶ According to Dudjom Rinpoche's account, it was one yak-sized scorpion that appeared nine storeys above gNubs-chen's finger. See Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 612.

⁶⁷ Reynolds, *The Golden Letters*, pp. 250f.

⁶⁸ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 168.1-2: /bdag 'dra gnubs kyi ban chung yang/ /snying nas chos bzhin bya sems skyes/ /zhe sdang dgra bos byed ma ster/ /sangs rgyas bstan pa bsrung ba'i phyir/ /zhe sdang de ma thag tu skyes/ /dkar po'i che ba'i 'don (sic!) bsam nas/ /ngan sngags yig cha sna tshogs bsabs/. The passage is quoted in Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 610; Guru bKra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 247; and Norbu, *sBas-pa'i rgum-chung*, p. 67. For a French translation, see Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 19.

Even after frightening Glang-dar-ma, gNubs-chen, unable to endure the religious persecution which the latter instigated, decided to kill him using the fierce spells he had brought back from his studies under Vasudhara in Nepal.⁶⁹ However, when lHa-lung dpal-gyi rdo-rje, the ninth abbot of bSam-yas monastery, murdered Glang-dar-ma instead, gNubs-chen concealed these spells as treasures lest they be misused.⁷⁰

The later *rNying-ma* tradition often appears to portray Sangs-rgyas ye-shes as an addict to black magic, who wrote the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* in his old age to purify his previous misdeeds.⁷¹ However that may be, the detailed treatment of his subject matter and the subtle philosophical distinctions he makes in the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* prove him to be the first great metaphysician and writer of 10th century Tibet.⁷² Moreover, in the Tibetan context there was no contradiction in being both a philosopher and a magician, as was moreover often the case in Renaissance Europe.⁷³

Apart from the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, other texts which gNubs-chen is said to have composed include the above-mentioned *mDo'i 'grel-chen mun-pa'i go-cha* (a commentary on the *dGongs-pa 'dus-pa'i mdo*, the root *tantra* of *Anuyoga*), the *dKa'-gcod smra-ba'i mtshon-cha*, and the *sGyu-'phrul brgyad-cu-pa'i mngon-rtogs 'grel*.⁷⁴ It should be noted that the latter two works appear no longer to be extant. Furthermore, Higgins⁷⁵ has recently drawn attention to another extant text by Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, the *rTse-mo byung-rgyal 'grel-pa*,⁷⁶ whereas Guarisco⁷⁷ points out that an extract from the *Pan-grub-rnams-kyi thugs-bcud snying-gi nyi-ma* is also attributed to gNubs-chen Sangs-

⁶⁹ Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 21.

⁷⁰ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 612; Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 173.5-6.

⁷¹ Cf. Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 169.6; Guru bKra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 249.

⁷² Karmay, Samten Gyaltzen, *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007, p. 100.

⁷³ Reynolds, *The Golden Letters*, p. 250.

⁷⁴ See Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 612.

⁷⁵ Higgins, David, *The Philosophical Foundations of Classical rDzogs chen in Tibet: Investigating the Distinction Between Dualistic Mind (sems) and Primordial Knowing (ye shes)*, Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2013, p. 43.

⁷⁶ gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *rTse-mo byung-rgyal 'grel-pa*, in NKJ, vol.103/pe, pp. 179-230.

⁷⁷ Guarisco, Elio, et al. (trs.), *The Marvelous Primordial State: The Mejung Tantra, A Fundamental Scripture of Dzogchen Semde*, Arcidosso: Shang Shung Publications, 2013, p. 72, p. 183, n.11, p. 243.

rgyas ye-shes (who signs gNubs-chung rdo-rje yang-dbang).⁷⁸ In fact, there seem to be a few other texts attributed to gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes as author. Mention may here be made of the *Byang-chub sems bde-ba 'phra-bkod-kyi don-'grel*⁷⁹ and the *rDo-rje gzong-phugs-kyi 'grel-pa*.⁸⁰ This is to say nothing of the many texts on which Sangs-rgyas ye-shes worked either as translator, compiler or editor, but I will reserve a more exhaustive inventory for a future publication. Indeed, Germano suggests that part of gNubs-chen's prominence may stem from the fact that he composed works in his own name rather than anonymously as was usually the case at the time. He thus could subsequently become an iconic figure of early tantric activity in Tibet, serving in retrospect as a rallying point for the authentication of *rNying-ma* lineages.⁸¹

Judging from the gloss referring to Glang-dar-ma's persecution of Buddhism,⁸² gNubs-chen would certainly have written the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* later than 842 CE,⁸³ and, if there is any truth in the tradition that he composed it in his old age, he would have written it in the early 10th century. Nevertheless, this argument must be accepted with some caution, since the explanatory glosses are probably insertions by a later hand.⁸⁴ However, there is another element that corroborates an early 10th century composition date for the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, and this is the fact that its author repeatedly quotes the *rDo-rje sems-dpa'i zhus-lan* by gNyan dpal-dbyangs,⁸⁵ and that the latter lived in the early 9th century.⁸⁶

Following the above-mentioned revolt and the three years of poverty that ensued, gNubs-chen retired to his fortress to deepen his contemplative practice. He then taught in bSam-yas monastery, having been invited to do so by the prince.⁸⁷

⁷⁸ *Pan-grub-rnams-kyi thugs-bcud snying-gi nyi-ma*, in BG, vol.1, pp. 1-172; the text is on pp. 84.3-99.2. Namkhai Norbu has prepared an edition of this text (to which the page numbers in Guarisco's annotations refer) entitled *Byang-chub-kyi sems rmad-du byung-ba'i nyams-khrid*.

⁷⁹ gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *Byang-chub sems bde-ba 'phra-bkod-kyi don-'grel*, in NKJ, vol.103/pe, pp. 303-326.

⁸⁰ gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *rDo-rje gzong-phugs-kyi 'grel-pa*, in NKJ, vol.103/pe, pp. 381-398.

⁸¹ Germano, 'The Seven Descents', p. 254.

⁸² gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, p. 15.4.

⁸³ Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, p. 102.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94, n.44; cf. Esler, 'The Exposition of *Atiyoga*', pp. 128-130.

⁸⁵ gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*, p. 30.3-4, pp. 201.6-202.1, p. 202.4-5, p. 219.3-4, p. 225.2-5, p. 228.1-5, p. 240.1-4, pp. 255.6-256.6, p. 277.3-5.

⁸⁶ van Schaik, Sam, 'The Early Days of the Great Perfection', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol.27: 1, 2004, pp. 165-206, esp. p. 190.

⁸⁷ *bKa'-shog chen-mo*, p. 736.4-6; Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 170.1-2.

gNubs-chen had five main disciples: sPa-gor Blon-chen 'phags-pa, Sru-ston Legs-pa'i sgron-me, Dan-gyi yon-tan mchog, So Ye-shes dbang-phyug and his 'supernal son' (*sras-kyi dam-pa*) Khu-lung-pa Yon-tan rgya-mtsho.⁸⁸ Whereas Karmay appears to hold that the latter was Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' biological son, probably because of the title gNubs-chung sometimes placed before his name,⁸⁹ there seems little reason in doing so. Indeed, in Dudjom Rinpoche's *Chos-'byung* it is mentioned that Khu-lung-pa Yon-tan rgya-mtsho met gNubs-chen in his thirtieth year while on a hunting expedition,⁹⁰ an account which precludes any biological relationship. Furthermore, the title gNubs-chung ('the small gNubs') simply indicates that he was gNubs-chen's disciple.⁹¹

Death

As far as the date of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' death is concerned, according to Dudjom Rinpoche, he passed away in the water tiger year (*chu-stag*) in the district of Khyon-mi, aged a hundred and eleven, realizing the rainbow body;⁹² depending on the sixty year cycle, this could be either 883 or 943 CE. Guenther, following Klong-chen-pa (1308-1364),⁹³ gives his age at the time of his

⁸⁸ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 613.

⁸⁹ Cf. Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, p. 101, n.91.

⁹⁰ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 614.

⁹¹ Martin, Dan, 'The Early Education of Milarepa', in *The Journal of the Tibet Society*, vol.2, 1982, pp. 52-76, esp. p. 56.

⁹² Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 614; see also bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje, *Chos-'byung*, in *The Collected Writings and Revelations of H.H. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che 'Jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje*, vol.1/ka, Kalimpong: Dupjung Lama, 1979-1985, p. 300. The later Chengdu edition of the Tibetan text (cf. bDud-'joms Rinpoche, *bDud-'joms chos-'byung*, Chengdu: Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrunkhang, 1996, p. 241) gives gNubs-chen's age at the time of his death as a hundred and thirteen, and there are several other discrepancies: whereas in the Kalimpong edition, Khri-srong lde'u-btsan's death is placed in the earth tiger year (*sa-stag*), with gNubs-chen aged twenty-seven at the time, the Chengdu edition places this event in Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' seventeenth year, in the earth dragon year (*sa-brug*). Similarly, the Kalimpong edition says that gNubs-chen lived for thirty-seven years after Glang-dar-ma's religious persecution, but the Chengdu edition turns this into forty-two years. Nonetheless, at least both editions agree that gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes was born in the water male mouse year (*chu-pho byi-ba'i lo*) and that he died in the water tiger year (*chu-stag*). Hence, the Chengdu edition's statement that he lived to be a hundred and thirteen is evidently an error, as in that case the year of his death would have to be the wood male dragon year.

⁹³ Klong-chen rab-'byams, *Chos-'byung rin-po-che'i gter-mdzod*, p. 406.

death as a hundred and twenty,⁹⁴ whereas Tulku Thondup, who agrees with both Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer⁹⁵ and 'Gos Lotsāwa gZhon-nu dpal (1392-1481),⁹⁶ states that he died aged a hundred and thirteen, but also quotes a saying attributed to gNubs-chen himself stating that he lived to be a hundred and thirty.⁹⁷ The same saying is cited by Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, who writes:⁹⁸

Although it is explained in some histories that gNubs-chen lived to be a hundred and thirteen, he himself said: "I, the small venerable of gNubs, have reached the age of a hundred and thirty."

This exceptional longevity has caused some historians, notably dPa'-bo gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba (1504-1566), to posit the existence of two persons with the name Sangs-rgyas ye-shes: a sGrags Sangs-rgyas ye-shes who was a disciple of Padmasambhava, and a gNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes who was born during Ral-pa-can's reign, travelled to Nepal, India and Gilgit, studied with Lotsāwa Che-btsan-skyes, and lived to be a hundred and thirteen.⁹⁹ However, Namkhai Norbu has pointed out that there is no valid reason to assume the existence of two persons simply on the basis of the names sGrags and gNubs, as Sangs-rgyas ye-shes was in sGrags before fleeing to the area of gNubs, and was evidently linked to both places.¹⁰⁰ A similar point is made by Guru bKra-shis, who argues that gNubs refers to the master's bone-lineage and sGrags to a place name, so that there is no basis for holding that there were two persons called Sangs-rgyas ye-shes.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Guenther, Herbert V., 'Meditation Trends in Early Tibet', in Lai, Whalen, and Lancaster, Lewis R. (eds.), *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, Berkeley: Buddhist Studies Series 5, 1983, pp. 351-366, esp. p. 361, n.6.

⁹⁵ Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po*, p. 342.

⁹⁶ Roerich, George N. (tr.), *The Blue Annals*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2007, p. 105.

⁹⁷ Tulku Thondup, *The Origin of Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 153.

⁹⁸ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 173.3-4: *de yang lo rgyus 'ga' zhiq tu gnubs chen dgung lo brgya dang bcu gsum bzhugs par bshad kyang/ nyid gyi gsungs las/ gnubs kyi ban chung sangs rgyas ngas/ lo ni brgya dang sum cu lon/*. We find the same citation in Norbu, *sBas-pa'i rgum-chung*, p. 75.

⁹⁹ dPa'-bo gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba, *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, vol.1, Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1986, p. 614.

¹⁰⁰ Norbu, *sBas-pa'i rgum-chung*, p. 77; quoted in Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 21.

¹⁰¹ Guru bKra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 246.

The Problem of gNubs-chen's Dates

The problem of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' dates is that he is made a contemporary of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan (r. 755-797 CE), of Ral-pa-can (r. 814-836) and, beyond Glang-dar-ma (r. 836-842), of the latter's grandson dPal 'khor-btsan (r. 893-910).¹⁰² 'Gos Lotsāwa gZhon-nu dpal suggests that he was born during the reign of Ral-pa-can and lived up to the time of Khri bkra-shis brtsegs-dpal, the son of dPal 'khor-btsan.¹⁰³ Guru bkra-shis, while he mentions the latter opinion, concludes that gNubs-chen was born during the reign of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, attained the accomplishment of an awareness-holder of longevity and hence "appears to have lived up to the time of dPal 'khor-btsan."¹⁰⁴ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, as mentioned above, bases himself on gNubs-chen's allegedly verbatim statement that he lived to be a hundred and thirty, and likewise concludes that he lived from the time of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan to that of dPal 'khor-btsan.¹⁰⁵

Karmay, for his part, is in favour of placing gNubs-chen in the late 10th century. In support of this he quotes the *Deb-ther sngon-po*, which states that there was only one teacher between gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes and Zur-po-che Śākya 'byung-gnas,¹⁰⁶ who lived from 1002 to 1062 CE.¹⁰⁷ Karmay further advances the argument that Mi-la ras-pa (1040-1123) is said to have been instructed in the arts of black magic by lHa-rje gNubs-chung (called lHa-rje Hūm-chung in the *Deb-ther sngon-po*).¹⁰⁸ Although the latter has at times been identified with gNubs-chen's disciple Khu-lung-pa Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, due to his title gNubs-chung which is shared by the latter,¹⁰⁹ this seems improbable, as it would place gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes far too late in the 10th century.¹¹⁰ It therefore appears more likely that lHa-rje gNubs-chung was the grandson of Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, as is moreover maintained by Dudjom Rinpoche.¹¹¹ This would imply that

¹⁰² Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, pp. 20f, n.36; Norbu, *sBas-pa'i rgum-chung*, p. 75.

¹⁰³ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁴ Guru bkra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 246.

¹⁰⁵ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 173.4.

¹⁰⁶ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, p. 109; the passage is quoted in Guru bkra-shis, *Gu-bKra'i chos-'byung*, p. 250.

¹⁰⁷ Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, pp. 101f.

¹⁰⁸ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, p. 101, n.91.

¹¹⁰ Martin, 'The Early Education of Milarepa', p. 54, p. 56.

¹¹¹ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 615. Cf. Martin, 'The Early Education of Milarepa', p. 55, p. 57.

there were four generations between gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes and lHa-rje gNubs-chung (Mi-la ras-pa's magic teacher).

Let us summarize the different clues we have for the time frame of Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' life. As we have seen, Dudjom Rinpoche gives the indications water male mouse year for his birth and water tiger year for his death;¹¹² there are two possibilities, depending on the sixty year cycle: 772-883 or 832-943 CE. On the other hand, Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, following the *rGya-bo-che*,¹¹³ gives the wood male mouse year for his birth, which is twelve years later. While he refrains from giving a date for gNubs-chen's death, he seems to favour the view that he lived to be a hundred and thirty.¹¹⁴ Hence, the dates suggested by Padma 'phrin-las would be, depending on the sixty year cycle, 784-914 or 844-974 CE.

There are vast discrepancies in the dating of this period; thus, Dudjom Rinpoche gives 858 CE (rather than 797) as the date for Khri-srong lde'u-btsan's death¹¹⁵ and 901-906 as the dates for the persecution of Buddhism under Glang-dar-ma.¹¹⁶ These disagreements arise due to the difficulties in deciding how many sixty year cycles elapsed between the collapse of the dynasty (842 or 846 CE) and the later propagation (*phyi-dar*) of Buddhism in the late 10th century.¹¹⁷ This, in turn, is because the first cycle of sixty years started only in 1027 CE, after the introduction of the *Kālacakra* to Tibet.¹¹⁸

Conclusions

The most plausible solution to the problem of gNubs-chen's dates has been pointed out by Vitali:¹¹⁹ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, again citing the *rGya-bo-che*,¹²⁰ writes that the persecution faced by Sangs-rgyas ye-shes occurred during his sixty-first year at the time of the intermediate revolt (*kheng-log bar-pa*).¹²¹ This is an important clue, for

¹¹² bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje, *Chos-'byung*, p. 290.5, p. 300.1; Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 607, p. 614.

¹¹³ bKa'-shog chen-mo, p. 696.4.

¹¹⁴ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 160.5, p. 173.3-4.

¹¹⁵ Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 614.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 950.

¹¹⁷ Dorje and Kapstein, *The Nyingma School*, vol.2, p. 95, n.1351.

¹¹⁸ Cornu, Philippe, *L'astrologie Tibétaine*, Millau: Les Djinn, 1990, p. 85.

¹¹⁹ Vitali, Roberto, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.brang*, Dharamsala: Tho.ling gtsug-lag-khang lo.gcig.stong 'khor.ba'i rjes.dran.mdzad sgo'i go.sgrig tshogs.chung, 1996, pp. 545-547.

¹²⁰ bKa'-shog chen-mo, p. 733.6.

¹²¹ Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo-dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, p. 168.2-3.

it refers to the second of three revolts which occurred as a result of the clan hostilities and gradual fragmentation of the Tibetan empire in the wake of Glang-dar-ma's assassination. This second revolt took place during dPal 'khor-btsan's reign (r. 893-910 CE); the latter is known to have reigned for eighteen years after succeeding to the throne at the age of thirteen upon the death of his father 'Od-srung (840-893 CE). Hence, it is impossible for gNubs-chen to have been born in a wood male mouse year during Khri-srong lde'u-btsan's reign (i.e. in 784 CE), for in that case he could not have been sixty when this second revolt broke out.¹²² Simultaneously, this argument also invalidates the water male mouse year proposed in Dudjom Rinpoche's *Chos-'byung*,¹²³ for even if we take the later sixty year cycle with gNubs-chen's birth in 832 CE, the revolt would have had to take place in 892 CE, which is too early to fit dPal 'khor-btsan's reign.

It seems, therefore, that the only acceptable birth date for Sangs-rgyas ye-shes is the wood male mouse year of 844 CE, with the revolt taking place when he was sixty-one in 904 CE,¹²⁴ a few years before dPal 'khor-btsan's assassination in 910 CE.

This implies that gNubs-chen's association with the reign of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan cannot be considered historical, but rather serves the purpose of making him a direct disciple of Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita, the illustrious masters responsible for the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet.¹²⁵ This would have been a consequence of the development of the legends surrounding Padmasambhava:¹²⁶ as the latter grew in importance, other figures of the early spread of Buddhism were drawn into Padmasambhava's orbit, even though they may actually have lived later. In our present case, gNubs-chen's discipleship of Padmasambhava might be seen as ideal, in the sense that he studied under gNyags Jñānakumāra, one of Padmasambhava's closest disciples. Similarly, the statement that he was ordained by Śāntarakṣita must probably be interpreted to mean that he was ordained in the monastic lineage established by the latter. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that gNubs-chen's connection with the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava is *not* a late

¹²² Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.brang*, pp. 546f.

¹²³ bDud-'joms 'jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje, *Chos-'byung*, p. 290.5; Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School*, vol.1, p. 607.

¹²⁴ Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.brang*, p. 547.

¹²⁵ Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 21.

¹²⁶ See Dalton, Jacob, 'The Early Development of the Padmasambhava Legend in Tibet: A Study of IOL Tib J 644 and Pelliot tibétain 307', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.124:4, 2004, pp. 759-772.

development, since it goes back, as already pointed out above, to Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer (12th century).¹²⁷

Furthermore, it is also apparent that gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes cannot have been a contemporary of Glang-dar-ma, as claimed by later Tibetan historians, since he was born two years after the latter's assassination. The persecutions suffered by Sangs-rgyas ye-shes occurred not during Glang-dar-ma's reign but, as explained above, during the second revolt that took place in 904 CE. It follows, of course, that the trips gNubs-chen made abroad in search of teachings cannot have taken place during Ral-pa-can's reign, but happened much later, probably in the 860s-870s, when Sangs-rgyas ye-shes was a young man. The story of gNubs-chen intimidating Glang-dar-ma into protecting the white community of *mantrins*, while obviously invalidated historically, probably indicates that, whereas the institutions of religious learning gradually disintegrated in the wake of Glang-dar-ma's policies, the non-celibate tantric *yogins* remained relatively unharmed and were able to preserve their lineages outside of monastic structures. Considering his remarkable achievements in codifying and interpreting the teachings he inherited, it is likely that gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, a *mantrin* himself, had no small role to play in the preservation and transmission of these lineages during the period of fragmentation (*sil-bu'i dus*) that followed the collapse of the dynasty. It is only natural, therefore, that the later tradition should have made him directly responsible for the *mantrins'* physical survival and hence elaborated the account of gNubs-chen's encounter with Glang-dar-ma, especially considering the general confusion that exists with respect to the dating of this period of Tibetan history.

The various sources agree that gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes lived to be older than a hundred, though there is divergence of opinion as to whether he died at the age of a hundred and eleven, a hundred and thirteen, a hundred and twenty or a hundred and thirty. While it may be difficult to take these figures literally, especially as they contradict each other, this longevity need not in itself be seen as particularly unlikely, since throughout all times and places there have been individuals whose lifespan has been longer than average. It seems quite possible, therefore, that Sangs-rgyas ye-shes witnessed the first three, perhaps four, decades of the 10th century.

Among gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' emanations are counted rGya Zhang-khrom rdo-rje 'od-'bar (11th century),¹²⁸ Dri-med kun-

¹²⁷ See Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po*, p. 341.

dga' (late 14th century), gSang-bdag 'phrin-las lhun-grub (1611-1662), rTsa-gsum gling-pa (1694-1738)¹²⁹ and, more recently, Tulku Urgyen Rinpoche (1920-1996).¹³⁰ His continued spiritual influence over the centuries within the *rNying-ma* tradition is further exemplified by such recent masters as mKhan-po mNga'-dbang dpal bzang-po (1879-1941) of Kaḥ-thog monastery and 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse chos-kyi blo-gros (1893-1959), both of whom had visions of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes.¹³¹

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Abbreviations

- BG *Bai-ro'i rgyud-'bum*, 8 Volumes, Leh: Tashigangpa, 1971.
- NGM *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum*, mTshams-brag edition, 46 Volumes, Thimphu: Royal National Library, 1982.
- NKD *rNying-ma bka'-ma rgyas-pa: A Collection of Teachings and Initiations of the rNying-ma-pa Tradition, passed through Continuous and Unbroken Oral Lineages from the Ancient Masters*, Edited by bDud-'joms Rinpoche, 58 Volumes, Kalimpong: Dupjung Lama, 1982-1987.
- NKJ *sNga-'gyur bka'-ma*, Edited by Kaḥ-thog mKhan-po 'Jam-dbyangs, 120 Volumes, Chengdu: Kaḥ-thog, 1999.
- SM gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*. See publication details below.

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¹²⁸ Martin, 'The Early Education of Milarepa', p. 56; Dorje and Kapstein, *The Nyingma School*, vol.2, p. 65, n.908.

¹²⁹ Tulku Thondup, *The Origin of Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 154.

¹³⁰ Nyoshul Khenpo, *A Marvelous Garland of Rare Gems: Biographies of Masters of Awareness in the Dzogchen Lineage*, Translated by Richard Barron, Junction City: Padma Publishing, 2005, p. 435.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 247, p. 302.

¹³² See Arguillère, *Profusion de la Vaste Sphère*, pp. 176f.

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¹³³ This title is given by Namkhai Norbu in his edition of the text.

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Sikkim and the Sino-Nepalese War of 1788-1792: A Communiqué from Bǎo tài to the Sikkimese Commander Yug Phyogs thub

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INTRODUCTION¹

Sikkimese involvement in the Sino-Nepalese War of 1788-1792, barring a few works in Nepali or by Nepalese writers,² has not been a topic of serious academic enquiry. This has largely resulted from a lack of access to relevant sources that provide insight into the Sikkimese theatre of this conflict. For example little is known regarding the coordination of the military forces of the Qing and the Sikkimese. The full details of Qing-Sikkimese collaboration will only likely be discovered with access to the Lhasa archives. That being said, there are a number of sources in the Sikkimese Palace Archives (SPA) that provide, if not a complete picture then at least, a glimpse of Sikkim's role in this war. The letter presented in this article is one such source. Ultimately sources like this one will, in time, radically transform our understanding of this period in Tibetan and Himalayan history.

This paper, however, has more modest ambitions. The primary aim is to present the letter from Bǎo tài – the Qing Imperial representative in Tibet (Amban) from 1790-1791 – and his assistant, to the sons of the Sikkimese Chancellor (*phyag mdzod*) and military commanders Yug Phyog thub and Yug gNam lcags. This has been ac-

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² Dhana Bajra Bajracharya and Gnyan Mani Nepal, *Aitihāsik Patra Sangraha* (A collection of Historical Letters), Kathmandu: Nepal Samskritic Parishad, 1957, pp. 56-74. Translated in *Regmi Research Series* 1970: Year 2, No. 8: 177-188. See also Dhamala, Jaya, *Sikkim ko Itihas* (History of Sikkim), Darjeeling: Shyam Prakashan, 1983.

complished through an edited transliteration, translation and facsimile – a method which, though first employed by Prof. Dieter Schuh in his work on Tibetan archives, has become a standard format for the publication of Tibetan administrative material. The secondary aim is to provide a very preliminary and introductory comment on the relationship between Qing-Tibet-Sikkim and Sikkimese involvement in the war, that may, in time and with more research, contribute to the critical analysis of this event as a pan-Himalayan conflict.

THE IMPERIAL COMMUNIQUÉ

The dispatch from the Amban Bǎo tài and the assistant Amban is recorded in the catalogue of the Sikkimese Palace Archive (catalogue number PD/9.5/006).³ The original document was one of several documents that went missing prior to the relocation and transfer of custodianship of the archives from the Arts and Cultural Trust of Sikkim to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology in 2008. Many of the documents that are currently missing were photographed by the author in 2005 as part of the Sikkimese Manuscript Project, which ran from 2004-2006. Though the document itself is undated, Kolaš' study of the Qing Imperial representatives in Lhasa provides the dates in which Bǎo tài served as Amban (1790-1791), and it is logical to assume it was written during the same time. It is twenty-one lines long, written in 'khyug and is marked with the large red rectangular seal of the office of the Amban. Compared with other documents in the Sikkimese Palace Archive, PD/9.5/006 is relatively free of scribal errors, with only two deletions in the text and only half a dozen orthographical inaccuracies. As a result it is a reasonably straightforward text, without any significant complexities in composition, vocabulary and grammar. This is quite rare when compared with other examples of Tibetan administrative writings, particularly from the Sikkimese Palace Archive.

The recipients of the communiqué's are two brothers Yug Phyogs thub and Yug gNam lcags. These two men were the sons of the Sikkimese Chancellor (*phyag mdzod*) Gar dbang 'Bar spungs pa, who, along with his own father, had ruled Sikkim from around 1747. The 'Bar spung family comes from the Lepcha clan of the Barfung-putso, though Gar dbang's great-grandfather was in fact the illegitimate son of the second king of Sikkim and the Lepcha wife of Yug mthing (*sde srid*), who constructed Rab brtan rtse palace in 1649 during the reign of the first Sikkimese king Phun tshogs rnam rgyal. The Barfung

³ See Mullard and Wongchuk 2010.

family is one of the most important aristocratic families in Sikkim, from which seven of the leading Kazi families can trace their origin as direct descendents of Gar dbang. This family ruled during the puppet reigns of the fifth and sixth kings of Sikkim until the execution of the Chancellor Bho log Barfunpa in 1826.

Yug Phyogs thub was one of the most successful military commanders in Sikkimese history. He was instrumental in the Sikkimese resistance to Gorkha expansion into Limbuwan and Morang in the late 1770s, but it was his command of the Sikkimese army from the 1780s which is most remembered in Nepal. His victories in seventeen battles against the Gorkha forces earned him the title of Satrajit from the Gorkha military commanders: a name by which he is referred to in Nepali sources.⁴ He was mainly active in the eastern regions of what is now Nepal (both in the hills and Terai), but he also defended Bhutan and the region of Ri nag (modern Rhenock) through which the route to the Jalep-la passes. For his efforts he was awarded the estate of Ri nag by the Tibetan government and tax collection rights in Dam bzang (near modern Kalimpong) by the Bhutanese.⁵ His descendents became the Rhenock Kazis.

Less is known about his brother Yug gNam lcags. We know he was also a military leader, commanding the northern Sikkimese armies, and (like Phyogs thub) was the Chancellor of Sikkim for a brief period. He is not given much attention in the main Sikkimese historical works such as *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*, and his line is considered to have ended with him. Perhaps, though there is little evidence suggesting it, he died during the war.

TRANSLITERATION

1. gong ma'i bka' mngags bod kyi las don 'khur 'dzin pa spa'o Am ban dang_ g.ya' Am
2. ban gnyis nas yig ge btang bar rtsi⁶ 'jog dgos rgyur_ 'bras ljongs mdzod pa'i bu yug
3. phyogs thub dang_ yug gnam lcags can nas nges dgos_ 'bras ljongs dang bod pa'i sa yul
4. 'dres ma yin zhing _ sku zhabs rin po che thugs rje la rten pa'i 'bras ljongs dang bod gnyis

⁴ See for example a letter from King Rana Bahadur Shah written in 1793. Translated in Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 251-256.

⁵ See PD/9.5/007.

⁶ *rtsis*.

5. nye po yod zhing_ gor kha nas yang skyar mi btang ba'i bod kyī sa tshams gnya' shing la gsun⁷
6. gtser btang ba byed lugs ngan pa yin 'dug cing_ da sgos nged Am ban gnyis nas gong ma
7. bdag po chen po'i gser rnyan sgron pa'i bod kyī dmag mi gang yod bskul ba'i sa tshams so so
8. la bsrungs 'gag nan gtan byed dgos la 'bras ljongs dang gor mi lung pa 'brel ma yin
9. shis bod kyī sa tshams khag rnams bod dmag gi bkag yod pa gor kha nas shes na_ khyod tsho
10. 'bras ljong phyogs nas gor kha mi yong ba'i ngas pa mi 'dug pa bcas khyod 'bras ljongs mdzod pa'i
11. bu yug phyogs thub dang_ yug gnam lcags nas de kha'i dmag mi 'bor che bskul ba'i sa tshams so sor
12. mgo mi drag pa bcas btang thog sa tshams so sor bkag bsrungs byed dgos dang_ gor kha'i mi de khyod
13. tsho'i lung pa nas don yong tshē dgra yin stabs khyod rang tshor kyang bzan⁸ rgod⁹ che ba yong ba bcas bzan
14. rgod che min sems gsal bcas de phyogs kyī sa tshams gang yod la sa bsrungs dmag mi bzhag
15. pa'i dam sgrags gang che byed dgos dang_ 'di'i don gong ma chen por gser snyan sgron pa bcas
16. nged bod pa'i rogs ram gang drag byed dgos dang _ rogs ram sogs khur bskyed byas tshe nged Am ban gnyis nas
17. gong ma chen po'i gser snyan la dwang pa¹⁰ byas nas gsol ras mang po gnang yong ba'i de'i mched
18. yi ge 'di bzhin btang ba khyod yug phyogs thub dang_ yug gnam lcags nas nges pa dang_ yi ge 'di bzhin
19. 'byor 'phral de kha'i sa tsham gang yod la dmag mi bkod¹¹ bzhag byas pa'i 'di yod kyī

⁷ sun.

⁸ zon.

⁹ Must mean something like danger.

¹⁰ dwangs pa.

¹¹ bsko.

20. gnas tshul phral du nged Am ban gnyis la bskur lugs gyis_ yi ge
brten kha btags bcas

21. tshes 26 bzung por bskur/ [SEAL]

TRANSLATION

It is necessary to obey this letter which has been sent by the two Amban [named] sPa'o Amban¹² and g.Ya' Amban,¹³ who are invested with the responsibility of the administration of Tibet, which is in accordance with the order of the Emperor. It is necessary that the sons of the Chancellor of Sikkim, Yug phyogs thub and Yug gnam lcags, should keep [the contents of this letter] in mind. The boundaries of the Sikkimese and Tibetans are merged¹⁴ and on account of the compassion of the Dalai Lama, Sikkim and Tibet have an intimate [relation] and the act of causing misery in the gNya shing border region of Tibet by the Gorkhas who have again sent an army is evil. As a result of this now we the two Amban have posted to all the borders whatever Tibetan soldiers there are of his Supreme Highness. It is necessary to act firm and repulse [the enemy] and protect the borders. Regarding this, because Sikkim and the land of the Gorkhas has a common border and, if the Gorkhas come to know that the Tibetan army has been dispatched to the borders, it is certain that the Gorkhas will attack via Sikkim. So you, Sikkim's treasured sons Yug phyogs thub and Yug gnam lcags, should send the Sikkimese army to all the borders and together with the powerful commanders must hinder [the enemy] and protect each border. When the Gorkha come via your country as they are the enemy, even if great danger and uncertainty [of how to act] is upon you, with bravery¹⁵ it is necessary, as much as it is possible, to strictly enforce the placement [of] the military on whatever borders of that area. According to this, with the adornment of precious veneration to the Dalai Lama it is necessary for us to assist the Tibetans as much as possible and when the time comes to perform our responsibilities and such assistance we the two Amban act in truth towards the Dalai Lama and as many gifts shall be bestowed [upon you by the Supreme One]. So you, Yug phyogs thub and Yug gnam lcags, must adhere to the contents of this letter which has been sent. As soon as this letter

¹² This is Băo tòi Amban from 1790-1791 (see Kolmaš, J. 2003: 610).

¹³ This is Yaman tòi assistant Amban 1790-1791 (see Kolmaš, J. 2003: 610).

¹⁴ That is they are not clearly defined.

¹⁵ [Lit: with the thought that there is no danger or uncertainty.]

is received inform us the two Amban that the army has been dispatched to whatever borders there are there and inform us of the situation [on the border]. The letter together with a *kha btags* has been sent on the auspicious date of the twenty-sixth day.

COMMENTARY

The primary concerns of the Amban of Lhasa, documented in the communiqué, are the protection of the Sikkim-Nepal border regions and the prevention of a Gorkha attack on Tibet through Sikkim. The logic being that once the Gorkha realize that the Nepal-Tibet border region has been secured by a Qing-Tibetan force, the Gorkhas will attempt a flanking maneuver to the east, penetrating into Tibetan territory via Sikkim. For that reason the Amban are ordering the Sikkimese to strengthen the border regions, inform them once the troops have been deployed, and provide information regarding enemy movements in that area. The language used in the above document is thus that of a senior military allied commanded to that of a subordinate: the text is ultimately a military command.

What makes this document interesting is that, the tone of the letter implies that there existed a coordinated approach to the defense of Tibet. Of course, more research needs to be done in order to assess the level of military coordination, the ability of officers to relay information through communication lines, the structure of the military hierarchy in this war and if indeed this structure was formalized and coordinated. However, this document does, when read in isolation appear to suggest that there was both a means for communication between different commanders and that there was a theoretical chain of command, sweetened with the possibility of financial rewards. Yet whether this chain of command was actually formally agreed upon by the different actors allied to Tibet, or whether this chain of command emerged out of the traditional and theoretical political relationship of hierarchy and authority between Sikkim, Tibet and the Qing still requires further research. Though it seems likely (and the promise of rewards documented in the text seems to suggest this)¹⁶

¹⁶ By appealing to the self interests of Yug Phyogs thub and gNam lcags (through reference to the gifts that shall be bestowed upon them by the Dalai Lama), it is perhaps the Ambans' intention to convince the Sikkimese of the importance of the order and the need to comply with it. That is the three-tiered system of hierarchy (Qing-Tibet-Sikkim) was politically pragmatic as well as religiously or philosophically laudable as the practical capacity of the Qing to control Sikkimese affairs was ultimately negligible.

that this emerged out of the father and son relationship (*yab sras dang 'brel ba [bzhin] lugs*), which encompassed the traditional political and diplomatic relationship between Tibet and Sikkim. Whilst the level of political authority the Qing managed to assert over Tibet was certainly contingent upon various factors and has been debated widely in academic circles, the relationship between the Qing and Tibet was articulated in the form of the donor-preceptor relation (*mchod yon*). This relationship can, of course, be personal and spiritual as well as political and diplomatic. Yet we can say there was a perceived, if not always actual and practical, hierarchic dimension inherent in Qing Imperialistic understanding of this relationship. Sikkim was thus tied into this hierarchy through its subservient diplomatic and political connections to Tibet through the father-son system: leading to the perception of a three-tiered level of diplomatic and theoretical, if not practical, hierarchy. This is certainly apparent in other examples of Qing-Sikkimese communications, where the tone of those texts implies a level of high-handedness and arrogance, not found in other 'inter-state' communications.

FINAL REMARKS

This text provides interesting insights into the military communications between the Qing and Sikkim during the Sino-Nepal War. This raises questions regarding the structure of the chain of command and the hierarchy of diplomatic relations involving the Qing, Tibet and Sikkim. Whilst more research needs to be completed, both with regards to Sikkim's involvement during the Sino-Nepalese War and Qing-Sikkim relations, this text is an fascinating example of a military and diplomatic dispatch.

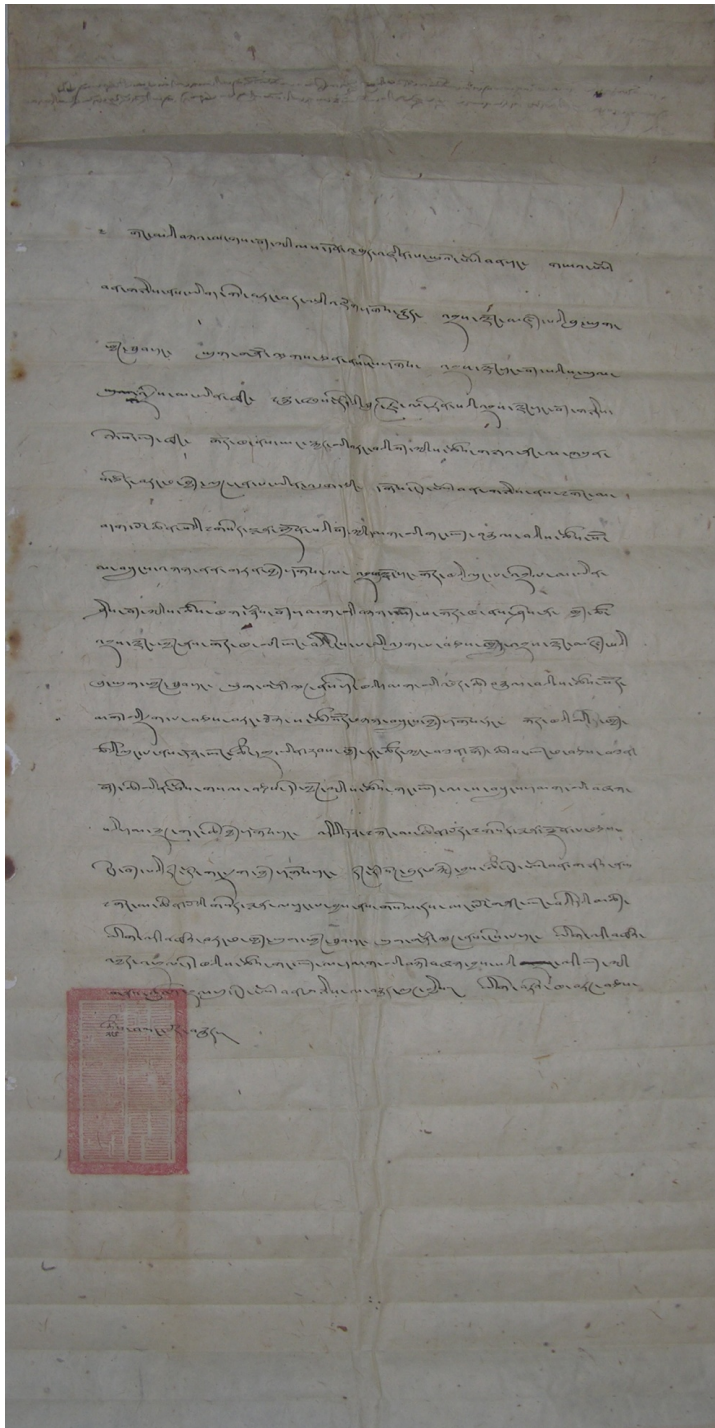
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APPENDIX: FACSIMILE OF PD/9.5/006



A Tibetan Catalogue of the Works of 'Jigs-med gling-pa

Sam van Schaik
The British Library

he first printed edition of the collected works (*gsung 'bum*) of 'Jigs-med gling-pa was published in Derge, shortly after his death in 1879. The compilation and printing of the collected works was done under the aegis of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's patron the queen of Derge and his disciple Mdo-grub-chen, edited by the Dge-rtse sprul-sku, Gyur-med tshe-dbang mchog-grub (1761–1829), and printed at Derge's Dgon-chen monastery.¹ Just over a century later, another edition was printed in central Tibet in 1881, generally known as the Lhasa edition.² From the records of the printing blocks at Gnas-chung monastery, and certain extra colophons in this edition wherein Gnas-chung is mentioned, it appears that the two volumes of the *Klong chen snying thig* along with 'Jigs-med gling-pa's *sGom phyogs dris lan* in this edition may have been copied from the blocks kept there.³ The first two volumes

¹ Cf. Kolmas 1971: 237-250 which contains reproductions of some of the title pages from the *Klong chen snying thig* published at Dgon-chen monastery. The life story of 'Jigs-med gling-pa has been discussed in several studies of which the most extensive is Gyatso 1998.

² This date is given at the end of the *dkar chag* (p. 33.5): *rab tshes lo rkyang so lnga pa khyu mchog lo'i nang gags med du grub pa*. The terms *rab tshes* and *khyu mchog* would both usually denote the fifteenth year of the 60-year cycle (which in this case must be the cycle that began in 1867). This year mostly corresponds to 1881 but also includes the first month of 1882 (Schuh 1973). A third version of the collected works of 'Jigs-med gling-pa was printed by the printing house of Adzom chos-sgar in 14 volumes. A copy of this version, with uncertain place and date of printing, is available on the TBRC website (W7477). My previous comparisons of certain texts in *Klong chen snying thig* (see van Schaik 2004: 241–2) suggests that these blockprints (at least in the *Klong chen snying thig* volumes) differ from both the Derge and Lhasa versions, and appear to have been compiled from different manuscript exemplars.

³ Two of these colophons are given in the footnotes to the critical editions. The record of a set of *Klong chen snying thig* printing blocks at Gnas-chung is in *Three Karchacks*, p. 190. Although the number of folios given in that record do not match the number of folios in the edition exactly, they are very close: 1363 and

containing the *Yon tan mdzod* were printed in the monastery of Rdo-rje-brag, and this is probably also the case for other volumes lacking additional printing colophons.

The Lhasa blockprints differ from the Derge edition in that certain texts are grouped together: their titles appear together on a single page, and they are paginated together as a single text.⁴ For example a group of four texts in the *Klong chen snying thig* are placed together in this way (vol. *nya*, 647–92), and an additional printer's colophon is added at the end of the final text in the group. The colophon lists the names of those who contributed and the amount of their contribution to the printing of this group of texts; most or all of these contributors seem to have been from Gnas-chung monastery.⁵ Thus this method of grouping texts seems to be related to the way in which funds were raised for their publication. More information about the fundraising for these blockprints is given in the *dkar chag* to this edition.

The *dkar chag* is located in the fifth volume (*ca*) of the Lhasa edition of the collected works of 'Jigs-med gling-pa, on pp. 1–36. It is written by Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan, though it also reproduces parts of the catalogue in the Sde-dge edition by Dge-rtse sprul-sku.⁶ It is

1353 respectively (both other editions contain considerably fewer pages). Also recorded amongst the rather few (only five, all Nyingma) sets at Gnas-chung is a *Sgom phyogs dris lan*, presumably 'Jigs-med gling-pa's text. Here the number of folios is not close to the version in SBL, yet the colophon mentions Gnas-chung, so there may have been an error in the folio count.

⁴ See van Schaik 2004: 39–40, 241–242; Gyatso 1998: 310.

⁵ Vol *nya*, 690.3–691.5: /rgyu sbyor sbyin pa'i bdag po **gnas chung** grwa rigs gras sku bcar chos rje lags nas kha phyi dngul srang 20/ **rtse phyag zur pa kun dpal** nas dngul srang 10 **chos rgyal** nas dngul srang 10 **dge zur 'jam dpal** nas dngul srang 10 kha gsong/ **skal phun** nas 030 **chos kun chos** nas 00 **ye chos** 00 **rnam grol** 030 **dge rgyal 'phrin** 030 **'jam 'phrin** 0150 **dbu khri bskal don** 00 **gnyer grags chos** 030 **'jam shes** 00 **shā ka smon** 0150 **dag chos** 0150 **gye re lha bras pas** 030 **bskal bstan** 015 **kun bzang** 023 **blo chos** 030 **blo dar** 010 **ye dar** 030 **bskal bstan pas** 00 **dge khrims** 0150 **bskal chos** 0350 **grags shes** 0150 **mkhyen rab** 050 **chos 'jam bzlas** 015 **tshul brtan** 010 **zhol lang ba'i kha lhag** nas 0470 **gong gi kha btags rin** 06 bcas kyi bar du bskrun / /ngo bo ka nas dag pa chos sku zhes/ /'dzin med gsal stong rig pa ye shes gsung/ /ye grol kun tu bzang por mngon gyur nas/ /rang gzhan don gnyis lhun gyi 'grub par shog/ ces dngos po de dag chus mi 'dza' ba'i ched du dge ba rdzogs byang du bsngo ba'i smon tshig 'di bzhin **gnas chung mkhan rin po che** nas dgongs zhes phebs don ltar **dbu ru skyid smad** du lha rigs **gnyos kyi bandhe bu su ku** des sbyar// // manga lam/.

⁶ It is not easy to identify this Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan. From the colophon to his account of the printing of this edition, we see that he was residing in retreat in Yer-pa at the time of writing. Thus he may be the doctor 'Tsho-byed Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan (d.1927?) who is mentioned in several sources gathered in the TBRC record P4543: he is said to have been a physician to the king of Bhutan at

titled *Differentiating the Supreme Dharma: a list of the complete works of Vidyādhara 'Jigs-med gling-pa, the all-knowing king of the dharma* (Kun mkhyen chos kyi rgyal po rig 'dzin 'jigs med gling pa'i bka' 'bum yongs rdzogs kyi bzhugs byang chos rab rnam 'byed) and is divided into the following parts:

- 2.1 Opening verses.
- 2.3 The *dkar chag* by Dge-brtse sprul-sku Tshe-dbang mchog-grub.
- 9.1 An account of compilation and printing by Dge-brtse sprul-sku.
- 14.2 The main list of works (*bzhugs byang dkar chag dngos*).
- 20.6 The benefits of his activities and a final supplication of dedication.
- 20.6 Verses from the *Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Verses* (*yum sdud pa*).
- 22.5 A few verses of dedication.
- 25.6 An account of printing in central Tibet.
- 34.1–36.4 Conclusion.

The catalogue (*bzhugs byang*) on pp. 14–20 is translated below. Though attributed to Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan it is almost directly copied from that of Dge-brtse sprul-sku, to the extent that it is not entirely accurate (for example, it lists *Yon tan mdzod* in volume *ka* when it is in fact in volume *kha*). Thus the reason for the inclusion of both Dge-brtse sprul-sku's catalogue as well as this one is not entirely clear, except that this one is distinguished by the addition of the folio numbers of the Lhasa blockprints. There is also a problem with the page order. The first *dkar chag* (pp. 2–8) is missing the last page or so, and Dge-brtse sprul-sku's account of the Sde-dge printing (pp. 9–14) is missing its opening. Furthermore, pp. 31–32 (folio 16 in the Tibetan numbering) of the account of the printing in Central Tibet appears to belong in Dge-brtse sprul-sku's account, and should be inserted immediately before p. 9 (folio 5 in the Tibetan numbering). This is still not the first page of Dge-brtse sprul-sku's account, which seems to be entirely missing here.

The catalogue includes some description of the longer texts, but is content to list the shorter ones. Most of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's shorter texts are titled according to the Tibetan custom of having both an ornamental and a descriptive title. I have translated the descriptive parts of the titles, and left the ornamental parts, by which the texts

one time, to have been responsible for carving blocks of the *Rgyud bzhi*, and to have settled in the latter part of his life in Yer-pa. Further support for this identification is offered by the *dkar chag* itself, in which the sickness and cure of the patron Gro-shod skal-bzang chos-'phel is mentioned as a motivation for this making a "repayment for medical services" (*sman yon*); see pp. 26–27.

are generally known, in Tibetan with the intention of giving an easy overview of the contents of the texts as well as their shortened Tibetan titles. I have added page numbers for all texts from the Sonam T. Kazi edition (see the Bibliography).

The translations I have used for the main Tibetan words for textual genres encountered here are as follows:

<i>spring ba</i>	epistle
<i>bstod</i>	hymn
<i>gsol 'debs</i>	prayer
<i>bsngags</i>	praise
<i>smon lam</i>	aspiration / aspirational prayer
<i>cho ga</i>	ritual
<i>mchod</i>	offering
<i>skong gso</i>	fulfillment offering
<i>nyer bsdus</i>	condensed (form)
<i>man ngag</i>	instructions

The colophons have been transcribed directly from the Sonam T. Kazi edition of the Lhasa blockprints, published in Gangtok in 1970–75.⁷ As mentioned above, these sometimes contain addenda relating to their printing in the present edition; for example the colophon of the last text in the collection, the *sGom phyogs dris lan*, states that the blocks are kept at Gnas-chung monastery. In these colophons I have placed personal names in bold where the names relate to contemporaries of 'Jigs-med gling-pa. I have not included historical figures such as Klong-chen-pa and Padmasambhava, who appear in so many of the colophons, or the various names by which 'Jigs-med gling-pa signs himself. Among those credited with inspiring 'Jigs-med gling-pa's compositions are the Sa-skya throne holder Ngag-dbang kun-dga' blo-gros (1729–1783), and two Dge-lugs monks from 'Bras-spungs monastery. Several of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's *rnying ma* disciples, such as Padma chos-'byor rgya-mtsho, are also credited.⁸

Place names relevant to the writing and publication of the texts are underlined in the colophons. A large number were written in the monastery of Tshe-ring-ljongs Padma-'od-gsal-gling, which 'Jigs-med gling-pa founded after his retreat. Other were written earlier in his retreat cave. Some were written in other monasteries, including the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*) at Sa-skya and the 'Bri-gung rdzong-gsar. I have also added a few other notes, including

⁷ The actual printing house is given as being in Daryaganj, Delhi.

⁸ Colophons for the longer texts are also available on the TBRC website.

references where relevant to modern studies and translations of the texts.⁹

Translation

Differentiating the Supreme Dharma: a list of the complete works of Vidyādhara 'Jigs-med gling-pa, the all-knowing king of the dharma

The first book: *KA*

[A] The complete basis for sutra and mantra, the *Yon tan rin po che mdzod* root text in thirteen chapters.¹⁰ (*KHA* 1–121)¹¹

[B] The commentary to the above, up to the ninth chapter, teaching the correct meaning of the three baskets, the *Bden gnyis shing rta*.¹² (1–925)

KHA

The continuation of the latter up to the tenth chapter, the complete vessel of the *vidyādhara*s, and the three remaining chapters, establishing the essential points of the ground, path and goal of the

⁹ In these notes, the Sde-dge version of the *gsung 'bum* is abbreviated as *SBd* and the Lhasa version as *SBl*.

¹⁰ Written in the winter of 1779–80; *Rnam thar* 303ff. See also Gyatso 1998: 292 n.105. COLOPHON (121.1): /yon tan rin po che'i mdzod dga' ba'i char zhes bya ba / la stod **chos rje brag phug pas** bskul ba'i ngor / sangs rgyas gnyis pa padma sam bha wa'i zhabs rdul la spyi bos reg pa'i rdzogs chen rang byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse 'od zer gyis / dpal ldan padma gling du sbyar ba'o// // sva sti / rgyal gsungs dri med mdo sngags ma lus pa'i/ /gzhung gi gnas rnams legs ston yon tan mdzod/ /par gyi phyi mar skrun pa'i rnam dkar gyis/ /legs byas dge ba'i bshad sgrub phyogs brgyar 'phel/ /par 'di thub bstan rdo rje drag tu bzhugs/ /dge'o//.

¹¹ Contrary to the arrangement here, which matches *SBd*, in *SBl*, *Yon tan mdzod* is the second text in vol. *KHA*. For a translation of the text, Padmakara Translation Group 2011, 2013.

¹² COLOPHON (924.3): /sa skya **bdag po rin po che ngag dbang kun dga' blo gros sangs rgyas bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos** bstan pa 'ba' zhis thugs las bcangs nas sa snying srang 'khor/ rin chen gnyis pa'i rta rmi/ /nang mdzod sna lnga'i skyes dang bcas te bkas bskul ba las/ dben pa'i r ngogs na gnas pa'i gtsug lag khang padma 'od gsal gling zhes bya bar rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse 'od zer gyis thin ris su btab pa'i yi ge pa ni dge slong rnal 'byor spyod pa chos rje brag phug pa'o//.

esoteric instruction class of Rdzogs-chen, the *Rnam khyen shing rta*.¹³ (122–877)

GA

[A] The *Snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling tha grur khyab pa'i rgyan* in nine chapters, comprising: [i] at the start, the way our teacher the Buddha arrived, and the six ornaments, two supreme ones, and so on, concluding with the [eight] great *vidyādhara*s; [ii] following that, a general and specific dharma history; and [iii] ending with a presentation of sacred dharma teachings, a catalogue of dharma texts [in the *Rgyud 'bum*],¹⁴ and a dedication.¹⁵ (1–499)

[B] A teaching addressing uncertainties in the presentation of the lesser and greater vehicles, the *Dris lan rin po che bstan bcos*¹⁶ *lung gi gter mdzod* in five chapters.¹⁷ (1–375)

¹³ COLOPHON (874.3): yon tan rin po che'i mdzod kyi smad cha'i yal 'dal bzhi la 'bras bu sngags kyi theg pa rgya mtsho lta bu gtan la dbab pa'i rgya cher 'grel rnam thams cad mkhyen pa'i shing rta zhes bya ba 'di sngon nas **sa skya gong ma rin po che'i** bka' gnang gi thog skal ldan gi slob ma dam pa **chos rje brag phug pas** rin chen gnyis pa'i mañdal bkra shis kyi rtogs ldan me tog khor yug can la nai pa la'i dong tse brgya phrag gi tshom bur ldan pa bzang gos gi lha rgyas bzang pos bteg nas nan tan chen pos gsol ba btab cing/ zin ris pa yi ge gnyis par 'bebs pa'i gnal ba dang lam gyi rten cing 'brel 'byung tshogs pa las/ pa lang lta bu'u skye bo rnam kyis tshur mthong gi snang ba dang skal pa mnyam par 'grogs shing/ rjes la thob pa'i shes rab kyang skyo shas dang nges 'byung gi bsrung pa'i bsam gtan gyi ngang du yid sdung pa las nye bar slong ba'i grub 'bras rgyal ba'i phrin las su shar ba 'di ni/ dpal o rgyan gyi slob dpon chen po sangs rgyas gnyis pas rjes su bzung ba'i rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse lhas/ dpal ldan **padma 'od gling zhes bya ba'i bas mtha'i gtsug lag khang** du sbyar ba'o/ /.

¹⁴ The *dkar chag* for the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* is on pp. 455–484.

¹⁵ C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 242.2 (1771/72). COLOPHON (498.6): // rgya gar nub phyogs pa'i pandita chen po nang rig pa'i de nyid khyad par smra ba dri med bshes gnyen dang/ /dpal o rgyan gyi slob dpon chen po sangs rgyas kun dngos padma'i zhabs kyi thugs rje'i zla zer snying la zhugs pas sngon gyi bag chags dus la rang dbang du byed cing/ rang bzhin theg mchog snying po'i lam nas rig pa phyogs yan du grol ba'i rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse 'od zer ram/ klong chen nam mkha'i rnal 'byor 'jigs med gling pa'i sdebs/ thar pa chen po'i grong khyer **padma 'od gling** du rgyud 'bum rin po che gsar du bskrul pa'i de mchog pa las dbu brtsams nas bri bar 'du 'byed na/ 'brel par ldan pa'i dpyod ldan dran pa'i dbang po kun dang/ bye brag tu **lha rigs rgyal po'i khab tu mi dbang mkhas pa'i dbang po/ lha 'jigs med dpa' bo 'chi med bstan pa'i rdo rje** gsung gis kyang myur du 'grub par bskul lo/.

¹⁶ 14.5: *bstan bcos* for *bstan ba ces*.

¹⁷ Contents and partial *précis* in Kawamura 1992. COLOPHON (375.1): grub pa'i bsti gnas **tshe ring ljongs** su grags pa'i dben kyi 'od gsal gnyug ma'i **pho brang padma 'od gling** zhes bya bar dpal o rgyan yab yum gyis rjes su bzung ba'i

NGA

[A] To help beginners who have started on the path of mantra, untangling the meanings of the words through the vastness of space and communicating that understanding, the *Dgongs 'dus cho ga'i rnam bshad mkhyen brtse me long*.¹⁸ (1–371)

[B] A collection of investigations (*rab 'byed*) [distinguishing] the true meaning of various fields of knowledge (*rig pa*) and sciences (*gtsug lag*) [from] purely fanciful (*'dod rgyal du*) teachings, the *Gtam gyi tshogs theg pa'i rgya mtsho* in seventy-three chapters. (1–543)

- [1] *Theg pa'i gru gzings*: a general overview. (2.1)
- [2] *Go la'i rna rgyan*: a discourse on astrology, on the planets and constellations.¹⁹ (8.6)
- [3] *Brtag pa brgyad kyi me long*: on India and the lands to the south.²⁰ (62.4)
- [4] *Tsinta ma ni'i mdzod khang*: on the examination of jewels.²¹ (83.1)
- [5] *Rin po che'i gter*: on poetry.²² (113.1)

rdzogs chen pa mkhyen brtse 'od zer ram ming gzhan klong chen nam mkha'i rnal 'byor gis bkod rdzogs so //.

¹⁸ COLOPHON (371.5): 'di la nyes pa bshad gang bdag gi skyon / /yon tan cung zad mchis na bla ma'i don/ /ci phyir zhen pa padma k̄ara yi/ /mkhyen brtse nus pa'i mthu yin bdag 'dras min/ 1 /'od gsal dbu ma'i rgyal khab chen po la/ /gzung 'dzin rnam rtog kun gyis phyag byas pas/ /dpal ri gsang sngags theg chen gling mchog gi/ /sgom mal 'od gsal klong nas 'di byung ngo/ 2 (thugs kyi byin gyi brlabs pas shā ri'i pu dang spyān ras gzigs kyi 'dri ba dang lan ldog pa'i tshul du shes rab snying po byung ba lta bu/) /dga' bar byos shig sha za ral gcig ma/ /mgu bar byos shig rdō rje spun grogs tshe/ /mnyam gzhag dran pa nam mkha'i ngang sgom nas/ /rjes thob sgyu ma'i rtsal gyis 'di bris so/ 3 /da ni rmi lam tsam gyi mi tshe 'dir/ /rnam g.yengs chos su ming btags des ci bya/ /kun brtags rtog dpyod rnon po ci dgar thong/ /rig pa 'od gsal klong su ngal bsos shig/ 4 /'di ni gangs ri'i khrod kyi sgrub pa po/ /srog rtsol dbu mar yan pa'i grong khyer nas/ /snang bzhi'i ltad mor g.yengs pa'i rnal 'byor pa/ /padma dbang chen mkhyen brtse 'od kyi sbyar/ 5.

¹⁹ COLOPHON (62.3): da lta na yang de ring 'dir/ gsar bu'i rig pa blo gsal ba/ **dpon po 'od zer phrin las** kyi bskul zhing ri mo'i grags bgyis nas/ byang chub dam pa'i nags khrod ni/ dpal ldan padma 'od gling du/ rang byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse lha/ abhayadhpa des sbyar/.

²⁰ Text and translation in Aris 1995.

²¹ COLOPHON (112.6): zhes pa'ang rdzogs pa chen po rang byung rdo rje rgyal btsan yun du gnas pa dang/ 'gro ba'i bde skyid spel ba'i slad/ dngul srang lnga brgya'i rgyu tshogs las byang chen mchod sdong gsar du bskrun nas rgyal dbang padma'i lung bstan bzhin bsam yas bar khang du bzhugs su gsol ba'i tshe sbyar ba'o/.

- [6] *Rab byed gnyis pa 'jig rten gso ba'i sman*: advice to the king and the people.²³ (123.1)
- [7] *Sa la spyod pa rna rgyan*: an epistle to the ruler (*sa skyong*) of Sde-dge.²⁴ (128.4)
- [8] *Char sprin gyi rol po*: an epistle to the prince.²⁵ (137.1)
- [9] *Dam pa'i gan mdzod*: an epistle to the queen, along with a commentary.²⁶ (141.3)
- [10] *Dpe don 'brel ba*: an epistle to the people.²⁷ (146.2)
- [11] A message for the secular ruler (*skyid skyong*) of Tibet (*bho ta*). (157.2)
- [12] A message for the holy ones.²⁸ (158.6)
- [13] An exhortation to the great teachers to go into solitude.²⁹ (161.1)
- [14] *Mdun na don gyi rna rgyan*: a message to students.³⁰ (164.4)
- [15] An epistle to Bshes-gnyen Buddha. (167.4)
- [16] An epistle to the virtuous guides of Dga'-ldan Byang-rtse. (169.2)
- [17] An epistle to the lama.³¹ (169.9)

²² COLOPHON (122.5): *nyan dang gas gyi gtam rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba 'dab ldan gyung 'khyi ba'i tshal nas sai na ka a nantas* bskul ba ltar dbyangs can mgrin par chags pa'i rnal byor pa mkhyen brtse 'od zer gyis 'od gsal gnyug ma'i pho brang padma 'od gling du rjes thob kyi snang cha rtog pa'i drwa bar bkod rdzogs so/.

²³ See *Rnam thar*, p364 for the occasion of the writing of this text. COLOPHON (128.3): dmangs la gdams pa'i rab tu 'byed pa ste le'u gnyis pa'i bdag nyid can rgyal ba'i myu gu mkhyen brtse lhas dpal ldan padma 'od gling du sbyar ba'o/.

²⁴ COLOPHON (136.6): dpal u rgyan gyi slob dpon chen po padma sam bha bas byin gyi rlabs pa'i rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rje khyen brste 'od zer ram/ rig pa 'dzin pa 'jigs med gling pas dpal ldan padma 'od gling zhe bya ba'i gtsug lag khang nas phul ba sarba dza ga tam/

²⁵ COLOPHON (141.3): rig 'dzin 'jigs med gling pas gdams pa rdzogs so/.

²⁶ COLOPHON (143.4): **sa skyong sde dge'i btsun mo dam pa dang tshul byang chub rgyal mo** la rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes gdams pa rdzogs so/.

²⁷ "On the basis of correct communication of the worldly, teaching the natural state of holiness." (146.2-3). COLOPHON (157.1): dmangs la sprin pa'i gtam dpe don 'brel ba zhes bya ba rgyal ba'i myu gu a bha ya dhī pas rgya gar kā ma rū pa'i gnas dang nye zhing/ bya rgod phung po'i ri bo ltar yod pa'i a tsa ra kha spung can gyis **stong dpon byang chub rgyal tshan** la gdams pa rdzogs so/.

²⁸ COLOPHON (160.6): dam pa la spring ba'i gtam zhes bya ba/ / **mdo smad rdzogs chen sprul sku** la/ / rdzogs chen pa rang 'byung rdo rje spring pa rdzogs/.

²⁹ COLOPHON (164.3): 'di ni rta mchog rol pa yang gsang dang/ phrog byed btul ba'i phur pa bzhugs pa'i gnas/ **ser smad sku skye smon lam rab 'byams pa'i**/ gsung ngor dus mtha'i rang byung rdo rjes so/.

³⁰ COLOPHON (167.4): de skad gang la spring pa'ang lhag pa'i sems/ / nya rgas zla ba gsar la chags pa'i/ / ri dwags drang srong rgan po'i bden gtam gyis/ / dran pa'i dbang pos khyid la shis gyur cig/.

- [18] *Tshungs pa'i rna rgyan*: an epistle to the speech emanation of Lho-brag. (171.3)
- [19] An epistle to meditators.³² (175.1)
- [20] *Don rab 'byed pa'i rgyan*: an epistle to contemplators on renunciation.³³ (175.5)
- [21] *Sbyangs pa'i yon tan gyi rab 'byed*: an epistle to the monks.³⁴ (177.1)
- [22] *Prati mokṣa garbha*: an epistle to philosophers.³⁵ (185.4)
- [23] *Bshags le bzhi pa'i ũika dam tshig rgya mtsho gsal byed*: advice to mantrins.³⁶ (188.6)
- [24] *Gnod sbyin gyi rna cha*: an epistle to spirits of the eight classes. (199.1)
- [25] *Lha ma yin gyi gtsug gtor*: an epistle to the harmful spirits of the ten directions.³⁷ (200.1)
- [26] *Padma'i zhal lung*: an epistle to the various classes of elemental spirits.³⁸ (201.2)
- [27] *Dkon mchog gsum gyi grib bsil*: an epistle to bandits.³⁹ (202.5)
- [28] *Lhag bsam gyi chun po*: an epistle to pilgrims.⁴⁰ (203.5)

³¹ COLOPHON (171.2): /dam pa rnam la skyes su bsngags pa'i rtse/ /'khor lo dang po'i mdzod khang 'dul ba'i gdam/ /zur dang dam mdud rten 'brel skyes dang bcas/ /ā rya pa lo'i gling nas dpyod zlar dge/ /rgya rong sku skye nam gnyis kyi chab shog lan du phul ba/.

³² COLOPHON (175.4): /zhal gdams de yin 'phron yig yan kyang 'di/ /brtse'i sems dang lhan cig dam mdud dang/ /skra sen dang bcas bsam yas chos 'khor nas/ /dharma bha dra dri'i lan tu spring bzhin denga/ /srid pa'i mtsho las sgrol bas bkra shis shog/.

³³ COLOPHON (176.6): ces pa'ang **mdo khams rgya rong ri khrod pa karma bsam 'grub** bam/ '**jigs med bstan dar** gyi nan gyis bskul nger/ klong chen nam mkha'i rnal 'byor gyis rta mgrin gling du bris pa'o.

³⁴ COLOPHON (185.2): /gang 'di rang byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse lhas/ /**dpal ldan skya'i mkhan chen khri thog pa/ 'brten mkhas yon tan rdzogs pa'i a nanta/ 'pha la shŕr** skyes kyi **mchog tu bsngags/** /gang la de skad spyir ba'ang legs smon gyi/ rnyog pa drangs pa'i nges 'byung gser 'gyur rtsis/ /lhag pa'i tshul khirms mya ngan 'da' phyir yang/ bdag dang gang zag can du blta la ci/ /de lta mod kyi' di yis skabs dbye nas/ drang srong rgyal mtshan 'dzin pa brgya phrag brgya/ /des 'byung ba ser bus bskyod pa'i tshul khirms kyi/ /bsod zhim tsan da na dri dang tshul gyur cig/.

³⁵ COLOPHON (188.5): /**dge ba'i bshes gnyen chen po 'bras spungs bde yangs bla ma** la rgyal ba'i myu gu a bha ya dwi pas **dpal ldan tshe ring ljongs zhes bya ba'i gtsug lag khang** nas gdams pa rdzogs so/.

³⁶ COLOPHON (198.6): /ces pa'ang **rwa lo'i brgyud 'dzin** yang stengs bas nan gtung chen po'i ngor rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes ngag thog nas dpon pa'o//.

³⁷ COLOPHON (201.1): /snang srid rnam dag padma 'od gling nas/ /don dam bden pa raksha thod 'phreng gis/ /ma rig las gyur kun rdzob gdon la springs/.

³⁸ COLOPHON (202.5): /zhes ladak mgrin bcu'i rgyal khab nas springs/.

³⁹ COLOPHON (203.4): zhes rdzogs pa chen po rang byung rdo rjes so/.

- [29] *'Dod pa khams gyi rna rgyan*: discourse on the main temple at bSam-yas.⁴¹ (207.3)
- [30] *Bden pa'i rna rgyan*: on Ārya palo'i-gling.⁴² (211.3)
- [31] *Ka la ping ka'i rol mo*: on dPal-gyi bsam-yas mchims-pu.⁴³ (215.1)
- [32] *'Phrul dga'i rna rgyan*: on the erection of a new shrine. (219.4)
- [33] On O-rgyan mtsho-skyes rdo-rje and his precious footprints.⁴⁴ (223.6)
- [34] *Mkha' 'gro'i glu gar*: discourse on gZhu-stod gter-sgrom.⁴⁵ (229.3)
- [35] *Chos 'byung gi me tog*: discourse on the Zhwa lha-khang in upper Dbu-ru.⁴⁶ (232.6)
- [36] On Lha-mon Dkar-po-zangs. (236.6)
- [37] *Lo rgyus kyi mdzod khang*: on the tomb of Bkra-shis Srong-btsan.⁴⁷ (241.3)
- [38] *Nya gro dhā'i chun 'phyangs*: the medium-sized catalogue (*dkar chag*) of the tomb of Bkra-shis Srong-btsan.⁴⁸ (263.4)

⁴⁰ COLOPHON (207.3): /zhes **kah sgom rtswa mchog grong la 'gro zer ba** la gdams pa rang byung rdo rjes so//.

⁴¹ C.f. *Rnam-thar* 356.6. COLOPHON (211.3): /ces pas mtshon na sangs rgyas 'byung ba la mnyes par mi bgyid pa'i las mtha' log pa rnam la bsams nas chos snang ba'i sgo dad pa bla lhaq tu bskyed 'tshal/.

⁴² COLOPHON (214.6): /**sku gnyer blo gsal** gyi ngor mahā sandhi pa a bha ya dhawī pas so//.

⁴³ COLOPHON (219.4): ces pa'ang **tshe'i rig 'byed pa chu skyas ming can** gyi ngor rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes so/.

⁴⁴ COLOPHON (229.2): /zhes pa'ang gtam rgyus 'dod rgyal bas rnyog pa lung rig gtan tshigs gsum gyis legs par bsal zhing/ ngo mtshar gyi gsal snang gling du yod pa'ang bsnan nas sangs rgyas gnyis pa de nyid kyi byin rlabs snying la zhugs pa'i rjes 'jug rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes sgra bsgyur rgya gar gling du yung tsam la smras pa'o//.

⁴⁵ COLOPHON (232.5): /**dad ldan gyi slob bu dge don 'jigs med 'bangs** kyi ngor dgongs brgyud las yi ger spel zhing/ rigs kyi bu rgyal sras nyin byed 'od zer rig 'dzin mthu stobs grub pa'i sde'i chos skal du rig 'dzin 'jigs med gling pas so/.

⁴⁶ COLOPHON (236.5): zhes pa'ang **bras spungs sgo mangs pa bskal bzang don 'grub** dang **zhwa ba'i grwa tshogs** rnam kyis bskul ngor/ rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rje **'bri gung rdzong gsar** du shar mar bris pa'o//.

⁴⁷ C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 128.5ff. COLOPHON (263.2): //zhes pa'ang sdom brtson rnal du 'byor pa'i rim pa la mos pa o di yas ched du gnyer ba'i phyr ma 'dres yongs su rdzogs pa'i shing rta chen po pa rnam kyi grub pa'i mtha' la dad cing/ rang bzhin theg mchog snying po'i ring lugs pa klong chen nam mkha'i rnal 'byor gyis sngon gyi yi ge dang/ ngag 'gros gyi na'i rigs las tshad mar rig pa'i lo rgyus la gzhiq 'brel sngon du 'gro ba'i bya dor dang bcas slad yang phri ba snan cung zad dang/ mchun bu dkyis su sdeb pa sogs dag ther bgyis pa 'di nyid bka' btsan par bya'o/.

⁴⁸ COLOPHON (268.6): zhes pa'ang **sku gnyer rdo rje chos 'byor** gyis bskul ba la rdzogs chen pa mkhyen brtse lhas so/.

- [39] *Rdo rje sgra ma'i rgyud mangs*: on Dpal-ri theg-pa-chen-po'i-gling.⁴⁹ (268.6)
- [40] *Nor bu do shal*: on the structure and contents (*rten dang brten*) of Padma 'od-gsal theg-mchog-gling. (283.1)
- [41] *Dad pa'i gser*: on Rgyal-byed-rtsal in Gtsang Ru-lag. (322.6)
- [42] *Ka lantaka'i rgyan*: on the production of the Mtsho-sna Rgyud 'bum. (330.3)⁵⁰
- [43] *Drang srong gi rnga sgra*: the production of the *Snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che* in the lands of the ruler of Sde-dge.⁵¹ (335.2)
- [44] *Rnyong ma 'grungs pa'i ketaka*: on the bKra-shis 'Od-bar stūpa.⁵² (338.3)
- [45] *Byang chub ljong shing*: on the proportions (*thig*) of the eight stūpas of the *sugatas*.⁵³ (341.4)
- [46] *'Phrul dag pa'i rol mo*: on offerings in general (*mchod spyi*).⁵⁴ (352.1)
- [47] *Bsod nams sprin phung*: on the maṇḍala offering.⁵⁵ (357.6)

⁴⁹ COLOPHON (282.4): zhes pa 'di ni **chos khrim pa blo gsal dbang po padma kun gsal dang/ dkon gnyer phrin las dpal 'byor** zung gis lha rdzas kyi me tog dang bcas te 'bad pa chen pos bskul ba ngor/ dpal gyi ri bo'i sa 'dzin gyi spo la 'dus pa'i tshom bu 'di nyid chags nas zla ba'i phung po drang srung bkra shis 'od dkar can du slob pa'i rodha'i lo legs bris kyi bden tshig grub pa'i drang srong chen po ri shis mā ma ki'i klung thams cad la yan lag brgyad ldan gyi nus pa ster ba la mngon du phyogs pa tshe/ dpal u rgyan chos kyi rgyal po yab yum gyis rjes su bzung pa'i rdzogs chen mkhyen brtse 'od zer gyis **kun mkhyen shanta pu ri pa** la mi bslub par nges pa'i ngang pa brtan pos kun nas bslangs te **padma 'od gsal theg mchog gling** du sbyar ba'i yi ge ni 'jigs skyob dang lags smon tsam ma yin par nges par 'byung pa'i blos shākya'i bstan pa la rab tu byung ba'i **skal ba can zur rdo rje snying pos** so/.

⁵⁰ C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 281.1. COLOPHON (335.1): zhes pa nas skyes rabs brgya ba'i smon lam mu 'thud pa dkar chag chen mo'i gsham la bris so/.

⁵¹ This title from the *Gtam tshogs*. The *dkar chag* has only: *Sna 'gyur 'gyud 'bum la dpyad zhus kyi gtam drang srong gi rnga sgra*. COLOPHON (338.3): /zhes pa'ang rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes so/.

⁵² COLOPHON (341.4): gong ma'i gdan sa dgon pas phug tu bris pa'o/.

⁵³ "...and an account of the stūpas appropriate to each of the Buddhist vehicles." (Aris 1995, p. 12). COLOPHON (351.45): de ltar rgyal ba kun gyi chos sku'i rten chen po'i bsgrub tshul rnam par gzhas pa dang bcas pa rang gzhan gyi bsod nams gsog pa'i slad du tshe ring ljongs byang chub ljon pa'i rtsal du rgyal ba 'od mtshan stong 'bar gyi snang brnyan 'bum ther gcig dang lnga stong rgal bas mthson bla na med pa'i nang gzungs kyis phur bur bltams pa'i mchod rten byang chub mthong grol ba zhengs pa'i tshe rdzogs chen pa mkhyen brtse'i 'od zer gyis **padma od gling** 'khor lo tshegs can gyi gnas su sbyar ba'o/.

⁵⁴ COLOPHON (357.5): zhes pa'ang **mdo khams rdzogs chen sprul pa'i sku rin po che'i** gsung ngor rig 'dzin 'jigs med gling pas so/.

- [48] *Rnam mkhyen lam bzang*: on the dedication of the roots of virtue to enlightenment.⁵⁶ (363.1)
- [49] *U dum wā ra'i chun po*: on the forests.⁵⁷ (371.1)
- [50] *Mi khom pa'i gnas la skyo ba bskul ba*: on the birds.⁵⁸ (375.3)
- [51] *Nges byung gi pho nya*: on the deer.⁵⁹ (380.3)
- [52] *Brag ri mgul rgyan*: on the steadfast hare.⁶⁰ (392.2)
- [53] *Me tog gi blo gros*: on disenchantment with hustle and bustle.⁶¹ (400.6)
- [54] *Tshig la mi rtog don la rton pa*: on the intelligent bee. (403.4)
- [55] *Dge ba'i ljong shing*: on the ten religious practices (*chos spyod*). (418.3)
- [56] *Yon tan rgya mtsho*: on mindfulness (*dran*).⁶² (438.4)

⁵⁵ COLOPHON (362.6): /zhes pa'ang ri sul myu ba'i rnal 'byor lam mkhyen brtse'i 'od zer gyis grub pa'i bsti gnas tshe ring ljongs kyi gnas khang padma 'od gling du sbyar ba'o' / .

⁵⁶ COLOPHON (370.5): de ltar bsngo ba'i yod bshad nyung ngur bsngus pa rnam mkhyen lam bzang zhes bya ba di ni rgyal dbang padma'i don gyi rgyal tshab theg pa mtha' dag la gzhan dring mi 'jog pa'i gter chen chos kyi rgyal po 'gro 'dul thams cad mkhyen pa pra dzanyā ra smri'i zhabs sen zla ris gсар bas byin gyi brlabs pa'i seng ge khril rnam par 'bring pa'i sprul pa'i sku padma chos 'byor rgya mtsho'i bkas bskul ba las/ rang bzhin rdzogs pa chen po'i rnal 'byor mkhyen brtse'i 'od zer gyis 'od gsal gnyug ma'i pho brang padma 'od gling du sbyar ba'o' / .

⁵⁷ COLOPHON (375.2): mchims pu dpal gyi nags khrod dpal rgyal ba'i dbang po 'dri med 'od zer gyis dngos grub brnyes pa'i sa/ mkha' 'gro rang bzhin gyis 'du ba'i brag ri'i bgam chen po ring mo can zhes bya ba'i gnas su/ rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse 'od zer gyis/ nags tshal dang kha ba'i rdul ro gcig tu 'dres pa'i khrod du legs par sbyar ba rdzogs so/ .

⁵⁸ Additional title: "Encouragement to weariness with the state of having no leisure." COLOPHON (380.2): /ces smras pas byad bang de nyid shin tu dga' ba'i rnam 'gyur dang bcas rang gnas so song bar gyur kyang ring por ma thogs par 'od dkar gyis mgrin pa bcaд de mi snang bar gyur te/ gang zhig 'jig rten na sangs rgyas 'byung pa la mnyes par mi bgyid pa'i skyes bu blon po rnam la 'phrin sgrogs shin gu/ .

⁵⁹ Additional title: "The envoy of confidence." C.f. *Rnam thar* 156.2. COLOPHON (391.5): / /e ma/ bya bral klong chen sgyu ma'i rnal 'byor pa/ /gtad med zang thal ma bcos lhug pa'i ngang/ /byang chub shing gi nags khrod tshe ring ljongs/ /shin tu dben pa'i gnas su bag pheb nas/ /sgyu 'phrul lus kyi bkod pa 'chags pa'i tshe/ /sdig chen rnon pas ri dwags bsad pa'i sha/ /khyer nas gnas su ldog pa mthong pa las/ /bzod med snying rje chen pos rgyud bskul zhing/ /mig nas mchi ma'i dpa' rlabs g.yo ba dang/ /skyo shas nges 'byung drag pos nyer bskul bas/ / thugs gter nam mkha' mdzod kyi sgo phye ste/ /nyams chos brda'i ri mos ji bzhin bkod/ .

⁶⁰ COLOPHON (400.4): dpal gyi bsam yas mchims phu brag dmar ring mo can gyi nags khrod du/ rgyal ba'i dbang po dri med 'od zer gyi byin rlabs las snang srid brda brgyud chen por shar ba'i rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes so/ .

⁶¹ COLOPHON (403.4): / rdor brag sprul sku rin po che'i ngor/ / rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes so/ .

- [57] *Don rab 'byed pa'i thur ma*: additional points of mindfulness (*dran*) and awareness (*shes bzhin*).⁶³ (465.1)
- [58] *De kho na nyid kyi me long*: additional points from the heart of the 'Phags pa stong phrag brgya pa.⁶⁴ (475.5)
- [59] *Rtog ge'i gnyen po*: on the distinctions of philosophical tenets. (478.4)
- [60] *Tshul khrims rin po che'i rgyan*: examination of the vinaya rules (*gnang bkag*) for abandoning the ten non-virtues. (485.6)
- [61] *Ke ta ka'i rna rgyan*: distinguishing the differences regarding ultimate reality (*de kho na nyid*) in Rdzogs-chen and Mahāmudrā.⁶⁵ (487.4)
- [62] *Nam mkha' lding gi rna rgyan*: on the unchanging *dharmatā*.⁶⁶ (494.5)
- [63] On weariness with unnecessary (*gnas min*) disputes (*brgal brtag*).⁶⁷ (504.2)
- [64] *Lha'i rgyal rnga*: examination of the expressible ultimate reality (*rnam grangs pa'i don dam*).⁶⁸ (506.2)

⁶² C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 284.2. COLOPHON (464.5): /zhes gsungs pas **dge slong mon pa dang/ la stod chos rje dang/ dharma kīrti dang/ sba gro kun grol dang/ khams pa dge slong** la sogs pa lam sna zin pa'i khyer thams cad yi rangs te rdzogs pa chen pos gsungs pa la mngon par bstod do/.

⁶³ Based on works of Klong-chen-pa (475.1-5).

⁶⁴ "Reflections on the *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*" (Aris 1995, p13). The "snying po" does not occur in the *dkar chag* title (16.4). COLOPHON (478.3): /di yang **dgon rtse sprul pa'i skus/ /gsungs ngor 'jigs med gling pas so/.**

⁶⁵ C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 324.2. COLOPHON (494.4): /ces pa'ang '**bri gung bla ma chan don thub bskal bzang** gis dri ba'i 'phrin yig ris mo bsrings pa'i lan du mkhyen rtse'i 'od zer gyis dpal sa skya'i gtsug lag khang du bris pa dge shing bkra shis par gyur cig/.

⁶⁶ In three parts: grub mtha' rnam gzhag spyir bstan pa (494.6-455.6); rang sde grub mtha'i khyad par bshad pa (495.6-499.4); chos nyid zab mo la rtsod pa spang ba (499.4-504.6). COLOPHON (504.1): mkhyen rab kyi dbang phyug **lcags zam sprul pa'i sku bstan 'dzin lhun grub dpal bzang pa'i** zhal snga nas shangs pa bka' brgyud pa'i gdams ngag gi nges don bstan pa'i tshig rkang gnyis la snga rabs kyi mkhas pa nams kyis sgro skur byas pa sel bar bskul ba las/ rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rje dpal ldan padma 'od gling du bkod pa'o/.

⁶⁷ COLOPHON (505.5): /e ma sgrub brgyud bstan pa ni/ /rtog ge'i gzugs brnyang mi bsgrub cing/ /des 'byung mos gus dag snang gsum/ /lhur byed las ton rnam smin sgrub/ /rnam par mi rtog pas sbyor na/ /des pa kho na phan 'dogs yul/ /las dang pa'i sems can la/ shi ba'i sems kyis ngag gcog cing/ /phyogs su ring la grags 'dod kyis/ /ri mo'i lam nas sems g.yengs pa/ /'di ni lam rtags ma yin te/ /'dod khams bdag pos brlabs pa'i phyir/ /de la skyo ba lhag par 'phel/ /dngos ni bsam gtan tshor ma la/ /'jigs nas dben pa 'ba' zhig bsnyen/ /las rlung bag la zhar pas/ /gzhan mtshang 'dru dang dag 'khyal gyi/ /gnas la shin tu skyo zhing bsun/.

⁶⁸ C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 307.6ff. On the rang stong vs. gzhan stong question (see colophon). COLOPHON (519.4): /de bzhin rang stong gzhan stong gi/ /gdags gzhi

- [65] *Rdo rje gzegs ma'i mtshan cha*: on the reliance of *atiyoga* on the four philosophical systems (*grub mtha' bzhi*).⁶⁹ (519.6)
- [66] *Dag pa gnyis ldan pa'i mdzod khang*: on the ever-pure primordial liberation (*ye grol ka dag*).⁷⁰ (522.6)
- [67] *Rdzogs pa chen po do ha*⁷¹ *mdzod*: on the *paramitā* of wisdom (*ye shes*).⁷² (529.1)
- [68] A refutation of partiality (*phyogs 'dzin*) about the tantras.⁷³ (533.2)
- [69] *Log rtog gi gnyen po*: on having the four reliances.⁷⁴ (535.3)
- [70] *Zab mo snang ba*: on *prajñā*.⁷⁵ (539.5)
- [71] *Bstod phyag gis gsal ba*: on the heart of *prajñā*.⁷⁶ (540.5)
- [72] An essentialisation of the latter [two].⁷⁷ (541.5)
- [73] On bringing sickness onto the path.⁷⁸ (542.1–543)

rgyal bas gsungs mod kyang/ /de yi phyogs 'dzin la brten nas/ /bstan pa dkrug pa lha chen po'i/ /rnam thar kho nar mthong pa'i phyir/ /mchog dman skyed gu thams cad kyi/ /rgyud las byang chub sems skyes nas/ /bstan pa'i lhag zhabs cung zad 'di/ /chud mi za ba'i bkra shis shog/.

⁶⁹ COLOPHON (522.5): /'jigs bral a kshor badzra yi/ /gzhung la dpyad gsum dag pa yin/ /thal 'gyur rnam dag sgrubs shin kyi/ /bdag cag rgyal ba'i bstan pa dang/ /de las rgyes pa'i chos lugs la/ /sde ba bco brgyad bkar bsdus bzhin/ /chos spong lam la mi 'jugs pas/ /mnyam pa nyid du gnas gyur cig/ /rdzogs chen rang byung rdo rjes so/.

⁷⁰ COLOPHON (528.6): /thar pa'i srog rtsa gcog pa'i phyir/ /gzu por gnas pa'i bshes gnyen che/ /'bras spungs bde yangs bla ma ni/ /kal pa ma ti'i gsung nan la/ /brten nas rang bzhin brjod pa 'dis/ /'gro 'di'i rgyud la byang chub sems/ /skyes nas rang grol la reg shog/.

⁷¹ Text has *do ha*, *dkar chag* (16.6) has *dwa ha*.

⁷² COLOPHON (533.2): /rig 'dzin 'jigs bral gling pas bstan nas song/ /klong chen nam mkha'i rdo rje'i rtogs chos yin/ /mkhyen rtse 'od zer stong ldan de skad lo/ /dge bas gdong ma'i sa la byang chub shog/.

⁷³ COLOPHON (535.3): /ma hā sandhi rang byung rdo rjes so/.

⁷⁴ COLOPHON (539.4): /zhes pa'ang rgyud lung zab mo la bsting tshig smra ba dag la snying rje'i bsams pa'i a bha ya dhwi pas so/.

⁷⁵ COLOPHON (539.4): /rtogs na gang zag rdzogs pa che/ /dbu ma'i don dang mi 'gal shing/ /phyag rgya chen po'i 'dra 'bag ces/ /rang byung rdo rje'i gsang tshig go/.

⁷⁶ COLOPHON (541.4): /da lta'i dus med phung po sbye mched bral/ /dus gsum de ltar rtogs na rgyal pa'i yum/ /gang la lta ba 'jal ba'i phyag 'tshal lo/ /rdzogs pa chen po rang byung rdo rjes so/.

⁷⁷ COLOPHON (541.6): /zhes pa'ang rigs 'dzin 'jigs bral gling pas so/.

⁷⁸ COLOPHON (542.1): /kun mkhyen rje dang rong pa chos kyi bzung/ /dkar po gsum dang chos kyi blo gros sde/ /dngos dang bcas pa'i sa mchog ma ni kaḥ/ /rang gi yul du mi mthong gzhan du mthong/ /khyod la mthong ba legs pa'i bkra shis shog/ /ces pa'ang g.yo ru rdzogs chen pa rang byung rdo rjes so// /de ltar rig pa dang gtsug lag sna tshogs kyi don 'dod rgyal du ston pa gтам gyi tshogs pa le'u don gsum pa'i bdag nyid can gyis yongs su rdzogs so//.

CA

[A] A collection of hymns (*bstod tshogs*) and [B] various small books (*dpe phran sna tshogs*).

[A] The first:

- [1] *Mi 'am ci kun tu dga' ba'i zlos gar*:⁷⁹ the lineages of previous generations, praised in tendrils of holy verse.⁸⁰ (37)
- [2] *Ljon pa'i glu phreng*: hymn to the thirty-five buddhas.⁸¹ (75.4)
- [3] Hymn to the Thub-dbang Grong-khyer-ma. (80.6)
- [4] *Dad pa pho nya*: hymn to the *tathāgatas* of the three times and ten directions in terms of their titles (*mtshan don*). (81.2)
- [5] Praise for the new production of the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*.⁸² (83.1)
- [6] Hymn to the eight full perfections [in] the *stūpa* of the *tathāgatas*. (83.5)
- [7] Hymn to the eight main sons [of the Buddha], the *sangha* of bodhisattvas, along with a commentary. (84.6)
- [8] *Tshogs gnyis shing rta*: discourse upon the great miracles. (100.2)
- [9] Hymn to the secret *sādhana* (*gsang ba sgrub pa*) of the *Bcom ldan 'das rta mchog rol pa* [tantra]. (104.2)
- [10] Hymn to Zangs-mdog-dpal-ri. (104.4)
- [11] Praise for the thirteen instructions (*man ngag*) spoken in the *Yon tan gter mdzod*. (104.5)
- [12] Hymn to the *Rnam thar sindhu mala*. (104.6)
- [13] Hymn to the *vidyādhara* (*rig 'dzin*). (105.1)
- [14] Hymn to the scholar (*mkhan po*). (105.2)

⁷⁹ Vol ca p. 37 has: *pra ni dha mi'am ci kun tu dga' ba'i zlo gar*.

⁸⁰ COLOPHON (75.3): / **blo gsal dbang po wa gin dra** bskul ba'i ngor/ ma hā sandhi nir bhā ya mkhyen brtse lhas sbyar ba bzhugs so/.

⁸¹ Ca p. 75.4 has sangs rgyas dang byang sems sprul par bcas pa'i bstod tshogs pa'i rgyud mongs.COLOPHON (80.5): / 'di ni gnyis med gsung ba'i bstan pa la zhugs pa mkhyen brtse 'od zer gyis shing rta chen po klu'i dbang po dang/ /ma ti tsi tral sogs pa'i rgya gzhung dang bstun nas snyan dngags kyi me tog dang mngon brjod kyi do shal spel mar dbyongs pa'o/ tshig sbyar gyi kong nas mgon rtogs mi gsal ba rnams la/ phyag g.yon pa gang byung mnyam gzhag dang/ sku mdog ma bstan pa rnams gser btso ma'i mdog sangs rgyas kyi khyed chos su snang bas shes par 'gyur ro/.

⁸² COLOPHON (83.4): / zhes **padma 'od gling** thar pa chen po'i grong khyer dam par lcags mo yos kyi lor/ snga 'gyur rdo rje theg pa'i rgyud 'bum rin po che'i bstan pa'i dngos po gsar du snang bar brgyis pa'i dbu lha'i tshogs rnal 'byor spyod pa **dharma ki rti** dang/ yi ge'i gzab 'bris rgyal rtse yang steng drung yig **'jigs med dpal 'bar** du byed dge ba'i 'bras bur sad pa'o//.

- [15] Hymn to the master (*slob dpon*). (105.2)
 [16] Hymn to the dharma king (*chos rgyal*). (105.3)
 [17] Hymn to the lion's roar (*seng ge'i sgra*). (105.4)
 [18] Hymn to the monk (*sdom brtson*). (105.4)
 [19] Hymn to Tshe-ring-yul-ljongs. (105.6)
 [20] Hymn to the *Kālacakra* seed syllable (*rnam bcu dbang ldan*). (106.1)
 [21] Hymn to the wheel of liberating activities (*bya grol 'khor lo*). (106.5)
 [22] Hymn to the eight marks of the *nirmāṇakāya*. (107.1)
 [23] *Dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i rgyang glu*: hymn to Kun-mkhyen ngag-gi dbang-po.⁸³ (108.1)
 [24] *Tshig su bcad pa rkang pa lnga pa*: condensed hymn to Kun-mkhyen chen-po. (118.1)
 [25] *Rdo rje gā ma kaḥ*: hymn to glorious Bsam-yas mchims-phu.⁸⁴ (119.2)
- [B] The second, in six collections:
- [Bi] First, a collection of liturgical arrangements (*chog bsgrigs*) for the activity of chanting (*ngag 'don*).
- [1] First, the speech blessing. (132.1)
 [2] Second, calling on the lineage of lamas. (132.4)
 [3] Third, the ten deeds of the Teacher. (138.1)
 [4] Fourth, supplicating the *vinaya* (*so thar*) lineage. (139.5)
 [5] Fifth, *Mos pa lam byed*: prayer to the lineage of the precious early translations (*snga 'gyur rin po che*). (140.4)
 [6] Sixth, prostrations (*phyag 'tshal*). (142.6)
 [7] Seventh, general confession (*spyi bshags*). (144.4)
 [8] Eighth, the cleansing ritual (*khros gsol*) of invitation (*spyan 'dren*). (146.3)
 [9] Ninth, meditation of the four immeasurables (*tshad med bzhi*). (149.4)
 [10] Tenth, holding the vows of the pure mantra (*byang sngags*) and in connection with that, the pledges for the Mahāyāna path. (149.6)

⁸³ Ca p108.1: dpal bsam yas pa kun mkhyen ngag gi dbang po la bstod pa ganta wa ra bdag gi rgyud mongs kyi sgra las drangs pa'i snyan tshig dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glag glu/.

⁸⁴ COLOPHON (130.2): /klong chen dgongs pa'i gsang mdzod brdal ba las/ /phyi yi yul snang brda dang dpe char shar/ /khas len gtad so bral ba'i rig pa de/ /snang ba yul 'phyir 'brang ba ma lags te/ /rjes thob sgyu ma'i rol par bzhengs pa'i gtam/ /gnas pa stod rdo rje'i thol glu gсар bar shar/.

- [11] Aspiration to develop the three [super-]knowledges. (154.1)
 [12] *Bsam pa myur grub*: a prayer. (154.5)
 [13] Hymn and prayer to Lha-mo 'od-zer-can. (155.1)
 [14] The aspirational prayer conferred upon rGya-rong dpon-slob. (155.3)
- [Bii] Second, a collection of various *sādhana*s (*sgrub thabs*):
- [15] *Rnam grol shing rta*: a *sādhana* of the peaceful deities of the *Māyājāla* tantras (*sgyu 'phrul*).⁸⁵ (157)
 [16] *Khrag 'thung mngon rdzogs*: a *sādhana* of the wrathful deities of the *Māyājāla*. (205)
 [17] *Bshad pa rgya mtsho gru gzungs*: a set of instructions (*lhan thabs*) elucidating the practices (*cho ga*) of the '*dus pa mdo*. (251.2)
 [18] The condensed version (*nyer bsdus*) of the above, for daily practice. (259.5)
 [19] '*Chi ba med pa'i ljon pa kun tu dga' ba'i skyes mos tshal*: a liturgical arrangement for the maṇḍala of Amitāyus (*tshe dpag med*) embodying the three *kāyas*. (263)
 [20] An arrangement for the practice of the enlightened activities of the black *yang ti*, the darkness yoga. (299)
 [21] A *sādhana* for a maṇḍala offering in the White Tārā (*sgrol dkar*) tradition of Atisha (*jo bo*). (317)
 [22] A daily practice for the White Manjuśrī ('*jam dkar*) of the *Ma ti* tradition. (323.1)
 [23] A daily practice for the sage Loktri.⁸⁶ (324.1)
 [24] A daily practice for the secret accomplishment of Hayagrīva (*rta mgrin gsang sgrub*). (325.2)
 [25] The meditation and recitation for Medicine Buddha. (326.5)
 [26] A *sādhana* of Sarasvatī (*dbyangs can ma*) in the Bram-ze *phur bu* tradition. (327.3)
- [Biii] Third, a collection of various tantric activities (*phrin las*):
- [27] A hundred-and-four armed consecration ritual (*rab gnas bya'i cho ga*) in the general (*spyi khyab*) scriptures (*gsung rten*). (331)

⁸⁵ COLOPHON (204.2): /de yang snga 'gyur rang gzhung gi grub mtha' lam lnga dang/ sa bcu'i spangs rtogs rig 'dzin bzhi'i go phang la brten nas rdzogs pa'i tshul pandita rong pa chos kyi bzang po dang/ rgyal ba gnyis pa kun mkhyen ngag gi dbang po'i rgyud 'grel las rtogs par bya'o//.

⁸⁶ Vol. ca p. 324.1 has *drang srong zhi ba'i rgyud khyer*.

- [28] *Mkhyen brtse dgongs rgyan*: a detailed categorisation (*rnam par phye ba*) of the initiation rituals of the *Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol*.⁸⁷ (339)
- [29] A purificatory practice (*khrus chog*) which cleanses all obscurations and blemishes on one's vows.⁸⁸ (449)
- [30] A mnemonic (*bsnyel tho*) for the initiations of the '*Dus pa mdo*.
- [31] *Shin rje gad rgyangs*: questions and answers on the gtor ma exorcism (*gtor blzog*) of the *Bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*.
- [32] *Gcig shes kun grol*: short notes on the outer subduing rituals (*phyi mnan pa*) which bind together (*sum sgril*) [the various rituals of] black Yamāntaka. (461.1)
- [33] *Sprul sku'i 'khor lo*: protective practices (*gnod pa'i bsrung thabs*) which clear away enemies. (473.4)
- [34] *Ri rab nag po*: the sequence of activities (*las rim*) for subduing. (478.2)
- [35] *Rgyud don rnam dag*: The final activity (*las mtha'*) of the *Phur pa dregs 'dul gnam lcags 'khor lo*, clearing away piles of impurities.⁸⁹ (503)
- [Biv] Fourth, a collection of explanatory *tikas*:
- [36] *Rgyal ba'i gzhung lam*: a *tika* to the *Phan bde ljon pa*, the aspirational prayer for enlightened actions by Kun-mkhyen Śāntapurīpa. (519)
- [37] *Rig 'dzin lam bzang*: a commentary on the '*Dod 'jo'i dga' ston*, an aspirational prayer for the secret mantra. (546.2)
- [38] *Dpal ri myur lam*: a cycle of contemplations (*dmigs skor*) on the *hūng* practice (*hūng bsnyen*) of the *Yongs rdzogs*⁹⁰ *thugs sgrub*. (571)
- [39] Mnemonic for the major initiation (*dbang chen*) of the Akaniṣṭa assembly.⁹¹ (579)

⁸⁷ C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 210.3. COLOPHON (447.4): /de'i phyir dang sang rdo rje theg pa'i bstan pa shin tu nyams par mthong nas slar yang tshig gi mdud pa rnams mchan bus gsal bar byas pa yin pas rtog dpyod dang ldan pa rnams kyi go ba'i gting phyin par bltab dang/ 'dri ba'i tshe mchan yig la dag pa rgyun 'byams mi 'tshal lo//.

⁸⁸ Ca p. 449: *grol thig dgongs pa rang grol gyi le la gdam grib hyes pa kun sel gyi khrus chog*.

⁸⁹ COLOPHON (517.2): / zhes pa 'di ni **gter chen bla a mchog gi rigs kyi gdung brgyud mchog spul bstan 'phel dge legs rgya mtsho** dang/ **rje de nyid** kyi zhal ring gi thu bo/ dharma'i mtshan can gyi bkas bskul ba las/ theg mchog rnal 'byor la mos pa lam du byed pa'i sgrub pa po mkhyen brtse 'od zer gyis/ rgyal zla chu srin gyi khyim zla'i dkar phyogs kyi rgyal ba gsum pa'i tshes pa dpal rigs sngags pho brang du sbyor ba dge'o/.

⁹⁰ 19.1: *rdzogs* for *rdzong*.

- [40] *Gshin rje gad rgyangs*: questions and answers about errors in the *gtor ma* exorcism (*gtor zlog*) of the Nyang tradition of the *Bde shegs sgrub pa bka' brgyad*. (583)
- [41] *Tika'i thur mas bsal ba*: guidance ('*dren byed*) for the *Kun bzang smon lam*.⁹² (591)
- [42] The mirror which clears up doubts about the stages of contemplation (*dmigs rim*) for the '*Khor lo 'bar ba*. (596)
- [Bv] Fifth, a collection of offering prayers (*gsol mchog*) to the protector deities (*lha srung*).
- [43] *Sprin gyi khang bzang*: an offering ritual (*cho ga mchog*) of incense offerings (*bsang brnga*). (603)
- [44] *Sbyin rgya mtsho*: offerings for appeasement (*phud skong brnga*).
- [45] *Dam can bla chags*: a fulfillment offering for Dpal-mgon-zhal. (629)
- [46] An offering practice (*mchog thabs*) for Dur-khrod lha-mo. (635)
- [47] *Sman btsun mgul ryan*: an offering prayer (*gsol mchog*) for Rdo-rje g.yu-sgron. (643)
- [48] A fulfillment offering for the above, in condensed form. (649)
- [49] *Dbang drag dus kyi pho nya*: fulfillment offering for gNod-sbyin-tsi-dmar. (651)
- [50] Condensed fulfillment offering for Rgyal-chen rnam-sras. (677.1)
- [51] Condensed oblation for Ma-sangs. (677.5)
- [52] A benediction (*mnga' gsol*) showing the divisions (*ru mtshon*) of the *Bstan srung dam can rgya mtsho*.⁹³ (678.1)
- [53] A teaching on the fulfillments for the *Dam can rgya mtsho*. (681)
- [54] *Thub bstan ma*: invocation (*phrin bcol*) to the dharma protectors in general. (683)
- [Bvi] A collection of various miscellaneous texts:

⁹¹ C.f. *Rnam thar* p. 210.5. Texts 39 and 40 are missing from the *dkar chag*.

⁹² COLOPHON (596.1): /zlos dang ma tshang gzhung gis mi tshal bas/ /bcu bdun rgyud dang de yi dgongs pa yi/ /ji bzhin rtogs nas gzhan la 'dems khas pa/ /dri med 'od zer stong gis bye ba'i gzhung theg mchog rin chen mdzod las gzhan gyis min/ /'di ni rdor brag sprul sku'i dgongs bzhed bzhin/ /blo dman rnam la phan phyir gzhung de ga'i/ /tshig don rang sar 'byed pa'i dbang byas te/ /klong chen nam mkha'i rnal 'byor de yis so/ /.

⁹³ *Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, by Sle-lung bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje (see TBRC W1KG9276).

- [55] *Mtho ris them skas*: summarisation of the path of the preliminaries and main practices. (685.1)
- [56] *Bu lon 'khor lo'i sgra don*: on [paying off] karmic debts (*lan chags*) during the water tormā offering (*chab gtor*). (685.4)
- [57] *Thar pa'i 'khri shing*: a ritual for the entrustment of vows (*'bogs chog*) at the time of taking refuge. (687)
- [58] Ritual of veneration (*phyag mchog*) to the [sixteen] sthaviras. (693)
- [59] *'Dun pa bzang po*: a fasting practice (*smyung gnas*). (699)
- [60] *Mngon dag li shing sbyong*: a guru yoga centred on Vajrasattva. (701)
- [61] A guru yoga of the three *kāyas* centred on the buddha Amitābha. (703.4)
- [62] Prayer to the the great pioneering (*srol 'byed*) teachers of the early translations. (704.4)
- [63] A prayer and aspiration to Atisha (Jo-bo Rin-po-che), and, in connection with them, a method for the four initiations. (705.4)
- [64] Connecting the ten deeds with the four initiations. (706.4)
- [65] Aspirational prayer for perfecting, ripening and cleansing (*rdzogs smin sbyong*). (707.1)
- [66] Prayer to the lama for casting out faults (*gsol 'debs mtshang 'don ma*). (708.1)
- [67] Prayer to the past-life lineage (*'khrungs rabs*) of 'Jigs-med gling-pa.⁹⁴ (709.3)
- [68] Prayer for the life-story (*rnam thar gsol 'debs*).⁹⁵ (710.3)
- [69] Prayer to the tradition of the all-sufficient jewel (*gcig chog nor bu*). (712.2)
- [70] Also, an aspirational prayer in four sections (*le tshan bzhi*). (713.3)
- [71] A long-life prayer (*zhabs brtan gsol 'debs*) in three sections.⁹⁶ (715.1)
- [72] Prayer in two sections for the long life of Rgyal-sras nyin-byed 'od-zer. (718.5)
- [73] Prayer to the garland of rebirths of Mdo-khams rdzogs-chen-pa. (718.6)

⁹⁴ COLOPHON (710.2): /ces pa'ang **rje btsun dzanyā na'i** ming can sogs dang ldan 'gas bskul ba las 'khrul snang la shar tshod tsam tsan sor bzhag nas mkhyen brtse lhas so/.

⁹⁵ COLOPHON (712.2): /ces pa'ang **las can gyi slob ma mdo smad pa 'jigs med phrin las 'od zer** gyi nan tan chen po'i ngo ma zlog par legs byas kyi phyogs nas bsnyad pa'o//.

⁹⁶ This is a prayer for the long life of 'Jigs-med gling-pa.

- [74] A tea offering (*ja mtshod*) in two sections. (720.1)
 [75] Past lives and condensed life-story of 'Jigs-med gling-pa. (721)
 [76] *Rno sogs rab snang bgyis pa*: A *śāstra* refuting the misguided critics of the Rnying-ma, school of the early translations, by Kun-mkhyen ngag-gi dbang-po.⁹⁷ (729)
 [77] *Ma'i ma ci zlos gar*: an anthology of the letters (*chab shog*).⁹⁸ (827)
 [78] *Nyi zla'i rna cha*: the record of teachings received (*gsan yig*).⁹⁹ (865–890)
 [79] *Chos rab rnam byed*: a catalogue (*bzhugs byang*) of the complete *Bka' 'bum*. (1)¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ COLOPHON (825.3): /ces rdzogs pa chen po la sogs sngags rnying ma rjes 'brangs dang bcas pa'i tshig don la log par rtogs pa'i 'kril pa ngan pa 'joms pa'i bstan bcos 'khrul 'joms zhes bya ba 'di ni theg pa mchog gi rnal 'byor pa klong chen rab 'byams kyi dpyid zlar ba'i bcom ldan 'das cho 'phrul chen pos mu stegs par rnams pham par mdzad pa'i dus kyi zla ba 'di kar 'phyogs kyi tshes bcu nyin par rdzogs par bris pa 'dis/ log par rtogs pa rnams kyi 'khrul pa thams cad bcom nas/ phyis nas rdzogs pa chen po skyabs kyi dam pa mchog tu gyur cig/ /rgyal bas cho 'phrul chen po'i mdzad pa dang/ nam mkha' lding gis klu la bya ba bzhin/ /pha lam rdo rje lta bu'i mtshon cha la/ /rno dpal tsher ma rang byung rdo rje bstan/ /dge bas bstan la phyogs lhung zig gyur cig/.

⁹⁸ There follows a breakdown of this collection into the specific letters:
 828.1: /dngos cag la **zhabs drung lha bas** rang gi khab tu bskyed dgos gsung ba thog mar byung ba'i lan phul ba/
 830.2: / **zhabs drung lha ba**'i mchid lan gnyis/
 831.5: / **lcags zam sprul sku rin po che** la phul ba/
 833.4: / **lcags zam phyag mdzod blo gros dbang pos** sgra rig pa khong du chud pa'i gnas tshul dang chab gcig rdzogs pa chen po'i gra nyan dul kho bo'i mdon sar lags rgyul zhu 'phrin byung dus gsol **bslob dpon mchog srid dbang po**'i gdam/
 835.2: / **mtsho sna dgon rtse sprul sku** chab shog lan phul ba/
 836.3: / **gzhung sar** zhabs brtan gyi dper mdzod/
 837.2: / **lcags zam rin po che** lo gsum pa nang sku'i mchid phebs lan/
 841.1: / **bya bral bsod dal di mi 'jog par gzhon nu** la yon tan bslab par bskul ba'i phrin las/
 843.3: / '**phyong rgyas dzong gi debs gsar bjo**'i 'go brjod bskul ma byung ba/
 844.6: / dpar brjod du/
 846.4: / **mkhyen dbyed langs pa sde pa rin po che** drung du/
 850.3: / sa spre'u tshe chog dang 'brel bar **jo bo byang chub chen** par zhabs brtan thugs dam brgyad bskul/
 852.1: / **lho brag gsung sprul** gyi mchid lan/
 856.2: / **srid skyong rta tshag rin po cher** rten bzhengs kyi legs 'dul chab shog/ (the regent, 1791-1810)
 857.2: / **rdo rje brag sprul sku rin po cher**/
 858.4: / **lho brag lha lung thugs sras sprul skur** mchid lan/
 860.3: / **bka' blon lha sdings bar**/
 861.4: / **gsung sprul rin po che**'i sku zhabs su/.

⁹⁹ Translation in van Schaik 2000.

CHA

Phur pa rgyud lugs chos tshan rang gzhung dkar chag gis gsal ba: the tantras of Phur-ba from the *Rgyud 'bum rin po che*, brought together from nearly a hundred translations of numerous scholars (*lo pan*). (1–513)

JA

The nectar of the tantras, the ultimate instructions on development and completion, condensing the essential points of the essential points, the *Snying thig gsar ma*, also known as the great *dgongs gter* (*dgongs gter chen mo*) of profound meaning and swift blessings, the *Klong chen snying gi thig le*.¹⁰¹

Its groups (*lhan thabs*) and subdivisions (*nang gses*) are clarified in the list (*dkar chag*) of its own texts (*rang gzhu*gs), the *Nyi 'od kyis gsal ba*.¹⁰²

The first of the two volumes teaches primarily the development stage, taking the vase initiation onto the path, as well as *sādhanas* and [tantric] activities (*sgrub phrin*) and supporting teachings (*rgyab chos*). (1–1288)

NYA

The second [volume] contains instructions which teach primarily the completion stage, taking the three supreme initiations (*dbang gong ma gsum*) such as the secret initiation onto the path, as well as individual supporting texts (*yi ge so so'i rgyab chos*). (1–1415)

TA

[A] *Legs byas yongs 'du'i snye ma*: collected autobiographies and songs (*rnam mgur*) which brings together as one the trilogy of [i] reading,

¹⁰⁰ This text is listed here as being at the end of the volume in spite of the fact of its actual presence at the beginning of the volume. This again indicates that the catalogue of Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan has been copied directly from the one in the Sde-dge edition, in which this text does appear at the end of the volume.

¹⁰¹ Studies and translations of texts from the *Klong chen snying thig* include Goodman 1983 and 1992, Gyatso 1998, van Schaik 2004 and Dahl 2010.

¹⁰² SBd vol. *ja*, 1–20; this appears to be missing from SBI. See Appendix A below for a list of titles drawn from SBI.

thinking and meditating (1-37), [ii] exertion and accomplishment (38-148), and [iii] the field of activities (149-500).¹⁰³

[B] *Do ha'i rgyan*: the condensation of the above.¹⁰⁴ (501-510)

[C] A compilation of questions-and-answers (*dris lan*) on the subject of development and completion meditation, and oral advice (*zhal gdams*) edited according to subject.¹⁰⁵ (1-34).

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¹⁰³ Goodman 1992: 187: "This third section is itself divided into three untitled parts: (3a) pp. 149-388, written and revised by 'Jigs-med gling-pa, covers the years 1764-1793; (3b) pp. 389-454, covers up to the end of his life (1798); (3c) pp. 455-500, written by Padma dbang-chen rol-pa'i rtsal [rDo-sgrub-chen I], details the period leading up to the death of 'Jigs-med gling-pa, the funeral rites, and subsequent events."

¹⁰⁴ COLOPHON (510.6): /'di ni bla chen sa skya pa'i/ /gsung gis bskul nas bris pa yin/ /dge bas mthong thos dran reg kun/ /rnam byang dam pa'i rgyur gyur cig/.

¹⁰⁵ The title on the title page (SBI) is slightly different from the *dkar chag* title. It is: *Klong chen nam mkha'i rnal 'byor gyi gsung 'bum thor bu las bskyed rdzogs sgom phyogs dris lan dang/ zhal gdams rnam phyogs su bsdebs pa*. COLOPHON (348.5): /kun mkhyen rgyal ba'i bstan yongs rdzogs gzhung/ /kun mkhyen klong chen thugs mtshor rab 'khyil ba/ /kun mkhyen 'jigs gling dang bas rab drangs gang/ /mkhyen pa'i klong rdol ji snyed nyams rtogs glu/ /gus ldan yongs kyi rna ba'i bdud rtsi mchog/ /sgom phyogs dris lan spar gzhi 'phrul chen po/ /dad gus gtong sems dag pas legs sgrub dgos/ /rgyal bstan spyi dang 'od gsal rdzogs chen gyi/ /bstan pa 'phel rgyas bstan 'dzin zhabs pad bstan/ /mkha' mnyam ma rnam phan bde'i dpal la spyod/ /kun mkhyen sangs rgyas go 'phang myur thob shog/ /gus ldan dge slong bshes snyen chos 'phel nas/ /spar 'di gnas chung sgra dbyangs gling du bzhugs/ /.

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ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་བྱུང་བ་དང་གནས་བབ་ལ་ རགས་ཅམ་དབྱད་པ།

འཛོམས་སྦྱིད་སྦྱོལ་མ་ནས།

ནང་དོན་གནད་བསྟུས།

དབྱད་ཚོམ་འདྲིར་ཚོམ་པ་པོས་ཞིབ་འབྲི་མིའི་རིགས་རིག་པ་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྲུང་ཚུལ་
རིག་པ། ཚེས་ལྷགས་རིག་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ། ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྟེན་གྲིན་
རྒྱབས་ཅན་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྲུ། ལྷ་སའི་ཇོ་ཇོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་མོར་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱབས་མཉམ་
པར་གྲགས་པའི་ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་བྱུང་བའལ་བཞུགས་པར་བྱས། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྲ་གཞུག་
ལྟར་རྟེན་འདི་ཐོག་མར་ཕྱག་བཏབ་མཁན་ཚེས་རྗེས་པ་ཧུ་ཡིན་པ་དང་ཕྱག་བཏབས་ལོ་
༡༢༤༦ཡིན་པར་སྟོན་བྱས། གཞན་ཡང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དོན་དངོས་དང་། མཁས་པའི་
གསུང་འགོས་བཅས་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་ཕྱོད་གཞོགས་བསྟེན་ཏེ། རུས་རབས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ལྡོག་ཁྲོད་
ཇོ་ཁང་འདྲིར་ཆག་སློབ་བའི་སྲ་གཞུག་ཏུ་ཨ་ཁུ་ལྷ་ཁང་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུ་མཚོས་ཞིག་གསོ་དང་
བསྐྱར་བཞེངས་མཛད་ཚུལ་སོགས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་རིམ་གཙོ་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཟུང་ནས་
དབྱེ་ཞིབ་དང་གསལ་བཤད་བྱས་ཡོད། ད་ལྟའི་གནས་བབ་བརྟེན་དབྱེད་ཁྲོད་ཇོ་ཁང་གི་
ཕྱིའི་བཀོད་པ་དང་ནང་གི་རྟེན། རྒྱན་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི་ཚོག་ཕྱག་ལེན་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐད་རགས་
བསྟུས་དོན་སྟོན་མཐར། ཇོ་ཁང་གི་དངོས་ཡིད་དོན་སྦྱིང་ཐད། ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ནས་རྟེན་
གཞི་ཇོ་ཁང་ནི་ཁྲི་ཀའི་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚེས་ལྷགས་སྟེལ་ས་དང་སོ་སོའི་འདུན་པའམ་རེ་
བ་བཅོལ་ས། རང་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྐད་དང་ཡི་གེ་འདོན་སྟེལ་བྱེད་སའི་གནས་འགངས་
ཚེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་བྱིན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ནས་དེས་པར་དུ་སྒྲིན་མེད་པའི་ཇོ་
སྐུའི་རིག་གནས་འདི་ལྷ་མཉམ་དུ་རྒྱན་སྦྱིད་དང་དར་སྟེལ་བྱ་དགོས་པའི་སྐུལ་མ་བཏང་
ཡོད།

'Dzoms skyid sgröl ma, "Khri ka'i jo jo lha khang gi byung ba dang gnas bab la rag tsam dpyad pa", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 29, Avril 2014, pp. 65-89.

བད་ཚད་གཙོ་བོ། མི་ཀ། རྫོང་ལྷ་ཁང། ལོ་རྒྱུས། གནས་བབ།

དེ་ཡང་མི་ཀའི་རྫོང་ཁང་འདིར་མི་ལོ་བདུན་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟན་ཞིང་། དུལ་འདིའི་
 མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཆམ་ཚོན་ན་རྫོང་ཁང་འདི་ལོང་ཚོའི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲིད་དུ་གནས་བབ་འགངས་
 ཚེན་ཞིག་ཟིན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དུལ་གྱུ་འདིའི་དག་རྒྱུན་ལྟར་ན། མི་ཀའི་རྫོང་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་
 བོ་རྒྱུ་སའི་རྫོང་དང་བ་ཡམ་ཞུང་ཞེན་གྱི་རྫོང་སྐྱོད་པར་གྲགས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་སའི་
 རྫོང་སྐྱོད་པར་ལ་ཕོག་མར་མི་ཀའི་རྫོང་པར་མཇུག་དགོས་ཞེས་པའི་དག་རྒྱུན་ཡོད།
 གནའ་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་གནས་འདིར་སླེབས་པའི་མཇུག་བ་དང་ལྷ་སྐྱོད་བ་ནི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་
 ལྟར་སྤུང་ཏེ། ཡིན་ཡང་གནས་མཚོག་འདི་ཡིས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིང་མོ་ལ་མདོར་ཅོམ་དོ་སྤྲོད་
 ཞུས་ན་པལ་ཆེར་མི་མང་པོས་དེ་འདྲའི་ཤེས་རྟོགས་ཡོད་སྲིད་མ་རེད་སྟེ། དེ་བས་ལོ་
 མོས་གནས་མཚོག་འདིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་རོལ་ཅོམ་བྱས་ན། དེ་ཡང་སྤྱི་བསམ་
 གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འབྲས་བུའི་ཐད། ཐོད་ཡིག་གི་ལམ་ནས་ཕོག་མར་འདིའི་སྐོར་ལ་རག་
 བསྟུས་ཤིག་བརྗོད་ཡོད་པ་ནི་མཁས་དབང་བྲག་དཔོན་པ་དཀོན་མཚོག་བསྟན་པ་རབ་
 རྒྱུས་ཀྱིས་བཅུམས་པའི་ ཀྱི་མདོ་སྤྲོད་ཚེས་འབྱུང་ཀྱི་རེད། ཀྱི་མཚོ་ལྷོ་ཁུལ་དཔོན་ལྷོ་
 ལག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སློང་བསྟུས་ཀྱི་ ཞེས་པའི་དེབ་ལས་རྫོང་ཁང་གི་སྐོར་ཡང་ཟུར་ཅོམ་མ་
 གཏོགས་བརྗོད་མེད། གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་ལམ་ནས་བྲིས་ཡོད་པ་ནི་མིང་རྒྱལ་
 རབས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཡང་ཕེ་གྱི་ 1 ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་གིས་རྫོང་ཁང་གི་རྫོང་སྐོར་དཔེ་དེབ་ ཀྱི་
 ཡིང་མཁར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གསར་མ། 2 ཞེས་པའི་ནང་དུ་བཀོད་ཡོད། ལྷ་ས་ལྷ་མོ་གོ་འི་
 སྐབས་སུ་ཡེ་འོ་ཀྱོན་ (姚 钧) ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་གིས་ཚུམ་འདི་ ཀྱི་མི་ཀའི་ལོ་
 རྒྱུས་ ཀྱི་《 贵德县志稿 》ནང་དུ་སློབ་བརྒྱུས། མ་གཞི་ནས་རྫོང་ཁང་གི་ནང་
 དོན་འདི་ཆེས་ཕོག་མ་ཡིག་ཕོག་ཏུ་བཀོད་མཁམ་ནི་ཉི་ཉོ་ཚེན་ (释 绍 乾) ཟེར་
 བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ། ལོང་གིས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1952 ལོར་རྫོང་ཁང་གི་ནང་དོན་ཚང་མ་དཔེ་ཆའི་ནང་

1 杨应琚字佩之
 2 རྒྱའི་མིང་ལ་《 西宁府新志 》 ཟེར་ལ། རྫོན་བསྟུམས་པོ་ཏི་བཞི་བཅུ་ཡོད་དེ། ནང་དུ་ས་རྒྱུས་དང་གནས་དུལ་ཞིང་
 ས། དཔོན་རིགས། དམག་དོན། ཚུམ་རིག་མོ་ལས་བརྗོད་ཡོད་པའི་ཆེད་དེབ་ཤིག་ཡིན་ལ། སྤྱི་ལོ་འགྲོའི་གཏམ་དུ་ཟི་ཡིང་
 མཁར་དང་ཡ་རྗེ། བ་ཡན། མི་ཀ། མཚུས་གས་ཀྱི་རིམ་བཀོད་ཡོད། དེབ་འདི་ནི་གནའ་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་ཆེས་ཆཚང་ལྷན་པའི་
 མཚོ་སྟོན་ས་ཆའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བརྗོད་ཡོད་པའི་དེབ་རྫིང་ཅིག་ཡིན།

དུ་བཀོད་པ་རེད། ཀྱང་གོ་འཛིན་རིག་པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྟེ་གནས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་མིན་ཚིན་དབྱིན་
 དང་རྒྱན་མ་ལོན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རྗེ་བྱང་གི་ནང་དོན་འདི་གཞིར་བརྒྱུད་སྟེ་དེ་ལ་འབྲེལ་
 བཤད་བརྒྱབ་ཡོད། ཚུམ་དེའི་ནང་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་ཚན་དན་ཚོ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་། མིང་
 རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མཚོ་སྤོན་ས་ཆའི་བོད་པ་དང་སོགས་པོ་གཉིས་མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་
 བར་མཛའ་འབྲེལ་བཟབ་བ་དེ་བསྟན་ཡོད། ཡིན་ཡང་ཚོ་ཁང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར་ཏོག་ཚམ་
 ལས་བཅུད་མེད། བསྐྱེམས་ན་བཅུད་བྱའི་གནས་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་པར་སྦྱར་བའམ་ཡང་
 ན་གསལ་པོར་བཅུད་པ། མཚོན་ལུས་པའི་དབྱེད་གཞི་ནི་ཉུང་དུགས་པར་སྤྲང་། གནས་
 ཚུལ་འདི་འདྲའི་ལོ་མོས་ཀྱང་གནས་འདིར་སྐྱེབས་པའི་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་དམ་པ་དང་ཁོང་
 ཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་གསུངས་འབྲུམ། དམངས་ཁོད་ཀྱི་བཤད་རྒྱུན་དང་ཚོ་ཁང་གི་འབྲེལ་
 ཡོད་མི་སྤྲེལ་འདི་གཙོ་བོ་དང་། སྐྱ་པབ་པ། ཡུལ་དངོས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་སོགས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་ཐབས་
 གཙོ་བོ་བརྒྱུད་ནས། གཞུང་ལུགས་ཐད་ཞིབ་འབྲི་མིའི་རིགས་རིག་པ་དང་སོལ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་
 ཚོས་ལུགས་རིག་པ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྲེལ་རིག་པ་བཅས་ལ་རྐང་བཅུགས་ཏེ་རང་གི་
 ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཐོན་ཇུས་འདིར་གཡུར་བའི་འབྲས་བུ་ཐོན་པར་ལུས་ལུགས་བཏོན་དང་འདོན་
 ལུས་བྱས།

དང་པོ། ཚོ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་ཐོག་མའི་བྱང་རྒྱལ།

མི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྟེན་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཅན་བཞིའི་³ ཡ་གྲུལ། ལྷ་སའི་ཚོ་བོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་
 བུ་དང་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་མཉམ་པར་གྲགས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་ནི་མི་ཀ་རྗེས་སྤྱིད་གཞུང་ས་ནས་
 ཤར་སྤོགས་སུ་སྦྱི་ལེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཚོད་པའི་སར་སྤྲད་པ་སྟེ་བར་བཞུགས་ཡོད་ལ། ལྷ་
 ཁང་འདི་ཐོག་མར་བཞེངས་མཁན་གྱི་ཐད་ནས་བཞེད་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་ལྷན་ཏེ། ཐོག་མར་
 ཚོས་རྗེས་པའ་ཀུར་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་གྱིས་རྟེན་འདི་བཞེངས་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་མདོ་སྤྲད་

3 གཞན་གསུམ་ནི། ལྷོ་རུབ་མཚོམས་སུ་བྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་རང་བྱོན་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་གདོང་སྤྱི་བྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་། རུབ་
 ཕྱོགས་སུ་དཔལ་བུག་ན་རྗེ་ཚེའི་རྣམ་སྤུལ་མངའ་བདག་ལྷི་རལ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་དབུ་སྐྱ་ནང་རྟེན་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ཉུག་མཐོང་
 གོལ་མཚོད་རྟེན། བྱང་ཤར་གྱི་མཚོམས་སུ་རྗེ་དཀར་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་སྐྱ་གསུང་བྲགས་གསུམ་གྱི་ས་བོན་ཨོ་ཨེ་ཧྲི་ཡིག་
 འབྲུག་སྤུམ་རང་བྱོན་དུ་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། མཚོན་མོ་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོ་བར་གྲགས་པ་དེ་ནང་རྟེན་དུ་བྱས་ནས་བཞེངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་བ་
 བྱམས་པའི་སྐྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ད་ལྟ་ལྟ་དཀར་བོ་ཞེས་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་དེ་བཞུགས། འདི་ལ་ལྷ་རང་སྐྱེས་ཡང་བྱེད།

ཚོས་འབྱུང་དུ། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གྱི་གཡོན་ཀོ་རའི་ལུང་པར་ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཁང་ནི། འཇམ་པའི་
 དབྱུངས་ས་པའུ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཉོར་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་གདན་དུངས་ཏེ་མཚོ་སྤོན་དུ་
 སེབས་སྐྱབས་ཁྲི་ཀའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་མཚོ་དེན་ཅུད་གཅོད་མཛད་དེ་གནས་འདིར་སེབས།
 རྒྱལ་པོས་དད་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ལུ་ཉིག་དེ་ལུ་ཁལ་གཅིག་བསྐྱར་བ་འབྱོར་བས་དེལ་གཞི་
 བྱས་ལྷ་ཁང་ཉེན་བཅེན་པར་བཅས་པ་བཞེངས། རབ་གནས་མཛད་དུས་སངས་རྒྱས་
 བྱང་སེམས་མངའ་པོ་ཐེམ་པའི་གཟེགས་སྐྱེད་པར་།⁴ ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག ཡང་ཁ་
 ཤས་གྱིས་ས་པའུ་གྱི་དངོས་སྤོབ་ལྷན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚོས་བཞེངས་པའི་བཞེད་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཡང་
 མདོ་སྐད་ཚོས་འབྱུང་དུ། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་པོར་ཚོས་ཇོ་ལྷན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚོས་བཞེངས་པའི་ལོ་
 རྒྱུས་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བྱུང་དོ།⁵ དེམ་ཟད་ཡབ་ཇོ་སྐྱེ་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབུམ་
 ལས། རྒྱུའི་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཁང་དང་པོར་ཚོས་ཇོ་ལྷན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚོས་བཞེངས། ས་པའུ་
 གྱིས་རབ་གནས་མཛད། སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་མངའ་པོ་ཐེམ་པའི་སྐྱེད་བཤམ་
 ཞེས་ཀྱང་གསུངས་འདུག ཚོས་འབྱུང་དཔག་བསམ་ལྷོན་བཟང་དུ། ས་པའུ་གྱིས་
 རབ་གནས་མཛད་ཟེར་བའི་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཁང་། ཞེས་པའི་གསུང་སྐྱེད་དང་། དེམ་ཟད།
 དག་རྒྱན་དུ་ཡང་། ཉོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་དད་གུས་གྱིས་ལུ་ཉིག་དེལ་ཁལ་གཅིག་བསྐྱར་
 བ་འབྱོར་བ་དེ་གཞི་བྱས་ཏེ་ཇོ་ཁང་དང་། དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས། ཉེ་བའི་སྐས་བརྒྱད་
 བཅས་ལེགས་པར་བཞེངས། དེལ་ས་སྐྱུ་པའུ་ཆེན་ཁོང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཉིད་གྱིས་རབ་
 གནས་མཛད་པའི་ཚེ་སངས་རྒྱས་སོ་ལྷ་སོགས་ཉེན་ལ་ཐེམ་པའི་གཟེགས་སྐྱེད་
 བྱུང་ཞེས་བཤད་སོལ་ཡོད།

ད་ཚོས་ཐོག་མར་ཤེས་དཔོན་པ་ནི་ས་པའུ་སྐྱེད་དངོས་ལོ་དན་དང་མ་འབྲུལ་སྤོན་ཁྲི་
 ཀའི་ཡུལ་དུ་སེབས་ཡོད་མིན་ལ་ངས་ཤེས་ཡོད་དཔོན། ཡབ་ཇོ་སྐྱེ་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ

4 བྲག་དགོན་པ་དཀོན་མཚོག་བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་རྒྱས། མདོ་སྐད་ཚོས་འབྱུང་ལན་གྲུ། ཀན་སྐུའི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་
 ཁང་། ༡༩༤༢ ལོ་འཛོགས་དོས་༢༩ ཡུལ་སྐྱེད།
 5 མོང་དང་མཚུངས། མོག་དོས་༢༩ ཡུལ་སྐྱེད།
 6 སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མཚོ། ཡབ་ཇོ་སྐྱེ་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབུམ་ལས་མདོ་སྐད་ལྷ་སྐྱེད་པ་དང་རྒྱལ་
 གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྐྱེད། གངས་ཅན་སྐལ་བཟང་དཔེ་ཚོགས། ཡབ་ཇོ་སྐྱེ་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབུམ། མོད་དང་
 པོ། ལན་གྲུ། ཀན་སྐུའི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༩ ལོ་འཛོགས་དོས་༢༩ ཡུལ་སྐྱེད།
 7 ལུས་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱོར། ཚོས་འབྱུང་དཔག་བསམ་ལྷོན་བཟང་། ལན་གྲུ། ཀན་སྐུའི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་།
 ༡༩༩༩ ལོ་འཛོགས་དོས་༢༩ ཡུལ་སྐྱེད།

མཚོའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ལས་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐེབས་ཡོད་པ་གསལ་པོར་བསྟན་
 ཡོད། རྒྱ་བཅུན་གྲགས་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་གཞན་གཤེགས་ཁར། ཞུ་ནི་ཁ་དང་ལྷམ་ནི་ཕག་
 ལྷ་འདྲའི་ཉོར་རྒྱལ་གོ་དན་པོ་ཉ་སྟེ་བས་པའི་ཚོ། བྱང་དུ་བྱོན་དང་འགོ་དོན་འབྱུང་ངོ་
 གསུངས། སྐྱ་མའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་པོ་ཉ་སྟེ་བས་འཕྲལ་དུ། རྟུག་རྩུ་རྩ་གསུམ་ལོ་ལ་ས་
 སྐྱ་ནས། གདན་བཏེག་ཁྲི་ཀ་ལ་སོགས་རིམ་བརྒྱད་ནས། ལྷ་ཁང་མང་བཞེངས་ཡུལ་
 ཕྱོགས་ཚོས་ལ་བཀོད། རྟུག་རྩུ་རྩ་ལྷ་བཞེས་པའི་མེ་རྟེ་ལ། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱལ་བ་སྟེ་ཡི་
 ཡིང་ཀུའུ་སྟེ་ལ། ཕྱག་ཐེབས་གོ་དན་རྒྱལ་བོ་ཚེན་པོ་དང་། མེ་མོ་ལུག་ལོའི་མགོ་ལ་
 མཇལ་འཛོམས་མཛད། ། 8 ཞེས་པའི་གསུངས་རབ་འདུག དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ངག་
 རྒྱན་དང་གྲགས་ཚོད་ལྟར་ན། ས་སྐྱ་པའི་ཚེན་པོ་ཁོང་ཉིད་གཙང་ས་སྐྱ་ནས་ལེང་ཀུའུ་
 ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཚིབས་ཁ་བསྐྱར་བའི་ལམ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མདོ་སྐད་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་འདི་ལ་
 སྐྱ་དངོས་སུ་ཐེབས་ནས་མངའ་བདག་ཁྲི་རལ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་དབུ་སྐྱ་ནང་བཅེན་དུ་
 བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ཉུག་མཚོད་རྟེན་ལ་མཇལ་བ་མ་ཟད། མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་དུ་གྲགས་ཆེ་
 བའི་ཚེ་ཚོ་ལྷ་ཁང་གསལ་བཞེངས་མཛད་པའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་འདི་དང་ཤར་ཡུལ་སུན་ཚོགས་
 ཚོ་རིང་གི་བཞེང་པ་ལྟར་ན་ཡང་ས་པའི་ལེང་ཀུའུ་ལ་མ་འབྲོར་གོང་མདོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་
 ཁ་ཤས་ནས་འགོ་དོན་རྒྱ་ཚེར་མཛད་པའི་བཞེང་པ་གཉིས་ཐོ་གཏུགས་ན། ས་པའི་ལེང་
 ཉིད་མདོ་སྐད་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་ལ་དངོས་སུ་ཐེབས་སྲོང་བ་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དོན་དངོས་ཞིག་
 ཡིན་པ་བསྟོན་དུ་མེད་ལ། དེ་ལྟར་ན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚང་ཀུན་ལ་གསལ་བ་ནི་ས་པའི་བོད་
 ནས་ཚིབས་ཁ་བསྐྱར་བའི་ལོ་ནི་བོད་ཤིང་འབྲུག་ལོ་ ༡༢༤༤ ཡིན་པ་དང་མདོ་སྐད་ལེང་
 ཀུའུ་ལ་འབྲོར་བའི་ལོ་ནི་ ༡༢༤༦ ལོ་རྒྱ་བརྒྱད་པ་ཡིན་པས་ཚེ་ཚོ་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས་པའི་
 ལོ་ཚོགས་དེ་ ༡༢༤༦ ལོ་འབབ་པར་སྐྱམ་སྟེ། གོང་སྐྱུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚན་མ་གཏོགས། ཨ་

8 སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ཚོ། ཡབ་ཚེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ཚོའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ལས་མདོ་སྐད་ཨ་མདོའི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྐྱན་པ་དར་རྒྱུལ་
 ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟན། གངས་ཅན་སྐལ་བཟང་དཔེ་ཚོགས། ཡབ་ཚེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ཚོའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། བོད་དང་
 པོ། ལན་གྱི། ཀུན་སྐུའུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༩ལོ་འོག་དོས་ ༢༥ རྟེན་དུ།
 9 ཁྲི་རལ་བ་ཅན་མེ་མེ་ལྷོ་ལོ་སྟེ་ ༢༠༠༦ འབྲུངས་ཤིང་། དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་བའི་ལུག་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༡༥ ལོར་རྒྱལ་སར་འཁོད། བཅུ་རྟུག་པ་
 ལུགས་སྲུང་ལོར་རྒྱ་དང་འདུམ་བྱས་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་དུ་རྫོང་རིང་བསྐྱངས། བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་རྒྱ་སྐྱུག་ལོར་བོད་དུ་རྫོང་རིང་བཅུ་གས།
 དེའི་ཕྱི་ལོར་རྫོང་རིང་ལ་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས། དགུང་ལོ་སོ་གཅིག་པའི་མེ་འབྲུག་ལོར་ ༢༠༠༦ འདས། འདི་རྟེན་སྐབས་བསྐྱན་ཕྱན་ཚོགས་
 ཀྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་པོད་རྒྱ་གཞི་ལྷོ་མིག་ལས་ཤོག་དོས་ ༡༠༠༦ ལས་ ༥ འདས།

ལུ་སྤུལ་བྱུང་གིས་ཀྱང། ༡༧༥༤ལོར་གཏོར་བརླགས་མ་བཏང་པའི་ཡར་སྤོན་གྱི་ཚོམ་
 ལྷ་ཁང་གི་ལྷེབས་རིས་ངོས་སུ་ལོ་ཚོགས་གསལ་ལོ་ཞིག་ཡིད་ལ་མི་དྲན་ཀྱང་བཞེངས་
 པའི་དུས་ཡུན་ནི་རྣམ་གསུམ་པའི་ཚོས་གཅིག་ནས་བཞི་བའི་ཚོས་བཅོ་ལྔའི་བར་ཞེས་
 བཀོད་ཡོད་པ་དངོས་སུ་མཐོང་མྱོང། ཞེས་ཟེར་བས། ཚོམ་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས་པའི་ལོ་
 ༡༢༥༥ལ་རང་ལྷགས་ཀྱིས་འབབ་མི་སྤུབ་པ་ལ། ༡༢༥༥ལོར་ཡང་འབབ་མི་སྤུབ་སྟེ་
 ས་པམ་ས་སྐྱ་ནས་ལེང་གུའུ་ལ་ཕེབས་པའི་ལམ་བར་དུ་ལོ་གཉིས་འགོར་ཡོད་པ་ཀུན་
 ལ་གྲགས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཚོམ་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས་པའི་ལོ་ཚོགས་ནི་༡༢༥༦ལོ་ལ་
 འཁེལ་བ་ལ་དོགས་པ་མེད་དོ།

གཞན་ཡང་ཡབ་ཚེ་སླ་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབུམ་ལས། 10 ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་
 མཚོ་བི་ཇི་རིན་ཚེན་གྲགས། ཚོས་ཚེ་སྤོན་པ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀུན་དགའ་དང། ཉམ་མཁའ་
 འབུམ་དང་སྤྲུགས་འཆང་མདའ་འཕྱར་དང། བོ་དོང་བ་སོགས་སློབ་མ་མང་དུ་བྱོན།
 ཞེས་འཁོད་ཡོད་འདུག ལུང་འདིར་བལྟས་ན་ས་པམ་དང་ཚོས་ཚེ་སྤོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
 གཉིས་དགོས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་རེད་ལ། གལ་ཏེ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སྐབས་དེར་ས་པམ་
 དང་མཉམ་དུ་ཕེབས་ཡོད་ན་འོང་གིས་བཞེངས་པའི་ཟེར་སློབ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་རྒྱ་མཚོན་
 གཏན་ནས་མེད་པ་ཞིག་མ་ཡིན་ལོ། ཡང་མཚོ་ལྷུང་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་གཉིས་པ་
 ལས། 11 སྤོན་འཇམ་མགོན་ས་པམ་གྱི་སྤྲུགས་སྤྲུལ་ཚོས་ཚེ་སྤོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཞབས་
 ཀྱི་འདབ་མ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་བསྐྱོད་སྐབས་མཚོ་སྤོན་དུ་ཕེབས་ནས་མི་ཉག་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཅད་
 གཙོད་མཚན་དེ་གནས་འདེར་ཕེབས། ཉོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་དད་གུས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲི་བྱེད་ལ་
 ཁལ་གཅིག་བསྐྱར་བ་འབྱོར་བས་མ་གཞི་བྱས་ཏེ་འང་དང། དུས་གསུམ་སངས་
 རྒྱས་དང་ཉེབའི་སྤྲུལ་བརྒྱད་ལེགས་པར་བཞེངས། དེ་ལ་ས་སྐྱ་པམ་ཚེན་འོང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་
 ཉིད་ཀྱིས་རབ་གནས་མཚན་པའི་ཚོ་སངས་རྒྱས་སོ་སྤྲོ་སོགས་རྟེན་ལ་ཕྱིན་པའི་
 གཞིགས་སྤང་བྱུང། ཞེས་འཁོད་ཡོད་པ་འདིར་བལྟས་ན་ས་པམ་གྱི་སྤྲུགས་སྤྲུལ་ཚོས་ཚེ་
 ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཞི་ཀར་དངོས་སུ་ཕེབས་མྱོང་ཡོད་ལ། ད་ཅུང་འདིར་ཚོམ་བཞེངས་

10 སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཡབ་ཚེ་སླ་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབུམ་ལས་མདོ་སྤྲོད་ལྷགས་སུ་བསྐྱན་པ་དར་ཚུལ་
 ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུན། གངས་ཅན་སྐལ་བཟང་དཔེ་ཚོགས། ཡབ་ཚེ་སླ་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབུམ། བོད་དང་
 པོ། ལན་གྲུ། ༡༡ན་སྤྲུམ་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང། ༡༩༩༧ལོའི་འོག་ངོས་༢༦༣ལྟེད།
 11 དབྱེད་ཡིག་ལྷ་ཡོན་ཁང། མཚོ་ལྷུང་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས། དེབ་གཉིས་པ། འོག་ངོས་༥༣ལྟེད།

ཚུལ་སོགས་བཤད་འདུག འོན་ཀྱང་འདིར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་རྒྱབ་འགུལ་བྱང་ཡོད་པས་ནོར་
འཁྲུལ་རེད་སྟེ། དམངས་ཚོད་དུ་དར་ཆེ་བ་ནི་ས་པའ་གྲིས་བཞེངས་པའི་ལྷ་བ་དེ་རེད།
དེ་ལྟའི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་ས་པའ་གྲི་སྐྱ་གཅིག་ཤུ་བཞེངས་འདུག་པ་ལས་
ལྷོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྐྱ་མེད་པ་དེ་ཡང་སྐྱབ་བྱེད་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཕྱིས་ཚོགས།

དེ་ཡང་ས་པའ་གྲིས་ཚེ་རིང་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་བྱང་བས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་ནམ་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐེབས་
དོན་ནི་སྲིད་དོན་གཅིག་ཤུ་མ་ཡིན་པར་བསྟན་པའི་འགོ་དོན་ཡང་མཛད་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་ཁྲི་
ཀའི་མི་ཉལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་མཐོང་གོལ་ཆེན་མོའམ་མི་ཉལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་ལ་མཇལ་བའི་རྒྱ་
རྒྱུན་དང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྲིས་ཚེ་རིང་འདི་བཞེངས་པ་རེད། ས་པའ་ཁོང་ཉིད་གནས་མཚོགས་
འདིར་ཐེབས་ཏེ་རབ་གནས་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚོན་ནི་ཁྲི་ཀའི་མི་ཉལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་འདི་ཁྲི་
ཀ་ས་ཆར་མིང་དུ་གྲགས་པ་མ་ཟད་ཨ་མ་དེའི་ཡུལ་དུ་འདྲེན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིད་བཞིན་གནས་
འགངས་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན། རྟེན་མཚོགས་འདིར་ལོ་རྩེ་ཆེན་སྲོད་ལྷག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྷན་པ་
དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཁྲི་ཀ་བྱ་བ་འདི་བོད་བཙན་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཅོང་ཁའི་སྡེ་ཁམས་ལ་
གཏོགས་པ་དང་སྐབས་དེའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆབ་སྲིད་དང་རིག་གནས། ཚོས་ལུགས་བཅས་ཀྱི་
རྟེན་གཞི་འགངས་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན། འདི་ཡང་མཁས་དབང་བཤད་སྐྱབ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་གྲིས་
པའི་ཁྲི་ཀའི་མི་ཉལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་དད་གསུམ་ཉིན་བྱེད་འདྲན་པའི་སྐྱ་
རེངས་¹²ལས་གསལ་བོར་བཤད་ཡོད།

དེའང་ཚེ་རིང་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞེས་པའི་མིང་བཏགས་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དཔྱད་ན། མདོ་སྐད་ཚོས་
འབྲུང་དུ་འདིར་ཚེ་རིང་ཟེང་བ་ནི། རྒྱ་སྐད་ཀྱིས་ལུ་ཏིག་གི་རྒྱ་སྐད་བྱུར་ཆག་པས་ཚེ་རིང་ལྷ་
ཁང་དུ་གྲགས་ཟེང་། ¹³ ལོ་མོས་བསམ་ན་འདིར་ཚེ་རིང་ཟེང་བ་ནི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཀྱིས་ལུ་ཏིག་
ལ་ཀའི་སྲིད་ཟེང་བ་བྱུར་ཆག་པ་མིན་ཏེ་ཚེ་རིང་ཟེང་བོ་སོགས་ནི་བོད་རང་གི་མིང་བར་
རྣམས་མ་རེད། རྒྱ་ཚིག་ཞེས་པ་སུ་མོ་སྟེ། དཔེར་ན་ཨ་མོ། ཚེ་རིང་ཞེས་པ་ལྟ་བུ། དེ་ཡང་
རྒྱ་ཚིག་ཞེས་པ་ནང་དོན་གཉིས་ལྡན་ལ་དང་པོ་ནི་སྟོན་པ་དང་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཚེ་བོ་
ཤུག་སུ་ནི་སྐྱ་རྟོན་པའི་སྐྱ་ལ་ཚེ་སྐྱ་དང་དེའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ལ་ཚེ་རིང་ལྷ་ཁང་། གཉིས་པ་ནི་སྐྱ་ན་

12 བཤད་སྐྱབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཁྲི་ཀའི་མི་ཉལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་དད་གསུམ་ཉིན་བྱེད་འདྲན་པའི་སྐྱ་རེངས། སྐབས་ཚར།
༡༩༩༤ལོའི་དུས་དེའི་གསུམ་པ། ཤོག་རིས་༩༨-༩༩༤།
13 ཐུག་དགོན་པ་དཀོན་མཚོགས་བསྟན་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་ ། མདོ་སྐད་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ལན་གྲུ། ཀན་སུ་ཅུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱབ་ཁང་།
༡༩༩༨ལོའི་ཤོག་རིས་༨༩-༩༠༩།

མཆེད་ལ་ཟེམ། རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་ཟེར་དོན་ནི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་རྗེ་བོ་འོ་སྐྱ་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་པ་
 དང་། དེའི་མིང་ཆ་ཚང་ལ་རྗེ་བོ་ལྷ་ཏིག་ལྷ་སྐྱ་ཟེར་བ་དང་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ནི་ལྷ་ཁང་འདིའི་ནང་
 གི་རྗེ་སྐྱ་ནི་ལྷ་སའི་རྗེ་བོ་དང་རྒྱུ་ཚང་མཉམ་པའི་ཤུག་ལྷ་ཏིག་ཏེ་སྐྱ་དེ་སྐྱ་ཏིག་རྩལ་དུ་
 འབྲལ་ནས་དེའི་སྐྱ་ན་འདམ་དང་བསྐྱེས་ནས་བཞེངས་པར་གྲགས་པས་དེ་ལྟར་ཐོགས་
 པ་རེད། ད་རུང་ས་དེ་གའི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་བཤད་རྒྱུན་ལ་ཁྱི་ཀའི་རྗེ་བོ་ཟེར་བ་འདི་ནི་ས་
 པའ་ཁྱིས་བཞེངས་པའི་ཨ་མ་དེའི་རྗེ་ཚེན་བརྒྱད་¹⁴ ཀྱི་ཡ་གྲུལ་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད་ཐོག་མ་
 ཀྱང་ཡིན་པས་རྗེ་བོ་ཞེས་བཏགས་པ་རེད་ཟེམ།

ཚང་མས་ཤེས་གསལ་ལྟར། རྗེ་ཁང་འདིའི་བྱང་པོས་དྲང་ཐང་གི་མ་རྒྱུའི་འགྲམ་
 རོགས་སུ་རྒྱ་མིག་ཅིག་བཞུར་གྱིན་ཡོད་ལ་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ །རྗེ་བོ་ཞབས་རྒྱ།
 ཞེས་འབོད་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལོ་རེ་དོར་རྒྱ་རྩལ་པའི་ཚོས་རྩལ་ཏེ་རྩལ་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཀར་ཉིན་
 མང་ཚོགས་རྣམས་གནས་འདིར་སྐྱབས་ཏེ་རྗེ་བོ་ཞབས་རྒྱ་འཕུང་པའི་ལྷགས་སྒོལ་ཡོད་
 དེ་དེ་ག་བར་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མེད།

མཁས་པ་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་བཞེད་པ་ལྟར་ན་རྗེ་ཁང་བཞེངས་པའི་སྐབས་དེར་ལྷ་ཁང་ཉེ་
 འཁོར་དུ་སྐྱད་པའི་རྗེ་བོ་མི་ནག་དང་། གོང་པོ་ན་བཞི། དེད་གོ་ན་སྦྱིད། མོད་ཡོག་པ་
 སོགས་གཞི་བཅས་ཡོད་པས་དེ་རྣམས་པ་ཚོས་རྗེ་ཁང་བཞེངས་པ་ལ་སྦྱིན་བདག་མཛད་
 པས་སྐད་པ་ཚོ་བའི་མི་རྣམས་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས་པའི་ཡོན་བདག་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར། དེ་
 ནས་བཟུང་སྐད་པའི་ཕོ་མོ་ཀྱན་རྗེ་ཁང་དུ་ཚོགས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་གསུམ་པའི་ཚོས་བཅོལ་ཉིན་ནས་
 སྐྱུང་བཅས་དང་ཉིན་ལྷའི་མཚེད་འབུལ་གྱི་ཚོས་ཐོག་བཅུགས། ཡང་ཁམས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་
 སྐ་མ་ཞེ་ཚེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཕེབས་ནས་སྐད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་མང་ལ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་
 དབང་གནང་སྟེ་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་བསྐྱུངས།

ས་པའ་ཁྱིས་བཞེངས་ཚར་རྗེས། རྗེ་ཁང་དེས་གམ་དུ་གནས་པའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཅིག་ལ་
 རྗེ་ཁང་བདག་གཉེར་གྱི་དབང་ཆ་སྐྱད་པ་རེད།¹⁵ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་འདི་ལ་རྗེ་བདག་ཚང་མ་རྗེ་
 བོ་འོ་ས་བདག་¹⁶ ཞེས་འབོད་དེ་ད་སྐབས་ཀྱང་འདི་ལྟར་འབོད་གྱིན་ཡོད།

14 དག་རྒྱུན་ལྟར་ན། ལང་གུ་སྟེ་བཞིའི་རྗེ་བོ་དང་། མགར་ཕྱེའི་རྗེ་བོ། ཁྱི་ཀའི་རྗེ་བོ། གོང་པ་གྲུ་ཚང་ཕོས་བསམ་དར་རྒྱལ་སྦྱིང་གི་
 བོད་རྗེ་དང་། མེར་རྟེན་གྱི་ཚང་གི་སོག་རྗེ་དང་བཅས་ལ་ཟེམ།
 15 ལྷོ་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༥ རྒྱ་ཚོས་རྩལ་ཉིན་ཨ་ཁུ་ཕུལ་བྱུང་རྒྱུ་མཚོ་འོ་ཤག་ནས་ཁོང་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་ནས་བྱུང།
 16 མདོ་སྐད་ཚོས་འབྱུང་དུ། དོ་གྲའི་ཚོས་ཀར་ལྷ་རི་བསམ་གཏན་སྦྱིང་གི་སྐ་མ་དག་དབང་རྒྱུ་མཚོ་འོ་སྐལ་སྐྱོ་སྒོ་བཟང་བཀའ་ཤིས།

དེ་ཡང་ཚོ་བོ་དག་ཚང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་ལུས་མི་ལོ་སྐུམ་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་གི་རིང་ལ་བདག་གཉེར་མཛད་ཟེར་ལ། རྗེས་སོར་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་སྐྱེས་བུ་སྐྱབས་ཟེར་བའི་ཞིག་གིས་ཚོ་ཁང་འདི་ཁྲིམ་ཚང་ཅིག་གིས་དོ་གཉེར་བྱས་པར་དཀའ་ཚོ་གསུམ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷན་སྐྱེས་ཏེ། མ་དགོན་བོད་ཚོ་གྲུ་ཚང་གི་མ་ཁི་སྐྱབས་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ལ་བདག་གཉེར་བྱེད་དུ་བཅུག མ་ཁི་སྐྱབས་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཚོ་ཁང་གི་དཀོར་བཀའ་མ་བྱས་པ་དང་ཐང་གི་ཚོ་ཁང་ལ་བདག་གཉེར་བྱེད་འདོད་པའི་རི་ཁྲོད་པར་ཚོ་ཁང་གི་སྐྱེས་པ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་དཀོར་བཀའ་བསྐྱོས་པ་རེད།¹⁷ རྗེས་སུ་སྐྱེས་པའི་དཔོན་པོ་དབང་ཆེན་¹⁸ ཀྱི་སྐབས་ནས་ཚོ་ཁང་གི་བདག་གཉེར་དང་མཚོན་འབྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་བཀའ་སྲོལ་གྱི་བྱ་བ་བོད་ཚོ་གྲུ་ཚང་¹⁹ ལ་སྐྱེད་དེ་བདག་གཉེར་མཛད།²⁰

སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༨༡༡ལྷག་ཅུམ་ལ་རྗེ་ཞབས་དཀར་ཚོགས་དུག་རང་གྲོལ་ཚང་ཚོ་ཁང་དུ་ཕེབས་ནས་ ཁྲི་ཚོ་བོ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་ཕྱི་ར་ནང་སྐོར་ལ་ཉམས་གསོ་བྱས། ཚོ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་སེང་གེས་བཏགས་པའི་ཁྲི་དང་། གཡམས་གཡོན་གྱི་སྐྱ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་ཡང་གྲུབ་དབང་ཡུལ་རང་གྲོལ་གྱིས་ཉམས་གསོ་གསུམ་བསྐྱེད་མཛད། ཉན་གྱི་མཛུགས་དུ་མཚོན་ཁྲི་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་ཕྱི་ཁྲམས་སྐོར་ལམ་གྱི་རོས་ལ་ལྷོ་བས་བྱིས་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་དང་། ས་ལ་མཐའ་ལ་གིང་བརྒྱབ་ནས་སྐྱར་ཡང་བཞེངས་ལྟ་བུ་སྤྱི་ན་བལྟ་བྱུང་། ཉན་ན་མཛའ་སྐྱོལ་དཔ་བྱས།²¹ ད་རུང་ཁོ་བོས་ ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཚོ་བོ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྩེད་དུ་དུལ་སྲང་ཉིས་བརྒྱའི་

ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཚོ་བོའི་ས་བདག་ཚོ་ཚོ་བོ་བཞུ་དེའི་སྐུམ་སུ་ལྷག་པ་འབྲུག་༡༨༢༠ལོར་ལ་འབྲུངས། དང་པོ་དཔོན་སྐོབ་གསེར་ཁང་པའི་ཕྱག་གཡོག་ཡུན་རིང་ཞུས། རྗེས་སོར་ལྷ་རི་སྐྱེས་སྐྱོ་རོས་བཟུང་། བདེ་ཆེན་དུ་སྐོབ་གཉེར་དགའ་རབ་དང་ཁྲི་མཛད། བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཁྲུལ་དུ་རྗེ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་ཚོ་བོའི་ཞབས་ལ་གཏུགས། སྤྱི་མཚོན་གྱི་ཁྲི་དཔོན་གསུམ་ཞུས། འདུལ་ལོང་ལ་མི་དཀྲུག་ལྷགས་དེས་པ། བབ་ཟབ་པ་ཞིག་སྐྱེད། སྐྱབ་སྤྱེ་བཏགས་ནས་བརྒྱ་དང་ཞེ་གཅིག་པ་ཤིང་སྐྱང་འདི་ཡིན་ནོ། ཤོག་རོས་༢༧༥ཤོག་ལ་གཟིགས།

17 སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༠༤ལོའི་རྒྱ་ཀྲུང་ཚོས་༡༩༩༩ལོ་ལྷག་ལྷ་ཁང་རྒྱལ་ཚོ་བོའི་ཤག་ནས་ཁོང་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་ནས་བྱང་བ་ཡིན།
 18 མལ་ཆེར་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་དུས་འགོའི་མི་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ། ཁོང་གི་བྱ་གཅན་ཚོ་ལྷ་རི་དགོན་པའི་སྤྱི་དུ་སྐྱེས་བཞེད་པ་ཆུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱལ་ཚོ་ཡིན། ཁོང་གི་༡༨༣༠ནས་༡༩༠༠ལོར་གི་མི་ཡིན།
 19 མིང་གཞན་ལ་བོད་བ་གྲུ་ཚང་ཐོས་བསམ་དར་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་ཟེར།
 20 མཚོ་སྤྱོད་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐོར་ཁུལ་ནང་བསྐྱེད་མཛུགས་དང་ཀྱང་གོ་འདོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྐྱེད་མཛོ་མི་ལོ་སྐོབ་སྤྱིང་ནང་བསྐྱེད་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་། མཚོ་སྤྱོད་ཁུལ་གྱི་དཔོན་སྤེ་ཁག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱིང་བསྐྱེས་ཞེ་ལོང་། མཚོ་སྤྱོད་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༧ལོའི་ཤོག་རོས་༢༧ཕྱིང་།
 21 ཞབས་དཀར་ཚོགས་དུག་རང་གྲོལ། ཞབས་དཀར་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ལྷོད་ཆ། ཟི་ལིང་། མཚོ་སྤྱོད་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༤༥ལོའི་ཤོག་རོས་༡༠༣ནས་༡༠༥ལྷིང་དུ་གསལ།

མཚོད་ཀོང་ཚེན་པོ་གཅིག་བཞག་ནས། སྤྱིང་མཚོད་ཕུལ་སྲོན་ལམ་རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོ་
 བཏབ། ༡²² སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༤༡༧ཡལེར་རྒྱ་བཞི་པའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཉིན་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཁང་
 ལེགས་འགྲུབ་བྱུང་བ་དང་། དགའ་འོས་པ་ཞིག་ནི་དུས་རབས་ཀྱི་འགྲུར་ལྷོག་མེད་
 རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་ལ་གཞོན་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཐེབས་མེད་དོ།

གཉིས་པ། ཆག་སྤོན་ཐེབས་པའི་རྗེ་རྒྱ་ཁང་དང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཕུལ་བྱུང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མཛད་རྣམ།
 སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༤༥༤ལོར་བུབ་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ཉམས་འགྲིབ་བྱུང་བས་རྟེན་མཚོག་འདི་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་
 ལྷ་ཁང་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མདུན་དོས་ཀྱི་ཁང་གཤམ་གཉིས་མ་གཏོགས་རྟེན་དང་
 བརྟེན་པ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་གཏོར་བརྒྱལ་མ་ཐེབས་པ་དང་། རྗེས་སོར་རྗེ་ཁང་གི་དཀོར་
 གཉེར་ཨ་ཁུ་ཕུལ་བྱུང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ལྷག་བསམ་རྣམ་དག་གི་ཀྱན་ནས་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་དཀར་
 སྤྱུག་གང་མང་ཁྱད་བསད་འོག་རྗེ་ཁང་འདི་སྐྱེད་ཡང་སྤྱོད་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་འབར་བར་
 བྱས། ཁོང་གི་བྱས་རྗེས་ཀྱི་རིམ་ཕྱི་རབས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བར་ལ་བསུབ་ཐབས་བྲལ་བས་
 ཁོང་ལ་དེ་སྤྱོད་རྩལ་ཅི་མ་ལུས་ན། ཁོང་གི་རབ་བྱུང་བཅོ་ལྔ་བའི་ཤིང་པོ་སྐྱེད་ལོ་
 ༡༤༥༤ལོར་ཁོ་ཀ་སྐྱེད་པ་སྤེ་བའི་ཤོད་བརྒྱུ་མ་ཚོ་བར་སྐྱེས། ལོ་བཞི་ཉེ་བོད་བ་སྤེ་
 ཚང་ཐོས་བསམ་དར་རྒྱས་སྤིང་མ་བོད་རྗེ་གྲུ་ཚང་དགོན་ཏུ་སྐབས་རྗེ་ཐར་ཕུལ་རིན་པོ་
 ཚེདི ²³ རྩལ་ནས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། བཟང་བྱ་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་གི་རིང་ལ་དགོན་པའི་ཚོགས་
 འདོན་ཚེས་སྤོད་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་། བྱུག་ལེན་མཐའ་དག་ལྷག་ལུས་མེད་པར་སྐྱེད་ས།
 རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་མེ་ལོས་སྤེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༤༥༤ཡལེར་ཨ་ཁུ་ཕུལ་བྱུང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་རང་
 འགྲུལ་གྱིས་རྗེ་ཁང་སྐྱེད་གསོ་བྱེད་པའི་འོས་འགན་དང་དུ་སྐྱེད་ས་ནས། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་
 བདུན་པའི་ས་འགྲུག་སྤེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༤༥༤ལོའི་རྗེ་བརྒྱད་པར་ཚེས་དད་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རིབ་
 ལྷ་ར། མཚོ་རྩེ་ལུལ་སྤིང་གཞུང་དང་ཁོ་རྗེ་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་སྤེ་ལག་གིས་ཐོག་མར་རྗེ་
 ཁང་འདིའི་ཚེས་སྤོ་འབྱེད་རྒྱུའི་ཚོག་མཚན་བཀོད། ²⁴ དུས་དེར་མ་ཟུར་སྤྱི་བའི་རྒྱན་པ་

22 ཤོད་དང་མཚོད་ས། ཤོག་དོས་༡༠༢༩ནས་༡༠༢༤ལྟེད་དུ་གསལ།
 23 ཐར་ཕུལ་སྤྱོད་ཐོག་བཞི་བ་དགོ་འདུན་ཚེས་སྤོད་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཡབ་རྗེ་རྗེ་རབ་བརྟན་དང་། ཡུམ་དཔལ་འཚོམས་ཀྱི་སྤུས་སུ་རབ་བྱུང་
 བཅུ་བཞི་བའི་ལྷགས་པོ་རྟེ་ལོར་༡༤༡༠འབྱུང་ས།
 24 མཚོ་རྩེ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྤོང་ལུལ་ནང་བསྟན་མཐུན་ཚོགས་དང་ཀྱང་གོ་འཛིན་བརྒྱད་ནང་བསྟན་མཐོ་རིམ་སྤོད་སྤིང་ནང་བསྟན་
 ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་། མཚོ་རྩེ་ས་ལུལ་གྱི་དགོན་སྤེ་ལག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤིང་བསུས། ཟස་ལིང་། མཚོ་རྩེ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟར་ཁང་།

གཉིས་དང་ཨ་ཁུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལོ་གསུམ་གཅིག་གི་སྐྱེ་བའི་གྲུ་བ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ངལ་
 ཚོལ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ལོ་འཁོར་གསུམ་གྱི་རིང་ལ་རྗེ་ཁང་སྐྱེས་གསོ་ལེགས་གྲུབ་བྱུང་།
 ལྷ་བུང་བཀའ་ཤིས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རབ་འབྱམས་གཞུང་བརྒྱ་སྟེ་བའི་
 དབང་ལྷན་མི་ཀའི་ཨ་ཁུ་ཀུན་བཟང་དང་མཉམ་དུ་ཞུང་ཞེན་རྗེ་ཁང་ལ་ཐེབས་ཏེ་དེའི་
 བཟོ་བཀོད་སོགས་ལ་ཞིབ་ལྟ་བྱས། རྗེ་ཁང་ཞབས་དུང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཚང་ལ་རྗེ་ཁང་
 བརྒྱུ་བཞེངས་སྐོར་གྱི་ལུང་བསྟན་ཞུས་སྐབས། འོང་གིས་སྐྱོལ་མ་འབྲུམ་གཅིག་
 གསུངས་དཔོན་ཞེས་ལུང་བསྟན་གནང་བ་ལྟར་བོད་རྗེ་གྲུ་ཚང་གིས་དེ་བཞིན་ལེགས་
 པར་བརྒྱབས། དེ་ནས་ཐོག་མར་མཚོན་ཁང་ཁང་མིག་གསུམ་ཅན་ཞིག་གསར་བཞེངས་
 བྱེད་སྐབས། རབ་འབྱམས་སྐྱེ་བའི་དབང་ལྷན་ཨ་ཁུ་ཀུན་བཟང་མཚོག་གིས་རྗེ་སྐྱེ་
 ལི་མ་གཅི་འཁོར་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་བའི་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་འབར་བ་ཞིག་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་
 སྐྱོར་འཇགས་གནང་ནས་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་དང་འགྲོ་བའི་བདེ་སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་ཆེད་དུ་ལྷགས་སྐོར་རྒྱ་
 ཆེར་མཛད། ཨ་ཁུ་ལྟ་བུ་བྱུང་བུ་མཚོ་དེས་སུ་ཕྱོགས་ཡར་མར་ལོ་གཅིག་གི་རིང་ལ་
 ཞལ་འདེབས་སྐོར་བར་སོང་བ་དང་། དེ་ནས་རྗེ་ཁང་བཞེངས་རྒྱུ་འོང་ཆུ་མམས་ལེགས་
 པར་བསྐྱིགས་རྗེས་ཁོ་རང་གིས་མོས་པའི་ཤིང་བཟོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ལ་རང་སྐྱུང་གངཤར་
 གྱིས་ལས་སུ་མ་བཅུག་པར་ཤིང་བཟོ་ཞིག་གསུམ་གྱི་ནང་གང་བཟང་བ་ཞེས་དགེ་
 བཤེས་ཨ་ལགས་མོ་ཡག་ཚང་ལ་ལུང་བསྟན་ཞུས་པ་དང་། ཨ་ལགས་མོ་ཡག་ཚང་
 གིས་ལུང་བསྟན་པའི་ཤིང་བཟོ་དང་། ཨ་ཁུ་ལྟ་བུ་བྱུང་བུ་མཚོས་བསམ་སའི་ཤིང་བཟོ་
 གཉིས་གཅིག་དུ་བབས། འོ་བོའི་ཕྱག་རོགས་སྐྱེད་པའི་ཨ་ཁུ་སྐྱོབས་ལྷན་དང་ཨ་
 ཁུ་བསྟན་འཕེལ། སྐོ་སྤྱི་བའི་ཨ་ཁུ་འོད་སྐྱེད་སོགས་ཀྱིས་རང་བྱོ་ཁྱེད་ནས་ཡོང་སྟེ་འཚོ་
 བ་རན་རོན་ཅོམ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ། དཀའ་ལས་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་དུ་མ་ཁྱད་དུ་བསད་ནས་ས་སྐྱེ་པཎ་
 ཆེན་གྱིས་དེལ་འདོགས་སའི་ཕུར་བ་བཅིགས་གཏིང་ན་ཡོད་པའི་རྗེ་ཁང་དང་། ལྷགས་
 རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་རྟེན་དང་བརྟེན་པའི་ཀླད་གསེར་ཏོག་དང་བཅས་གསར་བཞེངས་
 བྱས། ལྷ་ཁང་གཡས་གཡོན་ན་ཡོད་པའི་སྐོར་མའི་ཁང་རྗེ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་
 རྒྱུ་ལོགས་རྣམས་སྐྱེས་གསོ་གནངས། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༠ལོར་འཇུགས་སྐུན་མཇུག་བསྐྱིལ་
 ཏེ་འོར་ལུག་གཡས་གཡོན་ཀུན་ཀྱང་ལྷ་ན་སྐྱུག་པར་བྱས།

༡༩༩༩ལོའི་ཤོག་རོམ་༢༩༩༥།

ཁོང་གིས་ཇོ་མོ་གླང་འདི་ལྷ་ག་བསམ་ཐོལ་མེད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བཀའ་འདི་ནི་
 གཞུལ་དུ་མེད་ལ་ཁོ་རང་དགུང་ལོ་བགྲའི་ལོ་ཡིན་ཅུང་། ཁོས་སུ་མཐུན་དུ་རྒྱུན་བསྐྱེད་པའི་
 དཀོར་གཉེན་གྱི་འགན་ཁུར་རྒྱུ་འདུན་པ་དག་པོ་ཡོད། མཚམས་དེར་བོད་ཇོ་གླེང་
 གི་དགོ་སློང་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་རབ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ངལ་གསོ་དགོས་ཞེས་
 ཡང་ཡང་ནན་ཞུ་བྱས་མཐར། རབ་རྒྱུང་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་མེ་མོ་གྱི་༢༠༠༦ལོའི་ཟླ་གཉིས་
 པའི་ཚེས་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཉིན་ཁོང་གིས་ཀྱང་ཇོ་མོ་གླང་གི་བྱ་གཞག་ཡོངས་ཚུལ་སློབ་དཔུགས་
 ཏེ་ངལ་གསོ་མཛད། རབ་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་གས་ཏུ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལོ་༡༩༩༠ཟམ་སྐར་ཟླ་བའི་དཀར་
 རྩོགས་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་བོའི་འོག་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཚེད་ཅན། ལྷ་ལྷན་
 ལོངས་སློབ་དུ་རྫོགས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་ཅན་ལྷ་བས་ཚོག་མི་ཤེས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་
 དང་བཅས་པ་ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ། 25 རབ་རྒྱུང་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་ལྷ་གས་མོ་ལུག་གི་
 ༡༩༩༡ལོར་སྐྱབ་རྒྱུད་བསྟན་པའི་མངའ་བདག་ཡབ་ཇེ་གསེར་ཁང་བ་ཚེན་མོ་དང་གྱི་
 ཀའི་རིའོ་དཔ་ཉིལ་ལྷ་ག་གིས་གཉིས་པའི་མཚོད་མེ་ཞེས་མཚོད་འབུལ་ཚེན་མོ་ཐོག་
 མར་ཇོ་མོ་གླང་དུ་བཅུགས་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་སྐྱབ་བྱང་བཀའ་ཤིས་འབྲིལ་གྱི་མདོ་སྐབས་གཞུང་
 བརྒྱའི་མངའ་བདག་ཇེ་སློབ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཚོང་སུ་ཕྱིར་ཇོ་མོ་གླང་དུ་ཕེབས་ཏེ་ཚེས་གྱི་འཁོར་
 ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཚེར་བསྐྱོར། རབ་རྒྱུང་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་ལྷ་གས་མོ་ལུག་གི་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལོ་༢༠༠༠ལོར་ཇོ་
 ཁང་གཡམས་ལྷོ་གས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ས་སུ་ལུ་གཅིག་དང་སྐར་ཆ་བཞི་ཡོད་པ་དེར་དཀའ་སྐྱབ་མི་
 ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་མཐར་མཐར་དམངས་སློབ་ཇེ་ལྷ་སྐྱབ་དེ་ཉོས། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་སློབ་ཚེན་
 དམིགས་བསམ་ཅན་ཞིག་དང་ཕྱིར་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་བརྒྱུན་པའི་ལྷ་གས་རི། མཇམ་བ་སློབ་
 སའི་ཁང་མིག་བཞི་བཅུ་དང་། གསུམ་པའི་སྐྱེད་གནས་སྐབས་བཀོལ་བའི་ཁང་མིག་
 བརྒྱད་བཅས་བཞེདས་པར་བྱས། ལྷ་གས་ཇེ་ཚེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་ལྷ་གས་ཇེ་ཚེན་པོ་ཕྱག་
 རྟོང་སྐྱབ་སྟོང་དང་། ཇེ་རྒྱལ་བ་གཉིས་པ་ཚོང་ཁ་པ། ཇོ་བོ་ཇེ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཨ་ཏིཤ ཇེ་
 བཅུན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱེདས། སློབ་དཔོན་སྐད་འབྱུང་གནས། ས་སྐྱ་པའ་ཚེན། ཉེབའི་སྐས་
 ཚེན་བརྒྱད་པོ་གས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྒྱན་བཞེདས། མཚོད་ཉེན་གཉིས་དང་། ཐང་ག་ལྷ།
 བཀའ་བསྟན་ཆ་ཚོང་། མཚོད་ཇེས་དང་མཚོད་ཆ་ཚོང་། ནང་ན་ལྷེབས་བྱིས་ཅུག་དང་།
 ཕྱི་ན་ལྷེབས་བྱིས་བཞི། མ་ཉི་འཁོར་ཚེན་གཉིས། འཁོར་རྒྱུད་བརྒྱལ་བཅས་ཕྱི་

25 དབྱེད་ཡིག་ལྷ་ཡོན་ཁང་། མཚོ་ལྷོ་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས། དེབ་གཉིས་པ། ༡༩༩༢ལོའི་འོག་པོ་ལོ་༢༡ཟླེད།

ནང་གི་རྟེན་མཐའ་དག་ལྷན་ལས་མེད་པར་བཞེངས་ཏེ་ལེགས་གྲུབ་ཕྱོད་སྲུང་སྲུང་ཚོགས་
པ་བྱུང་། བོད་རྗེ་གྲུ་ཚང་གི་དགོན་བདག་སྐྱེ་ཞབས་མཚན་སྒྲོགས་བཞི་བ་རྗེ་དགོ་
འདུན་ལེགས་བཤད་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དབྱུང་བཞུགས་ཐོག་དགོན་པའི་དགོ་འདུན་བཅུ་
སྟག་བྱུང་གཅིག་གིས་དཔལ་རྗེ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཚེན་པོའི་སྐོ་ནས་རབ་གནས་མཛད་
ཅིང་དེ་བྱིན་སྐྱབས་ཟད་མི་ཤེས་པའི་གཏེར་དུ་བསྐྱབས།

གསུམ་པ། རྗེ་རྣམས་ལས་ལྷན་པའི་བྱུང་བ་དང་དེའི་ནང་རྟེན།

༡། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་བཀོད་པ།

གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་འདི་ལ་ཁང་མིག་གཉིས་སུ་བྱེ་ལ་དབྱུང་གི་འདུ་ཁང་ངམ་ཚོགས་
ཁང་། ཕྱག་གི་གཙུག་ཁང་ངམ་རྟེན་གཙུག་ཁང་། འདུ་ཁང་ནི་མཛུལ་བ་ཚོས་
མཚོད་མཛུལ་ལྷན་དང་ཚོགས་འཚོགས་སའི་གནས་ཡིན་པ། ཕྱག་གི་གཙུག་ཁང་ནི་
ལྷ་ཁང་འདིའི་ནང་གི་རྟེན་གཙུག་ལྷན་གནས་ཡིན་ཏེ་ས་པམ་མཚོག་གིས་
བཞེངས་གྲུབ་གནང་པའི་སྟོན་པ་ལྟ་བུ་བྱུང་བའི་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚང་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་
ཀོང་ལེར་བཞུགས་ཡོད། རྟེན་འདིའི་གཡས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱལ་མར་མེ་མཛད་དང་
གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་བྱམས་མགོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བཞུག་ཏེ་མདོར་གྲིལ་ན་དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་
སངས་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་བཙུན་ཀྱང་ཚོགས་སྐྱེ་བཞུག་རེ་འདི་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་ཉེ་བའི་སྲས་ཚེན་
བཞུད་དང་། ཏུ་མགྲིན། ཁྲི་བོ་མི་གཡོན་པའི་སྐྱེ་བཞུག་བཅས་བཞེངས་ཡོད་ལ། དུས་
གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བཞུག་ཕྱོགས་སུ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་གཉིས་དང་སྐྱེ་བཞུད་
མཚོད་རྟེན་གཉིས་བཞེངས་ཡོད། མཚོད་བཤམས་སྐྱོག་ཚེ་སྟེང་དུལ་ཀོང་བཅུ་ལྷན་
ཡོད་པའི་ནང་དུ་ ཆེས་མཐོ་བའི་ཚོད་ལ་སྟེ་གཅིག་ཆ་གསུམ་དང་ཞེང་ཚོད་ལ་ལེ་སྟེ་
བཞུད། དེའི་ནང་དུ་མར་ལུ་རྒྱལ་བཞུག་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྐྱེ་བཞུག་ལྷན་གསུམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ལྷན་ལྷན་བའི་
དུལ་ཀོང་དུ་མར་ལུ་རྒྱལ་བཅུ་ལྷན་ལྷན་གསུམ་ཚོགས་མཚོད་ཀོང་ལྷན་བཅུ་ལྷན་ཡོད་པ་
དང་གཞན་ཡང་མཚོད་རྒྱས་དང་མཚོད་ཆ་ཆོད་ཡོད། གཙུག་ཁང་གི་གྲུང་ལོས་སུ་
ལྷན་གྲིས་བཅུ་གཅིག་གཙུག་ཁང་དུ་གསུང་རྟེན་ལ་རྗེ་གསུང་འབྲུམ་དང་། བཀའ་

བསྟན་མཚན་བཅས་ཡོད།²⁶ ཐུགས་རྟེན་དུ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་དང་བྱང་ཚུབ་མཚོད་
རྟེན་བཅས་བསྟོམས་པས་མཚོད་རྟེན་བཞི་འདུག

དེ་ཡང་འདུ་ཁང་གི་བཀོད་པའི་ཐད། མཐའ་བཞི་ཡི་རྩིག་རོས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱང་
སེམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་དང་། ཐུབ་དབང་གནས་བརྟན་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་ལྡེབས་རིས། བསྐྱལ་
བཟང་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྟོང་གི་ལྡེབས་རིས། ལྷ་མོ་དབྱངས་ཅན་མའི་ལྡེབས་རིས། རྒྱུད་སྟེ་
བཞིའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་བཅས་བསྟོམས་པས་ལྡེབས་རིས་བརྒྱད་བཞུགས་པར་སྦྱང་། ཀ་སྟོང་
དུ་ཤིང་བཅུགས་རིམ་པ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡོད་པའི་མཛེས་རྒྱན་ལ་བྱ་འབྲུག་དང་། པད་མ།
ནོར་བུ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཛེས་རིས་ཡོད་པ། འདུ་ཁང་གི་སྐོ་འཕྲོར་སྟེང་རབ་གསལ་དང་རྒྱལ་
ཚེན་སྟེ་བཞིའི་རིམ་བཀོད་ཡོད། འདུ་ཁང་གི་ཁྲད་དུ་སྟེ་ལྷ་དགེ་གི་རྒྱུ་ལོགས་དང་། རྩིག་
ཟུར་དུ་སྦྱང་མ་ལག་གི་རྟེན་དང་། འཁོར་ལོ། རི་དྲགས་ཤུ་སོགས་སྦྱང་བརྟན་ཡོད་པ་
འདི་ནི་མི་ཉམ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་བསྟན་པའི་ཉིམ་འི་གཞུགས་སྦྱོང་གནང་ནས་བཞེངས་པ་
རེད། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཕྱིའི་རྩིག་རོས་སུ་ལྡེབས་རིས་བཅུ་གཅིག་དང་། དེའི་མཐའ་
སྐོར་དུ་མ་ཉི་འཁོར་ལོ་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་འདུག

ལ། ཐུགས་རྟེན་ཚེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་བཀོད་པ།

ཚོས་རྗེ་ས་པམ་མཚོག་གིས་ཐོག་མར་ཐུགས་རྟེན་ཚེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས་དོན་ནི་ཁོང་
གི་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་འདིའི་མ་ལུམ་གྱི་ཐུགས་སེམས་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དགོ་རྩུར་
དགོངས་ནས་བཞེངས་པ་རེད་ཟེར། ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་རྒྱབ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་
བཞུགས་ལ། འདིའི་ནང་གི་གཙོ་སྐྱོན་ནི་འཕགས་པ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཚེན་པོ་ཕྱག་སྟོང་སྦྱོང་སྟོང་
ཡིན་ཏེ། དེའི་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་
དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་བཞེངས་འདུག་ལ། དེའི་གཡོན་སུ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་
པ་ཙོང་ལ་པ། སྟོབ་དཔོན་པདྨ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན། སྐྱ་འདིའི་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་
ལོགས་སུ་ཉེབའི་སྤུས་ཚེན་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་སྦྱང་བརྟན་བཞེངས་ཡོད། ལྡེབས་རོས་སུ་རྗོ་
བརྟན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་དང་བྱམས་བཟང་ལྷུང་བཤགས་ཀྱི་ལྡེབས་རིས་བཅས་པ་

26 ལྷ་མོ་2004ལོར་རྟེན་མ་ལུ་ཕུལ་བྱང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཤག་ནས་ཁོང་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་ནས་བྱང་།

བཞུགས། དྲ་མའི་རྩིག་རོས་སུ་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཚོན་རིས། སྒོ་འཕྲོར་འོག་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་སྡེ་
 བཞི་དང། སྤྲིད་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ། འདུལ་བའི་དཔེ་རིས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷེབས་བྲིས། རྗེ་རྟེན་ལྷ་
 ཁང་དུ་མགོན་ཁང་དངོས་སུ་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་མེད་ཅུང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་
 གི་སྒོ་འགམ་གྱི་ལྷེབས་རོས་སུ་དམ་ཅན་རྗེ་རེ་ལེགས། དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོ་སོགས་
 མཐོང་དུ་འདུག རྗེ་ཁང་འདི་ཉིད་མི་མངོན་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་གྲིབ་སྲུང་ཁོ་བོ་སྤེལ་བཅུགས་
 དང། བགོགས་སྲུང་རྟ་མགིན། བསྟན་སྲུང་ལྷ་མོ་རེ་མ་ཏི། མངགས་གཞུག་
 ལས་སྦྱབ་པ་དམ་ཅན་རྗེ་རེ་ལེགས་སོགས་ལ་ཉེར་གཏང་པ་ཡིན།²⁷

གཤམ་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་བཀོད་པ།

རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་ནི་རྗེ་ཞབས་དཀར་ཚོགས་རྒྱལ་རང་གོལ་གྱིས་སྤྲུགས་བཀོད་
 གནང་ནས་བཞེངས་པ་ཡིན་པར་སྐད། བཞེངས་པའི་ལོ་ཚོགས་འདི་ཁང་པའི་དཔོག་གི་
 ཉིང་དུ་བཀོད་འདུག་ལ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༨༡༧ལ་བཞི་པའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཉིན་བཞེངས་པ་
 གསལ་པོར་བསྟན་ཡོད། རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་འི་ནང་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་རིགས་བཞི་ཉི²⁸་སྤྱི་
 བསྟན་བཞེངས་ཡོད་ལ་སྤོའི་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་མ་ཉི་འཁོར་ཚེན་བཞི་བཞེངས་འདུག
 སྤྱིར་ཁང་པ་འདི་འི་བཟོ་བཀོད་ནི་རྒྱ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བཟོ་ལྷ་ཡིན་ཏེ་སྐབས་དེར་རྗེ་ཞབས་
 དཀར་བས་སྤྲུགས་དང་ཅུང་མ་མཐུན་པས་སྤྲར་བསྟན་བྱེད་པའི་འདུན་པ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྗེས་
 སོར་གོ་སྐབས་མ་བྱུང་བས་འདི་ལྟར་བསྟར་པའི་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡང་འདུག

27 སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༠༤ལོར་རྒྱལ་ཉིན་ཨ་ཁུ་ཕུལ་བྱུང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འཕགས་ནས་ཁོང་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་ནས་བྱུང།
 28 འདོད་ལྷ་འི་དང་པོའི་རིགས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་ལྷ་འམ་གནོད་སྦྱིན་ཏེ། རིར་བཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ཚམས་ཅུ་བ་ནས་ཡར་བརྗེས་པའི་བང་
 རིས་དང་པོར་གནོད་སྦྱིན་ལག་ན་གཞོང་ཐོགས། གཉིས་པར་གནོད་སྦྱིན་ལག་ན་ཐོང་ཐོགས། གསུམ་པར་རྟག་ཕྱོམ། བཞི་
 པར་སྤེལ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་འམ། རྒྱལ་ཚེན་གཙོ་བོ་ཡུལ་འཁོར་སྲུང་དང། འཕགས་སྤྱེས་པོ། སྤྱན་མི་བཟང། རྣམ་ཐོས་སྤྲས་བཅས་
 སོ་སོར་གནས་སོ། འདི་བོད་རྒྱ་ཚོགས་མཚོན་ཚེན་མོ་འཕྲོག་རོས་༥༥༠ལས་དྲངས་པ་ཡིན།

ད། ། མཇལ་བའི་འདུག་ཁང་།

ད་སྐབས་ཇོ་ཁང་དུ་མཇལ་བའི་འདུག་ཁང་ཞེ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྒྱན་པར་སྔོན་ཁང་
འདི་བེད་སྔོན་གྱི་དཔའི་མཇལ་བའི་ཡོང་ཁུངས་མང་ཆེ་བ་ནི་མཚོ་སྟོ་ཁུལ་མངའ་འོག་གི་
མང་རྫོང་དང་འབའ་རྫོང་གི་དད་ལྡན་མང་ཚོ་གས་དང་། བློ་ག་རང་ས་ཆར་མཚོན་ན་འཕྲང་
དམར་ཡུལ་ཚོ་དང་། ལན་འགྲོ་ཡུལ་ཚོ། སྤྲད་པ་སྡེ་བའི་དད་ལྡན་མི་སྣ་ཡང་རྒྱན་པར་
འདི་ནས་སྔོན་ཤག་གྱེད་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་གསུམ་བཞི་འི་རིང་ལ་ཇོ་ཁང་དུ་ཕྱག་བསྐོར་ལེན་
པའོ།

བཞི་བ། ཚོག་ཕྱག་ལེན་གྱི་སྐོར།

གཅིག ། གསུམ་པའི་སྤྱད་གནས།

ཉོར་རྒྱ་གསུམ་པའི་ཚོས་བཅུ་གཅིག་ནས་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་བར་ཇོ་ཁང་དུ་སྤྱད་གནས་
འཚོགས་བཞིན་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་སྤྱད་གནས་ཟེར་བ་འདི་ནི་དགེ་སྤྲོད་མ་དཔལ་མོའི་
ལུགས་སྟེ་སྤྱད་གནས་སྟོན་སྐབ་པ་བྱེད་ཚུལ་ཉེ་ཟས་བཅད་དེ་སྤྱད་གནས་བྱས་པས་
ལུས་ཀྱི་སྦྲིབ་པ་འདག གཏམ་མི་སྣ་བར་དག་བཅད་བྱས་པས་དག་གི་སྦྲིབ་པ་འདག
ཆགས་སྤང་གི་ངན་རྟོག་བཀག་སྟེ་དད་པ་དང་ཡིད་བཞུས་བྱས་པས་ཡིད་ཀྱི་སྦྲིབ་པ་
འདག་ཟེར་བའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་ལེན་གལ་ཆེན་ཤིག་ཡིན་ཉེ། ལོ་རེར་ཇོ་ཁང་དུ་
འཚོགས་པའི་སྤྱད་གནས་སྟོལ་འདི་དང་ཐོག་ཚོས་རྗེས་པ་ཏ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་དེ།
སྐབས་དེར་ཁོང་གིས་ཇོ་ཁང་བཞེངས་ཚར་རྗེས་གསུམ་པའི་སྤྱད་གནས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་ཇོ་
ཁང་དུ་ཚོགས་པས་ད་ལྟའང་རྒྱན་འདི་མ་ཆད་པར་ཡོད་དེ། ཡིན་ཡང་འདི་ལ་སྤྱད་གནས་
ཡིག་ཆ་དང་བཅའ་ཡིག་སོགས་མེད་པ་དང་། ལོ་རེར་ཞུགས་མཁན་མི་སྣ་མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་
ནི་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་དད་ལྡན་པ་ཡིན་ཉེ། བཀོད་སྦྲིག་གྱེད་མཁན་ཡང་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྤྲད་པ་སྡེ་
བའི་མི་ཤས་ཆེ་འོ།

གཉིས། ། བཞི་བའི་ཚོས་ཐོག

ཉོར་རྒྱ་བཞི་བའི་ནང་རྒྱའི་ཚོས་ཐོག་ཡོད་པ་འདི་ནི་བོད་ཅིས་ཚོས་གཅིག་ནས་ཚོས་བཅོ་
 ལྷ་བར་བསྐྱབས་པ་ཡིན། བཞི་བ་རྒྱའི་ཚོས་ཐོག་ཟེར་དོན་ནི་ཉིན་འདིར་རྒྱའི་གྲ་བས་ཚོ་
 ཁང་དུ་ཚོས་འདོན་པ་རེད། སྲོལ་འདི་ལྷན་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་ནང་
 བཞེངས་པའི་ཚོལ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་རྟེན་ཅིག་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ལྷ་ཁང་ཟེར་བ་འདི་བཞེངས་སྐབས་རྒྱ་མི་
 ོ་ཡང་ཐེ ། ཟེར་བཞིག་ཡོན་བདག་བྱས། ཁོང་ནི་ཚོལ་ལྷ་ཁང་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་རྒྱ་སྤེལ་ཏང་ཀྱི་
 དང་ཡང་ཀྱ། ཉོ་ཀྱ་ཟེར་བའི་ལྷ་སྤེལ་གྲས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པས་སྲོལ་འདི་བྱང་བ་རེད་ཞེས་བའི་
 བཤད་རྒྱུ་འདུག བཞི་བའི་ཚོས་ཐོག་ཉིན་ཚོལ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་གནས་ཆ་ཚང་ཁོང་ཚོར་སྤྱད་
 ནས་ཚོས་འདོན་ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱབས། བོད་མི་རང་ལ་མཚོན་ན་འད་ཉིན་འདི་ནི་ས་ག་
 རྒྱ་བའི་ཉིན་མོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཚོས་བཅོ་ལྷ་ནི་སྤོན་པ་སྐྱ་བལྟམས་པ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱས་པ།
 སྐྱ་ལྷ་དཔལ་པའི་དུས་ཚེག་གསུམ་འཛེམས་ཀྱི་ཉིན་མོ་ཡིན། ཉིན་འདི་དག་རིང་ལ་
 ལྷག་དུ་དགེ་སྐྱབ་ཚོགས་བསལ་བྱས་ན་པན་ཡོན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པས་སེར་སྐྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་
 ཀྱིས་ཁ་འདོན་དགེ་སྐྱོར་གྱི་ལས་ལ་ཕེ་གཅིག་དུ་བྲེལ་བའོ།

གསུམ། ། ལྷ་བབས་དུས་ཚེན།

ཉོར་བོད་རྒྱ་དགུ་བའི་ཚོས་ཉེར་གཅིག་ནས་ཉེར་གཉིས་བར་ཚོལ་ཁང་དུ་སྐྱུང་གནས་ཡོད་
 དེ། ལྷག་དུ་ཚོས་ཉེར་གཉིས་ཉིན་ནི་སྤོན་པ་ཤུ་གྲ་ལྷབ་པ་གནས་སུ་མ་ཅུ་ཅ་གསུམ་དུ་
 སེབས་ནས་རང་གི་ཡུམ་ཆེན་ལ་ཚོས་གསུང་ནས་ཉིན་དེར་འཛིག་རྟེན་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་དུས་
 ཡིན་པས་ ོ་ལྷ་བབས་དུས་ཚེན་ ། ཟེར། མི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ ོ་དགུ་བའི་ཉེར་གཉིས་ །
 དང་ ོ་དགུ་པའི་ལྷ་མཇལ་ ། ཞེས་པའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་ཅུང་གྲགས་ཆེ། ཉིན་དེར་སྐྱུང་
 གནས་སྐྱུང་ན་དགེ་བ་བྱེ་བ་འབྲུམ་འགྱུར་འཕེལ་རེས་ཡིན་གསུང་བ་དང་། ཚོལ་ལྷ་
 འཁོར་སྤེལ་བའི་ནང་གི་སོ་མོ་རྒྱན་གཞོན་གང་མང་གིས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དད་པའི་སྤོབས་དང་
 རང་འགྲུལ་གྱིས་ཉིན་གསུམ་གྱི་རིང་ལ་སྐྱུང་གནས་སྐྱུང་པའི་སྲོལ་གནའ་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་
 བར་དུ་ཆགས་ཡོད། ད་དུང་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་བོད་ཚོ་གྲ་ཚང་དང་མེ་ལོང་གྲ་ཚང་གི་དགེ་

འདུན་པ་རྣམས་འདིར་མེབས་ནས་སྤྲུགས་མེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་སྦྱང་གནས་སྦྱང་བ་
 དང་། ད་རུང་གཞན་ལྷལ་ནས་ཡོང་པའི་དད་ལྷན་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱང་ཞུགས་པ་མང་། ཁོང་
 ཚོས་རྗེ་བོའི་སྐུ་བརྟན་དང་། སྤྲུགས་མེ་ཆེན་པོ། ས་པཎ་བཙས་ཀྱི་སྦྱན་སྲར་མཚོད་
 འབྲུལ་དང་། རྗེ་ཁང་གི་དཀོར་གཉེར་བས་སྦྱང་གནས་བཙུགས་མང་འབྲེད་ཀྱང་རྒྱག་
 བཞིན་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་སྦྱང་གནས་སྦྱང་རྒྱུ་ལམ་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་མདོར་ཅོམ་ཞུས་ན།

༡ ཚོས་ཉེའུ་ཉིན། སྦྱང་གནས་པས་རང་བྱིམ་དུ་དགོངས་ཟས་ལ་རྩ་རྒྱུང་ཅོམ་བཞེས་
 རྗེས། ཚོས་སྐྱབས་འགོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དང་། དགའ་ལྷན་ལྷ་བརྒྱུལ། དམིགས་བརྟེ་མ་
 རྒྱུར་བརྒྱུ་འདོན་དགོས། ཆ་གསུམ་བཏང་མཐར་ཐར་མདོ་རྒྱུར་གཅིག་སྦྱོན་ལམ་
 རྣམ་ལུ་གསུང་རྗེས་སྦྱོལ་མ་རྒྱུར་གསུམ། རྒྱལ་བ་མ་ལུས་མ་གསུངས་ནས་དགོངས་
 ཟས་སྤྲུག་པ་བཞེས་ཚོག

༢ ཚོས་ཉེར་གཅིག་ཉིན། སྦྱང་གནས་པས་མདོ་རྒྱུར་གཅིག་གསུང་ནས་གསོ་སྦྱོང་
 རྒྱངས་མཐར་ཁ་སེལ་ཏེ་ཆབ་ལེན། དེ་ནས་སྐྱབས་འགོ་གནས་བཅུ་གྲུ་མའི་མཚོད་
 པའི་ནང་དུ། ལྷ་བཤགས་གསུམ། སྦྱི་བཤགས་གསུམ། གཙོ་བརྒྱུལ།
 དམིགས་བརྟེ་མ། དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་གསུམ་མ་དང་བཙས་བ་གསུང་རྗེས། བཟང་
 སྦྱོད་ནས་རྩ་བཞེས་ཆབ་ལེན། དེ་ནས་ཚོག་རྒྱས་པ་གསུང་མཐར་སྦྱོད་འཇུག་འདོན་པ།
 སྦྱན་གཉིས་པར་སྦྱང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཚོག་བསྐྱེས་པ་ཐོག་མཐའ་བར་གསུམ་གསུང་བ། དེ་
 རྣམ་ཉིན་གྲུང་དུས་ཚོད་བཅུ་གཉིས་དང་ཕྱེད་ཀའི་སྦྱང་སྦྱང་གནས་པས་གྲུང་ཚོག་གམ་
 སྦྱོམ་རྩ་བཞེས་ཏེ་ཆབ་ལེན། སྦྱན་གསུམ་པའི་འདོན་རྒྱུ་ལེ་སྦྱན་གཉིས་བ་ལྷ་རྩེན་
 ཏེ། མཐར་མཇུག་བདེ་སྦྱོན་དང་། ཤམ་པ་ལྷའི་སྦྱོན་ལམ། སྦྱོལ་མ་རྒྱུར་གསུམ།
 རྒྱལ་བ་མ་ལུས་མ་བཙས་གསུང་རྗེས་རྩ་བཞེས་ཚོག

༣ ཚོས་ཉེར་གཉིས་ཉིན། ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་གྱིས་དམ་ཚིག་སྦྱོམ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིལ་བོར་
 བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། འདོན་པ་ནི་ཚོས་ཉེར་གཅིག་ཉིན་ལྷ་རྩེན་ཡིན།

༧ ཚེས་ཉེར་གསུམ་ཉིན་སྐྱུང་གནས་ཚོགས་བསྐྱེད་པ་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་མཐར་བུམ་པའི་ཁྲི་ཀ་
ཚུ་ཡིས་ལུས་དག་ཡིད་གསུམ་གྱིས་རག་ནས་སྐྱུང་གཏོང་བ། ཕྱི་དྲིའི་དུས་ཚོད་བཞིའི་
སྟེང་ཐོ་སྐྱབ་བཞེས་རྗེས་ཆབ་ལེན་པ། དབང་བསྐྱུར་བར་འདོད་ན་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བ་དང་།
ཡང་ན་ཚོགས་ཚོགས་རྗེས་སྐོལ་མ་རྒྱུ་གསུམ་གསུང་གནས་སྐྱུང་གནས་མཚུགས་གྲོལ་བར་
བྱས།

བཞི། ༡ བཅུ་བའི་ལྷ་མཚོད།

ཐོད་རྒྱ་བཅུ་བའི་ཚེས་ཉེར་ལྷ་ཉིན་ནི་རྗེ་ཙོང་ལ་པ་ཆེན་མོའི་དགོངས་རྗེས་མཚོད་
འབྲུལ་གྱི་ཉིན་མོ་ཡིན་ལ། དུས་དེར་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྗེ་ཙོང་ལ་པ་ཆེན་མོའི་སྐྱེ་མའདུན་དུ་
མཚོད་མེ་སྐྱོན་པ་ལས་གཞན། རྗེ་གསེར་ཁང་པའི་ཕྱག་ལེན་ལྟར་སྐྱུར་སྐྱུར་གྱིས་མཚོད་
དང་བཅས་པ་གསུངས་ནས་སངས་རྒྱས་མར་མེ་མཚོད་དང་། ཐུབ་པ་དབང་པོ། རྒྱལ་བ་
བྱམས་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་མའདུན་དུ་ཡང་མཚོད་མེ་སྐྱུར་བའི་སྐོལ་ཡོད་དོ།

ལྷ་བ། ཚེ་རིང་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་དངོས་ཡོད་དོན་སྟོང་།

སྐྱིར་བོད་ཁམས་ཡོངས་ལ་མཚོན་ན་ནང་བསྐྱེད་ལ་དང་མཁའ་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཡོངས་
རྒྱུགས་རེད་ཟེར་ཚོགས་ཚོགས་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་གནས་འདི་གའི་ཁྲི་ཀའི་མང་ཚོགས་ལ་
མཚོན་ན་རྒྱུན་པར་རྗེ་ཙོང་ལ་པ་ཆེན་མོ་དང་བྱེད་པ་ནི་ཉིན་རེ་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་མེད་དུ་
མི་རུང་བའི་གོམས་སྐོལ་ཤིག་ཏུ་ཆགས་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་ཚེས་ལུགས་རིག་གནས་སྐོལ་པ་
ལས་གཞན་བོད་པའི་སྐྱེད་དང་ཡི་གེ་རྒྱན་འཁྲུངས་དང་བྱེད་བསྐྱེད་བྱེད་པའི་གནས་
ཀྱང་ཡིན། སྐད་དང་ཡི་གེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་མང་ཚོགས་དང་ལྷ་ཁང་བར་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་
དམ་ཐོར་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ལྷ་ག་པར་དུ་མི་རིགས་སྐྱེ་མང་འདུས་པའི་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་འདྲིར་
མཚོན་ན། རང་བོད་པའི་སྐྱེད་དང་ཡི་གེ་བཀོད་སྐྱེད་དང་རྒྱན་འཁྲུངས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ནི་མིག་
མའདུན་གྱི་དོན་ཆེན་ཤིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་པས་རྗེ་ཙོང་ལཱ་མ་གཟིགས་སྐྱེད་མང་པོ་གནངས་
བཞིན་འདུག དེ་མ་ཟད། རྗེ་ཙོང་ལཱ་མ་གཟིགས་སྐྱུང་གནས་སྐྱུང་པའི་གནས་ཡུལ་མཚོན་ཅན་ཞིག་

རེད་ཞེས་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཁོད་དུ་རྒྱུ་རྟུ་རྟུ་གྲགས་ཡོད་ལ་གནས་འདྲིར་ཡོང་བའི་དང་
 ལྷན་མི་སྣ་ཁྱི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་མི་མར་ཞོག་མདོ་དབུས་ཁམས་གསུམ་དང་སྤྲད་རྒྱ་ནག་ཐ་ན་
 ཕྱི་སྤྱི་བ་སོགས་ཀྱང་གནས་འདྲིར་ཡོང་ནས་སྤོན་ལམ་ལྷ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྤང་ཚུལ་ཡོད་
 པས་ཇོ་ཁང་གིས་དང་ལྷན་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རེ་སྐོང་ཐད་ཀྱང་གཟིགས་སྤྱོད་གནང་ས་
 བཞིན་འདུག ལེ་རེར་ཇོ་ཁང་དུ་འཚོགས་པའི་སྤྱོད་གནས་དང་སྤོན་ལམ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་
 མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་དད་སྲུང་ལས་ཤུགས་ཇེ་ཆེར་དང་། མི་དང་མིའི་བར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་ཇེ་
 འཆམ་དང་། མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་གསོན་ཤུགས་ཇེ་རྒྱས་འགྲོ་བའི་དགོ་མཚན་ལྟར།
 གཞན་ཡང་ཇོ་ཁང་གི་མཚན་སྲུན་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཚོང་ལས་ཐད་གོང་འཕེལ་
 སོང་པར་བརྟེན། ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་འགའི་རིང་ལ་ཇོ་ཁང་གི་ཉེ་འགམ་དུ་སྤྱོད་གྱི་ཚོང་ཁང་
 འགའ་རེ་མ་གཏོགས་མེད་ལ་ད་ལྟ་ཚོང་པ་ཇེ་མང་ནས་ཇེ་མང་དུ་སོང་བ་དང་། སྤོན་ཆད་
 འདྲིར་རྟེ་ལ་མིག་ལྷགས་རྒྱག་པའི་མགར་བ་ལས་མེད་མོད་ཀྱི། ད་ལྟ་སྤྲག་སྤྲག་
 འཁོར་ལོ་དང་ལྷུང་བསྐྱོད་འཁོར་ལོ་སོགས་ཉམས་པ་ལ་ལས་པའི་ཞོར་ལས་པ་མང་པོ་
 སྤེབས་འདུག དེ་ཉེ་འཁོར་དུ་སྤྱོད་གྱི་བོད་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཚོང་ཁང་བསྐྱེམས་པས་ལྷ་ལྷག་
 ཅོམ་ཡོད། རྒྱའི་ཚོང་ཁང་རེ་འགའ་འདུག དེ་ཡང་ཁོ་མོས་ཇོ་ཁང་གམ་དུ་སྤྱོད་གྱིས་
 གཉེར་བའི་སྤོན་ཁང་སྤྱིན་བདག་ཅིག་ལ་ཅུད་གཅོད་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་ན། ཇོ་ཁང་དུ་ཡོང་བའི་
 མཇལ་བ་དང་ལྟོངས་རྒྱ་བ་མང་དུ་སོང་བ་དང་བསྐྱུན་ཁོང་ཚོས་ཡོང་སྤོང་ཡང་འཕར་སྤོན་
 བྱུང་ཡོད་ཟེར། བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཤུགས་ཀྱིས་བོད་
 པའི་ཚོང་ཁང་དང་སྤྱོད་གྱི་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་ཁང་སོགས་གནས་དེ་ནས་ཡུན་རིང་པོར་དོན་དུ་
 གཉེར་ན་བོད་པའི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གོང་འཕེལ་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་དགོ་མཚན་གང་མང་ཞིག་
 འདུག་ལ། བོད་པའི་བཟོ་ལས་དང་ཚོང་ལས་ལྷུང་དུ་འཕེལ་བ་ལ་ཉུས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོབ།
 ལྷག་པར་དུ་ཁྱི་ཀའི་ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཁང་ནི་འགྲིམ་འགྲུལ་སྤེབས་བདེ་བའི་གནས་སུ་ཆགས་
 ཡོད་ལ། མར་དུང་ཐད་ཀྱི་ལུ་ཕྱོགས་ནི་ཟི་ལིང་འགྲོ་སའི་ལམ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། དེའི་དུང་
 ཐད་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་ནི་གཅན་ཚོད་དང་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ནི་བ་ཡན། ཡ་རྗེ་སོགས་འགྲོ་སའི་གཞུང་
 ལམ་ཡིན་པས་ལྟོངས་རྒྱ་བར་མཚན་ན་ཉ་ཅང་སྤེབས་བདེ་བ་ཞིག་རེད། དེ་བས་ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྷ་
 ཁང་འདྲིན་ཁྱི་ཀའི་ས་ཆའི་ཚོས་ཤུགས་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་བ་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་
 བའང་ཡིན་ལ། དེས་འོས་ཤིང་འཚོམ་པའི་སྤོན་ལམ་བོད་རྒྱ་སོགས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་བརྗེ་

རེས་དང་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་དག་མདོན་པར་མཚོན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ལྷ་ཁང་འདི
བཅུགས་ནས་ལོ་ཡུན་རིང་ཁོད་ཕྱི་རབས་རྣམས་ལ་རིག་དངོས་སུ་སྤྲོད་ཚོགས་པ་
བཞག་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེར་གཞན་དང་མི་མཚུངས་པའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཐང་སྐྱོན་མེད་
པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ལྡན་ཡོད། དེར་བརྟེན་སྤྲོད་ཚོགས་པའི་རིག་གནས་ཤུལ་བཞག་འདི
ངོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྲོད་ཚོགས་པའི་རིག་གནས་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ། དེ་དག་སྤྲོད་ཚོགས་དང་
སྤྲོད་ཚོགས་པོ་ལྟར་བྱ་དགོས།

མཐའ་སྟོམ།

ཆེད་རྩོམ་འདིའི་བརྗོད་བྱུང་བྱུང་པ་ནི་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྟེན་གྲིན་རྣམས་ཅན་བཞིའི་ཡ་
གྲུལ་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་རྗེ་རྟེན་ལང་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡིན། ཡུལ་དེར་གནའ་སྤོ་མོ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་
སྤྲོད་པ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཐོན་ལ་སྐབས་བཅོལ་མོད། དེར་ནང་བསྟན་དར་བའི་དུས་ཡང་ཉ་ཅང་སྤ་
སྟེ། དཔུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁུངས་བཅུན་འགའ་ལྟར་ན། བཅོན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྟོང་ལྟེ་བཅོན་གྱི་
རིང་ལ་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ས་ཁོངས་དེ་ཁྲི་ཀ་གོང་འོག་གཉིས་སུ་སྤྱེས་ཤིང་། ལྷ་བས་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་
ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ནང་བསྟན་དར་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཤེས་ཐུབ། རྗེས་སེར་མངའ་བདག་ཁྲི་
རལ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རིང་ལ་ཁོང་ཉིད་སྐྱུ་དངོས་སུ་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་འདིར་ཐེབས་ནས་སྤྲོན་
གྲགས་ཀྱང་ཉུ་ཁབ་པའི་ཨ་མ་དེ་མཚོན་རྟེན་དང་པོ་སྟེ་ཁྲི་ཀའི་མི་ཉག་མཚོན་རྟེན་
བཞེངས་པ་རེད། ཁྲི་ཀའི་མི་ཉག་མཚོན་རྟེན་མཐོང་གོལ་ཆེན་མོ་འམ་མི་ཉག་མཚོན་
རྟེན་འདི་ཁྲི་ཀ་ས་ཆར་སྤྲོན་གྲགས་ཆེ་བ་མ་ཟད་ཨ་མ་དེའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤིན་ཏུ་རིང་
བའི་རྟེན་འགའ་ཆེན་ཞིག་རེད། རྟེན་མཚོན་འདིར་ལོ་ཆེག་སྟེང་ཆེག་བརྒྱའི་ལོ་
རྒྱུས་ལྡན་པ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཁྲི་ཀ་བྱ་བ་འདི་བོད་བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཅོང་
ཁའི་སྤེ་ཁམས་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་བས་དེའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆབ་སྲིད་དང་རིག་གནས།
ཚོས་ལུགས་བཅས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་གཞི་འགའ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཀྱང་རེད། རྒྱ་མཚན་དེ་དག་གི་
དབང་གིས་པམ་ཁྲི་ཀའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐེབས་ཤིང་མཚོན་རྟེན་དེར་མཇུག་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་
གྲིས་རྗེ་ལང་འདི་བཞེངས་པ་རེད། དེར་དཔུང་ན། ས་པམ་ཀྱང་དགའ་རྒྱུལ་མཚོན་མདོ་
སྤྲོད་ཁྲི་ཀར་ཐེབས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་ནི་སྤྲོད་དོན་གྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་མ་ཡིན་པར་བསྟན་པའི་འགོ་དོན་

མཛད་ཡོད།

གོང་སྐུམ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་དང་། དམངས་ཁྲོད་དག་རྒྱན་དང་རང་གི་ཕྱད་གཅོད་
 སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་ཐོག་མར་ས་པའི་གྲིས་བཞེངས་པ་ཡིན་པར་ལུང་དང་
 རིག་པས་བསྐྱབས་ཡོད། ས་པའི་གྲིས་ལེང་གྲུ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཐེབས་རྗེས་རྗེ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་
 རྗེ་བདག་ཚང་ལ་གཉེར་གཏང་པ་དང་། དེའི་ཕྱིས་སུ་ཐོད་རྗེ་གྲུ་ཚང་གིས་དག་འདུན་པ་
 མངགས་ནས་དགོན་སྡེ་འདི་བདག་སྲོང་དང་། ད་བརྒྱད་ལོར་ཆགས་སྲོན་ཐེབས་པ།
 རྗེས་སོང་ཨ་ལུ་སུལ་བུང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་གཙོ་འགན་བཞེས་ཏེ་ལྷ་ཁང་བསྐྱར་བཞེངས་མཛད་
 ཚུལ། རྗེ་ཁང་གི་སྐབས་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་བཀོད་པ་དང་དེའི་ནང་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐབས་སྐུའི་
 སྐང་བརྟན། ཐེབས་གྲིས་རིམ་སོགས་བཛོད་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། རྗེ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་ནི་
 གནའ་སྐུ་མོ་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་སྐྱུང་གནས་སྐྱུང་པའི་གནས་འགངས་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་
 མ་ཟད། དེ་ཐོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཆ་འགངས་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་པ་བརྟན།
 དེའི་ཚོག་ཕྱག་ལེན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་གསུམ་པའི་སྐྱུང་གནས་དང་། བཞི་བའི་ཚོས་ཐོག་
 ལྷ་བབས་དུས་ཆེན། བརྒྱབ་འཕྲུ་མཚོད་སོགས་བཀོད་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། རྗེ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་
 དེས་དེང་སང་སྐུ་མཐུན་དུ་ཡུལ་ཁམས་དེའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་། དམངས་སྲོལ།
 དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཚོང་ལས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་སོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་འཛིན་དང་དར་སྤེལ་གྱི་ཐད་ལ་
 རུས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་འདོན་བཞེན་ཡོད་པ་བརྟན་ཡོད། དེ་མ་ཟད། རྗེ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་ནི་བོད་མི་
 རིགས་གཙོ་གྱུར་བའི་དད་ལྡན་མང་ཚོགས་མ་གཏོགས། རྒྱ་མི་རིགས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་མཚོད་
 མཛལ་དང་དད་པ་བྱེད་པས་མི་རིགས་མཐུན་སྦྲིལ་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་རུས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོན་
 ཡོད། དེ་བས་རྗེ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་ནི་བོད་མི་རིགས་བྱིངས་ལ་མཚོན་ན་ཤིན་ཏུ་གལ་
 འགངས་ཆེ་ཞིང་། རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་སྐྱུང་སྲོབ་དང་ཉམས་པ་གོང་སྤེལ་གཏོང་བའི་ཐད་ལ་ཚང་
 མས་སྲོ་རྩ་གཅིག་སྦྲིལ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་ཤེས་ལྡན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་
 ཞིད་ཀྱི་རུས་པ་གཙོ་འདོན་གནང་ནས་རྣམ་ཀུན་ཏུ་འདིའི་ཐད་ལ་སྐྱགས་འཁུར་དང་ཞིབ་
 འཇུག་གནང་བ་བརྒྱད་ནས་ཁྲི་ཀའི་རྗེ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་བོད་མི་རིགས་སྤྱི་དང་ནང་སྐོས་སུ་
 རྒྱན་ག་དང་། སོག་པོ་སོགས་མི་རིགས་གཞན་དག་དང་འཛམ་གླིང་ཡོངས་ལ་དོ་སྲོད་
 ཕྱོགས་ལ་བསམ་གཞིགས་གང་ལེགས་གནང་དགོས་པར་སྐུམ་མོ།།

ཟུར་ལྟའི་དབྱེད་གཞི།
ཐོད་ཡིག་གི་སྒྲིབ།

- ༡ མདོ་སྐད་ཨ་མདོའི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྟན་པ་དར་རྒྱུ་ལྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུན། ཤར་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོས་མཛད། ཤིང་པར་མ།
- ༢ མཚོ་སྐོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སོགས་བཀོད་པའི་ཚོང་ས་ལྷུ་གསར་བརྟན། སུམ་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱིས་བཅུམས། མཚོ་སྐོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ལང། ༡༩༤༤ལོའི་རྒྱུ་
- ༣ ཚོས་འབྲུང་མཁམ་པའི་དགའ་རྟོན། རྩོད་སྐད་གཉེས། །དཔལ་འབྱོར་གཙུག་ལག་སྤེང་བས་བཅུམས། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ལང། ༡༩༤༤ལོའི་རྒྱུ་
- ༤ ཐོད་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་ལག་ལྡན། ཆབ་སྲེལ་ཚོ་བརྟན་སྟུན་ཚོགས་སོགས་གྱིས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་མཛད། ཐོད་ལྗོངས་ཐོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ལང། ༡༩༩༠ལོའི་རྒྱུ་
- ༥ མདོ་སྐད་ཚོང་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དགོན་སྡེ་འགའི་དོ་སྟོན། རེབ་གོང་དོ་རྗེ་སྐྱེ་དབྱེད་སྐྱེ་མཚོའི་བཅུམས་པ། ཐོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག། ༡༩༤༧ལོའི་དུས་དེབ་གསུམ་པ།
- ༦ སྐབ་གནས་ཀ་མདོ་གདོང་དམར་སྐུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བཤའ་པ། ཤར་གདོང་སྐོ་བཟང་བཤའ་སྐབ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་མཛད། ཤིང་པར་མ།
- ༧ ཀུན་མཁྱེན་འཇིགས་མེད་དབང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ལྷང་ཐང་བསྟན་པའི་སྐོན་མེས་མཛད། ཀན་སུལུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ལང། ༡༩༩༠ལོའི་རྒྱུ་
- ༨ ཐོད་གྱི་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལ་སྐྱེད་བཀའ་ཤིས་ཚོ་རིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ལང། ༢༠༠༢ལོའི་རྒྱུ་
- ༩ ལྷ་ཚེན་དགོངས་པ་རབ་གསལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། ཚོ་ཉན་ཞབས་རྩུང་རྗེ་འཇིགས་མེད་རིགས་པའི་སྐོ་གོས་མཚོག་གི་གསུང་འབུམ། ལྷེགས་བམ་བརྟུགས་ལྷེགས་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ལང། ༢༠༠༧ལོའི་རྒྱུ་
- ༡༠ དན་ཉིག་དཀར་ཆག་ ཚོ་ཉན་ཞབས་རྩུང་རྗེ་འཇིགས་མེད་རིགས་པའི་སྐོ་གོས་མཚོག་གི་གསུང་འབུམ། ལྷེགས་བམ་བརྟུགས་ལྷེགས་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ལང། ༢༠༠༧ལོའི་རྒྱུ་
- ༡༡ ཚོས་འབྲུང་མཁམ་པའི་དགོངས་རྒྱུ། ཤར་ཡུལ་སྟུན་ཚོགས་ཚོ་རིང་གིས་

- བཙུམས་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་། 2003ལོའི་ཟླ་ ༡༡
- ༡༢ དུང་དཀར་ཚོག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ། དུང་དཀར་སློབ་ཐང་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱིས་ཚུལ་སྤྲིན་གྱིས་མཛོད་དུ་གྲུབ་པའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་། 2002ལོའི་ཟླ་ ༧པའི་པར་གཞི་དང་པོ་པར་ཐེངས་དང་པོ།
- ༡༣ སྐྱེ་འགྲུལ་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་གི་གདན་རབས་དོན་ལྡན་ཚངས་པའི་དབྱངས་སྟོན། གསེར་ཉོག་སློབ་ཐང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་བཙུམས། མཚོ་སྤོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་། ༡༩༨2ལོའི་ཟླ་2
- ༡༤ སྐུ་བཀའ་གྲུབ་མཐའ། སྐུ་བཀའ་སློབ་ཐང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཉིམས་བཙུམས། ཀན་སྐུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་། ༡༩༨༧ལོའི་ཟླ་ ༨
- ༡༥ མདོ་སྐད་ཤར་ལུལ་གྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོ་བཤོག་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་རིག་གནས་བཅས་པར་དབྱེད་པ། འབྲུག་ཐར། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་། 2002ལོའི་ཟླ་ ༥
- ༡༦ ཚོས་འབྱུང་དཔལ་ག་བསམ་ལྡོན་བཟང་། སུམ་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱིས་བཙུམས། ཀན་སྐུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩2ལོའི་ཟླ་ ༡2
- ༡༧ ཞི་ཀའི་མི་ཉལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་དད་གསུམ་ཉིན་བྱེད་འབྲིན་པའི་སྐུ་རེངས། བཤད་སྐུ་བརྒྱ་མཚོས་བཙུམས་པ། སྤྲང་ཆར། ༡༩༩༨ལོའི་དུས་དེབ་གསུམ་པ།

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Some Tibetan verb forms that violate Dempsey's law

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 Jakob Dempsey suggests that Tibetan *-i-* before velars often derives from an original *-e-* (Dempsey 2001: 217, 2003: 90, Hill 2012: 73, Hill 2013: 202-203).¹ Chinese cognates with the vowel *-e-* provide good motivation for this suggestion.²

Tib. གཅིག *gčig* < *gčiek 'one' : Chi. 隻 *tsyek* < *tek (1260c) 'one of a pair'

Tib. མཇིང *mjin* < *mlin (Bodman's law) < *mlieŋ 'neck' : Chi. 領 *ljengX* < *reŋʔ (0823f)

OTib. མྱིང *myin* < *mieŋ 'name' : Chi. 名 *mjieng* < *C.meŋ (0826a)

Tib. འདྲེན *ldzin* < *hdzeŋ 'quarrel, fight v.', Ch. 爭 *tsreang* < *m-ts'reŋ (0811a) 'strife, quarrel'

Tib. རྫོང *rdzin* < *rdzeŋ 'pond' : Chi. 井 *tsjengX* < *C.tseŋʔ (0819a) 'well (n.)'

Tib. སྲིང་མོ *sriŋ-mo* < *sreŋ-mo 'sister of a man' : Chi. 甥 *sraeng* < *s.reŋ (0812g) 'sister's child'

The cases where Chinese has *-i-* before a velar show that this sound change is indeed a merger.

Tib. ཚེགས *tshigs* 'joint' : Chi. 節 *tset* < *ts'ik (0399e) 'joint of

¹ This essay uses the Library of Congress system for transliterating Tibetan with the following changes: 'h' rather than apostrophe, 'č' rather than of 'c', and 'j' rather than 'j'. For Chinese I provide the character followed by Baxter's Middle Chinese (1992), an Old Chinese reconstruction taken from or compatible with the current version of Baxter and Sagart's system (2011), and the character number in Karlgren (1964[1957]). Like in Baxter's own recent work, for Middle Chinese I use 'ae' and 'ea' in place of his original 'æ' and 'ē'. I do not however following him is changing 'i' to '+'.
² The same change occurs in the pre-history of Latin (e.g. Lat. *septingentī* 'seven hundred' < *septem+centum, Lat. *tingō* 'moisten', versus Gk. τέγγω; Lat. *quīnque* 'five', Gk. πέντε, Skt. *pāñcan* cf. Leumann 1977: 45).

bamboo'

Tib. སྤྲུག *śig* 'louse' : Chi. 虱 *srit* < *sri[k] (0506a) 'louse'

Tib. འཇམ་གྲུག *hkhuyig* 'tie, fasten, suffocate' : Chi. 縊 *'ejH* < *q^hik-s (0849g) 'strangle'

Tib. ན་ཞིང་ *na-niñ* 'last year' : Chi. 年 *nen* < *C.n^hiŋ (0364a) 'harvest; year'

Tib. སྤུང་ *śiñ* 'tree' : Chi. 薪 *sin* < *si[ŋ] (0382n) 'firewood'

Tib. སྤོང་ *sñiñ* 'heart' : Chi. 仁 *nyin* < *niŋ (0388f) 'kindness'

Internal to Tibetan, Dempsey's law helps to explain the failure of some laterals to undergo Benedict's law (*l- > ź-). If Benedict's law preceded Dempsey's law, one can explain why all instances of *li-* appear in words with velar finals. The words ཞིང་ *źiñ* 'field' and ལེངས་ *liñs* 'hunt' were originally *liŋ (with *liŋ a subphonemic pronunciation) 'field' and *leŋs 'hunt'; after the application of Benedict's law they became *źiŋ 'field' and *leŋs 'hunt'; after the application of Dempsey's law they became the attested ཞིང་ *źiñ* 'field' and ལེངས་ *liñs* 'hunt'. Dempsey's law also accounts for the lack of palatalization in most words that contain the sequences *-di-* and *-ni-* (cf. Hill 2013: 202-203).

If all instances of inherited *-e-* before velars changed to *-i-*, then one expects to find no native Tibetan words that contain the sequences *-eñ* or *-eg*. Nonetheless, there are many such words, both nouns (འབྲེང་ *hbren* 'braid', ཟེང་ *phren* 'rosary', རྗེག་ *dreg* 'dirt', རྗེགས་ *dregs* 'pride', དེང་ *den* 'these days') and verbs (སྤོག་ *sreg* 'burn', གཤེགས་ *gśegs* 'go', འདྲེང་ *hden* 'go', སྤྲེག་ *sñeg* 'chase', སེང་ *señ* 'purify, clean'). Loanwords and analogical developments are the most common phenomena which lead to the apparent violation of exceptionless soundlaws (Campbell 2004: 16-120, esp. 109-111); few of the Tibetan words with rimes *-eñ* and *-eg* are obvious loanwords, consequently, it is likely that some of the exceptions are analogical developments.

Paradigms provide one source of inspiration for the creation of analogical forms. Tibetan nouns are invariant across the noun paradigm; examples of paradigmatic analogical changes in the nominal system will be difficult to find. However, Tibetan verbs have intricate inflectional paradigms that provide ample models for analogical innovations (Coblin 1976, Hill 2010: xv-xxii). The remainder of this essay explores analogical explanations for the forms སེང་ *señ* 'purify, clean', སྤྲེག་ *sñeg* 'chase', གཤེགས་ *gśegs* 'go, come', and ལྡེག་ *ldeg* 'teeter'.

The verb སེང་ *señ* 'purify, clean' is explainable as an alternative present to the verb (present) བསངས་ *sañs* / བསང་ *bsañ*, (past) བསངས་ *bsañs*, (future) བསང་ *bsañ*, (imperative) སོངས་ *soñs* 'cleanse, purify'. Stems of this

verb are well known from Tibet's religious vocabulary, with *sañs* appearing in the compound *sañs-rgyas* 'buddha' and the stem *bsañs* used as a noun 'juniper fumigation ritual' in its own right. Analogy well motivates the form *señ* that violates Dempsey's law. A verb such as *byed*, *byas*, *bya*, *byos* 'do' serves as a convenient model: *byas* : *byed* :: *bsañs* : X, in which X was solved for with *señ*. The other two available present stems *sañs* and *bsañ* are also explainable as analogical developments. The stem *sañs* is arrived at through the removal of the *b-* past prefix. The past suffix *-s* was not removed because final *-s* may appear in present stems; compare *hčhags*, *bsags*, *bsag*, *śogs* 'confess'. The opposite strategy results in the present stem *bsañ*; in this case not the past suffix *-s*, but the prefix *b-* remains, this time on the model of a verb such as *bgro*, *bgros*, *bgro*, *gros* 'argue, discuss'. The existence of three alternative presents *señ*, *sañs*, and *bsañ*, and the ease with which analogy accounts for them both suggest that an inherited present was ousted from this paradigm. In this case the etymological present *gsiñ* < **gseñ* 'strain, purify' occurs as an independent verb; the inherited paradigm was *gsiñ*, *bsañs*, *bsañ*, *soñs*.

The form *sñeg* 'chase' is also explainable as an analogical development. Although Hill gives separate verbs *√sñeg* (*sñeg*, *bsñegs*, *bsñeg*, *sñogs*) 'chase after' and *√sñag* (*sñog*, *bsñags*, *bsñag*, *sñogs*, 2010: 108-112), a single passage from the Old Tibetan version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* attests all four forms of this verb, yielding the paradigm *sñegs*, *bsñags*, *bsñag*, *sñogs*.

- (1) *rñ-po-čhe-ñi ri-dags śig byuñ-ba / lha-mos* « *jo-bo sñogs* » *śes gsol-pa-dañ / rgyal-po źal-nas /* « *ñu nñ bzlu-ba-ñi ri-dags yin-bas / bsñag-du myi ruñ-ste / ðđ sñegs-pa-ñi pyi-na / khyod ðphrog-pa ðoñ* » *źes bgyis-na / lha-mo mchid-nas* « *ri-dags kyis bslur ĵi mchis // ... rgyal-po źal-nas //* « *ñas ri-dags bsñag-gis // Lag-śa-na gar yañ ma-ñgro-bar // lha-mo sruñ-śig* » *čhes gsuñ-ste / ri-dags bsñagso //*

When a precious deer arose, the lady requested 'lord **chase** [imperative] (it)!. The king said, 'this is a deceitful deer, it is not appropriate to **chase** [future] (it).' If I were to **chase** [present] it, thou wouldst be absconded.' The lady said, 'how can a deer be deceitful...' The king said, 'I will **chase** [future] the deer, but Lakṣaṇa, going nowhere, guard the lady!' He **chased** [past] the deer. (I.O.L. Tib J 0737.1, ll. 144-150, cf. de Jong 1989: 113)

Even if later texts do distinguish the verbs $\sqrt{s}\dot{n}eg$ (སློག *sñeg*, བསློགས *bsñegs*, བསློག *bsñeg*, ལྷོགས *sñogs*) and $\sqrt{s}\dot{n}ag$ (སློག *sñog*, བསློགས *bsñags*, བསློག *bsñag*, ལྷོགས *sñogs*), this passage makes clear that forms with the vowel 'e' started life in the present stem ལྷོགས *sñegs*. The reanalysis of the final -s as a past suffix allows for the creation of a new present ལྷོག *sñeg*, with the past བསློགས *bsñegs* and future བསློག *bsñeg*, deriving from this stem through the normal application of the affixes *b-* and *-s*. If the verbal root were in fact $\sqrt{s}\dot{n}eg$, the imperative would not undergo 'o' ablaut. However, the salience of 'o' for marking the imperative led to the suppletive borrowing of the original imperative instead of an ablautless form such as **sñegs*. These considerations demonstrate that the entire paradigm of $\sqrt{s}\dot{n}eg$ is born from the present stem ལྷོགས *sñegs*, but this stem itself is a violation of Dempsey's law and requires explanation. The inherited present **sñigs* (< **sñegs*) was analogically restored to ལྷོགས *sñegs* just as གསེང *gsin* < **gseŋ* was replaced with སེང *sen*, but whereas གསེང *gsin* enjoyed a new life as a verb with specialized semantics, the attested verb $\sqrt{s}\dot{n}ig$ 'discard' (སློག *sñig*, བསློགས *bsñigs*, བསློག *bsñig*, ལྷོགས *sñigs*, cf. Hill 2010: 109) blocked this possibility for **sñigs*.

Although གཤེགས *gśegs* 'go, come' is an invariant verb already in Old Tibetan, there is evidence that it originates as a present stem. Jäschke points out that the form ལོག *śog*, synchronically the imperative of ལོང *loñ* 'come', is "properly" the imperative of གཤེགས *gśegs* (1881: 503). With the paradigm of a verb like $\sqrt{lañ}$ 'take' (ལེན *lend*, ལླངས *blañs*, ལླང *blañ*, ལོང *loñ*) 'take' in mind, one might speculate that གཤེགས *gśegs* originally had the following paradigm.

pres. གཤེགས *gśegs*
 past. **bśags*
 fut. **bśag*
 imp. ལོག *śog*

Róna-Tas reconstructs an unattested form of this verb **gśags* on the basis of Balti dialect *śags* 'go' and the Monguor loan from Tibetan *śiaqla* 'pass away' (1966: 95 #670). In a review R. A. Miller highlights that "the Monguor form and the Balti reflex are particularly important since they give evidence for an original **a-grade*" (1968: 156). Sprigg confirms the Balti word *śags* with the meaning 'come, go, sit' (2002: 151).

Written Tibetan	Balti	English
རེག <i>reg</i>	<i>rjaxs</i>	'begin'
འཐེང <i>hthen</i>	<i>thjaŋ</i>	'limp'
ལྷེག <i>ldeg</i>	<i>ldjaqlджа</i>	'swinging up and down'
ཐེག <i>theg</i>	<i>thjaq</i>	'be able to list'

Table 1: The correspondence of Written Tibetan *-e-* to Balti *-ja-* (after Zemp 2006 qtd. in Jacques 2009)

The Monguor form supports the reconstruction of a nuclear vowel **a*, but it is not entirely clear that Balti also supports this reconstruction. Jacques demonstrates that western Tibetic languages undergo a change of *e* > *ja* before velars (2009). In general the presence of medial *-j-* signals whether the Balti reflex derives from Tibetan *-e-* or *-a-*, thus Balti *thjaq* < Tib. ཐེག *theg* 'be able to list' versus Balti *thaqpa* < Tib. ཐག་པ་ *thag-pa* 'rope' (cf. Sprigg 2002: 163, 239). However, since *ś-* is already a palatal consonant this distinction does not manifest after this consonant; the vowel of Balti *śags* reconstructs to either **-e-* or **-a-* with equal ease.

Róna-Tas' reconstruction of a prefix **g-* in the ancestor of Balti *śags* appears unmotivated. Eunice Jones, a linguist who has lived in Baltistan for many years, informs me that although some Balti dialects, such as that of Khapalu, retain many of the etymological cluster initials in verb stems, she is unaware of any dialect that has a cluster initial in the word *śaxpha* 'go' (imp. *śoxs*) (letter, 4 February 2013). Balti thus supports the reconstruction of a past stem **śags* (or possibly **śegs*) and an imperative **śogs*.³ More significant than the Balti form is the pronunciation of གཤེགས *gśegs* 'die' in Lhasa dialect as /`shaa/, which Kitamura renders orthographically as གཤགས *gśags* (1975: 60).

Even without evidence for pronunciation of the past with an 'a' vocalism, the absence of the *g-* prefix from the attested Tibetan imperative ཤོག *śog* guarantees that the *g-* and the *-e-* of the form གཤེགས *gśegs* are derivational and not elements of the root. Furthermore, the 'e' vowel and the final *-s*, which takes the form *-d* after open syllables and grave consonants, seen in གཤེགས *gśegs* are characteristic of a present stem (cf. Coblin 1976: 51-54).

The invariant verb གཤེགས *gśegs* is a generalized present stem, but this stem itself is a violation of Dempsey's law and requires

³ Bielmeier's grammar of Balti does not include this words (1985: 245).

explanation. The anticipated inherited form is *gśigs (< *gśegs), which is as far as known to me unattested in any meaning.

The only way to tie the two attested forms, གཤེགས *gśegs* and ལོགས *śog* is to suggest that there was once a verb with the paradigm *gśegs, *bśags, *bśag, ལོགས *śog*, or, following the evidence of Balti for an unprefixated past, *gśegs, *śags, *śag, ལོགས *śog*. Dempsey's law then led *gśegs to become *gśigs. Next, analogy replaced the present *gśigs with གཤེགས *gśegs*, when *(b)śags and *(b)śag were still current. Finally, paradigmatic leveling led all stems except གཤེགས *gśegs* to fall into disuse; ལོགས *śog* remained as a suppletive member of another verb (viz. རོང *hoñ* 'come').

The doublet of verbs ལྷེག *ldeg* 'shake' and ལྷེག *ldig* 'shake' looks like another case in which Dempsey's law changed *-eg to -ig, only to be counteracted by analogical restoration. The *Mdzañs blun* provides a clear example of ལྷེག *ldeg* meaning 'teeter'.

- (2) *lhalji pho-brañ kun ldeg-č'iñ g.yos-nas lha rñams dñañs-te
bltas-na/ byañ-chub-sems-dpas lus-kyi pags-pa sbyin-par byas
mthoñ-nas/*

All the palaces of the gods teetered and shook, when the gods, afearful, looked, they saw that the Mahāsattva had offered the skin of his own body. (*Mdzañs blun*, Derge Kanjur, vol. 74 folio 172b)

The inherited present ལྷེག *ldig* occurs in the phrase མི་ལྷེག་པའི་ཚོས་ *mi ldig pañi chos* 'unwavering dharma' (cf. Derge Kanjur, vol. 40, p. 42a, vol. 45, p. 41a).

The presents ལྷེག *ldig* (inherited) and ལྷེག *ldeg* (renewed) should derive from a root √lag, with a paradigm that includes past *blags, future *blag, and imperative *logs. The verb ལྷགས *blags* 'incline', seen in the phrase རྩ་བ་ལྷགས་ *rna-ba blags* 'incline one's ear' (cf. de Jong 1973), is semantically close enough to 'teeter', to warrant its interpretation as the past stem of ལྷེག *ldig* / ལྷེག *ldeg*. De Jong does not provide a textual citation for རྩ་བ་ལྷགས་ *rna-ba blags* 'incline one's ear', instead relying on the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* and other lexical sources. Nonetheless, the Kanjur offers a number of attestations of རྩ་བ་ལྷགས་ *rna-ba blags* 'incline one's ear'.

- (3) *mdor-na dud-ḥgro-ñi skye-gñas-su gtogs-pañi sems-can dag
kyañ sgra sñān-pa de-la rna blags-te sñān-to// de-nas bčom-
ldan-ḥdas-kyis dge-sloñ rñams-la bkaḥ-stsal-pa/*

In sum, even the beings who belong to the real of animals inclined their ears to that mellifluous sound and listened. Then the Bhagavan addressed his disciplines. (*Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*, Derge Kanjur, vol. 10, 42b)

- (4) *des tshe-dañ-ldan-pa sñan-pa Bzañ-ldan-gyi skad-kyi gtañ-rag thos-nas kyañ yañ rna-ba blags-te mi g.yo-bar sdod-do/*

Having heard the words of the speech of the venerable and renowned Bhadrīka, he inclined his ears and sat immobile. (*Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*, Derge Kanjur, vol. 10, 42b)

- (5) *de Rgyal-byed-kyi tshal logs-su soñ-nas khad-kyis khad-kyis Rgyal-byed-kyi tshal-du phyin-pa-dañ/ Rgyal-byed-kyi tshal-kyi sgo-nas rna-blags-te sdod-do/*

He went in the direction of the Jetavana grove, slowly arrived at the Jetavana grove, and sat inclining his ear, at the gate of the Jetavana grove (*Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*, Derge Kanjur, vol. 10, 43a)

Recognizing that རྗེག *ldeg* 'teeter' and ལྷགས *blags* 'incline' are two stems of the same verb permits one to notice the (lack of) parallelism between the phrases རྗེག་ཅིང་གཡོས *ldeg-čin g.yos* 'teeter and shake' in example 2 and ལྷགས་ཏེ་མི་གཡོ *blags-te mi g.yo* 'incline and not move' in example 4.

Not all examples of ལྷགས *blags* in the Kanjur are preceded by རྣ་བ *rna-ba* 'ear'. The *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* offers two identical examples of ལྷོང་གིས་ལྷགས་པ *rluñ-gis blags-pa* 'shaken by the wind'.

- (6) *dper-na śiñ-ljon dag-gi lo-ma sna-tshogs rluñ-gis blags-pa dag gcig-tu lhuñ-žin gcig-tu ḥdug-pa de bžin-du khyed-cag kyañ rigs sna-tshogs-dañ/ rus sna-tshogs-dañ/ khyim sna-tshogs-nas rab-tu byuñ-ba dag yin-gyi/ kho-boḥi ḥphags-pas ni byañ-chub thugs-su chud-pa yin-no/*

For example, like the various leaves of trees, shaken by the wind, fall and sit together, although you are monks, from various lineages, clans, and houses, because of my nobility you (all together) enter the enlightened mind

(*Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, Derge Kanjur, vol. 6, 24a-b, vo. 7, 4a-b)

Another use of ལྷགས *blags* is in the phrase མཚེ་མ་ལྷགས *mchi-ma blags*, which Btsan lha ṅag dbaṅ tshul khrims equates with མཚེ་མ་འོར *mchi-ma śor* 'cry' (1997: 185). I wonder whether, the literal meaning 'for tears to teeter' might instead more precisely mean 'to hold back tears'. Example 7 is one of many attestations of མཚེ་མ་འོར *mchi-ma-śor* in the Kanjur that could be cited.

(7) *gcan-gzan-gyis khod ciḥi phyir ḥdi ltar mi dgaḥ źes dris-na/*
mchi-ma blags-nas rgyas-par smras-pa dañ/

When the creature asked 'why art thou unhappy like this', after crying, he explained in detail. (*Mdzangs blun*, Derge Kanjur, vol. 74 folio 172a)

It is difficult to locate unambiguous future stems of the verb in question. In example 8, མི་ལྷག *mi blag* 'not incline' is either a future or a present. If it is a present, then it is built analogically to the past ལྷགས *blags*, replacing the inherited present ལྷིག *ldig*.

(8) *kha-cig rna mi blag gus-par mi ṅan-ciñ bkaḥ-ñan-paḥi sems*
ñe-bar mi ḥjog-la/ čhos-kyi rjes-su ḥthun-paḥi chos-la nan-tan
mi byed-na ...

If someone does not incline his ear, does not listen, does not establish a loyal and obedient mind, and does not act diligently for dharma that accords with dharma...
(*Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*, Derge Kanjur, vol. 31, page 76b)

The expected imperative *logs appears not to occur. One might explain that 'teeter' is not a voluntary verb, but at least in English one can use the imperative 'incline thine ear unto my sayings' (Proverbs 4:20). With the orthographic form འོགས *logs* in mind, it is perhaps not too far fetched to suggest that the noun འོགས *logs* 'the side' is derived from the same root as this verb.

This investigation of exceptions to Dempsey's law permits the conclusion that the verbs མེར *sen* 'purify, clean', ལྷོག *sñeg* 'chase', གཤེགས *gśegs* 'go, come', and ལྷིག *ldeg* 'teeter' are analogical present formations; the inherited presents of these verbs, with *-i-* vocalism, have been replaced with the *-e-* vocalisms more typical of the present stem. The

inherited paradigms, together with brief remarks on subsequent developments, can be summarized as follows:

√*sañ* 'cleanse, purify'.

pres. གསེང *gsin* (exists alongside the analogical སེང *sen*)

past བསངས *bsaṅs*

fut. བསང *bsaṅ*

imp. རོངས *soṅs*

√*sñag* 'chase, pursue'

pres. **sñigs* (replaced by analogical སྟླགས *sñegs*)

past བསྟླགས *bsñags*

fut. བསྟླག *bsñag*

imp. སྟླགས *sñogs*

√*śag* 'go'

pres. **gśigs* (replaced by analogical གཤེགས *gśegs*)

past *(b)*śags* (replaced through paradigmatic leveling by

གཤེགས *gśegs*)

fut. *(b)*śag* (replaced through paradigmatic leveling by གཤེགས *gśegs*)

imp. ཤོག *śog* (continues as imperative of རོང *hoṅ* 'come',
replaced in this paradigm through paradigmatic leveling
by གཤེགས *gśegs*)

√*lag* 'teeter, incline'

pres. ལྷིག *ldig* (exists alongside the analogical ལྷེག *ldeg*)

past ལྷགས *blags*

fut. ལྷག *blag* (?)

imp. **logs* (but cf. རོགས *logs* 'side')

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The Upper Temple of Dangkhar Monastery Iconographical Capharnaüm or Political Manœuvre?¹

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To E. & C. Bérard

1. Introduction [Fig.1]

 The monastery of Dangkhar (Tib. *Brag mkhar*) is located within the Spiti Valley (Tib. *sPi ti /sPyi ti*) in Himachal Pradesh, India, a region inhabited by a Tibetan-speaking population for more than a thousand years.² The ancient monastic complex and the early village of Dangkhar were established along the edges of a steep rock cliff made of bimrock materials. Erosion, slope instability, and seismic activity have had a serious impact on the morphology of the whole site.³ Late 19th century etchings and photographs indicate the locations of prior structures and buildings, which have since then collapsed or simply vanished.

This research focuses on a small religious edifice overlooking the main monastic complex and located below khartö (Tib. *mkhar stod*), the old village of Dangkhar. It addresses the multifaceted aspects of its iconographical programme and attempts to establish the religious and political context of its construction and patronage. The thematic composition of the wall-paintings and the narratives at work would seem to coincide with the emergence of Dangkhar as a political centre

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² In 2006, the monastery of Dangkhar was recognised by the World Monument Fund as one of the most endangered sites in the world. In 2010, the Save Dangkhar project was initiated by Mr Markus Weisskopf under the supervision of Prof. Holger Neuwirth from the Institute of Architectural Theory, Art History and Cultural Studies, Graz University of Technology, in order to generate an accurate and detailed record of the ancient monastic complex in view of its renovation; see Neuwirth (2013)

³ For the geologic setting of Dangkhar and seismic activity in the western Himalayas; see Kieffer & Steinbauer (2012).

under foreign influence. In this process, dynastic legitimacy appears to rest on the aesthetic use of religious and cultural elements which connect the Kingdom of Ladakh and the polity of Spiti to the former Kingdom of Guge.

1.1 The Upper Temple: physical description⁴ [Fig.2a-b]

Overlooking the main building of Dangkhar Monastery is a small chapel locally known as “*sna kha tshang*”, and which will hereafter be referred to as the upper temple (Tib. *lha khang gong ma*).⁵ The edifice is a square in plan, measuring approximately 5.20 x 5.20 x 3.09m. The interior of the upper temple is unfurnished except for a small altar-like table leaning against the south-western wall. A pair of wooden pillars (Tib. *ka ba*) and capitals (Tib. *ka mgo / ka gzu*) bear two central beams (Tib. *ka gzu gdung*) and support a ceiling made of lateral beams (Tib. *gdung ma*) and joists (Tib. *lcam shing*). A skylight (Tib. *gnam khung*) was adjusted in the middle of the roof and provides a dim source of light for the room. In order to prevent water infiltration, a corrugated iron roof was recently added on top of the traditional roofing. Facing the entrance to the north-east is a two room building which is in very poor condition. These rooms are no longer in use and their initial functions can only be inferred as having been some kind of maintenance or storage rooms.

1.2 The Murals of the Upper Temple: general description

Inside the chapel, richly ornamented murals were executed on the surface of the walls with the exception of a 0.46m wide area above

⁴ Views of the interior of the room can be seen in Neten Chokling's film *Milarepa* (2006); footage timing 1:11:48–1:16:38.

⁵ On the 15th July 1933, when Tucci's expedition arrived at Dangkhar, Ghersi registered the name of *nang ga tshang* for the upper temple. He also noted the presence of many bronzes and wooden statues crowded inside the room; see Tucci (1935 : 51-52). During our fieldwork in 2010 and 2011, the exact Tibetan spelling could not be asserted by the monks from Dangkhar. Thus said, they were confident that the oral designation refers to the extreme variety of iconographical themes depicted inside the chapel. We have hence adopted the following spelling *sna kha tshang* as, the place (Tib. *tshang*) housing a great variety (Tib. *sna kha*) of images, although this term does not appear in classical Tibetan lexicography. This unusual toponym does not only underline the unclear relation of that edifice *vis-à-vis* the rest of the monastery but also suggests that people from Dangkhar, both lay and monastic, had long forgotten its primary function. These days, a single butter lamp is offered daily by a monk or a lay person at dusk.

the floor. Decorative elements were also included in the process. Right below the ceiling, a wall-painted hanging frieze (Tib. *sham bu*) with lion faces (Skt. *siṃhamukha*) runs on the four sides of the room [No.1], and corners are decorated with painted hanging banners (Tib. *ka 'phan*) creating an overall impression of a ceremonial room.

The lower register of the murals is delimited by a minutely depicted frieze on the south-eastern, south-western, and north-western walls. Later in time, the frieze was bordered with a tricoloured band underneath (i.e. white, yellow, and red) and a single red band above, which singles out the frieze noticeably from the rest of the composition. As for the upper register of these murals, it is dominated by thirteen figures of almost life-size dimensions. They are surrounded by a multitude of smaller iconographical figures and integrated into a background of luxuriant foliage.

The murals were executed *a secco* on a ground made of white gypsum using animal glue as a binder.⁶ Large areas have flaked off over time resulting in important loss of paint. In addition, the structural deficiencies of the building and mechanical stress have facilitated the formation of cracks, voids, rising dampness at ground level, and water infiltration from the roof; particularly under the load-bearing beams of the ceiling.

The extent of damage on the wall-paintings must have been significant as restoration work was conducted sometime during the 20th century.⁷ Entire figures were then painted over with very rudimentary skills and crude materials (e.g. the representation of Buddha Śākyamuni on the south-western wall [No.10a]). These restoration attempts were likely carried out by local residents who must have had little training and almost no artistic understanding of the iconographical themes depicted in front of them. A careful observation of these restored areas shows that the people involved did not recognise minimal formal units (i.e. hand attributes, gestures, colour, etc.) within a specific scheme and consequently were not able to restore the missing elements of a particular theme.⁸

⁶ For painting technology and analysis; see Gruber & Schmidt (2011).

⁷ Based on the presence of chrome yellow (PbCrO₄) and barite (BaSO₄) found among the pigments applied; see Gruber & Schmidt (2011).

⁸ On the north-western wall, three figures from a group of eight [No.4a-h] were repainted as dGe lugs pa scholars [No.4b, 4c] headed by Tsong kha pa [No.4d] while they should have been identified as the Indian paṇḍita Āryadeva, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu, who belong to a well-known group called the six ornaments and the two excellent ones (Tib. *rgyan drug mchog gnyis*), as the presence of Nāgārjuna [No.4a], the expounding-debating postures and the traditional red hats of the remaining figures clearly establish. Also, the right side of the north-eastern wall shows a devastating attempt to repaint a representation of Śrīmatī Pārvatī Rājñī with her attendants [No.23]. While Śrī Devī is flanked to her left by

Despite the present state of preservation of these murals, more than 85% of the 232 iconographical types depicted on the walls of the upper temple were satisfactorily identified.⁹ They consist of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, meditational, mundane and supra-mundane deities, historical figures, and symbolic representations. The profusion of iconographical themes and their seemingly chaotic organisation within the chapel raises the issue not only of its artistic programme but also the questions of its functionality and patronage.

2. Pictorial Organisation

The following presentation is therefore based on the premise that the iconographical programme of the upper temple represents a whole, which is coherent in its intention and organised around pre-established themes. The singularity of its composition must however comply with general characteristics specific to Tibetan temples (Tib. *lha khang*); namely the main recipients of worship are represented on the wall facing the entrance while the protectors and guardians are depicted on both sides of the door. It is worth noting that a figure, or iconographical type, is never repeated although various aspects of the same deity can occasionally be found. They always correspond to different manifestations (Tib. *sprul pa*) and therefore express different meanings or intentions.¹⁰

Furthermore, the pictorial organisation of a single wall tends to follow specific spatial patterns which often involve a certain degree of symmetry or mirroring; even though figures represented on the same wall may be grouped under different, yet sometimes overlapping, categories. We shall first review each wall separately and highlight its general organisation. A detailed inventory of all the figures and their Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents is given as an appendix to this article.

two of the goddesses of the four seasons (Tib. *dus bzhi'i lha mo*) [No.24] and *Siṃhamukhī* [No.25b], a large area to her right was filled with an unrealistic landscape and a deep blue sky. It seems reasonable to suggest that the poorly restored area was once occupied by the two missing season goddesses (i.e. the spring and summer goddesses) and *Makaramukhī* holding the reins of the queen's mule, according to a well-known iconographical scheme.

⁹ The figures represented within the narrative scenes were not taken into account.

¹⁰ For these reasons, the figure of *Vajrapāni* [No.21], which was recently repainted on the north-eastern wall, is an interpretation error from the side of the restorers as it already appears as part of the initial programme on the north-western wall [No.15]. Besides, it occupies the area where the spring and summer goddesses were most certainly portrayed.

2.1 The South-Eastern Wall [Fig.3a-b]

The south-eastern wall provides a good example of pictorial spatial organisation as well as problems encountered by the painters. It is located to the left of the entrance and it gives the traditional reading orientation of the room based on the principle of Buddhist circumambulation. The lower part of the wall-painting is occupied by a narrative frieze, or more accurately perhaps, a graphic narration of the twelve deeds of Buddha Śākyamuni (Tib. *sangs rgyas mchog gi sprul pa'i skus 'jig rten du mdzad pa bcu gnyis*) which shows the first six episodes of his life [No.12a-f]; the remaining six deeds are depicted within the frieze of the north-western wall.¹¹

The organisation of the rest of the wall-paintings is centred around four of the eight life-sized Medicine Buddhas (Tib. *sman bla de gshegs brgyad*) [No.4a-d]; the last four being depicted, together with the remaining episodes of Śākyamuni's life, on the opposite wall. The spacing and the gap between them create lower and upper registers. The upper register is devoted entirely to the thirty-five confession Buddhas (Tib. *ltung bshags kyi sangs rgyas so lnga*) [No.2] who are lined up and syntagmatically grouped around the Conquerors of the five families (Tib. *rgyal ba rigs lnga*) [No.2a-2d].¹² The figures of the

¹¹ These scenes will not be subject to a detailed description and stylistic analysis in this paper. Suffice to observe that they display consummate skills. Additional scenes occasionally complete the topical version of the Buddha narrative; similarly, up to thirty-three different episodes of Śākyamuni's life were represented on the thirteen century murals of a cave located the Aqin Valley in West Tibet; see Zhang (2008 : 377-398).

¹² The iconographical theme of the thirty-five confession Buddhas is the artistic representation of an early sūtra known as *Phung po gsum pa'i mdo* in Tibetan (Skt. *Triskhandadharmasūtra*). Different systems of depiction are reported in Tibetan and Himalayan art based on commentarial treatises composed by Tibetan scholars such as Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) or Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) to name only the two most influential commentators. The iconographical differences between these systems of depiction rest essentially on the opposition between hand gestures (Tib. *phyag rgya*) and hand attributes (Tib. *phyag mtshan*). The iconographical scheme chosen for the upper temple seems to conform to Sa skya Paṇḍita's text in which he describes the thirty-five Buddhas being divided into five groups of seven each. Each group is associated with a Jina and displays the same colour and hand gesture. The presence of the five conquerors' consorts is however not attested in Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's short commentary and does constitute an artistic innovation; see *Sa skya bka' 'bum, Phung po gsum pa'i mdo 'don thabs bzhugs*, vol.12, fols. 450-452. Since the iconographical programme of the chapel is overtly dGe lugs pa in essence, it is therefore surprising that the scheme adopted does not follow Tsong kha pa's system of depiction (i.e. with hand attributes). It seems unlikely that this choice can be attributed to the patron, as we shall see, and must consequently reflect the painters' artistic affiliation. Finally, and from a technical point of view, we can observe a small discrepancy

latter group, slightly bigger in size, are located on either side of the Medicine Buddhas' mandorlas and their consorts are represented right below them, with the exception of Amoghasiddhi's consort [No.3a] who was intentionally placed in the lower register due to lack of space between the mandorla and the left corner of the wall.

As for the lower register, it presents three pairs of figures inserted in the gaps between the Medicine Buddhas; namely Padmasambhava and consorts [No.6a-c], and a Buddha making the gesture of fearlessness above [No.5], four-armed Avalokiteśvara [No.9] and Amitābha [No.8], and finally Amitāyus [No.11] and a Buddha making the gesture of generosity [No.10]. This pattern composed of three pairs, which associates a figure with a Buddha above it, is however interrupted by a single Ekadaśamukha Avalokiteśvara situated between the second and third Medicine Buddha [No.7]. The eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara was subject to an unsuccessful restoration and it is now difficult to establish whether it was part of the initial composition based on the photographic documentation. The syntagmatic relationship between these figures is therefore compromised and no theme could be confidently established for this lower register.

2.2 The South-Western Wall [Fig.4a-b]

The south-western wall, facing the entrance, is the devotional focus of the room, and the understanding of its pictorial organisation does not pose any difficulty. A frieze delimits the lower part and is divided into three sections. The left section shows the seven precious possessions of a universal monarch (Tib. *rgyal srid rin chen san bdun*) [No.19a-g]. The middle section is devoted to the eight close sons, or great Bodhisattvas (Tib. *nye ba'i sras chen brgyad*) [No.20a-h], and the last section to the right depicts a narrative image which is the iconographical corner stone of the upper temple [No.21].

The upper part of these murals takes the form of a triptych. The central panel is organised around the life-sized figure of Sākyamuni [No.10a] flanked by his two main disciples, with Śāriputra standing to his right [No.10b] and Maudgalyāyana to his left [No.10c]. The ensemble is enclosed by the sixteen arhats (Tib. *gnas brtan bcu drug*) [No.11a-p], and the two attendants Hwa shang and Dharmatrāta [No.12a & 12b].

between the colours employed for the Jinas and those applied to the groups of six Buddhas related to them (e.g. Ratnasambhava and entourage [No.2c and 2c1-5]).

The composition of the left panel is identical in all aspects to the spatial organisation of the right panel with a similar total of eight figures. Both side panels reflect to some extent the composition of the central panel with a life-sized historical figure—although slightly smaller than Buddha Śākyamuni—flanked by two disciples. Thus the left panel is centred around the well-known father and sons (Tib. *yab sras gsum*) group depicting Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) in the middle and his two spiritual heirs, rGyal tshab rje (1364–1432) and mKhas grub rje (1385–1438) on either sides [No.6a-c]. The group is crowned by three meditational deities (i.e. Vajrabhairava [No.2], Guhyasamāja [No.3], and Hayagrīva [No.4]) and a pair of unidentified dGe lugs pa scholars [No.5a-b].

Following the exact same pattern, the left panel shows the Indian paṇḍita Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (980–1054) flanked by his disciples 'Brom ston pa (1005–1064) to his right and rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab (1059–1109) to his left [No.18a-c].¹³ A triad of meditational deities with consorts form the top of the register (i.e. Kālacakra [No.13], Hevajra [No.14], and Cakrasaṃvara [No.15]) while a singular pair composed by mahāsiddha Nāropa [No.16] and sTag tshang ras pa (1574–1651) [No.17] closes the composition.

2.3 The North-Western Wall [Fig.5a-b]

Although it bears some similarities with the opposite wall, the pictorial organisation of the north-western murals is more intricate. The lower part of the wall-paintings is still delineated by a frieze which depicts the last six deeds of Buddha Śākyamuni [No.20g-I]; some of them being no longer visible. The upper part is punctuated by the four remaining Medicine Buddhas [No.16e-h] but does not seem to create two areas as it was the case with the south-eastern wall.

Thus said, the upper register is equally completed by a series of twenty-four figures perfectly aligned. This series can be divided into three groups. From the left, the first group of seven figures, which belongs to a larger ensemble of seventeen Buddhas, is tentatively identified as the seven universal Buddhas (Tib. *sangs rgyas rab bdun*) [No.2a-g], while the ten other Buddhas situated below them must then be interpreted as the Buddhas of the ten directions and three times (Tib. *phyog bcu dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas*) [No.2h-q]. The seven universal Buddhas are then followed by a group of eight Indian scholars commonly designated as the six ornaments and the two

¹³ Or alternatively Nag tsho the translator (1011-1064) for 18c.

excellent ones (Tib. *rgyan drug mchog gnyis*) [No.4a-h]. The series is finally concluded by nine figures representing the main forefathers of the bKa' brgyud pa lineage [No.5a-i].

From the middle of the wall to the right end corner the arrangement of the remaining figures tends to follow some kind of symmetry. These figures are of various sizes and are located above the halos of the last two Medicine Buddhas and within the gap created between them. Unlike the opposite wall, the overall spatial organisation of the north-western murals does not conform to the same degree of structural similarities and, as we shall see, reflect a greater variety of iconographical themes.

2.4 The North-Eastern Wall [Fig.6a-b]

The pictorial organisation of the wall-paintings on the north-eastern wall can be divided into three panels. Each panel displays a number of dharma protectors (Tib. *chos skyong*) and guardians (Tib. *srung ma*). The first panel, to the left of the entrance door, is devoted to the life-sized figure of six-armed Mahākāla [No.10] along with his retinue and lieutenants in the lower register [No.13a-f]. Other aspects of Mahākāla are grouped around, such as Pañjara Mahākāla [No.6], Caturbhujā Mahākāla [No.7], and Brāhmaṇarūpa Mahākāla [No.9]. An equally important figure is the representation of Yama Dharmarāja with his consort Cāmuṇḍā depicted to the left of the main deity. A series of five figures closes the upper register [No.2, 3, 4 & 5].

Above the door, the central panel is dominated by a large representation of Mahāpitā Vaiśravaṇa [No.14]. He is surrounded by other wealth deities [No. 14a-d & 14f] and guarded by the great kings of the four directions (Tib. *phyogs skyong rgyal po bzhi* or *rGyal chen sde bzhi*) [No.15a-d]. To this group was also added the three Dharma kings of the Tibetan empire (Tib. *chos rgyal mes dbon rnam gsum*) [No.16a-c] and the eighth century Buddhist master Śāntarakṣita [No.17]. Right above the door lintel, an equestrian scene depicting three male and three female riders on various animal mounts raises interpretational difficulties and shall be addressed later [No.19a-f].

Finally, the general organisation of the right panel mirrors the composition of the left panel. An almost life-sized Śrī Devī [No.23] is surrounded by an entourage which includes the goddesses of the four seasons (Tib. *dus bzhi'i lha mo*) [No.24a-d], Siṃhamukhī [No.25b], and the five sisters of longevity (Tib. *tshē ring mched lnga*) in the lower register [No.26a-e]; two of them are no longer visible. A Cintāmaṇi Sita Mahākāla [No.22] is depicted to the left of the main

figures' blazing halo. In the upper register, a series of five dGe lugs pa teachers concludes the whole composition and their identification shall be instrumental in dating these murals [No.20a-e].

The pictorial organisation of these murals shows indisputable artistic skills in their spatial planning. The iconographical composition of a wall generally corresponds to the composition of the opposite wall. Taken individually, each wall also follows its own logic involving symmetries, groups of figures of different sizes, and series. Occasionally, the arrangement of certain iconographical types gives form to a particular theme, and a number of themes can eventually be grouped under a special category.

3. Iconographical Analysis

The following analysis tries to reorganise the figures of these murals thematically, using a reading grid that highlights the broad guidelines of its programme and eventually brings to light its religious and socio-political implications for the history of Dangkhar.

As briefly shown in the previous section, the composition of these murals is first and foremost centred on thirteen figures of almost life-size dimensions, to which the representation of Mahāpitā Vaiśravaṇa located above the door can be added. In more than one respect, these figures summarise the driving forces of the iconographical programme which we detail hereafter.

3.1 The Health & Longevity Programme

Many iconographical figures or themes can be grouped under the rubric of health and longevity. This category is headed by the eight Medicine Buddhas which dominate the side walls of the room. If Bhaiṣajyaguru can be confidently identified on the south-eastern wall [No.4d], the seven other Buddhas who constitute his retinue do not conform to well-established iconographical norms. Their individual naming remains tentative but does not contradict the identity of the theme.¹⁴

¹⁴ Based on murals dating from the 15th century onwards, Vitali concludes that Bhaiṣajyaguru (Tib. *sMan bla*) was a deity popular in West Tibet as the result of the dGe lugs pa diffusion; see VITALI (1996:140). It is worth remarking that the iconographical theme of the eight Medicine Buddhas (Tib. *sMan bla de gshegs brgyad*) is already found on the wall-paintings of the Wa chen cave (Tib. *Wa chen phug pa*) in Ngari Prefecture. The cave is believed to have belonged to the bKa' brgyud pa lineage and was probably built during the 14th century according to

From the point of view of medical praxis, Tibetan medicine does not only include the treatment of diseases and pharmacology but also incorporates religious views and rituals, and was transmitted almost exclusively in monasteries as part of the worldly sciences until the 17th century. Tibetan medical literature was eventually led by a treasure text known as the *Four Medical Tantras* (Tib. *rGyud bzhi*) which, as a traditional pathological classification, includes a wide range of rituals and practices involving numerous deities. It is not surprising therefore that long-life deities are associated with the Medicine Buddhas represented on the side walls of the chapel. They include Buddha Amitāyus on the south-eastern wall [No.11], White Tārā [No.17] and Uṣnīṣavijayā [No.8], which often form a triad of longevity (Tib. *tshe lha rnam gsum*), and the representation of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā still on the north-western wall [No.6].¹⁵

The four hundred and four diseases (Tib. *nad bzhi brgya rtsa bzhi*), which are expounded by Bhaiṣajyaguru in the *Four Medical Tantras*, do not solely deal with physiological disorders, the treatment of diseases, and the maintenance of health, but also address the purification of negative karma. It hence explains the thematic representation of the thirty-five confession Buddhas of the south-eastern wall. In the *Sūtra of the Three Heaps* (Tib. *Phung po gsum pa'i mdo*), the invocation of each Buddha corresponds to the purification of a particular negative action, and their litany addresses more specifically the downfall of the Bodhisattva ethic.¹⁶

Based on close-knit Buddhist narratives and doctrinal tenets, it may seem possible to justify *a posteriori* the iconographical relationship of almost all incongruous figures put together. In this regard, the depiction of Guru Padmasambhava, with his consorts Mandāravā and Ye shes mtsho rgyal, on the same wall as the thirty-five confession Buddhas, the Medicine Buddhas, and Amitāyus, demands to be addressed even if very briefly. As noted, the

Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po who documented the site; see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po (2011: 17-19). The popularity and development of the Medicine Buddhas and the thirty-five confessions Buddhas on murals of West Tibet has recently been discussed by Neumann and Heller; see Neumann(2012) and Heller (2013).

¹⁵ The iconographical representation of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā (Tib. *Yum chen mo* or *Sher phyin ma*) often occupies the centre of Bhaiṣajyaguru's maṇḍala but can also be associated with the depiction of the eight Medicine Buddhas as it is the case here; for an earlier example see the south wall of the Wa chen cave in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po (2011: 89). It is interesting to note that on the wall-paintings of the upper temple she is also located right below Nāgārjuna who is credited with the development of Prajñāpāramitā literature. This would imply that a figure may be part of more than one iconographical scheme and therefore convey multiple ideas.

¹⁶ See Beresford (2002).

syntagmatic relation of figures No.6, 7, 9 and 11 on the south-eastern wall could not be established. Nevertheless, we would like to suggest that the presence of Padmasambhava could possibly be understood in relation to the production of the *Four Medical Tantras*. Tibetan historical tradition attributes the translation of the *rGyud bzhi* into Tibetan to the translator Be ro tsa na of the sPa gor clan who was a disciple of Padmasambhava.¹⁷ Upon his return from Kashmir, where he had learned the *Four Medical Tantras*, Be ro tsa na offered his translation work to king Khri srong lde btsan. Yet, Padmasambhava decided to postpone its diffusion and dissimulated the text inside the temple of Samye (Tib. *bSam yas*) where it was eventually discovered by Grwa pa mNgon shes in 1038. As a treasure text, the *rGyud bzhi* obtained *de facto* a new status and its popularity within all the Tibetan schools may well justify the presence of Padmasambhava as part of the health and longevity programme of the upper temple.

Finally, and from the vajrayāna point of view, the purification of moral and ethical faults is operated by Vajrasattva and Vajravīdāraṇa who are represented on the north-eastern wall [No.2 & 3]. These two deities belong to the vajra family and are pictorially connected to Akṣobhya whose principal field of activity is the pacification of mental perturbations, sufferings, illness, and frustrations [No.4].

3.2 Apotropaic & Protective Deities

In Tibetan Buddhism, the state of well-being also depends on the removal of internal and external obstacles. Among the eight Medicine Buddhas, Suvarṇabhadravimala is said to prevent incurable diseases and fatalities while Aśokottama protects human beings against demons and rebirths in hell, to cite only a few examples. Other deities are often invoked to ward off evil spirits and dispel dangers. They constitute a group of apotropaic figures mainly depicted on the wall-paintings of the north-western wall.

While White Tārā clearly belongs to a group of long-life deities, Green Tārā is most commonly viewed as the saviouress who protects sentient beings from the eight kinds of fear or dangers (Tib. *'phags ma sgrol ma 'jigs pa brgyad las skyob pa*), which have both inner and outer characteristics (i.e. water/attachment, lion/pride, fire/anger *etc.*) [No.18]. Another aspect of Tārā assuming a protective function is the goddess Sitāpatrā who is here depicted with one face and curiously

¹⁷ The existence of an eighth century Sanskrit medical text which would have served for the Tibetan translation has nevertheless been questioned; see Fenner (1996).

holds the parasol in her right hand [No.10]. In Mahāyāna literature, the undefeatable goddess (Skt. *aparajita*) is known to turn aside enemies, malignant forces, and dangers.

Two other female deities empowered with apotropaic abilities are the tribal and forest goddesses Jāṅguli and Parṇāśabarī [No.12 & 19]. Their assimilation into the Buddhist pantheon was made possible through the appropriation of magical and soteriological praxis by Indian siddhas.¹⁸ Davidson recalls that associated with Buddhist tantras are rituals invoking these two female deities in order to cure poison from snake bites and to magically cross over water.¹⁹ The jungle goddess Jāṅguli, whose name was rendered as the “Remover of poison” (Tib. *Dug sel ma*) by Tibetan translators, is here depicted with a snake in her lower left hand. As for the leaf clad Parṇāśabarī, whose natural garment betrays her tribal and forest origin, she is also famous for healing contagious diseases. Finally, a wrathful Vajrapāṇi completes this group [No.15]. He is represented blue in colour with one face and two hands and appears in the form of a rakṣa—literally “one who guards and keeps watch”—stampeding a nest of snakes. He symbolises the power of all the Buddhas and further articulates the apotropaic programme to the protective deities represented on the adjacent wall.

The principal protectors (Tib. *chos skyong*) and guardians (Tib. *srung ma*) painted on the north-eastern wall are six-armed Mahākāla, Yama Dharmarāja and consort, and Śrī Devī. They are considered to be wisdom deities (Tib. *ye shes kyi lha*) and thus belong to a category of protective beings known as supra-mundane guardians (Tib. *jigs rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*). As emanations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas they embody the activity of enlightenment which is twofold; to avert obstacles (i.e. inner, outer, and secret) and to create favourable circumstances for the practitioner. Their presence on each side of the entrance door confirms them in their role of wisdom

¹⁸ It is therefore not fortuitous that these two goddesses are also pictorially connected to the forefathers of the bKa' brgyud pa lineage and 'Brug pa masters depicted in the upper register. The Indian siddha derivation of their tradition has been highlighted in artistic representations from the 12th century onwards. Furthermore, btsun ma Ngag dbang sbying pa, a 'Brug pa nun and researcher of French nationality, was kind enough to inform us that *Dug sel ma* is commonly venerated as an emanation of dPal ldan lha mo and is always represented next to Mahākāla inside 'Brug pa temples. This may also explain the presence of the fierce Nīla Siṃhavaktrā [No.14], who, with Jāṅguli, are located on either side of a pair of 'Brug pa teachers [No.13]. Although traditionally of rNying ma origin, Nīla Siṃhavaktrā is often found represented inside 'Brug pa monasteries in Ladakh. We are again indebted to btsun ma Ngag dbang sbyin pa for these clarifications.

¹⁹ See Davidson (2002: 231).

deities although they may also be venerated as meditational deities (Tib. *yi dam*). With the additional figure of Mahāpita Vaiśravaṇa [No.14], which is depicted above the door, these figures represent the principal dharmapālas propitiated by the dGe lugs pa tradition and the special protectors of its founder Tsong kha pa (i.e. Śaṅbhuja Mahākāla, Yama Dharmarāja, and Vaiśravaṇa riding a lion).

Other guardians represented inside the chapel include mundane deities (Tib. *'jig rten gyi lha*) such as the four great kings (Tib. *rgyal chen sde bzhi*) [15a-d]. These fierce warriors devoted to the protection of the four cardinal points are traditionally represented on the exterior walls of temples. As part of the iconographical programme, they are depicted above the entrance door of the upper temple and border the wealth and prosperity deities, which explains why the figure of Vaiśravaṇa appears in multiple forms; as a dharmapāla on the one hand, and as wealth deity on the other.

Furthermore, the most remarkable group of figures painted on the north-eastern wall is undoubtedly the six riders represented on either side of an overflowing dish containing seven kinds of jewels (Tib. *nor bu cha bdun*). The male riders, with their distinctive white complexion, turbans, and weapons (i.e. quivers of arrows, bows, swords, and whips), can be identified as the autochthonous deities (Tib. *yul lha*) of West Tibet [No.19b-d]. They traditionally ride ashen horses (Tib. *rta ngang dkar*) and, as Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po notes, are not to be found anywhere else in Tibet.²⁰ These local warrior deities are called Mes ba'u in Guge, a Tibetan designation that would seem to suggest a strong patrilineal origin (Tib. *mes po*, "ancestor"). The first male deity rides a horse and holds a whip while performing the gesture of protection and fearlessness with his left hand (Skt. *abhaya mudrā* Tib. *mi 'jigs pa'i phyag rgya*) [No.19b]. The next warrior to the right rides his horse at gallop, cracking a whip from the right hand and granting protection and refuge with his left hand (Skt. *śaraṇagamana mudrā* Tib. *skyabs sbyin gyi phyag rgya*) [No.19c]. The last male figure rides a ram and departs slightly from the two other local deities both in size and depiction [No.19d]. He wears a white turban-like hat, holds a whip in his right hand and performs the gesture of threatening and subjugation (Skt. *kāraṇa mudrā* Tib. *sdig mdzub kyi phyag rgya*).

The presence of three female human riders dressed in typical garments of West Tibet and richly adorned with jewellery and headdresses complete this intriguing equestrian scene. Two of them

²⁰ About the representation of the autochthonous warrior deities of Guge depicted inside the monastery of sNub bkra shis shos gling in Ngari and their diffusion in West Tibet; see Gu ge (2006 : 250).

ride a horse and carry a bowl-like vessel containing offering substances while performing a hand gesture with their other hand [No.19a & 19f]. The last woman rides a goat and stands to the right of what appears to be the main local warrior deity. Quite significantly she carries a male child in her arms, who is dressed in white and wears a white turban [No.19e]. As far as the iconographical composition is concerned, the representation of the three autochthonous warrior deities of West Tibet may well be justified as part of the protective deities painted on the north-eastern wall. Thus said, there is more to this narrative scene than meets the eye and we shall soon return to its interpretation when we discuss the political implications and patronage of these murals.

Finally, the absence of the female protective deity rDo rje chen mo from the wall-paintings of the upper temple must be reported. Although she might have disappeared from the right panel of the north-eastern wall due to the heavy restoration work, the relationship between rDo rje chen mo and the polity of Dangkhar should be investigated further as her long time association with the royal families of both West Tibet and Ladakh makes her a pivotal religious figure for the understanding of the history of the Spiti Valley.²¹

3.3 The Wealth & Prosperity Programme

The wealth and prosperity programme is organised around the figure of Mahāpitā Vaiśravaṇa also known as the master of wealth (Tib. *nor gyi bdaḡ po*) [No.14]. He is surrounded by deities of abundance including his own consort Vasudhārā [No.14d], who is celebrated as Śiskar Apa in Spiti and Lahaul, and who is easily recognisable for she holds a sheaf of corn symbolising a fruitful harvest. The goddess manifests herself under the forms of six-armed Vasudhārā and Vasudhārā from the dhāraṇi [No.14a & 14b]. The group also includes Jambhala and Kṛṣṇa Jambhala, two different manifestations of Vaiśravaṇa [No.14c & 14f]. These deities do not only provide wealth and prosperity for the householder who propitiates them but also preside over harvests and the abundant

²¹ Jahoda remarks that the “relationships between rDo rje chen mo, the royal family and *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po are of ancient origin [...] the case of the royal dispute between the king of Ladakh and the king of Purig, amongst other things concerning Spiti, and its mediation by Rig ’dzin Tshe dbang nor bu presents an example for the importance of this deity also in later historical periods. For instance in the text of the Wamle Treaty, rDo rje chen mo appears among the deities witnessing the treaty and punishing those not adhering to the agreement”, Jahoda (2009 : 54).

supply of goods for the community. Their worship therefore brings wealth, good fortune, and stability, and is viewed as essential for the sustainability and longevity of any polity.

The wealth and prosperity programme is eventually completed by the imperial triumvirate depicting the three forefather Dharma kings of Tibet (i.e. Sron btsan sgam po, Khri srong lde btsan, and Khri ral pa can). Their presence among these deities demonstrates the perennial relationship between wealth, power, and Buddhism, and underlines the dynastic legitimacy narrative at work inside the upper temple.

3.4 Religious affiliation & lineages

The religious programme of the upper temple is overtly of bKa' gdams pa and dGe lugs pa origin as attested by the iconographical composition of the south-western wall with its religious figures and meditational deities. It betrays strong historical and regional trends and is of little surprise since the Spiti Valley and its people were directly concerned with the later diffusion of Buddhism (Tib. *bstan pa phyi dar*).

The prominent position of Atiśa amidst the main recipients of worship on the south-western wall clearly emphasises the Indian tradition with regard to the revitalisation of Buddhism in West Tibet during the late 10th and 11th century. The depiction of the Indian paṇḍita, flanked by his two most famous Tibetan disciples, acts as guarantor of the religious continuity and orthodoxy of Tibetan Buddhism; particularly with respect to the bKa' gdams pa lineage characterized by the representation of its founder 'Brom ston pa. The spiritual legitimacy narrative is evidently supported by the central position assumed by the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, but also by the representation of his twelve deeds on the side walls of the room. The Indian origin of the Buddhist teaching is complemented by the presence of the six ornaments and the two excellent ones on the north-western wall. The Indian scholars and philosophers led by Nāgārjuna convey an indisputable degree of doctrinal orthodoxy and scholasticism which eventually became the religious brand of the dGe lugs pa school.

The latter is manifest with the presence of its founder and most articulate exponent represented next to Śākyamuni and Atiśa on the south-western wall. The life-size depiction of Tsong kha pa accompanied by his two spiritual heirs attests to the dGe lugs pa penetration into Western Tibet during the 15th century. The quick assimilation of the reformed school was rendered possible due to the

old bKa' gdams pa foundations in the area and the support of the Guge dynasty. Natives of Ngari, who had pursued their scholastic training in Central Tibet, were instrumental in the establishment of Tsong kha pa's tradition. Disciples such as gSang phu ba lHa dbang blo gros, who is credited with the foundation of various temples, and Ngag dbang grags pa, who was appointed abbot of Tholing (Tib. *mTho gling*), were particularly active in the regions of Ngari and Spiti. One must therefore consider the possibility of their pictorial representations among the unidentified dGe lugs pa figures depicted on the murals of the upper temple, such as the two seated masters on either side of Tsong kha pa.

Another group of dGe lugs pa teachers is situated on the right panel of the north-eastern wall and is of significant importance for the study of the upper temple and its wall-paintings [No.20a-e]. Three of them were subject to unfortunate restoration but their general appearance seems to conform to the last two figures painted on the right. They occupy the upper register of the wall and are part of a composition including the glorious queen, Śrī Devī, and her entourage. Their identification is highly conjectural and rests on stylistic comparisons with a scroll painting belonging to the Shelly and Donald Rubin's collection.²²

Although of a completely different facture, the painting bears similarities with the right panel of the north-eastern wall in its overall composition. As the main deity, it represents the glorious goddess Śrī Devī on her mule (Tib. *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo*). The lower register of the painting is occupied by the five sisters of longevity (Tib. *tshe ring mched lnga*), while the upper register shows five seated dGe lugs pa teachers who are nominally identified thanks to an inscription; beginning on the left hand side, Phun tshogs rgya mtsho, mKhar rdo bzod pa rgyal mtsho (1672–1749), sGrub khang pa dGe legs rgya mtsho (1641–1713), the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgyal mtsho (1617–1682), and the Fifth Pañchen Lama Blo bzang ye shes (1663–1737). The painting is approximately dated 1700–1799 by Watt, curator of the Himalayan Art Resources website, in spite of the names of four donors recorded on the backside which allow a better dating.²³

²² For a general presentation and photographs of this painting; see the Himalayan Art website, item no.105; <http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/105.html>.

²³ Phur bu lcog ngag dbang byams pa (1682–1762), Byams pa ye shes, Blo bzang 'phrin las (1697–1761), and the 49th dGa' ldan khri pa Blo bzang dar rgyas (1662–1723). Assuming the painting was commissioned during the life time of these patrons, the year 1723 would then constitute the *terminus ante quem* for its realisation, unless of course Byams pa ye shes had passed away at an earlier date.

The representation of the dGe lugs pa masters on the north-eastern wall lacks some of the attributes and distinctive features which characterise the fine degree of execution of the scroll painting, such as the moustache and the dharma wheel insignia of the Fifth Dalai Lama. However, the central figure tends to conform to the depiction of sGrub khang pa dGe legs rgya mtsho²⁴ as far as the restoration work allows us to judge. He also holds a text in his left hand and seems to perform the hand gesture of protection while the figure of the scroll painting clearly displays the *mudrā* of argumentation. In the absence of better evidence, the comparison between these two compositions suggests at least that the murals of the upper temple and the scroll painting preserved in the Rubin collection could have been executed more or less at the same time, probably during the first half of the 18th century. As we shall see, other aspects of the iconographical programme support this hypothesis.

In light of our current knowledge, it is reasonable to assume that the monastery of Dangkhar became a dGe lugs pa institution by the end of the 15th century. It is certain that after the mid-17th century, the religious and economic control of the central valley of Spiti was under the dGe lugs pa-led central Tibetan government (Tib. *dga' ldan pho brang*).²⁵ The predominance of Tsong kha pa's school in the region is hence well attested for this period and the supervision of dGe lugs pa monasteries within the Spiti Valley and nearby areas was the prerogatives of the incarnate lineage of Lo chen Rin chen bzang po. The main religious affiliation of Dangkhar Monastery, the presence of dGe lugs pa masters, meditational deities, and protectors on the walls of the upper temple is therefore of very little surprise.²⁶

More remarkable, however, is the intrusion of bKa' brgyud pa religious figures as part of the iconographical programme of the upper temple. It starts with the almost canonical depiction of the forefathers of the "white lineage" (Tib. *dkar brgyud*) which is painted on the north-western wall of the chapel [No.5a-i]. The lineage stems from Vajradhara followed by the Indian siddhas Tilopa and Nāropa.

²⁴ sGrub khang pa dGe legs rgya mtsho was a native of Zanskar (Tib. *Zangs dkar*), a region adjacent to Spiti. He travelled to Central Tibet to further his monastic training. He received teachings at Tashi Lhunpo (Tib. *bKra shis lhun po*) and resided mainly at Sera (Tib. *Se ra*) where he was granted with the establishment of meditation centres (Tib. *sgrub khang*) and hermitages (Tib. *ri khrod*) on the mountain situated behind the monastery.

²⁵ For the organisation of the Spiti Valley and the socio-economic role assumed by its monasteries; see Jahoda (2007 & 2008).

²⁶ In 1654, dPal ldan rgya mtsho (c.1601–1674), a native of Dangkhar, became the 40th holder of the Ganden throne (Tib. *dga' ldan khri pa*), the highest position and head of the dGe lugs pa school; see Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (2002 : 364).

It continues with the representations of Mar pa lo tswa ba (1012–1097) and his renowned disciple Mi la ras pa (1040–1123). The following figures depart slightly from traditional iconographical conventions but can be asserted as Mi la ras pa's foremost disciples and followers with, to his left, sGam po pa (1079–1153), followed by Ras chung pa (1085–1161), Phag mo gru pa (1100–1170), and finally Gling chen ras pa (1128–1188).

As one of the main founder figures of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud lineage, Gling chen ras pa announces the presence of the sub-sect on the walls of the upper temple. His depiction possibly recalls biographical elements reflecting the tension between ideals of peripatetic ascetic lifestyle and the more institutionalised aspect of the tradition, which eventually came to characterise the development of the 'Brug pa school.²⁷ While his teacher Phag mo gru pa was a strong advocate of monasticism, Gling chen ras pa's loss of monastic vows and his commitment to yogic practices would seem to be expressed by a loosely worn monastic red shawl uncovering a bare right arm, and a meditation band (Tib. *sgom thag*) similar to those of the cotton clad yogis Mi la ras pa and Ras chung pa. As his hagiographies recall, Gling chen ras pa's early exposure to bKa' gdams pa teachings would never turn him into a fine dialectician. Thus said, he proved himself to be a talented author of mystic songs (Tib. *mnyam mgur*) and tantric treaties which certainly explains why he is represented with a bundle of scriptures on his lap. As previously established, some of the apotropaic deities of the north-western walls were distinctively worshipped by the 'Brug pa followers. In this regard, the representation of Vajrapāṇi right below Gling chen ras pa may well be intentional as a tantric exegesis entitled *A Ritual of the Maṇḍala of the Glorious Bhagavan Vajrapāṇi* was composed by the founder of the 'Brug pa school.²⁸

Still on the same wall, two pairs of distinctively bearded teachers wearing red hats can be asserted as 'Brug pa clerics although their individual identification is not yet clear [No.9 & 13]. The presence of the 'Brug pa lineage is even more evidently attested with the unique depiction of sTag tshang ras pa (1574–1651) on the south-western wall. Easily recognisable from his white garments and turban, his white pearl necklace and black disc-like earrings, his representation on the walls of the upper temple conforms to an established iconographical scheme adopted at the Shey (Tib. *Shel*) and Hemis

²⁷ See Blythe Miller (2005).

²⁸ *bCom ldan 'das dpal phyag na rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor cho ga*. For his other works, see Blythe Miller (2005 : 388).

(Tib. *He mis*) monasteries in Ladakh.²⁹ His presence on the main devotional wall of the chapel is particularly remarkable as it conveys a well-chosen religious and political message. Represented among the bKa' gdams pa figures of the left panel and spatially paired with the Indian siddha Nāropa, it recalls that sTag tshang ras pa was inheritor of both Atiśa's tradition and Nāropa's yogic instructions which he pursued while sojourning at Namgyal Lhunpo (Tib. *rNam rgyal lhun po*) in Central Tibet.³⁰ Moreover, a passage of his hagiography tells how he received, in a dream, the empowerment of the meditational deity Cakrasaṃvara who is depicted right above him [No.15].³¹

Even more significant is his involvement in the cultural sphere of West Tibet which is based, as Schwieger explains, on "a vague prophecy of his teacher lHa-rtse-ba that he would possess a karmic relationship for the benefit of living beings in the area of mNga'-ris".³² The intrepid 'Brug pa pilgrim (Tib. *pho rgod*) went on five different journeys during which he eventually travelled to the western Himalayas and beyond in search of holy Buddhist places. He travelled through Kinnaur (Tib. *Khu nu*) and stayed in Zanskar and Lahaul (Tib. *Gar zha*) for short periods of time before being invited by the king of Ladakh. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that he might also have visited Spiti during his pilgrimage to Oḍḍiyāna (Tib. *U rgyan*). It is in his role as King Seng ge nram rgyal's chaplain that he would eventually contribute to seal the bond between the 'Brug pa order and the royal family of Ladakh. The special relationship of priest and patron, which is exemplified by the lives of sTag tshang ras pa and King Seng ge nram rgyal, will prove to be instrumental in highlighting the political and cultural context in which the upper temple was possibly consecrated. As we shall discuss, the narrative scene depicted below the left panel should be read in light of the intricate political and cultural ties that prevailed between the Kingdom of Ladakh and the valley of Spiti after the conquest of the latter by King Seng ge nram rgyal in 1630.

Ultimately, the representation within the iconographical programme of O rgyan Ngag dbang rgya mtsho, better known as sTag tshang ras pa, along with Atiśa, 'Brom ston pa, and Nāropa,

²⁹ According to btsun ma Ngag dbang sbyin pa, early depictions of sTag tshang ras pa from the 17th century, as can be observed in Ladakhi shrines, tend to show him in the same attitude as Mi la ras pa, while the more conventional depictions of the Hemis, Shey, and Dangkhār monasteries, are clearly attributed to the next century. Personal communication, March 2013; see Nawang Jinpa *forthcoming*.

³⁰ See Schwieger (1996 : 89).

³¹ See Schwieger (1996 : 100).

³² See Schwieger (1996 : 104).

serves to underline a double religious filiation. It emphasises the common bKa' gdams pa origin of both the pictorially dominant dGe lugs pa order and the intruding figures of the bKa' brgyud pa and 'Brug pa lineages.

3.5 Dynastic Legitimacy

Within the Buddhist realm, the legitimacy of the tradition does not only rest on a shared conception of orthodox doctrines, praxis, and the unbroken transmission lineage, but would also need to be sanctified by a ruling power at the end of the day. From the Tibetan and Himalayan perspective, the various religious narratives are more often than not rooted in the secular and regional context of their production, as Buddhist communities would hardly thrive and perhaps not even survive without the protection and financial support of a royal family. Bearing this in mind, the iconographical programme of the upper temple is no exception. It articulates local and global elements in order to retrace the multiplex conditions that concurred to the formation of the polity of Spiti, and eventually legitimates its state at the time of the consecration of the upper temple. In this regard, the central panel of the north-eastern wall is of particular interest.

As previously observed, the wealth and prosperity programme depicted above the entrance door of the chapel is intriguingly completed by the presence of the three Tibetan Dharma kings, Srong btsan sgam po, Khri srong lde btsan, and Khri ral pa can, to which Śāntarakṣita, the Indian abbot who initiated the first Tibetan monastic community, was added. Their association with the wealth deities and the four Lokapāla helps to convey a sense of continuity with a time when economic prosperity and political stability prevailed throughout the Tibetan Empire. Prompted by 11th- 12th century literary works such as the *sBa bzhed*, *Ma Ni bka' 'bum* and *bKa' chems ka khol ma*, the conversion of the Land of Snows to Buddhism in the course of the 7th- 8th centuries was rewritten through a cosmological narrative in which Tibet was predestined by Buddha Śākyamuni himself to become a Buddhist realm centred around the figure of Avalokiteśvara and his multiple emanations (e.g. Srong btsan sgam po). The persistence of the theme and its aesthetic expressions hence concur to establish the universal character of Buddhism, the legitimacy of the state, and the indivisibility between the two.

Additionally, the lower register of the wealth and prosperity programme is occupied by the autochthonous warrior deities of West

Tibet and their female counterparts. Besides their role as protectors and guardians, we would like to suggest that they assume the anthropological function of *patres genitores* of the people of Guge. The likely derivation of the name Mes ba'u from *mes/mes po* would bear witness to their role of ancestors, forefathers, and progenitors. This symbolic kinship between the autochthonous deities (Tib. *yul lha*) and the ladies of West Tibet would thus explain the representation of a young boy in the arms of the woman riding a goat [No.19e]. The male heir, whose skin tone is distinctively of the women and not of the deities, wears a white garment and turban similar to the local warriors. The iconographical scheme composed of a noble woman wearing a sumptuous attire characteristic of West Tibet who holds in her arms a male child clad in white reappears within the narrative scene of the south-western wall and therefore deserves further consideration.

If our interpretation of the equestrian scene proves to be correct, the narrative depicts the formation of the Kingdom of Guge-Purang (Tib. *Pu hrang*) by King sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in the 10th century. In the light of Tibetan historiography, the annexation of the western territories by Nyi ma mgon was rendered possible due to his bloodline and, observes Petech, to the support of "two families of the highest nobility [...] who had played a role during the last two reigns of the monarchy".³³ In addition to the aura attached to the person of Nyi ma mgon, the establishment of the West Tibetan kingdom was facilitated by the formation of matrimonial alliances with locals and the exploitation and promotion of economic resources.

From his first wife,³⁴ King Nyi ma mgon had three sons collectively known as the three protectors of Töd (Tib. *stod kyi mgon gsum*).³⁵ After the demise of Nyi ma mgon in the second quarter of the 10th century, the kingdom of the three western dominions (Tib. *stod mNga' ris skor gsum*) was subsequently divided by his three sons.

³³ See Petech (1997 : 231).

³⁴ Tibetan sources record the names of two different ladies for Nyi ma mgon's first wife. According to the *Ladakh Chronicle* (Tib. *La dwags rgyal rabs*), Nyi ma mgon married 'Bro za 'Khor skyong from the 'Bro nobility of Purang, an aristocratic clan which played a major role during the Tibetan Empire as the mothers of Khri ral pa can and Glang dar ma belonged to that family. Following Snellgrove's suggestion, Petech notes that "there is a possibility that the creation of the West Tibetan kingdom was due to the initiative of this clan, which invited sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon to their country in order to give a cover of legitimacy to their local power". The possible matrimonial alliance between Nyi ma mgon and a lady from the 'Bro family of Purang upon the request of the latter would undoubtedly bring grist to the mill of our interpretation; see Petech (1997 : 231-232)

³⁵ We have purposefully translated the term *mgon* as protector, although it could simply refer to the dynastic characteristic of the royal family of Guge.

dPal gyi lde Rig pa mgon inherited Maryül (i.e. Ladakh), bKra shis mgon received Guge and Purang, and lDe gtsug mgon took Spiti, Kinnaur, Lahaul, and Zanskar.³⁶

The meaning of the iconographical depiction of the territorial deities and the ladies of West Tibet would hence hinge upon the possible conflation over time between the local warrior deities and the *mGon* dynasty, founders and protectors (Tib. *mgon*) of the realm. The equestrian scene would therefore serve a threefold purpose. It would first reinforce the post-10th century narrative of an imperial golden age illustrated by the three forefather Dharma kings of Tibet, then legitimate the establishment of the kingdom of West Tibet by one of their successors, and finally emphasise the common kinship shared by the people of the three dominions (Tib. *skor gsum*).

Among the sub-principalities of Western Tibet, the small kingdom of Zangla (Tib. *bZang la*) in Zanskar has articulated the same historical continuity, exploiting very similar cultural elements to position its own dynasty as a direct heir to the central Tibetan imperial period. This was first observed in the late 70s when Dargyay recorded donor chronicles (Tib. *chab brjod*), a type of historical document added to embellished manuscripts, which appears to be specific to the dynasty of Zangla.³⁷ These documents tend to follow the same literary pattern. After praising the triple object of refuge (Tib. *dkon mchog gsum*) and offering a eulogy to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and lamas, the donor chronicles reaffirm and celebrate the role performed by the early Tibetan kings, ministers, and patrons of the Yarlung dynasty as “they brought the light of the teaching to the darkness which hovered at this time over the Tibetan country”. A cosmological narrative explaining how Zanskar eventually became part of that sacred geography is then expounded. Occasionally, Nyi ma mgon is recalled to our attention as the founder of the Kingdom of Ngari and the forefather of the royal house of Zanskar. Furthermore, these texts consistently commemorate the works of masters of the later diffusion, in particular those of Atiśa, 'Brom ston pa, and the translator rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab—along with Mar pa and Mi la ras pa of the bKa' brgyud pa school—who paved the road for the establishment of the dGe lugs pa order in the area, which is praised in the next paragraph. Finally, the chronicles conclude by paying tribute to the meritorious acts of the donors.

As a literary or iconographical contrivance, the religious and secular figures depicted inside the upper temple and those same individuals who are praised in the donor chronicles of Zanskar

³⁶ For a chronological account of this period; see Vitali (2003).

³⁷ See Dargyay (1987).

establish and promote an indisputable sense of spiritual continuity and dynastic legitimacy for polities situated at the spatial and temporal margins of the Tibetan Buddhist realm. Not so surprisingly, the inhabitants of Zangla still welcome their local rulers as the direct descendants of King Glang dar ma.³⁸

3.6 The Consecration-Banquet Scene: A Narrative Cornerstone [Fig.7a-b]

The narrative scene depicted in the lower right hand side of the south-western wall is undeniably the key to the understanding of the iconographical programme of the upper temple [No.21]. The scene is part of the lower frieze and comes after the representations of the seven possessions of a universal monarch and the eight great Bodhisattvas [No.19&20]. The image has unfortunately suffered severe flaking and loss of paint. Furthermore, it appears that the main figures were systematically and tragically defaced.

The action of the scene takes place outside and focuses on a group of celebrants seated in front of a screen-like curtain with a flower pattern with hanging at the top. Two Buddhas situated above the curtain are witnessing the scene. The Buddha on the right is no longer visible except for his mandorla. The one on the left is clearly Amitāyus.³⁹ The nine banqueters, whose heads are encircled by halos, are of different sizes attesting to their importance and rank. The tallest figure on the left hand side presides over the congregation. He holds a rosary in his hands and wears a red Tibetan dress with a white shirt appearing out of his right sleeve. The rest of the figure is irremediably damaged. The following character, slightly smaller in size, wears a monastic robe and a red hat with a folded rim bordered in white. He performs a hand gesture with his right hand and holds a scripture on his lap with the left. The next figure wears a Tibetan red dress with a brown trim, a white shirt underneath, and a white turban topped with a red cone on his head. He holds a cup in front of his chest with the right hand. His left hand is resting on his lap, a white jewel in the palm. The next six banqueters are of smaller but equal sizes. The first three figures are men. They hold a vessel in front of their chests and show only minor changes in their attire. The remaining figures are ladies of nobility who are being assisted by two

³⁸ See Dargyay (1987).

³⁹ The presence of Amitāyus as the main witness and recipient of a consecration scene is also attested inside the red temple (Tib. *Lha khang dmar po*) at Tsaparang where the whole scene is clearly organised around the Buddha of infinite life, or longevity; see Blo bzang tshe ring (2011 : vol.1, 50-55).

standing women of even smaller size. They wear the traditional costume of West Tibet composed of a black and red Tibetan dress with striped sleeves, and a red cape. They have headdresses made of pearls and wear multiple necklaces around their necks. The first two women hold their hands in what appears to be the meditation gesture. Seated at the extreme right of the congregation, the last lady has a child in her arms. The boy is clad in white and wears a red necklace. The details of his face are no longer visible.

In front of the celebrants are tables on which dishes of different shape and size are arranged with a multitude of colourful gems. Round jewels of a much bigger dimension overflow from gigantic containers (Tib. *zangs khog*) and are scattered everywhere on the floor. The source of this profusion is a man standing to the right of the main banqueter. With his black hair knotted on top of his head, he holds on his left shoulder a cornucopian basket out of which emerges a shower of gems, conches, and other kinds of jewels. In the midst of this scene of exuberant wealth, female and male attendants carry large beverage containers (Tib. *khruṅg rkyan*) and dishes towards the leading figure.

The rest of the scene is dominated by two groups of women wearing traditional Western Tibetan garments, jewels, and headdresses. They are dancing (Tib. *sgor gzhas*) to the sounds of drums, oboes (Tib. *sur sna*), and a stringed instrument (Tib. *sgra snyan*). This performance announces the coming of a convoy. The delegation is led by a horse riding herald surrounded by armed soldiers with spears and banners. In front of them, four mules (Tib. *khal drel*) are carrying a tribute made of bags and bundles of material. Finally, a reined and saddled horse is led by a walking man at the rear of the convoy.

The iconographical scheme represented here is reminiscent of other murals in West Tibet. Musicians, women dancers, loaded mules, offerings, vessels, bags, and celebrants constitute some of the formal minimal units of this scheme. Yet, it is difficult to establish whether similar scenes depicted at Tsaparang (Tib. *rTsa rang*), for example, and the image of the upper temple represent the same iconographical theme as many elements in the latter are missing.⁴⁰ One of these elements is the presence of beasts of burden and labourers carrying wooden planks and construction materials.

In any case, these narrative scenes involving strong regional and cultural elements along with historical figures, such as sovereigns, religious hierarchs, and donors, must be understood in relation to the

⁴⁰ For instance inside the white and red temples; see 'Phrin las mthath phyin (2001 : 146-157) and Blo bzang tshe ring (2011 : vol.2, 113-118).

religious edifice within which they came to be depicted. Although the iconographical composition of this type of scene would demand further investigations, their artistic association and semantic assimilation to the religious programme of these buildings is rather unlikely. As a result, it seems reasonable to argue that these scenes celebrate, sometimes together, the foundation and consecration of these edifices.⁴¹ Following the premise that what is being depicted is a temple consecration, or the celebrations accompanying the edification of the upper temple at the very least, what does that image tell us about the identity of the main figures?⁴²

In the absence of any kneeling or seated laypeople who could be identified as additional donors, it seems reasonable to conclude that the main celebrant seated to the far left of the banqueters is not only the actual benefactor and patron of the upper temple but also a man of considerable importance and prestige. His association with a member of the clergy standing to his left would then suggest the presence of a sovereign and his court spiritual adviser (Tib. *dbu bla*). The preceding iconographical themes depicted within the frieze, showing the seven precious possessions of a *cakravartin* and the eight close sons (i.e. Bodhisattvas), already position him as being a universal ruler of great altruistic activity. The historical identification of the monarch will be discussed shortly.

For this reason, the religious affiliation of the royal chaplain is of concern to us. Based on iconographical elements alone, it seems reasonable to argue that the priest belongs to the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud lineage as his hat is very similar to those of at least two of the 'Brug pa masters depicted on the north-western wall [No.9a & 13a]. As for the text in his left hand, it must be viewed as either a consecration manual or an iconographical attribute that should facilitate his identification. The representation of the bKa' brgyud pa lineage and the presence of 'Brug pa historical figures (e.g. sTag tshang ras pa) on the walls of a small religious edifice located within the saturated dGe lugs pa environment of the Spiti Valley, and the absence of institutions belonging to the former in the area establish as a consequence the foreign origin of both the monarch and his chaplain.

Although smaller in size, the third man from the left could also be a foreign dignitary as he stands in line with the monarch and the royal priest. As for the remaining figures, they certainly represent

⁴¹ The representations of donor figures, which are quite common in the Buddhist world, can also be found on stone reliefs, bronzes, and manuscripts.

⁴² In 1933, Tucci and Ghersi already suspected that the narrative image of the south-western wall represented « scenes of events taking place at the foundation of the temple »; see Tucci (1935 : 51).

people of the Spitian nobility. The identification of their rank, title, and individual identity remains uncertain.⁴³

If the depicted monarch can be accounted for the construction of the chapel, it is however not clear who the main wealth supplying figure is. It is our contention however that the cornucopia of gems should be interpreted as a metaphorical expression of the prosperity granted by the foreign ruler celebrated in the scene. Conversely, the delegation with its loaded mules and soldiers may well be the expression of a tribute paid to the monarch in return for his kindness and protection towards the inhabitants of Dangkhar. This interpretation, as we shall see now, is well supported by historical evidence. The following section attempts to address the political and cultural conditions that prevailed at the time of the foundation of the upper temple, and last but not least to suggest a name for its patron.

4. Political & Cultural Contextualisation

The annexation of the old Kingdom of Guge by King Seng ge rnam rgyal in 1630 represents not only the culmination of Ladakhi political power in the western Himalayas but also marks the incorporation of Spiti into the Kingdom of Ladakh. Along with a number of other feudatory kingdoms and sub-principalities, Spiti was from then onward loosely administered by governors appointed by the kings of Ladakh. The nature of Ladakhi control over the Spiti Valley, until its annexation by Rāja Gulab Singh round 1840, is still ambiguous, and the administration of the main dGe lugs pa monasteries of the valley seems to have remained under the jurisdiction of the central Tibetan government.

Following the conquest of the area, the rNam rgyal dynasty seems to have established a palace (Tib. *Pho brang*) in Kaza (Tib. *mKhar tse*) at a well-located distance between the capital Dangkhar and the monastery of Kyi (Tib. *dKyil*) from where the incarnations of Lo chen Rin chen bzang po acted as the main dGe lugs pa religious authority in the valley.⁴⁴ It is probable that a castle meant as a garrison post was also built on top of the ridge during that time, dominating both the village and the monastic complex of Dangkhar.⁴⁵ It eventually became the seat of governors (Tib. *no no*) of unclear origin, who, according to Petech, were entitled to be called “king” along with

⁴³ For preliminary observations regarding the social organisation at Dangkhar; see Laurent (2011).

⁴⁴ See Tucci (1935 : 41, n1).

⁴⁵ See Laurent (2010).

seven other feudatory chiefs of the Kingdom of Ladakh.⁴⁶ Other functionaries and representatives of the Ladakhi administration residing at Dangkhār were castellans (Tib. *mkhar dpon*) and ministers (Tib. *blon po*).⁴⁷ The origin of these dignitaries cannot be ascertained at present and their occurrences in historical sources and inscriptions are few and far between.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, the political relationship between Spiti and Ladakh was frequently disrupted for short periods of time during which Spiti would either return under the political control of the Central Tibetan government (i.e. between 1683 and 1687) or under the authority of neighbouring principalities, such as Kulu in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and Purig between 1734 and 1758. The control of commercial routes, trade activities, and the levying of taxes were, however, sensitive aspects of the political control exerted by the Kingdom of Ladakh over Spiti. The socio-economic conditions in Spiti during the 17th - 19th century, which have been documented by Jahoda, tend to indicate that the political interference with the local power structures were unobtrusive, and were essentially confined to the collection of taxes levied in kind (i.e. barley). While the administrative system (Tib. *chos gzhis*) in Spiti contributed to the economic sustainability of its monasteries on the one hand, an annual tribute composed of funds, grain, cloth, and paper was also due to the kings of Ladakh.⁴⁹

As a place of conjoined political and religious significance, the monastery of Dangkhār bears witness to these customs. In 2010, three partially dissimulated granaries adjusted within the walls of the main building were documented by the Graz University of Technology. They constitute archaeological evidence attesting customary practices which lasted until the first half of the 20th century.⁵⁰ Furthermore, a detail of the consecration-banquet scene, represented on the south-western wall of the upper temple, seems to illustrate, as we have seen, the payment of a tribute. The sacks of grains and bundles of cloth loaded on the back of the mules would have been part of the annual revenues paid to the kings of Ladakh. The presence of soldiers escorting the convoy clearly reinforces this interpretation as the tribute would also have included large amounts of money.

The political authority and legitimacy of the kings of Ladakh was not only based on their ability to appoint functionaries, levy taxes, and dispatch armed contingents to the edges of the realm. As

⁴⁶ See Petech (1977 : 155).

⁴⁷ See Laurent (2011).

⁴⁸ See Laurent (2010).

⁴⁹ Jahoda (2007, 2008 & 2009).

⁵⁰ Laurent (2010).

Buddhist monarchs they were entrusted with protecting the doctrine, supporting monastic institutions, and patronising the construction of religious edifices both in Ladakh and in West Tibet. Despite the political hegemony of the Central Tibetan government and the religious prevalence of the dGe lugs pa school throughout the Himalayan belt, other polities may have favoured different religious orders in the course of their history. From the 17th century onwards, the rNam rgyal dynasty established a personal relationship with the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud tradition. The nomination of sTag tshang ras pa as court chaplain during the reign of King Seng ge rnyam rgyal is after all emblematic of that period and for that very same reason came to be praised on the walls of the upper temple.

However, political tensions between the Kingdom of Ladakh and Tibet often proved to be detrimental to ecumenical inclinations and religious freedom. In the 17th century, the Ladakhi spiritual allegiance to the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud order under the reign of King bDe ldan rnam rgyal (r. 1642–1694) led in part to the Ladakh-Tibet-Mughal war of 1679-1684. The interference of Ladakh in a dispute opposing Lhasa and the Kingdom of Bhutan, another 'Brug pa supporting state, and the apparent hostility of bDe ldan rnam rgyal towards dGe lugs pa institutions in the western Himalayas, severely antagonised Tibet.⁵¹

⁵¹ From the point of view of central Tibetan historiography, the Lhasa regent Sang rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705) notes “[The king of] Ladakh, Seng ge rnam rgyal, out of religious tolerance, was relatively fond of the dGe lugs pa tradition. But later on, in accordance with the saying that a wicked child comes from an extinct lineage and malevolent thoughts come from the decrease of merits, being lost in his own thoughts, his devotion towards the 'Brug pa order increased and all the dGe lugs pa monasteries of Ngari became impoverished. Lately, the descendant of the Dharma king of Tibet, Lha bla ma Zhi ba 'od, reincarnation of the stainless prince Mu tig btsan po, established the monastic college of Tholing where under the patron-priest relationship of the king of Ngari, rNam rgyal lde dpal bzang po, and the master Ngag dbang grags pa, the dGe lugs pa order took its true colour. But as the scriptures recall “a butter lamp does not shine forth from a land infested with venomous snakes”. And although the local laity and clergy were largely and clearly faithful to the dGe lugs pa sect, the monastic community [of Tholing] was reduced to thirty monks due to the pernicious blindness of bDe ldan rnam rgyal who had cast the shadow of destitution upon the kingdom and the church alike”.

La dwags seng ge rnam rgyal phan grub mtha' ris med nas dge lugs la nye ba tsam yod 'dra yang | rigs brgyud zad kar bu ngan dang bsod nams zad kar bsam ngan skye ba'i dpe bzhin phyis skor zhal thur gzigs la thug pas 'brug phyogs su dad 'dun ches pa'i mnga' ris phyogs kyi dge dgon tshang ma nyag phra zhing | nye lam bod chos rgyal gyi gdung dri ma med pa lha sras mu tig btsan po'i skye srid lha bla ma zhi ba 'od kyis btab pa'i mtho ldang gi chos sde 'di nyid mnga' bdag rnam rgyal lde dpal bzang pod dang chos rje ngag dbang grags pa mchod yon nas dge lugs rnam dag pa'i tshos mdog yin rung | bstan bcos las | sbrul gdug gnas pa'i sa phyogs su | | sgron me gsal kyang 'od mi 'byin | | zhes yul mi skya ser byings dge lugs la dad pa'i snang ba dkar kyang bde ldan rnam

In this context, the patronage and construction of the upper temple during the Ladakhi hegemony in West Tibet must be attributed to a member of the rNam rgyal dynasty who was eager to promote religious values and historical bonds shared by the people of Spiti, Ladakh, and Tibet. Based on the popularity of the figure of sTag tshang ras pa and its iconographical development on the murals of Ladakh, along with the identification of the five dGe lugs pa masters of the north-western wall and the establishment of the iconographical theme to which they belong, it is likely that the upper temple was constructed sometime during the first half of the 18th century, in all probability during the reign of King Nyi ma rnam rgyal (r. 1694–1729). Succeeding the disastrous reign of bDe ldan rnam rgyal, King Nyi ma rnam rgyal successfully managed to bring back harmonious relationships with Lhasa and the dGe lugs pa order. He first married bSod nams rgya mtsho, a lady belonging to the nobility of Central Tibet, who was escorted to Ladakh by two representatives of the government in 1694.⁵² Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan 'dzin, who was his younger brother and a monk, visited Tashi Lhunpo and Lhasa where he had an audience with the young 6th Dalai Lama between 1697 and 1699. The main dGe lugs pa monasteries of Ladakh along with those of other schools were eventually placed under the authority of Drepung monastery (Tib. *'Bras spungs*). Emulating his great-grandfather King Seng ge rnam rgyal, and regardless of his support to Tsong kha pa's followers, Nyi ma rnam rgyal remained devoted to the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud sect and appointed Ngag bdang rgyal mtshan (1647–1732), an eminent master from Bhutan, as the spiritual advisor of the Ladakhi court.⁵³

In several epigraphic inscriptions and literary source from Ladakh, Nyi ma rnam rgyal is addressed as universal monarch (Tib. *'khor lo sgyur rgyal*),⁵⁴ great dharma king (Tib. *chos rgyal chen po*),⁵⁵ or Bodhisattva dharma king (Tib. *chos kyi rgyal po sems dpa' chen po*) whose devotional yearning was meant to establish all sentient beings in vast fields of merits.⁵⁶ His activity as a patron and protector of the

rgyal gyi gdug pa'i mun pas bsgrigs te grwa pa sum cu skor tsam las chos srid gnyis ka shin tu nyag phra ba zhiḡ 'dug pa l; see *Vaidūrya ser po* (1998 : 460).

⁵² For the main events related to the life of Nyi ma rnam rgyal; see Petech (1977 : 81-100).

⁵³ Ngag dbang rgyal mtshan arrived in Ladakh in 1706 where he acted as priest court until 1712; see Yontan Dargay & Sørensen (2008 : 133-176).

⁵⁴ Stone inscription, Sl. No.2, Phyang, Ladakh; see Jina (1998 : 3).

⁵⁵ Hymn to King Nyi ma rnam rgyal, Sl. No.67, Saspol, Ladakh; see Francke & Jina (2003 : 90).

⁵⁶ "Nyi ma rnam rgyal was bestowed the kingship and through his deep aspiration of Bodhisattva dharma king commissioned a great variety of sacred representations [to establish] all migratory beings in vast fields of merits". *Nyi ma*

doctrine was therefore irrespective of political or sectarian allegiance. As we are informed, "The Dharma king presented gold water and votive lamps to Lhasa and Samye in particular, and to every temple of Tibet. He made offerings to all lamas without preference and served tea and victuals to monastic congregations. He honoured all the monasteries placed under him, large and small, without discrimination. He voluntarily commissioned statues made of gold and silver, scriptures, and erected walls made of carved maṇi slates. He ordered the printing of consecration formulae, small, medium, and large, for the construction of sacred images. [...] He printed the praise to Mañjuśrī *Gang blo smon lam*, the *Shes bya mkha' dbyings*, the *gSer 'od g.yang skyabs*, the complete Buddhist canon, and the *Le bdun*, and bestowed dharma gifts to all laypeople and monastics. Prayer wheels made of gold, silver, and copper, as well as a great variety of pious dhāraṇī prints were realised".⁵⁷ Nyi ma rnam rgyal abdicated in 1729, leaving the throne to his son bDe skyong rnam rgyal, and eventually passed away in 1739.

Likewise, his activity as a patron in Spiti is well attested by material evidence and so corroborates aspects of the literary tradition. While visiting the area in 1933, Tucci recorded inscriptions which recall that the Nyi ma rnam rgyal financed the renovation of the Sa skya pa monastery of Spiti. On their way up to the monastery, passing by a long maṇi wall, Tucci and Ghersi examined and photographed countless votive inscriptions bearing the name of King Nyi ma rnam rgyal, and occasionally those of local dignitaries as well.⁵⁸

Based on the above, it seems reasonable to say that the king of Ladakh would not have limited his devotional activity to the Sa skya monastery alone but would have contributed to the realisation of sacred images and the construction of religious edifices in other parts of the Spiti Valley as well. The monastic complex of Tabo must

rnam rgyal gyis rgyal srid la mnga' gsol ba'i chos kyi rgyal po sems dpa' chen po'i thugs smon lam chen pos sku gsung thugs rten la sogs 'gro ba yongs kyi bsod nam bzhin du mang du bzheng |; see *Ladakh Chronicle* (1987 : 63).

⁵⁷ *IHa sa bsam yas kyi btsos pa'i bod kyi gtsug lag khang thams cad la gser chab | dkar me | bla ma ris med skyabs rten | dge baun sogs la mang skol | rang zhabs kyi chos lde che chung thams cad la | bsnyen bkur ris med | gser dngul gyi rgyu las | rang mos kyi (kyis) lha sku | gsung rab | rdza nang gi ma Ni ring mo | sku gsung thugs rten bzheng rgyu'i gzung bar rgyas bsodus | 'jam sdud bzang gsum | 'jam dbyangs bstod pa gang blo smon lam | shes bya kha (mkha') dbyings | gser 'od g.yang skyabs | bka' sgyur ro cog | le bdun | par byas legs par bsgrub nas | skya ser thams cad chos sbyin | gser dngul zangs gsum gyis ma Ni the skor | chos kyi zung bar (gzungs par) sna mang bsgrub |.* Amendments given in brackets are ours; see *Ladakh Chronicle* (1987 : 64-65).

⁵⁸ Unfortunately, the recording of these inscriptions and the photographs taken by Tucci were not at our disposal for further study; see Tucci (1935 : 41 n.1, 43-44).

certainly have been the recipient of such largesse and it would not be surprising to find further evidence of King Nyi ma rnam rgyal's patronage *in situ*. As for the capital Dangkhar, with its established dGe lugs pa monastery and newly built castle, it would have deserved a tangible testimony of the Ladakhi political and religious power over the area.

Finally, an excerpt from a stone inscription, which was recorded in Lamayuru (Tib. *Bla ma g.yung drung*) in Ladakh, attests that King Nyi ma rnam rgyal was popularly and locally perceived as the direct and rightful heir of the Kingdom of Guge. The passage reads:

[...] I respectfully pay homage to the translators and paṇḍitas, compassionate Bodhisattvas, and to the Dharma king and queen.

Hūm! The Victorious One has blessed the three precious gems of Kailash where resided the three *mGon* kings of the three western dominions.

Their descendants, the Dharma king Nyi ma rnam rgyal together with his son, are now sitting on the great leonine throne of the mighty kingdom of Ladakh-Maryül in the glorious and great fortress of Leh [...].⁵⁹

Literary documents and epigraphic inscriptions would thus seem to effectively position the king of Ladakh as the patron of the upper temple where he appears as a universal monarch whose spiritual credence and political authority would have gone back to the time of King sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, and perhaps even beyond.

5. Conclusion

Located half way between the ancient monastery, the old village, and the castle of the governor, the upper temple probably never belonged *sensu stricto* to the monastic complex of Dangkhar. This would explain why even today its maintenance and the daily offering of a butter lamp behove to the villagers and the monks to do so. Based on its dimensions and the nature of the iconographical programme, it can be surmised that the chapel did not assume any specific religious

⁵⁹ *Thugs rze (rje) rmad du byung bai (ba'i) lo pan dang | chos rgyal yab yum rnams la gus pas 'adud ('dud) | hung (hūm) rgyal bas byin rlabs gnas (gangs/gnas) ri mchog gsum du | mua ris (mnga' ris) skor gsum rgyal po mgon gsum byung | de la brgyad brgyas (rgyud rgyas) de la dags (la dwags) mar yul gyi rgyal khab chen po gle (sle) chen dpal mkhar gyi | da lha (da lta) sing geai (sing ge'i) khri chen la bsti bai chos rgyal nyi ma rnam rgyal yam sras (yab sras) bcas |*. The transliteration follows Jina's while the translation and amendments given in brackets are ours; see Jina (1998 : 7).

purpose. It was neither a place for communal services, ritualistic practices, or initiations.

The skilful composition of its murals, organised around fourteen figures of almost life-size dimension, contributes to highlight iconographical themes which would have been appreciated differently by the religious expert, the lay devotee, the local farmer, or a member of the Spitian nobility. The variety of its themes, as we have demonstrated, covers most of the essential aspects of the Buddhist tradition in its Indo-Tibetan form. The health and longevity programme addresses the treatment of diseases, the purification of negative karma, and the restoration of the Bodhisattva vows. The propitiation of apotropaic and protective deities facilitates the removal of internal and external obstacles. The representation of worldly protectors and wealth deities answers both religious and domestic needs. They secure and ensure the prosperity and means of the household, the monastery, and the community at large. The syntagmatic association to this group of somewhat exogenous elements, such as the three Dharma kings of Central Tibet and the autochthonous deities of Ngari, is most peculiar. Their presence on the entrance wall of an 18th century temple in Spiti instigates an interesting shift of narrative which we have tried to explain. As the three main recipients of worship and principal religious figures, the depictions of Sākyamuni, Atiśa, and Tsong kha pa constitute a cultural trend well attested on murals of West Tibet after the 15th century. As a result, the wall-paintings necessarily include the principal dharma protectors and meditational deities worshipped by the dGe lugs pa tradition which largely pervades the iconographical programme. However, the depiction of bKa' brgyud pa and 'Brug pa figures suggests external influences in the composition of the iconographical programme as the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud order is mostly absent from the Spitian religious landscape. Headed by the 17th century sTag tshang ras pa, who is represented among the secondary figures of the main devotional wall, the 'Brug pa presence evidently points towards the neighbouring Kingdom of Ladakh.

In this context, cultural, religious and historical elements, both local and global, converge together in order to celebrate the patron of the temple, who is portrayed as a religious monarch and a son of the Buddhas. Although the iconographical programme is of dGe lugs pa tenor, the royal benefactor assesses his spiritual credence by emphasising the common foundation between Tsong kha pa's tradition and the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud order to which he adheres. The depiction of the founders of the bKa' gdams pa tradition, along with the figure of Nāropa, not only reaffirms the Indian derivation of the two lineages represented on the walls, but situates the religious

discourse within the broader geographical and historical context of Western Tibet. The revitalisation of Buddhism embodied by the figure of Atiśa offers the means to restate the role performed by King sKyī lde Nyi ma mgon's dynasty in the 10th-11th century. Subsequently, the political legitimacy of our royal donor rests on the reorganisation of narratives asserting the intermediate position assumed by the rulers of West Tibet in their role of direct heirs of the central Tibetan kings and forefathers of the western dominions. Altogether, the iconographical programme of the upper temple celebrates the longevity and prosperity granted to the Kingdom of Ladakh (i.e. therefore to Spiti as well) by its royal patron, rightful inheritor of the Tibetan Empire and the Kingdom of Guge, a Dharma king and a Bodhisattva.

Based on the narratives at work and the development of iconographical themes, in addition to literary and material evidence related to the first half of the 18th century, we have put forward the name of King Nyi ma rnyam rgyal as the likely royal patron of the upper temple. In line with the religious policy of his great-grandfather King Seng ge rnam rgyal, Nyi ma rnam rgyal was particularly active in promoting religious concord both inside and outside his dominions. Emulating the patron-priest relationship characterised by the figure of sTag tshang ras pa, he had a prominent 'Brug pa scholar from Bhutan join him as spiritual advisor. Whether or not it is true, we would like to believe that Byams mgon Ngag dbang rgyal mtshan, the court chaplain of King Nyi ma rnam rgyal, is somewhere represented on the walls of the upper temple; perhaps next to the royal benefactor of the consecration-banquet scene. In any case, the person responsible for the composition of these murals must have been of remarkable intellectual stature. The adhesion of Nyi ma rnam rgyal to the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud tradition did not prevent him from lavishly supporting other sects. Following the reign of his predecessor, he restored direct contact with the Lhasa government and liberally honoured the dGe lugs pa establishments.

As we have seen, the Ladakhi authority in Spiti was entrusted to functionaries whose main prerogatives were the levying of taxes and the collection of revenues for the annual tribute. According to Petech, "control over Spiti was always a vague affair". After the reign of King Nyi ma rnam rgyal, however, the political status of Spiti was soon to be disputed again. The position of the Spiti Valley as a buffer zone between contiguous areas of diverse socio-cultural significance and political regimes reaffirms its importance for the understanding of the western Himalayas. Among the last monarchs of the rNam rgyal dynasty, Nyi ma rnam rgyal is the most likely candidate for the sponsorship of the construction of the upper temple.

Dominating the Spiti River downhill, the upper temple of Dangkhar and its festival of images is a vivid testimony to the flamboyant history of Western Tibet. The immediate preservation and renovation of its wall-paintings is therefore *un devoir de mémoire*.

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APPENDIX

Iconographical Inventory¹**South-eastern wall**

- 1 Wall-painted hanging with *simhamukha* (Tib. *sham bu*)
- 2 **The thirty-five confession Buddhas grouped around the Conquerors of the five family** (Tib. *ltung bshags kyi sangs rgyas so lnga ni rgyal ba rigs lnga dang so so'i 'khor drug*)
 - 2a+6 Amoghasiddhi (Tib. *Don yod grub pa*)
 - 2b+6 Amitābha (Tib. *'Od dpag med*)
 - 2c+6 Ratnasambhava (Tib. *Rin chen 'byung gnas*)
 - 2d+6 Akṣobhya (Tib. *Mi bskyod pa*)
 - 2e+6 Vairocana (Tib. *rNam par snang mdzad*)
- 3 **Consorts of the Conquerors of the five family** (Tib. *rgyal ba rigs lnga yi yum*)
 - 3a Samaya Tārā (Tib. *Dam tshig sgrol ma*)
 - 3b Pāṇḍaravāsīnī (Tib. *Gos dkar mo*)
 - 3c Māmaki (Tib. *Mā ma ki*)
 - 3d Buddha Locana (Tib. *Sangs rgyas spyan ma*)
 - 3e Vajradhātviśvarī (Tib. *rDo rje dbyings phyug ma*)
- 4 **The eight Medicine Buddhas** (Tib. *sman bla de gshegs brgyad*)
 - 4a Sunāman (Tib. *mTshan legs*) *
 - 4b Ratnacandra (Tib. *Rin chen zla ba*) *
 - 4c Dharmakīrtisāgaraghoṣa (Tib. *Chos sgrags rgya mtsho'i dbyangs*) *
 - 4d Bhaiṣajyaguru (Tib. *Sangs rgyas sman bla*)
- 5 Buddha making the gesture of fearlessness, i.e. *abhaya mudrā* (Tib. *skyabs sbyin phyag rgya mdzad pa'i Sangs rgyas*)
- 6 **Padmasambhava and consorts** (Tib. *Pad ma 'byung gnas dang yum*)
 - 6a Padmasambhava (Tib. *Gu ru rin po che Pad ma 'byung gnas*)
 - 6b Mandāravā (Tib. *Man da ra ba me tog*)
 - 6c Ye shes mtsho rgyal
- 7 Ekadaśamukha Avalokiteśvara (Tib. *Thugs rje chen po bcu gcig zhal*)
- 8 Buddha Amitābha (Tib. *Sangs rgyas 'Od dpag med*)
- 9 Caturbhūja Avalokiteśvara (Tib. *sPyan ras gzigs phag bzhi pa*)
- 10 Buddha making the gesture of generosity, i.e. *varada mudrā* (Tib. *mchog sbyin phyag rgya mdzad pa'i Sangs rgyas*)
- 11 Amitāyus (Tib. *Tshe dpag med*)
- 12 **The twelve deeds of Buddha Śākyamuni** (Tib. *Sangs rgyas mchog gi sprul pa'i skus 'jig rten du mdzad pa bcu gnyis*)
 - 12a Remaining in and descent from Tuṣita heavenly realm (Tib. *dga' ldan*)

¹ * Identity of the figure within the theme not secured, ** Identification of the iconographical figure not secured, *** Identification of the iconographical theme not secured † Restitution

- gnas nas 'pho ba*)
 12b Entering into Queen Māyādevī's womb (Tib. *lhums su zhugs pa*)
 12c Taking birth (Tib. *sku bltams pa*)
 12d Becoming skilled in worldly arts and demonstrating physical prowess (Tib. *gzhon nu'i rol rtsed*)
 12e Enjoying a retinue of queens and a life of pleasures (Tib. *btsun mo'i khor gyis rol ba*)
 12f Renouncing the world (Tib. *rab tu byung ba*)

South-western wall

- 1 Wall-painted hanging with *śiṃhamukha* (Tib. *sham bu*)
Meditational deities (Tib. *yi dam*)
 2 Vajrabhairava and consort Vajrā Vetālī (Tib. *rDo rje 'jigs byed dang rDo rje ro langgs ma*)
 3 Guhyasamāja and consort Śparsavajrā (Tib. *gSang ba 'dus pa dang Reg bya rdo rje ma*)
 4 Hayagrīva (Tib. *rTa mgrin*)
 5 **A pair of dGe lugs pa teachers** (Tib. *dGe lugs pa'i slob dpon gnyis*)
 5a unidentified
 5b unidentified
 6 **Father and spiritual sons** (Tib. *yab sras gsum*)
 6a rJe Rin po che Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa (1357 – 1419)
 6b rGyal tshab rje Dar ma rin chen (1364 – 1432)
 6c mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang po (1385 – 1438)
 7 Ādibuddha Samantabhadra (Tib. *Kun tu bzang po*)
 8 unidentified
 9 **Celestial nymphs**
 9a *apsarasah* (Tib. *mchod pa'i lha mo*)
 9b *apsarasah* (Tib. *mchod pa'i lha mo*)
 10 **The historical Buddha and his two main disciples** (Tib. *Thub pa gnas bcus bskor ba*)
 10a Buddha Śākyamuni (Tib. *Shākya thub pa*)
 10b Śāriputra (Tib. *Shā ri'i bu*)
 10c Maudgalyāyana (Tib. *Ma'u dgal gyi bu*)
 11 **The sixteen arhats** (Tib. *gnas brtan bcu drug*)
 11a Gopaka (Tib. *sBed byed*) *
 11b Bhadra (Tib. *bZang po*)
 11c Cūḍapanthaka (Tib. *Lam phran bstan*)
 11d Bakula (Tib. *Ba ku la*)
 11e Kanakavṛta (Tib. *gSer be'u*)
 11f Vanavāsini (Tib. *Nags na gnas*) *
 11g Vajrīputra (Tib. *rDo rje mo'i bu*) *
 11h Aṅgaja (Tib. *Yan lag 'byung*)
 11i Kanakabharadvāja (Tib. *Bha ra dhwa dza gser can*) *
 11j Nāgasena (Tib. *Klu'i sde*) *
 11k Panthaka (Tib. *Lam bstan*)
 11l Piṇḍolabharadvāja (Tib. *Bha ra dha dza bsod snyoms len*)

- 11m Ajita (Tib. *Ma pham pa*)
 11n Kālīka (Tib. *Dus ldan*) *
 11o Rāhula (Tib. *sGra gcan zin*)
 11p Abheda (Tib. *Mi phyed*)
 12 **The two attendants**
 12a Hwa shang
 12b Upāsaka Dharmatrāta (Tib. *dGe bsnyen Dharma*)
Meditational deities (Tib. *yi dam*)
 13 Kālacakra and consort Viśvamāta (Tib. *Dus kyi 'khor lo dang sNa tshogs yum*)
 14 Hevajra and consort Vajranairātmyā (Tib. *Kye rdo rje dang rDo rje bdag med mo*)
 15 Cakrasaṃvara and consort Vajravāhārī (Tib. *'Khor lo bde mchog dang rDo rje phag mo*)
 16 Nārōpa (Tib. *Nā ro pa*) (c.1016 – 1100)
 17 sTag tshang ras pa O rgyan Ngag dbang rgya mtsho (1574 – 1651)
 18 **Atiśa and his two main disciples**
 18a Atiśa Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna (Tib. *Jo bo rje dPal ldan A ti sha*) (980 – 1054)
 18b 'Brom ston pa (1005 – 1064)
 18c rNgog lo tswa ba Legs pa'i shes rabs (1059 – 1109) or Nag tsho lo tswa ba (1011 – 1064)
 19 **The seven precious possessions of a universal monarch** (Skt. *sapta rājāyatatna* Tib. *rgyal srid rin chen sna bdun*)
 19a The precious general (Skt. *senāpatiratna* Tib. *dmag dpon rin po che*)
 19b The most precious horse (Skt. *aśvaratna* Tib. *rta mchog rin po che*)
 19c The precious elephant (Skt. *hastiratna* Tib. *glang po rin po che*)
 19d The precious minister (Skt. *pariṇāyakarātna* Tib. *blon po rin po che*)
 19e The precious jewel (Skt. *maṇiratna* Tib. *nor bur in po che*)
 19f The precious queen (Skt. *raṇiratna* or *strīratna* Tib. *btsun mo rin po che*)
 19g The precious wheel (Skt. *cakraratna* Tib. *'khor lo rin po che*)
 20 **The eight close sons or great bodhisattvas** (Skt. *aṣṭa utaputra* Tib. *nye ba'i sras chen brgyad*)
 20a Sarvaṇīvaraṇaviṣkambhin (Tib. *sGrip pa rnam sel*) *
 20b Avalokiteśvara (Tib. *sPyan ras gzigs*)
 20c Vajrapānī (Tib. *Phyag na rdo rje*)
 20d Mañjuśrī (Tib. *'Jam dpal byangs*)
 20e Ākāśagarbha (Tib. *Nam mkha'i snying po*) *
 20f Samantabhadra (Tib. *Kun tu bzang po*) *
 20g Maitreya (Tib. *Byams pa mgon po*) *
 20h Kṣitigarbha (Tib. *Sa'i snying po*) *
 20 The banquet-consecration scene

North-western Wall

- 1 Wall-painted hanging with siṃhamukha (Tib. *sham bu*)
 2 **Group of seventeen Buddhas**
Seven universal or heroic Buddhas (Tib. *sangs rgyas rab bdun nam sangs rgyas dpa' bo dbun*) ***

- 2a rNam par gzigs *
- 2b gTsugs tor can *
- 2c Thabs cad skyob *
- 2d 'Khor ba 'jigs *
- 2e gSer thub *
- 2f 'Od srung *
- 2g Shākya thub pa *
- Buddhas of the ten directions and three times* (Tib. *phogs bcu dus gsum gyis sangs rgyas*) ***
- 2h dKon mchog 'byung gnas *
- 2i Mya ngan med pa *
- 2j Rin chen 'od 'phro *
- 2k rGyal pa' dbang po *
- 2l Pa dmo dam pa' dpal mnga' *
- 2m Nyi ma snang ba' dpal *
- 2n gDugs mchog dam pa *
- 2o Ting 'dzin glang pod pal mnga' *
- 2p Pad ma' dpal nyid *
- 2q dKa' ba' dpal can *
- 3 A pair of dGe lugs pa teachers (Tib. *dGe lugs pa slob dpon gnyis*)
- 3a unidentified
- 3b unidentified
- 4 *The six ornaments and the two excellent ones* (Tib. *rgyan drug mchog gnyis*)
- 4a Nāgārjuna (Tib. *Klu sgrub*)
- 4b Āryadeva (Tib. *'Phags pa lha*) †
- 4c Asaṅga (Tib. *Thogs med*) †
- 4d Vasubandhu (Tib. *dByig gnyen*) †
- 4e Dignāga (Tib. *Phyogs kyi glang po*)
- 4f Dharmakīrti (Tib. *Chos kyi grags pa*)
- 4g Guṇaprabha (Tib. *Yon tan 'od*)
- 4h Śākyaprabha (Tib. *Shākya 'od*)
- 5 *The forefathers of the bKa' brgyud pa lineage* (Tib. *bKa' brgyud pa'i bla ma rgyud pa*)
- 5a Vajradhara (Tib. *rDo rje 'chang*)
- 5b Tilopa (Tib. *Ti lo pa*) (988 – 1069)
- 5c Nāropa (Tib. *Nā ro pa*) (c. 1016 – 1100)
- 5d Mar pa lo tswa ba Chos kyi blo gros (1012 – 1097)
- 5e rJe btsun Mi la ras pa (1040 – 1123)
- 5f sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen Dwags po lha rje (1079 – 1153)
- 5g Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa (1085 – 1161)
- 5h Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1100 – 1170)
- 5i gLing chen ras pa Pad ma rdo rje (1128 – 1188)
- 6 Prajñāpāramitā (Tib. *Yum chen mo* or *Sher phyin ma*)
- 7 Maitreya (Tib. *rGyal ba Byams pa*)
- 8 Uṣṇīṣavijayā (Tib. *gTsug tor rnam par rgyal ma*)
- 9 *A pair of 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa teachers* (Tib. *'Brug pa bka' brgyud pa'i slob dpon gnyis*)

- 9a *unidentified*
 9b *unidentified*
 10 Sitātapatrā (Tib. *gDugs dkar*)
 11 Mañjuśrī (Tib. *'Jam pa'i dbyang*)
 12 Jāṅguli (Tib. *Dug sel ma*)
 13 **A pair of 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa teachers** (Tib. *'Brug pa bka' brgyud pa'i slob dpon gnyis*)
 13a *unidentified*
 13b *unidentified*
 14 Nīla Siṃhavaṅktrā (Tib. *Seng ge gdong ma sngon mo*)
 15 Vajrapāṇi (Tib. *Phyag ma rdo rje*)
 16 **The eight Medicine Buddhas** (Tib. *sman bla de gshegs brgyad*)
 16e Aśokottama (Tib. *Mya ngan med mchog*) *
 16f Śākyamuni (Tib. *Shākya thub pa*)
 16g Suvarṇabhadravimala (Tib. *gSer bzang dri med*) *
 16h Abhijñārāja (Tib. *mNgon mkhyen rgyal po*)
 17 Sita Tārā (Tib. *sGrol dkar*)
 18 Syāma Tārā (Tib. *sGrol ljang*)
 19 Parṇāśabarī (Tib. *Ri khrod lo ma gyon ma*)
 20 **The twelve deeds of Buddha Śākyamuni** (Tib. *Sangs rgyas mchog gi sprul pa'i skus 'jig rten du mdzad pa bcu gnyis*)
 20g Practicing asceticism (Tib. *dka' ba spyad pa*)
 20h Reaching the point of enlightenment (Tib. *byang chub snying por gshegs pa*) †
 20i Defeating Māra's hosts (Tib. *bdud btul ba*)
 20j Attaining perfect enlightenment (Tib. *mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa*)
 20k Turning the wheel of doctrine (Tib. *chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba*)
 20l Departing for the ultimate peace of parinirvāṇa (Tib. *mya ngan las 'das pa*)

North-eastern wall

- 1 Wall-painted hanging with siṃhamukha (Tib. *sham bu*)
 2 Vajrasattva (Tib. *rDo rje sems dpa'*)
 3 Śyāmanīla Vajravīdāraṇa (Tib. *rDo rje rnam 'joms ljang sngon*)
 4 Akṣobhya (Tib. *Mi 'khrugs pa*)
 5 Rakta Mahākāla (Tib. *mGon dmar*) **
 6 Pañjara Mahākāla (Tib. *Gur gyi mgon po*)
 7 Caturbhuja Mahākāla (Tib. *mGon po phyag bzhi pa*)
 8 Mañjuśrī Nāgarākṣa (Tib. *'Jam dpal nā ga rakṣa*)
 9 Brāhmaṇarūpa Mahākāla (Tib. *mGon po bram ze'i gzugs can*)
 10 Sadbhujā Mahākāla also known as Sarvaviḡṇavināyaka Mahākāla (Tib. *mGon po phyag druk pa* or *mGon po bar chad kun sel*)
 11 Dhūmavarṇa Krodha Ucchuṣma (Tib. *Khro bo sme brtsegs dud kha*) **
 12 Yama Dharmarāja and consort Cāmuṇḍā (Tib. *gShin rje Chos rgyal dang Tsā mundi*)
 13 **Mahākāla's four lieutenants and retinue**

- 13a Kṣetrapāla (Tib. *Kṣe tra pā la*)
 13b Jinamitra (Tib. *Dzi na mi tra*)
 13c Ṭakkirāja (Tib. *Ṭakki rā dza*)
 13d Trakṣad (Tib. *Trakṣad*)
 13e Śrī Devī (Tib. *dPal ldan lha mo* or *bDud mo re ma ti*)
 13f Saṅkhaḥapālī Devī (Tib. *Lha mo dung skyong ma*) **
 14 **Wealth deities** (Tib. *rgyu nor gyi lha rnams*)
 14a Sadbhujā Vasudhārā (Tib. *Nor rgyun ma phyag drug ma*) *
 14b Vasudhārā from the dhāraṇī (Tib. *gZungs las byung ba'i lha mo nor rgyun ma*) *
 14c Jambhala (Tib. *Dzambha la*)
 14d Vasudhārā (Tib. *Nor rgyun ma*)
 14e Mahāpitā Vaiśravaṇṇa (Tib. *rNam sras ser chen*)
 14f Kṛṣṇa Jambhala (Tib. *Dzambha la nag po*)
 15 **Guardian kings of the four directions** (Skt. *lokapāla* or *cāturmahārājika* Tib. *phyogs skyong rgyal po* or *rgyal chen sde bzhi*)
 15a Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Tib. *Yul 'khor skyong* or *Yul 'khor srung*)
 15b Virūpākṣa (Tib. *sPyan mi bzang*)
 15c Virūḍhaka (Tib. *'Phag skyes po*)
 15d Vaiśravaṇa (Tib. *rNam thos sras*)
 16 **The three forefather Dharma kings of Tibet** (Tib. *chos rgyal mes dbon rnam gsum*)
 16a Chos rgyal Srong btsan sgam po (r. 60? – 649)
 16b Khri srong lde btsan (r. 755 – 797)
 16c Khri ral pa can (r. 815 – 836)
 17 Śāntarakṣita (Tib. *slob dpon Zhi ba 'tsho*) (725 – 788)
 18 *unidentified*
 19 **The equestrian scene**
 19a A human female rider
 19b Autochthonous warrior deity of West Tibet (Tib. *Mes ba'u zhes pa'i gu ge yul lha*)
 19c Autochthonous warrior deity of West Tibet (Tib. *Mes ba'u zhes pa'i gu ge yul lha*)
 19d Autochthonous warrior deity of West Tibet (Tib. *Mes ba'u zhes pa'i gu ge yul lha*)
 19e A human female rider with child
 19f A human female rider
 20 **A group of five dGe lugs pa teachers** (Tib. *dGe lugs pa'I slob dpon lnga*)
 20a Brag sgo Rab 'byams pa Phun tshogs rgya mtsho *
 20b mKhar rdo bZod pa rgyal mtsho (1672 – 1749) *
 20c sGrub khang pa dGe legs rgya mtsho (1641 – 1713) *
 20d The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617 – 1682) *
 20e The Fifth Panchen lama, Paṅ chen Blo bzang ye shes mtsho (1663 – 1737) *
 21 Vajrapāṇi (Tib. *Phyag na rdo rje*)
 22 Cintāmaṇi Sita Mahākāla (Tib. *mGon dkar yid bzhin nor bu*)
 23 Śrīmatī Pārvatī Rājñī (Tib. *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo*)

- 24** *The goddesses or queens of the four seasons* (Tib. *dus bzhi'i rgyal mo* or *dus bzhi'i lha mo*)
- 24a The spring goddess (Tib. *dPyid gyi rgyal mo* or *dPyid gyi lha mo*) †
- 24b The summer goddess (Tib. *dYar gyi rgyal mo* or *dYar gyi lha mo*) †
- 24c The autumn goddess (Tib. *sTon gyi rgyal mo* or *sTon gyi lha mo*)
- 24d The winter goddess (Tib. *dGun gyi rgyal mo* or *dGun gyi lha mo*)
- 25** *Śrī Devī's other attendants* (Tib. *dPal ldan lha mo'i 'khor bzhan*)
- 25a Makaramukhī also called Makaravaktrā (Tib. *Chu srin mo*) †
- 25b Simhamukhī (Tib. *Seng ge dong ma*)
- 26** *The five sisters of longevity* (Tib. *tshe ring mched lnga*)
- 26a mThing gi zhal bzang ma †
- 26b Cod paṅ mgrin bzang ma †
- 26c bKra shis tshe ring ma
- 26d Mi g.yo blo bzang ma
- 26e gTad dkar 'gro bzang ma





Figure 1
The monastery of Dangkhar, the old village, and the upper temple circled in red,
2010
Photograph © Lobsang Nyima LAURENT

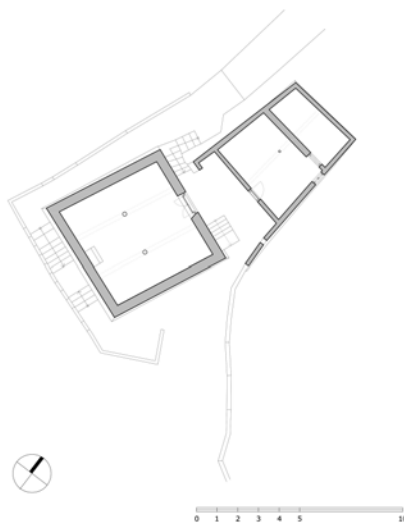


Figure 2a
Plan of the upper temple, scale 1:100, 2011
Drawing © Graz University of Technology

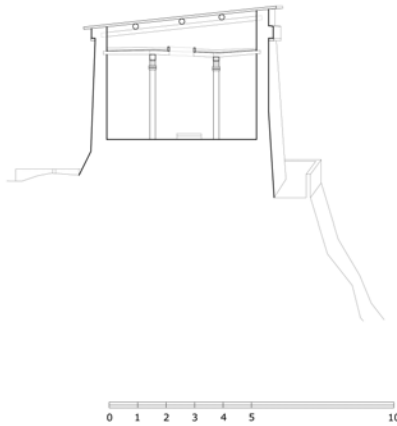


Figure 2b
Cross-sectional view of the upper temple, scale 1:100, 2011
Drawing © Graz University of Technology



Figure 3a
Photo montage of the south-eastern wall, 2011
Photograph © Graz University of Technology

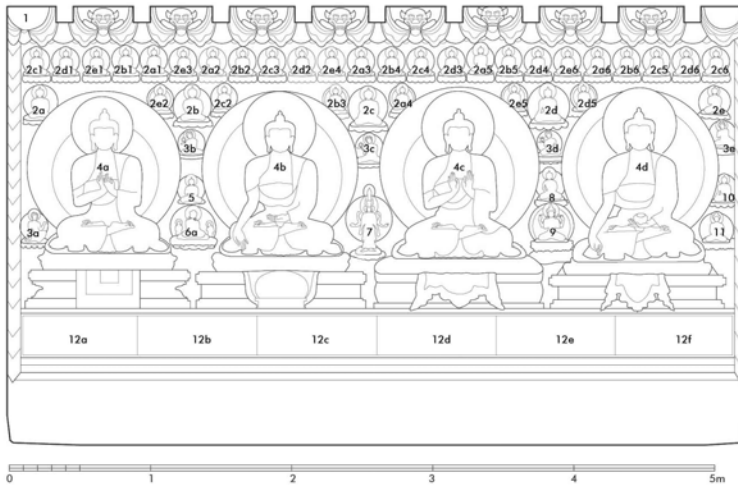


Figure 3b
 South-eastern wall, drawing of the murals, 2013
 Drawing © Graz University of Technology



Figure 4a
 Photo montage of the south-western wall, 2011
 Photograph © Graz University of Technology

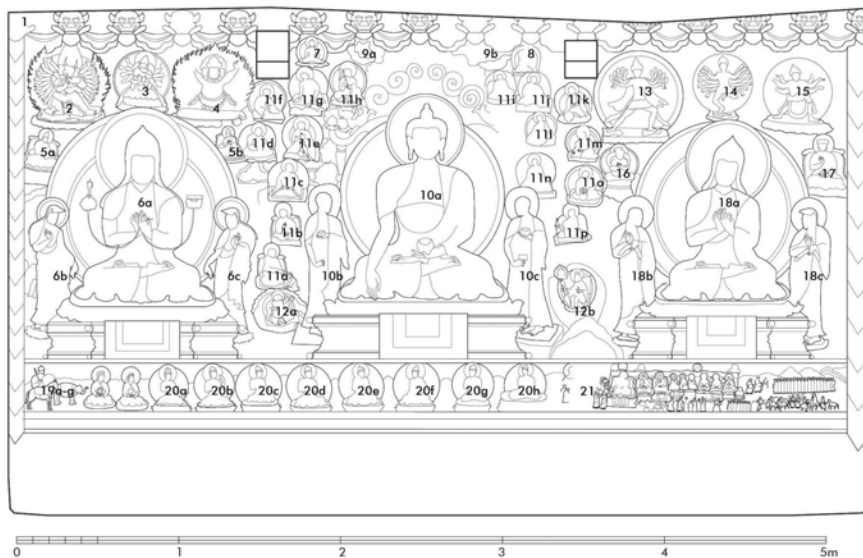


Figure 4b
 South-western wall, drawing of the murals, 2013
 Drawing © Graz University of Technology



Figure 5a
 Photo montage of the north-western wall, 2011
 Photograph © Graz University of Technology

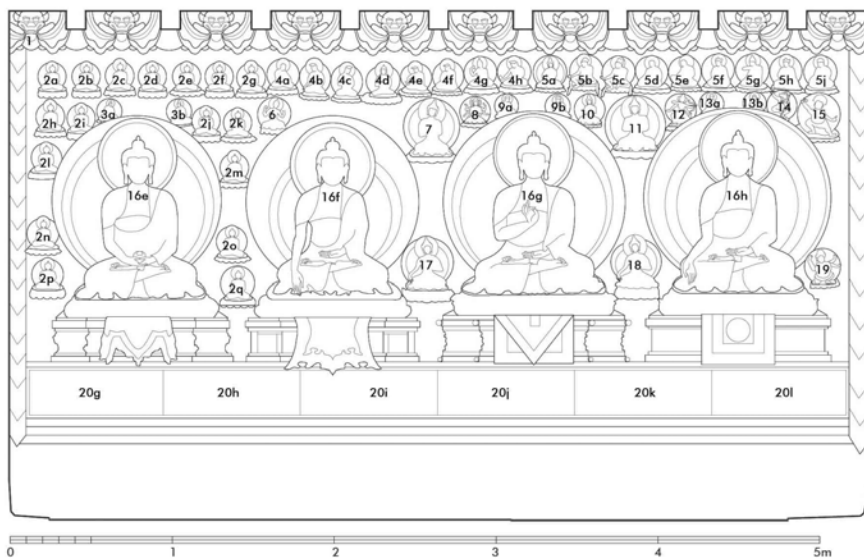


Figure 5b
North-western wall, drawing of the murals, 2013
Drawing © Graz University of Technology



Figure 6a
Photo montage of the north-eastern wall, 2011
Photograph © Graz University of Technology

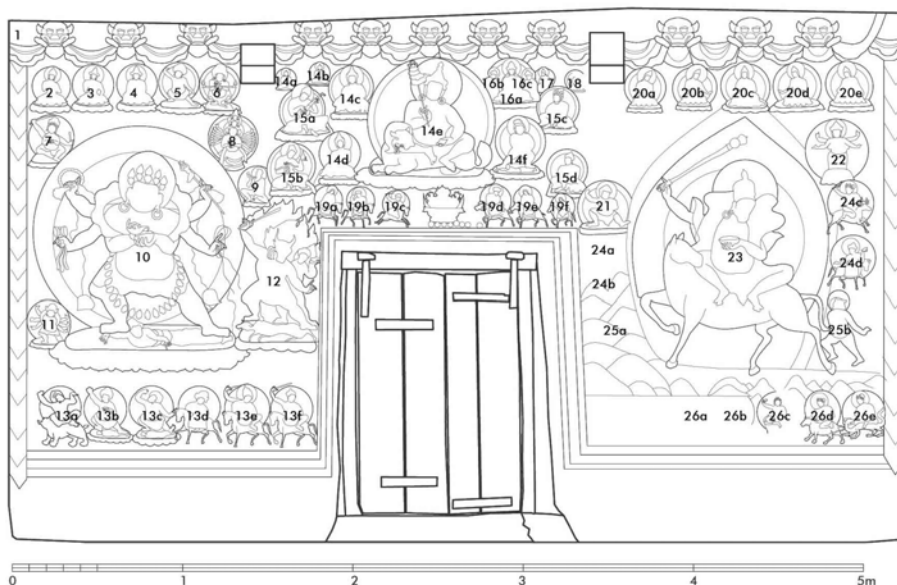


Figure 6b
North-eastern wall, drawing of the murals, 2013
Drawing © Graz University of Technology



Figure 7a
The banquet-consecration scene, 2010
Photograph © Lobsang Nyima LAURENT



Figure 7b
Outline of the banquet-consecration scene, 2013
Drawing © Graz University of Technology




Straddling the Millennial Divide

A case study of persistence and change in the Tibetan ritual tradition based on the *Gnag rabs* of Gathang Bumpa and Eternal Bon documents, circa 900–1100 CE¹

John Vincent Bellezza

The *Gnag rabs* of Gathang Bumpa

Introduction

he main focus of this paper is a remarkably diverse ancient ritual text called *Gnag rabs zhes bya ba* (*So Styled the Origins Tales of the Intended Retaliation*). This rare and complete circa 10th century CE document contains a series of invocations and techniques for destroying enemies. This untitled text was assigned its name by the Tibetan team of scholars who first studied it after its chance discovery in the Lho-kha region. In 2006, *Gnag rabs* (abbr.) and several other Old Tibetan ritual texts were recovered from the Dga'-thang bum-pa (Gathang Bumpa) religious monument (*mchod-rten*) during its reconstruction by local devotees. Facsimiles as well as transcriptions of these texts were published in 2007.² Much credit is due the chief editors of this volume, Pa-tshab pa-sangs dbang-'dus and Glang-ru nor-bu tshe-ring, for having so quickly made these highly valuable sources for the study of early Tibetan culture and religion available to others.

Gnag rabs traces the origins of eliminating enemies through the use of violent ritual means.³ It features instructions to ritualists in the

¹ The writing of this paper was made possible through the generous financial support of the Shelley & Donald Rubin Foundation, New York. I thank Michael White (Nashville) for proofreading the work.

² See *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar du rnyed pa'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs* (eds. Pa-tshab pa-sangs dbang-'dus (Pasang Wangdai) and Glang-ru nor-bu tshe-ring). For information on the discovery of the Gathang Bumpa collection of texts, see Bellezza 2010, p. 32, Karmay 2009, pp. 55–63.

³ For the facsimile of this text, see *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che*, pp. 85–100; for the transcription, *ibid.*, pp. 1–12. My translation of the *Gnag rabs* and the Eternal Bon documents of this study were made in consultation with Dge-bshes Smon-

proper methods of slaughtering inimical forces. There is no mistaking the strident and brutal tone of this store of allied rituals, for they have one main purpose in mind: killing the enemy. This is readily communicated through graphic descriptions of the brute force wrought by helping spirits of the rituals, many of which reoccur in *Gnag rabs* as a standard refrain.

The Old Tibetan term *gnag-pa*, as illustrated by its application in the text, is best glossed as 'retaliation intended against enemies', be they of human or supernatural origin. One Classical Tibetan word derived from this term is *brnags* (past tense) / *brnag* (present tense), which means 'to cogitate', 'to ponder', 'to reflect' or 'to harbor [in the mind]'. Thus, the current lexical usage of *brnags* carries only one part of the meaning of *gnag-pa* as expressed in the *Gnag rabs*. While *gnag-pa* also describes a process of cognition, it is one accompanied by a definite desire for redress or revenge. To fully appreciate the semantic range of this ritual term, it is necessary to present another closely related Old Tibetan word: *gnag* (black; Classical Tibetan = *nag*), as in the expression *sems nag-po* (black-hearted, evil-intentioned, sinful).

Gnag rabs is an exceptionally important document, as it furnishes material for understanding the formation of the Tibetan ritual tradition in the period before the Lamaist religions (G.yung-drung Bon and Buddhism) achieved dominance over the religious landscape of Tibet. Thus its ritual structure, pantheon of helping spirits and underlying philosophical orientation contrast with those adopted by Lamaism.⁴ The *Gnag rabs* dates to a period when the

lam dbang-rgyal of the Spu-rgyal gangs-ri region in Steng-chen. Our medium of communication was spoken Tibetan. Spu-rgyal gangs-ri / Spu-rgyal gangs-dkar is the name of a large snowy massif (6323 m in elevation) that straddles the Sbrachen and Steng-chen county lines (traditionally this mountain lay entirely in Steng-chen). The two other Bon savants I have relied upon most for textual consultations in recent years, G.yung-drung bstan-'dzin and Rin-chen bstan-'dzin, also hail from Spu-rgyal gangs-ri. While linguistic archaisms have been preserved to varying degrees in all dialects of northern Tibet, that of Spu-rgyal gangs-ri (Spu-rgyal bod-skad) is most noteworthy in this regard. According to the oral tradition of the region, Spu-rgyal bod-skad originated with the ancient kings of Tibet (hence its name Spu-rgyal). Traditionally, the area around Spu-rgyal gangs-ri was hard to access because of high passes in most directions. It is said that the Spu-rgyal gangs-ri region has been long settled by the current clans and family lineages, probably explaining its retention of a Hor dialect with many archaic and obsolete words and phrases. For more information on the sacred geography, lore and history of Spu-rgyal gangs-dkar, see Khyung-gangs dkar-po and G.yung-drung rnam-dag 2011. On the special vocabulary of this region, see Bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal (n.d.).

⁴ For a review of the fundamental differences characterizing archaic and Lamaist ritual structures, see Karmay 1998, pp. 288–290; Karmay 2010, pp. 54–56; Cantwell and Mayer 2008a, pp. 292–294. For a general discussion of ritual in

establishment of Buddhism was already well underway, so it cannot be termed pre-Buddhist in any chronological sense. Nonetheless, it appears to have been largely founded on preexisting cultural and religious traditions that circulated around Tibet, which do not owe their existence to Buddhism. I employ the term 'archaic' to broadly designate these traditions and to set them apart from Lamaism and its Buddhist underpinnings.

Gnag rabs, however, is not a cultural fossil; it bears the marks of interaction with Buddhist ritual structures emerging at the time it was composed. Although materials of Buddhist origin are nominal and of marginal significance in the text, *Gnag rabs* can be viewed as a fledging stage in the great Lamaist project to systematically amalgamate archaic religious traditions to those coming from India, which was mostly completed by the 11th century CE. The first and most conspicuous concession to Lamaism in *Gnag rabs* is the third line of the text, part of its introduction: "In the Dharma Language of India" (*Rgya-gar chos kyi skad du /*). This is direct reference to Sanskrit, the main liturgical language in which Buddhist teachings were introduced to Tibet during the imperial period (circa 650–850 CE). This is resounding acknowledgment on the part of the *Gnag rabs* author(s) of the ascendant religion. Nevertheless, Buddhist traditions openly propagated in the text are isolated to the use of magical spells (some syllables of which have a Sanskritic phonological quality) and mention of three of the 'five mental poisons' of ignorance (*dug-lnga*).

With so little overt Buddhist content it is curious that India's noble religion was even mentioned by name in *Gnag rabs*. It appears that the author(s) and users of the text wanted to optimize the position of their work in the Tibetan religious milieu of that time. Presumably, by invoking Buddhism the text attempted to co-opt or reflect this religion's growing legitimacy and influence in Tibet. The *Gnag rabs*' relatively copious usage of spells is derived from the Indian ritual tradition of mystic formulae (*dhāraṇī*).⁵ Clearly, the perceived power of magical spells coming from India was recognized and welcome by the author(s) and performers of the text. Archaic ritual texts from Dunhuang rely very little on spells and

Tibetan religious life, see Cabezon 2010. On the broader historical and doctrinal dimensions of the adoption of Buddhism by Tibetans, see Kapstein 2000.

⁵ Buddhist handbooks of spells written in Tibetan may well predate *Gnag rabs*. For example, one such book of spells from Dunhuang composed for a variety of ritual purposes (including the pacification of malicious people and subjugation of demons), composed circa the 9th or 10th century CE, was discovered in Dunhuang. For a review of this work, see van Schaik 2009.

incantations.⁶ *Gnag rabs*, then, might be viewed as a first tentative step in non-Buddhist ritualists adopting aspects of the tantricism that would become an essential part of G.yung-drung (Eternal) Bon. Similarly, reference to the afflicted mental conditions of anger, pride and envy indicates that adherents of older ritual traditions were beginning to accept Buddhist ideas pertaining to the etiology of misfortune in the human condition.

Gnag rabs has very specific practical and rather modest aims: eradicating enemies such as thieves and those who threaten the personal protective deities.⁷ No provision is made for furthering sectarian and institutional objectives, nor does the text enshrine articles of faith or the profession of a certain belief system or philosophy. In this regard, *Gnag rabs* is typical of Old Tibetan ritual literature. The wider cultural and religious background in which this literature was set was taken for granted and did not merit a written exposition or any kind of advocacy beyond its purported efficacy in ancient times. The contrast with the Classical Tibetan ritual literature of Lamaism is self-evident; it is replete with sectarian endorsements and the Vajrayāna view (*lta-ba*) of things.

Gnag rabs boasts a large armory of tutelary deities and ritual procedures for realizing its objectives. The language employed is particularly vehement and violent in character. No attempt was made to soften the cruel tone of the text with noble sentiments, as is often found in Lamaist ritual literature. Like other Old Tibetan ritual texts in general, *Gnag rabs* is a highly utilitarian affair. That enemies (both spiritual and mortal) threaten the ritualists and their beneficiaries is reason in itself for the harsh actions taken against

⁶ However, the use of spells is found in the *Byol rabs* ritual text of Gathang Bumpa: "three words of the father (*gshen*) spells and three words of the *bon* spells were cast" (*pha sngags tshigs gsum dang / bon sngags tshigs gsum btab*). See Bellezza 2010, p. 62; also see *ibid.*, pp. 90, 92, 93, 95. For the use of spells in two other texts of the Gathang Bumpa collection, *Rnel dri 'dul ba'i thabs sogs* and *Sha ru shul ston rabs la sogs pa*, see Bellezza 2013a, pp. 155, 175, 192, 252. Although the spells cited in these three texts occur within an indigenous narrative context, the inspiration for their use may have in part come from Indic tradition. If so, this could explain why older archaic funerary texts from Dunhuang hardly resort to such ritual provisions.

⁷ For a general survey of destructive magic rites, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 481–502. For an account of ritual measures taken against sorcery and the ire of deities found in the 14th century CE Eternal Bon text *Gzi brjid*, see Norbu 1995, pp. 125–132. In this account (*ibid.*, 125) four types of sorcery are noted: 1) *byad-ka* (use of spells), 2) *phur-ka* (use of a ritual dagger), 3) *rbod-gtong* (use of one's personal protective deities), and 4) *mnan-gtad* (use of baleful objects that are buried). All four types of sorcery listed above are represented in the narratives and ritual performances of *Gnag rabs*.

them. Murder is justified by killing, attack by assault, threats by provocation, and so forth.

As *Gnag rabs* is comprised of various destructive magic practices conducted to repulse and slay enemies,⁸ it presages the full formation of the Lamaist cult of protective deities. In the text, all divinities whether they are elemental spirits, such as the *klu* and *btsan*, or tutelary deities cited by name and endowed with a relatively complex iconography are presented as of equal ritual worth and utility. This contrasts with Lamaist texts and their complex hierarchical schemes, which tend to minimize the power and functions of the elemental spirits while extolling the virtues of special tutelary deities attached to the various sects. The presentation of the status of deities in *Gnag rabs* belongs to an era in the development of Tibetan religion predating full acceptance of the notion of worldly (lesser) and otherworldly (greater) deities.⁹

The ritual activities of *Gnag rabs* are presented in an abbreviated manner, presupposing much specialized and practical knowledge as a prerequisite to their comprehension and execution. This suggests that the text was utilized exclusively by members of the priestly class, the *gshen* and *bon*, the two types of priests noted in it. In fact, the *gshen* and *bon* are the sacerdotal pillars of many Old Tibetan ritual documents. They were both the ancestral and contemporaneous propagators and defenders of a complex ritual system, which includes funerary, curative and destructive rites. This ritual system is sometimes referred to in Old Tibetan texts, directly or indirectly, as *bon*.¹⁰

⁸ As regards all-purpose magic rites in the Buddhist text *Be'u bum*, Cuevas (2010: 170) notes that their efficacy is primarily attributed to the laws of sympathy and the system of correlations, explaining one Tibetan term for magic: *las-sbyor* (correspondent action). The same observation is valid for the magic of *Gnag rabs*: it is seen as operating through correspondent actions and objects carried out and deployed by the ritualists.

⁹ Soteriology in Old Tibetan (O.T.) funerary literature is closely bound to the concept of parallel worlds of the living and the dead. On the other hand, Lamaist soteriology is based on the attainment of liberation from the world, which is seen as inherently fraught with ignorance and its bitter fruits, pain and suffering. On soteriology in the Tibetan archaic funerary tradition, see Bellezza 2008.

¹⁰ For a summary of the signification of the term *bon* in Old Tibetan ritual literature, see Bellezza 2013a, p. 232. Van Schaik (2013) assesses the meaning of the word *bon* / *bon-po* in the wooden-slips of Miran and other Old Tibetan documents. It is worthwhile to note that the *gshen* and *bon* of Old Tibetan literature are not unlike the contemporary *bon* and *lha-bon* of the Himalaya, religious functionaries that Samuel (2013) calls 'invoker-priests', those involved in animal sacrifice. Parallels in practice between these ritualists a thousand years removed from one another is no mere coincidence. Nevertheless, while historical and cultural continuities are certainly indicated in the Tibetan-Himalayan

This *bon* is best defined as a significant part of, if not the sum total, of archaic ritual traditions; those that developed or were redeveloped indigenously in Tibet. This body of traditions contains ideological, procedural and material elements that are in no way dependent on Buddhist thought or practice. The origins of ritual traditions associated with the term *bon* or *bon-po* are ascribed to native Tibetan figures of ancient and primordial times, not to the Buddha or other omniscient gods and saints. Although Eternal Bon has preserved Old Tibetan shades of meaning connected to the word *bon*, it has done so in a religious context that owes much to Buddhism. Eternal Bon and the indigenous or archaic *bon* are indeed part of a historical continuum, however, they cannot be viewed as designating the one and same religion. They do not.¹¹

Gnag rabs belongs to a ritual genre of Tibetan literature written in a form of the Old Tibetan language, which appears to constitute an intermediate stage in its literary development. In previous studies of other ritual texts of Gathang Bumpa, I attribute their composition to circa 850–1000 CE. This estimate of age is based on an appraisal of the grammatical, paleographic and lexical characteristics of the literature.¹² This chronological attribution is also derived from a preliminary evaluation of the linguistic development of Old Tibetan and the transition to Classical Tibetan as pertains to a group of funerary texts.¹³

Gnag rabs is one of three ritual texts borne in a single booklet, all of which appear to have been written by the same hand. The other two texts are *Byol rabs* and *Gser skyems gyi rabs*.¹⁴ There are three other booklets comprising the early documents of the Gathang Bumpa collection (later Buddhists texts were also recovered from the same *mchod-rten*), which have been assigned the titles *Rnel dri 'dul*

sacerdotal tradition, to posit these in a rigorous manner would require a great deal of research and analysis.

¹¹ Stein (2010), Snellgrove (1967) and Kværne (1995; 2009) all make this point clearly.

¹² See Bellezza 2010, p. 46; 2013a, pp. 117–120, 177–180. Karmay (2009: 63) also recognizes that the early ritual texts of Gathang Bumpa predate the 11th century CE.

¹³ See Bellezza 2013a. Also see Bellezza 2008; 2010. Old Tibetan ritual texts generally exhibit higher frequencies of the *rdzogs-tshig* than their Classical Tibetan (C.T.) counterparts. The *rdzogs-tshig* is a final syllable derived from the last letter of the preceding word and ending in *o* (*sna-ro*), which designates the completion of a thought or action (e.g., *bsrid do*, *bsam mo*). In C.T. literature, the use of the *rdzogs-tshig* is more restricted to marking the end of a section of text or chapter.

¹⁴ These texts are the subject of in-depth treatment in Bellezza 2010; 2011.

ba'i thabs sogs, *Sha ru shul ston gyi rabs* and *Sman dpyad*.¹⁵ Based on the paleography and format of the folios, I have observed that the booklet containing the *Byol rabs* may somewhat postdate the other three Old Tibetan booklets of the Gathang Bumpa collection.¹⁶ A study of the contents of *Gnag rabs* bound in the same booklet as the *Byol rabs* seems to support this observation, for it is the only Old Tibetan text of Gathang Bumpa to manifest religious materials directly inspired by Buddhism. Weighing this evidence together encourages me to now assign a 10th century CE date to *Gnag rabs* and to the other texts of the same booklet. Nevertheless, the establishment of precise dates for the Gathang Bumpa manuscripts will only come with further codicological study and analysis.

The folios of *Gnag rabs* are squarer than the most common *dpe-cha* format, following an old custom of bookmaking in Tibet. Each folio has between nine and eleven lines of text. The calligraphy is a form of *dbu-can* (letters with heads) but with the heads minimized and the strokes of the characters rounded, anticipating the fully evolved *dbu-med* (headless letters) handwriting that developed at a somewhat later date. To my knowledge, no study of the paper, ink or binding used to produce the *Gnag rabs* has yet been undertaken.¹⁷

In this study, the narrative and ritual components of *Gnag rabs* are divided into eight interrelated sections as follows:

- Section I: Destructive magic rituals using a variety of personal protective spirits (1.1–3.6)¹⁸
- Section II: The theogony, iconography and ritual exploitation of the nine *zi-ma* sisters (3.6–6.9)
- Section III: Destructive magic rituals connected to the *btsan* and *bdud* spirits (6.10–7.7)

¹⁵ All the aforementioned Gathang Bumpa texts have been published together in the *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che* volume. The funerary texts *Rnel dri 'dul ba'i thabs sogs* and *Sha ru shul ston gyi rabs* are studied in detail in Bellezza 2013a. I am not aware of any published study of the third booklet, a therapeutic tract.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118.

¹⁷ Microscopic study of paper fibers from Dunhuang texts has determined that *Thymelaeaceae* family plants such as *Daphne* or *Edgeworthia* sp. were used in paper making in Tibet during the imperial and post-imperial periods. For this study, see Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2012. It would be useful to subject documents of the Gathang Bumpa collection to such an analysis to ascertain whether the composition of the paper matches that made in Tibet and used in the production of documents bound for Dunhuang.

¹⁸ Folio 1, line 1 to folio 3, line 6. This system of abbreviation is used throughout this paper. The numerical designations follow those in *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che*.

- Section IV: More elaborate destructive magic ritual using receptacles for the soul (7.7–9.1)
- Section V: The theogony, iconography and activities of a sisterhood of seven goddesses (9.1–11.1)
- Section VI: Narrative and ritual elements mostly associated with the divinity and demon of birth (11.1–15.2)
- Section VII: Ritual protection from the *g.yen* spirits (15.2–15.7)
- Section VIII: Concluding remarks and recommendations concerning the rituals of the text (15.8–16.1)

Section I

The first section of *Gnag rabs* gets right down to the business of ritually killing enemies without furnishing a rationale or justification. Section I invokes a variety of personal protective deities entrusted with the slaughter of unspecified enemies.

On thematic, narrative and grammatical grounds, this first section of the text can be divided into nine paragraphs:

- Ia: Setting loose the destructive power of the *klu* water spirits with spells
- Ib: Execution of the enemy by the *klu* through the use of a tablet and effigy
- Ic: Visualization and deployment of a nine-headed wolf
- Id: Description and commands to the tutelary god Rgod-gsas kham-pa
- Ie: Genealogy, description and commands to the tutelary goddess Mthu-mchu sdïgs-chen-mo
- If: Description of the destructive power of the crow helping spirit
- Ig: The sequestration of the *pho-lha* (god of males)
- Ih: Genealogy, offerings, and a command to the *gra-bla* (warrior god)
- Ii: Genealogy, and a command to the *gra'-dpa'* (related class of warrior spirits)

Paragraph Ia (1.1–1.3)

The text begins its assault on enemies by calling upon the wrath of the *klu*, the ubiquitous class of Tibetan water spirits. Although they

eventually came to be assimilated to the *nāga* of Indic tradition, the *klu* and *klu-mo* are of indigenous origins and appear to long predate the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet. They play a prominent role in many kinds of ritual and narrative traditions as both ally and opponent (elemental spirits often have ambivalent personalities). The *klu* are important wealth and fertility bestowing spirits, and are frequently propitiated through the use of vases filled with offerings of medicines and other precious substances. They are common albeit minor supernatural figures in the various curative rites of Tibetan spirit-mediums. Conversely, when angered the *klu* are implicated in skin diseases and a loss of wealth and good fortune. The *klu* are also ancestral figures particularly for women.

In *Gnag rabs*, the *klu* are dispatched with the clear aim of doing grievous harm to those considered enemies. This sending of the *klu* to do the bidding of the ritualists is articulated using the word *gtad*, which in this context means ‘to set upon’, ‘to incite’, ‘to unleash’ or ‘to attack’. There is little elaboration or ceremonial dross: the *klu* go about their work with only the casting of a few spells (*sngags*). These incantations are designed to call, empower and depute the *klu* in order that they subjugate the enemy. For good measure, more extensive ritual provisions follow in Section I of the text. Nevertheless, the ritualists appear to be on such familiar terms with the water spirits that little exertion is required on their part. In Classical Tibetan ritual texts, a more extensive preamble almost always precedes the signaling and dispatching of deities, especially at the very beginning of a performance:

In the language of Spu-rgyal Tibet, it is so styled salt and blood.¹⁹
In the Dharma language of India, it is so styled origins tales of the
intended retribution (*gnag-pa'i rabs*). The spells of inciting the *klu*:²⁰
Thus spoken [the *klu*] are incited.

*spu rgyal bod kyi skad du // tsha khrag zhes bya' (C.T. = bya) // rgya
gar chos kyi skad du / gnag pa'i rabs zhes bya'o (C.T. = bya) // klu la
gtad pa'i sngags la // mog shang / rum yang / spa tshum / thil phor
me re / sibs kha na dul dul // byas de brjod la gtad do //*

¹⁹ This title of the text ‘in the language of imperial Tibet’ (*spu-rgyal bod skad du*) is a metaphor endorsing the great effectiveness of the ritual dispensations described throughout its length. It appears to communicate that, as when salt is added to a wound there is much pain, the ritual activities have an unfailingly palpable effect on the enemies to which they are directed.

²⁰ For these five lines of spells, see transliteration. The wording of these spells of subjugation suggests that they were recited in a dark enclosed space over a vessel containing ritual ingredients.

Paragraph Ib (1.3–1.6)

The first section of *Gnag rabs* also relies on two other major methods of slaughter: the writing on a tablet and the making of effigies. Both types of objects when properly deployed are believed to imprison the soul (*bla*) or vital principle (*srog*) of the enemy. Tablets and effigies are still used in Tibetan destructive magic rites to this day (known as ransom rites, *glud*). The tablets are called *byang-[bu]* and were probably made of wood or hardened animal skin (as they still are today). Typically, the name and clan of the offending agent is written on the tablet. It may also include a drawing or symbolic diagram of the enemy.²¹ The sculpted effigy of the enemy, simply known as the 'form' or 'body' (*gzugs*), is made with edible ingredients. These likenesses of foes in the Tibetan ritual tradition are often called *ling-ga*.²² Interestingly, the simulacra employed in this section of *Gnag rabs*, the *chu-srin* (a crocodiloid creature) and *sbrul* (snake), are considered chthonic creatures, as are the *klu* themselves. This suggests that the enemy the text has in mind is of a terrestrial or subterranean character. After the effigies are set up the ritualists go around them nine times while intoning spells (as written in paragraph Ia) and making wrathful hand gestures:

[*Klu*], from the gums, uproot the teeth [of the enemy] with your knife (sharp) spread²³ claws!²⁴ Set forth (*gzhug*) [the name and likeness] of the enemy on a tablet. [*Klu*], tear out their fingernails from the roots, and take [the enemy] from the sides and pull out [their organs] from the roots. To slaughter the enemy:²⁵ meal of small black peas and the milk of the red cow and white female goat are mixed together (*sbrus*) to fashion the form of a *chu-srin* and the form of a black snake with nine heads. The curse (*rmod*) is

²¹ For the ritual use of *byang-bu*, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p. 359; Norbu 1995, pp. 92, 93; Bellezza 2005, p. 370. For *byang-bu* in the funerary ritual context, see Namkhai Norbu 1995, pp. 98, 99; Bellezza 2008; 2013a. For illustrations of wooden *byang-bu* used for men and women in a *glud* ritual, see Tucci 1980, p. 178.

²² The *ling-ga* effigy is a key part of the well-known ransom ritual tradition known as *glud*. Significant studies of the *glud* include Karmay 1998, pp. 339–379; Snellgrove 1967, pp. 77–97; Namkhai Norbu 1995, pp. 77–86; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 359–362; Bellezza 2010.

²³ *Sul*. This word literally means 'ravine' or 'furrow'. It is used to vividly impart that the metaphorical claws of the *klu* are arrayed like a series of ravines on a mountainside or like a row of furrows in a field.

²⁴ Although this sentence ends in *gsol* (to ask, to beseech) I present it and several other sentences ending in the same way in the text in the imperative form. This seems to be more in keeping with the forthright spirit of the ritual.

²⁵ *Gra'* (also in text: *gra*). This spelling gives the word a softer pronunciation (as still spoken in the dialect of 'Bri-ru) than the Classical Tibetan *dgra*.

put upon the form of the enemy. It is circumambulated nine times.

sen mo dri (C.T. = *gri*) *sul nas / so rnyil rtsa nas byung* (C.T. = *phyung*) // *du gsol lo // dra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo byang du gzhug* (C.T. = *'jug*) *pa dang / sen mo rtsa nas 'byung* (C.T. = *phyung*) *ba dang // mchan lan rtsa nas byung* (C.T. = *phyung*) *ba dang / gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo gsad* (C.T. = *bsad*) *pa ning (= ni) / sran chung gyi phye la / ba dmar mo dang / ra dkar mo'i 'o ma dang sbrus la / chu srin gyi gzugs dang // sbrul nag po 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*) *rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) *bo'i gzugs byas la // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i gzug* (C.T. = *gzugs*) *la rmod* (C.T. = *dmod*) *btsugs la // lan rgur bo rkor* (C.T. = *skor*) *la gzhag* (C.T. = *bzhag*) *go //*

Paragraph 1c (1.6–1.9)

Now that the *klu* have been directed against the enemy and the culprit captured in the effigies made for that purpose, the text instructs the ritualists to visualize themselves as an enemy-destroying animal of fantastic appearance. This is an effulgent wolf with nine heads and nine legs who with its formidable powers seizes and slays the enemy.²⁶ This imagined or manifested wolf is made of iron, a metal commonly associated with dark colors, wrathfulness and prodigious power. Iron occurs in similar contexts throughout the text, as it does in many other ritual documents. This personification of zoomorphic spirits has archaic origins, as chronicled in many literary and oral traditions of Tibet. However, visualization of multi-headed wrathful deities is also part of tantric tradition, calling into question the cultural sources of the iron wolf god. It may therefore have evolved as a syncretic figure:

Thereafter, visualize yourself as an iron wolf with nine heads and nine legs. With your tongue emitting many iron hooks, like the spreading radiance of the sun and moon, tear out the heart of the enemy! With your fur like a whirlwind of tongues of fire and arrayed claws,²⁷ the sprung claws of copper with eight points, tear

²⁶ A nine-headed inauspicious wolf is mentioned in *Byol rabs*, a text found in the same booklet as *Gnag rabs* (Bellezza 2010: 66). There are infernal varieties of the same creature in the Gathang Bumpa funerary text *Rnel dri 'dul ba'i thabs sogs* (Bellezza 2013a: pp. 121, 125). There are also remedial spirits in the form of nine-headed wolves among the spirit-mediums (*lha-pa*) of Upper Tibet (Bellezza 2005: 105, 153).

²⁷ *Sder-mong*. This term shows that the claws form a parallel array, as when a wolf is about to spring into action. Compare with *so-mang* (comb), the different vowel

out the heart of the enemy! With your arms possessed of wings and iron claws like flaming hooks and a beak like the raised battleaxe (*gra-sta*) with the removed heart of the enemy, bring my enemy here!

de nas rang nyid lcags kyi spyang po (C.T. = *khu*) 'go (C.T. = *mgo*) rgu (C.T. = *dgu*) bor la / lag pa rgu (C.T. = *dgu*) po gcig du bsams la // lce lcags skyu mang por 'phro ba // nyis (C.T. = *nyi*) zla'i zer ltar 'phro // gra (C.T. = *dgra*) bo'i snying phyung cġg // spu thog gi me²⁸ lce rlung gyis bskor pa dra' // sder mong zangs kyi sder mo lce (= *rtse*) brgyad 'phen // gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) bo'i snying phyung cġg // lag pa du kyġ gshog pa can // sder mo lcags skyu 'bar ba 'dra' (C.T. = 'dra) // mchu snying 'byin gra (C.T. = *dgra*) sta 'phyar (C.T. = *phyar*) ba 'gra (C.T. = 'dra) // bdag kyi gra (C.T. = *dgra*) bo khrid la shog //

Paragraph Id (2.1–2.5)

Thus far, the ritual for executing enemies has been based on two major facilities: the wrath of the water spirits and the ritualist transformed into a fierce and grotesque animal. The next part of the performance introduces a third means of dispatching inimical forces, the tutelary deity (*yi-dam*). This particular god of celestial origins belongs to the *gsas* class, which is analogous to the better known *lha*. The close relationship between these two classes of gods can be traced to the Dunhuang manuscripts.²⁹

The text furnishes a vibrant description of the *gsas* Rgod-gsas kham-pa (Tawny Wild / Brave / Savage God). He is enrobed in an overcoat of vulture skin and feathers (*bya-rgod slag-pa*), a form of dress worn by many ancient deities and sages of the Eternal Bon tradition.³⁰ As with tantric *yi-dam* of Eternal Bon, such as Ge-khod and Lha-rgod thog-pa, Rgod-gsas kham-pa controls the movements of the heavenly bodies. Nevertheless, no attempt was made by the

in the second syllable merely a matter pronunciation corresponding to that of the Hor dialect.

²⁸ In the transcript of the text furnished in *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che*, this word is mistranscribed as *mi*. In general though, the transcribing of texts in this work was accomplished with a high degree of accuracy.

²⁹ As in the Eternal Bon tradition, the *lha* and *gsas* gods are paired with one another in the Dunhuang texts ITJ 734 (nine *lha*, nine *gsas*; *lha* masters (*dag*, C.T. = *bdag*), *gsas* masters) and Pt 1194 (*lha* and *gsas*), as well as in *Rnel drġ 'dul ba'i thabs sogs* (the two *lha* and *gsas*). For more information on the entwined *lha* and *gsas*, see Bellezza 2008; 2010; 2013a.

³⁰ Also, in the Gathing Bumpa text *Rnel drġ 'dul ba'i thabs sogs*, two ancestral funerary ritual figures, Brgyu-she-lcags and Zhang-zhung mu-lto-ba, are attired in vulture greatcoats (Bellezza 2013a: 173, 174).

author to incorporate clearly defined iconographic and conceptual elements derived from Buddhism into his personality. In *Gnag rabs*, Rgod-gsas kham-pa is presented as just one locus of ritual power and legitimacy.³¹ In the Lamaist religions, the *yi-dam* takes precedence over other spirits and mystic empowerments; these being seen as derived (directly or indirectly) from the tutelary deity associated with the ritual being practiced. Such Lamaist *yi-dam* are considered to be representations of the nature of reality itself (*chos-nyid* / *bon-nyid*). The appearance and functions assigned tutelary deities in *Gnag rabs* underscore the nominal influence of Indic religion in the text:

Now, Rgod-gsas kham-pa, bring the enemy and thief here! What clothes does [Rgod-gsas kham-pa] wear on his body? He wears a greatcoat of the vulture. On his head he wears a striped tiger-skin hat.³² He has the braided (*tshom tshom*) beard (*smang-ra*) of the tiger. His copper body hair (*ba-spu*) gently sways (*zhwa la la*). From his mouth sparking (*tsha tsha*) iron is emitted. He holds a red battle mallet (*thu-lum*) in his hands. The shifting of his eyes overturns the sky and earth. The snapping of his fingers (*se'ol brdabs*) turns the sun, moon, planets and stars of the heavens upside down upon the plain. The stomping of his feet agitates the lake of the earth from its depths. With fingernails and claws along with other [weapons] trophies (*rtags*), bring the heart and [organs of] the sides of the body [of the enemy] here!

da ni rgod gsas kham (C.T. = *khams*) *pa 'is* // *gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *dang*
rkun ma khrid la shog // *sku la ci gsol na* / *bya rgod slag pa gsol* //

³¹ Like many other Tibetan deities, Rgod-gsas kham-pa survived the historical transition from the archaic to the Lamaist religious setting. He belongs to a group of four Eternal Bon gods known as Gsas-chen ru-bzhi (Pasar Tsultrim Tenzin, *et al.*, p. 279). In a 13th century CE Eternal Bon ritual text attributed to Bru-ston rgyal-ba, Rgod-gsas kham-pa is one of four gods of the cardinal directions responsible for originating the support or receptacle (*rtan*) used in augmenting the good fortune potential (*g.yang*) of individuals (Bellezza 2005: 458). In the Eternal Bon funerary tradition known as the Mu-cho'i khrom'dur, Rgod-gsas khams-pa (*sic*) is one of the main gods who defeats demons that interfere with the liberation of the deceased from the intermediate state (*bar-do*) or intermediate place (*bar-sa*; Bellezza 2008: 446). Both of these ritual contexts (pacific and wrathful) citing Rgod-gsas kham-pa have a strong indigenous character with scant Lamaist intrusion. This is readily understandable in light of *Gnag rabs* and the god's archaic religious identity.

³² A *gsas* god in *Byol rabs*, Gnam-gsas phyi-rum (probably identical with Gnam-gsas dbyings-rum of Eternal Bon), is also clad in tiger-skin headgear (Bellezza 2010: 78–80). The mythic origins of the tiger-skin hat, as a sign of great bravery (*che-rtags*), is recounted in the Eternal Bon text *G.yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum* (see Bellezza 2008: 229). It is one of many types of headgear said to have been worn by the ancient *gshen* priests (*ibid.*, 239).

stag zhu khra bo dbu la gsol // stag kyi smang ra tshom tshom can //
 zangs kyi ba spu zhwa la la // zhal nas lcags kyi tsha tsha phro / phyag
 na thu lum mar (C.T. = dmar) po 'bsnams (C.T. = bsnams) // spyan
 myig (C.T. = mig) bzlog (C.T. = zlog) pas gnam sa khrug (C.T. =
 'khrug) par byed / se 'ol (C.T. = gol) brdabs pas gnam gyi nyi zla gza'
 skar thang la klog (C.T. = slog) par byed // rkang pa brdabs pas sa'i
 mtsho mo gt̄ng nas krug (C.T. = 'khrug) par byed // gra (C.T. = dgra)
 bo'i snying dang mchan lan (C.T. = len) / sen mo mche ba yan cad
 (C.T. = chad) rtags su khyer la shog /O/

Paragraph 1e (2.5–2.8)

Gnag rabs continues by introducing a female deity in ornithic form, who also wrecks destruction on enemies. Her name is Mthu-mchu sd̄igs-chen-mo (Beak of Magical Power Great Tormentor Female). The text does not specify any offerings to entice her to carry out her mission. This suggests that Mthu-mchu sd̄igs-chen-mo, like Rgod-gsas kham-pa, is a tutelary deity on intimate terms with ritualists of the text. Such deities may have formed a bedrock of protection and action in certain Old Tibetan ritual traditions.

The text supplies a short account of Mthu-mchu sd̄igs-chen-mo's parentage. This type of genealogy is an integral part of Old Tibetan and Eternal Bon 'proclamations of origins' (*smrang*), which often preface ritual activities. *Smrang*, as historical or mythic professions, are designed to legitimize and promote ritual praxis, furnishing a customary and conceptual basis for their discharge. By temporally positioning and advertising their lines of transmission through human and divine luminaries, *smrang* endorse ritual efficacy in the most direct of ways (in this case the destruction of adversaries):

Mthu-mchu sd̄igs-chen-mo: The name of her father and patriarch was Skal-pa'i gdug-pa-can (He of the Savage Epoch). The name of her mother and matriarch was Sr̄id-pa'i gor-'byed-ma. The daughter of their mating and seasonal activity, Mthu-mchu sd̄igs-chen-mo, was born (*bltam*).³³ With her file [beak] she files away at the enemy. With her file beak she files away at its heart. Bring the heart and [organs] taken from the side of the body [of the enemy] as well as its fangs along with other [body part] trophies here!

mthu mchu sd̄igs (C.T. = sdig) chen mo // pha dang yab kyi mtshan
 skal (C.T. = bskal) pa'i gdug pa can // ma dang yum gyi mtshan //
 sr̄id pa'i gor 'byed ma // bshos dang nams kyi sras // mthu mchu sgigs

³³ For a discussion of the structure and vocabulary of this type of genealogy, see Bellezza 2013a, p. 134 (n. 181).

(= *sdigs*, C.T. = *sdig*) *chen mor bltam // bdar* (C.T. = *brdar*) *ro gra'*
 (C.T. = *dgra*) *la bdar // mchu bdar* (C.T. = *brdar*) *snying la bdar //*
snying dang mchan lan (C.T. = *len*) *mche ba yan cad* (C.T. = *chad*)
rtags su kyer (C.T. = *khyer*) *la shog /O/*

Paragraph If (2.8–2.10)

The next textual passage is dedicated to the thaumaturgic crow, which by its placement in the ritual progression appears to be in the retinue of the tutelary deity Mthu-mchu *sdigs-chen-mo*. In a description of the prowess of the crow there is reference to the white sunny mountain (*gdags-rī*) and black shady mountain (*srib-rī*). Applied to a variety of deities, demons and priests, this formula is well known in Old Tibetan ritual literature. In the cultural context of *Gnag rabs*, the binary nature of white sunny and black shady mountains presupposes a cosmological wholeness or universality demonstrating the tremendous ritual effectiveness of the crow. This interpretation is supported by dualism in archaic Tibetan cosmogonies and their preoccupation with parallel white (positive) and black (negative) realms of existence.³⁴

The beating (*brdabs*) right wing of the black crow of iron collapses the sunny white mountain. The beating of the left wing of the crow [collapses the shady black mountain]. The crow is commissioned³⁵ with the casting³⁶ of these spells.³⁷

lcags kyi pho rog nag po 'dis // gshog pa g.yas brdabs (C.T. = *rdeb*) *pas*
 / *gdags rī dkar po 'dzoms par byed / bya rog gshog pa g.yon brdabs*
 (C.T. = *rdeb*) *pas // (+ srib rī nag po 'dzoms par byed /)*³⁸ *sngags 'dis*
bdab (C.T. = *btab*) *la mngag go / I yu A sa / ma yang ling shar //*
thibs thib yang nge sod //

³⁴ The binary nature of sunny white and shady black topography has also been preserved in the sacred geographic tradition. A particularly spectacular example is the thirteen or eighteen *nyin la do-chen* (sunny great headlands and islands) and the thirteen or eighteen *srib la gdong-chen* (shady great mountain faces) of Gnam-mtsho. See Bellezza 1997, pp. 120–123.

³⁵ *Mngag*. This important operative term can also be defined as 'to dispatch', 'to delegate', 'to order', or 'to entrust'.

³⁶ *Bdab* (C.T. = *btab*). When used to denote the pronouncing of a spell, this Old Tibetan verb has been frequently replaced by the word *bzlas*, as is also found in this text.

³⁷ For these three lines of spells, see the transliteration.

³⁸ This entire grammatical line was omitted from the text. The parallelism of the passage allows it to be reinstated confidently. For a discussion of this formula, see Chayet 2008; Dotson 2008, pp. 48, 49; Bellezza 2010, p. 91.

Paragraph Ig (2.10)

Next, the ritual turns to the *pho-lha* (god of males), another important protector against harm and evil. The *pho-lha* is still very much part of the Tibetan cultural environment, the counterpoint to the *mo-lha* (goddess of females). By virtue of being found in the archaic cultural setting of an Old Tibetan text buttresses the commonly held view among Tibetans that the *pho-lha* is of pre-Buddhist origins. Thus far, however, I have not unearthed explicit references to the *pho-lha* in the Dunhuang manuscripts. This spirit is intimately related to those it guides and guards, with the right armpit being his bodily seat. The *pho-lha* can either be in generic form or endowed with a specific name and appearance, depending on family tradition. Generally speaking, they are resplendent white deities in the form of a noble or ancestral male figure. Given its paternal associations, the *pho-lha* is also called *A-pha'i lha* (god of the father) in Upper Tibet. The draped arrow is the most common object of supplication for the *pho-lha* and the receptacle or support (*rten*) for this god on the household altar.³⁹

Gnag rabs cautions the ritualist to keep the *pho-lha*, referred to as the 'object of reliance' (*rgyab-rten*), well away. This is an allusion to the still expressed belief that personal protectors are limpid spirits that must not be sullied by household activities such as cooking and childbirth, for this is thought to anger or weaken them. Although *pho-lha* are bodily connected to males their chief residence lies in the natural environment, holy trees and mountains being common abodes.⁴⁰ Thus the *pho-lha* are believed to exercise their power from afar or from on high. The text begins with an example (*dpe*) of counterpoise citing human beings:

Also, the male and female, these two, do not resemble each other,
[thus] the methods of placing apart (*dgar-ba*) the object of reliance
of the male: *pho-lha* do not be nearby!

³⁹ Tucci (1980: 188) describes a tabernacle for this class of deity called *pho-lha mkhar* or *gsas-mkhar*, which was installed on or near the roof. Also see Tucci 1966, p. 188. In Upper Tibet, when a *pho-lha* (male protective deity) is implicated in creating disturbances for an individual, he may patronize a spirit-medium. In the trance ceremony the possessing deity will typically conduct a *lha-gsol* (propitiation and offerings) ritual. The patient is made to offer white-colored livestock with superior qualities to the *pho-lha*, which are then set free to live the remainder of their lives unmolested. For general information on the *pho-lha*, see Stein 1972, pp. 222, 223; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p. 327. For *pho-lha* lore and ritual practices, see Bellezza 2005; 2008.

⁴⁰ On personal spirits having dual residences on the body and in the environment, cf. Stein 1972, p. 227.

pho mo gnyis yang myi (C.T. = *mi*) *dra' ste* // *pho 'i rgyab rten dgar*
ba'i thabs la // *pho lha ma nye cig* //

Paragraph lh (3.1–3.4)

After the *pho-lha*, the *gra-bla* / *gra'-bla* (C.T. = *dgra-lha* / *sgra-bla*: warrior spirits) are invoked, another popular genre of deities invested with apotropaic faculties. Divination texts of the Dunhuang manuscripts (Pt 1043, Pt 1047, Pt 1051, ITJ 738) constitute the oldest literary references to the *dgra-bla* (*sic*), where their advent signals a positive prognosis.⁴¹ The *dgra-lha* is closely related to the *pho-lha*, and to the *phugs-lha* (household protector), *rus-lha* (clan god) and *yul-lha* (territorial god). The *dgra-lha* belongs to a well-known pentad of personal gods called '*go-ba'i lha-lnga*.⁴² The *gra-bla* of *Gnag rabs* includes one in the form of the divine white yak, a zoomorphic warrior spirit still propitiated by Tibetans. Called G.yag-gsas dkar-po (White Gsas Yak), his parentage and his offspring are named in the text.⁴³ As with the *pho-lha*, in order to execute their protective role unhindered, the *gra-bla* are requested to keep a safe distance from the polluting influences of human activities:

The name of the father and patriarch of that G.yag-gsas dkar-po was Khri-rje rol-po thang⁴⁴ and the name of his mother and

⁴¹ Also see Stein 2010 (Antiqua V), p. 267; Stein 2003, p. 605. On the *dgra-lha* more generally, consult, for example, Waddell 1895, p. 375; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956; Stein 1972, pp. 222, 223. For the *sgra-bla* in the Eternal Bon ritual tradition, see Snellgrove 1967; Gibson 1985; Norbu 1995; Clemente 1994; Bellezza 2005; 2008. On *sgra-bla* in archaic funerary ritual performances, see Bellezza 2013a; 2008. For the cult of the *dgra-lha* in the liturgies of the spirit-mediums of Upper Tibet, see Bellezza 2005; 2013b.

⁴² The *mo-lha* (god of females), *pho-lha* (god of males), *thab-lha* (god of the hearth), *zhang-lha* (god of the maternal uncle) and *dgra-lha* (god [against] the enemy). For a description of this divine group, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 327, 328.

⁴³ G.yag-gsas dkar-po is the equivalent of the *sgra-bla* Lha-g.yag dkar-po (White Yak of the Lha), the clan god of the 'Gru. For this zoomorphic deity, see Bellezza 2005, pp. 403–408. Note the transposition of *lha* and *gsas* in the respective names of these gods, which is more indicative of the fluid syntax concerning modifiers (especially in Old Tibetan) than it is of semantic variability. As a cosmogonic spirit (Srid kyi g.yag-po dkar-po, 'White Yak of Existence'), see Tucci 1980, pp. 219, 220. On the mythic origins of divine yaks and cattle in the funerary text Pt 1068, see Bellezza 2008, pp. 540, 541. For divine yaks, female and male (*lha-'bri zal-mo* and *lha-g.yag sham-po*), as offering objects in Pt 126, see Bellezza 2005, pp. 341, 342.

⁴⁴ In an origins myth of *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru* describing the divine descent of the six major clans of Tibet (Bod mi'u gdung-drug), one of the major cosmogonic gods is called Khri-rje thang-snyan (Bellezza 2008: 350–352). Although they are

matriarch was Khri-bdag btsun-mo, these two. The son of their mating and seasonal activity, was the boy G.yag-sras dkar-po. His boy was G.ya-rba dmar-po-can. Do not stay nearby on this side! The living creature (*kye-bo*) ox will gore (*brdungs*) you.⁴⁵ Mightily,⁴⁶ again and again, we make offerings. We offer to you with a pair of *dkar-mo*⁴⁷ and one *ban* of libations.⁴⁸ *Gra-bla* do not stay nearby!

g.yag gsas dkar po 'dīs // pha dang yab kyi mtshan / khri rje rol po thang / ma dang yum gyi mtshan // khri bdag btsun mo gnyis / bshos dang nams kyi sras // bu g.yag gsas dkar po la // bu g.ya (C.T. = g.ya') / rba dmar po can / tshur tshur ma nye cig // kye (C.T. = skye) bo glang gyis brdungs (C.T. = rdung) sa re (C.T. = red) /⁴⁹ gnyan kyis mchod yang mchod / dkar mo cha gcig dang / gser skyems ban cig kyis gsol lo // gra (C.T. = dgra) bla ma nye cig /

Paragraph Ii (3.4–3.6)

The final portion of the first ritual to eradicate enemies is devoted to the *gra'-dpa'* ('enemy hero'), another type of *dgra-lha*. *Dgra-lha* often carry the epithet 'hero' in Classical Tibetan literature, as they do here. The text provides a short *smrang* of the *gra'-dpa'*. Being stalwart allies of human beings, it is of paramount concern that these spirits remain uncontaminated:

Gra'-dpa' do not stay nearby! The name of the father and patriarch of the *gra-dpa'*⁵⁰ was Lhe'u-rje zin-dags⁵¹ and [the mother was]

both generative gods with similar names, a close functional relationship between Khri-rje thang-snyan and Khri-rje rol-po thang is uncertain.

⁴⁵ In Tibetan folklore and common practice, oxen and yaks are said to be inherently opposed to each other and must reside separately. This metaphor is used to drive home the message to the *gra-bla* that their well-being is endangered by ordinary human activities.

⁴⁶ *Gnyan kyis*. This indicates that the offerings are of much importance and made with a strong sense of commitment and urgency.

⁴⁷ White rice and white barley meal or other grains in this context, not white ewes.

⁴⁸ A *ban* is a unit of measure for beer. It is still used today in Hor and Khams, where one *ban* is equivalent to the amount of beer made from nine measures (*bre*) of grain. As is customary, the libations (*gser-skyems*) cited in the text is almost certainly beer.

⁴⁹ The particle *sa* added to *re* (C.T. = *red*) is a lyrical flourish (*tshigs-rgyan*), as still spoken in dialects of Nag-chu, Hor and Khams.

⁵⁰ *Sic*. The text has *gra-dpal* and this might possibly be a valid alternative name of the *gra'-dpa'*. In any case, in C.T. texts, we find *dpal-mgon*, an epithet for classes of minor protective deities.

⁵¹ The deity Lhe'u-rje zin-dags / zin-tags, as the mouthpiece of positive prognoses, is found in the Dunhuang manuscripts Pt 1046B and ITJ 740. Also see Stein 2010 (*Antiqua* III), pp. 150 (n. 50), 176, 177. Stein (*ibid.*, 176) equates this god with

Dbal-bdag btsun-mo, these two. The son of their mating and seasonal activity was the boy *gra'-dpa'*, yes, Thong-nam gcig. Do not stay nearby on this side!

gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) *dpa'* *ma nye cig* // *gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *dpal* (= *dpa'*)
pha dang yab kyi mtshan // *lhe'u rje zin dags dang* // *dbal bdag btsun*
mo gnyis // *bshos dang nams kyi sras* // *bu gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *dpal* (= *dpa'*)
ni thong nam gcig // *tshur tshur ni ma nye gcig* (= *cig*) // O/

Section II

Section II of *Gnag rabs* is given over to the nine *zi-ma*, ferocious goddess who defend the interests of their supplicants with much vigor. Generally known as the nine *gze-ma* in Eternal Bon,⁵² this ennead of goddesses has retained an important place in the ritual architecture of that religion. There are however major differences in the identity and iconography of the *zi-ma* and *gze-ma*, reflecting the great transition from archaic to Lamaist religious traditions. These momentous changes, as reflected in this sisterhood of goddesses, are explored in depth in Part Two of this paper.

As with the spelling *gra* / *gra'* for enemy, the rendering *zi-ma* may reflect a localized pronunciation as spoken by the author(s), as much as being representative of Old Tibetan orthography. Like in Section I of *Gnag rabs*, these goddesses do away with enemies in the most pitiless of fashions. In this text they are coldblooded killers pure and simple, whatever other functions they might have once had.

The structure of Section II of *Gnag rabs*, as demonstrated by its thematic, narrative and grammatical qualities, can be outlined as follows:

Le'u-rje zing-po of Pt 1043. On the signification of the term *lhe'u* ('little god'), see Bellezza 2013a, p. 17.

⁵² *Gze-ma* seems to mean 'swift females', a reference to their rapid response to ritual entreaties to destroy enemies (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 312). However, in the Eternal Bon text *Sgra 'grel*, this group of nine goddesses is called *gzi-ma* (Norbu 2009: 56 [n. 81]). This spelling variant is of course closer to the rendering in *Gnag rabs*. Since the completion of this paper, the distinguished scholar Samten G. Karmay (2013) has published independently a translation of the portion of *Gnag rabs* pertaining to the nine *zi-ma* goddesses, briefly comparing its contents with Eternal Bon materials. As a side note, Karmay's characterization of the manuscript as, "...so full of spelling errors, omissions, incoherence and inconsistencies that it might just be nothing but an old faulty copy", is not particularly helpful. The abstruse nature of the *Gnag rabs* manuscript stems largely from its linguistic structure, archaic cultural orientation and the brevity of the various ritual operations, not from defects in composition.

- IIa: The theogony of the *zi-ma*
 IIb–IIj: A description of each of the nine *zi-ma*
 IIk: The invitation and deputation of the nine *zi-ma*

Paragraph IIa (3.6–4.1)

The origins myth of the nine *zi-ma* begins by first announcing an alternative name for this sisterhood: *byad-gsas* ('enemy god'). This is an epithet that refers to their ability to vanquish enemies. The *zi-ma* are of the *dbal* in nature, a term that connotes such qualities as great wrath, conflagrative intensity and extreme sharpness. These goddesses were the offspring of three *lha-rgod* brothers. The word *rgod* denotes the wildness, bravery or raw power of these gods. Their mother was the famous goddess Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal (Celestial Grandmother Queen of the Heavens), who in the Eternal Bon tradition is tantamount to the greatest protectress, Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo (Queen of Existence).⁵³ It appears that Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal had entered into a polyandrous relationship; perhaps with each *lha-rgod* as the sire of three *zi-ma* sisters. These powerful deities coupled in Lha-yul gung-dang (Country of the Gods Vault of the Heavens), the storied celestial sphere.⁵⁴ Augmenting the heavenly nature of their genesis, the mother and father of the nine *zi-ma* mated amidst thunder and lightening. Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal goes on to declaim the same basic admonition articulated in Section I of the text: humans and gods are not to reside in the same place (*gdan*), nor are

⁵³ Probably the oldest literary reference to Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal-mo (*sic*) is found in ITJ 731v, where in the celestial world she receives a young girl savagely pursued by homicidal demons. For this tale, see Bellezza 2008, pp. 514–517. Also see Thomas 1957 pp. 16–19, 29–32. In Eternal Bon, Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal is primarily a cosmogonic and good fortune-bestowing goddess, who is sometimes identified with sacred lakes such as Gnam-mtsho, Dang-ra g.yu-mtsho and Ma-pang g.yu-mtsho. In Eternal Bon cosmogonies, she is the senior-most member of the 'Nine Females of Existence' (Srid-pa mo-dgu) and the ancestress of living beings and deities (Norbu 1995: 166; Norbu 2009: 40, 41, 50, 53, 56; Stein 1972: 242). For Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal (Mo-btsun gung-rgyal / Spu-yul mo-btsun gung-rgyal) as the progenitor of both the *the'u-brang* (a group of ancestral spirits) and King gNya'-khri btsan-po, see Haahr 1969, pp. 221–226, 230; Tucci 1949, p. 733. Also, see Tucci 1980; p. 219; Stein 2010 (Antiqua V), p. 261. For numerous other references to this goddess, see Bellezza 1997; 2005; 2008.

⁵⁴ For a description of Lha-yul gung-thang taken from *Ti se'i dkar chag*, see Norbu 2009, p. 28. Also, see Haahr 1969, pp. 141, 221, 231. In ITJ 731r, Lha-yul gung-dang (*sic*) is one of the heavenly countries in which the maternal ancestor of the *do-ma* (psychopomp horse) lived. See Bellezza 2008, pp 530, 533; also see Haahr 1969, p. 223.

they to consort (*bshos*) with one another. If they were to mix in such ways the existence of both would suffer:

A *gnag-pa* origins tale: Also, the ones known as the *byad-gsas* nine sisters. The ones further known as the *dbal zi-ma* of the nine eggs. In Lha-yul gung-dang, the three *lha-rgod* brothers sought (*btsal*) a wife and mate. It was Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal. Gnam-phyi announced, 'no one is larger or more mighty than me. The humans and progeny of the *lha* are not to stay in the same spot and mate/consort. The sons of the dragon and *khyung* are not to be in competition (*dran kyi do*) with one another.' The progeny of their mating between the thunder and the lightning appeared (*bsrid*) as the nine white eggs as large as all the bones (*rus kyi 'go*) of a yak [piled together].

gnag pa rabs gc̣g la // byad gsas spun rgu (C.T. = *dgu*) *zhes yang* (C.T. = *kyang*) *bya // dbal zi ma sgong* (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) *zhes yang* (C.T. = *kyang*) *bya // lha yul gung dang* (C.T. = *thang*) *na // lha rgod mched gsum bo // khab dang byal (= dbyal) btsal ba // gnam phyi gung rgyal lags // gnam phyi'i zhal na re // nga las che myed* (C.T. = *med*) *par btsan myed* (C.T. = *med*) *par / myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *dang lha'i bu gdan du myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *bshos so // 'brug dang khyung gyi bu dran* (C.T. = *'gran*) *kyi* (C.T. = *gyi*) *do ma lags // thog dang glog kyi bar du bshos pa'i bu / sgong* (C.T. = *sgo*) *nga dkar po g.yag rus kyi 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*) *tsam ba rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) *bsrid* (C.T. = *srid*) *do //*

Paragraph IIb (4.1–4.6)

The text now proceeds to describe the appearance and activities of the first and eldest *zi-ma* sister. As with all the group, she appeared from an egg that hatched in the most awe-inspiring ways. This dragon-headed goddess is portrayed as a ruthless killer of enemies. In the last portion of the passage, the ritualists are instructed to visualize (*bsam*) the body and 'soul foundation' (*brla-bzhi*, C.T. = *bla-gzhi*) of the enemy as being summoned to the ritual venue. The *brla-bzhi* refers either to a mystic location in the body or to the external vessel of the *brla* (C.T. = *bla*, the animating aspect of consciousness and seat of the personality). These receptacles are typically in the form of an arrow (males), spindle (females) and precious stones. This tabernacular object is usually erected on an altar but it is transportable should its owner travel:

The [first] *dbal zi-ma* egg opened by the sound of the roaring dragon. [From it appeared the one] with the body of the human and having the head of the dragon. She possessed wings of the

scimitar (*chu-dri*). She possessed feet of the sword (*ral-gri*). With her flashing (*'bar-ba*) nine [upper] and nine [lower] fangs of iron, the eighteen, she consumes the flesh of the enemies *ljibs se ljibs*.⁵⁵ She drinks the blood of the enemies *rngubs se rngubs*.⁵⁶ She agitates (*krug*) the royal realm (*rgyal-mkhams*) of the enemy. By the striking arms (wings) of the scimitar she cuts the seven lineages of the enemy.⁵⁷ By stomping her sword feet, she cuts from the root and soul the heart organ of the enemy. The spells for that are...⁵⁸ It is thus spoken. The soul foundation and the human body [of the enemy] are visualized as coming [to the ritual venue].

dbal zī ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *cig nī // 'brug ngur ba'i sgra las*
brtol (C.T. = *brdol*) // *myi* (C.T. = *mi*) 'i *lus po la / 'brug kyi 'go* (C.T.
 = *mgo*) *bo can // chu dri'i* (C.T. = *gri'i*) *gshog pa can // ral gyi'i* (= *gri'i*)
rkang pa can / lcags kyi mche ba rgu (C.T. = *dgu*) *gnyis bcwo*
 (C.T. = *bco*) *brgyad 'bar bas // gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i sha za ljibs se ljibs*
 // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i khrag 'thung rngubs se rngubs // gra'* (C.T.
 = *dgra*) *bo'i rgyal mkhams* (C.T. = *khams*) *krug* (C.T. = *'khrug*) *par*
byed / chu dri (C.T. = *gri*) 'i *lag brdabs pas / gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i*
bdun rgyud gcod par byed // ral gyi'i (= *gri'i*) *rkang brdabs* (C.T. =
rdeb) *pas // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i don snying brla* (C.T. = *bla*) *dang*
rtsa nas gcod / de 'i sngags la / du yu nan sen mo sbrul // nī ti shing
 / *zhes brjod do // brla bzhi* (C.T. = *gzhi*) *dang myi* (C.T. = *mi*) 'i *lus po*
 'ongs (C.T. = *yongs*) *par bsam mo / Ō /*

Paragraph IIc (4.6–4.10)

The type of head of the second goddess is not explicitly recorded in the text. In the Eternal Bon tradition, each of the *gze-ma* has a different animal head, but no such iconographic tradition exists in *Gnag rabs*. It merely states that the second member of the ennead has the mane of a dragon (*'brug kyi ral-pa*). An association with the *klu* is implicit here, as the egg she came from hatched through sound of the *klu*. Of course both dragons and *klu* are connected to the watery element. The imagery of how the goddess goes about her grisly task

⁵⁵ These three non-lexical syllables vividly convey a gobbling action and sound. For the use of this trisyllabic indicator to convey a somewhat different action, see Bellezza 2005, p. 385.

⁵⁶ An onomatopoeic trisyllabic indicator conveying a slurping action. This poetic construction is etymologically related to the word *rngub-pa* (to inhale). Also see *rngubs gyis blud* (to given a sip [of water]) in Pt 1134 (Bellezza 2008: 503). In Pt 1194, blood drunk with the same slurping action is described using an alternative trisyllabic indicator (*khrag pas 'thungs ni chab ma chib*; Bellezza 2013a: 115 [n. 129]).

⁵⁷ Their original bloodlines.

⁵⁸ For these two maledictory lines, see the transliteration.

of dispatching enemies has already been established in the preceding paragraph:

Another *zi-ma* of the *dbal* egg opened from the sound of the roaring *klu*. [From it appeared the one] with the body of the human and having the mane of the dragon. She possessed the wings of the scimitar. With her flashing nine [upper] and nine [lower] fangs of conch, the eighteen, she consumes the flesh and blood of the enemies *ljibs se ljibs*. She drinks the blood of the enemies *rngubs se rngubs*. She successively⁵⁹ takes into her mouth (*zhal du bstobs*) the fresh heart blood of the enemy. She has bulging eyes. She stamps with her feet. The spells are recited.⁶⁰

yang dbal gyi zi ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *gcig ni // klu ngur ba'i sgra las brtol* (C.T. = *brdol*) // *myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *'i lus po la 'brug kyi ral pa can / chu dri'i* (C.T. = *gri'i*) *gshog pa can (+ /) dung gyi* (C.T. = *gi*) *mche ba rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) *gnyis bcwo* (C.T. = *bco*) *brgyad 'bar bas // gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i sha za'* (C.T. = *za*) *ljibs se ljibs // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i khrag 'thung rngubs se rngubs // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i snying khrag rlon pa la // tsho tsho byed cing zhal du bstobs* (C.T. = *stob*) // *myig* (C.T. = *mig*) *grad do // rkang pa brdabs* (C.T. = *rdeb*) *so sngags bzlas so /O/*

Paragraph IId (4.10–5.3)

The third *zi-ma* goddess is black in color, of the *dbal* in nature, and dressed in a tiger-skin greatcoat (*stag kyi slag-pa*), as were many sages of prehistoric and protohistoric Tibet, according to Eternal Bon sources. She brandishes the circle of the sky (*gnam gyi 'khor-lo*), an instrument symbolizing sovereignty over the heavens.⁶¹ Not only does this *zi-ma* slay enemies, she is ordered too overthrow their ancestral spirits (*mtshun*) associated with the tomb (*dur*).⁶² There can be no greater harm done to an adversary than this action. With the establishment of the doctrine of transmigration in Lamaist religion, such imagery alluding to an afterlife disappears in Classical Tibetan ritual literature. This order to attack the *mtshun* is one of a number of commands given to the *zi-ma* in the text:

⁵⁹ *Tsho tsho byed*. This phrase denotes that one portion after another of food is taken up by the goddess.

⁶⁰ As above in the transliteration of paragraph IIb.

⁶¹ For an illustration of a god (Gshen-rgyal lhe'u-mgon rje) holding the discs of the sky and earth in a circa 11th century CE funerary text, see Bellezza 2013a, p. 108.

⁶² On the *mtshun*, see Bellezza 2008, 2013a; Stein 2010 (*Antiqua* I), pp. 22, 62, 63, 74; Haarh 1969, pp. 112, 226.

Another *zi-ma* egg of the *dbal* opened from the sound of the queen of winter.⁶³ [From it appeared] the black human of *dbal* with the scimitar fangs. Her red copper hair⁶⁴ *shed de shad*.⁶⁵ On her body she wears a tiger-skin greatcoat. Around her waist a sash (*skarags*) of the snake is tied. In her hand she holds the circle of the sky. Upset the *mtshun* of the tomb of the enemies! Also, with her scimitar fangs she files (chews) to consume the flesh of the enemies *ljibs se ljibs*. She drinks the blood of the enemies *rngubs se rngubs*.

yang dbal gyi zi ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *cig* (C.T. = *gcig*) *nř* // *rgun* (C.T. = *dgun*) *gyi rgyal mo'i sgra las brtol* (C.T. = *brdol*) // *dbal gyi myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *nag po la / chu dr'i* (C.T. = *gr'i*) *mche ba can / zangs sra* (C.T. = *skra*) *dmar po shed de shad / stag kyi slag pa sku la gsol* // *sbrul kyi ska* (C.T. = *sked*) *rag* (C.T. = *rags*) *rked la bcings* // *gnam gyi 'khor lo phyag na msnams* (= *bsnams*) // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i dur gyi mtshun khruḡs cřg / chu dr'i* (C.T. = *gr'i*) *mche ba bdar pas yang / gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i sha za ljibs se ljibs* // *gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i khrag 'thung rngubs se rngubs / O*

Paragraph IIe (5.3–5.6)

The fourth *zř-ma* figure is red in color and appeared from a castle with a skylight (*gnam-sgo*), a symbol of her link to the heavens. This *zř-ma* is the leader of the *the'u-brang* (C.T. = *the'u-rang*), a well-known ancient class of demons and demigods.⁶⁶ She, too, is a willing killer of foes:

Another *zi-ma* egg of the *dbal* opened in the *dbal* castle with the skylight. From inside it [appeared] the red woman of the *dbal* with the iron mane brushing (*bshal*) the ground,⁶⁷ with the flayed tiger

⁶³ *Rgun* (C.T. = *dgun*) *gyi rgyal mo'i sgra*. This appears to signify the howling sound of a strong winter wind.

⁶⁴ *Sra* (C.T. = *skra*). The O.T. spelling of hair in the text corresponds to its pronunciation in the Hor dialects. When seen in aggregate, the words of Hor dialects reflecting O.T. spellings is persuasive evidence for this regional idiom having preserved an archaic phonology.

⁶⁵ This trisyllabic indicator conveys that her hair is long, flowing and windblown.

⁶⁶ On the *the'u-rang* and their ancestral functions and often problematic nature, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 282, 283; Norbu 2009, pp. 61, 172; Norbu 1995, pp. 14–16; Tucci 1949, pp. 718, 719; Blondeau 2008, pp. 207–215; Haahr 1969, pp. 217–221.

⁶⁷ This meaning of the polysemous O.T. verb *bshal* is established through the context of the sentence. For other possible glosses of *bshal*, see Bellezza 2010, p. 49 (n. 55, 56); 2013a, p. 155 (n. 248).

skin carried over her shoulder.⁶⁸ She leads the nine *the'u-brang* brother servants. Snatch (*phrogs*) [the organs] torn from the taken flanks of the enemies!

yang dbal gyi zǐ ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *gcǐg nǐ* // *dbal mkhar gnam sgo can nas brtol* (C.T. = *brdol*) // *de 'i nang na* // *dbal gyi myi bo* (C.T. = *mi*) *dmār po la* // *lcags kyi ral pa sa la bshal* // *stag kyi g.yang bzhǐ* (C.T. = *gzhi*) *phrag la gzad* // *the'u brang* (C.T. = *rang*) *spun rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) '*bangs su khrid* // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i mchan lan* (C.T. = *len*) *nas phyung phrogs cǐg* /O/

Paragraph If (5.6–5.7)

The fifth *zi-ma* goddess is said to emerge from the egg of the *dbal* (as do all her sisters), that implacable destructive and consuming force. This wolf-headed figure appears from the starry band (*gzhung*) of the Milky Way (Rgu-tshigs), underscoring the celestial origins of the *zi-ma*.⁶⁹ In Eternal Bon and Buddhism, it is understood that invoking deities in destructive magic rites is done in order to eradicate demonic entities and keep them from harming the doctrine and its followers.⁷⁰ These enemies often carry the epithet of 'heretic' (*lta-log-*

⁶⁸ This carrying of something over the shoulder is denoted by the phrase *phrag la gzad*. This expression is still used in Hor dialects. The C.T. equivalent is *phrag la khur*.

⁶⁹ According to an Eternal Bon text describing the origins of the drum, the primordial *gshen* Gsang-ba 'dus-pa is said to have hung the tail or streamer of his drum (*rnga-ma*) from the Milky Way (Rgu-tshig skya-mo (*sic*; Bellezza 2008: 425).

⁷⁰ Moreover, in the destructive magical rites of Lamaism, the consciousness principle of the enemy is 'liberated' (*sgrol*) in the *chos-dbyings* or *bon-dbyings* (sphere of reality; cf. Tucci 1980: 186). The idealism of orthodox Buddhism and Eternal Bon notwithstanding, practitioners of Lamaism appear to not infrequently indulge in black magic. For example, Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 481) writes, "The *sngags pa* and the magicians of the "black Bon" are renowned for their knowledge of "black magic", and they are said to derive a considerable income from performing ceremonies for customers who desire for one or another reason the misfortune or even death of some enemy." Tucci (1980: 186) reports that spells were used against personal enemies and in war by famous Buddhist masters. Perhaps the most celebrated case of sorcery involves the 11th century CE saint Mi-la ras-pa, after he and his immediate family suffered grievously at the hands of their own kinfolk. Mi-la-ras-pa took revenge against them using black magic, slaughtering many people. For an account of this episode in the life of Mi-la-ras-pa taken from a text written by Rgyal thang-ba bde-chen rdo-rje in the 13th century CE, see Tiso 2010, pp. 173–178. In this biography, Mi-la ras-pa learns his trade from sorcerers belonging to both the Buddhist and Eternal Bon religions. Cantwell (1997) notes that Buddhist *sgrol-ba* rites, which originated in India, were sometimes used to slay actual human enemies (*dgra-bo*). Cantwell (*ibid.*) discusses the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna views on such killings and how they are justified by the need to protect others or even to benefit the enemy themselves

pa), 'oath-breaker' (*dam-nyams*) or 'enemy of religion' (*ru-tra*). The adversary here, however, is referred to as the 'enemy man' (*dra-bo'i myi*), suggesting that the rituals contain herein were used against human beings. In Lamaism, resorting to ritual means to murder people is ordinarily considered very sinful. In any but the most extraordinary of circumstances, this would amount to sorcery, an illegitimate practice. The *Gnag rabs* does not appear to have such scruples. It seems to belong to a morality reflected in archaic customs and traditions, whereby the slaying of one's enemy could be justified on certain grounds as reciprocity for the commission of heinous acts. In this instance, the demise of enemies is brought about by forcefully separating them from their personal protective spirit:⁷¹

Another *dbal zi-ma* egg opened from the middle of the Milky Way. [From it appeared the one] with the human body and having the head of the wolf. She possessed arms of the scimitar. She possessed wings of the sword. Separate the enemy man from his *lha!*

yang dbal gyi zi ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *gcig n̄ // rgu tshigs*
gzhung las brtol (C.T. = *brdol*) // *myi* (C.T. = *mi*) 'i *lus po la spyang*
khu'i 'go (C.T. = *mgo*) *bo can / chu dr̄'i* (C.T. = *gri'i*) *lag pa can // ral*
gyi'i (= *gri'i*) *gshog pa can // gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i myi* (C.T. = *mi*)
dang lhar phrol c̄ig //

Paragraph IIg (5.6–5.10)

The sixth *zi-ma* egg cracked open from the roar of a conflagration. This tiger-headed goddess is bestowed with a name in the text, the only member of the group to be so endowed. She is also referred to by the epithet *pho-nya-ma*, which means a female attendant or messenger. The text persuades the goddess to believe that the flesh of the enemy is more desirable than *zan*, cakes made of parched barley meal:

(i.e., to prevent them from acquiring more negative karma). Zorin (forthcoming: 125–128), in addition to delineating the compassionate motive, stresses that the legitimate use of fierce tantric rites (such as those designed to slay or render insane) in Buddhism is limited to the initiated, those who have achieved a high degree of spiritual development.

⁷¹ The loss of the *pho-lha*, *mō-lha* or another intimate guardian deity is still believed to have very serious repercussions. On the grave implications of the loss of the protective spirit in an archaic funerary ritual text of the Gathang Bumpa collection, see Bellezza 2013a, pp. 143–145.

Another *dbal zi-ma* egg opened from the sound of the blaze. [From it appeared the one] with the body of the human and having the head of the tiger. The name and appellation bestowed upon her was Byad-gsas sha-zan-bo (Meat-Eater Enemy Gsas). The flesh of the enemy is more delicious than *zan*. Female attendant, reach out to eat (*mnabs*) the [enemy], consuming it bite after bite!⁷² The blood of the enemy is more delicious (*shĭm*) than beer. The leg bone marrow (*lha-rkang*)⁷³ of the enemy is more delicious than butter.

yang dbal zĭ ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *cig* (= *gcig*) *nĭ* // *mye* (C.T. = *me*) *'bar ba'ĭ sgra las brtol* (C.T. = *brdol*) // *myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *'i lus po la / stag kyi 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*) *bo can / mying* (C.T. = *ming*) *dang mtshan btags pa* // *byad gsas sha zan* (C.T. = *gzan*) *bo* // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i sha nĭ zan bas shĭm* // *kham kham mnabs* (C.T. = *brnabs*) *cĭg pho nya ma* // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i khrag nĭ chang bas zhĭn* (= *zhĭm*) // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i lha rkang mar bas zhĭm* /

Paragraph IIIh (5.10–6.2)

The egg of the seventh *zĭ-ma* goddess hatched through the beating and ringing (*krol*) of a drum (*rnga*) and flat-bell (*gshang*), ancient musical instruments that have retained much significance in Eternal Bon. A reference to the drum and flat-bell of the archetypal *gshen* priest Gshen-rab myi-bo is found in another text of the Gathang Bumpa collection.⁷⁴ Like many of the Zhang-zhung priests and kings of yore, this goddess with the horned eagle head (*khyung*) and black bear body (*dom*) wears a crown of bird horns (*bya-ru*). The fabled *bya-ru* in Eternal Bon literature was the province of kings, high priests and gods of the dead while in the archaic funerary tradition it was erected on the heads of horses that ritually transported the dead to the afterlife. The seventh *zĭ-ma* goddess is also associated with the Milky Way, which is indicative of her extremely high status and prowess. Her battle cry is *bso* (C.T. = *bswo*), a word with which many

⁷² *Kham kham*. The sense of this word has been ascertained through context and by comparison to an expression in the Hor dialect: *khem khan zo*, which exhorts someone to keep on eating.

⁷³ Also *bla-rkang*, a ritual support of the soul (Tucci 1980: 191).

⁷⁴ See Bellezza 2010, pp. 84, 85. The *gshang* of Gshen-rabs kyi myi-bo (*sic*) is also mentioned in Pt 1289 (*ibid.*, 85 [n. 216]). According to Lopon Tenzin Namdak (in personal communication), the copper alloy *gshang* was first produced in Zhang-zhung. He states that Zhang-zhung examples are much flatter than those made later in eastern Tibet. While there are indeed *gshang* of 'Zhang-zhung style' of significant age, their precise periodization remains to be formulated.

ritual operations are initiated. Of ancient origins, its occurrence in *Gnag rabs* indicates an Old Tibetan etymology.⁷⁵

Another *dbal zī-ma* egg opened from the thumping and tolling sound of the drum and flat-bell. [From it appeared the one] with the body of the black bear and having the head of the *khyung*. The bird horns on top of her head are as [high] as the Milky Way of the heavens. Eat as your barley cakes the flesh and bones of the enemies! [Set upon] the stealers of the males and the abusers of females [calling out] *bsō!*

yang dbal zī ma / sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *gcig nī // rnga gshang krol*
(C.T. = *dkrol*) *pa'i sgra las brtol* (C.T. = *brdol*) // *dom gyi lus po la //*
khyung gyi (C.T. = *gi*) *'go* (C.T. = *mgo*) *bo can / glad kyi bya ru gnam*
gyi rgu tshigs tsam // gra (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i sha rus zan du zo / pho*
rku (C.T. = *rkun*) *byed la // mo byad byed la bso // O /*

Paragraph Iii (6.2–6.5)

The eighth *zi-ma* goddess of eight ravenous mouths is closely associated with that most powerful and ferocious of birds, the mythical *khyung*.⁷⁶ Her killing range is one thousand *dpag-tshad* or roughly seven thousand kilometers, vividly illustrating her formidable powers. She is commanded to kidnap the children of the enemy and to cut all of their lineages, effectively eradicating them from the face of the earth. The text mentions seven lineages: seven lines of descent or seven households being a common numerical arrangement in Tibetan myths relating the foundation of regions and clans:

From [another] *dbal zī-ma* egg: The wings of the extremely fierce *khyung*, the flapping of the *khyung*, is the [mark] of its swiftness.⁷⁷ She has eight gaping (*gdengs*) mouths of insatiability (*chog myi*

⁷⁵ This word also appears to be represented in the first line of Pt 239, exalting the *rīng-gur*, a kind of funerary tent. In Classical Tibetan, *bswo* is often used to invoke all manner of deities, especially those of lower ranking.

⁷⁶ The terrific and vengeful nature of the *khyung* in *Gnag rabs* carried over into tantric traditions recorded in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, as part of ritual structures associated with Mahāyoga. A study of references to the *khyung* in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, including its source in enlightened gods such as the Buddha and Phyang-na rdo-rje, has been made by Hillis 2002. Hillis (*ibid.*, 331) opines that the Mahāyoga of the Rnying-ma-pa drew on indigenous as well as Indic concepts and motifs in its presentation of the *khyung*.

⁷⁷ This rapidity is the conjectural connotation of the expression *sbrul-rlung*. Snakes are commonly conceived by Tibetans to be able to move at great speed especially under the cover of vegetation.

shes). Her fangs arrive at a distance of one thousand *dpag-tshad*.⁷⁸ When dispatched at midnight (*nam gyi gung*), the *lha* of the enemy is made deeply afraid (*sngangs*). Snatch the child of the enemy from his side! Consume as much as (*tshun-chad*) [all] seven lineages of the enemy!

dbal zī ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *gcīg la / rngam chen khyung gyi gshog pa la // sbrul rlung khyung gyi g.yab mos 'debs // chog myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *shes kyi zhal brgyad gdengs* (C.T. = *gdangs*) // *mche ba dpag tshad stong slebs ma // nam gyi gung la mngags pa'i tshe // gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i lha sngangs par byed // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i mchan nas bu phrogs cīg // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i bdun rgyud tshun chad / zas su gsol //*

Paragraph IIj (6.5–6.8)

The ninth and final *zi-ma* is called the 'accessory', 'associate' or 'accomplice' (*phyag-brnyan*, C.T. equivalent = *phyag-rogs*) of the eighth member of the sororal group. This goddess goes in the four cardinal directions in pursuit of enemies. Among her servants are the nine *glog-srīn*, carnivorous spirits associated with the destructive power of lightning:

Her ally is the [one] with the *phung-srin*⁷⁹ body and the head of the scorpion. From the east she is dispatched [by the eighth *zi-ma*] to run to the west. From the west she is dispatched to run to the north. From the north she is dispatched to run to the south. With her four feet [she treads] upon the top of the summit (*kha la rtse*) of the four sovereigns [of the World Mountain]. In the night (*nub-mo*), the middle of the night (*rgung gyi dbus*), she orders (*bka'-mdzad*) the *phywa*.⁸⁰ She leads the *glog-srīn* nine brothers servants ('*bangs*). Also, for their enjoyment (*gyes*) they savor (*gyes*) the flesh

⁷⁸ One *dpag-tshad* is equal to eight *rgyang-grag*. One *rgyang-grag* is equal to five hundred spans. See *op. cit.* Blo-gros rab-gsal, 2010, p. 227; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002, p. 1275. Therefore one *dpag-tshad* is roughly seven kilometers in length.

⁷⁹ The *phung-srin* / *dphung-srin* is also mentioned in the Dunhuang divination texts Pt 1043 (lns. 32, 49, 79, 82) and IIJ 740 (ln. 186), where they figure in prognoses of a wrathful or negative nature. Also see Stein 2010 (*Antiqua III*), p. 268. In *Eternal Bon and Buddhism*, there is the closely related *phung-sri*, a demon of utter destruction, disaster and doom. On this Lamaist demon, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 302, 393, 517, 518; Norbu 1995, p. 175; Stein 2010 (*Antiqua III*), p. 268; Huo Wei 2009, p. 44.

⁸⁰ A famous class of ancestral gods somewhat akin to the *lha*. See, for example, Stein 2010; Haahr 1969.

of the enemies. Also, for the taking (*mnabs*) they reach out (*mnabs*) for the flesh of the enemy.

de 'i phyag brnyan ni // phung srin lus la sdig pa'i 'go (C.T. = *mgo*)
 // *shar nas mngags la nub du rgyug // nub nas mngags nas (= na)*
byang du rgyug // byang nas mngags na lho ru rgyug // rkang pa
bzhi ni rgyal po bzhi 'i kha la rtse // nub mo rgung (C.T. = *dgung*) *gyi*
 (C.T. = *gi*) *dbus na / phywa dang bka' mdzad // glog srin spun rgu*
 (C.T. = *dgu*) *'bangs su khrid // gyes* (C.T. = *dgyes*) *yang gra'* (C.T. =
dgra) *bo'i sha la gyes* (C.T. = *dgyes*) // *mnabs* (C.T. = *brnab*) *yang gra*
 (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i sha la mnabs* (C.T. = *brnabs*) //

Paragraph III (6.8–6.9)

In this final stage of the ritual the entire circle of *zi-ma* spirits is released against the enemy who threatens *bon*. The word *bon* here refers to the practices and practitioners of *Gnag rabs* and other archaic ritual traditions to a greater or lesser extent. This Old Tibetan usage of the word *bon* is represented in other texts of Gathang Bumpa and those of Dunhuang. As I have explained in previous publications, in the archaic ritual context, this term should not be construed as denoting the doctrinal and institutional basis of a monolithic religion such as Eternal Bon, which succeeded it. In the text the ritual priests are also called the 'fathers' (*pha*), a title of endearment and respect.⁸¹ Their benefactors and acolytes are styled the big brothers (*pho-bo*) and younger brothers (*nu-bo*).

The text makes an appeal for aid on behalf of the patrilineage of the ritualists, which is homely in tone. In the last line the *zi-ma* goddesses are invited to the ritual venue. While certainly due them, in this section of the text they are not singled out for offerings:

Tonight (*do-mod*), on the last day of the month (*gnam-gong*), search for the enemies opposing *bon*. Search for the competitors of the fathers. That the big brothers and younger brothers do not go wrong, bring [these enemies] here without expending an entire month! Summoned by their names: [the nine *zi-ma*] are invited (*spyang-drang*).

⁸¹ See *pha-bon* in paragraph VIc. In the Dunhuang documents (Pt 1134, Pt 1136, ITJ 731v), *Mu-cho'i khrom-'dur* and *Klu 'bum nag-po*, the agnomen *pha* (father) is primarily (but not exclusively) appended to the names of two funerary priests: *Dur-gshen rma-da* and *Gshen-rab myi-bo* (Bellezza 2008: 379, 381–383, 480, 512, 528, 529, 537; 2013a: 216, 217). In addition to conferring dignity and authority on the *bon* and *gshen* priests, this word appears to call attention to the ancestral or precedential nature of the priesthood in the origins tales; those ritualists reading and using them are regarded as spiritual sons.

*do mod gnam gong la / bon la gra' (C.T. = dgra) tshol ba / pha la do
'tshol (C.T. = tshol) ba' // pho bo nu bo ma nor bar // zla bar ma 'gor
bar khrid la shog cig // mying (C.T. = ming) nas phyung la spyang
drang (C.T. = 'dren) ngo /*

Section III

The third section of *Gnag rabs* capitalizes on the murderous tendencies of the *btsan* and *bdud*, two common classes of elemental spirits. Most of the ritual proceedings involve specific *btsan* figures, who exhibit the same gusto for meat eating as do other deities of *Gnag rabs*.

This shorter ritual can be divided into three parts:

- IIIa: Rallying the *btsan* and *bdud* to action
- IIIb: Allotting the body parts of the enemy to the *btsan* of the four cardinal directions
- IIIc: The deputation of the *btsan* Btsan thar-che-re

Paragraph IIIa (6.10–7.1)

Although called an origins tale (*rabs*), no history of this ritual is provided in the text. *Rabs* here is probably better understood as the [ritual] pedigree, one no doubt involving an 'ancient' source. The *btsan* and *bdud* as well as two other famous classes of elemental spirits, the *gnyan* and *sri*, are told that enemies are hampering their affairs. This is obviously done to provoke the spirits to retaliate against the adversaries of the ritualists. This is made perfectly clear when the text states that these enemies have intruded upon the big brothers (*gcan*), probably a reference to the senior holders or priests of such ritual traditions. In the conventional mode, the ritualists entice their spirit allies with the flesh and blood of the enemies:

The origins tale of entrusting the *btsan* and *bdud* with the enemies: These enemies imprecate⁸² the *bdud*. They interfere (*lag-rings*) with the *btsan*. They insult the *btsan*. They interfere with the *gnyan*. They insult the *sri*. They interfere with the big brothers. The flesh of those enemies is greatly edible. There is much blood to drink.

⁸² *Khas-ches*. The C.T. equivalent is *kha-dma' 'bebs* (to imprecate, to insult).

gra (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo btsan dang bdud la gtad pa'i rabs la // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo 'di bdud la khas ches // btsan la lag rings / btsan la khas ches / gnyan la lag rings // sri la khas ches / gcan la lag rings // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo 'di la bza'i sha re che // btung gyi khrag mangs* (C.T. = *mang*) //

Paragraph IIIb (7.1–7.6)

With the elemental spirits adequately aroused, the second part of the ritual turns to the *btsan* minions of the four compass points. Three of these deities have zoomorphic traits. The *btsan* of the west has a head and body of different creatures just like the seventh *zi-ma* goddess with her black bear body and *khyung* head. Deities of composite zoomorphic form flourish in Eternal Bon, their grotesque iconography greatly elaborated upon in ritual texts. Like the first, fifth and sixth *zi-ma* goddess, the *btsan* of the east and of the north have human bodies and animal heads,⁸³ anticipating future iconographic developments. In Classical Tibetan ritual literature among the most famous animal-headed deities belong to the *zhi-khro* cycle of the Rnying-ma funerary ritual tradition.⁸⁴ As always, the helping deities are given the flesh of the enemies to devour:

Btsan of the sunset (west) with the body of the aquatic bird and having the head of the dragon, in your hand, receive the offered (*dbul*) head and right arm of this enemy! The *btsan* of the south, the iron man with an iron horse, and with the copper armor⁸⁵ and

⁸³ The oldest known figures in Tibet depicted with human bodies and animal heads or masks are found in the prehistoric rock art of Stod and the Byang-thang. These figures may variously represent priestly, heroic, mythic or supernatural entities. For dramatic images belonging to this genre of rock art, dated to the protohistoric period (circa 100 BCE to 600 CE), see Bellezza 2013c.

⁸⁴ For a description of these deities, see Evans-Wentz 1927, pp. 141–146; Blezer 1997, pp. 39–66. According to Blezer (*ibid.*, 39, 40), the *zhi-khro* of the *bar-do* (postmortem state of existence) can probably be traced to the Gsang-ba snying-po (Guhyagarbha), a tantra that Tibetan tradition indicates was orally transmitted through Vimalamitra in the 8th century CE). As such, the Indian originals should predate the 8th century CE. An imperial-period Buddhist source such as Gsang-ba snying-po likewise may possibly have had an influence on the animal-headed deities of *Gnag rabs*, their fundamental native character, by virtue of belonging to indigenous classes of elemental spirits (*dbal*, *btsan*, etc.), notwithstanding. If so, this demonstrates that the infiltration of Indic traditions into the zoomorphic representation of Tibetan deities predates Rnying-ma *bar-do* literature.

⁸⁵ A metaphorical term for armor is used here: '*tsher*. That '*tsher* refers to a protective covering is seen, for example, in the words *dgun-'tsher* (winter

helmet, in your hand, receive the offered two arms and one leg⁸⁶ of the enemy! The *btsan* of the east, the man of crystal with the head of the tiger, in your hand, receive the offered heart organ and five organs⁸⁷ of the enemy! The *btsan* of the north, with the body of the man and the head of the dog, in your hand, receive the offered twelve joints,⁸⁸ along with the head of the enemy, these thirteen.

nyī ma nub kyi btsan / chu bya'i lus po la / 'brug kyi 'go (C.T. = *mgo*)
bo can gyī phyag du // gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo 'dī'i 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*)
dang lag pa g.yas dbul (C.T. = 'bul) *gyis bzhes cīg* (C.T. = *shig*) // *nyī*
ma lho 'i btsan / myi (C.T. = *mi*) *lcags rta lcags la // zangs kyi 'tsher*
zhu can gyi phyag du // gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i sha gzugs* (C.T. =
gzugs) *gsum 'bul gyis bzhes cīg* (C.T. = *shig*) // *nyī ma shar kyi btsan*
// shel gyi myi (C.T. = *mi*) *la stag kyi 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*) *bo can gyi*
phyag du // gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i don snying smad lnga dbul* (C.T. =
'bul) *gyis bzhes cīg* (C.T. = *shig*) // *nyī ma byang gyi* (C.T. = *gi*) *btsan*
// myi (C.T. = *mi*) *'i lus po la / kyī* (C.T. = *khyi*) *'i 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*)
can gyi phyag du // gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i lhu bcu gnyīs 'go* (C.T. =
mgo) *dang bcu gsum 'bul gyis bzhes cīg* (C.T. = *shig*) //

Paragraph IIIc (7.6–7.7)

The third and final part of Section III is devoted to the enemy-apprehending qualities of the nocturnal *btsan* Btsan thar-che-re. The text states that engaging in such ritual effort will not be in vain:

Thereafter, Btsan thar-che-re, before and after midnight, if he knows⁸⁹ the enemy, he will be sent in that direction. Doing in that way your efforts will not be wasted.

de nas btsan thar che re dang / nam phar phyed tshur phyed na // gra'
 (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo cha yod na phyogs der gtang / de ltar byas na chud myi*
 (C.T. = *mi*) *za 'o / O /*

residence) and *dbyar-'tsher* (summer residence). That *'tsher* denotes armor in the text is confirmed by it being paired with *zhu* (helmet, hat).

⁸⁶ *Sha-gzugs gsum*. As a term for the butchered parts of a yak, this expression is still commonly found in the dialects of Hor and among the A-pha hor of the Byang-thang: *sha-gzugs gcig* (one leg of yak), *sha-gzugs gnyis* (two legs of yak), *sha-gzugs gsum* (three legs of yak), and *sha-gzugs bzhi* (four legs of yak).

⁸⁷ *Smad-lnga*: lungs, liver, kidney, stomach, and spleen.

⁸⁸ *Lhu bcu-gnyīs*: ankles, knees, hips, wrists, elbows, and shoulders.

⁸⁹ *Cha-yod*. This word meaning 'to understand or 'to know' is found in the dialects of Dol-po and a large portion of the Byang-thang. In the Spu-rgyal bod dialect of Hor, it is rendered *cha-rgyus*. Also, more formally, *cha-yod rgyus-yod* (*ha-go-ba*).

Section IV

Sections I, II and III invoke a large variety of deities, enticing them with the flesh and blood of enemies for their consumption. In Section IV, the assault on enemies is consummated through more elaborate ritual methods. These ritual measures were probably conceived as being executed with the assistance of any and all of the helping deities previously called upon in *Gnag rabs*. In practice, however, officiants are likely to have relied on those they felt would be most effective and those with whom they had the most affinity. The prime aim of this ritual is to first capture and then slaughter or otherwise render the enemy innocuous. Some notable procedural and conceptual differences notwithstanding, this type of destructive magical rite is still practiced in Lamaism.

Section IV can be divided into five interrelated parts:

- IVa: The use of a wing, tablet and receptacle to capture the soul of the enemy
- IVb: Four winged attendants who harry the enemy
- IVc: The subjugation of the enemy
- IVd: The dividing and conquering of enemies
- IVe: Proclaiming the benefits of the ritual

Paragraph IVa (7.7–8.1)

The main implement in this ritual is the wing of the crow, the awe-inspiring power of which is described in paragraph If. A main function of the bird wing in the archaic tradition is to signal the soul. The use of a black wing in *Gnag rabs* signifies baneful ritual actions.⁹⁰ The ritualists are instructed to paint the right side of their face with blood. The type of blood is not specified; it could possibly be that of a sacrificial animal or that of the enemy. The custom of painting the face with blood was not retained in Lamaist ritual practice, presumably because it was a salient reminder of the sacrificial rites regularly featured in archaic ritual literature. While the right half of the face is covered in blood, the left side is tinted red with *sre-mog*, an herb still used to impart a red color to votive cakes (*gtor-ma*). This application of a blood substitute may have been a concession to the Buddhist ethic that was engulfing Tibet at the time *Gnag rabs* was

⁹⁰ On the mythic origins and functions of the funerary hand-tool (*phyag-mtshan*) wing in Pt 1194 and the Mu-cho'i khrom-'dur, see Bellezza 2010 p. 85 (n. 216); 2008, pp. 386, 429–432, 432–435, 493, 506–510.

written. 'Red-faced Ones' (*gdong-dmar-can*) was an imperial period epithet for Tibetans, referring to the practice of painting the face red (with red ochre?), a mark of kingship and the warrior. Among female pastoralists in Upper Tibet, the practice of applying a dark red lotion made from whey on the face continues to the present day.

As in paragraph Ib, a tablet is used as one instrument for capturing the soul of the enemy. A special enclosure (*sri-khung*) and soul stone (*brla-rdo*) are also employed for this purpose in the ritual. The *sri-khung* consists of a pit in which various objects are deposited; it is used to ritually slay demons and other malefic forces.⁹¹ The object deployed in conjunction with *sri-khung* in the text is the 'soul stone' (*brla-rdo*), a rock used to enshrine the animating force of an individual for custodial purposes, as well as for ritual functions in which the anima of a patient or victim is required.⁹² In addition to these ritual tools, spells, and a mixture of seeds, herbs, and grains are used to defeat the enemies. Among the ingredients in this mixture is ephedra (*mtshe*) and mustard seeds (*nyungs-dkar*), exorcistic agents paired in various archaic ritual contexts:⁹³

The wing of the crow is clenched. The right side of the face is painted with blood and the left side of the face is painted with *sre-mog*. The right hair [braid] is opened.⁹⁴ The name of the enemy is written on a tablet. The male and female children grasp their black clothing, waving it and focusing their attention (*thugs bab-bo*) [on the enemy].⁹⁵ The soul stone of the enemy is also placed in the mouth of the *sri-khung*. If the spells are cast without error [the enemy] is not lost. The attendants are sent to the enemy and spells

⁹¹ On the use of the *sri-khung* in the funerary ritual context, see Bellezza 2013a, p. 164; 2008, pp. 470–473, 484.

⁹² The functions and ritual applications of the *bla-rdo* (*sic*) are described in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 174, 347, 491; Tucci 1980, pp. 191, 203, 204; Gibson 1985, p. 71 (n. 15); Norbu 1995, pp. 5, 225 (n. 26), 246 (n. 51); Bellezza 2005; 2008; 2013a. On the soul stone of King Srong-btsan sgam-po, see Sørensen and Hazod 2005, p. 277.

⁹³ For the joint use of ephedra and mustard seeds (often with bird wings) in the funerary and ransom rituals of Old Tibetan and Eternal Bon texts, see Bellezza 2008, pp. 376, 379, 381, 382, 402, 410, 437, 523 (n. 584); 2010, p. 53 (n. 68), 57, 58, 63, 67, 83; 2013a, p. 44 (n. 65). On the ritual usage of ephedra, also see Karmay 1998, pp. 387, 388; Thomas 1957, *Texts, Translations and Notes*, pp. 56, 57; Stein 1971, pp. 507–509.

⁹⁴ *Bshig*. This verb is still used in the dialects of the eastern Byang-thang and Hor to denote the untying of braids.

⁹⁵ These male and female children (*bu sr̄ing*) probably belonged either to the ritualists or the benefactors, the purity of youth needed in this particular ritual operation.

are cast on the wing. In a sack of black brocade⁹⁶ and black silk, ephedra, mustard seeds, *glas-gangs*,⁹⁷ and white barley [meal] are mixed together (*gsal*). It is [then] scattered in the four directions and four intermediate directions.

bya rog gshog pa thogs la // gdong g.yas pa khrag kyis (C.T. = *gis*)
byugs la // g.yon pa sre mog kyis (C.T. = *gis*) *byugs la // sra* (C.T. =
skra) *g.yas pa bshig la // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *'i mying* (C.T. = *ming*)
byang bris la // bu sr̄ing gyi gos nag thogs la / brdab (C.T. = *rdeb*)
c̄ing thugs bab po // gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i brla* (C.T. = *bla*) *rdo yang*
sri khung khar gzhag (C.T. = *bzhag*) *go // sngags ma nor bar byas na*
myi (C.T. = *mi*) *'chor ro / gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo la pho nya gtang ba*
dang / gshog pa la sngags gdab pa dang // za bug (C.T. = *'og*) *nag po*
dang / dar nag po'i khug mar / mtshe dang nyungs dkar dang / glas
 (C.T. = *gla*) *gangs* (C.T. = *sgang*) *dang / nas dkar mo gsal* (C.T. =
bsres) *de / phyogs bzhi mtshams brgyad du gtor ro //*

Paragraph IVb (8.2–8.3)

The text proceeds to introduce four different colored attendants (*phyag-brnyan*) of the cardinal directions. This quadripartite arrangement of deities is a common scheme in both indigenous and Indic ritual traditions (and more broadly worldwide). The quartet of spirits noted in the text help subdue enemies with their wings:

The attendant of the realm of black in the west, [the attendant] of the realm of white in the east, [the attendant] of the realm of green in the south, [and the attendant] of the realm of red in the north: with their wings they beat down (*brdab*) upon the mouth of the *sri-khung*.

nub phyogs phyag brnyan nag po'i mkhams (C.T. = *khams*) // *shar*
phyogs dkar po'i mkhams (C.T. = *khams*) / *lho phyogs ljang khu'i*
mkhams (C.T. = *khams*) / *byang phyogs dmar po'i mkhams* (C.T. =
khams) // *sri khung khar gshog pas brdab po //*

⁹⁶ *Za-bug* (C.T. = *za-'og*). 'Brocade' is rendered *za-bog* and *zab* in an illuminated funerary manuscript, as *za-'ug-ma* in *Rnel dri 'dul ba'i thabs sogs*, while the same spelling (*za-bug*) is found in *Sha ru shul ston rabs* (Bellezza 2013a: 79, 113, 207). These latter two sources are funerary texts of Gathang Bumpa already noted. The spellings *za-bog*, *za-'ug* and *za-bug* reflect pronunciations of the word as would be spoken in Tibetan dialects of peripheral regions.

⁹⁷ A medicinal root (C.T. = *gla-sgang*).

Paragraph IVc (8.3–8.7)

The text furnishes more details about the ritual procedures to be instituted. In order to make the soul stone effective, the likeness of the enemy must be drawn on it. The performer of the ritual is instructed to collect earth near his client's abode, presumably to be deposited with the rest of the deadly ritual construction at the conclusion of the performance. The ritual weapon is the crow wing, which is brandished on the chest of the priest while hand gestures are made and spells intoned. This wing is envisioned as claws made of celestial metal (*gnam-lcags*), a commonplace material and attribute in the Tibetan ritual tradition. This extremely hard, lustrous iron is popularly conceived of as having demon-suppressing qualities. The presiding deity in this ritual sequence is merely referred to as the 'emanation' (*sprul-pa*). This may be the *zi-ma* goddess with the *phung-srin* body of paragraph III, or other spirits already invoked in the text:

The body of [the enemy] is drawn on the receptible soul stone and its soul is called. Seven steps [from the beneficiary's house] are taken and earth is collected. Also, from your own home seven steps are taken presenting yourself facing east.⁹⁸ With the base (*gding*) of the [crow] wing on the chest, it is stood upright with its tip displayed in the sky. The emanation sets upon (*bsbad*) [the enemy]. The wing is visualized as meteoric iron claws (*spar-mo*). The arrayed tips⁹⁹ [of the claws] are visualized as piercing (*gzong*) and driving (*'phen*). The spells to incite are uttered [while] waving the wing.¹⁰⁰ The fists (*khu-tshur*) are clenched (*bcang*). The spells are accurately and thoroughly (*zhib du*) pronounced.

brla (C.T. = *bla*) *rdo la rten bcas la / gzugs bris la // brla* (C.T. = *bla*)
ggug (= *gug*, C.T. = *bkug*) *ko // gom pa bdun bor ba'i sa blangs la //*
rang yang khyim nas gom pa bdun bor la // kha shar phyogs su bstan
de // gshog pa'i gding (C.T. = *rting*) *pa thugs kar glan de // shog*
 (C.T. = *gshog*) *pa'i rtse mo gnam du bstan de // sprul pa bsbad* (C.T. =
rbad) *do // gshog pa gnam lcags spar mor bsam // rtse mong gzong*
'phen bar bsam / sbad (C.T. = *rbad*) *pa'i sngags la // sed phud phud*
// kyis brjod do // gshog pa brdab (C.T. = *rdeb*) *po / khu tshur bcang*
ngo / sngags zhib du (C.T. = *tu*) *bzlas so //*

⁹⁸ The phrase 'your own home' (*rang... khyim*) actually refers to the home of the beneficiary of the ritual, not the home of the priests conducting the ritual. This is made clear in the last paragraph of *Gnag rabs*. See paragraph VIII.

⁹⁹ *Rtse-mong*. On this word conveying that the tips of the claws are arrayed in a row, also see paragraph Ic.

¹⁰⁰ One line of spells is provided in the text. See the transliteration.

Paragraph IVd (8.7–8.11)

Once again *Gnag rabs* gives us an indication that its baneful rites were indeed used against mortal opponents. Special ritual provisions for separating 'two men' are given, thus eliminating their combined power. These entail the use of bird clavicles, a tablet and the wing of the crow all bundled together. This ritual construction is buried at a road junction with the recitation of incantations:

If two men come acting as the enemy towards you yourself, the methods of separating (*bral-ba*) the two are: The right clavicle (*dang-ru*) of the crow and the left clavicle of the owl, these two, [are required].¹⁰¹ The name and clan [of the enemy] are written on a tablet. [The collarbones are placed] back to back (*rgyab-sprad*) against that tablet, and together with (*bcang-sprag*) the wing of the black small crow ('*khar*) are bound (*bcings*) and buried (*gnan*) at the junction of three roads. These heart syllables (*snying-po*) are spoken.¹⁰² They are recited (*bzlas*) either one hundred and eight or one thousand and eight times.¹⁰³ [With these] it is buried.¹⁰⁴

bdag la myi gnyis gra' (C.T. = *dgra*) *byed du 'ong* (C.T. = *yong*) *na / de gnyis bral* (C.T. = *phral*) *ba'i thabs la / bya rog dang ru g.yas pa dang / 'ug pa'i dang ru g.yon pa gnyis / mying* (C.T. = *ming*) *rus byang bu la bris la / byang bu rgyab sprad de / 'gkhar* (= '*khar*, C.T. = *khwa-ta*) *nag kyis* (= *gi*) *gshog pa dang bcang sprag* (C.T. = *sbrag*) *du bcings la / lam gsum gyi mdor gnan* (C.T. = *mnan*) */ snying po 'di brjod do / Om dza' / ma ta si 'i / kha ra hung de / brgya rtsa brgyad dam / stong rtsa brgyad bzas* (= *bzlas*) *la / / brub bo / /*

Paragraph IVe (8.11–9.1)

The text affirms that the enemies thus separated will not be able to rejoin forces for an aeon. This seems to suggest that this sorcery was

¹⁰¹ In popular Tibetan conception, these two birds are always antagonistic to one another. In a funerary ritual to win back the soul of a dead woman from the '*dre* performed by Pha dam-pa sangs-rgyas (died 1105 CE), a composite ritual structure including the clavicle of a lammergeyer was employed (Martin forthcoming).

¹⁰² For the three lines of spells, see the transliteration. These spells begin with *Om* and have other phonetic traits of Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* as well, indicating Indic religious influences. Reference to the 'essence mantras' (*snying-po*) also recalls Buddhist tantric practice.

¹⁰³ The numbers chosen for the amount of mantras is clearly another feature of Indic religious tradition.

¹⁰⁴ *Brup-bo*. This word also denotes the sealing and complete sequestration of the ritual construction.

wielded against a collective enemy such as bandits or an army. The text declares that the power of the ritualists' *lha* (personal protectors) is enhanced. This also indicates that the enemies spoken of in the text are of supernatural origins. In conclusion, the text informs users that palpable signs of their success against enemies will become visible:

There cannot exist a friendship (*mdza'*) between these two enemies for an epoch (*skal-pa*). The magical power of the [protecting] *lha* is increased (*bskyed*). Visible signs are dispersed (*gye*) in the four directions [from the site of ritual burial].

gra (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo de gnyis skal* (C.T. = *bskal*) *par mdza' myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *srid do // lha mthu bskyed* (C.T. = *skyed*) *do // mngon kha bzhir*
gye (C.T. = *gyes*) 'o // O/

Section V

The fifth ritual of *Gnag rabs* centers around seven goddesses who annihilate foemen. This section of the text also includes the parentage and brother of the divine septet. In this performance some of the figures are endowed with names. These appellations are not unlike those given to certain female spirits belonging to the vast retinues of the great patronal goddesses Dpal-ldan lha-mo (Buddhist) and Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo (Eternal Bon). Two of the goddesses in this section of *Gnag rabs* have a head and body of different animals (paragraphs Vg and Vh). As noted, this grafting of one animal head on the body of another finds full expression in Lamaist religion, an example of tantric iconography. While deities of composite zoomorphic composition may have been known in the archaic religious and mythological traditions of Tibet, the creation of sets of these figures bears the mark of an emerging tantricism among those maintaining a non-Buddhist religious affiliation. As we shall see, the ritual also exhibits iconographic, mythic and material elements of archaic religious traditions.

Section V can be divided into eight parts:

- Va: The parents of the divine sisters and the traits and activities of their elder brother
- Vb–Vh: A description of the appearance and activities of the seven goddesses

Paragraph Va (9.1–9.6)

The parents of the seven goddesses in Section V have names best attributed to cosmogonic or theogonic traditions. They are styled 'lord' (*rje*) and 'lady' (*btsun*), as are many divine and royal couples in Tibetan mythology. Their son, Stong-phrag bdud-'dul-bo, the subjugator of the *bdud*, has hair that spirals upwards (*gyen du 'khyil*), an attribute inherited by tutelary gods of Eternal Bon (found also in Buddhist tradition). On the whole, the attributes of this god and his retinue appear to be of archaic cultural origins. In his left hand he grasps the seven 'hawks of the mind' (*yid kyi khra*), a name signifying that these birds can fly as fast as the mind can conceive something:

In a *gnag-pa* origins tale the father is Rdzu-'phrul 'od-ldan rje and the mother is Thog-za' dpal-mo btsun. The son of their mating and seasonal activity was the big brother (*mying-po*), the elder brother¹⁰⁵ Stong-phrag bdud-'dul-bo. The tree-leaf (*lcang-lo*) hair on his head curls upwards. He has ninety thousand fingers on his hand layered nine-fold.¹⁰⁶ As the right hand implement,¹⁰⁷ he holds an extremely sharp (*stong-chod*) copper sword of magical power. As the left hand implement, he holds the seven hawks of the mind. With your extremely sharp magical sword of copper that cuts, cut! By the seven hawks of the mind [the enemy] is captured and not lost. His accessories that capture (*zung*s), the seven dogs of crystal, are set loose.¹⁰⁸ For their food they eat the flesh of the enemy For their thirst they drink the blood of the enemy. For his (Stong-phrag bdud-'dul-bo) wood (fuel), he feeds ('*bud*) [the fire] the bones of the enemy.

gnag pa rabs gcig la / yab rdzu 'phrul 'od ldan rje / / yum thog za' dpal mo btsun / / bshos dang nams kyi sras / / mying (C.T. = ming) po dral po ba stong phrag bdud 'dul bo / / dbu sras (C.T. = skra) lcang (C.T. = ljang) lo gyen du 'khyil / phyag sor rgu (C.T. = dgu) khri rgu (C.T. = dgu) brtsags (C.T. = rtseg) can / / phyag le g.yas na / sprul pa'i zangs dri (C.T. = gri) stong chod bsnams / / phyag le g.yon pa na / yid kyi

¹⁰⁵ *Dral-po-ba*. This is an O.T. construction of a type that was retained in the prosody of Classical Tibetan. In poetry and lyrical ritual verses structured around a set number of syllables per line, if an additional syllable is required, it can be added to words in conformance with grammatical and metrical conventions. This is called a 'supplemental word particle' (*tshig-lhad*). Thus, the C.T. *dral-po* (big brother) would become *dral-po-ba*. Also see *ra-rdzi* (goatherd) rendered *ra-rdzi-ba* (Bellezza 2005, p. 195 [paragraph x]).

¹⁰⁶ *Brtsags* (C.T. = *rtseg*) can be glossed 'to layer' 'to pile up', 'to superimpose'. The pronunciation of the O.T. spelling of this word has been retained in the Hor dialects.

¹⁰⁷ *Phyag-le*. The C.T. equivalent is *phyag-mtshan*.

¹⁰⁸ '*Gyed*. This verb also means 'to order', 'to command', 'to set forth'.

*khra bdun bsnams // sprul pa'i zangs dri (C.T. = gri) stong chod kyis
 // bcad de chod cig / ma mchis yid kyi khra bdun gyis // bzung ste
 shor ma mchis // phyag brnyan zungs (C.T. = bzung) pa ni / shel kyi
 kyi (C.T. = khyi) bdun 'gyed // zas su gra (C.T. = dgra) sha za' (C.T. =
 za) // skom du gra (C.T. = dgra) khrag 'thung // shing du gra (C.T. =
 dgra) rus 'bud (C.T. = bud) /*

Paragraph Vb (9.6–9.8)

This paragraph is dedicated to the eldest sister of the seven goddesses and her helper. Other goddesses of the septet also have attendants that do their bidding. The elder goddess, Thog-za dpa'-mo thang, controls the 'sky kings' (*gnam-rgyal*) and 'earth kings' (*sa-rgyal*), archaic epithets of deities of which little is known:

His sister (*sring-mo*), the sister (*lcam-mo*) Thog-za dpa'-mo thang, holds pincers (*gze-ma*) of copper in her hand that grasp precisely (*gzi-chod*). She holds the accessory that captures, Ma-byams rgyal-mo, who is in set loose upon [the enemy]. She leads one hundred thousand *bye-ma* servants (*g.yog*). She sets loose the thirteen sky king attendants. She sends the thirteen earth king attendants. With one thousand blazes she incinerates¹⁰⁹ the eight enemies.

*de 'i sring mo lcam mo ba // // thog za (C.T. = bza') dpa' mo thang //
 phyag na zangs kyi gze ma gzi chod bsnams // phyag brnyan zungs
 (C.T. = bzung) par / ma byams rgyal mo bsnams de 'gyed // bye (= byad)
 ma 'bum phrag g.yog du khrid // gnam rgyal bcu gsum pho nyar
 'gyed / sa rgyal bcu gsum pho nyar gtong / me dpung stong phrag gra'
 (C.T. = dgra) brgyad srag (C.T. = sreg) /*

Paragraph Vc (9.8–10.1)

The second goddess in the sisterhood is He-ma'i shing spre'u, who appears to have the head or body of an ape. The tree trunk (*sdong-po*) she carries may possibly be that of the uprooted soul tree or clan emblem of the enemies. She approaches the dying (*shī-ka*) but suddenly turns away. This seems to signify that she does not render assistance to enemies at the time of their death, leaving them stranded in the postmortem hell. The helpers of He-ma'i shing spre'u are called the 'thirteen queens' (*rgyal-mo bcu-gsum*), an archaic group of spirits of unknown composition:

¹⁰⁹ *Srag* (C.T. = *sreg*). The pronunciation of the O.T. spelling of this word has been retained in the Hor dialects.

The younger sister coming after her¹¹⁰ is He-ma'i shing spre'u 'go-ma. Gifted (*byin*) a tree trunk, she carries it over her shoulder. Walking towards the dying [enemy] she suddenly turns around and leaves (*thod-chen gtong*). Her accessories that capture, the thirteen queens, are set loose. She leads the one thousand *lha* armies servants. She brandishes many different types of malicious weapons. She decapitates the enemies and thieves above chest.¹¹¹

'on kyi gcung mo ba' (C.T. = ba) / he ma'i spre'u (C.T. = spre) 'go
(C.T. = mgo) ma / sdong po byin (C.T. = sbyin) zhing phrag la gzod (= gzad) // shi kha 'grim zhing thod chen gtong // phyag brnyan zungs
par rgyal mo bcu gsum 'gyed // lha dpung stong phrag g.yog du khrid
// phyag na gdug pa'i mtshon mtshon cha sna rgu (C.T. = dgu) bsnam
/ gra' (C.T. = dgra) dang rkun ma'i brang ze zhi gsum gcod par byed
//

Paragraph Vd (10.1–10.4)

The third sister is not mentioned by name. She wears a hat of the blue yak on her head. Yaks with bluish fur are commonly associated with the *klu* and *klu-mo*. After citing this goddess and her attendant, a number of commands are given to them:

The next younger sister is the amazing (*yam-mtshan*) and marvelous (*rmad*) lady of blue who wears the hat of the blue yak on her head. Her attendant that captures carries the red copper *khrol-tshags*.¹¹² Drop (*gtigs*) seven drops (*thigs*) of the blood of the body cavity of the enemy in it! Tear out the middle [teeth] of his/her thirty-two teeth! Chop into pieces (*dum-bur gtong*), separating (*'brel*) [the enemy] from its body! Put into your mouth the flesh and bones that are separating!

'on kyi gcung mo ba' (C.T. = ba) // yam (C.T. = ya) mtshan rmad kyi
bud med sngon mo la // g.yag zhu sngon mo dbu la gsol // phyag
brnyan zungs (C.T. = bzung) par / zangs kyī khrol tshags dmar mo
khyer // gra' (C.T. = dgra) 'i khong khrag thigs bdun gtigs la shog / so
sum bcu rtsa gnyis dbus nas phyung la shog // 'go (C.T. = mgo) lus

¹¹⁰ 'On kyi gcung-mo-ba'. In the Spu-rgyal bod dialect of Hor, 'on denotes a person or thing that comes after someone else or some other thing has first arrived; e.g. 'on kho rtsib (Lhasa dialect = slebs) gda' / (He/she arrived after [that one]). This is precisely how the word is used in *Gnag rabs*. 'On is etymologically related to 'on-kyang (furthermore).

¹¹¹ This is the general import of the line: Gra' (C.T. = dgra) dang rkun ma'i brang ze zhi gsum gcod par byed //.

¹¹² A strainer for blood, a ritual implement not used in Lamaist religions. This word is related to *ja-tshags* (tea strainer).

'brel (C.T. = *phral*) *zhǐng dum bur gtong* (C.T. = *thong*) // *sha rus*
'brel (C.T. = *phral*) *zhing zhal du bstob* (C.T. = *stobs*) //

Paragraph Ve (10.4–10.6)

The fourth sister has a name associated with telluric spirits (Great Holder of the Earth) and resides in a castle made of clavicles. However, so big and powerful is she that the stars of the Big Dipper (Smre-bdun) spin around her head.¹¹³

The next younger sister is called Sa-'dzin chen-mo. She resides inside Mkhār dang-ru lag-pa. The stars of the Big Dipper revolve around the top of her head. The accessory who captures, Sṛin-zungs sto-bo shol-cig, is set loose. The enemies are suddenly (*glo-bur*) made dead.

'on kyi gcung mo ba' (C.T. = *ba*) // *sa 'dzin chen mos bya'* (C.T. = *bya*)
 // *mkhar dang ru* (C.T. = *rus*) *lag pa'i nang na bzhuḡs* // *skar ma*
smre bdun glād la 'khor // *phyag brnyan zungs* (C.T. = *bzung*) *par* //
sṛin zungs (C.T. = *bzung*) *sto bo shol cig 'gyed* // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo*
glo bur du 'chi bar byed //

Paragraph Vf (10.6–10.7)

The fifth sister is a *sṛin* spirit and her helper is a female ape with nine heads. She too dispatches the enemy in savage ways:

The next younger sister is called Sṛin-byin de-ma. Her accessory who captures, the female ape with nine heads, is set loose. She cuts with her fingernails the ripped out (*'byin*) heart of the enemy.

'on kyi gcung mo ba' (C.T. = *ba*) // *sṛin byin de mas bya'* (C.T. = *bya*)
 // *phyag brnyan zungs par sprā mo 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*) *rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*)
'gyed // *gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i snying 'byin sen mo gcod* // O/

Paragraph Vg (10.7–10.9)

The sixth divine sister has a name (if we read Rig-'dzin for Rigs-'dzin) and a fantastic zoomorphic guise that recalls Lamaist tantric deities. However, her epithet, 'She that also Surveils the Enemy'

¹¹³ For lore about the Big Dipper as a geographical marker contained in another ritual text of the Gathang Bumpa collection, see Bellezza 2013a, p. 208.

(Gyim kyang gra'), retains the unabashed directness of the archaic tradition. Indeed, this epithet suggests that the word *rigs* (C.T. = *rig*) in her appellation pertains to perception more than knowledge, diminishing it would seem any Lamaist influence:

The attendant of the northern direction is Rïgs-'dzin rgyal-mo with the snake body and lion head. She possesses the wings of the dragon. She is thus called Gyim kyang gra'. Drop (*gtigs*) seven drops (*thïgs*) of the blood of the removed (*dren*) heart of the body cavity of the enemy [into the blood strainer]!

nyï ma byang gyi pho nya ste // rïgs 'dzin rgyal mo ste // sbrul gyi lus po la // seng ge'i 'go (C.T. = *mgo*) *bo can // 'brug kyi gshog pa can // gyim kyang gra' zhes brjod // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i snying dren* (C.T. = *dren*) *gyi khong khrag thïgs bdun gtïgs la shog /O/*

Paragraph Vh (10.9–11.1)

The seventh and final sister is the 'holder of the ocean' (*rgya-mtsho 'dzin*), a grand epithet. This goddess is also called 'She that Continually Surveils the Enemy' (Gyim-gyim gra'). After killing the enemy she sends its life-force, soul and flesh to three different types of spirits for their consumption:

The attendant of the southern direction is the attendant of Rgya-mtsho 'dzin (Holder of the Ocean) with the body of the tiger and the head of the snake. She is thus called Gyim-gyim gra'. Pull out the heart from the body cavity of the enemy! The life-force of the enemy is sent to the *bdud*. Its soul is sent to Gshïn-rje smrigs-pa.¹¹⁴ Its flesh is sent to the *srin-po*.

nyï ma lho 'i (C.T. = *yi*) *pho nya ma // rgya mtsho 'dzin kyi pho nya ste // stag kyi* (C.T. = *gyi*) *lus po la // 'brul gyi 'go* (C.T. = *mgo*) *bo can // gyim gyim gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *zhes brjod // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i khong nas snying phyung cig // gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i srog nï bdud la gtad // brla* (C.T. = *bla*) *nï gshïn rje smrigs pa la gtad // sha nï srin po la gtad / do /O/*

¹¹⁴ This king of the underworld spirits, Gshin-rje smrig-pa (*sic*), is noted in an Eternal Bon funerary ritual text dedicated to the psychopomp horse. See Bellezza 2008, p. 457.

Section VI

This is the single longest section of *Gnag rabs*. It constitutes an elaboration of many of the narrative and ritual constructs already introduced in the text. Although Section VI is marked by a combination of fairly disparate origins myths and ritual practices, it is dominated by a single theme: the innate deity and demon that are simultaneously born with each person. The storyline is rather obscure and the textual progression not very coherent, but this does not detract from its great cultural value. To my knowledge, no other Old Tibetan literary source lavishes as much attention on the divine and demonic entities intrinsically associated with the birth of each individual. Nor am I aware of Classical Tibetan sources that dwell on this religious theme in as much detail as *Gnag rabs*.¹¹⁵

Section VI has been divided into twelve parts, which can be summarized as follows:

- VIa: The parents and birth of Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po
- VIb: The appearance of the archetypal natal god and demon of humans
- VIc: The *dbal-gshen* La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol and the theft of seven horses
- VI d: The pursuit of the horse thief and initial ritual measures against him
- VIe: The *dbal-gshen* conjures his spirit helper, destroying the horse thief
- VI f: Instructions for separating the enemy from his protective spirit
- VI g: Further instructions for permanently divesting the enemy's guardian spirit
- VI h: Ritual for summoning the natal *dre* (*sic*) demon
- VI i: Ritual means for reconciling the innate *dre* demon
- VI j: Ritual means for subduing the enemy
- VI k: Commissioning deities at night for the defeat of the enemy
- VI l: The ritual slaughter of the enemy in the morning

¹¹⁵ The theme of a *lha* and '*dre* born at the same time as each human is represented in Tibetan archaic eschatological tradition. See Bellezza 2008, p. 365; 2013a, pp. 144, 145. Also, see Tucci 1980, pp. 194, 195; Evans-Wentz 1927, pp. 35, 36, 165, 166. In Eternal Bon, these spirit entities became assimilated to the concepts of karma and innate understanding and ignorance (Karmay 1998: 132; Snellgrove 1967: 117, 259 [n. 37]). As regards archaic tradition, Karmay (*ibid.*) observes that the natal *lha* and '*dre*, as opposing forces, were seen as responsible for positive and negative human actions. His observations on the ancient functions of the innate *lha* and '*dre* are confirmed in this section of *Gnag rabs*.

Paragraph VIa (11.1–11.3)

This section of *Gnag rabs* opens by stating its ritual function, which is to force the innate personal protector of the enemy to abandon his charge. The text then launches into a *smrang* set in very ancient times, which describes the origins of the inherent *lha* and *dre* that accompanies all human beings. It begins by giving the parentage of a boy named Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po (King of Wisdom). Although this semi-divine figure has a name reminiscent of epithet's conferred on the high gods of Lamaism, he belonged to the *srin* lineage, as did his mother,¹¹⁶ suggesting that the text is recounting a matrilineal tradition:

Another part of the *gnag-pa*: The separation of the enemy and its protector: At Snang-yul phyod, inside Snang-mkhar rtse-rgu (Shining Castle Nine Peaks), the name of the father and patriarch was Lord Drang-nam skyol-po and the mother was Srin-za' 'phrul-mo chen. The son of their mating and seasonal activity, the son of the *srin*, Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po, was born.

yang gnag pa rnam gcig la // gra (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo srungs* (C.T. = *srung*) *ma dang bral* (C.T. = *phral*) *ba la // snang yul phyod kyi nang na // snang mkhar rtse rgu'i* (C.T. = *dgu'i*) *nang na // pha dang yab kyi mtshan / rje drang nam skyol po dang // ma srin za' 'phrul mo chen // bshos dang nams kyi sras // srin gyi bu ye shes kyi rgyal por bltam mo //*

Paragraph VIb (11.3–11.7)

The origins myth states that Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po was of a good birth (*skye-ma yags*). There are no negative connotations associated with him being of the *srin*, as is often found in Lamaist tradition where *srin* are mostly demonic in nature.¹¹⁷ Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po appears to have been so named because of his ability to master the speech of humans at a very young age. This child had a dual nature in that he possessed a mind that intrinsically belonged to both humans and *lha*. The human mind (*sems*) was characterized by anger (*zhe-sdang*), pride (*nga-rgyal*) and envy (*phrag-dog*). The text employs the term (*sems*) rather than *thugs* or *yid* of other Old Tibetan ritual documents to describe the mind or cognitive principle, as well as citing three

¹¹⁶ On funerary priests being the nephews (*tsha/tsha'*) of the *srin* (a matrilineal deity) in Pt 1134 see, Bellezza 2008, p. 384; 2013a, pp. 168 (n. 291), 224, 225, 231.

¹¹⁷ On the *srin* and their inherent opposition to the *lha* in Lamaist tradition, see Karmay 2003, pp. 75–77.

of the ‘five poisons’ (*dug-lnga*) or root causes of human suffering in Lamaism. This is cogent evidence of how *Gnag rabs* came under direct influence of Buddhist thought (unlike other Old Tibetan ritual texts of Gathang Bumpa).¹¹⁸ When not in his human mode, Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po generated or produced (*bskyed*) a *lha*. The text unambiguously informs us that along with this *lha* a *dre* (*sic*) was born (*skyes*). The narrative implies that as humans are poisoned by afflictive emotions and thoughts, a *dre* accompanies them throughout life. This understanding is in conformity with Lamaist concepts of the intrinsic *lha* and ‘*dre*’ (see fn. 115). The natal *lha* of Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po was called La-gur-bya dgar-bo, his ‘life-force support’ (*srog-rten*) god. On the other hand, his natal *dre*, Kha-’dar mar-po, is the inherent cause of sin:

He was a boy of good birth. His speech was equal (*bnyam*) to that of humans. When small he perfected knowledge. The body brought forth of the father and mother was the first (infant’s) body (*gong gyi lus*), with which he perfected speech. When not generating speech, he generated the *lha*. Generating the mind of humans, he produced anger, pride and envy. When not generating the speech of humans, he generated a *lha*. The name of this *lha* was that styled La-gur-bya dgar-po of the life-force support. When a *lha* is born, a *dre* is born. The name of the *dre* was the boy of inner sin, that known as Kha-’dar mar-po. They are born at the same time as humans.

bu cġg skye ma yags (C.T. = *yag*) // *smra myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *dang bnyam* (C.T. = *mnyam*) / *shes pa chung nas rdzogs* // *lus bskyed kyi pha ma nġ* // *smra gong gyi lus la rdzogs* // *smra myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *bskyed tsam na* // *lha yang bskyed do* / *myi* (C.T. = *mi*) ‘*i sems bskyed pas* // *zhe sdang nga rgyal phrag dog bskyed do* // *smra myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *ma bskyed tsam na* // *lha cġg bskyed do* // *lha de ‘i mying* (C.T. = *ming*) *nġ* / *srog rten gyi la gur bya dgar po zhes bya ‘o* // *lha cġg skyes tsam na* // *dre* (C.T. = ‘*dre*) *cġg skyes so* / *dre‘i* (C.T. = ‘*dre‘i*) *mying* (C.T. = *ming*) *nġ nang gyi sdig pa‘i bu* / *kha ‘dar mar* (C.T. = *dmar*) *po zhes bya ste* // *myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *dang lhan cġg skyes so* /

¹¹⁸ This reference to the *dug-lnga* within a largely archaic narrative context is a hallmark of ritual literature of circa 10th and 11th century CE authorship, as seen in the *Klu-’bum*, *Mu-cho‘i khrom-’dur* and *Mu ye pra phud phywa‘i mthur thug*, etc.

Paragraph VIc (11.7–12.2)

Now that the origins of the intrinsic positive and negative spiritual forces buffeting human beings have been recorded, the text turns to the *dbal-gshen* La-brag gar-bu'i skyol. The *dbal-gshen* are those priests who propitiate and exploit the *dbal* class of wrathful deities and control the *dbal* ritual traditions.¹¹⁹ It appears that La-brag gar-bu'i skyol was the priest of Lord Drang-nam skyol-po (the father of Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po), but nowhere is this made explicit in the text. La-brag gar-bu'i skyol had authority over nine *lha-shñg*, trees of great age and importance such as sacred junipers that are used as tabernacles for deities and as external supports for the soul (*bla-gnas*). This priest also controlled nine *lha-chab*, rivers or other bodies of water that enshrine deities and the souls of the living. This trope of divine trees and waters establishes the exalted standing of La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol, for he is the controller of instruments through which sacerdotal power is manifested. This priest is said to have overseen seven 'horses of the mind of the *gshen*' (*gshen gyi yid kyi rta*). This phrase refers to the great speed and efficacy of the horses in carrying out tasks assigned them by the *dbal-gshen*.¹²⁰ These horses roamed freely in a rich pasture until one night they were discovered missing by the 'father *bon*' (*pha-bon*). In the narrative it is not clear who this figure is. It seems to refer to the archetypal sire Drang-nam skyol-po (father of Ye-shes kyi rgyal-po):

Inside G.yung-drung gyi dpal-mkhar rtse-rgu (Nine-Peaked Castle of Magnificence of the Swastika) stayed the *dbal-gshen* La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol. What did he exercise control over? The nine paired (*dor*) *lha-shñg*. The nine miraculous *lha-chab*. He exercised control over them. What belongings did he have control over? He had control over the seven horses of the mind of the *gshen*. The unbound horses (*rta-yan*) moved freely in a broad area.¹²¹ In the

¹¹⁹ According to Eternal Bon tradition, *dbal-gshen* / *dbal-bon* such as Gsang-ba 'dus-pa, Stag-la me-'bar and Mu-cho Idem-drug were tantric ritualists of very ancient times. The *dbal-bon* were specialized in funerary rituals as well. For various examples, see Bellezza 2008; 2013a. The *dbal-bon* also appear in other Old Tibetan ritual texts. In Pt 1285, the *bal-bon* (*sic*) Rum / Rom-po performs the *gto* and *dpyad* rites to cure disease (cf. Stein 2010 [Antiqua V], p. 259). In the Gathang Bumpa text *Sha ru shul ston rabs*, the *dbal-bon* Rum-po collaborates with other priests to conduct a funerary ritual (Bellezza 2013a: 203, 204).

¹²⁰ In Pt 1134, as applied to horses, we find the expression *yid-mgyogs* (fast as thought). See *ibid.*, pp. 168 (n. 291), 225.

¹²¹ In the Eternal Bon Rdzogs-chen tradition, *kha-yan chen-po* describes the quality of the mind distinguished by total openness, ease and contentment. In the dialects of the A-pha hor and Hor, the word *yan-pa* denotes the action of livestock roaming freely.

gshen county G.yug-'brang there was a garden ('*tshal-zhing*) of verdant grain. In the middle of that night, the father *bon* said, 'the horses, the steeds, have been lost.' That was spoken.

g.yung drung gyi dpal mkhar rtse rgu'i (C.T. = *dgu'i*) *nang na / dbal gshen la brag gar bu 'i skyol bzhugs so // de mnga' cǐ la mdzad na // lha shǐng dor rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) *dang / lha chab 'phrul rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) *la / mnga' mdzad do // dkor du cǐ mnga' na / gshen gyi yid kyi rta bdun mnga' // rta yan g.yang (= yangs) du yan // gshen yul g.yug 'brang na // 'bras kyi ljang pa 'tshal* (C.T. = *tshal*) *zhing mchis na // do mod gdugs bas na / pha bon gyi zhal nas / sta (= rta) rmang stor skad //*

Paragraph VI_d (12.2–12.5)

The next morning a figure called Gshǐn-khri thang-brgyad (apparently the horse keeper) followed the footprints of the missing horses, which led him to those of a man as well, confirming that the horses had been stolen. On behalf of the father *bon* (Lord Drang-nam skyol-po?), the *dbal-gshen* La-brag gar-bu'i skyol commenced a destructive magic ritual, which entailed removing earth from the footprint of the thief:¹²²

Early the next morning at dawn,¹²³ Gshǐn-khri thang-brgyad went to pursue¹²⁴ the hoofprints of the horses, the hoofprints of the steeds. In the midmorning (*nyi-ma 'dros*) he spotted a footprint of a man. At noon (*nyi-ma phyed*) he spotted a horse hoofprint. The *gshen* [La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol] said, the father's [horses] have been stolen. The enemy has risen up against the *bon*. At Ze'u-smyug bye'u-gling, [La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol] took [earth] from the footprint of the man. He recited the spells upon it. They were spoken thus:¹²⁵ That speech was made as [earth from the footprint] was twice taken from the east, south, west and north.

sang nam nangs rgung (C.T. = *dgung*) *sangs na // gshǐn khri thang brgyad nǐ / rta rjes rmang rjes gcod du gshags // nyi ma dros tsam na // myi 'i rjes cig byung // nyi ma phye tsam na rta 'i rjes cig byung*

¹²² A destructive magic ritual with structural similarities to this one including the use of earth from the footprint of the enemy is described in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 488–490. This sorcery is dependent on a Buddhist god, the four-armed Mgon-po (*ibid.*).

¹²³ This is the general import of the grammatical line: *sang nam nangs rgung* (C.T. = *dgung*) *sangs na //*.

¹²⁴ *Gcod*. In Hor dialects such as Spu-rgyal bod, this term is used to denote the action of following a trail of footprints: *rjes-gcod*.

¹²⁵ For these three lines of spells see the transliteration.

// gshen gyi zhal na re // pha la rku (= rkun) byung ngo // bon la gra' (C.T. = dgra) dar ro // ze'u smyug bye'u gling gyis // myi (C.T. = mi) 'i rjes blangs la // sngags 'di skad zhes brjod do // zug du khug la non / zug la sod / na ga thal / de skad shar lho nub byang du lan bzhi bzhi byas la blang ngo (+ /)

Paragraph VIe (12.6–12.8)

The ritual continues in a castle or temple (*gsas-mkhar*), bringing about the demise of the thief with the aid of a zoomorphic spirit helper. Here, once again, the enemy appears to be a human being, not a demonic impediment to religious practice. The text informs us that the *dbal-gshen* La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol forged a pact (*chad do byas*)¹²⁶ with a lion-headed *khyung*. Unlike the oaths of Lamaism with their profession of a higher good, this one is purely utilitarian in nature: the helping spirit is rewarded with a feast in return for prying away the protective spirit of the thief. This is done in conjunction with a hawk spirit. The two commands or requests at the end of this paragraph mark the transition from the *smrang* to the actual ritual performed by users of the text.

At that time, the owner of the body (La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol), in the middle (*kyil*) of the *gsas-mkhar* Brgya-khri bzhi-stong,¹²⁷ the residing occupant (*snying-bo*), visualized [the protector of the ritual]. The protector was the winged *khyung* bird having the head of the lion with whom he made a pact. [The *gshen*] offered all kinds of food to the [protector]. Great carnivorous (*zan*) hawk protector, work allied [with the *khyung*]! Now, the enemy and his protector separate!

de tsam na bdag kyi lus po ni // gsas mkhar brgya khri bzhi stong gyi kyil (C.T. = dkyil) na / snying bor 'dug par bsam mo // srungs (C.T. = srung) ma ni bya khyung gyi zhags (= shogs, C.T. = shog) pa can dang // seng ge'i 'go (C.T. = mgo) bo can du chad do byas ste // ci'i zhal nas zhal du bstab (C.T. = stabs) // khra chen sha zan (C.T. = gzan) srungs (C.T. = srung) ma dang // dril de mdzad du gsol // da ni gra (C.T. = dgra) bo dang srungs (C.T. = srung) mar bral (C.T. = phral) du gsol /

¹²⁶ The C.T. equivalent is more or less: *Kha-chad byas-pa* (to enter into a pact, to avow).

¹²⁷ In Eternal Bon sources: Brgyad-khri bzhi-stong.

Paragraph VI_f (12.9–13.1)

The text continues with ritual instructions for cleaving the *lha* protector from the enemy, an unequivocal sign of victory. Although it is not explicitly stated, this spirit is the successor to the horse thief's personal protector in the above origins tale. The ritual measures taken are derived from those carried out by the *dbal-gshen* La-brag gar-bu 'i skyol. A black tent with a birch pole is erected for this purpose. Inside the tent the ritualists sit facing the altar on which 'brang-rgyas (a type of *gtor-ma* or edible sculpture),¹²⁸ beer, barley cakes (*zan*), and barley meal have been placed. These barley cakes are made with water rather than butter. Poor tasting *gtor-ma*, etc. are still customarily offered to 'dre and other adversarial spirits:

For the friend of that very same [enemy] who has come: The striated (*srubs*) birch is cut by striking¹²⁹ with the sharp iron (ax). The black tent is erected [with this birch pole]. In front of [the ritualists'] forehead, the 'brang-rgyas of which half are white and half are black, undepleted (*ma-nyams*) first offering of beer, barley cakes with water, barley meal (*bye*) cakes with barley meal, and barley meal [with] water are made.

de dang grogs de 'ong (C.T. = *yong*) *ba la* // *shñg stag pa'i srubs su*
// *rno lcags gar kyis bcad de* // *gur nag po phub la* // *dpral gyi gdong*
sngur (C.T. = *sngun*) *du* / 'brang rgyas phyed dkar phyed gnag (C.T. =
nag) *dang* / *chang phud ma nyams pa dang* / *chu zan dang* / *bye* (C.T.
= *phye*) *gyis bye* (C.T. = *phye*) *zan* / *bye* (C.T. = *phye*) *chu bya* /

Paragraph VI_g (13.1–13.4)

The estranged personal *lha* of the enemy must now be dealt with in order that it does not reattach itself to its owner. The ritualists symbolically remove it from the tent while clapping and snapping their hands, a sign of contempt for and subjugation of the spirit protector of the enemy. In a procession, the guardian deity of the enemy is banished far from the sphere of the ritualists and their

¹²⁸ The use of 'brang-rgyas in rituals colored by indigenous traditions and carried out by Buddhist masters of the 11th to 13th centuries CE is studied in Martin forthcoming. I put forward that 'brang-rgyas literally means something to the effect of 'spacious abode', in cognizance of the ease or facility in which this object can accommodate the spiritual entities of rituals.

¹²⁹ [*Khro-bo'i*] *gar*. This figure of speech for the striking of the ax alludes to a highly energetic dance form. In Eternal Bon, *khro-bo'i gar* is one of the *gar gyi nyams dgu*, the nine styles of dancing (*gar-stabs*). For this classification, see Blo-gros rab-gsal, 2010, p. 50.

clients, a process executed through the raising of a pillar or pile of stones (*mtho*) and the scattering (*gtor*) of edible offerings. The *mtho* (C.T. = *tho*) is a register or marker used to record a solemn action such as the taking of an oath, the issuing of a decree, or the discharge of a momentous ritual act as is the case here.¹³⁰ To ensure that the enemy *lha* cannot return to his owner or cause harm to the priests, the road back to its abode is ritually barricaded with noxious water and meat:

At that time, supplicating (*ltar-zhing*) your own protector, the protector and female attendants are being unleashed [on the enemy]. Thereafter, his (the enemy's) *lha* is carried away (*bskyal*) [from the tent] followed by (*phyi-bzhin*) [the officiants] snapping their fingers and clapping [repeatedly].¹³¹ With a distance of seven steps taken, the *mtho* is erected (*gzugs*). The [*lha* of the enemy] is pushed far away. Jaggery, rock sugar, different types of sweets, and grain beer are scattered. The road is cut (*gcad*) with poisonous water and many types of meat.

de tsam na / rang gyi srungs (C.T. = *srung*) *ma ltar* (C.T. = *bdar*)
zhing srungs (C.T. = *srung*) *ma dang // pho nya ma sbad* (C.T. = *rbad*)
c̄ng gtang ngo / de nas kho 'i lha bskyal ba'i phyi bzhin du // se lcag
gyis brdab // gom pa bdun bor bar mtho (C.T. = *tho*) *gzugs* (C.T. =
 'dzugs) *so // rgyang gyis gcad* (C.T. = *bcad*) // *bu ram dang / kha*
 (C.T. = *ka*) *ra dang // mngar sna tshogs dang // 'bras kyi chang gyis*
gtor ro // dug chu dang sha sna mang pos lam gcad (C.T. = *bcad*) *do*
 //

Paragraph VIh (13.4–13.6)

The text now returns to the internal adversary of each person, the natal *dre*. The *lha* (intrinsic agent of auspiciousness) and *bdud* (intrinsic agent of inauspiciousness) are definitively separated through a ritual that includes an effigy of the natal *dre*, meat and blood offerings. This ritual ensemble is designed to summon the innate *dre* to the venue of practice:

¹³⁰ Also see Bellezza 2013a, pp. 225, 226. In the Gathang Bumpa manuscripts *Rnel drī 'dul ba'i thabs sogs* and *Sha ru shul ston rabs*, *mtho* are erected to subdue spirit foes (*ibid.*, pp. 148, 204).

¹³¹ In the text this snapping of the fingers (*se-gol*) and clapping of the hands (*thal-mo brdebs*) is denoted by *se-lcag*, a term still used in the Eternal Bon liturgical tradition.

At this time, the *lha* and *bdud* are cut from the root: In an upright (*kha-gyen*) black cauldron (*slug-ma*) is the black *gshin-chad*,¹³² in which a *dre* [effigy] is grasped by the neck. It is mixed (*sbyar*) with the black meat of the brown bear, and [with] the *khras-sha*¹³³ of that brown bear (*dred-mo*) it is put [inside the cauldron]. The name of the enemy is cast out (*phyung*) to land upon the meat [inside the cauldron], and that *dre* of the earth [born] at the same time comes.

de tsam na lha bdud gcod pa'i rtsa ba la // slug ma (C.T. = *sla nga*) *nag po kha gyen du // gshin chad nag po'i nang nas // dre* (C.T. = '*dre*) *shig pa 'gul* (C.T. = *mgul*) *nas bzung nas / dre* (= *dred*) *sha nag po dang sbyar la // dred mo'i khras sha yang der bcug la // gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i mying* (C.T. = *ming*) *phyung la // de'i sha thebs pa dang // de lhan cig sa pa'i dre* (C.T. = '*dre*) *ong* (C.T. = *yong*) *ngo //*

Paragraph VII (13.6–14.1)

Now that the natal *dre* has been summoned, this spirit is ritually acted upon to reconcile it with its human associate. This is accomplished through presenting the *dre* with lavish food offerings. The *dre* is also given the 'profound instructions of the swastika *gshen*' (*g.yung-drung gshen gyi man-ngag*),¹³⁴ exhorting it to be a cooperative partner. These are not moral teachings per se as found in the Lamaist religions, but practical guidelines probably in the form of a series of injunctions. The next step in the ritual is directed against the 'enemy', which may possibly be the natal *dre* itself but more probably its ally. This enemy is disparaged by being compared to the size of an ant. As this enemy is the natal *dre* or a closely related spirit entity, it is not eradicated but only tamed. The priests attempt to assuage the *dre* probably by partially releasing it from ritual thralldom. The text however adds an admonition, warning this enemy that should it prove uncooperative, it will be pushed down to wander blindly. The *dre* is threatened with retribution: savory food

¹³² An unidentified ritual construction used to take punitive action against an enemy. It may possibly be related to the *sri-khung*, a structure used to imprison noxious spirits.

¹³³ This appears to be identical or similar to *khrag-sha*, a food preparation of Hor and the eastern Byang-thang. It consists of blood collected from the neck of yaks in the summertime, which is mixed with butter, parched barley meal, dried yak blood and salt. These ingredients are allowed to set for a little while before being boiled.

¹³⁴ A similar use of 'swastika' to define a body of religious teachings (Buddhist in this case) is found in a probable imperial period-text, IOL Tib J 1746: *g.yung drung gyi chos*. See *op. cit.*, van Schaik forthcoming. In the context of *Gnag rabs*, *man-ngag* can also mean 'essential teachings' or 'advice'.

offerings mixed with 'three types of poison' (*dug sna gsum*). The three poisons are rice beer (*'bras-chang*), barley beer (*'bru-chang*), and legume beer (*sran-chang*). It is thought by Tibetans that when these three alcoholic beverages are mixed together they cause a severe form of intoxication:

At that time, the *dre* born at the same time as yourself is made agreeable,¹³⁵ and that [*dre*] is served all kinds of foods. The profound teachings of the swastika *gshen* are given (*bcug*): The enemy, as large as an ant (*grog-ma*), come here! That body of [the enemy] be conciliated (*dum du gsol*)! [If you do not befriend me] downward blindly (*thur du long*) your feet [will go]! Whichever *gshen* you act as an enemy towards, you will suffer retribution (*la yogs bdar*). The method for suffering retribution is nine (many) types of delicious food mixed with three types of poison gifted [to the enemy].

de tsam na / bdag dang lhan cig skyes pa'i dre (C.T. = 'dre) *cha don byas la // de ci'i zhal zas gsol lo / g.yung drung gshen gyi man ngag bcug la // gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i grog ma tsam cig yod pa der shog cig // des phung po dum* (C.T. = *sdum*) *du sol (= gsol) cig // rkang pa thur du long cig / gshen gang la gra* (C.T. = *dgra*) *byed pa la / la yogs bdar ro / la yogs bdar ba'i thabs ni // zhal zas zhim rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*) *dang // dug sna gsum sbyar la sbyin no //*

Paragraph VIj (14.1–14.4)

The transition between this paragraph and the last one is not very smooth and the object of the offensive measures employed is somewhat ambiguous. The harsher nature of the punitive ritual actions indicates that this paragraph and the two that follow in this section of *Gnag rabs* are focused on a more pernicious opponent than the natal *dre*. Nevertheless, the aim is still the personal well being of the ritualists or those for whom the ritual is being discharged. This paragraph begins with the 'secret time arrow' (*gsang-ba'i dus mda'*), the receptacle for the protective personal deities of males.¹³⁶ It is

¹³⁵ *Cha-don*. The C.T. equivalent is *kha-cad*.

¹³⁶ The counterpart for females is the 'time spindle' (*dus-'phang*). These ritual objects were established at birth and were enshrined on the family altar when the owner was in residence. According to the Mu-cho'i khrom-'dur, at the time of death they constituted one of the seven 'soul circles' (*bla-'khor*) or soul signs (*bla-rtags*), which were used to contain and protect the soul of the deceased during the evocation rites. The word 'time' appended to the arrow and spindle indicates that this holy object was maintained for the entire length of an individual's lifespan. See Bellezza 2008, pp. 407, 426, 428, 429. Also see Bellezza 2013a, p. 239.

located in the most sheltered and cleanest part of the home. The text briefly describes this tabernacle, saying that good articles of the *gsas* gods (*gsas-cha bzang*) are placed together with it. This ritual structure probably consisted of a tray of grain, in which the draped time arrow was erected possibly along with sacred stones, one or more copper alloy ritual mirrors (*me-long*), animal figurines, and other items. The text seems to mention the time arrow tabernacle because its proper maintenance was believed essential if an individual was to experience good fortune. There would be no point in carrying out aggressive exorcistic actions otherwise, for they would be in vain.

The ritual described in this paragraph consists of installing the skulls of three birds-of-prey and an arrow in a deep hole dug in the vicinity of the ritual venue. The text states that these objects must be deposited precisely on time (*dus gdab*). This implies that elaborate and very careful ritual functions were involved, the text only providing a review of the major procedures. For example, the skulls may have had the name or likeness of the enemy drawn on them. This use of skulls in destructive magic is reminiscent of the *sri-gnon*, a well-known rite for eliminating harm wrought by homicidal demons. Like the *gnag-pa*, the *sri-gnon* is of ancient origins:¹³⁷

The secret time arrow is in your own house in the divine (high) position. Good articles of the *gsas* are nicely arranged (*bstar*) with it. Then from your own home¹³⁸ go a distance of seven steps and dig a deep hole.¹³⁹ On its east side the skull (*thod-pa*) of the *khra hor-pa*¹⁴⁰ is placed. On its west side the skull of an owl (*srin-bya*) is placed exactly on time.¹⁴¹ On its south side the skull of the magpie (*skyugs-pa*) is placed exactly on time. On its north side the owl arrow¹⁴² is placed exactly on time.

*gsang ba'i dus mda' la // rang gyi khyim du / gsas dral // gsas cha
bzang du bstar la // rang gyi khyim nas (= na) gom pa bdun tsam bor
la // dong rings (C.T. = ring) mtshul pa gang brkos la // shar phyogs
nas khra hor pa'i thod pa la dus gdab // nub phyogs nas / srin bya'i
thod pa la dus gdab // lhogs nas skyugs (C.T. = skyags) pa'i thod pa la
dus gdab // byang phyogs nas mda' 'ug pa ma la dus 'dab (C.T. = gdab)
//*

¹³⁷ On archaeological evidence for the antiquity of the *sri-gnon* rite, see Bellezza 2008, p. 394 (n. 123); Huo Wei 2009; Heller 2006, p. 268.

¹³⁸ The phrase 'your own home' (*rang gyi khyim*) here and above refers to the abode of the beneficiaries of the ritual, not the ritualists themselves. This is made clear in the very last paragraph of *Gnag rabs*. See paragraph VIII.

¹³⁹ This line includes the phrase *mtshul-pa gang*, which is of unknown meaning.

¹⁴⁰ The largest species of hawk found in Tibet.

¹⁴¹ *La dus gdab*. This could also be translated as 'buried exactly on time'.

¹⁴² *Mda' 'ug-pa-ma*. This is probably an arrow fledged with owl feathers.

Paragraph VIk (14.4–14.8)

With the ritual structure in place for slaying the enemy, the officiants proceed to invoke their tutelary deity, the human flesh-eating Khri rgyal-ba. He is unleashed to insure the successful completion of the ritual. Also aiding the priests is a three-headed black snake, a youthful child (*skyes-phran gzhon-nu*) *bdud*, and a *btsan* named Re-btsan phyag-gda'-bo. The white hearth god (*thab-lha*) and hearth goddess (*thab-sman*) are also called upon to eradicate the unnamed enemy.¹⁴³ Reliance upon the hearth deities indicates that the intended enemy was one affecting the integrity of the personal or household deities:

At midnight, Khri rgyal-ba, he with the brown hair curling upwards and who holds an iron hook in his hand, is set loose. After midnight in the early hours,¹⁴⁴ a coiled black snake with three mouths is the eater of human flesh. The youthful child *bdud* is set loose [to protect]. At the very first light of day (*nam-chung dang-mo*), the killer (*gshed*) of all the twitching mouths (the demons), Re-btsan phyag-gda'-bo, was served 'glog meat.¹⁴⁵ Since ancient times he was the killer of enemies. Still he is the killer of enemies. He has been so commissioned. The white hearth god has been so commissioned. The white hearth goddess has been so commissioned. Separate (*phrol*) from the root, the arms and legs (*sug*) and heart and lungs [of the enemy]!

nam gung la khri rgyal ba'i / dbu sra (C.T. = *skra*) *kham nag gyen du khyil* (C.T. = 'khyil) // *phyag na lcags skyu bsnam pa la gtad do / nam phyed na / shul kyī mdo na // sbrul nag po khyil* (C.T. = 'khyil) *pa'* (C.T. = *pa*) // *kha gsum myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *sha za ba // skyes phran gzhon nu'i bdud la gtad do // nam chung dang mo la // kha 'dar kun kyi gshed // re btsan phyag gda' bo // zhal du 'glog sha gsol / gna' nas gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i gshed // da rung gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo'i gshed // de la gtad do // thab lha dkar po la gtad do // thab sman dkar mo la gtad do / sug glo snying rtsa nas phrol cig //*

¹⁴³ As Tucci notes (1980: 188), the *thab-lha* resides in the hearth, the hub of the household.

¹⁴⁴ *Nam phyed na / shul kyī mdo na //*. This is around 2:30 AM.

¹⁴⁵ *Glang* (ox) meat?

Paragraph VII (14.8–15.2)

In addition to the slaughter of the enemy by the tutelary spirits specified in the last paragraph, it is put to death through animal sacrifice. The flesh and blood of an ox and horse appear to be cooked in a large vessel. This is the last ritual procedure in this section of *Gnag rabs*:

When the sun first rises, the liver of the black ox and the blood and flesh of the horse with the black chest (*byang-gnag*) are kneaded together (*sor mor sbyar*), [set in the] four directions [of the vessel], and cooked (*bstso*) in the *dbal* of the enemy.¹⁴⁶ Now, exactly at the appointed time without deviation (*ma-yo*), cook the contents of the *dbal* three times. The [enemy] is slaughtered like that.¹⁴⁷

nyĩ ma rtse tsam na byung na / glang nag po'i mchin pa dang // rta byang gnag (C.T. = *nag*) *kyi sha khrag dang // sor mor sbyar de // gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *dbal phyog bzhir bstso* (C.T. = *btso*) // *da cĩ dus btab pa las ma yo* (C.T. = *g.yo*) *gcig // dpal (= dbal) lan gsum bstso* (C.T. = *btso*) // *de ltar bsad nas (= do) /*

¹⁴⁶ This appears to refer to a vessel not unlike the *dbal-zangs*, which is used for preparing the *dbal-chu*, a liquid used in Eternal Bon purificatory rites.

¹⁴⁷ The ritual structure of the *Gnag rabs* (especially Section VI) is reflected in contemporary religious practices of the *sngags-pa* (lay priests) of the village of Chos-khor in Glo-smad, Nepal. In Autumn, *sri-gnon* (suppressing the *sri*) and *lha-mchod* (propitiating the protective deities) rituals are performed in tandem. As in *Gnag rabs*, the *sri-gnon* of Glo-smad is practiced at night and includes a metal pan with effigies, which are bombarded with poisonous substances in order to separate the enemies from their protective deities before they are slain. Moreover, the effigies are buried at the junction of three roads and the hole is ritually sealed. As in the *Gnag rabs*, this ritual is conducted to eliminate both demons and mortal enemies. The morning after the *sri-gnon* the *lha-mchod* is performed, which includes fumigation, *gtor-ma* (sacrificial cakes) offerings to the household gods, and renewal of the shrines for the *pho-lha* and *tshe-lha* (god of long life). For these twin rituals of Glo-smad, see *op. cit.* Sihlé 2000. Not only are the actual activities of the Glo-smad and *Gnag rabs* performances comparable, so is the twining of a very violent ritual with a pacific type dedicated to personal gods of the household. This indicates that the *sngags-pa* of Glo-smad have preserved ritual elements of considerable antiquity, which are fundamentally non-Buddhist in origin. The hereditary nature of their profession appears to be the mechanism by which this conservation of an archaic tradition was effected. Interestingly, Sihlé (*ibid.*, 202, 203) observes that while monastic rites have made huge inroads into the village of Chos-khor, they are not seen as fully complementary as the twin rituals of the *sngags-pa*.

Section VII

This, the penultimate section of *Gnag rabs*, is dedicated to protecting people from the predations of the classes of spirits known as *g.yen*. This is accomplished through ritual implements, offerings and a special tutelary deity. In addition to animal parts, the flesh and blood of human beings is used to appease the offending spirits.

Section VII has two main parts:

VIIa: Narrative of an ancestral priest of the *g.yen* and their ritual subjugation

VIIb: Substitute meat offerings given to the *g.yen*

Paragraph VIIa (15.2–15.6)

The semi-divine group of elemental spirits known as *g.yen* are customarily divided into thirty-three classes (*g.yen-khams sum-cu-rtsa-gsum*), which reside in the upper, middle and lower realms of existence.¹⁴⁸ The name of the priest specialized in the ritual for the *g.yen*, Srin-pa'i 'phrul-gshen (Priest of Magical Power of the Srin), seems unattested in other sources. Perhaps the text really intended his name to be Srid-pa'i 'phrul-gshen (Priest of Magical Power of Existence). Like the third vehicle of Eternal Bon teachings ('Phrul-gshen theg-pa), his focus is ireful ritual techniques. The cord (*rmu-dag*, C.T. = *dmu-thag*) connecting his life (*tshe*) and life-force (*srog*) to the celestial realm of the *rmu* gods was protected by a jeweled wall (*rin-po-che'i ra-ba*). By analogy this indicates that august personages such as the lineage of priests who wrote and used *Gnag rabs* also possessed a celestial cord.¹⁴⁹ These ritualists warded off harmful

¹⁴⁸ On the general composition of the *g.yen*, see Norbu 1995, p. 252 (n. 2); Norbu 2009, p. 81. On the role of the *g.yen* in the funerary rituals of the Mu-cho'i khrom-'dur, see Bellezza 2008. On the celestial *g.yen* in ITJ 731r and the two funerary manuscripts of Gathang Bumpa, see Bellezza 2013a.

¹⁴⁹ The Mu-cho'i khrom-'dur indicates that the mythic *dmu-thag* was the birthright of commoners as well. See Bellezza 2008, pp. 392, 405; 2013a, p. 144 (n. 218). The *dmu-thag*, represented by a multicolored cord, was essential in life-cycle rituals such as birth and marriage, where it was attached to the sinciput to symbolize humanity's divine and celestial links (Karmay 1998: 252). Tucci (1949: 714, 734) interprets reference in the *dkar-chag* of Bsam-yas (attributed to the minister Mgar) to the tombs of the Tibetan kings being made according to the Rmu-lugs (tradition / lineage of the Rmu [*sic*]) to indicate that Rmu were the chief class of priests or clan in charge of funerary rituals, which included regulation of the *dmu-thag* and *dmu-skas* (stairs of the *dmu*). As a major lineage of cosmogonic figures and archetypal ritualists, the Dmu were indeed important funerary specialists, nevertheless, their functions were paralleled by that other important

g.yen with a dagger (*phur-pa*) and incantations,¹⁵⁰ safe in the knowledge that their vital energy was harbored in the ‘life-force wooden pillar’ (*srog-shing*). Thus all their desires were fulfilled. For helping the priests and their beneficiaries in this manner, Srin-pa’i ‘phrul-gshen is entreated according to the words spoken in this paragraph:

The methods of keeping the *g.yen* that are opposed to yourself from rising (*ldang*): At the swastika *gsas-mkhar* of the miraculous swastika was Srin-pa’i ‘phrul-gshen, he of great magical power and mesmerizing ferocity. The *rmu-dag* of the *gshen* was surrounded by a jeweled wall. By the *phur-pa* of the swastika¹⁵¹ and the *srog-shing* of the *gshen*, the *lha* is supported by the *phyag-bam*.¹⁵² Whatever *g.yen* are in opposition to yourself, the spells of purification.¹⁵³ These are thus spoken. Do not harm (*sd̄ig*) [with] the harm [afflicting] the *gshen*! Any wishes [the beneficiaries] have are fulfilled (*drub-po*). This is the supplication to the miraculous son of the *gtsug-lag*.¹⁵⁴

rang la g.yen myi (C.T. = *mi*) *ldang ba’i thabs la // g.yung drung*
‘phrul kyi gsas mkhar na / srin po’i ‘phrul gshen n̄ // mthu che la
‘phrul drag / gshen gyi rmu (C.T. = *dmu*) *dag* (C.T. = *thag*) *n̄ rin po*
che’i ra bar bskor // yung (= g.yung) drung gyi phur pa la // gshen
gyi srog shing gyis // lha phyag bam la brten // bdag la g.yen ci mchis

prototypic lineage, the Phywa (C.T. = *Phya*). For example, the ‘father of the dead’ ‘Gon-bstun phywa, belonged to the Phwya tradition or lineage (Bellezza 2013a: 168).

¹⁵⁰ The *phur-pa* has much currency as a Lamaist ritual instrument. Its use can be traced to Buddhist Mahāyoga texts discovered in Dunhuang and dedicated to the eponymous god Phur-pa. In one such tantric text, Tib J 331, a destructive magic rite features the stabbing of an effigy in order to ritually slay or liberate it (*sgrol-ba*; Cantwell and Mayer 2010: 74). Also, for a *phur-pa* stabbing ritual in Tib J 447, see Cantwell and Mayer 2008b, pp. 199–201. The important place of the god Phur-pa and the *phur-pa* dagger in Tibetan religion since no later than the 10th century CE may have informed the inclusion of the ritual dagger in the *Gnag rabs*. In the absence of definitive documentary evidence, however, other cultural and textual sources may also be indicated.

¹⁵¹ *G.yung-drung gyi phur-pa*. The use of the word ‘swastika’ to describe the dagger distinguishes it as a seminal ritual implement and designates a non-Buddhist identity in this textual context.

¹⁵² Probably a type of tabernacle for the personal deities. This term is etymologically related to *glegs-bam*, which can refer to a tiny encased scripture worn on the body or head as an amulet.

¹⁵³ For the five lines of spells, see the transliteration.

¹⁵⁴ The O.T. *gtsug-lag* denotes ritual techniques and the understanding and skill behind their execution. As a C.T. term, *gtsug-lag* denotes religious customs and traditions more generally. For a more complete definition of *gtsug-lag* and its political and legal applications, see Stein 2003. ‘Miraculous son’ (*‘phrul gyi bu*) refers to the specific ritual practices of the *gnag-pa*, an offshoot of the *gtsug-lag*.

*pa / sbyang ba'i sngags la // la yor // phywa lo / ye khyil / lho btsan
za du // bra du de skad brjod do // gshen sd̄ig ma sd̄ig c̄ig // c̄is yang
bsam ba drub (C.T. = grub) po (= bo) // gtsug lag 'phrul gyi bu la gsol
lo //*

Paragraph VIIb (15.6–15.7)

The first half of this ritual sequence is centered on invoking the tutelary god, the second half on a special gift used to placate the enemy. This ransom ritual calls for human flesh and blood but makes no mention of how these were obtained. This corporeal conferment is given in lieu of the victim targeted by the *g.yen*. The text instructs the ritualists to use the flesh and blood from an individual not belonging to one's own clan (*rus myi gc̄ig-pa*). For those who believe that human sacrifice was practiced in ancient Tibet, the resorting to human flesh and blood in *Gnag rabs* might be used to justify their position. In my view, however, human flesh and blood cited in the text constitutes a kind of trophy or prize possibly procured from enemies fallen in battle. Be that as it may, the placement of human flesh and blood offerings at the end of *Gnag rabs* suggests that this was seen as the ultimate ritualistic statement.

As the final ritual act in *Gnag rabs*, human and animal meat offerings are cast away and along with them the troubles caused by their intended recipient. Before proclaiming the rituals of *Gnag rabs* completed (*rdzogs*), the text states that it is to be chanted (*bsgyer*).¹⁵⁵ It is understood that this recitation is to be made precisely as is written:

The flesh and blood belonging to another clan, the chest skin (*dpags*) of the *rgya-bya*¹⁵⁶ and the brain of the sparrow (*mthil*); these are mixed together [in] the bright bowl (*zhal-bur*) of banded agate (*phra-men*) [and cast away]. That is chanted. It is finished.

*rus myi (C.T. = mi) gc̄ig pa'i sha khrag dang // rgya bya'i brang dpags
(C.T. = lpags) dang // mchil pa'i klad pa dang / sbyar de // phra
(C.T. = khra) men gyi zhal bur (C.T. = phor) gsal de bsgyer ro //
rdzogs s.ho //*

¹⁵⁵ This O.T. past tense verb has persisted in the present tense *gyer* of Eternal Bon and has retained the same semantic scope. It conveys not merely the act of chanting but the entire contents of what is chanted. Thus *gyer* as a noun has become a synonym for the full collection of Eternal Bon teachings as well as for the nature of reality itself.

¹⁵⁶ A type of pheasant.

Section VIII

Gnag rabs concludes with advice to the ritualists. The text explains that the methods it advocates may not bear full results immediately and serves to reassure practitioners that this is not problematic, for the enemy is now firmly in their grip. The text conveys that signs beheld internally (*pra-rtags*), showing that these harm-inducing entities have been extirpated, will appear within three years. If for some reason these signs do not appear in that amount of time, the text advises the ritualists to simply forget about the enemy. Presumably, if the enemy is not causing problems after such a long time one need not worry about it. While this seems to be eminently practical counsel, it is out of tune with analogous Lamaist rituals, which are more apt to trumpet their undeviating efficacy.

The text reminds its users to enthusiastically supplicate the tutelary deities, the various *lha-gsas* of the ritual (and others to whom they may be bound). Likewise, the instruments used in their propitiation (*gsas-cha*) and the ritual gear (*ya-stags*, C.T. = *yas-stags*) must be well maintained and skillfully deployed. This is done to ensure that the enemies are well and truly annihilated. Assuming a paternal tone the text exhorts the ritualists to act with caution (*gzab 'tshal lo*). In the last instance, the text announces that the provisions for the *gnag-pa* and origins tales of the nine *zi-ma* goddesses are completed. By singling out the *zi-ma*, the text highlights their salience among the many other deities of the ritual performances:

If you grip [the enemy as shown above] it is impossible for it to slip away (*'chor*). In three months [the signs] will surely come to you. If they do not appear like that, they will surely come in three years. If they do not come like that, in the course of things forget (*rjed*) the enemy. It is not appropriate to do [this ritual] in your own home. The *lha-gsas* is fervently propitiated (*drag du bdar*) and the *gsas* articles are assiduously prepared. The ritual articles are assembled. If you do not quickly [kill the enemy] it will transpire that misfortune (*rkyen*) will come to you. Proceed with caution. The *gnag-pa* provisions and the origins tales of the nine *zi-ma* eggs are finished.

zid na 'chor (C.T. = *shor*) *myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *srid do // zla ba gsum na 'ong* (C.T. = *yong*) *nges so // de ltar ma byung na lo gsum na 'ong* (C.T. = *yong*) *nges so / de ltar ma byung na / gra'* (C.T. = *dgra*) *bo rjed* (C.T. = *brjed*) *tsam na bya 'o // rang gyi khyim du byar myi* (C.T. = *mi*) *rung ngo // lha gsas drag du bdar la // gsas cha drag du bsar la // ya* (C.T. = *yas*) *stags 'tshogs par byas la // zid nas ma byas par gyur na // rang rkyen 'ong* (C.T. = *yong*) *ngo // gzab 'tshal lo //*

gnag pa bca' ba dang // zi ma sgong (C.T. = *sgo nga*) *rgu* (C.T. = *dgu*)
'i rabs rdzogs s.ho.

Also on folio no. 16, two lines of handwriting were scrawled at a later date perpendicular to the actual text. These later lines accompany a crude mandala (*dkyil-'khor*). Although the invasive position of the handwriting demonstrates that it was composed after the original text was made, its paleographic and orthographic traits indicate that it is of significant antiquity. These supplemental lines of text and the mandala were made by an individual called Zhang. This seems to be reference either to his clan name or his Zhang-zhung homeland. The opening part of Zhang's lines read: *bag-ma she*; this may possibly designate the name or function of the mandala:

Make the established *bag-ma she*, the mandala (*rkyil-'khor*). Made from the tradition. Drawn by the noble Zhang.

bag ma she ste rkyil (C.T. = *dkyil*) *'khor de bzheng su gsol / gsol (= srol)*
nas byed pa yin no zhang btsun gyi bris pa ya (= yin) no /

The depicted mandala was rather roughly drawn in an idiosyncratic manner. Its creation must have been inspired by Lamaist practice of Indian origin of making mandalas for the deities of rituals. It may have functioned as magical diagram for validating and bringing to fruition the various rituals enumerated in *Gnag rabs*.

In consonance with tantric tradition, each of the four outer sides of the mandala carry a different symbol and syllable. These may represent the four continents (*gling-bzhi*), four orders of deities (*rigs-bzhi*) and/or the four modes of activities (*'phrin-las bzhi*). They are as follows:

East: half circle (*zla-gam*) and the syllable *bsra'*
 South: triangle (*zur-gsum*) and the syllable *tsar*
 West: circle (*zlum-po*) and the syllable *can*
 North: square (*gru-bzhi*) and the syllable *tung*

On each corner of the outer square of the mandala two triangles were drawn, which might possibly represent mountains. The sacred syllable *Om'* of Indic tradition is in the inner circle of the mandala.

Comparative Eternal Bon ritual materials

Introduction

In the second part of this paper systematic comparisons will be drawn between a cognate ritual tradition of the *Gnag rabs* and Eternal Bon documents, in order to better illustrate fundamental differences between the archaic and Lamaist religions of Tibet. Section II of the *Gnag rabs* presented the nine *zi-ma* sisters. While other deities noted in this text have diminished in importance or have entirely disappeared from Lamaism, the nine *zi-ma* (rendered *gze-ma* / *gzi-ma* in Classical Tibetan) retain a prominent place in the Eternal Bon religion.¹⁵⁷ These goddesses have been elevated to the level of tantric protectors. So highly regarded are they that they appear for all to see in the Eternal Bon monastic dances (*'cham*) held annually.¹⁵⁸

Undertaking a comparative exercise provides excellent insight into how Eternal Bon expurgated concepts and activities that could not be reconciled with its Buddhist-inspired ethics, doctrines and practices. When older traditions such as the iconography and basic protective functions of the nine *gze-ma* could be conserved, they were reinterpreted to fit within the philosophical and moral superstructure of Lamaism. This recreation of the archaic ritual tradition by Eternal Bon permitted the *gze-ma* to survive, albeit nominally, in a religious, political and economic environment dominated by Buddhist thought and institutions. We might expect

¹⁵⁷ For an overview of the Eternal Bon tradition of the nine *gze-ma*, protectors of the religion (*bon-srung* / *bon-skyong*), see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p. 312. For a summary of two closely related enneads of Eternal Bon goddesses, the *gyad-ma dgu* and *byin-te dgu*, as well as reference to other *dbal* deities, see *ibid.*, pp. 313–317. Also see Haarh 1969, p. 225. Blezer (2000: 121) discusses the fierce nature of the *gze-ma dgu* and other *dbal-mo*. He (*ibid.*, 125, 126, 162) provides a list of the *gze-ma*, *gyad-mo* and *byin-te* from the text *Snyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo*, as well as another listing. The appearance and attributes of the *gze-ma* goddesses in these two texts are comparable to those presented in this paper.

¹⁵⁸ Instructions for performing the *'cham* of these nine goddesses is found in *Gze ma dgu rtags kyi bsgrub pa bzhugs* (nos. 677–695), a chapter in the text *Gsas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs khro bo dbang chen ngo mtshar rgyas pa'i gzhung gi phrin las bzhugs** (nos. 40–695; discovered by Gshen-chen klu-dga' (Gshen-sgur klu-dga'), born 996 CE), no. 694, in the volume *Zhi khro phrin las* (nos. 1–994), vol. 235 of New Collection of the Bon *bka'-brten* (canonical commentaries and appended literature), published by Bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, Lhasa, 1998. On the practice of the *'cham* featuring *gze-ma* goddesses, also see Karmay 2013, pp. 19, 20.

* This text contains four main branches of funerary ritual traditions: *pho-'dur* (for males), *mo-'dur* (for females), *chung-'dur* (for children), *gri-'dur* (for those who die through accidental or violent means).

that Gshen-chen klu-dga' and other Eternal Bon authors were under immense sociopolitical pressure to carry out this purging of the archaic tradition. Their own leanings towards Buddhist-inspired morality, tenets and mysticism must have also played a role in transforming the ancient. Seen from this perspective, the reconfiguration of the preexisting pantheon of spirits and system of rituals was but one facet of the civilizational makeover of Tibet.

The induction of the *gze-ma* goddess into the Eternal Bon pantheon can be traced as per tradition to the early 11th century CE and the 'discovery' of a 'revealed text' (*gter-ma*) by the great 'treasure revealer' (*gter-ston*) Gshen-chen klu-dga' (996–1035 CE). Eternal Bon dogma holds that he extracted this text from its hiding place and merely made a copy, being faithful to its wording and subject matter.¹⁵⁹ Ostensibly, this is the text that has been faithfully copied and reproduced by the Bon-po to this day. Nevertheless, the discovery of an archaic tradition of *zi-ma* goddesses in the Gathang Bumpa collection casts doubt on the claim that the *Gze ma dgu rtags kyi bsgrub pa* is an ancient text rediscovered by of Gshen-chen klu-dga'. It appears that Gshen-chen klu-dga' was the chief architect of the Eternal Bon tradition of the nine *gze-ma*, a man who disregarded older ritual materials deemed inappropriate, distasteful or disconcerting.¹⁶⁰

That Gshen-chen klu-dga' or his contemporaries were indeed the author(s) of *Gze ma dgu rtags kyi bsgrub pa* is demonstrated by its paleographic and grammatical composition. It was written in Classical Tibetan using scripts still prevailing in Eternal Bon documents.

Only a century or so seem to separate the composing of the *Gnag rabs* (circa 10th century CE) and the text of Gshen-chen klu-dga' (first half of the 11th century CE). Although they were probably written

¹⁵⁹ *Gze ma dgu rtags kyi bsgrub pa*. The colophon (no. 695) of this text reads: "Written by the hand of Gshen-rgur (*sic*) as was written [in the mother text (*ma-dpe*)]" (*gshen rgur gyis phyag bris ci bzhin bris pa lags so*). For a general survey of Eternal Bon literature, including the origins and significance of *gter-ma* texts, see Kvaerne 1974.

¹⁶⁰ While this appears to be the case with the *gze-ma* tradition, this is not necessarily true of other texts Gshen-chen klu-dga' may have found. As Martin observes (2001: 209, 210), this *gter-ston* is attributed with revealing a wide range of texts catering to a variety of Eternal Bon practitioners, and it is conceivable that some of them may have been excavated by him. Nevertheless, Gshen-chen klu-dga' is at the center of an enduring controversy regarding the scriptural validity of the literature he was responsible for 'discovering'. Martin (*ibid.*, 41–43, 196, 197) traces this controversy to the mid-13th century CE and the 'Bri-gung-pa figures Rdo-rje shes-rab and 'Jig-rten mgon-po, who accused Gshen-chen klu-dga' of using Buddhist scriptures to compose those he claims to have found.

within a fairly short time of one another, they reveal very different approaches to understanding and exploiting the nine *gze-ma*. Gshen-chen klu-dga' must have been aware of the archaic tradition of *zi-ma* goddesses circulating around in texts such as *Gnag rabs* and possibly in the oral tradition as well. Otherwise, he or his associates would hardly have been able to write about them in *Gze ma dgu rtags kyi bsgrub pa*. However, Gshen-chen klu-dga' avoids all reference to the archaic *zi-ma* and their rather straightforward nature, brutal disposition and proclivity for receiving animal sacrifices. It appears, therefore, that he was not only intent on revamping the doctrinal framework supporting these goddesses but doing so in a manner that would help suppress or obliterate awkward bits of the archaic tradition.

As do other Eternal Bon authors, Gshen-chen klu-dga' connected the nine *gze-ma* to the three major tutelary gods (*yi-dam*) of the religion, calling them the attendants (*pho-nya*) of Dbal-gsas rngam-pa.¹⁶¹ As we saw in Section IIg of *Gnag rabs*, the *zi-ma* are also referred to as attendants (using the Old Tibetan feminine form: *pho-nya-ma*). Nonetheless, there are fundamental differences in these two accounts of the same sisterhood of goddesses, reflecting the respective conceptual and procedural principles of the archaic and Lamaist religions. In *Gnag rabs*, the nine *zi-ma* are the attendants of the ritualists, alluding to the archaic concept of personal ownership or ritual control of deities (*lha-bdag*),¹⁶² a tradition that persists among the spirit-mediums of Upper Tibet. Also in the *Gnag rabs*, these goddesses have a physical origin in the divine firmament (Lha-yul gung-thang), born through the coupling (*bshos*) of three brave *lha* brothers and the ancestress Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal. Gshen-chen klu-dga' does not address the source of the *gze-ma*, but in none of the Eternal Bon texts used in this study is it attributed to the ordinary biological action of two beings mating. Like Tibetan Buddhist ones, Eternal Bon deities of higher ranking have much more abstract origins, rising above the prosaic act of copulation.

As with other Eternal Bon authors who succeeded him, Gshen-chen klu-dga' does more or less conform to the basic iconography of the *zi-ma* goddesses of *Gnag rabs*. He also recognizes their appearance from eggs and their central apotropaic function. This is however where the similarities between the archaic and Lamaist enneads of goddesses end. Gshen-chen klu-dga' composed his

¹⁶¹ *Gze ma dgu rtags kyi bsgrub pa*, no. 680. The three tutelary gods are 'Jigs-byed dbal-gsas rngam-pa (body), Mi-zad lha-rgod thog-pa (speech) and Thugs-rje mkha'-gying khro-bo (also known as Khro-bo dbang-chen, mind).

¹⁶² For more on the ownership of spirits in the archaic ritual context, see Bellezza 2013a, pp. 22, 23.

account of *gze-ma* as a *smon-lam*, a style of devotional prayer borrowed directly from Buddhism. This prayer forms one component of a tantric *sadhāna*, which are typically performed by the class of Eternal Bon ritualists styled *sgrub-gshen*. His account of the *gze-ma* includes prostrations to them, signifying their full doctrinal transformation into otherworldly (*'jig-rten las 'das-pa*) tantric goddesses. The structure and tone *Gshen-chen klu-dga'* used for the first *gze-ma* sister carries on throughout the rest of the *smon-lam*. In keeping with the dignified and reserved tenor of the text, no mention of the sororal order of birth is made. Rather they are each given a proper name, as part of efforts to create a standardized coterie of goddesses. The storied Indic syllable *Om'* opens the passage:

Om'. At the *gsas-mkhar* of the sound of the glory spreading throughout visible existence, an [egg] hatched from the sound of the dragon king of sound. From it appeared the blue human body with the head of the dragon. The appearance of this lady with the body (*sku-lus*) of inexhaustible qualities is a sign of the manifestation of the sound of speech of [Ston-pa] *gshen-rab*. *Om'*. From his sound, may her manifestation be realized. The attached head of the dragon king of sound is a sign of her agitating the royal realm [of the enemies]. *Om'*. May this agitating be realized. Her blue-colored body, which has the fundamental nature of turquoise, is a sign of her abiding power over the sky. *Om'*. May her abiding power be realized. The waving of the *chu-srin* arm in her right [hand] and crying out loudly is a sound of her rapid conquering of enemies and obstructers. *Om'*. May her conquering of them be realized. Her iron fangs together with the *dbal* is a sign of her consuming the flesh of the enemy through filing. *Om'*. May her consuming of their flesh be realized. *Om'*. We prostrate to you 'Brug-lcam kun-grags ma (Dragon Lady Glorious Everywhere).¹⁶³

Om' snang srid kun grags sgra yi gsas mkhar na / sgra rgyal 'brug gi sgra las gcig brdol pa / mi lus sngon mo 'brug gi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni gshen rab gsung gi sgra las sprul pa'i rtags / Om'

¹⁶³ See *Gze ma dgu rtags kyi bsgrub pa*, nos. 680, ln. 6 to 681, ln. 4. This style of description carries on for the remaining eight *gze-ma* (nos. 681–688). The text then provides an elaborate etymology for the name *gze-ma* derived from tantric and Rdzogs-chen traditions, which is entirely contrived (nos. 688–693). In the etymology of *Gshen-chen klu-dga'*, the two syllables of the name form an inseparable pair. For example, *gze* = *thabs* (method), *ma* = *shes-rab* (wisdom); *gze* = *mkha'* (empty quality of space), *ma* = *klong* (the expanse or vastness of space); *gze* = *ye-shes* (primordial wisdom), *ma* = *dbyings* (sphere of emptiness); *gze* = *'bras-bu* (fruit of activities), *ma* = *rgyud* (cause of activities). The text also features a *bskul-pa* (invoking and dispatching of deities ritual) with a strong Eternal Bon doctrinal and piestic overlay, calling the *gze-ma* by the epithet *gtso-mo* (female chiefs), a word of O.T. origins (nos. 693, 694).

*sgra las sprul par grub gyur cig / sgra rgyal 'brug gi mgo btags pa ni /
 dgra bo'i rgyal khams 'khrug par byed pa'i rtags / Om' 'khrug par byed par
 grub gyur cig / sku mdog sngon mo g.yu yi rang bzhin ni / nam mkha'
 g.yu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags / Om' dbang dang ldan pa grub gyur cig
 / chu srin lag g.yas g.yab cing 'o dod 'bod pa ni / dgra bgegs myur du
 dbang du sdud pa'i rtags / Om' dbang du sdud par grub gyur cig / lcags
 kyi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni / bdar zhing dgra bo'i sha la za ba'i rtags
 / Om' sha la za bar grub gyur cig / Om' 'brug lcam kun grags ma la phyag
 'tshal lo /*

Seemingly within decades of the prayer for attainment through the *gze-ma* of Gshen-chen klu-dga' appearing, another *gter-ma* dedicated to these goddesses was reportedly discovered in Bhutan by Khu-tsha zla-'od (born 1024 CE).¹⁶⁴ In this text, the Dbal-mo nyer-bdun are said to be manifestations of Thugs-rje mkha'-'gying khro-bo,¹⁶⁵ the Eternal Bon *yi-dam* of the mind. The text of Khu-tsha zla-'od was composed as a funerary *bskul-pa* (ritual for invoking and dispatching deities) for the *gze-ma*, with the purpose of separating the dead (*shi*) who die through accidental or violent means from the agent of death (*gshed*), in order to defeat these bringers of death and to summon the

¹⁶⁴ *Gsang phur nag po'i 'phrin las kyi dbu phyogs bzhugs pa dge*, nos. 63–162, in *Khro bo dbang chen gyi gshed 'dur dang gsang phur nag po'i 'phrin las 'gug bsgral gnas 'dren skor gyi gsung pod*, vol. 176, of the New Collection of the Bon *bka'-brten*, published by Bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, Lhasa, 1998. This volume is attributed to the great treasure [finder] (*gter-chen*) Khu-tsha zla-'od (born 1024 CE), discovered in Spa-gro, transmitted in succession to Gshen-ston nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan (born 1360 CE), and especially propagated by the thirty-nine *tsho* (divisions) of Hor (located in Steng-chen, Sbra-chen, 'Bri-ru, and Snyan-rong). The divine treasure protector (*gter-bdag*) of the text is Yum-sras sde-lnga (the goddess of Gnam-mtsho and four of her male mountain acolytes). The text was obtained in Dol-po and first printed in Delhi under the auspices of Lopon Tenzin Namdak. According to Eternal Bon tradition, it was first practiced by Stong-rgyung mthu-chen when he performed the funerary rites for King Gri-gum btсан-po. For biographical information on the *gter-ston* Khu-tsha zla-'od, whose lifetime Rnying-ma sources place in the 12th century CE, see Cantwell and Mayer forthcoming. On the *gze-ma* in the Phur-pa tradition (Ka-ba nag-po) of Eternal Bon, also see *ibid*.

¹⁶⁵ The Dbal-mo nyer-bdun (nyer-brgyad with Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo, their spiritual mother) include the Gze-ma dgu (the senior or elder group), Gyad-mo dgu, and the Byin-te dgu. These twenty-seven goddesses are classed as *dbal-mo*, tantric goddesses of great power and wealth, who serve as protectors (*srung-ma*) of intermediate ranking (otherworldly) of the Bon doctrine (*bstan-pa*). Also called the twenty-seven *sbar-mo*, they originated ultimately as the mind emanation of Ston-pa gshen-rab. Their primary function is to weigh the good and evil activities of sentient beings and act accordingly. A benevolent character and diligence as helpmates are their predominant qualities. On the twenty-seven *sbar-mo* goddesses, see *Dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim*, nos. 127, lns. 1–5 (bibliography of text in fn. 172).

spirit of the dead to the ritual venue for the valedictory ritual operations to follow.¹⁶⁶

The text of *Khu-tsha zla-'od* is in an abbreviated form, as the *gze-ma* are one among many classes of deities used in Eternal Bon funerary performances. *Gnag rabs* does not assign a funerary function to this divine sisterhood, but it is hinted at in the text for *He-ma'i shing spre'u*, one of a group of seven goddesses (see paragraph Vc). The *bskul-pa* of *Khu-tsha zla-'od* begins by introducing the nine *gze-ma* before describing the eldest sister. As in the *Gnag rabs* and *smon-lam* of *Gshen-chen klu-dga'*, this goddess is associated with the dragon. While also destroying enemies, the eldest sister does so by capturing the *yid* and *sems*, more abstract consciousness principles in this context than the soul (*bla*) of the *Gnag rabs*:

Bswo! The female workers of *Gtso-mchog mkha'-'gying*,¹⁶⁷ the nine *gze-ma*, go to work! Among these sisters (*phu-mo*), the oldest sister (*gcan-mo*) is *Dbal gyi gze-ma 'brug-mgo-ma* (Female Dragon-headed Gze-ma of the *Dbal*). She is blue in color and holds aloft the flayed skin of the *chu-srin*. Summon the *yid* and *sems* of the enemy! Defeat and reduce them to dust!¹⁶⁸

bswo gtso mchog mkha' 'gying las mkhan mo / gze ma dgu po las la chos / nang gi phu mo gcan mo ni dbal gyi gze ma 'brug mgo ma / sngon mo chu srin g.yang gzhi 'phyar / dgra bo'i yid sems khug la shog / dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog / dbal gyi gze ma sbrul gyi mgo / ljang nag khyung gi g.yang gzhi 'phyar / dgra bgegs yid sems khug la shog / dbang bsdus rdul du rlog /

The text continues in this manner with the other eight members of the *gze-ma* sisterhood. As with the text of *Gshen-chen klu-dga'*, each of the goddesses has been given a particular animal head and other attributes (their identities match in the two texts). In *Gnag rabs*, the descriptions of the *zi-ma*, while generally corresponding in terms of the animals cited, is more loosely structured. Only five members of the group have animal heads, while other goddesses seem to have human heads. The Eternal Bon authors took this rather amorphous iconographic tradition and imposed a rigorous order upon it. The resulting iconography bears much similarity to that of the *Rnying-ma zhi-khro* deities, which appear to have developed in the same

¹⁶⁶ *Gsang phur nag po'i 'phrin las*, nos. 143, ln. 4 to 145, ln. 2.

¹⁶⁷ For a description of *Khro-bo gtso-mchog mkha'-'gying* taken from a text said to have been discovered by *Gshen-chen klu-dga'*, see *Kværne* 1995, pp. 75–77.

¹⁶⁸ *Gsang phur nag po'i 'phrin las*, no. 143, lns. 4, 5.

period.¹⁶⁹ The main attributes of the nine *gze-ma* of Khu-tsha zla-'od are as follows:

<i>Placement in the Sisterhood</i>	<i>Head Type</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Primary Activity</i>
first	dragon	blue	holds aloft the flayed skin of the <i>chu-srin</i>
second	snake	dark green	holds aloft the flayed skin of the <i>khyung</i>
third	chough	black	brandishes a copper <i>sbar-[shad]</i>
fourth	lion	white	throws the noose of the <i>dbal</i>
fifth	brown bear	red	throws a <i>tho-lum</i> towards the sky ¹⁷⁰
sixth	wolf	dark red	waves the wing of a hawk
seventh	tiger	reddish brown	blows the conflagration of the <i>dbal</i>
eighth	<i>khyung</i>	yellow green	holds a black <i>khram-bam</i> ¹⁷¹
ninth	<i>chu-srin</i>	dark blue	fans an epochal wind

Well over a century after Gshen-chen klu-dga' and Khu-tsha zla-'od disseminated their texts for the nine *gze-ma*, another celebrated Eternal Bon *gter-ston* also made his contribution. This was Khyungrgod rtsal (born 1175 CE, according to the Eternal Bon tradition), who is supposed to have discovered an 8th century CE work written

¹⁶⁹ Blezer (2000) undertakes to compare the Dbal-mo gnyer-bdun with the Rnying-ma Dbang-phyug-ma (wrathful *yoginī* or *ma-mo* of Indian Buddhist and Hindu origins), both of which occupy similar positions in the *zhi-khro* mandalas. Blezer (*ibid.*, 137, 138) concludes that the Eternal Bon *zhi-khro* mandala is probably derived from that of the Rnying-ma-pa. However, unlike their Eternal Bon counterparts, the twenty-eight Dbang-phyug-ma are not directly connected to myths of origins (*ibid.*, 123).

¹⁷⁰ A kind of celestial metal stone.

¹⁷¹ A corpse with an X cut across it.

by the famous saint Dran-pa nam-mkha'.¹⁷² Here we have direct confirmation that the texts of the Eternal Bon *gze-ma* allegedly date to imperial times, which is only implied in the other two examples we have examined. This chronological attribution is of course apocryphal, as Khyung-rgod rtsal's text is written in Classical Tibetan, not in the Old Tibetan language of the early historic period (its Lamaist content notwithstanding). It does however preserve the theogony and spirit of the nine *gze-ma* sisters in *Gnag rabs* with more fidelity than the works of Gshen-chen klu-dga' and Khu-tsha zla-'od. This is somewhat curious because it was written in a period more distant from the archaic religious era than its counterparts.¹⁷³ This seems to indicate that Khyung-rgod rtsal was more of a traditionalist than either Gshen-chen klu-dga' or Khu-tsha zla-'od. It may also be that he required more ritual killing power than his predecessors, so he maintained the graphically violent language of the archaic tradition. Whatever his nostalgic or pragmatic proclivities, the wide spectrum of texts attributed to the finder Khyung-rgod rtsal show that he was in fact a profound Eternal Bon thinker and practitioner.

The significant doctrinal differences presented in the *gze-ma* texts of Khyung-rgod rtsal and those of the two earlier authors, apart from any personal motives represented, may reveal a glimmer of the process involved in the formation of Eternal Bon. If so much can be read into the *gze-ma* traditions of the respective authors, it suggests that this religion in the early centuries of the second millennium CE may not have been quite the great monolithic entity portrayed in more recent Eternal Bon literature.

¹⁷² *Spyi spungs skor gsum gyi yang bcud rtsod pa bzlog pa'i 'khor lo dbal gsas ringam pa'i las rim bzhuḡs so*, in *Dbal Gsas Las Rim Gyi Sgrub pa Dañ Las Tshogs Bcas*, nos. 69–186. A collection of Bonpo ritual texts for the propitiation of the tutelary *Dbal-gsas*, rediscovered from their place of concealment by Khyun-rgod-rtsal, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre (Ochghat, India), 1973. According to the front-piece, it was reproduced by Mkhas-grub rgya-mtsho from a manuscript brought by the late G.yung-drung-gling mkhan rin-po-che from a monastery in Dolpo (northwestern Nepal). The text is attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' (8th century CE). The treasure finder was Sprul-sku mnyam-med dbyil-ston (Khyung-rgod rtsal), born circa 1175 CE (according to Eternal Bon tradition). The place this treasure was taken from (*gter len-sa*) is named Rgyung-srub brag, and the treasure protector (*gter-srung*) was Yum-sras sde-lnga. According to Eternal Bon reckonings, the ultimate source of this text was the *gshen* 'Chi-med gtsug-phud (a name of Ston-pa gshen-rab when disseminating tantric teachings). This tantric tradition is known as Ting-mur g.yu-rtse'i bsnyen-sgrub rtsa-ba'i rgyud.

¹⁷³ However, this is not as unusual as it might seem. Ritual texts preserving older lore and vocabulary are sometimes composed or compiled at a later date than more conventional Lamaist variants of the same subject. It seems to mostly depend on the motivations of individual authors (and on the availability of scriptural sources). See Bellezza 2005, p. 40.

The nine *gze-ma* are just one component of Khyung-rgod rtsal's text, *Dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim*. This work contains a full set of tantric ritual practices dedicated to the *yi-dam* of the body, *Dbal-gsas rgnam-pa*.¹⁷⁴ These include dispelling evil forces from the ritual mandala (*'gegs-bskrad*), generation of the deity (*bkskyed-rim*), visualization of deity (*rdzogs-rim*), invitation (*spyan-'dren*), prostrations (*phyag-'tshal*), confession (*bzhags-pa*), medicine offerings (*sman-mchod*), prayers and many other offerings (*mchod-pa*), mantra recitation (*'dzab*), praises (*sku-bstod*), and signs of attainment (*rtags-grub*, which includes a description of the deities), etc.

According to *Dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim*, the *Dbal-mo nyer-bdun* are emanations of *Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo* and *Lha-rgod thog-pa*. In this text, the *Lha-rgod mched-gsum* of the archaic tradition have metamorphosed into the Eternal Bon tutelary god of speech. In Eternal Bon, *Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo* is considered tantamount to *Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal*, but she is endowed with a much wider set of functions, many of which are tantric in nature. Eternal Bon doctrine espouses that *Lha-rgod thog-pa* and *Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo* have the same essential nature, which is the 'nature of the mind itself' (*sems-nyid*) or the 'natural state of the mind' (*gnas-lugs*). Their many emanations such as the nine *gze-ma* have the same essential nature.

¹⁷⁴ This god and his mate are depicted in the florid iconography typical of tantric tradition. He has nine heads and eighteen arms, and is midnight blue in color (*nthing-nag*; a sign of his complete perfection). He has a main right head that is white, a main left head that is red, a lower middle head of the lion, a lower right head of the tiger, a lower left head of the leopard, an upper middle head of the *khyung*, an upper right head of the dragon, and an upper left head of the *chusrin*. *Dbal-gsas rngam-pa's* yellow-red mane curls upwards (*ral-pa dmar-ser gyen du 'khyil*; symbolizing that his activities are exalted to the highest degree: *dbu-'phang mtho*). His two middle arms hold a *dbal-phur* dagger at the chest (punctures *samsara* from the root). His other eight right and eight left hands have different implements (generally speaking, these embody the qualities of his essential character [*ngo-bo*]). *Dbal-gsas rngam-pa* has four legs, and wears a fresh skin over his back and a tiger-skin loincloth (*stag-sham*). All his attributes are used to subdue the anger (*she-sdang*), lust (*'dod-chags*), pride (*nga-rgyal*), envy (*phrag-dog*), and ignorance (*ma-rig*) of sentient beings. See *Dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim*, nos. 100, 101. *Dbal-gsas rngam-pa's* consort is *Rngam-mo yum-chen dbyings kyi mtshan drug-ma* (Six Names of the Raging Woman Great Mother in Space, a composite of six key goddesses: *Sa-trig Er-sangs*, *Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal*, *Bzang-bza'i ring-btsun*, *Thugs-rje byams-ma*, *Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo*, *Mkha'-la gdug-mo*). She is dark green in color (*ljang-nag*) with one head, two arms and two legs. In her right hand is the sky-earth container (*gnam-sa'i ga'u*; signifies her dominion over existence) and in her left hand is a vase full of nectar (*bdud-rtsis bum-pa*; used to nourish and reduce the suffering of sentient beings). The sun and moon are bound to the top of her head (also symbolizes dominion over existence). See *Dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim*, nos. 104–107. For a more extensive description of *Dbal-gsas rngam-pa*, see Kvaerne 1995, pp. 77–80.

In tantric practice, Lha-rgod thog-pa is the *yab* (method, *thabs*) and Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo is the *yum* (wisdom, *shes-rab*), prerequisites to enlightenment. Such tantric conceptions behind Lha-rgod thog-pa and Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo are a far cry from the notion of a celestial couple who produced the *gze-ma* goddesses in *Gnag rabs*. In that text, Gnam-phyi gung-rgyal is a matriarch of the heavens who gave birth to nine eggs and whose main function is to insure that the *lha* and humans maintain their respective spheres of existence.

Indeed, Khyung-rgod rtsal created a complex doctrinal and ritual edifice around the *gze-ma* goddesses, none of which existed in the archaic ritual tradition. This intricacy extends to the appearances of Lha-rgod thog-pa and Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo. While certain individual elements such as found among celestial imagery and zoomorphic objects may be attributable to indigenous Tibetan culture, taken as a whole this is clearly an iconography of tantric persuasion. Deeply buried is the wild *lha* sire of space.¹⁷⁵ According to the text, the Dbal-mo nyer-bdun belong to the extensive retinue of Lha-rgod thog-pa, once again skirting the procreative powers so crucial to the origins myths of archaic rituals. This super god of sorts is the master of the elemental spirits and is seen as having a far more august pedigree and abilities than them. In Eternal Bon, the physical universe was no longer viewed as of sufficient marvel in itself to explain the nature of divinity. As with Tibetan Buddhism, the focus had shifted to mental phenomena beyond the pale of empirical ratification. Nevertheless, like the older native gods, Lha-rgod thog-pa is the great vanquisher of enemies. As pain, sickness and death remain part of the human condition, so did the etiology of demonic misfortune, but now couched in the doctrine of Lamaism with its stress on karma and religious devotion.

According to Khyung-rgod rtsal, Lha-rgod thog-pa is an emanation of the speech of Ston-pa Gshen-rab.¹⁷⁶ His residence is called Thog-'brug bar-s nang sgra yi gsas-mkhar (Gsas-mkhar of the Sound of the Thunder Dragon of the Intermediate Space). This god is sky blue (*mthon*) in color and has four heads, eight arms, and four legs. His middle head is sky blue, his right head white, his left head

¹⁷⁵ Eternal Bon widely recognizes that tantric deities such as Yum-sras of Gnam-mtsho or Mi-dbud of Nam-ra have more primitive forms as elemental spirits. These 'lesser' forms are viewed as either an anachronism originating from the remote epoch before the appearance of Ston-pa gshen-rab, or as subsidiary facets of a tantric godhead. For example, a convoluted doctrinal apparatus is employed to explain the elemental and tantric forms of the tutelary god of beneficial qualities (*yon-tan*), Ge-khod. On Ge-khod, see Bellezza 2008, pp. 300–303.

¹⁷⁶ For a description of this god, see *Dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim.*, nos. 108–110; for that of his consort, see nos. 110–112.

red, and his upper head is red in color. Over his upper body (*skustod*) he wears the great skin (*lpags-chen*) of the sky demons (*gnambdud*),¹⁷⁷ and on his lower body (*skusmad*) leopard and caracal skins. His sash is of fiery lightning. The eight planets (*gza'-brgyad*) are bound around the top of his head.¹⁷⁸ His topknot (*thor-gtsug*) is crowned with the sun and moon. Lha-rgod thog-pa's earrings are of dragons and he has a snake necklace. His feet are ornamented with the twenty-eight constellations (*rgyu-skar*). In his right hands are the sword (*ral-gri*), spear (*mdung*), battle-hammer (*tho-ba*), and battleaxe (*sta-re*), which cut, pierce, pound, and defeat respectively. In his left hands are the lasso (*zhags-pa*), iron chain (*lcags-sgrog*), pincers (*gze-ma*), and trident (*kha-rtse*), which bind, shackle, catch, and stab respectively. Lha-rgod thog-pa deposes the one hundred thousand brave *lha* of the sky (*gnam gyi lha-rgod*) from his body. He treads upon four *gnambdud*. By his side are the goddesses (*lha-mo*) of the four seasons. The attendants he dispatches (*mngag*) are the nine *dbal-mo*, the nine *gyad-mo* and the nine *thang-mo*, alternative names for the *Dbal-mo nyer-bdun*. The body hair (*ba-spu*) of Lha-rgod thog-pa emits sparks of molten meteoric iron (*gnam-lcags*), which frighten (*skrag*) the *sa-bdag*, *klu* and *gnyan*. From his earlobes are broadcast the great sound of the dragon. By his squinched nose an epochal black wind hurricane is released. With the click of his tongue he covers the mighty (*btsan*) and haughty ones (*dregs-pa*). With his stout and extremely powerful body he moves towards the enemy. With his voice he terrorizes the haughty ones. With his mind he quickly summons all [the enemies].

The consort of Lha-rgod thog-pa is called Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo 'gran gyi zla-med-ma (Incomparable Queen of Existence), a tantric goddess par excellence.¹⁷⁹ Her residence is Srid-gsum dbang-du bsdud-pa'i gsas-mkhar (Gsas-mkhar of She Who Has Conquered the Three Realms of Existence).¹⁸⁰ Her glory spreads throughout phenomenal existence (*snang-srid kun-grags*). She is the greatest power in existence (*srid-pa'i dbang-mo che*). Her great magical power (*mthu*) and prowess (*rtsal*) is wondrous (*rmdad*) and cannot be contested by others. She is the miraculous supreme defender,

¹⁷⁷ A class of demons that causes bad weather and other negativities originating from the sky.

¹⁷⁸ Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and Ra-hu-la (a lunar node).

¹⁷⁹ For another description of Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo, a goddess made prominent by Gshen-chen *klu-dga'*, taken from the text *Ma mo 'dus pa'i yang snying gi rgyud*, see Kværne 1995, pp. 107, 108.

¹⁸⁰ *Srid-gsum* denotes either the vertically oriented worlds of *lha*, humans and *klu* (an indigenous tradition), or to the desire realm (*'dod-pa'i srid-pa*), form realm (*gzugs kyi srid-pa*) and formless realm (*gzugs-med-pa'i srid-pa*; an Indic tradition).

possessing great methods (*thabs-chen*) and beneficence (*thugs-rje*). She is the best of the *sgra-bla* of the three realms of excellence: brave, skillful and powerful. Her hundred heads terrorize [all negativities] in visible existence. Her one thousand hands possess miraculous methods and great strength (*stobs-chen*). She holds the marvelous (*yamtshan*) manifestations of armaments (*mtshon-cha*) in her one thousand hands. From the vastness of the womb¹⁸¹ of the great mother¹⁸² she dispatches ('gyed) the one hundred thousand wrathful females (*khro-mo*) of activities. She acts as the glorious defender (*dpal-mgon*) of all living beings. When her raging anger (*khros shing 'tshigs-pa*) knows no bounds (*nan-ltar*), an assembly of ninety thousand carnivorous *spar-ma* of the *dbal* are unleashed. The costume of her miraculous body is of unending varieties. In the evening she is dressed in black clothes and ornaments, at midnight in blue clothes and ornaments, before the first light of the day she is attired in white, at dawn in yellow, at noon in red, and around sunset she dons brownish red clothes and ornaments.

Khyung-rgod rtsal's text also describes the nine *gze-ma* in detail.¹⁸³ It begins by conferring a tantric mantle upon their existence, accounting for the appearance of the nine eggs:

Bswo! Lha-rgod thog-pa of the sky of inexhaustible [miraculous qualities] and the incomparable Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo, by their methods of inseparability within the sound of the intermediate space (between heaven and earth), made manifest,¹⁸⁴ thus the twenty-seven eggs of *dbal* appeared. They are the female attendants of the mind of *Dbal-gsas rnam-pa*. The first of the nine eggs of the *dbal* opened. The nine *gze-ma* eggs of the *dbal* of inexhaustible [miraculous qualities] appeared.

bswo mi zad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa dang / srid pa'i rgyal mo 'gran gyi zla med ma / bar snang sgra yi nang du gnyis med thabs kyis rol pas / dbal gyi sgo nga nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / dbal gsas rnam pa pho nya mo / dbal gyi sgo nga dang po dgu brdol pa / mi bzad dbal gyi gze ma ngo (= sgo) (+ nga) dgu byung /

As with all texts for the *zi-ma* / *gze-ma* we have examined, the first goddess described is that of the dragon. Her iconography and basic homicidal tendencies appear to have been taken by Khyung-rgod rtsal's directly from the archaic tradition, not from the texts of

¹⁸¹ *Bha-ga'i klong*; signifies the emptiness of all phenomena.

¹⁸² *Yum-chen*; signifies the essential nature of the mind.

¹⁸³ See *Dbal gsas rnam pa'i las rim*, nos. 127, ln. 5 to 135, ln. 2.

¹⁸⁴ *Rol-pa (rol-ba)*. This word can also mean that they played or united, a roundabout way to say that they joined in a spiritual manner, not carnally.

Gshen-chen klu-dga' and Khu-tsha zla-'od with their more sanitized versions of the murderous propensities of the goddesses. Nevertheless, these three Eternal Bon texts are closer to one another in composition than they are to the *Gnag rabs*, for they each bind the *gze-ma* to a religious oath of historic dimensions. By doing so, they strove to create dutiful spirit allies with a strong sectarian bent from the erstwhile utilitarian and widely accessible goddesses of the archaic tradition. Also, as with the other Lamaist texts, Khyung-rgod rtsal imposed a regimen on the older tradition, providing systematic descriptions and appellations for each of the nine *gze-ma*.

Although Khyung-rgod rtsal recognizes the inherent violence of the nine *gze-ma*, he dwells less on their gruesome acts than does the *Gnag rabs*. Furthermore, his writing is decidedly less expressive and colorful than the *Gnag rabs*. Not only was the doctrinal identity of the *gze-ma* changed to fit the exigencies of Eternal Bon doctrine, but in doing so, none of its authors could quite attain the literary vitality of the Old Tibetan text. Khyung-rgod rtsal presents the dragon-headed goddess as follows:

From the sound of dragon, the king of sound, in expansive space [imbued with] the beneficent mind [of their mother and father], the mandala of space, one egg opened. [She was] 'Brug-lcam dar-ma kun-grags-ma ((Dragon Lady in the Prime of Her Life Glorious Everywhere). She has a blue human body with the head of the dragon. In her hand she is waving (*g.yab*) the arm of the *chu-srin* and crying out loudly ('*od dod 'bod*). Her fangs of iron together with the *dbal* are sharpened with *bsa*.¹⁸⁵ As you were set loose with the sound of the voice of the excellent *gshen*, bring the sound and speech of the oath-breaker ([*dam*]-*nyams*) here! Also, upset all the royal places of the enemy! From the manifestation of the mind of Gshen-rab came Stag-la me-'bar of ancient times, he who administered [the oath] from the sound of his speech,¹⁸⁶ thus accordingly you are the oath-holder (*tha-tshig can*) of [the Bon] he had practiced. Do not let it lapse (*ma-'da'*); you are entrusted with the [four] activities!¹⁸⁷ Conquer and reduce to dust the hating enemies and harming obstructers. Summon them from afar and quickly slaughter them.

¹⁸⁵ That the mystic syllable *bsa* in this context is a sharpening agent is confirmed in the text *Khro bo dbang chen*, p. 370 (see fn. 193 for bibliographic details).

¹⁸⁶ His speech is a kind of mandala. The bodily locations for the administration of the religious oath by the mythic priest Stag-la me-'bar vary with each of the nine goddesses. For a description of the sage-deity Stag-la me-'bar taken from an Eternal Bon text written in 1669 CE, see Kværne 1995, 117, 118.

¹⁸⁷ *Phrin-las-bzhi*, the four modalities of activity exercised by deities (pacific, expanding, empowering and wrathful).

thugs rje mkha' yangs nam mkha' dkyil 'khor na / sgra rgyal 'brug gi sgra las gcig brdol ba / 'brug lcam dar ma kun grags ma / mi lus sngon mo 'brug gi mgo bo can / chu srin lag pa g.yab cing 'od dod 'bod / lcags kyi mche ba dbal dang chas (= bcas) ste bso / gshen rab gsung gi sgra las khyod 'gyed pas / nyams pa'i skad dang sgra las drongs la shog / dgra bo'i rgyal khams kun kyang 'khrugs par mdzod / gshen rab thugs kyi sprul pa las / sgnon kyang stag la me 'bar gyis / gsung gi sgra las bzhag nas kyang / ji ltar bsgrub pa'i tha tshig can / ma 'da' bcos ba'i phrin las mdzod / sdang pa'i dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs / dbang du sdus la rdul du rlog / rings (= ring) par khug la myur du sgrol /

As the structure and tone of the accounts of the other eight goddesses is the same as above, only salient variations in Khyung-god rtsal's text are summarized below. Readers are encouraged to make their own comparisons with *Gnag rabs* to pinpoint the specific analogies and contrasts between these two accounts.

Second *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the epochal wind (*bskal-rlung*).

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the black epochal wind hurricane (*'tshubs-ma*).

Name: Sbrul-lcam 'khril-byed gdug-pa-mo (Snake Lady that Coils Cruel Woman).

Appearance: Dark green body human body with the head of a snake.

Emblematic activities: She sharpens her fangs of conch. She waves (*rlobs = rlabs*) a *khyung* wing overhead in the castle (sphere) of the intermediate space.

Actions commanded: Pull out (*drongs*) tongue organ of the senses of the oath-breaker! Pull out from its root the heart (*tsi-ta*) of the enemy!

Place of the administered oath: Tongue of Stag-la me-'bar.

Third *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the *ge-ta*¹⁸⁸ *bdud*.

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the master of the death (*'chi-bdag*), the *bdud* that takes the life-force.

Name: Bdud-lcam rma-lo srog-bdag-mo.

Appearance: Black human body with the head of a chough (*skyung-ka*).

¹⁸⁸ A type of *bdud*. There are four *ge-ta* in the retinue of the king of the *bdud* (Tucci 1949: 718).

Emblematic activities: She sharpens the great dagger (*phur-chen*) of meteoric iron. She brandishes (*gdeng*) the copper *spar-shad*¹⁸⁹ in a manner to hold the enemy.

Actions commanded: Cut the back of the neck of the oath-breaker! Pull out from the base, the eyes and life-force of the enemy and obstructor!

Place of the administered oath: Back of the neck of Stag-la me-'bar.

Fourth *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the extremely powerful (*rtsal-chen*) lion.

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the very splendidous (*byin-chen*) Ri-rgyal lhun-po (the world mountain).

Name: Seng-lcam dar-ma gya-nom stabs-mo-che.

Appearance: White human body with the head of a lion. She wears a red coiled vermilion turban on her head.

Emblematic activity: She sharpens the bird horns of iron.

Actions commanded: Come here quickly with the body of the oath-breaker! Sow the seeds of disease in the country of the enemy!

Place of the administered oath: Upper body of Stag-la me-'bar.

Fifth *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the sky portal (*gnam-sgo*) *dbal-khang* (house of *dbal* deities and practitioners).

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the sky portal house of the *dbal*.

Name: Mi-mo za-byed rdzu-'phrul-chen (Great Miraculous Lady Eater).

Appearance: Red human body with the head of a brown bear. Her shaking (*sprug*) mane falls over her shoulders.

Emblematic activity: She sharpens the meteoric iron sword (*ral-kyu*).

Actions commanded: Bring the heart of the oath-breaker here! Separate the child from the side of the enemy!

Place of the administered oath: Center of the mind of Stag-la me-'bar.

Sixth *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the middle of the Milky Way (*Dgu-tshigs*).

¹⁸⁹ A weapon in the form of eagle claws.

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the line traced across space (*thig-'dren nam-kha'*) *sgrom-dar* (?).

Name: Srin-mo za-byed 'jigs-pa'i spyang-ku bzhin (Srin-mo Eater Terrific Wolf Face).

Appearance: Dark red human body with the head of a wolf. She dispatches attendants with her hawk wings.

Emblematic activity: She sharpens the fangs of molten bronze.

Actions commanded: Pull off the skin on the back of the enemy starting from the head and come! Separate the bones and flesh of the enemy!

Place of the administered oath: Vertebrae in the middle of the back of Stag-la me-'bar.

Seventh *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the blazing epochal conflagration (*me-dpung*).

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the scorching, blazing conflagration.

Name: Stag-lcam 'bring-mthing kha-rngam sha-zan-ma.

Appearance: Reddish brown human body with the head of a tiger. She beats with the flayed skin of the brown bear and hangs it over her shoulders.

Emblematic activity: She sharpens the scimitar of her hand.

Actions commanded: Quickly pull out the body warmth of the enemy and come! Consume as your food the red flesh and blood of the enemy!

Place of the administered oath: Terminus (pit of the stomach) warmth of Stag-la me-'bar.

Eighth *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the great flapping of [the wings of] the *khyung*.

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the sound of the magical drum and flat bell.

Name: Khyung-lcam rlabs-chen legs-mos skor.

Appearance: Yellow-green human body with the head of a *khyung*. She dispatches the nine males (*pho*) and nine females (*mo*) concealed behind her.

Emblematic activity: She sharpens her miraculous fangs.

Actions commanded: Deafen the ears, deafening the enemy!
Consume as your food the household of the enemy!

Place of the administered oath: Ears of Stag-la me-'bar.

Ninth *gze-ma*

Agent of the hatching: Sound of the swirling ocean.

Residence: *Gsas-mkhar* of the broad currents of the ocean.

Name: Klu-mo mi-bskyod kha-rngam gdug-po-mo (Unmoving Female Water Spirit Fierce Mouth Cruel Female).

Appearance: Blue-green human body with the head of a *chu-srin*. Through her fanning of the magical wind, [the wind] throughout the three worlds is agitated.

Emblematic activity: She sharpens her fangs of crystal.

Actions commanded: Bring the body cavity blood and nerves of the enemy through sucking! Make the *lha* of the lap of the enemy afraid!

Place of the administered oath: Subtle energy channels of Stag-la me-'bar.

Khyung-rgod rtsal also provides a short *bskul-pa* in typical Lamaist form.¹⁹⁰ As with his descriptions of the nine *gze-ma*, this ritual is primarily concerned with the sectarian identity and activities of these goddesses. Hardly present are the practical aims of the *Gnag rabs* to eliminate palpable enemies imperiling the person and property of the priests and their benefactors. In its place are high-minded religious sentiments:

*Bsol*¹⁹¹ Nine *gze-ma* of the *dbal* with inexhaustible [good qualities] that hold fast [enemies]. Come with the activities of the oath (*dam-tshig*) that was pledged. Come with the activities of the emanations of the beneficent mind. Come with activities of destroying the enemy force. Come with the activities of quelling the *bdud* force. Come with the activities of protecting on behalf on the [Eternal Bon] doctrine. Come possessing the miraculous methods [of subduing the enemies]. Come with your roaring sound and its [accoutrements]. Come away with the sharp-edged weapons and their *dbal*.¹⁹²

bso mi bzad 'dzin byed dbal gyi gze ma dgu / dam tshig bsnyen pa'i las la gshegs su gsol / thugs rje sprul pa'i las la gshegs su gsol / dgra dpung bshigs pa'i las gshegs su gsol / bdud dpung gzhom pa'i las la gshegs su gsol / bstan pa srung ba'i don la gshegs su gsol / rdzu 'phrul

¹⁹⁰ See *Dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim* no. 135, lns. 3–4.

¹⁹¹ Used here in its ordinary sense as a word of invocation and declamation.

¹⁹² This is followed by the mantras of *Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo* recited along with mudras, ten lines in total. See *ibid.*, no. 135, ln. 5 to 136, ln. 3. The spells recited here are longer and more complex than those of the *Gnag rabs*. Khyung-rgod rtsal's text represents a mature stage in development of mystic formulae for use in tantric rituals of protective deities. These spells are designed to empower and reinforce the commands of the *bskul-pa*. The incantations of Khyung-rgod rtsal's text are mainly attributed in Bon to the Zhang-zhung language, but they are probably somewhat Sanskritized.

*thabs dang ldan te gshegs su gsol / nga ro sgra dang chas te gshegs su
gsol / rno mtshon dbal dang chas te gshegs su gsol /*

The final step in the recreation of the *gze-ma* goddesses was made in the late 14th century CE by the famed Eternal Bon scholar Skyabs-ston rin-chen 'od-zer. He composed a commentary (*'grel-bshad*) about the nine *gze-ma*, which elaborates at length upon the doctrinal framework in which these goddesses have been inserted.¹⁹³ Skyabs-ston rin-chen 'od-zer's work fully develops the qualities and functions of the nine *gze-ma* in the Eternal Bon tantric tradition, constituting the final act in their recasting as Lamaist-style deities. Their qualities are stated to be expressed in both samsara (*'khor*) and in the liberated state (*thar*), a stock Vajrayāna trope.¹⁹⁴ According to Skyabs-ston rin-chen 'od-zer, the fundamental identity of the nine *gze-ma* has three main facets: the primordial wisdom female (*ma-mo*;¹⁹⁵ accounts for their fundamental nature as the mind itself), the female of miracles (accounts for their grotesque physical appearance), and the female of activities (accounts for their full range of defeating and slaughtering functions):

The eggs of existence and the nine females are based upon the ancient lineage of the primordial wisdom (*ye-shes*) *ma-mo*. They are based upon the form of the *ma-mo* of miracles (*rdzu-'phrul*). Their precisely executed great strength (*stobs la gzer*) is that of the *ma-mo* of activities (*las*).¹⁹⁶

*srid pa'i sgo nga dang mo dgu ni sngon ye shes kyi ma mo'i rgyud la
brten no / rdzu 'phrul gyi ma mo'i sku la brten / las kyi ma mo stobs la
gzer /*

Conclusion

In addition to investigating the *Gnag rabs* text of Gathang Bumpa, this paper explores the historical continuation of its ritual motifs and activities in the Eternal Bon religion, particularly those connected to

¹⁹³ *Khro bo dbang chen ngo mtshar rgyas pa'i nram bshad gsal ba'i sgron me*, by Skyabs-ston rin-chen 'od-zer (born 1353 CE), pp. 363–391. Sangs-rgyas g.yung-drung bon kyi dpe-tshogs (Text Committee of Sang-rgyas G.yung-drung Bon): Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang (Sichuan Peoples Publishing House), 2008.

¹⁹⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 388.

¹⁹⁵ *Ma-mo* are female divinities of a wrathful nature associated with natural phenomena and the feminine principle in tantric tradition. On the Buddhist tantric underpinnings of the *ma-mo*, see Blondeau 2002.

¹⁹⁶ See *Khro bo dbang chen ngo mtshar rgyas pa*, p. 364.

the ennead of goddesses known as *zi-ma* / *gze-ma*. This case study demonstrates how the archaic ritual traditions of *Gnag rabs* were modified and adapted to the ethical and doctrinal demands of Lamaist religion. Although superficial aspects revolving around the iconography and wrathful functions of the *gze-ma* goddesses were largely preserved, the origins attributed to these personalities and the rationale for their propitiation were systematically altered.

This kind of textual reengineering appears to have been widely applied to the archaic ritual tradition to bring about the innovations that define Lamaist praxis to this day. The process of retaining nominal features of indigenous tradition while simultaneously transforming its intellectual foundation is also discernable in funerary and curative rituals, and in the narrative origins of the priest / buddha Gshen-rab mi-bo. This resetting of the ritual dynamic can be tracked through the *gto* (beneficial rites), *dpyad* (diagnostic rites) *mo* (divinatory rites) and *phya* (prognosticatory rites), mainstays of archaic and Eternal Bon therapeutic practice.

Generally speaking, Lamaist ritual texts are sectarian affairs preoccupied with defending specific ideological and institutional interests. They go to great lengths to highlight the value of the principles they foster and the need for protecting them from opponents. Lamaist rituals, like other genres of its literary tradition, promote a code of personal conduct exemplified by the Buddha archetype. Thus sanguinary rites were proscribed and a more equanimous view of enemies was idealized. Archaic ritual documents such as *Gnag rabs* conspicuously lack this sermonic and pietistic approach to the practice of rituals. Rather they are executed solely for pragmatic reasons; the very fact of there being an enemy or a threat is seen as sufficient justification for their performance.

While Lamaist texts of destructive magic have inherited the mercenary intent of actions and rewards propagated in Old Tibetan ritual literature, they do so within a theological superstructure that provides a lofty rationale for the violence meted out. That a greater good is being served mitigates the inherent harshness of the extirpation of enemies. This is often framed in the ennobling rhetoric of the holy dharma being threatened by heretics, the welfare of sentient beings, or some other well intended cause. The attribution of chivalrous motivations to aggressive ritual responses in Lamaism is readily understandable, for it is founded on the ethic of 'all-encompassing compassion' (*snying-rje*) and the 'ten virtues' (*dge-ba bcu*).

No such dignified pretext, however, was required in *Gnag rabs* or any other text of the archaic ritual tradition I have studied. They display a candidness both in their underlying motivations and

outward goals. Here violence against foes is sanctioned for practical reasons concerning human health and well-being. *Gnag rabs* and other archaic ritual texts stress the nature of relations between the executors of rituals and their beneficiaries and other human beings and entities. Rather than moral cultivation as an end in itself, the establishment of an accord between oneself and other people, animals and spirits is the means by which personal happiness is achieved.

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Aspects of the Traditional Gambling Game known as *Sho* in Modern Lhasa — religious and gendered worldviews infusing the Tibetan dice game — ¹

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1. Introduction

That Tibetans love gambling may be a somewhat stereotypical view shared among outsiders who have firsthand experiences in culturally Tibetan areas. In contemporary Lhasa, where I have lived for some years, it is not very difficult to come across situations that would support this conventional view. Sichuan style Mahjong has evidently been popular among the locals, regardless of generation, gender and locality, for perhaps several decades. Very recently, playing cards (*tag se*)² whilst smoking and drinking has been one of the most favourite Lhasan pastimes, particularly among young urban males. Certainly, modern Lhasans have very rapidly developed a particular predilection for Chinese or modern styles of gambling and gaming. This is actually concurrent with, or reflected in, the present situation in Lhasa, within which Chinese customs and culture have been introduced on a massive scale.

Despite the recent popularity of imported games, the established status of a traditional Tibetan gambling game continues to attract Tibetan males across the generations. This game is called *sho rtsed*, but more commonly, just *sho* (literally meaning a dice).³ In modern Lhasa, it is relatively easy to encounter the loud shouting of *sho* players in local teahouses, pubs, streets and picnic places (*gling ga*). *Sho* has indeed been one of the prevailing Tibetan national games and, most importantly, many locals seem to perceive it as quintessentially

¹ This article was originally written for the workshop ‘Playing Games in East Asia – Gaming & Gambling’, held at the University of Hong Kong on the 28th and 29th August, 2010.

² In this article I employ the Wylie system in transliterating Tibetan words. Tibetan words in current circulation amongst English speakers are given phonetic representations (e.g. Palden Lhamo).

³ In Tibetan, to play a gambling game involving dice is termed *sho rgyag* or *cho lo gyed*. *Cho-lo* is another word for a dice. In this article, following the most ubiquitous usage, I employ the Tibetan word, *sho*, to designate a dice or a dice gambling game.

Tibetan. Whether wagering for money or not, this dice game is played extensively and with much enthusiasm across the urban-rural divide, regardless of one's socio-economic position, and over the whole area of Central Tibet (U-Tsang).⁴

In this article, I want to introduce the background to and perspectives on this popular yet little studied Tibetan gambling game, analysing its various cultural and social aspects using ethnographic data gathered in Lhasa in 2010. To start with I will present some evidence of *sho* in previous times as found in existing (if significantly scant) historical records. Then I will move to the present and highlight some social aspects, such as issues of gender and modern Tibetan identity revolving around *sho*. The rules will also be introduced in detail together with a variety of intriguing oral "dice-prayers" (*sho bshad*) uttered by the enthusiastic players. The final section will deal with the profound, inextricable associations between *sho* and some supernatural or divine figures in Buddhist and Tibetan folk traditions.

Through exploring different aspects of *sho*, it is my hope to demonstrate the various ways in which this traditional gambling is (and has been) informed by and embedded in the Tibetan socio-religious worldviews and moralities engaged in by the people in Lhasa. In so doing, I aim to show that gambling may be a productive arena of research through which significant aspects of a people and their society may be appreciated.

2. *Sho* in history

In pre-modern Lhasa there were some outsiders who observed and reported the Tibetan predilection for gambling, including *sho*. Charles Bell (1924), a British colonial officer in Tibet and neighbouring regions, reports that during the 'national pastime' of picnicking in Lhasa the gambling practices of *sho* and *sbag*⁵ were prominently ob-

⁴ According to my Tibetan informants from outside Central Tibet: Amdo (Qinghai Province and some parts of Gansu) and Kham (approximately, the western half of Sichuan Province and parts of Qinghai and Tibet Autonomous Region), *sho* is not commonly played among the Tibetan people living there. As for the exile community in India, as far as my observation in 2000 suggests, *sho* appears to be played in Dharamsala by some men. However, most of these players are *gsar 'byor* (new arrivals) who recently crossed the Himalaya and settled in the community.

⁵ A Tibetan traditional game of *sbag* is often translated as dominoes, but looking at its principles it can be termed a Tibetan mahjong. As to its rules and historical development, see Wang (1995) and Otani (2003). In contemporary Lhasa there are very few who can play *sbag*, perhaps partly because of the dominance of Chinese mahjong.

served. He points out that “(g)ambling has always been rife (ibid. 267)”; and that “[s]ho is the national gambling game, played by all Tibetans, high and low, the peasantry included (ibid. 265).” Since Charles Bell had firsthand experiences of Tibetan cultures for over a decade, and applied his scholarly eyes to them, his account is worth noting. It also resonates with those of other witnesses, including Ekai Kawaguchi, a Japanese monk who penetrated ‘closed door’ Tibet in 1900, making deprecating remarks about the monks’ enjoyment of *sho*, which he appeared to perceive as a corruption (e.g. 1978: 129).

With regard to the period before the nineteenth century, it would be highly difficult to follow the historical traces of *sho* gambling. Within Tibetan literary traditions, documentation of the daily practices of ordinary people has been uncommon, including traditional gambling. However, the next example is intriguing.

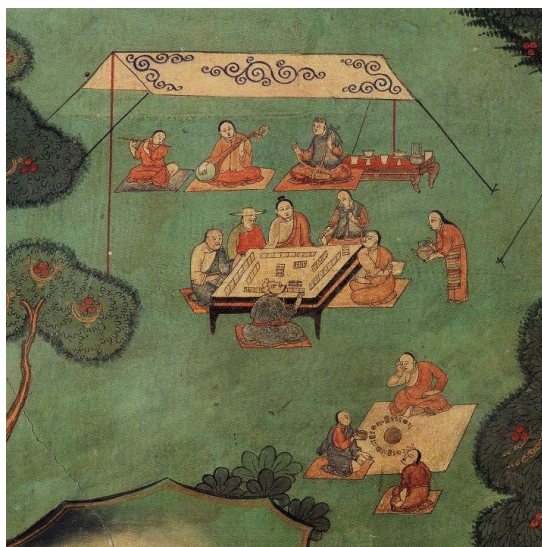


Fig. 1. A Mural Painting in the Potala Palace.

Fig. 1 is a part of a mural painting found in the east entrance of the white part (*pho brang dkar po*) of the Potala Palace. This image unambiguously depicts the picnic site where some aristocrats enjoy gambling while listening to live folk music. In the centre the picnickers seem to enjoy the Tibetan mahjong called *shag*, and at the bottom right it is clear that three men play *sho* (one man is about to throw the dice, while the other appears to be listening to dice-prayers uttered by the thrower). Jiayang and Wang (2000) and Otani (2003),⁶ intro-

⁶ Otani’s comparative analysis of *sho* (2003) is enormously interesting. By focusing

duce this painting, saying that it was painted during the Qing Dynasty (1636[44]-1912). Although the construction of the Potala Palace was completed by the end of the seventeenth century, it seems hasty, given the fact that the Potala buildings and their numerous murals underwent repetitive refurbishments, to conclude that *sho* (and *sbag*) existed three centuries ago. While accurately dating this painting is beyond the scope of this article, it would be presumable that *sho* was played during and/or before the nineteenth century.

Another example, which I want to introduce, attempts to trace the origin/existence of *sho* much further back. Wang (1995), in his discussion of the origin of *sho*, encourages us to look at the legend of Milarepa (1052-1135), one of the most famous yogis in the Kagyu school of Tibetan Buddhism. Wang points out that the legend depicts the grandfather of Milarepa as addicted to *sho*, so much so that he was forced to abandon his family fortune after losing at *sho*. Based on this part of the legend, Wang concludes that *sho* gambling was already played at least in the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century. This seems to be a quick judgement, because the account he focuses on was written in the fifteenth century. What could be learnt from the legend would be that *sho* might be played when the legend was written, and even so, the form and principle of *sho* gambling in the fifteenth century might be radically different from those we see today. However, Wang's claim, although unconvincing, has something we cannot simply dismiss in the light of the following.

The epic of King Gesar, which is believed to be one thousand years old, has been transmitted through bards from its inception until the present day. In this legend, Gesar, the superhuman or divine hero, defeats various enemies confronting him. On one occasion Gesar beats his enemy in a game of *sho* by performing the impossible act of casting the number thirteen with only two dices. This famous narrative seems to be seriously taken by some knowledgeable locals, including Dechen Drokhar (2003: 1), a renowned Tibetan folklorist of many literary arts, providing Tibetans with conviction in the ancient origin of *sho*. It is true that in the Tibetan Empire (c. 600 – c. 850), dice of oblong shape with no more than 1-4 points was used to design some laws and regulations; to practise divinations (cf. Dotson 2007;

on the principles of the game, he points out some analogies between *sho* and traditional Chinese and Korean dice games, implying that *sho* is not specifically Tibetan. He notes various levels of similarities between *sho* and games played over East Asia, both in the past and present. It seems to me that Otani's point is not just to degrade the ethnic uniqueness of *sho*, but to allude to the historical interaction of dice games in the whole of East Asia, thus situating *sho* as a culturally Asian gambling game.

Nishida 2008). However, it is speculative to assert the existence of *sho* gambling more than one millennium ago. Further support for this assertion may perhaps be found in future textual research on the Dunhuang manuscripts and other ancient documents dealing with the use of dice.

3. Social aspects of *sho* in contemporary Lhasa

In this section I want to move back to the present, discussing some social aspects surrounding *sho*, which can be observed in contemporary Lhasa.

Some locals may say mahjong for the young, *sho* for the seniors, and it is true that such preferences between age groups do exist. However, as far as my observations go, as a resident of Lhasa, *sho* is one of the games that Tibetans of all generations love playing. The kit for *sho* gambling is not large and heavy. Hence, since the kit is easy to carry, *sho* can be played virtually wherever the players want – in tea-houses and pubs; on the streets and grasslands. It is portable, therefore less restricted in terms of space for playing. However, it is slightly restrictive in terms of time. For example, it is believed to be very inauspicious to play *sho* on the New Year's Day of the traditional Tibetan calendar. In throwing dice, one needs to bring down the dice-cup on the pad. This act of making the cup upside down (*kha bub*) reminds the Tibetans of the funeral period. During some dates (or most preferably forty-nine days) after the death of one's family member, every morning butter tea is poured into the dead person's cup. Naturally nobody drinks it, the inside is thrown away after some time, and the emptied cup must be put upside down. It is an act intended to make the wandering consciousness (*rnam shes*) of the dead person not notice his or her emptied cup. It is believed that if he or she saw it, it would induce gravely sad feelings. For many Tibetans butter tea is vital for life, and one's own cup for butter tea is, therefore, indispensable to sustain one's life. Thus turning one's cup, or any cup, upside down is considered to be a bad omen, except in the case of some serious monks and nuns who, before sleep at night, intentionally do this act in *memento mori*.

The temporal prohibition of playing *sho*⁷ sounds very modest in comparison with that in terms of gender. In Lhasa and neighbouring areas, it is considered inappropriate or even evil (*sdug po*) if women play *sho*, which is surprising and noteworthy considering the fact that

⁷ Apart from the point mentioned above, on some sacred Buddhist dates, such as Sakadawa, many people tend to avoid playing *sho*.

if one is male *sho* is freely and extensively played regardless of one's socio-economic position, across the generations and rural-urban divide. Since earlier times, even people such as nomads, farmers and serfs have played *sho*, the sole criteria for participation being to be male. In Shigatse and the surrounding areas (Tsang), the prohibition seems less restrictive, so women can play at least in private spaces, but in Lhasa, the moral code is unambiguously manifest. This might be related to the conventional association between gambling and conceptions of manliness. To this I could add another possibility: traditional preconceptions regarding women, partly informed by Buddhism, seem to be operating to regulate their participation.

Indeed, gender stereotypes pervade Tibetan social conceptions and language itself. Most common is the word, *skye dman* (inferior birth), to signify women. This demeaning trope is (and has for some centuries been) employed both in the colloquial and literary language; misogyny and androcentrism are truly pervasive in many Buddhist texts (Gyatso and Havnevik 2006: 9-10). To be born as a woman means having bad karma and low capability in terms of Buddhist means and goals. This perceived inferiority of women, which is still durable and powerful, may underlie the exclusion of women from some social activities, including playing *sho*. However, questions remain, such as why the women in Shigatse and its surrounds are *not* prohibited from playing *sho*. Why can Lhasan women play Chinese mahjong and its Tibetan counterpart, *sbag*, even wagering for money, but not *sho*? The sheer gender ideology, which most local men would support with regards to *sho*, is not convincing enough to explain the strict exclusion of women in Lhasa, and there seems to me something more fundamental in this social mechanism. I will come back to this point later, and present an answer to this riddle.

Another social aspect involving *sho*, which I want to stress, is related to Tibetan consciousness regarding national identity. Against the backdrop of increasing Chinese political and cultural influences, it seems natural for some concerned Tibetans to nurture acute sentiments concerning disappearing national and cultural identity (e.g. Murakami 2009; 2011). While fully accommodating Chinese modernity (i.e. the political economy endorsed by the socialist ideal and capitalism) in order to secure their economic interests, simultaneously, the desire to reaffirm and reassert Tibetan national distinctiveness has sometimes erupted in an abrupt manner – the demonstrations and violence in the March 2008 being a poignant example. However, more often, such Tibetan reactions, due to political surveillance, tend to emerge in oblique and passive forms: their national passion and belief being expressed through forms of art, such as the metaphorical

lyrics of pop songs, or publicly burning ethnic clothes made of animal skin following the Dalai Lama's announcement of ecological and Buddhist concern on killing,⁸ or the popular disregard for the Panchen Lama recognised by Chinese authorities⁹. These kinds of examples are numerous, and in these I would include the recent popularity of *sho* among the youth. For the last few years, I have noticed more youth playing *sho* in the streets and teahouses, which is quite surprising compared to a decade ago, when most players appeared senior. "Mahjong is a Chinese game, so meaningless," some say. In this situation of ethnic animosity it can be said that playing *sho* is a somewhat antagonistic expression, a form of articulating Tibetan identity; a moderate manifestation of pride and culture. It is true to say that Chinese mahjong already occupies such a dominant place in contemporary Tibetan pastimes, almost displacing *sho*.¹⁰ Despite, or rather because of this, playing *sho* tends to be viewed as a symbol of Tibetan tradition and identity that needs to be consciously protected.



Fig. 2. Tibetains playing *Sho* in a local Teahouse.

⁸ Incidents of public burning are reported in some articles of TibetInfoNet (<http://www.tibetinfo.net>).

⁹ Historically, successive Panchen Lamas are the religious and political leaders of the Gelugpa School of Tibetan Buddhism, after the Dalai Lama. The present Panchen Lama, who was chosen by the Chinese authorities after their refusal to acknowledge the boy selected by the Dalai Lama, is now the vice president of the Buddhist Association of China, and the government seems to attempt to authorise him as the head of the followers of Tibetan Buddhism in China.

¹⁰ This, I would say, may be partly because participation in mahjong is not regulated on the basis of gender.

4. Rules of the game¹¹

The rules of *sho* are more complicated than is apparent from watching the game, and actually the players need to make quick, sophisticated calculations during the game. Dechen Drokhar, a local female folklorist and editor of *sho bshad* (dice-prayers), notes that if children play *sho*, the gates of their intellect can be opened (*blo sgo 'byed thub pa*); so it will be beneficial for their mode of thinking (2003: 2). It is true to say that any beginner of *sho* would be surprised at skilled players' computations.

The rules vary in accordance with different localities and possibly with different temporalities. The set of rules described below is one I learned in contemporary Lhasa. To play *sho*, the following objects are necessary: two *sho* (dice) with the spots on sides denoting 1 and 4 are red, and the others are in black or blue; *sho gdan* – a round yak leather pad especially made for the *sho* game; *sho phor* – a wooden dice cup, whose size and shape are almost identical to those of ordinary butter tea cup, except that there is a tiny hole at its bottom which functions as an air outlet; sixty-four *rde'u* – pebbles – shells (*'gron bu*) would normally be used these days; *lag khyi* (or *lag skyi*)¹² – coins of two or three kinds, for each set of which nine is needed.

Sho can be played by two or three people, or two pairs of people. They are respectively called, *gnyis 'dzing*, *gsum 'dzing* and *mi gnyis gnyis cha byed pa'i cha 'dzing*.

¹¹ Despite the fact that the many academics who have lived in Tibet have been reporting the presence of the *sho* gambling game for almost a century, to my knowledge, there are virtually no substantial explanations of its rules, either in English or Japanese. Therefore, in this section, rules including some minor norms and customs, are presented in detail to help the readers to capture the image of *sho* as precisely as possible.

¹² *Lag-khyi* are usually coins of different localities and temporalities. For example, Nepalese or Indian coins can be used. Some kinds of fabricated old coins of the Republic of China and Qing Dynasty are also preferred in contemporary Lhasa. The iron fragment called *dgu mig* (literally, "nine eyes") can be substitutes for coins. *Dgu mig* is a small flat iron, whose surface has nine holes. In previous times, *dgu mig* was used tied together to make armour. In the Tibetan symbolic world, the number nine signifies protection against obstacles, therefore, *dgu mig* is normally used as a talisman among the Lhasan locals.

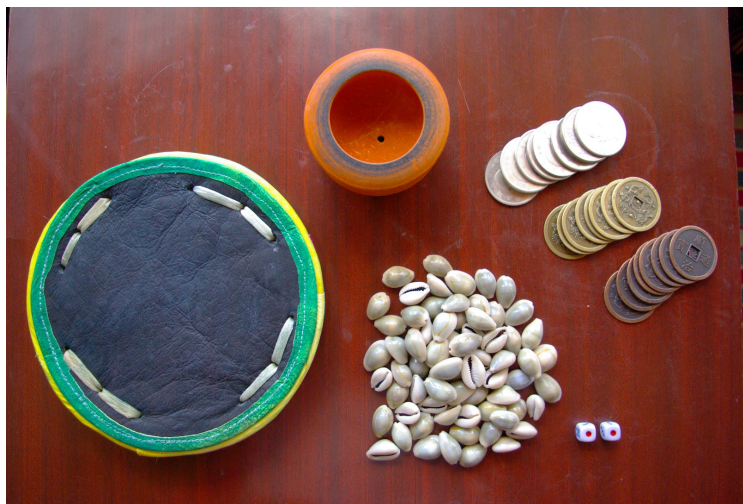


Fig.3. *Sho* set.

At the start of the *sho* game, the pad is placed in the centre, and the sixty-four shells spread in a loose circle around the pad, each player holds nine coins of the same kind. The players bring the dice cup with the two dice inside down upon the pad and make their coins proceed across the shells. This is called *la rgyag* in Tibetan, meaning "to pass over mountains", the player moving according to the total number of the dices thrown. The object of game is to make all one's coins pass over all sixty-four shells, the winner of the game being the one who first succeeds in this.

During the first round, each player can place (*'dzugs*) two coins, but from the second round onwards they can place only one. Different coins cannot exist at the same points. If there are one or more of one's opponent's coins at the point where one wants to place or move his own, and if the number of coins he wants to move is same or more than those of the opponent, he can "kill" (*gsod*) the opponent's coin(s), and those coin(s) will go back into the hands of opponent. If the player succeeds in killing an opponent's coin(s) or piling up his coins in the shell field, or if he gets *pa ra* – throws the number one with both dice – he will be entitled to throw the dice once again. If the player succeeds in piling up all of his nine coins in the shell field, this is called *dgu mo* (literally, "nine women"), which is the best and most powerful position to be in killing others' coins.

Numbers (Probabilities)	Spellings ^{13*} (Pronunciations) in <i>sho</i>	Lhasa dialect in counting
2 (1/36)	<i>pa ra</i> (para)	<i>gnyis</i> (ni)
3 (2/36)	<i>sug</i> (sug)	<i>gsum</i> (sum)
4 (3/36)	<i>tshigs</i> (tshig) or <i>tsig gi</i> (tsigi)	<i>bzhi</i> (shi)
5 (4/36)	<i>kha</i> (ka)	<i>lnga</i> (nga)
6 (5/36)	<i>'brug</i> (durg) or <i>drug</i> (tug)	<i>drug</i> (tug)
7 (6/36)	<i>ri</i> (ri) or <i>sdig</i> (dig)	<i>bdun</i> (dun)
8 (5/36)	<i>sha</i> (sha)	<i>brgyad</i> (ge)
9 (4/36)	<i>dgu</i> (gu)	<i>dgu</i> (gu)
10 (3/36)	<i>chu</i> (chu)	<i>bcu</i> (chu)
11 (2/36)	<i>rdog</i> (do) or <i>thog</i> (tho)	<i>bcu-gcig</i> (chuchi)
12 (1/36)	<i>'jang</i> (jang)	<i>bcu-gnyis</i> (chuni)

Fig. 4. Counting in the *Sho* Game and Equivalent Terms in Lhasa Dialect.

There are some other norms observed in the game. The coins must proceed in the clockwise direction, the direction believed sacred and appropriate according to Tibetan Buddhist custom. If one plays in the morning, the eldest player should start casting the dice, if in afternoon, the youngest (*snga dro che*, *dgong dro chung*). However, from the second match, the winner of the previous casts the dice first. There is also a special way of designating the numbers of the total spots of two dice, which is very different in Tibetan from the usual pronunciation of numbers (see Fig. 4).

It may be unsurprising that drinking tends to systematically accompany the game, making *sho* a drinking as well as a gambling game. If one gets the number *pa ra* (2), one needs to drink one's glass of *chang* (Tibetan barley alcohol) or beer.¹⁴ If one gets *sug* (3), one's opponent(s) need to drink their glasses. If one gets *'jang* (12), all the spectators need to drink their glasses. If one mistakenly drops the dice out of the cup or pad, or if one's miscounting of the placed coins is pointed out by others, one needs to drink one's glass. These drinking penalties could be substituted with a certain amount of payment, and this option is decided before the game starts. As Fig. 4 shows, the probabilities of getting *pa ra* (2), *sug* (3) and *'jang* (12) are very small,

¹³ These vary according to different areas and players.

¹⁴ An enthusiastic player might sprinkle *chang* over the two dice of *pa ra* with his finger, a small ritual which is called *pa ra chang*. *Pa ra* is indeed known as 'lucky spots,' since the player can throw once more if he has thrown a *pa ra*.

their total is 4/36 (1/9). However, additional rules such as these tend to make the game more cheerful and exciting.

Some other minor rules:

- During the first round, if one gets *pa ra* (2) or *sug* (3), he can place three coins down instead of two.
- During the first round, if the second (or third) player gets the same number as the first (or second), he can kill the opponent's two coins and place three coins of his own down. The opponent can place two coins down on the following throw.
- If one cannot find any point to place or move his coin(s) to – one cannot place one's coin(s) at the point where the opponent's coins outnumber one's own – one can kill the coins of one's opponent however many they are, and place one's coins equal to the number of coins killed, plus one. For example, if one has no choice but to kill three of one's opponent's coins, one can place four coins at the point where one's opponent's coins used to exist.
- If one gets *pa ra* (2), there are actually two choices: to throw the dice once more (as mentioned above) or to place two coins down. The latter may be chosen when one has no possibility of killing the opponent's coin(s).
- Except for in the first round, if it happens that one does not have any coins in the shell field, and one gets *dgu* (9) with a combination of throwing a 3 and a 6, one can place all nine coins. This special *dgu* is called *dgu sna kyog*, literally meaning "9 crooked nose." Some of my informants told me that this name came about because the spots on the face of the dice that number 3 are arranged diagonally, forming a point which looks a crooked nose.¹⁵
- If the thrown dices are piled up one after the other, this is called *sho rtseg*. If this happens, the thrower is entitled to be gifted the whole *sho kit*, on the condition that he can smoothly utter a particular lucky expression, the phrasing of which varies according to the localities and persons. In the case of Lhasa, for example, *pa su rtsi kha drug ri ma, sha dgu chu rdog 'jang mos chod, sho dang lag kyi sbrum bug sho phor dang, rdab se sho gdan bcas pa nga la thob* (The dice-divination cut [the whole

¹⁵ However, it seems to me that some traditional symbolism might be operating in this revolutionary rule. The dice faces of both 3 and 6 are in black. Therefore, throwing these two can be referred to as *dgu nag po* or "black nine." In Tibetan symbolism, the number nine is considered a perfected protection or power; black being a most inauspicious colour.

numbers of] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12. The dice, coins, shells, cup and pad: I got all of them!).¹⁶

5. *Sho-bshad* – prayers to win –

Sho in itself is a complex and interesting game, but one can add, with linguistic skills and characters, another exciting element to this dice gambling: dice-prayers or *sho bshad* (“shobshey” in pronunciation). In playing *sho*, it is not uncommon that the players demonstrate their favourite *sho bshad* while praying for the dice to fall in their favour. Most interestingly, these are not just simple prayers, but their contents poignantly reflect Tibetan customs, moralities and worldviews, etc, some of which are usually hidden from social view. The nature of *sho bshad* is, indeed, down-to-earth, unreserved and exposing, and, as Dechen Drokar, the editor of *sho bshad*, points out (2003: 3), their various contents “have intimate relations to actual lives” (*tsho ba dngos dang 'brel ba dam zab yod pa*). *Sho bshad* as a “literary art” (ibid.: 4) is fascinating and informative, and can even be described as one of the enduring genres of oral literature in which Tibetans excel, both in secular and religious spheres.¹⁷

Sho bshad varies according to areas, villages and persons, and its wording and contents can be improvised under the influence of alcohol. It is thus susceptible to the tastes of the respective players, and also to the socio-temporal situations in which they live. In what follows, I want to present some representative *sho bshad* that I collected in Lhasa in 2010.

With regards to its structure, at the beginning of *sho bshad*, the number the players desire is shouted, and the verses follow this, which could be two, four or more lined. Usually, *sho bshad* is aimed at one or two numbers of the dice.

Firstly, straight prayers for *pa-ra* (2):

pa ra dpal 'bar bkra shis bzhugs

Para, the Auspicious Splendour,
come!

¹⁶ This phrase is introduced in Dechen Drokar (2003: 3). The one that I collected from one of my informants is slightly longer. It may be a personal improvisation motivated by his sense of fun. In his version, after the main expression, follows the expression: *rgyu yo na sprod, sprod rgyu med na pus mo tshugs* (If you have treasure, give it to me. If you don't, kneel down!).

¹⁷ In addition to high literature such as the Epic of King Gesar, these oral literatures include various Buddhist prayers, poems created by diverse Buddhist saints (e.g. Milarepa and the Sixth Dalai Lama), popular maxims such as *Sa skya legs bshad*, and a variety of widespread verses and proverbs (*gtam dpe*).

<i>rgyang mkhan <u>rda yi su khe red</u></i>	The dice thrower is [now] <u>Daisuke!</u>
<i>yang steng lha la bzhugs pa'i pa ra bzhugs</i>	Para, who lives in the higher realm of gods, come!
<i>'og klu la bzhugs pa'i pa ra bzhugs</i>	Para, who lives in the under- ground realm of naga, come!
<i>bar btsan la bzhugs pa'i pa ra bzhugs</i>	Para, who lives in the intermedi- ate realm of tsen, come!

In the second line, one needs to put one's own name in place of the underlined (as I have placed my name, Daisuke above). The second verse evidently demonstrates the traditional Tibetan worldview, in which three realms are composed vertically of the gods (*lha*), naga or serpent deity (*klu*), and spirit (*btsan*), inhabiting the sky, underground and inbetween, or on the ground, respectively.

* * *

The next ones are on (Buddhist) moralities; both are prayers for *sha* (8):

<i>bshan pa la sgang la gri bdar dus</i>	When a butcher sharpens his knife at a pass,
<i>rgan po thang sder la ngu shor</i>	An old man cries in a vast plain.
<i>shar chu'i phug nas chu zhig len</i>	Bring water from the cave of the eastern spring,
<i>'grul pa gal chen skad shig btang</i>	[And] call the important guest.

Near Sera monastery in Lhasa there is a renowned spring, the sacred water of which is believed to be effective in curing digestive problems.

* * *

The next ones are sarcastic indictments of Buddhist figures; both are prayers for *ri* or *sdig* (7):

<i>sdig pa'i khro chung sgal par 'khur</i>	[He] carries sinful small anger on his back,
<i>kha nas om bzang ma ni drangs</i>	[But] from his mouth, recites mantra nicely.

sdig gsum mi bsags bla mas gsungs A lama says, "Don't pile up your
sins."
bla ma khong nyid gang 'dod byas [But] the lama himself is doing
whatever he desires.

In the second one, *sdig gsum* seems to be a transformation of a widespread Buddhist term, *dug gsum* (three poisons [of mind]), to signify and emphasise *sdig*, meaning misdeeds or misdemeanours.

* * *

Sexual themes seem to be the favourite among *sho* players, constituting a good proportion of the whole *sho bshad*, so I will introduce a relatively decent one here:

gug gug ma byed stu mthong Don't bow down, or your cunt
will be exposed!
stu'i nang nas 'bu don From its inside, insects (lice) will
come out!

In old Tibet, no underclothing was used when wearing traditional ethnic clothes. The above is a mockery of an old unmarried woman, assumed to never have had sexual intercourse.

* * *

The average altitude of the Tibetan plateau is more than 4,000 metres above sea level. Its arctic, and harsh environment is also a favourite topic:

ri sdings sdings gla ba nyal sa red [The top of] a flat mountain is
where a musk deer sleeps.
nyal drag na gla ba 'chi sa red If it sleeps for a long time, the
place becomes where the deer
will die.

dgun chu rta la ma ster Don't give wintry water to a
horse,
rta pho grang ngad kyis shi yong or the horse will die of cold.

The first verse is used for *ri* (7), the second for *dgu* (9) only, or *dgu* (9) and *chu* (10).

* * *

The following ones are about food, happiness and humour. These topics may be most acceptable amongst all generations, both male and female, whether spectators or players:

sha rdog sgang la mar rdog rgyag A chunk of butter is piled on a
chunk of meat,
a gu 'brog pa'i skyid shas la How happy Uncle Nomad looks!

sha rdog bzas na sngags pa'i dge If you want to eat meat, become
phrug byed a tantric yogi's disciple.
sngags pa so med can gyi dge phrug Become a toothless tantric yogi's
byed disciple!

Both are for *sha* (8).

* * *

The last subject that I want to introduce in this section concerns Tibetan images of different ethnicities or nationalities. Together with salacious verses, this topic is not usually made public. In fact, in the Tibetan book of *sho bshad* (Dechen Drokar 2003), these two subjects are avoided due to their sensitive nature. Firstly, here is one about the Bhutanese:

'brug pa bal po'i g.yog po red The Bhutanese are Nepali slaves,
tom tom sgal par 'khur mkhan red They are the ones carrying big
water cans on their backs
[like livestock].

The nation of Bhutan accomplished independence from the Dalai Lama's government in the seventeenth century. They are historically close to Nepal, and so stand with their close allies against the shared enemy of Central Tibet. Despite sharing the same religion of Tibetan Buddhism, Lhasans' bitter feeling against Bhutan is palpable. The next verse concerns the Khampa, the Tibetans in Eastern Tibet (Kham):

kham phrug la rtsed mo ma rtse Don't play with a Kham boy!
rliq thang sbar rdzog rgyag yong (He) will grab your balls!

It is widely perceived in culturally Tibetan areas that Khampa men are courageous, aggressive and belligerent. The verse above jokingly

informs us that Khampas have warrior natures even in childhood. The next:

<i>chu srin zer ba'i mgo leb ba de</i>	The flat-headed one called 'crocodile'
<i>rgya mtsho dkrug mkhan ded dpon yin</i>	is the captain who disturbs the ocean.

At first sight, the meaning conveyed by this verse is ambiguous. However, it is very clear to some Tibetans: the word "crocodile" can be a metaphor for the new population increasing since 2008, that is, the Chinese army. What they do in Lhasa appears to some Tibetans metaphorically analogous to what crocodiles do in their territories. While the implied content appears to be a politically sensitive pronouncement, the clever choice of the metaphorical expression by the unknown authors seems to make this *sho bshad* vague and indefinite enough to be used in politicised Lhasa. Some say that the origin of this *sho bshad* may be nearly a century ago, perhaps indicating that its metaphorical nature leaves it open to differing interpretations dependent on the climate of the times. The last one:

<i>ri pin dmag mi ri la phyin</i>	Japanese Army go to the [top of] the mountain,
<i>ri la phyin nas za ki ki</i>	[After] going to the top, [they] shout "Sa-ki-ki!"

Anti-Japan films have been very popular all over China, Tibetan regions being no exception. For Tibetans exposed to those patriotic films, the Japanese appear crazy and violent people, who just shout "Shageki!" (Shoot!) or "Totsugeki!" (Attack!), appearing rather comical.

6. Transcendental background: *sho* in the Tibetan religious world

Sho is a mere game, and one that leads its players to spontaneous gain and loss, since it involves gambling. However, if one traverses different cultural aspects revolving around dice, one can find that it also plays a distinctive social role in the Tibetan religious realm, the role of divination (*mo*) by means of dice. This is perhaps, a more fundamental function of dice or *sho* within the whole Tibetan cultural milieu. Although it is true that *sho* should not be simply connected to the world of divination, particularly within historical research (cf.

Otani 2003: 323), mystic features of dice, some religious or transcendental associations in *sho* gambling are pretty evident, and it is inappropriate to disregard them if one wants to understand *sho* from a Tibetan cultural perspective.

In what follows, before discussing about Tibetan dice divination and its transcendental features, I want to present a somewhat parallel phenomenon: the role of a supernatural being in *sho* gambling. Among *sho* players and others, it is not uncommon that if a player is good or lucky in throwing dice, he is said to be associated with a certain worldly spirit called *the'u rang* ("tebrang" in pronunciation). It is believed that once this spirit possesses a player, he suddenly excels in *sho*, obtaining whatever number is desired when throwing dice. Some say, if one becomes absorbed in playing *sho* alone in sky-burial place, a *the'u rang* will appear to join the game. Others told me if one plays *sho* alone at night in mountains, using *yos* (roasted barley sweets eaten among children in countryside) as a substitute for shells, this spirit of *the'u rang* will again appear. If the person wins, he can get anything he wishes, but if not, he will die soon. The *the'u rang* might often appear, people say, near babies or infants to play with them, and the causes of their sudden smiles or tears are often attributed to this spirit's behaviour. The spirit likes "playing in general", including *sho*, and it is believed that if a *sho* player can evoke the *the'u rang* to be on his side, this spirit helps to increase his luck (*rlung rta*), enabling him to win whilst gambling.

In the Buddhist or Bon pantheon, a *the'u rang* is one kind of *dregs pa* (literally, meaning "arrogance"), which means the entity belongs to a multitude of gods and goddesses occupying a lower rank than that of enlightened members of the pantheon, i.e. worldly gods (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993 [1956]: 253). It is believed that, as one of spirits gifted with 'arrogance', the *the'u rang* is a malevolent deity, causing disunity and quarrel and making children ill (ibid.: 283). Since they are also responsible for weather changes, including hail and lightning, they may be appeased by local *sngags pa* or local magicians (ibid.: 467), which are still common in culturally Tibetan areas. Perhaps the most intriguing account for our interest comes from a Bon or indigenous perspective: "[*the'u rang*] is thought to be embodied in boulders and ashes, as well as in dice. He brings success in games, particularly dice, but also any board games (Trungpa 1978: 301; *my italics*)." From these accounts, it can be said that the *the'u rang* is a worldly deity influencing the trajectories of changeable, fragile and unpredictable nature of the present-future, such as weather, infants and the thrown dice!

On the basis of what is outlined above, I want to present two points related to gambling in religion. Some intersections between gambling and religion are explored by the anthropologist Per Binde

(2007), by focusing on the relationship between Christianity and gambling. One of his arguments is that monotheistic religions such as Christianity and Islam tend to denounce gambling, whereas religions of animistic or polytheistic kind “accept gambling and often merge with gambling (ibid.: 154).” Although I do not have any particular objection to this claim, introducing the dichotomy between monotheistic and polytheistic seems to me a slightly unsophisticated approach. The concords or conflicts between gambling and religion seem to be affected, I would contend, by both the degrees of felt cognitive closeness to supernatural powers on the one hand, and the qualities of their worldliness on the other. Although the polytheistic may imply familiarity with various gods in the living world, the dichotomy seems to obscure a crucial point: the proximity (or even identity) of the players to divine power(s) – whether they live in the monotheistic or polytheistic world. In order to discuss the relationships between gambling and religion, we should first explore to what extent (and in what ways) notions of supernatural beings permeate peoples’ daily lives; how the realities of those powers are lived in the nexus of cognitive and social worlds.

The other point, which should be noted regarding the relationship between gambling and religion, is elucidated by the indigenous way in which *the'u rang*, the deity of *sho* gambling, is evoked. Certainly, there is no systematic means or ritual to bring him to the living realm in the context of *sho*. However, at this point, a piece of advice given me by a senior skilled *sho* gambler has something insightful to say: “You need to become *nga rgyal* (literally, “I, king” meaning “arrogant” or “proud”) to win! Without *nga rgyal*, it’s not fun to play *sho*, but if you become *nga rgyal*, the luck of dice will come with you!” He did not specify anything about *the'u rang*, but its relevance seems to be evident, particularly given the religious world mentioned above; *the'u rang* is a malevolent deity from a family whose quality is “arrogance” (*dregs pa*). To have luck in throwing dice, to be assisted by *the'u rang*, one is required to transform his ordinary state of consciousness and consciously generate *nga rgyal* within his mind. This performative act is radically opposed to the value of *sems chung* (literally, “small mind”) or modesty, something ordinarily espoused by Tibetans in modern Lhasa (Murakami 2011: 166-8). However, in the context of *sho* gambling, one needs to transcend ordinary worldly morality in an overtly performative manner, as enthusiastic *sho* players normally do.

In order to comprehend the point above, it seems to be pertinent to introduce the Tibetan shamanic practice and its internal mechanism as articulated by Geoffrey Samuel, an anthropologist and western academic expert on Tibetan Buddhism. In his discussions on the na-

ture of Tibetan tantric deities, including Avalokiteśvara (the Bodhisattva of Compassion), he maintains:

Avalokiteśvara is not a specific deity 'out there.' ... he is present wherever his practice is done, and to the extent that it is done successfully. If we regard Avalokiteśvara not as a deity but as a mode of feeling, cognition, and behaviour, then to say that Avalokiteśvara is present whenever his practice is done is not some kind of a poetic statement but a simple description. ... To the extent that the Tantric deity Avalokiteśvara exists, he exists because he is brought into existence through the millions of Tibetans who do Avalokiteśvara practices, develop appropriate qualities, and thus, to a certain degree, 'become' Avalokiteśvara. ... Avalokiteśvara, in other words, is best seen neither as a person nor as some kind of free-floating spirit entity. He is a potentiality that can be realized within the body and mind of a particular practitioner ... (1993: 247-8)

This "tantric" practice is not the monopoly of the mystic figures of yogis or yoginis, but can be realised by virtually all who attempt to "become" the deities or Bodhisattvas through transformation of their mental states. Naturally, it is not restricted to Avalokiteśvara, but open to many other deities including our *the'u rang*.¹⁸ The deity of *sho* gambling does not exist "out there." A player of *sho* cannot only evoke the deity, but also even become *the'u rang* himself, as long as the player can become arrogant and proud to a significant degree. The stories about meeting *the'u rang* at night, mentioned above, are very true; the frantic player, playing alone in fearful places, actually meets himself in his arrogant aspect face-to-face, with *sho* as an eloquent medium.

* * *

In the rest of this section, I will focus on some aspects of Tibetan dice divination and its relevance to *sho* gambling. In the dice divination (*sho mo*), one of the most powerful protector deities of Tibetan Buddhism is evoked. That is Palden Lhamo, the protector goddess of the successive Dalai Lamas, and the supreme guardian deity of Tibet, particularly of its capital, Lhasa. This wrathful goddess is believed to

¹⁸ Identification with *the'u rang* may be dubious according to dominant Tibetan Buddhist teachings, in which *only tantric deities*, not those of lower rank, could normally manifest through sentient beings. However, I would say that, within lay understandings at least, lower spiritual beings, including our *the'u rang*, could be embodied in relevant persons, particularly in some explicitly non-Buddhist settings such as *sho* gambling.

have the clairvoyant power of seeing the future,¹⁹ and also, even the capability to “determine the karmic outcome of any situation” (Beer 2003: 158). Two or three dice are attached to her body (see Fig. 5 and 6); “magical weapons” (ibid.) with which to conduct these divine deeds. If someone, usually a monk, can successfully evoke the goddess in the dice divination,²⁰ it is believed possible to predict the future according to the numbers of the thrown dice, empowered as it is by Palden Lhamo’s blessings. Thus, religious specialists employ dice divination for various purposes, such as determining the cause of sickness for followers, prescribing treatment, and predicting the prospects for a marriage. Moreover, *sho*, as an embodiment of the divine wills of Palden Lhamo or other subordinate supernatural beings, has also been (and is) used for various social functions. For example, it is used to elect a new chief of the valley (Walsh 1906: 303-8); to judge a difficult court case (Henderson 1964); to decide the allocation of pasture land and order of distribution of irrigation water (Bauer 2004: 55-7); to call back one’s soul from a demon in a ritual for soul-retrieval (Ramble 2009); and to demonstrate the victory of Buddhism and the Dalai Lama in the national festival called *tshogs mchod* (Yamaguchi 1987: 316-8).

¹⁹ Palden Lhamo’s clairvoyance is manifested in her ability to predict the time and place of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, whom she protects. Thus, the Lake Lhamolatso, where she is believed to reside, is visited by high officials and lamas after the death of each Dalai Lama, because it is said that various supernatural signs and visions appear on the surface of the lake. Examining this information, high lamas interpret clues about where and when the next Dalai Lama will be reincarnated. For the search preceding recognition of the present Dalai Lama, see Goldstein (1989: 310-24).

²⁰ Instead of Palden Lhamo herself, *dPal ldan dmag zor ma*, one of her emanations, may often be evoked (e.g. *Don kun grub pa* n.d.), though the nature of these two are identical. There is also a dice divination involving Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom (e.g. Jamgon Mipham 1990).



Fig. 5. Palden Lhamo.

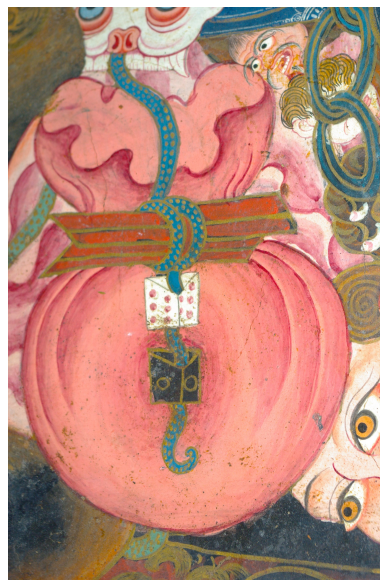


Fig. 6. Two Dice hung below Palden Lhamo.

So, how are this traditional practice of dice divination and its religious background connected to *sho* gambling? Where is the intersection between gambling and divination? To answer these questions would involve substantial textual analysis on various usages of dice in Tibetan cultural history. In this article, I just want to present some perspectives from which to tackle these questions, by returning to the riddle mentioned earlier, which is the problem of gender.

In section three, I pointed out that women in Lhasa and neighbouring areas are generally excluded from playing *sho*. This may be attributable to the perceived inferiority of women in Tibetan society, which may operate to alienate women from some social activities, including gambling. However, as reason for their exclusion from *sho*, this is unconvincing, since women in Shigatse are not forbidden to play, and also, those in Lhasa do play other styles of gambling such as mahjong. In my view, perhaps, one answer to this apparent conflict could lie in the seemingly mysterious but poignant notion widely circulated among Lhasan men that “*if women play sho, they always win*”. This peculiar belief is remarkable. Women are considered superior to men in *sho* gambling.

Here it would be pertinent, I believe, to present another small episode: In the monasteries and temples in Lhasa, there are some spaces where women are forbidden to enter. Interestingly, these are not male spaces of some sort, or those within which celibate monks are segre-

gated, but totally the opposite. They are actually feminine places, believed to be abodes of Palden Lhamo²¹. It is taboo for women to get close to her, since if they do, they are believed to get mad and uncontrolled due to the divine influence of the goddess. Women are easily possessed or affected by Palden Lhamo.

I would also like to comment that in discussing the historical traces of Tibetan dice divination, Róna Tas (1956: 171-6) emphasises the close connection between divination and healing practices, and also the possible identity between fortuneteller and healer. In this context, Palden Lhamo was the source of inspiration. Importantly, Róna Tas further suggests that these two different practices could be done by "female shamans." By using a dice with the help of Palden Lhamo, these "female shamans" played the roles of healer-cum-fortuneteller in old Tibet. Róna Tas also introduces interesting circumstantial evidence raised by another academic: it may not be coincident that the word denoting divination by dice (*mo*) is the identical with that meaning woman (*mo*).

In our discussion on women's exclusion from *sho* gambling, the above point is immensely insightful. Women must be separated from the dice, throwing dices, and of course, from *sho* gambling, because they are potentially 'shamans' who could be easily influenced or possessed by the powerful, victorious Palden Lhamo. Just as enthusiastic *sho* gamblers may meet *the'u rang* with dice as a medium, women could meet or merge with the goddess, who is much more powerful than *the'u rang*.²² In the case of *the'u rang*, to get assistance from him one needs a performative act of arrogance, whereas in the case of the Palden Lhamo, women are not required to enact anything but their sheer sexual bodies. In a sense, the female body itself is a performative act evoking through identifying with the wrathful goddess. In *sho* gambling, any man would be unable to compete with a woman protected by her.

²¹ It is also sometimes forbidden for women to enter the chapels of other protector deities. However, the association between Palden Lhamo and women is most often evoked and manifested in the context of spatial taboo inside the monasteries and temples of Lhasa and neighbouring areas.

²² During the discussions in the workshop (Playing Games in East Asia – Gaming and Gambling) where I presented an earlier draft of this article, Dr. Paul Festa (Stanford University), an anthropologist working on China and Taiwan, pointed out an interesting triadic idea found in the context of Chinese gambling. He articulated that between or above the dichotomy of luck and skills, there is a "fate" (Ch. *mingyun*), which determines the course of gambling in a most decisive manner. To relate this point to our Tibetan context, luck (*rlung rta*) can be associated with *the'u rang*, and fate or karma (*las*) with Palden Lhamo. Applying the Chinese idea analogically may be helpful in comprehending the hierarchical nature of these two supernatural powers in the context of *sho*.

As to why women are not excluded from *sho* gambling in Shigatse, one needs to be reminded of the spatial frontiers of Palden Lhamo's power. Indeed, she is the protector goddess of the Dalai Lama and Tibet as a whole, but she tends to be most often associated with the supreme guardian deity of Lhasa in particular, i.e. Lhasa's *yul lha* (guardian deity of locality). Lhasa is, thus, the space where she radiates her divine power most strongly. In effect, within Lhasa and its surrounding areas, her sacred power must be awed and respected in any situation and temporality. Shigatse is quite far away from Lhasa, and moreover, as a region it is historically and culturally distinctive from the areas around Lhasa, hence the people there have a different degree of fear towards this goddess. The nature of the goddess and the differences of her spatial influences affect the lives of women in different areas in Tibet differently, operating to determine their social inclusion in or exclusion from certain activities.

7. Conclusion

In Western or secularised societies, it may be that gambling functions as a substitute for official religions, providing the players with some sort of mystical or transcendental experiences (cf. Binde 2007: 149-52). In the case of modern Lhasa, in contrast, the *sho* gambling is a field to which the Tibetan religious or transcendental world extends itself. In modern Lhasa, religious tenets and values are not completely segregated from the world of *sho*. It can be even said that perhaps, without certain religious or mythical aspects, including taboo on (or fear towards) women players, Tibetan men would not have maintained such fascination and enthusiasm for the world of *sho*.

It is true that gambling in general attracts certain people. Indeed, *sho* is about spontaneous gains and losses that entice people. The actual practices of gambling, to put simply, are putting a butter-tea cup upside down with force, and generating one's arrogance with the help of alcohol. These simple performances are symbolic in themselves – the former concerns 'death' (see section three), and the latter may be an indication of 'life.' This symbolism embodied in *sho* can indeed be said to be a metaphoric expression of gambling as a 'life-and-death' matter. However, simultaneously, what this mystic symbolism implies – a manifestation of two ambivalent natures – may be the secret of the attraction that *sho* holds; a sort of indication of non-worldly realms.

Throughout this article, I have attempted to demonstrate and analyse various aspects of this intriguing gambling game based on my ethnographic experiences in Lhasa. It is my wish to introduce readers

into the core of Tibetan socio-religious worlds still permeating modern Lhasa through this variety of stories about the Tibetan dice game. As shown, some residues of traditional beliefs, in terms of gender and worldviews, are indeed palpable and vigorous within the world of *sho*. Anthropological research on gambling should not be content only with documenting its practices and economic implications, but should encourage us to traverse different aspects of society and tradition in order to re-appreciate that gambling is not only a unique cultural repository, but a distinctive culture in itself.

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