





Fifteenth Seminar of the  
International Association for Tibetan Studies  
རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བསྐྱོད་སྐབས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཐེངས་༡༥།

**Book of Abstracts**  
བསྐུས་དོན་ཀུན་བཏུས།

Paris, 7-13 July 2019  
At the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales  
65 rue des Grands Moulins

སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༩ ཟླ་བདུན་པའི་ཚེས་ ༧ རས་ ༡༣ བར།  
ཕོ་རི་སིར་གནས་པའི་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་དཔལ་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་སློབ་གླིང་།  
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# Invited Lectures at the Opening Ceremony

Per Kværne (Oslo)

## **IATS at Forty**

The IATS was founded at the seminar of Tibetan studies convened by Michael Aris at St. John's College, University of Oxford, in July 1979. Retrospectively it has been counted as the second IATS seminar, as its immediate predecessor and inspiration was the Seminar of Young Tibetologists that took place in Zürich two years earlier.

“IATS at Forty” will give an account of both these events, their background and characteristics, and, moving to the present, discuss the development of IATS into what it has become today.

The talk will conclude by some thoughts about the future of IATS and certain challenges it would seem to be facing.

Diana Lange (Berlin)

## **Keynote address**

### **Encounters in the Western Himalayas: Visualizing Tibet in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century**

In 1857, a Tibetan lama was engaged by William Edmund Hay, Assistant Commissioner in the Western Himalayas, to create what ended up as the Wise Collection in the British Library. The lama produced the first extant map made by an indigenous map-maker that shows the whole panorama of Tibet—from Ladakh to Kongpo—accompanied by numerous detailed full-colour drawings. The result of a collaborative project between two players from different cultural backgrounds—a Buddhist lama and a British official—the maps and drawings reveal the lama's profound knowledge of Tibet in a visual way, and they also represent a complex interpretation of Tibet. The Wise Collection can be seen as both a “visible history of exploration,” and as a case of “forgotten knowledge” on Tibet. An interdisciplinary approach combining area studies, art history, cartography, religious studies, geography and history provides a broad view on the material and the many connections and relations between the specific topics addressed in the maps and drawings.

# **Anthropology, Ethnography and Sociology**

མི་རིགས་རིག་པ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་རིག་པ་

## Panel 18 – Development and Social and Environmental Change in Rgyal-thang and Dechen

རྒྱལ་ཐང་ལ་ཡར་རྒྱས་དང་། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང་ཁོར་ལུག་གི་དུས་འགྱུར།

### Panel organizer

Brendan A. Galipeau (Houston)

**Panel abstract** – The Tibetan plateau has experienced profound social and environmental changes, driven by state policies and global environmental alterations. Incredibly diverse biologically and culturally, and home to some of Tibet’s most sacred landscapes surrounding Khawa Karpo, the Rgyalhang and Dechen regions are undergoing profound alterations in livelihood patterns, economies, and landscapes, in particular due to the continuous growth of tourism (see Yeh and Coggins 2014) as well as globalizing influences of trade and marketing (Saxer 2013). Through ethnographic examination, this panel critically examines many of the nascent impacts of development on local Tibetans, their livelihoods, and landscapes in Rgyalhang. Some of the topics covered in papers will include analyses of capitalist agrarian change and commodification of agricultural landscapes, the expansion and promotion of local forms of Tibetan medicine, waste management in sacred landscapes, impacts of acute environmental change on local folk-religions, and the development and expansion of Buddhist monastic economies as they become further integrated into state tourism schemes.

Eric D. Mortensen (Greensboro, North Carolina)

### Folk Story Performance in Geza: Gyalhangpa Relationships with the Land in Light of Environmental Change

With the rise of mining and the demise of the logging industry over the past two decades, and the distinct paucity of institutionalized religious resurgence since the Cultural Revolution, the valleys of Geza (and neighboring Nagara and Ongshui - though the later is more historically and culturally related to Gtermarong) have witnessed a correlative retrenchment toward and augmented attention to non-Buddhist folk religion. Based on interviews and observations conducted on more than a dozen fieldwork visits over the past decade, this project details manifestations of folk-religiosity (*mi chos*) in story performance, with an emphasis on the stories’ content relationship to the local animated landscape in light of acute environmental change.

Changes in local folk-religiosity are subtle. Without a clear record of pre-1950s folktales in Geza, it is difficult if not impossible to discern the degree to which the content of stories have undergone increasingly rapid change, compared with the rate and narrative locus of changes over other diachronic periods. Comparative morphology – wherein the content and language of specific story-cycles is compared with versions in neighboring regions (e.g. Yagra, Nizu, Benzilan, Chatreng, Dechen, etc.) – can provide only subtle clues about how local stories might have changed during the recent period of accelerated environmental change. Similarly, one can only glean speculative notions of how the performance (performance contexts, occasions, audiences, narrator identities) have changed, if at all, in recent times. Nevertheless, there are elements in particular genres of story in Geza that are tied to specific features of the natural landscape, and as the land itself changes, so too might the stories.

Specifically, in this paper I will assess the elements of several versions of *nags myi rgod* (wild people) and *sher shang doe doe* (flying long-armed mountain monsters) tales and their telling in Geza villages (Nagara, and Geza) that mention specific places – most notably Panlong. Panlong is ambiguous. It is described as a formerly invisible village located just above the tree-line about two days walk due east of Geza village, just to the east of the new enormous copper mine. In the stories, Panlung becomes visible to the occasional exploring mushroom or animal hunter, but is uninhabitable due to the presence of dangerous *nags myi rgod*,

who invert and mimic the activities of people. Interestingly, many villages in the region were formerly invisible (Nizu, and A-bra in Yagra, among others), but Panlong is now only a ruin. Stories of villages similar to Panlong are told throughout the region. The pattern of revelation from invisible to visible is precipitated by transgressive acts (shooting a white bear or pig, cremation of a donkey instead of a human corpse by mimetic and curious faerie people, etc.). Indeed, *nags myi rgod* tales are dripping with motifs of transgression and inversion, of halves and desecration. Several households in Geza carry the surname Panlong, claiming to be refugees from Panlung, an identity rendered more complex by the recent governmental policy of the wholesale relocation of remote villages to towns adjacent to roads, such as Geza. The *sher shang doe doe* tales inscribe the hyper-local landscape with history, and are tales that explain not only the origin of jagged peaks, but of how and why violation of traditions leads to catastrophic environmental consequences. Many types of animals that appear in the stories are no longer common in the depleted forests. Clean perfect water, also vital in the descriptions of utopian (invisible) villages, is also no longer a reliable part of life. Even the monsters are gone – either having departed a generation ago, or fading into the realm of legend, and less real. Why then, are the stories still being told? How might the stories be changing? What terminological caveats of uncertainty are included in the re-performances of the stories, and to whom? The folk religious tradition is alive and well, even if the monsters in the mountains and their domains have been effaced.

Hannah Klepeis (Moschendorf)

### **‘Fake’ monks, ‘fake’ Tibetans: Contemplating Tibetan Modernity in Shangrila**

Amongst Tibetans in the urban centre of Rgyalhang, today officially known as Shangrila (Rgyalhang), notions of ‘real’ and ‘fake’ are commonly employed in descriptions and assessments of other people, objects and places. This is particularly prominent in discourses surrounding (local) monastics, as well as those regarding the local Tibetan identity. As economic and urban development of the regions has intensified, accusations of Rgyalhang Tibetans not being ‘real Tibetans’ and of local monks being ‘fake’ have become nearly ubiquitous. These discourses, however, are not exclusively to be understood as a case of ‘authenticity anxiety’ (Notar 2006) caused by the commodification of the region and locals monastery for the tourism market. They are strongly connected to its history as a Tibetan borderland and the more recent nation-building processes in the Indian exile. The first part of this paper will thus focus of this paper will thus lie on the ways young, urban Tibetans, as well as monastics, in Rgyalhang reflect on these discourses, and the ways they both embody and challenge them in everyday life.

The second part of this paper will connect these issues to (local) debates on the possibilities of Tibetan modernity and the existence of Tibetan culture within an urban environment. Changes in the socio-economic structures and urban environment are not only seen as a hindrance for Tibetan culture to continue in its traditional form, but also for the monastery to function in its proper manner. As the modernity and urbanity (Rgyalhang) Tibetans find themselves in are often experienced as something that is somewhat out of their control, both expectations towards Tibetan-ness and monk-hood have come to be trapped within static ideals they cannot (and often do not want to) conform to. Coming from this, the final part aims to re-locate Rgyalhang both on the border, while simultaneously highlighting its embeddedness within it the Chinese state and its national economic market, thus opening up questions of citizenship and the possibilities of participation of Tibetans within it.

This paper is based on twelve months of ethnographic research carried out between September 2015 and August 2016, as well as September 2017.

Denise M. Glover (Kent, Washington)

### **Changes and Challenges to Tibetan Medicine Production in Rgyalhang**

In 2014 a new hospital of Tibetan medicine opened in Rgyalhang. In many ways it was a relocation of the previous hospital of TM (which had opened in 1987): the name was the same as before, the overall

administrative structure and most of the staff remained (although many new staff were added as well), and some of the equipment and stores from the “old” hospital were transferred to the new location. And yet, the new hospital is a new place, with significantly expanded facilities and services and new potentialities in terms of medicine production and practice. While the old hospital had limited production equipment and space and was not GMP compliant, the new production facility has roughly 20 times more floor space, more advanced equipment and is GPP (although not GMP) compliant. Therefore, new possibilities for production exist at this hospital like never before (particularly in terms of overall volume and targeted marketing). In addition to changes in production, the inclusion of biomedical equipment and practice (for example, there is now a surgery ward), and the expansion of treatments from the Chinese medical tradition, have added options as well as challenges to practitioners and patients alike. Based on fieldwork expanding over 10 years, the author will discuss some of the most significant shifts and issues in the latest iteration of the production and practice of Tibetan medicine in southern Khams, and the larger implications and effects of these changes in terms of local agency, identity, medical practice, and environmental concerns. Links to similar issues of “modernization” in Tibetan medicine in China and India will be made.

Bo Wang (Lausanne)

### **Sacred Trash and Personhood: Living in the Daily Waste Management and Infrastructures in the Eastern Himalayas, Yunnan, China**

This paper exposes the entangled relationships among sacredness, trash, and personhood by delving into the daily waste management and infrastructures, as well as conflicts and negotiations among villagers, tourists, and government officials in the Eastern Himalayas, Yunnan, China. I argue that people navigate their life worlds in the moving interfaces between the sacred and the profane, the clean and the unclean, and finally the spiritual, mindful world and the marketized, materialistic world. Through negotiations and contestations, they show the unique understanding of indigenous personhood in the predominant environmental discourses, a kind of personhood that connects spirits with the environment rather than breaks them. Adopting the recent anthropology of *more-than-human*, I show the diverse makings of personhood in the midst of sacred pilgrimage, tourism, and trash collection management, and argue for a kind of Tibetan personhood that is renewed in the environmental discourses and vernacular beliefs and practices, as well as a relationship that I identify as sacred trash and personhood. It is through the entanglements of sacred trash and personhood, I conclude, that people live with an increasing amount of solid waste in the touristic mountains held sacred, as well as with hopes of an ecological future in the age of waste and development in China.

Brendan A. Galipeau (Houston)

### **Crafting a Tibetan Terroir: Global Capitalism and Agrarian Change in Shangri-La, China**

This paper describes long term research with rural Tibetan communities in Dechen where over the past 15-20 years, vast areas of land have been transformed into monocrop vineyards for government promoted “Shangri-La Wine,” among other brands also marketed using Tibetan culture. Much of this marketing is also based upon a local history of French and Swiss Catholic missionaries who first introduced grapes and wine making during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Despite these marketing developments of natural wine products with a historical nature, the emergence of this industry has led to rapid development in the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, the effects of which are not always lost on local communities.

## **Panel 24 – Kinship by choice and Friendship by Preference: Intimacy and Interaction in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland**

ཀྱུ་བོ་དམ་ཚལ་ས་ལ་པ་སྤྱན་དང་མཛའ་བཤེས། ཉེ་འབྲེལ་ལ་དབྱུང་བ།

### **Panel organizers**

Eveline Bingaman (Hsinchu City)

Wang Tingyu (New Taipei City)

**Panel abstract** – Since the 1990s, anthropologists have been struggling to modify definitions of kinship so that anthropological concepts will more accurately describe companionship and family practices (Weston 1991). In the past two decades, anthropologists have used several different terms to re-conceptualize what extent of human experience should be included in discussions of kinship; for example, relatedness (Carsten 2000), mutuality (Sahlins 2013) and relationality (Miller 2016). Within these modified concepts, space has been created to more fully recognize the integral and intimate role friendship plays in overall kinship structures. In the Tibetan cultural sphere, kinship is not always a prescribed system for relationship, but also full of options under the bilateral structure. Conversely, friendships are not always determined purely by individual choice, but may result from preference toward certain categories of people. This panel seeks to challenge the assumed dichotomy of friendship as voluntary and kin as obligatory in discussion of practice in the Sino-Tibetan borderland.

The contributors to this panel will address this issue from a variety of directions. Bingaman examines the intersubjectivities of two orders of kinship, individual and collective, in exploring how ritual siblings play an integral role in the overall kinship structure of Eagleback Naxi people. Gros asks the question “what is a lover?” in his examination of the visiting system in the Sino-Tibetan borderland and the kind of kinship this partner/friend relationship produces. Lee focuses on the role of reciprocity and gift exchange in generating and maintaining relationships among a Pumi-speaking community to demonstrate how local categories of social relations do not fall comfortably into dichotomized “kinship” and non-“kinship” categories. Lai looks at the system of household management and labor exchange between households in a Tibetan village in Deqin, demonstrating the historical basis of contemporary practices that favor affinal relationships over consanguineal ones. Wang describes how Situ rGyalrong in northwest Sichuan express their closeness by applying principles of both kinship and friendship in the action of labor exchange. Hu’s paper gives two examples of how Jinchuan rGyalrong use the intimacy created via friendship and shared religious belief to establish social relations and as a strategy to solve conflict. Finally, Zhang’s paper explores how Tibetan religions-based value systems, as well as localized discourses of neoliberalism, simultaneously influence the forming of partnerships among Tibetan entrepreneurs. Together, the papers in this panel examine the underpinning experience of closeness and intimacy by taking either kinship or friendship as a starting point to explore how one comes to encompass the other, demonstrating the value of an approach that takes the two as non-exclusive categories.

Eveline Bingaman (Hsinchu City)

### **The Intersubjectivities of Individual and Collective Kinship: Ritual Siblingship among the Naxi in Southwest China**

Recent developments in kinship theory have opened the door for exploration of many human relationships in terms of kinship that previously were not approached as such. Through the example of ritual siblingships among the Naxi people of Eagleback Village in Southwest China, this paper seeks to clarify the concept of kinship as “intersubjectivity” while elaborating its relationship with both social formation and the state. Among the Naxi of Eagleback, ritual siblings are same-sex, ritually established life-long

relationships built on mutual affection and approved of by the families of each. In Eagleback, we find that the Naxi sense of kinship is divided into two orders, one concerned with the needs of the collective (in this situation, the basic economic unit of the house) and one (including ritual siblings) which concerns with the needs of the individual. Together these two orders of kin, each with their distinct forms of inter-subjectivity, mutually constitute each other in a flexible way that has allowed the community to respond and adapt to political, administrative, and economic changes through the past half a century.

Stéphane Gros (Paris)

### **What is a Lover? Reproduction, Siblingship, and the Visiting System in the Sino-Tibetan borderland**

This talk aims at discussing the “visiting system”—a kind of non-contractual sexual relationship associated with natolocal residence—on the basis of fieldwork research conducted in the Tibetan region of ‘Drapa (nDrapa) where a form of visiting partnership similar to that of the Na (Moso) is found. Such a system depends on the establishment of relationships between lovers who visit each other while living in their respective houses. How can we consider the category of “lover” in a kinship system where ultimately the sisters and brothers are the social fathers and mothers for the offspring living with them in their house? If siblingship is the fundamental relation for the maintenance of the continuity of the household, the figure of the lover raises questions regarding the affective involvement and the importance of responsibility for care between members of such households.

Lee Wen-Yao (Lawrence, Kansas)

### **Relations Built on Practices: Maintaining Various Social Relations in a Pumi-speaking Community in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland**

This article presents the case of a Pumi-speaking community in northwestern Yunnan, China to demonstrate how “kinship” and non-“kinship” social relations are best examined on a continuum with overlapped similarities than as dichotomized categories. Previous studies of indigenous groups at the Tibetan borderlands have focused on the concept of “bone” and “flesh” to understand the social organization, focusing on the relationship of “descent” and “affine” which belong to the traditional “kinship” domain in anthropology. However, local communities also have other categories of social relations for organizing their social life. In this multiethnic region, it is common to establish friendship with households of other ethnic groups in adjacent villages as part of a family’s social network. As villagers have more opportunities to leave the local community for school or work in contemporary China, there are also more social connections established with people outside the village or region.

This article builds on Janet Carsten’s work (1995, 2000) that highlights the role of practice in composing the “kinship” relation—which is often considered to be based on the given “biological” foundation—and her suggestions to use “relatedness” to refer to social relations generated and maintained through practices, which includes but is not limited to “kinship.” I will focus on the various reciprocal and gift-exchange practices that are expected from and adopted to maintain various categories of “kinship” and non-“kinship” social relations in the community of the Yongning Pumi, including peikwəŋ (sibling, family), tɛ<sup>h</sup>autɛæ (relative, affine), tɛku (one-branch), qu (friend), and qinjia (relative, friend). I will also discuss how these relationships could be established or dropped through choice and practices. In this, I will show that the distinction between family (peikwəŋ) and relative (tɛ<sup>h</sup>autɛæ/affine) is not strictly a difference between descent and marriage; rather these categories are based on both biological fact and social practices. I will also show that both relatives (tɛ<sup>h</sup>autɛæ/affine) and friends are built on obligations and choices even though the two kinds of relations develop from different starting points.

Lai Hsuan-Pei (New Taipei City)

### **Household Management and Labor Allocation in a Tibetan Village: Continuities from the Qing Dynasty to the Present**

This paper examines household management and a system of inter-household labor exchanges in an agrarian village in Deqin County, Northwest Yunnan, and suggests that the elective kinship relations found between households, which closely parallel the elasticity of friendship, has acted as an important force for facing external forces throughout monumental political and economic transformations. The paper provides an ethnographic description of everyday Tibetan household management and its relationship to labor distribution in a village of 70 houses. All inter-household relationships are maintained or ended through inter-household labor exchanges, including collaborations in all major ritual activities and community road repair. In both traditional agrarian activities and in more recent economic activities including commercial wineries and vineyards, inter-household relationships turn on balancing between consanguineal versus affinal ties, with the balance tipped well in favor of affinal relations. Consultation of written historical sources together with oral histories establishes that the household management system witnessed today was already integral to Deqin agrarian villages during the Qing dynasty and Republic of China eras (1912-1949). This system has remained a defining feature of the community, even after the formal end of the native officialdom rule with the arrival of the communist-led government and its implementation of land reform (in the 1950s), and despite the turbulence of the nearly three decades of socialist collectivization, and now after nearly four decades of market friendly reform era policies (1979-present). Thus, this paper demonstrates how, although native officialdom rule formally ended with the entry of the communist-led government into Deqin County almost eight decades ago, informally it continues to maintain a powerful presence at the community-level in household management and inter-household labor exchanges.

Wang Tingyu (New Taipei City)

### **Closeness, Interaction and Kinship among Situ rGyalrong in Northwest Sichuan**

Anthropological research classifies kinship as structural, prescriptive and fixed, and contrasts it with friendship which is described as random, preferential, and determined by choice (Miller 2016). In this paper, the ethnography of Situ rGyalrong labor exchange will challenge the conventional classification between kinship and friendship. Description about how rGyalrong choose their partner house for labor exchange demonstrates the closeness between rGyalrong houses. These arrangements are neither random nor prescriptive. The invited partner houses will differ from year to year. The rGyalrong use labor exchange to represent and express closeness and intimacy between houses. The principle determining if a specific house should be invited or not has two layers of evaluation. The first layer is the kinship relationship, and the second layer is actual experience of interaction between the host house and guest houses. One of the common results is the host house does not invite a house of kin but invites a house of neighbors instead. From this example we can see that kin relationships do not always prescribe conduct for certain actions, nor is kinship totally abandoned when rGyalrong cooperate with households in other ways. Kinship and friendship among rGyalrong are not mutually exclusive categories. Instead, kinship provides certain guidelines or structure for choice, and friendship offers the flexibility for rGyalrong express their closeness and intimacy.

Zhang Mingyun (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **Tibetan Partners: The Making of Moral Spaces in the Age of Globalization**

My research examines the business partnerships developed among Tibetans in Chengdu against the backdrop of China's grand development program for the western regions. Despite Tibetan people's general

situation of marginalization in China (Fischer 2014, Yeh 2013), a Tibetan private economy has reemerged after a long period of imposed socialist collectivism. Young Tibetan entrepreneurs are eager to grasp the commercial opportunities brought by the government's call for "mass entrepreneurship and innovation" and develop discourses and narratives to justify their economic decisions. At the same time, value and moral systems based on local religions, to a great extent, inform their economic engagement. This is a dynamic process in which young Tibetan entrepreneurs integrate their knowledge and lived experiences of being in the orbit of China's development regime through shared practices, spaces, and sentiments of business. During this process, I hypothesize, Tibetan modes of partnership are cultivated as a result of the dialogue between a spirit of neoliberalism and the Tibetan religion-based value systems. These partnerships blur the boundary of market and non-market exchange, and create distinctive moral and economic spaces in the age of globalization.

## **Panel 36 – Tibetan Work: Labor and Entrepreneurship Across Time and Space**

ཡུལ་དང་དུས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་འགྲུར་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། བོད་ལ་ལས་དང་མ་ཚུའི་དོན་ལ་བརྟེན་པ།

### **Panel organizers**

Emily T. Yeh (Boulder, Colorado)

Sienna R. Craig (Dartmouth)

**Panel abstract** – This panel brings together research about the anthropologies and geographies of work in Tibetan societies, both historically and in the present, and in both Tibetan/Himalayan and diasporic contexts. Whereas the Tibetan plateau was once characterized primarily by agriculture and pastoralism, forms of labor and income-generation today are wildly varied. As subsistence agriculture is increasingly a losing proposition for culturally Tibetan communities in the northern Himalayas, household incomes are supplemented with earnings from cash crops as well as remittances from wage labor in urban centers or abroad, particularly in diasporic communities in North America. Such dynamics are further complicated by the role of commodity food aid, development projects, and education-driven outmigration in contributing to changes in the nature of work and the meaning of labor. At the same time, educational and environmental policies work together to push former pastoralists into new labor markets in towns and cities in the PRC. Development organizations in both contexts try to anticipate job opportunities through employment and vocational training. While the Chinese government has set up incubators and accelerators for entrepreneurship to encourage its citizens, including Tibetans, to become more entrepreneurial, opportunities for such entrepreneurship and new forms of labor emerge through the primarily non-state spaces of private enterprise, rotational credit systems, and kinship networks in Himalayan communities. And, on both sides of the mountains, expanding transportation and communication networks are further transforming what it means to work, to go for income, or to bring home the trade. We welcome papers on any aspect of Tibetan labor, work, business, entrepreneurship, and income generation. This could include papers on changing meanings of work, labor market segmentation, labor and class differentiation, precarity and the lack of formal work, etc. in Tibetan societies.

Emily T. Yeh (Boulder, Colorado)

### **Doing Well by Doing Good?: The Rise of Tibetan Entrepreneurship**

In the first decade of the new millennium, many educated and ambitious young Tibetans aspired to work in NGOs to promote community development, cultural preservation, and environmental protection. Today, the figure of the NGO-worker has been replaced by that of the entrepreneur, and hopes and dreams pinned on the private sector. This paper explores the emergence of this wave of entrepreneurialism among young, educated Tibetans at the convergence of national economic policies, regional political economic transformations, and shifting forms of state power. Based on interviews with Tibetan entrepreneurs, primarily in Chengdu, it explores discourses and practices of entrepreneurship (‘social’ and otherwise), and how these represent both continuity and change from previous practices of working through the form of the NGO. Through case studies, it also explores varying motivations for engaging in entrepreneurship, particularly social entrepreneurship, and how these practices intersect with the cultural politics of Tibetan identity. Finally, it considers the new subject-position of the Tibetan entrepreneur in relation to scholarship that has critiqued both entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship as products of neoliberal governmentality.

Gabriel Lafitte (Healesville)

### **Tibetan Employment in National Parks**

In 2018, China announced a new system of national parks to be launched in 2020. Four of the ten new protected areas are on the Tibetan Plateau, covering a huge area of pastoral production landscapes and alpine desert. Why does it take years to prepare a national park, when declaration of a nature reserve required little more than a formal announcement? How does the overlay of a zoning system which classifies landscapes as either economic or ecological, but seldom both, affect the nature/culture tension? Will traditional livelihoods be deemed compatible with rezoned pristine wilderness?

As China constructs an ecological civilisation, with biodiversity conservation the top priority in Tibet, what does this mean for the hundreds of thousands of “rural labourers” (as China classifies farmers and pastoralists) whose livelihoods rely on extensive land use? In contrast to the “paper park” nature reserves, will the new national park system systematically re-educate and redeploy Tibetans with local knowledge as park rangers, biodiversity conservation managers, tourist hospitality guides, site interpreters? How will they be trained, employed, remunerated? Will tourism commissions be the main source of income? Under the 2018 reorganisation of state ministries, to whom will Tibetans employed in national parks be responsible? How does national park designation intersect with existing programs of poverty alleviation, vocational training, transfer payments, commodity food aid, relocation and mandatory permanent housing? Given past decades of work in remote Tibetan biodiversity hotspots by the biggest international environmental NGOs, the inscription of certain areas by UNESCO World Heritage, and the active involvement of Paulson Institute, what roles are international actors playing in the design and management of the new national parks?

These are some of the many questions emerging from the planning of the new national park system. By mid-2019 it should be possible to answer these questions more confidently. Once the system is operational, anthropological fieldwork will be able to observe what roles Tibetans have been recruited to and trained in. In the three-year lead-in, discourse analysis focused on China’s ecological civilisation construction rhetorics can analyse shifts in meaning between ecological concepts of nature and culture, and their application to designated Key Ecological Function Zones in Tibet. When ecologists worldwide, and China’s central policy makers say all human activities in sensitive biodiversity hotspots is a threat, do they include customary practices and traditional land user communities as threats? Conservation science focused solely on biodiversity outcomes does tend to advise exclusion of drogpa (nomads); yet conservation science also advocates for community conserved areas as historically effective processes of successful protection, not only of iconic wildlife species, but entire habitats and ecosystems. China appears to have adopted a zero-sum model of binary categories, based on the dialectic postulate that there is a contradiction between grass and animals. Such differing interpretations of what initially appear to be similar discourses may, in Tibet, make all the difference as to whether traditional modes of production, including wildlife conservation, persist or are excluded by China’s “top-level design.

Anna Morcom (London)

### **Exile, Migration and the Changing Labour and Livelihoods of Performing Artists**

Before the annexation of Tibet by China and the start of socialist modernising drives, only a small number of non-monastic performing arts genres were carried out by professionals. The vast majority were performed by nomads and farmers - ceremonial songs, work songs, love songs, and so on. In Tibet, socialist-realist, folklorised versions of these traditions were instituted by professional troupes from the 1950s, performing Tibet as a part of modern China. In exile, a professional troupe, the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA), was established to face the challenges of cultural preservation. TIPA inevitably adopted a folklorised model inflected by the structures of Tibetan nationalism-in-exile. Whilst the few professional performers in Tibet had been of low social status, with the modern troupes, performers gained a higher status (though in exile some of the stigma remained), and a stable livelihood.

The professional troupes in Tibet and TIPA in exile continue today, as do, to a decreasing degree, Tibetans performing traditional genres as amateurs in society more broadly. From the 1980s, pop music has also emerged in both Tibet and exile, existing alongside and overlapping with these traditional genres. In exile, another important development has been the growth of diaspora communities in North America and Europe. A combination of factors, including the very low salaries at TIPA until recently, have led to vast numbers of professional artists emigrating to western countries, mostly North America. This has presented challenges for TIPA in terms of continuity, and it has opened up new ways in which work, livelihood and being a performer must balance in Tibetan diaspora societies.

In this paper, I explore these changes, focusing on non-monastic traditional performing arts and, in particular, the scores of ex-TIPA artistes in North America. I look at the re-de-professionalisation of Tibetan performing arts and the ways in which this repertoire continues to be passed on within a tiny exile community, dispersed now over large parts of the world. I explore the attitudes and labour of ex-TIPA artistes, the imperatives they feel to preserve Tibetan culture and support Tibetan communities, and degrees of monetary remuneration. I make comparison with pop performers, and analyse ways in which performing arts and the work of performers is valued in exile Tibetan society, and the influence of discourses of heritage emerging from the global nation-state system. Live performing arts in general have faced increasing challenges in terms of funding, given technology has not added the degree of increase of labour productivity that it has in other fields (Baumol and Bowen 1966). Traditional performing arts also face challenges in most parts of the worlds in terms of remaining relevant and popular and they have to a large degree been supported by nation states, serving at least implicitly a strong ideological function. In this paper, I explore these known pressures and problems in the case of exile Tibet, with its particular configurations of population, resources, lack of sovereign territory, and ideological makeup.

Sienna R. Craig (Hanover, New Hampshire), Nawang Tsering Gurung (Independent Researcher), Ross Perlin (New York City), Dan Kaufman (New York City), Mark Turin (Vancouver); presented by Sienna R. Craig

### **Scripting Place, Work, and Identity between High Asia and New York**

This paper takes as its starting point the video archive created through the Voices of the Himalayas project. Begun in 2016, this collaborative, engaged research endeavor has used the methods of ethnography, video storytelling, and language documentation to represent the socio-linguistically diverse experiences of new New Yorkers from greater Himalayan and Tibetan regions, as they navigate processes of immigration, identity (re)formation, employment, and community-building. This archive is comprised of 25 short (10-25 minute) videos that capture different aspects of these experiences, as narrated by individuals who range in age from teens to elders, and origin locations, from Tibetan areas in China to northern Nepal, India, and Bhutan. To date, these videos have been watched more than 70,000 times, by people in North America and globally. (The three most watched videos are: “Young and Tibetan in Queens”, “A Superstar in Bhutan, a Newcomer to New Yorker”, and “Ama-la’s Story”.

In this paper, we explore themes specifically related to the shifting nature of place, work, and identity, as our interlocutors discuss their journeys. In some cases, this involves a discussion of radical disjuncture: from spending the first three decades of a life as a nomad and then becoming a construction worker in New York. In other cases, it describes efforts to put culturally imbedded knowledge to work in new contexts: taking a literary education in Tibetan and technology skills from Varanasi to Google. These stories bespeak the *kyi-dug*, the happiness-and-suffering, of migration: making ends meet, relying on old connections and forging new ties, and sustaining families both in the U.S. and abroad through acts of sacrifice, creativity, and entrepreneurship. Using the transcripts of these interviews as primary data, we examine how our interlocutors’ efforts to find and maintain employment in New York dovetail with the labor – at once physical, emotional, intellectual, economic, and cultural – to maintain and transform their relationships to their places of origin, their language(s), and their communities.

Heidi Fjeld (Oslo)

## **Economic Trajectories and Possible Futures: Labour and Caste in Mugu, Western Nepal**

Mugum village is located 25 km from the Tibetan border in Mugu district in western Nepal. Currently hosting more than 100 households, it lies in a narrow river valley with too little arable land to maintain agriculture and too large distances to the grasslands to facilitate a pastoral economy. Hence, trade has been the main income in Mugum, and at least from 1910 the village was an important market and meeting place for Tibetan nomads from the north and peoples from the south. Since 2007, yartsa gunbu has been the main, but not the only, income of the villagers, producing wealth on the one hand, but also changing the moral economy of labour and reproducing social hierarchies. Based on fieldwork conducted in 2017 and 2018, this paper discusses the social distribution of access to economic trajectories and possible futures in Mugum village. Engaging with recent anthropological debates on the concept of labour (Harvey and Krohn-Hansen 2018), it takes blacksmiths (mgar ba) as a case and explores how caste and class have formed, and continues to form, the moral and social economy of labour, including access to work, mobility and prosperous futures.

## Panel 42 – Tibetan Ethnographic Theories

བོད་པའི་མི་རིགས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྟ་ཚུལ།

### Panel organizers

Cameron David Warner (Aarhus)

Harmandeep Kaur Gill (Aarhus)

**Panel abstract** – Following calls to increase the impact of Tibetan studies on the humanities and social sciences more generally, in this panel, we present papers that aim to develop innovations on classical anthropological theory using material from the Tibetan world as well as develop distinctively Tibetan ethnographic theories. The first subpanel, “Developing Tibetan Ethnographic Theory” explores how and why we might aim to transform distinctively Tibetan concepts or practices into ethnographic theory. The second subpanel, “Tibetan Ethnographic Theory and Impermanence” focuses on one particular concept prevalent in Tibetan Buddhist communities: impermanence (*mi rtags pa*). These papers investigate how the concept of impermanence is materialized in people’s daily actions, social interactions, and their response to their surroundings. Rather than begin with an emic concept, the third subpanel, “Tibetan Ethnographic Theory and Generational Change” tests the utility of Tibetan ethnographic theory through papers focused on aging, growing interest in anthropological research globally. In sum, these papers take primarily a “negative strategy” whereby they challenge Western-dominated anthropological theory from a Tibetan point of view. By “Tibetan,” we prioritize Tibetan sources over European sources for both foreshadowed research questions (such as philosophic and other culturally-derived concepts) and questions arising out of fieldwork among Tibetans. In future, we aim to develop a “reverse strategy” wherein empirical cases from anywhere could be read in light of Tibetan thought (in lieu of continental European philosophy and social theory).

Jia Luo (Kunming)

### An Ethnographical Perspective on the Locality of Tibetan Village Studies

This paper highlights the importance of ethnographic research on Tibetan village culture/knowledge system and the content of daily practices. Tibetan village life is still a fundamental component of Tibetan society, especially as the producer/reproducer of Tibetan local and oral knowledge. There is a need for a comprehensive understanding of the Tibetan village not only from a sociological perspective, but also more importantly from an ethnographical perspective. The ethnographical perspective would allow researchers to identify and utilize the complexity of Tibetan local knowledge systems. In recent years, there has been a decrease in various crucial local knowledge systems. Research into the Tibetan village might uncover local knowledge systems, which would help to secure the future vitality of these key sites. At the same time, taking an ethnographical perspective on the locality of Tibetan village studies requires a relevant theoretical foundation. Establishing the foundation of for a specifically Tibetan ethnographical theories requires a synthesis of international ethnographical knowledge system and applicable Tibetan traditional knowledge, ranging from specifically terminology to noting epistemological differences. Recently, a few scholars are beginning to pay attention to the radical changes to life in Tibetan villages (social status shift, cultural identity, and increased extreme economic pressure) unfortunately using only short-site research methods and insufficient interrogating epistemological issues. On the positive side, some scholars have been producing Tibetan language articles that not only narrate how Amdo Tibetan society is in transition, employ terms and notions from traditional knowledge frames, combined with modern sociologies as well. This paper will highlight both the successes and failures of recent work combining emic (Tibetan village) and etic (Western sociological and anthropological) terms and epistemologies.

We are at a preliminary stage in the development of Tibetan ethnographic theories in the Tibetan language. There is a need to combine both an insider's and outsider's interdisciplinary perspective, using work produced by both international scholars and Tibetan scholars in Asia, in developing the theory. Thus, this paper hopes to map-out the basic frames from a fruitful dialogue through interactions with panel attendees and participation during the IATS conference.

'Brug byams skyid འབྲུག་བྱམས་སྐྱིད། | Drug shemkyid

## **The Examination of the Religious Patterns of Multi-ethnic Villages: A Case Study of Wa-Gya Village in Khri-ka County, Amdo**

This essay aims to explore the history of religious beliefs and historical heritage of the Tibetan, Tu, and Han ethnic groups in the Wa-Gya Village of Khri-ka County. In doing so, I have examined this topic based on my fieldwork studies and interviews. On this basis, the reasons and characteristics of the harmonious coexistence of Tibetan, Han and Tu ethnic groups in the village are discussed. The term 'Wa-Gya' is Tibetan, which is a family name of ancient Tibetan tribe.

Wa-Gya village is geographically located in Khri-ka County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Qinghai province, China. The village contains three distinct ethnic groups, respectively Tibet, Han and Tu. Among them, there are 165 Tibetan households that account for 50% of the overall population; which followed the Han ethnic group; and that of Tu ethnic group is the least one, which only has 18 households. Consequently, the religiosity of local people is also very diverse. Apart from sharing the common religious belief in the local god A myes gya thang, the local people also practice Tibetan Buddhism and Bon tradition. In the village, there are the Dge Lugs Monastery Wa-Gya Temple, the khyung-mo g' yung-drung Bon Monastery and the two local temples: khyung-mo and ba-sar Jiatang Temple. By analyzing the unique geographical location of Wa-Gya Village, the migration and changes of Han and Tu nationality immigrants, and the religious doctrines of Tibetan Buddhism, Bon, and Taoism, I summarized the characteristics of this region's religious model as follows:

1. The interaction of Buddhism, Bon and the local secular beliefs; and the alternative usage of religious symbols among each one.
2. The second feature is that the people with different religious belief are performing the irreligious activities on the same day. This is especially demonstrated in the annual ceremony in the April 16th in the Wa-Gya village.
3. The alternative identity of one's religiosity, All the villagers in Wa-Gya have multiple religious identities.
4. There is a gradual increase in the number of religious believers and the relatively open and inclusive mentality of the Bon practitioners, which embodied in the intermarriage between people with different religious beliefs.

Kati Fitzgerald (Colombus, Ohio)

## **Sacred Space as Accumulated Karmic Imprints: The Case of Piercing Arrow in Yushu**

In the field of Religious Studies, there are many available models for understanding sacred space and its relationship to human agency. Eliadian models of *axis munde*, most recently deployed in the field of Tibetan Studies by Kang and Sutton 2016, Durkheimian models of Social Constructivism, Discursive models *ala* JZ Smith, and Neo-Evolutionist models all provide insights into the ways in which humans interact with and understand sacred space. Charlene Makley's approach to understanding sacred space as created by important religious figures (2007), as well as Toni Huber's work on the relationship between Indian geography and Tibetan sacred space (2008) address important aspects of Buddhist pilgrimage and religious geography. Nonetheless, contemporary Kham contains dozens of pilgrimage sites that do

not derive their importance from religious figures and claim no cosmic connection to religious sites in India. Minor sites of pilgrimage relate to local mythology, as well as Buddhist deities and institutions. What allows these rural, largely inaccessible sites to maintain religious importance over time? Based off twelve months of ethnographic research (July 2017 – July 2018), this paper takes the pilgrimage site of Piercing Arrow (*mda'zug*) in rural Yushu as a case study. Piercing Arrow is important to the origin story of the region's former leaders, the Drongpa, but the arrow that originally self-manifested in the cliff face is no longer visible. The site has been overlaid with iconography that celebrates pan-Tibetanism, as well as the tamed-ferocity of the Drongpa. I apply Gyalsey Trulku's theory of sacred geography to analyze the agency of place, space and viewer in the consumption of minor pilgrimage sites, such as Piercing Arrow, in modern-day Kham.

My larger dissertation project (advised by Dr. Hugh Urban at The Ohio State University), reconsiders both academic and doctrinal definitions of Buddhism based on the lived experiences of Tibetan lay women. As part of this project, I attempt to understand the importance of circumambulation, local pilgrimage and Buddhist cosmology as central aspects of contemporary Buddhist practice. Looking specifically at small-scale, local pilgrimage sites and sacred spaces, I seek to understand the relationship between practitioner and geography when sites themselves are not famous, contain no magnetizing religious figure and are not centrally or conveniently located. What gives a space power? How does it maintain that power even after the geography itself has changed? Gyalsey Trulku of Birru Monastery in Yushu provides an alternative theory through which we can understand sacred geography: *bag chags*. The term *bag chags* can be translated as karmic imprint or predisposition and is a term frequently used to explain predilections or innate talents in humans. Gyalsey Trulku suggests that sacred spaces collect *bag chags* in the same way sentient beings do. This theory places certain accumulative powers on sites and spaces themselves, without suggesting the sentience of geography. Thinking about sacred spaces in contemporary Tibet through the lens of *bag chags* explains the ways in which pilgrimage sites change over time, take on multiple layers of meaning, evade destruction and attract pilgrims.

Liu Yu-shan (Puli)

### **Mobility, Multiple-Locality, and Community Formation: Locating Tibetan Diasporas in Europe Today**

The aim of this study is to explore how the experiences of the Tibetan diaspora and migratory movements among the new generations have shaped expressions and practices of 'Tibetan-ness' in the new era. Through the ethnography of Tibetans living in France, this paper seeks to rethink the issues of mobility and the multiple-locality in the formation of a Tibetan identity in exile today. It also aims to provide new approaches to anthropological studies of refugees and displaced people, especially those living outside the camps and designated settlements. It is not until the past two to three decades, when anthropological works started to reflect the importance of transnational and national factors in shaping the lives of local communities and conceptualising people 'on the move', that studies centering on the refugees and displaced people started to grow. Among many cases, refugees were considered to be marginalized from a clear-cut definition of state boundaries. However, given their different involvement in social, political and economic activities in their host societies and across international borders, the boundaries demarking who is and is not a refugee are sometimes ambiguous, as in the case of 'town refugees' in Malkki's ethnography (1995), and also, in the case of Tibetans who are dispersed in many different countries.

This paper, based on a two-year research project (2017-2019) focusing on the daily lives of Tibetans living in France and their involvement in the transnational practices across national boundaries (for example, with Tibetan communities in South Asia), shall explore how the Tibetans today engage with a more fragmented and mobile world of diaspora, and how they negotiate their identities (of being stateless, being Tibetan, and being French) with different 'others'. Via the lens of the Tibetan new comers in France, this study observed the dynamics enacted in the relationship between different traditions, including regional, religious and national. It also examines the ambiguities which are played out, and reflected

in, the assertions of ‘being Tibetan’. It is contended that the recent migration flows among the youngsters may have become an important factor which continues to bring social, cultural and political changes from within and outside the diasporic Tibetan communities, and as such, renegotiate the boundaries of ‘being Tibetan’. Overall, this study intends to provide a significant and insightful ethnography for understanding the Tibetan diaspora today, and rethink the anthropological methodology when dealing with people ‘on the move.’

dPal rtse rgyal དཔའ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ། | Huatse Gyal (Ann Arbor)

### **When Competing Notions of Land Meet: Property, Personhood, and Socio-spatial Transformations in Pastoral Tibet**

In recent years, there has been a revived focus on centering indigenous epistemologies and ontologies in some anthropology circles (de Castro 1998; Humphrey 2007; Empson 2011; Pedersen 2013). In response to this trend and its methodological limitations, this paper, drawing on my most recent ethnographic research in eastern Tibet (2017-2018), analyzes the impacts of the Chinese state’s concerted effort to privatize pastureland and reorder social relations around its use on Tibetan pastoralists’ changing understanding of land, property, and personhood. By viewing the drastic changes experienced by Tibetan pastoralists today as necessarily intersubjective, mediated by particular, historically grounded interpretive practices that are contingently bound up with contested forms of participation in development (Keane 1997, 2003; Makley 2018), this paper explores the ongoing contestations among Tibetans and their interlocutors over the broad range of material and epistemological grounds of place, property, personhood in the face of rapid socioeconomic change. How can we methodologically approach the processes whereby indigenous notions of place and legal languages of property interact, clash, and dovetail in the everyday cultural politics of land use? I argue that neither a singular focus on the indigenous notions of place (or indigenous ontology), nor an exclusive focus on the modern state concept of property is a sufficient framework for the rigorous ethnographic investigation of competing notions of place and property that are often operating on unequal grounds in complex ways.

sKyabs chen bde grol སྐབས་ཆེན་བདེ་གྲོ། | Buqing Jia (Xining)

བོད་ཀྱི་”དེང་རབས་སྐྱམ་དཔལ་” ཏུ་ནང་བསྐྱམ་གྱི་”མི་རྟགས་པ་” ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྐད་ཀྱི་གོ་དོན་བསྐྱར་དུ་བཀྲལ་བའི་ཚུལ།

Based on his poetry book (2012), entitled, “mi rtag pa” (impermanence) and his most recent poem (2018), “mi rtag pa’i glu” (the song of impermanence), writer Skyabchen Dedrol explores the meanings of impermanence through different literary forms and genres, such “modern poetry” or “free verses” by trying to get an in-depth understanding impermanence in the minds of today’s Tibetans. Since impermanence is a universal phenomenon, this paper uses specific examples to illustrate that people who do not have a cultural background in Buddhism still can relate to this concept. In addition, by drawing on Tibetan traditional concepts such as impermanence, this paper probes into the relevance of such concepts for today’s society from the vantage point of a Tibetan writer. At the same time, the author comments on how such traditional conceptualizations of the world can be preserved in the face of competing modern knowledges coming from the outside.

Hongxing Yangdzom (Fujian)

### **dMyal ba: Solution and Purification in Symbolized Violence**

This paper, based on a case from Ye shes monastery in Nyag rong (新龙县), aims to analyze the implications of the theme of “impermanence” and its symbolic system in *dMyal ba* ritual from three aspects, including ritual process, ritual role and ritual function. It is based on six months of fieldwork at Ye shes

monastery and in Nyag rong in 2016 and 2018. My research into the *dMyal ba* ritual builds on previous research on symbolic violence and religious dance in contemporary Tibetan religion such as the work of René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Guo jing, and anthropological theory, notably Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz. The research of *dMyal ba* ritual draws our attention towards the importance of impermanence and the way it is materialized in religious practice, which is beneficial to verify the specific application of Turner's theory of social drama in the context of Tibetan culture. Meanwhile, this work still builds on our knowledge of ritual theory in anthropology and Tibetan texts associated with death. The hell judgement ritual (*dMyal ba*) in Ye shes monastery is a religious ceremony held every three years on the 11th of the six month in Tibetan calendar. It is one of the most significant rituals of Ye shes monastery. It is arranged and choreographed according to the scripture 'A Karmic Judgement of the Good and Evil by Yama' written according to a personal experience of the famous Bon tertön Gsang sngags gling pa during his meditation retreat. The theme of *dMyal ba* is the "pure land and hell", which reveals the religious values of "life is impermanent and karma is "retributive" by showing the ultimate judgment from the deities of hell on the three groups of souls in the stage of the bardo. The hell judgement ritual is a visual representation of the 'Bar Do Thos Grol' as it relates to impermanence. It could be regarded as a part of visualization practice of death that both critical for monks and laymen. 'Cham is an expressive medium in the ritual, which reflects the concept of "impermanence" from the point of view of the practice of religion through dance and storylines. Such symbolic behaviors of violence as whipping, torturing, intimidating, and pushing during the ritual process will take effects on the deceased, which leads to two results: either traveling to a pure land or being dragged into the hell. Meanwhile, these behaviors are intended to create a sense of hierarchy between life and death. Therefore, "violence" has generated a semantic conversion and value transfer in the specific context of *dmyal ba*, which has become a special way of relieving suffering and purifying karma. Informants report that the observers of the dances likewise receive an education regarding death during the process and acquire an effective method of dealing with "impermanence" (*mi rtag pa*). Conclusively, the *dMyal ba* ritual is now regarded as liminality, expressing and releasing social tension and pressure, which effectively alleviates social conflicts and renews the original social structure via a dramatic ritual performance. It indicates that, to some extent, the case of Ye shes monastery is effective and impactful in responding to Turner's theory of social drama. Furthermore, the thick description of dramatic plot and the local knowledge of symbolic system provided by the case would be conducive to practice the writing paradigm of performing ethnography proposed by Victor Turner and his wife Idis.

Chelsea Hall (Cambridge, USA)

### **A Room of One's Own: Tibetan Nuns Establishing Everyday Space in Modern Kham**

Recent calls to examine Tibetanists' influence on and interactions with the wider fields we intersect with (cf. Janet Gyatso, Inaugural Annual Aris Lecture, 2015) have encouraged an important discussion about our positionality as scholars and our relationship to anthropological theory (among other fields) more generally. An approach congruent with Buddhist ideas may be helpful to the development of novel Tibet-focused theory. Is Tibet so unique and exotic that we cannot contribute theories derived from Tibetan case studies to the general study of humanity, and vice-versa? How can methodologies that have currency in wider anthropological theory be applied to Tibetan case studies while still maintaining an approach particularly suited to studying Tibetan lives, additionally furthering our discussions with non-Tibetanists? Giving ethnographic accounts of the everyday lives of Tibetans and recognizing the importance of unpacking lived Buddhist conceptions of reality, including a deep appreciation for the concept of impermanence, will be instrumental in bridging this gap between the syncretic field of Tibetan Buddhist studies and a wider scholarly audience of ethnographers.

Having been forced to leave Serta Larung Gar and return to their home prefectures, a group of several hundred nuns under the tutelage of my main interlocutor Khenmo Thubten Rigje Lhamo are now living in a temporary setup in an abandoned village in a remote nomadic area of Yulshul. Drawing on my ongo-

ing ethnographic dissertation research, I will touch on the following issues: What do Tibetan nuns value in their own words and how do they constitute community in today's impermanent political climate? How is our research as ethnographers impacted by the impermanence of the current situation in Tibet? What can we add to wider ethnographic theory through the exploration of impermanence in contemporary Tibet, and what have we been missing when we don't take native framing concepts into account? I will explore the role of impermanence in Tibetan nuns' everyday lives in modern Kham, drawing on participant observation, interviews, and surveys at a new nunnery being founded and run by a Khenmo. Guided by the current anthropological discussions around representation and bringing them into conversation with Buddhist impermanence theory, I will present a case study of one nunnery at the temporary site of their relocation.

Rig can mtsho mo རིག་ཅན་མཚོ་མོ། Roujincuomao (Beijing)

### **Cultural Change in a Female Hair Ceremony Across Three Generations in an Amdo Tibetan Village**

Culture is precious to Tibetans. Rituals are a window into culture that uphold traditional Tibetan Buddhist ways of life, and Tibetans have rituals for each stage of life. Skra ston, or Hair Ceremonies, are important rites for Tibetan females that announce their maturity and availability for marriage. These Hair Ceremonies are thought to bring fortune, purity, and fertility, and are a rite of passage into a woman's sexuality. They engage the participation of the entire community. In terms of societal effects, these ceremonies maintain Tibetan cultural traditions, generate revenue for local economies, and educate youth on Tibetan etiquette. Nowadays, this ritual is becoming diluted and has even disappeared in some areas. Therefore, this study takes Tibetan Hair Ceremony as research objects, attempts to frame Tibetan Hair Ceremony through the method of cultural anthropology, and combine with the first-handed information from field work and relevant literatures. Hoping to interpret the historical context of formation and development of Tibetan traditional hair ceremony, and then on this basis, propose the necessity and importance of inheriting and developing Tibetan Hair Ceremony.

Tibetan Hair Ceremony is in a process of continuous development, and constantly adapt to the social needs. Currently, more and more foreign theories of Tibetan rituals were introduced and translated, that enrich and enlarge the domestic researches on it. This work provides rich details on the hair changing ritual. Moreover, the analysis of the change based on anthropological theory is a unique aspect of this paper, especially in context of extending of globalization and modernization in Tibetan areas. Those theories includes Marcel Mauss's the *The Gift*, Arnold Van Gennep' *Rite of Passage*, and Victor Turner's *Liminality and Communitas*. During the ceremony, being host and a guest are different, so there are guest etiquette and host etiquette with gift giving. Moreover, Tibetan hair ceremony commemorate the adulthood of the girl who was in a liminal phase; thus was pure, sacred. From this perspective, the girl who is holding hair ceremony has a lot of etiquette and taboo. Tibetan gift giving during hair ceremony has diverse form, which has a great impact on Tibetan society, the gift contains emotion, reflects relationship, and thus it hasn't to be more expensive than received. In this way, Tibetan diverse social context enables plentiful explanation on specific ritual behaviors, which can't be analyzed by these theories. Lastly, the hair ceremony includes a lot of Tibetan religious etiquette related to Body, Language and Mind, these religious aspects are an indispensable part of the ritual. While account of *bag ngu* teacher reveals the disappearance of Tibetan folk culture, the comparison three generations' hair changing ritual gives diachronic depth to these changes.

After undergoing the Hair Ceremony, a young girl has a sense of social responsibility in her subconscious. The ritual instills a sense of a moral restraint on her behaviors. She also gains a deeper understanding of marriage and sex. From this perspective, the Hair Ceremony, localized to certain counties such as Khri ka, symbolizes the transformation of a girl from individualization to socialization, and is comparable to the rites of passage of other ethnic groups.

Jing Wang (Cleveland)

### **Non-Attachment That Binds: Tibetan Buddhism, Daughters' Care, and Intergenerational Harmony in Rural Phenpo**

In rural Phenpo, having a harmonious family is of paramount importance, and it is especially so for the elderly who rely on their children for care and support. Whereas the local matrilineal practice is regarded as an excellent mechanism to achieve this cultural ideal of harmony—by eliminating the notoriously difficult mother- and daughter-in-law relations within the same household, the elderly parents also intentionally cultivate and adopt non-attaching attitudes and non-controlling behaviors towards their adult children. That is, when interacting with their children and children-in-law, the elderly try not to interfere with the latter's choices. They may voice their disagreements and/or make suggestions in important matters, but if their opinions are not heeded, they refrain from nagging. I argue that the non-attaching and non-controlling parenting style, ironically binds the two generations together in harmony, and is facilitated by the deep-rooted and vibrant Buddhist culture that emphasizes karma and impermanence. Understanding that one is responsible for one's own *las*, or karma, and that situations are ephemeral, the elderly not only realizes the futility of control “They [the adult children] won't listen,” but also there are serious consequences: “There would be no happiness.” In this paper, I explore the ways how the interrelated concepts of karma and impermanence play out in the parents' moral efforts to achieve harmony, and in turn to secure better care for themselves.

Geoff Childs (St. Louis)

### **How Can Ethnographic Studies of Tibetan Societies Help Refine Mainstream Theories of Aging?**

How can an ethnographic investigation of aging in Tibetan societies both challenge and contribute to mainstream theories in gerontology? Since the 1980s the concept of “successful aging” has been a focal point in sociological, psychological, and biomedical studies of aging. Scholars generally evaluate success based on the individual's ability to remain healthy, physically active, cognitively functional, socially engaged, and independent (Rowe and Kahn 1987). Critiques from within gerontology have centered on the lack of attention paid to structural and socioeconomic factors that affect aging outcomes (Martinson and Berridge 2015). Meanwhile, anthropologists have pointed out that the core tenets of successful aging are rooted in North American notions of personhood that lose salience in other settings (Torres 2006; Lamb 2014, 2017). An epistemological rift has emerged. While mainstream gerontologists address theoretical weaknesses by trying to hone definitions and refine methodologies, anthropologists question the efficacy of using a model that fails to account for cross-cultural variability. This paper attempts to bridge the divide by arguing that operational definitions of successful aging should account for factors that shape how different people across the world view the latter years of the life course. In the case of Tibetans these factors include cultural concepts such as impermanence and cyclical existence, and social principles tied to a family-based system for elderly care. The objective is to employ ethnographic examples from Tibetan societies to help develop a more robust and culturally nuanced model of successful aging that is grounded in context-specific ideological and social variables.

Harmandeep Kaur Gill (Aarhus)

### **Coming to Terms with Old Age, Loneliness and Death**

Many in the current generation of Tibetan elders have lived a whole life-span in exile. While there exists a lot of academic literature on death in the Tibetan-Buddhist world (Ramble, 1982; Lopez, 1998; Pomaret, 1998; Garces-Foley, 2003; Gouin, 2010) and old age among (high-ranking) Buddhist practitioners (Zivkovic, 2010; 2014; Schneiderman, 2014; Sihle, 2014, among others), literature addressing old age

as a life-phase and death among lay people, with the exception of a few works (Desjarlais, 2003; 2016; Childs, 2004; Wangmo and Teaster, 2009; Wangmo, 2010; McGranahan, 2010; Gerke, 2012) remains limited. I aim to contribute to fill this gap with my research among elderly exile Tibetans in India and hope to contribute with theoretical insights on old age among Tibetans-in-exile grounded in Buddhist ontology.

When the first Tibetans escaped into exile in 1959, they hoped to return to Tibet within a few years. However, today they find themselves growing old in exile. The large on-migration in recent years of exile-Tibetan youth to Western nations has left many elderly alone in the last phase of their lives. While parents were the responsibility of children in traditional Tibetan society (Goldstein and Beall, 1997), in exile, old age homes have become the last resort for many, while others are forced to age alone in private homes. Spending the last phase of life in an old age home or dying alone without the presence of children and close kin is regarded as something unwanted and even shameful among many Tibetans (Wangmo, 2010; Vasstveit, 2016; Gill, 2017). Moreover, children and close kin are needed to carry out the 49 days of death rituals.

My paper will explore how the current situation affects the elderly Tibetans' attitudes towards aging and dying. How is Buddhist philosophy and in particular the concept of impermanence activated in coming to terms with an aging body and dying in the absence of family and children? Furthermore, I wish to explore how the concept of impermanence comes to matter for the elderly Tibetans in the common search among all elderly as they approach the end of life; a dignifying closure.

This presentation is based on fieldwork among elderly Tibetans at the Tibetan Children's Village (TCV) old age home and private households in Dharamsala from January 2018 to mid-May 2018 and preliminary research carried out from mid-September to the end of October 2016. My fieldwork in Dharamsala will be carried out until the end of December 2018 with one short stay in another Tibetan settlement in India. The paper to be presented at the IATS is a part of my PhD dissertation research which explores the pursuit for a good old life among elderly exile Tibetans living in the absence of family or children.

Carole McGranahan (Boulder, Colorado)

### **Family as History: On Social Death and Other Ethnographic Truths**

What does it mean to proclaim the social death of a family? Even more, what are the politics of social death when (1) family members are still living, and (2) the family in question is a powerful one? In this presentation, I will discuss the rise and fall of the sPang mda' tsang/Pangdatsang family as a history not only of this family, but also of twentieth century Tibet. In the span of one generation, the Pangdatsang family rose from an important trading family in eastern Tibet to the wealthiest traders in all of Tibet. Shrewd traders, Sakya sponsors, Gelukpa monastery backers, Dalai Lama devotees, government officials, renegade politicians, local chieftains, Kuomintang sympathizers, and anti-colonial Anglophiles who had disputes with the Tibetan government, British colonial officials, and Chinese communists alike, the three Pangdatsang brothers present histories inconvenient, and thus deeply insightful, for contemporary Tibetan history. Their story also presents insights for ethnographic theory. Within anthropology, scholars draw theory from ethnography, or from field-based knowledge and experiences. In the context of Tibet, this means to use Tibetan concepts, experiences, and histories drive theoretical arguments. In the context of the Pangdatsang family, their rapid ascent and decline of the family, i.e. their social death, offers a case study of impermanence as a lived phenomenon. How might we understand the way family members dealt with change in their family, their country, and the world overall in terms of *mi rtag pa*/impermanence as a lived concept and not just philosophical term?

## Panel 58 – Changing Gender and Kin Relations among Tibetan and Himalayan Pastoralists

བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མ་ལ་ཡའི་རི་ཁྱུལ་གྱི་འབྲོག་པའི་སྤྱན་ཉེད་པོ་མའི་འབྲེལ་བའི་འགྱུར་ལྡོག

### Panel organizers

'Brug mo mkhar འབྲུག་མོ་མཁའ་པལ། | Drukmo Khar (Chengdu)

Nancy E. Levine (Los Angeles, California)

**Panel abstract** – Ongoing development and programs of modernization, urbanization, and resettlement are bringing countless changes to the lives and livelihoods of Himalayan and Tibetan pastoralists. Of special interest to this panel is the impact of urbanization on interpersonal relationships and pastoralists' sense of identity as men and women. This panel presents the findings of recent research on the roles that household members, kin, and friends play in decisions to resettle, in transitions to urban living, and how settled pastoralists maintain family traditions and sustain important social relationships across vast distances. Contributors to the panel have drawn on diverse sources, including ethnohistorical accounts, life histories, literary materials, archival data, and fieldwork in the contemporary period. Among the questions motivating their research are:

1. Family Traditions and Transformations. Do the understandings of what it means to be a family diverge in rural pastoral and urban settings and do the sharing of work and resources differ between people who have moved to towns, still support themselves as pastoralists, and divide their lives between both urban and rural homes?
2. Gender Hierarchies: Are the traditional understandings of male and female characteristics and abilities undergoing change in response to new life styles and increasing contacts with representatives of other ethnic populations? If so, how are these understandings affecting relationships between husbands and wives, parents and their sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters?
3. Education: How is compulsory education changing the dynamics of intergenerational authority in pastoralist families? How are parents reimagining childhood and how do new expectations for children's lives affect child rearing practices? Also, how does an advanced education affect the sense of self and ambitions of young people from pastoralist backgrounds?
4. Kinship Care: How do pastoralists forge and fortify social networks to provide the economic and emotional support they need to make the transition to urban living and how has caretaking for the ill and elderly been reshaped by urban residence and urban employment?

'Brug mo mkhar འབྲུག་མོ་མཁའ་པལ། | Drukmo Khar (Chengdu)

### Changing Gender Relations and New Livelihood Prospects after Resettlement among Tibetan Pastoralists in Maqu

Since the late 1990s, Tibetan pastoralists have experienced a wide range of state-led development policies, including the grassland fencing policy of the 1990s, the ecological migration policy in the early 2000s, and, more recently, the nomadic settlement project, which began in 2006. These policies have brought tremendous changes and challenges, as well as opportunities to the lives of Tibetan pastoralists. However, there is a notable lack of research on the consequences and implications of such changes to the lives of Tibetan pastoralists and particularly to their gender relations at the household level. Thus, drawing on my long-term ethnographic research in Maqu, a pastoral county in eastern Tibet, in today's Gannan Prefecture, Gansu Province, China, this paper considers changes and continuities in gender relations among Tibetan pastoralists in general, and Tibetan pastoralists in Maqu in particular. In doing so, this paper primarily aims for answers based on my observations. First, as many men no longer graze

animals and more women have started small businesses, such as selling bread in the street, are Tibetan pastoralists' traditional notions of male and female abilities undergoing any change? If so, how is the new division of labor or new ways of conceptualizing gender relations in the family affecting relationships between husbands and wives, parents and their sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters?

Nancy E. Levine (Los Angeles, California)

### **The Centrality of Women among Patrilineal Tibetan Pastoralists**

Eastern Tibetan pastoralists commonly have been described as patrilineal by descent, patrilocal by residence, to have passed valuable property from father to son, and, in the traditional period, to have maintained segmentary political systems. The occasional report of an adult woman living with her parents was attributed to poverty and pathology, as in cases of unwed motherhood. This image was popularized in the writings of European and American travelers and missionaries who visited pastoralist areas in the early twentieth century, in early Chinese anthropology, and in ethnohistorical accounts as well. Recent research on pastoralists living in Gansu, Sichuan, and Qinghai Provinces, however, presents quite a different picture: bilateral inheritance of livestock, the occasional selection of daughters as heirs, and strong ties between brothers and sisters—observations applying equally to siblings engaged in pastoralist production and those who have taken up residence in the new towns being constructed on the Tibetan plateau. This paper considers whether the current situation is an adaptation to the last several decades of Chinese government-imposed economic and social reforms or whether the centrality of women as kin is a longstanding pattern in Tibetan pastoralist life, one that was misperceived by earlier investigators. The paper also imagines life in Tibetan pastoralist families as regions on the high plateau become more closely tied to the global economy, as more off-farm income earning opportunities become available, and as schooling alters the opportunities for younger members of this population.

Ritu Verma (Manila)

### **Changing Wellbeing, Kin and Gender Relations in the Context of Development in the Pastoralist Highlands of Laya, Bhutan**

As development makes rapid in-roads in the remote mountain highlands of northern Bhutan, the lives of pastoralists are being impacted in profound ways. A locale that has been isolated until recently, Laya only recently received mobile coverage, electricity, television, and a slow but steady increase in tourist numbers. With a national road due to connect the remote mountain locale to the rest of the country, the community has been undergoing countless changes to their everyday routines, lives, livelihoods, as well as gender and kin relations. The impacts on culture, identity, and wellbeing are especially critical, as unique pastoralist practices and norms are coming under increasing pressure. In response, Layap women and men are forging, fortifying, and adapting social networks, relations, and identities to these new emergent realities. This paper draws on recent ethnographic fieldwork, highlighting the way multiple changes are being actively negotiated, and the various coping strategies that are engaged in the face of transformations in culture and wellbeing. In particular, it investigates how traditional understandings of gender roles, responsibilities and access to resources are undergoing change in response to increasing exposure to development initiatives, representatives of other ethnic populations and foreign tourists. In doing, so, it explores how these understandings are affecting conjugal contracts, kin relations, gender hierarchies, and ultimately, transforming pastoralism itself.

Maria Coma Santasusagna ((La Garriga))

### **Ending Animals Lives: Herders' Practices and Discourses on the Killing of Livestock**

Drawing upon fieldwork conducted in an Amdo pastoral community of Henan county (Qinghai Province,



dBang 'dus bkra shis དབང་འདུས་བཟ་ཤིས། | Wangdue Tashi (Dharamsala)

བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་པས་འདྲེས་རྒྱུ་གསུངས་སྐོར་ཐོག་མར་སྒྲིབ།

འདྲེས་རྒྱུ་པའམ་འབྲས་བུ་ཉེས་པའི་ལུགས་སོལ་ནི། གནའ་ནས་ད་བར་བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་པའི་ཕྱགས་ཐོག་འཚོ་སྤོང་དང་བཀོལ་སྤོང་གི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲོད། སྤོང་སྤོང་ཉ་ཅང་ཆེ་ཞིང་རྒྱུན་སོལ་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་འབྲོག་པའི་རིག་གནས་སུ་གྱུར་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་འདྲིའི་སྐོར་ད་བར་སུས་ཀྱང་དོ་སྣང་དང་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བྱས་པར་མ་མཐོང་བས། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟར་རིང་ལྷན་ལ་རྒྱུ་ཡ་མཚན་པའི་འབྲོག་པའི་རིག་གནས་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐད་ནས། ད་ལམ་ལོ་ལོས་ཐོག་མར་དབྱེད་ཞིབ་ཀྱིས་སྒྲིབ་སྐོར་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

དེ་ཡང་འདྲེས་ནི་སྐོར་ཕྱགས་དཔེར་ན། འབྲི་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་གི་བེུ་འཚོ་གོད་བྱུང་སྟེ་བེུ་མེད་པར་གྱུར་ན། འབྲི་དེའི་འོ་མ་མེད་པར་མི་གྱུར་བའམ། བེུ་དེ་གསོ་སྤོང་ཆེད། འབྲི་དེ་ལ་བེུ་གཞན་ཞིག་འབྲི་དེས་རང་གི་བེུ་བཞིན་བརྟེན་བུ་བྱེད་ཅིང་། འོ་མ་སྤོང་ཐབས་སུ་བེད་སྤོང་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་ཞིག་ཡིན། འོན་ཀྱང་སྤྱིར་བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་པའི་རིག་གནས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལག་ལེན་བྱེད་པ་ཅམ་ལས་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་འཁོད་མེད་ཅིང་། ལག་ལེན་དེ་དག་ཡང་དུས་ཀྱི་འགྱུར་འབྲོས་དང་སྒྲན་དུ་རིམ་བཞིན་མེད་པར་འགྱུར་བཞིན་ཡོད་ལ། ལྷག་པར་དུ་པ་མེས་ཡང་མེས་ནས་བརྒྱུད་དེ་ཡོང་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་པའི་རིག་གནས་འདིའི་ཐ་སྐད་སྐོར་དེ་སྐོར་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་ “འབྲས་ཚའི་སྤྲུལ་” ཅེས་འདྲེས་རྒྱུ་སྐབས་སྟེར་རྒྱུའི་ཚལ་སྤྲུལ་འདེབས་རྒྱུ་དེ་ལོ་ན་ཅམ་ལས་འཁོད་མེད་སྤྲུལ། ལུལ་སོ་སོའི་ཁ་སྐད་ཀྱིས་འབོད་སྣངས་ཅམ་ལས་གཏན་ལེལ་བའི་ཐ་སྐད་མེད་ཀྱིན། དེའི་སྐོར་དོགས་སྐོར་དང་དབྱེད་ཞིབ་མཐུན་ལྷན་པ་དགོས་རྒྱུ་གལ་ཆེ་བས་དེའི་སྐོར་ནས་ཀྱང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

བོད་མདོ་དབུས་ཁམས་གསུམ་དུ་ལག་ལེན་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཐ་སྐད་འབོད་སྐོར་མི་འདྲ་བ། དཔེར་ན། དེད་ཀྱི་པ་ལུལ་དུ་འདྲེས་སམ་འབྲས་རྒྱུ་ཟེར་བ་དང་། སྟེ་དགོ་ཅུ་འབྲོན་བྱེད་ཅེས་པ་ལྟ་བུ། དེ་བཞིན་ས་ཁུལ་གཞན་དང་གཞན་དུ་འབོད་སྐོར་དུ་མ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། འདྲེས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོའི་ཆ་ནས་དབྱེ་བ་མང་བ། དཔེར་ན། བེུ་ཤི་ཟེན་པའི་འབྲི་ཞིག་ལ་བེུ་ཞིག་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བེུ་བཞིན་ངོས་ལེན་བྱེད་དུ་བརྟུག་པར་མ་འདྲེས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་མ་ཤི་བའི་བེུ་དེར་མ་ཞིག་ཁས་ལེན་ཏུ་འཇུག་པར་བྱ་འདྲེས་ཟེས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན། དེ་བཞིན་ར་ལུག་སོགས་སྐོར་ཕྱགས་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་ལག་ལེན་གོང་བཞིན་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ནས་བརྟུག་ཞིབ་བྱ་རྒྱུ།

དེ་ལ་ཐབས་ལམ་དང་ལག་ལེན་གྱི་རིམ་པ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་དེ། དཔེར་ན། འབྲི་ཞིག་གི་བེུ་ཤི་བའམ་སྤྱང་གིས་ཟས་ཚོ་འབྲི་དེར་བེུ་དེའི་རོ་སོགས་མཐོང་དུ་མི་འཇུག་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཉ་ཅང་མང་ཞིང་། བེུ་ཤི་བའམ་སྤྱང་གིས་ཟས་པ། འབྲི་ཤི་བའམ་སྤྱང་གིས་ཟས་པ། ཡང་ན་འབྲི་ལ་འོ་མ་འདང་ངེས་མེད་པ་སོགས་འདྲེས་བྱེད་དགོས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་ཡང་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ལ། འདྲེས་བྱས་ཟེན་པའི་བེུ་དེར་མིང་གིས་འབོད་སྣངས་དང་། དབྱེ་བ། ལྱུང་པར་སོགས་ཉ་ཅང་མང་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྟངས་འཕེར་གྱིས་གསལ་བཤད་དང་ཚོུགས་བསྐོར་གང་ལེགས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་བཅས། མདོར་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོ་པའི་སྐོར་ཕྱགས་འཚོ་སྤོང་གི་མི་ཚའི་ནང་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་རིག་གནས་གལ་ཆེན་འདིའི་ཐབས་ལམ་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་འཁོད་ལུབ་པ་བྱ་ངེས་ཡིན།

## Paper Session 1 – Religious Culture in Tantrist communities

སྤྱགས་པའི་སྤྲེ་བའི་ནང་གི་ཚོས་ལུགས་རིག་གནས།

Amrei Vogel (Berlin)

### **Transformations After Death – Practices and Perspectives in a Himalayan Community**

This paper presents a study of ritual performances and social perspectives surrounding death in a Himalayan highland community in Nepal where a Tibetic language is spoken. The research, conducted in Dolpo, was based upon five months of ethnographic field study directly within a Dolpopa community. The specific focus of this paper is rites of cremation and processes of transformation that attend them. There are external, visible transformations connected to internal, intended transformations of state for the deceased person, who is held to take a particular path after death. There are also transformations for the mourning community of persons connected with the deceased, who are in the process of rearranging lives following the loss of a community member. My research effort sought to frame these changes in relation to observations of the actual ritual actions performed at each stage of the death and mourning rites, and by taking into account the prescriptions of the textual tradition maintained by the g. Yung-drung Bon oriented religious tradition within the village.

Furthermore, the overall context in which a death occurs is considered in terms of local social organization and the personal perspectives of the ritual participants. Recent economic and infrastructure developments were also seen play a significant role. The growth of tourism, certain new productive activities, increase in monetary wealth, as well as ease of communication for the community with other parts of the country were all recorded as external factors that contextualize death and change people's approach to dealing with it. The research records value shifts among participants and how they adapt their practices related to death according to situations arising out of recent changes in life-styles and livelihoods.

Nicolas Sihlé (Paris)

### **The “Real Tantrist”: Remarks on a Fuzzy Religious Category**

Repkong district, in eastern Amdo, is home to a massive and vibrant tradition of non-monastic tantric specialists (“tantrists”), associated since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century with the prestigious collective designation “the Repkong *ngakpa* collectivity, the 1900 ritual dagger holders” (*Reb kong sngags mang phur thogs stong dang dgu brgya*). In certain contexts such as distributions of donations during ritual assemblies, it is striking that the issue of distinguishing who the “real tantrists” (Amdo: *sngags pa ngo ma*) are may emerge. There is an irreducible fuzziness to the category of the *ngakpa*. For instance, in the case of tantrists (as opposed to the monastic clergy) there is generally no ordination ritual or other procedure marking clearly the passage towards a new socioreligious status. In this presentation I will analyze the ways in which this category is socially constructed, contrasting data from Amdo and from other Tibetan areas. This will involve examining discourses defining the “real tantrist”, but also the sociology of recruitment, the training as well as the entry into ritual practice, with in particular the importance of a young tantrist's beginning to participate in the monthly cult of Padmasambhava, the *tshes bcu*.

Katia Buffetrille (Paris)

### **An embarrassing ‘Red Smoke Purification’ (*dmar bsang*) Ritual in some Gelug monasteries of Rebgong (Amdo)**

As it is well known, bloody sacrifices are in total contradiction with the ideal of compassion that Buddhism advocates. It is therefore surprising to observe the performances of such ritual in several occasions. The sacrifice

of animals for local gods has been documented in Tibetan and Western literature. As far as I know, meat offering to the protector Dorje Lekpa (Rdo rje legs pa) in some monasteries of the Gelug (*dge lugs*) school in Amdo has never been mentioned. This ‘Red Smoke Purification’ (*dmar bsang*) ritual that continues to this day is done discreetly early in the morning. This communication addresses this embarrassing ritual, trying to understand the reasons why, in spite of their efforts, the clergy did not succeed in eradicating this type of offerings: bloody offerings for the protective deity Dorje Lekpa continue to be performed today in the monastic environment.

Lha rgyal 'bum ལྷ་རྒྱལ་འབྲུག། La Jiaben (Osaka)

མཉམ་བསྐྱེད་བྱས་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་མོས་དང་དེའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་རྒྱལ་ལྗོངས་སྐོར་སྐྱོད་པ། མཚོ་སྤོང་ཞིང་ཆེན་མཚོ་སྤོང་བོད་རིགས་  
རང་སྐོར་ལུལ་མང་རྫོང་འབྲོག་ཏུ་བོན་སྐོར་སྤེལ་བ་དཔེ་རུ་བྲངས་པ།

འབྲོག་ཏུ་བོན་སྐོར་སྤེལ་བ་ནི་ད་ལྟའི་མཚོ་སྤོང་ཞིང་ཆེན་མཚོ་སྤོང་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐོར་ལུལ་མང་རྫོང་གྲུ་མདོ་  
ལུལ་ཚོའི་ཆ་རྒྱའི་འགྲམ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་ཆགས་ཤིང་། ཞིང་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀ་གཙོ་བོར་གཉེར་བའི་རོང་མ་འབྲོག་གི་སྤེལ་  
ཞིག་ཡིན། དུད་བྱིམ་༥༠༠་ཉེ་བ་དང་མི་གངས་རགས་ཚེས་བྱས་ན་སྤྱི་ལོ་༣༥༠༠་ལྷག་ཡོད་པ་རེད། རྩོན་ཆད་  
སྤེལ་བའདུག་བཅས་བོན་གཉིས་ཀར་དང་མོས་བྱེད་ཅིང་། དཔོན་ཚང་གི་བྱིམ་རྒྱུད་བོན་པོ་དང་རྩོམ་བཅས་ཀྱིས་བོན་  
ཚོས་ལ་དང་མཁན་མང་བས་སྤེལ་བའི་མིང་ལའང་བོན་སྐོར་ཞེས་ཐོགས། སྤེལ་བའདུག་མེས་པོ་ཚོས་ཆེས་ཐོག་མར་  
རྒྱལ་འདི་སྐང་ལ་དཔེ་མཁན་ཞིག་བརྟེན་པ་དེ་ལའང་བཅས་ཏུ་བརྒྱ་ཡི་བདག་པོ། བོན་ཏུ་སྤོང་གི་བདག་པོ་ཞེས་  
གསལ་མཚོད་བྱེད་སྤོང་བྱུང་ཡོད་པར་གྲགས།

སྤེལ་བའདུག་ཐོག་མར་བོན་པོ་དང་ཨ་རིག་ ཐར་ཤུལ་ཞེས་ཚོ་བ་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་ལས་རིམ་གྱིས་མཚོད་དེ་ད་ལྟ་ཚོ་  
བ་བཅོ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་གྱུས་ཤིང་། ཡང་བཤད་ཚུལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ལ་བོན་པོ་ལས་ཚོ་བ་གཞན་གཉིས་སྤེལ་ཨ་རིག་དང་ཐར་  
ཤུལ་གཉིས་ནི་སྤྱི་འགྲུ་བ་སྤེལ་མཚོ་སྤོང་སོག་སྤོང་གི་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ཚོ་བ་དང་ཐར་ཐུར་ཚོ་བ་གཉིས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། སོག་  
པོའི་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་དཔོན་གྱིས་མཚོད་ཡོན་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བའི་དབང་གིས་རང་གི་སྤེལ་བའི་མཚོ་སྤོང་ལ་སྤེལ་བའི་ཞེས་ཞུ་  
མེས་པོ་བོན་པོ་ཚེ་བོའི་ར་མ་དང་ལུགས་རྩི་ལ། ལོང་གི་ཚོ་བ་དེ་གཉིས་ལས་བྱིམ་ཚང་འགའ་དང་ལྷན་དུ་རྟ་ལྷག་ར་  
མོང་དང་སོག་གུར་སོགས་རྫོངས་པ་གྲུ་ལོ་མ་པ་གཞན་བར་བཤད། དེ་བས་སྤེལ་བའདུག་མཚོ་སྤོང་སྤོང་གི་བོད་སྤེལ་གཞན་  
དང་ཅུང་མི་འདྲ་བར་སྤོང་ལུགས་ལ་ར་མོང་དང་། མཐོ་སྤོང་སོག་གུར་སྤོང་ཡོད་པར་མ་ཟད། ད་ལྟའང་ད་དུང་  
ས་མིང་པལ་ཆེ་བ་སོག་སྐང་མ་ཉམས་པར་སྤོང་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་དང་སྤེལ་བའི་ས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བདག་མེད་དུ་ལུས་པའི་སོག་  
ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལབ་ཅེ་འགའ་རེའང་མཚོད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད། རྩོན་ཆད་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྤེལ་བ་རེ་འགས་སོག་པོ་ཚོ་ཞེས་བྱུང་གསོད་  
གྱིས་འབོད་སྤོང་གྲུང་བྱུང་ཡོད་པར་སྤོང་།

སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༥་ལོར་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱིས་སྤེལ་བའི་ཉེ་ས་ཏུ་ལྷང་གཡང་འགག་ཆུ་སྤོང་ས་ཚུགས་བརྒྱན་ཅིང་། སྤེལ་བའདུག་  
རྩིས་སུ་ཐེངས་གཉིས་ལ་གནས་སྤར་དགོས་བྱུང་བས་ས་ལུལ་གཞན་གྱི་བོན་པོ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཉུང་དུ་སོང་བ་དང་།  
བན་ཁའི་སྤོང་ཆེན་རེ་འགའི་ལུགས་རྒྱུན་འཁོར་བོན་པོའི་སྤོང་ཁང་དང་གཞིས་རྒྱུང་རེ་འགའ་ན་བོན་པོའི་སྤོང་བ་  
འཇུགས་སྤོང་ཅོམ་ལྷག་ཡོད་པ་མ་གཏོགས། ད་ལྟ་སྤེལ་བའདུག་བོན་གྱི་ཚོ་བ་དང་ལུགས་ལེན་བྱེད་མཁན་ཤིན་ཏུ་  
ཉུང་། གཞན་དུ་སྤེལ་བའདུག་སྤོང་ཆེན་མོ་དང་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་བན་ཁའི་དགོན་པར་ཡོད་པའི་སྤེལ་བ་པལ་མོ་ཆེས་  
བོན་སྐོར་ཞེས་པའི་སྤེལ་བའི་སྤོང་པར་འབྲོང་སྐོར་དང་ཨོ་སྐོར་སོའ་གང་འདོད་དུ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པའི་སྤོང་ཚུལ་  
གྲུང་འབྲུང་གི་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

དཔུང་རྩོམ་འདིར་རིག་གནས་མིའི་རིགས་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་བྱེད་ཐབས་སྤུང་ནས་སྤེལ་བའི་ཆུན་པ་སྐོར་  
ཞིག་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་དང་དངོས་སུ་ས་གནས་རྟོག་དཔྱད་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱ་ཆ། དེ་མིན་ས་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚགས་སོགས་ལ་གཞི་བཅོལ་ཏེ་སྤོང་རྒྱལ་མའི་ཞིབ་བཟུར་བྱས་པ་བརྒྱུད། འབྲོག་ཏུ་བོན་སྐོར་སྤེལ་བའི་བན་  
བོན་གཉིས་མཉམ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་མོས་དང་དེའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ལྗོངས་སྐོར་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔུང་པའི་  
ལུལ་བྱས་ཡོད།

## Paper Session 3 – Ritual and Divination

### ཚོག་དང་མོ་ལུང་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

Gergely Orosz (Budapest)

#### Two *gto* collections of Padmasambhava from Mongolia

This paper examines two *gto/mdos* collections of Mongolian origin kept in the Tibetan Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences:

the first one, shortly entitled as *Rdzu 'phul gyi phur lto rgya nag nas byung ba*, has two variants: the one containing 46 rituals and another that includes 100 rituals. The texts, which are attributed to Padmasambhava and said to have been unearthed in China, must have been very popular in Mongolia, since there are five copies of them in the Collection of the Library. They show features that they were either composed in Mongolia or were „recycled” there from other texts with the aim to create a more „mongolized” version of the ritual collection.

The second text, entitled as *Slob dpon pad ma ga ra 'i thug kyi nying khu mdos chog sna tshogs blto sgro sa ma ya bsgyur chen dga' ba 'i ltad mo* contains 49 *gto* rituals. Despite the facts that its colophon tells the story about its revelation by the Red Acarya on the Has po ri, and that it repeats a reference to the *Ma mo srid pa 'i rgyud* (a *rnying ma gter ma* by Ra shag gter ston), this popular collection that served as the source for other shorter texts in the Library, shows clearly the features of the Dge lugs school. Why and how these texts were created? And what is their significance in the Dge lugs *gto* tradition and particularly in the Mongolian Tibetan Buddhism.

Sai Cuoji (Beijing)

#### The “*G.yang*” Concept as a Structuring Principle in Tibetan Folk Religion

Tibetan lives are constituted in a world of multifarious and often all-encompassing divine manifestation, in which human experience is suffused with religious significance. One term that conveys this world view is “*g.yang*”. The term maybe translated as “quintessence of fortune ” as suggested by Samten Karmay 2002. It can also be understood to stand for a kind of measure of prosperity, or well-being. It has also been said to represent a “regional designation of an ancient Tibetan kingdom”. (Karma Lha 'brug rgyal 1996) *G.yang* is often paired with the term *phya* which is understood as a synonym for “prognosis,” as well as “vital force” (Samten Karmay 1986), other meanings include “ancient Tibetan heavenly beings,” “a kind of Bon culture,” and “longevity” ( Karma Lha 'brug rgyal 1996). Clearly it is difficult to render this pair of expressions definitively, since their semantic range is quite broad and shifting in the history of Tibetan culture and literature.

Nonetheless, many of the beliefs, myths, and customs connected with *g.yang* and *phya* may still be shown to impact the daily lives of Tibetans across the plateau. Rituals of *g.yang 'gug*, which “summon *g.yang*” are common in lay community performance as well as in private contexts. This ritual is connected to other sorts of summoning rituals. When the *g.yang* concept operates in folk religious rituals, the summoning of *g.yang* is frequently combined with other rituals, most commonly with a “ransom offering” (*glud*), and in some cases “poison removal” (*dug phyung*) rituals, “threat-cross” rituals (*mdos, nam mkha'*), “fumigation” (*bsang*), and other common rituals, such as the wedding ceremony, the funeral ritual and the ritual dedicated to the *gzhi bdag* spirits. It also appears regularly among the ritual literature for monks of all schools of Tibetan Buddhism, including Bon. We may cite numerous writings in the voluminous *gsung 'bum* of prominent monks across Tibetan history that mention *g.yang* and its associated rituals. Even in the Gesar epic, we may note many descriptions of *g.yang* rituals.

References to *phya* and *g.yang* appear among non-Buddhist texts from Dunhuang, typically in divination texts such as PT1047, PT1051, PT1052, and PT1060. But the terms *g.yang sa* and *g.yang gzhi* also



The relationship between Buddhism and these (probably) pre-Buddhist mountain divinities is widely represented as being one of conqueror and conquered. This paper suggest that from the perspectives of both **sociology of knowledge** and **theory of practice**, the compound identities of gNyan chen thang lha reflect a covenant – a contractual relationship between Buddhism and the cult of mountain gods, as well as between local kingship and Buddhist domination.

gNyan chen thang lha is in many respects typical of many mountain divinities of Tibet. However, he also has a large number of very specific characteristics in terms of both iconography and also his integration with political and social systems that deserve fuller investigation.

bSod nams rdo rje བསོད་ནམས་རྫོ་རྗེ། | Suonan Duojie (Beijing)

བོད་ཀྱི་རྗེ་འཕྲུལ་ཚེས་དང་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་གྱི་འཇམ་གཤོར་འདེགས་གསུམ་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་པ།

[ནང་དོན་གནད་བསྒྲས།] རྗེ་འཕྲུལ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ཚེས་རིག་དང་དེ་ལྟའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་  
ཚེས་ཡིན་པས་གཞུང་གི་ཁྲུང་དབང་དང་ཞིབ་གཞུང་བཟོ་བའི་རྒྱབ་རྟེན་གྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་  
ལ། འཇམ་གཤོར་འདེགས་གསུམ་ནི་ཚེས་གཞུང་འདི་ལས་གལ་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་དོན་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལྟ་བུ།  
དཔྱད་རྒྱུ་ཚེས་འདིར་བོད་ཀྱི་རྗེ་འཕྲུལ་ཚེས་དང་འབྲེལ་ནས་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་གྱི་འཇམ་གཤོར་འདེགས་གསུམ་གྱི་  
ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ཚད་གཞི་སོགས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་ཅུང་ཟད་བགྲིས་ཡོད་དོ།

གནད་ཚིག། རྗེ་འཕྲུལ་ཚེས། འཇམ་གཤོར་འདེགས་གསུམ།

## Paper Session 4 – Tibetan Societies in Transformation

### བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་འགྱུར།

Pyeon Seollan (Osaka)

#### **Anthropological Study on Social Relationships and the Communality of *gsar 'byor* in Dharamsala mediated by '*khug dmar gtong ba*'**

This paper examines how Tibetan refugees, especially *gsar 'byor* (new comers) in Dharamsala, reconstruct and develop their social relationships and the communality based on my fourteen-months-field-work from 2015 to 2017. I argue that communality is constructed by everyday practices, although the traditional social relationships based on blood or regions have long been considered as important features on communality in Anthropology. I focus on the electronic money exchange called '*khug dmar gtong ba*' as a tool to visualize the relationship among *gsar 'byor*.

Questioning on social relationships and the communality of *gsar 'byor* is crucial for two reasons. First, as one of my informants mentioned Dharamsala as an 'international airport', it is the place where mobility is severe. The community of *gsar 'byor* changes one after another, as many acquaintances and friends leave. Secondly, unlike *gzis chags* (settlers), *gsar 'byor* are usually alone when they arrived in India. Since they are apart from mainland family, it is a big task for them to reconstruct their social relationships. Social relationships are important resource for livelihood of *gsar 'byor*, so its maintenance is concerned with the problem of survival. Under such circumstances, blood or regions cannot be the most important criteria for reconstruction of social relationships for *gsar 'byor*. For *gsar 'byor*, of course, regions are the first standard. Tibetan regionalism has been always a big feature among Tibetan refugees. Relationships, however, do not mean that there is boundary clearly defined or identified. It is necessary to describe the community that is constructed in practice.

A '*khug dmar gtong ba*', the electronic money exchange by wechat, is one of the main mediums connecting *gsar 'byor* even their community members are scattered all around the world. These relationships are of course not stable, but are disrupted by frequent movements. By observing how '*khug dmar gtong ba*' maintains *gsar 'byor* relationships and changes it, it will lead to a reconsideration of the concept of communality among Tibetan.

Gu ru mtsho ལུ་རུ་མཚོ། | Guru Tso (Beijing)

#### **Cultural and Social Adaptation of the Tibetan Community in New York City**

This paper is a case study of the Tibetan community settled in New York City. By focusing on the social and cultural adaptation of the Tibetan communities in Queens. This paper discusses the reshaping and constructing of a new Tibetan society and identity within the multicultural environment, which is far away from their homeland and culture. The community has been faces various difficulties when they re-establish their livelihoods in the urban environments, such as languages and cultures settings, working opportunities, education and medical needs. Such difficulties bring various adaptation methods used by the individual and the community to protect the traditional culture. Arising of Various Tibetan cultural organizations that congregated in New York City provide a platform for the flourish of the Tibetan culture and enhanced the identity to some extent.

This paper will review the history of the Tibetan community in New York City Since the first Tibetan landed on United States in 1947. This study is based on a sample of 50 households mainly drawn from Queens, New York City. My discussion of households is set out in terms of the generation differences. The conflict between generations of their attitude towards the language, the gender roles and social life then turn into vivid portraits of the families in each generation. The approach I adopt to solve the problem are participate observation and in-depth interview as basic tools of data collection. This paper is to seek

a new understanding of Tibetan cultural adaptation and the shaping of the ethnic traditions in the present context of globalization.

Keywords: Tibetan community, social adaptation, cultural reconstruction, globalization

Reiko Hoshino (Osaka)

### **The subjectivity of Tibetans in Chinese society – A case study in Tibetan street of Chengdu, Sichuan, China**

This paper aimed to study the subjectivity of Tibetans in Chinese (Han) Society. It discusses how Tibetans maintain and form their own culture in Tibetan Street, the centrally controlled region in Chengdu, Sichuan Province.

This paper develops an anthropological research through historical documents and field survey. The contents of this paper can be divided into 3 parts. Firstly, this paper will discuss how scholars and intellectuals have described Tibetans in modern China, especially on the issue of national identity before the ethnic discrimination in 1950. Secondly, the paper will explore how the Tibetan Street in Chengdu has formed and controlled by the Chinese government since 1950's. And lastly, the paper will discuss how Tibetans have managed Tibetan culture related shops, such as costumes, various Buddhist supplies, and Tibetan restaurants.

This paper finally discusses about the possibility and reality of the ethnic minorities. The Tibetan Street in Chengdu is governed by Chinese government, while Tibetans are not entirely controlled and influenced by the Chinese (Han) society. And, the paper explores how had the Tibetan ethnic group formed and developed independently in the area with limited Tibetan influence. The paper attempts to analyze the complex Tibetan society from the aspect of ethnic identity which is strengthened by the intimate relationship within the society

Brigitte Steinmann (Paris)

### **Alienated Tibetans, Nepalese and Sikkimese Himalayan Traders in the Capitalist Globalization (1920-2018): Shifting Territorialisations of Development and Borders from Yuru (Tibet-China) to Walungchung gola (Nepal) on the ancient passes between Tibet, Sikkim and Nepal**

We study the global transformations and regional implications on Nepalese Northeastern border areas between Nepal, Tibet and Sikkim from 1920 to 2015. We want to show how ancient conceptions of 'borders' as places of encounter and barter exchanges in the international and local Himalayan tradings, shifted to become of a highly capitalized nature already in the 1960s and in the today global market economy. How the money-dominated trends operated at the expense of a number of local barter transactions and exchanges, with the opening of new roads and Asian forms of capitalist development in the 21st century? We will study, through some historical, political and geological fault lines, how these areas were kept in isolation for police and political purposes since the 19th century. We aim at bringing to light some new theoretical points for a global analysis of global capitalist process of structural change on so-called 'forgotten borderlands'. We will focus on the ancient gola of Walungchung with its traditional Tibetan leaders 'go ba', its territorial administration through a strictly hierarchized society and domestic mode of production, which helped also the taxation, political and administrative oligarchic systems of government in Nepalese Ranas' time to implement a state policy, and to play a key role in the development of an ancient capitalistic mode of development. Are we attending today a last and irreversible market opening of the sBas Yul of Walungchung, or do people adapt themselves and resist against foreign modes of development involved by the sudden and long-wished opening of these areas through road and airport construction? We shall provide a detailed ethnographic and comparative economic and anthropological

analysis ,started in the 1980s' up now, to taking into account the local socio-economic stratifications, and the long co-existence of diverse kinds of labor migration ventures, landlords' and tenants' policies, rich merchants' resource accumulation and capitalists' ways of life, or poor autochthonous adventurers or cattle breeders from Limbu and Lepcha areas, who built these complex places of exchange and face now a place transformed into a modern Himalayan highway.

# **Archaeology, Art History and Material Culture**

གནའ་ཇུས་རིག་པ། སྐུ་རྩལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང། དེའི་ཇུས་རིག་པ།

## Panel 19 – The Archaeology of Ancient Tibetan Buddhism Recent Discoveries and New Perspectives

གནའ་དུས་ནང་བསྐྱེད་དང་གནའ་རྟོག་རིག་པ། གནའ་ཇུས་གསལ་རྟོག་དང་ལྷོ་ཕུལ་གསལ་ར་པ།

### Panel organizers

Mark Aldenderfer (Merced)

Laurianne Bruneau (Paris)

**Panel abstract** – In various regions of Asia, such as India and Central Asia, archaeology has played a significant role in the reconstruction of the history of ancient Buddhism. In the field of Tibetan studies, Buddhism has been mostly studied through written sources (texts, inscriptions, etc.) and art history (identification of iconography and styles, etc.). However, in the past decade, excavations at Buddhist sites as well as extensive surveys and dedicated material culture studies have been carried out on the plateau and other regions of the Tibetan cultural realm (Mustang, Ladakh, the Tarim basin, etc). The proposed panel will show how considering Buddhism in an archaeological perspective contributes to a better understanding of the ancient phases of the doctrine, from the Imperial period to early *phyi.dar* (c.650-1050 CE).

Mark Aldenderfer (Merced)

### **Buddhist iconography in Upper Mustang: 450-650 CE**

Exactly when and how Buddhism arrived into Upper Mustang from the Tibetan Plateau remains obscure. The founding of Ghar Gumpa (Lo Gekar) near Lo Manthang, is variously said by documentary sources to date between the 8th through 11th C. CE, thus possibly before the establishment of Samye. No less a personage than Padmasambhava is thought to have been its progenitor. However, excavations at Samdzong, a mortuary site consisting of ten shaft tombs which date between 450-650 CE near Upper Mustang's border with Tibet, have revealed two tombs contexts objects exhibiting decorative motifs likely derived from Buddhist iconographical inspirations. Samdzong 5 is a tomb of a high-ranking individual whose body was placed in a wooden coffin. The Buddhist iconography in this context consists of a very faded, difficult to discern clockwise swastika painted upon the left cheek (facing) of the gold/silver mask that accompanied the individual. The second context, Samdzong 1-4, has three possible Buddhist motifs: a very distinctive painted red clockwise swastika on the right cheek (facing) of a gold/silver mask, an unfired clay chorten tsatsa, and a portion of unfired clay figure that may represent the ushnisha atop the head of the Buddha. A fourth artifact, a large votive tsatsa, was also recovered and will be described in detail in this session by Amy Heller. These objects are much earlier than the putative date of founding of Ghar Gumpa, and thus, new explanations for their presence in Upper Mustang are required. This presentation will describe these objects, place them in time, and offer hypotheses about their likely stylistic origins and meanings within the region.

Amy Heller (Nyon)

### **An Enigmatic Tsatsa in a Mustang funerary chamber**

In 2013 M. Aldenderfer published his significant new findings on Tibetan mortuary customs, as observed in funerary chambers at Samdzong in northern Mustang, including systematic cuts on bones reflecting defleshing. Accompanying the Samdzong burials were cotton and silk textiles as well as tea and food offerings, thus suggesting local as well as foreign provenance. Such textile offerings correspond to 2012 excavation findings in Guge reported by Tong Tao, with the presence of tea and radio-carbon date of

















published ‘Tibetan religious dances’ by Fürer-Haimendorf (1976), both of which remain standard works in the field of Tibetan studies to this day. Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s popular book ‘Wo Berge Götter sind’ (1955) has also achieved a high degree of celebrity and has been translated into several languages.

Verena Widorn (Vienna)

### **The Protective Deities of René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz – a Group of Tibetan Paintings in the Weltmuseum Wien**

The Weltmuseum Wien holds a small but interesting collection of Tibetan sculptures and paintings that were purchased by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz on his three field trips to West Bengal, Sikkim and Nepal in the 1950s. Among them, a group of four textile paintings with the representation of protective deities stands out and demands special attention. Nebesky-Wojkowitz himself labelled all four thangkas as being of Tibetan origin. He bought one of them from refugees coming directly from Tibet seeking exile in India. This scroll dated to the 19th century, depicts the mountain deity Nyenchen Thanglha. The other three paintings are dedicated to the rarely depicted (and religiously highly disputed) Tibetan protective deities Dorje Shugden, Dorje Setrab and Tshangpa Karpo. This set was commissioned by Nebesky-Wojkowitz to be painted on special order by the court-painter of the 9th Panchen Lama, who also took refuge in Kalimpong. The paper will have a closer look at this set of thangkas, analysing its content and style. It will further address Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s policy of collecting, commissioning and purchasing art historical artefacts for the museum, and the issue of authenticity and originality of objects labelled as Tibetan art.

Christopher Bell (DeLand)

### **Oracles and Demons in the Twenty-First Century**

This paper is submitted for consideration to the panel entitled “The legacy and impact of René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz.” Although published over half a century ago, René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* continues to be the foundational resource for the study of Tibetan deities. Inspiring scholars like Samten Karmay, Amy Heller, and Françoise Pommaret, this book contains an impressive wealth of material on the numerous mundane and supramundane gods that are central to Tibetan Buddhist worship and belief. Yet, despite its universal recognition as the quintessential reference on deity cults in Tibetan studies, the five book reviews that are available for it were published in the late 1950s, while Nebesky-Wojkowitz was still alive. This paper will correct this sixty-year oversight by offering an updated assessment of *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, evaluating its contents against current theoretical observations on shamanism, ethnographic data collected by the presenter in situ, and contemporary controversies in Tibetan communities across the world. The central observation of this paper is that the Tibetan texts cited in Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s work are, for the most part, removed from their historical context, with only a handful tied to specific Tibetan authors and time periods. Because of this, deities are presented in a static fashion and given little historic placement, upon which more recent scholarship has built. Beyond assessing the book’s value to twenty-first century scholarship, this paper will also critically examine the 204 Tibetan texts that are cited throughout the work. The preliminary observation is that these texts were composed predominantly by seventeenth-to-eighteenth century Geluk (dge-lugs) masters, which offers interesting implications for the representation of deities in Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s book. While it is important to be aware of its groundbreaking innovations, as well as its limitations, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* continues to be a uniquely rich and unparalleled work of Tibetan scholarship, securing René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s place as the forefather of Tibetan demonology.



## Panel 37 – Rethinking ‘Tibetan Art’: New Approaches from Visual, Material and Museological Perspectives

བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་རྩལ་སྐོར་ལ་བསམ་པ་གསལ་བ།

### Panel organizers

Clare Harris (Oxford)

Thub bstan skal bzang ཐུབ་བསྟན་སྐལ་བཟང་། | Thupten Kelsang (Oxford)

**Panel abstract** – In the course of the twenty years since IATS was founded, the study of ‘Tibetan Art’ has changed in important new ways. Much of this work initially arose from a critical reappraisal of how historic Tibetan objects had been analysed by outsiders in academic, museological, colonialist, and art market contexts, as well as from a desire to consider the previously overlooked categories of modern(ist) and contemporary ‘Tibetan Art’ and the artists who pioneered their creation. Under the influence of approaches drawn from visual and material anthropology, critical museology, cultural geography, collections history, and post-colonial studies (among others), the subject has since expanded greatly. It now encompasses things devised by Tibetans, both in the past and the present, which are encountered or remembered in Tibetan-speaking regions ranging from China to the hubs of the diaspora. In essence the very term ‘Tibetan Art’ has been problematized leading to a shift away from thinking of Tibetan objects as ‘art’ and towards their reframing as visual/material culture. Research topics that arise from the reflexivity and criticality that these new approaches engender include: popular and vernacular culture (embracing photography, film and digital media); transcultural interactions and hybrid objects; collecting, looting, and the politics of possession (whether in public or private spaces); destruction versus ‘heritage’ constructions; tourism, trade and authenticity debates; the politics of soft power in museums and other representational formats; and attempts to ‘decolonise’ both Tibetan art history and the associated practices of museums with Tibetan collections worldwide. Underpinning all this is a commitment to give greater discursive space to the voices of those whose heritage is under discussion i.e. Tibetans. We seek to acknowledge indigenous agency across the spectrum, from aesthetics to processes of knowledge formation, and to foster a more level playing-field of shared intellectual endeavour. In moving away from the iconographic, connoisseurial, and ‘fine art’ modes of analysis pursued by curators and scholars of earlier generations, this panel seeks to bring this new phase of theoretically-informed and ethically-engaged research to the fore and to create dialogue, especially among the early career and Tibetan scholars who are taking it forward.

Clare Harris (Oxford)

### An Introduction to Rethinking ‘Tibetan Art’

In 1999 I published ‘In the Image of Tibet: Tibetan Painting after 1959’, the first academic study of modern(ist) and contemporary Tibetan art. This book attempted to open up a new field of research by extending the time-frame beyond the point where most existing studies in Tibetan art history had ceased: i.e. in the nineteenth century. It also considered the social and political factors that underpinned the creation of art by Tibetans in the twentieth century, as well as in the production of knowledge about it by external commentators. In questioning the very construction of the term ‘Tibetan Art’ and its associated practices of collecting, connoisseurship and the curation of displays, the book pioneered themes that I have pursued in further publications and which have since been taken up by others. For this presentation introducing our panel, I will make some observations on developments over the last twenty years and on the current state of the field, before handing over to the panellists who are among those who will determine its future.





ment in the movements' own future producers is not new – it was actively discussed alongside the first international successes of the Gedun Choephel Artists' Guild leaders more than a decade ago – the present emergence of spaces for early career and less visible artists to find support and engage with Tibetan audiences are unprecedented.

Artists have long taken the lead in creating innovative physical and virtual platforms for sharing, critiquing, and promoting contemporary art and Tibetan artists – in recent years, Losang Gyatso's Mechak and Facebook groups, Pema Rinzin's New York Tibetan Art Studio Collective, Tashi Norbu's Museum for Contemporary Art, Holland, come to mind. Yet projects like STUDIO 59 and Dialogue Artists Residency, near Dharmasala, India, brainchild of acclaimed diaspora artists Tenzin Rigdol and Chungpo Tsering, and Scorching Sun Art Lab in Lhasa, founded by well-known Lhasa artists Gade and Nortse, are perhaps most indicative of this third wave. They mark the capacity, commitment, and individuation necessary to launch and perhaps sustain indigenous incubators of creativity. Their methods involve not only exhibitions of experimental work, but also lectures, residency programs, and stimulating dialogue between artists from diverse backgrounds and generations who work with wide-ranging media. Exploring the strategies, outcomes, and reception of these artists' current efforts will put the past two decades of academic work on Contemporary Tibetan Art into forward-looking perspective.

Elisabeth Haderer (Bonn)

### **Transforming Tradition - The Transmission of Tibetan Buddhist Art to Contemporary Europe**

Since the occupation of Tibet by Communist China in the middle of the 20th century, Tibetan Buddhism and its art have been finding their way to the West. As a result of the diaspora of the Tibetans around the world, the nearly 1300-year-old teachings and meditation practices of Tibetan Buddhism and the sacred art that is closely connected with it are also transmitted to Europe, Russia and the Americas.

In order to save the existence of this rich religious and cultural heritage for future generations a great number of Tibetan Buddhist centres, monasteries and institutions has been founded in the last 40 years in the West. The heads of the four great schools of Tibetan Buddhism – Nyingma, Sakya, Kagyü and Gelug – who mainly live in exile in Nepal and India commission authentic Tibetan artists to decorate these Buddhist places with traditional Tibetan Buddhist painted scrolls (Tib. thangka), wall paintings (Tib. logsbris), and bronze sculptures (Tib. sku 'dra).

Since the 1970ies the last great master artists of the various Tibetan Buddhist art traditions such as the over 400-year-old Karma Gardri painting tradition are willing to pass on the ancient principals und rules to western artists, so that it would not get lost.

In my paper I will present the last findings of my research project that investigates the process of the transmission of traditional Tibetan Buddhist art to the West in the 20th and 21st centuries. In detail, I will elaborate on the significance of this transmission and its different forms. Furthermore, I will discuss some of the art works by two contemporary Tibetan Karma Gardri painters from Yolmo/Nepal and Sikkim/India and by one sculptor from Leh in Ladakh/India which I will subsequently compare to the works of their western students. Besides that, the role of female artists in male dominated traditional Tibetan Buddhist art shall be examined.

dGe 'dun rgya mtsho དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། | Gendun Gyatso (New Delhi)

### **Nortse and Politics of Memory in Contemporary Tibetan Art**

The development of modern art in the most of colonial countries, without exception, modern Tibetan art is caused by colonial history. But the consequences of such cause can lead to “aesthetic of contradiction,” (Kapur 2000) by adopting visual narrative which is antithetical to the colonial narrative of their subject. The contemporary Tibetan artists in the 1980s have adopted new means, material, and themes in their







Nadine Plachta (Kathmandu)

## **Mountains of Trash and Rubbish. Meaning and Practices of Discarding Things in Tsum**

Working in Tsum, a high Himalayan valley in northern Nepal at the border with Tibet, returning again and again to the same place, walking along the same routes, and crossing the same pastures, one phenomenon has become increasingly visible: things in their various states of abandonment and decay lying about within the landscape. Rusty parts of tin roofs, satellite television sets, solar panels, electric butter tea churners, and batteries thrown together with discarded shoes, beer cans, plastic water bottles, instant noodle wrappers, and food containers, all gathered and tumbled in unexpected ways and faded by wind and weather over time. With no waste and sewage system present, the debris is a stubborn and swelling thing.

Rather than seeing waste as redundant and out of place, this paper seeks to critically and productively engage with discarded items. Based on current anthropological and archeological takes on garbage, it asks “what forms of knowing do they make possible” (Pétursdóttir and Olsen 2018)? What do practices of waste disposal tell about change in a society? Abandoned things Tsum stand for increased cash income and new forms of movement and mobility. They represent a change in status symbols and speak of shifting values, meaning, and power. But they also embody, like no other substance, hopes and despair of a modernity to come, a modernity that is uncertain. Abandoned things are embedded with meaning and emblematic for the current borderland experience. By digging into things stumbled upon on the wayside, this presentation attempts to understand a rapidly changing Himalayan society through the waste it produces.

Samuel Thevoz (Paris)

## **Embodying Tibet in Paris in 1908: An Early Tibetan Traveller, a Parisian Buddhist Temple, and the Opening Ceremony of the Tibetan Room at the Guimet Museum**

In 1908, Adrup Gönpö (A sgrubs mGon bo, 1885?–1911) from Patong (sPa btang, in Northern Yunnan), was presumably the first Tibetan to “reside in the West for any length of time” (Schaeffer, Kapstein et Tuttle 2013: 704), alongside the European “tours” of Buryat Mongol Agwang Dorjiev (1854–1938) in the late 1890s and Sikkimese Maharajkumar Sidkeong Tulku Namgyal (1860–1914) from 1906 to 1909. Based on archive material, I intend first to shed new light on Gönpö’s biographical trajectory, as well as on his travel and sojourn in France. Moreover, as one can expect, such an unusual traveller attracted public attention. In this perspective, comparing Gönpö’s perception of France and the French’s perception of Gönpö leads me to explore both Tibetan and French imaginaires as well as cultural (mis-)understandings at work in such an unconventional intercultural situation located in the “capital of modernity.”

In particular, I shall pay close attention to Adrup Gönpö’s performance at the Guimet Museum on the occasion of the official opening of the “Tibetan room.” Theatricality has had enduring and multifaceted connections with the museum. Since 1891, four Buddhist ceremonies had been staged at the request of Émile Guimet in the library of the museum, culminating in Agwang Dorjiev’s 1898 “lamaist ritual” which turned into a cosmopolitan, mundane and political event widely reported in the international press. As the Guimet Museum was now considered a “Buddhist temple,” these ceremonies not only testify to the evolution of the perception of Buddhism in Europe but also help delineate the various shapes of Western commitment to Buddhism in the guise here of a trend known under the label of “Parisian Buddhism.” In this context, Adrup Gönpö’s performance a decade later certainly provides unforeseen insights into the making of modern Tibetan icons during this pivotal period of Tibetan connected history.

Providing a specific material framework which prefigures nowadays immersive installation art and site-specific performances, museums not only served as sites where artefacts and objects were exhibited in a carefully-designed and dramatized *mise en scène* but also as theatrical stages on which non-professional actors performed an image of their own cultural background and literally embodied the transcultural imaginaires at play in such events. These performances had a large impact, since they were re-enact-



Drawing upon doctoral research with a small Tibetan community in Australia, this paper considers the challenges arising from physical and temporal displacement from homeland, family and tradition within the diasporic setting. The focus is on a family that was reunited through resettlement and how they actively mediate absence and loss by forging new traditions and bonds of belonging. A father and daughter reconstruct typically family-oriented Losar rituals and celebrations that now take place in the absence of other family members from whom they have been separated since leaving Tibet many years ago. In particular, the pre-Losar practice of the *nyi shu gu* dinner demonstrates how meaningful relationships are actively constituted in their new home through the affective materiality of food-focused ritual traditions. Over three successive years, the family has invited friends and other “orphans” in the community to participate. Together they have gradually discovered and created new meanings through the preparation and sharing of the *gu thuk* meal and associated rituals that dispel bad spirits and illness from the home. The painful absence from family and homeland is mitigated through the performance of extended bonds of kinship and belonging, materialised through tangible processes of cultural production and adaptation in a new home.

## Paper Session 6 – Icon, Image, and Architecture

འབྲ་སྐྱ་དང་གཟུགས་བརྟན་ཨམ་སྐྱོན་བཅས་ལ་དབྱད་པ།

Michela Clemente (Cambridge), Filippo Lunardo (Rome)

### **Mi la ras pa's Representation in Mang yul Gung thang Xylographs**

**Panel abstract** – Mi la ras pa appears to be the most represented figure in the illustrations of Mang yul Gung thang xylographs. By examining his several depictions, it is possible to notice some stylistic changes occurring over time. Our research takes into account numerous illustrations found in xylographs produced in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in different printing houses located within the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom. Representations of ‘the Laughing Vajra’ dating back to the 12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries and appearing in thang kas, wall paintings and books (both manuscripts and prints) from different Tibetan areas have been investigated as a starting point for our study. Illustrations of Gung thang xylographs have been consequently analysed from historical and artistic viewpoints, investigating their place of production and the artists who drew and carved them, taking into consideration the religious and literary background in which these representations were depicted. Our paper will present some preliminary remarks on the stylistic changes occurring in Mi la ras pa's iconography in Mang yul Gung thang xylographs from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century.

Sarah Richardson (Toronto)

### **Pictures with a Thousand Words: Communicating Through Combined Words and Images in Wall Paintings at Zhalu**

What were the roles of images and words on painted walls in teaching and explaining concepts for practice or philosophy in Tibetan Buddhist temples? Who were these combined images made for, and how did they communicate as adaptations of written texts and in visual combination with written words? Looking at mural paintings from different sections of the monastery of Zhalu, where the murals added in the fourteenth century contain numerous lengthy textual inscriptions, we see a complicated interdependence of two modes of communication—the visual and the written—developing across the temple walls. What relationships can be traced here between these modes, who was adapting text to image, and who were these adaptations meant to influence? What communicative goals might have been at the center of these adaptations?

By translating inscriptions at Zhalu and using them to examine how accompanying pictorial images responded to and integrated texts into their picture planes, it is clear that several strategies were useful in the process of adapting words into pictures. Indeed, different kinds of texts were adapted into pictures using different strategies, and in turn, different texts were found useful for different kinds of religious spaces. This paper will focus on different strategies in the designed relationship between text and image used in the *skor lam chen mo*, the long ground floor circumambulatory passage at Zhalu, that was elaborately painted in the mid-fourteenth century, during the time that the famous Bu ston rin po che, was the abbot of the temple.

On the walls of this tall, dark passage designed for enclosed circumambulation of the temple's five ground-level shrines, several different text-image combinations are painted. For the depiction of a book collection produced by the third Karmapa of individual stories recounting the previous lives of the bodhi-sattva, painted pictures detailing the stories are developed as horizontally aligned continuous narratives that depict many scenes from each story within a frame. These visual narratives are often placed across some of the earliest painted landscapes known in Tibetan art. The inscribed text is included here as block-like inscriptions echoing the pages of a book below. In this adaptation, the diversity and multitude of the book collection is emphasized, and the organization of a book as a practical system impresses a viewer.

By contrast, at the end of the same corridor a mandala diagram using both words and images within bordered frames places pictures and words together to communicate various prescriptions for behaviours and practices associated with Chenrezig (*phags pa spyan ras gzigs*). Here we see individual metaphors adapted into small images within each of these bordered spaces. When ignorance is compared to a pig, the pig is drawn, when sweet speech is compared to a lotus emerging from the mouth, a person with a lotus emerging from their mouth is shown, when a warning to not sleep at incorrect times is given, the image shows a person wrapped up and sleeping. Here, the images condense and distil textual sections in very literal ways, making each segment of text visually recognizable to someone who knows the text but here can't or won't necessarily read it, producing a visually efficacious short hand, or a physical replacement, for possible recitation. These examples tell us something about how images were central to activate, explain, and possibly as mnemonic devices to remember types of texts.

Both of these image layouts appear in spaces that would have been shared between monastic and non-monastic audiences, whereas much more complicated and detailed mandala diagrams were chosen for spaces of monastic training in the upper level of the monastery. From this comparison, we can get a sense that the wall designers at Zhalu, with Bu ston rin po che at the lead, found it useful to design spaces that communicated and adapted different texts for different audiences, and further that communicated these in combination with efficacious images. By examining and better understanding the ways that murals adapted narratives, devotional practices, and even the organization of the yoga tantras and their lineages into pictorial forms in the upper shrines, we see how visual images were found useful for temple producers like Bu ston as a form of communication: to help monastic audiences integrate and memorize knowledge systems, and further, to communicate to non-monastic audiences the power and importance of all these books.

Sangs rgyas skyabs སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱབས། | Sang Jieka (Beijing)

བོད་ཀྱི་གནས་བརྟན་བརྟུག་གི་གྲིས་སྐྱའི་བཟོ་རྒྱུ་གསུམ་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

འདིར་རྒྱ་ཆལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ (Art History) དང་། རྒྱ་བརྟན་རིག་པ། (Iconography) ཚོས་  
ལུགས་རིག་པའི་ (Religious Studies) གཞུང་ལུགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། བོད་ཀྱི་གནས་བརྟན་བརྟུག་  
རྒྱལ་སྐྱའི་གྲིས་སྐྱ་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་ལ་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཏེ། བོད་རྒྱ་གནས་བརྟན་བརྟུག་  
གི་གྲིས་སྐྱ་རྒྱ་གར་ལུགས་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་ལུགས། བོད་ལུགས་བཅས་བཟོ་རྒྱུ་མི་འདྲ་བ་གསུམ་  
རི་ལྟར་བྱང་ཚུལ་དང་། སོ་སོའི་ཁྱད་ཚོས། དེ་དག་བྱང་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་བཅས་ལ་དབྱེད་པ་  
བཏང་ཡོད།

དང་པོ་ནི། བོད་ཀྱི་གནས་བརྟན་བརྟུག་གི་སྐྱ་བརྟེན་ནི། ཏུས་རབས་བརྟུག་པའི་ནང་  
ཚོག་མར་སྐྱ་མེས་འབྲོམ་རྒྱུང་གིས་རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་གདན་དྲངས་པ་ལས་བྱང་བ་དེ་རྒྱུ་འབྱུངས་  
ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་ནའང་། ཉང་ཚོས་འབྱུང་བའི་བསམ་ཡས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་  
གི་ལྷེབས་རིས་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་དང་ཏུན་ཉོང་གི་གནས་བརྟན་ཏུས་ལྷན་གྱི་གྲིས་སྐྱ་Ch.00376  
སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ན་དེ་ལས་སྐྱ་བ་ར་སྐྱོད་བྱ་བྱུག།

གཉིས་པ་ནི། རྒྱ་ཆལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དོན་ནས་སྐྱ་བརྟེན་གཅིག་ལ་བཟོ་རྒྱུ་མི་འདྲ་བ་གསུམ་  
རི་ལྟར་བྱང་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ། རྒྱ་ནག་ལུགས་ནི་སྐྱ་མེས་འབྲོམ་རྒྱུང་གིས་རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་གདན་  
དྲངས་ཚུལ་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་ལུགས་ནི་ཚོ་པོ་རྗེ་ཨ་ཉི་ཤའི་དགོངས་པ་ལག་ལེན་ལས་བྱང་ཚུལ་  
དང་། བོད་ལུགས་ནི་སྐྱ་མའི་ལུགས་གཉིས་རིམ་བཞིན་འདྲེས་པ་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཏུས་ཀྱི་ཤན་  
ལུགས་ནས་བྱང་ཚུལ་བཅས་བརྗོད་ཡོད།







# **Bhutan and Himalayan Regional Studies**

འབྲུག་ཡུལ་དང་རྟི་མ་ལ་ཡའི་ས་ཁུལ་རིག་

## Panel 48 – Cultural Studies in Bhutan, Sikkim and the Surrounding Regions

འབྲུག་ཡུལ་དང་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་དང་དེའི་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཡུལ་ལུང་ལག་གི་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག

### Panel organizers

Kumagai Seiji (Kyoto)

Anna Balikci-Denjongpa (Gangtok)

**Panel abstract** – While studies from Bhutan and Sikkim, and the Eastern Himalayas more generally speaking, always seemed to lie at the periphery of Tibetan Studies, they offer important alternative, comparative views on the diversity and complexity as well as locality of different Tibetan cultural influences on these societies. Thus, we understand this section of the Eastern Himalayas as a neighbouring and comparative region encompassing Bhutan and Sikkim as well as the areas of Eastern Nepal and Arunachal Pradesh that have – not only but also – come under the influence of Tibetan culture, religion and politics. In order to better understand the diverse historical and present developments within and relations between neighbouring societies, religions and polities, it is necessary to examine each locality per se as well as its complex interaction and exchanges from different local and disciplinary perspectives. Studies from this section of the Eastern Himalayas offer new approaches by analyzing local sources and literary as well as ethnographic texts, adding to the analysis and influence of Tibetan religion, history and culture beyond its borders. Most of these regions have generally been politically independent from Tibet and have developed their own distinct cultures and societies. We also welcome approaches based on recent linguistic and genetic studies that challenge the established concept of the centrality of Tibetan culture and its one-sided pervasiveness in the Himalayan region.

This panel will look into the differences and originalities of the various ethnic communities found along this south-eastern Himalayan belt and what these may have contributed to the Tibetan cultural area. The panel targets Bhutan, Sikkim and relevant neighbouring regions in order to achieve the following objectives:

- 1) to share and compare research data about this section of the Eastern Himalayas located directly to the south of Tibet from different disciplines (\*information sharing);
- 2) to examine whether and what the distinct characteristics and commonalities of and between each of these regions and different epochs are (\*specifics of this section of the Eastern Himalayas); and
- 3) to examine the interrelationships between this section of the Eastern Himalayas and Tibet from diverse local perspectives, such as diverse religious and political networks and dependencies, trade, war, migration, marriage and kinship, and linguistics.

Karma phun tshogs ཀམ་ཕུན་ཚོགས། | Karma Phuntsho (Thimphu)

### Padmasambhava in Bhutan: A Reappraisal

Among the Buddhist luminaries who feature in the Bhutanese religious consciousness, Padmasambhava remains unparalleled in his stature and influence. Guru Rinpoche is the most ubiquitous centerpiece of Bhutanese religious art and most common subject of Bhutan's religious and social activities ranging from grand state sponsored ceremonies to simple meditation of hermits, from the first prayers children mumble to the last prayers dying people murmur. He has undoubtedly emerged as the most immanent and influential spiritual figure in the Bhutanese psyche and Bhutanese attribute much of their happiness and wellbeing to the kindness and compassionate deeds of Guru Rinpoche. Bhutan is considered as a land spiritually connected to him and much of Bhutan's religious, cultural, historical, and even political life today revolves around the spiritual legacy attributed to Guru Rinpoche. The Bhutanese have also come to perceive Bhutan as a special safe haven for

the legacies of Guru Rinpoche and the guru himself as an unfailing guardian of the country.

In order to fully appreciate the role of Guru Rinpoche in Bhutan, a project is under way to study the life and legacies of Guru Rinpoche in Bhutan. By collating and analyzing a wide range of biographical literature and oral sources, the project has compiled a Bhutanese version of the biography of Guru Rinpoche including information about his journeys and acts in Bhutan. The paper will appraise the findings of project and shed further light on Guru Rinpoche culture in Bhutan and its historical underpinnings.

Ariana Maki (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **Inheritance and Innovation: Bhutanese Art and Artists in the Early Post-Zhapdrung Era**

For centuries, artists across the Himalayas have been active participants in the exchanges of methods, materials and imagery that constitute the region's corpus of traditional Buddhist art. Reflective of a broader art historical interest in the elaboration and refinement of the roles played by specific artists and locations in Himalayan arts writ large, this paper analyzes the visual legacies of key individuals who contributed to the growth and establishment of Bhutanese art. By elucidating the ways that these artists adapted and innovated distinct visual traditions—and further, tracing how those representations then evolved—this research advances a provisional timeline of early Bhutanese art historical development.

Taking as its point of departure textually-attested arts-related exchanges of the mid- and late 17<sup>th</sup> century, this paper pays special attention to works created during and immediately after the efforts of Zhapdrung Ngakwang Namgyel (zhabs drung ngag dbang rnam rgyal; 1594-1650) to consolidate secular and religious authority in western Bhutan under the Drukpa Kagyü ('brug pa bka' brgyud) Buddhist tradition. A number of extant works from this time are attributable to the Bhutan-born atelier taught by Tibetan artist and historian Tsang Khenchen Penden Gyatso (gtsang mkhan chen dpal ldan rgya mtsho; 1610-1684). Tsang Khenchen's main group of students, often referred to as the 'Six Oceans' (*rgya mtsho drug*), were largely based in and around Paro (*spa gro*) and were said to have followed their teacher's proclivities toward the Menri (*sman ris*) and Khyenri (*mkhyen ris*) modes of representation. Fortunately, sufficient examples of their—and their students'—handiwork survives, which allows us to explore and question these categorizations, as well as to complicate our current understanding of the imagery and themes that are often said to indicate Bhutanese origin.

Building upon initial contributions by Ardussi, Bartholomew, Jackson, Luczanits, Petech and Pommaret, this research further draws from historical texts, image repositories, and extant material gathered in the field to expand existing stylistic criteria believed to demarcate art of Bhutanese origin as distinct from that of neighboring cultures while also articulating some of Bhutan's important contributions to the artistic exchanges and developments that were taking place across the Himalayan Buddhist world.

Thierry Mathou (Paris)

### **Tashi Gomang: The Revival of a Bhutanese Tradition**

From November 2016 to February 2017, a remarkable exhibition was shown at the Royal Textile Academy in Thimphu. Titled '*Tashi Gomang: A National Treasure of Bhutan*', this landmark exhibition was organized in connection with the '*Tashi Gomang Project*'. Inspired by H.M. Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck, Queen Mother of the Fourth King, this project was initiated in 2015 by the author of the present paper under Royal Patronage with the support of the Central Monastic Body, the Department of Culture, Ministry of Home & Cultural Affairs, Royal Government of Bhutan and the Tangka Conservation & Restoration Centre in Thimphu. It was set up to record, revive and conserve the *Tashi Gomang* tradition, both the object itself and the rituals involved in its use. Since the project was launched, 35 *Tashi Gomang* that had been secreted away in dzongs and monasteries for decades, even centuries, have been identified in Bhutan. Four young *gomchen* (lay priests) have been trained as *manips* (wandering bards), while all the *Tashi Gomang* brought to Thimphu for the exhibition were restored and studied before being returned

to their respective locations. A *Tashi Gomang* Trust Fund has been set up in Thimphu to promote and support the tradition. A preliminary paper on the subject was presented by Tashi Tshering, co-initiator of the project, during the 14<sup>th</sup> seminar of the IATS in Bergen (Norway) in June 2016. The objective of the present paper is to give a comprehensive presentation of the *Tashi Gomang* tradition based on the findings resulting from the exhibition and the eponymous project in order to attract the attention of the academic community as several aspects of the tradition are worth studying in depth.

The paper will first contextualize the term *Tashi Gomang* -‘auspicious multi-doors’- in the Vajrayana Buddhist tradition in which it generally designates the third of the eight stupas representing the most important events in the life of the historical Buddha. It will then focus on the Bhutanese term which designates miniature portable shrines whose design is based on that of the eponymous stupa. An historical link will be made with major *kumbum* type stupas built in Tibet.

Second, the paper will elaborate on the origin of the *Tashi Gomang* tradition which originated in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Although the concept of mobile shrines, sometimes referred to as ‘god-boxes’, carried by travelling storytellers exists in many cultures and religions, the use of *Tashi Gomang* in Bhutan appears to have developed as a genuine indigenous tradition, although similar shrines were seen in Tibet several decades ago, yet without solid evidence regarding their historical, geographical and cultural impact. A special reference to legendary sources will be made especially to those referring to the First Zhabdrung, Ngawang Namgyel (1594–1651), the Tibetan Buddhist master who unified Bhutan as a nation-state and created a Bhutanese cultural identity distinct from Tibetan culture.

Third, the paper will describe in details the *Tashi Gomang*, multi-tiered miniature movable ‘temple’ featuring dozens of small doors that open to reveal hundreds of painted images and niches containing statues of Buddhist deities which represent a concentration of Bhutanese artistic and artisanal expertise as their making involves no less than nine of the thirteen traditional arts and crafts of Bhutan. It will propose a classification based on current knowledge.

Fourth, the paper will focus on the role and practice/rituals performed by the *manips* who used to carry the *Tashi Gomang* around to confer the Buddhist teachings on the masses at public gatherings, especially in remote, rural areas. It will explain how the tradition has been closely associated with the propagation of the Drukpa tradition in Bhutan.

Eventually the paper will analyse the factors explaining the disappearance of the tradition. It will also demonstrate its relevance in contemporary Bhutan by showing how *Tashi Gomang* can still fulfil three main functions: as an instrument of religious practice; as iconographic materials to study the historical development of Buddhism in Bhutan; and as prototypes to perpetuate traditional craftsmanship.

Kumagai Seiji (Kyoto)

### **The Founder and Disciples of the Drukpa Kagyu school: Re-examination of the Three Sub-schools of Drukpa Kagyu**

There have been many Buddhist schools such as Nyingma (rNying ma), Sakya (Sa skya) and Geluk (Dge lugs) in Bhutan, thus Bhutan is a non-sectarian and religiously tolerant country with a rich diversity. At the same time, we need to note that we cannot accurately understand the nation of Bhutan without understanding the Drukpa Kagyu school which has been dominant as a state religion in the country. A thorough research on the founder of the Drugpa Kagyu, Tsangpa Gyare Yeshe Dorje (Gtsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje, 1161-1211) is crucial in order to fully comprehend this particular school, while the difficult access to primary sources experienced until very recently.

His disciples, as well as Tsangpa Gyare himself, are not systematically clarified yet. Traditionally, the Drukpa Kagyu school is said to have split into three sub-schools: “Upper Drukpa” (Stod ‘brug), “Lower Drukpa” (Smad ‘brug) and “Middle Drukpa” (Bar ‘brug). The “Middle Drukpa” is traditionally said to have become the main stream while the others gradually declined. Modern historians also follow this idea. However, how and where is the classification historically attested?

The classification of three sub-schools of Drukpa Kagyu is mentioned in the chronicle *Lho ‘brug chos*

'byung composed by the 69<sup>th</sup> Je Khenpo of Bhutan Gendun Rinchen (Dge 'dun rin chen, 1926-1997) in 1972, and also mentioned in the more ancient doxography *Thu'u bkwan grub mtha'* composed by Thukän (Thu'u bkwan) Lobsang Chökyi Nyima (Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 1737-1802) in 1802. The terms "Upper Drukpa" and "Lower Drukpa" are also attested in much older chronicles such as the *Deb ther sngon po* composed by Gö Lotsawa Zhönnupel ('Gos lo twa wa Gzhon nu dpal, 1392-1481) between 1476-1478 and in the *Lho rong chos 'byung* compiled by Tatshag Tshewangyel (Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal, birth 15<sup>th</sup> cen.) in 1446. However, I found that the term "Middle Drukpa" is not referred to in the two old sources composed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, there is a high possibility that the term "Middle Drukpa" did not exist until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, rather it was newly created between the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

This paper aims to briefly introduce the founder of the Drukpa Kagyu school Tsangpa Gyare and his disciples, and especially to outline and re-examine how the sub-schools of the Drukpa Kagyu were classified by both Tibetan and Bhutanese historians over time

bsTan pa blo bzang བསྟན་པ་བློ་བཟང་། | Lobsang Tenpa (New Delhi)

### **Accidental Architect Monk Blo bzang thabs mkhas (1776-1839) and his Role in the Renovation of Monastic Institutions in Central Tibet and Tawang**

The paper aims to discuss the cross-contacts activities on the Tibetan plateau and trans-Himalayas. It is based on the life of a monk, Blo bzang thabs mkhas, who was born in Tre hor, Khams (present-day Kardze Prefecture, Sichuan Province). He began his initial monastic education at Dkar mdzes monastery, and later entered at 'Bras spung Blo gsal gling grwa tshang in Central Tibet. After taking the *dge slong* vows, his curiosity led him down to the Indian Assam areas via Tawang in 1803. Upon his pilgrimage to the holy Buddhist sites in Koch Hajo (Assam), which was a misapprehension idea as well as pilgrimages sites for Tibetan Buddhist until early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, he decided to stay in Tawang. While roaming around, accidentally he supervised the first renovation of Tawang monastery in 1809 and revamped of the monastic library in 1811. This led him to be summoned to Lhasa in 1817 to renovate Bsam yas monastery, which he carried out successfully, and later he also restored other monastic institutions in Central Tibet. His activities were limited not only there, he even participated in the conflicts resolution between different tribes in the lower Mon region.

The interesting activities, but widely under represented will be based on his autobiography, though there are at least different two versions of it. In one of the version, which seems to be recopied from the original, had recorded 1827 as his passing year. This dating may have been added by the compiler, who might be a disciple of Blo bzang thabs mkhas. His death anniversary is still observed along with annual prayers sessions; however, his legacy became one of the Me rag Lama's 'reincarnation' (*sprul sku*). As it could be a later invention, this reincarnation's status is highly debated among the followers. Besides discussing the two different manuscripts, which is highly subject to controversy as the Tibetan hagiographies were, this presentation will note that the writings were major regional historiographies in the Eastern Himalayas.

bsTan 'dzin rdo rje བསྟན་འཛིན་རྡོ་རྗེ། | Tenzin Dorji (Taktse)

### **Lha Bon/Lha 'Bod, Invoking the Yul btsan. An Ancient Ritual Offering and Cultural Belief of Central Bhutan**

This study intends to record the cultural significance of the Lha Bon. The Lha Bon (lHa bon) is an ancient ritual offering practice in the Himalayan Region, and especially in Bhutan. This article presents the meaning of the ritual, procedure of performance, belief and social values associated with the ritual and the challenges villages face in perpetuating the practice. Khyalp (Khral pa) or tax payers in Taktse and Yuesa communities under Trongsa District, Central Bhutan, conduct an offering ritual, called the Lha Bon annually from the 11<sup>th</sup> day to 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> Month of the Lunar Calendar. The history of the

Lha Bon in these communities remains unrecorded, and today, there is hardly anyone knowing its origin. However, oral lore has it that the ritual has always been conducted, suggesting that it existed at the time prior to Buddhism came in Bhutan, when Bon beliefs were important.

The purpose of performing this ritual is to appease the local deities including Yode gung gyal ('Od de gung rgyal) Yultsan Dorje daktal (Yul btsan rDo je Drag rTsal), and Menmo Tashi Wangmo (sMan mo Bkra shis dbang mo), and seek of protection and blessings from them. The communities believe the deities guard the village from epidemics, disasters or bad weather, and blesses them with health and wealth. The communities invite Yode gung gyal, Yultsan Dorje Draktal and Menmo Tashi Wangmo whom they refer as Lha (lHa). The villagers including dancers led by the phajo (pha jo, the ritual performer) go to the abode of the Yul btsan (Phola Dzong) which is located in the Northeastern part of the village once in every three years though the ritual itself is conducted every year in the village.

The current phajo and the communities call the ritual Lha Bon (lHa bon) as called by their ancestors, however, there is hardly anyone who could relate any meaning to the term. By analyzing the term through its literal meaning where Lha is Deity and Bon the beliefs, the term may mean 'Offering to Deity on the basis of ancient belief of Bon'. However, tracing the meaning of the words in the context of ancient religious culture, the word could be Lha bod (lHa 'bod) and not Lha Bon. The word lHa 'bod is often used in ancient ritual for calling deity and spirit to the place of ritual offering. Also a Tibetan saying, lHa 'bod Klu 'bod which means calling and seeking refuge and protection, suggests the word 'bod (invocation) might be more appropriate in this context. Further, since the primary purpose of the ritual is to invoke the deity and appease it by making offerings, the actual term could be Lha Bod (lHa 'bod, "invoking the deity".

This ritual formed the people's belief system and cultural foundation of several communities in the past. In addition, the ritual also functioned as social apparatus for the community unity and harmony.

Pascale Dollfus (Paris)

### ***Yung luba*, Soul(s) Retrieval : a Shertukpen ritual (West-Kameng district, Arunachal Pradesh)**

The Shertukpens (around 4,000 people) occupy a large territory situated in West-Kameng district in Arunachal Pradesh whose elevation varies by 3,000 metres from the plains of Assam in the south to the mountains in the north where most of the villages lie. Traditionally, they lived off farming and breeding, but also hunting, fishing and gathering. But today half of the population has government or business jobs. Shertukpens are listed as Buddhists in the Indian Census and described as such in the literature. The propagator of Buddhism is said to be a Tibetan lama who came in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Shertukpen country and founded there the first Buddhist temple. Today, the vast majority of Shertukpens have Buddhist names and for funeral rituals call upon Buddhist monks or married priests, who are all natives from Bhutan or the Tawang region.

However, despite the obvious influence of Tibetan Buddhism, the Shertukpens have maintained their own religious order with its own specialists. In this paper, I will describe one of their rituals, *yung luba*, "calling back the soul(s)" and compare it with similar ceremonies as performed in Tibetan communities. Every human being, indeed, possesses seven souls, *yung sit*. These souls are conceived as active principles that animate the body. They are indispensable for life but vulnerable to attacks by spirits. The absence of a soul(s) leads to illness or even death. A *zizi* (diviner, exorcist and healer) or a *raoma*, regarded as more powerful than a *zizi*, therefore has to be called upon to find the place where the soul has disappeared to, the spirit responsible for its disappearance and then to ask, sometimes at the expense of a tough combat, for its restitution and finally its reincorporation into the body of the patient.

Kikee Doma Bhutia (Sikkim)

## **The Possession Narratives and the Role of Ritual Healers in the Everyday Life in North Sikkim**

This fieldwork based paper discusses belief and possession narratives in the village of Tingchim in North Sikkim. I focus particularly on local encounters with the *yul lha gzhi bdag* (guardian deities) and associated possession narratives that inundate the social and spiritual landscape of the village. My discussion of this reveals the contours of the cosmic polity, particularly its internal hierarchies and contestations. Control within this cosmic polity is competed over by both deities and ritual specialists, both monks and shamans. I subsequently focus on these ritual specialists and detail how they interpret and negotiate the realms of the supernatural through invocation. Doing so leads me to argue that cosmic politics and hierarchies reflect – and are constitutive of - the formation of social hierarchies of the mundane. More broadly, this paper explains how the cosmic tension that exist between the supernatural entities in relation to the ritual specialist open up a critical vantage to reflect on what villagers consider as part of Buddhism in terms of solving critical situations such as illnesses, misfortunes, accidents or possession.

Rin chen sgrol ma རིན་ཆེན་གློ་མ། | Rinchen Dolma (New Delhi)

## **Historical Relations between Ladakh, Tibet and Bhutan: A close view of propagation of Druk Kargyu sect of Traditional Tibetan Buddhism in Ladakh**

This paper is an attempt to examine the history of the propagation of Drukpa Kagyu sect in Ladakh. The study of the history of Buddhism in Ladakh provides us with evidences of the propagation of the Drukpa sect from Tibet as well as from Bhutan. The monasteries of Hemis and Stagna in Ladakh are the living example of the close relations between Ladakh, Tibet, Ladakh and Bhutan respectively. The study of religious tenets and monastic practices of the Drukpa sect in Ladakh reveals that the sect has been flourishing in Ladakh since its introduction. According to a chronicle of Ladakh by A.H. Franke, the Drukpa sect had the first influence on Ladakh in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Gotsangpa Gombo Dorje (1189-1258 A.D.), who was one of the main disciples of Tsangpa Gyare (1161-1211 A.D.), visited the region during the reign of King Tashigon. The place where he meditated has been very popular amongst the hermits and used for meditation since then. However, the influence of the Drukpa Kagyu became more prominent during the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the visit of Lama Tagtsang Repa Nawang Gyatso (1574-1651 A.D. from Tibet. According to a Lama Tagtsang's biography, he was invited by King Jamyang Namgyal during his visit to Zanskar, but he visited Ladakh during the reign of King Jamyang's son Singee Namgyal. Tagtsang Repa visited Ladakh twice during the reign of Singee Namgyal, first in 1616 and later in 1622 A.D. Tagtsang Repa played a crucial role in the religious and cultural development of Ladakh. He also achieved the gradual conversion of the royal house of Ladakh to the Drukpa sect. King of Ladakh was assisted by the Great Lama in founding monasteries of Drukpa Sect in Ladakh, the famous being Hemis, and others such as at Chemde, Hanle and many other small establishments. The history of all these monasteries, the chronicle of Ladakh and the biography of Lama Tagtsang supports active propagation of the Drukpa sect during these periods.

The relationship between Ladakh and Bhutan started during the reign of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal (1594-1651 A.D.) in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. The Tagna monastery in Leh, founded by a Bhutanese monk during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, marks the beginning of the Bhutanese establishments in Ladakh. It is in the history of this monastery that we find many Bhutanese saints who visited Ladakh to propagate the sect, and promoted the study and practices of Lho Drukpa Kagyu sect in Ladakh. History of Tagna monastery also provides historical evidences that monks from the Tagna monastery obtained their education from the monastic institutions of Bhutan during this period and a total of twenty-one monks can be traced who were sent from Bhutan to look after the Bhutanese establishments in Ladakh and Zanskar. Along with the history of Ladakh and Zanskar, history of the monastery and the biographies of Bhutanese monks visiting Ladakh are the major sources that provide evidences of a close relation developed between Ladakh and Bhutan during the medieval period.

This paper attempts to locate the history of the Drukpa Kagyu sect in Ladakh. It will look into the exchanges of monks and material culture and the propagation of Drukpa Kagyu sect in Ladakh from the regions of Tibet and Bhutan. The major sources for this study include historical documents in the form of kashoks from Hemis and Tagna monasteries. The paper also refers to biographies of monks such as Lama Tagtsang Repa, Lama Jetsun Kunga Gyalsen (who visited Ladakh during the reign of King Nima Namgyal from Bhutan), Lama Mibang Sonam from Bhutan etc., who visited Ladakh. These sources provide ample information to prove the existence of cordial relationship between all these regions in general and most importantly, the propagation of the Drukpa Kagyu sect in Ladakh in particular.

Françoise Pommaret (Paris), Ngag dbang rgya mtsho འག་དབང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། | Ngawang Jamtsho (Taktse)

### **The Unknown Jatsawa (Brag gi rtsha ba) Lineage in Trongsa and Their Links to the Religious Noble Families (chos rje) of Bumthang and Eastern Bhutan**

F. Pommaret's research has extensively covered the religious, social and economic interdependence between the regions of Bumthang, Kurtoe, Trongsa and Zhemgang. Ngawang Jamtsho has been researching Trongsa and Zhemgang for the Bhutan Cultural Atlas ([www.bhutanculturalatlas.org](http://www.bhutanculturalatlas.org)) and found the Jatshawa (Brag gi rtsha ba) ruined mansion during a trip in early 2017.

We wanted to understand the history and role of Jatshawa and the links between Southern Trongsa, Bumthang and Eastern Bhutan by looking at written sources and conducting interviews.

The Jatshawa's lineage has never been documented and soon might disappear from memory. The study of this lineage sheds light on the complex and constant interactions between the *chos rje* families of Central and Eastern Bhutan.

The Jatshawa lineage was an offshoot of the Tertoen Pema Lingpa (gTer ston Padma gling pa) (1450-1521) lineage but till date its historical sequence and who were the members of the Jatshawa 's lineage was unclear.

As usual when dealing with Pema Lingpa's descendants, we went back to the origin in Bumthang and interview several elders of these *chos rje* families. These led us to more interviews in Trongsa and Thimphu and we realised the importance of this lineage and its ramifications in terms of alliances and power extending until Eastern Bhutan.

At the same time, we studied the complex historical text called the *Smyos rabs* by Dasho Lam Sangnag (1983), which describes the genealogies of the descendants of Pema Lingpa and *The biography of Thugse Dawa Gyaltshen by Jatshon Mebar*, edited by Karma Phuntsho & Dorji Gyeltshen (2015).

The Jatshawa lineage comes from Thugse Dawa Gyeltshen (Thugs sras Zla ba rgyal tshan), Pema Lingpa's son, who travelled to northern Trongsa and settled partially at Gagar. His son went to Tatsherla (rTa tsher la), south of Trongsa. Then the family split and one branch went to settle at Jatshawa which is above Tatsherla. Many contemporary influential Bhutanese trace their origin to Jatshawa, especially since the Jatshawa *chos rje* concluded many alliances with other *chos rje* families of Eastern Bhutan, themselves descending from other sons of Pema Lingpa.

This research allowed us to "rediscover" this lineage and it was encouraging to find that many Bhutanese were supporting this work that they consider as safeguarding their heritage.

Anna Balikci-Denjongpa (Gangtok)

### **From Denjong Gyalrap to The Royal History of Sikkim: The Journey of the Book**

There are about two dozen families in Sikkim who were still considered aristocratic by the time of the end of the Kingdom in 1975. Although the Kazi families were originally of Lepcha, Tibetan and Lhopo ancestries, they widely intermarried and eventually came to form an endogamous class of their own. To some extent, they even shared their social status with Newar landlords who were locally referred to as Pradhan Thikadars.

This paper will first summarize the Kazis' emergence and role in Sikkim's social history, their contribution to the state's political economy, and how they were eventually divided by destabilizing social forces

created by the arrival of the British in the region followed by the establishment of neighbouring Darjeeling in 1835. Although the Kazis initially adopted the language and culture of the Tibetanised court of the kings or Chogyals of Sikkim, some were quick to embrace English language and culture following the opening of Darjeeling's first Bhutia Boarding School in 1874.

This pro-Tibet versus pro-British division among the Kazis became particularly acute after the 1892 Chogyal's attempt to flee his kingdom for Tibet, followed by his three-and-a-half-year incarceration at Darjeeling. Following the appointment of J.C. White as Sikkim's first Political Officer in 1889 and the events of 1892, those Kazis who had remained loyal to the Chogyal and Tibet, such as the house of Barmiok and Dallam, saw their land holdings and powers reduced, while those who threaded a fine line, partly shifting their allegiance to the British, such as the Pulger and Tshugshing families, were handsomely rewarded. Based on recent archival and field research, the paper will look more closely into certain families' respective history, genealogy, and important members' contributions to Sikkim's political history. The varied and tumultuous history of the lucrative Chakung Estate will serve as case study to illustrate the Kazi's role in estate management; the rules of inheritance, alliances and the women's role among the Kazi class; followed by the state and the court's ultimate authority in resuming or re-allotting the management of certain estates.

Manuel Lopez (Sarasota), rDo rje rgyal mtshan རྫོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན། | Dorji Gyeltsen (Thimphu)

### **Monastic Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Case of Bhutan**

Over the last few years, an increasing amount of scholarship has been devoted to exploring changes in the monastic curriculum across the Buddhist world (see among others Dhammasami 2004, McDaniel 2008, and Travagnin 2017). These changes reflect a variety of attempts at modernizing monastic education to adapt to the challenges presented by new social, cultural, political, and economic environments.

This paper wants to discuss the scope of these changes in the context of the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan. There is sufficient evidence of significant changes occurring on the monastic curricula in Bhutan over the last few decades (see Karma Phuntsho 2000, Denman and Singye Namgyel 2008, and Yonten Dargye 2014). Some of the changes are due to the political transformation that the Kingdom of Bhutan has undergone over the last few decades, others have to do with the implementation of GNH policies, and others due to the introduction of English and other modern subjects in some monasteries' curriculum as a way to adapt monastic institutions to the impact of globalization and modernization.

This paper will explore these changes along sectarian divisions as well as across gender lines, by discussing and comparing some of the changes implemented in Drukpa Kagyu and Nyingma monasteries, (the two most important traditions in Bhutan), as well as by comparing the curriculum offered in monasteries and nunneries across Bhutan. The paper will discuss the role of the Central Monastic Body (gzhung grwa tshang) as a catalyst for some of those changes (as in the creation in 2014 under the Central Monastic Body's supervision of the Institute of Science of Mind, a three years bachelors program of Buddhist Philosophy that aims to teach Buddhism in a rigorous academic environment to lay students), but also as a conservative force resisting growing calls for change (particularly on issues such as the lack of official financial support for nunneries in Bhutan, and its current position on female ordination).

The paper will finally attempt to place these changes not only in the local context of Bhutan, but also within the larger context of the transformations that monasticism in general, and the monastic curriculum in particular has seen across the Buddhist world over the last few decades.

Dagmar Schwerk (Vancouver)

### **Identity-Building in the Tibetan Borderlands: Buddhist Masters at the Intersection Between Religion and Politics in Eighteenth-century Bhutan**

The current paper focusses on the intellectual, political, and social climate of eighteenth-century Bhutan as a remarkable period in Bhutanese history and pertinent regarding various religious-doctrinal and so-

cio-cultural identity-building processes.

Mutual religious and political easing of tensions after a series of wars between Tibet and Bhutan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries spurred transcultural exchanges between prominent religious and political figures from both sides, and consequently confronted them with reflections of their respective identities as *Bhutanese* or Tibetan.

The sources presented document the joint travels, encounters, and crosslinked literary production of important Buddhist figures who were participants of the first exchange group of Bhutanese students to Tibet in 1740 and are therefore contemporary and valuable first-hand witnesses' reports from the intersection of religion and politics in this crucial period.

Exemplarily, after the confessional split with the Tibetan 'Brug-pa-bka'-brgyud school and establishment of a separate Southern Bhutanese branch (*lho 'brug*), various religious-doctrinal identity-building processes are attested in doctrinal and philosophical debates at this time, in which Buddhist masters positioned themselves and their schools in a broader transcultural *Buddhist intellectual setting* by explicitly constructing respective *Tibetan* or *Bhutanese* confessional identities.

Also, the specific historical setting of Tibet and Bhutan's shared and entangled histories—with their, often shared, ethnic identities—is highly challenging. After Bhutan's formation as a nation-state in 1625/26, these factors initiated highly challenging discourses, such as about authenticity, the power of interpretation concerning the common cultural and religious heritage, and conceptions of the homeland—Tibet. Examples of identity-policy actions of several policy-makers are evident in the codification and unification of monastic and civil law as well as of the administration, and the commissioning of religious and political histories, which contributed to consolidation and social construction in various societal spheres within Bhutan.

Regarding the analytic *etic* terminology of identity and identity-policies, the empirical data is embedded in contemporary discourses from the fields of religious studies and social sciences.

Research on Bhutan is of utmost relevance since the research to date has tended to focus on these processes of reflection on identity and identity-policies merely in other adjacent borderlands of Tibet, such as Mongolia and Sikkim. This paper, therefore, enriches contemporary discourses on alternative nation-building processes, religion as an identity-marker, identity-policies, shared and entangled histories, and social construction in the Himalayan area.

Michelle Walsh (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **Traditional Practices, Innovative Adaptations: Buddhism in Contemporary Bhutan**

While the Bhutanese government is committed to preserving its culture and Buddhist traditions, some Bhutanese are also engaging in new forms of Buddhist praxis, and in new contexts. Examining their innovations, I ask: Why are Bhutanese modifying their Buddhist practice? And how might globalized forms of Tibetan Buddhism be re-shaping Bhutanese traditions?

This paper investigates specific changes in the contexts of practice, such as with the use of 19th century Tibetan teacher Patrul Rinpoche's Ngondro (*sngon 'gro*) text, *Words of My Perfect Teacher* (*Kun bzang bla ma 'i zhal lung*), which serves as an instruction guide among Bhutanese monastics, but is now being taught in different contexts, and in English rather than classical Tibetan. Drawing on participant observation and interviews conducted during recent fieldwork in rural villages and urban environments in central and western Bhutan, I analyze the motivation and experience of practitioners, employing case studies to illustrate the ways in which people utilize the resources of traditional Bhutanese Buddhism, while adopting innovative approaches, and highlight generational differences.

By examining newly introduced practices and contexts, this paper analyzes the agendas and tension between preservation and innovation. Ultimately, I suggest that Bhutanese are incorporating aspects of globalized forms of Buddhism, though integrate them with traditionally Bhutanese customs. Broadly speaking, I hope this research will shed light on the impact of changing contexts on Buddhist practice experience.

Jetsun Deleplanque (Chicago)

### **Gtsang mkhan chen (1610-1684) and the Articulation of the Bhutanese Theocracy**

My paper focuses on the theoretical foundations of the Bhutanese state ('Brug gzhung) founded by Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1594-1651) in the seventeenth century by paying attention to the works of Gtsang mkhan chen 'Jam dbyangs dpal ldan rgya mtsho (1610-84), the political refugee and famed biographer of the Zhabs drung. As John Ardussi has claimed, Gtsang mkhan chen's biography of the Zhabs drung is essentially a political statement articulating a justification for the latter's state-building efforts. Through his biography of the 'Brug pa hierarch and the theocratic vision that he articulated therein, Gtsang mkhan chen acted as one of the primary literary architects of the Bhutanese state. As such, an investigation into the life and motivations of Gtsang mkhan chen becomes paramount in understanding the theocratic vision that he promulgated. Fortunately, Gtsang mkhan chen left behind a heretofore unstudied autobiography describing in great detail his life before and after his flight to Bhutan. A close reading of Gtsang mkhan chen's autobiography reveals his reliance on and indebtedness to his experience at the Gtsang pa court of Sde srid Karma bstan skyong dbang po (1606-1642) in formulating a justification for the 'Brug pa theocracy. As a result, a higher degree of ideological continuity than was otherwise envisaged can be traced between the 'Brug pa state of the Zhabs drung and the Gtsang pa hegemony of Central Tibet.

Through a study of the works of Gtsang mkhan chen and the available secondary literature on the period, my paper aims to further shed light on both the early theoretical foundations of Bhutan and the short-lived and still little-studied Gtsang pa hegemony.

Richard Whitecross (Edinburgh)

### **International Human Rights Conventions: Shaping Policy and Law in Bhutan**

Since being admitted to the United Nations in 1972 Bhutan has signed four international conventions. Only two of the four conventions have been fully ratified. The two conventions to which Bhutan is a State Party are the *UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* signed by Bhutan on 17 July 1980 and the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)* ratified in 1990. In 2009, Bhutan ratified two of the Optional Protocols for the UNCRC. Two conventions have been signed, but not ratified. The *International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination* (1969) was signed shortly after Bhutan's admission to the UN in 1973. The second is the more recent *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (2008) signed in 2010. This paper examines the legal significance of international conventions in the shaping of contemporary Bhutanese policy and legislation. How are international conventions perceived by policy and lawmakers and how are the principles set out in the conventions translated into law is an under researched area in Bhutanese studies. More importantly, from wider legal, human rights and development perspectives looking critically at the reception and role of the conventions in Bhutan illustrates the complex interaction between a range of competing normativities from which valuable lessons can be learned. It argues that implementation or the resistance to implementation of aspects of international conventions highlight underlying paradoxes in the wider international human rights agenda. Equally, how does ratifying a convention then influence policy and legal development in the ratifying state? Bhutan, often overlooked or dismissed in academic literature, offers a range of insights into how states engage with international conventions.

Through a discussion of the two ratified Conventions, CEDAW and UNCRC, the paper will critical examine how the underlying principles of these two conventions have been received in Bhutan. In particular, how they have been translated in to policy, legal and social change. It argues that as both conventions rose in prominence in state policymaking and legislative changes that it mirrored the subtle yet profound shift in the wider political system in Bhutan: namely the preparation and implementation of the 2008 Constitution and its explicit statement on citizens' rights and duties. Finally, the paper will conclude with a discussion of the role of human rights law in Bhutan.

Miguel Alvarez-Ortega (Seville)

## Imagining the Legal Past: Bhutan's and Sikkim's Self-Representations in Their Transition to Modernity

Bhutan and Sikkim clearly share certain relevant elements, such as their geographical location in Eastern Himalayas, their ethnic-linguistic diversity, their raise as distinct “political” entities in the XVII century, the influence of Indo-Tibetan culture (namely Buddhism) and institutions in their origins and character, and a meaningful presence of Tibetan Buddhism in the public sphere. Their transition towards their distinct contemporary legal-political status leading to a sui generis constitutional monarchy in the case of Bhutan and accession as a State to the Indian Union in the case of Sikkim, does not only reflect particular political choices and sociological contexts but a specific historiographical discourse. Thus, an asymmetry may be perceived in the scholarly and political interest in research activities dedicated to legal and political history, as well as in their role within legal education.

The syllabus designed for the BA in Law in the University of Sikkim adopts a clear pan-Indian perspective, referring to local peculiarities almost exclusively as examples of scheduled tribes within Indian Constitutional Law (the dzumsa system in Lachung and Lachen) and restricting political thought to Western, Hindu and Islam traditions. In the narrative depicted by the High Court of Sikkim “pre-modern” justice is associated with royal prerogatives and feudal landlords (e.g., the Adda courts), stressing the lack of independence of courts, the fact that no lawyers were allowed, and describing procedures as “simple and free from technicalities.” This image is presented in contrast to contemporary separation of powers and judicial independence and democracy, in a context in which “traditional mediation” seems to be regarded merely as an ethnic (tribal/indigenous) affair, rather than a community-based resource linked to local mores or a religious (Tibetan Buddhist) or national character.

On the other hand, a rhetoric of continuation both at the institutional and axiological levels is deployed in Bhutan employing the figure of the king and the explicit inspiration of legal production and praxis in traditional and Tibetan Buddhist values. In this context, traditional mediation (*nangkha nangdrik*) is protected by the Supreme Law of Bhutan (*thrimzhung chenmo*) and linked to Buddhist ethos; High Court Justice Lungten Dubgyur explores this Dharma foundation of the Legal System in his *The Wheels of Law* (2015), and the recently created Jigme Singye Wangchuck School of Law (2017) assumes environmental protection, familial duties, and community justice as crucial elements in legal training.

In this paper, I would like to explore the different approaches and representations of the legal past, usually broadly described as a narrative of continuation built upon a Tibetan Buddhist legacy in the case of Bhutan, and one of pan-Indianism, disruption and modernization in the case of Sikkim. The final goal would be to try and evaluate the weight of their legal histories and their description and evaluation in order to further comprehend these diverging looks at the legal past, within established scholarship models dealing with nationalism and the “invention of the past,” colonialism, comparative law, and Buddhism and Law.

Matteo Miele (Kyoto)

## The Bhutanese Mediation: Ugyen Wangchuck and the Younghusband Expedition

On March 29, 1905, British Political Officer in Sikkim, John Claude White, left Gangtok (Sgang thog) for Punakha (Spu na kha). It was his first mission in Bhutan. With White's mission the British Crown honored Ugyen Wangchuck (O rgyan dbang phyug), that great national leader who would be crowned king two years later, with the Order of the Indian Empire – and thus with the title of Sir. Ugyen Wangchuck deserved this honor for his work as a mediator between the British and Tibetans during the Younghusband Expedition, the military mission carried out by the British between the end of 1903 and 1904 with the aim of reaching Lhasa and negotiating a treaty directly with the Tibetans. The aim of this paper is to provide a detailed and precise analysis of the role of Ugyen Wangchuck – and of other Bhutanese high personalities – during the Younghusband Expedition.

The research will essentially consist of an introductory presentation regarding the relations between the Tibetan Government of the thirteenth Dalai Lama and the British Crown at the end of the nineteenth century, in the context of the wider geopolitical space set up by the dynamics of the Great Game between Russia and the United Kingdom in Asia, with particular attention to the historical reasons that led to the Younghusband Expedition. Attention will also be given to the role of the relations between Bhutan and Tibet and between Bhutan and Great Britain. The British had fought, in fact, a war with the Bhutanese in the 1860s and then signed the treaty of Sinchula (1865). Twenty years later Ugyen Wangchuck, close to the British, defeated the internal rivals in the Battle of Changlimithang (Lcang gling mi thang) and then brought the Bhutanese territory under his control. After this short historical and geopolitical framework, the paper will proceed with a detailed analysis of the role of Ugyen Wangchuck during the Expedition. In particular, in addition to the material written and published by the protagonists of the events, the work will analyze the reports and unpublished correspondences preserved primarily at the British National Archives (Kew).

As mentioned, in 1907 Ugyen Wangchuck ascended the throne as the first king of the country (Druk Gyalpo, ‘Brug rgyal po) and – in 1910 – the Treaty of Punakha was signed, definitively sanctioning the new institutional path and geopolitical role of Bhutan monarchy on the British side. The analysis of the “Bhutanese vicissitudes” in the Younghusband Expedition will therefore help to better understand the political situation of Bhutan and its internal and external relations. Furthermore, the paper will provide a better perspective on the situation in Tibet and of the Ch’ing Dynasty and its relations with the Kingdom of the Thunder Dragon.

Mélanie Vandenhelsken (Vienna)

### **The Limbu in Sikkim: Part and Resistant to the Kingdom**

Limbu is one of the three ethnic groups who took part in the alliance that gave birth to the kingdom of Sikkim in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the border between Nepal and Sikkim divided their ancestral territory into two parts. This division lies at the heart of present-day Limbu’ view of their membership in Sikkim and of their relations with the other ethnic communities in the state. In this paper, I will strive to critically examine the historical sources concerning Limbu in Sikkim as well as the selection and re-interpretations of historical events in the present-day political discourses regarding them. I intend to show that Limbu are one of the indigenous non-Tibetan groups that were influenced by Tibetan culture and contributed to the production of ‘peculiar’ political and cultural forms at the southern part of the Tibetan cultural area.

Currently known historical documents – such as the 1908 History of Sikkim and the Hodgson documents studied by Dhungel (2006) – highlight the deep integration of Limbu in the kingdom of Sikkim, as well as their tensed relationships with the kingdom’s ruling elites. They show in particular Limbu’s resistance to attempts to their political and cultural domination, including to the adoption of Buddhism and other various aspects of Tibetan culture that shaped the kingdom’s ideology and administration. Since the Gorkha conquests at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Limbu’s allegiance to the kingdom was questioned. The border divided the group into two parts, known today as Sikkimese and Nepalese Limbu, and this divide determines the Limbu present-day’s form of belonging in the Sikkim society.

This paper will firstly gather current knowledge about the history of Limbus in Sikkim during the monarchy and their relation to Tibetan culture. In a second part, the present-day view of historical events will be discussed: how does the present context leads to highlight, re-interpret or keep under shadow particular historical events?

Lung bstan rgya mtsho ལུང་བསྟན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། | Lungtaen Gyatso (Taktse)

### **Teaching of Dzongkha as a Foreign Language**

Dzongkha language is native to eight western districts out of the 20 districts of Bhutan. It was more or less a foreign language beyond the territories of the 8 districts. It became the lingua franca only from the early sixties and at the same time the written form of Dzongkha also came into existence and its grammar

was written by monk scholars on the model of Classical Tibetan grammar. However, in the absence of a regulated system of orthography in the country, different ways of writing especially different spellings for some words emerged in the writings of different writers.

Today Dzongkha is the national language of Bhutan, which is considered an important aspect of Bhutanese identity as a sovereign state. Dzongkha language is taught as a compulsory subject in the schools and colleges. Recently, the Dzongkha Development Commission chaired by the Prime Minister instituted a National Committee of Dzongkha language experts to standardize the various forms of writing and especially the orthography which developed organically over the years, and to write the grammar in a more friendly approach.

Nowadays many expatriates working in various international organizations in Bhutan have expressed interest to learn Dzongkha. But it is ironic that teaching of Dzongkha as a foreign language or as a second language is a challenge since Bhutanese are ill-equipped at this.

Considering the increased demand to learn Dzongkha by non-native speakers and expatriates, and the need to teach Dzongkha scientifically has led to the development of a teachers' manual to guide how to teach Dzongkha language as a second language in collaboration with Prof. Françoise Robin, a trained language expert in teaching of Tibetan language to non-native speakers in INALCO.

In this paper I will briefly go through the different steps and challenges while developing the manual, and how teaching of Dzongkha language in general will be enhanced in the schools where for a majority of the students, the mother tongue or first language is not Dzongkha.

Timotheus A. Bodt (Arnhem)

### **Reconstructing Proto-Western Kho-Bwa - Implications for the 'Tibetan-ness' of the Speakers of Its Descendant Languages**

Yarlha Shampo. Eyul Lhagyari. Jora-Kharta. Tshona. Yazang.

Just a few names that feature prominently in origin and migration stories of the people of West Kameng district in Arunachal Pradesh, India. They are all readily identifiable as toponyms on the Tibetan plateau. Most of the 'Monpa' and 'Sherdukpen' people of West Kameng adhere to some form of Buddhism and they identify themselves with Tibetan names. Some of their dress items are like those worn by Tibetans and they use Tibetan-style jewellery. Since Ahom times, they were known as 'Bhutia', placing them firmly within the realm of 'Bod', Tibet. This view was ambivalently adopted by the British, until the geopolitical situation of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century forced independent India to take proactive measures and incorporate these lands and their people as the Monpa and Sherdukpen Scheduled Tribes.

But how 'Tibetan' are these people really? Cultural features are quickly adopted and discarded. Superficial outsider's impressions might not be the strongest indicators of relatedness.

This paper explores the Tibetan-ness of one group of people, the speakers of the Western Kho-Bwa languages Khispi, Duhumbi, Sartang and Sherdukpen. The paper will use the comparative method of linguistic analysis, reconstructing the ancestor language 'Proto-Western Kho-Bwa' and identifying the inherited vocabulary on the one hand, and borrowed lexemes on the other.

Through comparison of lexical-semantic fields, it is possible to shed light on the linguistic history of the Western Kho-Bwa people: their homeland, their original culture and their livelihood patterns. The paper will show that those lexemes cognate with Bodic languages attest to a long contact situation between the Western Kho-Bwa speakers and the people of the Tibetan plateau, consistent with the origin and migration histories of the people themselves. Different periods of contact can be discerned, and the area has long functioned as a migration destination for people from the Tibetan plateau, culminating in a largely extractive colonial Tibetan rule between 1650 and 1950.

Since two decades, a new movement to assert the Tibetan-ness of the Monpa and Sherdukpen people has been on the rise, which, combined with social and economic integration into mainstream India, may pose more challenges to the indigenous cultures and languages of the people than three centuries of Tibetan rule did. It remains to be seen if, and if so, how, their culture will survive.

Alex McKay (Gloucester, Australia)

### **Transforming Buddhist Kingship: from Chogyal to Maharaja**

The British take-over of Sikkim in 1888-89 began a period of transformation in Sikkimese society. This involved the introduction of most - although not all - of the structures of British-Indian government and in the wider context an ideological transformation that overlaid a Tibetan Buddhist world-view with British-Indian concepts of modernity. Within that framework of modernity was an understanding of the appropriate role and duties of a ruling monarch that was based upon the models of both European and particularly British royalty as well as understandings derived from the British colonial relationship with the Indian Maharajas.

This paper will discuss how the Tibetan Buddhist ideal of the chos rgyal (“religious king”) that existed in pre-colonial Sikkim was reconfigured in the colonial period, allowing the emergence of a new model of Buddhist kingship that was intended to preserve the institution in the world of 20th century modernity. It draws primarily on the recently released Sikkim Palace Archives from the 1875-1975 period.

This paper will be presented as part of the Sikkim panel : the presenter is also acting as a Discussant in Panel 44: *The Early Twentieth-Century Resurgence of the Tibetan Buddhist World*.

# Contemporary History and Society

དེང་རུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས།



changes by employing available resources (culture and economy) and seeking out new opportunities. Therefore, instead of the usual binary portrayal of the outcomes of the urbanization development in Tibet as either positive or negative, this paper takes Lhagang village in Eastern Tibet as a case study, and tries to examine how a rural Tibetan community and its inhabitants have experienced, reacted to, and transformed the changes that were brought by the urbanization-related projects and economic developments since 2000. Specifically, I want to answer questions concerning the reasons, strategies and ramifications of their practices and activities. How do people in Lhagang take these changes as a way to suit their value and life? What strategies do they follow?

This paper puts the spotlight on how a rural Tibetan community, Lhagang, utilizes its agency to actively respond to the changes and impacts and creates a better and stable life. The case study of Lhagang community although presents a particular scenario, the study contributes to the debates of local people's survival and struggle involving adaptation, transformation, resistance and rejuvenation in a global context.

Gerald Roche (Melbourne)

### **Translocal Practices Amongst Tibetan Linguistic Minorities in Chengdu: Mobility, Conviviality, and Digital Communication in the Making and Unmaking of Urban Tibetan Identities**

Chengdu is an important urban hub for Tibetans from across the plateau, drawing long- and short-term residents from not only its Sichuan hinterlands, but also from further afield: Gansu, TAR, and Qinghai. In coming together in this Han-dominated, globalizing city, Tibetans must negotiate new ways of belonging, which typically emphasize ethnic solidarity and alterity. In emphasizing these new contours of belonging, this new urban Tibetanness thus exists in tension with prior affective commitments to region, community, lifeway, and language. This presentation will explore one dimension of these tensions: the translocal practices that Tibetans engage in and which enable them to maintain ties with their home community. In order to draw attention to and explore the tensions inherent in urban identity formation amongst Tibetans, this presentation will investigate the translocal practices of two populations that, whilst identifying as Tibetan, also have prior affective commitments to specific linguistic communities that render them distinct from 'mainstream,' Tibetans. These two communities are the nDrapa- and Gochang-speaking Tibetans of western Sichuan, members of a broader group of Tibetan linguistic minorities. Based on a series of qualitative interviews, this presentation will explore translocal practices along three lines: mobility, conviviality, and digital communication. Mobility practices are the comings-and-goings between Chengdu and home; conviviality refers to the practices of selective affiliation that enable distant communities to be selectively reassembled in new locales, and novel imagined communities to emerge; digital communication refers to the role played by new mobile technologies, particularly cellphones and social media, in maintaining links to home. In examining these three categories of translocal practices, this presentation will explore how affective ties to home and community are maintained at a distance, and what consequences this has for the broader dynamics of Tibetan identity negotiation in urban settings.

Mark Stevenson (Hong Kong)

### **Zones and Landmarks in the Trialogic Space of Rongwo Town, Rebkong**

Paper Abstract: When the Tongren County People's Government was proclaimed in the ethnic Tibetan territory of Rebkong on 22 September, 1949, the new administration took over a site governed by a complex cultural overlay. Historically, the arrangement of new settlements in the vicinity of Rongwo Monastery had to conform with ritual precedence expressed through a principle of elevation. In this paper I will present evidence that the new administration, while bound to participate in local vertical precedence, instituted a new axis of horizontal domination. I will then discuss how the copresence of the two axes supports ongoing symbolic conflict even as Rongwo town is transformed into a rural-urban landscape

intended to evoke national unity.

I want to propose that, as an historical assemblage, the two axes and the ethnic grid of Rongwo continue to play out historically in the formation of Rongwo's collectivities, even as it currently undergoes rapid urban expansion. One way of making the relationships visible is to examine public events and public monuments as expressions of collectivity and to examine how they make use of the historical assemblage. This approach is particularly relevant in an urban context where populations do not readily communicate through the same spoken and written languages, and where urban form, as a result, has the potential to become the most contested arena (or vehicle) of shared social texts and an evolving backdrop for spectacle. Questions of difference within Rongwo's urban assemblage have become increasingly obvious and important in the last fifteen years, but interpreting them requires an understanding of an interlocking of spatial arrangements with history.

rDo rje bkra shis རྫོག་ལྷ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ། | Dorje Tashi (Boulder, Colorado)

### **Tibetan Farmers on the Move: Labor Migration and Housing Construction in Rural Amdo**

This article explores the construction of Tibetan labor migration in China's northeastern Tibet. Since 2000s, urbanization has been a growing priority of China's economic development and modernization strategy. Consequently, urban growth has thus occurred in tandem with administrative reclassification, urban infrastructural investment, and by rural-urban labor migration. Based on qualitative data, including participant observation and interviews in the summer of 2017, 2018, this paper examines the relationship between Tibetan labor migration and recent state-led housing subsidy projects launched in G.yam village, Qinghai in 2009. A few scholars such as Melvyn Goldstein, Wang Shiyong, and Andrew Fischer have studied changes in agriculture and economic challenges that Tibetan farmers confront and have reported that labor migration has become the main non-farm income sources of Tibetan farmers, but none to date has studied how Chinese state-development projects influence the rate of Tibetan labor migration. Drawing on post-colonial and feminist approaches to migration, the paper explores the ways in which state-led development projects for house building influences Tibetan rural-urban migration. Specifically, it analyzes how the needs of housing construction increases the flow of rural to urban migration to an unprecedented rate, and how earning greater amounts of cash income has become a major objective of Tibetan villagers. In doing so, I argue that the large-scale rural-urban movement of villagers has been largely driven by policies that subsidize housing construction. This has subsequently produced Tibetan farmers as subjects to achieve the goals of Chinese urbanization and modernization.

g.Yu 'brug mtsho mo གཡུ་འབྲུག་མཚོ་མོ། | Yudru Tsomu (Chengdu)

### **Gartar: History's Forgotten Town in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands**

In 2012, the famous Chinese archaeologist Wen Yucheng's claimed that Genghis Khan died in Minyakga, located in present-day Zhide township of Tawu county. This announcement drew people's attention to the Gartar area. At the same time, due to recent attempts by the local government to promote tourism in the area, there has been a concerted effort to revive local history. Gartar's association with the 7th and 11th Dalai Lamas has also drawn particular interest and increased public curiosity about the town.

Studies concerning the urbanization of modern cities in China began to be carried out by foreign scholars in the 1960s and by Chinese scholars in 1980s. Yet, few foreign and Chinese scholars have paid attention to cities and towns in Kham. In recent years some scholars have focused on Dartsedo (Kangding) and Chamdo because of their location as centers of the trade route between Tibet and China. However, scholars have overlooked ancient towns in Kham that have declined or disappeared now. By focusing on the development and decline of ancient Gartar town in the Sino-Tibetan borderland from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, this paper argues for recognition of early urban development in Kham.

The following questions are addressed: How did Gartar come to occupy an important place in the Sino-Tibetan borderland? How did it evolve from a strategic and military stronghold in the mid-thirteenth century; into a transit hub/trade center between the mid-fourteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries; into a garrisoned town in the early eighteenth century; and eventually into an administrative center from the 1930s to 1970s? What role did geographic, military, political, economic, and religious factors play in the process of its rise and development? In particular, in different historical periods, what were the significant factors leading to its rise and development? Answers to these questions not only allow us to have a better understanding of the Sino-Tibetan borderland but also provide historical evidence—in terms of both trade and politics—that the center of Kham and the Sino-Tibetan frontier was not static and shifting.

James Leibold (Melbourne), Ben Hillman (Canberra)

### **Urban Ethnic Work: How Urbanization Functions as a Tool of Ethnic Governance**

Cities are notoriously problematic for authoritarian regimes. The concentration of poor and disgruntled workers in urban slums has brought down a number of governments. An ethnically mixed population can exacerbate the threat, creating both minority resistance and majority resentment. To mitigate these dangers ruling parties like the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) adopt a range of coercive and redistributive policies, including restrictions on mobility. According to Jeremy Wallace (2014), the CCP has thus far avoided regime collapse by successfully managing its ambitious “new-type” urbanization plan, which seeks to increase the percentage of urbanites to sixty percent by 2020.

Urbanization is drawing more and more Tibetans into a range of urban centres in China from county towns like Tongren (Rebgong) and Litang (Lithang) to major metropolis like Lhasa and Chengdu. For a regime who has long been weary of Tibetan resistance, the rapid urbanization of Tibetan communities brings new governance challenges (Yeh 2013), what Chinese policymakers refer to as “urban ethnic work” (城市民族工作). Urban ethnic work involves a complex set of “carrots” (education, health, employment, welfare and other service provisions) and “sticks” (mediation, monitoring, re-education and other surveillance tools). Yet there is bitter disagreement, at present, among Chinese policymakers over the role of ethnic minority autonomy and preferential policies in cities, with some viewing cities as crucibles of ethnically-blind mixing and fusion (交流交往交融) (Zhu Weiqun 2017), while others worry about ethnic prejudice, marginalization, and conflict (Guan Kai 2018).

By exploring the dynamics of urbanizing Tibetans in Western China, we seek to develop a theoretical model of urbanization as a tool of ethnic governance. Despite the significance of urbanization for nation-building, social stability and ethnic policy, the subject has received scant scholarly attention. A handful of China scholars have noted the role of cities in social governance (社会治理) (Cartier 2015; Tomba 2014), but have focused on the megacities of the eastern seaboard. Research on urbanization in China has so far overlooked the role of urbanization as a tool of ethnic policy, how it impacts the lives of urban ethnic minorities, and how it shapes inter-ethnic and state-minority relations. When Tibetans leave the land and take up residency in a city, they become, in theory, hyphenated Chinese citizens, with urbanization functioning as a powerful yet subtle technique for de-ethnicizing territory and undermining ethnic autonomy in Western China.

Andrew M. Fischer (The Hague)

### **Conceptualising Development and Marginalisation in Tibet Through Structuralist Approaches of Centre-Periphery Analysis**

Despite the resistance of some to label the intense socio-economic transformations occurring in the Tibetan areas of China as ‘development’, there is no doubt that development has been taking place, although this requires some clarification as to how we might consider development to occur in such peripheral and dependent circumstances. Part of the problem comes from the confusion wrought by the post-develop-

ment scholarship, which arguably bears little analytical value in the Tibetan areas, in contrast to Latin America or Africa, where perhaps the approach has had more traction (although this is of course debated). Rather, the case of China brings us back to more classic structuralist understandings of development and, in this regard, development in Tibetan areas is arguably best understood from this perspective, as a peripheral region incorporated into and increasingly integrated into the rapidly changing social, political and economy context of China.

This paper therefore lays out the basis for such an understanding, building on a classic conception of development as long run social, political, technological and economic structural transformations that are distinctly modern (although not necessarily conforming to modernization theory). In particular, technological and economic aspects of modernity essentially refer to the emergence of what Celso Furtado (1983) called ‘industrial civilization.’ This is the structuring of an entire economy, including the consumption patterns of its poorer and more marginalized members, around industrial processes and technologies, even if large parts of the economy are not involved in industrial production per se and/or become progressively marginalized from the wealth generated through industrial processes. In many respects, integration into modern ‘industrial civilization’ happens through consumption, not production, and is related to underlying processes of monetization (the increasing use of money in the exchange of goods and services, and hence an economy that is increasingly monetary) and commoditization (an increasing share of consumption and production based on buying goods and services through market transactions rather than producing these goods and services oneself or accessing them through non-market forms of exchange such as barter).

The precise combinations of these elements at sub-national levels vary depending on regional patterns of integration into national and global economies. Indeed, some regional economies might possess few or none of the attributes of increasing productivity in agriculture or manufacturing, but benefit nonetheless from a rise in national labor productivity, in particular through the supply of cheap mass produced goods, the circulation of monetary aggregate demand, and the dissemination of wage norms throughout the national economy supported by government fiscal policy. Furtado (1973a) referred to this as modernization without economic development, in the sense that modern goods are inserted into the consumption basket of an economy without the capital accumulation or the adoption of more effective productive processes that are associated with the production of these modern goods. He posited that such new forms of consumption could be afforded by increases of income earned through either the depletion of natural resources or else through static reallocations and specializations of production according to comparative advantage, both of which do not necessarily entail economic development. The caterpillar fungus boom in Tibetan pastoral areas might be understood along these lines, as well as aid transfers, both as ways to raise incomes and hence modern consumption without what we would conventionally consider to be economic development. However, from a more systemic perspective, it is difficult to know where to draw the regional boundaries of economic development in this respect, that is, the boundaries within which a region can be considered to be developing economically on the basis of sectoral, regional, national or even global capitalist processes. Notably, there are usually wide swaths of territory and large proportions of population even in advanced industrial countries that are based mostly on the consumption of modern goods rather than their production (increasingly so as employment continues to shift into tertiary activities).

In these terms, modern development in China can be said to have definitively taken off from the 1950s onwards, following half a century of volatility in the transition from imperial state to a modern form of statehood rooted in nationalism. In Tibet, modern development also definitively started in the 1950s, primarily in a demographic sense, although it followed a distorted trajectory based on the forced incorporation of this region into the consolidating Chinese nation-state and the abortion of any substantive sense of local state autonomy (in contrast to Bhutan). The specialized and peripheral structuring of the Tibetan areas according to the broader strategies of national development in China implied that the region never really industrialized outside of certain enclave ventures. It was integrated into the broader national economy, which was industrializing, just not in the Tibetan hinterlands. The region did benefit from the extension of national physical and social infrastructures (to various degrees of depth and quality) and also the extension of a modern politico-bureaucratic system of administration, including practices such as Five-Year economic planning. Mod-

ern development in Tibet needs to be understood in light of this regional pattern of integration into China. In this sense, it is important to break out of simplistic normative binaries regarding development. It is not as if negative attributes (such as persistent poverty) or even a lack of structural transformation in some sub-sections or sub-regions of an economic system (such as the persistence of low productivity economic activities in rural areas) somehow invalidate the existence or possibility of development, as is sometimes implied in more crude versions of post-development thinking. Rather, from a broader perspective, it is important to consider how such negative attributes are the dialectical parts of a developmental whole, especially with regard to the integration of peripheral regions within wider economies. In particular, the ways that development manifests in peripheral settings can be quite different from the ways it manifests in more central locations.

Notably, many of the structuralist analyses of early development economics were built on the contention that peripheral economies tend to face contractionary pressures through processes of national (or international) economic integration, particularly if the tendency for outflows is not compensated by strong regional transfer payments. In other words, in modern capitalist systems, the tendency is for net outflows of labor, skills, and physical and financial resources from peripheral regions. In functional modern nation-states ruled by elites with a modicum appreciation for redistribution, this tendency has usually been compensated by regional transfer payments from richer regions to poorer regions. However, when there is little commitment to regional redistribution through the various fiscal means available to national governments, such peripheral regions can fall into economic stagnation or even contraction, particularly when a lack of redistribution is matched with strong dynamics of outflow. This was precisely the dilemma of regional development in China in the 1980s, given that regional transfer payments collapsed in the first years of the reform period, leaving the subsidy-dependent western provinces languishing in the midst of a national (and especially coastal) take-off, including the TAR, which was in a deep macroeconomic recession from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s.

Admittedly, Tibet has since been much better endowed in this respect than other similarly-integrated sub-national peripheral regions of the ‘developing world’ given Beijing’s commitment to regional redistribution, particularly prior to the 1980s and from the mid-1990s onwards. However, as mentioned above, this fiscal endowment implies, for better or worse, a much greater degree of dependence and loss of autonomy with regard to decision-making and influence over the sources of subsidization located outside the region.

In this respect, the case of Tibet actually helps to advance the theoretical tension that Latin American structuralists struggled with in their theorizations, between their stagnationist predictions and the subsequent strong economic performance of Latin American economies in the late-1960s and 1970s. The challenge of explaining the co-existence of marginalization and rapid economic growth in Tibet is full of potential precisely because both have evolved in synergy as two aspects of strong regional integration into the national economy. The implication is that marginalization, subordination or exclusion are not necessarily associated with absolute or even relative indicators of deprivation (even though they are typically treated in this way). Rather, they represent processes occurring throughout social hierarchies, across all social strata, not merely at the lowest and poorest social strata where deprivations are evident, but also among various middle and upper strata as well. Moreover, these processes need to be identified relative to the rapidly changing norms and contexts of social stratification within growth and development. In this sense, the Tibetan case begs us to return to an intellectual agenda of attempting to understand the structural and institutional dynamics of marginalization within a context of growth and improving standards of living

Andrew Grant (Broomfield)

### **Beyond Resistance: Tibetans and Ethnic Minority Place-Making in the Contemporary Chinese City**

As part of China’s continued transformation into an urban society, the contemporary Tibetan Plateau is becoming increasingly urbanized. This poses difficulties for Tibetans who face futures in cities that are overwhelmingly Han Chinese in terms of language, legal coding of urban territories, and the everyday

urban landscape. This paper focuses on Tibetans living in Xining City in eastern Qinghai Province and their experiences making places in city. I focus on the multisensory environment to reveal how Tibetans are creating a network of places that bind together a Tibetan urbanism. These places interpenetrate and co-exist with the Chinese city. I argue that most Tibetan places built in contemporary Xining have been created through the appropriation and channelling of dominant urban sensibilities rather than through resistance to or refusal of them. The end result is the creation of an alternative urbanization that is irreducible to any nationally imagined urban models.

dKon mchog dge legs དཀོན་མཆོག་དགེ་ལེགས། | Gengqiu Gelai

### **The Urbanization effects on the Political Economy of Agricultural land in Peri-Urban of Yushu City**

This paper analyzes how the rapid process of urbanization in China impacts upon the agricultural land in the peri-urban area of Yushu City, in the hinterland of Tibet plateau. The expansion of the urban fringe produces an ever increasing demand for more space for infrastructure and housing development. I will demonstrate how the urbanization drive not only the increase of property value for local farmers, but also inevitably clashes with farmers' interests over their agricultural land. Farmland conversions and farmland abandonment reshape agricultural land to a new frontier dynamic. This frontier dynamic dissolves agricultural land relation, property systems and undermines the social contract of agricultural based communities. The ambiguity of farmland ownership places the state and its officials into a strong position to exert control over the resource. The state also increasingly imposes the cadastre system to formalize land conversions and land ownership as a resource control strategy and a way of territorialization. I collect qualitative data from interviewing farmers and local government officials as well as reviewing property rights related documents to understand the farmland conversion and property right issues in the context of the frontier resource of urbanization. I will discuss the findings in light of the political dynamics of urbanization, that cause re-classifications of political entities and the contesting and renegotiating about accessing and controlling of the converted and abandoned lands, and the acceptance of cadastre system by local people in semi-urban areas of the Tibetan Plateau. Yushu City is an interesting case to study this frontier dynamic, because the process of territorialisation has been accelerated through the massive investment into re-building the city after the 2010 earthquake.

**Panel 4 – Tibetan Buddhism in Chinese Societies**

ལྷན་འགོ་འཁུར་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནང་བོད་རྒྱུད་ནང་ཚོས།

**Panel organizers**

Fabienne Jagou (Queige)

Antonio Terrone (Evanton, Illinois)

Maria Turek (Toronto)

**Panel abstract** – The recent phenomenon of the “Tibet fever” among Han Chinese has steadily been increasing in its intensity and complexity. In connection to this, Tibetan Buddhism has become an integral part of the Chinese and Taiwanese religious landscape. Furthermore, many Han have transcended their conventional roles as devotees and sponsors of Tibetan preceptors. This panel seeks to advance the conversations on the elements of cross-cultural communication within Tibetan Buddhist religious fields between Tibetan representatives of religious institutions and their Chinese clientele. We seek to chart and explore the meanings generated by these encounters, their historical dimensions and contemporary trajectories. What are the larger societal and cultural factors that motivate Chinese people to become followers of Tibetan Buddhism? How have the Han been contributing to, refashioning and giving rise to new coherences within Tibetan Buddhism? Has the Tibetan tradition adapted to accommodate the expectations of Han followers and to maintain dialogue with Chinese Buddhism?

Antonio Terrone (Evanton, Illinois)

**The Tenth Panchen Lama’s Transnational Vision of Tibetan Buddhism in China**

The early 1980s marked the beginning of the economic reforms launched by Deng Xiaoping across China. For Tibetans, however, they also marked an extraordinary event. After more than a decade of imprisonment for counter-revolutionary activities, the Tenth Panchen Lama Chökyi Gyeltsen (1938-1989) was released, rehabilitated, and allowed to pursue political work. Although Chökyi Gyeltsen was controversial, as the highest Buddhist hierarch in the PRC second only to the Dalai Lama, he was *de facto*, at least for many Tibetans in China, the most important guide to the future of Tibet. As the Vice chairman of the National People’s Congress, Chökyi Gyeltsen was asked to oversee the assimilation of Tibetans into China as part of the government’s plan to gradually win the support of a larger portion of the Tibetan population. This paper proposes that the Tenth Panchen Lama has been instrumental in the rapprochement of Tibetans and Chinese by embracing a policy of reconciliation, promoting an innovative form of Buddhist practice and education adapted to a politically correct concept of religion in keeping with Sino-Western standards, introducing Chinese-inspired forms of institutional organization and religious education in Tibet, and campaigning to save Tibetan Buddhism by promoting it among Chinese devotees. The paper showcases aspects of the Tenth Panchen Lama’s vision of Tibetan Buddhism in China through an examination of select examples of his works and activities, as well as his impact on Buddhist leaders in Tibet. His influence on the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, his modernist vision, and reconciliatory objectives can be appreciated in numerous successful yet diverse cases of religious institutional rebirth in the 1980s that benefited from his direct contact. This paper will consider three such examples in which I have conducted extensive ethnographic research, including Mewa Monastery (rMe ba) with its *shedra* centered monastic curriculum, the creation of a Buddhist Academy at Larung Gar, and the Kyabgön monastery in Serta, Golok founded by Xianggen Rinpoche for his Chinese followers and now led by his Chinese consort Xianggen Khandro.

Undergirding these case studies of the 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lamas’ widespread influence on the development of Tibetan Buddhism is my research on the heretofore understudied corpus of speeches presented by the Panchen Lama in the 1980s, from which we hear his lesser known vision of an innovated form of Bud-

dhist practice in Tibet including a more rational and modern approach to Buddhist learning in tune with and influenced by the overarching program of the Communist Party in China and the Sinicized concept of religion, with a strong emphasis on ethics. This paper will draw mostly on heretofore untranslated and unstudied speeches Chökyi Gyeltsen gave on numerous occasions in the mid-1980s. His words of wisdom reached Tibetans during his extensive and tireless travels and fact-finding missions across numerous corners of the plateau bringing new incentives to Tibetans, encouragement to monastics, and hope to the younger generation. His most prominent aspiration being the safeguarding of Tibetan language, culture, and religion he also promoted the study of Mandarin Chinese among Tibetans for better coexistence, and advocated for a multicultural and multiethnic approach to a modern form of Tibetan Buddhism. The Tenth Panchen Lama therefore can be considered a transnational religious actor attempting to influence Sino-Tibetan relations through promoting a paradigm shift in the development of Buddhism in Tibet.

Teresa Yao (Taipei)

### **The Storm of Bliss and Wisdom: Legitimacy and Leadership Succession in a Tibetan Buddhist Community in Taiwan**

This study explores the process of legitimacy of the successor to leadership at Fu Zhi (Bliss and Wisdom) Sangha, a Tibetan Buddhist community founded by the Taiwanese monk Master Jih-Chang (1929-2004) in 1991. His intent was to promote Tibetan Buddhism in Taiwan by disseminating of the *Lamrim Chenmo* and implementing religious learning through the inspiration of Tibetan traditional monastic education. In 2017 Ven. Fan Yin, the previous abbot of Fu Zhi Feng Shan Temple left the community. As he did so, he made public revelations about suspected inappropriate behavior of Mary Jih, a laywoman and the appointed successor of Bliss and Wisdom, for the past years. The vicissitudes of this Buddhist community are well known in Taiwan since 2017 and this issue has been regularly covered by the media, which addressed is as the “Fu Zhi storm”. In this paper, I look at how leadership in a lay Tibetan Buddhist community is not always inherited internally or through direct succession, but also—albeit not without controversies—by appointed leaders. By the example of the “Fu Zhi Storm,” I would like to offer insights into how, despite the controversies, the sangha can nevertheless accept the authority of Mary Jin, a lay woman who proclaimed herself the new legitimate leader, regardless of technically being an outsider to the Taiwanese Buddhist community itself.

As Max Weber’s widespread sociological analysis has demonstrated, if the successor of a religious community fails to maintain her authority after a charismatic leader passes away, the charisma-based authority embraces a radical change through succeeding leaderships. The vicissitudes of Bliss and Wisdom and its leadership succession controversies in Taiwan is one example of this interpretation. Max Weber, in his *Economy and Society* in 1978 argues extensively about the “routinization of charisma” to explain leadership succession in religious communities. In this study, I return to his theories to illustrate the events described above through the lenses of the “inner justification” and “external means” paradigms as elaborated by Weber. Bliss and Wisdom seems to justify the legitimacy of Mary Jih’s succession to its leadership by means of “external methods,” which in turn solidify devotees and sangha because the allegation of Ven. Fan Yin had a negative impact on all affiliates.

Joshua Esler (Perth)

### **Employing Chinese Religious Cosmology to teach Tibetan Buddhism: The Case of Guan Gong and the 17<sup>th</sup> Karmapa**

This paper examines the character of Guan Gong, the so called Chinese ‘God of War’, following his evolution from a valiant warrior of the Late Eastern Han Dynasty period (c.a.25-220 AD) to his recent re-incorporation<sup>1</sup> into Tibetan Buddhism under the current 17<sup>th</sup> Karmapa Lama (Ogyen Trinle Dorje) in 2005. In different dynasties throughout Chinese history, Guan Gong has assumed numerous roles, all of which

reflect the beliefs and aspirations of different levels of Chinese society. For the common people, he was seen as both the embodiment of the rugged, ‘red-neck’ swordsman, as well as a supernatural hero. For the Confucian elite, he embodied the qualities of a junzi (君子- perfected gentleman), and by the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) he was raised to the same position as Confucius. Within Chinese Buddhism Guan Gong was elevated to the position of protector of temples by Tiantai Master Zhiyi in the sixth century, and he is seen as both a protector and god of wealth within Daoist and Chinese folk traditions.

This paper will especially examine the most recent roles superscribed upon this god by the current Karmapa Lama, and the way in which this superscription is reflective of the wider trends that are developing as Tibetan Buddhism takes root among Chinese Tibetan Buddhists in China. This paper, based on ethnographic research among Chinese practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism and some of their Tibetan teachers in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, will seek to explore the effectiveness of using traditional Chinese religious elements to attract potential Chinese followers or to solidify the faith of current practitioners. It will examine the reactions of a number of Chinese practitioners to the Karmapa’s decision to re-incorporate Guan Gong into the Karma Kagyu school, as well as the interpretations of several Tibetan teachers concerning this Chinese god’s position in Tibetan Buddhism. It will seek to map some of the differences between modernist and traditionalist Chinese followers of Tibetan Buddhism based on their reactions to the Karmapa’s re-incorporation of Guan Gong, and to the synthesis of other Chinese traditional elements with Tibetan Buddhism explored in my wider research. These include the place of Confucianism in Tibetan Buddhism, and popular Chinese ghost beliefs within the more specifically Buddhist cosmological realm of preta (hungry ghosts).

<sup>1</sup> Guan Gong is believed to have followed the 5<sup>th</sup> Karmapa, Deshin Shekpa (1384-1415), back to his monastery in Tibet following the Karmapa’s visit to the Yongle Emperor.

Wei Wu (Atlanta, Georgia)

### **Understanding Chinese Scriptures through the Lens of Tibetan Commentaries**

The paper examines the translation and interpretation of Tibetan Buddhist commentaries in early twentieth century in order to illuminate the Chinese Buddhists’ fascination with Tibetan Buddhism. From the 1930s to the 1960s, some commentary works that constituted the pillars of Tibetan scholarly tradition were introduced to the Chinese Buddhists. The paper focuses on Nenghai 能海 (1886-1967)’s representation of *Ornament of Realization* (Abhisamayāṅkāra; Tib. mngon rtogs rgyan; Ch. Xianzheng zhuangyan lun), a treatise central to the formation of Tibetan Buddhist scholarly tradition. The study shows that, Chinese Buddhists’ interpretation of Tibetan teachings was informed by their prior knowledge of Buddhism and contingent on their perception of the current challenges and needs in Chinese Buddhist community.

The paper will provide an analysis of Nenghai’s interpretation to examine his strategy for promoting Tibetan Buddhism to the Chinese Buddhists. By comparing *Ornament of Realization* with other Chinese Buddhist canonical works, Nenghai argued that the Tibetan commentaries would bring a new lens for Chinese Buddhists to apprehend the Perfection of Wisdom literature. Especially, he argued that the Tibetan commentaries would help to expand and deepen the understanding of important Mahayana ideals. As will be shown in the paper, to the early translators, their introduction of Tibetan Buddhist philosophical works was more than filling a bibliographical gap in Chinese Buddhist canon. More importantly, the Chinese Buddhist proponents attempted to appropriate the newly-introduced works to clarify doctrinal understanding and address tensions that they perceived in Chinese Buddhist community. A study of the Chinese Buddhists’ representation of the introduced doctrines will help to illuminate the influence of Tibetan Buddhism on Chinese Buddhist community.

John Osburg (Rochester, New York)

### **Consuming Belief: The Moral Authority of Tibetan Buddhism in Urban China**

In the context of a perceived spiritual and moral crisis in Chinese society, growing numbers of Han Chinese are turning to Tibetan Buddhism for ethical guidance and spiritual therapy. Based on an ethnographic study of a group of affluent, urban Han Chinese who have become followers of Tibetan Buddhism and patrons of reincarnated lamas and charismatic Tibetan monks, this paper examines the sources for the appeal of Tibetan Buddhism for wealthy Chinese. In a context of widespread cynicism and distrust of official ideologies, a condition I dub “post-belief,” many Chinese view Tibetan Buddhism as one of the few remaining domains of authentic “pure” belief yet to be corrupted by market forces or political manipulation. For these Buddhist converts, the imagined purity, spirituality, and anti-materialism of Tibetans— notions which stem from official state representations of Tibet as “backward”— serve as the basis of their critique of the dominant preoccupations of mainstream Chinese society. I examine the range of ways in which they integrate Buddhist principles and ritual practice into their lives as well as some of the tensions that have emerged in communities of followers. In particular, for some converts, Buddhist patronage continues to serve as an extension of worldly projects of social distinction and wealth accumulation despite their longing for a refuge from those same concerns.

Fabienne Jagou (Queige)

### **Between History and Memory: Contemporary Construction of Gara Lama Sönam Rabten (1865/76-1936)’s Legend by Han Devotees**

Although Gara Lama Sönam Rabten (1865/76-1936) is quoted often in historical works of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, current Tibetan and Chinese sources relating to him are exceedingly rare. The few existing sources recount that he escaped from Tibet after being imprisoned by the Tibetan government, was named as a member of the Republican government, and fought for the independence of parts of the Kham Tibetan province. Likewise, there is little documentation of his religious activities, apart from a few of his teachings translated into Chinese.

The lack of early sources on Gara Lama has led to mythmaking both in the Chinese world and in the West. In the framework of this paper, instead of attempting to identify what could be called “the true story of Gara Lama”, I will focus on the varying narratives: Chinese narratives written by some of his disciples after they took refuge in Taiwan in the 60s in comparison with the two articles on him written in Tibetan. I will analyze the link between the events chosen by Gara Lama’s Chinese disciples, and their progressive mutations, to show how these narratives tend to establish a collective religious identity spreading from the island of Taiwan to Mainland China. Then, I will demonstrate how these narratives fill the void of material culture concerning Gara Lama in Taiwan and how they contribute to establishing links between the Taiwanese community and the Gara Lama’s monastery and mortuary site on the Mainland. Finally, I will expose what issues are at stake in a crowded, Taiwanese religious market place and in a Chinese world where religion is highly connected to politics since “collective memory is being constructed in the light of challenges of the time.”

## Panel 23 – Chinese State Schooling and Tibetan Educational Aspirations

གྲུང་གོ་གཞུང་གི་སློབ་གྲྭ་དང་། བོད་པའི་ཤེས་རིག་སློབ་འདོད།

### Panel organizer

Andrew Frankel (Charlottesville)

**Panel abstract** – Formal education is a principal organizing force in many societies around the world, governing opportunities and resources while simultaneously shaping values and beliefs on what is fair, worthwhile, and important in human fulfillment (Baker, 2014). The perception of formal education as both a legitimate pursuit and legitimizing institution is perhaps nowhere more pronounced than in the PRC (Zhao 2014), where, since 1978, with its economic rise, China has developed one of most comprehensive education systems in the world, controlling entry into virtually all career tracks with exams administered through formal schooling (Fischer & Zenz, 2016; Postiglione, 2017). Along with the expansion of educational institutions and their gatekeeping function, the capacity of state-initiated discourse to shape what is publicly seen as valuable knowledge, skills, languages – that is, what constitutes human quality (*suzhi*) – has also increased (Kipnis, 2009). Tibetan communities across the plateau are attending state schooling at unprecedented rates and often surpass the nine years of compulsory education-in 2017, 99.8% of elementary and 99.4% of secondary school aged children are in schools in TAR, for instance (Nima & Chopel, 2018).

Furthermore, Tibetan encounters with formal education is not new. For centuries, Tibetan society was largely organized around the meanings and logics instituted through formal education. Chinese state articulations of education have not always meshed with this existing educational system. The importance of this encounter has not escaped major 20<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan commentators-the Panchen Lama, Gendun Chopel, Geshe Sherab Gyamtso, Phuntsok Wanggyal, and Tashi Tsering. 21<sup>st</sup> century Tibetans continue to actively participate in formal schooling, dynamically engage with educational challenges, and explore emergent opportunities in formal and informal learning spaces. The rapid expansion of research forums, journals, conferences, and diverse forms of media focused on education for Tibetans indicate it as a major concern for Tibetans in China: the Gyaltsan Education Research Center has organized annual educational conferences and published an annual bilingual academic journal; *Tibetan Education*, the former *Tsongon Education*, publishes an issue every two months, for instance.

Many scholars have recognized that formal education and its social, economic, political impacts in Tibetan areas in the PRC are not neutral, and they have studied the ways in which formal education have influenced life in Tibetan communities, often in terms of obstacles to access, equality, and successful outcomes. Our panel attempts to take this critical scholarship a step further by focusing our analyses on the discourse and practices of Tibetan communities who do not necessarily take state articulations of the proper means and ends of education at face value but are not in a position to ignore them completely. We try to understand how Tibetans from a variety of positions and places negotiate their encounter with a hugely powerful institution like formal education. We have a variety of presenters-educators and commentators who have over 20-years of experience in the system and researchers who are currently doing empirical research. This panel thus discusses what people actually do and think in order to negotiate formal schooling by featuring scholars from diverse areas in the hope of shedding light on how state policies and norms are worked out in different contexts.

Tshe dpag skyabs ཚེ་དཔགས་སྐྱབས། | Tshuajab (Zehuajia)

### Media and Childhood: Impact of Screen Time on Children's Connection to Home Place in Pastoralist Communities in Amdo

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, technology and digital media have become a part of children's lives (Donohue, 2015).

New media technologies are fundamentally transforming how parents and children live, work, play, and communicate (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011; Takeuchi, 2011). While much research shows the negative impact of digital media on childhood education, some studies conclude that when young people are connecting online, their mediated interactions are highly collaborative and meaningful (Berg, 2011; Boyd, 2014; Park, Baek, & Cha, 2014). Other studies suggest future research should investigate the contexts in which children participate in digital media (Hinkley, & Trina, 2017). Various screen technologies are something very new in the lives of Tibetan nomadic communities and there are no cultural rules to deal with them. Most families do not know how to mediate the use of digital media with their children. Additionally, most of the media content is from a culture vastly different from their own life, culture, and language. Yet, so far there have not been any studies on this topic in Tibetan nomadic communities. The current generation of children who are impacted by significant screen time use are growing up in nomadic communities but are no longer participating in family chores or learning values connected to nomadic lifestyles. This paper will present findings from a comparative ethnographic case study that investigates the impact of digital media screen time on children's connection to home place in Tibetan pastoralist communities in Amdo. The main questions guiding the research include: How is screen time (use of television, phone, tablets, etc.) affecting Tibetan pastoralist children's cultural connection to their home place? How do Tibetan pastoralist children consume media through screen time? What are Tibetan pastoralist children's views on their local culture and home place? This paper will also put forth some preliminary recommendations for educators, parents, and policymakers

Don grub sgrol ma དོན་གྲུབ་སྒྲོལ་མ། | Dongzhu Zhuoma (Beijing)

### **A Study on English Learning Motivation of Tibetan Senior High School Students in Qinghai Province**

A good deal of evidence indicates that students' motivation play a critical role in their academic success. Motivation provides the primary impetus to initiate learning a second language and then becomes the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process. Tibetan students face a trilingual education: Tibetan is their mother tongue, Chinese is their second language, and English is their foreign language, so their English learning context is complicated. Therefore, this study intends to investigate the general situation of Tibetan senior high school students' motivation for learning English.

This study is based on the data from sample of 367 Tibetan senior high school students from 3 Tibetan nationalities high schools in Qinghai Province. Specifically, the author collected these quantitative data through a questionnaire which can be classified into three elements – desire for learning English, motivation orientations and motivational intensity. The qualitative data is conducted through individual interviews. The interview questions and the survey questionnaires were provided in bilingual form (Chinese and Tibetan), to facilitate students' understanding. The statistical results revealed the following aspects. Firstly, the most influential factor for Tibetan students' English learning is social responsibility motivation as the mean score of this factor is 10.86; self-achieving motivation and intrinsic motivation is the second. The “going abroad” motivation scored lowest, with an average score of 6.11. Meanwhile, statistical results showed that Tibetan students do not put much effort into learning English, according to their low motivation intensity. This phenomenon was also demonstrated in the open question. Secondly, the last part of the questionnaire is a supplemental open question so as not to omit any factors that influence Tibetan students' English learning motivation. So these factors can be summarized as follows: too much academic burden and pressure, lack of self-confidence, teaching methods, school management, teachers' personalities, text books, and the College Entrance Exam (here after CEE). Finally, the interview data reveals that English learning motivation has a direct influence on Tibetan senior high school students' life decisions. Furthermore, education policy is not the main factor for Tibetan graduates' demotivation; they have high expectations for learning English, and they were instrumentally motivated.

Ying Ji ཡུམ་སྐུད། | Yum skyid (Cambridge)

## Producing ‘Modern’ Subjectivity: School Consolidation Policy in a Tibetan Community in Qinghai

Within the national system of a socialist market economy with ‘Chinese characteristics’, the Chinese state has been adopting a growing neoliberal approach in its economic strategies to boost national development and realise its modernisation. Meanwhile, conducts of its people have been shaped through “ideological state apparatus(es)” (Althusser 1971), such as education, to produce ideal citizens and a ‘normalised’ society. This article aims to investigate how School Consolidation Policy (SCP), intertwining with the current social economic changes in Tibetan areas, functions to produce ‘modern’ subjectivity in a Tibetan community in Qinghai, Northwest China.

According to clearly stated rationales of the SCP, the policy has been officially launched in rural areas nationwide in China, including its western Tibetan regions, since 2001, to centralise the limited education resources to build consolidated boarding schools with improved educational quality. Combining literature review and policy documents study with an empirical study of in-depth interviews and field observations conducted between 2016 and 2018, this article argues that when implemented in rural Tibetan areas, a place which is believed to be one of China’s most ‘un-modern’ places labelled as ‘backward’, ‘traditional’ and ‘underdeveloped’, the SCP achieves policy outcomes beyond its stated goals and functions to ‘modernise’ Tibetans, especially the youth, and transform them into ‘modern’ subjects defined by the state and mainstream culture. Meanwhile, this study also examines the local counter-modern manoeuvres in the subjectification process to provide a fuller picture of social dynamic in the rural Tibetan community under the study.

Andrew Frankel (Charlottesville)

## Capital Negotiations: How Amdo Tibetan Supplemental Schools Navigate Changing Conceptions of Cultural Capital

This dissertation explores how Amdo Tibetan educators in Malho Prefecture, Qinghai negotiate changing – and sometimes competing – conceptions of the skills, habits, and dispositions that are central to succeeding in formal schooling, an institution that is both increasingly omnipresent and valued as a legitimate meaning-maker and gatekeeper across the world (Baker 2014) and in Tibetan areas as well (Nima 2018). Schools, despite their potential to open minds and create opportunities, both react to and generate cultural shifts that legitimize and reward some languages, behaviors, and knowledges while devaluing and excluding others (Apple 2012). In order to help students navigate the process of schooling, many educators provide instruction in ‘supplemental schools,’ a global phenomenon (Baker et al. 2001) particularly common in urban East Asia (Bray and Lykins) that is quickly gaining popularity on the Tibetan Plateau, where they are known as *gsab sbyong slob grwa* (henceforth: *sabjong*). However, few studies of supplemental education have analyzed what participants gain from the experience beyond the mastery of curricular content and test-taking strategies, despite the pivotal insights of scholars such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) who demonstrated the importance of skills, habits, and dispositions often learned *outside* of schools – known as cultural capital (Lamont and Lareau 1988) – in engendering successful outcomes for students. Moreover, this capital, often assimilated from role models and “cultural guides,” can be especially vital for students whose cultures, languages, and class backgrounds are frequently marginalized or devalued in state institutions (Lareau 2015). Therefore, independently organized *sabjong* in Amdo Tibet taught by college students and recent graduates (i.e. potential mentors) are crucial cases to understand because they represent instances in which educators, less beholden to state policies and hierarchies, address the needs created by formal schooling, but with a different – sometimes expanded, sometimes contracted – variety of materials, methods, interpretations, and objectives available to them than to teachers in state-run institutions.

Based on my three years of employment at a local Tibetan Nationalities High School and two pilot studies conducted in 2016 and 2017, I use ethnographic methods in this dissertation project to explore the

agency exercised by Amdo Tibetan *sabjong* educators as they negotiate cultural capital, which is broken into three inquiries: 1) How do educators at *sabjong* make sense of the many and potentially competing notions of success throughout education, employment, and family life; 2) What is it that *sabjong* participants must learn in order to be successful in these domains; and 3) How do *sabjong* impart these skills? The research sites were selected using an adapted version of the Comparative Case Method (Bartlett and Vavrus 2017) in which I look for the maximal variation of strategies and practices made possible by different organizational structures (described in the typology that emerged from my pilot research) in a fundamentally similar, ethnographically coherent context. I have recently begun conducting participant observation (e.g. at *sabjong* programs), interviews (e.g. with *sabjong* educators), and document analyses (e.g. of *sabjong* advertisements and materials) at sites located in the prominent cultural center of Rebgong (*reb gong rig pa 'byung ba'i grong khyer*). I analyze these data first to understand what constitutes the cultural capital *sabjong* attempt to cultivate in their students. I then explore *sabjong* educators' conceptualizations of how Amdo Tibetan cultural capital may be accumulated and activated in order to engender meaningful student experiences both in institutions and environments dominated by a national Han Chinese culture as well as in spaces characterized by Amdo Tibetan practices and worldviews. Within Tibetan studies, this research has the potential to shed light on how Chinese state institutions impact the struggle over what practices and ideas are regarded as valuable in Amdo Tibetan areas and the growing emphasis actors place on highly legitimized educational frameworks to negotiate this process.

Clea Schmidt (Manitoba)

### **Education in the Diaspora: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy for Tibetan Monastic Scholars Learning English for Academic and Leadership Purposes**

This paper will share insights from my research and experience as an academic English instructor and curriculum developer for Tibetan monastic scholars in South Asia. I am interested in how language educators and scholars can learn from the traditions of Tibetan monastic scholars to design and implement culturally responsive English language teaching in monastic settings. Arguments are premised on the understanding that the traditions of Tibetan monastic scholars and Western academics are not dichotomous. Rather, they are myriad, mutually informative, and interactive given Tibetan monks are increasingly called upon to teach, lead, and support various Buddhist activities among Westerners. Moreover, the sites for intellectual exchange and collaboration involve a variety of actual and virtual spaces around the world, furthering the reciprocal learning and engagement between various scholarly traditions.

My research is grounded within a theory of critical pedagogy, defined broadly as a perspective toward education that prioritizes social justice, democracy, and ethical claims. Facilitating appropriate and culturally sensitive academic English and content-area instruction for Tibetan monastic scholars is part of an equity mandate to ensure the preservation and development of the linguistic, cultural, and religious interests of Tibetans as a time when Tibetan institutions are threatened by the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the cultural and linguistic genocide accompanying this colonialism. This research, which has informed the development and implementation of an 'English for Monastic Purposes' curriculum framework, also challenges the dominant commercial interests of many mainstream publishers of English Language Teaching (ELT) materials who tend to overlook the need for locally developed and culturally appropriate pedagogical materials.

My research emphasizes that the grounding of 'English for monastic purposes' in appropriate scholarly traditions (both the traditions of Tibetan monks and perspectives from the field of language education) is sorely needed at a time when the plethora of available materials for English language teaching and learning are largely irrelevant and inappropriate for the needs of monastic scholars. Moreover, the reciprocal learning between Tibetan monastic scholars and language educators and scholars can meaningfully inform the development of culturally responsive English curriculum. English teaching for monastic scholars should not be undertaken by unqualified English-speaking tourists with little knowledge of Buddhist traditions, but rather by professional language educators who simultaneously demonstrate a respect for and interest in Tibetan Buddhism.

Nag kyAwa Sha bo Tshe ring བཀ་ལྷ་བ་ཤ་བོ་ཚེ་རིང་། | Nag kyawa Shawo Tsering (Amdo Rebgong)

ཨ་མ་དེ་རིབ་གོང་། བོད་པའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ཏོག་ཅོམ་སློང་བ།

གཅིག བཀ་ལྷ་བ་ཤ་བོ་ཚེ་རིང་།

༡ ཉེ་ཆར་མི་ལོ་འགས་བོད་ལ་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་མེད་ཅེས་པའི་གཏམ་ཡན་ཞིག་གང་སར་རྒྱ་བཞེན་ཡོད། ༢ བོད་ལ་གནའ་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གོང་མ་སློབ་ཀྱི་དེའི་གནད་དོན་ཟེན་གྱི་མེད་པ། ༣ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་མཚོན་ན་ཡང་། ཆེས་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་མུང་གཞི་སློབ་གསོའི་སློབ་གཞི་དང་མ་ལག་གཤམ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས། ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་དང་དོད་མ་མཚན་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་འབྲས་ཤོར་བའི་དང་རིམ་པ་འབྲུང་གིན་ཡོད་པ། ༤ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོའི་དོན་ནས་རྗེས་རབས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ས་སྐྱེས་དོ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོའི་འཚོ་བཅུད་མཁོ་སློབ་གནང་མ་བཏུབ་ན། སློབ་གསོའི་མ་ལག་གཤམ་ཆེན་ཞིག་དང་ཚོས་ཤེས་མེད་ཚོར་མེད་དུ་འབོར་བཞེན་པ། ༥ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོའི་མུང་རྒྱུ་བཅུན་པོ་ཞིག་འབྲུང་མ་བྱུབ་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ཉེན་གནས་ཤིག་ལ་འབྲུང་བཞེན་ཡོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གནད་དོན་མང་།

གཉིས། ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་ཐབས་ལམ།

རང་གིས་མི་ལོ་ཉེར་གསུམ་ལ་སློབ་གསོའི་བྱ་བ་སྐབ་པའི་ལ་ཡོད་ལག་ཡོད་ཀྱི་གནས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་ལས་དབུ་བརྒྱུས་ཏེ་བཅོད་གཞི་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱས་པ། ༡ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་སྐད་ཆའི་སློབ་གསོ། ༢ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་སློབ་གསོ། ༣ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་ཀུན་སྲོད་སློབ་གསོ། ༤ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་ཤེས་རིག་སློབ་གསོ། ༥ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་ཡུལ་གོམས་སློབ་གསོ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དོན་ནས་བཅོད་པ།

གསུམ། ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གཤམ་ཆེན་རང་བཞིན།

༡ བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཡུལ་ལུང་སོ་སོ་དུ་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་དོན་ཟེན་འདྲ་མེད་པ། ༢ དོན་

ཏོག་ཅོམ་ཟེན་གཏང་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོའི་གཤམ་ཆེན་རང་བཞིན་ཤེས་ཀྱིན་མེད་པ། ༣ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་དང་དོད་མ་མཚན་དགོས་པའི་གནས་ལུགས་ཏོག་གསལ་གྱིན་མེད་པ། ༤ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོའི་སློབ་གསོའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཟེན་པའི་གནས་བབ་སོགས་ཟུར་མི་འདྲ་བ་ནས་དོ་སྐྱེད་གནང་རྒྱ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ཡར་རྒྱས་སུ་འགོ་བའི་ཕ་བ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་པས་དགོས་གཤམ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ།

བཞི། ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བྱེད་པའི་ཕན་འབྲས།

ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ཆེལ་གཏོང་བའི་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། ༡ དེས་བོད་རང་གི་སློབ་གསོའི་ཁྲོད་གོ་གནས་གཤམ་ཆེན་ཞིག་རྣམ་ཀུན་ཟེན་ཡོད། རང་གི་མི་རབས་རྗེས་མ་ལ་པ་སྐད་མ་ཡིག་གི་ཁོར་ཡུག་ཡག་པོ་ཞིག་སྐྱེན་བྱུང་མིན་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་རག་ལས། གཤམ་ཏེ་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་དོན་ནས་པ་སྐད་མ་སྲོལ་གྱི་ཁོར་ཡུག་དོར་ན་ནི། དེ་ཚོས་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་རིག་གནས་སོགས་ལྟག་རྒྱ་ཆེད་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་བཞེན་སློང་ཐབས་མེད། ༢ ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་རྒྱ་སྐྱེད་ནས་པ་མ་དང་མེས་པོ། ལྷན་དང་རི་ཆུ། སློབ་ཐོག་མཛོད་ན་འགྲོ་འདུག་སློབ་གསོའི་འཚོ་བཅུད་སྐྱེ་བས་མ་བཅོད་མེད་དེ་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ནས་དབུ་ཚུགས་དགོས། ༣ བ་མེས་ཀྱི་ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་གུས་ལུགས། དཔེར་ན། ཆེལ་བཅི་བཀའ་དང་ཆུང་ལ་བྱམས་སྐྱོད། དམན་ལ་རིགས་རམ། ཀུན་ལ་འགྲོགས་བདེ་སོགས་སློབ་གསོའི་གཞི་རྒྱ་བཅུན་པོ་དེ་འདི་ནས་ལྷོད་དགོས། ༤ ཐ་ན་སྤྱི་རབས་ཀྱི་གོ་གནས་སྤོར་སྤྲོད་པ་དང་བཅུད་སྐྱེད་སྤྲོད་པ། ཡུལ་གོམས་རིག་གནས་མང་བོ་སྤེ་སྲོལ་རྒྱ་བཅུན་གྱི་སློབ་གསོའི་བདུད་རློའི་མུང་འདི་ནས་ཡོད་པས། ཁྱིམ་ཚང་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་མཐོང་ཆེན་སྐད་པ་ནི་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་མཐོང་ཆེན་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ལ། མི་རིགས་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ། མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མ་འོངས་པ་ལ་མཐོང་ཆེན་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། འདི་ནི་དེ་རང་གིས་བོད་ཀྱི་གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་གསོ་སྐབ་ནས་མི་ལོ་ཉེར་གསུམ་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ཤེས་ཤིག་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། བཅོད་འདོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་བསྐྱེད་ཤིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན།

## Panel 50 – Partner Assistance to Tibet in Tibetan Areas of China

གྲུང་གོ་འོ་བོ་ད་ལུ་ལ་ནང་གི་མཉམ་ལས་འགན་ཁུར།

### Panel organizers

Yang Minghong (Kunming)

Tashi Nyima (Oslo)

**Objective** – This panel aims to bring together multidisciplinary research work done with regard to the Tibetan Area Development in the context of Partner Assistance Policy, a policy which was initiated by the Central Government of China in the year of 1994.

**Panel abstract** – Although China has been economically growing at a very fast rate at present, but different regions of China have still not been able to attain the same level of growth. Therefore, the Central Government of China (CGC) has been adopting various ideas and mechanisms to carry out economic equality in the entire China. The Partner Assistance (Chi: duikou zhiyuan) Policy was initiated in the year of 1994 by the CGC, the policy was modeled in such a pattern where the economically developed provinces of China, especially the coastal regions collaborated with the much less developed provinces for providing assistance to those regions. The CGC fixed certain amount from the total financial budget of those developed provinces to be diverted and invested in the economically weaker provinces. Therefore, the coastal provinces provided monetary aid and Human Resources to their counterparts who helped them in developing infrastructure and forming a stronger social base. The CGC appointed Provinces and State enterprises as aid providers and also sent personnel from the recipient provinces to host provinces for certain personnel development programs and training programs, etc.

Initiatively, the Partner Assistance Policy aimed particularly at the development of the Tibetan Autonomous Region in 1994, however, in the later stages it extended to Qinghai Province in the year 2010 and to the Tibetan areas of Sichuan Province, Yunnan Province, and Gansu Province in the year 2014. Historically, it is a known fact that Tibet region had underdone development process, but the distinct development changes have been witnessed only after the implementation of the Partner Assistance Policy since the year 1994. Therefore witnessing such effective policy, it was extended to other regions as well. With this background, this proposed panel aims to bring together the research papers on the recent dynamics of Partner Assistance Policy in the Tibetan Area of China in wide range of disciplines from both macro and micro perspectives.’

Li Zhongfeng (Chengdu)

### The Mode of Inclusive Development of Economy in Tibet: 1994-2017

Since reform and opening up to outside world, the socialist market economy system in China has been developed gradually, with rapid production growth, which results in continuous and fast development of national economy in the past 40 years. During this process, however, the market mechanism, which in nature follows the law of value, has played an “exclusive” influence on the less competitive areas and their residents.

As the immediate result of it, these areas and the residents is unable to participate in market economic activities in an effective way, and could not benefit from the market economy. In order to make these underdeveloped areas and the residents of weak competition catch up with the development of national economy, Central Government of China has tried to keep the underdeveloped areas and the residents in pace with development of national economy by providing assistance to these areas by various means and through multiple channels, supporting the residents who lack competence in market economy, rendering

them with extra developing factors other than those from the market, which was aimed at enabling them to enjoy fruits of economic development, and preventing them from being ousted by the market mechanism. Essentially speaking, the assistance provided in various ways by the state is a method to make the underdeveloped areas and the residents share the fruits of national economic development, by allocating part of national economic returns to them. In this sense, this development approach can be termed as the inclusive development of economy.

In order to avoid the “cycle accumulation cause and effect law” under Market Economy Conditions, since 1994, Central Government of China expenditure and the assistance from other second administrative regions, relevant national ministries and central enterprises, have supplied numbers of production elements for Tibetan economic development, fosters self-development capacity of Tibet, and have promoted comprehensive development for Tibetan economy and society, it also has created conditions for Tibet and Tibetan residents to share the fruits of economic development in China, and has Tibetan economic development always included in the State’s economy as a whole. Therefore, since 1994, the Assistance fully reflects distinctive features of the inclusive development of economy. The inclusive development of economy has promoted the development of economic and social undertakings in the underdeveloped areas, and enabled the residents in those areas to share the total achievement of our national economic development.

Certainly, “The inclusive development of economy” in Tibet underwent an adjusting and improving process with the deepening of China’s market economy reform, and scenarios changes of economic and social development at both national and regional levels. “The inclusive development of economy” must be adjusted and expanded in this new era, when we are exploring a way of development featured with Chinese characteristics and Tibetan style, and the development approach is changing from “blood transfusion” to “endogenous” type. Besides, further support should be provided to Tibet for building and improving a sound market economy, upgrading education quality, encouraging vocational and technical education, strengthening ecological protection, accelerating urban construction, coordinating of rural and urban development, and designing rational development plan for industry and small regions

Xie Weimin (Lhasa)

### **The Implementation Model of Partner Assistance Policy In The Tibetan Areas of China: An Analytical Framework of Non-Jurisdictional Management**

There is an old saying. “For a country or a family, inequality rather than scarcity is the cause of troubles, and insecurity rather than poverty is the root of problems”. Although China has achieved great economic growth, different regions of China have not gained the same level of economic development, especially for the great gap between the west and the east of China. Currently, this gap has become one of the central issues for state security and balanced development. Several solutions have been invented and the partner assistance policy (对口支援) has become one of the main mechanisms. Nowadays partner assistance to TAR, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Qinghai, and other ethnic minority areas, even some disaster and poverty regions, all adopt the model of partner assistance policy. However, the existing researches about the partner assistance policy mainly discuss it under the dilemma of patron-client relationship of hierarchical implementation of public policy, or discuss it under the collaboration dilemma in the framework of inter-government relations.

Could the two frameworks of policy implementation and inter-governmental collaboration explain exactly the detailing process of the partner assistance policy implementation? Based on a case study on the policy of partner assistance to TAR, the author insists that both policy implementation theory and inter-governmental collaboration theory consider partner assistance policy as a jurisdictional issue. However, this paper insists that the implementation process of partner assistance policy is actually a non-jurisdictional issue. In the non-jurisdictional areas, policy implementation faces both bigger patron-client problems and bigger collaboration dilemma simultaneously. Through putting collaboration problems into the system of political mobilization, the policy implementation in the non-jurisdictional areas transfers

tension between collaboration and hierarchical problems into interaction between political tasks and hierarchical implementation. In fact, the latter interaction is a classic problem for the ancient and the modern China, and abundant governing experiences have been accumulated, such as campaign-style policy enforcement, administerization of political tasks, and politicization of hierarchical tasks, etc. All the strategies have been adopted. However, different from the existing researches, which insist a distinct divergence between political tasks and hierarchical implementation, this paper finds that there is actually a relatively balanced interaction between political tasks and hierarchical implementation and a rational-oriented and resilient model of policy implementation is much more accepted.

Besides, this paper tries to contribute to both researches on partner assistance policy and policy implementation, even the inter-governmental collaboration. Also, this paper is a small step to combine the Tibetan studies as a region with the policy implementation as a discipline.

Yang Minghong (Kunming)

### **Essay of Local Participation and Cultural inclusion in Context of Province Partner Assistance to Tibet**

Local residents, as the carrier of local culture, should participate broadly in a tourism project in order to promote integrating the local culture into the project. So local participation and cultural inclusion is becoming a hot topic in discussion of cultural security especially in minority area. This paper's purpose is to examine how local residents participate and a minority cultures are included in the implementing process of tourism large-scale development project in context of *Province Partner Assistance to Tibet* (Chi:duikou yuanzang) which is a kind of *Development Aid System* in China. Based on a case of Lulang Tourism development project, which started in 2012 and finished in October 2016, the article depicts the features of *Province Partner Assistance to Tibet*, including ways of investment from counterpart of The TAR (Tibetan Autonomous Region) and details of tourism project planning and design, and project construction as well as local participations. The cultural protections are discussed emphatically in this paper since foreign investors or even aid-providers (donators) take less care on local cultures in their investing process or implementing process of aid development projects. The paper provides better understanding of cultural security problems and how to balance cultural protection and economic profits by observing Lulang case.

The author has conducted a Tracking Survey on Lulang Township's tourism development Project. He conducted his fieldworks in 2014 and visited again and again every year since then.

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### **Dynamics and the Challenges of China's Tibet Paring Aid Policy**

Among 33 provinces in China, the Tibet Autonomous Region makes a unique history in the GDP growth rate. Despite being one of the poorest regions in China, it had achieved double-digit GDP rate by making itself into top ten provinces that had maintained double-digit GDP for many years. Such robust GDP growth primarily results from development policy like "Paring Aid Program". The "Paring Aid Program" encourages the richer province to help poorer province in economic development. The TAR is associated with few richer provinces that are responsible for providing certain kind of aid for regional development. Dynamics of this particular policy involves various aspects. Through "paring aid program" rich provinces make an investment in a construction project, send cadre and special skilled labour to the TAR, agree to send Tibetan student to inland middle school and provides direct subsidies to the province. At present all of the 73 counties in the Tibet Autonomous Region are included in the "Paring Aid Program". A total of 18 provinces and cities, more than 60 state organs and ministries and 17 state-owned enterprises in China have been associated with Aid to Tibet, which is an integral part of "Paring Aid program". More than 4000 professionals cadre has been positioned in the Tibet Autonomous Region since

the late 1980s. Billion of Yuan has been invested in Tibet through this particular project. Although “paring aid program” had numbers of positive impact, it is also criticised for numerous associated challenges. For instance, investments for many of the construction projects are borne by those outside provinces. Since cost and benefit of those projects remain entirely with the investor, instead of recruiting Tibetan labour, labour for those construction projects are recruited from the outside, such has been the case regarding Gormo-Lhasa railway. Moreover, profit earned from those construction projects goes back to the province that had invested. The TAR gets least benefits from such investment. The programs have been accused of making Tibetan economy further dependent on the central government subsidies. Given above background, the paper aims to study the dynamics of the paring aid program, which include various aspects like economic, political and security aspects. The paper analyses the program through four main aspects: cadre aid program, construction aid program, direct subsidies and schooling program. Given that this particular policy constitutes one of the core development programs, the paper also analyses the challenges associated with the program. With both spectrum of dynamics and the challenges of the program, the paper aims to study its main objective, which is why the Tibet Autonomous Region remains poorest despite a large share of investment from central government and another province through a program like paring aid program.

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### **The Current Situation of Labor Mobility and its Factors in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) : Bange County as Case Study**

Labor migration and mobility have been a topic of constant concern of academics both at home and abroad. Thanks to years of rapid development, China has laid a solid material foundation. And then the increasing national power can provide continuous assistance for the development of Tibetan-inhibited areas. TAR as a province has already integrated into the national framework and realized institutional convergence. The pace of development has maintained a high level in China in recent years. Quantity change always leads to quality change. The overall development of TAR is in good shape, but the problem of inadequate and imbalance development is also very prominent. The uneven distribution of economic activities in space leads to the spatial mobility of labor. Compared with the inland provinces, TAR has a better social security system and preferential livelihood policies. Therefore, the flow of labor in Tibet will inevitably show different characteristics. Especially in pastoral areas a traditional way of life had been long maintained there. It is worth investigating whether there are new phenomena in the flow of labor force in pastoral areas when the country’s national strength is increasing and the transitional adjustment period is in progress. This paper analyzes the phenomena of current labor mobility in the pastoral areas of TAR and factors under the new phenomena by interviewing households and data from pastoral households in Bange County Nagqu City, the traditional pastoral area as case study.

Li Zhinong (Kunming)

### **Yunnan-Tibet Highway and the Construction of Tibetan Identity in Diqing: a Case Study from Benzilan County of Diqing Prefecture**

By taking Yunnan-Tibet Highway and Benzilan County of Diqing prefecture that it passes through as a case study, this paper discusses the significance of road construction at Tibetan areas of Yunnan Province for strengthening links between it and the rest of the country. It is believed that road construction had helped to promote social and cultural exchanges among various ethnic groups along the road hence contributed to a diversified and integrated pattern of the Chinese nation as a whole. More importantly, this paper tries to find out the significance of road Infrastructure Construction in frontier areas inhabited by ethnic groups to the National Identity Construction in the country. Such discussion is based on thorough review of road construction in Diqing at different times, various stakeholders as well as their motivation



## Panel 62 – Contemporary Tibet as a Difficult Terrain: Some Social and Political Questions

དེང་རུང་གི་བོད།

### Panel organizers

Tshe ring stobs rgyal ཚེ་རིང་སྟོན་བས་རྒྱལ། | Tsering Topgyal (London/Birmingham)  
Dibyesh Anand (London)

**Panel abstract** – At a time when Tibet’s importance in regional and international politics is growing, ironically in lock-step with and because of China’s rise, political dimensions of Tibet remains at the margins of studies around Tibet. Tibetan Studies remains dominated by non-Tibetan scholars researching, writing and speaking about Tibet and the Tibetans and this raises its own questions about the field. However, in recent years, more Tibetan researchers based in Chinese controlled Tibet, China, India and the West have been emerging as experts in their own rights and IATS must become a most suitable platform for them to present and exchange ideas. This panel will bring together established as well as emerging Tibetan scholars from exile to present their research on socio-political dimensions of Tibetan individual and collective lives. There will be explicit engagement with contested categories of nation, sovereignty, boundary, state, nationality, and security. While dealing with how the dominant state seeks to control Tibet and Tibetan lives, some papers will also examine the different ways in which Tibetans resist that control, say through language, culture, environmental practices and survival. Through this all-Tibetan line up of paper presenters, the panel offers a unique opportunity to the global community of Tibetan Studies of IATS to reflect upon institutional, identitarian and ethnographical privileges that Western and Chinese scholars possess (including easier access, in comparison to exile Tibetans, to Tibet for fieldwork).

bDe chen dpal mo བདེ་ཆེན་དཔལ་མོ། | Dechen Palmo (Dharamsala)

### **Eco-Conservation on the Tibetan Plateau: A Case Study of Zachu Environmental Volunteer Organization**

Since the Central Chinese Government’s programs and policies on environmental protection don’t reach remote areas of the Tibetan plateau, local Tibetan engage in their own environmental protection efforts. This study focuses on one local grassroots organization the Zachu Environmental Volunteer Organization (ZEVO). The Zachu, better known in the world as Mekong. The Zachu Environmental Volunteer Organization is based in Zatoe, Zatoe is in northeastern Tibet.

The Zachu Environmental Volunteer Organization (ZEVO) is initiated by Lama Drubga, a highly respected lama of Zatoe. He has been successful in changing the local attitudes towards environmental protection. The focus of all those involved in ZEVO is to keep the source of Zachu pristine and clean. The local Tibetan communities’ engagement and participation in protecting the source of Zachu River is not only for the local communities’ own benefits but for the benefits and survival of millions of people who live downstream in South East Asia. The source of a Zachu river is protected by local people picking garbage and litter, sometimes risking their lives to pull garbage out of the river. During winter they walk through heavy snow to pick up garbage and litter.

This study examines the space and role of an environmental non-governmental organization in shaping and managing of ecology and environment at the source of one of the Asia’s mighty rivers.

Karma bstan 'dzin ཀམ་བསྟན་འཛིན། | Karma Tenzin (Dharamsala)

### **The Current Status of the Tibetan Language in Tibet: An Analysis**

Since the 1950s, China has carried out systematic transformation in the educational system in Tibet. This research paper is an attempt to examine this transformation and its impacts on the new generations of Tibetans in Tibet.

Respondents to this research on the status of education and language in Tibet are recently escaped Tibetans to exile in India. These interviews are used as the primary source of information for this study. This paper aims to highlight the impact of education and language policies of the Chinese Government in Tibet. With the help of observational research, this study attempts to understand the factors that shape China's education policy in Tibet.

bsTan 'dzin tshe brtan བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚེ་བརྟན། | Tenzin Tseten (Dharamsala)

### **Nationality Issue: Discussing One of the Most Pressing Issues in China**

This study deals with China's state "ethnic" policy towards minorities, more precisely, Tibetans in this context. This study looks into how "ethnic" policy evolves in modern China; from the Nationalists to the Communists. This study also highlights different schools of thoughts on "ethnic" issue. The first school here refers to ethnic establishments such as the UFDW and the SEAC. Scholars and officials associated and having background of ethnic institutions strongly advocate China's state ethnic policies, which are ostensibly premised on Marxist-Leninist national policy but derived largely from Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' experience on ethnic issues. In light of this, PRC publicly contends that current ethnic policies are correct and creating harmonious ethnic communities. In sharp contrast, many Chinese including contemporary thinkers and scholars are of view that existing ethnic policies are outmoded. Ma Rong, an ethnic scholar and professor at the Peking University, argues that soviet-style ethnic policies have not worked in favour of maintaining social cohesion and nation-building process. Given the unprecedented protests in Tibet in 2008 and Xinjiang in 2009, critics of current ethnic policies, for instance Hu Angang, leading policy adviser and the founding director of the institute for contemporary China studies, emphasise on state-guided integration rather than continued isolation and further marginalisation. Considering all the aspects of ethnic problems this study attempts to analyse the root cause of ethnic problems in China through Tibetan perspective.

Apa Lhamo (New Delhi)

### **China's Poverty Alleviation Projects in Tibet and its Consequence(s) on the Livelihood of Tibetans: A Case Study of Ngachu Prefecture**

Che Dalha (Qi Zhala), Chairman of the TAR People's Government, said in 2017 that 530,000 Tibetans were uplifted from poverty in the last five years, but also maintained that people in 2,440 villages still live in 'dire poverty' in Tibet and that the region plans to invest 11.7 billion yuan in 2018 to lift 2,100 of these villages out of poverty. According to Dalha, 8.8 million yuan will be used on poverty alleviation projects, including one that aims to relocate at least 160,000 people to urban/plain areas, in 2018. By end of 2018, the regional program expects to lift about 130,000 residents out of poverty, and the per capita disposable income of people in poverty is expected to increase by 16 per cent.

Urbanisation and 'rural revitalization' of Tibet is Xi Jinping's core strategy, as it is throughout China. Poor rural people are pushed into relocating to towns, and frequently they are enticed into relocation by the promise of shopping malls, consumer goods, and the centralisation of health, education and electricity in urban hubs. Under the 13th Five Year Plan (2016-2020), in the name of lifting people out of poverty, Nagchu prefecture (Ch:Ali), the 'northern gate of Tibet' was made a 'logistical hub' and depositories created so as to distribute consumer and capital goods throughout TAR, and to Nepal as well. Nagchu, traditionally a farming and pastoral prefecture, is now identified as the best site for intermodal handling of everything Chi-

na can manufacture. Ten major projects are to be implemented in Nagchu, one key among them is “‘Green Model Demonstration Project’ for plantation, (started in 2017) in cities and towns of Nagchu.

Ngachu, which has ‘11 poor counties, 114 poor townships and 1190 poor villages’, strives to lift 23,285 people out of poverty in 109 villages by implementing schemes that will enable people to earn an income of 3850-yuan per capita, according to government reports. However, poverty alleviation projects are often entangled with relocation of inhabitants to urban areas which have been problematic for most rural Tibetans, as they find themselves in urban settings as unskilled laborers. Many have to painfully restart their lives in these cities.

This paper intends to examine and critique the claims and the effects of China’s poverty alleviation projects in Tibet by setting Ngachu as the case study and investigate the socioeconomic effects of the resettled Tibetans and their “new normal” lives in these urban areas.

Tshe ring stobs rgyal ཚེ་རིང་སྟོན་བས་རྒྱལ། | Tsering Topgyal (London/Birmingham)

### **Gnawing ‘Lack’ and Fear of Interdependency [Pradityasamutpada]: recasting Ontological Security theory, reviewing China’s dialogue with the Dalai Lama**

The twists and turns of the Sino-Tibetan dialogue, particularly China’s positions and actions have always been explained in the academic literature in terms of its calculations of material and physical security interests. This paper argues that China’s need for a coherent, stable, and continuous self-identity as a state is just as important, if not more significant, in explicating its policies towards the Dalai Lama and its positions in the dialogue process (1979-1985 and 2002-2009). To achieve this empirical task, this paper takes the highly innovative step of using Buddhist philosophy to develop an alternative theory of ontological security for international relations and the social sciences. In its existing versions drawing upon 20<sup>th</sup> Century Western psycho-analysis and sociology, ontological security maintains that modern states, which are continually assaulted by existential anxiety or dread, need a stable, coherent and continuous sense of the self in order to manage that anxiety and execute effective agency in international politics. The key factors that determine ontological security or insecurity include the integrity of self-identity, (auto)biographical narratives and continuity, and the existence of basic trust relations. Different levels of anxiety and the resultant degrees of ontological security that states feel have implications for conflict and cooperation in their relationships. Wrecked by existential anxiety and ontological insecurity, states develop unhealthy and unreflective relationships with identity, routines and other, such that ontological security needs become incompatible with, even damaging to, their physical security needs. Some states become attached to conflictual relationships such as security dilemmas, contrary to the widely held assumption in mainstream theories that states desire to resolve differences and transform conflictual to cooperative relationships. This paper will advance a Buddhist alternative to what is a Eurocentric theory, centring upon the concepts of *dukkha* (as opposed to mere anxiety), interdependence (*pratityasamutpada*), the self as illusion or ‘No Self’ (*anatma*), and ‘self-grasping’ (reification). Specifically, the sense of impotence, lack of control, and inadequacy or ‘lack’ generated by the fundamental structure of interdependent existence provides the basis for a theory that goes beyond uncertainty and anxiety that lie at the core of the existing theories of ontological security in international relations. It also bridges the pre-eminent divide among IR ontological security theorists over whether ontological security is an internal/atomistic process or externally/socially generated with ‘lack’ and ‘interdependence’, representing the internal and external elements, respectively, manifesting from the same insight of ‘the emptiness’ of the self, i.e. the absence of a substantial, independent and permanent self. It then goes on to use this theory to analyse Beijing’s approach to its dialogue with the Dalai Lama.

’Jigs med ye shes bla ma འཇིགས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་བླ་མ། | Jigme Yeshe Lama (Calcutta)

### **The Dalai Lama and Tawang – The “Residual” in India China Relations?**

The current age is termed as the age of China and India, two emerging superpowers who are at the forefront of leading the Asian century. Emerging from a long period of colonisation and humiliation in

the hands of imperial powers, both countries have developed into modern nation states sharing a rich civilizational past but also sharing a long contested border from 1951 onwards as prior to 1951, India shared borders with a separate political entity in the form of Tibet. Till the Chinese takeover of Tibet in the 1950s, the Tibetan plateau served as a buffer between India and China. It was the British who saw the importance of Tibet in terms of security and strategy for its South Asian empire, which is also seen to be carried forward in the post-colonial period. This was much accelerated with the People's Liberation Army being firmly based in Tibet and with the Dalai Lama coming into exile to India after the failure of the uprising in Lhasa on 10 March 1959. Thus we see Tibet emerging as a security dilemma for India and along with the Dalai Lama have emerged as important factors in India China relations. The proposed paper dwells on this aspect of India China relations, through viewing Tibet and the Dalai Lama as “residuals” or remnants in India China relations; leftovers in the post – colonial nation state building project of both countries that is seen to be magnified in the context of Tawang, a region administered by India and claimed by China but having strong links to Tibet. However, the paper also uses the idea of “residual formations” as formulated by Raymond Williams, through which the residue plays an important role in the current period for the dominant social formation in making sense of the pre-modern social formations. This is reflected with Tibet and the Dalai Lama, who represent traditional sovereignty forms of the pre-modern period which is seen to be having deep repercussions in the current period.



scholarship on migration and diaspora contents, diaspora is therefore claimed, performed, and felt, instead of being a reified positive object or state.<sup>4</sup>

This paper explores how the Tibetan diaspora came together as a feeling community<sup>5</sup>—a diasporic community that connected via specific emotional concepts and practices<sup>6</sup> that renegotiated existing notions of *religion*, *tradition*, and the *homeland* in relation to *exile* and the *new* across a broad source base ranging from speeches and school books to periodicals and monographs. The role of materiality, embodiment, and the senses will be attended to as well as the specific temporal structuring in the diasporic concepts between the lost homeland and the yet-unattained future. It will thus be shown what and how emotions were used in the early history of Tibetan refugees re-assembling as a feeling community in exile, by *feeling* (something) together and feeling (as) *together*.

<sup>1</sup> Lodi G. Gyari, “Preface,” in *Tibet –84: 25 Years of Struggle & Reconstruction*, ed. Information Office (Dharamsala: Organizing Committee, Information Office, Central Tibetan Secretariat, 1984).

<sup>2</sup> For recent overviews on the debates in this fast-growing discipline and its innovations over the past three decades, see Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Ute Frevert, “The History of Emotions,” in *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Lisa Feldman Barrett, Michael Lewis, and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones (New York, London: Guilford, 2016); Jan Plamper, *Geschichte und Gefühl: Grundlagen der Emotionsgeschichte* (München: Siedler, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Since its inception by the German historian Reinhart Koselleck, the history of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*) has vastly expanded its methods and focus, including a turn to the global and a move beyond the linguistic focus. For a recent overview, see Jani Marjanen, “Transnational Conceptual History, Methodological Nationalism and Europe,” in *Conceptual History in the European Space*, ed. Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freeden, and Javier Fernández-Sebastián (New York: Berghahn, 2017); Willibald Steinmetz, “Forty Years of Conceptual History -The State of the Art,” in *Global Conceptual History: A Reader*, ed. Margrit Pernau and Dominic Sachsenmaier (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani, “Emotional Translations: Conceptual History beyond Language,” *History and Theory* 55 (2016).

<sup>4</sup> Lauren Wagner, “Feeling Diasporic,” *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, no. 21 (2012); Rogers Brubaker, “The ‘diaspora’ diaspora,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005).

<sup>5</sup> Margrit Pernau, ed. *Feeling communities* [Special issue]. *Indian Economic and Social History Review* (2017); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Monique Scheer, “Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuan approach to understanding emotion,” *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012).

Marah Litchford (Panacea, Florida)

## **Doctrine of Dissent: Exploring the Evolving Role of Religion in Tibetan Protest Methods**

Since 2009, discussion of the religious propriety of protest behaviors has become an important element of modern Tibetan Buddhist studies. For Western audiences interested in Tibet, nonviolent resistance to oppression has long been central to the presentation of Tibetan identity. Yet modern Tibetan identity is subject to many tensions that complicate this ideology. Tibetans in diaspora and in China face disparate challenges. Some are political quagmires in which religion is a primary component. Others are questions of the correct mode of worship, such as which deities should be propitiated. The movement toward an international, non-sectarian, Tibetan Buddhism also raises questions of the validity of cultural survival at the expense of the erasure of less politically powerful sects. In truth, responses to these dilemmas have not always proven to be non-violent; nor have proposed solutions necessarily come from traditional sources of power, such as the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Indeed, as the Gelugpa leader ages, unclear lines of future religious authority have become yet another source of schism. In spite of this, academia has produced little nuanced research on modern acts of religious protest within Tibetan communities. The result is a blind spot in the scholarship that risks the potential to reinforce unhelpful stereotypical views of both Tibetan religion and the Tibetan people.

This paper explores the role of religion in expressions of dissent in Tibetan communities, with special attention placed on comparisons of protest behaviors and actions in Tibet and in the diaspora. The study seeks to prove that changing religious protest methods are an extension of evolving perceptions of au-

thority in Tibetan communities as a whole, with the overall behavioral trend placing higher value on personal agency rather than centralized power. Evidence for this claim will be primarily based upon ethnographic research, interviews with NGO's, private citizens, as well as government and religious leaders. Scriptural research and anthropological examinations of ritual styles will serve to bolster these findings. Understanding the full complexity of Tibetan religious behaviors is essential to producing an insightful and academically honest historiography of the Tibetan people. The role of religion in turbulent times is of equal importance to its use in celebration. By providing a record of the role of religious dissent in Tibetan society, academia will have better preserved the truth of the intricacies of Tibetan culture, as well as the fullness of the humanity of the Tibetan people. This presentation would require the use of PowerPoint with audio capabilities.

Namkha Tsering (New Delhi)

### **Applying a Post-Modernist Understanding of History to the Polemical Historical Narratives of the Sino-Tibetan Conflict**

Most of the historical narratives of both parties involved in the Sino-Tibetan conflict, if not overtly antagonistic, are typically polemical and tend to tell different stories about the same historical event. This shouldn't be of any surprise as history is epistemologically, methodologically and ideologically fragile. Yet these variant polemics claim to be telling the truth and objectively presenting the historical truth through their empirical work. The aim of historical study is to acquire 'real' (true) knowledge, a view that is shared by Elton and Rankean. This view is Modernist, but we are living in a post-Modernist world, and society and culture are in transformation, a transformation that shakes the assumptions of Modernism, especially about historical objectivity and historical truth.

Post-Modernism critiques the Modernist idea that historical knowledge rests on an empirical foundation which provides access to historical truth. As such, the "history" found in historical narratives is based more in the invention and imagination of the historian rather than their objective discoveries. Post-modernism postulates that historical study will not necessarily lead to historical truth, for strictly speaking, historical truth is probably unachievable. Yet, historians, irrespective of whether there is historical truth or not, keep searching for it, because this "truth" functions in the discourse of history. Richard Rorty argues that truth is always created and never found. Truth is dependent on somebody who has the power to make it true.

This paper proposes to examine both the polemical historical narratives and their intended audiences by applying a Post-Modernist theory of history, for history is never for itself and always for an intended audience. To whom the history is for in the Chinese historical narrative and that of the Tibetans, who have the power to write historical 'truth', why the historical narrative of the respective parties is as it is? These are some of the main questions that this will paper will attempt to answer.

Robert Barnett (London)

### **Revolution at the Grassroots: The Radicalism of Changes in Administration in the TAR Since 2011**

In 2011, a number of new administrative mechanisms and institutions were introduced by the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region(TAR). These included permanent cadre teams in monasteries (*zhusi*) and temporary resident cadre (*zhucun*) teams that were sent to each village, initially for a three year period. In 2012, the new "grid unit" (*wang ge*, བྱང་ཀེ) system was introduced in Lhasa and other towns in the TAR, and the following year, the Advanced Dual Linked Household (*shuang lian hu*, བཞིན་ལྷན་དུད་ལྷེལ།) system was rolled out. This paper, based on articles in *Tibet Daily* and official websites, summarizes official reports about these new arrangements, which mark a major change in the role and extent of governance in the TAR.

# Gender Studies

ཕོ་མོའི་རིག་པ།

**Panel 35 – What is ‘Feminism’ in Tibet About?**

བོད་ལ་བྱུང་མེད་ཐོབ་ཐང་ནི་གང་ཡིན།།

**Panel organizers**

Nicola Schneider (Paris)

Hamsa Rajan (Oxford)

**Panel abstract** – In Tibetan communities, in many circles the term ‘feminism’ has a negative connotation; it is sometimes considered an exterior, mostly elite white Western, label for women’s equality. However, in recent decades, we have seen new indigenous women’s groups or movements as well as state initiatives promoting gender equality or women’s empowerment. These initiatives conceive of equality and empowerment in different ways, and not all use the terms ‘feminism’ or ‘feminist.’ Some actors even openly refute any personal association with feminism. Adding further complication to this picture is the fact that Tibetan terms for ‘women’s rights’, ‘equality’, or ‘feminism’ may involve connotations that do not always accord with the meanings associated with these terms in English. Relevant terms include, for example, བྱུང་མེད་ཐོབ་ཐང་ (lit. ‘women’s rights’), བྱུང་མེད་དབང་ཆ་ (lit. ‘women’s power’), བོ་མོ་འདྲ་མཉམ་ (lit. ‘equality of the sexes’) བྱུང་མེད་གྱི་རྒྱས་སྒྲོབས་ (‘women’s empowerment’), or མོ་དབང་རིང་ལུགས་ (‘feminism’). In some cases, there is also a trend towards the feminisation of words, such as the recently introduced *geshema* (དགེ་བཤེས་མ་), used to refer to female *geshes*.

This panel seeks to get a better understanding of ‘feminist’ movements among women and men from various class strata and positions in Tibet and peripheral areas. It seeks to situate the different activities in favour of gender equality and women’s empowerment in their political and social context, as well as their limits. How ‘feminism’ and related concepts are discarded, understood, or embraced in Tibetan areas is also of interest. Papers assessing activities both within and outside the PRC are welcomed, as are papers covering both current movements and previous historical eras.

Nicola Schneider (Paris)

**From State Feminism to Individual Projects: Some Theoretical and Empirical Reflections on Female Emancipation in Tibet**

My paper will first trace the advent of state feminism in Tibet during the early 1950s with the foundation of the ‘Tibetan Patriotic Women’s Association’ (Bod ljongs rgyal gces bud med tshogs pa), closely linked to the introduction of the Chinese communist regime with its mass organizations. The strong mobilization of Tibetan women during the uprising in 1959 in Tibet led to a split among its members and then to a temporary interruption of state feminism; only many years later, state feminism has been reactivated by two different movements: the ‘Tibetan Women’s Federation’ in Tibet (Bod kyi bud med mnyam ’brel lhan tshogs) and the ‘Tibetan Women’s Association’ (Bod kyi bud med tshogs pa) in exile, both with their respective political agendas.

I will then present several examples from Tibet and exile of more individually led projects and actions in favor of women and gender equality since the last twenty years such as the ‘Tibetan Nun’s Project’ (Bod kyi btsun ma’i las ’char), which successfully introduced the *geshema* degree (*dge bshes ma*) for nuns and female WeChat groups seeking to inform themselves about and distribute feminist ideas. Finally, my paper will ask if state feminism was, and somehow is always, a hindrance to the development of collectively led feminist movements and political empowerment in Tibetan communities.

Hamsa Rajan (Oxford)

### **Applying the ‘Feminist’ Label to Tibetan Grassroots Activities: An Example of Poor Scholarship or Effective Analysis?**

As researchers, when we call movements, people, and activities occurring in Tibetan areas as ‘feminist’, what are we really saying? Does the concept of ‘feminism’ help enhance our comprehension of what is happening in Tibet, or alternatively, does its use by researchers actually skew the picture? That is, when the term ‘feminism’ is used, does it reveal more about the priorities of foreign researchers than those of Tibetans themselves? Does its use and application to the Tibetan context therefore obscure rather than clarify?

Moreover, when ‘feminism’ or related terms are used in Tibet, how are they understood by Tibetans or within Tibetan communities? Does this understanding bear any resemblance to ‘feminism’ as it is used in the English language?

In this paper, I draw on data gathered during my most recent two periods of fieldwork to begin answering these questions. During fieldwork, I sought out individuals and movements working on gender inequality or women’s status and rights, as well as people interested in discussing these topics in order to identify problems and build solutions.

Ciren Pianduo (Lhasa)

### **Discussion on the Status of Safeguarding Women’s Legitimate Rights and Interests in Tibet Autonomous Region**

1<sup>st</sup> January 2010 marked the start of executing the “Tibet Implementation Plan of the ‘Law for Safeguarding Women’s Rights and Interests’ in the People’s Republic of China,” which formulates the legal framework in the People’s Republic of China to safeguard women’s rights and interests. This law ensures the safeguarding of women’s political, cultural, labor, social, security, marriage and family rights.

This paper presents the data collection and evaluation conducted by the Women’s Federation of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and lower administration levels to assess the degree of actual implementation of the ‘Law for Safeguarding Women’s Rights and Interests in the People’s Republic of China.’ The Women’s Federation invited legal specialists to determine the best practices in facilitating a proper implementation of the law.

This paper draws on several cases accepted by the lawyers’ committee where problems have occurred in safeguarding women’s rights and interests within the context of the relevant law and analyzed how best to implement the law for these cases. Based on our investigation we present findings of both the enforcement and victims of broached legitimate rights and interests are due to poor legal knowledge and overall education level, in particular, the victims do not know how to address their situation when their personal rights could not be ensured.

This paper provides recommendations of how to strengthen public awareness of legal and general knowledge, to ensure the safeguarding of personal legal rights.

Peter Faggen (Chicago)

### **Reclaiming a Lay Mother’s Authority in the Gungru Reincarnate Lineage**

This paper reclaims an important feminist voice from the perspective of a lay female reincarnate mother, Kalsang Drolma (sKal szang sgröl ma, 1936-2013), the sixth member of the Gungru Yeshe Khandroma (Gung ru ye shes mkha’ gro ma) lineage at Ganjia Drakar Monastery (rGan rgya Brag dkar, Gansu, China) near Labrang Monastery. (The four-century old extant Gungru lineage of the Gelukpa tradition is one of two contiguous female *tulku*-sprul sku lineages in Tibetan history along with the Dorje Phagmo lineage in Central Tibet). As part of my dissertation analyzing how religious authority is legitimated and represented in a 21<sup>st</sup> century Tibet-China context, I will rely on oral narratives in Ganjia, Labrang and

across the eastern Tibetan region of Amdo that challenge the “official” biography being written about Kalsang—a text that will minimize her laity like her obituary (2013). Sources say Kalsang was forced to laicize in 1958 when most *tulkus* did so following the People’s Republic of China’s response to local resistance. But written texts about Kalsang will minimize her laicization and ensuing motherhood, a position associated with impurity and suffering in historical Tibetan and Buddhist contexts. Instead they will represent Kalsang as an idealized Buddhist mother in the ilk of Machik Labdron (Ma gcig lab sgron, 11<sup>th</sup> century) and as a khandroma (Sanskrit-*dakini*-skygoer), two prominent Tibetan “female authorizing referents” accepted and legitimized by patriarchal communities (Gyatso-Havnevik 2005; Ohnuma 2012); this maneuver resembles a longer biography written about the fourth Gungru reincarnate (1897). These works will laud Kalsang as a practitioner and later doing activities such as starting nunneries in Labrang. Yet while these activities—especially her work with the nunneries—can be viewed from a feminist standpoint in the same way the fourth Gungru wanted access to study Buddhist texts like men a century earlier—they overlook how Kalsang’s laity dramatically impacted her authority. In contrast to texts being written, oral narratives that reveal fissures and doubt re-center her motherhood showing how her authority with *tulkus*, monks, villagers and herders in Ganjia and Labrang fluctuated during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) and afterward. They discuss her divorce to her first husband and her enduring domestic violence from her second husband who died young. They talk about her meeting her third husband, a former monk who left his wife to “serve Kalsang” at the end of the Cultural Revolution. They feature her raising four children born from three different fathers, including one son who disputed Drakar’s monks over land. And they show how the Jamyang Shepa (’Jams dbyangs bzhad pa) of Labrang chided the monks and villagers in Ganjia for letting Kalsang sit in the audience wearing lay clothes at one of his Buddhist teachings in 2009. This incident shows how much her authority changed as a lay mother becoming less involved at Drakar and more as a Chinese Communist Party cadre.

However, just as significant as understanding how and why Kalsang’s authority changed is studying how these oral narratives provide a platform to analyze the gendered contexts revolving around a rare lay female *tulku* mother—gendered contexts that the text will gloss over. These contexts signify the agency of a Tibetan lay-mother figure (a homemaker/child bearer with little power compared to men) not featured in a public religio-political exemplar’s life story—although Kalsang’s situation was unique. By widening the scope of her religious authority into the contexts of Kalsang’s laity her extraordinary story built on the structures of fissures and doubt actually becomes a firmer feminist focal point. This allows for a more cogent analysis of how the unequal political and social gendered contexts within Tibetan society around Labrang today played (and still play) a vital role in adjudicating Kalsang’s religious authority—and should not be minimized or even worse neglected altogether from her story.

Darcie Price-Wallace (Evanston, Illinois)

### **Is Full Ordination a Feminist Issue?**

Like a challenger in the mode of debate, we can pose the question – Is ordination a feminist issue? And can an answer to this question be proved? Some defenders in this debate have already posited their assertion. For example, Tibetan Buddhist leader Samdhong Rinpoche states that re-establishing bhikṣuṇī ordination through the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya is not a feminist issue but a Vinaya issue – meaning that it is about following and practicing the words of the Buddha and, in the Tibetan case, practicing these words as interpreted through Guṇaprabha (Yönten Ö). Other challengers in this debate are nuns who are neither a homogeneous category nor in possession of a singular view. For instance, one nun said that ordination is not about gender discrimination; instead, it is about ‘benefiting sentient beings.’ Implicitly stated in both assertions is that ordination is about being a ‘good enough Buddhist.’ Borrowing from D.W. Winnicott’s notion of the ‘good-enough mother,’ from the nuanced perspectives of those in monastic robes, does being a ‘good-enough Buddhist’ entail disregarding feminism? This paper is an ethnographic analysis of perspectives of nuns from the northwestern Himalayan regions of India and the ways in which they qualify the topics of ordination and feminism as independent, dependent, and interdependent. In Between Heaven and

Earth, Robert Orsi remarks that telling religious stories is difficult since at the heart of some stories exists underlying uncertainty which “even distress that the narrative can only circle but never resolve.” The mode of Tibetan debate is to dispel misconceptions in one’s own and others’ thoughts through establishing a correct view. Rather than attempting to posit a correct view, this paper invokes Orsi’s ‘posture of disciplined attentiveness’ to hold side by side varied answers, sometimes without resolution but with an intention to highlight arguments posited, to give space to uncertainties, and to account especially for difference.

Pad ma 'tsho བད་མ་འཛོེ། | Baimacuo (Chengdu)

### **The Meaning of Feminism for Tibetan Women and Nuns**

When I was doing research about nuns’ education at Larung Gar and the 16-volume book series Larung Gar nuns published in 2013 titled A Garland of White Lotuses, I have observed how the concepts of gender and feminism have appeared and have strengthened among nuns at Larung Gar. When Larung Gar was established in 1980, Khenpo Jikme Puntsok (Mkhan po 'jigs med phun tshogs) gave nuns (*jo mo*) the chance to study and practice Tibetan Buddhism. In the early years, a few nuns such as Mentso Khandroma (Men tsho mkha' dro ma) came to Larung Gar and studied with the Khenpos. After some years, many more nuns came and stayed at Larung Gar to study Buddhism, and through this progression, nuns started to get more opportunities to study Tibetan literature and Tibetan Buddhism. Along with this, the roles and statuses of Tibetan nuns have changed from being traditional ritual performers to being Tibetan scholars. Since 1990, the formulation of the Khenmo (*Mkhan mo*) degree has altered the traditional Tibetan Buddhist education system and has shaken up Tibetan traditional society. There are many nuns’ writings now that books have been published by local groups of scholar nuns. Since the establishment of Khenmos at Larung Gar, a feminist sensibility has also been developing. I have interviewed many Khenmos since 2010, and I have discovered that nuns have a strong cognition of traditional Tibetan women’s low status in Tibetan society and in the family. Nuns think about how they can change the situation through their study and practice. According to my research, Tibetan nuns at Larung Gar are thinking about feminist ideas, but not with the same language or underlying principles as Euro-American feminists. Larung Gar nuns critique “the viewpoint of male superiority and female inferiority” (*pho mchog mo dman kyi lta ba*), calling upon women to take action against this biased view instead of debating about women’s equality. In the words of one Khenmo from Larung Gar, “I don’t know what the meaning of western feminism is, but I think that taking action is most important. We have a word *pho mchog mo dman kyi lta ba* in Tibetan culture.”

One of the newest and most expansive ways in which we can see the Larung Gar nuns’ feminist sensibility is in their recent (2017) publication of 52 Tibetan-language volumes of writings about extraordinary Buddhist women titled *Dākinīs’ Great Dharma Treasury* (*Mkha' 'gro'i chos mdzod chen mo*). This paper draws on interviews I have conducted with the nuns responsible for this massive publication, the largest ever, about Tibetan Buddhist women. Based on these interviews, I will discuss the nuns’ motivations and inspirations for producing these volumes, and I will consider the ways in which they do and don’t understand this project in feminist terms. The paper will therefore include a discussion of 1. How the awareness of gender and feminism has developed in Larung Gar; 2. What feminism means for Tibetan women and nuns in Larung Gar; and 3. What kinds of activities Larung Gar nuns are taking in society to promote Tibetan women.

Pad ma chos sgron བད་མ་ཚོས་སྒྲོན། | Pema Choedon (Tartu)

### **Miss Tibet and the Prevailing Gender Narrative in Tibetan Diasporic Society**

The “Miss Tibet” beauty contest is one of the most popular diasporic events since its initiation in 2002 in Dharamsala, complete with catwalk, bikini session, music and crown for the winner. The number of contestants has never been large but the prestige of winning is high within large sections of the exile community. It was started by a Tibetan, Lobsang Wangyal who stated that his purpose was twofold. First of all it was in order to empower young Tibetan women. While many Tibetans view the contest with enthusiasm, re-

garding it as a step towards modernity for the entire Tibetan exile community, others criticize the event for introducing “western” customs and exposing too much of the female body, as inevitably is the case during a bikini session. In relation to this, I will also discuss the topic of female nudity in actual practice in Tibet before 1959, in traditional iconography, and in contemporary secular art. The second purpose of the contest, from the very start, was to assert Tibet as a nation. This nation building purpose probably distinguishes the Miss Tibet pageant from other beauty pageants around the globe.

On the basis of the Miss Tibet pageant I will discuss the wider gender narrative in the Tibetan diaspora, its nature and function. This narrative involves traditional ideas of gender roles and norms, but it is also influenced by the political, social and psychological context of the diaspora. I use “narrative” in a broad sense, understood as “an ensemble of linguistic, psychological, and social structures, transmitted culture historically”, in other words, as a coherent set of norms, concepts of history, and traditions which are shared by the majority of the community in question, expressed in writing as well as in daily life, and, in some respects promoted by the Tibetan diaspora authorities.

As for the broader issues of the gender narrative, there are several questions that deserve closer attention. Among these are: Does the narrative correspond to the social realities in traditional Tibet, i.e. Tibet as it was before the Chinese occupation? Does it correspond to the current social and political realities of the Tibetan diaspora? Is it universally accepted by exile Tibetans today? These questions are some of the issues that also are relevant to the Tibetan feminist debate in the diaspora.

mKha' mo skyid མཁའ་མོ་སྐྱིད། | Kamaoji (Arlington, Virginia)

### **Narrative and Ethics in Tibet: The Ethical Cosmology of Female Revenants**

This paper is a study of the biographies of female revenants or *delok* (Tibetan: 'das log), a word that literally means “passed on and returned.” *Delok* is someone who is believed to have undergone a death experience, but has returned to life to deliver messages and recount the stories of those that she has encountered on her journey through the postmortem realms. *Delok* narratives can be sources for studying the daily lives of sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Tibetans; as such, they are important sources for reconstructing Tibetan beliefs and ethics, helping to unravel “popular religions” in Tibet and complement our understanding of monastic Buddhism. A study of the ethics inherent in these lived Tibetan Buddhist narratives on death and the afterlife has never been done, and promises to reveal crucial details of the social worlds, gender roles, and overall cosmology found in the narratives. As such, this study is a bridge between Tibetan cosmology and Tibetan Buddhist ethics, an area which has largely been ignored by modern scholarship on Tibet. Francoise Pommaret (1989, 1992, 1997) and Bryan Cuevas (2007, 2008) brought the phenomenon of the Tibetan *delok* to the attention of the western world in their studies of the structure and common elements of *delok* narratives. My research will add to their work by focusing on the ethical implications, and the structure of the hell realms, gender roles, and the social world embedded in these narratives. While women have been portrayed as oppressed and without agency within Tibetan society, my reading of the texts has brought to light their determination to teach from their experience in the post-mortem realms, reflecting a strong sense of female agency. My understanding of the elements and beliefs that shape Tibetan culture from my position as a native Tibetan woman, coupled with close readings of the texts, will allow me to highlight new perspectives on Tibetan culture found in these understudied narratives.

Salomé Deboos (Strasbourg)

### **Being a Female Migrant in the Indian Himalayas. (In)direct Discourses of Fundamentalism Processes in Jammu & Kashmir. Case Study: Zangskar valley**

The debate on the place of women in social dynamics has the attention of the public, especially in socio-economic and social-political research. This paper aims at addressing female migrant impact in the religious radicalization process on getting anthropological research material gathered in Zangskar valley.

Zangskar has a population of 13 673, officially classified as the Boto Scheduled Tribe, who are followers of Mahayana Buddhism (92.73%) or Sunni Islam (7.27%). Whereas in the neighbouring valleys, conflictual relations between members of these religions (Buddhist and Muslim) are widespread, in Padum, inter-religious marriages were still present until very recently and the inhabitants termed themselves as Padumpa – people of Padum –before making reference to their religious affiliation. In fact, since my first stay in 2001 in Iqbal and Zoubida family, girls who were three, four and seven years are now young women who have studied in Kargil, Jammu and Srinagar. These young ladies who were just covering their head like her mother use to do are now telling their mother that she has to wear a niqab and not only the hijab with the Abaya, and also cover her hands. When I asked the three daughters about this change, they told me that they learnt “how to be a good Muslim when they studied outside”.

The existing anthropological studies have not focused on understanding the dynamics and mechanics of the transformation of community identity that results from internal movement within the community, rather than from accepting elements (people) from outside the community. New studies have started a re-appraisal of historical (J Rizvi, H.K.Franke, J. Bray) and political (M. Van Beek, R.Gupta) evidence. We now know how the importance of gender issues impacts the way in which a community might identify itself, and also as an economic asset (furthering women’s empowerment in restricted areas of India where women can produce carpets to sell on the market and directly benefit from the money they generate by being employed). These studies have helped to unveil many aspects of Buddhist women’s impact on the local economy network.

This Buddhist–Muslim community used to define themselves as a whole, being Zangskarpas was first, and then religious affiliation became since few years the first way to be part of a community. How/ why does the local or national migration of women influence the positions taken by younger generations within the community? What is their involvement in the face of religious radicalization, economic change and state politics? Moreover, this paper will assess the place of women in the religious radicalization process.

Shes rab dbang mo ཤེས་རབ་དབང་མོ། | Sherab Wangmo (Xiraoxiangmao) (Evanston, Illinois)

### **Laywomen’s Religious Practices in Contemporary Tibet: Media, Gender, and Identity**

There has been a surge of interest among Tibetan laywomen in participating in religious gatherings in Amdo. However, little research has been done on such religious practices. While previous scholars have documented and analyzed Tibetan nuns’ lives in greater detail (Havnevik 1990, Gutschow 2004, Cho 2015), the literature on Tibetan laywomen is scarce. Moreover, although some scholars have studied Tibetan Buddhism from a lived religion frame, focusing on the everyday aspects of ritual, practice, and belief on the ground, few scholars have explicitly used the lived religion approach to examine the everyday life of laywomen as social and religious actors. In order to redress the lack of scholarly attention on laywomen’s lives and religious practices, this paper explores laywomen’s religious practices in Khri ka (Guide) County of Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, with a focus on the intersections of religion and media in Tibetan laywomen’s lives. Since I have lived and studied in Khri ka for an extensive period of time, I am able to conduct productive research there. The following questions are central to this paper: What factors have driven and influenced patterns of female religiosity? How have laywomen’s religious practices shifted in the past few decades, and how have new forms of digital media made new types of religious community possible? In examining these questions, I argue that Tibetan laywomen, at least Tibetan women in Amdo, are re-centering their lives toward religious practices, as can be demonstrated by an overwhelming number of them appearing in the public religious sphere and their memorizations of prayers with the aid of technology, such as digital voice recorders.

An interdisciplinary approach that combines the methods of lived religion, media studies, ethnography, and textual analysis will be applied to explore how recent religious gatherings present, represent and aid our understandings of piety and devotion, and how technology offers the various means to both lamas and laywomen. Based on my initial investigations, I found that for lamas, advertising and preaching are the main things they do by using social media; however, for disciples, especially for laywomen,

they would use social media to engage in mutual surveillance. By mutual surveillance, I mean a series of practices laywomen engage in through the medium of wechat. The practices entail first to claim the amount of prayers one promises to complete in a single day; second, one reports how many prayers one has accomplished and then commits to undergo punishment if one fails to adhere to the claim. For those who fail to complete prayers, they are required to send “red packets” (Ch. *hongbao*), a mobile application within a chat to allow one to send money, as a form of punishment. By using a social media to report their progress of spiritual practices, laywomen form a virtual religious community that enables them to pursue their religious aspirations collectively. I will show how through this process Tibetan laywomen place Buddhism as an essential element in their everyday lives and how they socialize through interactions with lamas, teachers, and their dharma friends. These women are often in their late 40s, 50s, and 60s; most women have worked for some periods of time but are now staying at home looking after their grandchildren. They even incite themselves into studying the Tibetan language as a viable means to better advance their spiritual practices. Drawing on Charlene Makley’s concept of “re-mandalization” of the Tibetan landscape, a process of social-cultural revival that has been seen in the post-Mao era, this paper aims to explore how laywomen participate in the religious, social, and economic fields. Specifically, this paper will trace how and in what forms laywomen’s religious practices have shifted in the last decades and will critique, reify, and challenge prevalent notions of women and religion. I also consider new roles monasteries and lamas play on laywomen’s religious practices and examine the impact it has brought on a larger Tibetan community.

# **Geography, Demography, and Environment**

ས་ཁམས་རིག་པ། མི་འབོར་རིག་པ། ལོར་ཡུག་རིག་པ།

## Panel 55 – Tibetan Environments: Past, Present and Anthropogenic

བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུག་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

### Panel organizers

Petra Maurer (Munich)

Ruth Gamble (Melbourne)

**Panel abstract** – The Tibetan Plateau has undergone drastic environmental change during the past century. These changes began with the Plateau’s annexation and partition into nation-states, and have accelerated since these nation-states became more market focused in the 1980s and 1990s. The primary catalysts for environmental change are all anthropogenic: climate change, hydro-electrical and water transfer projects, development, urbanization, mining, industrial farming and industrial livestock production. All these transitions have impacted the Plateau’s environments: its farmlands, fields, forests, grasslands, rivers and glaciers.

The Plateau’s difficult terrain means that its ecologies are some of the last on earth to experience the full impact of the Anthropocene. Until relatively recently, humans did not have the capacity to transform these high-altitude spaces in drastic ways. Furthermore, some Tibetans religious beliefs impeded the full exploitation of the region’s natural resources. It was not considered appropriate, for example, to dam rivers inhabited by water spirits or mine substances that belonged to local guardians.

This panel will examine this transformation in the perception of Tibet’s environment. It will examine the traditional view of the natural world and associated climatic events such as the seasons, droughts, rain, snow, ice, hail. It will focus on specific questions such as: What do written sources tell us about ecologies in Tibet or Tibetan cultural areas? How do written sources describe the relationships between the various parts of the environment? How are the environment and its various components—soil, water, fire, weather—presented in the Tibetan imaginary? How did these ideas develop? How have indigenous and Buddhist traditions helped form environmental conceptions? What are the Buddhist sources for these beliefs? How has the practical use of the soil, water, plants and animals helped form ideas about it? How has the natural history of Tibet’s environments changed during the past hundred years?

John Powers (Torquay)

### Troubled Waters: Tibet’s Rivers and Climate Change

Rivers that originate on the Tibetan Plateau supply water to 85% of Asia’s populations, and they are closely connected with regional and global hydrological cycles, including the Southern Monsoon and the Southern Oscillation. Most of the Plateau’s major population centers are situated near rivers, but despite their importance for the development of Tibetan civilization and for present-day agriculture and animal husbandry, rivers have never been viewed as “sacred,” unlike other features of the landscape, including mountains, rivers, and caves associated with religious adepts. Instead, they are conceived as dangerous, as the abodes of dangerous spirits named klu that cause harm to humans. In recent years, however, an autochthonous movement has emerged that seeks to appropriate Buddhist environmental tropes and re-conceive rivers as sacred in order to preserve them and ameliorate the effects of climate change on riverine environments on the Plateau. This paper will examine the role of Tibet’s rivers in climate change and how the sacralization movement is informed by scientific data on climate change, as well as how it seeks to employ indigenous discourses to change the way Tibetans conceive of their rivers.

Kim Hanung (Yongin)

## **Between Nāgas and Dragons: Contested Interactions between Tibetan and Chinese Rainmaking Rituals in Pre-modern Inner Asia**

Drought has been an ever-present environmental calamity in Inner Asia and rainmaking has been its countermeasure. In the Sino-Tibetan border region, coping with the natural disaster followed the line of people's belief systems, and the collision between different attempts to avert disaster is an aspect of cultural interaction and competition between civilizations. Its significance notwithstanding, there has thus far been no attempt to contextualize this ritual in broader transnational and extensive anthropocene settings. My study will employ the textual analysis of ritual manuals from the Sino-Tibetan border region to address the questions of how and why certain forms of the ritual became dominant and earned the authority during their competitions, and eventually how this orthopraxy functioned vis-à-vis the longue durée history of people's coping with natural disasters.

The main source for the study will be the works of two eminent monk-scholars, Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Penjor (1704-1788) and Tukwan Lobzang Chokyi Nyima (1737-1802). As natives of this border area, these two monk-scholars' works well represent the local characteristics and peculiarities in the late pre-modern era. They were also active both in Central Tibet and Beijing, so that their works can indicate certain aspects of the metropolises' role in the rituals.

This research involves two larger topics: first, the role of rituals in Sino-Tibetan interface. Although there have been a variety of studies on the relations, the role of natural calamity related rituals in Sino-Tibetan relations have not yet attracted full-scale scholarly attentions. I hope my research will contribute to studies of this new aspect of Tibetan rituals; second, the people's use of religions during natural calamities. By contextualizing rainmaking in the broader relief functions of religions, we can reach a more advanced understanding of the interaction between nature and the Tibetan people, and the role of Tibetan religions in that interaction.

Marlene Erschbamer (Deutschnofen / Nova Ponente)

## **Provider and Destroyer of Life: Rituals, Myths, and Significance of Water in Sikkim, a Tibetan influenced Indian state in the Himalaya**

Ever since the hidden land of 'Bras mo ljongs, as Sikkim is also known, came in contact with Tibetan Buddhism and thus Buddhist masters from Tibet, water played an essential role. When Padmasambhava visited Sikkim during the eighth century, according to mythological accounts, he not only blessed the whole land for the Buddhist doctrine, but he also provided the inhabitants with drinking water when it was needed, for example at Gurudongmar lake and in Chungthang in North Sikkim. During the seventeenth century, Buddhism was eventually established in Sikkim and the first Buddhist ruler was enthroned. At that time, the Tibetan master mNga' bdag Phun tshogs rig 'dzin (1592-1656) produced two drinking water sources for villages in West Sikkim and, some decades later, the 'Ba' ra ba master dKon mchog rgyal mtshan (1601-1687) performed rituals in Chungthang, North Sikkim, which resulted in the appearance of a new spring.

Water is provider of life, therefore, it is not surprising that important lakes, hot springs, and waterfalls in Sikkim are mentioned in guidebooks to sacred places (*gnas yig*), described in historical accounts (*lo rgyus*) and some of them are even considered as sacred Buddhist places, why they are under special protection. Since Tibetans and Sikkimese believe that every kind of water source; springs, lakes, rivers, etc. is inhabited by water spirits (*klu*) that have influence on the inhabitants, its land, political entanglements as well as on social life, these entities have to be worshipped. An opposite and overall contested development is the construction of dams in Sikkim, which was sharply criticized by the inhabitants, because it was understood as an intervention in nature and thus also in one's own culture. Apart from that, these works disturb the water spirits, which, in turn, can have a negative impact on the people.

This study seeks to give an overview of the significance of water in Sikkim taking into special account

historical and cultural perspectives as well as recent political developments. To reach this goal, different passages from Tibetan and Sikkimese primary sources will be presented.

bsTan pa བསྟན་པ། | Tenpa (Dolanji)

བོན་གཞུང་ལས་གསལ་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་གནའ་བོའི་ལོང་ཡུག་སྐོར་མོང་གི་འདུ་ཤེས་གོང་བ། དཔུང་རོམ་སིང་བསྟུས།  
འདུ་ཤེས་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་གིས་ རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་དང་འབེལ་ལམ་བེད་ཚུལ།

གདོད་མ་ནས་དར་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་མོང་གི་སྐོར་མོང་འདུ་ཤེས་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་སྤྲུལ་ཐད། དེང་གི་དུས། མི་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་མོང་ས་

དང་ཀྱི་བྱེད་མོ་འབེལ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཟུང་བ་ལས། ལྷ་བ་དེའམ་འདུ་ཤེས་དེས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་ལོ་མཚར་ཅན་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་གཞུང་ཡང་བསམ་སྐྱོའི་བོ་མིག་མ་ཕྱོགས་པ་  
ནི། མི་རིགས་རང་གི་རིག་གཞུང་གི་ཞལ་དཀྱིལ་ལ་ཕྱི་ནང་གསལ་གསུམ་གི་གསལ་བའི་སྐོར་མོང་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ར་ཡང་མ་མཐོང་བས་ཡིན།

མཚོ་བོད་མཐོ་སྐྱེད་དུ་གནས་སྤྱོད་བས་པའི་བོད་མི་རིགས་འདི་ལ་མཚོན་ན། རི་མཐོན་པོར་ལ་བ་ཙོ་བསྟན་ནས། གནས་དེའི་བྱ་བ་ཅན་རི་དྭགས་སོགས་ནི་གནས་བདག་  
དེའི་སྐོར་མོང་དུ་དེས་འཛིན་བས་ནས། དེ་ལ་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོབ་ཀྱི་འདུ་ཤེས་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་སྤྲུལ་དེ་ནི། འགྲོ་བ་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལ་དབང་བའི་སྐོར་མོང་གི་གོ་ལའི་ཁྱིམ་གཞི་ཆེན་མོ་འདི་  
ལ་གནས་པའི་མི་དང་མི་ཡིན་བར་གྱི་མཛེས་འབྲེལ་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་སྤྲུལ་གི་མཚོན་ཐབས་ལ་མཚར་བོ་ཞིག་གསལ། མི་དང་མི་མ་ཡིན་བར་གྱི་ལོ་དབང་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོབ་བྱེད་སྐྱེད་སྤྲུལ་  
དམིགས་བསལ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནོ།

འདུ་ཤེས་དེའི་བསྐྱེད་སྤྲུལ་པའི་འབྲས་བུའི་ཕན་ཡོན།

བོད་མི་རིགས་སྤྱིའི་བག་ཆགས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སྐྱོད་པའི་རིག་ཉན་ནས་ཤིང་མི་གཅོད་པ་དང་། མཚོ་གཉན་ལ་བཙོག་མི་བཟོ་བ། ས་གཉན་ནས་ས་བསྐྱོད་སྐྱོག་མི་བེད་  
པའི་འདུ་ཤེས་དེ་ནི། མི་དང་རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་ཆེན་མོའི་སྐྱེད་བཅུད་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོབ་གི་ལས་གཞི་ཆེ་ཤོས་དེ་ཡིན། བོད་མི་རིགས་འདིས་གདོད་མ་ནས་སའི་གོ་ལའི་ཁྱིམ་གཞི་  
འདི་ནི་མི་ལོ་ནར་དབང་བ་མ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད་ལ། དེ་ཡང་གདོད་མའི་དམངས་སྲོལ་གྱི་འདོན་ཚབ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དུ་གནས་གང་དུ་ས་ཀོ་རྩོམ་གྱི་དུས་ཐོག་མར་ས་  
སྐོར་གི་ཚོགས་སྡེ་ལ་དགོས་ཡོད་ལ། ཚོགས་དེའམ་འདུ་ཤེས་དེས་རང་སྐྱེད་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཁང་ཁྱིམ་རབ་སོགས་མི་དང་མི་མ་ཡིན་པ་སོགས་འདུས་སྐྱེད་བྱས་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྱིམ་གཞི་  
ཞིག་ཏུ་རོམ་འཛིན་བས་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་ཁྱིམ་གི་ཕྱ་ཡི་ལྷ་དང་། མདོ་ཡི་ལྷ། ཐབ་ལྷ། གཡང་ལྷ། གོས་ལྷ། ཟས་ལྷ། སོགས་ཀྱང་ཁྱིམ་འདིར་འབྲེལ་མེད་དུ་གནས་ཡོད་  
པའི་འདུ་ཤེས་སེམས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སྐྱོད་པའི་ཡོད། ཆེས་ནས་བཤད་ན་སའི་གོ་ལའི་སྐྱེད་བཅུད་ཀྱི་བརྟན་བརྩམས་ནི་མི་དང་མི་མ་ཡིན་པ་སོགས་ཁྱིམ་གཞི་ཆེན་མོར་འདུས་  
སྐྱེད་བྱས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཡོད་དོཅག་གི་སྐོར་མོང་གི་འཆམ་མཐུན་འདུ་ཤེས་ལོ་ནས་བདེ་ཐབས་སུ་བཙོག་སྐྱོབ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ལས། མི་དང་མིའི་བར་གི་འཆམ་མཐུན་གྱི་  
འབྲེལ་བ་ཅོམ་གྱིས་སྐྱེད་བཅུད་བདེ་ཐབས་མི་ཡོང་བའི་བསྐྱོམས་ཚོགས་སུ་མོ་ནས་བཀོད་ཡོད། དེ་བས་ཤིང་གཉན་བཅུད་པ་ཡོས་ཀྱིས་བཙོག་པ་དང་། མཚོ་སྐོར་བཙོག་  
བསྐྱེད་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་མི་དང་མི་ཡིན་བར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་འདུས་ནས་རང་བྱུང་འཛིག་པ་ས་གཡོ་བ་དང་། རྒྱུ་འབྲེལ་པའི་འཛིག་པ་སོགས་ལས་ཐར་བར་བེད་པ་  
ན། དག་ཟོད་ཕྱིའི་འབྲུང་བའི་སྐྱེད་བདེ་ཞིང་། རང་གི་སེམས་ཅན་བཅུད་བདེ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་ཐབས་ལེགས་ཤོས་ཤེས་ཡིན་པ་ལགས་ན། གནའ་བོའི་སྐོར་མོང་གི་གཞི་  
འགྲམ་བརྟན་པའི་དམངས་སྲོལ་ལོང་ཡུག་སྐོར་མོང་གི་འདུ་ཤེས་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་སྤྲུལ་གི་མཚོན་ཐབས་ལ་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོབ་བྱས་  
ཡོད་པའི་སྐྱེབ་བེད་དམངས་སྲོལ་གྱི་ཚོགས་ལེགས་ལྷོང་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་ཁུངས་བཙོག་ནས་བྲིས་ཡོད།

Petra Maurer (Munich)

**Search for Gods and Demons in Places, Shapes and Colours of the Land**

The connection of an area with a particular god or demon, often performing a certain activity, such as beating his breast, is a method applied in Tibetan geomantic texts in order to describe a specific site.

Gods and demons are associated with the environment in general and specifically with certain places in a given area. This association can depend on the physical shape of a place, the colour of the ground or the natural quality of the environment, for example water resources. The *klu*, in particular, are connected with the water element, i.e. with rivers, springs and river confluences; they are also abiding in the ground as known from the ritual before the construction of a building,

The association of specific sites with particular demons qualifies the respective places for various Buddhist practises: red rock inhabited by *btsan*, are qualified for the evocation of *btsan*; a place resembling a Garuda is especially suitable to suppress *sri*.

The paper considers the relation between the environment, specific shapes and colours of the land and gods and demons as stated in geomantic texts. It tries furthermore to reflect on the question if and how these assignments had an impact on the Tibetan's exploitation of natural resources.

Gillian Tan (Wellington)

### **Perception, Transformation, and the Imaginary: Ethnoclassification of Tibetan Plants and Flowers in Kham**

This paper takes up the question of how the environment and its various components are presented in the Tibetan imaginary by attending to an ethnoclassification of Tibetan plants and flowers in a pastoralist community in Kham. A contemporary lexicon of plant and flower names in the vernacular is introduced together with names found in the rin chen 'khrungs dpe (T. gso spyad sngo sbyor tshogs kyi man ngag rin chen 'khrungs dpe bstan pa). Moreover, the everyday uses of some plants and flowers – along with narratives of their roles in the local imaginary – will be presented. Yet, it is crucial to note that ethnoclassification is more than an ethnographic system expressing vernacular divisions and categories of the environment. As noted by Ellen (1993: 3), ethnoclassifications are 'situationally-adapted and dynamic devices of practical importance to their users, reflecting an interaction – though in a by no means self-evident way – between culture, psychology and discontinuities in the concrete world: a lexical and semantic field firmly embedded in a wider context of beliefs and social practices'. Ethnoclassification, therefore, is also revelatory of processes of the imaginary, specifically the tropes that are referred to, the analogies that are inferred, and the metaphors that are activated when people name and experience the environment (Dwyer 2005). Tropes and narratives of myth, folklore, and Tibetan cosmology provide a consistent framing to the imaginary of ethnoclassification in this pastoral community of Kham.

This insight provides an alternative way to understand environmental transformations on the Tibetan plateau, one that goes beyond scientific explanations of anthropogenic impacts and instead emphasises perceptions of the environment among Tibetan pastoralists. Whereas in previous work I have argued that such transformations are best approached through an examination of shifts in relationships (Tan 2018), plants and flowers present a different case because they are not thought to possess consciousness (T. nman shes). Another approach is therefore required; this paper suggests that a detailed examination of the imaginary – and its shifts – around an ethnoclassification of plants and flowers will complement both an understanding of human-environment relations in eastern Tibet and its changing articulations.

Ruth Gamble (Melbourne)

### **Byang chub rgyal mtshan and Resource Management**

Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302–1364) is primarily known as the indigenous Tibetan ruler who wrested control of Central Tibet away from the declining Mongol Empire and its Sa skya regents. A close reading of his Testament, however, suggests that he was also instrumental in establishing many of the conventions of governance that were followed throughout later Tibetan history. One of these were traditions of sustainable environmental practices, which he describes himself instituting to repair Tibet's environment after it was negatively impacted by Mongol rule. This attention to the environment was not based on any kind of proto-environmentalism, however, but the related impulse to make the most out of Tibet's scarce resources. His Testament describes how his attempts to manage these resources included the reform of his local region's barley cropping programs, a focus on grass restoration, the refurbishment of irrigation canals, and programs to plant and cultivate willow trees. His program to graft and grow willow trees is particularly interesting because it was multi-purposed; according to Byang chub rgyal mtshan, he saw the restoration of willows as a way to restore wood supplies, particularly for repairing buildings and fences, and also as a way to stop riverside erosion and provide shelter from inclement weather.

This paper will outline Byang chub rgyal mtshan's agricultural and environmental reform program, and contextualize it within the wider environmental history of the Mongol Emperor. It will also compare Byang chub rgyal mtshan's descriptions of his environment with scientific data that has recorded the climate and environmental conditions of Tibet's history. The 14th century was the time in which temperatures began to plummet across Eurasia. How did this impact the Mongol Empire's declining influence in Tibet? How much did changing temperatures and environmental practices contribute to Byang chub rgyal mtshan's success? And how much did it contribute to the success of his Phag mo gru successors?

Amelia Hall

## **Atonement to the kLu: Ritual Expiation, Reciprocity, and Environmental Change in the Eastern Himalayas**

The *klu'i spang skong* (*amending breaches of the klu*) is a Tibetan Buddhist ritual text and practice performed to apologize for disruption to the realm of the *klu* (*nāgas*) one of eight classes of god - demons, (*lha 'dre sde brgyad*). These beings have a distinctive connection with the environment, as well as the prosperity of a Tibetan community. If unhappy, they create disaster including ecological imbalance as well as various types of illness to both animals and humans. If content, they bring wealth and health to a community. The maintenance of this balance is dependent upon an ancient and binding 'contract' between *klu* and humans. If humanity breaks promises made to the *klu*, (or fails to perform rituals to tame those not bound under oath) rest assured, the *klu* will wreak havoc. This symbiotic relationship is essential to uphold for the Tibetan Buddhist Memba community inhabiting the remote settlement of Mechuka (sMan chu ka) in the North Eastern region of Arunachal Pradesh, India. Initiatives to promote tourism to the area in the last ten years is dramatically changing the landscape and contributing to pollution of the local river.

The appellation of 'Memba' is problematic, and not how the community selfcharacterize since their identity is intimately bound to the sacred landscape in which they dwell. Their understanding of the region is as a *sbas yul* named sBas lcags shing ri (Pachakshiri); a place of shelter during times of unrest, environmental disaster, and spiritual degeneration. The land is viewed and lived in as both pragmatic refuge and site of spiritual amelioration. Ecological and spiritual balance transpires by making periodic recompense to the *klu*, thus ensuring that reciprocity between the land, the *klu*, and people is sustained. Excerpts from the text presented here outline the ways humanity harms the *klu* via environmental disruption and development. It includes lists of the kinds of offerings they prefer, and specific types of medicines they need to heal. This paper will introduce the region, provide excerpted translations of the text, and explore its significance as the community's ongoing ritual relationship to their landscape, its treasures, resources, and preservation.

Tshe ring 'bum རྩེ་རིང་འབྲུག། | Tsering Bum (Atlanta, Georgia)

## **Seeing Like an Animal: Human-Wildlife Interactions in Tibetan Pastoral Areas of China**

In this paper, I explore the cultural, political, and material aspects of environmental conservation in Tibetan areas of China by examining the changing relationships between wild animals and Tibetan pastoralists. Taking multispecies ethnography as an approach, I intend to comprehend the transformations in ways of perceiving non-human worlds more broadly, and the ways of interacting with wild animals in particular among Tibetan pastoralists. By examining the specific ways through which Tibetan pastoralists and wild animals relate to each other in contemporary Tibetan pastoral areas of Qinghai, I argue that the ideas and practices about nature, culture, and ways of perceiving the non-human worlds are socially constructed when assemblages of state conservation policies and western concepts of nature reserves and national parks are acted upon the Tibetan landscape. Ultimately, I make two general arguments. First, that the human-animal interactions in Tibet are constantly negotiated and produce new meanings and lifeways. The assemblages of these interactions entail general transformations in ways people—local pastoralists, and state actors—perceive meanings and construct ideas and practices about the non-human worlds. Second, that the changing dynamics of the human-wildlife interaction in Tibetan pastoral areas of Qinghai reflect the broader sociopolitical context of the region; it reflects human-human interaction at a structural level; particularly, it can be rendered as a pathway to comprehend the dynamic relationships between the state, Buddhist monasteries, and the Tibetan pastoralist communities.

Bkra shis nyi ma བརྒྱ་ཤིས་ལྷི་མ། | Tashi Nyima (Oslo)

### **Tales of the origin of water: towards a socio-cultural history of rivers in Tibet**

Rivers have been the cradle of civilization throughout human history. It is along river valleys that great civilizations began to flourish. Major rivers originating in the Tibetan plateau are known for giving birth to Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, Burmese and Thai civilizations. In the contemporary world of globalization and climate challenge, the strategic, economic and environmental significance of rivers has increasingly been recognized in public discourse. However, what are often missing from macro-level environmental and commercialized discourse of rivers are indigenous narratives of rivers as constitutive of local life-worlds. This research paper studies some of the major rivers in Tibet, including the Brahmaputra, Salween and Yellow, and explores local river narratives as embedded in local history making, social memory, spatial ordering and identity construction. By doing so, it examines how development interventions, such as damming and diversion, affect local Tibetans, especially those residing in the riverine communities of the aforementioned rivers.

## Roundtable 1 – Climate Change in the Tibetan and the Himalayan Regions: Exploring Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

བོད་དང་རྟི་མ་ལ་ཡའི་གནམ་གཤིས་འགྱུར་ལྗོངས་

### Organizers

Hanna Havnevik (Oslo)

Astrid Hovden (Oslo)

Riam Kuyakanon Knapp (Cambridge)

Hildegard Diemberger (Cambridge)

In recent years, scientific attention has increasingly turned to the Himalaya as the bellwether for climate change effects as Himalayan glaciers retreat and glacial lake outburst floods (GLOFs) are increasing in frequency. Development interventions continue to proliferate as natural disasters, loss of livelihoods, poverty and outmigration receive increased attention. However, environmental destruction associated with anthropogenic climate change is of course nothing new. Tibetan and Himalayan communities have long histories of dealing with a challenging environment, and historical texts such as local archives and biographies contain records of local management of floods and other environmental hazards over centuries. In light of a development context wherein mobile connectivities and access to information technology and social media are recognised as agents of change, the aim of this roundtable is first, to explore pre-existing knowledges and environmental management strategies in vulnerable places, and then to discuss how they are maintained or changed with new climate knowledges and new connectivities, be it via modes of transport or communication technologies. We invite contributors to discuss contextualised understandings of historical and contemporary environmental decision-making processes. We welcome discipline-specific and multi-disciplinary approaches, and encourage suggestions of innovative perspectives and methods that engage with the ways in which knowledge and praxis may or may not change across temporal and spatial scales.

### Panelists

Karma phun tshogs ཀམ་ཕུན་ཚོགས། | Karma Phuntsho (Thimphu)

Charles Ramble (Fontainebleau)

Françoise Pommaret (Paris)

Pasang Y. Sherpa (Seattle, Washington)

Emily Yeh (Boulder, Colorado)

Mark Aldenderfer (Merced)

Jade d'Alpoim Guedes (San Diego)

### **Roundtable 3 – Mapping Tibet: Pasts, Presents, Futures**

བོད་ཀྱི་ས་བྱུང་འདས་མ་དག་སྲུང་།

#### **Organizers**

Galen Murton (Munich)

Ken Bauer (Norwich, Vermont)

This roundtable session brings together scholars utilizing various cartographic and mapping technologies to study contemporary and historical dynamics of place making and spatial understanding across the Tibetan Plateau and Inner Asia. From the Anthropocene and land use-land-cover change to historical and contemporary map-making to governance regimes, infrastructure, and systems of religious sovereignty, we examine and apply multiple cartographic tools to better apprehend the ways in which social, political, environmental, and developmental practices are represented, produced, and contested. Taking a wide view across both time and space, contributions include: comparative analyses of historical-colonial maps with current conceptualizations of place and mental mapping (Bauer); mapping historical rule and territorial power of the Qing Dynasty from Tibet to Mongolia (Pratte); utilizing Open Street Map and open-source tools to map 21<sup>st</sup> century road development along historical trans-Himalayan trade routes (Murton); the application and transference of remote sensing techniques from the Polar North to the ‘Third Pole’ of Tibet (Rebtsa); and the collection and illustration of Tibetan sacred spaces in new GIS datasets (Farmer). Both thinking of mapping as engaged practice and calling for critical cartographic sensibilities, we encourage panelists to demonstrate specific and effective ways in which mapping has and can be used to conduct cutting-edge research across the Tibetan Plateau and beyond.

#### **Panelists**

Anne-Sophie Pratte (Harvard)

Mike Farmer (London)

Alexander Gardner (New York City, New York)

Andrew Quintman (Middletown, Connecticut)

## History (before the contemporary period)

ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་རྒྱལ་འབྲེལ

## Panel 8 – A History of Transport in Tibet

བོད་ལ་དཔེ་རྒྱུ་འདྲེན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་༥༥

### Panel organizers

Diana Lange (Berlin)

Patrick Booz (New-York)

**Panel abstract** – The study of the transport system of pre-1959 Tibet has generally been neglected so far. Nevertheless, the study of transport in Tibet is of wider cross-disciplinary significance because it demonstrates how the transport system has been linked over time to economic, political, infrastructural, technological and socio-cultural ideas. The state and its monastic segment had enormous impact on this system. Furthermore, the transport system in any historical period raises fundamental questions about human life and its relationship to material objects and places. Road technology, including bridge-building, proved vital in the transport of major commodities such as tea, grain, wool, timber, leather, paper, tiles, medicine and so forth. The analysis of transport technologies therefore gives us a chance to trace the ways in which the cultural, the natural and the technological aspects of life interweave and how people relate to their environment. The aim of this panel is to bring together scholars who work from different approaches on different aspects of the transport system in pre-1959 Tibet.

Patrick Booz (New-York)

### Transport in Tibet

Transport and the need to move over the earth are as old as humanity itself. It began with walking and running, and over time, groups and individuals found ingenious and supplementary ways to transport self and goods. The rise of transportation and its interplay with trade and accompanying trading routes has been a driving force in history.

All of the above apply to Tibet, and this paper presents a survey and overview of transport on the great plateau. The purpose is to show the broad range of transportation, the forms it has taken, the main trade routes, the participants – both animal and human – and the primary institutions associated with it. The historical setting of this paper focuses mainly on the years 1650-1950, though there is also background reference to earlier centuries.

The scale of Tibet and its exceptionally rough conditions have created logistical challenges which have always needed to find expression in relation to a strictly limiting transport geography. For reasons of topography, climate, and the distribution of population centers, just 5 main trade routes developed in Tibet, reaching to the various frontiers, India and China primarily, but also Mongolia. It is along these that we find the postal stations, trade marts and customs points, with their associated tolls and taxes. Here, too, lie the important transit sectors for long-distance trade and the all-important commodities such as tea, silk, wool, medicines, salt, grain, cloth, copper, sugar and a great many others. Never to be overlooked is the presence of officials and the military, especially cavalry, that always needed to move through the land. The paper will also look at the building of bridges, and the essential caravans and their pack animals (mostly traversing bad roads at ridiculously slow speeds): yak and dzo, horse and mule, camel and goat, even dog. As an adjunct, we need to acknowledge banditry, animal thieves, and political and wartime interruptions to the trade routes.

Along with caravan routes, waterways had an important function in local and long-distance transport. Boats, rafts and coracles were used for crossing rivers and for transporting goods and people along rivers. Almost everything that moved in Tibet, including animals, went at least partly by water.

Within the larger context of trade and transport, there existed a great web of secondary and tertiary trails, often the locations for seasonal trade fairs, most near Buddhist monasteries. Pilgrimage went hand in hand with these, and with it we see the many practical requirements of religious travelers. Another form



for strengthening links between it and the rest of the country. It is believed that road construction had helped to promote social and cultural exchanges among various ethnic groups along the road hence contributed to a diversified and integrated pattern of the Chinese nation as a whole. More importantly, this paper tries to find out the significance of road Infrastructure Construction in frontier areas inhabited by ethnic groups to the National Identity Construction in the country. Such discussion is based on thorough review of road construction in Diqing at different times, various stakeholders as well as their motivation in undertaking such projects. The impact of such road construction project to communities along the road like Benzilan county is also investigated.

It has been found that the construction, reinforcement, and maintenance of national identity is a long-term systemic project that is influenced by multiple factors including politics, economy, and cultures etc., and that the weight of different influence factors can be quite different from time to time. While modern highway is a multi-functional complex which integrate economic development, transportation and the construction of a unified multi-ethnic country, the energy contained in it can exert an important influence on the national identity concept of community people along the road.

Elizabeth Joy Reynolds (New York)

### **Moving Across the Tibetan Plateau: The ‘U lag System in mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century Kham**

The ‘*u lag* system in Tibet, often described as an unpaid corvée labor system, is widely known but poorly understood. A word of Turkic-Mongolian origins, ‘*u lag* was introduced to Tibet during the Mongol Empire as a long-distance postal system that expanded into the Tibetan Plateau. However, by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century ‘*u lag* had transformed into something considerably different. At least in Kham, the term ‘*u lag* essentially came to mean “transportation labor” and was part of a complex and decentralized taxation system directly linking networks of social and economic obligations. Therefore, in order to establish a finer understanding of the ‘*u lag* system in the modern era, this paper looks at a critical moment of unprecedented Chinese and Tibetan interaction in Kham during the 1930s and 1940s.

Using previously unexamined Tibetan and Chinese language materials on the Sichuan-Kham Borderlands Army Unit from the Sichuan Provincial archives, this paper provides an in-depth snapshot of Chinese military activities and their attempts to appropriate and rationalize the ‘*u lag* system. As this army unit traveled across Kham during the early 1930s it had no choice but to engage directly with the ‘*u lag* system, hiring or contracting transport services from Tibetans in all levels of society. These interactions generated hundreds of documents and reports on Sino-Tibetan interactions at the individual and village levels, such as registers of people and animals providing labor, as well as methods of compensation and receipts. Furthermore, included within these files are roughly forty Tibetan petitions and contracts written by various local elites and Chinese-appointed Tibetan agents across eastern Kham.

These rare letters demonstrate that the ‘*u lag* system was undergoing a significant transformation as the Chinese state was expanding into the Tibetan frontiers. Indeed, in 1947, the Xikang Provincial Government branch in Dartsedo issued a bilingual pamphlet with clear regulations for a final bureaucratization of the ‘*u lag* system. Investigating the contentious politics of the ‘*u lag* in Kham, this paper will thus explore how power over transportation and labor was negotiated between Tibetans and Chinese during the mid-twentieth century and bring us closer to a finer understanding of the ‘*u lag* system at large.

Lin Lei (Cambridge, Massachusetts)

### **The Qing Transport System in Tibet during the Qing-Gurkha War (1788–1793)**

The paper examines the Qing Empire’s endeavor to build a trans-Himalayan transport system in order to support the military campaigns against the Gurkha Kingdom in Nepal, which was then invading Tibet. A historical event of sheer geographical scale occurring in borderland and later foreign settings, the Qing-Gurkha War (1788–1793) posed a great logistic challenge to the empire’s earlier system in the Ti-

betan frontier and led to new infrastructural and institutional arrangements, which proved to be crucial in the Qing's eventual victory. The paper considers the Qing transport system in the trans-Himalayan region as a single network comprising human agents, animals, supplies, and information, amassing material and human resources from neighboring geo-administrative bodies and connecting Beijing to the other side of the Himalayas. It starts with a review of earlier Qing military logistic arrangements in the region and regulation framework in the context of the eighteenth-century Qing-Tibet relations. The system's formation, structure, and functions during the Qing-Gurkha War are discussed, followed by an examination of the *taizhan* 臺站 network and the effects of the trans-Himalayan context. The *taizhan* network to acquire new attributes given the locality, among which I highlight its multisectionality and flexibility in staffing and function. New arrangements were prompted by the trans-Himalayan conditions but also limited by them. The Qing system was heavily dependent on Tibetans and the Tibetan bureaucracies for human labor, a need which was significantly underestimated by the Qing court and became a critical disadvantage.

Tsai Weipin (London)

### **The Strategic Purpose Behind the Opening of Yadong Customs House and the Communication Networks Around it**

The Chinese Maritime Customs Service was formed after the Second Opium War. It quickly established Customs Houses in many locations, mainly on the coasts and along major rivers. Its most important task was to collect tariffs, but it also organized the building of harbours and lighthouses, and was the driving force behind the creation of the Chinese postal service. In 1893, the 'Regulation regarding Trade, Communication, and Pasturage to be appended to the Sikkim Tibet Convention of 1890' between Britain and the Qing government was signed, and under its terms, Yadong was to be opened as a 'trade mart' – effectively a treaty port. It was agreed that no tariffs were to be levied on trade in the first five years. Although the trade volume was small, there was strategic intent behind the choice of this location. Regular reports by Customs Commissioners recorded the principal commodities that passed through the port from India, Tibet and China, and the methods by which they were transported through Yadong. In addition, the opening of Yadong had impact on communications networks, as the Customs Commissioners had to arrange reliable transmission channels for both post and telegraph between Yadong, eastern Sikkim and Darjeeling. Although the port was formally closed down in 1914, by which point the Chinese Post Office had still not formally been set up, the Customs House had acted as an informal post office in the region.

Diana Lange (Berlin)

### **Infrastructure and Power: the tazam station system along the zhunglam**

Transport in pre-1959 Tibet was a combination of water transport and a road system, although from today's perspective the majority of the roads were mere tracks or pathways. Overland transport for the movement of people and goods relied almost entirely on animal power. Goods were transported on the backs of horses, donkeys, sheep and yaks; people traveled on horseback or walked. The transport system was controlled by the Tibetan government and monastic system, and therefore served the goals and interests of these ruling elites. Ferry and transport services were integrated into the local and regional tax structure as *corvée* services. The *corvée* system provided the framework for the Tibetan transport system as a whole.

Along the zhunglam – the “main artery of Tibet” that traversed Tibet from west to east – numerous government post stations or tazam (lit. «horse bridge») played an essential role in the transport system, in particular for the transportation of government documents or communications. According to a report by Thomas George Montgomerie (1830–1878), which is based on a route survey made by an Indian pundit in the 1860s, there were 23 such stations (called “Tarjum” in his account) between Lhasa and Gartok. Montgomerie stated that:

These Tarjums are from 20 to 70 miles apart; at each, shelter is to be held, and efficient arrangements are organised for forwarding officials and messengers. The Tarjums generally consist of a house, or houses, made with sun-dried bricks. The larger Tarjums are capable of holding 150 to 200 men at a time, but some of the smaller can only hold a dozen people; in the latter case, further accommodation is provided by tents. At six Tarjums tents only are forthcoming. Each Tarjums is in charge of an official, called Tarjumpá, who is obliged to have horses, yaks, and coolies in attendance whenever notice is received of the approach of a Lhasa official. From ten to fifteen horses, and as many men, are always in attendance night and day. Horses and beasts of burden (yaks in the higher ground, donkeys in the lower) are forthcoming in great numbers when required; they are supplied by the nomadic tribes, whose camps are pitched near the halting houses.

So far, no extensive study about the tazam system exists. Based on different sources that provide information about the tazam I want to discuss the function of the tazam system within the transport system of Tibet. I argue that the tazam played a significant role in ensuring the flow of most of the Tibet's trade and civil-military communications.

### Panel 11 – The Legacy of Elliot Sperling

དགེ་དུན་རབ་གསལ། ཨོ་ལི་འོ་ཤི། སྤྲེང་ལིང་གི་མཛད་རྗེས།

#### Panel organizers

dGe 'dun rab gsal དགེ་འདུན་རབ་གསལ། | Gedun Rabsal (Bloomington, Indiana)  
Nicole Willock (Norfolk, Virginia)

**Panel abstract** – The papers on this panel honor the late Professor Elliot Sperling’s contributions to Tibetan history, both cultural and political. The participants take one or more of Gen Sperling’s essays, translations, and lectures as reference point(s) for their respective paper presentations. Taken as a whole, this panel builds on the many sub-fields of Tibetan Studies pioneered by Elliot Sperling. The papers will proceed in a chronological order beginning with a presentation on Tibetans at the Yuan Court. Seven papers continue Elliot’s prodigious work on Tibetan intellectual and cultural history during the Ganden Podrang era, as the Qing expanded into Inner Asia. Another two papers look at the *longue durée* of Tibetan cultural history; one looks at empire and Buddhism through the lens of literary and material culture; the other on toponyms of “Mdo smad” and “Amdo” in Tibetan literary sources over six centuries. Gen Sperling frequently lectured on the renaissance of Tibetan Studies in China; two participants reflect on biography and history in light of historical sources reprinted in 20<sup>th</sup> century China. Gen Sperling was also a great champion of Tibetan freedom and human rights, the final paper focuses on the current political situation. The diversity of new research presented on this panel reflects and pays tribute to the wide-ranging influence and legacy of Elliot Sperling.

ཚོགས་ཐུན་འདིར་འཁོད་པའི་དབྱེད་རྩོམ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་དགེ་ལྡན་ཚེ་མོ་ཨོ་ལི་འོ་ཤི། སྤྲེང་ལིང་(Elliot Sperling)དམ་པ་དེའི་དུས་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་དང་སྤྱི་དོན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་བཞག་པའི་མཛད་རྗེས་རྗེས་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན། དགེ་ལྡན་ཚེ་མོ་དེའི་དུས་རྒྱུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་གསུང་བཤད་ཅི་རིགས་པ་རྣམས་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ལྷག་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་རང་གི་དབྱེད་རྩོམ་གྱི་ལུང་ལུངས་སམ་ཡང་ན་མུང་གཞིར་བཞག་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་དགེ་ལྡན་ཚེ་མོ་དམ་པ་དེའི་དུས་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཆེམས་མང་པོའི་ཐད་ལ་གསུང་བཤད་མཛད་པའི་སྤོང་སྤོང་དེ་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད། དབྱེད་རྩོམ་རྣམས་ནི་བརྗོད་བྱའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུ་གོ་སྤྱོད་ལྷག་པ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་ཡང་ས་སྐྱའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་གཅིག་ནས་མཐོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཏེ། དགའ་ལྡན་པོ་བྱང་གི་དུས་སྐབས་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་རྩོམ་ལྟ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། རྩོམ་ཡིག་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་རིང་མོའི་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྤྱི་དུས་དང་ས་མིང་དབྱེད་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཡོད། དེ་དུང་རྩོམ་ཡིག་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དུས་རབས་ཉེ་ཤར་བརྒྱུད་པར་བྱས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཡོད། དགེ་ལྡན་དམ་པ་འདི་ཉིད་ནི་འགྲོ་བ་མིའི་ཐོབ་ཐང་དང་རང་དབང་གི་སྤེལ་འཁྲིད་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ལྟ་བུ་ལོ། ད་ལྟའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚབ་སྤྱི་དུས་གནས་སྐབས་བརྗོད་པའི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ཚུད་ཡོད། ཚོགས་ཐུན་འདིར་སྤོང་སྤོང་བྱས་པའི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་སྤེལ་འཁྲིད་པའི་དམ་པ་དེ་ལྡན་དམ་པ་འོད་གི་མཛད་རྗེས་དང་ལྷག་པ་རྒྱུ་མཚོན་ཐུབ་པ་མ་ཟད་དེ་དགའ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་ཡི་རངས་རྗེས་རྒྱུ་བཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ཅོ།

dGe 'dun rab gsal དགེ་འདུན་རབ་གསལ། | Gedun Rabsal (Bloomington, Indiana)

#### ཡོན་གོང་མའི་པོ་བྱང་གི་བོད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་གཉིས། (Shong Loten and Chim Jampeyang at Yuan Court)

གུས་པས་ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་ཤས་རིང་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པར་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྲད་རིག་གནས་ཇི་ལྟར་འཕེལ་བའི་སྐོར་ལ་སྤོང་སྤོང་བྱས་སྐབས་གཤམ་གསལ་སྤྱི་མ་གཉིས་གོང་མའི་པོ་བྱང་ཤར་ཤར་ཏེ་དང་ཅོང་ཏུ་ལ་ཕེབས་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་བསྟན་བཅོས་རྩོམ་པ་མཛད་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་དེ་སྐད་བྱང་ཞིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མ་རྣམས་སྤྱི་མ་གོང་མའི་པོ་བྱང་དུ་ཕེབས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནི་དགེ་ལྡན་ཚེ་མོ་ཨོ་ལི་འོ་ཤི། སྤྲེང་ལིང་(Elliot Sperling)ལགས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བརྗོད་གཞི་གཙོ་གསུམ་དེ་ཡིན། མཚོ་མས་འདིར་དམ་པ་འོད་ལ་སྤྱི་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་བཟོ་སྐྱེད་ལྷན་འདྲེན་བྱས། དེའི་ཚེ་དུ་འོད་ལ་རྗེས་རྒྱུད་པའི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་འདི་བྲིས་ཡོད། སྤྱི་མ་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚོགས་ཅན་ཅང་དཀོན་མེད་གང་ཡོད་པ་དག་ཞིབ་ཏུ་བཅོལ་ཏེ་དབྱེད་རྩོམ་འདི་འགྲུབ་པར་བྱས་ཡོད།

ཤོད་སློབ་གྲོས་བརྟན་པ་ནི་ཤོད་སློབ་རྩོམ་པ་མཚོན་གྱི་གཙུང་པོ་ཡིན། འོད་འགྲོ་མགོན་འཕགས་པ་(1235-1280)དང་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱེས་རྣམ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་ཕེབས། འོད་གིས་བརྗོད་པའི་ “དཔལ་གཤིན་རྗེ་གཤེད་དམར་པོ་ལྷ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཛོད་པར་རྟོགས་པའོ།”ཞེས་པའི་མཇུག་བྱང་དུ་ “སྤྱི་མ་དམ་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་ལྱིས་ཉེ་བར་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱེས་པ། རྒྱ་དགཉིས་སྤྱི་མ་དགེ་ལྡན་གྲོ་སྤྱི་མ་ཐར་པས་གོ་སྤོང་བར་ཤར་ཏེ་པོ་བྱང་དུ་སྤོང་སྤོང་བྱས་པའི་ཡོ་གོ་པ་ནི་བསྐྱེད་རྣམས་དཔལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའོ། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཕན་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག།”ཞེས་འགྲུང་། ཡང་མཚོ་མས་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱེད་སྤོང་ (?-1289?) འགྲོ་མགོན་འཕགས་པའི་ཕྱག་ཕྱིར་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་ཕེབས། འོད་གིས་མཛད་པའི་ཡོད་སྤོང་གསུམ་སྤེལ་ “མཚོ་མས་མཛོད” ཅེས་གྲགས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་དེའི་མཇུག་བྱང་དུ་ “...ཤུག་འདི་དགེ་སྤོང་འཇམ་པའི་



Sara Conrad (Bloomington, Indiana)

### **Women in Lho rong Chos 'byung**

This paper looks at the women in the Lho rong Chos 'byung in order to discern narrative and historical similarities in their accounts. Out of the two-hundred seventy-six biographies in this text, five are women. The biographies within the text vary in length from one page to over twenty pages (Nā ro pa's biography). Gen Sperling used the Lho rong Chos 'byung's biographies in his writings and mentions the text in, "FURTHER REMARKS APROPOS OF THE 'BA'-ROM-PA AND THE TANGUTS" - as becoming available in 1994 - and impacting his studies. As a student, I worked with Prof Sperling on many texts, and he always pressed upon me the importance of biographies but because of my personal interests I always gravitated toward the stories of women. By examining the biographies of these five women in this text, I pay homage to my teacher. Ma gcig ang co has one page dedicated to her, her story, and her religious songs. Gtsang sgom hrul mo also has one page highlighting her visions and receiving sealed teachings. Ma gcig ras ma dar ma byang chub, was a student of Kun ldan ras pa and also has one page of text. Mkha' 'gro ma 'gro ba bzang mo also has only one page dedicated to her life history. Ras ma zhig mo stands out as her complicated story occupies five-pages of struggle and strife and going against her father's wishes by becoming a nun. By examining the manuscripts of these five women I will analyze and explore their histories to bring light to a woman's world in 15<sup>th</sup> Century Tibet as a polarity to the better-known biographies of the men of that time.

Martin Mills (Aberdeen)

### **On the Smashing of Eggs: Violence, Statecraft and Ritual Rhetoric in the Fifth Dalai Lama's Suppression of the Uncle and Nephew Rebellion**

In his widely referenced 2001 article, "'Orientalism' and Aspects of Violence in the Tibetan Tradition", Elliott Sperling famously quoted the Fifth Dalai Lama's letter of the winter of the Earth-Pig Year (1659), outlining his intentions regarding the forces of the Uncle and Nephew, the rebellious ex-regent Dépa Norbu and his nephew, Gonashakpa Ngodrup at Samdruptsé Castle in Tsang:

[Of those in] the band of enemies who have despoiled the duties entrusted to them:

Make the male lines like trees that have had their roots cut;

Make the female lines like brooks that have dried up in winter;

Make the children and grandchildren like eggs smashed against rocks;

Make the servants and followers like heaps of grass consumed by fire;

Make their dominion like a lamp whose oil has been exhausted;

In short, annihilate any traces of them, even their name.

At the time, Prof Sperling saw this as evidence contrasting the political ethos of modern Tibetan politics with that of the culture of the Great Fifth, and as outright criticism of those that wrote "as if nonviolence of the Gandhian sort were one of the basic hallmarks of Tibetan Buddhism in general, not only in the religious and philosophical sphere, but in the political sphere as well". Some sixteen years later, at the prompting of Karmay, Jones and MacPraughan, Sperling acceded in print that the translation itself came from an invocation to the protector deity, Nojin Chenpo, who had expressed through his oracle at Samyé a wish to travel to Samdruptsé to inflict retribution on the rebels. The "smashed eggs" letter was thus a permission letter to the deity to go forth and conquer, and was part of a wide tranche of wrathful ritual action and tormas aimed at the seditious oath-breakers.

The question is, however: how much difference does such a distinction make? Does the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama was writing to a deity, not to a Mongolian military commander, change the implications of such egregiously violent discourse? In this paper, I will argue that it very much does. The subsequent events of the rebellion involved a far less violent approach to the rebels than the letter would suggest, and yet the further writings of the Fifth interpreted his ritual interventions and prayers as wholly successful, regardless of the fact that little of the above violence had materially come to pass. To take Elliot's discussion further, this implies a profound dichotomy in structure between the discursive levels of ritual and military action, even when these two are conjoined in a single endeavour. However, it is suggested that

this dichotomy one which is nonetheless mediated by a causative framework in which divine action is seen as focused on the root (rtsa) of a manifest action, individual or group, in much the same way that, for example, the three poisons (dug gsum) are seen as being at the ‘root’ of specific manifest illnesses. In the political context, this raises questions that have emerged elsewhere regarding the metaphysics of political sovereignty, that might also help us unpack this question in a comparative framework.

Kung Ling-Wei (New York, New York)

### **Eurasian Intelligence Networks between Ladakh, Tibet, and the Qing Court, 1724-1768: A Study on Qing China’s First Recognition of Mughal India**

During the 1720s and 1760s, the Qing court acquired a great deal of critical information about Inner Asia, South Asia, and Russia from the kingdom of Ladakh through Tibet in order to monitor the expansion of the Dzunggar Khanate. Through the intelligence from Ladakh, the Qing dynasty Empire through Ladakh but also perceived the development of other imperial powers, such as Mughal India, Afsharid Iran, Durra-ni Afghanistan, and Tsarist Russia. By utilizing multilingual sources in Chinese, Manchu, and Tibetan, this article discusses the Eurasian intelligence networks built by the Qing dynasty through Ladakh and their historical significance. Moreover, inspired by late Professor Elliot Sperling’s prominent scholarship in Sino-Tibetan history, this article sheds light on the significance of the legacies of Tibeto-Mongolian diarchy to the formation of the Eurasian intelligence networks between Ladakh, Tibet, and the Qing dynasty. not only realized that the Dzunggar Khanate had sent emissaries from Yarkhand to the Mughal

ShAkya Rig dga’ ལྷ་རྒྱལ་རིག་དགའ། | Riga Shakya (New York, New York)

### **Writing Life in the Time of Empire**

This paper examines the temporal and formal disruptions found in lay Tibet autobiographical narratives from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the context of Qing imperial expansion in Inner Asia and the sophisticated literary culture of the Ganden Podrang. While existing scholarship on Sino-Tibetan relations during the Qing has focused on the lives of religious elites as mediators between the Qing court and Lhasa, my research, which draws on Tibetan, Chinese literary and archival sources, centres on the Tibetan lay elite as a window into the cultural and political milieu of Tibet as it was drawn into the polyglot world of the Qing empire. I situate the emergence of Tibetan lay self-fashioning within the context of the quotidian administrative and bureaucratic practices of an emerging class of elites with a cultivated sense of literary aesthetics. Through the lives, careers and writing of four prominent Tibetan ministers, I contend the autobiographical form was used by lay elites to inscribe, interrogate and negotiate the social, intellectual and political contours of empire. These widely circulated and emulated biographical works also touch on a range of topics central to our understanding of the pluralistic nature of Tibetan administrative, literary and ethical cultures, while at the same time offering examples of early modern Tibetan modes of selfhood at a critical juncture in Sino-Tibetan history.

Karl Debreczeny (New York, New York)

### **Faith and Empire: in the Footsteps of Elliot Sperling**

The exhibition and book project Faith and Empire: Art and Politics in Tibetan Buddhism (Rubin Museum of Art, New York; February 1, 2019 - July 15, 2019) is inspired by Elliot Sperling’s teaching (especially his class “Sino-Tibetan relations”) and publications (“Lama to the King of Xia”, etc.), and is largely what I learned from Elliot, applied to art history. In this paper I will briefly outline the effects of Elliot’s training: beyond building on his prodigious historical research, and taking a political lens to view Tibetan material culture, Elliot’s use of Tibetan and Chinese sources together to arrive at a more complex

and nuanced understanding has inspired my own methodology, adding visual analysis as a third point of comparison to triangulate evidence in contextualizing objects.

In addition I will give an overview of the project itself: *Faith and Empire* explores the dynamic intersection of politics, religion, and art in Tibetan Buddhism from the Tibetan Empire (7th-9th century) to the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). At its heart is the force of religion to claim political power, both symbolically as a path to legitimation (sacral kingship), and literally as a ritual technology to physical power (magic). Images were one of the primary means of political propagation, integral to magical tantric rites, and embodiments of its power. In Asia, Tibetan Buddhism played a prominent political role, and it is through this conceptual lens that this exhibition and publication seeks to place Himalayan Art in a larger global context. This exhibition will be the first of its kind, not only highlighting the importance of Tibetan Buddhist art in Asia but also explaining why it became so.

New translations of primary source materials will include Tibetan and Chinese inscriptions on objects as well as excerpts from Tibetan and Chinese records (biographies, monastic catalogs, court records, dynastic histories, etc.) which shed light on these objects and their contexts.

bsTan 'dzin rdo rje བསྟན་འཛིན་རྡོ་རྗེ། | Tenzin Dorjee (New York, New York)

### **How Democratic is the Exile Tibetan Polity?**

This paper will analyze the state of the Tibetan democratic experiment in exile, focusing on the structural challenges and procedural problems that currently prevent the Tibetan polity from realizing its full liberal democratic potential. While the Tibetan government in exile has made major democratic achievements that are remarkable for a nation that does not enjoy statehood or sovereignty, it is nevertheless beginning to exhibit in recent years many of the shortcomings and challenges of an embattled transitional democracy. At a time when polarization, populism and alienation are threatening to turn the fragile exile Tibetan polity into an illiberal and fragmented polity, are there structural changes and institutional reforms that might help to bolster the participation of its transnational citizens, improve the quality of electoral representativeness, and move the Tibetan polity closer to a mature liberal democracy?

Eveline Washul (New York, New York)

### **Rethinking the Places of “Mdo smad” and “A mdo”: Literary Mappings of Northeastern Tibet**

The original inspiration for the line of inquiry and methods of this paper comes from Elliot Sperling’s etymological studies of the names for Tibet in historical sources in his “Sino-Tibetan Relations” class and publications “Tubote, Tibet, and the Power of Naming” (2011) and “Les noms du Tibet: géographie et identité” (2012). In these classes and publications, he read from a wide array of sources from a range of historical periods to critically analyze the changing names and meanings for Tibet that reflected larger social and political trends. I adopt this approach to study the changing names for the northeastern region of Tibet within Tibetan sources to ask how these names may reflect the changing social landscape of that region over the centuries.

In modern Tibetan works as well as contemporary scholarship, A mdo is often uncritically equated with Mdo smad and is thus treated as a region with a history stretching back to the Tibetan imperial period. While the term Mdo smad does appear in Tibetan imperial period sources, the term A mdo does not appear in available sources until at least the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, its meaning is unclear until at least the 16<sup>th</sup> century where it undoubtedly appears in the collected works of Pad ma dkar po as a place name for a region adjacent to China and Khotan. Even sources from the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries reflect understandings of A mdo that appear to vary in scope from a smaller, local area to the broad region it is now taken to mean. In this paper, I treat the terms A mdo and Mdo smad as separate terms with their own specific etymologies. Based on a study of Tibetan texts from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, I present preliminary findings on how their meanings eventually converged.

Stacey Van Vleet (Bloomington, Indiana)

### **The “Illuminating Jewels” of Zawa Damdin (1867-1937): A Relic Pill Recipe to Support Common Perception and Protect the Tibetan Buddhist World**

This presentation honors Elliot Sperling’s work to illuminate Tibet’s cultural history, and particularly early twentieth century connections between Tibet and Mongolia, by introducing a translation of “Illuminating Jewels: A Register to Establish a Pill Supporting Collected Worldly Blessings” (*Dzam gling byin rten sne ‘dus kyi ril bu gsar bskrun gyi dkar chag rin chen ‘od snang*). The text contains a relic-pill recipe written in the early 1920s by Zawa Damdin or Sog po Blo bzang rta mgrin (1867-1937), a Khalkha Mongolian scholar known for his eclectic modernism as well as his Buddhist idealism. In the “Illuminating Jewels,” Zawa Damdin describes how he and his teachers, students, fellow monks, and lay adherents collected the pill’s rare ingredients, including bits of stone, earth, cloth, and other relics, from sacred sites and monasteries throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world. Once compounded and rolled together, the relic-pills were not meant to be eaten, but rather to be placed inside Buddhist images or reliquaries and venerated through circumambulation. According to Zawa Damdin, the benefits attributed to these relic pills ranged from protection against illnesses, evil influences, and obstacles, to establishing a shared “basis of faith” (*dad pa ‘i rten*) and “common perception” (*mtshun snang*) between the regions of India, Tibet, Mongolia, and China. This paper will situate the relic-pills of the “Illuminating Jewels” within the history of a long-standing technology, and the context of educational and medical reform projects undertaken by Zawa Damdin and his Buddhist contemporaries. It will argue that Zawa Damdin’s pill recipe sought to revitalize cross-regional Buddhist community, and to heal the traumas resulting from political and epistemological upheaval in the early twentieth century.

Nicole Willock (Norfolk, Virginia)

### **Sakya Pandita and Tibet (*bod*) in Dungkar Lozang Trinlé’s ‘An Explanation of Selected Major Terminologies in the Red Annals’**

“An Explanation of Selected Major Terminologies in the *Red Annals*” (*Deb ther dmar po ‘i nang gi gal che ‘i tshig ‘grel gnad bsdus*) by Dungkar Lozang Trinlé (Dung dkar blo bzang ‘phrin las) is an important commentary and explanation of terms in the *Red Annals* (*Deb ther dmar po*) written by Tselpa Künga Gyeltsen (1309-1364). The Nationalities Publishing House (Mi rigs dpe skrun khang; Minzu chubanshe) originally issued Dungkar Rinpoche’s text together with a reprint of *Red Annals* in one volume (1981); these two works comprise volume six of his *Collected Works* (2004). Elliot Sperling’s seminal essay “Tibet and China: The Interpretation of History Since 1950” in *China Perspectives* (No. 3, 79: 2009) drew attention to the hermeneutics of history in contemporary sources. Inspired by Gen Sperling’s essay and the observations by contemporary Tibetan intellectuals, such as Pema Bhum and Tenzin Gelek, on Dungkar Rinpoche’s contributions to Tibetan history, this paper analyzes how Dungkar Rinpoche wrote about Sakya Pandita, both in terms of developing a Tibetan national identity and in elevating the 13th century intellectual to a hero of Sino-Tibetan relations.

## Panel 28 – Underneath the Yellow Hat

དབུ་ལྷ་སེར་མེའི་འོག་ཏུ།

### Panel organizers

Sangseraima Ujeed (Oxford)

Rachael Griffiths (Oxford)

**Panel abstract** – This panel aims to open dialogue on the interaction between Buddhism and local communities in Central and Inner Asia during the Early Modern period beginning with the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The traditional sources regarding the 17<sup>th</sup> century narrative are dominated by the authority of the centralised Dge-lugs-pa Dga’-ldan Pho-brang government in Lhasa. These historical accounts highlight the position of the Dge-lugs-pas as the sole source of authority whose instructions dictated the way in which the other Dge-lugs-pa factions in areas far beyond Dbu-Gtsang organised themselves. However, evidence indicates that the Dge-lugs-pa dominancy may not have been as effective amongst the communities outside of Central Tibetan (i.e. Amdo, Kokonor, the 13 Southern Mongolian banners, the Khalkha and Oirat Mongolian regions). This hopes to bring together a group of people working on different aspects of the interaction between the people of these regions and Tibetan Buddhism to facilitate a discussion which may provide better insights into what was happening outside of Central Tibet in terms of the perception of the source of authority, imposition of power, organisation of the monastic community, religious affiliations of the lay and monastic sangha, and also what may have been the interaction between the different groups of people in these regions. Research based on texts, material culture, oral history and ethnographic are all welcome.

In 1679, Khalkha Dza-ya Paṇḍita Blo-bzang ’phrin-las (1642-1715) was sent back to the Mongolian lands by the command of the Fifth Dalai Lama carrying upon his shoulders the duty to spread the teachings of Je Tsongkhapa in Mongolia. The advice that was bestowed upon Dza-ya Paṇḍita by the Fifth on this occasion was quite unusual: “do not spread the teachings of the Nyingma in Mongolia as it would be harmful for the teachings of the Buddha”. In his own autobiography, the Dukūla, the Fifth Dalai Lama is also observed expressing his concerns regarding the Neichi Toyon bestowing anuttarayogatantra Yaman-taka empowerments in Inner Mongolia. The question of why the Fifth Dalai Lama was so anti-Nyingma in Mongolia despite his own deep appreciation of the tradition is one that needs more attention. Later Mongolian writers in both Southern and Northern Mongolian lands all refer to this initial 1679 advice given to Dza-ya Paṇḍita as the evidence for the Fifth Dalai Lamas anti-Nyingma legacy for Buddhism in Mongolia. However, why would the Fifth be so insistent on this matter if there was little or no Nyingma activity in Mongolia to complain about? This paper will present some of the evidence for continuous Nyingma activity in Inner Mongolia since at least the 16th century onwards by introducing and exploring some of the Nyingma sites, caves, monasteries, rare textual evidence and local accounts/legends of lamas such as the “dreadlocked lama” that are still in circulation today. Despite the current lack of research and revealed textual sources on the Nyingma activity in Inner Mongolia, this paper aims to elucidate the red side of the more mainstream yellow historical narrative on Buddhism in Inner Mongolia.

Kun bzang thogs med ཀུན་བཟང་ཐོགས་མེད། | Darig Thokmay (Oxford)

### The First ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and Tibetan Political Struggle in the Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century

One of the most crucial elements that many modern scholars ignore or do not notice when examining the political power struggle between Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho and Lha bzang Khan, are the activities of the purist Dge lugs pas under the leadership of Ngang dbang btson ’grus. Ngang dbang was the Mkhan

po of Sgo mang college in ‘Bras spungs from 1700 to 1707. He was the most visible Lama politician during that period.

For decades, the purist Dge lugs pas worked hard to defame and destroy Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho and the Sixth Dalai Lama in the name of protecting the purity of the Dge lugs pa lineage. With the support of the purist Dge lugs pas, Lha bzung Khan developed enough confidence to challenge the Sde srid for power in the name of the protection of the integrity of the Dge lugs pa tradition.

Perhaps, this is a kind of new approach to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan power struggle and its developments. Many Tibetan scholars worked on that particular period either on the basis of Chinese sources or mainstream Tibetan materials. The biography of Ngang dbang btson ’grus, the first ‘Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, is hardly used material. This source explains a third approach, which is different from conventional views.

The period from 1700-1707 changed the political constellation in Tibet in the early half-eighteenth century, which, then, gradually decided the future of Tibet for the next two centuries. In order to comprehend this crucial juncture of Tibetan political struggle and Tibet’s relations with other countries, this biography is a vital material. Therefore, this talk will re-investigate some controversial events of that turbulent period through the approach of Sgo mang mkhan po.

Rin chen rdo rje རིན་ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ། | Rinchen Dorje (Renqingduojie) (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **Lineage Authority and Intellectual Tradition: The Question of Legitimacy of Jikmed Wangpo as the Lineage Successor of Jamyang Shadpa**

This paper studies the life of Jikmed Wangpo with a particular focus on what role intellectual lineage plays out in his upbringing as the true reincarnation of Jamyang Shadpa and building his successful career as a model for Buddhist scholarly community. The question of his legitimacy as the true successor in the lineage seems to resurface in a number of instances in the biographical sources. Given the frequency of the question of his legitimacy being raised in his life, we can perhaps conclude that his status as the custodian of transmissions of teachings from his predecessor is of major significance in legitimizing his reincarnation authority. Therefore, I will describe numerous contexts where his legitimacy appears to be contested.

I will devote this paper to map out a network of Buddhist masters who are sources of these teachings passed down from Jamyang Shadpa. I will also consult relevant sources to reconstruct historical contexts where the transmissions of Jamyang Shadpa are invaluable in the sense that Jikmed Wangpo had to go to great lengths and exhaust his means to seek these teachings from the sources—learned masters who are, sometimes, direct disciples of Jamyang Shadpa as many of these masters were exiled from Labrang after they had a major fallout with Jikmed Wangpo due to the controversy surrounding his lineage identification. As his legitimacy is, in significant terms, tied to his status or future growth as an established scholar as his predecessor was, this paper attempts to reconstruct intellectual history and in particular map out intellectual lineage galvanizing the stature of Jikmed Wangpo in the face of extreme dearth of sources. Given Jikmed Wangpo’s campaign to widely seek any textual and oral transmission rare in Tibet, I further argue that seeking transmissions of teachings by Jamyang Shadpa can be also simultaneously understood for rebuilding Labrang as the source of dharma ‘chos kyi ‘byun gkhungs’ in context of his vision of Geluk expansion in Amdo as he played an outsized role in development of monastic institutions in Amdo.

Rachael Griffiths (Oxford)

### **Treatment and Diagnosis in the rnam thar of the Mongolian Polymath Sumpa Khenpo (1704-1788)**

Sumpa Khenpo (Mo. Ishibaljur, 1704–1788) was a prodigious writer, historian and a powerful religious figure in eighteenth-century Tibet. He acted as abbot for several monasteries including the then highly

influential Gonlung monastery. Many Tibetan and Western scholars regard his auto/biography, entitled paN+Di ta sum pa ye shes dpal ‘byor mchog gi spyod tsul brjod pa sgra ‘drin bcud len, as an important historical document, but my research examines how this text also sheds light on the multitude of roles assumed by high Gelugpa masters and reincarnations such as Sumpa Khenpo. This paper explores his role as a doctor and expert of medical science through analyzing case studies of treatments recorded within his auto/biography. Sumpa Khenpo received invitations to the residence of Mongolian nobility (including the Qinwang of Alashaa, the Beile of the Torghut, and the Gung of Ordos) and to Beijing, travelling frequently to treat the ailing – earning him great prestige in certain circles. The experience he gained, combined with his knowledge of Tibetan, Mongolian, and ancient Indian medical texts, resulted in a new paradigm of Mongolian medicine which is still used and celebrated today – highlighting the impact of his work and his enduring legacy.

bsTan ’dzin dge rgyal བསྟན་འཛིན་དགེ་རྒྱལ། Tenzin Ghegay (Sarnath)

རྒྱ་སྟོན་ན་བླ་པ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཚེས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ མཛད་པ་ལ་དབྱུང་པ།

An Analytical Study on the Life and Legacy of Gyaton Drungpa Ngawang Tenkyong

དབྱུང་ཚེས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་གནད་བསྟུན།

རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཚེས་སྲིད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་མཛད་སྐྱོད་པའི་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གསུང་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་པ་བླ་པ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རབ་བྱེད་ལ་མེ་སྐྱེལ་གྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༡༧ ལོར་སྐྱེས་འབྱུངས། ཁོང་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་གཙང་པ་སྡེ་བ་ཀམ་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དབང་པོ་དང་དུས་མཉམ་ཡིན།

རྒྱ་སྟོན་ནི་མདོ་ཁབ་ས་ཀྱི་ཆར་གཏོགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ལུང་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། རྒྱ་སྟོན་བདེ་ཆེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྡེ་དགོན་ནི་རྒྱ་སྟོན་སྡེ་དགའ་དགུ་ལས་བར་སྡེ་དགའ་དགུ་གྲུབ་ལུང་ལ་རྒྱ་སྟོན་ཚེས་རྗེ་བཟང་པོས་ཐོག་མར་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་ནང་བྱག་བཏབ། དུས་རབས་དགུ་པ་ལས་མས་ནས་རིམ་པར་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གསུང་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་བྱོན། དེ་སྡེའི་རྒྱ་སྟོན་དུང་རབས་གོང་མའི་སྐབས་ཁྲིམས་འགོ་རང་བཙན་དང་ལྷ་དཔོན་གཅིག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱིས་བདེ་ཆེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྡེ་དགུ་ལ་ས་བཟུང་། ལྷ་མ་རྒྱ་སྟོན་ཚེས་རྗེ་ནས་བཟུང་ལྷ་མ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་བར་ལྷ་རབས་དགུ་ཡིས་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཚེས་སྲིད་བྱུང་དུ་བསྐྱུངས། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ་ནས་བཟུང་ལྷ་མ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་བར་ལྷ་རབས་དགུ་ཡིས་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཚེས་སྲིད་བྱུང་དུ་བསྐྱུངས། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ་ནས་བཟུང་ལྷ་མ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་བར་ལྷ་རབས་དགུ་ཡིས་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཚེས་སྲིད་བྱུང་དུ་བསྐྱུངས། སྤྱི་རྒྱ་སྟོན་ཚེས་རྗེ་ཡན་གྱི་གསུང་རྒྱུད་དག་གིས་གསུང་སྟེན་མའི་ཚེས་ལ་ཉམས་བཞེས་ཤིང་ཆེད་མཛད་ནང་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཚེས་བརྒྱུད་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་ཐོག་ཆེད་མཛད་དགེ་ལུགས་པའི་ཚེས་ལ་ཡང་ཉམས་བཞེས་མཛད། ཁོང་གིས་སྐྱེས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་བདེ་སྲིད་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་དབྱུང་སྐྱེ་ལེབས་ཉི་ཤུ་གོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོར་རང་གི་མངའ་འབངས་རྒྱ་སྟོན་ལྷ་སྡེ་མི་སྡེ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ལས་བསྐྱེད་རྫོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་པ་དང་བཀའ་ཚེས་ཞུས་པས་མཚན་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་གསོལ། གདན་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་བར་ཁབ་ས་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱེས་གསུམ་དང་གལ་མཉམ་གནད་བ་ལྷ་ལྷ་དབང་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དུ་ཀྱུ་ལའི་གོས་བཟང་པོ་དང་ཁོང་ནང་དུ་གསུལ། སྲིད་ཕྱོགས་ནས་བཀའ་སྟོན་ལ་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་ནང་རྒྱ་སྟོན་དུང་པ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་སྐབས་སོག་སོ་གུ་ཤི་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་དབང་ལུགས་འོག་རྒྱ་སྟོན་ལྷ་སྡེ་མི་སྡེ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོར་དུས་ལ་ནས་བོད་གཞུང་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྱང་གི་ཆ་འབངས་སུ་བསྐྱུར་བར་བཀའ།

དེ་བཞིན་ལྷ་དཔལ་དང་པཎ་ཆེན་མོ་བཟང་ཚེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས་རིས་མེད་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་དུ་མ་ལས་དབང་ལུང་ཁྲིད་རྒྱན་ལུགས་ལེན་རྣམས་གསལ་ཅིང་བཀའ་འབྱུང་དང་གོང་མའི་བཀའ་འབྱུང་སོགས་སྐྱེས་གསུང་སྟེན་དཔལ་མེད་བཞེངས་པ་སོགས་ཁོང་ནི་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གསུང་རབས་ཁྲིད་དུ་ཚེས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་མཛད་རྗེས་ཆེ་ཤོས་དེ་ཡིན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འོ་མཚར་ལིན་ཏུ་ཆེད།

འོན་ཀྱང་དབང་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་གསུང་རབས་སྐོར་ལ་ཞེན་འཇུག་གནད་མེད་པ་དང་། དེ་སྟོན་ཁོ་བོས་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་དེབ་གཅིག་ཚོར་སྐྱོག་བྱས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་གསུང་རབས་སྐོར་དབྱུང་གཞི་ཚད་ལྡན་ཞིག་ལག་སོན་མ་བུར་བས་གསུང་རབས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་སྟོང་ཆ་ལུས་ཡོད། ལོ་ཤས་གོང་དུ་གསུང་པར་ལག་སོན་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གྱི་གསུང་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་རྒྱུད་དུ་མ་བྱེད་དང་། འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཡིག་ཆ་རྣམས་ལ་གཞིར་བཅོལ་ཉི་རྒྱ་སྟོན་གསུང་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་པ་བླ་པ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་སྐྱོད་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཚེས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་རྗེ་བསྐྱུངས་སྐོར་དབྱུང་ཞིབ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

[མིང་བདག་ཚོ་ལོ།] རྒྱ་སྟོན། གསུང་རབས། དབྱུང་པ། (དབྱུང་པ་ཞེས་པ་སྐྱེད་པོན་གཅིག་ལྷོགས་ཚེས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་འགན་བཞེས་མཁན་ལ་གོ)



Gomang Monastic College were aware of the new edition; however, it seems that the monks at Gomang Monastic College did not use the new edition until recently. I will try to explore the way the new set of monastic textbooks at Gomang Monastic College was established from Lhasa and how the two different editions of Jamyang Shaypa's textbooks interact each other.

Sangseraima Ujeed (Oxford)

### **Red and Yellow: Tracing the Footsteps of the Nyingma in Inner Mongolia**

In 1679, Khalkha Dza-ya Paṇḍita Blo-bzang 'phrin-las (1642-1715) was sent back to the Mongolian lands by the command of the Fifth Dalai Lama carrying upon his shoulders the duty to spread the teachings of Je Tsongkhapa in Mongolia. The advice that was bestowed upon Dza-ya Paṇḍita by the Fifth on this occasion was quite unusual: “do not spread the teachings of the Nyingma in Mongolia as it would be harmful for the teachings of the Buddha”. In his own autobiography, the *Dūkula*, the Fifth Dalai Lama is also observed expressing his concerns regarding the Neichi Toyon bestowing anuttarayogatantra Yaman-taka empowerments in Inner Mongolia. The question of why the Fifth Dalai Lama was so anti-Nyingma in Mongolia despite his own deep appreciation of the tradition is one that needs more attention. Later Mongolian writers in both Southern and Northern Mongolian lands all refer to this initial 1679 advice given to Dza-ya Paṇḍita as the evidence for the Fifth Dalai Lamas anti-Nyingma legacy for Buddhism in Mongolia. However, why would the Fifth be so insistent on this matter if there was little or no Nyingma activity in Mongolia to complain about? This paper will present some of the evidence for continuous Nyingma activity in Inner Mongolia since at least the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards by introducing and exploring some of the Nyingma sites, caves, monasteries, rare textual evidence and local accounts/legends of lamas such as the “dreadlocked lama” that are still in circulation today. Despite the current lack of research and revealed textual sources on the Nyingma activity in Inner Mongolia, this paper aims to elucidate the red side of the more mainstream yellow historical narrative on Buddhism in Inner Mongolia.

Vesna Wallace (Santa Barbara, California)

### **Negotiating the Kagyu/Nyingma Identity in Khalkha Mongolia**

The extant compilations of the lineage of the incarnations of Khalkha's Noyon Khutugtus were compiled retroactively as the means of authenticating this sect-diverse lineage in the predominantly Geluk-oriented Khalkha Mongolia. The authenticity of the Noyon Khutugtus' reincarnations was neither singularly conceived nor did it always have a single purpose. Diverse conceptualizations of the authenticity of the individual incarnations of Noyon Khutugtus and their lineage emerge from various sources—the archival documents, short historical outlines, orally transmitted hagiographies, and a few biographical and autobiographical works. The authentication of the Noyon Khutugtus' lineage was closely related to social and political realities in Mongolia; and it was contingent on the jurisdiction of different political and Geluk-oriented authorities in Khalkha Mongolia that could grant or annul the titles of *khutugtus*, on the prestige of Tibetan religious figures such as Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas to identify and endorse the incarnations of Noyon Khutugtus, and on the heads of autonomous banners (*zasag*) and banner-princes (*zasag jun van*), who held the power to authorize a newly enthroned Noyon Khutugtu to conduct his monastic activities.<sup>1</sup>

The two extant manuscripts that contain somewhat different lists of thirty-five Indian, Tibetan, and Mongolian incarnations of Noyon Khutugtus trace the origin of the lineage to Vajradhara (Rdo rje chang) himself and to the Tathāgata Bodhicittavajra (Byang sems rdo rje) as the second in the line. The names of the immediately following twenty-five incarnations that preceded the first Mongolian Noyon Khutugtu, Ngag dbang dkon mchog (1622-1701) were those of Indian *siddhas* and distinguished Tibetan, meditation masters who belonged to the four main traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, including the two sub-sects of the Sakya tradition—Bodong and Ngor. However, those belonging to the Kagyu tradition seem to be

represented in somewhat larger number. The mention of the earlier twenty-five Indian and Tibetan incarnations of Noyon Khutugtus was to authenticate this Khalkha lineage as authoritative, yogic, and in part nonsectarian.

In his autobiography, the Fifth Noyon Khutugtu Danzanravjaa (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rab rgyas, 1803-1856), who, according to his own words, was forbidden to enter Urga and whose travel to Lhasa was intercepted by the Geluk authorities in Ikh Khüree, mentions that he revised the list of his previous incarnations. Unfortunately, that revised list is no longer extant, but the copies of the original paintings of his previous incarnations, which he himself painted and which are now displayed in his museum in Sainshand (the capital of Dorngovi Province,), may give us some insight into what his list could have looked like. The paintings trace the origin of the lineage of Noyon Khutugtus to Buddha Amitābha, Hayagrīva, and certain Bodhisattva by name Spyi la rdo rje. Interestingly, they portray only early Indian and Tibetan incarnations of Noyon Khutugtus. In the same autobiography, Danzanravjaa reinforces his cogency by pointing out that the Fourth Changkya Khutugtu, Yeshe Tenpe Gyaltzen (1787-1846, Lcang skya Ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) reconfirmed him as an incarnation of the great Indian *mahāsiddha*, Śāvaripa (Śabara), considered to be a holder of the Indian transmission of the *mahāmudrā*, and hence as a forerunner of the Kagyu tradition. When Danzanravjaa established his monastery Khamar Khiid in Dorngovi Province, he built both the Geluk and Kagyu/Nyingma temples next to each other, referring to them as the right and left hands of Mongolian Buddhism.

The archival sources that will be discussed in the proposed presentation reveal that by outlining a genealogy of the First Noyon Khutugtu as the first son of Sonom Daichin Khung Taij, whose bloodline goes back to Batmunkh Dayan Khan (1464-1517/43?) seek to authenticate the Khalkha lineage of Noyon Khutugtus as coming directly from the Golden Lineage of Chinggis Khaan. In this way, due to sharing common, ancestral roots, the lineage of Noyon Khutugtus is presented as analogous to the contemporaneous lineage of Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, who after meeting with Dalai Lama in Tibet changed his sectarian Sakya affiliation to that of the Geluk tradition, which not long after that took predominance in Khalkha Mongolia. after the Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar (1635-1723) established his Örgöö, Sonom Daichin went to Lhasa to request from Panchen Lama a statue to worship and a teacher to honor. He was presented with the statue of the Buddha 'Od zer go cha and with Sangs rgyal dpal bzang as a teacher, whom he brought to Mongolia in 1654.<sup>2</sup> This event set a foundation for instituting the line of incarnations of Sangs rgyal dpal bzang in Khalkha and for enthroning the first son of Sonom Daichin as an incarnation of Sangs rgyal dpal bzang in a wheeled temple constructed to house the mentioned statue. The sources do not state when exactly and how the recognition took place. I surmise that the authorization of his incarnation came from the 4<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662) and the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blob sang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682), for several reasons. One is an active involvement of these two figures in the search of later incarnations of Noyon Khutugtus. The other reason can be deduced from the text titles *The Authentic Source on Noyon Khutugtus of Khalkha*, which touches on Ngag dbang dkon mchog's departure to Tashi Lhunpo monastery in 1636, where he stayed for about 20 years and studied under the tutelage of the 4<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama. His discipleship under the 4<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama began 11 years before that of his 13-year junior, Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, who went to Tibet in 1646 to receive instruction from the 4<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama and the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. Two years after the Panchen Lama died in 1662, Ngag dkon mchog returned to Khalkha in 1664. A year prior to his return, he met with the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in Lhasa to receive the permission to establish a monastery in Khalkha, which he did upon his return (Tüshig Amgalan monastery). He eventually died in 1701 at the age of 79. His long relationship with the 4<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama as his spiritual mentor and his reliance on the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama as his religious authority forged a way to a special rapport of some of the later incarnations of Noyon Khutugtus with Panchen Lamas and Dalai Lamas. The documents on the first four Noyon Khutugtus of Khalkha that have been found and examined so far point to their exclusively Geluk monastic training and their affiliation with Tibetan Geluk tradition alone. Even the first seventeen years of the 5<sup>th</sup> Noyon Khutugtu's training was in the Geluk tradition. It is only after seventeen years that, during his stay in Dolonuur he turned to Nyingma teachings and *gchod* practice on the advice of the Fourth Lcang skya Khutgu, Ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal bstan (1787-1846). Known for adopting the rituals of the Nyingma and Sarma traditions and disclosing



**Panel 38 – The Many Wars of the Ganden Phodrang (1642-1959)**

དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བླ་མ་གྱི་དམག་མངའ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་༥༥

**Panel organizers**

Ryosuke Kobayashi (Fukuoka)

Alice Travers (Paris)

**Panel abstract** – Organised in the framework of the project TibArmy by the core team as well as invited participants, this panel studies the numerous wars fought by the Tibetan armies both in internal and international contexts during the Ganden Phodrang period (1642-1959). It seeks to document less-known armed conflicts and to shed light on other better-known events through new sources. The panel will analyse wars that are considered as being crucial in the formation of the Ganden Phodrang state and the development of its army, at various points during the Ganden Phodrang period, notably the conflict with Bhutan under the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Gurkha wars in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, conflicts against the British in 1888 and 1904, and on the Chinese border in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It will depict how battles were fought at the time, and will reflect on the state and organisation of the troops at times when these conflicts occurred. More generally, the panel will seek to analyse the role of wars, whether won or lost, as generating change on four levels: in the development of the Tibetan military institutions themselves (structure, tactics, technology, etc.); in the development of the Tibetan government (recruitment, tax system, etc.); in the links between army and society (impacts on civilians, their treatment by troops, the practice of voluntary recruitment in times of war, etc.); and finally, in international politics between Tibet and her neighbours.

Federica Venturi (Los Angeles/Paris)

**The Fifth Dalai Lama and the Conflict with Bhutan in 1668**

In the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1668 the dGa' Idan pho brang attempted a new invasion of Bhutan under the pretext of assisting the petty chief Mon pa A chog, whose attacks within the eastern confines of 'Brug pa territory had fanned tensions on the southern rim of the plateau. Like the previous confrontations between Lhasa and the 'Brug pa state during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1642-1682), this conflict emphasized the difficulties encountered by the Tibetan and Mongol armies in engaging in combat in the warm and humid regions to the south of the plateau. Still, for this particular military encounter, the Fifth Dalai Lama went so far as to compose four different propitiatory texts aiming to achieve complete victory by confounding the enemy (see below). The proposed paper will briefly review the history of the conflicts between the Dga' Idan pho brang and Bhutan during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama, and then proceed to examine the details of the alliance between Mon pa A chog and Lhasa. Finally, it will provide an overview of the above-mentioned propitiatory texts by inserting them in the context of the issue of how Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs sanctioned war and violence.

1. *Sa sprel lho 'brug pas tshur rgol byas par gdong len du dpung bcug skabs bsam yas su lha sa nub pa rin cen rdzong lta (= sta) byas te gnod sbyin chen por spyang gzig dang bcas phyin bcol du gsol ba rnam par rgyal ba'i ru mtshon*; 2. *Sa sprel lho 'brug pas tshur rgol byas par gdong len gyi dpung bcug skabs lcang lo can pa bstan 'dzin dpal bzang rdzong sta byas te tshong 'dus su chos skyong bshan pa bya khri mig gcig par spyang gzig dang bcas 'phrin bcol du gsol ba gzhan sde mi rtag lam du 'god pa'i mtshon rnon*; 3. *Sa sprel lho 'brug pas tshur rgol byas par gdong len du dpung bcug skabs chang mkhyen pa ngag dbang mkhyen brtse la mor rdzong sta bgyis te chos skyong tshangs pa dung gi thor tshugs can la spyang gzig dang bcas 'phrin bcol du gsol ba blang dor bzhin ras gsal ba'i me long* 4. *Sa sprel lho 'brug pas tshur rgol bgyis par gdong len du dpung bcug skabs thang po cher lcang lo can pa bstan 'dzin dpal bzang rdzong sta byas te thang chen rgyal po chen por spyang gzig dang bcas 'phrin bcol du gsol ba ha ha'i gad brgyangs*

Yuri Komatsubara (Tokyo)

### **Tibetan Policies during the First Sino-Gurkha War (1788-1789)**

In 1788, the Gurkha kingdom of Nepal attacked Tibet and the first Sino-Gurkha war broke out. Although the Qing dynasty sent their army to help Tibet, negotiations for peace with the Gurkhas had already been initiated when the army arrived in central Tibet, which resulted in a peace treaty and brought an end to the war the following year. Previous studies treated the first Tibet-Gurkha war as a preliminary encounter to the second and paid it little attention, especially with regard to the Tibetan government's war policies. Nevertheless, it provided an opportunity for the Qing dynasty to change its political policies regarding Tibet; thus, more attention should be paid to the first Sino-Gurkha war and the Tibetan politics of these days. I have already pointed out that a peace treaty was signed by the Tibetans and Gurkhas to end the first Sino-Gurkha war without the Qing's initiative. In other words, Tibet brought about an end to the war by itself. How did the Tibetan government confront this situation and end the war? To elucidate this question, I focus on the Dalai Lama's uncle, Blo bzang phun tshogs, who was called A khu lags. Although he was a close supporter of the Dalai Lama on behalf of the regent at that time, there have been few studies concerning his political role in the first Sino-Tibet war. Therefore, by using Manchu and Chinese documents of the First Historical Archives of China and the biography of the Rdo ring family, I indicate how A khu lags played an important role in the war. During the war, the prime ministers of the Tibetan government consulted A khu lags and not the Dalai Lama for direction, which conveys his great power in Tibetan politics. Tibet was suffering not only from the Gurkhas' attacks, but also from the heavy burden of offering rations to the Qing army. Furthermore, A khu lags suffered from a serious illness. This eventually resulted in A khu lags deciding to reach an early agreement with the Gurkhas, which led to the end of the war.

Dai Yingcong (Lincoln Park, New Jersey)

### **The Gurkha Wars and the Shift of the Qing Tibetan Policy during the Qianlong-Jiaqing-Transition, 1780-1820**

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Gurkha dynasty of Nepal posed a threat to Tibet. Due to trade disputes between Nepal and Tibet, the Gurkhas invaded Tibet twice, in 1788 and 1791. In 1792, the Qing dynasty sent an expedition headed by its most prestigious general of the time, Fuk'anggan, to first expel the Gurkhas from Tibet and then invade Nepal. Contrary to the previous interpretation of this war that emphasizes the effectiveness of the Qing campaign, this paper argues that the way in which the Qing state conducted this campaign demonstrates that the Qing empire had reached its limits in expansion and frontier engagement. Deeply concerned with financial costs in safeguarding Tibet, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1735-1796) of the Qing dynasty envisaged an "exit strategy" by which the Qing was first to beat down the Gurkhas in order to deter future invasions—thus an invasion into Nepal was decided for this purpose—and then to help the Tibetans to achieve self-reliance and strengthen their own military capacity, so that the Qing could free itself from expensive task of ensuring Tibet's stability and security.

Although the Qing invasion successfully struck its neighbors in the Himalayan region, including the British in India, exhibiting that the Qing military was still effective, it failed to achieve the second goal of strengthening Tibet internally. During the decades after the second Gurkha war, the Qing dynasty paid much less attention to Tibet, which eventually made the Qing presence in Tibet a nominal one. This paper examines why and how the Qing dynasty, first under the Qianlong emperor and then under his son, the Jiaqing emperor (r. 1796-1820), quietly engineered and pursued a new *laissez-faire* strategy about Tibet during the Qianlong-Jiaqing transition. Among other things, the domestic crises at the turn of the nineteenth century, i.e., the Miao Rebellion, the White Lotus Rebellion, the pirate problem, and the depletion of the financial vitality, forced the Qing dynasty under the Jiaqing emperor to give only minimal attention to Tibet, and completed a shift in its policy toward Tibet. The paper will examine the thoughts of the two emperors with regard to Tibet, the changes in appointing Ambans, and the Qing state's dwindling financial commitment to the Tibetan affairs during the period. The main sources of the paper are the Qing official documents, including both published materials and the archives.

Jeannine Bischoff (Bonn)

### **Rewarding a Paid Sword - A 1904 Letter of Honour by the *bka' shag* for Soldiers Who Fought the British Invaders**

Pre-1959 Tibet was based on a quasi-feudal social structure. To maintain its army, the centralized system of government relied on the levying of a military tax (*dmag khral*). This tax was levied in relation to the size of estates. It was thus less dependent on human factors of uncertainty and was the most important tool to ensure that the Tibetan army was properly and regularly supplied with soldiers.

However, conscription by tax, i.e. “involuntary recruitment,” meant forcing people to become soldiers in the army. We find similar recruitment strategies in Russia until the mid-19th century and in large parts of the Middle East until the end of the Ottoman Empire. However, in Tibet, the recruitment system was a mix of what Lucassen and Zürcher (1998) defined as “unfree recruitment” and “universal conscription.” On the one hand, soldiers are legally obliged to serve in the army. On the other hand, consent to the terms was based on credible commitments by the government. These can be summed up in a two-fold compensation scheme: monetary and ideological recognition. As the soldiers could not work their fields during the time of their service, they received a salary to sustain their livelihood. Additionally, they needed to be convinced that their service was worthwhile and valued by their superiors.

In the proposed paper, I will focus on ideological compensation in pre-1959 Tibet. Military labour when based on conscription or unfree recruitment lies on the crossroads of free and unfree labour, as well as of wage and non-wage labour. Hence, it presents an immensely interesting societal melting pot of factors of fiscal obligations and force, as well as social values, and the psychology of war. Document 982 of the Kundeling archives presents a perfect insight into the ideological recognition of involuntarily recruited Tibetan soldiers. The document is a draft letter by the *bka' shag* honouring the achievements of soldiers who fought the British invaders in 1904. Based on its translation, I will attempt to normatively reconstruct the mechanism of recognition within Tibet to keep involuntarily recruited soldiers' spirit up after a traumatic war experience. To support my analysis, and to show that compensation by recognition was a valuable currency during times of war, I will present similar cases from the Mamluks, the Russian Empire, and the Western World.

Ryosuke Kobayashi (Fukuoka)

### **The Ganden Phodrang Army and the Sino-Tibetan Border Conflict in 1918**

The border dispute on the Sino-Tibetan frontier in 1918 was a pivotal event for the Ganden Phodrang government in which the Tibetan army won a victory against the Sichuan army, which had been a significant threat to the Ganden Phodrang government since the late Qing period. They recaptured the west bank of the Jinsha River, expelling the Chinese battalions which had occupied a position there since around the end of the Qing Dynasty. In the aftermath of the war, a cease-fire line was defined with the assistance of British intermediation, and it would go on to form a basis for the current administrative division of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Therefore, how the Ganden Phodrang government fought the war and negotiated with Britain and China are very important in understanding Sino-Tibetan relations in modern Tibetan history. Many scholars have examined Chinese and British involvement in the border dispute as well as their diplomatic negotiations based on Chinese and English material. However, how the Ganden Phodrang government engaged themselves in these affairs remains unclear mainly because of the limitation of Tibetan primary sources. In this paper, I would like to use letters from the Tibetan military commanders such as Kalon Lama Jampa Tendar to Eric Teichman, who was a British official acting as an intermediary. These documents, which are housed in the National Archives in London, are remarkable materials written in Tibetan concerning the negotiations between Tibet, China, and Britain on the 1918 border dispute, and have not yet been examined by researchers. Through the analysis of these newly uncovered materials, I will attempt to illuminate how the Ganden Phodrang Army conducted military campaigns, what role they played in demarcating the Sino-Tibetan border, and how they had been defending the fluctuating border before Tibet was incorporated into the People's Republic of China.

Alice Travers (Paris)

### **Borders' Defence at Wartime: the Role of Local Militia (*yul dmag*) and Border Guards (*sa srung*) in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Since at least the 18<sup>th</sup> century—and probably earlier—when a body of regular troops was created, the Ganden Phodrang government defence system in times of war relied on the joint use of both these regular troops and the local militia (*yul dmag*) as well as frontier guards (*sa srung*). The local militia, which had been a key element of military organisation in pre-Ganden Phodrang periods, were never abandoned until the last war fought by the Tibetan government armies in 1950. This paper will show their crucial role in the defence system of the borders, as well as the way they interacted and the extent to which they were integrated within the regular troops organisation and hierarchical command. Based on Tibetan oral accounts and published biographies, as well as on British and Tibetan archives, this paper will take as case studies the defence systems of the border areas of Eastern and Northern Tibet and the way in which they took part in various armed conflicts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Alex Raymond (Tripoli)

### **The Battle of Chamdo (October 1950)**

The battle of Chamdo is the battle between the PLA and the Tibetan army between October 5 and 24, 1950, prelude to the occupation of Tibet by the new government of the PRC. This text seeks to take stock of this battle, largely unknown in the West, whose darkest aspects have been hidden by both the Chinese and Tibetan sides, while trying to compare, when possible, the information provided on both sides. Traditional historiography, found in most writings published in the West, has almost systematically presented this battle as a quick and easy campaign, with the result of a complete victory of the PLA and a reduced number of victims. However, recent Chinese documents demonstrate in fact that the progress of the PLA has been extremely difficult, mainly for climatic reasons and also in some parts due to the resistance of the Tibetan army. It seems that there have been many victims on both sides, as well as a lot of desertion in the PLA camp. The final (but in fact not complete) victory of the PLA was obtained in extremis, and the 18<sup>th</sup> Army's top staff and PRC leaders had real doubts about it until the end. Many years later, former officials of the 18<sup>th</sup> Army will recognize that if the Tibetan army had adopted a technique of “guerrilla”, the victory would have been impossible...

One of the consequences of this battle will be the impossibility, in the short or medium term, for the PLA to progress further through Tibet, and therefore the obligation for the Chinese government to reach an agreement with the Tibetan government.

## Panel 44 – Early Twentieth-Century Resurgence of the Tibetan Buddhist World

དུས་རབས་ ༢༠ སའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་གསལ་རྒྱ་དར་བ།

### Panel organizer

Ishihama Yumiko (Tokyo)

**Panel abstract** – This panel will deal with the revival of the Tibetan Buddhist World including Tibetan, Buryat, Kalmyk, Khalka Mongols, Kökenuur Mongols and Southern Mongols in the early twentieth century. With the decline of the Qing dynasty, the 13th Dalai Lama in Tibet and the 8th Jebtsundamba in Mongolia distanced themselves from Qing and resumed acting independently. For instance, during the period of the 13th Dalai Lama’s residence in Khalkha (1904 – 1906) and in the Kökenuur Area (1906 - 1908), many Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrims rushed to meet the Dalai Lama. A sense of unity was thereby formed among them, despite their having been divided by the Qing and Russian Empires and revitalized the Tibetan Buddhist World. We will pay attention to the perspectives of the directly concerned parties like the 13th Dalai Lama or the 8th Jebtsundamba rather than focusing on relations between the great powers and will take a heed of the trans-regional personal and material exchange among followers of Tibetan Buddhism instead of being bound by current national territories.

Ishihama Yumiko (Tokyo)

### **The Impact of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama’s Sojourn in Mongolia: Evoking the National Consciousness of Tibetan Buddhists from 1904 to 1908**

In July 1904, as British troops were closing in on Lhasa, the 13th Dalai Lama secretly left Lhasa with a few aides and headed for Mongolia in the hope of gaining the assistance of Russia. Thereafter, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama traveled to Ikh Khüree, then to Kumbum Monastery in Kökenuur from 1906 to 1908 and then to Mount Wutai and Beijing in 1908. During this period, he made efforts to enforce strict discipline at the monasteries where he stayed, calling for the observance of the monastic code and establishment of new monasteries. This was a revival of the proselytizing activities that had been carried out by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dalai Lama in the latter part of the sixteenth century and by the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in the mid-seventeenth century.

At that time, the general population revered the figure of the ideal monk represented by the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, and pilgrims from among the Southern Mongols, Buryats, Kökenuur Mongols etc.

In particular, there were three Mongol princes who were repeatedly mentioned in the biography of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. They were Handdorj (mkha’ ‘gro ching wang) from Khalkha Mongol who was the first Foreign Minister in Bogd Khaan Government in 1911, Khurleg beis from Kökenuur Mongol who participated in Bogd Khaan Government and Namdak Dylykov (rnam dag no yon) from Buryatia who played a decisive role as the leader of the Aghinsk Buryats. The Dalai Lama’s sojourn in Mongolia and other places from 1904 to 1909 evoked the national consciousness of the local inhabitants who had been separated under the Qing and Russian rule, resulting in their efforts to forge unity among their people.

Daichi Wada (Tokyo)

### **The Modern and Traditional Diplomacy of the 13th Dalai Lama, during his Sojourn in Khalkha and Qinghai (1904-1907)**

In 1904, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama left Lhasa for Khalkha under the invasion of the British Indian forces, and since then, he began his multi-stop foreign travel around continental Asia, via, Qinghai, Shanxi, Beijing,

and Darjeeling. After about 9 years, when the confusion of the Xinhai Revolution had settled down, he returned home, Lhasa, at the end of 1912. Immediately after his travel, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama faced a problem about the “modernization” of Tibet. We can say that the conclusion of Tibet-Mongolia Treaty of 1913 and the process of the Simla Conference represent his struggle for the establishment of Tibet, Dalai Lama government as a modern state, and for adaptation to modern international relations.

On the other hand, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama changed his appellation, which was a declaration of his dignity depending only on the Buddhism itself but not on the emperor of Qing dynasty. It was the extinction of the “chaplain-donor relationship” between Dalai Lama and the Chinese emperor. It is estimated that, through the experience abroad for 9 years, Dalai Lama cultivated the knowledge about “modern” and reformed his view of the world.

On this paper, we will deal with the earliest period of his travels, the time of his sojourn in Khalkha and Qinghai, from 1904 to 1907, using the historical sources preserved in China, Russia, and Japan. Especially, some diaries written by witness to the action of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama at that time are quite useful. For example, the diary of Teramoto Enga, a Japanese Buddhist monk who was waiting Dalai Lama at Kumbum Monastery in Qinghai province in 1907 with the purpose of persuading Dalai Lama to build a collaborative relationship between Buddhism of Tibet and Japan, having been underused for the study of Tibetan history so far, offers us interesting information about situation surrounding Dalai Lama at that time.

After leaving Tibet, in 1904, Dalai Lama visited Urga (former name of Ulaanbaatar) to seek support from Russia which had hostile relations with Britain at that time, and asked her to eject British forces from Tibet and even demanded to recognize Tibet as independent state, in vain. At the same time, he enhanced his knowledge about modern international systems there through the discussion with Russian officials, and dispatched well known Dorjiev as an ambassador plenipotentiary, to Saint Petersburg to undertake a diplomatic negotiation with western powers. Dalai Lama even had an idea of bringing the case to the Permanent Court of Arbitration in Den Haag. However, his “modern” approaches didn’t achieve specific results. In 1906, Russian government entered negotiation with British government about Anglo-Russian Entente (1907) and withdrew from the patronage to Tibet officially, and Chinese government made further policy enhancements to hold sovereignty over Tibet contemporaneously. At the time, when the situation surrounding Dalai Lama was worsening, he maintained his capability of the diplomatic negotiations and his own safety using his religious authority of Dalai Lama in the Tibetan Buddhist World. It is the Buryat Buddhists who played an important role. So many Buryats have visited Dalai Lama in Khalkha as pilgrims across the border between Russia and Mongolia, and some of them acted as officious mediator between Dalai Lama and Russia, and guarded him as bodyguard in pilgrims disguise. It must not be overlooked that the conduct of these Buryat Buddhists was not necessarily under direction of Russian government, but with their religious purpose and devotion.

Nikolay Tsyrempilov (Astana)

### **In the Name of the Lama: How Tibetan Buddhist Hierarchs were involved in the Conflicts of the Buriat Clergy, 1924-1937**

The paper will be focused on the issue of how the Buriat Buddhists reacted to this discord between two highest authorities of Tibetan Buddhist, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso and the Ninth Panchen Lama Chokyi Nyima. At that time, in early 1920s, the Buriat Buddhists found themselves divided between two main fractions – so called renovationists (obnovlentsy) and conservatives. This division had strong political implications related to attitudes of various layers of Buddhist priesthood to the Soviet regime. The available primary sources and archival documents show that the Buddhist renovationists under leadership of Agvan Dorzhiev tried to secure support of the Dalai Lama and use his spiritual authority to promote their cause among faithful. The conservative faction in these circumstances had no other option as to secure support of the Panchen Lama who at that time had fled to Inner Mongolia and China. The Buriat conservative lamas secretly sent a few delegations to the fugitive Panchen Lama in

1920-30s appealing to him as to one of the highest religious authorities. Later they had used the Panchen Lama's name in their claims against reforms, compromise with the Bolsheviks and Agvan Dorzhiev personally. This episode shows us how the discord between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas was interpreted by Buriat lamas in different way and acquired new political meaning.

Baatr U. Kitinov (Moscow)

### **The Russian Archival Documents on the Revitalization of Buddhism in the Kalmyks in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

In 1867 the Bogdo-Gegen VII Prinley Jamtso passed away, and the Mongols did hope that his incarnation would be discovered among the Kalmyks of Russia or the Oirats of Xinjiang. It is probably the earliest known date to which the beginning of the process of revival of Buddhism among the Kalmyks in the second half of the 19th century could be related, although the Kalmyks always remained Buddhists in the Christian-Islamic environment of the Russian south-west.

In science the accounts of the Kalmyks' voyages to Tibet (baksha Purdash Dzhungruev, baksha Dambo Ulyanov) in the first years of the 20th century, are well known, where they mention, for instance, the cult objects brought by them to the Kalmyks. Simultaneously, there are Russian archival documents of the late 19<sup>th</sup> (since 1890) - early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (official correspondence, telegrams, etc.), where reported about the requests of the Kalmyks: to issue them passports for a trip to Tibet, to the Dalai Lama, also when he had stayed in Urga; to keep the sacred burkhans in special places; to undertake the changes in the religious policy of the state, etc. The Russian authorities had met those requests, although they feared pan-Buddhism: archival data indicate that in the Kalmyk steppe, Tibetans and Mongols accused of raising funds had been caught.

The documents also allow us to identify the main goals of the Kalmyks: 1. meeting with the Dalai Lama as their "highest spiritual leader", and inviting him to the Kalmyks; 2. deliver to Kalmyks the special gifts from the Dalai Lama and from Tibet (sharira, thankas, sacral literature, etc.); 3. the explicit religious activity: the construction of the new temples (khuruls), proselytism (Kalmyks in Altai, 1896), support for the clergy, etc.

Thus, the Kalmyks at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have achieved the certain results: they began to be called Buddhists, and not Lamaists; Kalmyks-Cossacks of the Russian irregular army could again make the Buddhist rituals (the Russian regional authorities asked to convey this information to the Dalai Lama); probably, the cult of Palden Lhamo, as the patroness of the Kalmyks, revived again. It was during the meeting with the Kalmyk lamas in 1902 that the Dalai Lama XIII ordered Aghvan Dordjiev "to establish and manage the foundation of the chorya" in Kalmyks, who (Kalmyks) later asked the central Russian authorities "to equal them (chorya) with the Buryat ones". The explored archival documents allow to identify the process of the existed transregional personal interaction of believers in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, which also did influence the development of the so-called obnovlenchestvo (renovation movement) among the Buddhists of the Russian empire.

Takehiko Inoue (Osaka)

### **Kalmyk Buddhist Monks in the Russian Empire in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century**

The purpose of this presentation is to explain the role of the Kalmyk Buddhist monks in the process of re-establishing the larger "Tibetan Buddhist World" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Kalmyks, who formed part of the Oirats, followed the Geluk school of Tibetan Buddhism. They lived in the Lower Volga steppe in the European part of Russia, where they had gradually migrated from Dzungaria in Central Asia in the first half of the seventeenth century. Even after reaching the Lower Volga steppe, however, the Kalmyk Buddhists continually made visits to and from Lhasa and became members

of the “Tibetan Buddhist World,” with the Dalai Lama at its pinnacle in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1771 the majority of Kalmyk people moved to Dzungaria, their fatherland in Central Asia, and eventually pledged allegiance to the Qing emperors. The Russian government did not allow the rest of the Kalmyk people in the Russian empire to visit Tibet, and therefore the Kalmyks were outside the “Tibetan Buddhist world” for a long time. About a century later, this smaller “Tibetan Buddhist world” without the Kalmyk Buddhists in Russia included them once again at the end of the nineteenth century. This presentation shows the backgrounds of the Kalmyks’ re-emergence on the world stage.

Hamugetu (Hiroshima)

### **The Struggle between Tradition and Modernity in the Early 20th Century of the Tibetan Buddhist World: A Case Study of the 7<sup>th</sup> ICang-skyia’s Activities 1912-1957**

This paper attempts to discuss the relationships between tradition and modernity in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century of the Tibetan Buddhist World by focusing on the 7<sup>th</sup> ICang-skyia’s activities in China and Inner Mongolia. The separation of religion and state had been introduced to the Chinese intellectual during the era of Late Qing Reform (“New Policies”), and became an important enlightenment thought to achieve the modernization of China. On the other hand, the nationalist movement was founded in Inner Mongolia after the collapse of the Qing dynasty. But Inner Mongolian nationalists were also under the influence of the separation of religion and state. They aimed to take over the jurisdiction of the territories and shabinar (commoners in a subordinate position to the tulkus and the temples) even the Tibetan Buddhist society within the purview of Inner Mongolia.

Therefore, the 7<sup>th</sup> ICang-skyia strove to protect the interests of Tibetan Buddhist society under his role from Chinese government or Inner Mongolian nationalists, and became one of the most active Buddhist politicians between the 1910s and 1950s. This paper indicates that his activities were distinguished as follows;

First, he tried to make the traditional ruling system of Tibetan Buddhist society (“the system of *jasak lamas*”) capable of being sustained.

Second, he maintained that the Chinese Buddhists’ cooperation must be necessary, and even strove to accommodate the Chinese Buddhists to Tibetan Buddhist world under his imperial tutor title.

Third, he maintained dialogue with Inner Mongolian nationalists, and purposed several plans to reform the Tibetan Buddhism in Inner Mongolia.

Forth, he tried to reject the political involvement from Chinese government or Inner Mongolian nationalists by using the principle of separation of religion and state and freedom of religion.

In conclusion, in the process of modernization, that the reorganization or scission of the entanglements between politics and religion that is to say the traditional relationships between religion and state is not just a political campaign but also a religious movement. The 7<sup>th</sup> ICang-skyia’s struggle between the system of *jasak lamas* and the separation of religion and state is typical. And he strove to protect the interests of Tibetan Buddhist society by any means. In that sense, his movement was a typical result of the revival of the Tibetan Buddhist world in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Makoto Tachibana (Shimonoseki)

### **The Title of the Presentation: Friendship and Antagonism – Mongol-Tibetan Relations in the Early Twentieth Century**

The thirteenth Dalai Lama was exiled to Mongolia in 1904 because of the Younghusband invasion of Tibet. The highest authority of Tibetan Buddhism, the Dalai Lama’s movement throughout Mongolia and his arrival in Ikh Khüree led to renewed interactions among Tibetan Buddhist society.

The Dalai Lama received an enthusiastic welcome in Mongolia and many Mongolian Buddhists made offerings to him. The Dalai Lama’s Sang, which managed his property, was established in Ikh Khüree

and vitalized the economic activities of Tibetans. However, the vitalization of the interchange between Tibet and Mongolia resulted not only in friendship, but also in antagonism. With the advent of the Dalai Lama's stay in Mongolia, he eclipsed the authority of the Jebtsundamba Khutagtu, the head of Buddhism in Mongolia.

On December 1, 1911, after the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution in China, the Mongols declared their independence in Ikh Khüree in Outer Mongolia. The Dalai Lama also issued a so-called "Declaration of Independence" after coming back from his second exile in February 1913. The Mongolian and Tibetan governments, which were fighting for separation from China, concluded the Mongol-Tibetan Treaty on January 11, 1913. In the Treaty, they approved their "independence" from each other in the first and second articles.

Many studies have been conducted on the presence or absence and the effectiveness of this Treaty. However, the Treaty's other articles and its operation have not been examined, though discussions based on the Treaty were held by the Mongolian government after its conclusion to determine whether to tax Tibetans.

Since Mongolia enjoyed autonomy under the suzerainty of China as a result of the Kyakhta Agreement of 1915, the Chinese government tried to recover the right to govern over Tibetans in Mongolia. This study will examine how Mongol-Tibetan relations changed under these circumstances, analyzing issues related to Tibetans in Mongolia.

Sergey L. Kuzmin (Moscow)

### **The Tibet-Mongolia Political Interface in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Materials from several Russian and Mongolian archives on the political interface between Mongols and Tibetans were analyzed. The 13th Dalai Lama fled from Tibet in 1904 due to British invasion and came to Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia. Well-known conclusion about personal conflict between him and the 8<sup>th</sup> Javzandamba (Rje btsun dam pa) is not confirmed. The Dalai Lama stood in contacts with princes and higher lamas of Outer Mongolia. In addition to Urga, he visited there monasteries Erdene Zuu, Zaya Bandid Khutuktu, and lived during some time in the palace of Prince M. Khanddorj. These contacts provided the basis for future active participation of Khanddorj in proclamation of Mongolian independence in 1911.

Some princes from Inner Mongolia applied to the Dalai Lama for advice in the establishment of an independent Mongol khanate under the protection of Russia. The Dalai-Lama sympathized with this movement and considered it necessary to launch a campaign for it. Mongolian nobles and the Dalai Lama at their meetings decided to separate from the Qing Empire and create an allied Tibet-Mongolian state under the protection of Russia. The actors were khutuktus and princes of Outer Mongolia, but first of all princes from Inner Mongolia (mainly from Jirem, but also Shilingol and Josotu leagues). Probably, these plans were coordinated with the 8th Javzandamba, with whom the Dalai Lama met several times. Influence of the latter on Mongols increased significantly in that time.

Some Mongolian princes solicited about his reception by imperial authorities in Beijing in his future way back to Tibet. The Qing court thought about gathering Mongolian princes in Beijing for their worship to the Dalai Lama, for the sake to use him for neutralization of Mongolian independence movement. These plans were not realized.

In 1911, Mongols proclaimed their independence under the authority of a Tibetan, the 8<sup>th</sup> Javzandamba as their Great Khan. In 1913, Mongolia and Tibet concluded a treaty of mutual recognition. In 1919, the Republic of China abolished the autonomy of Outer Mongolia; the Javzandamba was detained. Baron Roman von Ungern-Sternberg restored his theocratic power in 1921. During a fight of Ungern's troops with the Chinese, the Javzandamba was liberated by special task force consisted of Tibetans, Mongols and Buryats. The Tibetan Saj Lam Jamyandanzan (Sa skya bla ma 'Jam dbyangs Bstan 'dzin) was one of its commanders.

In 1921, the Mongolian People's Party with assistance of Bolsheviks captured state authority from the

Javzandamba. Just in 1922, the Reds uncovered the first conspiracy for restoration of the monarchy. The conspiracy was led by the Saj Lam. The attitude of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and his Government to Red Mongolia was wary. Soviet – Mongolian mission to Tibet in 1926–1927 unsuccessfully tried to establish diplomatic relations between Mongolia and Tibet.

In the period of “left deviation” in Mongolia in the early 1930s, some Tibetan lamas participated in Mongolian people’s uprisings against the pro-communist authorities. However, documents do not confirm suggestions that the Tibet State, the émigré 9<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama or Tibetans in general inspired these uprisings. Tibetan lamas became one of main victims of the communist repressions in Mongolia in 1930s, culminated with fabricated show trial of the “Counterrevolutionary Centre”. High Tibetan lama, one of teachers of the late 8<sup>th</sup> Javzandamba, Yonzon Khambo Luvsankhaimchig (yongs dzin khenpo Blo bzang Mkhas mchog), among other monks, was executed as one of the leaders of this “Centre”.

In general, studied documents indicate a significant role of the Tibetans, and first of all higher Tibetan lamas, in the movement for independence of Mongolia. In independent Mongolia the Tibetans, not interfering actively in politics, stood for conservation of traditionalism and theocratic monarchy, which was the historical choice of the Mongols.

Michael C. van Walt van Praag (San Francisco)

### **The Significance of the Tibetan Buddhist Legal Order in Inner and East Asian Interpolity Relations up to the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Relations between rulers and between polities in Inner and East Asia were, for centuries before the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, constructed and conducted in accordance with particular norms, rules and expectations acknowledged by the parties concerned. Within the Tibetan Buddhist world, the applicable norms, rules and expectations were those of the Tibetan Buddhist legal order. Within the Sinic world, other norms, rules and expectations applied as was the case also in the Chinggisid Mongol world. Did relations across these conceptual worlds take place within the framework of one of those legal orders or within multiple orders?

In this paper we will look at why it mattered within which legal order relations took place and, in particular, what the significance of the Tibetan Buddhist legal order was for relations not just among hierarchs, lay rulers and the elite in Tibetan and Himalayan regions, but also beyond those culturally Tibetan polities. We will find that even in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century modern international law had yet not fully replaced the Tibetan Buddhist legal order.

## Panel 51 – The Relationship Between Economic and Social Status in the Tibetan World until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century

རྒྱལ་འབྲེལ་ ༢༠ དུས་རབས་མཚམས་བར་དུ་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་བབ་དབར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ།

### Panel organizers

Gu rung skal bzang nor bu ཀུ་རུང་སྐལ་བཟང་ནོར་བུ། | Kalsang Norbu Gurung (Bonn)

Lucia Galli (Rimini)

**Panel abstract** – This panel addresses one of the six research themes subsumed by the ongoing ANR-DFR project “Social Status in the Tibetan World (TIBSTAT)” and, as such, we welcome contributions engaging with any aspect of social status relevant to the title of the panel.

Any scholarship dealing with economy and social status cannot fail to recognise their high degree of correlation. The notion of “social status”, that much owes to Max Weber’s pioneering work, breaks free from the limits of social stratification and hierarchy by taking into consideration the role played by other variables (e.g. education, occupation, actual income) in the indication of an individual’s position within the society. The inclusive character of such a notion defies social stratification since it is neither limited to the study of caste societies where status is largely dependent on birth nor reduces status to economic factors, the latter being a typical feature of Marxist understanding of classes as dialectically opposed.

Status is not a question of hierarchy either, since it can relate to a ‘horizontal’, rather than ‘vertical’, disposition of permanent or temporary roles in society. Social mobility occurs not only on a vertical but also on the horizontal level, a factor particularly evident once we take into consideration the connection between social and economic status of individuals and groups. The aim of the panel is therefore to answer questions such as: how do economic fluctuations influence social status and *vice versa*? How do factors as gift offering and exchange, possession and consumption of material goods, dress-code and use of jewellery reflect one’s social status? Is it possible to infer social status and economic capital from Tibetan sources, and, if so, how? Given the historical focus of the panel, priority will be given to contributions engaging with textual sources, such as, but not limited to, histories, semi-histories, auto/biographies, as well as archival, legal, and literary writings. The panel is open to contributions dealing with the entirety of Tibetan societies, both inside and outside the plateau, including many areas of the Himalayan borderlands. Whereas considerable variations occur from one region to another, the sharing of the same social structure allows for discussion on the denotative (*i.e.* what is), normative (*i.e.* what should be), and performative (*i.e.* how it is done) aspects of all the societies in question.

Fernanda Pirie (Oxford)

### **Economic, Social, and Moral Status: Evidence From Legal Texts**

This paper will discuss the changes in social status that appear to have occurred between the imperial-era and the Ganden Podrang periods, as indicated in legal texts.

Many of the world’s oldest legal texts set out lists of blood money and wound prices, often linking the compensation to the status of the victim. Tibet is no exception. Imperial-era laws make complicated provisions for compensation, dividing the population into a series of seven ministerial and two commoners’ ranks. It is not evident what qualified a person for these different ranks—was it birth, imperial favour, or recognition of individual qualities? Some evidence is provided by later historical narratives, which praise the qualities of the ‘heroes’, and ‘the wise’, among other things.

In texts dating from later periods, however, this explicit status ranking disappears. Narratives about the legal structures of the empire make general references to compensation for killing and injuries. These texts emphasize, rather, the Buddhist morality on which the kings’ laws had supposedly been based. Status is now related to religious training, with different, and much more extensive, rules applying to

renunciates. There are, however, hints that religious practices might initially have been the privilege of the upper classes. Servants were not to be taught the divine religion.

In these later texts, there are also hints of a more informal status hierarchy. In the fourteenth-century *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, for example, a passage describing the imperial laws presents a list of social rules that has a distinctly bourgeois flavour, including obligations to respect elders, parents, and benefactors. The *Khrims gnyis lta ba'i me long*, a treatise on law probably dating from the early fifteenth century, discusses mediation practices, describing the arguments that parties might make, implicitly when discussing blood money or wound prices. Signs and qualities of greatness (*che ba*) reflected both individual and economic qualities, such as the wearing of fine clothes and ability to protect one's family. Elsewhere in this text there are also hints that kings and religious leaders were entitled to higher compensation, while a passage on oath-taking specifies that monks, tantrists, women, and children should not be put on oath. In these texts, then, we see that the complicated status-ranking of the imperial era has largely disappeared and that the law is, rather, supposed to be based on the universalising morality of Buddhism. Nevertheless, certain status-markers are visible. Kings, monks, tantrists, women, and children are explicitly mentioned as distinct categories of people, while there were also more subtle markers of status, some of which were related to wealth.

Peter Schwieger (Königswinter)

### **On the Correlation Between Debt and Socioeconomic Status in Tibetan Society**

The paper analyses the value attributed either to wealth or to poverty in Tibetan oral literature. It focuses on the relation of wealth and poverty to the social status in comparison to other values like education, scholarship, secular and magic power, religious merit, happiness, honour, justice, respect for one's parents and teachers, etc. Moreover, the lecture asks how prosperity is portrayed: as a reward, as a fortunate circumstance, as result of good karma in past lives, as an opportunity to accumulate religious merit, as an aim to strive for, as a reason for envy, or as the result of hard work. We will see if Tibetan oral literature can thus provide us with general imageries of wealth and poverty and general attitudes toward wealth and poverty in pre-modern Tibetan society.

Okawa Kensaku (Tokyo)

### **Latent Modernization in Traditional Tibet: An Examination of the Institution of *Zhing bgod* (Farmland Contract System) in the *Mal gro gun dkar* Region**

In the field of Tibetan social history, the relationship between lords and their subjects in the context of local estate operations and management is an important topic for investigation. This master-subject relationship is an element that influenced the nature of traditional Tibetan society under the Dalai Lama's regime that existed until 1959. Academics have paid a great deal of attention to the realities of the daily life and work of local Tibetan commoners. Due to the scarcity of reliably source, however, we know very little about their working conditions. The aim of this study is to examine this topic by looking at the institution of *Zhing bgod* (farmland contract). This system was widely practiced in the *Mal dro gun dkar* region of central Tibet in the early half of twentieth century, especially on the aristocratic estate of the *Hor khang* family. This practice was so informally applied and on such a regional level that there are very few clues that can be used to help us understand it. We can, however, trace this institution through a careful reading of Chinese ethnographers' reports based on field research that was conducted in the late 1950s. *Zhing bgod* was a very loose farmland contract system. Landlords leased their farmland to local peasants without exercising either labor management or any other form of intervention. In return, the landlords required a fixed amount of rent in kind or in cash.

This presentation provides an introduction as to how this practice worked and considers its implications for the study of Tibetan social history. I argue that this emerging institution indicates a simple relaxation or loosening of strict landlord-tenant relations. Further, it shows early signs of a peculiar form of local modernization in traditional Tibetan society.

Charles Ramble (Fontainebleau)

### **Crime, Punishment and Socio-Economic Status in Mustang, ca. 1880-1930**

The conventional rhetoric of legal documents from local Tibetan communities recognises disparities of power, for example when the inhabitants of a given territory are invoked with expressions such as “all members of the community, be they mighty or lowly (drag zhan)”. However, the rhetoric is equally clear that (in contrast with early Tibetan legal codes) all are ideally equal under the law and execrates reprehensible forms of behaviour associated with economic inequality, in which “a rich man has his wealth and a poor man his recklessness.” This paper will explore the degree to which this ideal was a reality in Geling, a large community in northern Mustang, over the course of roughly half a century from 1880 to 1930. Geling has a substantial community archive with documents dating mainly from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. The archive contains evidence that the interests of the poorest members of settlement were protected by law, but there are also cases in which individuals were severely disfavoured by their poverty. In one case from 1909, for example, an indigent vagrant who was unable to pay the fine for a theft was condemned to having his hand severed; however, he was saved when his partner, a local woman, agreed to give her daughter to the village as a slave, who was later sold on to a private buyer.

Lucia Galli (Rimini)

### **Religious Signalling, Reputation, and Trustworthiness: The Emergence of Khams pa Traders in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Tibet**

Contrary to a long-standing bias, pre-modern Tibetan society was a multifaceted and complex affair, regulated by inner dynamics that crisscrossed social boundaries of class and status. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some of the largest Khams pa trading firms, *e.g.* sPang mda’ tshang, Sa ’du tshang, and A ’brug tshang had their offices set up and running in the main cities of dBu and gTsang. Their political influence increased with the burgeoning of their economic power, allowing them access to the exclusive circles of Lhasan nobility. By the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, any class divisions that still existed between aristocracy and wealthy traders had become blurry and porous at best; what traders lacked in terms of titles and lands was amply compensated by money and influence. Relationships of dependence and gratitude were forged through the granting of loans and the exchanging of gifts, in a clientelist system that allowed sPang mda’ and Sa ’du representatives to enter the ranks of the government, customarily reserved to Lhasan nobility alone. In this contribution, I will bring to the fore the intertwining of business and politics as it emerged between the 1940s and 1950s, paying particular attention to the “liminal” role played by Khams pa chief-merchants (*tshong dpon*), homini novi who took advantage of their level of literacy, resourcefulness, and recklessness to cut a special niche for themselves in the texture of Tibetan society, filling in the gaps between classes. A final reflection will be made to the *ris med* movement as a possible trade “facilitator”, especially in the first years following the relocating to central Tibet of the eastern Tibetan trading firms. I will base my contribution on literary and non-literary sources, such as autobiographical writings, legal documents, and modern historical novels.

Teresa Raffelsberger (Bonn)

### **Of Kings and Merchants: Economic Resources to Stabilize Power in Ladakh During the Namgyal-Dynasty (16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The kings of Ladakh were primarily assigned their social status as members of the Namgyal lineage, however their exclusive right of power acquired by birth had to be reassured over and over again – not only through diplomatic and military means but also on an economic level. The noble families and their social status did depend upon middlemen (such as merchants or artisans) and of course to a large extent on the rural population, mainly peasants. The services and goods provided by the lower class of society

made the elaborate lifestyle of the aristocracy possible in the first place: They supplied most of the provisions, generated means for transport, built the aristocrats' stone castles and provided the income for the aristocrats' luxury goods, which were in turn either made by local craftsmen or imported by traders. The entire culture of aristocracy, from its representation of wealth to its rituals of courtly interaction, depended on a broad network of different social groups and professions. Maintaining control over these was one of the most important requirements to hold the position of supreme ruler - within one's own territory and in relation to other kingdoms.

Based mainly on legal and historiographical sources this paper therefore intends to give an overview on the strategies the kings of Ladakh applied to secure their social status and power. This includes questions such as: Which social groups played an important role in the economic network of the kingdom? How did the kings obtain power over resources and trade routes? Under which circumstances could aspects of economic crisis threaten the ruler's position? And to what extent did economic factors influence the king's interaction with other members of society?

Chos 'khor tshang Nyi ma 'od zer ཚོས་འཁོར་ཚང་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེལ། | Nyima Woser Choekhortshang (Prague)

### ***Rus-bcol*: Upward Caste Mobility in Dolpo via Financial Means**

For centuries, caste systems—and the discriminations thereof—were deep-seated across the entire Himalayan region, especially in the culturally Tibetan region of Dolpo, north-west Nepal. Here caste divisions were implemented in a very visible way until 1962, when His Majesty's Government banned the caste system as illegal. Although considered a crime, the division into classes continued to be internally applied by replacing previous terminology with coded expressions, e.g. *'thor ba* ('scattered castes') to indicate the lower castes. Unlike the neighboring regions such as Mustang, Mugu, and Humla, the principle of caste discrimination in Dolpo was specifically distinct and dramatic. In this paper, I discuss how financial means played an important role in the emergence of regional caste classifications in previous centuries. Prior to 1962, lower castes in Dolpo were generally distinguished by either social status (*rigs*) or biological family (*rus*). Through money one could achieve social mobility since wealthy lower caste families were able to purchase a higher caste designation, a custom known as *rus bcol* ('seeking asylum in the noble caste', *rus pa skyabs su bcol ba*). However, those who belonged to biologically lower castes, such as the blacksmiths (*mgar ra*) and butchers (*bher ra*), did not enjoy the same possibility to be promoted to a higher status. It was only the members of uncategorized or unknown castes, such as the 'emigrants' (*phyogs mi*), who could buy this social status from certain well-respected indigenous local castes (*gshis mi*). Interestingly, whereas on one hand, rules concerning caste boundary were extremely strict in Dolpo—sexual intimacy and even sharing a bowl (*kha bsre*) with a representative of the lower castes could result in one's own contamination—on the other hand, such caste pollution could be cleansed through the payment of a specific price and the performance of certain rituals such as the *gser chu* ('golden drink'). Once again, though, no systems or rituals could transform members of butcher, hunter and blacksmith castes into, as it was termed, 'genuine humans' (*mi dngos gnas*).

This paper sheds highlight on the amount, conditions and agreements of this caste-price status through a study of the documents available. It is relevant to point out that even after the purchase of a higher status, lower castes never became subject of *rus yig* (genealogy). This discriminating isolation appears to have originated in the different meaning attributed to the so-called *rigs bzang po* vis-à-vis the *rigs ngan pa*. The historical background of the rather unclear cast discrimination still extant in Dolpo society can be traced back to its roots and subsequently exposed as an unfair system, based on pseudo logic mainly stemming from Hindu influences. This presentation concludes that greed and avarice are deeply involved in this transactional caste system, even on the part of those noble families who claimed they were helping outsiders to not pay high taxes.

Blo bzang yon tan ལྷོ་བཟང་ཡོན་ཏན། | Lobsang Yongdan (Bonn)

## Timepieces as Gifts: European Clocks and Watches in Eighteenth Century Tibet

In reading some biographical accounts of Tibetan Lamas at that time, along with European objects such as telescopes and binoculars, the Qing emperors employed European missionaries as watch and clock makers at the court (Pagani 2001, Tang 2015) and often sent or gave European timepieces as gifts to Tibetan Lamas including the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lamas. According to the biography of the Sixth Panchen Lama Lobsang Palden Yeshe (1738–1780), written by his student the second Jamyang Zhepa Kunkhyen Jikme Wangpo (1728–1791) from Labrang Monastery, the Qianlong emperor not only sent a great number of watches and clocks to Tibet but also gave a Kalachakra numeral dial clock, specifically designed by European artisans at the court for the occasion, to the Panchen Lama when he was in Beijing (2002, vol 2: 1014–5). These timepieces were used not only for measuring time but also for scientific observations; according to the majority of opinions these European timepieces were much better than traditional Tibetan timepieces such as sundials and watercocks.

Leaving the science and technology aside, what was the nature of this gift? It is entirely dependent on the concepts of giving or the model of exchanges. For most Tibetan Buddhist historians, all these exchanges occurred within the concept of the *mchod yon* (priest and patron) relationship, and it was devotee students who gave or offered something unique and precious to their Lamas. In this article, exploring the history of European watches and clocks in Tibet, I study how these timepieces were exchanged between Tibetan Lamas and the Qing emperor. In doing so, I argue that European timepieces were exchanged in the context of *gnang* (“to give”) and *phul* (“to offer”). Although the two words have the same meaning, i.e. offering something to someone, there are completely different connotations when it involves the Qing emperor and Tibetan Lamas. It not only symbolizes the status of relationship between the giver and receivers but is also seen as a political and economic system that existed through gifts exchanges.

Gu rung skal bzang nor bu ཀུ་རུང་སྐལ་བཟང་ནོར་བུ། | Kalsang Norbu Gurung (Bonn)

## Understanding Amounts of Offering and the Status of Officials in Tibet

Tibetans are culturally encouraged to give something to others, apparently influenced by the Buddhist concept of giving in Tibetan societies. Whether it is simply out of faith and generosity or in order to ask for specific help needed from the receiver, one would not visit their teachers or higher officials empty handed. In a recent publication, I have shown some examples of gift offering (*mjal rten*, *snyan rten*, *skyabs rten* and *'bul rten*) to Tibetan government officials as recorded in an archival document from the late 19th century. For instance, high-ranking officials like the sPyi khyab mkhan po, bKa' blon and rTsis dpon were offered between 100 and 250 *srang*, and lower ranking officials like the bKa' drung, bKa' mgron, rTsis pa, some ex-managers and district heads were offered between 25 to 50 *srang* during one visit. These examples suggest that the amount of money that the visitor offered reflects the social status of the receiver. Therefore, in this paper I shall study the nature and conditions of these different amounts of offering, focusing on the official rank of the receivers, and try to understand if this variation in the amount to be offered was consistently regulated or were inconsistently based on the giver's choice and determined by his wealth and status. I shall also ask how the different amounts of the offerings reflect the social status of the receiver and to what extent the variation in these quantities correlate with the urgency or importance of the task that the giver is asking the receiver to perform.

Cécile Ducher (Fleurac)

## Wealth and Beauty: On the Role of Murals in a Lama's Symbolic Capital

In Buddhist societies, the relationship between religious masters and the faithful is materialized by gifts—of food, goods, and often money. Regardless of the religious value and justifications attributed to the act of giving, gifts accumulate in what sometimes becomes a massive economic capital. The biography of Kun

bzang klong yangs (1944-1696) is replete with the descriptions of what people of South Mustang offered to him and of what he did with it. In particular, he built a magnificent temple on a hill above the Kali Gandaki. A large building, with exquisite paintings and a sophisticated architecture, but devoid of lodgings and with a history that remained mysterious until recently. In this presentation, I will first question the relation of lamas with wealth, with examples in the 11<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century, both in Central Tibet and in the periphery, and the possible tensions between the ideal of Buddhist renunciation and the role of community leader. Secondly, the possible boon of economic capital on social status will be questioned and weighed in with the influence of other species of capital, especially cultural and social. Finally, the history of the founding of Kun bzang klong yangs's monastery will be reevaluated under the light of social status: was Kun bzang chos gling a symbol of his founder's symbolic capital in South Mustang? Were there political and social reasons justifying such an expensive building? how to distinguish between traditional explanations of the use of money in the master's autobiography and its role in the daily interactions with disciples?

Ikejiri Yoko (Kyoto)

### **The Buddhist connection between Amdo and South Mongolia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and its impact on South Mongolian society in the Qing period**

After the Mongolian reacceptance of Tibetan Buddhism in the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the right wing of the Mongol tribes, such as the Tümed and the Ordos tribes in South Mongolia, led to the fostering of a closer relationship with the dGe-lugs school, which later came to assume hegemony in Tibet. However, the Čaqar tribe that supported the Karma school, temporarily conquered South Mongolia and the alliance between the right-wing Mongols and the dGe-lugs school was destroyed in 1628. Subsequently, the Khoshut tribe became the new protector of the dGe-lugs school in place of the right-wing Mongols. Earlier studies have almost ignored the relationship between South Mongolia and the dGe-lugs school after 1628, because it is considered an almost non-functioning relationship. After the Qing Dynasty conquered South Mongolia, however, the monasteries in Hohhot (the capital of the Tümed) were immediately protected and reconstructed, as a result, they functioned as an important dGe-lugs pa base throughout the Qing era. This indicates that even after the Čaqar's attack, South Mongolia retained a certain role as the channel between the dGe-lugs school and the Qing dynasty.

In this study I will examine the Buddhist interactions between Amdo-Tibet and the right-wing Mongols in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Throughout this examination, this study aims to clarify the process that formed the monastic relationship between them. To attain this objective, the research used the following three types of historical documents: [1] official documents written in Manchu, [2] historical books on Amdo-Tibet, and [3] biographies of Tibetan Buddhist lamas that were written in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Some contemporaneous Manchu official documents published in recent years were also remarkably beneficial to this research.

Therefore, this study will demonstrate the significant role of the connections with Amdo monasteries in forming the Buddhist communities in South Mongolia. It will consider the impact of these connections on the South Mongolian society, be it through religion, politics, or economics. This perspective from a trans-regional standpoint, regardless of the difference of ethnicities or regions, contributes to an understanding of the conditions between Tibet-Mongol relationship in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Berthe Jansen (Amsterdam)

### **Tibetan Legal Geography: The Place of Tibet and Nation According to Tibetan Legal Texts**

This paper explores the 'legal geography' of legal texts from the Ganden Phodrang era. In a time that Tibet's government underwent significant changes, the legal documents, among which—but not limited to—the so-called 'Pronouncements' (zhal lce), bear witness to a renewed understanding of what and where

Tibet was. As these texts often explicitly specify the extent of their jurisdiction, they are unique witnesses to developing and vacillating ideas of the duties of government and the physical and theoretical ‘limits’ of Tibet. Furthermore, in many cases, legal texts are an act of state-making: the writing of new laws or the reiteration of old ones is a way of asserting power –the extent of that (imagined) power get clearly articulated in the Tibetan legal texts. By comparing legal texts from different periods, before the establishment of the Ganden Phodrang, straight after and when the government was more firmly established, we can get a clear picture of the changes that took place in the legal geography of Tibet. In this paper, I will then further consider the extent to which the notion of state and Tibet in legal texts is different from established ideas prevalent during the same time-period. Using primary sources that have been largely unstudied (or understudied), this paper proposes to present a different and ‘new’ perspective of the place, the notion and the limits of Tibet during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.



zhung, then it migrated to Sum pa gling gi gyim shod, which was called later time as Khyung po, because Khyung clan migrated into it and many of them are lived there until now. After that many of the people in Khyung clan moved continuously to east until to rGyal Rong, which is in far East of Tibetan plateau. They migrated there with their strong cultural identity such as Bon believes, Khyung bird worship and so on, so that rGyal Rong becomes an area which symbolized very strongly by Khyung bird worship even nowadays. All these manuscript documents narrated the origin and history of Khyung clan includes its migration to the east, but, at the same time, it is also very clear that it is a new history of Khyung clan which was reconstructed by people in later time. According to these documents, as a theme of the history, the basic event of migration of Khyung clan was happened after persecution of Bon religion of Songtsan Gampo and Khrisong Detsan. Since its history remained for centuries in oral form, it has been evolved during migration of Khyung clans in pasture. In around the eighteen century, many versions of Khyung's migration story spread in Tibetan plateau, especially in Nachu, Chamdo and rGyal Rong, some people tried to record them on paper, this is the origin of these manuscript documents mentioned above. Since the most of people who record were Bon scholars, they recorded oral history of Khyung clan and reconstructed its frame structure in their own point of view which depends on what remains in their memory, their family story and religious feeling, and so on.

In these documents, we can trace back to the historical theme and its oral history, its evolution process and some marks can be found also in later reconstruction. Time of Khyung clan's migration is still mystery, these documents are all written in around 18<sup>th</sup> century. Obviously they written down oral history about Khyung clan's migration so that they kept a reach historical information about it.

rDo rje tshe brtan རྡོ་རྗེ་ཚེ་བརྟན། | Duojiecai dan (Xining)

དུས་རབས་བརྒྱའི་དུས་འགོ་རྩོད་ལ་ཡུལ་དུ་ཆགས་པའི་ས་གནས་དབང་ཤུགས་ ཚེན་པོ་གསུམ།

བཅན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སིལ་བོར་འཐོར་བའི་རྗེས་སུ། ཉལ་མ་ལོ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་གྱི་  
 རིང་ལ་མདོ་སྐྱོད་ཚོང་ཁའི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཡོངས་ལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་གྱིས་མངའ་དབང་  
 བརྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྟོབས་ཅན་ཞིག་བྱུང་མ་ཐུབ་ལ། ཚོ་བ་ཚོ་རིས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་  
 ལྷགས་གྱི་གོང་བུ་ནས་བྱེ་མའི་འཆང་བུ་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་ཏེ། གཅིག་འོག་གཅིག་ལ་མ་འདུས་  
 པར་རང་རང་སོ་སོ་ན་ཉི་ཚེ་བའི་ཚུལ་དུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་ལ། དུས་རབས་བརྒྱའི་དུས་  
 མཚུགས་ནས་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་པའི་དུས་འགོ་བར་ཚོང་ཚུའི་བཟུང་རྒྱུ་དུ་ཚོང་ལ་རིག་འཛིན་  
 དང་། ཚོ་ཐང་དཔོན་པོ་ཚེ། ཀ་ཚུ་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་ཟེར་བའི་བྱི་དཔོན་གསུམ་གྱིས་མཚོན་པའི་ས་  
 གནས་དབང་ཤུགས་ཚེན་པོ་གསུམ་བྱུང་། དེ་གསུམ་ཀ་འཁོར་ལོས་བརྒྱུར་བའི་མངའ་བདག་  
 གཅིག་གི་བཀའ་ལ་མི་གཏོགས་ཀྱང་དོན་གལ་ཚེན་ལ་འཕྲད་ཚོ་རྒྱན་པར་དོག་ཅ་གཅིག་  
 རྐྱེལ་དང་དཔུང་བ་མཉམ་གཤིབ་བྱེད་པའི་སྲོལ་ཆགས་ཡོད་ལྟར། ཚོང་ལ་རྒྱལ་རབས་  
 ཚུགས་པར་ཡང་གཅིག་གྱུར་གྱིས་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་བསྐྱུན་ཏེ། གཤུང་འདེགས་གྱི་ཀ་བ་ལྟ་བུའི་  
 ལུས་པ་གང་ལེགས་ཐོན། དེ་བས་ས་གནས་དབང་ཤུགས་གསུམ་ཀའི་རམ་འདེགས་ནི་ཚོང་  
 ལ་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཆགས་པའི་བྱི་རྒྱུན་གལ་ཚེན་ཞིག་རེད་བསམས་སོ།།

Chos rgyal skyabs ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྐུབ་སྟེ། | Choegyal Kyab (Seoul)

## **Decoding the Exile Years of King Chungseon Of Goryeo in Tibet through Korean Sources**

King Chungseon of Goryeo is the first ever mixed-blood king of Korea. He is the prince born between the marriage of Goryeo Tai Ja and Princess of Yuan dynasty. He is the grandson of Kublai khan. This marriage was an effort of Goryeo dynasty to be friendly with Yuan dynasty. His life as king was clouded with conflict of fight for the power among princes. He is enthroned in 1298 as the king of Goryeo. After his enthronement, there were many ups and downs of political upheaval. Due to that he lost his power two times and finally forced to exile in Tibet. According to the historical record, he visited Tibet during Sakya's reign and stayed in Sakya monastery for two and half years.

This paper aims to explore the collected reasons why he was sent to exile in Tibet through Korean sources which are largely in classical Chinese. These sources include the poems written by Goryeo scholar Lee Je Hyun who visited him during his exile in Tibet. The historical record of King Chungseon himself, history of Goryeo and Yuan dynasty are also on the list.

Analyzing the literature of historical record revolving around his time is the main method of shaping this paper. The historical records translated in modern Korean are compared to the original texts and vice versa.

The findings of this research is that he was ordered to exile in Tibet due to the power struggle within Yuan dynasty. King Chungseon's interest in Buddhism and the relationship between Yuan dynasty and Sakya reign in Tibet made the Tibet as the suitable destination for exile. All in all, it is just an excuse that King Chungseon is ordered to study Buddhism in Tibet. The real season is that he had been seen as possible threat to overthrow Yeong Jung of Yuan dynasty.

In conclusion, his exile years in Tibet for two and half years depict the 14th century of Goryeo (present Korean peninsula) , Tibet, Yuan dynasty. But Korean sources inadequate to draw the full picture of his life. Exploring Tibetan and Chinese sources is the task of future research.

## Paper Session 18 – Historical Studies

### ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་འཇུག

Hamanaka Saya (Tokyo)

#### Influences of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut on the Mongols

This paper contributes to Tibetan history, especially the process by which Tibetan Buddhism spread among the Mongols. In the 13th century, Tibetan Buddhism became popular among the Mongols. Since Qubilai founded the Yuan Dynasty, he gave the titles such as “Imperial preceptor” (帝師) to ‘Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280). Hence Tibetan Buddhism flourished as a de-facto state religion of the Yuan dynasty. It is well-known that the ritual of Sitatapatra (dgugs dkar mo) play an important role in the Mongolian court. ‘Phags pa intended to show that the Qubilai’s kingship was protected by the force of *Sitatapatrasutra*, he advised Qubilai to put the white parasol (symbol of Sitatapatra) over the Imperial Throne and also to start the annual ceremony of Sitatapatra. To unveil the process of spread of Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols, some researchers such as E.Sperling, R. Dannel and Shi Jing Bo focus on the patron-protégé relation (*mchod-yon* relation). They argue that this relationship and the title of “Imperial preceptor” originated in the Tangut state (1038-1227). However, because of the lack of Tibetan sources, it is not sure that why and how ‘Phags pa selected *Sitatapatrasutra* among the many Tibetan deities or execute the ceremony of Sitatapatra. This paper aims to discuss the possibility that the ceremony of Sitatapatra originated in the Tangut state.

New primary sources regarding Sitatapatra were recently introduced by Shi Jing Bo (Shi, 2015; 2016). According to these sources, Godan and the Tibetan Buddhists in former Tangut region published the *Sitatapatrasutra* in 1243. The primary sources are two kinds of prayer of dedication attached to *Sitatapatrasutra*, and few other fragments of the sutra written in Tangut. These texts enable us to compare various editions of *Sitatapatrasutra* published in the Tangut, in the Gansu region (河西) under the rule of Godan (after 1235), and Yuan dynasty. Most texts of *Sitatapatrasutra* written in Tangut are archived by Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Out of these archives, this paper mainly uses the edition published in 1185. Since this edition was published successively, it is possible that this edition was popular in the Tangut.

This paper shows the following results: Needless to say, the Sitatapatra ritual held in the Yuan Dynasty was based on the work written by ‘Phags pa *gdugs dkar mo can sgrubs thabs gzungs bklag thab dang bcas pa* (*Sa skya ‘Bka ‘bum*, vol.7). According to the colophon of his work, the content was passed on ‘Phags pa from Ba ri Lo tsa ba Rin chen grags (1040-1112). By analyzing the texts of Sitatapatra written in Tangut, it is clear that the most popular edition of *Sitatapatrasutra* in the Tangut realm was mainly disseminated by the Sa skya school, from Tibet. It is possible that this edition was translated by Ba ri Lo tsa ba. Hence, the close relationship of the Tangut and the Mongols regarding the Sitatapatra inheritances are revealed.

To sum up, the worship of Sitatapatra seen in the Sitatapatra ritual by Qubilai and ‘Phags pa was most likely passed on from the Tangut. According to this perspective, the Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut era later influenced the spread of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongols.

sKal bzang rgyal ལྷལ་བཟང་རྒྱལ། Ga zang jia (Beijing)

ཏཱ་ལའི་བུ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མཚན་གྱི་སྒྲིབ་མའི་བྱ་བཞག་གི་སློབ་སྟོན་ཐད་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་ དབྱེད་པ།

དེ་ཡང་ཏཱ་ལའི་བུ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མཚན་གྱི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་ནང་དུ་ཕྱོན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་གསལ་ཅན་

གྱི་མི་སྣ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། ཁོང་མག་གྱུ་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་གྱི་གཏུང་རྒྱུད་ནང་གི་དཔོན་རྒྱུད་ཡིན་པས་དགུང་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལྷིང་དུ་

ཕག་གྱུའི་ཁྲི་དཔོན་གྱི་གོ་ས་ཐོབ། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་གིས་ལྷམ་པ་མེད་པའི་སློབ་མཚན་བཅོས་སྒྲིག་བདག་གཉེར་གནང་

བས་ཕག་གྲུ་མི་སྐོར་ཡར་རྒྱས་དར་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བ་མ་ཟད། མཐའ་མར་དབུས་གཙང་ཡོངས་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་  
 མཛད་ནས་མྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་འཇགས་དང་། དཔལ་འབྱོར་གོང་འཕེལ། རིག་གནས་དར་རྒྱས་སྲུགས། ཁོང་གིས་  
 ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་རིང་ལ་དབུ་མཛད་གནང་ཉེ་ཚོས་སྲིད་གྲི་ཉམས་སྤོང་དང་། ལྷག་པར་ཏུ་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་  
 བསམ་སློ་ཞིག་གྲུབ་ནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤེང་དུ་རིག་གནས་གྲི་ཤུལ་བཞག་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་གནང་འདུག།  
 དེ་བས་དབྱེད་ཚུམ་འདིས་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ལ་དད་པ་དང་། རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་ལ་སྤང་སྐྱོབ། ཤེས་རིག་ལ་  
 སློབ་སྦྱོང་། སློབ་ཁྲིམས་ལ་བརྩི་སྲུང་། ལས་བྱེད་པས་ཆང་མི་འཐུང་བ་བཅས་ཚོགས་དུ་མ་ནས་ཐུ་སྲི་ཏུ་བྱང་  
 རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྲི་འབྲུང་ཏུ་ཐོན་པའི་བསམ་སློ་སྐོར་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་བཟོ་སྐྱོང་བཞིན་ཡོད་པའོ།།

Roger Greatrex (Lund)

### **The Contentious Bridges over the Minjiang River in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries**

During the Ming dynasty, one of the main routes from the Sichuan plains to the Eastern Tibetan highlands ran beside the Minjiang River, through Maozhou and Diexi to Songpan and thence to Zoige (Ruo'er-gai). This road, known to the Ming authorities as the Southern Route, was of major significance in the Tea-Horse trade that provided the Ming armies with the horses essential for their cavalry. Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the region's indigenous Tibetan population increasingly perceived this road as an instrument of annexation. One of the principal objects of their discontent was the construction of bridges across the Minjiang River. The bridges were variously pontoon bridges, hanging bridges made of twined bamboo, and iron-chain bridges. Their principal function was to enable the movement of troops and to facilitate the transportation of grain and other provisions to military garrisons. The construction of new bridges resulted on a number of occasions in armed uprisings and bloody conflict, involving Tibetans from various localities along the Minjiang Valley and the adjacent Heishui Valley. The Ming reactions to these uprisings were harsh military reprisals intended as a deterrence against similar occurrences. However, Tibetan resistance to bridge construction continued unabated until the end of the sixteenth century and beyond. This paper presents examples of Tibetan resistance to the on-going regime of bridge construction, and particularly focuses on the so-called Yangliu 楊柳 incident of 1590 in which a united force of three thousand Tibetans from Diexi, the Heishui Valley and further afield destroyed a newly constructed bridge. The paper analyses the ways in which contemporary Chinese records framed Ming military responses to this and other instances of Tibetan resistance, and thereby justified continued protection of the Southern Route through territory that was often only notionally under Chinese control.

David Templeman (Victoria, Australia)

### **Indian Buddhism Through Tibetan Eyes: Colonialism and Taranatha's *rGya gar chos 'byung***

The 19<sup>th</sup> century re-creation of Indian Buddhism under British colonial rule relied to a great extent on certain Tibetan historical writings. Linked to archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic studies, a rather idiosyncratic idea of what constituted Indian Buddhism was gradually formed. It was this 'version' of Buddhism which was employed by the British in their general goal of re-creating aspects of what they regarded as India's glorious past. The most cogent historical works on this Buddhist past were not to be found in Indian writings but rather among those of the Tibetan scholar Tāranātha (1575-1634) especially from the 1869 translation of his *rGya gar chos 'byung*. This paper examines a theme I have recently worked on—that of the assumptions concerning the understanding of Buddhism's development in India

which arise due to the processes of the periodization and its close ally chapterization, in Tāranātha's work. Other themes to be discussed will include a discussion of the authenticity of the sources he employed for chapters 39-41 of his *rGya gar chos 'byung* which deal with the so-called 'later' phase of Buddhism largely in areas outside Buddhism's 'heartland' and Tāranātha's insertion of his previous and future incarnations at the heart of Buddhism's progress and its future trajectory in India. I shall conclude with a brief discussion of the resonances of his history found in the Colonial process itself, one which massaged Tāranātha's data into a pattern which eminently suited their own purposes.

**Paper Session 19 – Tibeto-Mongol Histories**

བོད་མིའག་གི་འོ་རྒྱལ་།།

Agata Bareja-Starzynska (Warsaw)

**Tibetan History in Mongolian Sources - Subject Revisited**

In the present paper I would like to examine Tibetan history on the basis of Mongolian sources and explain its significance for the Tibeto-Mongolian relations from the Mongolian perspective. The main questions are why and what Mongols wrote on Tibet, and which Tibetan sources on Tibetan history were available in the Mongolian language. There is a number of Mongolian chronicles and Mongolian versions of Tibetan historical writings which include passages about early Tibetan history. The subject was studied in the past by several scholars, Tibetologists and Mongolists, including myself (the 5<sup>th</sup> IATS). However, there are still some Mongolian texts which may be examined closer, such as the Mongolian versions of the Tibetan chronicle *The Mirror of the Royal Genealogies* (*Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*) composed by Bla ma Dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375) or Buddhist manuals written by the Oirat Zaya Pandita Nam mkha'i rgya mtsho (1599–1662) in the Classical Mongolian and Oirat languages. The first example reflects the Sa skya order's influence on the Mongolian perception of Tibet while the second example contains relatively long passage on Tibetan history which resulted from the Mongolian knowledge on Tibet at the time. Studies on those two examples do not provide answers to all questions regarding the Mongolian transmission and perception of Tibetan history, however, they broaden our knowledge on this subject and therefore I would like to present them in detail against the broad background of Tibetan and Mongolian sources.

Wei Jiandong (Beijing)

**The Development of Ruiying Monastery of East Mongol in Qing Dynasty: On the Lineage Biographies of Čayan Diyanči Qutuγtu**

Ruiying Monastery, which is now located in Fuxin Mongolian Autonomous County of Liaoning Province, was originally established in the eighth year of Emperor Kangxi's reign. This monastery, which is called "Gegen süm-e" by Mongolians and known as "Eastern Tibet" is one of the most important monasteries in eastern Inner Mongolia. The abbot in the monastery is the lineage of Cagan Diyanci Khutuktu. There are seven reincarnations of Cagan Diyanci Khutuktu and all of them are Mongolians. The 1<sup>st</sup> Cagan diyanci Khutuktu was born in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Chongzhen's reign, namely 1633 AD, whose name is bSam gtan bzang po. The present abbot is the 7<sup>th</sup> Cagan Diyanci Khutuktu, whose name is Blo bzang ye shes 'phrin las rgya mtsho. Since Ruiying Monastery was built in the early Qing Dynasty, it can represent the situation of the spread of Tibetan Buddhism into the eastern Inner Mongolia in the Qing Dynasty as a cultural symbol. Therefore, it is of great importance to do some investigation on this monastery. This article mainly focuses on the Mongolian biographies of the Cagan Diyanci Khutuktu. Through transliteration, collation, translation and annotation of the texts, this paper tries to explore the historical value of Mongolian biographies, clarify the early history of Ruiying Monastery and understand one aspect of the development of Mongolian Buddhism in the Qing Dynasty.

Ulug Kuzuoglu (New York)

**The Techno-Politics of the Tibetan and Mongolian Morse Codes in the 1930s**

The 1930s was a transformative period in the history of Tibetan and Mongolian information technologies. During this decade, the communication engineers at the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commis-

sion, funded by the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), devised two separate Morse codes in Tibetan and Mongolian scripts, rendering each written letter into dots and dashes. This technological development marked a watershed moment in the history of Sino-Tibetan and Sino-Mongolian relations. Since the introduction of telegraphy and the Morse code into China in the 1870s, this was the first time that the Chinese government engineered an information infrastructure that enabled communication in Tibetan and Mongolian scripts, alongside Chinese. The KMT, in other words, recognized Tibetan and Mongolian languages and scripts as integral to the construction of a communications network for a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Chinese nation.

Using hitherto unknown archival materials in Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian, this paper will be the first scholarly attempt to explore the techno-politics of Tibetan and Mongolian Morse codes in the 1930s. Why did the KMT invest resources in creating a Tibetan and Mongolian information infrastructure that, in theory, could challenge the unity of the nation-state? Who were the major names behind this project, and how was it connected to the development of linguistic and information sciences that were taking place in mainland China? And given that the Tibetan and Mongolian Morse codes were indeed engineered in 1934, why were they never put in practice? Situating this technological and political project within a larger global moment of information technologies, linguistic modernization, and state-building, this paper will draw on the recent “infrastructural turn” in humanities and contend that the materiality of communication was central to the governance of Chinese frontiers in the modern age.

Maret Kark (Tartu)

### **Significance of Lubsan Sandan’s Historic Project**

Historical narratives in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are largely based on the concepts generated by the modernist revolutions starting from the Great French revolution in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Modernist visions of history, including the Tibetan history, are founded on the idea of progressive evolution. In our modern era, only a few schools of philosophy rely on ancient concepts of space and time. These scholars are aware that along with the ruling classes modernist revolutions have wiped off authentic knowledge of history with its ancient methods, resources and representations.

The present research digs into the unrevealed sources of history preserved mainly in oral transmissions of historic evidence given by those who survived the revolutions. These were authentic representatives of the liquidated higher classes of the societies now extinct. One of the witnesses to historical events who outlived his ordeals was the Buryatian lama Bidya Dandaron (1914-1974).

In the summer 1972, shortly before his imprisonment by the KGB and his subsequent death in the Soviet GULAG prison camp in 1974, Bidya Dandaron transmitted a terma of historic importance to his disciples. He had received the teaching from his teacher Lubsan Sandan Tsendenov, who had foretold him that this terma would bring about a revolution in the history of the world.

Lubsan Sandan Tsendenov (1841/50?-1922) had been connected to the tsarist circles himself and through his disciple Dorzhe Badmayev. He had been present at the coronation ceremony of Nikolas II. During the Civil War (1918-1920), he made connections with General Semenov of the White Guard.

In November 1918, Aleksander Vassilyevich Kolchak, the admiral of the tsarist fleet had become the commander of the tsarist military forces and had established his dictatorship in the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. His main aim of claiming of power was to restore the previous order of the tsarist society. Alternative sources however assert that he also had a hidden task to rescue the ancient historical treasures preserved in the tsarist court from falling into the hands of barbarous revolutionaries.

History books tell that while manoeuvring on the Trans-Siberian railway Kolchak’s army was transporting a huge amount of gold from the tsar’s treasury. Communists from the Red Army, suspicious that Kolchak would use the gold for providing military equipment for the White Army, tried to prevent them. According to the alternative resources, the tsarist treasure Kolchak was transporting contained the original recordings of the world history written in gold in ancient electromagnetic technology. The paper intends to answer the question: was Tsendenov aware of the tsarist historical treasure and was his terma connected to it?

# Information Technologies

འདྲུལ་རྒྱུ་རིག་པ།

## Panel 16 – Tibetan Information Technology, Library Resources, and Digital Humanities

བོད་པའི་བརྗེ་འཕྲིན་ཚན་རྩལ་དང་། དཔེ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་ཐོན་ལུང་སྲུང་སྲུབ་འཛིན་སྐྱོ་རྩལ་རིག་གནས།

### Panel organizers

Paul G. Hackett (New York, New York)

Susan Meinheit (Washington, DC)

bKra shis tshe ring བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་། | Tashi Tsering (Beijing)

**Panel abstract** – A continuation of the panel of the same name at IATS-XIV (Bergen), this panel covers both emerging technologies in Tibetan studies and the fruits of such deployment. The panel covers a variety of related topics from technical development issues such as data encoding and Tibetan-specific needs in systems designs, to the results of research in Tibetan studies utilizing information technologies, topics related to digital libraries, archives, and resources for Tibetan studies, and currently functional online libraries and archives, digital resources constructed to provide supplementary or stand-alone reference resources for library and archive collections, and the presentation of works-in-progress. Research in Tibetan subjects enabled by technology is also covered.

Susan Meinheit (Washington, DC)

### Three Thangkas: A Digital Journey at Library of Congress

This paper will discuss a recent project to scan three rare thangkas from the Tibetan collection, and present them in the Library's Project One display. It will document the journey from the Tibetan rare book cage, under the special care of the Library's conservators and Tibetan Specialist, to the digital scan center in the Prints and Photographs Division, and finally to the LOC website. It addresses some of the complications involved and requirements for the scanning. The three thangkas are cataloged as Thangka of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa (19th c.), a gift from the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama to William Woodville Rockhill when they met at Wutaishan in 1908; *Mdzad brgya Dpag bsam 'khri shing* (18<sup>th</sup> c.) a gift to the Library from the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in 2010; and *Srid pa ho*, (19<sup>th</sup> c.)," an astrological thangka so far not identified as to origin.

bKra shis tshe ring བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་། | Tashi Tsering (Beijing)

### The Wheel of Time: Making Tibetan Calendar by Computer Software

It is really a great challenge to read and understand a Tibetan calendar book, let alone to formulize the algorithms and to program the software codes for Tibetan calendar by using modern mathematics. In this presentation, I would like to share the key principles of Tibetan calendar calculations, the unique mathematic features of Tibetan calendar calculations, and the formulations and algorithms that I concluded for Tibetan calendar. Other topics such as the precession of the equinoxes, the original (real) zodiacs, and the deviation of Tibetan calendar calculations also will be discussed. A demo of our Tibetan Calendar Maker will be presented during the seminar, with the discussions.

bsTan 'dzin bde skyid བསྟན་འཛིན་བདེ་སྦྱིད། | Tenzin Dickyi, Catherine Tsuji (New York, New York)

### The Treasury of Lives Encyclopedia: Data Mining Narrative Biographies

Since its inception in 2007, The Treasury of Lives has published over 1,180 biographies of historical figures from the Tibetan cultural region. As the resource grew, related content such as maps, timelines,

art and photographs were added. The resource has consciously limited site content to data directly linked to published biographies to keep the content manageable and self-contained. However, the resource has also sought to identify appropriate ways to create linkages with external resources. A recent grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (Humanities Collections and Reference Resources, Division of Preservation and Access) has supported The Treasury of Lives' efforts with scholars and data scientists to shore up its own resource by making data more discoverable and reusable in multiple contexts. In addition to updated editorial guidelines and standards documentation, an important part of this process has been incorporating concepts from TBRC's ontology as well as forging connections with other resources that promote and use concepts of Linked Open Data (LOD). A guiding question for this project has been, "In what ways can the narrative biography format be used as a data source and how can we make that data discoverable, readily available, and reusable?" The Treasury team will present some suggestions, exploring the different ways that Tibetan narrative biographies can be mined for data, and the multiple avenues through which this data can be incorporated into our database. Several tools and resources developed by The Treasury such as customized map builders and timeline generators will be presented.

Alexander Gardner (New York, New York)

### **Bringing UX Design Methods to Digital Humanities Projects**

Buddha-nature, a Digital Humanities project of Tsadra Foundation, is a hub for all things relating to the Buddhist doctrine of buddha-nature, or tathāgatagarbha. We include primary texts in original languages as well as translations and related scholarship; bibliographies and reviews of scholarly and popular books and articles that touch on buddha-nature, lectures by and interviews with Asian and Western religious teachers; professional resources for college professors and dharma teachers, as well as materials for youth and interactive games and community forums. By employing contemporary techniques of user experience design, open source technologies and collaborative tools, coupled with multimedia resources, the project extends itself beyond common examples of digital libraries and takes a step forward for users in the Digital Humanities. From the very beginning developers at Tsadra Foundation were dedicated to accessibility for the widest possible audience, anticipating the full range of potential users: from any reader of English with any sort of interest in buddha-nature up to scholars looking for critical editions or teaching materials. We are employing UX Design Methods that are essential for implementing the newest pedagogical tools for students and researchers; while collaboration tools have become ubiquitous, attention to user experience lags behind. An example of this is Computer Automated Translation (CAT) tools. Many of these tools are incredibly powerful yet often are difficult to use because the interface designs are so poor. Even in cases in which web projects are dedicated to specialized readers there is often valuable information that can be made accessible across disciplines and reading audiences. This paper will outline the process and decisions made to stay true to the goals of creating a Digital Humanities project that maximizes the reach and potential of the Internet through leveraging open source technologies and user-centered design processes.

Jonathan Guyon Le Bouffy (Paris)

### **Base de données A. H. Francke (1870-1930) : résultats et perspectives**

Les travaux d'August Hermann Francke (1870-1930) apparaissent encore aujourd'hui comme étant la base des études sur le Ladakh pour de nombreux domaines d'étude. Ses publications, abondantes et diverses, sont régulièrement accompagnées de retranscriptions, illustrations, photographies, cartes et croquis qui constituent des sources précieuses. La création d'une base de données inédite permettant d'accéder aisément et de manière exhaustive à ces textes peut ainsi s'avérer être un outil utile aux chercheurs. Cette communication a donc pour objectif de présenter les différents aspects et étapes d'un travail en cours déjà en partie disponible sur internet (<<http://ahfranckearcles.nexgate.ch>>, <<http://ahfranckearcles.omeka>

net>, <<http://www.zotero.org/groups/1314607/ahfranckearicles>>): compilation de la bibliographie de Francke, repérage et signalement des textes déjà numérisés sur internet, numérisation des textes difficilement accessibles et diffusion et valorisation des informations à travers une base de données permettant d'associer et de lier les différents travaux de et sur Francke. Cette communication sera aussi l'occasion de discuter de plusieurs questions soulevées par la découverte de documentation non-référencée et par les évolutions envisageables. Des questions se posent encore concernant la présentation des textes et leur encodage éventuel. Ce travail ouvre des perspectives diverses comme la création d'autres outils sur les travaux des missionnaires moraves au Tibet occidental à travers une base des inscriptions collectées ou des recherches sur les journaux en tibétain publiés à Leh et à Kyelang.

Christopher Handy (Leiden)

### **Statistical Approaches to Tibetan / Chinese Alignment for Arbitrary Data Featuring Examples from the Mahāratnakūṭa Collection (MRK)**

In this paper I demonstrate a text alignment method for arbitrary texts in classical Tibetan and Chinese, built around a sample set of 49 texts called the Mahāratnakūṭa Collection (MRK), a Mahāyāna Buddhist literary treasury with a complicated transmission history. The texts associated with the MRK as we have them currently comprise multiple content-similar witnesses in Tibetan, Chinese and sometimes Sanskrit; variations include translation mismatches between languages and omissions or additions between any two similar texts. As with other texts in Tibetan, Chinese and Sanskrit, it is difficult to construct reliable digital models of the relationships between texts in the MRK because of these linguistic features. Alignment software solutions modeled around modern European languages, as in the commercial translation industry, often presume that texts contain words distinguishable by spaces, are dictionary searchable, and are otherwise trivial to align. In the case of the MRK, word boundary ambiguities, fragmented texts and transmission errors require that we consider methods not restricted to dictionary entries for implementing fuzzy searching. The method described here is a step toward a complete, automated, editable environment in which witnesses from Tibetan and Chinese can be aligned reliably by genre identification, and further aligned to specific events and key phrases in a text.

Marieke Meelen (Cambridge)

### **Improving & Implementing the ACTib**

This paper presents two important new developments of the Annotated Corpora of Classical Tibetan (ACTib). These segmented and POS-tagged versions of all available texts in the BDRC were annotated automatically using a memory-based tagger. While this method has certain clear advantages – large amounts of data could quickly be split into meaningful words and grammatical markers, provided with highly detailed morphosyntactic labels and made accessible to any scholars in Tibetan studies and beyond – the results can never be 100% correct. In this paper, I therefore focus on improving these results as well as one possible further implementation, namely (chunk)parsing for other NLP tasks such as automatic alignment and (morphosyntactic) querying.

Sri thar Blo bzang rgya mtsho སྤེན་ཐར་བཟོ་རྒྱལ་མཚོ། | Lobsang Gyatso Sither (India)

### **Evolution of Tibetan in Information Technology and Tibetan Information Technology Glossary**

This paper will seek to map out the journey of Tibetan in Information Technology starting from the first Tibetan Dictionary, Tibetan Fonts on Desktop, to Mobile to choices of fonts for Desktop Publishing. Tibetan in Information Technology has undergone huge changes in the last two decades and this paper

will seek to chronicle that journey along with those who were responsible for achieving those. It will also highlight the upcoming challenges and solutions needed for that. At the same time, with the rise of new technology, the need for a collaborative information technology is a huge need, a number of project have been conducted in different silos such as Wordpress Translation, Ubuntu Translation and I have been involved with translating various apps into Tibetan. However, there is no shared Information Technology Glossary with many terms created in their own silos. This paper will also present an online space for creation of Collaborative Glossary using a web based translation tools for collaborative translation and management, thereby creating a volunteer based community of Tibetan Technical Translations which can be used by app developers as well as those in the community who would like to utilize those translations.

bsTan 'dzin sbyin pa བསྟན་འཛིན་སྐྱིན་པ། | Tenzin Jinpa (Bangalore)

## **IT Tibetan Font Journey (From legacy to Unicode font)**

The development in the field of the Information Technology has revolutionized the way we communicate with other people and bring the mammoth changes in the literature and languages. One of the areas of changes is that of the digitization of the modern and ancient languages, which include the Unicode's for the languages with auto spelling and grammar checking for the languages. It would be an understatement to say that the existence and the usefulness of the languages in the current period largely depend on the level of digitization and its ease of use.

The Tibetan language is the one of the ancient language of the world with rich history and culture. The Tibetan language had immense potential to serve the humanity as the Tibetan Buddhism is largely preserved in Tibetan text for thousands of years. Speaking of the geographical origins and its current influence, Tibetan language origin is traced back to the 3rd Century AD where the great translator 'Thinmi Sambhodak' is credited of inventing the Tibetan fonts. And currently more than ten million people uses the Tibetan text and language covering the Tibet, China, Bhutan and Himalayan people of the India. Thus digitization of the Tibetan language is of great importance.

In this paper we will discuss one major aspect of the Tibetan language digitization (font convertor) and the new solution that we provide. Like many other international languages, Tibetan language also uses the non-Unicode based legacy fonts for decades before shifting to Unicode based fonts but thousands of literatures were already in legacy fonts and there is no efficient font convertor. Thus the new Tibetan font convertor give better result both in term of speed and accuracy also the most convertor fails to convert the complex Tibetan text which the new convertor able to convert. The convertor also provides the coloring facility that will help the user to analyze the results later on. We will use the convertor on LTibetan non-Unicode text as the LTibetan was one of the popular legacy code as many of the Tibetan institutes and research organisation uses the LTibetan as a primary font. The paper is largely divided into four sections. First section discussed about previous work and the second section on the LTibetan, Third section we introduced the new convertor algorithm and Finally in fourth section we do the analysis of the new algorithm.

## Panel 54 – An Attempt towards the Modernization of “Library Cataloguing System” of Tibetan Classical Literatures

དེང་རབས་འཕུལ་གསར་གྱི་བྱུང་ཚོས་ལྷན་པའི་ “བོད་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་རིག་པ” བསྐྱར་རྒྱུར་གོམ་གང་མདུན་སྤྲོས་ཀྱི་ལས་འཆར།

### Panel organizer

Byams pa bsam gtan བྱམས་པ་བསམ་གཏན། | Jampa Samten (Sarnath)

**Panel abstract** – A team of library professionals and computer technical engineers have developed an integrated library system (ILS), also known as a library management system (LMS) to take care of complete functionality required for automating libraries. This LMS functions into discrete program called modules, each of them integrated with a unified interface. The modules include:

- acquisition ( ordering, receiving and invoicing materials)
- cataloguing (classifying and indexing materials)
- circulation (lending materials to readers and receiving them back)
- serials ( tracking magazine, journals and newspaper holdings)
- the OPAC (public interface for users)

All modules support data entry in Unicode Tibetan Fonts and thus support all Indic scripts and Chinese characters. This is the first integrated library system (ILS) or library management system (LMS) designed and developed by Tibetan library professionals and computer engineers, suitable for small to big libraries and monastic instructions with rich Tibetan collections.

Keeping in view the unique characteristics of Tibetan classical literature, the library professionals of Shantarakshita Library, CIHTS have also compiled a “Library Classification Scheme” based on S.R.Ranganathan’s Colon Classification, required for classifying the huge Tibetan collections. This is the first work of its kind undertaken by experienced Tibetan library professional. This panel will focus and invites suggestions from the scholars on these pioneering contributions towards the Modernization of «Library Cataloguing System» of Tibetan Classical Literatures and hope to make it available free to all the interested individuals and Institutions at the earliest.

Byams pa bsam gtan བྱམས་པ་བསམ་གཏན། | Jampa Samten (Sarnath)

དེང་རབས་དཀར་ཆག་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་པའི་ “བོད་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་རིག་པ” གོམ་གང་མདུན་སྤྲོས་བྱུང་བ།

དེང་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་དང་གྲེ་བྲག་རྒྱལ་ནང་གཉིས་ཀར་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་དབུ་མའོ་སྐབ་བདག་གཅེས་བྱེད་པའི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་གྲངས་འབོར་ཇི་མང་དུ་འགྲོ་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་འདིར། དེང་རབས་དཀར་ཆག་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་པའི་ “བོད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱམས་ཚོས་དཔེ་དབུ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་དོན་བཅའ་བྱུང་དང་མཐུན་པའི་སྤྲོ་ཚན་དབྱེ་འབྲེད་བྱེད་པའི་ལས་ལུགས་ (Classification Scheme for Tibetan Books)” ཞེས་པའི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་། དབྱིན་སྐད་དུ། Automation of Library ཞེས་པ་སྟེ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་བྱེད་སྤྲོད་ལས་གཞི་མཐའ་དག་རང་འགྲུལ་འཕུལ་ཆས་བཀོལ་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་པར་མེད་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་ “བོད་མིའི་རང་སྐྱོད་དང་ཡི་གེའི་སྤྲོད་དཔེ་མཛོད་བརྒྱན་ཆས་ (Integrated Library System (ILS), also known as a Library Management System (LMS))” བཅོམ་སྐྱུར་དགོས་མཁོ་ཉ་ཅང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ཚང་མའི་དཔྱོད་སེམས་པར་མངའ་གསལ་ལགས་པར་བརྟེན།

དེས་ན་དོན་དང་པོའི་ཐད། དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་རིག་པའི་ལས་གཞིའི་གསལ་འགྲངས་ཆེ་ཤོས་ནི་དཔེ་དབུ་སྤྲོ་ཚན་དབྱེ་འབྲེད་ (Book Classification) དང་། དཀར་ཆག་ (Catalogue) བཅོམ་གོད་ཀྱི་བྱེད་སྤྲོད་མཐའ་དག་ཡིན་པ་ལ་གསལ་བཤད་མི་དགོས། དེ་ཡང་སྤྲོ་ཚན་དབྱེ་འབྲེད་ཀྱི་བྱེད་སྤྲོད་དཀར་ཆག་བཅོམ་གོད་ལས་གཞིའི་ཆུབ་སེམས་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། དེས་དཔེ་དབུ་རྒྱམས་ནང་དོན་བཅའ་བྱུང་མཐུན་པའི་སྤྲོ་ཚན་ཕྱོགས་སོ་སོར་རྒྱུ་དབྱེ་འབྲེད་པ་ཡིན། དེང་འཛམ་གླིང་ནང་དཔེ་མཛོད་རིག་པའི་སྤྲོ་ཚན་དབྱེ་འབྲེད་ཀྱི་འཆར་འགོད་ (Classification Scheme) ཡོངས་ཁྲུབ་ལག་ལེན་གྲགས་ཆེབ་ Universal Decimal Classification (UDC), Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) and Colon Classification (CC) བཅས་ཡོད་པ་དག་ལས་ནང་དོན་རིག་པ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱམས་ཚོས་དཔེ་དབུ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་དོན་བཅའ་བྱུང་དང་མཐུན་པའི་སྤྲོ་ཚན་དབྱེ་འབྲེད་བྱེད་པར་ཅུང་མཐུན་ཤིང་ཆུ་གར་གྱི་མཁས་པ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་མཚོག་གིས་མཛོད་པ་ Colon Classification (CC) ཞེས་པ་དེའི་ལ་གཞི་བཅོལ་བའི་ཐོག་ ལྷ་ཆ་དབུས་བོད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལག་སྤྲོད་གཉེར་ཁང་གི་ཞི་འཛོལ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་དཔེ་མཛོད་རིག་པའི་ཆེད་ལས་པ་རྒྱམས་དང་། ནང་དོན་རིག་པ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱས་པའི་གཞུང་ལག་སྤྲོད་གཉེར་ཁང་འདིའི་

མཁམ་དབང་སྐོབ་དཔོན་རྣམས་ལས་བཀའ་སྐོབ་སྐོབ་བསྐྱར་རིམ་པར་བྱས་པ་བརྒྱུད་དེ་ལམ། བོད་ཀྱི་བཅུ་མཚམས་ཚོས་དཔེ་དེབ་སྡེ་ཚན་དེ་ལྟར་འབྲེད་འཆར་འགོད་ལག་དེབ་ (Classification Scheme for Tibetan Books) ཞིག་བཅུ་མཚམས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཉེ་ཞེ་འཚོ་དཔེ་མཛོད་འདུ་ལག་བསྐྱར་བྱེད་སྲུང་ཡིན་པ་དང་།

དཔེ་མཛོད་སྡེ་ཚན་དེ་ལྟར་ (Library Classification) ཀྱི་དགོས་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་དཔེ་དེབ་རྣམས་ལ་འབོད་རྟགས་ (Call Number) ཚད་ལྡན་འགོད་རྒྱུ་དེ་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་སྡེ་ཚན་དེ་ལྟར་འབྲེད་ཅི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཡང་རུང་། རང་རང་གི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་མཚོན་རྟགས་བཀོད་ལུགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཡོད་ན་འདྲ། སུམ་མོ་ཚེར་གཅིག་མཐུན་ཡོད་པ་ནི་བཛོད་བྱེད་སྐོ་ནས་དེ་ལྟར་བ་འབྲེད་པ་ཡིན། འབོད་རྟགས་ནི། དཔེ་དེབ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལག་པ་དེ་དང་དེའི་བཛོད་བྱེད། ཚུམ་པ་པོ། དཔེ་དེབ་སྐྱེད་ལ་སོགས་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱེད་པ་ཅིམ་མ་ཟད་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་སྐོམ་སྟེང་བཞུགས་གནས་མ་ཞོར་བ་འཛུབ་སྟོན་ལུས་པའི་མཚོན་རྟགས་ཞིག་ཡིན། Colon Classification (CC) ལུགས་ལ་གཞི་བཙུག་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བཅུ་མཚམས་ཚོས་དཔེ་དེབ་སྡེ་ཚན་དེ་ལྟར་འཆར་འགོད་ལག་དེབ་ (Classification Scheme for Tibetan Books) འདྲིར། སྡེ་ཚན་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་དང་གཞི་རྒྱུ་དེ་ལྟར་ (Facet and Fundamental Category) ཞེས་པ་དང་། ཐུན་མོང་གི་ཚན་པ་ (Common Isolates) ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱི་དེ་ལྟར་སྐོམ་ཐབས་ལས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་འབོད་རྟགས་འགོད་སྲུང་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པའི་དོ་སྙིང་གསལ་བཤད་དང་འབྲེལ་མཁམ་མང་འདུ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་འཆར་ཐོག་གོལ་མོལ་གོ་བསྐྱར་ལྷུ་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

དོན་གཉིས་པའི་ཐད། སྤྱིར་དཔེ་མཛོད་བརྒྱན་ཆས་ (Integrated Library System (ILS) / Library Management System (LMS) དེ་ལྟར་ཇི་སོགས་ཡུལ་ལུང་གཞན་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་སྟེང་ཇི་སྟེང་ཡོད་པ་དག་ནི་བོད་མི་རང་གི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཅིམ་ལས་ཡུལ་ལུང་གཞན་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་མི་མཐུན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཀོལ་སྤྱོད་གནང་མི་ཐུབ་པ་དང་། རིན་གོང་ཡང་ཉ་ཆར་ཆེ་བས་བོད་རིགས་སྤྱི་སྐོར་པལ་མོ་ཚེས་ཉེ་སྐབ་མི་ཐུབ་པ་དང་བཅོམ་དེས་ཡོད་གནས་སྤངས་ཡིན།

དེས་ན་རྣམས་སྟོན་ལས་བརྟེན་འཕྲིན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདུག་འདྲི་འགན་འཛིན་དགོ་བཤེས་སྟོ་བཟང་སྟོན་ལས་ལགས་ནས་ལྷ་ཆ་ཞེ་འཚོ་དཔེ་མཛོད་འདུ་གི་དཔེ་མཛོད་རིག་པའི་ཆེད་ལས་པ་རྣམས་དང་གོ་བསྐྱར་རིམ་པར་བརྒྱུད་བོད་ཡིག་སྟེང་དཔེ་མཛོད་བརྒྱན་ཆས་ (Tibetan Library Management System (TLMS) བོད་མི་རང་གི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཅིམ་ལས་ཡུལ་ལུང་གཞན་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་མི་མཐུན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཀོལ་སྤྱོད་གནང་བུབ་པ་བཟོ་བསྐྱེད་ལུགས་པར་བཟོ་བ་དང་། བོད་ཡིག་སྟེང་གི་དཔེ་མཛོད་བརྒྱན་ཆས་འདྲིར་བོད་ཡིག་དང་མཉམ་ཏུ་དེ་ལྟར་ཇི། རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག་གི་ཡིག་རིགས་སོགས་ཡུལ་ལུང་གཞན་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཀྱང་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་བསྐྱར་བོད་སྤྱོད་བུབ་པ་དང་། དཔེ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་བྱེད་སྐོམ་ལས་ཚོན།

- དཔེ་དེབ་ཉེ་སྐྱབ། ( acquisition ( ordering, receiving and invoicing materials)
- དཀར་ཆག་བཟོ་འགོད། (cataloguing (classifying and indexing materials)
- དཔེ་དེབ་གཡམ་ལེན། (circulation (lending materials to readers and receiving them back)
- དུས་དེབ་དང་གསར་ཤོག་བདག་ཉར། (serials ( tracking magazine, journals and newspaper holdings)
- དཔེ་དེབ་འཚོལ་ཞིབ། (OPAC (public interface for users)

བཅས་དཔེ་མཛོད་འདུ་གི་བྱེད་སྐོམ་ལས་གཞི་མཐུན་དག་འབྲས་ཚད་བྱེད་བུབ་པའི་བྱེད་ཆོས་ལྡན་པ་ཡིན།

དེ་ལྟར་བོད་ཀྱི་ “བོད་ཀྱི་བཅུ་མཚམས་ཚོས་དཔེ་དེབ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་དོན་བཛོད་བྱེད་འཇུག་པའི་སྡེ་ཚན་དེ་ལྟར་འབྲེད་བྱེད་པའི་ལས་ལུགས་ (Classification Scheme for Tibetan Books)” དང་། “བོད་མིའི་རང་སྐད་དང་ཡི་གེའི་སྟེང་དཔེ་མཛོད་བརྒྱན་ཆས་ (Tibetan Library Management System (TLMS)” གཉིས་བཟོ་བསྐྱེད་ལུགས་སྐབ་སྐབ་པའི་དོ་སྙིང་དང་བས་ཕུལ་བུང་ལུགས་སྐྱེས་སུ་སྐྱར་བསྐྱར་ལྷུ་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

dGe bshes Blo bzang smon lam དགོ་བཤེས་སྟོ་བཟང་སྟོན་ལམ། | Geshe Lobsang Monlam  
**དེང་རབས་དང་མཐུན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་མ་ལག་མཉེན་ཆས་གསར་བཟོ་བྱས་པའི་བཀོལ་སྤྱོད་དོ་སྙིང།  
(Introduction of Tibetan Library Management System (TLMS): its Functions and Features)**

སྤྱིར་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་མ་ལག་མཉེན་ཆས་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་བོད་སྐད་རང་ཐོག་ཏུ་དེང་རབས་དང་མཐུན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་མ་ལག་མཉེན་ཆས་དགོས་མཁོ་ཆེ་བར་མཐོང་ནས་སྟོན་ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྟེན་འཕྲིན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདུག་དང་། སྤུལ་སྐྱེ་མཐུ་སྟོབས་ལགས་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱིས་ལོ་ཤས་རིང་བོད་རིགས་དཔེ་མཛོད་རིག་པའི་ཆེད་ལས་པ་ལག་དང་གྲོས་བསྐྱར་གྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་མ་ལག་མཉེན་ཆས་གསར་བཟོ་བྱས་ཡོད་པའི་ཕན་ལུས་དང་བོད་སྤྱོད་གཉེན་ཆས་ཚོགས་བཅར་མཁམ་མང་འདུན་སར་དོ་སྙིང་དང་འབྲེལ་དགོ་སྟོན་དགོངས་འཆར་གྲོས་བསྐྱར་དང་།

བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་མ་ལག་མཉེན་ཆས་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་གཅིག་པོ་ལས་སྐད་ཡིག་གཞན་མི་ཤེས་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ཞིག་གིས་ཀྱང་ལས་སྤོའི་ཐོག་ནས་བོད་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་བུབ་པའི་བྱེད་ཆོས་ཡོད་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཆེ་ཆུང་ལག་དང་། ཚོགས་པ་དང་དགོན་པ་གྲུ་ཚང་། མི་སྐོར་བཅས་སུ་རུང་གསལ་བོད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱང་སྐབས་བདེ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཡོད་པའི་བརྟེན་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཚོགས་ཆེན་འདི་ནས་དེས་སུ་རིན་མེད་འབྲེལ་སྤུལ་ལྷུ་རྒྱ་འཆར་ཡིན།



**Roundtable 5 – Towards an International Directory of Tibetan Studies  
Special Collections**

བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད།

**Organizers**

Lauran R. Hartley

Rachel Guidoni

**Additional participants**

Lewis Doney

Berthe Jansen

Charles Ramble

Michela Clemente

Susan Meinheit

Jann Ronis

Élie Roux

# Language and Linguistics

འཕྲུལ་རྩིས་རིག་པ།

## Panel 15 – Plurilingualism and Multilingualism in Tibet

བོད་ལ་སྐད་ལུགས་མི་འདྲ་བའི་བེད་སྤྱོད་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

### Panel organizer

Gerald Roche (Melbourne)

**Panel abstract** – This panel proposes to examine the practices and ideologies involved with individual plurilingualism and social multilingualism in the context of Tibet’s diverse spoken, written, and signed languages. Researchers have, in recent years increasingly highlighted the extent of linguistic diversity in Tibet, and have also begun unpacking the complex ways in which this diversity is spatially and socially patterned. Drawing on a wide range of perspective from anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and history, this panel aims to explore the historical and contemporary practices and ideologies associated with the individual and social manifestations of this diversity. We zoom into the intimate lives of people and communities, and practices of schooling, pilgrimage, commerce, subsistence, conflict, marriage, migration, and so on, that have and continue to constitute the lived experience of multilingualism and plurilingualism across Tibet. In doing so, we aim to provide new insights into the social life of language in Tibet, and to better understand the contemporary transformations in Tibet’s language ecology.

Shannon Ward (New York, New York)

### Genres of Code-Switching in Amdo Children’s Play

In Amdo as across greater Tibet, language varieties are closely linked to power, displacement, generational distinctions, and social change. Since the early 2000s, in particular, Amdo has faced rapid structural changes from economic liberalization (Fischer 2013), leading to a new emphasis on Mandarin-medium schooling, and a new language ecology characterized by increased uses of new media technologies (Roche 2017). Against this background of changing language ecologies, Tibetans and linguists alike have expressed concern over language shift away from Tibetan varieties and to Mandarin (ex. Tournadre 2003). Nonetheless, little is known about how Mandarin and other contact languages become integrated into Amdo children’s linguistic repertoires throughout their social and linguistic development.

In this paper, I build on previous studies of multilingual language acquisition (ex. Schieffelin 1994) to examine peer-group play among Amdo children aged two to seven in rural Langri (pseudonym) and urban Xining. I use the linguistic anthropological theory of genre (Hanks 1987) to show how rural and urban children differentially draw on their imaginative capacities for recreating their social worlds—also populated by multilingual speakers—in the course of everyday play. Through this analysis, I reveal how Amdo children’s everyday uses of code-switching presents immense cultural and linguistic knowledge. Children display understanding of the syntax of Tibetan and Chinese; sensitivity to the indexical associations of multiple spoken language varieties; and awareness of how rural and urban settings regiment socially accepted code choices. This paper encourages scholars first to consider the significance of children’s everyday language use in defining their communities’ language norms; and, second, to situate the current shifts in Tibetan language ecologies within a broader historical context of displacement, generational change, and linguistic innovation.

Hiroyuki Suzuki (Oslo)

### Glottonyms and language recognition in the eastern Tibetosphere

Linguists generally recognise a language by giving it an independent name, i.e., a glottonym. Many languages have been recognised in the eastern Tibetosphere, principally in Khams, since the 1980s, and

scholars have proposed various glottonyms for them. However, both glottonyms and language classification have triggered conflicts between scholars and local Tibetans, and even amongst linguists. This paper discusses how various languages are recognised by local Tibetans in the Khams region and how scholars should take local language recognition into consideration. Firstly, it discusses the classification of ‘Tibetic’. Nicolas Tournadre defines this term as a “language family derived from Old Tibetan.” However, it still does not satisfy many Tibetans. In many parts of Khams, ‘Tibetic’ can be re-defined as any variety spoken by Tibetan people, including *khams skad* ‘Khams language’, a *mdo skad* ‘Amdo language’, and ‘*brog skad* ‘pastoralists’ language,’ but excluding *logs skad* ‘side language.’ However, the term *rong skad* ‘farmers’ language’, includes not only varieties of *khams skad* but also *logs skad*. Secondly, the paper discusses issues regarding language classification and glottonyms of various *logs skad*, and proposes a combination of two language-naming principles: “one glottonym per language island” and “glottonyms follow autonoms.” Because *logs skad* are recognized as non-Tibetic at the local level, recognising a language by its distribution reduces conflicts regarding the position of *logs skad* in relation to Tibetic languages. Linguists are responsible for (sub-)groupings such as ‘rGyalrongic’ and ‘Qiangic’ and do not always reflect locals’ views.

Theresa Hofer (Bristol)

### **A Preliminary Comparative Study of Tibetan Sign Language and Chinese Sign Language**

Tibetan Sign Language (TSL) is a relatively recent phenomenon, arising since the early 2000s in Lhasa while Chinese Sign Language (CSL) is more long standing, if incredibly diverse and used across the PRC in deaf education. Signers in Lhasa increasingly mix TSL and a local variety of “Chinese Sign Language”. I have documented pervasive unimodal codeswitching between the two languages among Tibetan signers in Lhasa today. There have even been suggestions that there are strong similarities between Tibetan Sign Language and Chinese Sign Language, despite government recognition of Tibetan Sign Language as an ethnic minority sign language. This paper offers a lexical comparison of 100 pairs of words/signs in the two sign languages and discusses possible reasons for similarities and differences and what my interlocutors made of them. It also discusses loans and loan translations, and the role of onomatopoeia and iconicity in comparing signs of these two sign languages with a view to better understanding TSL’s place within the complex spoken and signed language environment of Lhasa.

Ban de mtsho བན་དེ་མཚོ། | Bendi Tso (Vancouver)

### **The Politics of Language and Authenticity in Chone**

What makes a language ‘authentic’ both for the state and for its speakers? Can a heterogeneous linguistic form used by borderland people somehow jeopardize the ‘authenticity’ of a mainstream language? What does it mean for borderland people to engage with the discourses and practices of linguistic authenticity through their everyday linguistic practice? And how can the notion of authenticity productively engage with plurilingualism and multilingualism to forge new analytic approaches? This paper explores these questions in the context of Chone County (Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, China) the home of 30,000 Tibetans. The research results will contribute to our understanding of multilingualism in Tibet by illustrating how a borderland community whose use of language is characterized by linguistic mixture and fluidity interact with and articulate the isomorphic language/ethnicity category as framed by monoglot ideologies, and in the process, produce their own socio-linguistic identity.

Recent research has gradually highlighted the linguistic diversity within Tibet (Roche and Suzuki 2018; Roche and Tsomu 2018), and the endangerment and stigmatization of Tibetan dialects due to the promotion of standard Tibetan languages (Roche and Li 2018). On the Sino-Tibetan borderland, Chone Tibetan is marginalized due to such standardist ideologies. As a borderland community, Chone’s long interaction

with neighboring communities, especially Han Chinese, has resulted in the use of many Chinese loanwords in everyday speech and gradual language shift to Chinese. At the same time, the promotion of standard Amdo Tibetan by the state, and the rhetoric of ‘pure father tongue’ (Tib. *pha skad gtsang ma*) (Hofer 2017; Robin 2014) have made Chone Tibetans believe that their heritage language is less ‘pure’ and less ‘authentic’ than standard Amdo Tibetan. They describe themselves as *Rgya ma bod*, “neither Tibetan nor Chinese”, and many members of my community are experiencing a sense of linguistic anxiety and cultural alienation. It is within this context that my research examines the representation of Tibetan linguistic and cultural authenticity as it is imagined by Chone Tibetans.

By drawing on the anthropological understandings of authenticity as seen in the work of Handler (1986) and Linnekin (1991), which sees authenticity less as an essential trait, and more as a motivation for people to reflect their contemporary concerns, my research examines the rationale behind and effects of an imagined authentic Tibetan language and identity as framed by the Chinese state and by Tibetan elites, rather than understanding these processes as completed projects. Meanwhile, by reading authenticity as plural and context-specific (Theodossopoulos 2013) in the context of practice theory (Bourdieu 1977), my research explores how people’s lived experience and everyday language practice allow the emergence and expression of an authentic language and self (Derrida 1998; Shneiderman 2015; Woolard 2016). I thus conceptualize the hybridized form of language that comprises standard Chinese and Tibetan, local Chinese dialects, and the code switching used by Chone Tibetans to be authentic within its own context and region, rather than understanding it as an inauthentic form of standard Tibetan as it is commonly imagined and portrayed.

I believe this research will contribute to our understanding of multilingualism in Tibet by focusing on Chone Tibetans, who are not recognized in the existing literature. In doing so, my research also offers insights into how Tibetan ethnic identity first develops and then is challenged at the local level between different Tibetan communities and their language ideologies, instead of simply exploring the nationalist Tibetan conflict with the Chinese state, which has been the focus of most studies to date. It also contributes to larger theoretical discussions about authenticity by examining how language practice reveals the multidimensional and authentic nature of language and self across time, place and plural linguistic contexts.

## Panel 27 – Outcomes and Prospects of a Multimedia Dictionary on Tibetan Pastoral Culture

བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་པའི་ཤེས་རིག་གི་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འབྲས་བུ་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

### Panel organizers

Hoshi Izumi (Yokohama)

Bessho Yusuke (Kawasaki)

**Panel abstract** – The members of this panel aimed to compile a multimedia dictionary to understand the traditional culture of the Qinghai-Tibetan pastoralists by using an interdisciplinary research system, which spanned multiple fields, including linguistics, anthropology, religious studies, pasture ecology, history, and literature. This concept is founded on the close relationships between the pastoralists and their livestock as well as the transformation of these relationships. Data were gathered by carefully observing and recording the relationships between them with the documentary linguistics method. The contributions of this study are a paper-based dictionary, a documentary film, learning materials for children, and iOS/Android apps with texts, photographs, audio features, and illustrations. It will also promote the culture of the local Qinghai-Tibetan society (primarily for cultural education purposes). This panel will introduce the processes and the outcomes of this project and demonstrate its future prospects.

Hoshi Izumi (Yokohama)

### **Towards Rich Cultural Lexicography: A Case Study of Cultural Lexis of Tibetan Pastoralism**

Recently, more and more Tibetan people have started to pay attention to the preservation of their indigenous culture and are now creating small dictionaries of cultural lexis. Most of these small dictionaries employ pictures to illustrate the lemmas, through which concrete visuals are conveyed to readers successfully. However, just presenting pictures along with the lemmas should not prove sufficient to facilitate understanding of those meanings both for the Tibetan younger generation and for outsiders, who do not share the experiences of the indigenous culture.

This paper introduces a scenario for cultural lexicography by applying both visual and narrative resources. Through our experience in creating a dictionary of pastoralism, we found that three types of approaches would be efficient in elaborating the descriptions of the cultural lexis. The first type is a scientific approach such as dairy science or meat science. The second type is a visual approach that uses videos and pictures. The third type is a narrative approach, which is used to conduct interviews with the indigenous people or present examples cited from the corpus of literary works.

This paper demonstrates the latter two types of approaches in a mixed way; (1) the visual and interview based approach or (2) the visual and corpus based approach. First, we extract the lemmas that are difficult to explain from the dictionary. Second, we perform fieldwork and take videos or pictures of the items on the list. Then, (1) we carry out interviews with the indigenous people and ask them to describe the virtues and episodes related to the items by showing them videos or pictures of the items, or (2) we collect the examples of lemmas from literary works and illustrate the selected expressions with both pictures and examples. An illustration based on the scene may also prove to be effective for explaining the situation in which the selected expressions are employed.

The paper concludes that our visual-narrative approach is effective for enriching the descriptions of the cultural lexis. Furthermore, it concludes that both people's narratives and literary works are informative resources that tell us about the real lives of indigenous people. Based on this lexicographical experience, we have started to archive our interviews with the indigenous people along with citations from selected



names of body parts, kinship terms, everyday items, or regular verbs; however, culturally specific vocabulary is often overlooked. Similarly, the specific vocabulary of the Tibetan nomadic-pastoralists was rarely recorded. For instance, although the black nomadic tents made of yak wool are described as “sbra” in Tibetan dictionaries, their various parts are not all listed there. Hence, we conducted field surveys in the eastern part of the Amdo region and collected more than 3,000 of the terms; however, it takes considerable time, due to a lack of suitable vocabulary lists for nomadic-pastoralist societies.

We are therefore creating a basic vocabulary list for nomadic pastoral societies based on existing studies from around the world. We first classified essential elements of nomadic pastoral livelihoods into five categories, including (1) natural environment, (2) daily grazing management, (3) reproductive management, (4) livestock production management, and (5) clothing, food, and housing. In category (1), we listed names of wild animals and plants, classification names of topography, and the local taxa of grazing pastures, etc. Category (2) includes terms for livestock appearance (e.g., color, horn shape, size) and essential goods associated with daily grazing. Work operation terms and necessary items for castration, delivery, or slaughtering were listed in category (3). Terms for dairy products, livestock body parts, or classification of animal hair and skin were listed in category (4). Category (5) includes terms for clothes, sewing tools, daily meals, or tent component parts. Moreover, we added the essential category of (6) Religious knowledge and practice as a unique circumstance of Tibet. We suggest that these six categories and the resulting vocabulary list will help to record the specific culture of nomadic-pastoralist societies in Tibet.

Shiho Ebihara (Tokyo)

### **Children’s Book on Yak: An Outreach of the “Dictionary of Tibetan Pastoralism (pilot version)”**

For the past four years, we have been conducting fieldwork on pastoral culture and its vocabularies in the Dme-shul area of Rtse-khog, Qinghai-Tibet (Amdo), under the joint research projects. Additionally, we have developed an iPhone Operating System Application (iOS APP), a Portable Document Format (PDF) file, and, an online dictionary named “Dictionary of Tibetan Pastoralism (Pilot Version)” in March 2018. This dictionary includes terminologies for livestock, land features, dairy products, meat, clothing, textiles, tents, dung, kitchen stoves, ceremonies, religious rituals and so on, with texts, photographs, audio sounds, and illustrations. So far, this dictionary has received favorable reactions from the Tibetan people, as well as scholars all over the world.

In the local Qinghai-Tibet community, children are growing up without knowing about their pastoral culture because of resettlement and schooling. In order to promote the pastoral culture of Qinghai-Tibet successfully, we are preparing learning materials for Tibetan children, with texts, illustrations and maps, based on the descriptions in the “Dictionary of Tibetan Pastoralism (pilot version)”. This presentation will introduce a children’s picture book on yak, an animal that constitutes a part of Tibetan folk vocabulary, and has a deep relationship with Tibetans.

Coincidentally, a small movement towards the publication of children’s books is growing in Amdo recently, with a few picture books on yak among them. This might be because a yak is an important livestock and an iconic animal in Tibet. These books include various stories about yaks, such as “a coming-of-age” story, a story about a friendship between a yak herder boy and a young yak, and other anthropomorphic yak stories. The approach of these books is different from ours. Unlike these storybooks, ours is a more science and folk knowledge based book on yak, which provides scientific knowledge and folk culture about yaks. The book includes yak terminology (names at different ages, sex, role in herds, physical features, body parts, and personality etc.), biological and ecological information, relationship between yaks and Tibetans, product (butter, milk, yoghurt, meat, skin, horns, tails, hair, wool/down, dung, transportation), symbols of yak in Tibetan culture, and the recent situation of yak endangerment (caused by environmental policies, resettlement, and, urbanization).

This presentation will introduce the editing process and contents of the book, as well as some problems

such as cultural taboos, and dialectal variations of yak names. Folk yak vocabularies are partly different among dialects. The problem or question of which dialectal variation should be used in learning materials for Tibetan children will be discussed in this presentation.

Masahiro Hirata (Obihiro)

## **Digitally Generating Specialized Encyclopedias from a Multimedia Dictionary: From the Case Study of Milk Culture of Amdo Tibetan Pastoralist**

### **Introduction**

The co-researchers have been gathering vocabularies related to many cultural items from the Amdo Tibetan pastoralists and building a multimedia cultural dictionary of Tibetan pastoralism, which includes a set of description, pictures and illustrations for each word. As a cultural dictionary on pastoralism, it would be desirable for it to be equipped with encyclopedic functions in order for the users to be able to understand pastoral culture. The future task is to create a digital dictionary that can generate specialized cultural encyclopedias. One of the advantages of a digital dictionary is that it can interface various items. With a digitized dictionary, the file archiver can link one milk processing vocabulary to another and it can be presented as an encyclopedia. This presentation focuses on milk culture (milk processing), which is one of the important pastoral culture items, and attempts to create an encyclopedia from the digital dictionary on pastoral culture.

### **Purpose**

The presenter uses the case study of Amdo Tibetan pastoralist's milk culture (milk processing) to introduce how the milk processing vocabulary is gathered and how the vocabulary list is archived as a dictionary. Then, co-researchers devise a file archiver to describe the milk processing systems, attempt to build a digital dictionary on pastoral culture that combines cultural encyclopedias on pastoralism, and discuss its effectiveness in the pastoral culture research to understand milk culture.

### **Results and discussion**

#### **1. The interaction of milk culture research and compilation of the dictionary**

The presenter made a preliminary list of vocabularies that should be gathered based on his thirty years of experience in the milk culture research. The presenter interviewed the pastoralists and observed milk processing while being mindful of constructing figures of the milk processing systems, because the milk processing by the pastoralists is overall made up of a system in which a milk product is processed into the next milk product. The research is lacking if the figure of the milk processing system is not complete, so the method of using the construction of figures of the milk processing system is very effective in the milk culture research.

The milk culture data collected in the field included the spelling, description, pictures and illustrations of the word to create a dictionary archive. The words that cannot be fully described in the dictionary indicated that there has not been sufficient research. The concurrence of the milk culture research and the compilation of the dictionary complemented one another and became an excellent technique that were able to drive more productive academic activities.

#### **2. The potential of the encyclopedic use of dictionary to understand pastoral culture (milk culture)**

The cultural dictionary on pastoralism is a list of pastoral culture vocabularies explained with pictures and illustrations. The encyclopedic use of this cultural dictionary on pastoralism can help the users gain understanding of pastoral culture.

It is essential to understand the milk processing technique, which is an important cultural item in pastoralism, as a milk processing system, because it is important to understand the relationship between the milk products. The presenter drew figures of the milk processing system and described the explanation of the milk processing system. The co-researchers created a platform (milk processing system platform) for understanding the milk processing systems, inserted links to the milk culture vocabulary found in the

figures and captions, and displayed relevant entries from the cultural dictionary of pastoralism on the milk processing platform. This is how the specialized encyclopedic function of the cultural dictionary on pastoralism is created to help the users understand milk culture.

With a digitized dictionary, the file archiver can create a specialized encyclopedia focusing on specific cultural items. If a researcher can build a platform for each cultural items related to pastoral culture, they can build a digital dictionary able to generate specialized cultural encyclopedias on pastoralism; such dictionary can contribute significantly to the pastoral culture research.

It is understood that the compilation of cultural dictionary on pastoralism through digital archives would contribute a large part of the pastoral culture research, and it is regarded as a promising new research tool. Hence, it is important to form an interdisciplinary collaborative research team centered on linguistics and to rely on the participation of co-researchers who have acquired the skills to handle digital content.

Keisuke Iwata (Tokyo)

### **A Recognition of Pastoralism, from Publications in Recent Years on the History of Amdo Tibetans**

This paper presents the significance of pastoralism to Amdo Tibetans by investigating publications in recent years of the history of Amdo Tibetans. This paper will be a part of the panel (27) “The Outcomes and Prospects of a Multimedia Dictionary with regard to Tibetan Pastoral Culture”.

Historically, pastoralism has been the main livelihood among Amdo Tibetans. In order to study the history of Amdo Tibetans, it is important to understand deeply, the significance of pastoralism. However, since many of the historical materials written by Tibetans in the pre-modern era mainly focus on Tibetan Buddhism or politics, the descriptions about pastoralism are very limited. Therefore, we will investigate the current circumstances through a field survey or a literature survey of current publications.

In recent years, especially in the 2010s, many of publications on the history of Amdo Tibetans, such as *bong stag g-yu ljongs phyug mo'i lo rgyus bgres po'i ngag sgras rang grol gyi gsed bkrol*, have been published in Amdo. This movement, which is spreading over the whole area of Amdo, is noticeable. These publications describe the Amdo Tibetans' history in units of a Tibetan village or clan by using the Tibetan language. They describe not only the political and religious history but also the culture and livelihood of each village or clan. As the descriptions of pastoralism are diverse, we can understand the interest or recognition of pastoralism for each Amdo Tibetan's village or clan from the publications. In order to investigate their livelihood, we can also analyse official annals written in Chinese, published in the 1990s. However, these official annals describe the area in units based on the administrative district, and so we cannot understand the Amdo Tibetans' concerns or values from these descriptions. In order to understand them, it is necessary to examine the descriptions written by Tibetans in the Tibetan language. In this paper, I would like to analyse some of the publications from recent years, on the history of Amdo Tibetans written by Tibetans in the Tibetan language. Through the investigation of their descriptions about pastoralism, I demonstrate the variation of the significance and recognition of pastoralism for each Amdo Tibetan's village or clan. In addition to this, this paper is also an example of the utilization of the Dictionary of Tibetan Pastoralism (pilot version).

Bessho Yusuke (Kawasaki)

### **The Practice of Liberating Animals (tshe thar) among Pastoralists in the Sanjiangyuan Nature Reserve: Based on Field Experience Creating a Dictionary of Pastoralism**

In our research project over nearly four years, we carried out vocabulary collection fieldwork in the Yellow River headwater region, gathering the system of the livestock-centered vocabulary there for the purpose of showing a holistic picture of the knowledge and skills accumulated by pastoralists who settled in the environment of the Tibetan Plateau. In this paper, I describe the development and maintenance of

*tshe thar*, a practice in which Tibetan people designate particular livestock or animals as not for sale or slaughter, freeing their lives out of compassion, which depicts the spiritual culture of Tibetan pastoral society. The motives behind *tshe thar* relate to the broad background of the people's life experiences such as daily herding, enhancing wealth and prosperity, childbirth, disease, extending life, and mourning.

Previous studies such as those by Holler (2002) and Tan (2016) include an analysis of the symbolic nature of *tshe thar* from the perspective of human–nonhuman relationships; more recently, the practice of *tshe thar* has also been examined in relation to topics of modernization such as “environmentalism” (Woodhouse 2016) or “vegetarianism” (Barstow 2017). These studies have portrayed *tshe thar* as an interface that connects society and individuals, or human beings and nature. However, how the *tshe thar* animals are selected from ordinary livestock and maintained in daily herding, how their positions are replaced with other livestock and, finally, how their positions are cancelled in particular situation has not been fully investigated in the context of pastoral people's everyday space.

In our field site, in addition to the *tshe thar*, which ordinarily means sacred livestock, there are two other kinds of sacred livestock, which are also liberated from slaughter and sale, called “*srung (nor/lug)*” and “*srog blu*,” and they are also intermingled in herds. While *tshe thar* and *srung* animals must be selected from a herder's own livestock, *srog blu* just refers to animals that were purchased from elsewhere by cash as ransom for their lives. Although *srung* animals are most treasured in herds, the perpetuity of its position, which is generally considered permanent, is not secure in practice, and it may be deprived of its status by another animal. On the other hand, an increasing number of *srog blu* accompanying the migration policy in recent years is a factor that erodes the boundary of the two former categories.

In this paper, I examine the interrelationship of sacred livestock within herds in connection with the daily events and a particular accident during herding activity such as injuring by wolves or being lost. As a result, the paper clarifies the close connection between the herder's everyday events and the practice of *tshe thar*, underpinning the symbolic nature of the latter, which connects society and individuals.

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## Panel 52 – Tense-Aspect, Evidentiality and Epistemicity in the Tibetic Languages

སྡོལ་ལྷན་ཡིག་པ་ནང་གི་དུས་གསུམ་དང་། གནས་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཁྱུངས་དང་གོ་བ་ལེན་ཐབས། ཐེ་ཚོམ་བཅས་སྟོན་པའི་ཚིག་གྲོགས།

### Panel organizers

Nicolas Tournadre (Aix-en-Provence)

Camille Simon (Heidelberg)

**Panel abstract** – The grammatical marking of the evidential and epistemic modalities is a prominent feature of the Tibetic languages. The precise semantic-pragmatic extension of the evidential and epistemic markers, as well as their morphological form may differ in the various languages of the family, but all the languages of this family exhibit a rich and complex inventory of such markers.

Epistemicity and evidentiality constitute two distinct but closely intertwined grammatical categories, that might fuse into a single morpheme, or combine in different grammatical slots. The choice of an evidential/epistemic marker mainly depends on: (1) the type of situation described ; (2) the source(s) and access(es) to the information available to the speaker at the time she describes the event; (3) the various tenses and aspects; (4) the communicative strategy of the speaker and the discourse genre.

Several studies have been devoted to the analysis of evidentiality in the different languages of the family and in a comparative perspective. However, the interaction between evidentiality, epistemicity, tense-aspect as well as other parameters mentioned above still need further research.

Thus, this panel aims to pursue this research and to explore the broader domain of evidentiality and epistemicity in the various languages of the Tibetic family. More specifically, we aim to investigate more specifically the relationship with other, nearby grammatical categories and discourse domains. Possible topics include (but are not restricted to):

- The grammaticalisation and the historical development of the evidential and epistemic grammatical categories in the different Tibetic languages ;
- Interaction between evidential / epistemic marking strategies and discourse genre and modalities ;
- Possible and impossible combinations of evidential / epistemic markers with other grammatical categories such as tense-aspect, volition and the semantic role of the participants, illocutionary modalities, speaker's stance etc.

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Nicolas Tournadre (Aix-en-Provence)

## The Main Differences Between the Evidential /Epistemic Systems of the Tibetic Languages

Evidential/ Epistemic systems (E/E) of the Tibetic languages are among the more sophisticated in the World. They all exhibit at least five core categories Sensory, Inferential, Authoritative (or Factual), Quotative and Epistemic and apply the anticipation strategy. However they differ in a number of ways which have not been sufficiently explored.

We will examine the various semantic extensions of these core categories, the correlations with tense-aspect and person, as well as the existence of E/E subcategories.

Eric Mélac (Montpellier)

## The Grammaticalization of Evidentiality in Tibetan

Evidentiality is a linguistic notion that is particularly salient when exploring the interaction between language and thought since it operates at the intersection of these two distinctly human faculties. It can be defined as the linguistic encoding of the mode of access to the expressed information (Boas 1938, Chafe & Nichols eds. 1986, Aikhenvald 2004, Tournadre 2008 inter alia). It is a pervasive semantic domain which is both metacognitive and metalinguistic, and which underlies every utterance, because all the sentences that we make necessarily rely on some information that has been acquired in one way or another: direct perception, inference or hearsay.

This paper focuses on evidential markers in Lhasa Tibetan. When speaking a Tibetic language, you cannot escape the use of verb inflections that are partly determined by evidentiality (DeLancey 1986, Tournadre 2017). In Lhasa Tibetan, you will use the suffix *-song* (pronounced /sõŋ/) to indicate that you have been a direct witness of the situation you are referring to. Alternatively, you will use *-bzhag* (/çəʔ/) to encode an inference based on the observation of the resultant state, and you may also add the enclitic *-ze* (/s/) to specify that you simply heard about the situation. These distinctions are deeply ingrained in the syntax and semantics of Tibetan (as well as in those of other “evidential languages” on other continents, such as Tariana or Quechua; see notably Aikhenvald 2004 and Aikhenvald, ed., 2018). Tibetic languages offer a unique opportunity to explore the grammaticalization of evidentiality since many of these languages have nearly a dozen fully grammaticalized evidential markers, and their diachronic development is illustrated with a very old and substantial written record from the 8th century (Oisel 2013, Mélac 2014, Tournadre 2017, DeLancey 2018).

In order to analyse the evidential system of Lhasa Tibetan, the paper will firstly discuss the several markers that can be considered grammaticalized evidentials. I will discuss what criteria can be retained to distinguish them from lexical or semi-grammatical evidentials, i.e. idiomatic phrases such as *ngas bltas na* (‘from what I see’) or periphrastic constructions such as *mdog kha po* (‘to look + adjective’). I will also examine semantic features that may allow us to differentiate evidentials from other grammatical forms that encode a related notion, for example the epistemic suffix *-gi yod gyi red*, which expresses uncertainty but no mode of access to information. Finally, I will present some of the evidence available on the origins of these markers. I will compare the evolutionary patterns of Tibetan evidentials to the several pathways of grammaticalization of this notion from a cross-linguistic perspective.

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Zuzana Vokurková (Prague)

### **Comparison of the Use of Evidential and Epistemic Verbal Endings and Auxiliary Verbs in the Language Spoken in the Region of Dolpo, Nepal, with Lhasa Tibetan**

This paper aims at demonstrating similarities and differences in the evidential and epistemic systems of the Tibetic language spoken in Dolpo, Nepal, and of Lhasa Tibetan, Central Tibet. Although certain of their linguistic items are, from the point of view of phonetics, lexis or grammar, identical, both variants differ enormously in the use of auxiliary verbs and in TAM (tense-aspect-modality) verbal endings.

Dolpo is a region located in the Northern part of Nepal on the Tibetan plateau. It is inhabited by people speaking a language that is closely related to the language spoken in Western areas of the Tibet Autonomous Region in the Ngari prefecture ( stod skad ). In Dolpo itself it is known as dol po'i lab meaning "the Dolpo speech or talk". It is spoken in six Village Development Committees (VDC) in the Dolpa district of Nepal. The actual population is not known but is estimated to be between 9 000 and 15 000 people.

Regarding the TAM verbal system, both variants employ various particles and auxiliary verbs to form verbal endings. These verbal endings convey different tense-aspects and evidential and epistemic meanings. Both variants have two types of essential and existential verbs as well as two types of verbal endings. These two types differ in the degree of the speaker's certainty of the actuality of his/her utterance (100% certainty for the evidential type versus less than 100% certainty for the epistemic).

Just like other Tibetic languages, from a semantic and pragmatic point of view, the system of evidential and epistemic verbal marking is similar for Dolpo and Lhasa: various verbal endings can be classified primarily according to the tense-aspect they convey, the degree of probability, and the evidential meaning. Further parameters interacting with the system are the participant perspective, illocutionary modalities, volition, frequency, and others.

From a formal point of view, the two variants differ in the use of nominalizing (and other) particles and verbal auxiliaries which form various verbal endings and copulas, e.g. yin 'dig (Dolpo) versus red (Lhasa), yin gyi 'dig (Dolpo) versus yin gyi red (Lhasa), or 'od shag (Dolpo) versus yod sa red (Lhasa). The paper will focus on showing the corresponding forms in Dolpo and in Lhasa, and on comparing them from a functional point of view (tense-aspects, evidentiality, epistemic degree, speaker's stance, and so forth).

Finally, the compatibility of verbal endings with various verbal constructions and verbal classes will be discussed as well as their use (and restrictions in their use) in dependent clauses and in interrogative sentences.

Camille Simon (Heidelberg)

### **Discourse-Pragmatic Values Correlated to Factual Evidentiality in Amdo-Tibetan**

The frequent correlation between egophoric evidentiality and control in the Tibetic languages is well described. Factual evidential forms in Amdo-Tibetan presents another type of recurrent subdivision related to discourse-pragmatic functions rather than semantic properties. This presentation will thus focus on two pairs of factual evidential markers: the generic tense-aspect marker V+ནི་རེད། and V+གི་རེད། on the one hand and the equative copulas རེད། and ཡིན་ནི་རེད། on the other.

Whereas the generic tense-aspect marker V+ནི་རེད། is largely mentioned in the literature (see i.a. Tribur 2017: 403ff), the second marker V+གི་རེད། has not been described yet. In my data, this latter form is however attested in four different varieties of Amdo-Tibetan : the varieties spoken in Xunhua, Rebkong (Tongren), Sogdzong (Henan) and Rmachu (Maqu) areas, and that represent the four Amdo-Tibetan dialect groups according to Green 2012. Both markers are illustrated by the following examples:

**(1) Rmachu, M, 48 y.o.**

དགོན་པ་      གཙོ་བོ་      [...]      གསར་མ་-ཟེག་      ཡོད་ནི་རེད།      རྗེང་མ་-ཟེག་      ཡོད་ནི་རེད།      ད་      གཉིས་ཀ་-ལ་      འགོ་-ནི་རེད།  
 monastery main [...] gelugpa-INDEF EXIST.FACT nyingmapa-INDEF EXIST.FACT DISC both-dat go.PRES-FACT

‘As for the main monasteries, there is a gelugpa one,[and] there is a nyingmapa one. Well, people go to both.’

**(2) Rmachu, M, 50 y.o.**

ཉིན་མོ་-འི་      བུང་      བཞོས་ཕུད་-གི་རེད།  
 day-GEN middle milk.PRES-FACT

‘One milks at noon.’

In a first part, I will show that the two generic factual markers differ in terms of presupposition regarding the knowledge of the co-speaker: while the form V+ནི་རེད། is pragmatically neutral, by choosing the form V+གི་རེད།, the speaker indicates that she considers the given information to be already shared by the co-speakers. Thus, using this latter form allows the speaker to create a form of connivance with the other speech act participant(s). In a second part, a parallel approach will be proposed to describe and oppose the two factual equative copula རེད། and ཡིན་ནི་རེད།.

Such a correlation of discourse-pragmatic and evidential value has been described in other language families (e.g. in Quechua, Hintz & Hintz 2017) but has not yet been documented in Amdo-Tibetan. However, discourse-pragmatic values are by no means foreign to tibetic evidentiality: the “anticipation rule” in interrogative, also defined as a switch of “main speech act participant” (Zeisler 2014) is well described and corresponds to a similar process.

Finally, I will also shortly examine the differences in terms of frequency of these markers observed between the different dialects considered, insofar as these differences might indicate different values.

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The Nettle platform incorporates a variety of learning task types: lectures posted on YouTube and linked into the site; Adobe Captivate lecture presentations; Quizlet vocabulary sets and associated exercises linked into the site; word sequencing exercises; word category identification exercises; parallel texts featuring fill-in-the-blank translation exercises; and reading samples. Tasks are assembled together into units, and student progress on tasks and units are relayed with feedback to the course instructor.

Although these two courses have been used in Tibetan courses at the University of Toronto, they are freely available for anybody to use. In addition, instructors can clone and modify existing courses, tailoring them as they like, linking their own lectures and vocabulary sets, and devising their own tasks for students. This flexibility enables interested users to exploit the system to create completely new learning materials for Tibetan. As an open-source platform, the system can be adapted as a developer might wish; it could easily be adapted to use by languages other than Tibetan.

sNang gsal bsTan 'dzin nor bu ལྷང་གསལ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ནོར་བུ། | Nangsal Tenzin Norbu (New York, New York)

### How to Teach Tibetan as Second Language to the Heritage Students

སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༧ ལོ་ནས་བྱུང་ཨ་མེ་རི་ཀའི་ནང་དུ་གཞི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་བའི་བོད་མི་གཞིས་ཆགས་སུ་ཡོང་འགོ་རྒྱུགས་ཤིང་། རིམ་བཞིན་ཡོ་རོབ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྒྱབ་སྟོན་གསལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་འདྲེན་པའི་གཞིས་ཆགས་སྤྱི་བྱེད་མཁུ་ལུ་ལྟོ་ཡི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། གཞིས་ཆགས་སུ་འབྱོར་བའི་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ནས་རང་རང་གི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གསལ་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་བཅུགས་ཏེ་བུ་སྤྱུག་སྤྱིས་འཚར་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། བོད་སྤྱུག་མི་རབས་གསལ་པ་དེ་ཚོས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོམས་ཡིན་པའི་སྐད་དང་ཡི་གེ། ཚོས་དང་རིག་གཞུང་དེ་རྣམས་སུ་མཐུན་ནས་འཛིན་སྲོལ་གསུམ་ཡོང་བར་དཀའ་ཚེགས་མང་དག་ཅིག་སྤེལ་དང་འཕྲད་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

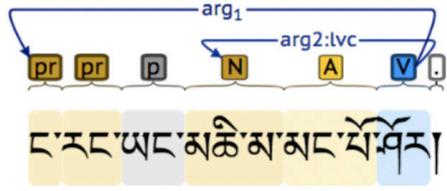
དཀའ་ཚེགས་དེ་ཡང་རྒྱབ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་དེ་ཚོའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་། རིག་གཞུང་ལ་རུས་མང་འདྲེན་གོམས་འདྲིས་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་དམིགས་པའི་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཁོར་ཡུག་ཅིག་མེད་པ་མ་ཟད། བོད་སྐད་དེ་དག་བོད་སྤྱུག་དེ་ཚོའི་སྐད་དུ་མ་གྱུར་བར་ཁོ་པོ་ཚོ་འཚོ་གནས་བྱེད་པའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་སོ་སོའི་ནང་གི་སྐད་ཡིག་དེ་ལོ་པ་ཚོའི་སྐད་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པར་བརྟེན། བྱུང་ཨ་མེ་རི་ཀའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་བའི་རྒྱབ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་དེ་ཚོའི་ནང་དུ་འཚར་འདས་བྱེད་བཞིན་པའི་བོད་སྤྱུག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གནས་སྤངས་དེས་དང་། ཁོ་པོ་ཚོའི་སོམས་ཁམས་དང་འཚོམ་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་སྤོབ་སྤོབ་བྱེད་པའི་ཁོར་ཡུག་དང་། སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་བྱེད་མཁུ་། སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཆ་དང་སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་ལ་སོགས་དམིགས་སུ་བཀའ་ནས་བཀོད་སྤྲོད་དང་ལག་སྟར་བྱེད་དགོས་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

བྱུང་ཨ་མེ་རི་ཀ་ལྟ་བུར་ཆགས་བཞག་ན། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༧ ལོ་ནས་བཟུང་། རེས་གཟའ་ཉི་མའི་གཟའ་མཇུག་སྤོབ་བྲལ་གཉེར་འགོ་རྒྱུགས་ནས་ད་བར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྷག་ཙམ་ཞིག་འགོ་བཞེན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ད་བར་གཟའ་མཇུག་སྤོབ་བྲལ་ཁྱོད་གྲུ་ལྷག་གཉེས་ཀྱི་ལུ་ལྷག་དང་། སྤོབ་སྤྱུག་ཁྱོད་གྲུ་ལྷག་གཉེས་ལྷག་ཙམ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་རེད། འདས་པའི་ལོ་ལྷ་ཙམ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་བྱུང་ཨ་མེ་རི་ཀའི་ལུ་ལྷག་གི་པ་སྐད་ལུ་ལྷག་འཛིན་པའི་བོད་སྤྱུག་དེ་རྣམས་ལ་ཆེད་དུ་དམིགས་ཏེ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་སྤོབ་དེབ་སྤོབ་འགོ་ནས་འཛིན་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་པ་བར་གསལ་དུ་རྩོམ་སྤྲོད་བྱས་པ་དང་། སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་དེ་ཡང་སྐད་ཡིག་གཉེས་པའི་སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་ལ་བརྟེན་དགོས་པ་རིམ་བཞིན་ལག་སྟར་བྱེད་དགོས་ཚུགས་བཞིན་ཡོད། དེར་བརྟེན། ཐངས་འདྲིའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་བཟོ་སྐྲུག་འཚོགས་འདུ་དེའི་ཐོག་སྤྱུག་གིས་འདས་པའི་མི་རོབ་ལྷ་ཙམ་གྱི་རིང་དུ་ཞུ་ཡིག་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་ཀོ་ལུ་སྤོབ་ལྷ་སྤོབ་བྲལ་ཆེན་མོའི་ནང་དུ་ “དང་རབས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་” གི་སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་བྱེད་ཡོད་པའི་ཉམས་སྲུང་དང་། ལྷག་དོན་བྱུང་ཨ་མེ་རི་ཀའི་གཟའ་མཇུག་བོད་ཡིག་འཛིན་གྱི་སྤོབ་དེབ་རྩོམ་སྤྲོད་བྱེད་མཁུ་གསལ་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད། གཟའ་མཇུག་སྤོབ་བྲལ་དངོས་སུ་སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་བྱེད་མཁུ་གྱི་དགོ་རྒྱུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་ཆེན་མོར་རང་རང་གི་སྤོབ་ཁྲིད་ཐབས་ལམ་དང་ཉམས་སྲུང་རྣམས་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ལགས་དང་མཁས་བར་རྣམས་པར་དེ་སྤོབ་ཀྱིས་པན་རྒྱུ་ལེགས་སྤོབ་ཉམས་འགོག་གི་དགོངས་འཆར་དང་གོ་སྐར་ལྷན་ལྷན་ཡིན་ལགས།

Edward Garrett (London)

### Learning Tibetan from a Tagged and Parsed Corpus

This paper presents applications of a part-of-speech tagged and grammatically parsed Tibetan corpus for language learning. For illustration, consider the following simple annotated sentence from The Life of Milarepa. In this example, three layers of annotation build on the source text, providing opportunities for learning at multiple levels.



Then I too shed many tears.<sup>1</sup>

First, unlike the raw text string, the annotation splits the sentence into “words”. In a discussion at the Trace Foundation’s library in New York, the Tibetan author Tenzin Dickie advocated reforming the Tibetan writing system to include spaces between words, saying “word separation will definitely increase comprehension, because you can immediately pick out words as you read the text. It will increase clarity and reduce ambiguity.”<sup>2</sup> Though I do not favour such a reform myself, it is clear that adding word breaks to a Tibetan sentence can help language learners to focus on other tasks, such as deciphering sentence meaning. The online Tibetan language learning platform Nettle has used text with word breaks to implement interactive word sequencing exercises, in which learners are asked to rearrange garbled sentences into their correct order.<sup>3</sup>

Second, the above annotation labels words with part-of-speech categories such as pr (pronoun), p (particle), N (noun), A (adjective), and V (verb). This information can also be used as the basis for language learning exercises. Again, the Nettle platform has used part-of-speech tagged text to implement word-category identification exercises, in which learners are asked to identify the verbs in a sentence, then the nouns, then the adjectives, and so on.

Third and finally, the annotation labels relations between words. The verb *shor* “lose” is linked to its two arguments. *arg1* corresponds more or less to sentence subjects. *arg2* corresponds more or less to verb objects. The sub-type *arg2:lvc* characterises a “light verb object”, that is, an idiomatic noun-verb construction that behaves like a single lexical entry. We use such verbal relations to catalogue the possible argument structures for a Tibetan verb. We also document those multiword verbal entries which are plentiful in text corpora but frequently missing from existing dictionaries. Verbal argument relations have not yet been incorporated into Tibetan language learning exercises, but there is clear potential. Knowing who did what to whom is central to deciphering a sentence, and this knowledge is precisely what the verbal argument structure of a sentence captures.

In common throughout these applications, learners are presented with selectively enriched text. The point is not for them to look at an annotated text, but to use aspects of the annotation to help them to understand the text, or to selectively exclude parts of the annotation which they are then tasked with recovering. This paper is intended for inclusion in the memorial panel on Tibetan language learning in honor of Gen Tsering D Gonkatsang. I will require computer projection, internet access, and audio out.

<sup>1</sup> Translation by Andy Quintman (The Life of Milarepa).

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.trace.org/library/breaking-line>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.nettletibetan.ca>



sMin snang mdzes སྐོན་སྣང་མངོས། | Nangzin (Dharamsala)

བོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཇི་ལྟར་འཚོལ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ།

དེ་ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་འདི་ནི་ཉ་  
ཅང་ཆེན་རེད་ལ། ལྷག་པར་ཏུ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚིག་མཛོད་དུ་ཆེས་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་གལ་ཆེའི་  
གྲུབ་ཆ་ཞིག་ཆགས་ཡོད་པས། གུས་ཚོས་འདི་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཞིབ་  
འཇུག་བྱེད་པར་ཐབས་ཤེས་གང་ཐུབ་བྱ་འདོད་ཡོད། དེ་སྔོན་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་  
ཁུངས་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཅེས་པ་རེ་ཡོད་མོད། དེ་དག་ཏུ་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་ཆ། ཐབས་  
ལམ། དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོད་སྐྱོད་ལ་དེ་ཚམས་བྱུང་མེད་པས། ཐེངས་འདིར་གུས་ཚོས་གོ་  
སྐབས་འདི་བརྒྱུད་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཏེ། ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཅིག་དུས་རབས་གང་ཞིག་ཏུ་  
བྱུང་བ་དང་། བྱུང་རིམ། འབྱུང་བ། རྒྱབ་ལྗོངས་སོགས་དམིགས་སུ་བཀའ་ནས་སྡེ་ཚན་ལྟ་  
བྱས་ནས་དབྱེ་ཡོད།

དང་པོ། རྒྱ་དབྱིན་ནང་གི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་སྐོར་ལས་ཅུང་ཚམས་བཅོལ་པ།  
གཉིས་པ། རྒྱ་དེགས་གཞན་ནས་བྱུང་ཆག་པའི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་སྐོར།  
གསུམ་པ། བོད་རང་གི་ས་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་ལྡན་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་དག་གི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས།  
བཞི་པ། འདོད་རྒྱལ་དང་རྗེས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས།  
ལྔ་པ། བོད་ཀྱི་ཚིག་མཛོད་དུ་ཐ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཇི་ལྟར་གལ་ཆེ་ཚུལ་བཅས་ཀྱི་  
སྐོར་ནས་རང་ལུས་ཅི་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་དབྱེད་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བཅས་འཚོལ་བྱས་ཏེ་དབྱེད་བཅོལ་བྱས་  
ཡོད་པས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་སྤྲིངས་ཆ་ནས་སྤོང་གང་ཡང་ཡོད་པའི་རེ་བ་ཡོད།

Shes rab rgya mtsho ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། | Sherab Gamtso (Dharamsala)

བོད་ཡིག་གི་ཚིག་མཛོད་ལག་དུ་མིང་ཚིག་དང་བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མིན་པའི་རིགས་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱ་ཐབས།

བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཡར་རྒྱས་གཏོང་བར། དེ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གི་ཚིག་མཛོད་ལག་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་  
དག་ཆ་བྲི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མ་ཡིན་པ་རྣམས། གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱ་དགོས་པ་གལ་ཆེན་ཆགས་ཡོད། ལྷན་བོད་དུ་དཔེ་ཆ་དཔར་འདེབས་བྱེད་སྐོལ་བྱུང་  
བ་དེས། མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་བྲི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་པན་རྒྱབས་མི་དམན་པ་ཐོན་འང་། དུས་ཕྱིས་  
བརྒྱན་བཅོས་དང་དག་ཡིག་ཚོམ་མཁན་རེ་བྱུང་གིས། མིང་ཚིག་སོགས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་པས་སྐད་ཀྱི་གདངས་ལྟར་བྲིས་སྐབས། ད་ཆ་ཡང་  
བརྒྱུར་མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་བྲི་སྐོལ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཐོན་ཏུ་གྱུར། དཔེར་ན། མིང་ཚིག་ལ། བྱམ་གདན་ལ། བྱམ་ཟེ།  
བྱམ་ཚ། བྱམ་ཆེ་ཞེས་དང་། བྲེང་བ་དང་འབྲེང་བ་ཞེས་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་ལ། ལོགས་སུ་བཀའ་བའི་མ་འོངས་པ་ལ་དགར་དང་བཀའ། ད་ལྟ་བུ་ལ།  
འགྲེང་དང་དགར་ཞེས་དང་། མིང་མཐའ་ལ། རྫོན་ཀ། རྫོན་ལ། དབྱིད་ཀ། དབྱིད་ལ་ལྟ་བུ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གདམ་ང་བྱས་ནས་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་འདིར་ཞིབ་  
ཏུ་བརྟགས་ན་སྐབས་སྐོན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པས། གདམ་ང་ཉལ་ཉལ་རྣམས་ཅིས་ཀྱང་འདོར་དགོས་པ་ཡིན།

གལ་སྲིད་ད་ལྟ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚིག་མཛོད་ལག་དུ་མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་བྲི་སྐྱེད་མི་འདྲ་བ་རྣམས་གཅིག་  
གྱུར་བྱ་ཐུབ་ཆེ། དེས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཡར་རྒྱས་གཏོང་བུར་འགོག་ཞུན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱེད་པའི་ལུས་ལ་བརྟེན། འདིར་བོད་ཡིག་ཚིག་མཛོད་ལག་དུ་མིང་  
ཚིག་སོགས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མེད་རིགས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དབྱིས་བྱིན་པ་བྱས་ནས། དག་ཆ་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱ་ཐོགས་ཐད་དོན་ཚན་རྣམས་ལ་ལྟེ་  
སྐོན་ལ་གསལ་པོ་བྲིས་ཡོད།

༡༽ དེ་སྔོན་དག་ཆ་བྲི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན།

མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་བྲི་ཚུལ་མང་པོ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མ་བྱུང་བ་དེའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་གང་ལ་ཐུག་ཡོད་མེད།  
གནའ་དེང་གི་མཁས་པས་མཛོད་པའི་དག་ཡིག་དང་། ཚིག་མཛོད་གྲགས་ཅན་མང་པོར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དབྱིས་བྱིན་པ་བྱས་ནས་གསེད་བཀོལ་ཞིབ་  
ལྟ་བྱས་ཡོད།

༡ ་དག་ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མ་བྱུང་བའི་སྟོན།

མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མ་བྱུང་བ་དེས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཡར་རྒྱས་གཏོང་བར་འགོག་  
སྟེན་དང་། གསར་སློབ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་མགོ་རྟོག་དང་ལྷན་དུ་ལོབ་པའི་གོགས་སྟེན་ཅི་འབྱུང་ཞིབ་བཤད་བྱས་ཡོད།

༢ ་དག་ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱུང་བའི་དགེ་མཚན།

མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་རྣམས་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱུང་ཚེ། དེས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་དུས་དང་  
མཐུན་པའི་སློ་ནས་ཡར་རྒྱས་གཏོང་རྒྱ་དང་། གསར་སློབ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཅི་གཏན་ཚིགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ནས་གསལ་བཟོད་བྱས་ཡོད།

༣ ་དག་ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་རྣམས་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱ་བས།

ད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཚིག་མཚོ་ལག་ཏུ་མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མིན་རིགས། གནའ་དེང་གི་  
བོད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཁྲུངས་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྟོན་རྣམ་དག་རྣམས་ལ་གཏུགས་ནས་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱ་བས་ཞིབ་ཕྲ་རྒྱ་མཚན་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་བཤད་ཡོད།

༤ ་དག་ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱ་བྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཅ་འཛིན།

གནའ་དེང་གི་སྐྱ་རིག་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཁྲུངས་ཐུབ་རྣམས་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱུང་བའི་ཐ་སྟོན་མིང་ཚིག་དང་། བྱ་ཚིག་མིང་མཐའ་བཅས་ཀྱི་དག་  
ཆ་བྱི་ཚུལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མ་ཡིན་པ་རྣམས། གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱ་བྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཅ་འཛིན་ཞིག་ལ་གསལ་གོ་བདེའི་ལམ་ནས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་ཡོད།

Burnee Dorjsuren (Ulaanbataar)

**Comparison of Tibetan Dictionaries Composed by Agvaandandar (19<sup>th</sup> c.) and Choidag (20<sup>th</sup> c.)**

18-19<sup>th</sup> century was significant in the cultural life of the Mongols. During this period, Kangyur and Tengyur were translated from the Tibetan language, and many Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries were compiled. The dictionary compiled by Brova ravjamba Gungaajamtsin 1718 was a bilingual dictionary. And in the 19<sup>th</sup> century not only bilingual, but also monolingual dictionaries were published. So for example, the famous Mongolian lexicographer Agvaandandar, who lived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century composed three dictionaries. The dictionary of Agvaandandar “The Light of the Moon” (*Zla ba’i ‘od snang*) (1838), a bilingual Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary, was very popular among the Mongols. And monolingual dictionaries such as *sKya rengs gsar ba* and *bLo gsal mgrin rgyan* were known not only to the Mongols, but also to the Tibetans. The dictionary of Agvaandandar “bLo gsal mgrin rgyan” is a monolingual dictionary. This is a dictionary of special vocabulary, namely the dictionary of old and new words. Old words in this dictionary were interpreted based on many different sources. The dictionary *sKya rengs gsar ba* is an orthographic dictionary.

Another lexicographer named Choidag (Chos grags), who is originally from Mongolia, compiled the dictionary *brDa dag ming tshig gsal ba*. Choidag in the afterword of the dictionary clearly wrote that he was born in Mongolia and spent his life in Tibet. In the first edition of 1949, the word *sog po*, which means “Mongol” in Tibetan, precedes the name of Choidag on the cover of the publication.

The manuscript of this dictionary was published in India, Dharamsala in 1949. It was reissued in 1957 and in 1981 with a Chinese translation. This dictionary, being monolingual, is the largest in number of words compared to previous dictionaries. It is well-known to Tibetologists around the world. Choidag’s dictionary, in turn, was also used in compiling a large Tibetan-Chinese dictionary.

This article discusses the vocabularies of Agvaandandar and Choidag from the point of view of lexicography. Namely, the author of the article compares the macro and microstructure of the dictionaries of two well-known lexicographers and traces their connection and tries to prove that the dictionaries of Agvaandandar served as the main sources for the compilation of the dictionary by Choidag. In the foreword of the 1981 edition of the dictionary, Choidag’s dictionary is highly appreciated. Particularly highly praised is the merit of Choidag, who compiled the first alphabetic Tibetan dictionary. We think that the alphabetical order of the arrangement of words was first introduced in the Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary of Gungaajamts. The dictionary of the two Mongolian lexicographers is still the reference book of Tibetologists, which speaks of the spiritual contribution of the Mongols in the study and compilation of Tibetan dictionaries.







pragmatics of trisyllabic compound nouns in oratorical traditions. Although the largest portion of Tibetan nouns are disyllabic in everyday speech, this paper focuses on trisyllabic nouns, a largely ignored segment in the study of Tibetan oral literature derived from songs such as *bshad pa* (formal speech), *gtam dpe* (proverb), *rogs mthun* (ballads), *glu* (folk song), and *la ye* (love song) in Amdo Tibetan. Trisyllabic nouns are widespread in “Tibetic languages”, especially productive in oratorical genres in Amdo. These trisyllabic compound nouns are often used for alliterative and formulaic purposes in oral literature. This paper starts off by providing a list of commonly used trisyllabic nouns in local oratory genres: nouns for animals, plants, people, landscapes, natural phenomena, tools, and abstract ideas. To further explore the use of such nouns from a literary perspective, particularly its provenance in Amdo Tibetan, this paper compares particular styles of oral literature from Amdo with oral and written literature from other parts of Tibetan cultural sphere, the purpose of which is to show how trisyllabic nouns are culture-specific values whose productivity in oral literature can be revealed through the application of theoretical perspectives such as oral-formulaic theory.

Keywords: trisyllabic noun, Amdo Tibetan, oral literature, oral-formulaic theory



'Jam dpal tshul khrimts འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྱིམ་མས། | Jampel Tsultrim

ཚངས་ལྷ་ཡུལ་སྐད་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

ཐོད་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནི་སྐད་རིག་པ་སྣ་མང་འདུས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཅིག་རེད། ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་པའི་བྱས་འབྲས་ཤིག་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་  
ཐོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཀྱན་ལ་ཡུལ་སྐད་ལྔ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡོད་པར་བཤད། འདི་དག་ནི་ཆེ་རྒྱ་གཉིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐད་ཆེ་ཆེ་ཁག་གསུམ་དུ་  
འདུ་སྲུབ་པ་ནི་མདོ་དབྱུས་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་ཚོལ་སྐད་གསུམ་དེ་རེད།

སྐབས་སུ་བབས་པ་ཚངས་ལྷ་ཡུལ་ཡོངས་བྱགས་སུ་བརྒྱ་བཀོད་པའི་སྐད་ཅེས་སུ་བྲགས་པ་འདི་ནི་ཐོད་ཀྱི་ཚོལ་སྐད་ཆེན་  
པོ་གསུམ་གྱི་ནང་ནས་དབྱུས་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་རེད། མཉམ་ཞིབ་པ་འགྲུབ་པའི་ཐོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཆེ་ཆུང་  
བྲངས་ལྔ་ལྟ་བུ་འཇམ་མཉམ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེའི་ནང་ནས་ཆེ་ཁག་ཉེར་ལྔ་ཅེས་ཡོགས་སུ་བཀར་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཚངས་ལྷའི་སྐད་  
འདི་སྐྱེབས་མེད་པ་ནི་བྲང་དེ་མི་འགྲིག་པར་མཐོང་། གང་ལགས་ཤེ་ན་དེའི་ནང་དུ་ཆབ་མདོའི་ཡུལ་སྐད་དང་ཡུལ་ཤུལ་གྱི་  
ཡུལ་སྐད་ལོགས་སུ་བཀའ་འདུག་ཅིང་། གལ་སྲིད་ཆབ་མདོའི་ཡུལ་སྐད་དང་ཡུལ་ཤུལ་གྱི་ཡུལ་གཉིས་ཡུལ་སྐད་མི་འབྲ་བ་  
ཆེ་ཁག་དུ་ལོགས་སུ་འགྲུབ་པའི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་ལྡན་པའི་ཚངས་ལྷ་ཡུལ་སྐད་འདི་དེ་ལྟར་ལོགས་སུ་འགྲུབ་པའི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་ཡོངས་སུ་  
ཆང་ཡོད། དེ་འབྲུག་ཅིང་ཚངས་ལྷའི་ཡུལ་སྐད་གཙོ་བོ་ལྔ་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་འཇམ་པར་དུ་འབྲེན་འོས།

ཡུལ་སྐད་འདི་སྐྱེ་བའི་ས་ཁུལ་ལ་མཚོན་ན་ད་ལྟའི་ཆར་རྒྱ་གར་ནག་གཉིས་དང་འབྲུག་བཅས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གསུམ་དང་། དེ་  
ཡང་རྫོང་ཁག་དགུ་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ཁྲུབ་ཡོད།

ད་དུང་ཁོ་བོས་ཆེད་ཚོས་དངོས་གཞིའི་ནང་དུ། ༡༽ འབྲུང་ཁུངས་ལ་དབྱེད་པ། ༢༽ སྐད་ཡིག་འདི་ལ་གཞན་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་  
ཤུགས་རྒྱུན། ༣༽ ཡུལ་སྐད་འདིས་བཞག་པའི་ཤུགས་རྒྱུན། ༤༽ སྐད་ཡིག་འདིའི་འབྲུང་འབྱུང་འདུན་ལམ། བཅས་ཀྱི་  
ཐོག་ལ་བསམ་གཞིགས་བྱས་འབྲས་འབྲུལ་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

ད་དུང་ཞར་བྱུང་དུ་བརྒྱ་བཀོད་ཀྱི་བརྗེ་ཆད་དམིགས་བསམ་པའི་མེད་མེད་མིག་ཅིག་གྱུང་འབྲུལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད།

Tshe dbang g.yung drung ཆོ་དབང་གཡུང་དྲུང་། | Tsewang Yungdrung (Dolanji)

ཉི་མ་ལ་ཡི་རི་རྒྱུད་དོལ་པོ་དང་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་ཁ་སྐད་ བརྗེ་རྒྱུད་སྐོར།

ཐུན་གྱི་དབྱེད་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བརྗེ་བྱ་སྤྱི་དབྱེད་ཚོས་ཞིག་ཞུས་ན། ཐོག་མར་དོལ་པོའི་སྐད་ཡིག་སྐོར་མ་སྐོར་གོང་དོལ་པོའི་སྐོར་ཅུང་སྐོར་ན་འདོད། ཐོན་  
ཀྱི་དཔེ་རྒྱུད་ཅ་ཆེན་ཞང་ཞུང་སྤྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་སོགས་ན་སྐོར་དོལ་པོའི་འབྲོག་གསུམ་དང་ཡང་ན་དོལ་པོའི་འབྲོག་གསུམ་གྱི་བཞེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཆོག་འདི་ཡང་ནས་ཡང་  
དུ་སྐྱེབས་ཀྱིན་ཡོད། སྐབས་འདིར་ངས་སྐོར་རྒྱུའི་དོལ་པོ་ཡང་གོང་གི་སྐོར་དོལ་པོའི་འབྲོག་གསུམ་དང་དོལ་པོའི་འབྲོག་གསུམ་གྱི་བཞེ་ཞེས་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དོལ་པོ་འདི་  
ཉིད་ཡིན་པར་བཤད་ཡོད།

དོལ་པོ་བ་ཚོས་རྒྱུན་དུ་སྐོར་རྒྱུའི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ནང་བརྗེ་རྒྱུད་དང་ཞང་སྐད་མང་པོ་ཞིག་འཛོན་གྱིན་ཡོད། ལྷག་པར་དོལ་པོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འབྲོག་གསུམ་ན་བརྗེ་རྒྱུད་མང་  
བ་དང་། སྐད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་གསུམ་ན་ཞང་སྐད་མང་པོ་འཛོན་བཞེན་ཡོད། དང་པོ་དོལ་པོ་སྐོར་གྱི་རྒྱུན་ལྡན་འཛོན་པོའི་སྐོར་ན་སྐོར་བཞེན་པའི་ཁ་སྐད་དང་ཐོན་གྱི་  
དཔེ་རྒྱུད་ཞང་ཞུང་སྤྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐོར་གསུམ་སྐོར་པ་གཤེན་རབ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཐེག་ཡིས་མེ་མེ་ཡོང་དགུ་སྐོར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་སོགས་ན་  
ཡོད་བརྗེ་རྒྱུད་མན་རྒྱུན་ཞིབ་བསྐྱེད་དང་རྒྱུ་དུ་མེད་མེད་མིག་དང་བཅས་པ་ཞིབ་གསལ་བཀོད་ཡོད།

དོལ་པོ་སྐད་འབྲོག་གསུམ་གྱི་འཛོན་པོའི་སྐོར་ན་སྐོར་བཞེན་པའི་ཞང་སྐད་དང་སྐོར་པ་གཤེན་རབ་ཀྱི་བཀའ། ཞང་ཐོད་འག་སྐྱུར་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་སྲིད་པའི་མཚོན་  
ཤུགས་སོགས་ན་གསལ་ཡོད་པའི་ཞང་ཆོག་རྣམས་མན་རྒྱུན་ཞིབ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་མེད་མེད་མིག་བཅས་རྒྱུར་སྐྱུར་བྱས་ནས། དོལ་པོའི་ཁ་སྐད་ནང་དབྱེད་པ་  
དང་ཡ་བཏགས་ར་བཏགས་པེད་སྐོར་གཏོང་མིན་དང་དེའི་སྐྱེད་པའི་དངོས་སུ་ཐོན་མིན་སྐོར་སྐོར་རྒྱ་ཡིན། དོལ་པོའི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་  
འགྲོ་སྐྱེད་སྐོར་རང་མེད་དོལ་པོ་ལ་ཅུང་སྐྱུར་མོང་མ་ཡིན་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་མེད་དང་བཅས་ཞིབ་བཤད་སྐོར་རྒྱ་དང་བཅས་ཡིག་རྒྱུད་དང་བཤད་རྒྱུན་  
སོགས་གཞིར་བཞག་ནས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་སོ།།

bKra dbang བཀྲ་དབང་། | Zha Wang (Chengdu)

སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་དོན་གྱི་འཕོ་འགྱུར་སྐོར་གླེང་བ།

ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྲོ་མའི་མངའ་འོག་ཆབ་འབངས་ཀྱིས་སོག་པོས་གཙོས་པའི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་མི་རིགས་རྣམས་  
 ལ་ལྟོ་ (“鞑子” ཞེས་པའི་དོན་བསྟུན།) ཞེས་འབོད་པ་དང་། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་མི་རིགས་ལག་གིས་ཀྱེན་ཁང་དང་རྩེ་ལུ་གཙོས་  
 པའི་སྤང་ཕྱོ་མའི་མངའ་འོག་གི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ལ་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་① (“蛮子” ཞེས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཐད་བསྟུན།) ཞེས་སྤྱད་དེ། ཕན་ཚུན་མཐོང་  
 རྒྱུ་དམ་ཁྱད་གསེད་ཀྱི་འབོད་ལུགས་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་ཐོན་པའི་སྐབས་དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
 ལ་ཚུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་ན། དེ་ནི་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སོག་པོའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནས་བོད་ཁམས་སུ་དར་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་མིང་ཞིག་  
 ཡིན་པར་མཐོང་ལ། བོད་བསྐྱར་བྱུང་རྗེས་དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚང་ཁག་ནང་བེད་སྤྱད་ཏུ་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་  
 པའི་ཚིག་འདི་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་“ཉེས་ཅན་མི་སྡེ་”རྒྱུང་འབྲུག་གཏོང་ཡུལ་ལ་གོ་བའོ། སྤྱིར་བཏང་གི་ཡུལ་མིང་ཅི་མ་  
 ལས་གཞན་བཟང་དན་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་གང་ཡང་མི་སྟོན་པ། ཡང་ན་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནང་གི་གོ་དོན་དང་ལྡོག་པར་བརྗོད་པ་དཔེར་ན་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་  
 དང་ཁྱད་གསེད་ལྟ་བུའི་གོ་དོན་ཅི་མ་ཡང་མེད་པ་ཤེས་ཐུབ།  
 འདིར་ཚུམ་པ་པོ་ཉིད་ནས་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་དམ་ཟབ་ལྡན་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ལྟ་བུ་  
 གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཉིལ་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་ཚུང་ཟད་བྱས་པས། སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་བོད་བསྐྱར་བྱུང་རྗེས། ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་  
 སྐབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚང་ནང་ཡུལ་མིང་ཅི་མ་ལས་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་དམ་ཁྱད་གསེད་བྱེད་པའི་གོ་དོན་ནི་ཅི་ཡང་མེད། ད་དུང་  
 གོང་འོག་ཚིག་དོན་ལས་སྐབས་དེའི་སྤང་ཕྱོ་མའི་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་ནག་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ལོངས་སྤོད་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་  
 ཡིན་པའི་སྤང་ཕྱོ་མའི་ཚིག་འདྲུག་ སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་བོད་ཁམས་སུ་དར་རྗེས་ཐོག་མར་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ཁེར་རྒྱུང་ལ་གོ་བ་  
 དང་། དེ་ནས་ཡུལ་ཁམས་བཟང་པོའི་དོན་སྟོན་པ། མཚུག་ཏུ་མིང་གོས་དར་གྱི་མིང་② ལ་འཕོས་ནས་གོས་དར་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་དང་དེ་  
 དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ཐང་གི་སྐྱེ་ཞེས་ལ་གོ་བ་བཅས་ལས། ཕྱི་ནང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་ཆུན་མི་འདྲ་བར་བརྟེན་ནས་མིང་ཚིག་  
 གི་གོ་དོན་ལ་འང་འགྱུར་བ་ལུགས་ཆེན་དེ་ཅི་མ་འགོ་བ་དེ་དང་ཚོས་དཔྱད་ཚུམ་འདི་ལས་ཚུང་ཟད་ཤེས་ཐུབ་པར་སྐྱེ།

① སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚོགས་ནང་འབྲི་སྟོན་མི་འདྲ་བ་གཤམ་གསལ་སྐར་ སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ 《དབང་མཚན་གསལ་མ་》 《དབང་མཚན་པོ་》 《རྒྱལ་རབས་  
 གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་》 《ཡར་ལུང་ཚོ་བའི་ཚོས་འབྱུང་》 དང་དེ་བཞིན་ 《དབང་མཚན་པོ་》 མི་རིགས་དངོས་སྐྱེ་ཁང་གིས་མ་དཔེར་གསལ། སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་དེ་གཉིས་ 《ཚོས་  
 འབྱུང་མཐུན་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་》 ནང་གསལ། སྐྱེ་ཅེ་དེ་ 《དབང་མཚན་པོ་》 འབྲས་སྤོངས་སྤང་ཐོག་གི་མ་དཔེར་ཞིབ་གསལ། སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཡང་ན་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་དེ་གསལ་ 《རྒྱ་  
 བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་》 མི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དེའི་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་པ་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡུལ་ཐོག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མ་དཔེར་མཉམ་སྦྲེད་མཚན་འདྲུག།  
 ② སྐྱེ་ཅེ་དེ་མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་ནས་གོས་དར་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞེས་དར་རིགས་ཞིག་ལ་གོ་བོ། དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ནང་དོན་ 《འབྲི་བྱང་ཀུན་དགའ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་གསལ་འབྲུག་ (1475-  
 1527)》 《རྒྱ་ནང་བྱ་རྒྱ་ཐའི་གསལ་འབྲུག་ (1575-1634)》 དང་ 《ས་སྐྱེ་དག་དབང་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་གསལ་འབྲུག་ (1617-1682)》  
 སོགས་ལ་ཞིབ་གསལ།

**Literature**

ཚུལ་རིག

## Panel 6 – Wisdom’s Eloquence: Intersections of the “Wise” and the “Well-spoken” in Tibetan Literature

ཤེས་པའི་སྒྲིམ་ཚིག་ བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མ་རིག་ལ་“ཤེས་པ་བཟོ་བའི་ལེགས་པ་བཤད་”ཀྱི་དོན་འབྲེལ་ལ་བརྟུན་པ།

### Panel organizer

Christina Kilby (Crozet, Virginia)

**Panel abstract** – Several of the most beloved classical Tibetan texts style themselves as *legs bshad*: “fine sayings” or words “well-spoken.” Are these words deemed “well-spoken” because they are wise, because they are lovely, or both? Is wisdom’s eloquence a skillful means for persuading audiences and guiding disciples, or is it somehow natural, and even meaningful, that wisdom expresses itself in beautiful forms? This panel investigates occasions in Tibetan literature when texts—like Sarasvatī herself—claim to embody both wisdom and eloquence, and in so doing, make implicit or explicit arguments about the relationship of literary style to philosophical content. We aim to contribute to larger conversations within Tibetan Studies (and Tibetan Buddhist Studies) about the place of aesthetics, emotions, and writing and reading practices in moral cultivation. Papers draw from Tibetan philosophical texts, poetry, proverbs, fine sayings, Sarasvatī traditions, praise literature, and more.

Christina Kilby (Crozet, Virginia)

### Wisdom, Straight and Crooked

Several of the most beloved classical Tibetan texts style themselves as *legs bshad*: “fine sayings” or words “well spoken.” Are words deemed “well-spoken” because they are wise, because they are lovely, or both? Is wisdom’s eloquence merely a skillful means for persuading audiences and guiding disciples in a world characterized by illusion and desire? Or, is it somehow natural, even ultimately meaningful, that wisdom manifests in beautiful forms?

This panel investigates a wide variety of occasions in Tibetan literature when texts—like Sarasvatī herself—claim to embody both wisdom and eloquence, and in so doing, make implicit or explicit arguments about the relationship of literary style to philosophical content. Expanding our scope beyond the classical *legs bshad* genre, we query the characteristics and aims of “eloquence” across a spectrum of Tibetan literary forms, considering not only beauty but also spontaneity, authenticity, devotion, gender, and social status, as well as the orality/literacy divide. The panel will contribute to larger conversations within Tibetan Studies (and Tibetan Buddhist Studies) about the place of aesthetics and emotions in moral cultivation. Papers draw from narrative literature, poetry, songs, proverbs, fine sayings, Sarasvatī traditions, praise literature, philosophical treatises, and more.

Catherine Hartmann (Cambridge, Massachusetts)

### Sakya Pandita and the Conflict Between Poetry and “The Way Things Really Are”

In his text *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (*sdom gsum rab dbye*), Sakya Pandita declares “There are two kinds of description: one extolling faults and virtues, and one explaining the way things really are” (*dngos po 'i gnas lugs 'chad pa dang/ skyon yon bsngags pa rnam gnyis yod/*). He goes on for a dozen verses unpacking the differences between the way of the poets (*snyan ngag mkhan gyi lugs*) to that of the wise (*mkhas pa*), arguing that while the poet may exaggerate for the sake of beauty or poetic effect, it is an error for the wise to get something wrong about the way things really are. This paper explores this statement and its commentarial legacy in order to bring to light ongoing debate about the proper domains of the wise and the poetic respectively, particularly with regard to the issue of poetic language in scrip-

ture. This paper thus explores a strand of thought in the Tibetan tradition where conjunction between the wise and the beautifully said, which we are invited to explore in this panel, is called into question. In order to more fully understand the significance of Sakya Pandita's claim, I look both forwards and backwards in time. I trace Sakya Pandita's distinction to his translation of Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Poetry* (*kāvyaḍarśa*), and also examine how this idea was received in later commentaries. These include classic Sakya commentaries on Sakya Pandita's *Three Vows*, including those by Spos khang ba (late 14<sup>th</sup> - early 15<sup>th</sup> cent.), Shakya mchog ldan (1428-1507), Go rams pa (1429-1489), as well as Kagyu commentaries that attack Sakya Pandita's attempt to draw a firm line between the speech of the wise and the speech of poets, such as Chos grags ye shes (1453-1524) and Chos kyi grags pa (1595-1659). I argue that for Sakya Pandita and some of his commentators, poetic language threatened to muddle the straightforward and scholarly discourse on the way things really are and thus needed to be entirely excluded from the descriptions of the wise. Other commentators argued, however, that sometimes poetry is the only way to describe the way things really are, that poetry need not be literally true in order to express some higher truth, and that a firm distinction between the two modes of discourse was unnecessary.

David Fiordalis (McMinnville, Oregon)

### **Wisdom's Eloquent Beauty: Pearls from the Wish-fulfilling Vine of Tales**

When considering the development of wisdom literature in Tibet, it is worth taking into account the long tradition of such literature in India. Doing so helps us to appreciate the literature translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit as a legitimate and influential form of Tibetan literature in its own right. Kṣemendra is well-known for being a gifted poet whose interests and knowledge ranged widely across many narrative and poetic traditions of India. He obviously also knew the *subhāṣita* tradition, what has been called an Indian tradition of "wisdom literature," even writing his own poetic variant on the anthology of fine sayings called the *Cārucaryā*. Such wisdom literature clearly had an effect on him, and it is also possible to see passages in his *Wish-fulfilling Vine of Tales* as a conscious attempt to wed literary form and wisdom content. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why Kṣemendra's work became so influential in Tibet at a later point: it provided an exemplar of an ideal literary form of Buddhist narrative poetry, one in which wisdom and literary eloquence evoke one another. In any case, it may be possible to see Kṣemendra's intentions poke through sometimes in his stories. In this paper, I want to draw attention to a few examples of his incorporation of wisdom literature in what appears to be a conscious attempt to connect the beauty of the literary form to the wisdom content in particular narrative contexts. One such example is found in the story of the Buddha's Great Miracle, and in particular in the way Kṣemendra depicts the Buddha's wondrous display and his culminating sermon. This paper will focus on this example of the use of wisdom literature in a literary work with high poetic aspirations.

Nancy G. Lin (Berkeley, California)

### **Queen of Song, Mother of All Buddhas: Dbyangs can ma (Sarasvatī) in Courtly Praise and Practice**

Praises of the eloquence of Dbyangs can ma (Skt. Sarasvatī) are ubiquitous in Tibetan poetry, and her status as a wisdom deity has long been affirmed by *sādhana* prescription and practice. Given that Dbyangs can ma is at once the goddess of poetry, speech, and music as well as the goddess of wisdom and learning, how might references to her shed light on possible relationships between style and content, eloquence and wisdom in Tibetan cultural history? This paper investigates textual references to Dbyangs can ma from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period when literature in ornate literary style (*snyan ngag*) was produced in voluminous quantities. I focus especially on works produced by courtly and learned figures in and around Lhasa and Sde dge. Drawing from a variety of sources, I analyze various modes of portraying Dbyangs can ma and how they may intersect with each other, e.g. as an agent

who can bring about wisdom (*shes rab*, Skt. *prajñā*) and/or eloquence (*spobs pa*, Skt. *pratibhāna*), as an indication of an eloquent speaker, and as a goddess whose multi-sensory beauty occasions aesthetically refined writing.

Dominique Townsend (Annandale-on-Hudso, New York)

### **A Way with Words: Reflections on the Social Power of Eloquence in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Tibet**

Lochen Dharmashri (lo chen d+harma shrI, 1654-1717) was a great Tibetan polymath and prolific author associated with the founding and early flourishing of Mindroling (smin grol gling) monastery. He composed sacred biographies (rnam thar) of several members of his family, including Terdak Lingpa (gter bdag gling pa, 1646-1714) and his mother, Yangchen Drolma (dbyangs chen sgrol ma, d.u.).

In keeping with the themes of the proposed panel “Wisdom’s Eloquence: Intersections of the ‘Wise’ and ‘Well-Spoken’ in Tibetan Literature,” this paper focuses on the literary style of Yangchen Drolma’s (incomplete) biography, *Yum chen lha ‘dzin dbyangs can sgrol ma’i rnam thar* as a means of investigating the relationship between Lochen Dharmashri’s elegant authorial voice and his broader intentions to establish the high status of Yangchen Drolma as a lay female subject worthy of a sacred biography.

The paper engages a range of interpretive questions: How important are the aesthetic techniques with which Dharmashri expresses the life story? How does eloquence work to establish the status of Yangchen Drolma, otherwise known only as the mother of a great tertön (gter ston)? Is Dharmashri’s eloquence extricable from his claims about Yangchen Drolma’s accomplishments and worthiness as the female subject of a rnam thar and as an object of historical record? Was composing a biography enough to fulfill Dharmashri’s purpose, or must the work be eloquent in order to be effective? Might simpler language and modest expression be more in keeping with the Dharma?

Holly Gayley (Boulder, Colorado)

### **Ravings of a Vagabond: Spontaneity and Insight in Songs of Meditation Advice by the Visionary Bdud ‘joms gling pa**

In his songs of advice on meditation, the visionary Bdud ‘joms gling pa (1835–1904), never claims to be wise or eloquent. Rather, in humorous and humilific terms, he describes his advice as “deluded talk” (*‘khrul pa’i lab*), “ravings” (*‘chol tshig*), and “rambling mad thoughts, whatever arose in mind” (*smyos nas rnam rtog chal ma chol mar shar tshad*), fashioning himself as a “wild vagabond” (*sbrang dred po*). Unlike the poetic eloquence of the scholastic literati, as a visionary from nomadic Golok, Bdud ‘joms gling pa shares his insights with disciples in songs (*mGur*) that are direct, colloquial, and spontaneous, orally composed and written down by a scribe. Nevertheless, a connection between literary style and content can be discerned, which links spontaneity and naturalness to insight.

This paper takes as its starting point the notion of “uncontrived elegance” which translator John Canti used to describe the songs of Bdud ‘joms gling pa in his contribution to the anthology, *A Gathering of Brilliant Moons: Practice Advice from the Rimé Masters of Tibet* (2017), co-edited by Holly Gayley and Joshua Schapiro. This term points to the simplicity and profundity of his songs of advice on meditation practice, even when employing technical language specific to Rdzogs chen. To build on this, I suggest that not only are his songs “uncontrived” as oral compositions rendered in colloquial language, but this style itself conveys important content, in this case, teaching on going beyond “contrivance” through advanced meditation practices. Phrases like “rest freely without fabrication” (*ma bcos chog bzhang*), “the sky of simplicity” (*spros bral mkha’*), and “unimpeded without reference point” (*yul med zang thal*) are recognizably part of a Rnying ma vocabulary linked to Rdzogs chen teachings. Style and content are intertwined in certain forms of wordplay, which point to the collapse of dualistic distinctions, as when Bdud ‘joms gling pa advises Dge ma Chos mtsho to meditate “undistracted with nothing to distract” (*ma*

*yengs yengs med*). Gregory Alexander Hillis has called this the “rhetoric of naturalness” in his study of the *Gnas lugs mdzod* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2003). Here I identify specific literary features—including wordplay, metaphor, vocabulary, and humor—used by Bdud ‘joms gling pa to create a “rhetoric of naturalness” in his songs and thereby evoke the very path of meditation it describes.

To do so, I survey the collected songs of Bdud ‘joms gling pa in approximately 500 pages, which comprises volume 18 of his treasure corpus (*gter chos*). Within this volume, I examine key terms, stylistic features, and literary tropes and do a close reading of a dozen songs to his female disciples. The songs of Bdud ‘joms gling pa show that the literary style may be inextricably connected to content, even when the author does not aspire to poetic eloquence in high literary terms. With respect to certain genres, the connection between style and content deserves greater attention as we as scholars interpret and translate Tibetan literature.

Miranda Arocha Smith (Evanston, Illinois)

### **Who is that Strong Person Who Can Lift Half the Sky? A Woman’s Poetry in Today’s Tibet**

While studying in Xining, China, from Fall 2016 - Spring 2017, I encountered Wo Jik Jil, Bod gzhug skyid, a Tibetan poet, and her recently published book of poetry titled *Daybreak, Skya reng*. I had spent the year collecting books of poetry in Xining and Lhasa by contemporary women writers, studying Amdo Tibetan language at Qinghai Nationalities University in Xining (Qinghai Province) and conducting informal interviews with university students of literature about the contemporary poetry scene. *Daybreak* stood out because it belongs to a recently published five-volume collection of texts by women writers only, called “Collection of Modern Tibetan Women Writers: Second Collection,” *Bod kyi deng rabs bud med rtsom pa po’i dpe tshogs* (*Deb phreng gnyis pa*), published in 2015 through Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House.

Born in Guide County in Qinghai Province in 1984, Wo Jik Jil received a Master’s degree in Tibetan Medicine from Qinghai University and a Master’s degree in International Health from Johns Hopkins University. She is an author of both poetry and prose, and works as an editor of the journal *Tibetan Medicine of China* at the Qinghai Tibetan Medical Study Institute. In her spare time, she coordinates a writer’s circle for women poets in Qinghai, and participates in virtual communities of writers through WeChat. In interview, she expressed deep concern over issues of Tibetan language loss, the unavailability of adequate education in either Chinese or Tibetan language, and the role of mothers in maintaining the connection between children and their native Tibetan language. The theme of the importance of women, especially their voices and self-reflection in the writing of poetry, and everyday interactions in work and family life, is resonant in her work. I am in continued dialogue with Wo Jik Jil as I translate her poetry book.

This paper will explore the inventive ways Wo Jik Jil utilizes varied verse forms to express concern over social challenges of her time. Unlike other writers in the collection, such as Tserang Tso (*Tshe ring ‘tsho*) and Chi me (*‘Chi med*) who consistently utilize quatrain verse, Wo Jik Jil’s book stands out for its variety of metrical form; I plan to explore how Wo Jik Jil’s use of classical verse, in tension with the poetry’s surprising, nontraditional content, emphasizes a critique of traditional Tibetan gender roles. Also, I will examine how her fluid free-verse, combined with elements of *mGur*, *la gzhas*, *kavya* and her own innovative poetic devices, express themes such as language loss, gender inequality, limitations of traditional village life, domestic violence, and an increasingly urbanized milieu for work and family life.

Her award-winning poem “Who Is That Strong Person Who Can Lift Half the Sky?” (*Gnam gyi phyed ka ‘degs pa’i gyad mi de su yin*) utilizes quatrains with roughly regular 11 syllable lines. The strict classical verse form contrasts and thus supports her critique of the absence of the voices of women from Tibetan historiography. She writes:

Thinking about the king and his entourage  
Who built the history of the dynasty

And when looking at the history records in the annals  
Politics and economics are stable pillars and beams of the country  
Isn't it from the wisdom of Drosatrimalo?

Wo Jik Jil's poems draw upon diverse traditions such as free-verse, *mGur*, folk song (glu) and classical verse; this paper will explore in depth the close-knit relationship between eclectic verse forms ranging from traditional to more experimental, and the book's elegant commentary on gender and society.

**Panel 57 – *mGur*: Songs of Realization in Tibetan Culture**

བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ནང་གི་མགུར་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

**Panel organizers**

Carl Yamamoto (Baltimore, Maryland)

Stefan Larsson (Stockholm)

**Panel abstract** – *mGur* denotes a specific type of religious song that has played an important role in the expression and transmission of Buddhism across the Tibetan cultural world. The roots of *mGur* go back to Indian siddha songs and Tibetan folk songs, and the most famous singer and composer of *mGur* is likely the eleventh-twelfth-century poet-saint Milarepa. There are, however, many other famous and popular *mGur* composers besides the famous cotton-clad yogin, and the tradition of composing and performing *mGur* remains popular throughout the Tibetan cultural region. The term *mGur* has been used to refer to a wide variety of oral and literary creations, from the political songs of the imperial warrior-kings to contemporary popular songs in a “traditional” style, and there are several Tibetan terms that have been used as synonyms, such as *glu* and *dbyangs*. However, the most common use of the term came to be that which referred to a more Buddhist type of song, associated with free-roaming wandering yogins and distinguished by a simple style, an emphasis on the experiential and the spontaneous, and a performative function. In this sense, *mGur* has commonly been contrasted with *snyan ngag*, which denotes an ornamented, written, Indian-inspired form of poetry that is composed by learned scholars.

This panel will explore the *mGur* genre from a broad range of topics and perspectives—from very early songs to contemporary ones—investigating its contents, contexts, functions, and the forms.

Bla ma skyabs ལྷ་མ་སྐྱབས། | Lama Jabb (Oxford), Hum chen ལྷུ་ཆེན། | Humchen (Xining)

**Offerings of *mGur*: A Garland of Tibetan Tantric Songs, Part 1**

*MGur* (poem-song) is characterised by, among other qualities, simplicity of style and language, memorable rhythm, durability of form, spontaneity of composition, flexibility of metre, diversity of subject matter and an overall accessibility and popularity. Indeed, it would be impossible to speak of the Tibetan poetic tradition without an appreciation of the genre of *mGur* that straddles the sacred and the profane and fuses the literary and the spoken. In our papers, Hungchen Chenaktsang and I will specifically focus on a category of *mGur* called *mnyam mGur*, experiential songs. Although this category tackles chiefly sacred themes including spiritual practice, instruction and realisation it is also wonderfully rich in matters of a secular nature. In our presentations, we will outline our planned anthology of *mGur*-s composed by notable tantric practitioners hailing from Rebkong Ngakmang (Rebkong Tantric Practitioners Community), North-Eastern Tibet. This unique bilingual volume will feature some of the finest *mGur*-s in the original Tibetan alongside their English translations. These poem-songs will be accompanied by analytical commentary providing the socio-historical, artistic and spiritual context.

To date the Ngakmang Institute has released over 30 books authored by mostly Rebkong tantric practitioners. At present there are over 30 edited manuscripts ready for publication. Most of this enormous corpus bears the poetic touch of *mGur* and all the authors are talented *mGur* practitioners. In our papers, we will briefly introduce the historical and cultural background of this extraordinary literary creativity and the ongoing publication activities. We will then address the unavoidable editorial challenge of the need to be selective and will explain our methods of choosing what we consider some of the most exquisite *mGurs* we have come across. Finally, we will discuss the thematic structuring of the planned anthology thereby reflecting upon the bewildering diversity of *mGur*. It will be shown how *mGur* is woven of and weaves itself through Tibetan spirituality, history, society,

both nomadic and farming life, stylised literary language as well as everyday speech. In fact, it is this pervasive, pliant and expressive nature that gives *mGur* its endurance and makes it a favourite genre of contemporary Tibetan poets.

Stefan Larsson (Stockholm)

### **Mi la ras pa sings again: an examination of the songs of Gtsang smyon Heruka**

According to his disciples and himself, Gtsang smyon Heruka (1452-1507) was an incarnation of Mi la ras pa (c. 1028–1111), one of the most famous and popular composers of *mGur* in Tibet. Gtsang smyon devoted his life to following in the footsteps of his former incarnation. He meditated in the same caves, wandered the same paths, and like Mi la ras pa, he expressed his realization in songs. Gtsang smyon also compiled and printed Mi la ras pa's song collection (*mGur 'bum*), and thereby contributed a great deal to making Mi la ras pa's poetry well known. Mi la ras pa's religious songs is likely the most famous and important examples of *mGur* ever recorded in Tibet. In contrast, Gtsang smyon's own songs, which are strikingly similar to Mi la ras pa's, remain quite unknown. Besides Gtsang smyon's disciples, few Tibetan writers quote or refer to them, and relatively few Tibetans seem to be aware of their existence. In 1508, a group of disciples compiled these songs, and a song collection entitled *Rje btsun gtsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum rin po che dbang gi rgyal po thams cad mkhyen pa'i lam ston* was printed. I have spent the last years translating this text and the present paper will be devoted to presenting and analyzing some of the songs in it. The songs, which are strikingly similar to Mi la ras pa's, are a testimony of Gtsang smyon's mastery of *mGur* and provides us with insight to the way in which Gtsang smyon taught Dharma to his disciples. The songs also offers fascinating glimpses of the wandering yogic life style that both he and many of his disciples followed. Focusing on the songs that Gtsang smyon sang to his heart son Rin chen dpal bzang po (n.d.) and to his female companion Kun tu bzang mo (1464-1549), the paper will scrutinize Gtsang smyon's songs and describe some of their main characteristics. Having analyzed these songs and quoted sections from them, I will compare the songs in Gtsang smyon's song collection with the same songs as rendered by his disciples Rgod tshang ras pa (1482-1559) and Lha btsun rin chen rnam rgyal (1473-1557) in their respective biographies of Gtsang smyon. Although Lha btsun rin chen rnam rgyal compiled his version of the biography later than Rgod tshang ras pa, he renders the songs somewhat differently. These differences indicate that diverse versions of Gtsang smyon's songs were in circulation among his disciples after his collected songs had been printed. This raises questions regarding how songs such as these were transmitted.

Suzanne Bessenger (Richmond, Virginia)

### **Songs in the Life Stories of Sönam Peldren and Rinchen Pel**

Sönam Peldren (1328-1372) and Rinchen Pel (1328-1385) were a 14<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan married nomadic couple who left behind four children, a pair of hagiographies, and significant religious and cultural legacies that continue to enliven their village of Ya Nga in eastern Tibet to this day. Of these legacies, the most historically rich sources of insight into this remarkable religious pair are their life stories, or *rnam thar*. Sönam Peldren's life story, which nominally goes by the name of its first chapter, "Liberation Story Recounting the External Deeds of the Emanation Body of the Wisdom Sky-Goer Sönam Peldren" (*ye shes mkha' 'gro bsod nams dpal 'dren gyi sprul pa'i sku yi mdzad spyod phyi yi rnam thar bzhugs/*), tells a tale of an iconoclastic and uneducated nomadic mother who made repeated claims, particularly in the months leading up to her death at age 44, that although she appeared to be an ordinary woman, she was in fact a naturally enlightened emanation of the female Buddha Dorjé Pakmo. Rinchen Pel's "Essence of the Sun: The Liberation Story of the Lord of Yoga Rinchen Pel" (*rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug rin chen dpal gyi rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i snying po zhes bya ba gzhugs so/*) describes its subject as experiencing prolific visions of deities, hell realms, and pure lands, beginning at age 9 and continuing until his death at age 57.

bSod namts dbang rgyal བསོད་ནམས་དབང་རྒྱལ། | Sonam Wangyal

རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷ་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོའི་མགྱུར་སྐྱེ་དང་དེ་དག་གི་བྱང་ཚུལ། (The Spiritual Songs of Lhatsun Namkha Jigme and Their Characteristics)

དབྱེད་ཚུལ་གྱི་བསྟུན་དོན།

རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷ་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོའི་མགྱུར་སྐྱེ་དང་དེ་དག་གི་བྱང་ཚུལ་ (དང་ལྷན་ཅེ་རྒྱུ་ལོངས་) ཏུ་མེ་མོ་བྱ་  
 ༡༥༧༧ ལོར་སྐྱེ་འབྱུངས་ཤིང་། ཡར་ལུང་ཤེལ་བྲག་ (དང་སྤེལ་ལྷོ་གདོང་རྒྱུ་ལོངས་) ཏུ་ཆུ་པོ་འབྱུག་༡༥༧༩ ལོར་སྐྱེ་བཞེགས། ལོང་ནི་པཎ་  
 ཆེན་པོ་མ་ལ་དང་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་སྲོང་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་སྐྱེལ་ཏུ་བཞེད། དགྲུང་ལོ་ལྷ་བཅུན་པོའི་མེ་མོ་བྱ་༡༥༩༦ ལོར་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་སུ་ཞབས་  
 བཅགས་ཏེ་གནས་སྡོད་ཕྱི་ཤིང་རིག་འཛིན་ཤོག་སྐྱབ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་སྐོར་སྤེལ། འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་སྐྱེལ་རྣམ་  
 རྒྱལ་གྱི་དབྱེད་མཛད་དེ་སྐྱབ་སྤེལ་སོགས་ཕྱག་བཏབ། ལྷ་བཅུན་དང་པོའམ། ལྷ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བཅུན་པ། ཀུན་བཟང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ཀོང་སྐྱོན་ཏེ་ཏུ་ཀ་  
 པ། ལྷ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་འཆང་བཅས་ཀྱི་མཚན་དང་ལྷན་པའི་ལྷ་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་སྐྱེལ་འཛིགས་མེད་ཀྱི་གསུང་འབྲས་ཤོད་དུ། མཚོག་  
 དམན་བར་མའི་གདུལ་བྱ་རྣམས་ལ་གདམས་པ་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་སྤྱིང་པོའི་ཐོལ་སྐྱེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། ཡངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་དུས་རང་  
 བར་གཏུག་མའི་ཐོལ་སྐྱེ། སྤྲུལ་སྐྱེ་ཤིང་གིས་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་གསུང་མགྱུར་གྱི་རིམ་པ། མད་བྱུང་དོ་རྗེ་སྤྱིང་པོའི་སྐྱེ། དེས་འབྱུང་སྐྱེ་ཤིང་གི་  
 མགྱུར་འཆི་བ་སྤྱིང་བྱ་བྱི་གདུང་དབྱངས། གནས་ཆེན་མེད་རྒྱུ་ལམ་ཡིག་སྤྱིང་པོ་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ། ལྷ་བཅུན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀུན་  
 བཟང་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གསུང་མགྱུར་སྤྱིང་པོ་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་སྤེད། གཏུག་མ་གཤེས་ཀྱི་ཐོལ་སྐྱེ་འཛིགས་མེད་མེད་པའི་རོ་བྲག་དཀར་བཞིས་  
 སྤྱིངས་སུ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་མངའ་གསོལ་མཛད་རྣམས་མགྱུར་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ། མཚོག་དམན་བར་མ་གདུལ་བྱ་རིས་མེད་པ་ལ་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་ཏུ་གདམས་  
 པ་སོགས་མགྱུར་མ་འདི་སྤྱིད་ཅིག་བཞུགས་པ་ལ་སྐྱེ་མའི་ལྷ་དགོངས་དང་ཉམས་སྦྱང་ཟབ་མོ་རྣམས་ནི་ཚུར་མཐོང་སྐྱེ་པོའི་ལུལ་མེན་པས་  
 རྣམས་སུ་བབས་པ་མགྱུར་སྐྱེའི་ཚུལ་འགྲོས་དང་བྱང་ཚུལ་ལ་བལྟ་བའི་ཐོག་ “ལུལ་རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་འགྲོས་སམ། རང་ཉམས་ལ་བལྟས་  
 པས་འདི་ལྷར་ཤར། ཞེས་བཏག་འཛིན་མདུད་པ་འགྲོལ་བ་ལ། རྒྱུན་ལྷན་པའི་འཕྲང་ལ་མ་ཤར་ན། ལུས་བཅོན་དུ་བཅུག་པའི་རྒྱུ་ཉལ་  
 ལ། མིང་མཚམས་སྐྱབ་ཏུགས་ཀྱང་སྤྱོད་ལས་ཡིན། ཞེས་རྒྱ་གར་ཕྱོགས་ལ་འགྲོ་བར་བཅུམས། “ཞེས་དང་། “གནས་ཆེན་དང་གོང་བྱིར་  
 ཀུན་ལྷུལ་བས། རྒྱུན་ལྷན་གྱི་འཆོ་བ་མང་བྱུང་ཡང་།” ཞེས་དང་། “ཐོག་པོས་བཟང་རྒྱ་བྱས་ཀྱང་བཅུན་པོ་ཟེར། བཅུན་པོས་ཆོས་བཞིན་  
 རྒྱུད་ཀྱང་ཆལ་(འཆལ་)པོ་ཟེར། འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱ་ལམ་བཤགས་པའི་ལྷ་མོ་འདི། བལྟས་པས་སྤྱིང་སྐྱབ་ཕྱོགས་པོ་གསེར་ལས་དགོན།” ཞེས་  
 དང་། “མི་ངའི་དང་སྐྱེ་མ་ནི་ལྷ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་པཎ། རྒྱུང་པོ་ངའི་དང་རྣོད་མ་ནི་སྐྱེས་ལུལ་གྱི་འབྲས་གཤོངས། རྒྱ་བོ་གཡས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་འབབ་པ་  
 བྱོ་མོ་ཡི་གཤོངས་རྒྱ། རྒྱ་བོ་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་ནས་འབབ་པ་འབྲས་མོ་ཡི་ལུང་རྒྱ། རྒྱ་བོ་དབུས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་འབབ་པ་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་  
 རྒྱ།” ཞེས་སོགས་ས་ཁམས་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་ལྷན་པའི་གསུང་མགྱུར་རྣམས་ལ་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

བར་ཆད་གཙོ་བོ། ལྷ་བཅུན་ནམ་མཁའ་འཛིགས་མེད། མགྱུར་སྐྱེ། འབྲས་ལྗོངས།

Carl Yamamoto (Baltimore, Maryland)

### **Stylistic Pastiche in the Songs of Zhang Tshal pa**

Mi la ras pa is the conventional starting point for discussions of the genre of *mGur*, a distinctively Tibetan form of religious song that did so much to animate Tibetan religious culture in the “Later Spread” period. But, ironically, the very popularity of his songs—which circulated for almost four hundred years in multiple versions before the best-known collection was collated and put to press—makes them a less-than-ideal source for information about the actual state of the genre in its earliest years. Fortunately, works by *mGur* writer/performers who were near-contemporaries of Mi la ras pa, but were spared his wide circulation, have recently been coming to light. One of the most important of these is the songs of Zhang Tshal pa (1122-1193), founder of the Tshal pa Bka’ brgyud pa. Zhang was known as one of the early master stylists of Tibetan *phyi dar* literature. What is perhaps most striking about his mastery is its reflexive character: he seemed instinctively to understand the implicit choices writers make at the level of style, rhetoric, and genre. This was reflected not only in the variety of literary styles he mastered and the new genres he likely introduced, but also in his playfulness about the elements of style, which he enlivened through parody and a technique of cutting and pasting between traditional genres, allowing their elements to mingle and interact. For example, he wrote some of the earliest known religious autobiographies, but also found ways of merging elements of biography with elements of classical eulogy, and elements of meditation manual with elements of autobiography. It stands to reason that his *mGur* collection—which runs to almost 130 songs—would be of special interest as a sample of twelfth-century Tibetan literary culture in process. We see some of the same traits in his songs that we see in other of his writings: the crossing of genre boundaries, the outrageous parodies, the stylistic experimentation. There are songs that seem to start out as imitations of traditional styles, but are then twisted into barely recognizable shapes and made to express sentiments quite different from those originally intended. For example, there are a couple of songs written at the request of two different patrons that are structured according to the conventions of religious eulogy, one of the oldest of Buddhist genres, but which turn into bewildering mixes of boasting, contrition, self-shaming, and political commentary, spilling over into his stormy relations with patrons and disciples. This paper will look at these two songs along with several others that follow this unconventional mix-and-match strategy, allowing light to be shed on the life—personal, public, and literary—of a powerful, controversial, but undeniably major figure in the early years of Tibet’s transformation into a self-consciously Buddhist culture and polity.

Andrew Quintman (Hamden, Connecticut)

### **Notes on the Performance and Programmatics of *MGur***

The past half century has witnessed a florescence of research on the Tibetan poetic form of songs of realization (*mGur*), primarily through the identification and translation of a widening circle of major literary sources. Most famous among these is undoubtedly the collection (*mGur ‘bum*) associated with Mi la ras pa (c. 1028–1111), as well as the examples found in the lives (*rnam thar*) of prominent masters such as Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (c. 1000–1081), Zhabs dkar Tshogs drug rang grol (1781–1851), and in anthologizes like the Bka’ brgyud *mgur mtsho*. More recently, attention has been paid to the collected songs of figures as diverse as the hermit Ko brag pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249), the Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339) and the Geluk monk Skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607–1667). Contemporary scholarship has addressed the genre of *mGur* from a multiplicity of perspectives: the history and classification of *mGur*, and its relationship with other Tibetan verse forms; the formal analysis of content and structure of individual *mGur* and *mGur* collections; and the aesthetic interpretation of *mGur* style and artistry; in addition to more traditional forms of Buddhist doctrinal commentary.

This paper instead attends to the performative and programmatic aspects of *mGur*. To that end, it examines a variety of medieval sources that reflect self-conscious approaches to *mGur* composition and performance, and to the functions of *mGur* outside the roles of Buddhist teaching and transmission and

beyond the written page. It begins by reviewing traditional instructions for the composition and performance of *mGur* including Gtsang smyon Heruka's (1452–1507) *Mgur gyi dkar chags* and the Eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje's (1507–1554) *Mgur gyi sgrub tshul*. It then surveys a variety of sources that reflect on the characteristics and qualities of *mGur* and related poetic traditions, and thereby highlight the central place of spiritual poetry in the construction of religious traditions and institutional identities. These works include Klong chen pa's (1308–1364) *Rdo rje glu'i dkar chag* and Karma Chags med's (1613–1678) *Do ha rdo rje'i glu'i rnam par dbye pa*. The paper concludes by examining a remarkable illuminated manuscript edition of the *Bka' brgyud mgur mtsho* that deftly combines individual *mGur* with melody and vocalization instructions (*dbyangs yig*) and a series of color illustrations meant to evoke the work's historical, cultural, and environmental landscapes.

Tibetan authors often describe the poetic form of *mGur* as a medium for illustrating the process of contemplative practice and illuminating states of transcendent awakening. This echoes the normative view that *mGur* verses provide a vehicle for the spontaneous expression of profound and otherwise ineffable experiences. Despite the rhetoric of immediacy and spontaneity surrounding such compositions, the legacy of *mGur* remains largely, though by no means entirely, in the literary record. This paper, then, considers some of the ways that songs, individually and in the collective, were shaped by the changing religious, social, and literary contexts in which they were composed, collected, edited, and transmitted.

Nemoto Hiroshi (Hiroshima)

### **Songs on the Philosophical View: A Study of Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's *Lta mgur***

Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's (1717–1786) *Lta mgur*, a collection of songs on the philosophical view, is a short but seminal work that expresses the idea of emptiness and dependent origination. A characteristic feature of the *Lta mgur* is the frequent usage of metaphors. Throughout the work, the author uses the metaphor of “old mother” (*a ma rgan mo*) to describe emptiness, and that of “brother” (*jo jo*) to describe dependent origination; the author himself is described metaphorically as “mad little son” (*bu chung smyon pa*). The *Lta mgur* provides a vivid description of the process by which the author recognizes (*ngo shes*) his missing mother, i.e., emptiness, with the assistance of his brother, i.e., the reasoning of dependent origination.

The *Lta mgur* was composed in 1767 CE when Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje was fifty-one years old and staying at Mt. Wutai (*Ri bo rtse lnga*). Shortly after that, several commentaries were written by his successors belonging to both Dge lugs pa and non-Dge lugs pa schools, each from different viewpoints. First, Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728–1791), one of Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's disciples, composed a commentary from the viewpoint of Madhyamaka philosophy. Then, another Dge lugs pa scholar, Khri chen bstan pa rab rgyas (1759–1815/16) interpreted the *Lta mgur* from the perspective of Tantra, and hence was criticized by Dbal mang dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1764–1853). Furthermore, two commentaries on the *Lta mgur* were written by Rnying ma pa scholars: Kah. thog dge rtse mah<sup>ā</sup>-pan.d. ita 'gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub (1761–1829) believed that the idea underlying the *Lta mgur* was none other than “Great Perfection” (*rdzogs chen*), while Mi pham 'jam dbyangs rnam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846–1912) analyzed the same text in the context of the non-sectarian movement (*ris med*). It is thus interesting to observe that, although the author himself belongs to Dge lugs pa, scholars both inside and outside that tradition accept his *Lta mgur*. The abundant usage of symbolic expressions has allowed the *Lta mgur* to be interpreted diversely.

The main topic of the *Lta mgur* consists in describing the union of appearance and emptiness (*snang stong zung 'jug*) on the basis the author's own personal experience. The highly sophisticated scholasticism that is characteristic to the Dge lugs pa's monastic universities is alien to the *Lta mgur*. This is probably the reason that it has been widely accepted in both Dge lugs pa and non-Dge lugs pa schools. We may say that this is the work that embodied the unity of the Madhyamaka philosophy and poetic literature of the Dge lugs pa tradition, and also that triggered the non-sectarian movement flourishing in the nineteenth century.

Aleksandr Zorin (St. Petersburg)

### **An Unknown Version of the Collection of Poems by the 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama Found at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg**

During my work with the Tibetan collection kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, I was lucky to discover a large fragment of a Tibetan manuscript that contains an unknown version of the collection of poetical texts ascribed to the 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. Only 24 folios of the manuscript are found, they constitute less than a half of a harmonica-style book of a small size (ca 19,5 × 0,5 cm). It has the title *'Phags mchog spyan ras gzigs dbang rin chen tshangs dbang rgya mtsho 'i gsung mgu[r] srid pa 'i sgron me zhes bya ba bzhugs s.ho* which clearly defines the manuscript as a biography (*srid pa 'i sgron me*) of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho. The well-known block print with 58 songs ascribed to this famous figure of Tibetan history and literature has a different title but it names the collection as a *rnam thar*, i.e. a biography, too. I once made an attempt to read the block print as a biography. The newly discovered manuscript supports this attempt not only with the title but, most strikingly, with the fact that its version of the collection of songs starts with an additional song that seems to be a poetical description of the Sixth Dalai Lama's conception:

*khu byug mon nas phebs byung nam zla 'i sa bcud 'phel song|*

*chung 'dri byams pa phebs byung lus sems bde la bkod song|*

The collection of songs is preceded with an acrostic introduction based on the Tibetan alphabet.

In my presentation I will introduce this fascinating manuscript in more details.

## Panel 63 – Gesar Epic Tradition in Tibetan Culture and Literature: Identification and Interpretation across Inner Asian regions

བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་དང་ལྷོ་མ་རིག་ནང་གི་གླིང་སྐྱུང་། དབུས་དཀྱིལ་ཨེ་ཤི་ཡའི་ཡུལ་གྱུ་ཁག་ནང་དེའི་འཛིན་དང་དོན་འགྲེལ་བྱ་ཚུལ།

### Panel organizers

Tshe brtan rnam rgyal ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། | Tsetan Namgyal (New Delhi)

bDe skyid dbang mo བདེ་སྐྱིད་དབང་མོ། | Disket Angmo (New Delhi)

Ulziit Luvsanjav (Ulaanbaatar)

rGyal mtshan རྒྱལ་མཚན། | Gyaltsen (New Delhi)

**Panel abstract** – Every folktale fundamentally based on and originated human creativity and socio-cultural traits of their respective traditional society and is transmitted especially through the mode of oral transmission. As a narratives in their colloquial language, the themes represent human desires, ethos, socio-cultural structure which are passed down from generation to generation orally in the form of folktales, folk songs, legends, proverbs, myths, fables, riddles, poetry. Jokes, ceremonial songs, harvest songs, love songs, political songs, marriage songs and many other social practices. The folktales and songs reflect the socio political, socio cultural and spiritual view of the particular society. In all of the Tibetan cultural regions of Trans Himalaya storytelling still remains one of the primary sources of entertainment notably the Gesar epic saga. Though traditionally there were professional bards or storytellers whose family carried out the task of passing down these folktales and epics as a professional family lineage. And for centuries that was the only mode of perseverance of folk culture. Tibetan epic of Gesar Ling is believed to be the largest in the world epic history, which exists, mainly in three major variant traditions from eastern Tibet, from Mongolia and Ladakh in both cultural spheres of written as well as oral versions.

However, in a broader context, the different version of Gesar epic are also recorded and found all across the Tibetan cultural geography such as Balti of Baltistan, the Burusho of Hunza, Gilgit (greater Ladakh) Buryat, Kalmykia and Tuva (Russia) Nepal, Bhutan, Tawang, Sikkim (Eastern India)

The prevalent theme or message in all folktales is love, kind, honest, compassionate, brotherhood and winning in the end over the evil and anti-social elements in the society. In this respect, particularly in the case of Tibet, one can say that the fervent Buddhist feature is found in every segment of their folktales and Gesar epic while in the case of others like the Ladakhi version of Gesar legend such Buddhist religious ardent is missing.

However, as of now, no such credible systematic academic study has been carried out on this aspect of Tibetan studies except very recently something recorded and written down by some western scholars. However, Stein's English introduction of the Tibetan block print edition of 19 volumes on 'The epic of Gesar' and Frankie's edition of 'Lower Ladakhi version of Gesar' are the two most in-depth works done on Gesar so far. This proposed panel looks at the various versions of Gesar epic that being followed and practiced since ages across the Tibetan cultural areas as it represents their cultural ethos and identities and also reveals the views of life and society at large.

It will also analyze the various dimensional aspects of its flourishing oral transmission as a well-written version of the epic across the landscape of Central and Inner Asia, Trans Himalayan regions and the Trans Siberian part of Russia.

rGyal mtshan རྒྱལ་མཚན། | Gyaltsen (New Delhi)

### Ling Gesar: Different Narrations and Chaos in Tibet

One of the most appealing literature genre is the epic literature with its fabricated heroism. The legacy of those popular literatures lay down the foundations of many cultural and traditional practices in the societies started from the west. However, there are different narrations of those epic literatures which

result many conflicting views and practices in societies. There are contradictory views on the true nature of Helen in Homer's work, caste and war created by Gilgamesh and the Mahabharata in the societies. Epic story of Ling Gesar too has huge impact on cultural and traditional practices in Tibet. With these influences, there are different conflicting narrations and contradictory views of Epic literature in the Tibetan society.

The purpose of this research paper is to study the conflicting views and practices in Tibet which are directly or indirectly influenced by the story of Ling Gesar. The paper will bring up much chaos in Tibet societies which are associated with the story of Ling Gesar. With these conflicting views, how Tibetans respond to the nature of their daily practices and even the disputes? Therefore, this research paper has studied the story of Ling Gesar from different narrations and perspective to find different dimensions of Ling Gesar and its impacts.

The research was done through many experiential base knowledge by the older generation and even has referred to many original documents on King Gesar or Sangchen Galpo.

One of the cases is the conflicting narrations of Tibetan national oracle Nechung who was said to be a villain in the story of Ling Gesar. This narration created chaos in the society by creating two factions-the one who believes in Nechung and the other one who doesn't. Nechung believers condemn the story of Ling Gesar for the reason that Nechung would be offended by the story as Nechung was a rival warrior in story of Ling Gesar. However, the other section of societies give appreciation to the story thereby promoting the story through singing the story and even play the glorious war and military strategies in the story of Ling Gesar. There are also communities who see the story of Ling Gesar through the prism of pure secular literature proper and the other ones who narrate the story of Ling Gesar in the light of Buddhism. Therefore, they consider it as a morality play. Therefore, the narrations of this epic story can be inquired through many different perspectives.

This research paper found out that the conflicting narrations of the literature proper were influenced by the mythical part of Ling Gesar and has regional biases. Some regions have their own versions of story Ling Gesar which are favourable to their regional traditions. Whereas, the other communities develop their own versions which are contradictory to the conventional narration of the story.

There is huge space to research regarding the mythical part of Ling Gesar for the reason that it is never ending story and has many versions which are being told by people magically.

bDe skyid dbang mo བདེ་སྐྱིད་དབང་མོ། Disket Angmo (New Delhi)

### **A Comparative study of the Ladakhi-Balti version and the Eastern Tibetan Version of the Gesar Epic**

The Central Asian epic of King Gesar, is an ancient Tibetan epic believed to date from the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century. Although the tale originated in Tibet, it has spread widely throughout Central Asia, Mongolia, India, Baltistan, Siberia and Nepal. The epic exists in three major variant traditions, from eastern Tibet, from Mongolia and from Ladakh. However versions of the epic are also recorded among the Balti of Baltistan and Kargil in Ladakh. A feature of the Gesar epic is the absence of any fixed canon of text and the degree to which it takes over local color and is adapted to accommodate the culture and cosmography of the local belief system. While the Eastern Tibetan version have a Buddhist favor to them and are defined by Buddhist patron-deities, memorized by rote, and read or recited with a semi-religious reverence. This is not in the case of the Ladakhi and the Balti version, on the other hand, they are direct transcriptions of traditional oral performances. The Ladakhi- Balti version of the epic is relatively free from the strong Buddhist influence. They have been transmitted by word of mouth from singer to singer, each of whom learned the art of narrative in a way that is different from rote memorization.

The aim of this paper is to draw a comparative analysis between the Ladakhi-Balti version of the Gesar epic with the Eastern Tibetan version of the epic. The paper aims to describe some of the peculiarities and differences concerning the Eastern Tibetan and the Ladakhi-Balti version of the Gesar epic. The study will further analyze the differences in local redactions especially the handling of the Gesar epic by its Muslim narrators in the case of Ladakhi-Balti version.

Ulziit Luvsanjav (Ulaanbaatar)

## Manifestation of Buddhist and Shamanic Ideas in Mongolian Gesar Epic, An overview

The epic of King Gesar is considered the longest literary work in the world. There is no single definitive compilation has come up as yet. If it is completed, it would fill some 120 volumes, containing over 20 million words in more than one million verses. Gesar Epic have many versions, like Tibetan, Mongolian, Buryat, Balti, Ladhakhi, Salar etc. The first part of the Mongolian Gesar epic is translated in English by Igor De Rachewiltz, & Li Narangoa in 2017, and this is published by Australian National University Press.

The epic is made up of three parts. For instances, the birth of Gesar, his expeditions against his enemies, and his return to heaven. The stories of his battles and nature of exploits contain the most detail of the Tibetan history and culture. The second part includes four subsections namely defeating demons in the North, battles between Hor and Ling, protection of the salt sea, and battles between *Mon* and *Ling* as well as battles to conquer 54 Zongs (minor kingdoms).

Tales of King Gesar are also popular in Mongolia, the Tu and Yugu regions, the Tibetan-inhabited areas in China, and have travelled as far west as the Caspian Sea, reaching Europe with the Kalmyk people, who also profess Tibetan Buddhism as their religion. Versions of the story often begin with the creation of the world which compacted prehistory of Tibet. This is followed by a brief traditional account of how Tibet was converted from barbarity to Buddhism under the three great Dharma Rajas (Tibetan: Chos rgyal) of the Tibetan imperial period (seventh-ninth centuries C.E.) in particular by the great Tantric master and founder of Tibetan religion, Padmasambhava (Tibetan: Padma 'byung gnas), who subdued Tibet's violent native spirits and bound them by oath. It is then explained how, later on, the world in general and Tibet in particular had fallen into a state of anarchy because the many negative spirits and demons of Tibet had not been fully conquered. As a result, the world came under the dominion of hordes of flesh-eating and human-eating demons and goblins which led by the malignant and greedy kings of many kingdoms. The main focus of my paper will be based on Buddhist and Shamanist view of the Mongolian Gesar epic. Though the Epic of Gesar contains elements of ancient Buddhist and Shamanist views during the eleventh century and illustrates a Buddhist world view and evoking self-reflection in its audiences. In this Mongolian Gesar epic, we found how unlock with a divine prologue, Gesar's birth, youth, marriage to *Rogmo* and his obtaining the kingship of Ling. Later Gesar defeats a black striped tiger; his voyage to China where he marries a Chinese princess; his defeat of the demon king, with the help of the latter's wife; his war against the three kings of *Sharaigol* (Hor); his defeat of a demon who assumed the guise of a lama and in last his descent to hell to rescue his mother.

**Keywords:** Shamnaism, Mongolian Epic, Gesar, Bon, Hor, Ling

'Jigs med dpal sgron འཇིགས་མེད་དཔལ་སྐྱོན། | Jigmet Spaldon (New Delhi)

## Shaping Buryatia Cultural Identity Through the Gesar Epic of Mongol

Buryatia is a multi-cultural and multi-religious region where diverse language and customs have coexisted. The history of the Buryatia has a deep influence of Buryats-Mongols traditional ties which gradually led to arising of their own self-consciousness and preserve of their cultural heritage such as Gesar epic still sung within the Buryatia Baikal Lake. Therefore they are the descent of Mongol Siberia. When Ghengis Khan united all the Mongol tribes and few tribes live in the forest and others who live in the tents, they do handicraft which led to the development of architecture. So, this profession of handicraft, blacksmith, and architecture is still vibrant among the Buryats. Gesar (Heroic Epic) is also followed in Buryats having their own version. The celebration of the 1000 anniversary of the Gesar Epic marked in Buryatia in 1995 brings out the importance to bring peace and justice with nature and in society, therefore the national spirit of the people was linked with the preservation of the Gesar Epic and it's being a defense

to ally with the Mongols. With globalization, Buryatia also could not escape the modern influence which brought the sense of loss of social position to their respective culture. Religion and culture have the deep impact on the life of the Buryats which built their social consciousness and shape the emotions attached to it. Today, in Buryatia, people have bargained for space through the display of their rich culture, traditions, and customs. Although new traditions are somewhat gaining space in Buryatia and permission is maintained to have harmonious co-existence of all religion and tolerance for each other rituals and customs.

This paper will address the essential part of Buryats cultural tips mainly the Gesar epic while looking at Buryat cultural historical linkages which try to unite with the cultural ethos of Mongolia. The paper aims to contribute to the understanding of the rich cultural heritage of the Buryatia by outlining few important cultural components particularly Gesar Epic and others in general.

Tshe brtan nam rgyal ཚེ་བརྟན་ནམ་རྒྱལ། | Tsetan Namgyal (New Delhi)

### **Versified and Personified ‘Ling Gya lam Gesar’ in Ladakhi Folk Literature (Gzhung gLu)**

The mythical Tibetan legendary king named ‘Gesar’ whose epic saga is considered to be the world largest corpus of Buddhist epic, which exists in enormous forms and versions as a historical figure and a legend across the Tibetan geographical and ethno cultural areas. However, most of the ethnic Tibetans hold the impression specially the followers of Nyigmapa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism that Gesar was an incarnation of ‘*phagspas Pyanras Gzigs*’ (Skt. Avalokite’svara) who ruled the kingdom of gLing and fought against all anti social element, particularly the Bonpos and paved the way forward for flourishing Buddhism in Tibet. This narrative ponders us to believe that Gesar myth existed before the arrival of Buddhism into Tibet and co existed well against each other hence there are lots of Buddhist elements of conceptual thought that can be found in most of the narratives except Balti version of lower Ladakhi Gesar epic.

On the other side, we find three main categorically identified versions or traditions of Gesar epic in the entire Tibetan geographical zone of culture area which are as following:

- Tibet (Eastern Tibet, Kham Amdo province)
- Mongolia (Buddhist Shamanic version)
- Ladakh (includes the Balti version in Northern Pakistan)

When we see Ladakhi version of Gesar we find that it’s rooted in-depth in Ladakhi system of culture, custom and beliefs. Whether in folk songs, stories, ceremonies, celebrations, proverbs, riddles, Gesar’s legacies are reflected and replicated immensely in every walks of Ladakhi life style. In the earlier times there were at least two to three bards or professional storytellers in each and every village in Ladakh but unfortunately today such practices are missing and only few bards are left in some very far-flung villages like Shakar Chiktan, Achina Thang, Kuksho and Mangu in lower part of Ladakh and very few in upper Ladakh such as in Gya Meru village.

This paper will examine and elaborate the Gesar from the viewpoint of both historical and methodological perspective of Ladakhi version focusing on Ladakhi folksongs in particular. The paper also intend to explore the rational approaches of Gesar epic in the form of folksongs, stories, proverbs, riddles, ceremonial rhymes which the people believe helps in healing human grief and in creating a harmonious society and happiness among all sentient beings.

**Keywords:** Gesar, Ladakhi version, Folksongs, GlingGya Lam, Balti version, bards

## Paper Session 10 – Snyan ngag: Considering Tibetan Kāvya

སྐྱོན་ངག་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ།

Janet Gyatso (Cambridge MA)

**The Soul of Poetry**

In his influential commentary on Daṇḍin's , the Fifth Dalai Lama broaches a Tibetan innovation regarding the theory of Indic poetics, which he attributes to two of his predecessors of the previous century. The innovative suggestion is to add the category of , or “soul,” or “life force,” to the two basic categories by which the is itself structured and poetry is explained, namely, the “body” of poetry, and the “ornaments” of poetry. The Dalai Lama supports this suggestion, but other scholars, particularly the Dalai Lama's intellectual sparring partner, Bod mkhas pa Mi pham Dge legs (1618–1685), adamantly rule it out, arguing in part that if Dandin had wanted to add a third category, he would have, but he didn't. In fact Daṇḍin does use the term , which is here translated into Tibetan as srog, more than once a few verses later, but with a more limited connotation than what the Dalai Lama and his predecessors suggest. Fortunately, one of the two sources that the Dalai Lama cites for the srog idea, a commentary by Tibet's premier medical theorist, Zur mkhar ba Blo gros rgyal po (16th century), has just recently come to light and been published in China. This paper will examine this rare work and discuss Zur mkhar ba's logic in suggesting as a critical third category by which to understand poetry, and especially how Zur mkhar ba understands in this context. In fact Bod mkhas pa accuses Zur mkhar ba of being overly immersed in medicine and the importance of in that context, and for cavalierly imposing medical ideas onto poetics even though the metaphors don't really transfer well. Indeed Zur mkhar ba spends many pages in his commentary trying to work out what means for bodily function, but nowhere does he mention any connection to poetic expression. However, now knowing about the same author's entirely different discussion of with respect to poetics allows us to speculate how his medical concern with the value of life might indeed have enhanced his appreciation of the power of poetic discourse. The origin of the idea of the soul of poetry may not rest entirely with Zur mkhar ba or the other figure that the Dalai Lama cites, however. This paper will also look at the several ways that Daṇḍin himself does deploy the notion of in Kāvyaḍarśa, and especially at the commentary by the South Asian author Ratnaśrī, the content of which was largely known to Tibetans and highly regarded by them, although it was never directly translated. At one point Ratnaśrī comments that the 10 s of Vaidarbha-style poetry breathe into the body of kāvya. Again, this point is not exactly the same as what the Tibetan commentators propose, who took the entire idea of the life-force of poetry to another level of specificity and suggestion. Finally, this paper will report on its author's research into some of the other rare Tibetan commentaries that have recently come to light, along with those of Zur mkhar ba. These provide yet further insight on the development of the Tibetan idea of the soul of poetry, and what the theorists who proposed it might have been trying to get at.

bsTan 'dzin tshe dpag བསྐྱོན་འཛིན་ཚེ་དཔག། Tenzin Tsepak (Bloomington, Indiana)

**Kāvyaḍarśa in Tibet: A List of Tibetan Commentaries**

This paper surveys the history of Tibetan commentaries of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* from the thirteenth until eighteenth centuries. Since *Kāvyaḍarśa* remains the only text on Indian poetic theory in Tibetan, Tibetans produced a series of commentaries after commentaries. However, no periodization is offered regarding the transmission of the Tibetan commentaries of *Kāvyaḍarśa*. Tibetan intellectuals up until the early modern period (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries) only produced two or three commentaries in a span of a hundred years; but this changed as there was a revival of interests in Indian poetics in the early modern period. This early modern revival of interest in Indian poetics lasted until the late eighteenth century in 'Khams under Situ Paṅ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700-1774). After which, no commentary was composed until Ju mi pham 'jam dbyangs nam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846-1912) at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Dung-dkar blo-bzang ‘phrin-las rin-po-che (1927-1997) compiled a list of Tibetan commentaries of *Kāvyaḍarśa* including example texts of poetic rhetorical devices (*snyan ngag dper brjod*), based on *Kāvyaḍarśa*, with which he had come into contact.<sup>1</sup> However, the list is not organized chronologically, making it difficult to draw conclusions about the number of texts that were produced during specific periods of Tibetan history. Using Dung-dkar rin-po-che’s index and other *kāvya* texts that were not mentioned in his list, I want to offer a fresh periodization of the history of Tibetan commentaries of *Kāvyaḍarśa*. My presentation will high light the chronology of these texts, classify them based on the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of the author, and touch upon different copies/editions/reproductions of the manuscripts. I have also found out about the existence of Tibetan commentaries that are forgotten, suppressed, and lost in history; yet the relevance and importance of these texts are no lesser than the well-known commentaries. I will end my presentation showing various genealogy of the transmission of *Kāvyaḍarśa* in Tibet using various *gsan yig* (records of teachings received) texts.

<sup>1</sup>Dung dkar blo bzang ‘phrin las. *Snga rabskyi mkhas pa tshos bsgyur pa dang brtsams pa’i snyan ngag gi gzhung gang rnyed kyi dkar chag in Snyan ngag la ‘jug tshul tshig rgyan rig pa’i sgo ‘byed*, (Xining: mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 618-628.

dKon mchog དཀོན་མཚོག | Kun Chok (Bengaluru/Bangalore)  
**A Comparative Study on the Classic Illustrations of *Kāvyaḍarśa* by Indian and Tibetan scholars**

རོ་སྐོད། ལྷན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་གི་དོན་རྒྱན་སོ་ལྷ་དང་། སྐྱ་རྒྱན་རིགས་གསུམ་གྱི་ནང་གསལ་དཔེ་བཞེད་ཤོ་ལོ་ཀ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ཙམ་དང་།  
བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་བཞེད་བཅས་འོན་ཤོ་ལོ་ཀ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་གྱི་བཞེད་བྱའམ་ནང་དོན་གཤིབ་བསྟར་བྱས་པ་བྱུང་ན།  
བསྐྱར་ཞིབ། ལྷན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་གི་འགྲེལ་བ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ལྷག་དང་། མེ་ལོང་མའི་སྐོར་གྱི་དཔྱད་ཚོམ་བདུན་ཅུ་ལྷག་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་བརྒྱད།  
དེ་ལྟར་ལྷན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་གི་བཞེད་བྱའོན་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་ཉ་ཅང་ཉུང་བ་དང་། དཔེ་བཞེད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བཞེད་བྱ་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་  
པའི་དཔེ་བཞེད་བར་བསྟར་དཔྱད་བྱས་མེད་པ་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་བྱུང་།  
དཔྱད་ཐབས། ཚོམ་རིག་གཤིབ་བསྟར་རིག་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་སྟུང་དེ་ལྷན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་གི་སྐྱ་རྒྱན་དང་དོན་རྒྱན་གྱི་དཔེ་བཞེད་ལག་གི་  
བཞེད་བྱ་ལ་ནང་བསྟར་དང་བྱི་བསྟར་གཉིས་ཀ་བྱས། དེ་ལྟར་དཔེ་བཞེད་ལག་གི་བཞེད་བྱ་ལག་བྱུང་། འདོད་གཏུང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་  
བྱུང་། རིག་བྱེད། ལྷ་བྱེད་བསྟར་བྱས་ནས་བསྟར་དཔྱད་དང་། དེ་ལྟར་དང་། རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷ་པོ། བོད་མཁས་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་དཔེ་བཞེད་གྱི་བཞེད་བྱ་  
གཤིབ་སྟར་བྱས་བྱུང་།

**ཐུབ་དོན་སྐོར།**

1. དེ་ལྟར་དཔེ་བཞེད་ཀྱི་བཞེད་དོན་ཚན་པ་དག་གི་ནས་ཐ་དད་ཡིན་ཀྱང་གཏིང་ནས་འབྲེལ་བ་ཟབ་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔེ་གཞིར་  
བཟུང་བའི་སྐྱེས་པ་ལོ་དང་། མཛེས་མ་དཔེ་གཞིར་བཟུང་བའི་བྱུང་མེད། འདོད་པ་གཞི་ཉེན་དུ་བཟུང་བའི་སྐྱེས་པོ་མའི་འབྲེལ་  
བ་གསུམ་པོ་མཚོན་བྱ་དང་། རང་བྱུང་གི་མཛེས་པ་དང་རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་གཉིས་གནད་དེ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཚོན་བྱེད་དུ་ཐུབ་པའི་  
ནང་དོན་གྱི་སྐོར་གཞི་དམིགས་བསལ་ཞིག་ཐུབ་ཡོད་པ་བདེན་དཔང་གཞིར་བཟུང་གིས་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་ཡོད།
2. བོད་དཔེ་དག་ཏུ་དེ་ལྟར་དཔེ་བཞེད་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་རྒྱན་འོག་བཞེད་དོན་ལྟེ་ལག་གཉིས་སུ་  
གྲུས་པ། དཔེ་བཞེད་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་ལག་གཏིང་རིམ་ནས་འབྲེལ་མེད་སེལ་འཛོམ་ཡིན་པ་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་ཡོད།
3. རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པས་ལྷ་ཚོགས་དང་འཕགས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་ཚེན་མི་སྣ་མི་འང་བ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙམ་དང་། དབང་ས་ཅན་མ་ལོན་  
ཐེངས་སོ་བདུན་དང་། ཞུ་ལོ་ཚེན་ལོན་ཐེངས་བརྒྱད་དུ་དཔེ་བཞེད་དུ་བྱས་ཡོད། དེ་ལྟར་བྱུང་མེད་དང་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱེ་ལ་སྐྱར་ཡང་  
བོད་དཔེ་བཞེད་གང་ཟག་བྱེད་ཐུག་པར་མང་དུ་སྐྱར་བའི་ཉུང་པར་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་ཡོད།
4. རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པས་ཞི་བ་དང་། བོད་མཁས་པས་ཟུག་པོའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་བཞེད་བྱར་བྱས་པ། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པས་རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་  
གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱར་བ་དེ་ལྟར་ལས་ཀྱང་མང་བ་སོགས་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་ཡོད།
5. བ་དཔོན་དེ་ལྟར་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་དག་གི་དཔེ་བཞེད་ཀྱི་བར་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་ལ་ཉུང་པར་ཆེ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་གསལ་སྟོན་  
དང་། ཉུང་པར་དེ་ལྟར་འབྲུང་དགོས་པའི་རིག་གནས་དང་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྐོངས་བཅས་ལའང་འཕྲོས་དཔྱད་བྱས་པའི་དཔྱད་  
མ་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་དང་ཐུབ་དོན་མཚོན་གསལ་ཅན་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཐུབ་པར་བྱས་ཡོད་དོ། །

rDo rje skyabs རོ་རྗེ་སྐྱབས། | Dorjee Kyab (Sarnath)

སྤྲིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉའི་འགྲུར་ལ་དབྱད་པ།

དབྱད་ཚུམ་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་ཁ་ཆེའི་པ་རྗེ་ཉ་སྟན་དང་གསུམ་མཁན་ཆེན་པོ་སུ་མ་ན་གྱི་དང་། ལུ་ཆེན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་མང་དུ་བྲོས་པའི་དགོ་  
སྤོང་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ཚུམ་མོ་ ༡༧༣༠༣ - ༡༧༤༠ ་། དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བར་གཏོགས་པ་ལུང་རིགས་སྐྱེ་བ་ནམ་མཁའ་བཟང་བོས་ ༡༧༣༣  
- ༡༧༥༧ ་། དཔལ་ས་སྐྱའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་པོར་བསྐྱུར་བའི་སྤྲིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉའི་འགྲུར་གྱི་སྐོར་ཚུམ་དུ་བཏོན་ཏེ་དབྱད་གྱི་  
ཡོད།

དེ་ཡང་སྤྲིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉ་བོད་དུ་འགྲུར་བ་ནས་བཟུང་། ད་མན་དེ་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ལ་མཛད་རྗེས་ཆེ་བ་ཨ་ལགས་དོར་ཞི་དང་  
མོར་བྱང་ཨོ་རྒྱུ། ར་ཀར་སྐུལ་སྐྱེ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བཅུམས་པའི་འགྲེལ་བ་རེ་བྱུང་ཡོད་ནའང་། གཅིག་ནས་མ་ཡིག་ལེགས་  
སྐྱར་སྐྱད་དུ་སོང་བ་དང་། གཉིས་ནས་འགྲུར་ཡིག་ཐད་སྐྱུར་བྱུགས་ཆེད་གཤམ་དང་། གསུམ་ནས་ལེགས་སྐྱར་དངོས་སུ་  
ལྷོག་ལུས་མཁན་གྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པའི་རྒྱན་བར་སྐྱབས་ཤིག་ནས་ཆད་པར་གྲུར་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། གཞུང་དོན་ལ་མ་སྟེགས་  
པ་དང་སྟན་པའི་དཔོན་པོ་དོན་ཇི་བཞིན་འདོན་མ་བྱུང་བར་དོན་གྱི་ཕོ་བ་འགྲུར་ཡིག་རང་གི་སྟེང་ནས་ལེན་ཅི་བྱུང་བྱས་པས།  
དོན་ལོག་པ་དང་མོར་བ་རྒྱན་འབྲམས་སུ་སོང་བ་མང་དག་ཅིག་མཐོང་བ་འདི་དག་ཀྱང་མཐར་གཏུགས་ན་བྱུག་ས་གཙོ་བོ་དེ།  
འགྲུར་ཡིག་རང་གི་ལེགས་ཉེས་ལ་བྱུག་ཡོད་པས། གུས་པས་འདི་ནས་ལོ་མང་རིང་སྤྲིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉའི་སྐྱད་བཞི་ཤུ་སྐྱར་ཞིག་  
བསྐྱེགས་པ་དང་། སྤྲིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉའི་འགྲུར་གསར་བ་ཞིག་ཉེ་འཆར་བསྐྱུར་ནས་གྲུབ་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་ཚུངས་ལྷོང་ལྷོགས་སུ་  
བསྐྱེམས་ཏེ། སྤྲིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉའི་འགྲུར་རྗེས་བྱེད་པ་དེ་ལ་རང་ལུས་ཅི་ལྟོགས་ཀྱིས་དགོ་སྤོང་ཅི་ཡོད་སྐྱེ་གསང་མེད་པར་བཤད་པར་འདོད་  
དོ།།

དེ་ཡང་འགྲུར་རྗེས་དེའི་ལུངས་བཅོལ་སའི་རྒྱ་དཔེ་ཨ་མ་དེ་དཔེ་རྒྱན་ཉམས་པ་ཡིན་ནམ། བོད་དུ་ལུས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་མིན་སོགས་  
ད་བར་མ་དེས་ཀྱང་། བོད་འགྲུར་འདི་རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་ཡུལ་དུ་དུ་ཚུན་དུ་དཔར་བའི་སྤྲིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉའི་རྒྱ་དཔེ་དག་དང་ཕོ་ལོ་ཀའི་  
གངས་ཀ་དང་ཕོ་རིམ་འགའ་ཞིག་མི་མཐུན་པ་མ་གཏོགས་ཐ་དད་པ་ཆེར་མེད་པས། དབྱད་ཚུམ་འདི་མ་ཡིག་དང་བྱུ་ཡིག་  
ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱར་ཏེ་དབྱད་པ་ནམ་མོའི་ལུགས་སུ་བྱས་ཏེ་འགྲུར་གྱི་ལེགས་ཉེས་ཞིབ་ཏུ་དབྱད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལོ།།

## Paper Session 11 – Tibetan Literary Genres

### ཚུམ་རིག་གི་འབྲི་ལུགས།།

Tomoko Makidono (Otsu)

#### Vessantara Jātaka in Tibet: Being Transformed into a Mahāyāna Text

Vessantara Jātaka is a well-known Buddhist text which has widely spread to all over Asian countries. The story tells a birth story of the Buddha Śākyamūni as being Prince Vessantara, featuring his great generosity to the extent that he has offered his children. This paper looks at a Tibetan text in which narratives similar to Vessantara Jātaka are found. The Tibetan text is called the Maṇi bka’ ‘bum, which is a “revealed text” (gter ma), being claimed to be authored by Srong btsan sgam po (d.650), an ancient Tibetan king as being a manifestation of the Bodhistva Avalokiteśvara, a tutelary deity in Tibet. The text narrates successive birth stories of the king, and two stories similar to Vessantara Jātaka consists of them. There are several features in the two stories in Tibetan, which differ to the story commonly known as the Vessantara Jātaka like in the Pāli literature. The names of characters are different from those in the Pāli. For example, the main character of both stories is named ‘Jig rten dbang phyug(Skt. Lokeśvara)who has two queens, instead of one in the Pāli literature. One is identified as Srong bstan sgam po’s Nepali queen, and the other is his Chinese wife. Philosophically, also the stories teach Mahāyāna thoughts such as the generation of the mind towards enlightenment (sems bskyed), and a faith in the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and his quintessential mantra om maṇi padme hūm.

Lcags rdor rgyal ལྷགས་རྡོར་རྒྱལ། | Jiduoja (Beijing)

#### Gtam and 'bel Gtam: As Two Narrative Patterns and Genres in Tibetan Literature

སྐོང་ཆེན་རབ་འབྲུམ་ས་པ་བློ་མེད་འོད་ཟེར་ (1308-1363) གྱི་《པོ་ཏ་ལ་ཀུན་རྟུ་དགའ་བའི་གཏམ་》དང་། 《ནགས་ཚལ་ཀུན་རྟུ་དགའ་བའི་གཏམ་》 སོགས་དང་། འཇིགས་མེད་གླིང་པ་ (1729-1798) ཡི་《འདབ་ཆགས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་》དང་། 《རི་བོང་ཤིན་རྟུ་བརྟན་པའི་གཏམ་》 སོགས། རྫོན་པལ་སྐུལ་ (1808-1887) གྱི་《ལྷ་ཚོས་དང་མཐུན་པའི་གཏམ་པདྨའི་ཚལ་གྱི་སྐོར་གར་》། རྫོག་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ་ (1865-1926) ཡི་《ནགས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་》ལ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་“གཏམ་”ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འདི་ཚུམ་ལུས་བྱང་པར་བ་ཞིག་རྟུ་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཡང་གྲུང་ཐང་བསྟན་པའི་སྐོན་མེ (1762-1823) ཡི་《ཉམས་སྲོང་རྟན་པའི་འབེལ་གཏམ་》དང་། ལལ་ལངག་དབང་སྐོ་བཟང་མ་ལས་བྱུབ་ (1779-1838) གྱི་《བཅུན་པ་དང་ར་ལུག་གྲང་གསུམ་གྱི་འབེལ་གཏམ་》དང་། རྗེ་འཇིགས་མེད་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ (1866-1947) ཡི་《བྱི་ལའི་འབེལ་གཏམ་》དང་། རྗེ་འཇིགས་མེད་རིག་པའི་སྐོ་བློ་མེས་ (1910-1985) གྱི་《གནས་བརྟན་རྩལ་གླིམས་མེ་ལོང་དང་དགེ་སྲོང་ཤེས་རབ་རལ་གྱི་གཉིས་གྱི་འབེལ་གཏམ་》དང་། ལྷ་སྐོན་རྩལ་གླིམས་ཡི་ཤེས་ (1913-1977) གྱི་《དགེ་སྲོང་གཞོན་རྟུ་དང་ནགས་ལྷ་སྐོག་མའི་འབེལ་གཏམ་》 སོགས་ཀྱིས་“འབེལ་གཏམ་”ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཚུམ་ལུས་དམིགས་བསལ་བ་ཞིག་རྟུ་བྱས་ཡོད་པས་ཚུམ་ལུས་བྱང་པར་བ་འདི་གཉིས་ལ་བྱེ་བྲག་དཔུང་ཞིབ་གྱི་རིན་ཐང་ཆེ་བ་དང་། ཡང་《བྱ་དང་རི་དྲགས་གྱི་རྗོད་པ་བརྗོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་དེབ་གྱི་འགོ་བརྗོད་དུ་དེབ་དེར་འཁོད་པའི་སྐོག་ཆགས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ཆ་ཚང་ལ་“བོད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་གྱི་ཚུམ་རིག་” (Tibetan Kathā literature) ཞེས་འཁོད་ཡོད་པར་གཞིགས་ན་བོད་གསལ་གྱི་“གཏམ་”དང་“འབེལ་གཏམ་”གཉིས་ཀ་ལོགས་སྐུར་གྱི་ལྷག་པའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་“བརྗོད་པ་དང་གཏམ་” (Ākhyāyikā & Kathā) གྱི་“གཏམ་”དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་མེད་སྐོར་ལ་དཔུང་པ་ཅུང་ཟད་འགྲོ་དགོས་པར་

མཐོང་། སྤྱིར་ཚཱིམ་ལུས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བརྗོད་ཚུལ་དང་བརྗོད་བྱ་སོགས་ཏེ་ལམ་འདྲ་བར་སྤང་ན་འདྲ་མིང་གདགས་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཆ་ནས་  
སོ་སོར་འདུག་པར་མ་ཟད། ཚཱིམ་པ་པོའི་ཆ་ནས་གྲུབ་མཐའི་ཁྱད་པར་ཞིག་ཡོད་པའང་བལྟས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་ཤེས་ཡོད་གི་ཡོད་པ་ནི་སྤྱི་  
མའི་ཚཱིམ་པ་པོ་ཏེ་ལམ་རྒྱུང་མ་པའི་མཁས་པ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་མའི་ཚཱིམ་པ་པོ་དག་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེ་བ་དགོ་ལུགས་པའི་མཁས་པ་ཡིན་  
པར་འདུག་པས། ཚཱིམ་ལུས་དང་གྲུབ་མཐའི་བར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཆ་ནས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལ་དཔུང་པའི་དགོས་གཤམ་ཅུང་ཟད་ཡོད་པར་སྤང་  
ངོ། །དེས་ན་དཔུང་ཚཱིམ་འདིར་ནི་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་དཔུང་གཞི་དེ་དག་ལྟེ་བ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཚཱིམ་ལུས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་རིགས་ལམ་དང་དོན་གྱི་  
ལྗོངས་བཞུགས་རིག་པ་ (Narratology) དང་ཚཱིམ་པ་པོ་དག་གི་རྣམ་ཐར་སོགས་རྒྱ་ཆ་དུ་མ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཚཱིམ་ལུས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་  
དོ་བོ་དང་རང་བཞིན། གྲུབ་ཚུལ། འབྱུང་ཁུངས། གནས་སྐྱབས་བཅས་ཐུན་མིན་དང་ཐུན་མོང་གི་ཆ་ཤས་ལ་དཔུང་ཞིབ་ཐོན་  
ཚོགས་ཙམ་བགྲིས་ཡོད་དོ། །

<sup>1</sup> 《བྱང་རིད་གསལ་གྱི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད》 (Tibetan didactic tales on animals and birds themes) , published by Damchoc Sangpo, Amar Villa, etc. A reproduction of a collection of manuscripts from the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dhramsala, Dalhousie, h. p. 1978. “preface”.

Blo bzang chos dar རྣོ་བཟང་ཚོས་དར། | Lobsang Choedar (Dharamsala)

“རྟོགས་བརྗོད” ཅེས་པའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་འཚོལ་ཞིབ།

སྤྱིར་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་ལྷག་པར་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་ཚཱིམ་རིག་ཁྲོད་དུ་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཅེས་  
པའི་ཚཱིམ་སྤངས་འདི་སྤྱད་ནས་སྤྱི་རབས་འཕགས་བོད་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བརྗོད་ཚཱིམ་ཞིན་ཏེ་མང་པོ་བརྗོད་པས་  
པ་ཡོད་ལ། དེ་དག་གིས་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ལུགས་འི་ལ་བསྟན་གསལ་དང་དང་འདུན་གྱི་ལུས་པ་འབྱུར་དུ་ཐོན་ཡོད་པར་མ་  
ཟད། ཐོད་གྱི་ཚཱིམ་རིག་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ལུས་པ་སྤྱི་ན་མེད་པ་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ་ཅི་དགོས། འོན་ཀྱང་ད་ལྟའི་  
བར་དུ་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དང་རྣམ་ཐར། སྤྱི་རབས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་དང་དབྱེ་མཚམས་གསལ་བོར་མ་འབྲེད་པའི་  
དབང་གིས་སྐབས་འདིར་ང་ཚོ་མགོ་ཚུངས་པར་བྱེད་པ་དང་འཁྲུལ་བར་བྱེད་པ། ལྷག་པར་མཚན་བྱང་དང་བརྗོད་ཚཱིམ་  
ཚོས་ཀྱི་བརྗོད་བྱའི་འབྲེལ་བ་ལ་བྱལ་དུ་གྱུར་བ་དང་འགྱུར་ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་རིགས་ཞིན་ཏེ་མོད་པའི་ཁར། ཚཱིམ་རིག་  
དཔུང་བརྗོད་སྤེལ་དུས་དང་བརྗོད་ཚཱིམ་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཚུལ་མཚན་ཐབས་འབྲེལ་བརྗོད་བྱེད་དུས་དཀའ་ངལ་མི་ཉུང་བ་  
ཞིག་འཕྲད་ཐུས་སུ་གནས་པས་ན། བརྗོད་ཚཱིམ་ལུགས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཚཱིམ་རིག་གི་ཆ་དག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་བྱུང་ཁུངས་  
སྤྱི་མཐུན་ནས་རིགས་དབྱེ་དང་རིག་ཚན་གྱི་ས་མཚམས་འབྲེད་དགོས་པར་དམིགས་ཏེ། ལུས་པས་ལོ་ཤས་སྟོན་ནས་  
བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་ཚཱིམ་རིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད་པའི་ལུས་ཡིན། ད་རེ་གོ་སྐབས་འདི་དང་བསྟན་ནས་ལུ་  
ཅག་རྣམས་ལ་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཅེས་པའི་ཆེད་སྟོན་གྱི་ཐ་སྟོན་འདི་ཐོག་མར་གང་ལས་འབྱུང་བ་དང་བར་དུ་རི་ལྟར་  
དར་བ། མཐའ་མར་འགྱུར་བ་ཅི་བྱུང་བ་བཅས་ལ་དོ་སྣང་དང་འཚོལ་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཏེ། བརྗོད་ཚཱིམ་རིག་ལྟུང་ཁྲོད་ས་  
གྱི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཚཱིམ་རིག་ལས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཅེས་པའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་དང་བརྗོད་བྱ་དང་རྗོད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་འཇུག་གཞིའི་  
སྟོན་ཚཱིམ་ཡིག་འདིར་སྟོན་སྟོན་ལྟར་བསམ་ཡོད་པའོ། །

Yum Tshe ring ཡུམ་ཚེ་རིང་། | Yuncairang (Chengdu)

བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏྲུག་བཅའ་སྲུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་དོན་སྐོར་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་དབྱེད་པ།

གཙོ་གནད། བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏྲུག་བཅའ་སྲུང་གི་སྐོར་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚོམ་རིག་ཚོད་གོ་གནས་རིས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཟེན་ཡོད། ཡིན་ནའང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱུ་  
 གྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོམ་རིག་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་མཚོངས་ཀྱི་གདེང་འཇོག་ཐོབ་མེད། བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏྲུག་བཅའ་སྲུང་གི་ནང་དོན་གྱི་ཆ་གས་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཐབ་མོའི་ད  
 གོངས་པ་དང་། མི་ཚོས་རིག་གནས་། དགའ་བཞག་གི་བསམ་ཚོམ་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་མཛེས་དཔྱོད་རིག་པ་ཚོམ་གསལ་ཆམ་བཞག་སོགས་འདུས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། དབྱ  
 ད་ཚོམ་འདི་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏྲུག་བཅའ་སྲུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར་གྱི་མཚོན་དོན་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་སྲིད་བརྗོད་དོན་གྱི་ཆ་གས་རི་མ་རི་བཞིན་དུ་སྟོན  
 'པར་སྤེལ་དང་སྲོག་ཆགས་ལའང་ལ་སྲོག་མེད་ཀྱི་དངོས་པོ་ག་གེ་མོར་དཔེ་སྤྲོད་ནས་བརྗོད་བྱ་དངོས་སྤེལ་ལུགས་སུ་སྟོན་པ་ནི་རབ་ཏྲུག་བཅའ་སྲུང་གི་  
 ལྷན་ཚོས་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་རབ་ཏྲུག་བཅའ་སྲུང་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང་གཉིད་ཐབ་པའི་མཚོན་དོན་མི་འདྲ་བ་རེ་ཡོད་དེ་དག་ལས་།  
 གཉམ་པར་མའི་ཆལ་གྱི་ཚོས་གར་། རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་གཉམ་རྒྱུད་། རྒྱ་མ་གྲིན་སྟོན་ཆུ་བའི་རྒྱུ་བརྗོད་བརྗོད་། རྒྱ་ཆུང་ལྷ་མོའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་། སོགས་ལ་ལྷན་  
 ཚོས་དམིགས་གསལ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ནི་བཅའ་སྲུང་ཚོས་འདི་དག་གི་ལུགས་སུ་ཚོམ་པ་པོ་མི་སྤེལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ཡང་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་བྱུང་ལྱོད་ཡོད  
 'པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར་ཞིག་མཚོན་བཞིན་པས་། དེ་དག་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ན་སྐབས་དེའི་མི་སྤེལ་གྱི་འཚོ་བ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལམ་ལུགས་སོགས་ལ་རྒྱས་ལོན་པར  
 'པན་ཐོགས་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་དོ།།

མིར་བརྗོད་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོམ་རིག་རབ་ཏྲུག་བཅའ་སྲུང་། མི་སྤེལ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།

**Paper Session 12 – Contemporary literature**

དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མ་རིག

sKal bzang g.yang ‘dzoms ལྷོ་མ་བཟང་གཡང་འཛོམས། | Kalsang Yangzom (New Delhi)

**Literary Cartographers of Tibetans in Exile: A Study of “Idols on the Path” and “Falling Through the Roof”**

Contemporary Tibetan studies has majorly been led by religious, political, historical, environmental scholarships. However, the literary bent in this field, especially of works written in English, are few and far in between. As a diasporic community spread all over the world with diverse contexts for linguistic acquisition, it is necessary for us to study the ways in which Tibetans express their identity and their ideas of Tibet in a non-Tibetan language.

My paper, therefore, is an analysis of two Tibetan Anglophone novels, (1966) by Dr. Tsewang Pemba and (2008) by Thupten Samphel. is the first English fictional narrative written by a Tibetan and deals with the years immediately preceding and following the 1959 mass exodus of Tibetans to India. on the other hand portrays the nascent stage of refugee-hood in India, a form of spatial movement so markedly different from the nomadic culture of most Tibetans. The texts function as archival retrieval in the form of literature, of the pain, struggles, and negotiations that entail living in exile and being a refugee in a foreign land. They present an alternative but equally important expression of Tibetan identity in exile. These works also aid in questioning the linguistic hegemony of Tibetan language in expressing the Tibetan self and take into account the socio-political necessity and potential of using non-Tibetan languages like English. Thus, this paper will address the challenges faced by and the scopes of such writings. However, this does not diminish the viability of the Tibetan language for literary expression but opens Tibetan literary canon to multiplicity and diversity, leading to a dynamic construction of Tibetan literature and World literature.

Kamila Hladikova (Olomouc)

**Purple Ruins: Tsering Woesser’s (Re)construction of Tibet**

Symbolic reconstruction of the “purple ruins” - the abandoned ruins of traditional Tibetan buildings, monasteries, temples and old mansions of aristocracy – has become one of the main topics of Tibetan Sinophone dissident writer Tsering Woesser. Her effort to preserve them not only as witnesses of Tibetan glorious past, but also of the dark chapters of modern Tibetan history and indictment of the Chinese rule in Tibet, has intensified when the Chinese authorities’ decided to tear down some of the silent mementos of what the official Chinese narrative calls “peaceful liberation of Tibet” ( ), “democratic reforms” ( ), and “ten years’ chaos” ( ) of the “Cultural Revolution” ( ). Tsering Woesser’s new book in Chinese ( ) published in January 2017 in Taiwan is a result of her long term research on the topic, including photographic documentation, description, and historical context. As in her book *Notes on Tibet* (Xizang biji, 2003), she has combined subjective perspective (poems, personal memories, interviews etc.) with “folk stories” ( ) including legends, oral history and gossip, and with historical material.

While reconstructing the image of both, the “old” and “new” Tibet in her book, she is contesting the official Chinese representations and narratives of Tibet, Tibetan history and Tibetan culture. She supports her arguments with Western scholarly sources and literary and philosophical references, using numerous quotes and allusions to works of Tibetan studies scholars, colonial and postcolonial studies, and notably also Jewish authors and authors resisting totalitarian regimes, namely those who experienced the life in the Soviet and post-Soviet regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe. Borrowing her husband Wang Lixiong’s term “cultural imperialism” ( ), she is appropriating postcolonial theories to re-interpret Chinese quasi imperial/colonial endeavors in Tibet from past to present and to contest the notion “40 shining

years of success in Tibet” as represented in official Chinese propaganda, which has found its way even to Western social media and press in form of paid “advertisement”.

The aim of this paper is to look into the way Tsering Woeser is engaging with the complexities of official Chinese representations of Tibet in an attempt to (re)construct the missing parts of modern Tibetan history that were concealed and even intentionally erased by the Chinese official narrative and to (re)construct modern Tibetan identity against the background of the dominant Chinese culture and ideology.

Sushmita Sihwag (Jhajjar, Haryana)

### **The Immanent Home: Narrative Possibilities of Reading Home in Tsering Wangmo Dhompa’s “A Home in Tibet”**

The notion of home can be considered analogous to that of origin in lieu of their shared rootedness in a fixed singularity. It is seen as critical for the process of identity formation in an individual which bases its foundation on an unchanging essence. For someone who has grown up in exile, home as a point of origin is placed into a remote past, accessible only through either imagination or what Marianne Hirsch calls “postmemory.” Tsering Wangmo Dhompa’s memoir *A Home in Tibet*, first published in 2013, traces the author’s journey to her mother’s ancestral home in Kham province of East Tibet to meet her relatives. While she is elated to finally be in a place she had long considered as the “true home” while never having inhabited it, she is quick to realise that the home has evolved and changed into something quite different from what the elders in exile had described. And yet, the importance of the notion of home cannot be discounted. “The imagined country never leaves us. It exists and is created to give us authority, identity and a cause. Tibetans born in exile learn a language of desire, to be a part of what is twice removed from us,” writes Dhompa.

The process of narrating home through the memoir becomes a way to lend some coherence to the otherwise chaotic lived experience in the present. In this paper, I argue that the fictional unity that the narrative, combining elements of the fabula and syuzhet, give rise to is what provides Dhompa’s fragmented subjectivity access to home. By engaging with critical perspectives of theorists such as Jerome Bruner, Jacques Derrida, and Gilles Deleuze, it will look at how, in a rhizomatic possibility, it also allows for an experience home based on multiplicity. Dhompa ends her memoir on note of possibilities – “And because beautiful daydreams are made of mountains, home and freedom, I dream a different ending.” This interpretive potential of the narrative, I argue, further opens up avenues in the present for re-thinking one’s relation to the past and the future.

**Roundtable 7 – Challenges and Rewards in the Process of Translating  
Bilingual Writer Pema Tseden’s Short Stories**

པད་མ་ཚོ་བརྟན་གྱི་བརྩམས་ཚུལ་ལ་ཡིག་སྐྱུར་བྱེད་པ།

**Organizer**

Michael Monhart (New York, New York)

**Additional participants**

Hoshi Izumi (Yokohama)

Franz Xaver Erhard (Leipzig)

Françoise Robin (Paris)

## **Medicine and Traditional Sciences**

གསོ་རིག་སོགས་རིག་གནས་བརྒྱ

## Panel 9 – The Lay Sciences in Tibet

བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་རིག་གནས་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

### Panel organizer

Philippe Turenne (Kathmandu)

**Panel abstract** – Tibetan intellectual culture has been shaped in great part by its inheritance of Indian models of knowledge, which organize the various fields of knowledge under the category of the five (“inner science” or Buddhism, linguistics, healing, logic, and arts) or ten sciences (adding astrology, poetics, prosody, synonymics and drama). This panel will look at the way Tibetan culture has appropriated those sciences, how they have evolved in the Tibetan context, and how they relate to other elements of Tibetan culture. Issues treated may include the relation between the lay sciences and the inner science of Buddhism, Tibetan developments of those sciences, Tibetan attitudes towards non-Buddhist knowledge, both historically and in the contemporary period, and the ways Tibetan Buddhist culture has been influenced or transformed by lay sciences.

Peter C. Verhagen (Leiden)

### **Tibetan Reflections on the Sanskrit Language from the Medieval Period to the Advent of Modernity: from Zha lu lo tsā ba to Dge 'dun chos 'phel and beyond**

The earliest involvement of Tibetans in the study of Sanskrit grammar of course dates from the *Snga dar* era and is associated with the creation of the earliest Sanskrit-Tibetan translations (7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries).

The paramount canonization of the Tibetan translations in *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* took place in the fourteenth century, at the same time when the influx of ‘new’ Buddhist texts dwindled to virtual extinction. Nonetheless an interest in Sanskrit grammar persisted among a number of influential Tibetan intellectuals in the following centuries, surprisingly till as recently as the twentieth century.

In order to sketch the development in Tibetan writing on Sanskrit grammar in the latter centuries of Tibetan pre-modern history, I will compare two important authors.

The first is Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528). In his extensive oeuvre on linguistics I will focus on two works specifically: his *Ka lā pa 'i gzhung don rab gsal* commentary on *Kātantra* grammar, dated 1495, and his (*Ka lā pa 'i*) *Spyi don gsal ba 'i snying po*, a compendium on the key issues in traditional grammar, which he completed in 1520.

Dge 'dun Chos 'phel (1903-1951) will be the second focal point of my paper. In his famous *Gser gyi thang ma* he frequently addresses grammatical and, more broadly speaking, linguistic matters, often in a decidedly original, innovative manner.

In the third, final section I will frame the conclusions we can draw from the comparison of the two authors in the perspective of the entire historical development of Sanskrit studies in Tibet from its inception in the eighth century.

Philippe Turenne (Kathmandu)

### **A Buddhist Perspective on the History and Function of the Lay Sciences: The Special Role of Linguistics in Dgra 'dul Dbang po's History of the Lay Sciences**

This paper will use Dgra 'dul Dbang po's *History of the Five Sciences (Rig gnas lnga 'i byung tshul)* to describe how the lay sciences are described in Tibetan intellectual life. After reviewing the Buddhist rationale given for the importance of all lay sciences, we will see how dGra 'dul dbang po gives a special place to the science of linguistics. Whereas Dgra 'dul dbang po gives unique importance to linguistics

(*sgra rigs*), he defines that discipline in an ambiguous way: while it is part of the lay sciences, it is given an almost religious status. He describes linguistics as a prerequisite to any form of knowledge, and sometimes even as having been taught by the historical Buddha. This presentation will use his explanation of the role and importance of linguistics as a contribution to research into Tibetan scholastic understandings and representations of the science of linguistics, its relation to other fields of knowledge, and in particular its place vis-à-vis the study of inner or Buddhist science. I will discuss the status, nature and function of linguistic science as discussed in the History of the Five Sciences, and will argue that paying attention to Tibetan Buddhist conceptions of the nature of linguistics is determining for our understanding of Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism.

Mayumi Kodani (Santa Barbara, California)

### **The Soteriological Value of Lay Sciences in Taktsang Lotsāwa’s Rig gnas kun shes**

One of the most frequently quoted lines in treatises about the five major sciences is attributed to Maitreya and reads, “If they do not endeavor in the five fields of knowledge, even supreme āryas cannot achieve omniscience.” Tibetan authors often cite this line to demonstrate the soteriological importance of the lay sciences, such that full enlightenment itself is contingent upon their mastery. This paper will discuss the ancillary soteriological function which the 15<sup>th</sup> century Sakyapa Taktsang Lotsāwa attributes to the sciences in the root text and autocommentary of his *Attaining [an Understanding of] No-Self from a Thorough Knowledge of the Sciences (Rig gnas kun shes nas bdag med grub pa)*. I argue that this text extends his earlier critique of Tsongkhapa’s Madhyamaka-Prāmāṇika synthesis by singling out logic as a science shared by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. Taktsang’s description of the lay sciences (logic among them) then becomes a vehicle for one of his central arguments: that however vital logic is for untangling tangled thinking, the “reality of selflessness” is the one object of knowledge that is not apprehended “through thinking about the way in which one understands the ultimate.” In other words, one cannot realize emptiness by subjecting it to the rules of logic. Taktsang’s explanation of the lay sciences adheres closely to Indian models and sources, but mobilizes them to delineate both their efficacy and limitations regarding the goal of enlightenment. In doing so, this work highlights 1) how the lay sciences were construed by Taktsang, who influenced many later writers on the same subject, including the Fifth Dalai Lama and Jamgön Kongtrul; 2) Taktsang’s view contra Tsongkhapa of the inapplicability of logic to Madhyamaka philosophy; and 3) our understanding of Buddhist scholasticism in particular and of scholasticism broadly.

Jaakko Takkinen (Santa Barbara, California)

### **Union of Medicine and Dharma? Yuthog Nyingthig and Tibetan Medical Training at Sowa Rigpa International College in Kathmandu, Nepal**

There is a long association between Buddhism and medicine in India, and traditional overlap of Buddhist soteriology with concern for the well-being of people. Like the other branches of the traditional Tibetan sciences (*rig gnas*) based upon Indian models of knowledge – grammar, logic, hand-crafted arts, and the study of Buddhism – medicine flourished as one of the main branches of learning in the Buddhist monasteries of Tibet at least since the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century. In Tibet, however, there is some debate whether the practice of the classical five fields of knowledge should be understood as essential components of the Buddhist path since they each contribute to the welfare of sentient beings, and consequently to the progress on the path of the *bodhisattva* in accordance with the Mahāyāna ideal. This paper examines the ways in which Buddhism in general, and the *Yuthog Nyingthig* cycle of practices in particular, are embedded in contemporary Tibetan medical training at Sowa Rigpa International College (SRIC) in Kathmandu, Nepal. SRIC is the foremost training institution of Sorig Khang International (SKI), which has emerged as one of the most aspiring institutions currently shaping the global development of Tibetan medicine (*gso ba rig pa, sowa rigpa*). Tra-

dition holds that the core teachings of the *Yuthog Nyingthig* originated with Yuthog Yönten Gönpö (1112-1203), who is often characterized as the ‘father’ of Tibetan medicine. Yuthog passed the transmission of the teachings on to his student, Sumtön Yeshe Sung (Sum ston ye shes gzungs, b. early 12th century), who then recorded these teachings as a series of works that now form the root texts of the *Yuthog Nyingthig* collection. The *Yuthog Nyingthig* cycle of teachings has been historically very influential in Tibet but remains hitherto little studied – it is of particular relevance to this paper due to its prominent role in the worldwide operations of SKI, and its presence in the medical curriculum of SRIC in Kathmandu. SKI is arguably the most ambitious emerging force in the increasingly international landscape of *sowa rigpa*, with regional centers in 28 countries across four continents. Prior to the emergence of SKI, the Tibetan Medical & Astro-science Institute, also known as the Men-TseeKhang, has long acted as the sole legitimate authority over Tibetan medicine in exile. The history and curriculum of the Dharamsala Men-Tsee-Khang have been studied relatively closely, but other institutions of Tibetan medicine have not received notable academic attention to date. The purpose of this paper is to open a new avenue of research by focusing on the dissemination of Tibetan medical knowledge at SRIC. The institution is deserving of closer scholarly attention because it 1) operates outside the immediate influence of the Men-Tsee-Khang, 2) its curriculum incorporates the study of *Yuthog Nyingthig*, a Nyingma-oriented cycle of teachings that integrates medical theories with Buddhist meditation practices and soteriological techniques, and 3) it was inaugurated as recently as August 2016 as the first institution to offer an accredited training program in Tibetan medicine in Nepal as an affiliated college of Lumbini Buddhist University. By addressing a significant gap in the study of developments in Tibetan medicine outside of Tibet, this paper offers a vantage point to the interrelatedness of medical and religious practice in a markedly transnational institution of Tibetan medicine. Today, at a time when many aspects of Tibetan medicine considered religious are being eliminated from the tradition especially in Tibetan regions that are governed by China, the continued importance of practices like the *Yuthog Nyingthig* reveals flourishing interconnection between medical and religious domains within Tibetan culture. In sum, by focusing on an “alternative” institution of Tibetan medicine outside of Tibet, and by examining the role of *Yuthog Nyingthig* and related Buddhist practices within the curriculum of an emerging accredited *sowa rigpa* training program, this paper sheds new light on the heterogeneous nature of contemporary Tibetan medicine and aims to (re)contextualize Tibetan religio-medical texts and religious practices in the domain of globalizing Tibetan medicine.

## Panel 20 – Tibetan Materialities: Exploring Materials, Techniques, and Knowledge Transmission across Disciplines

བོད་ཀྱི་དངོས་རྒྱས་རིག་པ། རིག་གནས་སྣ་ཚོགས་དང་མཐུན་ནས་རྒྱས་ལག་ལེན་དང་ཤེས་པ་གསུམ་ལ་བརྟུག་པ།

### Panel organizers

Barbara Gerke (Vienna)

Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (London)

Jan van der Valk (Vienna)

**Panel abstract** – Materials play a central role in all aspects of Tibetan societies – medicine, religion, trade, the arts, politics, etc. – and have therefore been an important focus of archaeological, historical and anthropological research. A renewed interest in materiality (here conceived simply as the properties of materials of any kind), their related practices, techniques, and knowledge transmission, has recently opened new theoretical and methodological avenues, particularly for broadening our understanding of the agency of materials. How do materials and their properties (inter)act, become potent, and change when crossing cultural divides? This panel presents an innovative opportunity to develop these themes within Tibetan Studies, from multi-disciplinary angles. We invite presenters working with materials such as medicine, ritual substances, coins, paper, metallurgy, artistic and everyday materials, etc., offering analyses from textual, philological, historical, archaeological, and anthropological perspectives. The aim is to foster a discussion on the multiple dimensions of materials in Tibetan contexts, evaluating their conceptual value as ‘materialities,’ while highlighting indigenous knowledge and skillful practice.

Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (London)

### Arura: The Making of a Eurasian Panacea

The history of arura (a ru ra, chebulic myrobalan) as a wondrous drug intersects realms of pharmacology, of trade, of the imagination and of religion. Its long Eurasian history can be traced through the notions of India as a source of wondrous drugs and medical knowledge, Buddhist narratives on the Medicine Buddha, the medical and trade documents from the Cairo Genizah, Maimonides’s links with India—all the way to modern Tibetan pharmaceutical history.

The analysis of wondrous drugs allows us to look at such substances as “nodes in knowledge systems around which meaning and practice cohere and agglomerate,” (Pamela Smith, in press) in which simultaneous trails intersect: the linguistic trail, the tale trail, the trade trail, the pharmacological trail and the ritual trail. Hence, tracing the Eurasian biography of myrobalans calls us to move between planes: that of the object, the plant itself, its chemical composition and natural traits; and the constructions which define it: the stories, its trade practicalities and the pharmacological texts which discuss it. These different planes intersect, inform and construct each other.

Moving away from the “objectness” of things, to observing the “material flows and formative processes wherein they come into being”, Ingold (2012) has argued that it is pointless to distinguish between “properties” and “qualities” of materials, between the scientifically measurable and the subjective qualities, the ideas in people’s heads which they project onto the material in question.

Anthropology and the emerging field of Placebo Studies have taught us that there is more to a medicine than its active ingredients. There is a fine, but telling line between a very useful drug and a panacea--a substance which is said to cure-all. If the lines of materials and bodily movements create what Ingold has termed “meshwork”, how much more so in the case of materia medica- and especially of the extraordinary kind. This paper will trace a number of features from the linguistic trail, the tale trail, the trade trail and the pharmacological trail in Tibet and beyond to explore these questions.

Carmen Simioli (Venice)

### **Medicinal and Magical Uses of Bezoars in Tibetan Pre-modern Medicine**

In ancient and early-modern Tibetan medical literature, bezoar stones (*gi wang*) were regarded as potent substances, very effective against ‘poisons’ (*dug*) and ‘contagious fevers’ (*rims tshad*). Authoritative and heterodox works recommend preparing bezoars according to precise recipes: if combined with several substances (plants, gemstones, animal and human substances), they not only become the perfect ‘antidotes’ (*gnyen po*) to poisons, but can even provide protection from demonic forces and evil incantations. Medical collections include spells and protective rituals derived from tantric sources: the medical compounds are empowered during special rituals and used to manufacture amulets and to prepare unguents that confer magical invulnerability or even an unspoiled divine body named ‘vajra armor’ (*rdo rje go cha*).

The attribution of therapeutic and apotropaic properties to these remedies as well as the combination of diverse healing methods, are contingent upon precise philosophical assumptions and complex aetiological models, which associate natural and supernatural causalities of contagious diseases. Starting with a comparative analysis of medical and tantric sources selected from different collections such as the *Medical Collection of 'Brong rtse* (*'Brong rtse be'u bum*, fourteenth century), the *Ten Million Relics* (*Bye bya ring srel*, fifteenth century) and the *Treasure of Rediscovered Teachings* (*Rin chen geter mdzod*, eighteenth century), this paper intends to assess a certain degree of continuity and fluidity between the medical and ritual contexts. In this sense, these substances will be presented as the material manifestations of knowledge and beliefs concerned not only with medicine but also with magic.

Colin Millard (Newcastle)

### **The Chapters on Poison in the Khyungtrul Menpe**

Poison has a significant role to play in Tibetan notions of materiality. In Buddhist philosophy it is the three poisons of ignorance, desire, and aversion that bring about material existence and it is the five mental poisons which hold it in place. The celebrated Bon lama, scholar and medical doctor Khyung sprul 'Jig med Nam-mkha'i rDo rje (1897-1955) completed his four volume medical commentary, referred to as the *Khyung sprul sMan dpe*, in 1949. The paper will discuss the chapters on poison his medical commentary. It will document how poisons are presented as material substances, how they act on the body, and how they are diagnosed and treated. Both the *rGyu bzhi* and the *'Bum bzhi*, the main medical texts of the Buddhist and Bon traditions, have three chapters devoted to poisons: compounded poisons, food poisoning and natural poisons. Khyungtrul's commentary covers these topics and adds three further topics: meat poisoning, venereal disease and rabies ('dog poison').

William McGrath (New York, New York)

### **Surgical Instruments and External Therapies: Technology and Instruction in the Tibetan Medical Tradition**

There are few instances of medical practices that can be traced from the Tibetan-language documents found at Dunhuang (ca. ninth century) down to the present day, but external therapies (*dpyad*) certainly fit this description. By the time the *Subsequent Tantra* was compiled in the thirteenth century, external therapies came to be summarized according to a set of five techniques (*dpyad lnga*): bloodletting (*gtar kha[ka/ga]*), cauterization (*me btsa*), fomentation (*dugs*), bathing (*lums*), and the application of ointments (*byug pa*). Despite the clarity and simplicity of this five-fold classification, by the seventeenth century a plethora of surgical techniques and implements (*thur ma*, *gtsags bu*, *tel pa*, etc.) had developed outside of these categories, as demonstrated by the medical paintings commissioned by the Desi Sanggyé Gyatso (Parfionovitch 1992, 84, plate 34). Analyzing the instructions for external therapies found in early med-

ical texts and the depictions of surgical instruments found in illustrated manuscripts and the *Blue Beryl* medical paintings, the present paper seeks to analyze the Tibetan assimilation of pan-Asian surgical technologies and the development of instructions for external therapies in Tibet. As the materiality of these surgical instruments demonstrates, technological developments necessarily correspond with instructional innovation, even in millennium-old traditions.

Barbara Gerke (Vienna)

### **Enhancing the Potency of Substances in Sowa Rigpa: Chongzhi (cong zhi), the ‘Essence of Stones’**

*Chongzhi (cong zhi)* is the Tibetan name for a variety of calcite-containing stones, which are considered the ‘essence of stones’ (*rdo'i bcud*) in Sowa Rigpa. It is widely used in both in medical formulas and ‘accomplished medicine’ or *mendrup (sman grub)* consecration rituals. Its processing offers an interesting example to study the intersections of material, medical, astrological, and ritual aspects that all modulate its potency (*nus pa*). As with other ‘stone medicines’ (*rdo'i sman*), it cannot be used without preprocessing (*'dul thabs*). Sowa Rigpa practitioners typically process it once a year, exposing it to the autumn full moon light after boiling it with various substances (*cong zhi zla od*). Based on textual analysis and ethnographic research with amchis and ritual specialists in India, this paper explores how *chongzhi* becomes ‘smooth’ and ‘potent’ through a series of skilled activities. How do practitioners come to know and/or perceive *chongzhi* as potent? How is potency modulated and enhanced in practice through engaging the senses (smell, taste, touch, vision, etc.), astrological constellations, and ritual activities? Taking the *chongzhi* example, I argue that what constitutes a potent substance in Sowa Rigpa is based on multiple agencies that are actively involved in the transformation of materials into beneficial, medicinal ingredients. This paper is part of a collaborative three-year research project at the University of Vienna to understand potency in Sowa Rigpa and Buddhist ritual. The discussion is thus embedded in the emerging debate on culture-specific approaches to the power of substances and the material turn in Tibetan Studies.

Jan van der Valk (Vienna)

### **How do Medicines Become Potent in Sowa Rigpa? Latour’s ‘Network’ versus Ingold’s ‘Meshwork’: an Applied Comparison of Theoretical Frameworks**

This paper is based on a collaborative three-year research project at the University of Vienna aiming to understand potency in Sowa Rigpa and Buddhist ritual. It presents the theoretical framework of the project to conceptualise how Sowa Rigpa practitioners come to know and/or perceive substances as potent. The focus is on how the senses are utilized within embodied experiences, and how this enables practitioners to modulate potency in practice through the processing, compounding and preparation of medicines. Potent substances can evoke powerful effects on human well-being. Yet, before these effects are experienced and become potentially measurable (as efficacy or effectiveness in the biomedical paradigm), a fundamental series of theoretically informed yet highly pragmatic categorisations, skillful manipulations and material transformations has already taken place. We analytically distinguish this creative manifestation of power prior to efficacy as ‘potency,’ which is approached in the project through the Tibetan umbrella term *nüpa (nus pa)*. We approach potent substances from a framework that is sensorial, skilful practice-based and materially grounded, drawing on Tim Ingold’s ‘ecology of materials’ (2012), in which things are seen as active ‘substances-in-becoming’ in dynamic lifeworlds. Skillfully working with the properties of materials is an essential source of their agency and potency: “The properties of materials, in short, are not attributes but histories” (Ingold 2011:32). Drawing on Ingold and recent findings in ethnopharmacology, sensory engagements are put forward as a fundamental link between potency and materiality.

Toni Huber (Berlin)

### Three Plants: Ritual, Materiality and Social Life in Himalayan and Tibetan Plateau Highlands

I discuss use of three plant taxa as materials for social practice in parts of the eastern Himalayan highlands and Tibetan Plateau. The data concern various species of *Artemisia*, *Ephedra* and *Codonopsis*. While these plants are primarily employed in conducting rites (for both mundane and religious goals), their indigenous significance exists within an overlapping domain of practices and ideas encompassing medicine, alchemy and subsistence production strategies. My scope is wide since little is known about actual use of these plants in local societies of the wider region being considered. I look at examples of harvesting, processing and application, as well as the social and cultural perspectives that inform the plants' status as substances or 'beings' and why they are regarded as efficacious for specific purposes. The research methodology combines ethnography, textual-historical studies, and botanical taxonomy. My analytical perspective is currently explorative, yet mainly informed by T. Schatzki's (2010) call for an ontological approach, "in which social phenomena consist in nexuses of human practices and material arrangements. This ontology (1) recognizes three ways materiality is part of social phenomena, (2) holds that most social phenomena are intercalated constellations of practices, technology, and materiality, and (3) opens up consideration of relations between practices and material arrangements." ('Materiality and Social Life', doi.org/10.3167/nc.2010.050202)

rDo rje bkra shis རྡོ་རྗེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས། | Dorjee Tashi (Dharamsala)

#### འུར་རྫོ།

༡) ལྷུང་འུར་རྫོ་ལི་འུར་གྱི་རྩམ་གྲངས།

འུར་རྫོ། འུར་ཆ། འུར་བཏགས། འུར་ཚུགས། ལྷུ་ཐོག། (གསལ་ཆེ་བ་ནི་འུར་རྫོ་ཡིན།)

༢) ལྷུང་འུར་རྫོ་ལི་འུར་གྱི་རྩམ་གྲངས།

༡. འུར་བའི་རྩམ་པའི་ཆ་ནས་བཏགས་པ།

ལྷུག་ལྷས། སོག་ལྷས། བརྒྱན་བསྐྱེས། ལྷུག་ཕྱོག་སོག་ལྷས། བརྒྱ་ཕྱོག་དག་ལྷས། ཟེར་མོ་སྐྱང་ལྷས། ཤ་པོ་ལྷག་བསྐྱེས། མདུད་པ་དགུ་ལྷས། ང་བརྒྱན་དགུ་མདུད།

༢. འུར་བའི་རྩམ་པའི་ཆ་ནས་བཏགས་པ།

སྐྱང་ཁར་སྐྱང་ནག། བ་གཟི་བུ་ལྷ། འུར་ལྷ་གཟི། གཟི་རིལ་མིག་མང། བཞི་ཐིག་རིལ། ལྷ་རིང། ལྷ་ལྷང། ལྷ་ཆེན། ལྷ་ཚུང། དཀར་ནག་མཉམ་ལྷས། ལྷུ་མིག་ལྷུ་མིག་དགུ་ལྷས། བརྒྱ་ལྷག

༣. ལྷུ་ཆའི་ཆ་ནས་བཏགས་པ།

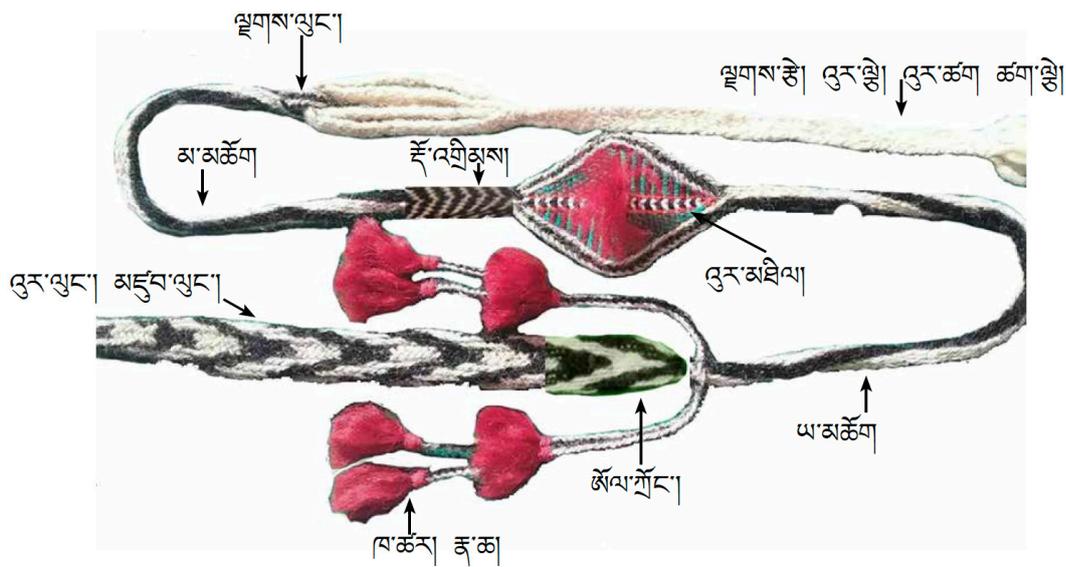
ཚིང་པའི་འུར་རྫོ་ནག་པོ། བལ་ལྷུ་འུར་རྫོ་དཀར་པོ། ར་ཚིང་འུར་རྫོ་སྤོན་པོ། མཛེས་པའི་འུར་རྫོ་ལྷ་པོ། ལྷུ་ལྷུ་འུར་རྫོ་ལམ་སྐྱུ། ཉེལ་གའི་འུར་རྫོ་ཞགས་རིང།

༤) འུར་རྫོ་ལྷུ་དུ་སྐྱོ།

འུར་རྫོ་ནི་ལྷུ་ལའོ་བ། ཞིང་པས་ཞིང་སྐྱང། ལྷགས་སྐྱང། གཅན་གཟན་ལོག་པ། དག་འཕམ་ལྷུ་ཐོག་མཚོན་ཆ་བཅས་བེད་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན།

དཔེར་ན། མིན་ལོག་དམག་ལུག་སྐབས། འཛམ་པོའི་བལ་ལས་བཟོས་པའི། འུར་རྫོ་ལྷུ་མིག་དགུ་ལྷས། ལྷུ་མིག་གཞུང་ནས་བརྒྱབ་པས། །དབྱིན་ཇིའི་སྐལ་ཐེབས་སོང། ། ལྷིང་སྐྱང་ནང། རྡོར་ཐོག་ཐོག་ལྷུ་པོ་ཐོག་གིས་བསད། ཐོག་ཚོག་རལ་ཆེན་འུར་རྫོས་བསད།

༥) འུར་རྫོ་གཅིག་ལ་ཆང་དགོས་པའི་ཆ་ལྷུ་དགུ་ཡོད་པ་རྩམས་དཔེ་རིས་ཀྱིས་ལམ་ནས་རོ་སྤོད་བྱེད་ལྷུ་མ་ཟེང་འབྲེལ་བཤད་ལྷུ་པ་ནི་མཉམ་ལུང་ལྷུ་སྐྱོན་སྤོན་Power pointལམ་ནས་རོ་སྤོད་བྱེད་ལྷུ་ཡིན།



Mona Schrempf (Berlin)

### The Social Materiality of Industrialized Tibetan Drugs in China and Europe

This paper discusses a rather recent global paradigm shift towards a pharmaceuticalization of Tibetan medical knowledge and practice, focusing on the objectification and new ‘social materiality’ (Law and Mol 2011) of industrialized Tibetan drugs that allows for their application and use beyond the rather small Tibetan medical sphere. Conforming with global regulatory drug and safety regimes these drugs now have found entry into primarily biomedical or CAM (Complementary and Alternative) medical contexts, i.e. into alternative pharmaceutical and wellness markets, hospitals, and used by physicians, patients/ consumers. Based on my multisited ethnography of distinct transnational ways of knowing and styles of practice surrounding Tibetan medicine(s) in a Tibetan populated area of China (Qinghai) and German-speaking Europe (Switzerland, Germany), I examine how knowledge, agency, strategies and performance modes of different agents are connected with and propel the distinct social materialities of industrialized Tibetan formulas. Furthermore, the economic and political success of industrialized Tibetan drugs has also caused a hegemonic restructuring of knowledge(s) and values away from a personalized and patient-centered practice that is based on individual diagnosis by a physician trained in Tibetan medicine to an objectified disease-formula-centered style of practice that is modelled on biomedical parameters and can be administered by a biomedical doctor or CAM practitioner and can also more easily used by consumers directly.

I examine how the new social materiality and increasing economic success of industrialized Tibetan drugs have triggered a hegemony of knowledge(s), establishing also a new social hierarchy among different agents that legitimates and benefits those who use them and marginalizes the others who stick to their own production of medicines. Agents involved in the production, regulation and use of industrialized Tibetan drugs also tend to devalue or at least marginalize handcrafted or small scale manufacturing of classical formulations that are not quality controlled (that are mainly used by classically trained physicians of Tibetan medicine) as unscientific, not trustworthy or unreliable. In contrast, many physicians of Tibetan medicine perceive of the simplified and objectified production and prescription practices embodied in or attached to industrialized Tibetan drugs, and administered by physicians who are not trained in Tibetan medicine, as being either less effective or potentially harmful, in particular to the Tibetan medical tradition and transmission as a whole, but also as unethical and a dangerous practice when self-medicated by consumers.

Susan Landesman (New York)

### **Tibetan Thangka Paintings: The Power of Performance**

The Buddhist ritual compendium *Tārā-mūla-kalpa* is believed to have been originally composed in Sanskrit in seventh-century India. It was translated into Tibetan in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the renowned scholar Bu-ston. It reveals the intimate relationship between Buddhist *thangka* paintings, the accumulation of merit, and the elimination of sin. This paper will explore how the creation process of these paintings imbues their material nature with a spiritual potency that rewards the virtuous and pardons non-virtue. The *Tārā-mūla-kalpa* records the prerequisite physical, sociological, and spiritual requirements for artisans [makers of the thread, cloth, and painting], as well as the detailed steps of the rites performed during the creation of the images, which result in a uniquely-empowered material product. The relationship between what is seen and unseen, between painting, ritual, sound [*vidyā*], and divine “presence,” is a key factor in the efficacy of the image. The text documents how lengthy *vidyā* recitations made during the creation process can imbue paintings with spiritual power, invite divine presence, and enable viewers (practitioner, devotee, creator or observer) to benefit from the accumulation of unsurpassed merit or the elimination of the effects of bad karma. It is said that even those who commit the five sins of immediate retribution can attain enlightenment in another, future lifetime, by merely glancing at a *thangka* painting of Bhagavatī Tārā. Thus, the proper enactment of rituals, including *vidyā* recitations and invitation of divine presence, infuse *thangkas* with the ability to grant long life, a divine body, instantaneous passage to or rebirth in Sukhavati, as well as the ultimate reward, enlightenment. In comparison, positive outcomes do not result from rites improperly performed, even for a god.

Lubomir Sklenka (Prague)

### **Nuclear Analytical Techniques - New Approaches in Tibetology Research?**

It is often difficult to establish multidisciplinary collaboration between researchers from so-called “hard sciences” such as physics or chemistry and researchers from the social sciences and humanities. The Czech Technical University (CTU) in Prague and particularly its Faculty of Nuclear Sciences and Physical Engineering, however, try to build bridges between nuclear physicists and researchers in social sciences and humanities. This paper presents new opportunities to Tibetology research by integrating nuclear analytical techniques into current used in Tibetological research methods. Preliminary studies on the composition of Tibetan medical pills and Tibetan coins at the CTU in Prague can demonstrate this new approach. The Training reactor VR-1 and nuclear analytical techniques, particularly neutron activation analysis, Mossbauer spectroscopy, or X-ray fluorescence analysis are used at the CTU for interdisciplinary research, analysing substances. Apart from the analysis of Tibetan pills and coins, the CTU has experiences in the investigation of archaeological artefacts (such as mammoths’ bones or medieval funeral jewellery), the study of surfaces of paintings and frescos, and in the investigation of pharmaceutical and food industry samples. We want to discuss how these can be of inspiration and practical application for Tibetologists worldwide and their research. What kind of questions can the hard-sciences help to answer? How can the humanities benefit from research into these questions? What are the methodological problems in such multidisciplinary approaches?



and suffering. Western biomedical and research communities increasingly rely on biomarkers that index function and dysfunction. Ti-betan medical physicians rely on perceptual and inferential markers derived from the *pramāṇic* tradition. In contemporary research collaborations between Tibetan physicians and biomedical researchers, Western epistemologies and modes of inquiry have dominated, resulting in relegating traditional modes of inquiry, such as indirect evidence (*rjes dpag*) and direct perceptual evidence (*mgon sum*), to largely theoretical bystanders.

Formally, a biomarker is a measurable feature known to represent (directly or indirectly) the pathways that link a health outcome to the upstream factors that influence it. As such, biomarkers can provide a window onto pathways running from exposures (context) to outcomes (health), inform differential diagnosis, and track treatment effects. Tibetan medical physicians increasingly use such biomarkers in the clinical setting to track diagnostics and outcomes, which relate to the biomedical paradigm. Examples include blood pressure for monitoring cardiovascular disease, blood glucose for tracking diabetes mellitus, and CD4 for HIV progression.

This paper uses several exemplary case studies in cancer and neurodegenerative disorders to explore how both traditions of evidence—biomarkers on the biomedical side and diagnostic signs (*rtags*) on the Tibetan medical side—can be integrated in collaborative research paradigms to facilitate an analysis that highlights the observable and measurable features of each medical system to understand causal trajectories of disease and health outcomes from both medical systems perspectives.

Nashalla G. Nyinda (Boulder, Colorado)

### **Transmitting the Lineage of *gSo ba Rig pa*: Opportunities and Challenges**

This paper examines the current development of *gSo ba rig pa* in three contexts. Firstly; within a modern Tibetan background, secondly; within diaspora communities in India, and thirdly; interest in the practice of traditional Tibetan medicine is burgeoning in the United States and of increasing interest to allopathic medical communities. I examine these three circumstances concerning the operation of how lineage and transmission of *gSo ba rig pa* occurs. Traditionally, full training of Tibetan doctors (*sman pa*) emphasizes the protection and preservation of an unbroken lineage. Those seeking full or partial training face myriad issues in relation to lineage, the integration of allopathic, and other indigenous medical systems. Cultural appropriation, translation, authentic transmission from cultural and practical learning approaches all must be considered. Who is authorized to give and receive transmission? Likewise, what translational issues arise from moving the system into non-native languages? This paper explores these crucial questions within the international *gSo ba rig pa* community. I assert that seeking clarification and unity while engaging in the opening of this unique system to the sciences and healing modalities of other countries and cultures is essential. Continuation of this system that values unbroken and authentic teachings is paramount. Nevertheless, of critical importance is allowing for preservation, even outside of the culture of origin, albeit with careful navigation.

dByangs dga' དབྱུངས་དགའ། | Yang Ga (Lhasa)

### **Preliminary Investigations into Shang Siji Bar and His Medical Works**

Tibetan medicine has long history of systematic theory, and it displays special features that can be attributed to local Tibetan geography, climate, and culture, as well as influences from other medical systems from afar. Shang Siji Bar (*Zhang gzi brjid 'bar*) was a famous eleventh century physician of the later period. According to Desi and Zurkhar's medical history, he was an ordained Buddhist monk as well as being a physician. He studied medicine with many prominent Tibetan medical doctors in Tibet. However, he was not satisfied with the teachings of his Tibetan teachers. He therefore went to India where he studied *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasamhitā* in Sanskrit. He composed several texts on medicine. Fortunately, two of his compositions are still available today. The first one is Stainless Radiance (*Dri med gzi brjid*), which

contains four chapters. The text and its commentary were published by Lhasa Mentsi Khang in 2016. The original text was rediscovered in the Derge Tibetan Medical Hospital of Garzê Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. The second one is Bright Lamp Thirty Instructions (*sgron gsal gdams pa sum cu*), which contains thirty chapters. One version of the text was published by the Tibetan Medical College in 2013. The original text was rediscovered in the Potala Palace. Another version of the text was published by Lhasa Mentsi Khang in 2016. The original text was rediscovered in the Derge Tibetan Medical Hospital.

Both texts were not available to most Tibetan physicians or scholars until recently. There is no previous scholarly research on these texts. In my paper, I will investigate the life of Shang Siji Bar, the literary sources for his own medical writings, and their influence on later Tibetan medical literature. Especially, I will analyze how he adapted and changed material from the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā* in his writings. In addition, I will investigate the relationship between his medical works and the Four Treatises (*Rgyud bzhi*).

Ngag dbang chos grags ངག་དབང་ཚེས་གྲགས། | Ngawang Chodak (Dharamsala)

དདུལ་རྩུབ་ཚོ་བུ་ཆེན་མོ་འདི་སྤྲོད་འགྲེམས།

ཐ་སྐད། དདུལ་རྩུབ་ཚོ་བུ་ཆེན་མོ། ཟ་བྱེད་ཁམས་བརྒྱད། འཆིང་བྱེད་ལྷགས་བརྒྱད། བཙོ་སྦྱངས། དབྲུ་སྤྲད།

ཚེས་ཀྱི་དགོས་དམིགས། བོད་ཀྱི་གསེང་རིག་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཆེན་མོའི་དགོངས་དོན་ཟབ་མོ་ཇི་བཞིན་བདེ་སྐྱོང་དང་རྟོགས་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་དབལ་ལྡན་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་དུས་མཚམས་སོ་སོར་སྤོང་འགྲེམས་མཛད་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་དདུལ་རྩུབ་ཚོ་བུ་ཆེན་མོར་སྤོང་འགྲེམས་མཛད་མེད་པ་མ་ཟད། མཐོང་བ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཕྱག་བཞེས་གནང་མཁམ་གྱི་སྐྱོན་བཙོ་ཆད་ལྡན་དགོན་གསུ་ལྟར་བའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཉ་སྟེན་གསེང་རིག་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་ཚན་ལ་པན་བཙུ་ཐེགས་ཅམ་ཡོང་སྤྲད་དདུལ་རྩུབ་ཚོ་བུ་ཆེན་མོའི་དགའ་བཀའ་སེལ་བའི་དོན་མ་ལུས་བསྤོང་འགྲེམས་ཚུལ་དུ་གསར་གཏོང་ལེགས་སྤྲོད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

ཚེས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་གནད་བཟུས།

བོད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་སྟེན་རིག་པའི་ཡ་གྲུབ་གཞན་རྗེས་སུ་འཛིན་པ། མི་ན་གནས་དང་ན་བ་གསོ་བ་བྱེད་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རིག་ཚལ་ལས་ཐོན་པའི་སྐྱོན་སྤོང་བྱ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཅུལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆད་མཐོ་བའི་མན་དག་གདམས་བཙོན་བའི་སྤོང་བ་བདུད་ཅི་བརྟུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དདུལ་རྩུབ་ཚོ་བུ་ཆེན་མོའི་མཐོང་བརྒྱད་ཕྱག་ལེན་རྣམས་དཔེ་དོན་སྤྱོད་མེད་པའི་ལྷོན་ཤིང་གི་རྩུལ་དུ་སྦྱར་ཉེ་དགའ་བཀའ་དགོས་པ་ལས། དདུལ་རྩུབ་ཚོ་བུ་ཆེན་མོ་འདི་གཉེན་ཀུན་གྱི་མིང་ཅམ་ཐོས་པས་སྦྱག་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་དུག་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་མཐོ་སྤྲད་གངས་ཅན་པའི་གསེང་རིག་མེས་པོས་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱིས་གསེར་བཅད་བཅར་བའི་གསེར་བཞིན་དུ་ལེགས་པར་བརྟུགས་ནས། ལས་ལ་བརྩོན་ཞིང་དབལ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་དགའ་སྤྲད་དུ་མར་དལ་བ་བྱུང་དུ་བསད་ནས་སྤོང་བ་བརྟུན་རིམ་བསགས་བྱས་ཐོག་འདུལ་སྤོང་ཆད་ལྡན་གྱི་དུག་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ཡང་བདུད་ཅི་བརྟུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོར་འགྱུར་བྱུང་བ་མ་ཟད། བོད་སྐྱོན་སྤོང་གི་ཀུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞིན་སྐྱོན་སྤོང་བྱུང་བར་དུ་གྱུར་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་གཞིར་བཟུགས་ཤིང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་སྐྱོན་གྱི་དོར་བྱ་རིན་ཆེན་གྲང་སྤོང་རིག་ནག་ཆེན་མོ་དང་། ལུ་ཉིག་བདུན་ཅུ། དུག་འཛོམས་མང་སྤོང་ཆེན་མོ། རིན་ཆེན་བཙོ་བུ་རྒྱ་ཤེལ་ཆེན་མོ། རིན་ཆེན་ཆ་སྤོང་ཆེན་མོ་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་སྤོང་ནང་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་རྩ་བའི་སྤོང་བ་ཆགས་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་དཔེ་རྟོན་སྤོང་བཙོ་བུ་ཆེན་མོ་འདི་ལྟར་ལྟར་ལྟར་ལྟར་བྱེད་པའི་ཁམས་བརྒྱད་སོ་སོ་ཐལ་བཙོ་བུ་རྩུལ་གྱི་རྩ་བ་དང་། དདུལ་རྩུབ་འཆིང་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཁམས་བརྒྱད་སོ་སོའི་ཐལ་བཙོ་བུ་རྩུལ་གྱི་རྩ་བ། དདུལ་རྩུབ་གལ་འཕྱི་དུག་འདོན་དང་བཙོ་སྦྱང་དབྲུ་སྤྲད་སོགས་བྱ་རྩུལ་གྱི་རྩ་བ་བཅས། མདོ་དོན་རྗེས་པོ་རྩ་བ་གསུམ་ལ་འཕྲིལ་བའི་སྤོང་བཙོ་ཉེར་གཅིག་དང་། གྱེས་པའི་ཡལ་འདབ་དུག་བརྒྱ་ཅ་གསུམ། ལོ་འདབས་སུམ་བརྒྱ་གོ་གཅིག་མེ་ཉིག་ཉེ་རྒྱ་དང་མཉམ་པ་ནད་མེད་ཆེ་རིང་གཅིག་ འབྲས་བུ་གནས་སྐབས་དང་མཐར་ཐུག་གཉིས། གནས་སྐབས་ཆེ་འདིར་སྤྱི་གྲན་འཆི་སྤྲུག་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལས་གྲ་བ་དང་ན་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུག་བསྐྱེད་སེལ་བ་དང་མཐར་ཐུག་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེལ་པའི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ལས་མཛོད་མཐོ་མཁའ་སྤོང་གོ་འཕང་ཐོབ་པ་སོགས་བསྟན་ཡོད། །



ཅ་རྒྱུད་ལ་ལེའུ་གངས་བྱག་ཡོད་པས་དེའི་ཁྱད་པར་དང་བསྟན་དོན་སྲ་མྱིའི་གོ་རིམ། གཞུང་  
དེ་ལས་བསྟན་པས་གནའ་བོའི་ཞང་ཁུང་གི་མ་སྟོན་དང་། ཚིག་གི་སྤོང་བརྒྱུད་དག་གི་  
འགྲོས་སོགས་མ་དཔེའི་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་དག་ལ་གཞི་བཙུག་ཏེ་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་སོ། །

Tshe brtan g.yang skyid ཚེ་བརྟན་གཡང་སྐྱིད། | Cidan Yangji (Tseten Yangkyi) (Lhasa)

བོད་ལུགས་གསོ་རིག་གིས་མིག་ནད་ཙུ་མདངས་ ཉམས་པའི་ནད་གཞིར་ཐོག་མའི་ནད་ཐོག་ཚོད་ལྟའི་སྤྲན་བཙུག་པའི་པན་འབྲས་ཞིབ་འཇུག  
མིག་ཤེད་ཉམས་པའི་ནད་དེ་བོད་ལུགས་གསོ་རིག་པའི་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་ནད་གི་མིག་ནད་དབྱེ་བ་སྤྲུམ་ཅུ་ཙུ་གསུམ་ལས་ནད་བབས་ཀྱི་རོ་བོར་གཞིགས་ནས་ནད་  
འགྲེབས་ནད་ཚོན་ཙུ་མདངས་ཉམས་པའི་ནད་ཀྱི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་གཏོགས་པའི་བྱེ་བྲག་གི་ནད་ཚུལ་ཞིག་ལ་རོས་འཛིན་ན་འཚོམ་པར་མཐོང་། བཙུག་ཐབས་ཐད་ལ།  
<<རྒྱུད་ལས་>> ནད་འགྲེབས་ཟས་སྤྱོད་ལོངས་སྤྲུམ་དག་ལ་འབད། །ཅེས་རྒྱུད་དུ་གསུངས་པའི་བཙུག་ཐབས་དེ་ལྟར་ལུགས་གསོ་རིག་དུ་བསྟན་པའི་སྤྲན་བཙུག་ཀྱི་ཙུ་  
དོན་དང་མཚུངས། གསུམ་ནས་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་མ་ནད་ཐོག་དངོས་སུ་མིག་ནད་ཙུ་མདངས་ཉམས་པའི་ནད་ལ་སྤྲན་བཙུག་ཐབས་ཀྱི་སྤྲན་  
སྤྱོར་ལག་གཉིས་དང་མིག་ཞིབས་སྤྱོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གསོ་ཐབས་ལག་ཅིག་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱེམས་བྱས་ནས་ནད་པ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་མ་ཐོག་མའི་ཚོད་ལྟའི་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་  
བྱས་ནས་གཉེན་པོ་དེད་ག་གི་ནད་ཐོག་པན་འབྲས་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཡོད།

Antonio Ka-meng Chui (Hong-Kong)

**Socially-determined esoteric medicinal substances in the Tibetan medical tradition**

What do a widow, a tantric monk, a brave warrior, and a bastard child have in common? They each occupy particular positions of social status and, in the Tibetan context, such social and economic positioning has played an important role in influencing the course of a treatment and the practice of healing. While many studies have focused on the social and economic conditions influencing the conceptualization of health and disease, the issue of how social status actually determines the potency of medicinal substances has received little investigation. In this study, the potency of Tibetan medicinal substances deriving from individuals from a range of social status will be examined. Ingredients vary in their potency relative to the source from which they are obtained. For example, the menses of a widow and the excrement of a tantric monk have been considered to be particularly potent substances. Accounts of these materials are hardly mentioned in the root text of Tibetan medicine, i.e. the *Four Tantras (Rgyud bzhi)*. Despite the fact that such products are rarely used in modern times, the records of human products obtained from people of different social status are evident in later Tibetan medical literatures, especially those elaborating the *Four Tantras*.

The present study focuses on the *Extended Commentary to the Instructional Tantra of the Four Tantras (Man ngag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs)* by Sanggyé Gyatso (1653-1705), an important medical work that records the use of such ingredients. Sanggyé Gyatso's *Extended Commentary* suggests that these materials are potent esoteric medicinal sources and seeks to maintain their secrecy within the medical tradition. Further investigation of these substances shows that such status-related prescriptions can also be found in other medical traditions such as the Roman, Greek, Indian, and Chinese. This paper investigates similarities in the use of such substances in Tibetan and non-Tibetan medical traditions, and explores the cultural significance of the social statuses invoked. We will discuss the possibility of the assimilation, alteration, and substitution of these socially situated medicinal resources both during the development of Tibetan medicine itself and in comparison with the medical systems of Tibet's neighbours.

Katharina Anna Sabernig (Vienna)

**Metaphors in Tibetan Medical Language**

Metaphors play an important role in any medical language. In this paper I examine anatomical metaphors based on traditional designations and carry out an evaluation of the new "Tibetan *terminologia anatomica*." Both classic and modern Tibetan anatomical language use different types of metaphors. In traditional vocabulary we find

metaphorical names of vulnerable blood vessels associated with the stomach such as “snake-eye” (*sbrul mig*) or “donkey saddle crupper” (*bong rmed*). There is a brachial tendon which is called “frog’s head tendon” (*sbal mgo’i chu ba*). In modern anatomy we also find biological, technical, military, architectural, and “autoanatomical” metaphors. These terms have been translated into Tibetan on the basis of existing adaptations of biomedical nomenclature in Chinese. An example for a biological metaphor is the neuroanatomical term hippocampus, paired parts of the limbic system which look like a seahorse. Via the Chinese “seahorse” (*haima*, 海马) it was translated into Tibetan as *mtsho rta*, consisting of “lake” or “sea” (*mtsho*) and “horse” (*rta*). For anatomists interested in military equipment and riding the name of a prominence on the sphenoid bone holding the pituitary gland will be easy to understand: *sella turcica*, a high saddle used by Ottoman riders, is an example of how the confrontation with the Ottoman Empire has been reflected in modern anatomical language. I could not find a Tibetan name for the whole saddle formation but accurately named parts of it: the *Tuberculum sellae* is called “saddle knot” (*sga mdud*); the seat of the saddle, a depression that holds the pituitary gland (*hypophysis*) known as *fossa hypophysialis*, is called *‘phyangs gzugs tshang* in Tibetan, literally the “nest of the hanging body”; the saddle rest, or *dorsum sellae*, is called “saddle back” (*sga rgyab*). Another term associated with horses is the “horse tail,” *cauda equina*, a bundle of spinal nerves which arise from the terminal part of the spinal cord. Unsurprisingly, these nerves were rendered into Tibetan as *rta rnga*. The Tibetan medical language offers a wealth of illustrative material on how originally Latin metaphors were transformed into expressive terms and adapted on the roof of the world.

Susannah Deane (Bristol)

### Science and Sowa Rigpa: Navigating a Path through Biomedical and Tibetan Approaches to Mental Illness in Contemporary Amdo

In contemporary Amdo, the existence of multiple medical and healing modalities means that local Tibetan communities are exposed to a number of diverse explanatory models of illness, each with its attendant terminology and approaches to causation, management and treatment. Here, patients may receive both biomedical and Sowa Rigpa diagnoses and treatment(s) and, in the context of “mental illness” (*sems nad*), previous research has suggested comparisons between certain Sowa Rigpa and biomedical classifications of illness. For example, *rlung*-related conditions described in the *rGyud bZhi* medical text have been equated with categories of generalised anxiety disorder or major depressive disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Disease (DSM) or the International Classification of Disease (ICD) (Jacobson 2002, 2007; Millard 2007), with such comparisons drawn by both western and Tibetan researchers and practitioners. However, with significantly different theories of body and mind underlying these medical systems, and disagreements over translations of Tibetan and biomedical terms, this remains problematic. Furthermore, my research suggests that in many Tibetan communities, lay understandings of causation and treatment of illnesses related to the mind often favour religious explanations. This is particularly the case in relation to severe mental illnesses, such as *smyo nad* (“madness”), which may be attributed to factors including spirit affliction—as delineated in the *rGyud bZhi*. In such cases, a variety of religious practitioners, such as *sngags pa*, *lamas* or *lha pa*, may be viewed as the most efficacious for managing and/or treating the condition, often consulted alongside any Sowa Rigpa or biomedical practitioners.

Under such circumstances, an episode of *sems nad* may be explained via reference to “stress”, “biology”, *rlung* disturbance and/or spirit causation, depending on the patient’s own views and those of his/her community as well as those of the practitioner(s) he/she consults. Within this context, how do lay individuals navigate a path through this arena, where there are often no direct translations between biomedical and Sowa Rigpa concepts and terms, and the boundary lines between disease classifications are often drawn in very different places? This paper, based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in rural and urban areas of Amdo in 2018, explores lay and professional perspectives on severe mental illness, where individuals must often manage diverse biomedical and Sowa Rigpa terminology, concepts and treatment approaches.



# Music and Performing Arts

ལྷོ་ལོ་དང་སྐྱོ་སྐྱོ་གསལ།





Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy (Québec)

## **Mi nyag lha mo: the Double Revitalization of an Opera Tradition from Kham, between Government and Monastery**

During the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's reign, a *lce lha mo* (Tibetan opera) became extremely popular, namely because of the splendor of the performances held in Lhasa during the summer *Zho ston* festival. Several *dge lugs* lamas from Kham, who had come to Lhasa for their studies, were so impressed that they wished to replicate the excitement by creating *lha mo* troupes upon returning to their own monasteries. The most famous monastic *lha mo* troupes in Kham were located in the large compounds of 'Ba' thang, Li thang, Chab mdo or dKar mdzes. But around 1904, *lha mo* took up roots in Southern Mi nyag as well, in the rather small monastery of sKyid legs, under the auspices of sprul sku sKal bzang yon tan. Associating *lha mo* and Mi nyag was conceptually easy, as Thang stong rgyal po's grandfather was from Mi nyag and as the mahasiddha had visited the region on a few occasions, leaving locally wondrous traces of his feats.

The monastic Mi nyag performing style was inspired by the dBus gtsang lay troupes, but showed innovative elements in song, dance and costume. It was disbanded in the political upheavals of 1956. As most local performing arts, it was revived in the early 1980s in a first amateur, then professional, work unit under the district government's culture bureau in Ra nga kha (Ch. Xinduqiao). In a parallel move, the new sKyid legs monastery lama, Chos kyi rgya mtsho, continued the innovative streak of Mi nyag *lha mo* by creating three new plays (*Tshe ring rnam drug*, *Sog po stag 'khrid* and *Thun pa spun gzhi*) for local villagers, in a unique visionary fashion involving drawings and lyrics written by his own hand. A few years later, upon seeing the dereliction of the government troupe, the lama decided to take *lha mo* back to his monastery and have it performed annually by a mixed troupe of monks and lay villagers.

In this paper, based on fieldwork carried out with a local Tibetan scholar in 2018, I will look at the specific ways in which the management of local expressive culture has been handled in Southern Mi nyag, away from stereotypes of government rationalization and control. This relative level of autonomy may be due to the strong marginalization experienced by the sKyid legs community over the last three decades, mainly for religious reasons. It will be an opportunity to reflect on the more general policies and practices concerned with intangible cultural heritage in the Sichuan part of Kham.

# Old Tibetan Studies

གནའ་རབས་བོད་ཡིག་ལ།

**Panel 17 – Old Tibetan Studies VI  
Honouring the Contributions of Rolf A. Stein**

བོད་གནའ་བོའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག། ཐེངས་ལྷུག་པ།

**Panel organizers**

Lewis Doney (Trondheim)

Emanuela Garatti (Paris)

Quentin Devers (Paris)

**Panel abstract** – Old Tibetan Studies has long formed an integral part of IATS, and been mentioned as such in its literature. This is with good reason, since many of the major themes, structures and tensions within Tibetan history, religion and culture first found expression during Tibet’s imperial period (c. 600–850) and shortly thereafter. The traditional strengths of the Old Tibetan Studies panel are in linguistics, history and transregional interaction during this period. At the XVth IATS seminar, we wish to broaden the scope of the panel in order to properly reflect the currently emerging dynamics in complementary fields—expanding its dialogue with archaeology, Buddhist Studies and Sinology. We also wish to include discussions pertaining to the margins of the Tibetan Empire, where increasing research is being carried out—both geographically by covering the regions located at the periphery of the plateau and also chronologically by looking at the periods leading to the rise of the empire and the aftermath of its collapse. In these ways, we are excited to take this important field into the next generation at Paris.

**Session: Buddhism**

ནང་ཚེས།

Iwao Kazushi (Kyoto)

**On Tibetan Buddhist Sites of the North-Eastern Amdo Area in the Post-Imperial Period and their Origins**

The assassination of the last Emperor Dar-ma in 842 triggered the disintegration of the Old Tibetan Empire. While the serious successor conflict immediately occurred in Central Area, two military commanders also fought each other in North-Eastern Amdo area, and eventually these long-time conflicts in Amdo caused the secessions of numerous small groups in the peripheral area from the rule of the Tibetan Empire. As a result, already in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, various small non-Tibetan groups such as rGya (Chinese), ’A-zha, Lung, ’Od-bar, Dor-po and so on, were independent in Hexi and Amdo areas.

However, as Takeuchi Tsuguhito clearly pointed out, these groups had not been isolated each other. They rather communicated each other by the Tibetan language, and they were actually within the sphere of the spoken-Tibetan world. Moreover, as Helga Uebach’s study on IOL Tib J 869 revealed, there were numerous sites of the Buddhism in the Amdo and Hexi area, which also indicates that small groups in these areas had connected each other with Buddhism. The recent study on IOL Tib J 754 by Sam van Schaik and Imre Galambos also proved that these local Buddhist groups in North-Eastern Amdo area were strongly connected and often communicated in the Tibetan language.

These non-Tibetan small groups and their connections through Tibetan culture are important factor when we consider the historical progress of the Tibetanisation of the Amdo area. Moreover, we also have to make clear how these Buddhist sites were organized in the area. In this study, I will discuss on the historical background of these Buddhist sites dating back to the imperial period, Also, I will discuss some unidentified Buddhist sites such as Gong cu / Gog cu.

Nishida Ai (Kobe)

**A Divination Method According to the Twelve Nidānas**

The surviving scroll Pelliot tibétain 55 (hereafter P.t.55) has been found among the Dunhuang Tibetan divination manuscripts in the Pelliot collection. Based on its contents, this scroll can be divided into two parts. The latter part of the scroll is well known as a divination text examined through a dream. By contrast, the first part presents several presages, as judged from the date an incident occurs or a phenomenon is observed. It is notable here that the Buddhist concept of the Twelve Nidānas (*dvādaśānidānāni*) is assigned for each date.

To date, I have found three other Dunhuang manuscripts which are related to the first part of P.t.55: i.e. IOL Tib J 474, P.t.1050, and Or.8210/S.3991. What is remarkable in these is that a similar method of judging the presages is also found in the Tibetan canonical text (*Bstan 'gyur*), *Rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba*, where roughly fifteen incidents and phenomena such as one's birth, travels, thieves' peculiarities, and illnesses are examined by means of the date assigned by the Twelve Nidānas. Such presage compilation appears not only in the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur* but also in the Sanskrit and the Chinese Buddhist *Tripitaka* texts, entitled *Dvādaśāṅgapraṭīyasamutpāda* and 十二緣生祥瑞經, respectively.

In this presentation, I will therefore explore the relations between these Dunhuang texts and demonstrate the correlation between the three canonical texts, particularly addressing the similarities and differences among their descriptions. In this way, this talk will fit the Dunhuang texts within the textual tradition of this method of presage.

Lewis Doney (Trondheim)

**Old Tibetan Prayer: An Attempt at Classification**

This presentation will lay out a preliminary taxonomy of the earliest examples of Tibetan Buddhist devotional literature. The wider genre of prayer and related concepts as they exist in Buddhism and Tibet have been addressed previously (Cabezón 1996; Makransky 1996; Gómez 2000; Sernesi 2014), but their Old Tibetan forms have yet to be compared and contrasted systematically. The data on which such a classification will be based comes from epigraphic and manuscript documents discovered around the Tibetan empire and especially in the Mogao Library Cave. Taken together, these works of inter alia praise, confession, initiation and invocation seem to reflect a nexus of Buddhist terminology emerging during the imperial period (c. 650–850). However, the antiquity of some of these prayers has been questioned recently (Walter 2013), necessitating a more thorough approach to the topic. The question of influence will be considered, whether from the \**Triskandhaka* (*pung po gsum pa*) prayer of the three accumulations or the *Āryabhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* (*'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam*) aspirational prayer with its *saptāṅga* (*yan lag bdun*) “seven-limbed” formula, or from other directions. Such an investigation will shed light not only on early Tibetan Buddhist praise literature and its wider connections with Indic and Chinese Buddhism, but also the types of sources used in later historiography in Tibet, where devotional and hagiographical literature often influence each other and are mutually supportive in the Buddhist worldviews that they create. Of especial interest in this respect is the increasing replacement of “four directions” imagery of the imperium with “ten directions” cosmology of Buddhism—especially connected with the *triratna* (*dkon mchog gsum*), Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. Further transformations include the incorporation of Indic deities into a Tibetan cosmology, and vice versa. Finally, the importance of the emperor (where mentioned) will be explored, and the part that this character plays in the structure, ideology and performance of these imperial- and early post-imperial prayers.

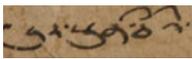
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Li Channa (Leiden)

## Studies of the Old Dunhuang Manuscripts IOL Tib J 217 and 218 and Chos grub's Handwriting

My initial interest in the old Dunhuang manuscripts IOL Tib J 217 and 218 stems from their alleged connections to the *Sūtra of the Wise and Foolish* (*Mdzangs blun*) and the famous Dunhuang based-translator Chos grub. Starting from a philological investigation of the two extremely cursive manuscripts, which includes a transcription, a paleographical and orthographical analysis, and a textual comparison between the Dunhuang and Kanjur versions, I find that the previous understanding of IOL Tib J 217 and 218 both as secondary literature of the *Mdzangs blun* is not correct. While IOL Tib J 217 is no doubt a summary condensed from the 24<sup>th</sup> (*ka pi na chen po 'i le 'u*) of the *Mdzangs blun*, IOL Tib J 218 is a miscellaneous collection of narratives that use the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya instead of the *Mdzangs blun* as its source. The same misunderstood connection to the *Mdzangs blun* is also found in some other Dunhuang fragments (e.g. IOL Tib J 61), reflecting that Dunhuang manuscripts containing Buddhist narratives have not yet been well studied by scholars. In addition, IOL Tib J 217 and 218 are written in the same cursive style, which is termed by van Schaik (2013) as “the monastic style” and hypothesized by Ueyama as Chos grub's style of handwriting (1990: 93-94). I agree with Ueyama's identification in light of the fact that every manuscript with such a handwriting can be associated with Chos grub in one or another ways. I build a chart of the typology of his handwriting inspired by van Schaik's related work (2013) and apply this typology to improve the readings of another manuscript of the same handwriting, e.g. IOL Tib J 686. Specifically, I argue to change D. Ueyama and M. Kapstein's transcriptions of the title line in IOL Tib J 686. I transcribe the controversial part  as *yu r(a) phun*, a sloppy phonetic reading of Chinese *Yulanpen* “盂蘭盆” (*yongs su skyobs pa 'i snod*). My reading is further based on the content of the text itself: it narrates a typical *Yulanpen* story in which Maudgalyāyana endeavored to save his mother from hellish sufferings. I also refer to how the *Yulanpen* story are recounted formulaically in Chinese texts and conclude that IOL Tib J 686 exactly models the format of Chinese *Yulanpen* texts. In the last part, I broaden the scope of this study by investigating how the texts such as IOL Tib J 217 and 218 reflect the local Buddhist activities in Dunhuang area.

**Session: Practices of Kingship**

རྒྱལ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལག་ལེན།

Brandon Dotson (Washington DC)

**Gods and Souls in Tibet: The Etymologies of *Sku bla***

The terms *sku bla* and *sku lha* and the cults, deities, and phenomena to which they refer have been a long-standing topic in Tibetan Studies. Rolf Stein, Ariane Macdonald, and Anne-Marie Blondeau all discussed these terms and their appearances in early Tibetan texts, and Michael Walter and Nathan Hill revisited these issues more recently. Among the questions that these scholars have raised: Are *sku lha* and *sku bla* the same term? What is the relationship between the *sku bla* and the Tibetan emperor? How does *sku bla* and/or *sku lha* relate to mountain deities? The present contribution begins by surveying the transliterated corpus of Old Tibetan texts to contextualize these questions, and then offers a morphological solution that others have so far overlooked. Taking into account the behavior of *lha* where it appears as the second syllable of a compound in Old Tibetan, it is clear that following an open syllable such as *dbye*, *lde*, or *dgra*, the syllable *lha* become *bla*, e.g. *dbye bla*, *lde bla*, or *dgra bla*. This can probably be accounted for by the old genitive *bi/ byi*, described by Bettina Zeisler and others, and more recently by Joanna Bialek in the specific context of compound formation. The implication is that *\*sku b(y)l lha* became *sku bla* in compounds, meaning that the etymology of this word – not to say its connotation or its point of reference – is literally “god of the body” and not, as some have suggested, “soul of the body” or “height/authority of the body.” With the simplification of orthography from Old Tibetan to Classical Tibetan, and the same processes that “flattened” words like *btsan* into *btsan*, the older “correct” form of the compound *sku bla* often gave way to the simplified form *sku lha*. The latter form, perhaps ironically, is in fact a more transparent spelling of the compound, since it lays bare the correct etymology.

This fairly clean and elegant solution is complicated, however, by the appearance of another compound in soul-recovery rituals found in early Tibetan ritual texts such as IOL Tib J 734, previously studied by F.W. Thomas and by Samten Karmay. Here, in a text that refers to “soul paths” (*rla lam*), “soul houses” (*rla khyim*), etc., both *sku'i brla* and *sku rla* indicate a person’s “soul” – better known by its Classical Tibetan form, *bla*. The same processes of orthographic flattening described above apparently came into play here as well: *brla* and *rla* became *bla*, and *sku rla* and *sku brla* became *sku bla*. This provides an etymology for an entirely different compound that also happens to be spelled *sku bla*, and which indicates a person’s soul rather than a god.

Two compounds with the same spelling – one indicating a god, the other a person’s soul – predictably gave rise to some confusion in the way that they were (mis)used and (mis)spelled over time. That the two concepts themselves also bear certain resemblances only adds to the confusion. Nevertheless, these etymologies of two distinct terms, both spelled *sku bla* at one point in their morphological careers, can account for most if not all occurrences of *sku b(r)la* and *sku lha* in written Tibetan, and also allow us to more accurately consider some of the larger questions concerning the possible relevance of these terms to emperors or to mountain gods.

Emanuela Garatti (Paris)

**Uncles, Nephews and Brothers: Sino-Tibetan Matrimonial Alliances in Perspective**

After the first Sino-Tibetan marriage of 641, the Chinese and the Tibetan courts started to refer to each other as “uncle and nephew” (in Chinese *jiusheng* 舅甥, in Tibetan *dbon zhang*). The adoption of such a peculiar terminology is not exceptional: in the context of pre-modern Asian alliances, this kind of “kinship diplomacy” was used, especially by Chinese dynasties, to define the bride-giver and bride-receiver, determining a superior-inferior relationship between the two courts.



ཀྱང་དེ་སྟོན་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འབྲི་བ་པོ་དང་འཚོལ་ཞིབ་པ་དག་གིས་རྟོག་སྐྱོད་རྟོག་སྐྱོད་གི་སར་མ་གཞག་པར་མ་དག་རྒྱུན་འབྲུམ་སུ་ཤོར་ཉེ་དོན་དངོས་བྱང་བའི་  
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 གཉིས་ས་གསེར་སེར་འབྲེད་བྱས་ཉེ་ཡང་སྟོན་ཆེན་ཆེན་ཁོང་གི་ཡབ་སུ་ཡོན་པ་དང་། གཏུང་རྒྱུས་གང་དུ་གཏོགས་པའི་སྟོར་ལ་ཡུན་རིང་དཔུང་ཞིབ་བྱས་པའི་གྲུབ་དོན་  
 རྒྱ་ཆེར་སྐོང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་འདིར་ཤོག་དོས་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་བསྟོམས་བརྒྱབ་ནས་སྟོང་བསྟུས་ཤིག་བཀོད་ཡོད།

དེ་ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཆེས་ཉལ་སྤྱོད་བའི་སྐབས་དེར་སྟོན་ཆེན་ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་གྱི་མཛད་ཇེས་བསྐྱེད་སུ་བ་སྟེ། ལོ་ངམ་རྟེན་ཅི་བས་དེ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གྲུ་བཀོངས་པའི་  
 དག་ཤ་སྐྱེད་པ་དང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ལྟུང་དུ་གདན་དྲངས་ཤིང་བོད་སྤྱིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཅུ་བསྟོར་བཞག་གནང་སྟེ་ད་སྐབས་བོད་མི་སྤྱི་བོ་གནམ་བསྟན་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཆེས་བརྗོད་  
 དཀའ་བའི་བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐྱེད་གསོ་ཇི་ལྟར་གནང་ཡོད་པའི་སྟོར་དཔུང་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཡོད། གཞན་ཡང་དཔུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་རྩེད་ལག་ལ་གཞི་བཅོལ་ཉེ་ཡོངས་  
 གྲགས་སུ་སྟོན་ཆེན་ཁོང་གི་མཚན་ལ་མཛད་སྟོན་དང་པོ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་ལྟར་དམིགས་བསལ་མཛད་སྟོན་པའི་ལས་གང་ཞིག་བྱས་ཡོད་པའི་སྟོར་དང་། དེ་ཡང་དཔེར་  
 ན་བོད་མིའི་འཚོ་བའི་འཆར་ཅན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྟོར་སྤྱོད་མེད་གསེར་གཏོད་གང་གནང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་སྟོན་ཆེན་རིག་གནས་རིགས་སྟོན་ཆེན་གཞན་དང་མ་  
 འདྲ་བར་དམིགས་བསལ་མ་ཉམས་གོང་འཕེལ་དང་རྒྱུད་འཛིན་ཇི་ལྟར་གནང་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོར་ལ་འཚོལ་ཞིབ་དང་དཔུང་བརྗོད་ཞིབ་བྱས་བྱས་པའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་  
 ལེགས་སྐྱེས་ཞིག་མཚུན་ལྟན་མཁས་དབང་རྣམ་པའི་གསོས་སུ་བཏོགས་ཡོད།

## Session: Sources for Old Tibetan History

བོད་གནའ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ལུངས།

Bettina Zeisler (Tübingen)

### On the river Bautisos, the Baitai, and the Bod: A Contribution to Old Tibetan History & Geography

In his *Geographia VI*, Ptolemaios describes the land Serike, the Silk land, which can be identified with the Tarim Basin. Within this region, Ptolemaios posits two rivers, the Oichardes, which can be identified with the Tarim, and the Bautisos, the identity of which seems to be still unknown and which has been taken as a mere invention or an accidental doublet of the Tarim by some scholars, putting the blame on Ptolemaios (Herrmann 1938, La Vaissiere 2009, Tupikova et al. 2014). Other scholars have identified it with a river in Tibet, thinking that the name of the people living near by the river, the Baitai, is a Greek rendering of the Tibetan ethnonym Bod. Two exemplary citations, one from the beginnings of serious Tibetan studies and a more contemporary one, may suffice:

The Tibetans designate themselves Bod (Sanskrit Bhota), and Ptolemy knows them by the name Βα<?>ται inhabiting [!] the river Bautisos, identified with the Upper Yellow River. The present territory of Western Kansu and Szechuan was the cradle of the Tibetan branch which moved from there westward into the present territory of Tibet, probably during the first centuries of our era (Laufer 1914: 162).

There is evidence that the name Βαῦται is derived from the Indian Bhota, the latter word stemming from bod, the proper name of Tibetans from antiquity. The river Bautisos might be the Tsangpo, the main river of Central Tibet. Ptolemy seems to have been familiar with Tibetan customs, although we are yet to determine what cultures and languages mediated such knowledge (Kaschewski 2001: 4).

Róna-Tas (1985) was more sceptical, and I think he was right. I should argue that neither the Greek form Baitai nor the Indian form Bhoṭa or Bhoṭia – derived from an earlier Bhauṭṭa or Bhaṭṭa, as found in the 12th c. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa – can be derived from Bod, while a derivation from the Indian form could well be possible. Furthermore, I can show that Ptolemaios was, indeed, correct to postulate a second river in the Tarim Basin. Whether there might have been a – rather distant or indirect – relation between the people living in this area and (some ancestors of) the Tibetans, on the one hand, or the Bhauṭṭa, on the other, is a more difficult question. More names would come into the play and no definite proof is possible. One can only speculate what that means for the ethnogenesis of the people which adopted the name Bod. I shall, nevertheless, try to bring some pieces of the puzzle together. E.g., on the base of several renderings of Ptolemaios' coordinates (Herrmann 1938, Ronca 1967, Lindegger 1979), it can be ruled out that the Baitai were sitting on the upper course of the Yellow River or even further south in Tibet.

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Liu Cuilan (Toronto)

**Buddhist Assaulters a32nd Litigants: A Case Study of Violence and Litigation in Dunhuang in P. T. 1297**

The Tibetan manuscript P. T. 1297 2 records the trial of a lawsuit in which the plaintiff and one of the defendants were both ordained Buddhist novice monks. According to the petition, both of the two novice monks joined a violent fight between their uncles to aide their respective family members. During the fight, the novice monk who joined the fight first was injured by a novice monk who joined the fight later. Thus, the injured novice monk submitted a petition against the other novice monk for injury. This manuscript was already translated into Chinese by Wang Yao and Chen Jian. In this paper, my analysis will highlight the legal aspect of the significance of this manuscript, focusing on the roles ordained Buddhist monks played litigation and the implication of legal practices among the ordained Buddhist community in Dunhuang in general. Both layperson and ordained monks were involved in the violent fight. The Buddhist canon law explicitly prohibits ordained Buddhists from taking either fellow ordained Buddhists or layperson to the lay court. The plaintiff in this lawsuit was both an ordained monk and an assaulter in the mentioned fight. How do his petition and the trial of his petition in the lay court tell us about the legal practices of ordained Buddhists on the frontier town of Dunhuang on the Silk Road? These are the questions that I will address in this paper.

Phur bu rdo rje ཐུར་བུ་རོ་རྗེ། Phurbu Dorjee (Dharamsala)

འཇའི་སྐོར་ལ་གསར་དུ་དབྱད་པ།

【དབྱད་ཚཱ་ཉིང་བསྐྱུལ།】 ཐུན་གྱི་དབྱད་ཚཱ་གྱི་མིང་ལ་«འཇའི་སྐོར་ལ་གསར་དུ་དབྱད་པ།»ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡིན། འདིར་“གསར་དུ་”ཞེས་བྲིས་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི། ལྷིང་“འཇ”འམ་རྒྱ་སྐད་དུ་“吐谷浑”ཞེས་འབོད་པའི་བརྗོད་གཞི་འདི་ནི་ཉ་ཅང་ཁྱབ་ཆེ་བས་ཡི་གེ་དང་དུས་ཚོད་ལྷང་དུ་ཞིག་གི་ནང་ནས་སྲིང་ཚར་རྒྱ་ཞིག་མིན་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་སྐབས་དོན་འདིར་ཐུན་གྱིས་སྲིང་བར་བྱ་བ་ནི། བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་ཡོད་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་རྙིང་པ་དང་ཕྱིས་སུ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤེལ་བ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྲིས་པའི་དབྱད་ཚཱ་གང་མང་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་གི་དབྱད་འབྲས་ཀྱི་སྐད་ལ་“གསར་དུ་”ལ་སྐོན་གྱི་ཚཱ་དུ་དབྱད་ཞེས་ཀྱི་ཚཱ་བཏོན་ནས་བྲིས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས་ན་“གསར་དུ་”ཞེས་སྐྱར་བ་ཡིན། དབྱད་ཚཱ་འདིའི་ནང་དུ། ལྷིང་འཇ་དང་བྱེ་བྲག་བོད་བཙན་བོས་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས་པའི་འཇའི་སྐོར་དང་། འཇའི་མི་རྣམས་བོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་རུས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་རྗེ་ལྷར་གཏོགས་མིན། རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་དེའི་ལོ་ཚོགས་དང་མི་སྣ། སྲིད་འཛིན་ས་ཁོངས། མཐའ་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་གང་དང་གང་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་བྱུང་མིན། ད་ལྟོ་ཀྱང་གོའི་མི་རིགས་56ཞེས་པ་ལས་མི་འབོར་འབྲུམ་གཉིས་ཙམ་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་“ཐུག་རིགས་(土族)”ཞེས་འབོད་བཞིན་ཡོད་པའི་མི་དེ་དག་ཀྱང་། དོན་དངོས་སུ་བོད་ཀྱི་འཇའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན་པའི་སྐོར་སོགས་ལ་རྒྱ་བོད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབྱད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་རྙིང་པ་གང་འཚམས་ཤིག་ལ་ལྟོགས་བྱས་ནས་བྲིས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་དོ་སྙོལ་དུ།

## Session: Linguistics

### སྐད་སྐྱོ་སྐད་ཡིག་པ།

Joanna Bialek (Berlin)

#### Tibetan Verb Morphology: An Argument from the Old Tibetan Perspective

Frequently encountered variations in verb stems as well as occurrence of forms not attested in later sources give the impression that Old Tibetan might have been the last phase in the history of the Tibetan languages with the productive inflectional morphology. In spite of that it has remained the least surveyed Tibetan language when it comes to the verb morphology; most previous research has concentrated on Classical Tibetan forms and thus mainly on formal features of the ‘verb conjugations’ as devised by native Tibetan grammarians. Recognising the shortcomings of this approach and realising that despite decades of studies no coherent theory of verb derivation has been put forward necessitate a radical change in our ways of studying Tibetan verb morphology. The first aim of my paper is to collect arguments from various fields that have not surfaced in the discussion thus far. For instance, cross-linguistic patterns in verb morphology suggest that different types of affixes represent different grammatical categories. In the case of Old Tibetan this would mean that the suffix -s marked a distinct grammatical category than the prefixes b-, g-, and γ-, but, by implication, the latter all marked the same grammatical category for its distinct values. Furthermore, I argue that the internal analysis of the verb morphological system as a whole can still reveal important clues concerning its single parts; e.g., verbs with the prefix b- in both the ‘second’ (or ‘perfective’) and ‘third’ (or ‘necessitative’) stems attach the suffix -s to their ‘second’ stem apparently in order to distinguish the two stems from each other. The prefix b- is applied in the ‘third’ stems only if the prefix g- (or its allomorph d-) is blocked (for phonotactic or semantic reasons). Thus, it appears that -s was a ‘dummy’ suffix with no meaning in these verb forms. Linguistic typology and internal systemic analysis can furnish new details on the formal features of Old Tibetan verbs. As the third field the usage of verbs in Old Tibetan texts shall be briefly addressed. The primary goal of the textual analysis is to propose new grammatical meanings of verb affixes and demonstrate their functions in syntax. In conclusion, the new arguments presented in the paper are intended as an introduction to a paradigmatic change in the discussion of Old Tibetan verbs that, it is argued, were finite and focused verb arguments.

Marius Zemp (Bern)

#### Traces of Sentence-Final Demonstratives in Old Tibetan

In Purik, a phonologically archaic Tibetan dialect spoken in Northwestern India, *de* ‘that’ and *e* ‘the other’ are regularly used at the end of sentences to indicate respectively that the conveyed information should be clear to the addressee, as in (1) and (3), and that it yet needs to be identified by the addressee, as in (2) and (4). Notice that the demonstratives occur after the predicate in (1) and (2), but function as predicates themselves in (3) and (4).

- (1) *fi ma fi-a jod-de*  
 die NEG die-INF EX-DEM.OLD.INF  
 ‘Of course (she) hadn’t died (but only pretended to be dead).’
- (2) *k<sup>h</sup>o leb-e*  
 (s)he arrive-DEM.NEW.INF  
 ‘(S)he’s arrived, look!’
- (3) *kulik-po di-ka p<sup>h</sup>jal-la de*  
 key-DEF this-LOC hanging-DAT DEM.OLD.INF  
 ‘The key’s hanging here (where it’s supposed to be).’
- (4) *sjuntfoqtfoq e*

deep.green DEM.NEW.INF

‘Look, how green it is over there!’

In the predicative function, *e* may also be used interrogatively, as in B’s question in (5).

(5) A: *ŋj-i fite-a p<sup>h</sup>uŋw-ig jot*  
I-GEN side-DAT photo-INDF EX.F

‘I have a photo with me.’

B: *ga-r e*  
which-TERM DEM.NEW.INF  
‘Where is it?’

A: *di-ka de*  
this-LOC DEM.OLD.INF  
‘Here it is.’

The Purik question *ga-r e* ‘where is it?’ thus has the exact same meaning as all six instances of *ga re* which I was able to find in Old Tibetan (OT). In my presentation, I will discuss further OT evidence suggesting that both *de* and *e* were used at the end of sentences already in Proto-Tibetan. In turn, this will show that evidence from modern dialects may significantly contribute to our understanding of OT.

Shao Mingyuan (Beijing)

### The Morphosyntax of Final Particle *o* in Old Tibetan confirmed

The particle *o* has an extensive distribution in Written Tibetan, which is tagged as རྫོགས་ཚིག་ *rdzogs.tshig* in Tibetan traditional grammar. Yamaguchi Zuiho (1998) argues that it is mainly distributed in Old-Tibetan of the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century, and has dropped off sharply in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, eventually completely disappearing in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in colloquial Tibetan. The Tibetan traditional grammars hold that the function of the particle is to show the end of a sentence, however, this view is of too general for detailed comparative analysis.

The distribution of the final particle *o* in Old Tibetan may be summarized under four main respects:

I. It can only be applied to the declarative clause, while it is not available in the imperative sentence, exclamatory sentence or imperative sentence.

II. It is syntactically selective but not mandatory.

III. It is commonly attached to predicate forms but rarely attached to nominal forms.

IV. It has unlimited access to aspect, but tends to be applied to the perfective aspect.

Simon (1942) has pointed out that the final particle *o* is cognate with the demonstrative pronoun *o* in Old-Tibetan. The proposition is very enlightening, for *o* as a demonstrative pronoun indeed can be found in Old Tibetan and some modern Tibetan dialects. However, the function of *o* in fact is not to act as a distal term as Simon had ever claimed, it is neither a distal term nor close term among demonstrative pronouns, essentially, it is a neutralization pronoun.

Based on those facts above, we explore the hypothesis that *o* in Old Tibetan is a paragraph-final focus particle. From the perspective of grammaticalization, the final particle *o* originated from the demonstrative pronoun *o*, gradually it became attached to the final of a paragraph to indicate focus, while the demonstrative function trailed off. This path also can be seen in other languages as well.

## Session: Literature on Rulership

### འཛིན་སྐྱོད་ཐོག་གི་རྩོམ་རིག་།

Nathan Hill (London)

#### Some Philological Remarks on PT 126 “The Envoys of Phywa to Dmu”

Few are the texts which offer a glimpse into Tibet’s religious traditions as they existed before the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion in 762. The *Envoy of Phywa to Dmu* (PT 126), a narrative describing the doings of gods in a mythical past, is consequently of paramount importance as evidence for the ancient Tibetan religion. This text is treated in passing in French (Stein 1961: 62, 64, Macdonald 1971: 305-306, 369- 373) and brief passages are treated in English (Bellezza 2005: 11-12, 342; Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 325), but more recent detailed study of the document is mainly available in Japanese (Yamaguchi 1983: 171-172, 211, 1985: 546-549, Ishikawa 2000, 2001) and Chinese (Chu 1989, 1990). My study relies on the two essays of Ishikawa (2000, 2001), which provide a complete transliteration, translation and discussion of contents and the first complete translation of this text by Chu (1990).

This study, originally begun in 2006, I have recently updated in light of the notes and translation into modern Tibetan (and therefrom into English) by Tsultrim Nakchu (and Meghan Howard) in 2015. This paper will discuss a number of difficult and controversial passages in this text, reviewing previous solutions, and, in some cases, proposing my own.

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Lokdun (Dharamsala)

#### རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀའ་ཡི་ཐང་ཡིག་སྐོར་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་།

རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀའ་ཡིག་ཞི་ཡིག་ཐོག་འཁོད་སྤྲོད་ཤིང་གྲས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་གྲགས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་གསལ་བ་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚངས་དང་། བཅོམ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་རྒྱས་ཤོས་དེ་ཆགས་ཡོད་དེ། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་ཕྱིར་བཏོན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་ནས་དེའི་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆལས་ངེས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཆོས་འབྲུང་ལག་དྲུ་ལུང་འཛིན་ཞུས་ཡོད་དེ། འོན་ཀྱང་དུས་རབས་བཞི་ནས་བཅོམ་པོ་བར་དུ་དེའི་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་གསལ་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་



### Session: Silk Road Manuscripts Repositories

དར་ལམ་ཐོག་གི་ཡིག་མཛོད།།

Carmen Meinert (Bochum)

#### Tibetan Manuscripts from the Northern Section of the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang: New Insights into the Continuous Activities of Tantric Buddhist Communities in Tangut Ruled Dunhuang

The Tangut Empire (11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries) was the last Buddhist stronghold in Eastern Central Asia thanks to generous imperial support. A unique feature of this patronage system was its dual orientation, favoring Sinitic as well as Tibetan Buddhist traditions nowadays still documented in manuscripts collections, paintings and murals from various Central Asian oases and garrisons. The interest of Tangut rulers in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism is particularly striking from around the 1130s until the Mongolian conquest in the 1220s. Within this time span Tibetan teachers were residing at the Tangut court, translations from Tibetan into Tangut and Chinese were prepared e.g. of ritual manuals and Buddhist art of a Tantric pantheon was produced on banners and on walls at cave sites. I suggest to closely read textual and visual materials of this period and from various locations together, in order to get a clearer picture of the dynamics of intercultural exchange, and production and dissemination of Tantric Buddhist knowledge. For this presentation I aim to focus on Tibetan manuscripts found in caves in the Northern section of the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang and relate it to the sole cave with Tantric Buddhist imagery, Mogao Cave 465. This research is part of the ERC project BuddhistRoad (<https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/>).

Sangs rgyas skyabs སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐབས། | Sangjey Kep (Irun)

#### ཏུང་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྩིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དོན་ཚུན་གནད་བསྐྱེད་ལས་བྱུང་པའི་ས་མིང་གྲ་མ་ཐང་སོགས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སུ་བྱུང་པའི་ས་མིང་དག་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ནི་ཅང་གལ་ཆེན་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་མེད་ཤིང་། དེ་ཡང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནང་བཞག་པའི་ས་མིང་མང་པོ་ཞིག་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་སྐབས་སུ་གང་དུ་ཡོད་པ་དོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཅང་ཁག་པོ་ཡིན་པ་དོས་ཡོད་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་མ་འོངས་པར་དེ་ལས་ཁག་པོ་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པ་ནི་བརྗོད་མི་དགོས་པས། དཔྱད་ཞིབ་སྐབས་སུ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་བཞེས་པའི་ས་མིང་དེ་དག་དོས་འཛིན་དང་དེ་བཞིན་བཞག་ཀྱི་ཅང་གལ་ཆེན་ཡིན་པས།

ཏུང་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྩིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དོན་ཚུན་གནད་བསྐྱེད་སུ་། གྱིའི་ལོ་ལ་བབ་སྟེ་(སྟེ་ལོ་༤༤༦).....དགུན་གྲ་མ་ཐང་དུ་འདུ་སྟེ། ། ༥༥། ཡོས་བུ་ལོ་ལ་བབས་སྟེ་(སྟེ་ལོ་༤༧).....དགུན་སྐྱི་བྲ་མ་ཐང་དུ་འདུ་སྟེ། ། དེ་བཞིན་། ཡོས་བུ་ལོ་ལ་(སྟེ་ལོ་༥༧༥).....མདོ་སྐད་གྲ་དགུན་འདུན་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་སུ་། ། ༥༥། བྲ་བའ་ལོ་ལ་(སྟེ་ལོ་༥༨༤).....སྐོན་ཐོ་གཞུགས་གནད་ཀོང་གྲུས་མདོ་སྐད་གྲ་འདུན་མ་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་སུ་ལོ་ལ་རྒྱུ་། ། ༥༥། འབྲུག་ལོ་ལ་(སྟེ་ལོ་༥༨༤).....མདོ་སྐད་གྲ་འདུན་མ་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་སུ་ལོ་ལ་གཞུགས། ། བཅས་གོང་གི་ས་མིང་མ་ཐང་ཐང་དང་གྲ་མ་ཐང་། དེ་བཞིན་རྒྱུ་ཐོང་བའི་ས་མིང་འདི་དག་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་བྱེད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་འདི་དག་གི་ཉེ་འཁོར་གྱི་ས་མིང་འགའ་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ། དེ་བཞིན་སྟེ་ས་ལུལ་འདི་དག་བཅོན་པོ་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་གལ་ཆེན་ཡིན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དབང་གི་ས་ལུལ་འདི་དག་དོས་འཛིན་གནད་བསྐྱེད་སུ་ལོ་ལ་འཛིན་གནད་རྒྱ་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན། གོང་གི་རྒྱ་མཚན་དེ་དག་གི་ཐོག་ནས་ས་ཆ་དེ་དག་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གང་དུ་ཡོད་པ་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།

#### Anna Turanskaya (St. Petersburg) Some Preliminary Notes on the Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto Preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS has preserved the collection of Tibetan texts from the dead city of Khara-Khoto, where a big library of texts, primarily in Tangut and Chinese, was found. Consisting of 179 items, this collection has never been paid due attention and remains unknown except for a few publications. Nevertheless, these texts could be considered to be of special interest as most of them must have been dated from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, one of earliest block printed Tibetan texts (Xr-

67), that can be quite firmly dated from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, is included in the collection. Originally included in the collection of Chinese texts from Dunhuang and Tangut texts from Khara-khoto, a group of Tibetan texts was selected to form a separate unit in 1967. It was later replenished several times. Although the majority of the texts used to belong to the Khara-khoto stock we can be sure that some items (e.g. XT-2, XT-31 etc.) were added there mistakenly. In 2018, a project ‘The Compilation of the Catalogue of the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS’ was started, being headed by Dr. A. Zorin and supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (No. 18-012-00386). In my paper, I will focus on several examples of both Khara-Khoto and Dunhuang texts found in this collection.

Agnieszka Helman-Ważny (Hamburg)

### **Codicological study of archival documents from Mustang, Nepal**

This study explores locally-produced documents from certain private and community archives in Mustang, mostly dated to the year within the last two centuries. Based on nearly 300 legal documents from the village archives of Tshognam, Geling, Lubrak, and Jharkot an interdisciplinary model for the study of documents has been proposed. This model concludes with practical guidelines, such as the template for document descriptions, selection of the features relevant and most useful for typology, a comprehensive compendium of methods for material and codicological research, making it possible to establish connections between various documents. A detailed methodology of paper study is also considered, discussing methods and paper typology, including the variety of raw materials and their microscopic characterization. The selected case studies will be discussed in the context of both the available methodology and general typology of documents arranged by particular codicological features such as format and layout, script and scribal hands (selection of the groups of documents written by the same person), seals, fingerprints and paper. This talk will explore what documents themselves, and particularly their codicological features and the materials they consist of, can tell us about the meaning and the use of the written word in past societies.

## Session: Epigraphy and Archaeology

རྗོ་བཀོས་དང་གནའ་རྒྱུ་རྟོག་ཞིབ།

Quentin Devers (Paris)

### **Peculiar Monasteries and Odd Stupas: Development of Buddhism in Ladakh Before the First Diffusion**

The purpose of this paper is to introduce new archaeological sites from Ladakh, which offer rare insight into an early phase of Buddhism of Central Asian or Kashmiri inspiration before the First Diffusion took place in Tibet. The question of the introduction of Buddhism to Ladakh is usually tied by local tradition to Rinchen Zangpo (*rin chen bzang po*), who is locally believed to have built the first temples of the region in the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries, or to Guru Rinpoche (*gu ru rin po che*), who is believed to have meditated in several of the numerous caves of the area in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. In anyway, both Guru Rinpoche and Rinchen Zangpo are associated with the spread of Buddhism from a Tibetan perspective, with the so-called First and Second Diffusions.

Oral tradition aside, very little research has been carried out on the topic of the introduction of Buddhism to Ladakh until recently. During surveys conducted in recent years by the author in Purig, Zaskar and along the Indus valley in collaboration with Kacho Mumtaz Khan for the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), new sites were documented that appear to be monastic ruins of Central Asian or Kashmiri inspiration, as well as new rock carvings of stepped shrines that do not appear to be derived from Tibetan tradition. A careful analysis of this material, of the overall archaeological context of these sites (fortifications, inscriptions, petroglyphs, etc. found in their surroundings) and of available historical sources, shows that Ladakh's past is not as straightforward as was once thought. Data indicates that Ladakh was an integrant part of the Kashmiri and Central Asian worlds, and that parts of the region may have been under direct Kashmiri or Central Asian rule. This new material shows that the development of Buddhism in the region reflects this past heritage, and that a new early phase of Buddhism needs to be accounted for in the region prior to the First Diffusion. It also helps answer some of the questions raised by the reading of the old texts — such as the location of the former border between Balur and Zhang Zhung.

Tsong kha yongs grol རྗོ་བཀོས་ཡོངས་གྲོ། | Yongdrol Tsongkha (Lanzhou)

### **“Yang dag gnasu,” “gtsang khang,” “mchod rten dam pa mchog,” “Mchims za,” “skyes rabs”: A Study of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions on the Stone Tablets Associated with the Establishment of Buddhism in the East End of Tsaidam Basin during the Tibetan Empire**

Based on our extensive fieldwork from 2007 to early 2018, this presentation will focus on deciphering several old Tibetan inscriptions on stone tablets. All of these inscriptions were originally discovered in the 1980s on a hill slope not very far from the well-known Tibetan Imperialist tombs at the East End of the Tsaidam Basin, yet they have not been officially made public and studied so far. One of the inscriptions mentions “gtsang khang gnasu skyes rabs... *phyag tshal*,” (Jataka in the holy shrine hall...homage) another mentions “chos” (dharma) “shes rab” (wisdom) and “sangs rgyas grub par” (attain Buddhahood), and the third one mentions “mchim za lhamo” (princess Mchim za lHamo) “yang dag gnasu dgongpa” (perfect and ultimate realization) “mchod rten dam pa mchog” (supreme stupa) etc. Based on an analysis of these passages, the present paper argues that these inscriptions functioned to dedicate a holy Buddhist establishment in the region.

Nils Martin (Paris)

### Below the Peak of a Khyung and Outside the Den of a Tiger: The Inscription of Balukhar Reconsidered

A few kilometers upstream the village of Khaltse, in Ladakh, the ruined fortress of Balukhar looks over the Indus River. Below the remains of its fortified walls, the rock surface is engraved with large petroglyphs of *mchod rten* accompanied by Tibetan donor inscriptions.

Amid the latter is a Tibetan inscription composed of eight lines that brought first the attention of Francke (1905) and later that of Denwood and Howard (1990) as well. The first author interpreted it as the donor inscription of the nearby petroglyphs of *mchod rten* and further connected it to regional toponyms. Denwood (1990, 85), on his side, suggested that “the inscription commemorates the building of a fort either modelled on some fort in the Khotan region, or built by some person associated with such forts.” The date and historical context of the inscription is also at variance in scientific literature, oscillating between the imperial period (Denwood and Howard 1990) and the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century (Takeuchi 2012).

A recent photographic documentation of the inscription by Devers and myself has made it possible to propose a new interpretation for the Balukhar inscription. According to the latter, the inscription would commemorate the building of the fortress and praise its founder, without reference to Khotanese forts but by way of animal comparisons. At a second level of interpretation, the first couple of verses would further reveal part of the identity of its founder: a second-class military officer (lit. a ‘tiger’; stag) of the Khyung clan.

A reexamination of the donor inscriptions of the nearby petroglyphs of *mchod rten* moreover permits the identification of another clan whose members used to be posted inside the fortress: the rBang kling clan. Interestingly, these inscriptions are not the only ones to bear testimony of the military presence of the Khyung and rBang kling clans in Ladakh. There are several more at Alchi, Khaltse, and Kharul. On the account of the inscription of Kharul (Martin forthcoming), a new historical scenario will be proposed for the inscription of Balukhar.

bSod nams don grub བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ། | Suonan Dongzhu (Xining)

རྩེ་རྒྱུ་འབབ་ཡུལ་ནས་གསར་དུ་རྙེད་པའི་བོད་བཙུན་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བྲག་བཞོས་ཡི་གེ་འགའ་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

རྩེ་རྒྱུ་བུལ་ལཱ་ནི་ཀྱང་གོའི་ཟེ་ཁོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་དཀར་མཛེས་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་སེར་ཤུལ་རྫོང་གི་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་སྐོམ་མདོས་ཆར་གོ་དགོས་ལ། སེར་ཤུལ་རྫོང་གི་ཁོངས་སུ་མིང་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་རྩེ་བོ་མའི་འབྲི་རྩེ་གསུམ་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་རྩེ་རྒྱུ་བུལ་གྱི་ཡོད། རྩེ་རྒྱུ་བུལ་ལཱ་ནི་རྩེ་བཟའ་ཀོང་མོ་བོད་དུ་ཕེབས་པའི་ལམ་ལ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ལམ་ལ་དེ་དག་ན་ཀོང་མོའི་ངག་རྒྱན་དང་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་ལྷག་ལུས་བྱུང་ཡོད་ལ། ཀོང་མོའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དང་ངག་རྒྱན་དེ་དག་དང་འགྲོགས་ནས་ས་ཆ་དེ་གར་བོད་བཙུན་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་གནའ་ཤུལ་རིག་གནས་དང་བྲག་བཞོས་རིམ། བྲག་བཞོས་ཡི་གེ་སོགས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལྷག་ལུས་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་ལ་དུས་དེ་རིག་གི་བར་དུ་མི་སུ་ཞིག་གིས་ཀྱང་རྙེད་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་མེད། ད་ཐེངས་ཁོ་བོར་སྐབས་འགྲིག་ནས་དུས་ལུན་གྲུང་དུ་འོང་རྩེ་རྒྱུ་བུལ་གྱི་གནའ་ཤུལ་རིག་གནས་དང་ལྷག་པར་དུ་བྲག་བཞོས་རིམ་དང་། ཡི་གེ་རྙེད་དེ་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ལ། བྲག་བཞོས་རིམ་དང་ཡི་གེ་དེ་དག་ནི་བོད་བཙུན་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བྲག་བཞོས་ཡི་གེ་དག་ཡིན་པ་ཐག་གིས་ཆོད་ལ། དཔྱད་རྩོམ་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་ཁོ་བོས་བྲག་བཞོས་ཡི་གེ་དང་རིམ་དེ་དག་གི་ནང་དོན་དང་། ལོ་དུས་ཀྱི་གཏན་ཁུལ་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཐང་། ཡིག་རྙེད་གི་བྱུང་ཚུལ། བརྒྱུད་སོགས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ནས་དཔྱད་འབྲས་ཆེས་ཐོག་མར་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་ལམས་སུ་མཁོ་འདོན་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ནི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་འདིའི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་དུ་སེམས་སོ། །

## Session: Exchanges and Connections

སྤྱིལ་མཐུན་དང་བརྗེ་ལེན།

David Pritzker (Chicago, Illinois)

### **Cultural Exchange Along the Silk Road: The Royal Court of the Tibetan Empire**

The Early Middle Ages was a period of great empires. Two of them, China and Byzantium, developed traditions which followed on ancient civilizations, but Charlemagne's Empire in Western Europe, the Arab Caliphate in the Near and Middle East, Khazar state in Eastern Europe, and Turkic, Uighur, Tibetan and Kyrghyz Khaghanates in Central Asia were founded by peoples who not long before arrived on the stage of world history. As scholars continue to dig into Tibet's imperial and pre-imperial history, the relative closeness of the relationship with its northern Irano-Turkic-Mongolian-Sinitic cultures, as distinguished from those of South Asia, becomes increasingly evident. An exhibition, opening in early July 2019, at Dunhuang Research Academy in Gansu, will focus on the topic of the cultural exchange along the Silk Road and specifically on the material culture of the royal Tibetan court. A key focus of the exhibition will be on the cosmopolitan nature of the royal Tibetan court and the ways in which it appropriated and adapted ideas, technologies, and motifs from the cultures around them in order to project its own power to its neighbors and foreign subjects in a manner that was both understood as well as distinctly Tibetan. The present paper will give a brief overview of the major themes of the exhibition and highlight some of the larger questions and topics dealt within the show and its accompanying catalogue.

Gertraud Taenzer (Berlin)

### **Information Contained in Dunhuang Manuscripts with Reference to the Qinghai Region: The Scriptorium in Thang-kar and Related Aspects**

Extensive research concerning the sutra copying project initiated by the Tibetan Emperor Ral-pa-can between 820 and 840 has been carried out since my research of the ethnic composition of the sutra writers appearing on Dunhuang manuscripts.

The corpus of *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* has been classified as: pothi type SP1 not originating at Dunhuang, SP2 being produced at Dunhuang and roll type SP3. Latter has been subdivided in SP3 type 1 (no drawn guide-lines) not originating at Dunhuang and SP3 type 2 (drawn guide-lines) some of them possibly being produced at Dunhuang.

So far it has not been noticed that SP1 and SP3 type 1 not only share physical features such as no drawn guide-lines and the structure of colophons but that a group of them also share writers and editors who are also connected to Thang-kar in Rog-tom. It has to be taken as a fact that they were working in the same scriptorium as one cannot assume that writers and editors circulated. The SP3 type scriptures the above-mentioned writers and editors appear on will be investigated as to whether the physical features – no drawn guide lines – can be ascertained in all cases.

As far as now it is only clear that as the paper of some rolls of SP3 type 2 is of the same material as SP2, they could be produced at Dunhuang. Some SP3 type 2 were edited at Dunhuang; in one case a manuscript from Hezhou (today's Linxia in Gansu, in a manuscript of the post Tibetan period designated as the seat of the clergy of the region) was used as guide-line. The colophons of these will be checked to see whether a related group of writers and editors as the above mentioned can be identified that possibly formed the personal of a second scriptorium.

More over the relation of the scribes of Thang-kar to the Qinghai region and Dunhuang will be discussed as well. Reasons why Dunhuang received scriptures from other places will be presented.



མང་པོ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་སྲ་མ་དག་གི་དབྱུང་འབྲས་མང་གཞིའི་སྤྱིང་གོམ་གང་མདུན་སྡོམ་གྱིས་དབྱུང་བ་བཏང་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷག་པར་བོད་རིག་པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་བྱུང་བ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཆེ་བའི་ཟུང་ཆེན་ཟུང་ཆུང་གི་སློབ་ལ་དམིགས་བསམ་ལ་དབྱུང་བ་བཏང་ཡོད།

ཚན་པ་བཞི་པ་དཔལ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེའི་སློབ། བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་སྤྱི་ཡུལ་དབུས་སྤྱི་བྱས་ཇེས་ཆེ་བའི་སློབ་པོར་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་སློབ་པའི་ཡིག་ཚང་ལས་ལུགས་འཇུག་སློབ་ཚད་བཞི་ཡོད། མཁས་པ་ལྗེ་ཏུ་དང་དཔལ་པོ་གཙུག་ལག་སྤོང་བ་རྣམས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་སྤྱི་གཡུལ་དུ་དཔལ་བ་ལ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་སློབ་ཚུལ་གསུངས་མོད། ཡིག་ཚང་འདི་ཐང་གྲུར་དུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་དང་། བོད་ཡིག་བརྟུན་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ཏུ་མཐོང་དགོན་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་སྤྱི་གཡུལ་ཚང་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ཁས་ལེན་གནང་མེད། ཡིན་ནའང་། གསལ་དུ་སྟོན་པའི་བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་ཀྱི་དམག་ཁྲིམས་ཤོག་རྩིལ་འདིར་གཡུལ་དུ་དཔལ་བའི་བྱ་དགའ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསལ་སྤྱི་ཡི་གེ་དང་སྟག་ལུགས་གཉིས་འཁོད་ཡོད་པས། གོང་གསལ་ལྟ་བུ་དེ་དག་ལ་ཡིག་ཚངས་སྲ་བྱི་གུང་བསྐྱེགས་ནས་བསྐྱར་དུ་དབྱུང་བ་བཏང་ཡོད།

ཚན་པ་ལྔ་པ་མཇུག་བསྐྱེད་སློབ། ཚན་པ་འདིར་བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་པོར་གདགས་པའི་རུ་དང་སྟོང་སྟེའི་ཚོགས་སྤྱི་དང་། རུ་དཔོན་དང་སྟོང་དཔོན། བརྒྱ་དཔོན། དེ་བཞིན་དམག་མི་པལ་བ་བཅས་མི་སྟེར་གཉིས་གང་ཡིན་ཡང་། སྲ་མས་བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་ཀྱི་དམག་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་གཞི་དང་བྱི་མས་རུ་དཔོན་ནས་ཅེ་ཐུན་ཡན་ཚོད་དུ་འོ་འབྲལ་གྱི་འཁྲུང་སོར་སྟོག་སྡོམ་གྱི་བཅོན་ལེན་བྱེད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སྤང་ཚུལ་ལ་དབྱུང་བ་བྱས་ཡོད།

བན་ཚད་གཙོ་བོ། བཅོན་པོའི་དུས། དཔལ་པོ། དཔལ་མཚན།

# Religion and Philosophy

ཐོན་བསྟན། ཚེས་ལུགས་དང་། གྲུབ་མཐའ།

## Panel 2 – Contemplative Practice in Tibetan Context: Texts, Traditions, and Techniques

བོད་པའི་ལུགས་ལ་སློམ་པའི་ལག་ལེན། ཡིག་ཆ་དང་བརྒྱུད་ལུགས་ཐབས་ཤེས་ལྡན་པ།

### Panel organizers

Michael Sheehy (Charlottesville, Virginia)

Marc-Henri Deroche (Kyoto)

**Panel abstract** – This panel contextualizes contemplative practice in Tibet and across the broader Himalaya by giving attention to critical histories and analysis of contemplative traditions, literary sources and genres for contemplation, and Tibetan transfigurations of contemplative technique. Recognizing the variety of contemplation, the panel seeks to better understand how meditation manuals and instruction texts (*khrid yig / don khrid*), affordances such as environmental conditions and community structures, and Tibetan ethno-psychological factors have contributed to our understanding of contemplation and its praxis in Tibet. Papers are encouraged to analyze and theorize specific Tibetan practices of yoga and meditation through research methodologies including, but not limited to, text critical, historical, philosophical, critical first-person, and ethnographic perspectives. In this way, we seek to investigate further correlations between oral and textual tradition (*thos*), philosophical inquiry (*bsam*), and contemplative exercises (*sgom*) to elucidate whole performative and pedagogical processes of contemplatively transforming consciousness, as studied across variegated contexts.

Michael Sheehy (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### Dispelling Obstructions (*gegs sel*), Enhancing Practice (*bogs 'don*), and the Cultural Cognition of Contemplative Experience in Tibet

This paper considers the vital Tibetan micro-genre of contemplative literature that is concerned with procedures for dispelling obstructions (*gegs sel*) and enhancing practices (*bogs 'don*), as well as cultural and psychological factors that are contextually constitutive of Tibetan contemplative experiences. Tibetan language texts that prescribe methods for dispelling obstructions specific to circumstances of contemplative practice were regularly circulated by the eleventh century, particularly within Kālachakra practice communities, and these procedural writings became integral to the genre of mountain dharma (*ri chos*) meditation retreat manuals. These writings, many of which are arguably specific to Tibetan culture, serve a variety of purposes for contextualizing and sustaining the contemplative life.

We examine the ethnopsychology of Tibetan contemplative experiences and how contemplative experiences, as well as complimentary yogic techniques, were translated into the Tibetan cultural milieu. Reading the meditation enhancement literature, we challenge normative discourses that suggest the practice of meditation is *a priori* the cultivation of private mental states or that contemplative practices need be conceptualized as looking into one's own private mind and regulating one's interior emotional life. Instead we frame meditation as a system of relations among practices that include the cultivation of cognitive and emotional skills, development of behaviors and bodily movements, application of antidotes (*gnyen po*), and situation in a community.

With an interest in the early history and formative writings of Tibetan contemplative culture, we reference a range of works by influential yogins who authored meditation instruction manuals (*khrid yig*), and guidance texts about contemplative experience (*myong khrid*) from different meditative traditions and systems including the six-fold vajrayoga of the Kālachakra, the six-fold yogas of Niguma and Nāropa as well as from mahāmudra sources. We consider writings by Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po (1110-1170), Rgod tshang pa Mgon po rdo rje (1189-258), Kun spangs Thugs rje brtson 'grus (1243-1313), and will

give particular attention to sources including the *Gegs sel chen mo* by ‘Jig rten mgon po Rin chen dpal (1143-1217), the *Ri chos yon tan kun ’byung* by Yang dgon pa Rgyal mtshan dpal (1213-1258), the *Gegs sel gyi man ngag nor bu’i phreng ba* by Mi nyag Grags pa rdo rje (d. 1491), and the *Ri chos mtshams kyi zhal gdams* by Karma Chags med (1613-1678).

David DiValerio (Milwaukee, Wisconsin)

### “At Least You Meet People”: The Community Dynamics of Meditative Retreat

For decades, scholars of the many forms of Buddhism have taken up the examination of the tradition’s normative claims about meditation, such that as a field we can speak confidently about the different types of meditative practice, their theoretical underpinnings, and the soteriologies to which they relate. More recently, Buddhist meditation has been taken up as a subject of analysis by Western science. Meditation’s effects have been measured in laboratory settings, and, with the publication of each peer-reviewed empirical study, the physiological and psychological mechanisms on which it relies are increasingly incontrovertibly established. For many, this manner of studying meditation ought to and will lead to a paradigm shift in our (scientific) understanding of the human individual.

To accept and employ a particular mode of studying meditation is to make a major claim about the nature of meditation itself. This gives reason for us to pause to consider the fundamental assumptions on which our inquiry is based. There are a number of ways in which the two above described trends converge. Crucially, each attempts to understand Buddhist meditation in such a way that the contexts in which it has been practiced are rendered all but irrelevant. By context here I refer to the concentric bases of reference—the embodied experience an individual on a particular life course, in a particular place, living within a particular culture and society, at a given time in history—amidst which meditation was always necessarily practiced. (Broadly speaking, we might also observe that both trends rely on and perpetuate an instrumentalist, effectively Protestantizing understanding of Buddhism, likely related to this erasure of context.)

With the intention of fostering new studies of Buddhist meditation that focus first and foremost on the constitutive roles played by the concentric contexts of its practice, I am presently at work on a monograph examining and describing the culture of meditation in Tibetan Buddhism historically, focusing on the phenomenon of long-term retreat—the primary site of meditation in Tibetan Buddhism for the past thousand years. This is a study of the practices and ideals that make up the hermetic lifestyle.

In this paper, through a comparison of such texts as Yanggonpa Gyeltsen Pel’s (1213-1258) *Ri chos yon tan kun ’byung dang lhan thabs*; Zurmang Lekshe Drayang’s (b. 16th cent) *Ri yi chos gtam kun tu bzang po’i sgra dbyangs*; and Chokyi Wangchuk’s (1775-1837) *bca’ yig* for the nuns of Drakar Taso, we will examine some of the procedures through which authors of different manuals for the practice of meditative retreat (usually bearing the title of *ri chos* or “Mountain Dharma”) have suggested that hermetic communities should be constituted. Through their prescriptions for how retreatants should approach issues such as how to relate (or not) to other retreatants, and how best to engage with lay communities if the need should arise—including the perennial issues of how to deal with patrons and how to properly beg for sustenance—we can gain important insights into their notions of the ideal form of such ascetic communities. These findings can significantly contribute to our understanding of the contexts in which Tibetan contemplative practices have traditionally been performed, and how those contexts have imbued these practices with meaning.

Justin Kelley (Houston, Texas)

### Understanding the Four Thoughts that Turn the Mind (*blo ldog rnam bzhi*) as an Affective Technology of Transformation

In this paper, I contend that the common foundational practices (*thun mong ma yin pa’i sgnon* ‘gro), or what is referred to as the four thoughts that turn the mind (*blo ldog rnam bzhi*), are best understood as an affective technology of transformation, as opposed to exclusively a set of intellectual reflections.

In particular, I explicate how taking this approach facilitates a more efficacious path for realizing the aim of the four thoughts—an open, receptive and highly motivated mental space for engaging in advanced tantric (rgyud) practices. I examine this practice as presented by eighteenth-century Tibetan master Jigme Lingpa (‘jigs med gling pa) in his treasure (gter) text Heart Essence of the Vast Expanse (klong chen snying thig), using instructional manuals (khrid yig) Words of My Perfect Teacher (kun bzang bla ma’i zhal lung) by Dza Patrul Rinpoche (rdza dpal strul rin po che) and The Lamp That Illuminates the Path (thar lam gsal sgron) by Adzom Drukpa (a ‘dzom ‘brug pa) to help elucidate the finer points of these practices. To date, most scholarship on the four thoughts focuses on either examining what a practitioner is intended to think, or the philological and/or historical origins of these practices.

These paths are fruitful insofar as they allow us to understand aspects of the phenomenological experience of the practitioner and/or the socio-cultural space from which these practices arose. This focus also makes sense given the structure of traditional texts on the subject, such as those listed above. The reality, however, is that in indigenous Tibetan contexts, these practices are employed within a deeply contemplative and/or meditative space. In turn, I contend that the primary intention of these practices is to provoke a reader affectively, as opposed to intellectually, and the lists, stories, metaphors, etc. serve simply as skillful means for accomplishing this aim. For example, I contend that the intention behind elaborate descriptions of the hell realms (dmyal ba) is to awaken the reader from their everyday mental experience through affective resonances, as opposed to educating them intellectually about these locales.

I define affect in this paper as proto-emotional responses experienced through encounters with sensorial and/or mental input. In other words, affect is what happens within our felt-sense throughout our activities of body, speech and mind. Furthermore, I believe that one can become aware of their affective experience through developing mental faculties such as mindfulness (dran pa) and introspection (shes bzhin) and, in turn, manipulate affects through particular reflections, such as those found in the four thoughts. This dual-focus—the ability to be aware of affects and, in turn, influence them—is central to the soteriological schema within Tibetan Buddhism and will serve as the ground for my analysis of the four thoughts.

In service of explicating the affective dimension, I utilize the theoretical presentation of affective transformation found in Accelerated Experiential Dynamic Psychotherapy (AEDP). This approach promotes therapeutic change through “championing our innate healing capacities” and illuminating “emergent positive transformational experiences.”<sup>1</sup> This is accomplished through recognizing transformational affects, which are “a class of positive affective experiences that mark specific healing transformational moments that arise in processing intense and difficult emotions, both negative and positive.”<sup>2</sup> Due to both its emphasis on uncovering innate capacities and orientation towards transformation, I feel AEDP is an ideal lens for analyzing Tibetan Buddhist contemplative practices in general and the four thoughts specifically.

<sup>1</sup> “About AEDP,” AEDP Institute, <https://www.aedpinstitute.org/about-aedp/>.

<sup>2</sup> Eileen Russell and Diana Fosha, “Transformational Affects and Core State,” *Journal of Psychotherapy*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2008), 169.

Uranchimeg (Orna) Tsultem (Indianapolis)

### **Art Making Process for Cultivation of Mind**

The discussion of Buddhist art has often been conducted in light of meditation as images are commonly understood as aids for visualization (i.e. Janet Gyatso 1999). Most of Buddhist artworks lack the name of their artists and the production of art has thus been analyzed within the political, social and cultural contexts of given periods. While these approaches have illuminated the essential nature of the use and rituals of Buddhist images across Asia, the question of artist’s agency still remains obscured especially when in most cases their names are not recorded. This paper will analyze some texts by Agwaan Khaidav (Ngag dbang mkhas grub, 1779-1838) a Mongolian polymath scholar, artist, and the abbot of Mongolia’s biggest monastery Ikh Khüree (aka Uрга) that discuss the process of painting as correlating to the stages

of meditation. Agwaan Khaidav wrote several texts illuminating various aspects of art production and the agency of artists in relation to images, rituals and their benefactors. Which aspects of image-making does Agwaan Khaidav elaborate and how? How does he discuss the stages of painting and iconometry as related to the stages of meditation praxis? This paper, a part of a larger book-length study, aims to contribute to a scarcely known area of iconometry with more insights into the processes of Buddhist image-making in general. As Agwaan Khaidav was a Buddhist scholar actively engaged in production of painting and sculptures and wrote texts, this source is invaluable in our apprehension of Vajrayāna Buddhist art in general and in Mongolia specifically. Since similar texts that address artists' attitude, behavior, and meditation during the image-making process are rare, this analysis hopes to contribute in our understanding of imagery and artistic as well as ritual practices in Mongolian Buddhism.

Naomi Worth (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **Dzokchen Subtle Body Theory**

The subtle body, or vajra body, is a tantric hermeneutical device that unites individual consciousness, embodiment and experience of mind-body perception with Buddhahood itself. The subtle body model provides a map for how Buddha nature exists within the body, and yet is obscured by karma and mental predispositions (bak chags). However, the subtle body is not just a theory: it is also a practice tool which at times becomes the object of meditation, as in Tibetan Yoga practices ('khrul khor; gtum mo), and elsewhere, providing the rationale for contemplative practice, as in Dzokchen's Crossing Over (thod rgal) Meditation.

This paper explores the subtle body in both philosophical and praxis contexts among the modern Palyul lineage of the Nyingma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Ethnography and textual studies mutually inform this presentation of an overall model of the subtle body from a Nyingma perspective. Currently popular and widely-read theories on the subtle body found in the encyclopedic Treasury (mdzod) literature by Longchenpa (1308-1364; theg mchog mdzod) and Jigme Lingpa (1729-1798; yon tan mdzod) will be juxtaposed alongside ethnography in the form of practice observations, interviews, and oral teachings. Together, this twofold methodological approach of textual analysis and ethnography will paint a wholistic view of subtle body theory, and what it is like when that model comes alive in practice. The latter is fraught with a variety of issues that individuals and communities bring with them to practice, including student aptitude, gender issues, the level of experience of teachers, students teaching other students via casual exchanges or anecdotes, age, a smattering of folk beliefs, geographical location from the origin, and more. This research relies upon Nyingma philosophical texts translated under the guidance of Namdroling Khenpos and Lopenmas, as well as ethnographic research in Palyul communities undertaken from 2017-2019.

Tibetan Yoga (gtum mo; 'khrul 'khor) and Crossing Over (thod rgal) meditation are the main Dzokchen contemplative trainings laid out in Namchö Mingyur Dorje's (1645-1667) treasure revelations, Sky Dharma (gnam chos). The root text and accompanying contemplative manuals are the basis of annual retreats held by the modern Palyul Nyingma lineage. This vibrant, living Buddhist tradition is ostensibly an unbroken practice tradition originating in 17<sup>th</sup> century Tibet. Palyul monks and nuns typically study at the monastery for nine to twenty years, where they engage with Treasury (mdzod) literature. Their scholastic pursuits are punctuated by numerous contemplative activities throughout the year, including optional participation in monthlong Sky Dharma retreats offered annually. Thus, the twofold methodological approach is a reflection of the training provided at Namdroling. It also documents and examines the efficacy of an ancient practice in a contemporary world.

The subtle body is a central component of Tantric teachings across traditions and in Nyingma philosophy, and this research provides a much-needed contribution to the study of tantric Buddhism from the Dzokchen perspective. Within the Nyingma ninefold path to liberation, the subtle body is mentioned in Mahayoga, described in detail in Anuyoga, and advanced into the Dzokchen teachings of Atiyoga. Subtle body topics to be explored include:

1. Buddha Nature, or how individuals are connected to the Buddha All Good (kun tu bzang po) through their bodies;
  2. How emotion and cognition are dictated by the movement of energy via the inner winds;
  3. Red and white aspects that correlate to the gender binary; and
  4. The five elements as the link between individuals and the physical world.
- Embryology and eschatology are so important to subtle body theory that the present life becomes a mere preparatory stage for the more important opportunities of dying, rebirth, and realization.

Geoffrey Samuel (Sydney)

### **Realising the Subtle Body: *Rtsa rlung* and Neuroscience**

The structures of cakra, nāḍī and internal flows employed in Tibetan tantric practice fall into a general category of ‘subtle body’ concepts found in many different cultural contexts, Asian and Western. Both Śaiva and Vajrayāna versions of these practices have been known to Western scholars and to explorers of occult and esoteric practices since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The dominant mode of approach by Westerners, whether scientists or practitioners, to the cakra and nāḍī has been to assume that they correspond to real anatomical structures. Attempts have been made to identify the cakra in particular with specific internal organs, with varying degrees of convincingness. Other Western experts have regarded them as structures that exist simply as meditative objects without physical correlates. Neither approach is very satisfactory. The Tibetan medical tradition had its own version of this dilemma, since Tibetan medical scholars too were aware that the ’khor lo (cakra) and rtsa (nāḍī) could not be directly identified with visible anatomical structures found in autopsies of the human body. As Janet Gyatso and others have noted, this led to ongoing disagreements among Tibetan scholars as to how best to reconcile the empirical evidence of the autopsy with the soteriological centrality of rtsa rlung practice, a key component of the Tibetan path to awakening.

An alternative approach is to see the cakra and nāḍī not so much as pre-existing entities but as shaped and constituted through the practice. This approach makes much intuitive sense. It also helps to explain why different traditions of Tantric practice (e.g. Cakrasaṃvara and Kālacakra) describe the cakra and nāḍī in different ways, and indeed may emphasise particular cakra and omit others. So far, this line of explanation has been relatively difficult to translate into contemporary scientific language, but recent developments in neuroscience and in the neuroscientific study of meditation offer new possibilities in this regard. The paper discusses some of these developments. These include Maria Kozhevnikov’s work on gtum mo, deity yoga, and non-conceptual meditation, the analysis by Willoughby Britton, Jared Lindahl and others of different kinds of awareness and alertness associated with particular modes of activation of the autonomic nervous system, and Stephen Porges’s work on a ‘poly-vagal’ approach to the nervous system. I also discuss the developing interest in ‘predictive processing’ in neuroscience (Andy Clark, Jakob Hohwy, Karl Friston and others).

This work suggests possibilities for convergence between traditional Asian and contemporary scientific modes of explanation. However, trying to build linkages between Tibetan practices and scientific theories also helps to identify where real divergences remain.

Alejandro Chaoul (Houston, Texas)

### **Magical Movements (*’phrul ’khor*) in Contemplative Practice Manuals (*phyag khrid*)**

In this study I will focus on Tibetan Yoga or magical movements (*’phrul ’khor*) from the Bon tradition, and how they have been integrated within practice manuals (*phyag khrid*), as well as later applications of them in contemporary monastic and yogic curricula. The *Great Completeness Oral Transmission of Zhang Zhung (rDzogs pa chen po Zhang zhung snyan rgyud - ZZNG)* is the first text where we find these magical movement practices. ZZNG is a text composed around the 8th century that claims to record an



self is examined in eight different dimensions: 1) as evolutionary in that it knows a distinctive development in particular historical circumstances, being shaped by moments of trauma, resilience, and transformation over time; 2) as exoconscious, inasmuch as it is operating frequently in realms that are unconscious, sub-conscious, pre-conscious; 3) as embedded, since it takes part in the surrounding world; 4) as enacted, since it is engaging in constant exchange with its cultural, social, and natural environment; 5) as extended, inasmuch as it tends to appropriate and transform the surrounding environment in such a way that it makes it part of its mental process; 6) as even, because it tends towards maintaining a homeostatic stability that could be described as vibratory or dialectic; 7) as emotional, since some of the most transformative cognitive processes are rattled into action in moments of arousal, excitement, and fear; 8) as endeavoring, as the mind naturally tends to move towards meaning, growth, and self-recognition.

I will focus on the faculty of perception to trace it through both the vicissitudes of sociopolitical reality as well as the paradoxes of the contemplative system. In so doing, I offer a balanced account of the Great Perfection as a profoundly Buddhist tradition that underwent socio-political pressures during the eleventh century, which hampered its historical agency yet led its practitioners to offer a resilient response through its contemplative system. This response entailed not only the mythical expression of the shattering of vision but also the en-visioning of a new form of seeing that culminates in the tradition's highest meditative practice (thod rgal, Thögal).

Anne Klein (Houston, Texas)

### **Unborn, Unceasing: Keys to Dzogchen Thought and Practice**

The dance of the unborn and unceasing is core to the Dzogchen (rDzogs chen) described and defined by Longchenpa (kLong chen rab 'byams). Longchenpa didn't invent this trope; Rahula famously names mother wisdom the unborn, unceasing essence of space itself. However, Dzogchen's rich inflection of the unborn-unceasing dyad is unprecedented.

This paper has main sections and a summary conclusion. First, it charts the centrality of "unborn and unceasing" tropes to the structure of Longchenpa's 14<sup>th</sup> century Dzogchen, especially his Chos dbyings mdzod and commentary on it. Second, it demonstrates that these terms become pivotal elements of Dzogchen-oriented practice texts. My main examples here are drawn from Longchenpa and his spiritual heirs: Jigme Lingpa ('Jigs med kling pa, d. 1798) and Adzom Drukpa, (A'dzom 'brug pa, d. 1924) and related figures who comment on them.

I highlight key instructions in Jigme Lingpa's commentary on Longchenpa's Seven Trainings for Dzogchen, and then focus on how vision (snang ba) arises in select sādhanas practices of Jigme Lingpa's Heart Essence, Vast Expanse and its "child," the Luminous Vajra's Secret Treasury ('Od gsal rdo rje gzang mdzod) of Adzom Drukpa, and the Luminous Heart Essence ('Od gsal snying thig) cycle of a Jigme Lingpa incarnation. Their dakini sādhanas--the Great Bliss Queen, Green Tārā, and Yeshe Tsogyal respectively—offer distinct and significant emphasis on the dakini's primordially pure birthlessness and unceasingly spontaneous, arising.

For Longchenpa, birth from the birthless is the secret of all Buddhas. Reading him, Jigme Lingpa, and related sādhanas in light of this, we see that "unborn" describes the ground (gzhi) and that which arises from it (gzhi'i snang,) as well as the wisdom which knows both. The vast expanse (klong chen) basic space (dbyings), and primordial purity (ka dag) are all unborn. The unceasing and spontaneously present (lhun grub) flow of unborn appearances from them is their own natural dynamism (rang rtsal). [I detail these terms in the Dzogchen Initiative's IATS Roundtable.] Training to recognize that dynamism (rtsal sbyong) eclipses the creation-completion phases (skyes rim, rdzogs rim) central to Tantra.

I conclude that these sādhanas enhance awareness of the unborn primordial purity and unceasing spontaneous presence key to the unique Dzogchen practices of Cutting Free and Soaring On (khregs chod, thod rgal). Their aesthetic gifts of poetry, images, music, and shifts in subjectivity, all facilitate movement from understanding to realization, making them portals to a lived experienced aligned with the Dzogchen vision entrained by Longchenpa.

Marc-Henri Deroche (Kyoto)

## Mindfulness (*dran pa*) as a Bridge and Guard of the Great Perfection: A Typology Based on Klong chen pa's Scholastic Synthesis

In a very insightful paper, Matthew Kapstein (1992) has analyzed the unique theory of *dran pa* (Sanskrit: *smṛti*, translated to cover its various meanings as “mnemonic engagement”) in the literature of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*), surveying the various occurrences and philosophical meanings of the *dran*-derivatives in major revealed texts of the “Northern Treasure” (*byang gter*). More recently, John Dunne (2011, 2015) has also offered a useful overview of this concept of “mindfulness” (a now widespread translation of the term), its different significations and practical methods according to the different Buddhist traditions, including “non-dual” types, with specific discussion of the bKa' brgyud tradition of the Great Seal (*phyag chen, mahāmudrā*). In this paper, I intend to contribute to such research by focusing on the scholastic syntheses of the Great Perfection by Klong chen Rab 'byams (1308-1363), mainly his Trilogy of Rest (*Ngal gso skor gsum*) and Seven Treasures (*mDzod bdun*). I plan to offer a typology of *dran*-derivatives in parallel with the classification of Indian sources integrated within the framework and soteriological progression of the Great Perfection, as exposed by Klong chen pa.

In the limited time of this paper presentation, I will more specifically focus on the role of mindfulness on the “path” (*lam*) of the Great Perfection, by paying close attention to the following transitions: (1) from a deluded distracted mind to a mind progressively disciplined by mindfulness; (2) from a focused mind (mindfulness serving as a bridge) to the recognition of “Intelligence” (*rig pa*) that forms the distinguished view (*lta ba*) of the Great Perfection. Finally, (3) there is still the need to preserve with mindfulness this mode of presence of the Intelligence (*dran pas rig pa'i bshugs tshul skyong dgos*), to maintain its continuity (*rgyun*), moment by moment, in order to abide in “the great constant contemplation” (*ting nge 'dzin 'khor yug chen po*), bridging meditation with conduct.

By comparing the theories of classical Buddhist meditation (such as *gzhi gnasand lhag mthong, śamatha-vipaśyanā*), tantric methods, and the special “breakthrough” (*khregs chod*) methods of the Great Perfection (various *sems 'dzin*, etc.), we will see how “mindfulness,” in connection with “meta-awareness” (*dranpa dang shes bzhin, smṛti-samprajanya*), effort and antidotes, serves as a bridge for the recognition of the view of the Great Perfection. It is then integrated in such a state, effortless and beyond antidotes, while acting as a watchful guard, along various stages processing to the heart of primordial liberation (*ye grol*).

In this way, I aim to show that in the traditional Tibetan context and life-world, the contemplative state of the Great Perfection, labeled as “open monitoring” in contemporary scientific research, cannot actually be isolated from all the interwoven and integrated elements of the path. Thus, Tibetan Buddhist studies have a key role to play in elucidating and interpreting such coherent relations and progressions, based on textual sources and ethnological observations, all bound with philosophical reflection.

Donagh Coleman

## Tibetan Buddhist Bodies and Meditative *thugs dam* Deaths

In the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of *tukdam* (*thugs dam*), advanced meditators die in meditative equipoise, where their bodies show no signs of decay for days or even weeks after their clinical deaths. From the Tibetan Buddhist-medical point of view, the meditators are resting in a subtle state of consciousness and so are still in the process of dying; yet according to current biomedical and legal definitions they are dead. The phenomenon disrupts Western categories of life and death, mind and body, and offers a focal point through which to explore such delineations, and different cultural bodies with their distinctive death processes.

I have investigated some dozen *tukdam* deaths in India, Nepal, France and the U.S. It is striking how in these deaths Buddhist symbolism seems to take on concrete form, manifesting in the bodies of practitioners even beyond clinical death. In terms of theory, my presentation will draw on medical anthro-

pological ideas of local biologies, the ontological turn, as well as Buddhist theory, considering to what extent should we understand these deaths as distinctive ontological realities in part arising from Tibetan Buddhist-medical ways of seeing-perceiving-conceiving the body and its death process.

In the Tibetan Buddhist world, *tukdam* is venerated as a great spiritual accomplishment, with the bodies of the meditators serving as focal points for devotion. In holding off death, *tukdam* also speaks to deep existential concerns over presence and absence. As such, the concrete visibility of *tukdam* has always carried an important religious symbolic function. It is then hardly surprising that in recent years many such deaths have been filmed or photographed and even posted online by devotees of the meditators. A visual anthropological approach seems apt for exploring the subject, and the complexities of presence/absence, representation, and the use of images and video as part of contemporary religious practice that we here encounter. I'm also a professional documentary filmmaker with several past films from the Tibetan world (including *A Gesar Bard's Tale* and *Stone Pastures*), and I have been working on a film on *tukdam* concurrent with my academic research. Supplementing my paper and spoken presentation will be images and video-clips (from file).

## Panel 7 – Mapping Intellectual Networks of Tibetan Scholasticism

བོད་གནའ་དུས་རིགས་ལམ་སྐོར་བའི་མཁས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་ཚུལ་ལ་དབྱད་པ།

### Panel organizers

Pascale Hugon (Vienna)

Kevin Vose (Richmond, Virginia)

**Panel abstract** – Tibetan philosophical works display the interconnection of scholars and ideas in their argumentative approach, introducing alternative positions subject to refutation or refinement. However, the scholars involved are often left unidentified. Further, a large part of interaction (principally involving positive influence) is typically concealed through the silent re-use of previous material by an author.

Our access in recent years to an expanding pool of manuscript reproductions places us in a better position to detect such loans. Additionally, these newly available works, as well as marginal notes on the manuscripts, provide fresh information about the identity of the thinkers whose views they discuss. The works of later Tibetan scholars who had access to manuscripts that we do not have or reveal information that was transmitted orally represent another means to go beyond anonymous debates and map out networks of individual thinkers.

Orna Almogi (Hamburg)

### **Toward a Reconstruction of the Intellectual Network of Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po**

Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po may be considered unique in various ways: He was a rNying ma translator operating during the early phase of the Later Dissemination of Buddhism dominated by the gSar ma schools and translators. He is also one of the earliest (if not the first) prolific Tibetan authors and commentators. Moreover, he was not an ordained monk affiliated with a specific monastery but a lay person stemming from a family of Tantric practitioners. In addition, unlike most translators, he has never been to India and is said to have learned Sanskrit and other Indic languages from various Indian masters with whom he interacted as a child, possibly due to the fact that his family house functioned as a religious centre to both Indian and Tibetan masters and practitioners.

In the present paper, I shall first scrutinize Rong zom pa's works in regard to (i) the scriptures, treatises, and commentaries referred to or cited by him, explicitly or silently, (ii) the ideas advocated therein, and (iii) possible influence of certain Indic masters or Tibetan translators and scholars he is believed to have encountered as either a student or a teacher. This analysis will be undertaken with the aim of determining both Rong zom pa's (real or virtual) library and his scholarly circles. Finally, on the basis of these findings an attempt will be made to reconstruct Rong zom pa's intellectual network.

Dominic Sur (Logan, Utah)

### **Networks of Association Constituting Rongzompa's Authoritative Great Perfection**

Intellectual networks in Tibetan Buddhism were historically structured by the dynamics of alliance and conflict across intellectual groups, master-disciple chains, and contemporaneous rivalries. These networks link-up in asynchronous vertical lines across generations and synchronous horizontal lines in the author's own time in patterns of alliance and opposition to contemporary figures. This paper proposes to examine the primary networks of association—symbolic, narrative, textual, and topical—used in an important work of scholasticism by the eleventh century polymath and translator, Rongzompa, widely recognized as a key early proponent of indigenous Tibetan composition and a prolific practitioner of the scholastic literary protocols that became de rigueur in his transformative milieu. His defense of Great

Perfection, entitled *Theg chen tshul 'jug*, represents the earliest systematic polemical defense of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of *rdzogs pa chen po* that draws upon forms of Buddhist discourse accepted by the non-Nyingma traditions. The precise nature of this defense, however, has yet to be explored. This paper addresses this scholarly lacuna through an analysis of the documentary dimension of this work, where the treatise “objectifies” itself through symbolic association connoting membership within a putatively authoritative textual community—as when, for example, the author references Sanskrit texts in support of a Tibetan-authored work. This paper will show how the text organizes itself and interweaves its horizontal and vertical lines of alliance and opposition. I will address how Rongzompa uses texts, doctrines, ideas, tropes, and traditional symbols to form networks of alliance with Indian Buddhist authors, texts, and discourses to ground his version of the Great Perfection within the Indian tradition and thus “objectify” or “bring to life” a Great Perfection intellectual practice—i.e., a “Great-Perfection-way-of-reading” texts that is closely connected with scholastic protocols and authoritative Buddhist literature acknowledged by other sectarian traditions of the time.

Eric Haynie (Ann Arbor, Michigan)

### **The Parrot’s Not-So-Empty Speech: The Fifth Dalai Lama and Lineage at Rdzogs Chen Monastery**

The seventeenth century was a pivotal time for the Rnying ma, notably with respect to the period of institutional growth to which several prominent Rnying ma monasteries in eastern Tibet—Rdzogs chen, Dpal yul, and Zhe chen—trace their beginnings. This paper will focus on the role of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho in the inception of Rdzogs chen Monastery and his relationship with its founder and first lineage holder Padma rig 'dzin. I suggest that, beyond local influence from the Sde dge kingdom, the Dalai Lama and his statecraft ambitions for the Dga' ldan pho brang had a significant impact on Padma rig 'dzin's establishment of Rdzogs chen in 1685. With an epistle he wrote to Padma rig 'dzin, as well as a later commentary in Khams about that letter, as focal points, my paper highlights and explores this relationship of the Dalai Lama to Rdzogs chen's history, elucidating key ways in which the Great Fifth figured into the establishment and development of its lineage and legitimacy. Padma rig 'dzin was religiously (and politically) situated at several complicated interstices. His own lineage counted the Karma bka' brgyud hierarch Karma chags med and the Fifth Dalai Lama as his most important teachers, despite the fierce hostility between their traditions at this time. He was affiliated with the Sde dge court and its king Sangs rgyas bstan pa, but also had roots in Gling tshang and Nang chen to the north, the governments of which both had ongoing conflicts with Sde dge. Padma rig 'dzin negotiated a number of personal, religious, and political divides, one of which included the religious and patronage networks of Kham in relation to his connections to figures in central Tibet. Many versions of Rdzogs chen's institutional history, for instance, highlight the role of Sangs rgyas bstan pa and other local Khams pas in its establishment.

In this paper I focus instead on echoes from and links to Lha sa in the west that impacted the monastery's founding. Padma rig 'dzin spent time with the Fifth Dalai Lama on multiple trips, and the latter had a well-documented esteem for him. The Dalai Lama's autobiography contains a number of comments about their meetings; at least one of his commentaries on a Snying thig cycle mentions his Khams pa colleague; and in one of his treasure texts the Dalai Lama famously exhorts Padma rig 'dzin to found a Rnying ma institution in Khams. In a letter to Padma rig 'dzin written in 1679, the Fifth Dalai Lama praises the Rdzogs chen patriarch at length. He then diffidently claims that he himself “is but an utterer of a parrot's empty speech.” This letter, however, was hardly empty. Eighty years after it was written, it was employed by the founder of Zhe chen monastery, 'Gyur med kun bzang mam rgyal, in a historical text that extolls the grandeur of Padma rig 'dzin, as well as the Rnying ma institution and lineage he had begun building. The Dalai Lama's words are themselves parroted, as Padma rig 'dzin's relationship with him is used as a means for legitimating the Rnying ma traditions being established in Khams.

At the very outset of Rdzogs chen's beginnings, Padma rig 'dzin is said to have seen the protector deity

Pe har appear before him as he was performing rites to sacralize the Ru dam valley where Rdzogs chen would be situated. The Fifth Dalai Lama had close connections to Pe har and the Gnas chung oracle, whom he elevated to something of a state cult in the project of legitimating his rule. Padma rig 'dzin too sought to authorize his own project with Pe har's appearance, and in this paper I suggest that the founding of Rdzogs chen Monastery in Khams is attributable to the influence of the Great Fifth as much as it is to other, more local, figures.

Gregory Forgues (Leiden)

### **Seeing the Forest for the Trees: Text Mining Strategies to analyze the *Ris med* Network of Discourses —'Ju Mi pham rnam rgyal rgya mtsho's Collected Works as a Case Study**

The aim of this paper is to show how methods from the fields of text mining and corpus-based discourse analysis can be used to extract meaningful information from large corpora of Tibetan scholastic texts.

In order to show practical applications of this methodological approach, I will use the Collected Works of 'Ju Mi pham rnam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846–1912) as a case study. Mi pham was one of the most prominent thinkers of the rNying ma tradition. He composed works on a variety of scholastic topics (Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, and Pramāṇa), thereby delineating the contours of an overarching project in the form of a grand doctrinal synthesis integrating a wide scope of discourses. From a philological historical perspective, this doctrinal project unfolded within the broader context of the *Ris med* tradition of 19th c. Eastern Tibet, which makes Mi pham particularly relevant from the perspective of analyzing Tibetan scholastic networks of scholars and ideas.

One of the major issues when examining the content of scholastic literature is the vastness of the textual corpora that must be considered. In this paper, I will show how document classification and clustering as well as concept and information extraction can be used to uncover linguistic and doctrinal patterns (e.g., textual re-use, citations, ideas, arguments, etc.) across networks of individual thinkers and discourses.

Pascale Hugon (Vienna)

### **Wonders in margine – A Knowledgeable Reader's Identifications of the Views Discussed in rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags's dBu ma de kho na nyid**

Three Madhyamaka works by the twelfth-century scholar rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags, aka sTod lung rGya dmar ba, have become available in the *bKa'gdams gsung 'bum* collection. Having been a student of Gangs pa she'u and Khyung Rin chen grags (two disciples of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab), and a teacher of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge, rGya dmar ba is an important link in our understanding of the evolution of philosophical ideas in the tradition linked with the monastery of gSang phu and its representatives. rGya dmar ba's *dBu ma de kho na nyid*, an exposition of Madhyamaka centered around a discussion of the Two Truths, does not only shed light on rGya dmar ba's position. It offers a fabulous insight into the diverse views of a number of scholars that took part in the discussion on the topic before and around rGya dmar ba's time. This aspect of the text would, however, go mostly unnoticed were it not for the abundant annotations on the only available manuscript. These notes help figuring out the structure of the text and supplement its too often sibylline phrasing, and, importantly, identifies by name the authors of the various views involved in rGya dmar ba's discussion. The author of the glosses appears to be well informed about these positions and their partisans. These notes provide thereby a significant contribution to the mapping of early Madhyamaka scholars and ideas.

Taking the *dBu ma de kho na nyid* as a starting point and comparing the identifications provided within its marginal notes with other cases, I will offer general considerations pertaining to the value of identifications provided in suchlike glosses (which are often undated and of anonymous origin) and in commentaries (which may postdate the original work by several centuries) and on their potential use in making up for “missing links” in the intellectual tradition under consideration. Further, reflecting on the occurrence,

in epistemological works, of the same names that are found in the notes of the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*, I will stress the need, when situating scholars and ideas, of taking into account intersecting and partially overlapping networks that extend beyond the boundaries of distinct areas of Buddhist learning.

Kevin Vose (Richmond, Virginia)

### **Determining Emptiness: Madhyamaka Networks in Twelfth-Century Tibet**

Among the pressing issues in the formation of early Tibetan intellectual networks are questions surrounding competing Madhyamaka views, particularly engendered by Pa tshab Nyi ma grags's translations of Candrakīrti's major works. While the *Madhyamakāvātāra* had previously been available to Tibetan readers, Pa tshab's translations of Candrakīrti's autocommentary to that text and the *Prasannapadā* brought sweeping changes to Tibetan Madhyamaka in the middle decades of the twelfth century. This paper attempts to clarify that influence by examining an issue that Candrakīrti's Tibetan supporters rallied around, the claim that emptiness—the signature Madhyamaka concern—could not be an object of either the mental processes of “positive determination” (*yongs gcod*) or “negation” (*rnam bca'd*). We find Pa tshab himself, as well as his disciple gTsang nag pa brTson 'grus seng ge, arguing for this view, while Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge—as part of a lengthy rejection of Candrakīrti's interpretation—articulated numerous problems with this perspective. However, we find a similar discussion in rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags's encapsulation of Madhyamaka, the *dBu ma de kho na nyid*, which otherwise takes little note of Candrakīrti's views. rGya dmar ba, like his disciple Phya pa, argues for the necessity of emptiness being a “negative determination”; an anonymous annotator identifies the target of rGya dmar ba's argument as Gangs pa she'u, disciple of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and teacher of rGya dmar ba himself. This paper examines the possibility that some of Candrakīrti's more problematic views received significant debate in Tibet in the decades prior to the circulation of Pa tshab's translations. Additionally, given the teacher-student relationships embodied in these disputes, it raises questions concerning the links between intellectual and institutional identity.

Alison Aitken (Cambridge, Massachusetts)

### **The Truth about Śrīgupta's Two Truths: Klong chen Rab 'byams pa's “Lower Svāntarikas” and the Making of a New School**

In his *Precious Wish-Fulfilling Treasury* (*Yid bzhin rin po che'i mdzod*), Klong chen Rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer (1308–1364) clarifies his view of the two truths by contrasting it with a school of thought he identifies as a subset of the “lower Svāntarikas” (*rang rgyud 'og ma*), which he characterizes as presenting appearance and emptiness as distinct entities owing to the fact that they possess contradictory properties. In his auto-commentary (*Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel*), Klong chen Rab 'byams pa further describes this sub-school as Sākāravāda. Curiously, the figure he designates as the representative of this “misguided” philosophical position is Śrīgupta (c. 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent.?), who is widely regarded by Tibetan sources as the teacher of Jñānagarbha, and whose account of the two truths closely aligns with Jñānagarbha's own. Nevertheless, Jñānagarbha together with his successors, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, fare better doxographically, with Klong chen Rab 'byams pa categorizing them as “higher Svāntarikas” (*rang rgyud gong ma*).

In this paper, I will examine the view ascribed to Śrīgupta by Klong chen Rab 'byams pa vis-à-vis Śrīgupta's own account of the two truths as presented in his *Tattvāvatāravṛtti*, an apparent precursor to Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālamkāra* that consists primarily of an exposition on the neither-one-nor-many argument (*ekānekavīyogahetu*). I will also consider Śrīgupta's account of the two truths in respect of the “higher Svāntarikas” in an effort to discern why Śrīgupta alone is charged with the error of maintaining appearance and emptiness as distinct entities, despite the fact that Śrīgupta formalizes a threefold account of conventional truth endorsed by Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita, and Kamalaśīla. I will explore the possibility that Śrīgupta's unusual assertion that buddhas possess conceptual gnosis (*rnam par rtog pa'i*



with the standard Dharmakīrtian notion that it is effective action that defines a conventional entity's substantial reality. Yet Sapaṅ is especially attentive to the distinct modes that different contexts—be they moral frameworks or linguistic settings—can take. Among his key goals in the *Three Vows* is to police the lines between different sets of vows—so that (especially) tantric rituals are not taken to apply to non-tantric practices. Yet even within each type of vow—for instance, within the context of monastic vows alone—Sapaṅ considers that each *system* of monastic vows is distinct and operates according to its own proper mode. If one has taken a vow in one order, one must abide by that order's system, and not pick and choose among rules, even if they are considered valid under another monastic rule.

As I argue, the same holds of cultural-linguistic “systems.” As Sapaṅ explains in his *Clarifying the Sage's Intent* (*Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*), conventional truth itself is dependent upon the shared, though erroneous, meaning-making conceptual constructions of living beings who have sufficiently similar karma to understand one another. For this reason, Sapaṅ never reminds us whenever it comes up, that if we wish to understand linguistic constructions rightly, it must be done through the theory of *anyāpoha* (*gzhan gsal*), so as to avoid our ordinary understanding that imposes a referential relation between words and their objects. The implication, then, is that the properly *karmic* causal conditioning necessary for understanding the Buddhist traditions must depend upon linguistic training. Each text must be placed within its proper system for the correct understanding to arise. After laying out how this general argument shapes an approach to the Indic sciences, the paper looks to the openings of several of Sapaṅ's shorter lexicographical and grammatical works, to study how much his statements of purpose align with this general argument.

Jonathan Stoltz (Minneapolis, Minnesota)

### **A Preliminary Sketch of Epistemological Views held by Dan bag pa smra ba'i seng ge**

Although the twelfth century Tibetan philosopher Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge is known to have had many students—most notably his famed “Eight Lions”—few texts composed by his direct students have been recovered. One exception is a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* by gTsang nag pa brTson 'grus seng ge. That work allows us to see more clearly the various ways in which gTsang nag pa's views depart from those of his teacher Phya pa's. No epistemology texts are known to be currently extant by another one of Phya pa's students, Dan bag pa smra ba'i seng ge. Nonetheless, it is now possible to learn a little bit more about the epistemological views of Dan bag pa, in light of a separate epistemology treatise that has recently been published within the *bKa'gdams gsung 'bum*. A copy of the *Yang dag rigs pa'i gsal byed sgron ma*, authored by gTsang drug pa rDo rje 'od zer, contains a host of interlinear notes attributing specific definitions and philosophical positions to a variety of (mainly Tibetan) epistemologists writing prior to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The text includes no fewer than seventeen references to Dan bag pa. In this way, this copy of the *Yang dag rigs pa'i gsal byed sgron ma* provides scholars with a fleeting glimpse of some of the epistemological views purportedly endorsed by Dan bag pa.

In this paper I will examine the references made to Dan bag pa's views in the *gsal byed sgron ma*, as well as the dozen or so references to Dan bag pa within ShAkya mchog ldan's *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi dgongs rgyan rigs pa'I 'khor los lugs ngan pham byed* that was written in the fifteenth century. My paper will draw attention to the assorted ways in which Dan bag pa's epistemological positions, if correctly attributed, depart from those of his teacher, Phya pa.

Matthew Kapstein (Paris)

### **The Authorship and Transmission of the Tshad ma de kho na nyid bsodus pa attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa**

In the year 2000, the Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House released a book containing a *Tshad ma de kho na nyid bsodus pa* said to have been written by the famed Rnying ma pa master Klong chen Rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer (1308-1364). The text evidently represented traditions of *pramāṇa* that had

been current at Gsang phu monastery and, as Klong chen pa had both studied at Gsang phu and was rumored to have written on *tshad ma*, the appearance of the work aroused some excitement. However, as L. W. J. van der Kuijp was soon able to show (“A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab ‘byams pa (1308-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 2003/31 (4): 381-437), the *Tshad ma de kho na nyid bsdus pa* belonged to an earlier period in the history of Tibetan pramāṇa than its attribution suggested and was perhaps composed as much as a century before Klong chen pa was born. Nevertheless, with the evidence then at his disposal, van der Kuijp could not advance a hypothesis concerning the actual authorship of the work.

In the light of materials that have now appeared in the *Bka’ gdams phyogs bsgrigs* series of manuscripts found in the ’Bras spungs Gnas bcu lha khang and elsewhere, stemming from early collections from Gsang phu and allied centers of early Bka’ gdams pa scholasticism, it is now possible to offer some speculations concerning the origins of the *Tshad ma de kho na nyid bsdus pa* and some aspects of its subsequent history. It will emerge in the course of this research that a tradition of *tshad ma* study did exist among the Rnying ma pa of the early *phyi dar* period, and that this tradition enjoyed connections with Gsang phu. Given the information we have gleaned about this, it becomes possible to understand why the *Tshad ma de kho na nyid bsdus pa*, although not at all Klong chen pa’s work, nevertheless came to be ascribed to him.

## Panel 10 – Nonsectarianism (*ris med*) in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Eastern Tibet: On Religious Diffusion and Cross-fertilization beyond the Reach of the Central Tibetan Government

བོད་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་མདོ་ཁམས་ལ་དུས་རབས་༡༩-༢༠ པའི་རིས་མེད་ཚོས་ལུགས། དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་གི་ཕྱི་རོལ་དུ་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཚུས་དང་ཕན་ཚུན་འབྲེལ་ཚུལ་ལ་བརྟག་པ།

### Panel organizer

Klaus-Dieter Mathes (Vienna)

**Panel abstract** – Eastern Tibet’s relatively high degree of autonomy from the central Tibetan government enabled non-dGe lugs religious traditions to flourish, thus helping to ensure the survival of traditions such as the Jo nang which faced persecution in central Tibet. In the nineteenth century, outstanding masters of the rNying ma, Sa skya, bKa’ brgyud, and Jo nang schools stood united in defending and presenting their philosophical systems in a spirit of non-sectarianism (*ris med*) and collaboration. This initiative was fostered by the sDe dge triumvirate of Kong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas (1813-99), mKhyen rtse dbang po (1820-92), and mChog gyur gling pa (1829-70), whom Gene Smith (2001) had credited with spearheading the ris med movement. This movement was defined by tremendous encyclopedic activity aimed at preserving the diverse practice and meditation lineages, including even Bon.

It has been suggested that the *gzhan stong* view proved instrumental in establishing an identity shared by non-dGe lugs traditions in Eastern Tibet. A case in point is Kong sprul’s close relationship with various Jo nang scholars from ‘Dzam thang such as ‘Ba’ mda’ dGe legs (1844-1904) and Ngag dbang chos ‘phel rgya mtsho (1788-1865). It is important to note that the line between political and doctrinal nonsectarianism was not always easy to draw. For example, the writings of Jo nang *ris med pas* of the nineteenth and early twentieth century evince a great appreciation and understanding of dGe lugs scholarship. This raises the important question to what extent was ris med a political movement that tried to unite all groups opposed to the dGa’ ldan pho brang government, and to what extent was it a doctrinal ecumenical movement characterized by genuine tolerance that included dGe lugs pas and Bon pos? A related question is whether the *ris med* movement has always been truly pluralistic and tolerant, or whether its proponents, rather, followed their respective hermeneutical strategies of hierarchical inclusivism.

This panel broadly examines religious diffusion and cross-fertilization in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Eastern Tibet. It also welcomes studies focused on a single tradition in this region within the given time frame.

Filippo Brambilla (Vienna)

### Inter-Sectarian Relations in 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century ‘Dzam thang

The renaissance of Jo nang scholasticism and monastic culture in Eastern Tibet over the past two centuries has its roots in a period of displacement and resettlement some two centuries earlier. After the forced conversion into dGe lugs of all their monasteries of the region of dBus gtsang during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Jo nang flourished anew in the southeastern periphery of A mdo, where it had been successfully establishing a series of monasteries starting from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. The resettlement of the Jo nang to the east was spearheaded by one of its foremost lineage holders, Ngag dbang bstan ’dzin nam rgyal (1691-1738), who relocated from gTsang to ‘Dzam thang. The new main seat of the tradition came to be named gTsang ba dgon after his place of origin. No significant Jo nang philosophical treatise can be traced to this time of transition and recovery, whereas a resurgence of such kind of literary production emerged during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in parallel with the advent of the nonsectarian movement in Khams. The present paper will broadly consider the historical context of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century to determine which Jo nang monasteries and lineages were then thriving in ‘Dzam thang and the surrounding areas, and how they interacted with figures and monastic institutions of

different Buddhist traditions. On the basis of the historical writings of Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa (1920-1975), I will draw attention to examples of Jo nang pas who were keen to study under teachers belonging to all schools and will emphasize those who adopted a somewhat nonsectarian approach in their presentation of the doctrine. On the one hand, I will examine the relationship of mutual respect that developed between Jo nang masters from gTsang ba dgon, such as Ngag dbang chos 'phel rgya mtsho (1788-1865), and prominent religious figures from the area of sDe dge, such as 'Jam mgon kong sprul (1813-1899), who embraced a nonsectarian approach that promoted gzhan stong as a unifying doctrine for all non-dGe lugs traditions. On the other hand, I will consider all the possible points of contact between the Jo nang pas and the dGe lugs pas of the time, paying particular attention to the context of rNga ba, where the Jo nang (present in the area at least since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century) were faced with the rapid encroachment of influential dGe lugs monasteries. Against this background, I aim at providing some insight into the factors that may have led the Jo nang scholars 'Ba' mda' dge legs (1844-1904) and his disciple Tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho (1880-1940) to adopt an approach to Buddhist doctrine and praxis that sought to reconcile Jo nang and dGe lugs positions.

Gabriele Coura (Vienna)

### **Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas and the Bon Tradition**

The first Kong sprul, Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899), was born and educated in a family of Bon practitioners. In 1842, however, he wrote some autobiographical verses, in which he states that he has “abandoned the Bon pos.” Nevertheless, Kong sprul included several Bon-related texts in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* and the *rGya chen bka' mdzod*. The Rin chen gter mdzod texts – a life story of Padmasambhava according to Bon sources by mKhyen brtse'i dbang po, and several ritual texts – and the controversy about their inclusion into the collection have already been described by Anne-Marie Blondeau in two articles.

The *rGya chen bka' mdzod* contains four texts referring to the Bon tradition. Two of them – an invocation and a pilgrimage guide – are about the Bon po pilgrimage site g.Yung drung nam par bkod pa. Two more – an invocation and a content description of the funerary stūpa – are about the Bon master g.Yung drung phun tshogs.

From the colophons of the *rGya chen bka' mdzod* texts, it is evident that Kong sprul composed them after he made the abovementioned statement. If he really “abandoned the Bon pos,” what were his reasons for writing these texts? Or did he first abandon them and approach them again later in his life? Or did he abandon just some Bon pos, not all of them? My presentation will address these questions from a general and a specific perspective.

On the general level, both the history of the Bon tradition with a particular focus on Eastern Tibet that is contained in the text about the funerary stūpa of g.Yung drung phun tshogs and relevant passages from the fourth book of the *Shes bya mdzod* will serve as a basis for evaluating Kong sprul's attitude toward Bon.

In a more specific approach, I will take a closer look at the way g.Yung drung nam par bkod pa and g.Yung drung phun tshogs are depicted in the respective texts. Additional information will be drawn from the autobiography and secondary literature. What made this place and this master special for Kong sprul? How close and how frequent were the contacts?

The findings will contribute to a more differentiated picture of the degree of ris med in Kong sprul's attitude toward the Bon tradition, and of its place within or outside of *ris med*.

Nisheeta Jagtiani (Evanston, Illinois)

### **What Makes One Unbiased? Nineteenth-Century Rimé (*ris med*) as it is Understood in Dzongsar (rdzong gsar) Monastery Today**

In the nineteenth century, two Buddhist masters, Jamyang Khyense Wangpo ('jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse' dbang po) and Jamgon Kongtrul Yonten Gyatso ('jam mgon kong sprul yon tan rgya mtso) from Kham (*kham*s) in east Tibet worked together to receive empowerments, transmissions and instructions

from a multitude of Tibetan Buddhist sects and lineages. They strove in this endeavor in order to preserve lineages that were on the verge of disappearing due to a dwindling number of lineage-holders that practiced and disseminated them. Subsequently, their work led to the compilation of the renowned and voluminous corpus of texts known as the *Five Treasuries (mdzod lnga)*. Their approach to the Buddhist view and practice is known as *rimé (ris med)*, often translated as “unbiased” or “nonsectarian” in English. Although recent anglophone scholarship has examined *rimé*, there is much discrepancy in how it has been interpreted and understood thus far. Dzongsar (Rdzong sar) Monastery in Kham was a pivotal place for the flourishing of *rimé*’s outlook and practice in the nineteenth century. It was the monastic seat of one *rimé*’s founding members, Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo. In this paper, I will juxtapose several works of recent anglophone scholarship on *rimé* with the way in which monks at Dzongsar Monastery understand and practice it in contemporary times. I will argue that those anglophone scholars who have overemphasized political causes for the birth of *rimé* in nineteenth-century Tibet undermine its meaning, vision, and purpose. Through understanding the view (*lta ba*) and conduct (*spyod pa*) of *rimé*, we will be able to ascertain its scope and significance in Tibetan Buddhism as it is remembered by its lineage-holders today. The history of Tibetan Buddhism has many instances of sectarian conflict. During times of war and unrest, the closely intertwined relationship between religion and politics often led to the banning of particular texts, destruction of certain images, sectarian conversion of monasteries and even bloodshed. Apart from patronage and politics, doctrinal differences between various sects also caused some powerful religious figures to engage in violent actions. *Rimé* was a pushback against sectarianism prevalent in the country. The *rimé* masters were concerned with the survival and longevity of lesser practiced lineages. Their efforts to preserve these lineages can be noticed in their biographies—as they traveled to different parts of Tibet to receive teaching transmissions from lineage-holders of their time. Anglophone scholars have appropriately underscored the sectarian problems that were widespread especially in specific instances in Tibet’s history when the country witnessed many political changes. There has also been significant analysis of *rimé*’s political, social and economic origins. However, highlighting these causes has often undermined the devotional motivations behind lineages preservation. This paper is an investigation of *rimé* and its significance in Tibetan Buddhism as described by *rimé*’s modern-day lineage-holders vis-a-vis anglophone scholarship. What are the different ways in which Khenpos (*mkhan po*) at Dzongsar describe *rimé* as compared to anglophone scholars and why does it matter? I will explore the specific forms sectarianism took in Tibet, the layers of meaning behind the term “*rimé*,” what *rimé* did and did not achieve, and its relevance today.

Adam Krug (Louisville, Colorado)

### **Valuing Sectarian Identity in the Non-sectarian Movement: Karma Tashi Chöpel’s Dkar chag to the Phyang chen rgya gzhung**

The Seventh Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso’s three-volume collection of *Indian Mahāmudrā Works (Phyang rgya chen po’i rgya gzhung)* was compiled and published in the sixteenth century at the beginning of the Karma Kagyü’s brief rise to power in central Tibet. This new practical canon provided a standardized, accessible reference work to support the development of Mahāmudrā curricula among the various lineages of the Kagyü. The Seventh Karmapa’s efforts bore fruit in the polemical works of subsequent generations who drew upon many of the texts in this collection to refute critics of the Kagyü approach to Mahāmudrā. Two such works, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s *Moonbeams of Mahāmudrā* and Drukchen Pema Karpo’s *The Victor’s Treasury*, remain integral components of Kagyü Mahāmudrā curricula to this day. The Seventh Karmapa’s *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* was thus a product of an era of intense sectarian conflict and played a role in the formulation of a distinctly Kagyü curriculum that was deployed in the polemical works of subsequent generations of Kagyü authors.

While the Seventh Karmapa’s *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* was rooted in the sectarian conflicts of its day, the surviving edition of this practical canon was edited and compiled by Karma Tashi Chöpel, one of Jamgön Kongtrül’s close disciples and a player in the nineteenth century ecumenical (*ris med*) movement. This pa-

per examines the persistence of sectarianism and the rhetoric of value in maintaining and preserving sectarian identity in Tashi Chöpel's dkar chag to the nineteenth-century Palpung edition of the Seventh Karmapa's *Indian Mahāmudrā Works*. It begins by examining the relationship between Tashi Chöpel's discussion of Mahāmudrā doctrine and Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's famous work, *Moonbeams of Mahāmudrā*. Unlike Tashi Namgyal's text, Tashi Chöpel's doctrinal explanation does not contain any overtly polemical moments. It does, however, address a number of controversial claims at the center of Kagyü Mahāmudrā polemical literature— notably the validation of a Mahāmudrā doctrine that is taught in the sūtras.

The paper then turns to Tashi Chöpel's argument for the value of re-publishing the Seventh Karmapa's *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* from the concluding section of his dkar chag. Here he argues for the supremacy of the Kagyü instruction lineage and states that the purpose of re-publishing the Seventh Karmapa's collection is to ensure that the tradition is not led astray by others. In one of the most interesting passages in the work, he laments the fact that publication houses have taken to producing 'lowly works of fiction' (*sprang sgrung*) that distract young people and lead them to devalue the scriptures. He then argues that the collection provides direct access to the essence of the Kagyü Mahāmudrā instructions, making it unnecessary to argue against or denigrate other sects. This seemingly ecumenical point is coupled, however, with the argument that studying, meditating, and contemplating the *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* provides an important means to guard the Kagyü against any potential future polemical attacks. Tashi Chöpel's dkar chag thus provides a glimpse of the *ris med* movement's rhetorical balancing act between its belief in the inherent value of textual preservation, its mission to preserve the legacies of specific and discrete sectarian identities, and its broader promotion of a culture of nonsectarianism.

Klaus-Dieter Mathes (Vienna)

### **Kong sprul's gZhan stong Overview: A Case of Hierarchical Inclusivism**

Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899) has been credited with spearheading the non-sectarian (*ris med*) movement, for which the controversial *gZhan stong* view allegedly proved instrumental in establishing an identity. Having entertained a close relationship with the genuinely tolerant Jo nang scholar 'Ba' mda' dGe legs (1844-1904), who accepted non-affirming negations (*med dgag*) and positive descriptions of the ultimate on equal terms, one would expect Kong sprul to be truly pluralistic and tolerant, too. A closer look at the *gZhan stong* overview in Book Six of his Encyclopedia of Knowledge (*Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*) reveals a form of inclusivism that structures competing doctrines in a hierarchical order typical of the hermeneutics found in the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*.

In the present paper, I will argue that Kong sprul favors Shākya mchog ldan's (1428-1507) Yogācāra-based *gZhan stong*, even though he copied in Book Six of his *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* huge parts from Tāranātha's (1575-1634) *gZhan stong snying po*. Moreover, Kong sprul disagrees with the dGe lugs pa's interpretation of Prāsaṅgika with reference to Shākya mchog ldan and the Eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554), and not Tāranātha.

Frédéric Richard (Lausanne)

### **Pha bong kha's Opposition to the *Ris med* Movement: A Political Agenda?**

The *dge lugs* master Pha bong kha bde chen nying po (1878-1941) was a central figure in the diffusion of the *shugs ldan* worship in Tibet at the beginning of twentieth century. His worship of the protector *shugs ldan* and the practice centered on it have generally been understood as a means to protect the purity of the *dge lugs pa* tradition in the context of the growing influence of the *ris med* movement (Dreyfus 1998). Following Dreyfus, the sectarian aspect of this protector is the main reason for the fourteen Dalai Lama's ban of its worship, and the outbreak of the *shugs ldan* controversy. Beyond mere religious considerations, I propose to understand Pha bong kha's promotion of the protector *shugs ldan* in connection with the turbulent political context following the fall of the Machu empire in 1911, and the declaration of

the Tibetan independence by the thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1913. The fall of the Manchu empire brought to an end the *mchod yon* relationship between the *dge lugs pa* clergy and the Manchu emperor, weakening the *dge lugs pa* political hegemony in Tibet, and its influence in China and Mongolia. On the other side the declaration of the Tibetan independence and the reforms undertaken under the strong leadership of the thirteenth Dalai Lama would lay the foundations of a Tibetan nation state, with a similar structure to that of the one established by the fifth Dalai Lama. These reforms have raised the opposition of the *dge lugs* monastic segment, resulting in a striking power struggle between the thirteenth Dalai Lama and the *dge lugs* clergy (Goldstein 1991). In this context, nonsectarianism was an ideology capable of supporting and legitimizing the thirteenth Dalai Lama's attempt to reestablish a centralized state in Tibet. This structure of power, where the ruler is not only supported by a single religious tradition, but become the central node of a network composed of all religious tradition, was also the model of the kingdom of sde dge in Khams, where the *ris med* movement appeared (Hartley 1997). Therefore, the promotion of the protector *shugs ldan* and its worship can be understood not only as religious sectarian reaction to the *ris med* movement, but also, if not mainly, as a political reaction to a resurgent power structure in which the *ris med* ideology could play a central role.

Elena Lepekhova (Moscow)

### The Ideology of Rime: Analogues Outside of Tibet

The Rime movement, defined as non-sectarian trend in Tibetan Buddhism, appeared as a reaction of the peripheral part of the Buddhist clergy and the local Tibetan aristocratic clans on the domination of the school Geluk's religious theocratic bureaucracy.

The combination of spiritual transpiration from teacher to disciple and the transfer of hereditary power of local feudal lords, patronizing a certain Tibetan Buddhist school formed a specific structure of monastic schools in Tibet, as well as their relationship with each other. It is no coincidence that the schools, developed in those places, where they had a special relationship with the local hereditary authority, were interested in keeping such relations and support of the local aristocracy. The spread of the Geluk school's influence from Central Tibet to the territories traditionally controlled by the other monasteries was perceived as a restriction of local sovereignty, and at the doctrinal level led to the theoretical discussions and even prohibitions on the spread of certain doctrines and practices.

The spread of Geluk beyond Central Tibet could certainly cause reactions on the fringes, especially in East Kham, which consisted of sufficiently independent kingdoms. Due to its remoteness, these countries always had a certain obstinacy and even militancy in relation to the central authorities. Lhasa's desire to give the Geluk school the status of the dominant Buddhist tradition and a privileged position to its hierarchs and monasteries was perceived in Eastern Kham and, in particular, in the Derge kingdom not only as a restriction of political autonomy but also as a violation of the Buddhist tradition of philosophical pluralism. This tradition was marked by free coexistence and intellectual competition, restrained only by the laws of logic, but not by the prescriptions of the administrative authorities. The king's court of Derge traditionally supported the monasteries of Sakya, Nyingma and Kagyu and tried to preserve and continue their cultural traditions. The movement, which originated in the middle of the XIX century in the kingdom of Derge, was called Rime (from: *ris su ma chad pa* – “movement, not divided [into parts]”). The founders of this movement were Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo (Jam dbyang Khyentse dbang po, 1820-1892), Jamgon Kongtrul Lodrö Thaye (Jam mgon Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas, 1813-1899), Chog'yur Detsen Lingpa (Chokling) (mChog 'gyur bde chen gling pa, 1829-1870).

The Rime movement is characterized by the desire to use the best practices of different schools, to develop the doctrines outside the monastery walls and to spread it not only among monks but also among lay people. In theoretical terms, it is the desire to integrate the achievements of Madhyamaka and Vi-jñānavāda, as well as to bring together the philosophy and meditative practices of Vajrayāna, ignoring the restrictions imposed by individual schools. It should be noted that these features can be found in the practice of the founders of the renewed movement in Buryatia (Russia): Lubsan-Sandan Tsydenov (1851-

1922), as well as in the activities of certain representatives of Mongolian Buddhism late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and in the activity of the leaders of Japanese Buddhism at the same time: Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之 (1863–1903), Tanaka Sōgorō 田中惣五郎 (1894–1961), Seno'o Girō 妹尾義郎 (1889–1961). The trends that have clearly manifested in the Rime movement and similar movements in other parts of the Central Asian Buddhist area showed the desire to shift the emphasis from the fundamental differences in doctrines and religious practices of certain schools of Tibetan Buddhism, which were previously considered as the main achievement, deserving of careful conservation, to the preservation and strengthening of the foundation of all Buddhist schools. This effort was expressed in a simplification of the language, ritual, and lifestyle of disciples. The representatives of this trend tried to bring it closer to the realities of time and make it clear and accessible to a wider range of people involved in Buddhist culture. This movement is also marked by an understanding of the necessity to interact with the other ideologies, religions, and cultures. Thus, Rime managed to partly anticipate in the XIX century the trends in other world religions, which began to shape only in the XXI century.

Giacomella Orofino (Rome)

### **At the End of an Age. 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen rtse Chos kyi dbang phyug's Forgotten Story**

'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen rtse Chos kyi dbang phyug (1909–1960) lived in Kham, during one of the most critical periods of Tibetan history. His life story reflects the controversial and dramatic times that troubled Tibetan history before the Chinese annexation. When he was three years old, he was recognized as a reincarnation of 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen rtse Dbang po (1820–1892) and received an intense Buddhist education from many important masters of the time. He mainly conducted his life secluded in retreats and was the author of several *gter ma*, under the name of He ka gling pa. He never wanted to get involved in the internecine feuds and rivalries for the control of the monasteries that their administrators undertook. He died in prison in 1960, and soon after that the major part of the monasteries in the Kham province had been razed to the ground. In this contribution I would like to focus on some moments of Mkhyen rtse Chos kyi dbang phyug's life that are still not clear and on the reasons that brought him to abandon Rdzong gсар monastery and settle down in Sde dge dgon chen, before moving to Sga len sten monastery and the near hermitages of Rgya bo ri khrod and Shub gling ri khrod.

Rachel Pang (Davidson, North Carolina)

### **“Neither rNying ma nor dGe lugs”: the *Ris med* Thought of Zhabs dkar tshogs drug rang grol (1781–1851)**

Zhabs dkar tshogs drug rang grol (1781–1851) was an important *ris med* (“unbiased” or “non-sectarian”) master from A mdo province in eastern Tibet. Although Zhabs dkar was not part of the non-sectarian ‘movement’ in the Khams region spearheaded by Jamgön Kongtrul (1813–1899), Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo (1820–1899), Chokgyur Lingpa (1829–1870) and others, the theme of *ris med* nevertheless figures prominently in his life and works.

The ‘non-sectarian movement’ has often been portrayed in academic literature as a movement that united rNying ma, Sa skya, and bKa' brgyud masters in eastern Tibet against the dGe lugs sect that dominated the politics of central Tibet. The case of Zhabs dkar provides an interesting counter-example that contradicts this thesis. Not only was Zhabs dkar self-consciously apolitical in his sectarian affiliations, he also actively sought to resolve sectarian conflicts in his community. Moreover, unlike the non-sectarian masters of nineteenth-century Khams, Zhabs dkar's religious training and identity were strongly rooted in both Nyingma and dGe lugs sectarian traditions. This paper will explore the *ris med* theme that runs through Zhabs dkar's Collected Works, with a particular focus on his considerable efforts to reconcile his dGe lugs and rNying ma identities through his spiritual training, teaching, written works, and appearance.

## Panel 12 – Eschatology in Tibet and Mongolia

བོད་སོག་གི་དུས་མཐའི་དོན་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

### Panel organizers

Olaf Czaja (Leipzig)

Rolf Scheuermann (Fürth)

**Panel abstract** – Tibetans envisioned (and still envision) the end(s) of time(s) in manifold ways. The eschatological repertoire present in these closely related cultural spheres encompasses general utopias and dystopias, millenarist narratives as well as apocalyptic scenarios. It ranges from prophecies and accounts of the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya, hidden lands, pure lands, and the end of the doctrine right to the destruction of the universe. Tibetans projected, formulated and influenced their future, often blurring the lines between religion and politics. The panel aims at exploring the diverse eschatological narratives from a transdisciplinary and transcultural perspective including (but not limited to) research that examines the topic through the lens of religious and historical texts, pieces of art, or ethnography, thereby contributing to the development of a methodological framework for the study of eschatology in Tibet. Eschatological beliefs often bridged the worldly and the religious sphere, showing a deep dependency and interrelationship. Secular rulers, actual and legendary, were conferred a major role in such future scenarios in both Buddhist countries.

Rolf Scheuermann (Fürth)

### Aspiring to become like Maitreya – The Maitreyapraṇidhāna and its Tibetan commentaries

The recitation of *smon lam* or aspirational prayers constitutes an essential aspect of the everyday religious practice of Tibetan Buddhist devotees, but also receives considerable attention due to the prevalent custom of *smon lam*-festivals. The aspirational prayer of Maitreya, the Maitreyapraṇidhāna (*byams pa'i smon lam*, Tōh. no. 1096), is a popular liturgical text of this type used in Tibetan communities, which is witnessed by its inclusion in several anthologies of prayers and rituals of different Tibetan Buddhist religious traditions. As its name suggests, it is closely related to the 'messianic' figure of the Bodhisattva Maitreya who is believed to reside in Tuṣita heaven until he will eventually manifest in the world as the coming Buddha of the fortunate eon succeeding Buddha Śākyamuni. Accordingly, one should assume that the well-known eschatological narrative associated with Maitreya plays a crucial role in his aspirational prayer. However, when examined superficially, it appears to be absent and, instead, the work appears to take the shape and form of a Buddhist doctrine that lays out the general Mahāyāna path. Analyzing the Maitreyapraṇidhāna, its background, and the extant Tibetan commentaries, this paper investigates in how far the work can be considered to possess an eschatological nature: How (if at all) is its content related to the Maitreya cult? Does the work (explicitly or implicitly) refer to the end of the doctrine or the coming of Maitreya? Do the commentators establish such a connection, and if so, how do they position the aspirational prayer within the larger eschatological narrative?

Olaf Czaja (Leipzig)

### Design Your Own Paradise. Tsongkhapa as Buddha Simhanāda

Many details of the spiritual life of Tsongkhapa, the celebrated founder of the Gelug school, are well-known to the academic audience in form of written accounts and artistic representations. It seems, however, that his career as Buddha Simhanada largely escaped the full academic attention it deserves; one searches

in vain for a comprehensive study. This paper intends to discuss this aspect of his spiritual legacy in detail based on an analysis of various written sources and pieces of art. During his lifetime, Tsongkhapa made the prophecy that he will be reborn as Buddha Simhanada in a paradise called Adbhutavyuha, offering an extraordinary paradisaical realm to his followers. The features of Simhanada and his paradise will be explained and its particular meaning and importance will be considered. The examination follows a chronological approach from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century to first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It starts with the Tsonkhapa's Secret Biography recorded by 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (1356–1428), where many important information on this issue can be found. Next I will explore the prayer Rnam dag gangs ri ma composed by Dge legs dpal bzang that took an important place in the liturgical worship of Buddha Simhanada. I will show corresponding liturgical and artistic developments beginning with Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1402–1473) and continued in the seventeenth century by the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama (1617–1682) and the 4<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama (1570–1662). In the eighteenth century, one can recognize an increasing significance and popularity of this particular form of Tsongkhapa. It is expressed in newly commissioned pieces of art like, for instance, in a statue representing him in the Hall of Eternal Protection in the Yonghegong monastery in Beijing. One may also find it in new compositions like the instructions how to paint the Adbhutavyuha paradise written by the 6<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama (1738–1780). The influential Gelug hierarch Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762–1823) from Labrang monastery took an active role in propagating this particular Buddha and laid the foundation for an increase in Simhanada's worship. He did not just write an aspiration prayer to be reborn in Simhanada's paradise and composed a commentary on the above-mentioned liturgical poem of Dge legs dpal bzang but also commissioned artistic representations of Simhanada as in the famous Gung thang stupa in Labrang erected at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Moreover, he supported others in their wish to make pieces of art dedicated to this Buddha. The most impressive was certainly the four-storeys high statue of Simhanada built by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Shing bza' incarnation 'Jigs med nam mkha' (1768-1822) that was finished in 1811 in Labrang. One can assume that at that time Buddha Simhanada already enjoyed some popularity among Mongol believers which continued unabated and even grew in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It resulted in a need for manuals on how to worship Simhanada as it can be seen in the instructions formulated by Gser tog No min han Blo bzang tshul khribs rgya mtsho (1845-1915) for Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin, a teacher from Bkra shis mi 'gyur chos gling monastery in the Dalad banner in Ordos in Inner Mongolia. It became a textual source for Zawa Damdin alias Blo bzang rta mgrin (1867–1937) who wrote a worship manual on Buddha Simhanada in 1922 at the time when he commissioned a paradise of this Buddha for his newly erected monastery. Within this textual and visual framework, I will offer an interpretation on the role of Simhanada in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism, arguing that he was of special importance for the Gelug religious identity. Most importantly, he became to share features with the future Buddha Maitreya which may have contributed to his popularity at the end and after the Qing empire.

Natasha Mikles (Austin, Texas)

### **Fire from the Mouth of the Great Garuḍa: Apocalypse, Taboo, and Reverse Ostension in the Gesar Epic**

This paper examines the Gesar epic's final episode as an iteration of a Buddhist apocalypse, arguing that its unique status as a "popular" narrative eschatology invites participation in the text's eschatological arc; this participation takes the form of taboos surrounding the text that aim to maintain the vitality of the Buddhist Dharma and prevent the coming future apocalypse the text prophesizes. Found in the late nineteenth-century *Dmyal gling rdzogs pa chen po* (King Gesar's Conquest of Hell: The Great Perfection), the closing scenes of the Gesar epic feature an eschatological vision detailing the destruction of Gesar's idyllic Buddhist kingdom. After returning from hell, King Gesar is presented with the prophetic dream of his relative Ne'u chung in the form of a 200-line song. Gesar publicly interprets the dream as foretelling the coming destruction of the land of Gling. This dream is then fulfilled as the members of King Gesar's court die one by one, eventually culminating in the death of the warrior-king himself and his beloved

horse. Each death is further accompanied by a divinatory vision of doom for the Buddhist teachings, songs detailing the importance of devoted religious practice, and a proclamation of coming turmoil and warfare that will ravage both the land of Gling and Tibet more generally. This paper examines this final section as a “popular,” narrative eschatology that mirrors two Buddhist apocalypses prevalent to Tibetan cultural regions: the destruction of the Dharma found in the Kalachakra tantra and the death of the Buddha himself.

Through a detailed analysis of the songs prophesizing the destruction of Gling and ensuing deaths in the *Dmyal gling rdzogs pa chen po*, this paper reveals how the text utilizes Buddhist sources to represent the particular epic apocalypse. First, this paper demonstrates how the *Dmyal gling* draws heavily upon imagery and metaphors from the Kalachakra tantra to describe both the destruction of Dharma in the world and the coming future battle with the “barbarians.” Second, this paper argues that the death of King Gesar and his court—replete with songs begging him to stay and declarations of the swiftly approaching end of the Dharma his death represents—draws significant inspiration from narratives describing the death of the historical Buddha. The death of the historical Buddha represents an apocalypse of sorts and its appearance here with the imagery of the Kalachakra tantra significantly enhances these eschatological themes.

The final section of the paper considers how the “popular” narrative iteration of a Buddhist apocalypse described in the *Dmyal gling* invites individual participation in the eschatological arc of the text. In my recent fieldwork in Sichuan and Qinghai, my Tibetan informants explained that talking about the apocalypse described within the text and the heroes’ deaths hastens the destruction of the Dharma. My informants were hesitant, therefore, to discuss the text or its narrative and described only listening to bardic recitations in very specific, ritually-pure settings. Through participating in these amorphous, but omnipresent, taboos surrounding this particular Gesar text, Tibetan Buddhists take an active role in preventing the future apocalypse described in the *Dmyal gling*. This hesitancy to discuss the text for fear of speeding along the destruction of the Dharma represents what I call a “reverse ostension”—flipping the term popular in folkloric studies to describe the enacting of a narrative or legend. Thinking through the “Gesar Apocalypse” as a “reverse ostension” reveals how what is said and what is *not* said about this narrative function together to locate the individuals within an unfolding eschatological framework in which their actions have cosmological significance.

Per K. Sørensen (Leipzig)

## Medieval Prophecies in Tibet – Political Tool and a Means of Voicing and Governing Religious and Political Discourses

The nature of prophecies is multi-valent, multi-layered and context-sensitive: the incidences where they come into play cover aspects of negotiating issues of eschatology, operating moments of *kairos* or fate, in other words divination, astrology and purportedly in coping with the future. Prophetic literature in Tibet is immense and omnipresent, all genres contain a large number of prophecies not least in ecclesiastic and biographical writings. To some extent we shall now talk about historiographical providentialism as a genre in itself.

Unknown, at least documented, is the circumstance that they had considerable impact on the political agenda, being used (and not seldom misused) to influence and control the outcome of political decision-making. Moreover covering a row of what are seen as foreordained activities, they are enormously informative what concerns a large number of political and historical events and indeed contain a goldmine of comments and information on contemporary politics, unaddressed elsewhere.

Perusing medieval historical literature, one comes across specific *ex eventu* prophecies and rhetorics – often appropriately labelled *dus rtags lung bstan*, “foretellings concerning signs/events in time” or *snga ltas lung bstan* or “early sign (i.e. warning) prophecies” that we operating and governing the interaction between political parties and individuals. Not seldom the *porte parole* or the source of authority behind such predictions and mantic charters were ascribed to the 8<sup>th</sup> century thaumaturge Padmasambhava.

Of particular interest, a social group, almost making up a fraternity of sorts, were the peregrinating „tre-

sure-finders,“ figures like Sangs-rgyas-, Ratna-, Padma-, Orgyan gling-pa etc. and not least the(ir) early mentor Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'Od-zer and associates proved to be major power brokers during medieval times by issuing an enormous amount of prophecies.

The prophecies or prognostications thus provided reports about as well as fuelled countless conflicts, and not infrequently served as a dreadful and contentious political weapon; in terms of content, they displayed an eerie taste for disaster epics and apocalyptic scenarios.

Historiographical providentialism as a new research project has now been launched. The lecture will highlight the religio-political importance of the genre: A taxonomy of their narrative structure will be addressed, unveiling a prophecy's key components: authority, rhetorics, content and outcome.

## Panel 14 – Aspects of the Dge lugs

དགོ་ལུགས་པའི་རྣམ་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས།

### Panel organizers

José Ignacio Cabezón (Santa Barbara, California)

Roger R. Jackson (Northfield, Minnesota)

**Panel abstract** – The 15<sup>th</sup> IATS Seminar falls on the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jé Tsongkhapa’s death and provides an occasion to reflect on the Gandenpa or Geluk tradition that he founded: its history, institutions, doctrines, traditions, and its wide-ranging cultural impact. The twenty papers in this panel deal with a variety of topics—historical figures, texts, monasteries, practices, and material culture—and they employ a variety of methodological perspectives to highlight the diversity, complexity, and mutability of the tradition.

The papers will run roughly in historical order over the various sessions, beginning with Atiśa’s influence on the tradition. Tsongkhapa—his life, training, and philosophy—figure prominently as the central theme of the next group of papers. The later papers in the the panel explore Geluk institutions and traditions, important historical figures and their writings, and Geluk religious art. The panel concludes with a presentation on the recently published critical edition of the works of Jé Tsongkhapa and his two disciples. Covering the Gelug school from its prehistory to exile—and from Tsang in the west to Amdo in the east—the papers in this panel explore the figure of Jé Tsongkhapa and his influence on Tibetan culture; how the Geluk tradition arose and evolved; and the impact it has had and continues to have on Tibetan culture up to the present day.

Patrick Lambelet (Santa Barbara, California)

### Reconsidering Kadam Tantric Views and their Influence on Gelugpas: Atiśa’s ‘Vajra Songs’

Atiśa Dīpaṃkāra Śrījñāna is well-known in Tibetan Buddhist history for a number of notable achievements: revitalizing the Buddhist teachings in Tibet following the decline of monasticism and the proliferation of antinomian tantric practices during Tibet’s so-called “Dark Period”; arranging the Buddhist teachings into a systematic whole in his master work, the *Bodhipathapradīpa* (*Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*) and laying the groundwork for subsequent writings on the Stages of the Path (*Lam rim*), as well as for Tsongkhapa’s Gelug (or New Kadam) order nearly four centuries later; propounding the philosophical views of Dharmakīrti and Candrakīrti; and founding the Kadam order, with its emphasis on asceticism and on the Lojong (*blo sbyong*) and Lamrim (*lam rim*) scriptural and practice traditions. Little work, however, has been done thus far on the role played by Atiśa’s tantric writings and their possible influence on later Tibetan views of tantra. This paper will consider the role that Atiśa’s views on tantra—especially as seen in his “Vajra Songs”: the *Vajrāsana Vajragīti* (*Rdo rje gdan gyi rdo rje’i glu*) and *Vajrāsana Vajragīti Vṛtti* (*Rdo rje gdan gyi rdo rje’i glu’i ’grel pa*)—may have played in the later development of Gelug views regarding tantric practice and its overall place in the path to enlightenment. This will necessitate broader consideration of the means by which both Atiśa and Tsongkhapa sought to incorporate tantric views into their overall systemization of the Buddhist path, as well as some of the possible institutional and political ramifications of these strategies.

'Jigs med blo gros འཇིགས་མེད་ལྷོ་གྲོས། | Jigme Lodoe (Dharamsala)

རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པ་དང་རིས་མེད་ཉམས་བཞེས།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་གཞན་ལ་ལྷོས་ན་དགེ་ལྷན་པའི་ལོང་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་གཙུག་ལྷན་པའི་ལྷ་ཚུལ་འོག་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་རིས་མེད་ཉམས་བཞེས་བྱེད་མཁུན་ཅུང་  
ཟད་ཉམས་བཞེས་ལོང་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པ་དང་ཉམས་ཞུགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་སྐབས་ དེའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་ཚེ་ལག་པལ་ཚར་གི་ལུགས་ལ་སོབ་གཉེར་བྱས་ཞིང། དེ་  
དག་གི་གཞུང་ལོད་དབང་ལུང་མན་དག་གི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཚད་ལྡན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ལེགས་ཚག་ཅིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་མཛད་སྤྲུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྗེ་གསུམ་པའི་དགེ་ལྷན་  
པའི་སྲུབ་མཐའ་ལོགས་སུ་རྒྱུགས་སྲུབ་པ་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེའི་དབྱེད་རིམ་གི་བརྗོད་གཞི་ནི་རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་རིས་མེད་ལ་ཉམས་བཞེས་རྗེ་ལྷན་པའི་ལོང་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་པའི་སྐོར་ཡིན་  
ཞིང། དེ་ཡང་གཤམ་གསལ་ས་བཅད་ལག་བརྒྱུད་དེ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

༡༽ སྤྲུགས་སུ་ལུགས། ༢༽ རྒྱུད་འགོས་ལུགས། ༣༽ གསལ་འདུས་མར་ལུགས། ༤༽ ཡི་དམ་རྩ་ལུགས། ༥༽ ལམ་རིམ་བཀའ་གདམས་ལུགས། ༦༽  
མཚན་ཉིད་ས་ལུགས། ༧༽ ཚོས་སྤྱོད་འདས་ལུགས།

གོང་གསལ་གི་སྐོར་ཚོགས་འདི་དག་ནི་སྤྱིར་གི་གཞུང་ལུགས་དང་མཁུན་པའི་བཤད་སྐོར་ལ་གྲགས་པའི་མིང་ཚིག་ལག་ཅིག་ཡིན་ཞིང། སྐོར་ཚོགས་འདི་དག་གི་  
བསྟན་དོན་ཐད་དབྱེད་པ་གཙོ་བོར་འདོན་གྱིས་བཏོ་སྤྱོད་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

Klu mo mtsho ལུ་མོ་མཚོ། | Lumotso (Beijing)

རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པའི་ལམ་རིམ་རྒྱུད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཞི་གནས་དང་ལྷག་མཐོང་སྐོར་ཅུང་ཅམ་སྤེང་བ།

བོད་བཅོན་པོ་ཁྱི་སྤོང་ལྷོ་བཅོན་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་བསམ་ཡས་ཚོས་ཚུད་ཞེས་པའི་དོན་རྒྱུ་གལ་ཚེར་ཞིག་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཕྱིས་སུ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚམས་པོ་ནང་དུ་འཁོད་འདུག་  
པ་ཤེས་གསལ། འོན་ཏེ་ཅིག་ཅར་དང་རིམ་ཅར་ཞེས་པའི་སྐོར་ལུགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་རིགས་གཉིས་སུ་སྤང་བའི་ཚོས་ཚུད་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་བོད་དུ་སྐོར་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་  
རེ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གཙོ་བོར་མི་འཛིན་པའམ་ཡང་ན་ཉམས་དམས་སུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་འཆར་ཡང་། ས་སྐུ་པའི་མཁུན་པ་དོལ་པོ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་བསམ་གཏན་དང་  
ཞི་ལྷག་སྐོར་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོར་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྗེ་བཅོན་རེད་མདའ་བའི་ཀྱང་ཞི་གནས་དང་ལྷག་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལམ་གྱིས་རྒྱང་འདས་ཐོབ་པ་དང་། དེ་  
ཡང་ཞི་ལྷག་གཉིས་ལས་ལྷག་མཐོང་གཙོ་སྟེ་ཞི་གནས་མི་གཙོ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གསུངས་ལས་ཞི་ལྷག་གཉིས་ཀའི་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྲུབ་མཐའ་སོ་སོར་དར་ཡོད་པ་མཐོང་  
སྟེ། རྒྱང་པར་དུ་རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པའི་ལམ་རིམ་དུ་རྒྱ་ཚེ་བར་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་སྤྱོད་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་རགས་ཅམ་ཞི་བ་ནི་ཚུམ་གྱི་དེས་སུ་འཇུག་གོ།

Phag mo tshe brtan ཕག་མོ་ཚེ་བརྟན། | Pengmao Caidan (Hiroshima)

གྲུང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་པོའི་མཛད་རྣམས་དང་ཁོང་གི་དབུ་མའི་ལྷ་བའི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

བོད་དུ་གྲུང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་པོས་རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པ་མཚན་གི་སྤོང་ཉིད་ལྷ་བའི་དབྱེད་པ་མ་རྗེ་གསུམ་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་གསུང་སྐོར་གྱི་རྒྱན་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་སྤོང་ཉིད་མ་ཡིན་  
དགག་དུ་འཆད་པ་དང་། རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པ་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ལྷ་བ་གཞན་ལ་ལུགས་གཅིགས་ཚེ་བས། མཁུན་སྲུབ་རྗེ་ནས་གསུང་རྩམ་རྣམས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ལ་གཏེར་གཉེར་  
བྱས་ཏེ་མིང་རྒྱན་སྟེ་ལྷ་ས་བཅུག་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤིག་སྤྱིར་ཡོད་ལ། དབྱེད་རྩམ་འདིར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ས་བོན་དེ་ལ་གཞི་བཅོལ་ཏེ། མེད་རས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་པའི་སྐབས་  
དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བབ་རིས་དང་མཁུན་སྲུབ་རྗེ་ཚོའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལྷན་མཛད་དགོས་པ་ལ་དབྱེད་པ་གནད་དུ་ཐིངས་པ་ཞིག་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

དེ་ཡང་གྲུང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་པོའི་དོན་དམ་སྤོང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་འཛིན་ཚུལ་དེ་ཅི་ལྷོ་སུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཁོང་དང་རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབུ་མའི་མཐའ་སྲུག་གི་ལྷ་བ་ལ་  
འབྲེལ་པར་ཡོད་མེད་སོགས་གསལ་བོར་ངེས་ན། གོང་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་གནད་འདི་རྣམས་ལེགས་པར་གཏན་ལ་འབབས་ཏུས་པར་འཇུག་སྟེ།

དེ་བས། དབྱེད་རྩམ་འདིར་གྲུང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་པོ་མཚན་གི་དེ་ཡོད་གསུང་འབྲུམ་དང་རྣམ་ཐར་ལག་གཅིགས་སུ་བཟུང་ཞིང་། ལེགས་སྤྱོད་ལྷོ་ལོ་སྐད་དུ་བཞུགས་  
པའི་དེ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ལག་ཅིག་འབྲེལ་སུ་བྱས། བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་མཛད་མཁུན་པོ་དག་གི་གསུང་གིས་ཟུར་རྒྱན་ཏེ། གྲུང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་པོ་མཚན་གི་སྐུ་ཚེའི་ལོ་  
རྒྱུས་འོད་སྤང་བའི་གནད་དོན་དང་ཁོང་གི་དབུ་མའི་ལྷ་བའི་འབྲེལ་ཚོས་གསལ་བར་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནོ།

Michael Ium (Santa Barbara, California)

Visions of the Land of Joy: The Early History of Ganden Monastery

The founding of Ganden monastery in 1409 is considered the fourth of Tsongkhapa’s great deeds, and can also be considered one of the most important events in Tibetan history. For one, it established an institutional base in Central Tibet for his nascent tradition, providing a nexus for the social and economic support of the ruling Phagmodru dynasty. Thus established, Ganden also provided a corporate identity by which the Gandenpas could be known, and spread their institutional tendrils throughout Tibet and into neighboring countries in the following centuries. This also occurred during a contentious period in which the fortunes of the Gandenpas, along with

those of all the religious sects in Tibet, rose and fell with the swells of political and economic support. A study of the early history of Ganden monastery is fruitful for examining both of these trends at work. For instance, one of the earliest histories of Ganden is contained in Panchen Sonam Drakpa's (1478-1554) *History of the Old and New Kadam Orders*, written one hundred twenty-one years after the monastery's founding. Although the historicity of the events narrated is difficult to ascertain, if nothing else it provides a glimpse into the mindset of an influential Geluk figure in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, the desire for widespread corporate growth is given voice in a prophecy uttered by Tsongkhapa himself, when he describes Ganden in this way: "It will be a basis for accumulating merit, an excellent object of veneration for the regions of Ü, Tsang, Do, Kham, and China. It will be the refuge for Ngari, Jang, and all regions." On the other hand, the unstable nature of the socio-economic environment is suggested by appeals to other sources of authority, even those belonging to other traditions. Perhaps the most striking example is provided by an event repeated from one of Tsongkhapa's hagiographies, in which his Kadampa teacher Namkha Gyaltzen (1326-1401) is urged by Vajrapāṇi to eject his consciousness from his body and take rebirth at Ganden to study under Tsongkhapa! Indeed, this elevation of Tsongkhapa by way of the Kadam order is also made in a citation said to be drawn from a biography of Padmasambhava, the *Padma thang yig*, in which Tsongkhapa and Atiśa are said to comprise a single mental continuum. Finally, in an event shortly preceding the founding of Ganden, Tsongkhapa's donation of a crown and fine garments to the Jowo Rinpoche is said to be prophecied in the testament of Songtsen Gampo, the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*. By referencing these Kadampa figures, and giving the life and works of Tsongkhapa the additional veneer of legitimacy due to works related to Padmasambhava and Songtsen Gampo, Panchen Sonam Drakpa uses his historical works as a vehicle for the enhancement of the image of his own Geluk sect. In these ways, the founding of Ganden would continue to play a major role in the self-imagination of the so-called New Kadampa sect, and in the growth and spread of its institutions.

William Dewey (New York, New York)

### **Tsongkhapa's Heirs: The Rise of the Throne of Ganden**

The Ganden Throne is a crucial institution in the Geluk school, its holders (the Ganden Tripas) being leaders of the school and heirs to Tsongkhapa. Despite its importance there has been little research outside Tibet about the history of the institution. This paper explores how the Ganden Throne developed from Tsongkhapa's earliest successors into the pinnacle of the Geluk scholastic hierarchy, to which monks ascend through mastery of the sutric and tantric curriculum and skill in administration. Its primary source will be the *Anthology of Biographies of the Ganden Tripas (Dga' ldan khri rab rnams thar)*, edited in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Drakpa Khedrup (Grags pa mkhas grub). The paper considers especially the backgrounds of the monks who were chosen for this role, what monasteries they came from, how they gained the qualifications to ascend to the position, and how these factors shifted over time. Finally, it will consider how the role was shaped over time by the politics of the Geluk monasteries and their state patrons. The desire of Ganden Palace's leaders (Dalai Lamas as well as regents) to offset the powers of the individual monasteries appears to be a key reason that the Ganden Tripa was elevated from the abbot of Ganden to the leader of all of the Geluk school.

Roger R. Jackson (Northfield, Minnesota)

### **Tsong kha pa as Rdzogs chen pa: Rnying ma Discourses and Dge lugs Sources**

In popular discourse on Tibetan Buddhism, the Rnying ma and Dge lugs are sometimes portrayed as polar opposites, with the former regarded as (to use Geoffrey Samuel's terminology) the most "shamanic" of the Buddhist orders, the latter the most "clerical." Certainly, there are significant differences in Rnying ma and Dge lugs doctrines, practices, and institutions, and the past six hundred years have witnessed no small amount of mutual incomprehension—and occasionally genuine antipathy—between the two. At the same time, though, important and sometimes surprising points of connection have been made, from the reliance by Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) on Rnying ma masters (among many others) in forging his great scholastic synthesis; to the Fifth Dalai Lama's

deep study of various Rnying ma lineages and traditions; to Rnying ma-Dge lugs cooperation—and sometimes even crossover—in premodern A mdo; to the current Dalai Lama’s fascination with Rdzogs chen.

The general focus of this paper will be on the first of these connection-points: Tsong kha pa’s relation to Rnying ma teachers, doctrines, and practices. My more specific concern is to examine a particular, relatively long-standing Rnying ma discourse suggesting that Rje rin po che was a crypto-Rdzogs chen pa, content to promulgate his version of Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka in Perfection-Vehicle philosophical discussions, but devoted to the Great Perfection as the quintessential esoteric practice-tradition; he was, we might say, a Dge lugs pa by day and a Rnying ma pa at night. The claim was most recently and prominently made by Bdud ’joms Rin po che (1904–87) in his *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism* (pp. 923–26). Bdud ’joms, in turn, was drawing on earlier work by the likes of ’Khon ston Dpal ’byor lhun grub (1564–1637), Zhabs dkar Tshogs drug rang grol (1781–1851), and Dge rtse Mahapaṇḍita ’Gyur med mchog grub (1781–1829). The main “proof-text” for the Rnying ma assertion that Tsong kha pa was partial to Rdzogs chen is a single source contained in the *Rje gsung ’bum: Questions and Answers: The Garland of Supreme Medicinal Nectar* (*Zhus lan sman mchog bdud rtsi ’i phreng ba*, vol. *ka*, 294–319). This text is a record of questions about Rdzogs chen posed by Tsong kha pa to the buddha/bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, and the answers he received—all through the medium of his great Rnying ma pa teacher, Lo brag Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan (or Las kyi rdo rje, 1326–1401). The dialogue covers questions about the purity, nature, categories, and potential pitfalls of the practice of the Great Perfection. In addition, the *Rje gsung ’bum* contains at least two other, shorter texts dealing with interactions between Las kyi rdo rje and Tsong kha pa (vol. *ka*, 211–19; vol. *kha*, 167–69).

In my paper, I will (a) outline some Rnying ma claims about Tsong kha pa’s enthusiasm for Rdzogs chen, (b) discuss in some detail the contents of the *Garland of Supreme Medicinal Nectar* and—in less detail—the shorter Las kyi rdo rje-related texts in Tsong kha pa’s *gsung ’bum*, (c) set the *Garland* and the shorter texts within the context of Tsong kha pa’s overall corpus and projects, (d) reflect on selected later Dge lugs pa texts (both biographical and doctrinal) that might bear on the matter, and (e) offer a concluding assessment of the validity, function, and significance of the Rnying ma claims to the effect that Tsong kha pa was a crypto-Rdzogs chen pa.

Sarah Jacoby (Evanston, Illinois)

### **Lelung Zhepai Dorje (1697-1740) and his Ocean of Ḍākinīs (Mkha’ ’gro rgya mtsho)**

Controversy has swirled for centuries around Lelung Zhepai Dorje (Sle lung bzhad pa’i rdo rje, 1697-1740) for being a Geluk monastic with Nyingma leanings, and for being one who not only gave up celibacy in favor of engaging in sexual yoga, but also wrote extensively about this path of skillful means (*thabs lam*). The fifth reincarnation of Lelung Jedrung Tulku (sle lung rje drung sprul sku), Lelung Zhepai Dorje’s novice ordination hair cutting was performed by the Sixth Dalai Lama. He completed his exoteric studies at the Ngari Monastic College (Mnga’ ris grwa tshang), and became affiliated with Olga Lelung Monastery (’Ol dga’ sle lung dgon) in Central Tibet. He was a teacher of Lhazang Khan (Lha bzang khan, d. 1717), the Khoshut-Oirat emperor of Tibet, among other notable personages. Zhepai Dorje was learned in both Geluk and Nyingma tantric traditions; he was a Geluk monk and a student of Terdak Lingpa Gyurme Dorje (Gter bdag gling pa ’gyur med rdo rje, 1646-1714) of Mindrolling Monastery (Smin grol gling dgon).

Lelung Zhepai Dorje’s textual output is as eclectic as it is prolific. In 2009 a 44-volume edition of his collected works was produced in Dharamsala. Additionally, one older 13-volume wood block print version exist from blocks at Olga, and one 10-volume collection of handwritten manuscripts is housed at Otani University in Japan. Among this expansive output, his biography of a variety of protective deities titled *History of the Ocean of Dharma Protectors* (*Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho ’i rnam thar*) has received the most Anglophone scholarly attention to date. Also of great interest is his tantric cycle titled *Secret Primordial Wisdom Ḍākinī* (*Mkha’ ’gro sang ba ye shes*), about which little scholarship has yet been done. The focus of this paper, however, will be on manuscripts intentionally left out of all versions of his collected works, mainly an extremely rare manuscript that is Lelung Zhepai Dorje’s secret autobiography, titled *Clear Crystal Mandala: Biography of the Ocean of Dakinis and Elucidation of how I became their Disciple* (*Mkha’ ’gro rgya mtsho ’i rtogs pa brjod cing rjes su bzung ba ’i tshul gsal bar byed pa dwangs shel dkyil*



other source. Much of the text has to do with the rules that monks ought to follow. For example, it prescribes how monks should comport themselves in prayer assemblies, what prayers they should recite, and how they should avoid quarrels with patrons. But the work also provides us with details about financial matters—the cost of rituals (how much butter and tea was required for the daily *mangjas*), the proper disbursal of money offerings and grain from estates, how the monastery’s resources are to be used, and so forth. It also has a lot to say about the educational system: what monks ought (and ought not) to study, the pedagogical system, the different academic degrees and their requirements, etc. Finally, the Dalai Lama’s *chayig* provides us with important clues about the monastery’s older customs and traditions, some of which the Seventh Dalai Lama wishes to preserve, and some of which he wishes to discard. An important source for charting the history of the Gelug *densas*—and of Sera in particular—this paper presents an overview of the text, summarizes key points about *densa* life in the eighteenth century, and compares this to life at Sera in the modern period.

sNying byams rgyal ལྷིང་བྱམས་རྒྱལ། | Nyangshem Gyal (Beijing)

### **Vegetarianism in the Dge lugs Tradition Prior to the Twentieth Century**

Tibetan vegetarianism has its root in Buddhism, and it has been a controversial topic for Tibetans over the centuries, at least from the fifteenth century, when Dge lugs masters like Khedrup Je started arguing in defense of meat-eating in certain circumstances. Since then, vegetarianism in Tibet started to take on a sectarian character, which has had enormous impact on the spread of vegetarianism in contemporary Tibet. This paper explores the Dge lugs defense of meat eating and discusses how this has impeded the dissemination of vegetarianism.

Texts on the faults of meat have appeared in Tibetan literature with some frequency, but I am not aware of any such texts by Dge lugs scholars. On the contrary, I have been encountering texts defending meat eating composed by Dge lugs masters. This paper aims to illustrate why vegetarianism remains less popular in the Dge lugs tradition compared with other Buddhist schools. Tibetan vegetarianism therefore has a sectarian aspect to it, by which I mean that although vegetarianism might have been practiced in all Buddhist schools in Tibet, it has been resisted in the Dge lugs tradition. This pattern was quite solid until the end of twentieth century.

This paper analyzes those texts defending meat eating composed by Dge Lugs masters. These works illustrate the sectarian overtones. They also suggest why vegetarianism became less popular at a specific time (from the mid-fifteenth to eighteenth century), and point to why there have been geographical differences in the distribution of vegetarianism between Amdo and Kham in contemporary times.

In my conclusion I argue that the sectarian nature of vegetarianism in Tibet explains a great deal about the historical trajectory of debates and practices surrounding vegetarianism, as well as their spatial distribution today. Vegetarianism in Dge Lugs school was very rare, and the tradition was relatively uniform in regard to meat eating. The situation is much more complex in the contemporary Tibet. Many Dge lugs pa-s still defend the eating of meat, but vegetarianism is starting to take hold in Dge lugs monasteries as the vegetarian movement of Khams is increasingly becoming mainstream.

Chandra Chiara Ehm (Paris)

### **An Unholy School in the Holy City of Lhasa—Modern Influences in Traditional Monastic Environments and Their Impact on dGe bshes (ma) Studies**

This presentation explores how the process of modernisation within the three *dGe lugs* seats of higher learning in South India, and to some extent within all the smaller satellite monasteries and nunneries, challenges *Tsong kha pa*’s two-fold approach with regard to the combination of ritual and studies being the supporting pillars of the monastic life. The implementation of secular education, basic science education, and affiliations with academic institutions has de-traditionalized this approach to some extent as the focus of great *dGe lugs* centers of higher learning; a process that has subsequently influenced the smaller satellite

monasteries and nunneries in the Tibetan Diaspora that have the *dge bshes (ma)* curriculum as their focus. Those aforementioned influences have led to an increased reflexivity within the monastic communities that radically challenges the inclusive approach *rJe Rin po che* suggested the *dGe lugs* monastics take: a balance of prayer, ritual, and other merit-making activities alongside traditional scholastic training—a model that worked in Tibet when the *lha rams dge bshes* was the pinnacle of unified knowledge in a traditional Tibetan society. Polymaths, with their massive cultural capital, were believed to understand everything else there was to know—a field of knowledge limited to certain core sciences.

Besides the fact that monastic communities in the diaspora today are able to offer full board and lodging to their members—something unprecedented in the history of Tibetan Buddhist monastic communities—the monasteries struggle with recruitment. Tibetan and Himalayan parents wish for their child first and foremost to receive a secular education that prepares them for life in the modern world. The monastic communities find themselves having to accommodate calls for modernization of their communities, which has led to the introduction of a third pillar—that of secular education.

The situation will be analyzed through case studies of two monastic communities, a major monastery and nunnery, and their struggles and efforts to reshape their profile in order to implement reforms and attract new members, while respecting the ideological views of the donors without upsetting the more traditional forces within their communities. The first field site is *Se ra Byes* Monastery. With its close connections to global Buddhist networks, *Se ra Byes* started reacting to the pulls of modernity as early as the 1980s with the introduction of an accredited secondary school, the implementation of modern science examinations within the *dge lugs rgyugs sprod*, and a radically altered recruitment pattern due to the closing of the Indo-Chinese borders in 2008—which notably changed *Se ra Byes*'s base population and the base population of most monastic communities in exile. *Se ra Byes*'s administration invested considerable resources in forging new connections and implement exchange programs with international and Indian academic institutions, also amplifying and professionalizing languages and translation studies, while empowering the vision of their science center.

The second community in question is *mKha' spyod dga' 'khyil gling* Nunnery in Nepal, the largest *dGe lugs* nunnery within the Tibetan diaspora. Although nunneries in general tend to follow a much more traditional approach, often putting more emphasis on ritual and meritmaking activities than on scholasticism, the recent accreditation of the *dge bshes ma* title gave the scholastic aspect within the nunnery unprecedented strength.

Besides addressing the promises and threats posed by the introduction, or non-introduction, of modern education next to the traditional *dge bshes* curriculum—which is profiling itself within a rapidly changing globalized society—this presentation aims to present the findings gathered during my extended sojourns in both communities which illustrate the changing forces and social framework that call into question the relevance of *Tsong kha pa*'s two-fold approach.

Zhang Silu | Rita Zhang (Beijing)

## A Research on the Status Quo of “Tho Ram Pa” Degree of Tibetan Buddhism

“Tho Ram Pa,” one of the highest academic degrees for Tibetan Buddhism, is the abbreviation for “mtho rims rab vbyams ba”. The High-level Tibetan Buddhism College is the only and the highest institution to confer the “Tho Ram Pa” degree. The “Tho Ram Pa” degree system was launched in 2004 in an effort to improve the study of Tibetan Buddhism and the training of outstanding monks from all major Sects of Tibetan Buddhism by incorporating elements of modern education on the basis of inheriting the traditional Tibetan Buddhist sutra system. So far, 168 Tibetan Buddhists have received the degree. The author went to Lhasa and Shigatse in August 2017 to conduct research on the status quo of those “Tho Ram Pa” in the Tibet Autonomous Region. This passage will give an introduction to the status of those “Tho Ram Pa” including participating in the management of local temples, lecturing on the sutras and so on. It will also explore where the degree system has yet to be improved and how to better integrate the way of learning sutras in monasteries and colleges, thus cultivating more Tibetan Buddhist monks, and promoting the development of Tibetan Buddhism in the new era.

## Panel 21 – Tibetan Polemics as Genre

བོད་ལ་རྩོད་ཡིག་དང་རྩོད་ལེན་གྱི་རྩོམ་ཚུལ་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

### Panel organizers

Matthew King (Riverside, California)

Jed Forman (Santa Barbara, California)

**Panel abstract** – From the Samye debate to the present, polemics has been endemic to Tibetan literature, making the genre’s history co-extensive with Tibetan textuality itself. This long history has molded Tibetan polemics into a multi-faceted genre. The proposed panel explores the Tibetan polemical textual tradition in snapshots, each instance a reflection of not only polemics as genre writ large, but the larger contexts in which each polemic is imbedded. Just like how a car driver with her hands on the wheel can feel the health of the engine merely through the car’s vibration, so too do the local points of contact in each polemical exchange give a pulse on the state of the larger systems of which they are a part.

Matthew King investigates the ongoing encounter between Tibetan Buddhism and Western science. Beginning with perhaps the earliest Tibetan reflection on Western science by Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor, King traces two polemical reactions: synthetic and rejectionist. King reveals how both strategies lead to their author’s meta-reflections about the nature of polemics in general. Sometimes, however, whether a polemic is synthetic or rejectionist is unclear. Erdene Baatar Erdene-Ochir’s paper focuses on Belmang, whose polemic is shielded in an ecumenical guise. By reinterpreting Sakya, Kagyü, and Nyingma doctrines within a Gelug framework, Belmang feigns an inclusivist approach, while subtly mounting a polemic about the superiority of Gelug doctrine through its encapsulation of all other schools. While Erdene-Ochir’s paper focuses on a pseudo-inclusivism, Jed Forman’s paper analyzes an outright confrontation between Pañchen Lobsang Chökyi Gyeltsen and Taktsang Lotsawa. Here, while the point of disagreement appears trivial, the implications of this seeming minutia threaten the cogency of each school’s entire epistemological framework. But the stakes of polemical exchanges are not always just philosophical cogency. Rory Lindsay’s paper explores Tantric polemics over funerary rites written by Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen and their implications for the fundamental mechanics of ritual. Taking an even larger scope, Pierre-Julien Harter reflects on whether these sorts of Tibetan textual exchanges are appropriately “polemical” at all. Through comparing “polemics” as evinced by Plato, among others, to what is deemed “polemics” in thinkers such as Sakya Paṇḍita, Harter argues that this Greek loan word obscures more than it indicates. Finally, Constance Kassor provides detailed reflections on each paper. Borrowing from Harter, Kassor not only recapitulates some of the reoccurring themes, but re-evaluates how eliding references to “polemics” as such may reframe how we understand each exchange.

Matthew King (Riverside, California)

### **A Preliminary Survey of Polemics Against Empiricism and Scientific Knowledge in Inner Asia, 1644-1990**

As an entire subfield of Buddhist Studies has shown in recent years, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth-century Asian modernists, progressive Buddhist reformers, and Euro-American scholars and devotees co-constructed selective versions of the Buddha, the Buddhadharmā, and the four-fold saṃgha as both anticipating and being uniquely aligned with modernity and, specifically, with scientific rationality, free thought, and empirical inquiry into the nature (and natures) of the world.

While this growing and robust scholarly and popular literature has illuminated how this state of affairs came to be, as yet we have little comparative analysis of those Buddhist scholars who, beginning in the 1860s, mourned the birth of what Donald Lopez christened ‘the Scientific Buddha.’ This paper is a small

step in that direction. It begins with the early Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist ruminations on European scientific knowledge (available via the Jesuits) beginning with the controversial work of the polyglot Sum pa mkhan po ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-1788) and the apologist Seventh Panchen Lama Bstan pa'i nyi ma (1782-1853). It then introduces ways that later generations of Inner Asian scholastics employed the full arsenal of polemical tools available to them to push back against the early synthetic impulses of Sumpa Khénpo and the Panchen Lama during the late-imperium, the transition to nationalism and state socialism in Mongol lands and Siberia, and then during the refugee experience of Tibetan exile between 1959- 1990.

Specifically, I will introduce and compare polemical tactics against science employed by generations of cosmopolitan conservatives including Minjur Khutugtu, Dorji Banzarov, Shes rab rgya mtsho, Agvan Dorjiev, Zava Damdin Luvsangdamdin, Dze smad rin po che, Ngag dbang nyi ma, and Blo bzang rgya mtsho. Mindful of our broader conversation on this panel, I show how these polemical tracts against the scientific impulses of Buddhist Modernism exist in complex media ecologies that incorporate not only the literary expectations of *brgal lan* or the performance of debate, but also *a posteriori* experiments in insect gestation in monk's quarters, scholastic analysis of ruins and other material culture, the synthesis of scriptural authority with folk tradition, and metareflections upon the affective and intellectual boundaries between knowledge and liberation, often mapped as insurmountable differences between scientific academy and monastic college.

Erdene Baatar Erdene-Ochir (Santa Barbara, California)

### **Belmang Konchog Gyaltsen's Reassessment of the Major Tibetan Buddhist Schools**

In his work the *Enjoyment Ocean of Compassion (Snying rje'i rol mtsho)*, Belmang Könchog Gyaltsen (1764-1853), a prominent Amdo scholar, engages in an intra-sectarian polemic with a Mongolian Gelug scholar. As a supplementary text to this polemical work, he composed the *Appendix to Sincere Words, the Amusement Ocean of Compassion: A Concise Statement Distinguishing Sakya, Nyingma, Kagyü, and so forth, a Pauper's Cry Cast Afar, the Purifying Spritz of Nectar (Bden gtam rnying rje'i rol mtsho las zur du phyung ba sa rnying bka' brgyud sogs kyi khyad par mgo smos tsam mu to'i rgyangs 'bod kyi tshul du bya gtong snyan sgron bdud rtsi'i bsang gtor)*. Although this supplementary text is not as polemical as his *Enjoyment Ocean*, which strongly criticizes his fellow Gelugpas, Belmang therein introduces his reader to a brief history of Tibetan Buddhist polemics from the Samye debate to more recent disagreements between Gelug textbook manuals (*yig cha*). Then, he explains the highest doctrinal views of Sakya, Nyingma, and Kagyü schools, re-interpolating them in accordance with the Gelug view.

My paper explores Belmang's "gracious" polemical strategy—a sort of artificially inclusivist approach—toward other Tibetan Buddhist schools. In the first half of the paper, I briefly discuss Belmang's creative reinterpretation of other schools' views in light of his own Gelug terminology, such as *inter alia* how he understands the Sakya view of Ungraspable Luminosity Emptiness (gsal stong 'dzin med), the Nyingma view of Great Perfection (rdzogs chen), and the Kagyü view of the Great Seal (phyag chen). This part of the paper covers the philosophical and hermeneutical aspects of his text.

Then, for the second half of the paper, I examine Belmang's final analysis of those views as being already incorporated into the teachings of his own Gelug philosophy. Ever since the Gelug school emerged as the dominant school of Tibet in the seventeenth century, many of its authorities no longer saw their school as only one of the competing schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Instead, the Gelug school cast itself as the pinnacle of a pan-Tibetan Buddhist order. For this agenda, Belmang's inclusivist approach marks a smart strategical instance of a Tibetan Buddhist authority successfully promoting the reputation of his own tradition by arguing that the highest religious and ontological views of other schools are already harmoniously contained within his own tradition. Such inclusivist attempts often lead their audiences toward holding Gelug doctrine as superior to all other schools'. In contrast to early Gelug polemics focused on strong philosophical criticism of other competing schools, the Gelug inclusivist method may have served as an alternative polemical technique to persuade opponents to give up their rival belief systems.

Jed Forman (Santa Barbara, California)

## **The Cookie Crumbles over Crumbs: High Stakes on Small Issues in Sakya-Gelug Polemics**

Tibetan Buddhist polemics are often perceived as a type of hair-splitting or logicchopping, where defeating one's opponent is more highly prized than arriving at truth. This assumes that Tibetan polemicists are obsessed with inconsequential minutiae and invested in nitpicking, trite attempts at self-aggrandizement. My paper seeks to undermine the notion of Tibetan polemics as mere quibbling, arguing that what appears to be competitive carping in fact involves high stakes. Each Tibetan Buddhist philosophical system is constituted by tightly imbricated tenets, which are not only deeply interconnected with each other, but individually constitute a microcosm of that system's broader philosophical view. Inconsistencies between two systems' seemingly subsidiary tenets thus demarcate proxy battles indicating larger conflicts over each system's total cogency.

To explore this point, I investigate a polemical exchange between Taktsang Lotsawa and Pañchen Lama Lobsang Chökyi Gyeltsen. The seemingly minute point in this exchange concerns what type of consciousness perceives impermanence directly, that is, nonconceptually. Taktsang argues that impermanence, the momentariness of phenomena, is perceived with mental perception (*gid kyi mngon sum*, *māna-sapratyakṣa*), while Pañchen argues that only yogic perception (*rnal 'byor mngon sum*, *yogipratyakṣa*) can perceive impermanence. While this disagreement seems trivial, the consequences for either position are far-reaching. Taktsang is invoking a wider philosophical framework following Sakya Paṇḍita, in which objects exist purely as momentary entities. It is only conceptual consciousness that confuses these amalgams of instances with enduring wholes. Because perception is non-conceptual, mental perception sufficiently perceives this momentariness. Pañchen, following Tsongkhapa, argues a position George Dreyfus deems "moderate realism." Objects exist in and of themselves as wholes dependent on their spatial and temporal parts. Because their holism is not merely a function of conceptual overlay, mental perception also perceives these wholes. Thus, a more refined type of perception is needed to perceive an object's impermanence: yogic perception. Coupled with the almost pan-Buddhist notion that perceiving impermanence directly is necessary for liberation, the stakes of Taktsang and Pañchen's debate become clear. The nature of objects in general (ontology), their perception (epistemology), and which types of perceptions are necessary for liberation (soteriology) are all implicated in this seemingly small perceptual issue.

Rory Lindsay (Santa Barbara, California)

## **Death Ritual Polemics: Notes on a Funerary Debate between Bodong Pañchen and Gorampa**

This paper examines the polemical writings of two major Tibetan authors—Bodong Pañchen Choklé Namgyel (1375–1451) and Gorampa Sönam Sengé (1429–89)—concerning the Sakyapa patriarch Jetsun Drakpa Gyeltsen's (1147–1216) approach to funerary practices. Drakpa Gyeltsen's most important work on such rites, *Light Rays for the Benefit of Others: The Rituals of Sarvavid* (Tib. *Kun rig gi cho ga gzhan phan 'od zer*), draws on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, an Indian Buddhist work first translated into Tibetan in the eighth century, to offer a complete ritual program for purifying the karma of the deceased. *Light Rays* remained influential for centuries, but drew the ire of Bodong Pañchen, who composed a polemic undermining many of its claims. After Bodong Pañchen's death, his student and patron Namgyel Drakzang (1395–1475), a local ruler and scholar in his own right, invited Gorampa to Ngamring of Jang, one of Bodong Pañchen's primary centers of influence. It was during this period that Gorampa wrote a polemical attack against his patron's late teacher.

Building on this context, this paper argues that Drakpa Gyeltsen's *Light Rays* became a platform on which Bodong Pañchen and Gorampa aired broader issues facing Tibetan scholars of tantra. These include debates over fidelity to categories of Yogatantra and Niruttarayogatantra, the relationship between

tantric narrative and actual ritual performance, anthropocentrism in liberating rites vis-à-vis the bodhi-sattva vow, and tensions between textual authority and empirical learning in the study and performance of tantric ritual. Woven into all of these discussions is a basic concern with ritual agency, and thus this paper examines these authors' strategies for evaluating and reevaluating the mechanics of liberating rites.

Pierre-Julien Harter (Albuquerque, New Mexico)

### **Enough with Polemics! Reading Debates as Debates in Tibetan Literature**

This paper aims to question the usage of the concept of polemics in Tibetan studies to describe the disagreements and criticisms authors of philosophical texts were expressing in their writings. It goes without saying that the paper does not propose to eliminate altogether the usage of the concept of polemics to describe some of the texts that can be found in Tibetan literature. Rather, it argues that the over-usage of the term has resulted in two pernicious consequences. The first is the misrepresentation of the intention of authors and of the effects positions and arguments expressed in opposition to other texts and arguments have had in Tibetan scholarly circles. The second consequence is external to the Tibetan world and concerns the field of Tibetan studies, which remains isolated from larger philosophical discussions, in part because the proper philosophical content of Tibetan texts has been often played down by highlighting the polemical aspects of argumentative Tibetan texts.

The paper will make the general case for the distinction between polemics and (philosophical) debate or disagreement, a distinction, I will argue, that preserves the very possibility of a philosophical discourse (maybe *contra* certain trends in social sciences). I will develop this distinction with the help of Western authors (Plato, Camus) and Indian and Buddhist authors (commentators of the *Nyāya-sūtra*, Sa skya Paṇḍita).

In a second part, I will address the issue by presenting two specific cases of disagreement between Tibetan scholars to see how the interpretation of the disagreement as *polemics* would make us miss out on the philosophical significance of the texts in question. We will look at the criticisms raised by Rong ston of Tsong kha pa, and at the criticisms and responses that occurred between Mi pham and Brag dkar sprul sku. In a final part of the paper, I will identify some characteristics of what I would call generally “philosophical debate” and “polemical discourse.”

I will address the consequences this issue has for the field itself in my conclusion. I will show that this over-usage of the concept of polemics stirs Buddhist philosophy away from the general discourse in philosophy.

## Panel 22 – Mahāyoga in Tibet

བོད་ལ་རྣམ་འབྱོར་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱུད།

### Panel organizers

Jacob P. Dalton (Berkeley, California)

Jake Nagasawa (Santa Barbara, California)

**Panel abstract** – In the Tibetan tantric manuscripts at Dunhuang, the term Mahāyoga (*rnal 'byor chen po*) is used both to describe the highest level of tantric practice, and the lowest level of a set of three categories, together with Anuyoga (*rjes su rnal 'byor*) and Atiyoga (*shin tu rnal 'byor*). It is variously employed in early texts from the Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur, e.g., the *Sarvatathāgata Guhyatantra* and Dpal dbyang's *Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*, respectively. Mahāyoga is further elucidated by proto-Nyingma luminaries like Gnubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes and is eventually taken up in the Nyingma School's distinctive "nine vehicle" (*theg pa dgu*) system. This panel aims to advance the discussion of this complex historical development. In particular, it will explore the Mahāyoga tantras themselves (e.g., \**Guhyagarbha Tantra*), the works of Mahāyoga commentators both Indian and Tibetan, and the role of Mahāyoga in the formation of Nyingma identity.

Nicholas Trautz (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **Demons Taming Demons: the Mandala of 'Taming and Liberation' in the gSang ba'i snying po and the bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa**

As one of the eldest revelation cycles in Tibet, the bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa (The Assembly of the Sugatas of the Eight Teachings, revealed by Nyangrel Nyima Özer, 1124-92) offers key evidence for the indigenization of Buddhist Tantra in Tibet. The bka' brgyad cycle proffered mythic narratives, soteriological idioms, and ritual formats that both adopted, and innovated, Indian Mahāyoga templates to forward a Tibetanized vision of religious practice. Towards understanding the specific ways that the bka' brgyad reflected Tibetan efforts to adapt Mahāyoga tantrism, this paper compares the root tantra of Nyangrel's bka' brgyad cycle (the rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po, the King of Kagye Root Tantras) with the gsang ba'i snying po (the Secret Nucleus, Skt. guhyagarbha, the preeminent tantra of the Tibetan inheritance of Indian Mahāyoga). This comparison reveals the ways that the bka' brgyad was both mimetic and innovative in how it took up Mahāyoga doctrine and practice. In particular, an examination of the King of Root Tantras' section of 'jig rten mchod bstod (Wordly Praise and Offering, one of the eight wrathful mandalas of the bka' brgyad) demonstrates how the bka' brgyad myth and ritual system managed to incorporate a distinctively Tibetan demonology in its undergirding narratives and ritual templates. Whereas the Secret Nucleus gives us a myth for the subordination of Indian religion to Tantric Buddhism through the "taming" ('dul ba) and "liberation" (sgrol ba) of Indian gods, the bka' brgyad incorporates an eightfold typology of autochthonous Tibetan entities - the dregs pa sde brgyad, or lha ma srin sde brgyad - to suggest the geomantic subjugation of Tibet. This narrative motif and its expression in ritual templates pervades Nyangrel's bka' brgyad literature, and functioned to bring together the soteriological and apotropaic dimensions of tantric practice while elevating the harm-averting ritual adept as the paradigmatic figure of religious accomplishment. This Mahāyoga cycle, then, participated squarely in Nyangrel Nyima Özer's efforts to curate history and architect tantric Buddhism in Tibet, providing the Nyingmapa a core mythos and ritual idiom through which to articulate its distinctive identity.

Zack Beer (Berkeley, California)

### **Controversy and Completion Stage: Analyzing Two ‘Indian’ Commentaries on the Guhyagarbha Tantra**

This paper aims to shed light on the early exegetical tradition of the Guhyagarbha Tantra (GGT), a body of literature that recent studies have indicated is crucial for understanding the origins of both Mahāyoga and Atiyoga/Rdzogs chen. Specifically, it will look at passages from two GGT commentaries purporting to be translations of Indian originals: the *Spar khab* attributed to Vilāsavajra and the *Rgya cher ‘grel pa* attributed to Sūryasiṃhaphrabhā. These two texts figured into complex polemical controversies between Nyingma scholars—with Longs chen rab ‘byams and his followers on one side and the adherents of the Zur tradition on the other—as well as political controversies that drew in the likes of the great Pu hrangs kings Ye shes ‘od and Zhi ba ‘od. The issue at the center of these disputes regarding the commentaries’ authorship and provenance will be addressed. While it might not be possible to determine these with precision, an examination of the two commentaries’ contents, it will be shown, reveals a great deal about the individual texts’ rather distinct positions in the development of GGT hermeneutics. Special attention will be placed on the systems of initiation and scriptural doxography described, as these provide telling signs of the texts’ chronological appearance. More crucially, the paper will examine those passages in the commentaries that treat procedures deemed by the later tradition to entail the “completion stage” (*rdzogs rim*), highlighting a transition from a sexual rite to the complex body-internal technologies emerging in the wake of the *Mukhāgama*. One key mode of analysis will be to investigate how the phrase ‘great perfection’ is used in both texts, tracing a corresponding shift in valence from a ritual moment in the early Mahāyoga tantras to a separate territory of doctrine and praxis in later discourse that will make room for the emerging Anuyoga-styled subtle energy practices. The paper will thus argue that a historical-critical reading of the *Spar khab* and *Rgya cher ‘grel pa* reveals a tentative chronology for their emergence and moreover contributes substantially to our understanding of GGT hermeneutics within the wider scope of early tantric doctrinal developments in Tibet.

Jake Nagasawa (Santa Barbara, California)

### **Sporadic Insertions and Where to Find Them: ‘phyong and the Contested Provenance of the Guhyagarbha Tantra**

Between the eighth to twelfth-centuries, the term Mahāyoga was used to describe the highest level of tantra at the forefront of Buddhist ritual development; indeed, the use of the term in this sense is seen, as Jacob Dalton has noted, even in Sa skya paṅ ḍi ta kun dga’ rgyal mtshan’s (1182-1215) *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes* (*Sdom gsum rab dbye*). With the emergence of the Gsar ma schools and new tantric doxographies during the Later Diffusion (*phyi dar*), the Mahāyoga was eventually supplanted by Yoganiruttara (*rnal ’byor bla na med*) as the highest class of tantra. In the Rnying ma School, Mahāyoga is, together with Anuyoga and Atiyoga, one of the three classes of the inner tantras (*nang rgyud sde gsum*).

The *Guhyagarbha Tantra* (*Rgyud gsang ba’i snying po*, *GT* hereafter), one of the fundamental Rnying ma Mahāyoga tantras, was the subject of sanction and criticism during the period of the Tibetan renaissance of the tenth to thirteenth centuries. Lha bla ma Ye shes ‘od, the tenth century monarch of the Kingdom of Gugé in western Tibet, and his nephew the prince Pho brang Zhi ba ‘od both issued ordinances against the *GT* and other key Mahāyoga tantras, dismissing them as heretical Tibetan forgeries. The eleventh-century translator ‘Gos Khug pa lhas btsas alleged that the *GT* was forged by the Rma Rin chen mchog, who is said to have translated the *GT* during the dynastic period. These criticisms were laid to rest to some extent when the Bka’ gdams pa Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri (1227-1305) and his associates brought to light a Sanskrit manuscript of the *GT*. ‘Gos Khug pa lhas btsas’s particular allegations, however, were responded to by Rnying ma authors such as Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po, who countered that the Rma Rinchen mchog had merely placed several sporadic insertions or ‘phyong from into the root text of the *GT* from other tantras of the Māyājāla (*sgyu ‘phrul drwa ba*) cycle.

This paper will further explore the 'phyong supposedly contained within in the *GT*—a matter first brought to scholarly attention by Dorji Wangchuk in his study of Rong zom pa's eleventh century defense of the *GT*—by closely examining how various authors including Rong zom pa, but also Klong chen pa (1308-1363) and Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri have discussed this phenomenon. Thar lo Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, who completed a thirteenth-century translation of the *GT* based on the Sanskrit manuscript of Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri mentioned above, notes that his text contained six 'phyong while the classical (purportedly) Indian commentaries on the *GT* contain none. Therefore, I will also attempt to identify where the 'phyong occur by comparing Thar lo Nyi ma rgyal mtshan's translation of the *GT* preserved in the Phug brag Bka' 'gyur to the version within the extensive commentary on the *GT* attributed to Sūryaprabhasiṃha, found in both the Rnying gryud 'bum and the Peking Bstan 'gyur. In sum, this paper, by focusing in on the hitherto little studied issue of 'phyong in the *GT*, will further contribute to the scholarly understanding of the text's contested textual history and shed more light on anti-Rnying ma polemics in medieval Tibet.

dPal rdor དཔལ་རྫོན། | Baduo (Chengdu)

བཀའ་འགྲུར་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་རྟོན་རྒྱུད་པོད་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་སློང་བ།

དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་རྟོན་ལ་བཅོམ་ཐུན་རིགས་རལ་(1227-1305)དང་དབུས་བསྐོ་གསལ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དབུས་གཙང་དང་མངའ་རིས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་བཀའ་དང་བསྟན་བཅོས་འགྲུར་རོ་ཅོག་གི་མ་དབེ་འཚོལ་སྤྱད་བྱས་ཤིང་། ལྷར་ཐང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་བཀའ་བསྟན་གཉིས་ཆ་ཚང་བ་བཞེངས། དེ་ནི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་བཀའ་བསྟན་འགྲུར་དང་བསྟན་འགྲུར་གཉིས་ཀ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱོགས་ནས་བྲིས་པ་ཐེངས་དང་པོ་ཡིན། དེ་ལ་ཕྱི་མོ་བྱས་ཏེ་བཞེངས་པའི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་གཙོ་བོར་ཚལ་བ་བཀའ་འགྲུར་དང་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་ཐེམ་ཕྱངས་མའི་རྒྱུད་པ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་ལས། ཚལ་བ་བཀའ་འགྲུར་དངོས་སུ་བཞེངས་པའི་ལོ་ཚོགས་དང་དུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁག་ཏུ་ཁ་གསལ་ཞིག་རྟོན་མེད་ཀྱང་། ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་ཚལ་བ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྫོ་རྗེས་རབ་བྱུང་ལྔ་པའི་ཆུ་བྱི་ལོ་1323ལོ་ནས་རབ་བྱུང་དྲུག་པའི་ས་བྱི་ལོ་1348ལོའི་བར་ཚལ་བའི་ཁྱི་དཔོན་གྱི་སྲིད་དབང་བཟུང་ཞིང་། དེ་རིང་ལ་བུ་སྟོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷ་དག་དུ་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་ལྷར་ཐང་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ལ་མ་ཕྱི་བྱས་ཏེ་གསེར་དབུལ་འདྲེས་མའི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ཞིག་བཞེངས་པ་ལ་ཚལ་བ་བཀའ་འགྲུར་དུ་གྲགས། བོད་ཡིག་གི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་པར་མ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཚལ་བའི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན།

རྒྱལ་ཆེ་ཐེམ་ཕྱངས་ནི་རབ་བྱུང་བདུན་པའི་ལྷགས་པག་བྱི་ལོ་1431ལོར་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་ལྷེ་སྲིད་རབ་བཟན་ཀུན་བཟང་འཕགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིན་བདག་དང་ལོ་ཚོན་ཐུགས་རྗེ་དངལ་གྱིས་ལྷས་ཆེན་མཚན་དེ་སྣར་ཐང་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ལ་ཕྱི་མོར་བཟུང་ནས་བཀའ་འགྲུར་གསེར་བྲིས་པོད་༡༡༡ཅན་ཞིག་བཞེངས་ཤིང་། དེ་ལས་བཀའ་འགྲུར་བྲིས་མ་མང་དུ་འཕེལ་ཡོད།

ལྷ་འགྲུར་ཡོ་ག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་རྒྱུས་ནི་བསྟན་པ་ལྷ་དར་གྱི་དུས་སུ་བསྐྱར་ཅིང་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་པ་མ་གཏོགས། བཀའ་རྒྱ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དམ་པའི་ཕྱིར། 《དཀར་ཆག་འཕང་ཐང་མ་》 སོགས་ལྡོན་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་རྒྱུས་སུ་གསང་སྟགས་ནང་གི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེའི་ཚོས་ཚན་གཅིག་ཀྱང་བཏོད་མེད་པ་དང་། ལྷན་གསར་བཅད་ཀྱི་དག་ཐེར་ཀྱང་མ་ལོག་ཤིང་། བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་གྱི་དུས་སུ་ལྷ་འགྲུར་ཡོ་ག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་རྒྱུས་ལ་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱོག་དང་། བསྐྱར་བཞེངས། དཀར་ཆག་ལ་འགོད་པ་སོགས་བྱས་པའི་རྟོན་མ་རྒྱུད་འབུམ་ལ་སྐྱོགས་བམ་ཉེར་དྲུག་ཅན་ཅན་དང་། ཞེ་དྲུག་ཅན་སོགས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེས་མང་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་ལས། དཔུང་རྩོམ་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་དེང་དུས་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ཁག་གི་མཚུག་ཏུ་རྟོན་རྒྱུད་པོད་གསུམ་བཞུགས་པ་དེ་ལ་ཚོས་ཚན་གང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྒྱུད་དེ་རྒྱུས་ཡོ་ག་རྒྱུས་གང་གཏོགས་ཀྱི་དོས་འཛིན། བཀའ་འགྲུར་དུ་རྟོན་རྒྱུད་པོད་གསུམ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་མཁན་སུ་ཡིན་སྐོར་བཅས་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་དཔུང་དེ་བྲིས་ཡོད།



first, or generation stage, of tantric practice—it is the perfection stage path, the training in the so-called “suchness of the second stage” (*rim pa gnyis pa'i de kho na nyid*) that is shown to be essential for the attainment of perfect awakening. The source texts I am working with were originally composed in Sanskrit, but the *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama* and the *Muktitilaka*, along with their only surviving Indic commentaries by Buddhajñānapāda's 9<sup>th</sup>-century disciple Vaidyapāda, are extant only in their 11<sup>th</sup>-century Tibetan translations. The absence of extant Sanskrit manuscripts of these foundational works may have contributed to the lack of modern scholarship on Buddhajñānapāda's thought and practice systems, but their study is essential to our understanding of the early development of Mahāyoga. This paper is a small contribution to that endeavor.

rDo rje dbang phyug རོ་རྗེ་དབང་ཕྱུག། | Dorji Wangchuk (Hamburg)

### Rong-zom-pa on Mahāyoga

Detached from its historical, philosophical, and soteriological context, the Mahāyogic system of Vajrayāna (aka Mantrayāna/Mantranaya) would perhaps seem very alien, particularly when viewed from a non/pre-Mahāyānic perspective. In particular, of what came to be known as the Three Esoteric Yogic systems (*nang rgyud sde gsum*) of the rNying-ma school, namely, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga, the first is viewed by the tradition itself as being fundamental. It thus appears that an understanding of the history, philosophy, and soteriology of the last two would hardly be possible without understanding the history, philosophy, and soteriology of the first one. The Mahāyoga doctrine thus seems, at least from the rNying-ma point of view, to serve as a milestone and a nexus in the history of Vajrayāna philosophy and soteriology.

Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, the eleventh-century rNying-ma scholar, is said to have been familiar with both the Old and New Mantric traditions (*gsang sngags rnying ma / gsar ma*). The Three Esoteric Yogic systems of the rNying-ma school have undergone further development, especially Atiyoga with several bifurcations. Rong-zom-pa's understanding of the Mahāyoga doctrine, particularly its position within the spectrum of the Madhyamaka system known as Sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhānavāda (which, according to him, belongs to what he calls Special Mahāyāna) and its relation with Anuyoga and Atiyoga, is an important historical testimony.

The paper will present some highlights of the findings resulting from my studies of how Rong-zom-pa understood the Mahāyoga doctrine. To be noted is that he employs the term *mahāyoga* in two ways, namely, (a) broadly, or loosely, in the sense of “esoteric yoga” (*rnal 'byor nang pa*) as opposed to “exoteric yoga” (*rnal 'byor phyi pa*) and thus as a generic term for all three, namely, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga, and (b) specifically and restrictively in the sense of the first of the Three Esoteric Yogic systems. Of particular significance seems to be his position found, for example, in his *Dam tshig mdo rgyas* and his commentary on the *Man ngag lta phreng*, that there are two explanations of the three (i.e. Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga). That is, (a) all three would be applicable to a single Tantric scripture (*rgyud gzhung*), a single deity configuration (*lha'i dkyil 'khor*), or a single mode of meditation (*sgom pa'i tshul*)—based on the person's prajñāic caliber (*shes rab kyi rtsal 'phang*)—or, (b) there are indeed specific and separate Mahāyogic, Anuyogic, or Atiyogic Tantric scripture, deity configuration, or mode of meditation. A historical implication of the first explanation is, in my view, that it does not presuppose, for example, a separate Atiyogic (or rDzogs-chen) Tantric scripture, deity configuration, or mode of meditation. What would make a Tantric scripture Atiyogic, for example, would be a person's cognitive or gnostic caliber (*blo'i rtsal 'phang*) and not the scripture's content *per se*. This might also explain why Rong-zom-pa would have had no difficulty in interpreting the \**Guhyagarbhatantra*—usually considered a Mahāyogic Tantric scripture—in the light of the rDzogs-chen teaching.

bDe skyid sgröl ma བདེ་སྦྱིད་སྦྱོལ་མ། | Deji Zhuoma (Beijing)

ལྷ་མོ་ཚོས་འབྱུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྱིམ་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཙན་གྱི་སྤྲུགས་དམ་དཔལ་ལྷ་མོ་ནག་མོའི་རྒྱུད་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་དབྱེད་པ།

དབྱེད་མོའ་འདྲི་ལ་དབྱེད་བཅོམ་གནང་བའི་དཔལ་ལྷ་མོ་ནག་མོའི་རྒྱུད་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི་ལྷ་མོ་ཚོས་འབྱུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་གཞུང་པོ་ཏི་ནང་ཚན་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་གཉིས་ཡིན་ལ། སྤེལ་ལེ་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་གནའ་དཔེ་ཤུན་ཏུ་དཀོན་པོ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྱིམ་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཙན་གྱི་མཁའ་པོ་པདྨ་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བཙན་གྱི་མ་ར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་འཕྲིད་པུ་བྱ་བ་སྦྱར། ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་དབུ་མེད་ལྷག་འདྲི་རྒྱལ་དུ་འཁོད་པ་དང་། ལྷ་མོ་ཚོས་འབྱུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལས་ལྷ་མོ་ནག་མོའི་རྒྱུད་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འདྲི་འདུག་མོ་སྤེལ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་པས། ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་དབྱེད་གཞི་ཡིག་ཆ་འདྲི་ཐོན་ཐང་གལ་ཆེན་ལན་པ། དེ་ལྟར་བར་སྤུས་ཀྱང་ཞེས་འཕྲུག་བྱེད་མེད་པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷོ། དཔལ་ལྷ་མོ་ནག་མོའི་རྒྱུད་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གཞིར་བྱས་ནས་དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་བོད་བཙན་པོ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་ཡིག་ཆ་ལག་ཉེན་པོ་སྤེལ་བའི་དབྱེད་པར་བཅོམ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན།

## Panel 25 – Tantric Hermeneutics in Tibet

བོད་ལ་གསལ་སྤྲོད་ལྷ་བ་སྤྲོད་པའི་བཤའ་ཐབས།

### Panel organizer

Yael Bentor (Jerusalem)

**Panel abstract** – This panel will be dedicated to hermeneutical traditions—in the broad sense of the term—in use in Tibetan tantric Buddhism. We will explore how Tibetan lamas found the bridges between Indic scriptural authorities and their own tantric practices. Special attention will be given to the ways Tibetans authors interpreted tantric practices in terms of Buddhist philosophical systems. We will reflect on the question to what extent Indian and Tibetan tantric practices might be products of internal Buddhist dynamics. Furthermore we will consider exchanges between scholars during the formative period in the history of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism, and what can be learned from polemical writings about distinctive methods for establishing tantric traditions within the frameworks of the different schools.

Thomas F. Yarnall (New York, New York)

### Tsongkhapa on Conceptuality and Nonconceptuality in Tantric Theory and Practice

It is well known within all Buddhist traditions that the ultimate intuition of a buddha is said to be “non-conceptual,” and that the ultimate reality that is the object of such an intuition is itself said to be “inconceivable.” What exactly such statements mean and entail, however, has been a source of great confusion and a topic of great debate (indeed it was one of the central topics of “The Great Debate” at Samye) since the time of the Buddha. In particular, what role (if any) some type(s) of “conceptuality” might have on the path to such a “non-conceptual” ultimate intuition of such an “inconceivable” ultimate reality—and, more provocatively, what type(s) of “conceptuality” might be constitutive of the resultant state of buddhahood—has proven highly problematic and contentious.

In this paper I will begin with a brief exploration of Tsongkhapa’s analysis of these matters in exoteric (*sūtra*) contexts. Just as he argues in ontological and epistemological contexts that negational terms such as “emptiness” and “selflessness” must be understood as negating only a certain type of incoherent reality-status, viz. intrinsic reality, so I will show that he argues in experiential/ phenomenological contexts (drawing on texts by Asaṅga, Kamalaśīla, and others) that negational terms such as “non-conceptuality” must be understood as negating only a certain type of conceptuality, viz. conceptions/perceptions of intrinsic reality. Thus, “non-conceptual” states do not entail “not thinking” at all, and, significantly for this paper, do not entail a state devoid of any and all content. Terms implicated here include primarily *akalpanā*, *nirvikalpa*, *avikapa*, etc. (*rtog pa med pa*, *rnam par mi rtog pa*, etc.), but also include a host of related terms such as: *anabhiniveśa* (*mngon par mi zhen pa*); *amanasikāra* (*yid la mi byed pa*); *asmṛti* (*dran pa med pa*); *citta-nirodha* (*sems ’gog pa*); *a-cintya* (*bsam gyis mi khyab pa*); *niṣprapañca* (*spros pa dang bral ba*); *anālambana* (*mi dmigs pa*); *anupalambhana* (*mi dmigs pa*); *naīva-saṃjñā-nāsaṃ-jñāya-tana* (*’du shes med ’du shes med min skye mched*); *āsaṃjñika* (*’du shes med pa*); *asaṃjñā-samāpatti* (*’du shes med pa’i snyoms par ’jug pa*); *saṃjñā-ved[ay]ita-nirodha-saṃ-āpatti* (*’du shes dang tshor ba ’gog pa’i snyoms par ’jug pa*), and so forth.

I will then explore in more depth how in his *Sngags rim chen mo* Tsongkhapa argues (citing multiple Indian authors, including Mañjuśrīkīrti, Ratnarakṣita, Kṛṣṇācārya, Nāgārjuna, Jñānaśrī, Ratnākaraśānti, etc.) that issues, misunderstandings, mischaracterizations, etc. pertaining to “non-conceptuality” in exoteric contexts are typologically related to key issues and debates arising in esoteric, Tantric contexts. Specifically, he links these issues to debates pertaining to the nature of deity yoga practice, which he identifies as being the key practice that characterizes and defines Tantra as a unique vehicle. Again citing Indic sources, he defines this practice as an integrative yoga in which a practitioner’s mind cognizes/

realizes emptiness (lack of intrinsic reality) while simultaneously perceiving his/her body in the form of a buddha (this being the integration of emptiness and form in Tantric practice). Here it is important to emphasize both that (1) “deity yoga” necessarily and integrally includes emptiness yoga (it does not just involve visualizations, etc.), and yet (2) such deity yoga does of course at the same time have plenty of conceptual/perceptual content. Indeed, it is maintained that it is the very integrative nature of this practice on the path that yields the similarly integrated result of buddhahood, which includes not only the *dhar-makāya* (mind) of a buddha but also the non-dually integrated *rūpakāya* (body) of a buddha.

Moreover, Tsongkhapa shows that the main goal of such nondual deity yoga is twofold: to develop the vivid perception of oneself as a buddha, and to develop the “divine pride” or “buddha pride” in which one has the firm conception that oneself is an actual buddha. So in this Tantric context not only are perceptions and conceptions of intrinsic reality to be negated (without negating all perceptions and conceptions in general); here an even more specific manifestation of the “intrinsic reality habit” is targeted for negation, viz. the “conception and perception of ordinariness,” while a specific “conception and perception of extraordinariness” (buddha identity) is cultivated.

In this context I will further unpack how Tsongkhapa elaborates these issues with respect to two aspects of deity yoga practice described as (1) “conceptual yogas” (*brtags pa’i rnal ’byor*), which include “yogas with signs” (*sanimitta-yoga*, *mtshan bcas kyi rnal ’byor*) and “creation stage yogas,” and (2) “non-conceptual yogas” (*ma brtags pa’i rnal ’byor*), which include “yogas with-out signs” (*animitta-yoga*, *mtshan med kyi rnal ’byor*) and “perfection stage yogas” (such as *prāṇāyama*, and so forth). Tsongkhapa argues that it is a grave mistake to overemphasize the yogas in either one of these categories to the neglect of the other (citing multiple sources he notes that historically it has been far more common to overemphasize the non-conceptual yogas), and that neither yoga alone is sufficient for the achievement of buddhahood. More significantly he argues that both must be practiced in an integrated fashion (that indeed such integrative practice is a hallmark and a special feature of Tantric deity yoga practice), and that ultimately both must be completely integrated (as with *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* in exoteric contexts). Thus, he will insist that while buddhahood is indeed “non-conceptual” in one sense (it involves no conception/perception of intrinsic reality or of ordinariness), it is also “conceptual/perceptual” in a different sense (it entails having an extraordinary form body, and so on).

I will conclude with observations regarding Tsongkhapa’s contentions that (1) references to “non-conceptuality” in Tantric contexts do not entail an abandonment of the sustained critical analysis of reality; (2) references to “non-conceptuality” in Tantric contexts do not entail an abandonment of the (seemingly “conceptual”) visualizations of deity yoga; (3) references to the “non-conceptual” fruition of buddhahood in Tantric contexts do not entail an abandonment of “conceptual” causes as integral to the development of that fruition, nor (perhaps most provocatively) do such references in fact entail an abandonment of the position that some form of “conceptuality” is present in that fruitional state of buddhahood itself.

Yael Bentor (Jerusalem)

### **Tantric Visualizations: How Do They Work?**

The Tantric visualizations that stand at the core of the creation stage (*utpattikrama*, *bskyed rim*) grew out of internal dynamics of Buddhism. The notion that the mind is capable of transforming the world is deeply rooted in Buddhist tradition. Both Pāli and Sanskrit literatures describe the results of meditative concentrations in terms of their powers of transformation (*pāriṇāmikī-ṛddhi*) and creation (*nairmāṇikī-ṛddhi*). Another clear antecedent of tantric visualization is the practice of recollection or calling the Buddha to mind (*buddhānusmṛti*). The practice of *buddhānusmṛti* is taken further in the *Samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present. Through the power of *samādhi*, aspirants directly encounter buddhas in other world systems, worship them, and hear the Dharma expounded. Moreover, they practice subjective identification with these buddhas. One of the most famous demonstrations of the bodhisattva’s power of transformation and creation is the multi-storied palace (*kūṭāgāra*) of Vairocana that is made to appear to Sudhana by the bodhisattva Maitreya in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. Not only does this palace

demonstrate the process of conceptualizing the world, it is also a prototype of the *maṇḍala*. Maitreya explains to Sudhana this palace comes from the empowerment of a bodhisattva's gnosis and blessings. Perhaps the ultimate antecedent of tantric visualization is the bodhisattva's power to create buddha-fields (*buddha-kṣetra*) for the sake of sentient beings with their environment conducive to the attainment of enlightenment and himself or herself as a Buddha at its center. No doubt, the magnificent displays (*vyūha*) and splendors of Buddha Amitābha described in the *Sukhāvāṭī Sūtras* and similar scriptures inspired the authors of tantric *sādhana*s and served as models for the visualized *maṇḍala*.

In my paper I will ask whether tantric visualization indeed takes the aspirant beyond what the Mahāyāna does. Can we say that while the earlier sources are careful to avoid implying the complete transformation into a Buddha, tantric visualization readily takes this step? Are we then allowed to maintain that while in the *Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present*, the meditators encounter the Buddha or aspire to become a Buddha, in the tantric practice they become buddhas? In the same *Sūtra* the aspirant exclaims: 'Whatever belongs to this Triple World is nothing but thought (*cittamātra*, *sems tsam*), because however I imagine things, that is how they appear.' Can yogis practicing the creation stage say so as well? Finally we may ask whether these yogis can create a *buddha-kṣetra* such as Sukhāvāṭī or just their own individual illusion of the same.

Rae Erin Dachille (Tucson)

### **Sites of Contagion: Tantric Polemics in Distinguishing the Sakyapa and Gelukpa Traditions of Fifteenth-Century Tibet**

Red mda' ba Gzon bu blo gros (1348–1412) was a prominent member of the Sakyapa lineage most renowned for his role as teacher of Tsong kha pa, founder of Gelukpa [or dga' ldan pa] tradition. The process of disambiguating the teachings of Tsong kha pa from their Sakyapa roots demanded a subtle negotiation of relationships between texts, persons, and institutions. This paper demonstrates the volatile status of Red mda' ba as site of potential contagion between the Sakya and emerging Geluk traditions in fifteenth-century Tibet. With particular attention to the tantric polemics of the prolific Sakyapa tantric commentator Ngor chen kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456), it explores the ways in which both Sakyapa and Gelukpa authors critiqued Red mda' ba as a means of defending the integrity of their lineages from contamination.

This paper also responds to the broader question of how best to interpret tantric polemical writings in fifteenth-century Tibet. It builds upon and adds to important contributions by three Tibetologists: José Cabezon on the significance of "sectarian differentiation" in Tibetan scholasticism,<sup>1</sup> Yael Bentor on approaches to the problem of "unnamed opponents" in Gelukpa tantric polemics,<sup>2</sup> and Elijah Ary on the question of when the project of defending the teachings of Tsong kha pa became divorced from the Sakyapa project.<sup>3</sup>

Recently, Bentor has revisited her earlier work on the "unnamed opponents" in the writings of Tsong kha pa's disciple Mkhas grub rje.<sup>4</sup> Bentor has revised some of her conclusions about the objects of critique in Mkhas grub's polemical writings on the Guhyasamāja sādhana; these revisions focus more prominently upon Tsong kha pa and Mkhas grub's participation in a joint project of distinguishing their interpretations from those of Red mda' ba.<sup>5</sup>

This paper demonstrates how Red mda' ba became a significant object of critique for Sakyapa tantric authors as well. It features the writings of another "unnamed opponent" in Mkhas grub's Guhyasamāja sādhana text, Ngor chen kun dga' bzang po. Through close examination of Ngor chen's own critique of Red mda' ba's tantric and philosophical positions in a tantric polemical text composed twenty years earlier, it demonstrates how Ngor chen sought to distinguish his interpretations of the Sakyapa tantric perspective from those of Red mda' ba. Through analyzing both the content of Ngor chen's critique and the historical context for that text's production, this paper reveals a new dimension of Red mda' ba's identity. Namely, it argues that as a site of mutual interpenetration between Sakya and Geluk lineages, Red mda' ba became a source of anxiety for both the Sakyapa and emerging Gelukpa traditions. This argument expands our understanding of the potential for the interpretation of tantric texts to reveal a more nuanced reading of the dynamics of sectarian differentiation and lineage in fifteenth-century Tibet.

<sup>1</sup> Cabezón, José Ignacio and Geshe Lobsang Dargyay. 2007. *Freedom from Extremes: Gorampa's 'Distinguishing the Views' and the Polemics of Emptiness*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

<sup>2</sup> Bendor, Yael. 2006. "Identifying the Unnamed Opponents of Tsong kha pa and Mkhas grub rje Concerning the Transformation of Ordinary Birth, Death and the Intermediary State into the Three Bodies." *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis: Studies in its Formative Period, 900-1400*. Ed. Ronald M. Davidson and Christian Wedemeyer. Leiden: Brill, 2006. 185-200.

<sup>3</sup> Ary, Elijah Sacvan. 2015. *Authorized lives: biography and the early formation of Geluk identity*. Boston : Wisdom Publications, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Bendor, Yael. 2015a. Tsongkhapa's Guhyasamāja Sādhana and the Ārya Tradition. In *In Vimalakīrti's House: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert A.F. Thurman on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 165–92.

<sup>5</sup> Bendor, Yael. 2015b. Interpreting the Body Mandala: Tsongkhapa versus Later Geluk Scholars. *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* No.31 February 2015: 63–74.

Christian K. Wedemeyer (Chicago, Illinois)

## **The Guhyasamāja Initiation Ritual in Tibet: Interpretation and Interpellation in an Esoteric Rite and its Traditions**

The performance of Tantric ritual draws on a number of sources for its authorization and explication—foundational and elucidating scriptures, commentaries, ritual manuals, and exegetical and practical tradition(s). In Tibet, particular liturgies and their interpretative frameworks represent intricate syntheses of the options provided by these sources, shaped by historical exigencies of their authors. This paper makes a first foray into an analysis of the Tibetan reception and explication of the initiation ritual (*dbang, abhiṣeka*) of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, the sources privileged by early-first-millennium Tibetan authors, and the creative work of liturgy and exegesis represented by the liturgies they composed.

In order to facilitate a first assessment of this broad subject, this paper will focus on the liturgy presented in Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa's *Clarifying the Principles of the Meaning of Initiation: The Maṇḍala Rite of Guhyasamāja Akṣobhyavajra (dpal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi don gyi de nyid rab tu gsal ba)*. The paper will summarize the rite presented therein and—especially—the interpretative debates raised by the author, weighing the cogency of various earlier authorities. These interventions will be further unpacked in light of Tsong kha pa's extensive analysis of the interpretative debates concerning the proper procedures of initiation presented in his *Great Exposition of the Stages of Mantra (sngags rim chen mo)*. Select debates will be highlighted, and evaluated in light of the testimonia of the Indian authorities and of earlier Tibetan presentations of the rite by, e.g., Bu ston Rin chen grub.

## Panel 32 – Tibetan Buddhism in Translation

བོད་ནང་བསྟན་ཡིག་བསྟར།

### Panel organizers

James Gentry (Charlottesville, Virginia)

Ana Cristina Lopes (Greensboro, North Carolina)

**Panel abstract** – Translation has arguably been the single most defining practice in the formation of Tibetan Buddhist traditions and in their interactions with immediate neighbors and more distant global interlocutors. From Tibetan imperial times to the contemporary Tibetan diaspora, Buddhist ideas and practices have been the focal point of translational activity on many different levels. Tibetans have often understood translational activity focused on Buddhist texts as foundational in the formation of the Tibetan literary language and Tibetan cultural identity; enduring engagement with the translation of Buddhist texts has led Tibetan scholars to periodize Tibetan history according to translational activity (*snga 'gyur/phyi 'gyur*); translational activity has been a key concern in the Buddhist missionary activities of Tibetan Lamas and non-Tibetan converts; and the translation of Buddhist texts and cultural concepts has been important in the formation and development of the field of Tibetan Studies.

Recently theorists such as Bruno Latour and others have recast the notion of “translation” to signal transitional pivots and points of inflection active in the formation of networks that constitute contemporary societies. Inspired by this expansion of the notion of translation beyond mere linguistic transfer, this panel proposes that translation—not only of texts, but also of ideas, objects, practices, traditions, locations, etc.—is a productive rubric through which to analyze the dynamics and rhetoric involved in processes of cultural re-signification that Tibetan Buddhist and associated traditions have undergone in manifold contexts.

The presentations in this panel draw variously from anthropological, literary, historical, philological, and translation studies perspectives to explore multidisciplinary approaches to how translation has diversely figured in interactions with Tibetan Buddhist traditions across linguistic, social, and cultural boundaries, both historically and in the contemporary period. The broader aim of this collective experiment is to question how thinking through a series of important transitional moments in the ongoing re-signification and re-location of Tibetan Buddhist traditions, juxtaposed here for the first time, can provoke fresh insights into recurring patterns in cultural and historical continuity and change.

Ryan Damron (Granite Bay, California)

### **The Nexus of *Paṇḍita*, Patron, and *Lotsāwa*: The Literary Career of Vanaratna in South Asia and Tibet**

In the early years of the fifteenth century, the young Buddhist monk Vanaratna (1384-1468) set out from his home on the far-eastern periphery of the Indian subcontinent to embark on a life of study, teaching, and writing that spanned South Asia and crossed the Himalayan range. After an early period of training in India and Sri Lanka, Vanaratna built a career shuttling between his Newar patrons in the Kathmandu Valley and his royal patrons at the Phakmo Dru court in Central Tibet. He left an indelible legacy on both sides of the Himalaya, one clearly apparent to us through biographies composed by his close Tibetan disciples, and in his compositions and translations preserved in Sanskrit and Tibetan.

In this paper I will explore that legacy, with a specific focus on the nexus of *paṇḍita*, patron, and *lotsāwa*, a dynamic system of relationships that would shape his career and drive his impressive literary output. Esteemed as a great *paṇḍita* in both the Kathmandu Valley and Tibet, Vanaratna was revered and supported by some of the most important religious, literary, and political figures of the time. In Kathmandu he served as a teacher and author for the Newar Buddhist community, composing a substantial body of

liturgical and devotional material to augment their core scriptural systems. This corpus would later be translated into Tibetan under his direct supervision. In Tibet, Vanaratna gained the patronage of a number of influential figures, with Rongtön Sheja Künrik (1367-1449) and the Phakmo Dru monarch Drakpa Jungé (1414-45) foremost among them. With their financial and institutional support, he was able to collaborate with some of fifteenth-century Tibet's most respected translators and literary figures, including Taktsang Lotsāwa Jampal Yeshé (fl. fifteenth century), Trimkhang Lotsāwa Sönam Gyatso (1424-82), and above all Gö Lotsāwa Zhonnu Pal (1392-1481). Working closely with such erudite colleagues and inspired patrons, Vanaratna contributed more than fifty works to the Tibetan canon, including both original compositions and new translations. His particularly close relationship with Zhonnu Pal and Sönam Gyatso resulted in their authorship of two remarkable biographies of Vanaratna, which taken together present an intimate and surprisingly historiographical portrait of his life and literary contributions. By coordinating the Tibetan biographical sources with the textual record preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist canon and the manuscript archives of Nepal and Europe, I will examine the *pandita's* dynamic relationship with his patrons and fellow translators, and chart the strategies and accommodations that allowed these relationships to bear such tremendous fruit. Rather than viewing his careers in Nepal and Tibet in isolation, I will demonstrate how ties between these two Himalayan kingdoms and the circulation of people and texts between them facilitated the development of Vanaratna's oeuvre. Looking beyond Vanaratna's personal narrative, I will probe these rich and diverse materials for potential models to enhance our understand of the broader patterns of translation, transmission, and literary production in South Asia and the Himalayan region.

James Gentry (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **An Inquiry into Source-Text Multilingualism in Tibetan Scriptural Translation: Revisiting the Proposal of Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Translation Lexicons**

It is often taken for granted that the vast majority of Buddhist scriptures in currently available Tibetan *bka' 'gyur* and proto-*bka' 'gyur* collections was translated directly from Sanskrit source texts. It is nonetheless also well attested that during and after the imperial period Tibetans sometimes considered Indian Buddhist scriptures previously rendered into Chinese, Khotanese, and other languages to be acceptable source texts for translation into Tibetan. Yet the general unreliability of translation colophons and centuries of scribal and editorial activity, which often included efforts during the imperial period and thereafter to standardize Tibetan scriptural translations according to an imperially-decreed common lexicon, have obscured the process by which these collections and their translations came into being and were transmitted. As a result, the role of Chinese and other language translations of Indic texts in Tibetan translation activity and the formation of Tibetan scriptural language remains little understood.

This paper presents preliminary findings of ongoing research into how translators and translation teams used Chinese source texts to translate, edit, and finalize translations into Tibetan, particularly during the imperial period. This research was initiated in an attempt to critically interrogate and potentially build on Rolf Stein's (1983) pioneering work on a group of Chinese texts that served as source texts for Tibetan translations. In the course of his investigation Stein postulates the possible prevalence of a "Sino-Tibetan" translation lexicon, distinct in several respects from the "Indo-Tibetan" translation lexicon represented in the imperial-period *-vyutpatti* tradition that served as the source by which imperial period and later canonical editors would often attempt to standardize the lexical choices of Tibetan language scriptures. The present research project interrogates Stein's postulate through analysis of a wider range of Tibetan and Chinese translations and use of electronically searchable canonical collections. The presentation of our guiding research question, methodology, and preliminary findings will serve as a springboard to reflect on the possibility that there may be more canonical Tibetan translations based wholly or partially on Chinese source texts than previously acknowledged in translation colophons; and that the revisions of such translations, perhaps in multiple stages, unevenly, and in consultation with different source-language texts and lexicons, may have resulted in translations rendered from hybrid and multilingual sources not entirely

traceable to either Sanskrit or Chinese lexical influence. This presentation concludes with an analysis of the broader implications of these findings for our understandings of the sources of Buddhist scriptural language in Tibet and how to effectively work with translated Tibetan scriptures as scholars and translators.

Yi Ding (Palo Alto, California)

### **Commitments, Contraventions, and Covenants: ‘The Unyielding Twenty-Eight Vajra Samayas’ and the Esoteric Community in Dunhuang**

The manuscript PC 3861/2, a unique Dunhuang Mahāyoga text titled “The Unyielding Twenty-Eight Vajra Samayas” (*Wanbushiyi jin’gang nian’ba jie*, hereafter “The Unyielding”), is of significance to the study of both Dunhuang Tibetan Buddhism and the doctrinal history of the Nyingma school. It was translated from an unrecorded Tibetan source to Chinese in late-ninth century Dunhuang, preserved in a concertina commissioned by a Prime Minister Zhang, the head of the Dunhuang government. Although two other Dunhuang Tibetan texts also briefly mention the twenty-eight samayas (ITJ 436/1 and PT 656), “The Unyielding” is the earliest extant text that provides a detailed description and discussion of the twenty-eight commitments and the accompanying rites of confession.

First, the paper contextualizes “The Unyielding” by situating it within a group of Dunhuang Tibetan Mahāyoga texts. “The Unyielding” and the related Tibetan documents represent an attempt to organize and regulate the esoteric community of ritual specialists (*slob dpon*, i.e. the initiated few), by means of a structured set of samayas. It also reflects the Tibetan transformation of Tantric samayas, which occurred in the course of the Tibetan domestication of Indic Tantric materials. In these Mahāyoga texts, the samayas evolved from highly individualized guru-disciple commitments into a system of communal covenants for governing a secret society. The emerging Mahāyoga system also integrated several kinds of ferocious deities into the local esoteric community bound by the samayas. They were held to punish “samaya-breakers” (*tshig nyams*) within a given community, fight enemies of the Dharma, and exact ritual propitiation (*bskang gso*) in return for their service.

Second, the paper examines the ways in which content concerning contraventions (transgressive practices) in “The Unyielding” is coded in order to conceal the antinomian rhetoric from the uninitiated. Though the text is fraught with linguistic difficulties, it can be decoded with the help of other Tibetan Mahāyoga texts and later Nyingma exegesis on the twenty-eight samayas, such as Rongzompa’s eleventh-century “Explaining the Permissions and Prohibitions of the Twenty-Eight Samayas” (*Dam tshig nyer brgyad kyi gnang bkag gi yi ge gsal bar bkod pa*). The exegetic maneuvers that are operative in “The Unyielding” are to be compared with those in the writings of later Nyingma masters, including Rongzompa, Nyangrel Nyima Özer, and Longchenpa.

Finally, the paper addresses the relationship between “The Unyielding” and the early formation of the Nyingma school. Much of the content of “The Unyielding” was later incorporated into the *Confession Tantra of the Spotless King* (*Dri med rgyal po’i bshags pa rgyud*), a Nyingma scripture that belongs to a Tantric circle called Hell Demolisher (*Na rak dong sprugs*). The scripture validates a system of “twenty-eight common commitments” that has been in use in the Nyingma school up to the present day. A comparison between the Dunhuang antecedents (“The Unyielding” and ITJ 584 identified by Matthew Kapstein) and the content of the *Confession Tantra* reveals how a historical core grew over time and developed into a full-fledged “Old Translation” Tantra.

Julie Regan (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

### **From the Inside Out: The Literary Production of Tibetan Buddhism**

The historical development of Tibetan Buddhism and its continuity as an ongoing tradition are fundamentally tied to acts of translation. Even as we read (or translate) the English words, “Tibetan” and “Buddhism,” we are leaping across space and time, far from the source of the words we interpret, inflect

and transform. Marking this dharma (this Buddhism) “Tibetan,” as we do in English, or *nang pa'i sangs rgyas pa'i chos*, as we do in Tibetan, demonstrates the way the authentic teachings of the Buddha are understood to be translatable and to depend on translation for their transmission. Whether the ultimate source of a Tibetan tradition resides in ancient dialect, Sanskrit *sūtra*, *dākinī* script, or non-verbal signs, crossing to the other shore in Tibetan Buddhism relies on shifts in forms of language.

In the transnational context in which Tibetan Buddhism exists today, in which access to Tibetan (*bod yig*) and textual traditions remains restricted, the translation of the dharma into modern global languages is often emphasized as a vehicle for its preservation and transmission. Whether the Tibetan Buddhism produced in translation authentically transmits the various dimensions of *nang pa'i sangs rgyas pa'i chos* is debatable, yet the Sanskrit culture which shapes Tibetan tradition depends upon its capacity for literary production to do so.

In this paper I will suggest that English, as a cosmopolitan literary language used in the Tibetan diaspora in South Asia and beyond, shares such a capacity. It is not unlike Sanskrit in its power to enable the dharma to “travel,” in the way that Sheldon Pollock has described. Despite their more obvious distinctions, Sanskrit and English share extremely rich vocabularies, abundant synonyms, flexible word order and other features which make them valuable means for the production of literary works. Drawing upon literary and translation theory in its reading, this paper will demonstrate a few key strategies Tibetans have used in English to translate a tradition of insiders (*nang pa'i sangs rgyas pa'i chos*) into the global phenomena of Tibetan Buddhism.

Ana Cristina Lopes (Greensboro, North Carolina)

### **Translating Tibetan Buddhist Practices into ‘Mindfulness’**

Over the past few decades contemplative practices derived from Tibetan Buddhist traditions have become the object of a number of scientific investigations. These experiments have paved the way for their application in contexts as diverse as medicine, psychology, education, business management, and popular culture. This steady and powerful penetration of contemplative practices into different domains of Western societies happens through a series of cultural translations that create new understandings of Tibetan Buddhism, meditation and well-being allowing for greater communication in contemporary societies. Following the basic framework of these experiments, it could be said that the extensive experience of Buddhist meditators is “captured” and “translated” through state-of-the-art brain imaging devices into images that can be interpreted by scientists; scholarly papers about these findings are published in scientific journals; and these scientific results and language are translated into more accessible publications in domains such as popular science and Buddhism.

The translation processes described here are revelatory of the multiple dimensionality involved in what has been called the “mindfulness revolution.” Indeed, in each of the “layers” of translation the prolonged effects of meditation as a scientific object is apprehended in a different light, engendering the creation of particular networks, or realities, in connection with the scientific, Tibetan Buddhist and popular spheres. Such realities, despite being intimately related to each other, do not entirely match. Further, they expand and are complicated by other “human and nonhuman actors” connected through different chains of associations, such as the advent of fMRI machines, recent developments in the areas of neuroplasticity and positive psychology, dynamics of funding sources, the forced exile of Tibetan Buddhists, the building of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in exile and so forth.

Through exploring how these realities and actors connect, or partially connect to one another this paper intends to bring to light some of the translation processes involved in the production of scientific knowledge in experiments testing contemplative practices and their broader impact for Tibetan Buddhism and society.

Benjamin Bogin (Saratoga Springs, New York)

## **The Copper-Colored Mountain in America: Translating Temple Architecture**

One of the most distinctive forms of Tibetan temple architecture is the structure known as the Copper-Colored Mountain Temple (*zangs mdog dpal ri'i lha khang*). The form is typically a three-storied representation of the Palace of Lotus Light (*pho brang padma 'od*) where Padmasambhava is said to reside on the summit of the Copper-Colored Mountain. In this paper, I will examine the construction of Copper-Colored Mountain Temples in Tehechapi, California (just west of the Mojave Desert), Crestone, Colorado (in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains), and Três Coroas, Brazil (in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul).

These sites will be interpreted as examples of the translation of a Tibetan Buddhist architectural form into new physical and cultural landscapes. By analyzing the temples themselves; the representations of the sites in publications, websites, and social media; and through interviews with members of the communities where these temples are located, I will explore translation both in concrete terms of architectural design and construction method and in the broader sense of how these structures are interpreted. These sites provide an opportunity for querying the consequences of translation by asking what is lost and what is gained when a Copper-Colored Mountain Temple is built in a land lacking the fertile ground of intersecting maps, stories, and visions that make the structures intelligible in Tibet.

Arthur McKeown (Bodhgaya)

## **Ritual Kidnapping & Honorable Placement: Translation and the Circulation of Symbolic Capital Between Bodhgaya and Tibet**

Many comparisons have been made between the early Christian Church's treatment of relics and the Buddhist cult of relics, at least as early as Gregory Schopen's account of relic veneration at the Mahābodhi temple in Bodhgayā. While the movement of Buddhist relics has also been studied, it has not yet been compared to the similar movement in the early Church. *Translation* (Lat. *translatio*) – the term used for this formal relocation of relics – and its many senses may shed light on the complementary Buddhist practice, helping to distinguish it from a mere act of triumphalism.

In particular, the translation of relics from the Mahābodhi temple in Bodhgayā to different sites in Tibet (Gyantse, Lhasa, etc.) and China (Wutai Shan, Beijing, etc.) in the fifteenth century played a critical role in indexing those sites as “Mahābodhi” or “Vajrāsana” (saliently, described not in terms of “new,” but rather “equal” or “better”). One could assess this translation as a metonymic shift, in that not only are the meanings of the “original” Vajrāsana temple displaced, but old meanings of the new relic site are also displaced as they are redesignated as “Vajrāsana.” However, the ideas behind formal Christian translation of relics may nuance what is happening. Rhetorically, Christian relics are translated to a higher status location. They may also be formally translated to a secondary location when their principal residence is undergoing renovations. In the former case, the act of translation is not the recognition of sanctity, but rather the effect of that prior recognition, which is then to move the relic to a prominent position in the church. Practically, of course, translation of relics may be viewed as a “ritual kidnapping” from the source location just as much as (or perhaps coterminous with) its “honorable placement” in the target location. The placement of a relic in a sacred site could further sacralize the relic, or conversely a sufficiently holy object could sacralize the site housing it. The translation of relics could serve to increase the bailiwick of the source reliquary, or bolster the authority of the target reliquary.

This paper argues that translation should be viewed as a dynamic, ongoing circulation of symbolic capital. As with written translation, to view a unilateral movement from single source to single target misunderstands the multiple functions of translation. In the case of the Mahābodhi temple, whereas the fifteenth century saw symbolic capital in the form of relics (bodily or architectural) being translated throughout e.g. Tibet – without this amounting to the effective “deconsecration ceremony” often written about in the context of Christian translation – the twenty-first century has witnessed an infusion of symbolic capital in

the form of relics and ritual praxis from e.g. Tibet into the Mahābodhi precinct. Indeed, the Mahābodhi complex is renewed as the circulatory heart of pan-Asian Buddhism and one of the most ritually dynamic places in the Buddhist world because these relics and rituals are then translated again as they leave the Mahābodhi. This process of circulation and translation can be seen materially not only in the ongoing deposit of relics from across the Tibetan world into the Mahābodhi precinct, but also with transnational indicators such as erstwhile Tibetan prayer flags erected by Thai pilgrims, inscribed with Thai prayers, or Korean monks and laypeople leasing prostration boards from Namgyal monastery.

Eva Seegers (Hamburg)

### **A Tibetan Buddhist Contact Zone at the Costa del Sol in Spain: The Dynamics of New Highly Visible Religious and Hybrid Spaces**

This paper is embedded in the ongoing debates on the transformation of art and architecture within cultural flows between Europa and Asia.

Mchod rten (Skt. *stūpas*) are among the most characteristic and widespread visual representations of Buddhism. They cannot be compared to other forms of historical architecture, as they are less architecture but more sculptures that carry Buddhist values. Originally designed as a container for the relics of the founder of Buddhism, they have been built in Asia for more than 2500 years and became translocated to Europe in the context of the globalisation of Buddhism.

What happens when these outstanding pieces of Buddhist material culture travel to another continent?

Based on a significant case study of a 33m walk-in *stūpa* on the Costa del Sol in Catholic Spain the paper discusses

(1) how a space becomes transformed into a Tibetan Buddhist contact zone by erecting a *stūpa*. What are the parameters for creating a Buddhist space, or more precisely, a hybrid space where tourists visit an art exhibition in the basement of the *stūpa* and take a coffee in the close-by *stūpa*-café while Buddhists hold a meditation session or ritually circumambulate the *stūpa*?

(2) As this *stūpa* is visited by Buddhists (practitioners) and non-Buddhists (tourists) alike, the question will be addressed how the semantics of a religious object may change when translocated to a new cultural and religious area. The paper will analyse to which extent the *stūpa* in Spain still represents all “traditional” concepts and uses Tibetan Buddhist semantics. It will highlight remarkable new-interpretations.

The analysis will also look at the entanglement with the countries of origin, e.g. to Nepal where Tibetan *stūpas* are built in great numbers today.

The paper engages in a qualitative ethnographic (anthropological), historical, and cross-cultural approach.

## Panel 33 – Contemporary Applications of Tibetan Buddhist Contemplation Techniques

དེང་དུས་བོད་ནང་བསྟན་སྒྲོམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལག་ལེན།

### Panel organizer

Gloria I-Ling Chien (Spokane, Washington)

**Panel abstract** – Tibetan Buddhist contemplative practices have been studied within several academic disciplines. This panel will explore largely overlooked approaches about how the methodological framework of select Tibetan meditation techniques has been integrated into secular and cultural settings or how they would enhance meditation research in psychology. This panel will focus on how Tibetan contemplation practices are growing, evolving, and being applied in various spheres.

In terms of how culture dynamics have influenced practices, Karma Lekshe Tsomo and Sara Lewis investigate the *chöd* (*gcod*) or “cutting practice” and *lojong* (mind training) meditation, respectively. Through examining diverse interpretations and lineages of *chöd* in the American and Brazilian Dharma centers, Tsomo looks at how today’s practitioners reshape the *chöd* practice through their own cultural lens. Similarly, by studying how Tibetans in Dharamsala utilize the *lojong* practice to cope with adversity, Lewis advocates that this cultural *lojong* form of resilience should be a practice of agency, rather than simply a mental health tool as most Western clinical settings use it.

Regarding the application of Tibetan contemplation practices in contemporary higher education, Gloria Chien draws on her teaching “Cognitively-Based Compassion Training” at Gonzaga University. Chien’s presentation illuminates how this secularized *lojong* (*blo sbyong*), or mind training program, complements the Ignatian pedagogy of whole-person development and caring for others.

John Dunne and Joel Gruber scrutinize how Tibetan Buddhist contemplation would help psychology’s research on today’s numerous styles of mindfulness. Using selected writings from Karma pa masters’ Mahāmudrā texts, Dunne promotes that the notion of *dran pa’i so pa*, or “spy of mindfulness,” is especially useful for understanding meta-awareness as a key component of contemporary mindfulness in its various forms. Gruber proposes that the arousal rather than relaxation of the senses, could be an alternative model for future guided mindfulness research, based on findings in sports psychology, a recent clinical study, and his ethnographic study of *bla ma’i rnal ’byor* or guru yoga practice.

To conclude, these presentations have contributed to our understanding of strategies for secularizing Tibetan Buddhist contemplative techniques, cultural influences on the implementation of those practices, and their use to enhance psychology’s research on meditation.

In light of this discussion, we need to evaluate the impact of cultural dynamics on the praxis and its adaption for pedagogical purposes in higher education. Questioning the aspects of mindfulness in psychology today offers a new platform to better understand how we should move forward applying Tibetan contemplation outside of their original spheres.

Karma Lekshe Tsomo ཀམ་ལེགས་བཤམ་མཚོ་མོ། (San Diego, California)

### Sacrificing Life and Limb in Contemporary Chöd Practice

In recent decades, a wide variety of Tibetan Buddhist contemplative practices have become influential in both Buddhist and secular contexts around the world. Among them, the practice of *chöd*, a visualization practice of offering one’s body parts to those in need, has become popular in a variety of international settings. With roots in India, the lineage of *chöd* practice as we know it today was founded by Machig Labdron, a renowned Tibetan Buddhist adept who lived almost a thousand years ago. Grounded in the teachings of the Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom) literature, the theoretical premises of the practice

are challenging, starting from the teachings on no-self and emptiness, not to mention the utopian bodhisattva ideals used to rationalize giving away one's eyes, heart, liver, and other vital organs as simulated acts of generosity. Even so, in recent decades, the practice has gained widespread currency, generating numerous courses, publications, and retreats. This paper will analyze contemporary interpretations of the practice and the diverse lineages and methods of practice that are being implemented today in Dharma centers beyond the Tibetan cultural sphere, including Tara Mandala in Colorado (U.S.) and Chagdud Gonpa in Três Coroas (Brazil). The aim of the paper is not to assess the authenticity of contemporary methods of practicing *chöd* as measured against traditional Tibetan modes of practice, but to understand how new generations of Buddhist practitioners find *chöd* practice meaningful, even when their practice may be based on a wholly different set of philosophical, cultural, and social assumptions.

Sara Lewis (Boulder, Colorado)

### **The Missing Wing: An Anthropological Study of Lojong as Psychotherapy in the US**

Drawing on a decade of anthropological research in Dharamsala, India conducted in the Tibetan language, this presentation investigates how Tibetans utilize everyday cultural wisdom framed by *lojong* (mind-training) to cope with adversity. I argue that this cultural form of resilience is better conceived of as a practice of agency than a mental health practice, despite a global interest in adapting meditation and mindfulness for use in clinical settings. *Lojong* approaches have been adapted in Western clinical settings with positive results; my argument does not seek to delegitimize these important clinical advances. However, the enterprise of “mental health” is, itself, a Euro-American construct and should not be exported automatically to contexts outside its cultural sphere. Likewise, I ask, should psychotherapists import certain concepts from Buddhism while leaving others? Whereas compassion is readily embraced as a therapeutic tool in the West, the aspects of *lojong* that draw on wisdom and emptiness tend to be discarded. I consider the ways that social justice perspectives in the West—meant to help—may actually foreclose the therapeutic potential afforded by the “missing wing” of emptiness. Structural violence theory speaks to ways that those in marginalized and oppressed positions lack agency, choice, and self-determination; placing limits on individual selfhood is itself evidence of violence. And yet, when Tibetans find themselves in difficult circumstances, they argue that one should actually take the focus off of the self to skillfully cope with problems. Thus, this presentation considers both the perils and promises of cross-cultural exchange.

Gloria I-Ling Chien (Spokane, Washington)

### **Complementary Practices: Lojong and Ignatian Pedagogy**

Derived from Tibetan Buddhist *lojong* (*blo sbyong*) or “mind training” practice, the program of Cognitively-Based Compassion Training (CBCT) has been applied to various professional fields and research projects since 2005. However, the extent to which CBCT's secular frame promotes the goal of Jesuit higher education, rarely draws scholarly discussion. To remedy this gap, this paper will address CBCT's compatibility with Ignatian core principles drawing on my teaching experience of CBCT at Gonzaga University. This presentation will examine CBCT's strategies that adapt contemplative techniques and theories from *lojong* and *lam rim* (stages of the path) texts. To borrow Brooke Dodson-Lavelle's term, I will first argue that CBCT's “moderately open secular” frame allows CBCT's implicit Buddhist philosophy accessible to the Catholic identity. Drawing from experience in teaching CBCT at Gonzaga, the paper will further show how CBCT enhances participants' emotional wellbeing and widens their awareness of ethical concerns and social justice. This enhancement corresponds to the Jesuit value of developing a whole person (*cura personalis*) and caring for others. By applying Ignatian pedagogy and Bernard Lonergan's theories, this paper will also analyze how CBCT's teaching strategy and three-level heuristic learning model embraces the five key Ignatian education elements: context, experience, reflection, ac-

tion, and evaluation. In conclusion, by examining CBCT's adaption of *lojong* literature and reflecting on leading CBCT classes at Gonzaga, this research contributes to our understanding of how a contemporary Tibetan Buddhist contemplative program complements the Jesuit educational objective to develop a mindset against the injustice and pain of others.

John Dunne (Madison, Wisconsin)

### **Mindfulness, Meta-Awareness and the Spy**

Under the rubric of “Mindfulness” now fall a wide variety of meditation styles, most of which have been developed and are deployed in entirely secular contexts. This plurality of styles poses problems for the psychological study of mindfulness, and many attempts to clarify Mindfulness as a psychological construct have often turned to Buddhist accounts as a means to justify the singularity of that construct, in light of the diversity of styles. This paper contributes to that endeavor by focusing especially on a specific aspect of Mindfulness that runs through its many styles: meta-awareness. Defined here in a way that closely aligns with *shes bzhin*, meta-awareness is constituted by the monitoring of awareness in an ongoing fashion that does not disrupt the mind's primary focus. Comparing various Tibetan accounts of *shes bzhin*, this paper argues that, for the analysis of contemporary Mindfulness, the most useful account emerges from the notion of the “spy of mindfulness” (*dran pa'i so pa*). Based on selected passages in the works of Karma Dbang phyug rdo rje, Dwags po Bkra shis rnam rgyal, and rTse le Sna tshogs rang grol, I examine how the “spy” is related to earlier notions of reflexive awareness (*rang rig*). Turning to a secularization of basic Mahāmudrā practice as an especially obvious example, I then show how the version of meta-awareness that emerges from this account is especially useful for understanding a key component of contemporary Mindfulness in its various forms.

## Panel 43 – Guru Devotion in Tibetan Religiosity

བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ལ་སྐྱེ་མ་ལ་མོས་གུས།

### Panel organizer

Geoffrey Barstow (Corvallis, Oregon)

**Panel abstract** – Having faith (*dad pa*) and devotion (*mos gus*) towards one’s teacher is a central aspect of Tibetan religiosity. But guru devotion is also a subtle and complex practice, with significant variations across different lineages, geographical regions and individual relationships. Its proponents suggest it is the quickest route to Buddhahood, but also display an awareness of its potential danger. This panel assembles papers that draw on biographies, prayers, lineage histories, advice literature and other textual genres in order to approach this practice from a variety of perspectives, including both the normative expectations surrounding guru devotion, its literary representation, and lived aspects of the practice.

This panel’s first paper looks at Dromtonpa’s practice of devotion towards his teachers, particularly Atiśa. It discusses how Dromton devoted his life to his teacher, and the affective role this devotion played in the transmission of the lineage from Atiśa to Dromtonpa. Our second paper also looks at an early of guru devotion, this time in Dakpo Kagyü literature, particularly the biographies of Gampopa. This literature asserts that devotion is capable of producing powerful soteriological effects, even in the absence of other practices. Rather than focusing solely on these claims, however, this paper turns its attention to the use of this type of devotion as a literary device, comparing this Tibetan perspective with literary uses of devotion in Indic Bhakti literature. Our third paper looks at another normative example of guru devotion, this time examining the role of faith in Jigmé Lingpa’s refuge verse for his *Longchen Nyingthik* cycle, considered in the light of commentaries by Patrül Rinpoché and Adzom Drukpa. It considers how this refuge verse leads students through a series of devotional practices, ultimately leading (ideally) to an affective response that promotes a non-dual vision that aligns with the ultimate fruition of Dzogchen practice.

Our fourth paper turns away from normative expectations to look at instances in which disciples reject or avoid their guru’s advice. Drawing primarily on Tibetan biographical literature, this paper complicates discussions of guru devotion by illuminating ways in which the tradition acknowledges and accommodates the practical difficulties of implementing the idealized devotion so prized by the broader tradition. Finally, the fifth paper in this panel approaches devotion from a literary perspective, looking at the rhetoric of indivisibility that surrounds the guru / disciple transmission, particularly the phrase “like pouring water into water.” It notes ways in which this rhetoric creates a sense of lineage authenticity, while also pointing to the intensely emotional, affective aspect of this relationship revealed by these idealized depictions.

Lara Braitstein (Montreal) [co-authored with Trungram Gyaltrul Rinpoche Sherpa (Cragmoor, New York)]

### Reading Devotion in the Life of Gampopa

In attempting to understand the history and practice of mantric Tibetan Buddhism, we often find ourselves pointed towards *rnam thar* as the exemplary source from which we may learn about the inner and outer elements of the path of the ideal mantric practitioner. In a traditional context, *rnam thar* are also read, taught and evoked as sources for lineage history. The lives of the successive masters and disciples, or lives recounted around a specific locale or tantric transmission, largely describe how communities define and understand their pasts and their present, and serve as sources for learning about practice. In an important (though not exclusive) sense, therefore, the study of the history and practice of Tibetan Buddhism can be the study of a literary tradition.

Perhaps the most central defining feature of what is taught/learned through *rnam thar* in the Dwags po Bka' brgyud is guru devotion. Disciples with pure devotion to the guru can be seen to bypass virtually every other form of practice: initiations, study, institutionally sanctioned forms of contemplative practice. All of these may be jettisoned if devotion to the guru is strong enough. But what is guru devotion, and how should it be expressed? The struggle with guru devotion defines many of the most gripping controversies found in living Tibetan Buddhist communities today.

In this paper we examine guru devotion in the Bka' brgyud lineage not as a lived practice, but instead as a literary device. Not only that, but we suggest in addition that this literary device that has so deeply affected the entirety of the mantric traditions of Tibet is likely deeply influenced by the literatures and lineages of Bhakti traditions. Using a set of five lives of Sgam po pa as a focal point, we examine the descriptions of Sgam po pa's emotional life, with specific reference to the growth and nuances of his devotion to Milarepa. Here, for example, we compare *dad pa* and *mos gus*. The language and emotive impact will then be compared to the language found in deity devotion among both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints identified as part of the Bhakti tradition. Possible modes and moments of transmission of bhakti texts, narratives, and moods of devotion will also be discussed.

The lives of Sgam po pa include: autobiographical accounts found in his correspondence with his disciple Dus gsum chen pa, and *rnam thar* composed after his death by 'Ba' rom (circa second half of 12<sup>th</sup> century), Rgyal thang pa (mid-13<sup>th</sup> century), Mkha mchod dbang po (1350-1405), and Rwa lung (late 14<sup>th</sup> century). Bhakti sources draw broadly from writings by the Nayanars and Alvars.

Renee Ford (Lafayette, Colorado)

### **Faith, an Open Flower: Jigme Lingpa's refuge verse in the Heart Essence, Vast Expanse**

Rigdzin Jigmé Lingpa (*rig 'dzin 'jigs med gling pa*, 1730 – 1798) refuge vow verse found in his foundational practices (*rdzogs pa chen po klong chen snying thig gi thun mong dang thun mong ma yin pa'i khrid yig*) is a distillation of the nine vehicle teachings in the Nyingma tradition specifically in the *klong chen snying thig*. Other Nyingma masters like Dza Patrul (*Dza rdza dpal sprul o rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po*, 1808–1887) in *Words of My Perfect Teacher* and Adzom Drukpa Drondul Pawo Dorje (*a 'dzom 'brug pa 'gro 'dul dpa' bo rdo rje*, 1842 – 1924) in *The Lamp that Illuminates the Path to Liberation* provide commentary on this verse with explanations of faith. In refuge practice, faith is quoted as being a necessary component in tantra and dzogchen.

I look at how Jigme Lingpa's refuge verse as a tantric practice in the foundational practices functions with faith as a means to cultivate confident faith (*vid ches kyi dad pa*) in one self. My explanation of how faith functions within this verse demonstrates how Jigme Lingpa includes faith towards external, internal, and non-dual refuges (sūtra, tantra, and dzogchen interpretations), which these three are not considered different in the *klong chen snying thig* and dzogchen at large. Finally, I illuminate how faith is necessary, as an affective ritualized practice, for uncovering an epistemological state of effortless, natural, and uncontrived, which dzogchen describes as the final fruition.

Geoffrey Barstow (Corvallis, Oregon)

### **Disagreeing with Your Master: Patterns of Resistance to a Teacher's Commands in Tibetan Life Writing**

Numerous Tibetan Buddhist texts encourage cultivating devotion (*mos gus*) and faith (*dad pa*) towards one's tantric master. One consequence of this devotion is that disciples should understand their teacher's instructions as binding commands. Given the importance the Tibetan tradition places on guru devotion, it is not surprising that Tibetan biographical literature tends to frame its subjects as deeply devoted to their teachers. Some of these same biographical and autobiographical texts, however, also relate stories

in which disciples disagree with their teacher’s instructions. It is these stories that I analyze in this paper. While devotion to one’s guru always was rarely—if ever—rejected outright, the authors of these texts were comfortable recalling stories in which their subjects questioned, manipulated, resisted, and sometimes simply rejected their teacher’s specific instructions.

Not surprisingly, the degree of resistance portrayed in these works varies considerably. On the one hand, there are many stories of students who go against their teacher’s instructions but who come to regret this later, ultimately recognizing that their teacher was right all along. Slightly farther along the resistance spectrum are stories in which disciples seek to get around their teacher’s commands in one way or another. Even farther along, there are stories in which a student respectfully declines their teacher’s advice or command. Finally, there are at least a few stories where disciples flagrantly disobey their teacher’s command. None of these texts outright reject guru devotion as a practice, and I have found very few scenes where the subject unabashedly rejects their teacher’s explicit instructions. Nevertheless, when it comes to the actual implementation of that devotion, these stories reveal that authors of biographical and autobiographical literature were comfortable recounting episodes in which their subjects questioned and resisted commands that they did not like.

Annabella Pitkin ((New York, New York)

### ***Chu la chu thim pa ltar* - “Like water dissolving into water:” Imaginaries of Intimacy and Authenticity in Tibetan Buddhist Transmission Lineages**

Tibetan writers use phrases such as “like pouring water into water” (*chu la chu bzhag pa ltar*), or “like water dissolving into water” (*chu la chu thim pa ltar*) to describe the way Buddhist teachers ideally transmit Buddhist insights and techniques to students, in a complete, perfect way in which nothing is lost. The lama is said to “pour” his or her teachings without reservation into a primary or “heart” disciple, who is supposed to receive the transmission without error: thus the process is “like pouring water into water.” As this evocative phrase suggests, Tibetan Buddhist exegetes and texts from multiple literary genres tend to emphasize the indivisibility and connectedness of teachers and students within Buddhist transmission lineages (*bla ma’i brgyud*, *snyan brgyud* and similar categories), although as other papers on this panel note, and as this paper briefly explores, guru-disciple relationships also may contain significant experiences of conflict or separation.

Phrases like “water into water” highlight the stability, completeness and continuity of particular guru-disciple transmissions, and underscore the authenticity and authority of a given lineage. From the soteriological standpoint of Buddhist realization, the indivisibility of guru-disciple pairs inspires confidence a lineage’s efficacy. The perceived authenticity and authority of a lineage also matters for the flourishing of a lineage in social, political and economic terms (Roesler 2008). Claims about transmission lineages in fact underlie Buddhist claims about authority and authenticity throughout the Buddhist world (Yampolsky 1967; Buswell 1989; Faure 1991; Gyatso 1998; Diemberger 2007; Quintman 2014).

But narratives of guru-disciple relationship are not simply functional abstractions. On the contrary, Tibetan oral and literary descriptions of guru-disciple connection use the vocabulary of intense emotion. This paper argues that recurring tropes such as “like water into water” illuminate repertoires of affect that are essential for understanding dynamics of guru-disciple relationship, and constitute affective imaginaries (Collins 2006) of guru-disciple transmission. Drawing on examples from genres including religious biography (*rnam ‘thar*), collections of life stories of lineage masters (*gser ‘phreng*) and supplication prayers (*gsol ‘debs*), with a particular focus on contemporary figures and publications, this paper examines imagery of indivisibility, and the sensory repertoires which disclose guru-disciple connection.

By looking specifically at imaginaries and representations of affect in depictions of guru-disciple relationship, this paper inquires how these affective imaginaries shape accounts of conflict, continuity and change within a given lineage. Complementing other papers on this panel, which explore guru devotion in the context of specific meditation practices and philosophical systems, as well as disagreements between students and teachers, this paper looks directly at the rhetoric of indivisibility against which teacher-student disagreement or separation appears so startling, and asks how the rhetoric of indivisibility may help lineages to manage these separations.

Ngag dbang rdo rje ངག་དབང་རྫོ་རྗེ། | Awangduoji (Ngawang Dorje) (Beijing)

ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་དང་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པའི་སློབ་གྲི་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱད་པ།

དབྱད་རྩོམ་འདིར་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པས་སླ་མ་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྟེན་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱད་པ་བཏང་ཡོད་དེ། ཁོང་གིས་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་སྟོན་གྱི་སླ་མ་སྣ་ཞུ་ནམ་རྗེ་རྗེ་དབང་ལྷུག་དང་བསེ་བཙུན་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྟེན་ནས་དཀའ་བ་ཇི་ལྟར་དབྱད་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་གྲེང་སྟོང་བྱས་ཡོད་ལ། དེ་མཇུག་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པས་ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྟེན་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱད་པ་བཏང་བ་བརྒྱད་དེ། ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་ཁོང་གི་སློབ་མ་ལུང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྲོད་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པ་ཉིད་རང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་ཏེ་སྐྱེས་བུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་གདམས་པ་གནང་ས་བ་དང་། འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པས་དེའི་འཆད་ཉན་རྒྱ་ཆེར་སྤེལ་ནས་བཀའ་གདམས་པའི་བསྟེན་པའི་སློབ་པར་བརྟེན་པའི་འཚུགས། དེའི་དབྱད་རྩོམ་འདིར་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པས་ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྟེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དང་། མཐར་ཨ་ཏི་ཤས་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པ་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དུ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན། ཕྱིས་སུ་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པས་ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་བསྟེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དེ་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟེན་གྱི་སློབ་པའི་མཐོང་པོ་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་བའི་སྐོར་སོགས་གྲེང་ཡོད།

This paper looks at the role of Guru devotion practiced by Dromtonpa Gyelwa Jungne in his biographies. In the beginning part, I give a broad sense of how he presents his devotion to his early teachers, Nanam Dorje Wangchuk and Setsun. Then, I focused on how Dromtonpa devoted the whole of his life serving Atiṣa, and how and why Atiṣa transferred the transmission of the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment to Dromtonpa and appointed Dromtonpa as holder of Atiṣa’s lineage. Furthermore, I explain how the Guru devotion practiced by Dromtonpa ultimately leads to an affective role in the transferring of Atiṣa’s tantric lineage, and how it became a model of devotional practice for later generations of Tibetan Buddhists.

## Panel 46 – The Northern Treasure Tradition (*Byang gter*)

བྱང་གཏེར།

### Panel organizer

Jay Valentine (Montgomery, Alabama)

**Panel abstract** – The corpus of the Northern Treasure Tradition was revealed by a series of treasure revealers who were active between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, beginning with bZang po grags pa (14<sup>th</sup> c.) and Rig ‘dzin rGod ldem (1337–1409). After flourishing for more than two hundred years in the Ngam ring region of Byang, the scriptures of the Northern Treasure Tradition were employed as the basis of the ritual program for a network of monasteries throughout Tibet under the direction of the incarnations of Rig ‘dzin rGod ldem seated at rDo rje brag Monastery in Central Tibet (*dBus*). Panelists will present new research that focuses on some aspect of the Northern Treasure Tradition, including, but not limited to, important personages, locations, or practice cycles associated with the tradition.

Jay Valentine (Montgomery, Alabama)

### **An Introduction to The Chariot of Marvels: Northern Treasure Master Padma ‘phrin las’s Memoir of a Journey to Ngam ring in 1690**

Just before the commencement of the Sa ga zla ba festivities of 1690, the fifty-year-old Padma ‘phrin las (1641–1717), throne-holder of rDo rje brag Monastery in Central Tibet and fourth incarnation of Rig ‘dzin rGod ldem chen (1337-1409), departed on a four-month pilgrimage to Ngam ring, the original epicenter of the Northern Treasure Tradition (*Byang gter*). Padma ‘phrin las’s 150-page memoir of this journey, entitled *The Chariot of Marvels* (*nGo ‘tshar ‘dren pa’i shing rta*), is contained within his massive autobiography. Therein, one finds a protagonist who is still healing from the loss of his lifelong preceptor and benefactor, the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), whose death he must hide even within the pages of his own autobiography. Along the way to and from Ngam ring, Padma ‘phrin las was received as a master of celebrity status by both religious and secular leaders, and he offered a nearly constant stream of benedictions and empowerments.

As an introduction to this travel log, I will first offer a summary of the major destinations and events that constituted his itinerary. This presentation, however, will largely focus on the passages that reflect Padma ‘phrin las’s preoccupation with the lives and legacies of the previous masters of the Northern Treasure Tradition, including his own incarnations and the patriarchs of the Se and Me lineages of his tradition that he encounters in Ngam ring.

Zsóka Gelle (Szombathely)

### **‘Extraordinary and Marvelous Nectar for the Ear’ — The Life and Works of Zilnon Wangyal Dorje, the 4<sup>th</sup> Yolmowa Tulku**

The ‘Extraordinary and marvelous nectar for the ear’ is an autobiography written by Rigzin Zilnon Wangyal Dorje (Rig ‘dzin Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje, 1647-1716). He was the 4<sup>th</sup> incarnation of the Yolmowa Tulku lineage, a line of Tibetan lamas following the Northern Treasure (T: *byang gter*) tradition, who were the owners of Tsiri Gonpa in Yolmo, and the stewards of the Bodhnath stupa in the Kathmandu Valley.

The previous incarnation, the third Yolmowa Tenzin Norbu (Yol mo ba bsTan ‘dzin nor bu, 1598-1644) was the regent of Dorje Drag (rDo rje brag) – the centre of the Northern Treasure tradition in Lhoka –, a high lama and treasure master (*gter ston*) with knowledge, connections and influence. Zilnon Wangyal Dorje was the son of Yolmo Tenzin Norbu’s disciple, Rigzin Tobden Wangpo (Rig ‘dzin sTobs ldan

dbang po), who was sent by his teacher to Bodhnath to be the representative of the Jarung Khashor stupa and the overseer of the monasteries in Yolmo. His son was born in Gyaling Gonpa (rGya gling dgon pa) in Tsang province, in his previous seat during a visit, and was tested several times to prove, that he is the true reincarnation of Tenzin Norbu. Zilnon Wangyal Dorje was a quick learner, and after finishing his studies, he was ordained by the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama already at the age of 13. Then he travelled widely in Tibet, and after he received a land grant of Melemchi around 1676, he also spent some years in meditation in Yolmo. We find among his patrons King Pratap Malla (1641-1674), who married one of his sisters, and Prithvipati Shah (r. 1667-1714), the Gorkha ruler, and his father, Rudra Shah (?-1673), who were visited by him in Gorkha. He also held the stewardship of the stupa in Bodhnath and wrote a number of minor works published in his single-volume collected works (*gsung thor bu*), which consists the aforementioned outer biography, an inner and secret biography recounting his visionary experiences, and instructions on the practice of guru yoga and other teachings.

His autobiography provides some new and important data, which will help to enhance our understanding of the power struggle for controlling the Himalayan border zone and the political contacts and cultural transfer between Tibet and Nepal in the 17-18<sup>th</sup> century.

Stéphane Arguillère (Rouen)

### **The “Byang gter-isation” of a Monastery in the mGo log area: Khams *sPrul* Shes rab me ’bar (1752-1814) and his successors in ’Khor gdong**

’Khor gdong in the gSer tha area (BDRC : G3842) was, under the 8 first recorded generations of the family line that ruled it, a community of sngags pa of unknown *rnying ma* obedience. The 9<sup>th</sup>, Khams *sPrul* Shes rab me ’bar (1752-1814), a disciple of important Byang gter masters of Central Tibet, converted ’Khor gdong into a purely Byang gter institution — an unexpected choice in a time so close to the destructions caused by the Dzungars in rDo rje brag (1716-1718), and in which the rNying ma school was dominated by the figure of ’Jigs med gling pa (1729/30-1798), in an area which was rather under the influence of both rDzogs chen and Kaḥ thog Monasteries. There were a few other Byang gter monasteries in Eastern Tibet, but the case of ’Khor gdong has been regarded as remarkable enough for this monastery to be the only one discussed in the section about Byang gter in Khams in the recent *Byang gter chos ’byung* (in BDRC : W2PD17457).

We have quite abundant materials about ’Khor gdong, including the large *Secret autobiography* of Shes rab me ’bar’s nephew and successor, *gTer chen* Nus ldan rdo rje (1802-1863 : P1KG6979) and a biography of Nus ldan rdo rje’s own disciple, mGon po dbang rgyal (1845-1915) written (W3PD247) by *sPrul sku* Tshul lo (Tshul khriims bzang po, 1895-1954, P6090). The main reason why ’Khor gdong is given such a status in the *Byang gter chos ’byung* might precisely be that this family-line includes this *sPrul sku* Tshul lo, one of the most outstanding *rnying ma* writers in the generation following Mi pham (1846-1912), mostly known for his large biography of Las rab gling pa (P5970) and his very complete practice manual of the *dGongs pa zang thal*, but whose writings include many other valuable treatises in many fields.

Why did the ’Khor gdong masters chose rDo rje brag and the Byang gter tradition as a model to standardize their liturgy and curriculum? To answer this question, I will inquire primarily in the available biographical materials, both from ’Khor gdong proper and from the relevant masters of Central and Eastern Tibet. As secondary sources, besides other available historiographical documents, I will interview lamas from the ’Khor gdong Monastery and research into Nus ldan rdo rje’s *gter chos* and *sPrul sku* Tshul lo’s writings. I will also to try set up a comparative approach with other rNying ma institutions of Eastern Tibet that, in more or less the same period of time, decided to “normalize” their liturgy on the standards of Central Tibetan great monasteries — and try to figure out how the adoption of a comparatively old ritual system could be combined with the arising of attractive new sets of revelations (*gter gsar*). The case of ’Khor gdong is, of course, quite original, as it clearly pre-existed its “Byang gter-isation” and had a strong family-line of lamas at its head during all the process, whose will it was to adopt the Byang gter, not only as a liturgy, but, to a large extend, also as a system for personal practice.

Kanako Shinga (Saitama)

### **Glimpses of the Pure Awareness of Immortality in the lCags-kyi-sdong-po, a Longevity Practice of the Northern Treasure Tradition**

The Iron-Stalk (lCags-kyi-sdong-po, hereafter CD), a longevity practice of the Northern Treasure Tradition, has been practiced by a long line of important luminaries in Tibet including the great adept Thang-stong-rgyal-po (1361–1485?).

In my previous studies, I have demonstrated that the *āyuhśādhana* (*tshe sgrub*) played a crucial role in Thang-stong-rgyal-po's attainment of immortality. According to the hagiographico-biographical literature (*rnam thar*) written by his direct/indirect disciples, he was said to have a formidable lifespan of roughly 125 years through his perfection of the CD, and cultivated life-long devotion to altruistic acts, e.g., building iron suspension bridges (*lcags zam*) over hundreds of rivers. Such distinctive attribute of the Mahāsiddha (Grub-thob-chen- po) offered the doctrinal foundation for the so-called “The Iron-Bridge pathways to enlightenment (*lcags zam byang chub kyi rgyu lam*)”, later also known as his own “Iron- Bridge tradition (lCags-zam-lugs)”.

In this paper, I will present new research that focuses on two issues related to this important longevity practice. First, textual analysis will focus on the term “*chi med rig 'dzin*”. It will be shown that *amṛta* can be symbolized in the mental state of *vidyādhara*. Second, I will examine the non-sectarian transmission of the CD based on *gsan/thob yig* records of later masters that received the longevity practice. Evidence will mainly be drawn from the records of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang bLo-bzang rGya-mtsho (1617/1682) and the 31<sup>st</sup> Sa- skya Khri-chen Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' bLo-gros (1729/1783).

Frederica Grassi (Bari)

### **thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dbyings sgrol Ceremony 'Cham: Screenshot of a Byang gter Ritual Performed in Western Tibet – Syncretism and Integrity of a Tradition**

The Northern Treasure Tradition (Byang gter) reached Rengong, in the Tibetan region of Amdo (Chinese Province of Qinghai), in the early XVIII century thanks to Rigzin Palden Tashi and Janlong Balchen Nmaka Jigmel; it has been kept alive for more than 300 years and it is still present in some areas nowadays.

Object of this study is the cycle of 'cham currently performed in Rebgong as part of one of the Byang gter rituals: the annual ceremony held in honor of *thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dbyings sgrol*, during the first 5 days of the lunar 10<sup>th</sup> month.

This ceremony was introduced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Rindzin Palden Tashi from Rebgong (1688-1740). Formerly of Ghelukpa tradition, at the age of 29 he went to Lhasa to pursue his studies and during this period he was initiated to the Nyingmapa tradition. He started his training in Mindrolling Monastery and later he moved to the rDo rje brag Monastery where he fully accomplished his studies. He became one of the Byang gter Masters and back in Amdo he spread the rDo rje brag tradition among the local Nying-ma-pa practitioners.

One of the features of this cycle of 'cham performed in the last 2 days of the Ceremony is that it develops in two different moments: the indoor 'cham (esoteric aspect of the ceremony held at night inside the temple) and the outdoor 'cham (which takes place daytime in the main yard of the village hosting the ceremony). Of these two, only the indoor 'cham dates back to the *Byang gter*. The 'cham *yig* of the outdoor 'cham dates back to Lochen Dharmashrî (1654-1717, from Mindroling Monastery), who was inspired by one of the rituals of Lama Nyima Ösor (Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124-1192).

The cycle of 'cham hold in occasion of the *thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dbyings sgrol* ceremony is a very particular example of the syncretism which characterizes most of the Tibetan rituals.

Moreover, as for the entire tradition, also 'cham practice was suspended during the Cultural Revolution and resumed only in the '80. The main structure of the current performance is still faithful to its origins, but due to the gap of the last century some parts of the tradition went lost.

This research on one hand aims to provide a sort of exegesis of the '*cham* text: what the present '*cham yig* provides for? Why even being part of the same tradition the '*cham* performed in different village has some peculiarities – usually '*cham yig* are extremely precise and detailed? Was the original '*cham yig* fully faithful to the rDo rje brag tradition in TAR? Back in the '80 was the '*cham* text fully or partially re-written?

And on the other hand, the study will dig into the syncretic synergy of the two cycles of '*cham* belonging to two different traditions. Has the integrity of the original *Byang gter* ritual been jeopardized by the co-performance with the Lochen Dharmashri's outdoor '*cham*? What is the connection between the two rituals?

On the background the contemporary society: the practitioners and the audience. '*Cham* is the magical moment in which the esoteric rituals open up to the community. Despite all the social-economical changes people still find their identity into rituals dating back hundreds years.

## Panel 49 – The Many Faces of Bon: Moving across Centre and Periphery

གཡུང་རྒྱུད་བོན་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས། དབུས་མཐའ་ཡོངས་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

### Panel organizer

J.F. Marc Des Jardins (Montreal)

**Panel abstract** – Recent studies on the variety of Bon practices have come to recognize the complexity of Bon lineages and schools in the extended Tibetan regions and frontier lands. The model where there is one single ancient pre-Buddhist religion of the Tibetan called ‘Bon’ which later adapted under the pressure of the Buddhist theological hegemony does not seem to be supported by evidence. The latter points to a multiplicity of sources and religious strategies which have incorporated various heterogeneous elements. Many of these have found their ways into the current Bon canonical literature or other compendia, ritual and others. This panel seeks to gather scholars researching different ‘strands’ of Bon in order to better update frontline research findings as well as to discuss a number of important point on terminology, conceptual understanding of Bon, its variety, history, development and others. This panel will conclude with discussions on the above topics.

Donatella Rossi (Rome)

### A Translation of Pelliot *Tibétain* 1047. Presentation and Hermeneutical Remarks

PT 1047 is acknowledged as a divination text specifically dedicated to the mantic praxeology styled *Ju thig*, which is still performed nowadays. This complex system and the ancillary and abridged techniques deriving from it were greatly renowned and diffused in the ancient Bon tradition which cultivated a vast literature in that regard. ’Ju Mi pham ’Jam dbyangs nam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846-1912), one of the most prominent scholars of the rNying ma tradition, dedicated an extensive treatise to the subject-matter, the *Srid pa ’phrul gyi ju thig gi dpyad don snang gsal sgron me* (composed in 1885).

As it is known, PT 1047 has been the object of investigation by Ariane Macdonald in relation to an eminent study published in 1971 (*Une lecture des Pelliot tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047 et 1290: Essai sur la formation et l’emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroñ-bcan sgam-po*), where she describes the document and analyzes it in a religious historical fashion. The aim of this contribution is that of presenting the integral translation of PT 1047—carried out thanks to the invaluable cooperation of the Ven. Lopon Trinley Nyima (1962-), principal instructor of the New Menri Monastery in Dolanji, India—and of hermeneutically highlighting salient emic and semantic features so as to further comparative discourse on the socio-cultural role of divination in Tibet.

Tshe ring thar ཚེ་རིང་ཐར། | Tsering Thar (Beijing)

### *Sang rgyas bstan pa* Means which Religion?

Seems that from the period of Songtsan Gampo of the seventh century, the texts of both Buddhism and Bon religion have been produced more and more in Tibetan history. The King Songtsan Gampo introduced Buddhism into Tibet and it has been accepted by historians as a historical event, but, until the period of Khrisong Detsan of the eighth century, the spread of Buddhism was limited only in the royal family. Even after the powerful spread of Buddhism by Khrisong Detsan, a long historical period existed in the history in which Bon religion did have an own time and space to continue their tradition without Buddhist influence. In the recent years, a lot of manuscript documents of Srid pavi Bon has been found in East parts of Tibetan area in China, Nepal and Bhutan, some of them are rarely pure Bonpo texts without any influence of Buddhism. These manuscripts frequently mentioned a word as *ban de dang sang rgyas bstan pa*, after a

serious research, it was found that ban de meant Buddhism and *sang rgyas bstan pa* meant Bon religion in those certain cases. It was diametrically opposite with the later usage of Sang rgyas bstan pa (or Sang rgyas chos lugs) in which *sang rgyas bstan pa* means Buddhism. Obviously the meaning of *sang rgyas bstan pa* experienced a long period of evolution process.

This paper try to trace back the usage and meaning of word *sang rgyas bstan pa* and try to study its historical background and reasons.

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### Tantric Ritual Standardisation in g.Yung drung Bon: Common Ritual Template underlying the Tantric cycles of Phur Nag, and Ma rgyud

*The Net of Sunrays, a commentary on the Lore of the Root-Tantra of the Great Precious Compendium* (kun 'dus rin che rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel ba nyi zer drwa ba) attributed to Dran pa Nam mkha' is an important source for Bonpo scholars and practitioners that purports to give a general *exposé* on the system of the vehicle of the Secret Mantras (sangs sngags). This source, yet to be dated, is part of the curriculum of Bonpo dge bshes and lays out a step by step demonstration of the required points for the practice of the Bon Tantric cycles. Its various categories introduce a systematic approach and taxonomic groups that detail ritual moments and the ideal sequence for the propitiation of Tantric tutelary deities, as well as the performance of their five activities. This paper examine how this scheme is reflected in the ritual rubrics (zin ris/lag len/man ngag) of two major Tantric cycles of Bon, the Phur nag (aka 'Brug gsas chem pa for the name of the central deity) and the Ma rgyud cycles. It examines how these two corpuses follow the main points of the *Commentary* and how the latter possibly helped 'standardize' Tantric ritual performance in g.Yung drung Bon.

Bla ma skal bzang 'jigs bral ལྷ་མ་སྐལ་བཟང་འཛིགས་བྲལ། | Lama Kalsang Jigdel

### རོང་སྟོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་དང་གསུང་རྩོམ་ལ་གསལ་དུ་དཔྱད་པ།

ལོ་ངོ་ལ་ཤས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་ཚམ་ནས་ངས་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རོང་སྟོན་ཚེ་པོ་ཤེས་བྱ་ཀུན་རིག་ (1367-1451)

མཚོག་གི་སྐོར་ལ་ཞེས་འཇུག་བྱེད་འགོ་བཙུགས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་གཙོ་བོ་ཁོང་གིས་ཐོག་མཐའ་གཉིས་སུ་སྟོབ་གཉེར་མཛད་པའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་དང་།  
མཇུག་གཉིས་སུ་དཔྱད་གསུམ་དག་པས་ལེགས་བཤད་གསུང་རྩོམ་ཇི་ཚམ་མཛད་པའི་སྟོར།  
དངོས་ཤུགས་གཉིས་སུ་པ་རོལ་རྒྱལ་བའི་དཔྱད་ཚོགས་བརྒྱལ་བཏག་རིག་པས་པམ་པར་མཛད་པའི་ཚུལ།  
འབྲུངས་འདས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཚོགས་མེ་མཐུན་པ་རྣམས་བཅས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་གསལ་དུ་ལུ་ཚིས་ཡིན།  
དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དེར་ངས་དེ་སྟོན་ཡོངས་སུ་མ་གྲགས་པའི་གནད་དོན་ཁག་གཅིག་གཙོ་བོ་འདོན་བྱས་ནས་སློང་རྒྱ་ཡིན།  
དེ་ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་བཟུང་རྩོམ་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁག་གི་ནང་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རོང་སྟོན་གྱི་འབྲུངས་ལོ་དང་འདས་ལོ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་དུང་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་འཕན་པོ་རྣམས་ལྟུགས་བ  
ཏུ་བཏོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཚོགས་མད་ལ་མེ་མཐུན་པ་དུ་མར་མཚོས་པ་རྣམས་འདིར་དཔྱད་བསྟར་གྱིས་གསལ་བྱེད་འོག་གི་ལོ་ཚོགས་དངོས་དེ་ག་དུས་ཡིན་མིན་ལུ  
ངས་བསྐྱལ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པར་མ་ཟད། དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་ནས་ཁོང་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་སམ་མཇུག་སུ་  
ཞེས་པའི་མཁས་པ་གཞན་ཡང་བྱུང་ཡོད་པའི་སྟོར་ཡང་སློང་རྒྱ་ཡིན།  
ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རོང་སྟོན་ནི་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱ་པའི་མཁས་པ་ཚེ་པོ་ཞེས་ཡིན་པར་ཚོད་མེད་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་ཁར་བོན་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་མ་ཡང་བསྟེན་སྟོང་རབ  
ས་གསུངས་པ་ཚམ་ལས་ད་བར་ཁ་གསལ་བྱུང་མེད་ལྟ་བུས།  
དོན་དངོས་སུ་ཁོང་གིས་མཇུག་བོན་གྱི་མཁས་པ་ཇི་ཚམ་ལ་བསྟེན་གཏུགས་གནང་སྟེ་རིག་པའི་གནས་ཆེ་ལྷ་ཁག་གང་ལ་གསལ་སྟོང་གནང་བའི་སྟོར་དང་།  
ཁོང་གི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འབྲི་བ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དམ་པ་འདིའི་སྟོ་སྟེ་སྟོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ནང་བཀོད་མེད་པའི་གསུང་རྩོམ་ཁག་སྟེ་དང་།  
ལྷག་པར་དུ་དེ་སྟོན་སུས་ཀྱང་ཚད་མ་ཚོད་པའི་བོན་གྱི་བཀའ་བརྟེན་ནང་བཞགས་པའི་  
<<སྟེ་སྟེགས་ཚར་གཙོད་གཏན་ཚོགས་ཐོག་མདོའི་འགལ་པ་>>  
སོགས་ཀྱིས་མཚོན་ཁོང་གི་གསུང་རྩོམ་གསལ་རྒྱུང་བ་འགའ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་འདིར་སློང་རྒྱ་ཡིན།  
གཞན་ཡང་འདིར་ས་སྐྱ་དང་དགོ་ལྷགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབར་ལ་སྐྱ་སྲུབ་ཀྱི་འགལ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་རྒྱན་དང་།  
ལྷག་པར་དུ་རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་པའི་ལྷགས་ཤས་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རོང་སྟོན་པ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་བཟུང་ནས་དགག་པ་ཚེ་པོ་ཚེ་བསྟོན་དགོས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚུངས་  
དང་འབྲེལ་ནས་ <<བོན་ཚོས་རྣམ་འབྱེད་>> དང་ <<དུན་ཅོ་རྩུང་པའི་ཐོ་ཚེན་>>  
སོགས་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རོང་སྟོན་པས་མཛད་པར་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་ན།  
འདིས་རྒྱན་པས་དགོ་ལྷགས་པ་ཚམ་དུ་མ་ཟད་ས་དགོ་གཉིས་ཀ་ལའང་དོ་ཐོག་གང་འཚོམ་ཞེས་བཏང་ཡོད་པའི་སྟོར་ཡང་འདིར་ཞོར་འཕྲོས་སུ་སློང་རྒྱ་ཡིན་  
པ་བཅས་སོ། །

Daniel Berounský (Prague)

**The Tradition of the Fourfold Collections ( `Bum bzhi) and the Process of Formation of Bon**

Given the fragmentary nature of the information concerning the non-Buddhist ritual and mythical traditions of the Tibetan Plateau available, it has been referred to them as to the Old Tibetan Tradition in the sense of some unity. This paper will focus on the voluminous texts surviving in Bon Kanjur, which are reported to as The Fourfold Collections ( `Bum bzhi) comprising individual Collections dedicated to the fourfold group of spirits: lu (klu), nyen (gnyan), sadak (sa bdag) and tö (gtod). These texts contain large number of myths related to the corresponding rituals. One can observe some movement towards the universalism in them. While the Nyen Collection (Gnyan `bum) refers frequently to the tradition of Nampa Dong (Nam pa Ldong) as their source, the Sadak Collection sees itself to be inspired by the Chinese traditions. The Tö Collection (Gtod `bum) gains slowly more universal features and it is only with parts of the Lu Collection (Flu `bum) that universalism is demonstrated fully; large number of languages is suddenly used in the titles of the individual myths (including that of Zhangzhung) and Shenrab Miwo gains features of a universal Buddha.

dGe bshes Khri g.Yung drung དགེ་བཤེས་ཀྱི་གཡུང་རྒྱུད། | Geshe Tri Yungdrung (Dolanji)

**གནའ་བོའི་བོན་ལུགས་ལྟར་སྐབས་རིའི་བྱི་རྟགས་སྒྲིལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཐོག་མའི་སྟོན་བླ། (A first account of the election practice by lot of the abbots of sMan ri Monastery with reference to the ancient Bon tradition)**

ཕྱི་ལོ་ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདིར་གནའ་བོའི་བོན་གྱི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱག་སྲོལ་ཏེ་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་བོན་གྱི་གདན་ས་སྐབས་རི་དགོན་གྱི་མཁན་རབས་རིམ་ཕྱོད་རྣམས་རྟགས་སྒྲིལ་གྱི་ལམ་ནས་བྱི་རྟགས་ལེ་ལོ་ལས་སྐྱོར་གྱི་བྱུང་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་དེས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་དང་བོད་རིག་པའི་སྐྱེད་ལ་ཤུན་ལུགས་དང་གོ་གནས་ཇི་ཅམ་བཟུང་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱུང་ཞིབ་ཞུས་ཡོད།

བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ཕྱག་སྲོལ་འདི་ནི་བོན་གྱི་ཡིག་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་སུ་རིན་ཆེན་བུམ་པ་ཅུ་བདེར་གཤེགས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་སྲིད་པ་སྐོར་གྱི་བྱུང་བུ་ལྲིས་ཏེ་བརྟུག་ནས་དགུ་ཤིང་པར་སྟོན་པ་རབ་དགུ་བྱུང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མངལ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། དུས་རབས་བརྒྱ་བཞི་པ་ཅམ་ལ་སྐབས་རིའི་མཁན་རབས་དང་པོ་མཉམ་མེད་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས། “གྲུ་ས་སྐབས་རིའི་སྲིད་ཏུ་མཚན་ཉིད་རབ་འབྱམས་གང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟ་སྲུང་གསོལ་ལ་རྟགས་སྒྲིལ་གྱིས་གང་བབ་ང་ཡི་གདན་སར་བཀོད།” ཅེས་བཀའ་རྒྱ་བསྐྱུགས་ནས་སྐབས་རིའི་བྱི་རྟགས་ལེ་ལོ་ལས་སྐྱོར་རྟགས་སྒྲིལ་གྱི་ལམ་ནས་བཀོད་པའི་ཕྱག་སྲོལ་གསར་དུ་བརྟུགས་གནང་བར་གྲགས།

སྐབས་རིའི་བྱི་རྟགས་སྒྲིལ་གནང་སྟོགས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་རིག་གནས་འདི་ནི་བོད་རང་གི་གནའ་བོའི་སྐྱེས་དོ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ལྷན་དུ་འཕགས་པ་ཞིག་དང་བོན་རང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱག་སྲོལ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་རེད་ཅེས་ཞུ་ཚོགས་པར་སྟོན། དེ་བཞིན་ཁོ་བོས་གནའ་བོའི་བོན་གྱི་ཡིག་རྒྱུད་དང་དག་རྒྱུན་ལོ་རྒྱུས། རང་གིས་དངོས་སུ་མཉམ་མེད་ལག་ཟིན་བྱས་པའི་སྐབས་རིའི་རྟགས་སྒྲིལ་སྐོར་ལས་འཕྲོས་ཏེ་དེའི་བྱུང་རབས་དང་ལྷན་ཆོས། ཕྱག་ལེན་གནང་སྟངས། དེའི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་དང་དགོས་ཤིང་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱུང་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་སོ། །

Tshe ring dpal sgron ཚེ་རིང་དཔལ་སྒྲོན། | Zeren Bazhen (Paris)

**The life of the *dākiñī* Co za bon mo according to Bonpo sources**

All the schools of Tibetan Buddhism revere a number of eminent female practitioners. Some of these are the subjects of more or less extensive biographies or autobiographies, including Ye shes mtsho rgyal, Ma cig lab sgron, bSam lding rdo rje phag mo and O rgyan chos skyid among others. A number of scholars have studied these and other biographies as a basis for the analysis of the image of women in Tibetan society. The Bon religion too has accounts of eminent female practitioners. One 19<sup>th</sup> century compilation, *Mka' 'gro rgya mtsho 'i rnam thar*, contains the biographies of sixteen Bonpo *dākiñīs*. This collection has already been the subject of an overview by Donatella Rossi.

One of the most important *dākiñīs* in Bonpo literature is Co za bon mo. According to tradition, she was a contemporary of the emperor Khri Srong lde btsan (776-815) and a major contributor to the development of Bon history. Although there are no fulllength biographies dedicated to her, she appears in numerous texts from different periods, altogether amounting to around a dozen pages. The fact that she appears only cursorily in older works suggests that she may have been one of several Bonpo figures whose popularity and religious importance increased gradually over the course of time. This presentation will explore the chronological development of the literary tradition surrounding Co za bon mo, while attempting to establish the historical links between the different works in which she appears.

Kun dga' ye shes ཀུན་དགའ་ཡེ་ཤེས། | Kunga Yeshe (Lhasa)

**ལྷུང་གི་རིགས་རྩམ་བྱུང་རབས་དང་དེའི་མཚོན་དོན་གྱི་དབྱད་པ། (Research on ethnic origin and symbolism of birds Qiong clan)**

【ནང་དོན་གནད་བསྟན་པ།】 ཀུན་གྱིས་ཤེས་གསལ་ལྟར། ཞང་བོད་མུ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞིབ་

འཇུག་ཁོད་དུ་ཞང་ལྷུང་གི་མི་རྒྱུད་དམ་ཡ་ཐོག་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རིགས་རྩམ་གང་ནས་མཆེད་པའི་སྐོར་  
མེད་སྐབས་ལྷུང་གི་ཐ་སྟེད་འདི་མང་དུ་འབྱུང་གི་ཡོད་ཅིང། དེ་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་བོད་སྤྱིའི་རིགས་རྩམ་གྱི་  
འབྱུང་སྐབས་ལ་དབྱད་པ་སྟོན་མཁོ་གསུང་བྱེད་བཞིན་འདུག། ༡༧༠༠ལོར་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་ཀུན་གྲོལ་གྲགས་པ་  
འཇུག་མཚོན་སྤྱིང་མོས་བཅུམས་པའི་《པར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་སྤྱིད་པའི་སྐོན་མེ》 ཞེས་པར་《ཁྲོ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་རབས་  
ཤེས་དཀར་མེད་བ》 ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཚུལ་གསུང་བ་དེ་ནི་པལ་ཆེར་ལྷུང་གི་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་  
པས་དོ་སྟོན་བྱས་པ་ཐོག་མ་ལྟ་བུར་ཆགས་ཡོད་ལ། དེ་ཡང་དམངས་ཁོད་སོགས་སྤྱི་བའི་ལྷུང་རབས་  
ཁག་གི་ལུགས་རྒྱུན་འོག་གིས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་དེ་ཉིད་ལ་བལྟས་པས་ཤེས་སྲུབ་པ་ཞིག་རེད། ལྷུང་  
རབས་ཞེས་པ་ལས་མུ་རབས་ཀྱི་རིགས་རྩམ་ལྷུང་ཞེས་པའི་མཆེད་ལྷུངས་གང་ཡིན་ཅུང་གསལ་བོར་ཤེས་  
རྟོགས་བྱེད་ཐུབ་པ་མ་ཟད། བོད་ཀྱི་མུ་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་བོན་གྱི་ཤེས་རིག་གི་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་  
ཐད་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ དེ་བཞིན་གྱི་ཞང་ལྷུང་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་གནད་དོན་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཐད་རིན་  
མང་ཆེ་པའི་དབྱད་གཞི་རི་སྟེང་ཅིག་མཁོ་འདོན་བྱེད་ཐུབ་པས་ན། ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདིར་ཡིག་ཆགས་དབྱད་  
བསྟན་གྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་བགྱི་བ་དང་དུ་སྦྲངས་ཡོད།

སྤྱིར་བཏང་དུ་ལྷུང་ཞེས་པ་ལ་ད་ཡོད་དབྱད་གཞི་ཁག་གི་ནང་དུ་གོ་དོན་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཁག་བདུན་ཅམ་  
བྱུང་བ་སྟེ། ༡ ལྷུང་ཞེས་པ་དེ་བོན་སྐུ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་བོའི་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་ལྷ་བྱའམ་བྱ་རྒྱལ་ལྷུང་ཆེན་ལ་  
དོས་འཛིན་པ་དང། ༢ ལྷུང་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཞང་ལྷུང་ཞེས་པའི་ལྷུང་གི་ཆོག་དེ་བོད་སྐད་དུ་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ལ་  
དོས་འཛིན་པ། ༣ ལྷུང་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཡ་ཐོག་སྤྱིད་པའི་ལྷ་རབས་ཀྱི་མཆེད་ལྷུངས་ལ་དོས་འཛིན་པ། ༤ ལྷུང་  
ཞེས་པ་ནི་བྱ་རྒྱལ་ལྷུང་གི་སྲར་མོ་ས་ལ་རེག་པའི་འོད་རླངས་ལས་སྤྱིན་པའི་སྐོར་དཀར་ནག་སེར་ལྷ་བཞི་  
བྱུང་བ་དང། དེ་ལས་མཆེད་པའི་མཚོན་དང་ལྷན་པའི་ཁྲུ་བཞི་བྱུང་བ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མཚོན་པའི་ལྷུང་བོའི་



integration tendency, through the early totem of natural selection, constantly inject content of the religious and secular needs. Rise and free of primitive religion spirit, thus forming many different original fairy tales. Researches on sound and meaning of Chung are closely related with Tibetan mythology. Thus, many studies and discussions have been done on the relevant mythology in academia. This paper, based on the analysis of Tibetan ancient documents and many scholars' key achievements, is going to review, analyze and summarize this issue systemically, for academic reference.

Chung is supernatural Bird King which possesses all positive qualities of different birds, and it is a sacred totem worshiped by ancient Zhang Zhung settlement. The previous Zhang Zhung clan should be “dbra” clan. However, after Zhang Zhung settlement gets into its great prosperity period, the address of dbra clan is gradually replaced by “Chung”. Then the Chung clan descendants have gradually shaped and Zhang Zhung Eighteen Kings's imperial orthodoxy as well as the Chung clan address have formed.

Chos bzang bla ma ཚོས་བཟང་བླ་མ། | Choesang Lama (Dolanji)

མདོ་སྐད་འཕགས་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡ་གྲུལ་སྣང་ཞིག་ རོ་འཕགས་ཚེན་པོའི་སྐྱེ་ཚེའི་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

དང་པོ་སྐྱེ་བ་བཞེས་པའི་རྣོད།

སྣང་ཞིག་དོ་འཕགས་ཚེན་པོ་ནི། ཞིག་ཚེན་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་སྣང་ཞིག་གི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་ལས་གྲགས་ཚེ་ཤོས་ཀྱི་  
མི་སྣ་ཞིག་རེད། དེས་ན་དོ་འཕགས་ཚེན་པོ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་ ལོ་ཚེགས་ལ་མི་མཐུན་པ་ མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། རབ་བྱུང་  
དང་པོའི་ས་འབྲུག་ལོར་འདོད་མཁན་ཞིག་དང་། རབ་བྱུང་གཉིས་པའི་ས་འབྲུག་ལོར་འདོད་མཁན་གཉིས་སུ་ཡོད་  
མོད། མདོར་ན་དཀའ་གནད་དེ་སྐྱུལ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ལྷ་སྐྱོམ་འཁྲུལ་ཞིག་དངོས་སུ་མཇུག་པ་དེ་ལྷ་སྐྱོམ་  
འཁྲུལ་ཞིག་སྐྱེས་རབས་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་ལ་གསལ་འདུག སྐྱུལ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བོན་ཐོག་  
མ་(༡༩༡༦) ལོར་ལྷོ་ཕོ་འཕགས་པ་གནང་བའི་ལོ་ལྷན་པོ་ཚེག་མདོད་དུ་གསལ། དུས་ཚིགས་འདི་དང་ བསྟན་ཏེ་དབྱེད་ན་སྐྱུལ་  
སྐྱེ་ཁྲིའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་བོན་སྡེ་ཐོག་མ་ལྷོ་ཕོ་འཕགས་པའི་དུས་ནི། དུས་རབས་བརྒྱབ་ཞི་པའི་སྐད་དང་རབ་བྱུང་དུག་  
པའི་ནང་ཡིན་པས་ལྷ་སྐྱོམ་འཁྲུལ་ཞིག་ གྲུང་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱབ་ཞིའི་ནང་གི་མི་སྣ་ཞིག་ཡིན་དགོས། རྒྱ་མཚན་དེ་  
ལྟར་ན་དོ་འཕགས་ཚེན་པོ་ཡང་རབ་བྱུང་དང་པོའི་ས་འབྲུག་ལོར་འཁྲུངས་པར་ཅུང་ཙམ་ལག་པོ་འདུག་སྟེ། དེས་  
ན་དོ་འཕགས་ཚེན་པོ་རབ་བྱུང་གཉིས་པའི་ས་འབྲུག་ལོར། མ་སྐྱོམ་རུའི་བཀའ་སྤྱོད་དུ་ཡབ་སྣང་ཞིག་སྐྱོ་གོས་  
རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་ཡུམ་ཉེ་མ་སྐྱོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐྱས་སུ་འཁྲུངས་པ་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ལ་དབྱེད་ཡོད།

གཉིས་པ་ཐོས་བསམ་གྱི་རྣོད།

ཁོང་གི་དབྱེད་ལོ་བརྒྱུ་གསུམ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ལྷ་སྐྱོམ་འཁྲུལ་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱུད་དུ་གཏུགས་ཏེ། འབྲི་སྐྱོག་འདོན་གསུམ་གྱི་  
སྐྱུང་བ་མཐར་མོན་གནང་སྟེ་གསུང་ཚོམ་གྱི་རྣོད་ལ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཞིབ་པར་དབྱེད་ཚོམ་དུ་རྗེས་ཡོད།

གསུམ་པ་འགྲོ་དོན་གྱི་རྣོད།

མ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱོམ་རུའི་བཀའ་སྤྱོད་སྐྱེ་བ་མང་དུ་མཛད། གཡུ་ཚེའི་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་སྐྱབ་ཕྱག་དུ་བཞུགས་ཏེ། ཡི་དམ་གྱི་  
ནང་གསང་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐྱབ་པ་མང་དུ་མཛད། མདོ་སྐད་ཇི་མེད་གཙང་བའི་དགོན་དང་བྱུང་པར་དུང་དུང་རའི་དོ་  
སྐྱེད་དུ་བཞུགས་སྐབས་ལྟུང་བ་བརྟེན་པས། མཚན་ཡང་དོ་འཕགས་ཅེས་གསོལ་བ་ཡིན། ཇི་མེད་ཚོས་ཚང་དགོན་  
པའི་གདན་རབས་ནང་དུ་ཚོས་ཚང་དགོན་སྣང་ཞིག་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཏབས་པ་གསལ་བ་དག་  
སྐྱོས་སུ་ཐོས་ཚིང་ཡང་དེ་བུ་དེ་ར་དོས་མཇུག་མ་བྱུང་། ར་བ་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཨ་འདུས་ཡག་འགོ་དགོན་པ་ཕྱག་བཏབས་  
མཛད་མོད། དེང་དུས་དོ་གོང་དགོན་པ་དེ་དགེ་ལུགས་ ཀྱི་དགོན་པར་བསྐྱུར་ཡོད། དོ་གོང་དགོན་པ་འམ་ཡག་འགོ་  
དགོན་པ་དེ་དགེ་ལུགས་སུ་བསྐྱུར་མཁན། ཚ་ཁོང་ག་དབང་གྲགས་པ་ཡིན། དེང་དུས་བཞུགས་པའི་དོ་གོང་དགོན་  
པ་དང་། དོ་གོང་སྐྱབ་ཕྱག་ཟེར་བ་དག་ནི། ལྷ་མ་དོ་འཕགས་ཚེན་པོ་བཞུགས་གནས་ཡིན་པས། ལྷ་མའི་མཚན་བྱུར་  
ས་མིང་དུ་ཐོག་པར་བཤད། ཡང་ཁོང་འགྲོ་དོན་དུ་མདོ་སྐད་ར་བ་ལ་ཕེབས་ཡོད་པ་དང་ར་བ་སྣང་ཞིག་དགོན་ཚེན་  
ཐོག་མར་ཕྱག་བཏབས་ནས་འགྲོ་དོན་རྒྱ་ཚེན་བྱུང་བ་དང་གདུང་རྒྱུད་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་ བསྟན་པ་བསྐྱུངས་ཚུལ་སོགས་  
ཞིབ་འདུག་གི་ལམ་ནས་རྒྱུ་སྐྱོས་ལྷོ་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་སོ།།

Miyake Shin'ichiro (Kyoto)

དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དགུ་པའི་བོན་པོའི་སློབ་མ་ཚེ་དབུས་ཚོས་ཇེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཚུལ་བྲིམས་(1795-1874)ཀྱི་མཛད་ཇེས་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

དེ་ལྟ་གན་ཚོ་ལུལ་བསང་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ལྷོང་གི་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་“ཚེ་ཞིག་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་བསྟན་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་སྤོངས་”ཅམ་སྤྱིར་“ཚེ་དབུས་”ཟེར་བའི་མཚན་གྱིས་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་བོན་པོའི་དགོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིད། མཚོ་སྡོན་པོའི་མཐའ་སྐོར་ན་ཡོད་པའི་བོན་པོ་ཚོར་དགོན་པ་དེའི་ཤུན་སྟོབས་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷགས་ཡོད་ཚུལ་རགས་བསྟུས་ནི་མཁས་པ་དག་གིས་སྤྲོས་ཟིན་པ་ལྟར་ཡིན་མོད་དགོན་པ་དེའི་སློབ་མ་ཚེ་འཛད་ཇེས་ཞེས་མོ་ནི་ད་རུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་དགོས་པའི་གནས་སུ་ལུས་ཡོད།

དེ་ལ་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དགུ་པའི་དབུས་སློབ་ཀྱི་བོན་པོའི་སློབ་མ་སྤྱིར་ཉ་ཀྱུན་བཟང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ (1837-1904) ཀྱི་རང་རྣམ་ཚུལ་འཕྲོ་ཅན་ནི་ཨ་མདོའི་བོན་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་ཏུ་བཀོད་ཡོད་པས་དེའི་ཐད་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་གཞི་ཡིག་ཆ་མེད་མི་རུང་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། རང་རྣམ་དེའི་ནང་ཚེ་དབུས་དགོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་སྐབས་“ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེད་ལྷན་བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས། ཚོས་ཇེ་ཚོ་ལོ་བྱིན་ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་བཀོད་”ཅེས་མཚོ་སྡོན་གྱི་སོག་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབུ་སློབ་མཛད་ནས་ཚོས་ཇེའི་ཚོ་ལོ་ཐོབ་པའི་ཚེ་དབུས་ཚོས་ཇེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཚུལ་བྲིམས་ནི། ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས་“མཁས་གྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ་ཚེ་དབུས་ཚོས་ཇེ་ཞེས་བན་བོན་རྟེན་གསུམ་ཀྱུན་གྱིས་སློབ་པར་བཀུར་”ཞེས་གསལ་པ་ལྟར་ཚེ་དབུས་དགོན་པའི་སློབ་མ་རིམ་འབྲོག་ནང་ནས་བན་བོན་རིམ་སུ་མེད་པར་སློབ་མ་གསོ་སྦྱོར་གནང་བའི་སློབ་མ་ཁམ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན།

“བཀའ་འཁུར་གསུང་ཚོམ་ཆེ་རྒྱུང་མང་དུ་ཡོད་”ཅེས་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གསུང་ཚོམ་མང་པོ་མཛད་པར་བཤད་ཡོད་མོད་དེ་ལྟར་ཚོའི་མིག་ལམ་དུ་མངའ་བུའི་པ་ནི་ཉ་ཅང་ཉུང་། དེ་དག་གི་ནང་ནས་《གསང་གཙོད་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུའི་རྒྱ་འགྲིམ་ལག་ལེན་ནོར་བུའི་དོ་ཤལ་གྱི་རྣམ་བཤད་དང་དམིགས་སྤྱིད་རིག་འཛིན་ཞལ་ལྷང་བུའི་ཚེའི་ཐིགས་པ་》ཞེས་པའི་བོན་པོའི་གཙོད་ཀྱི་ཉམས་ལེན་མཁའ་འགྲོ་གསང་གཙོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱིད་ཡིག་ནང་བོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་མཁའ་འགྲོ་གསང་གཙོད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་བཀོད་ཡོད་པ་དེར་བལྟས་ན་ཚོས་ཇེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཚུལ་བྲིམས་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གསང་གཙོད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་མི་འདྲ་བ་གསུམ་ཐོབ་ཚུལ་ཤེས་ལུས། ཡང་《མཁུར་མ་མེ་ཏོག་འབྲེང་མཛོས་》ཞེས་པའི་མཁུར་ཉི་ཤུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པའི་བདག་ཉིད་ཅན་དེ་ནས་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་གསལ་བོར་ཤེས་ལུས་པ་དང་། མཁུར་གསུངས་པའི་ས་ཆའི་མིང་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད་པའི་ས་ཁོངས་གསལ་བོར་ཤེས་རྟོགས་བྱེད་ལུས། ལྷང་པར་དུ་མཁུར་གསུམ་པ་རྒྱུད་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་མཁུར་དེའི་ནང་“རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་པ་བཟང་བྱ་འདོད་ཡོན་ཚོ། ཚོས་ཡིག་གེ་དཀར་ནག་ཐོག་མེད་ཤེས།”ཞེས་པ་ལ་སོགས་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གཉེར་བྱས་ཚུལ་གསུངས་ཡོད། དེ་ལྟར་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་དག་གཞིར་བཟུང་ནས་ཚེ་དབུས་ཚོས་ཇེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཚུལ་བྲིམས་ཀྱི་མཛད་ཇེས་བཙུན་པར་བྱའོ།

A dpal bzang ཨ་དཔལ་བཟང་། | Basang (Songpan)

བོན་གྱི་གདན་ས་རབ་ལེགས་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་གི་སློབ་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

༡ དགོན་པའི་མཚན་གྱི་སློབ་ལ་དབྱེད་པ། དེ་ཡང་བོད་རྒྱུངས་གཞིས་ཚེ་རྣམ་སྤོང་རྒྱུ་ལའི་བྱང་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད། རྒྱབས་མགོན་ལྷ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༨༤༧ལོ་དགོན་འདི་ཕྱག་བཏབ། མཚན་གཞན། རུ་ལག་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་སྤོང་ཞེས་འབོད་དེ། དགོན་འདི་ཕྱག་མ་བཏབ་གོང་དུ་བོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སུ་དབུས་རུ་བཅུ་གསུམ་དང་གཡམ་རུ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ལྟར་བཟུང་། རུ་ལག་དགུ་ཞེས་པའི་ནང་ནས་གཡམ་རུ་བཅུ་གྱི་ནང་ཚན་གཡམ་རུ་མཁུར་སྤོང་མཁུར་གདོང་ལ་གཉེར་བའི་ས་ཕྱོགས་ཡིན་པས་ན་རུ་ལག་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་སྤོང་ཞེས་འབོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སློབ།

༢ དགོན་འདི་བོན་གྱི་གྲུ་ས་ཡིན་ཚུལ་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱུང་བ། དགོན་འདི་ནི་མདོ་དབྱུང་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་བོན་  
དགོན་ཀྱང་གྱི་གདན་སར་གྱུར་བའི་དགོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི་དགོན་འདིའི་མཁན་པོ་ནི་བོན་གྱི་སློབ་  
རྒྱུ་ཁྲིད་དུ་རྒྱུད་རིམ་སློབ་མར་ཆགས་ཡོད། དཔོན་སློབ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ན་གསུང་ཚོམ་རིག་གནས་ཆེ་རྒྱུ་གཞུང་  
ལུགས་ཀྱང་ལ་མཐུན་སྦྱར་ཡངས་ཤིང་བཀའ་རབ་འབྱམས་པའི་མཚན་བཞེས་མཁན་ཡིན། གཞན་དགོན་སྡེ་  
ལག་གི་སློབ་སྦྱོར་མཁན་པོ་སྲུ་ཡིན་ཅུང་གྲ་སའི་མཁན་སློབ་གང་ཅུང་ཞིག་གི་མདུན་ནས་སྡོམ་ཁྲིམས་ཞིག་མ་  
ལྷན་ན་གྲ་སའི་འཚོགས་གྲུབ་དུ་ལྷགས་མི་ཚོག་པའི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར།

༣ དགོན་འདིའི་ཆགས་གནས་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱུང་བ། སྐབས་མགོན་ལྷ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་དགོན་འདི་ཕྱག་  
བཏབས་ནས་ད་བར་མི་ལོ་༡༥༠ཙམ་སོང་། དེ་ནས་རིག་གནས་གསར་རྗེའི་དུས་སྡེ་ལོ་༡༥༥༥ལོ་དགོན་པའི་  
འཕེལ་ཡང་མེད་པ་བྱས་ནས་མི་ལོ་བཅུ་ལྷག་ལྷག་བཞག སྐར་ཡང་སྡེ་ལོ་༡༥༥༥ལོ་དགོན་སྡེ་ཤེས་རབ་བསྟན་  
འཛིན་ནས་གཙོ་འགན་བཞེས་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་རིམ་བས་དགོན་བཞེས་ཚོག་མཚན་ལྷན་ནས་གནང་བ་ལྟར་སྡོམ་  
ཁབ་དང་དགོ་འདུན་པ་སོགས་སྦྱོགས་གཅིག་དུ་འདུས་ནས་སྡོམ་ཁབ་དགོ་འདུན་པ་སོགས་རབ་དུ་དར་རྒྱས་སྲུ་  
གྱུར་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱུང་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཡོད།

Rong Zhongta (Chengdu)

དཔལ་ལྷན་ཁྲི་བརྟན་ལོར་བུ་ཅེ་ འི་བྱང་འཕེལ་གཞིར་བྱས་ནས་བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་ གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ད་ལྟོ་  
གནས་ཚུལ་དབྱུང་བ།

རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ས་མཚན་གྱི་བོད་ཡུལ་དང་བལ་ཡུལ། རྒྱ་གར་སོགས་ནི་གནའ་བོའི་མཚོ་ཐོག་དར་གོས་  
འབྲུལ་ལམ་གྱི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སྲུ་གཏོགས་པ་དང་། དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་ལམ་  
གཅིག་གི་སྲིད་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིད་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་ས་ཆ་འདི་དག་ནི་རྒྱུས་བཀོད་འདི་ལོགས་འབྲུབ་ཡོད་བར་མེད་དུ་  
མི་ཅུང་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གལ་ཆེན་དང་ས་ཆ་གཙོ་ཆེ་ཡིན་པ་གཏན་ལ་སབ་ཡོད་པ་རེད། གནའ་མེ་མོ་ནས་བཟུང་  
བོན་བསྟན་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་དང་ཚོས་ལུགས་ནི་གངས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་མ་པམ་གཡུ་མཚོ། ཉི་མ་  
ལ་ཡའི་རི་རྒྱུད་བཅས་ལ་དར་ཡོད། ས་ཆ་འདི་དག་ནི་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཤིག་རེད། བལ་ཡུལ་ནི་  
ཉི་མ་ལ་ཡའི་རི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཅིག་ཡིན་པར་མ་ཟད། གནའ་བོའི་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་རིག་གནས་དར་ཁྲབ་བྱུང་  
བའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཞིག་རེད། ད་ལྟོ་བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ལ་ཅིག་དུ་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཡོད། མི་རིགས་དུ་མའི་མི་  
སེར་ཡོངས་རྒྱུགས་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་དང་བ་བྱེད་བཞིན་འདུག བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་རིགས་དང་ས་ཆ་གཞན་ལ་  
ཅིག་གི་མི་སེར་རྣམས་ཚོས་ལུགས་སྡོམ་གསལ་དང་པ་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད་ནའང་གཤེན་པོ་དུར་འཇུག་སོགས་ཚོས་  
ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་ག་སྡོམ་གསལ་བོན་བསྟན་གྱི་འགོ་ལུགས་ལྟར་སྦྱབ་བཞིན་འདུག ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྲུ་བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་བོན་གྱི་  
བསྟན་པ་དར་ཁྲབ་ཐེངས་གཉིས་བྱུང་ཡོད་དེ། ཐེངས་དང་པོ་ནི་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་སྐབས་སྲུ་བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་བོན་གྱི་  
བསྟན་པ་དར་ཁྲབ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་རེད། ཐེངས་གཉིས་པ་ནི་དེང་གི་དུས་ཡིན་ཉི་བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་ཀ་ཏ་མན་  
རྒྱུར་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་གྱི་གདན་ས་ཆེན་མོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཁྲི་བརྟན་ལོར་བུ་ཅེ་ཕྱག་བཏབ་རྗེས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་སྦྱར་དུ་  
བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་མང་པོར་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཁྲབ་བྱུང་བ་རེད། དེང་གི་དུས་སྡེ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཁྲི་  
བརྟན་ལོར་བུ་ཅེ་ནི་བལ་ཡུལ་དང་ཉི་མ་ལ་ཡའི་རི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་རྣམས་སྲུ་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དང་  
རིག་གནས་སློབ་གཉེར་བྱེད་ཡུལ་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་དུ་གྱུར་འདུག དེར་བརྟེན་བདག་གིས་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཁྲི་བརྟན་ལོར་  
བུ་ཅེའི་བྱང་འཕེལ་ཞིབ་མོར་སློང་སྟེ་བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ད་ལྟོ་  
གནས་ཚུལ་ལ་དབྱུང་བརྗོད་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། དཔལ་ལྷན་ཁྲི་བརྟན་ལོར་བུ་ཅེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཀྱང་གོ་དང་བལ་ཡུལ་  
བར་ལ་གཅིག་མཚུངས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་རིག་གནས་ཤིག་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ལྷན་མོང་གི་རིག་གནས་དང་  
ཚོས་ལུགས་འདིས་ཀྱང་གོ་དང་བལ་ཡུལ་བར་གྱི་ཕྱི་འཕེལ་གྱི་ལས་ཀ་ལ་སན་པ་མི་ཉུང་བ་སྟེར་བཞིན་

འདུག བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཁྲི་བརྟན་ལོར་བུ་ཅེ་ཆགས་པ་ནས་བཟུང་ད་ལྟོ་བལ་ཡུལ་དང་རྒྱ་གར་  
སོགས་སྲུ་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཁྲབ་བྱུང་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པས་གདན་ས་འདི་ནི་བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་

གཡུང་དྲུང་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད་ཚོག་བརྗོད་བྱ་འདི་ལེགས་པོ་ཤེས་ན་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་དང་ཁྱད་ཚོས་སོགས་ཤེས་ཐུབ་པ་དང་། བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་མི་རིགས་ཁག་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཤེས་ན་དེ་འབྲེལ་རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལས་དོན་སྤོ་ཚོགས་ལེགས་འགྲུབ་ཡོང་བར་ཕན།

Nepal, India and other south Asian countries locate along the ancient maritime silk road, and these countries are also china's important partner under the background of "The belt and road initiative". The Gandis and Lake manasarovar is the center of Himalayan region, which is the birthplace and cultural circle of Bon, Nepal is one of Himalayan region country which influenced by Bon culture, and a part of Nepal belonged to ancient zhang zhung dynasty. At present, a part of Nepalese still believe in Bon, other Nepalese who believe in other religion also inherit and use many Bon religious rituals in their daily life. The author think that Bon spread in Nepal can be divided in two stages, one stage is Bon spread outside during zhang zhung period; another stage is Bon spread in modern times, Triten Norbutse monastery is the representative in this period, which is located in Kathmandu. Triten Norbutse monastery is the most important base which represents Bon doctrine and Bon culture teaching in Himalayan region, it has significant contribution for Bon spread in Nepal in modern times. Making Triten Norbutse monastery as the example to do the research about the history and current situation of Bon in Nepal, it is good for understanding the Bon teaching characteristics in abroad, and it is good for understanding the current situation of Nepal's religion and nationality.

Sha bo rTa mgrin ཤ་བོ་རྟ་མགྲིན། | Shaho Tamding

བོན་ཤ་བའི་རིག་གནས་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱེད་པ།

བོན་ཤ་བའི་རིག་གནས་ནི་བོད་རང་སར་ཚེས་གདོད་མ་ནས་དར་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་སྤང་ཚུལ་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ཡང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་རིམ་དང་མཐུན་པར་འགྲུབ་བུ་གང་འཚམས་བྱུང་ཡོད།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཚེས་གདོད་མའི་བྲག་དང་རྩོད་བརྗོད་འཕྲུལ་སྤོ་མའི་གྲས་སུ་ཤ་བའི་རི་མོ་སྤོ་ཚོགས་ཐོན་བཞིན་ཡོད་ལ། ཕྱིས་ཀྱི་ལྷེབས་རིས་དང་ཐང་ཀ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དོས་སུ་ཡང་ཤ་བའི་རི་མོ་མང་དུ་ཐོན་བཞིན་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་ཀྱི་བོན་པའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཡང་ཤ་བའི་བོན་སྐོ་དགུ་སོགས་མང་པོ་འབྱུང་གི་ཡོད། ཡིན་ནའང་ད་ཕན་ང་ཚོས་བོན་ཤ་བའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གཏིང་ལོན་པ་བྱས་ནས་གདོད་མའི་རིག་གནས་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གོ་དོན་དང་གནས་བབ་སོགས་སྤྲོད་ཡོད་པ་ཉ་ཅང་དཀོན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

དེ་བས་ཐུན་གྱིས་ད་ལམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལ་བོད་དང་ཉི་མ་ལ་ཡའི་བྲག་དང་རྩོད་བརྗོད། ལྷེབས་རིས་དང་ཐང་ཀ་སོགས་སུ་འཁོད་པའི་ཤ་བའི་རི་མོའི་མཚན་དོན་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་བོན་གྱི་ཡིག་རྒྱུ་ཤ་བ་ཅུ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་མདོ་དང་ཤ་བ་ཅུ་རྩོན་གཉིས་གཞིར་བཞག་ནས་བོན་ཤ་བའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱེད་པ་ཞིབ་ཚགས་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་རོ།།

Henk Blezer (Leiden)

**(Sacred) Landscapes in the “(sGra) bsgrags pa Gling grags”**

This contribution to the Panel “The Many Faces of Bon: Moving across centre and periphery” will be on conceptions of Bön (sacred) landscapes, such as Ti (t)se and Zhang zhung, as featured in the *bsGrags byang/sGra dbyangs/(sGra) bsgrags pa Gling grags* etc. cluster of texts (see NB), traditions which seem to have been in the custody of teachers and scholars from the rMa clan and pertain to the first centuries of the second millennium.

I should like to contextualise these descriptions and narratives in developing historiographic and geographic discourses on Bön (sacred) landscapes, such as on the above-mentioned, iconic Ti (t)se, Zhang zhung, and, more generally, on notions of Western origins of Bön, and see what information we can glean and, perhaps, extrapolate from a close reading of selected passages of the mentioned sources about Bön world views and possibly also about the presumed rMa custodians, and whether we can hazard a more precise guess about the time frame of the formation of the narratives involved.

NB. PROVISIONAL LIST OF EDITIONS

Presently, I am aware of eight recensions bearing a name related to the above, two of which are print identical and some of which seem to depend on each other (such as items 1 & 2, mentioned below). At this point, I have access to three of these editions. These I will employ for my preliminary analysis and argument.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, since new versions do turn up every now and then, below I shall briefly list origins of the versions known to me (as of approximately 2012) and their metadata, and I remain grateful for any new or additional editions may be reported during the meeting.

- 1) Oslo MS, copied for Major Campbell CIE, Sikkim;
- \*2) Dolanji MS (Khedup Gyatso), based on Oslo MS; it has significantly different readings from the edition in KT Vol.72
- \*3) Dolpo MS mentioned by John Bellezza in his Zhang zhung volume (according to Dondrup Lhagyal this is different from 4, the Nackchu/Nagchu MS)
- \*4) Nackchu/Nagchu MS (according to Dondrup Lhagyal different from 3, the Dolpo MS) = Kvaerne/Martin: testimony C<sup>2</sup>
- \*5) sNyan(g) rong (Nyag rong?), according to Dan Martin apparently close to 4, the Nackchu/Nagchu MS, but different
- \*6) KT Vol.72 has significantly different readings from the Khedup Gyatso edition (2)
- \*7) Sources for a History of Bon (SHB), pp.1–140, esp. pp.1–46 (g-Yung drung bon gi rgyud ‘bum) and 48–71 (Grags pa gling grags), print identical with 8, KT Vol.215
- 8) KT Vol.215, print identical with 7, SHB, pp.1–1403

<sup>1</sup> Since Dan Martin and Per Kvaerne have been working on editing and translating some of these texts, I shall defer those Herculean labours to them.

<sup>2</sup> Upon comparison with Per Kvaerne’s edition, the reported Nackchu MS looks much like Per Kvaerne and Dan Martin’s testimony “C”, which is Per Kvaerne’s ‘Nagchu MS’.

<sup>3</sup> That brings the count up eight editions and to six or seven more or less different versions within the ‘*bsGrags pa gling grags*’ cluster. With the Khedup Gyatso edition being dependent on the Oslo MS and the differences being due to Khedup Gyatso’s editorial interventions (indeed resulting in a much more smooth and readable text), we have only six substantially different versions to work with (\*). I presently have no access to the versions indicated at 1 and 3–5.

Rin spungs Tshul bstan རིན་སྲུང་ས་ཚུལ་བཙུན། | Zhongdengzhen Ci

མདོ་སྲུང་ཟིང་ཚུལ་གྱི་བྱང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྐོར་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

ཟིང་ཚུལ་ཚོང་ཁོངས་ནི་དང་སི་ཁོར་ར་བ་ལྷུ་གི་ཚོང་བཟུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡ་གྲུལ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། ཚོང་འདིའི་མི་རིགས་ནི་ཟུར་ཞང་ལྷུང་ནས་མཚེད་པར་གྲགས། དེ་ནས་དང་བོད་རྒྱ་དབྱེ་རིགས་སོགས་མི་རིགས་དུ་མ་འདུས་པའི་ཚོང་ཞིག་ཆགས་ཡོད། ལུས་ལྷུང་འདི་ལ་ད་རུང་གནའ་བོའི་ཞང་ལྷུང་བར་རྗེས་སྐོར་དང་ཞང་ལྷུང་གི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་ཚུལ་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་མང་ཚོགས་དང་དགོན་ཚེ་ཁག་གིས་ཀྱང་གནའ་བོའི་ཞང་ལྷུང་གི་རྩ་རྒྱུང་མཚན་ཅིང་ཡི་དམ་དུ་གསོལ་བ་ཞིན་ཏུ་མང་། གཞན་ཡང་ལུས་ལྷུང་འདི་ལ་ཞང་ལྷུང་གི་རྩ་རིགས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གནས་རི་དང་ཞང་

བོད་ཀྱི་སྲུབ་ཚེན་ཁག་གི་སྲུབ་གནས། དགོན་ལྗེ་སོགས་དེང་ཡང་མ་ཉམས་པར་གནས་ཡོད། དེ་མ་  
ཟད་སྲོང་མིང་དང་ཡུལ་མིང་ཁག་གཅིག་ལ་ཡང་འདྲ་སྐད་ཀྱི་བྱང་ཚོས་ལྡན་པའི་རིགས་  
མང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་ཡུལ་ལྗང་འདི་ཉིད་འདྲ་འདྲ་སྐོ་བའི་སྐོ་བ་སུམ་པ་སྐང་གི་གྱིམ་ཤོད་ཀྱི་མངའ་  
ཁོངས་སུ་འདུས་པའང་བཤད་སྒྲིལ་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱེད་བུ་བྱས་ཡོད།

བྱང་པར་དུ་མདོ་སྐད་གནས་ཚེན་གསུམ་དང་གནས་ཚེན་བྱང་བྱ་དུར། དེ་བཞིན་ཟིང་  
ཚུའི་ཡུལ་ལྗང་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་རི་གཞན་དག་ཚང་མ་གཙང་མ་འདྲ་འདྲ་ལྷ་རིགས་དང་  
འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད། གནས་དེ་དག་གི་བསང་མཚན་སོགས་པལ་ཆེ་བ་སྲུབ་ཚེན་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
མཛད་ཅིང་། བསང་གཞུང་དེ་དག་ལས་གནས་དེ་དག་གི་བྱང་བྱ་འདྲེས་དང་རིག་འཛིན་གོང་མ་  
གང་གིས་དམ་བཅུགས་མཛད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁ་གསལ་དུ་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལ་བཞུས་ན་  
མདོ་སྐད་གནས་ཚེན་གསུམ་གཙོས་པའི་ཟིང་ཚུའི་ཡུལ་ལྗང་གི་གནས་དེ་རྣམས་འདྲ་འདྲ་གི་ཤེས་  
རིག་དང་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་བྱུང་མིན་ལྡན་པ་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་ཏྲོགས་ལུས་སོ། །

## Panel 53 – Instructional Texts Types: Orality, Literacy, and Performance

དག་ཐོག་དང་ཡིག་ཐོག་གི་ཁྲིད་ཡིག

### Panel organizers

Marta Sernesi (Oxford)

Jim Rheingans (Sydney)

Volker Caumanns (Bern)

**Panel abstract** – This panel focuses on genres of Tibetan texts that are produced and employed within Tibetan religious communities for teaching training purposes, for liturgy, and for the transmission of knowledge. This literature includes many text types such as “notes” (*zin bris*), “songs” (*mgur*), “sermons” (*tshogs chos*), “sayings” (*gsung sgros*), “letters” (*yi ge, spring yig*), “replies to questions” (*dris lan*), and “instructions” (*gdams pa, gdams ngag, khrid*, etc.), as well as “assembly speeches” (*tshogs gtam*), “letters of request” (*skyabs tho*), etc.

Although some of these genres have been studied in the past, the typology, taxonomy, and mutual relationship between the individual text types have not been fully addressed, and instructional literature as a corpus, representing the textual output of specific communities, has not been thoroughly investigated. In particular, we are interested in the interplay of orality and literacy in the composition and circulation of specific texts, which should allow insight into the means of training, communicating, and transmitting knowledge of these social groups.

When employing these texts for the study of religious history, we need to address the issue of their context of production and their uses: do they reflect actual training settings, or are they literary compositions? What is the relationship between their formal aspects and their performative aspect? Are they for personal or collective use? What role did they play within the wider literary output of the communities that produced them? And, do they reflect later projections and concerns? Indeed, the processes of textual transmission, codification, and reception deserve close scrutiny in order to gain a better understanding of the history and nature of the actual witnesses we have at our disposal.

Contributions may investigate specific text types and their formation, structure and style, their reception and systematization, their place within the wider instructional corpus, and their uses within non-monastic or monastic communities. They may discuss specific sources and provide case studies from a variety of traditions and epochs. Particularly welcome is input for broader discussion on the interplay of orality, literacy, and performance in specific religious contexts.

Volker Caumanns (Bern)

### Teaching from a Distance: The Letters of the bKa’ gdams Master Sangs rgyas dbon ston (1138-1210)

Sangs rgyas dbon ston gZhon nu ’byung gnas, second religious hierarch of the monastery of Rin chen sgang (situated in the rGya ma valley in dBus), was an influential representative of the instructional lineage (*gdams ngag pa*) of the bKa’ gdams pa in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A substantial portion of his writings has only recently become available, namely the first part of a multivolumed explication of the Stages of the Path (*Lam rim ka pa*), and his *Extensive Collected Sayings* (*bKa’ ’bum rgyas pa*). The latter collection contains, besides several biographical writings about Sangs rgyas dbon ston, a large number of short writings, including registers (*dkar chag*), ritual texts of various types, question-and-answer texts (*dris lan*) and several hundred of letters (*spring yig*). In these letters, Sangs rgyas dbon ston gives the recipients instructions on a great variety of topics, such as the two truths, the stages of the path, daily religious routines, and ritual practices.

Not least because of their large number, these letters from the *Extensive Collected Sayings* are of particular interest for research into the *phyi dar* period of Tibetan religious history and will therefore be the focus of my presentation. Based on a systematic survey, I will consider the following questions: Who were the recipients of Sangs rgyas dbon ston's letters of instruction, and to what extent can a network of disciples and institutions be reconstructed? What did Sangs rgyas dbon ston teach his disciples, and what were the recurring topics favoured by him? Which rhetorical and argumentative means did Sangs rgyas dbon ston resort to in order to communicate religious knowledge? Is there a performative aspect discernible in the manner in which Sangs rgyas dbon ston set forth the contents of his instructions?

Ulrike Roesler (Oxford)

### **Between Instruction and Narrative: Didactic Dialogues in the Bka' gdams Tradition**

Among the early Bka' gdams pa literature, the reader finds various collections of speeches, short pithy sayings, and dialogues. They come under various titles, including *tshig lab*, *gsung gros*, and *zhus lan*; some were transmitted as independent works, and others are embedded in larger literary cycles. The original orality of these works is made explicit in the numerous verbs of speaking that constantly remind the reader that the written text renders the spoken words of the Buddhist masters. They are thus at the cusp of orality and written composition.

Historically, these highly idiomatic texts with their oral flavour seem to have originated in a period in which we can observe a general shift from the oral medium to written compositions. However, texts of these supposedly oral types kept being created and transmitted in later centuries when literary production had become the norm, which raises the question of the function of these “pseudo-oral” genres, and what made them so popular that they were even among the earliest Bka' gdams pa works printed as block prints.

This paper will examine these issues by focusing primarily on three works: the *Bka' gdams gsung gros thor bu* (12<sup>th</sup> century), the *zhus lan* sections of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* (redacted in 1302), and the much later *Bka' gdams gces btus nor bu'i bang mdzod* (19<sup>th</sup> century). In particular, it will discuss the roles of these texts as Buddhist instructions on the one hand, and as narratives of the lives of the masters and the tradition as a whole on the other.

Jann Ronis (Cambridge, Massachusetts)

### **A Kadampa Compilation Of Stories Used in Teaching the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*: The *sgrung 'grel* Genre and the Interface of Narrative and Doctrine in Tibetan Commentaries, Oral and Literary**

In 2008 the Paltsek Research Center published a slight paperback with two works excerpted from its voluminous collection of Kadampa materials: *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i sgrung 'grel dang gtam rgyud*. Both works are compilations of Indic narratives that the tradition associates with the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. The creator of both is the same person, an unknown lama identified in the colophons as Yontan Wangchuk. The works do not state their purposes or intended uses, but certainly invite interpretation. This presentation will explore the individual stories themselves in terms of their sources, comparisons to other versions of similar stories in other works, and the explanatory notes provided by the compiler. It will also explore more theoretical concerns regarding the interplay between narrative and doctrine and between orality and literacy. The *sgrung 'grel* sub-genre is unexplored in Tibetan Studies and this presentation will serve as a foundation for further research on other works that bear this appellation in their titles.

The late Steven Collins provided Buddhist Studies with the first extended analysis of the relations between narrative and systematic thought in Buddhism. His framework for understanding their mutual dependence has yet to be fully taken up by the field. This paper intends to make a modest contribution

to this line of inquiry through an investigation of a pair of Kadampa-era texts that are compilations of narratives that are thought to augment the tenets featured in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. The root text of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* recounts or alludes to very few stories; its rhetorical force lies in its elegant and graphic verses about self-identity, ethics, and devotion. Thus the genre label *sgrung 'grel* in this context refers not to stories in the root text itself but to stories told by those who explain the text, both the authors of scholastic commentaries and lamas in Tibet who preach on this classic. Through a close analysis of the two “story-based commentaries” this study will ask which aspects of the root text are commented upon, which portions of the root text are disregarded by this commentary, and if the commentaries put emphasis on ideas or practices that are absent in the root text. Such a line of questioning will involve consideration of the distinctive characteristics of narrative-driven explanations and the differences between scholastic and story-based commentaries.

This study will determine which of these stories appear in Indic commentaries of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the sources of the stories that do not occur in earlier *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentaries. It will be impossible to determine to what degree these compilations reflect the oral traditions of commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* during the Kadampa era, but the study will note and comment upon narratives that seems to vary widely from textual version and stories that appear to have Tibetan origins. While the *byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i sgrung 'grel dang gtam rgyud* itself did not become widely reproduced or imitated, an effort will be made to determine which of the stories in these texts became part of later Tibetan commentaries on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

Adam Pearcey (London)

### **Demolishing the Shack of the Ordinary Mind or Building a Sense of Sectarian Identity? The Gradual Evolution of rDzogs-chen's Analytical Preliminaries**

Many rDzogs-chen instruction manuals (*khrid yig*) refer to one or more contemplation practices among the various preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*) to the main meditation practices (*dngos gzhi*) of Khregs-chod and Thod-rgal. Collectively, such contemplations often appear under the rubric of ‘demolishing the shack of the ordinary mind’ (*sems kyi khang bu bshig pa*). Perhaps the best-known is the analysis of mind’s emergence, presence and departure (*sems kyi byung gnas 'gro gsum la brtag pa*), which appears by itself in some texts. In the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* tradition however, two other analytical preliminaries also feature: 1) probing (or investigating) the mind (*sems kyi rtsad bcad pa*) and 2) searching for mind’s hidden flaws (*sems kyi mtshang btsal ba*).

In this paper I trace the history of these practices from their first appearance in canonical (or pseudo-canonical) literature through to their elaboration in later instruction manuals and related commentaries, including those of some twentieth-century authors. I show how what began as a relatively simple set of instructions gradually developed in complexity and philosophical content. Thus, in the *Ye shes bla ma* of 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1730–1798) for example, references to the various Indian tenet systems (*grub mtha'*) are central features of the text’s discussion of mind’s emergence, presence and departure. Later, in the writings of g.Yu-khog Chos-dbyings rang-grol (1872–1952), there is even an insistence that these analytical preliminaries must follow 'Ju Mi-pham’s (1846–1912) unique interpretation of Madhyamaka thought. The same author also attempts to explain how the view arrived at through these rDzogs-chen preliminaries must be superior to an understanding of Madhyamaka doctrine in an exoteric, sūtra-level context.

Through this brief examination, I thus demonstrate how the analytical preliminaries were influenced by the rNying-ma school’s gradual acceptance of scholasticism. In addition, I also argue that (at least in the writings of g.Yu-khog Chos-dbyings rang-grol) these same practices became a means of reinforcing sectarian identity—as well as a locus for the contention of the nature of this identity.

Jim Rheingans (Sydney)

## Technical Terms in Yogic Cultures? Logico-Epistemological Terminologies in Meditation Instructions

In text types usually associated with what one may call “yogic cultures,” we find terms from epistemological and other scholarly treatises, forming syntheses, generating different meanings and new concepts. Sobisch (2015) has already pointed out the “four authentications” (*Tshad ma bzhi*) in instructions of earlier Sa skya Masters; four kinds of *tshad ma* different from those used in the Pramāṇa treatises as such. Similar ideas could be observed in 'Bri gung pa writings. Such terms may form a bridge between presumably oral and literary dominated strands of a tradition.

This paper would like to explore the connection between terms of scholarly treatises, especially those from the logico-epistemological tradition, and the instructions of practice oriented transmissions. At the centre of the examination are two ideas: The previously mentioned “four authentications” in Sa skya pa and early bKa' brgyud pa offer a system that sustains yogic cultures in a frame of argumentation, authority through scripture, and most importantly transmission of a guru. A later example for a possibly related phenomenon is the amalgamation of Pramāṇa and Mahāmudrā by the Seventh Karmapa Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506) in his monumental *Rigs gzhung rgya mtsho*. This paper will outline the purposes and uses of such terms in the context of yogic cultures and how they might constitute a different form of legitimation. This will be embedded in a discussion about the production and usage of such texts and the question to which extent the dichotomy of “scholarly” versus “yogic” can be upheld in the observed cases

Marta Sernesi (Oxford)

## Instructions to Hermits: The 13<sup>th</sup> c. Mountain Teachings (*Ri chos*)

The so-called Mountain Teachings (*Ri chos*) consist of step-by-step guidance to the solitary retreat. The relevant literary materials provide comprehensive practical guidelines—on how to choose the appropriate spot, on food, clothing, and daily rituals—while their main focus is meditation training. It is a composite collection, made of texts of various lengths, topics, and genres, including a large practice manual, brief explanations on specific points of training, notes, versified compositions, and summaries. This corpus is generally attributed to Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1213–1258), but it is the product of a collective undertaking, involving the wider community of hermits living on Tsib ri mountain, in the south-western region of La stod lHo, in the 13th century.

The present paper will employ this literary corpus as a privileged point of access to investigate the communicative contexts and the means of knowledge transfer in this community of mountain hermits. Analysing the different text types, their interrelationship, recipients, and function—also in comparison with coeval instructional materials—it will explore different conceptional profiles, characterized by the co-presence and dynamic interaction between oral performance and literary composition. Thereby, it will be possible to better understand practices of textual production, from the dialogical interaction between teachers and disciples, to the collective codification of written records.

Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Hamburg)

## Metaphors and Genre

Buddhist writings are rich in metaphors. Moreover, Buddhist writers have reflected on the use of metaphors in their writings and in language in general, up to the point where in Yogācāra Buddhism language as a whole is finally seen as functioning like a metaphor. In my paper, I will discuss the use of metaphor in Tibetan Buddhist texts and the question of whether particular genres tend to use certain metaphors.

Casey Kemp (Leiden)

## Typologies of Luminosity in Early Bka' brgyud Tantric Manuals

This presentation will survey typologies of the concept of luminosity (*'od gsal ba; prabhāsvaratā*) during the formative period of the various Bka' brgyud lineage traditions in Tibet (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries). This paper will explore how this term functions in primarily tantric commentaries associated with the *nā ro chos drug and bsre ba skor gsum* writings beginning with Mar pa Lotsāwa's (1012–1097) fourfold luminosity through to 'Jig rten mgon po's (1143–1217) fivefold luminosity. I will also touch on twofold and threefold typologies espoused by Sgam po pa Rin chen dpal (1079–1153), Ras chung pa (1084–1161), and Phags mo sgru pa (1110–1170). These early masters were instrumental in establishing lines of interpretation of tantric literature that helped develop pedagogies (as will be demonstrated through Sgam po pa's *Bstan bcos lung gi nyi 'od*) designed to systematically train yogins and monks in philosophy and practice, thus contributing to the institutionalization of what came to be known as the Bka' brgyud Mahāmudrā tradition—a tradition that depends on the *nā ro chos drug* instructions for its tantric program. In this context, early authors set precedents for defining Bka' brgyud authoritative literature by strategically selecting passages from tantras and tantric commentaries that they considered to espouse the definitive meaning of the Buddha's word. As a result, we have a rich collection of manuals and commentaries of the *nā ro chos drug* that as of yet has been a neglected subject in Tantric studies.

Luminosity counts among the *chos drug*, and it is a particularly interesting topic for early Bka' brgyud pa as it represents the crux for the view and practice, is found across both sutras and tantras, and is considered the defining characteristic of the *dharmakāya* and buddhahood. By looking at the various conceptual frameworks for defining this central Buddhist concept within an early Tibetan tantric tradition, I will examine common (as well as differing) schemes among early Bka' brgyud authors for systematizing and establishing hierarchies for tantric teachings and traditions.

## Panel 56 – Rethinking *gTer ma*

གཏེར་མའི་སྐོར་ལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་གསུང་བ།

### Panel organizer

Robert Mayer (Oxford and Bochum)

**Panel abstract** – Theories guiding contemporary thinking about *gter ma* have recently been subjected to intense scrutiny, not least by *gter ma*-focused research projects. As a result, currently relied-upon historical sources, and conclusions based upon them, appear increasingly open to question, while alternative sources of evidence, and perspectives, are emerging. This panel introduces a comprehensive, predominantly evidence-based, reconsideration of *gter ma*, emphasizing historical development of ideas about what *gter mas* and *gter stons* are, and how our scholarly perspectives on this are changing as we speak. We will present new evidence for, and understandings of:

- indigenous components in the historical origins of *gter ma*
- imported components in the historical origins of *gter ma*
- interactions of indigenous local-deity cults (*gzhi-bdag*) and their associated notions of *gter*, with Buddhist notions of *gter ma* and *gter srung*
- *gter ma*-relevant evidence from proto-*rNying ma* Dunhuang texts, and *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* tantras
- tensions in transmission, elaboration, and innovation of *bKa' thang* literature
- The role of Ye shes mtsho rgyal in the *gter ma* tradition

Robert Mayer (Oxford and Bochum)

### New Perspectives on Early *gTer ma*

Little has been done on the historical context of the earliest *gter ma* traditions since Davidson 2005, so Anna Sehnalova and I are attempting jointly to take things forward a few tiny steps. Anna is focusing on indigenous *gter* cultures, myself on Buddhist and other possible non-indigenous influences. At the same time, Cathy Cantwell, Dylan Esler, and Lopon P Ogyan Tenzin are investigating older textual sources re-used by Nyang ral in his *bDe gshegs 'dus pa*.

I have drafted several not yet published articles, from which I will present key points in overview:

- (i) New perspectives offered to the study of Tibetan *gter ma* by the anthropologist Charles Stewart's seminal work (2012) on religious and secular treasure discovery in island Greece and elsewhere.
- (ii) The contrasts and relations and interactions between indigenous Tibetan *gter* practices (largely donative, as offerings to *gzhi bdag* etc., and typically respectful to the treasure guardians) and Indian Buddhist ones (largely extractive, of wealth, or religious texts, etc, and in many cases less respectful or even disrespectful to the treasure guardians).
- (iii) The dozens of references to treasure recovery (*nidhi, gter*) contained in official Imperial-period Tibetan translations of Buddhist Kriyātantras listed in the *Lhan dkar ma*. Prominent among these is a long (20-pages plus) section of the *Vidyottamatantra*, expounding complex procedures for finding hidden *gter sgo*, dealing with the dangerous *gter srung*, opening the *gter sgo*, removing the treasure they contain, and then closing them again. This long text passage quite possibly spells out in fuller detail the *nidhi* rites so frequently referred to in brief elsewhere in Kriyā sources.
- (iv) The scriptural revelatory practices of non-dual Śaivism in 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century Kashmir, and their close similarities to the revelatory practices of their Buddhist and Bon contemporaries in Tibet.

Anna Sehnalova (Oxford)

### **Mountain Deities and Their Treasures: Possible Indigenous Origins of the Tibetan *gTer ma* tradition**

This paper discusses the possible origins of the Tibetan *gter ma* tradition from outside its own testimonies and narratives, making use of other written historical documents (such as chronicles and genealogies), as well as recent fieldwork in East Tibet. The paper focuses on Tibetan indigenous religious notions, particularly on local, and mainly mountain, deities (variously called *gzhi bdag*, *yul lha*, *gzhi bdag yul ha*, also *sa bdag*, etc.), and their relationship to the concept of a hidden treasure, *gter*. Such a treasure *gter* is an offering to the deities of the land, acquires various functions, and is employed at different social and religious occasions. It represents a coherent part of indigenous cosmological perceptions and linked ancestral worship, at least in the studied case of certain areas in East Tibet. The paper aims to examine in which ways the *gter* is related to *gter ma*, if it eventually might have stood at its origins, and if, for instance, the latter might be an outcome of the Buddhicisation of the former.

Dan Hirshberg (Fredericksburg)

### **Fidelity, Innovation, and Reincarnation in the Early Revelations of the Eight Instructions**

Despite the fact that the various collections known as the *Eight Instructions* (*Bka' brgyad*) represent the foundation of proto- and early Rnying ma deity yoga theory and praxis, and thereby retain great renown and respect within the tradition to the present day, they remain significantly understudied. This may be due in part to the challenges of tracing their transmission across their early iterations in the twelfth–fourteenth centuries. In recognizing their fluidity as they acquired new texts and lost others, the rather daunting heterogeneity and complexity of these collections becomes all the more apparent. Nevertheless, recent research by Robert Mayer and Cathy Cantwell (2012) has begun to unearth some of the wealth preserved therein, as by aligning some of their contents, consistently categorized as treasure revelations (*gter*), with Dunhuang materials, thus proving for the first time that at least some treasures may have been found as described in the biographies of early revealers like Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (1124–92); that is, some treasures were authentically old material documents excavated from terrestrial sites of concealment. Forthcoming dissertations by Guy Grizman and Nicholas Trautz will expand our knowledge of these collections further, though neither focuses on their status as treasure collections.

Extending beyond recent publications on early treasure recovery and reincarnation theory (Hirshberg 2016, 2017), this paper compares the successive revelations of the *Bka' brgyad*, foremost considering its transmission as a textual corpus. Successively revealed by Nyang ral, Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug (1212–70), and Rig 'dzin rgod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1409), who together become recognized as the “three supreme emanations” in part due to their revelation of this cycle, their *Bka' brgyad* represent a distinct progression that exposes unique tensions in early Tibetan Buddhist treasure recovery. Beginning with the *Bka' brgyad* recovery narratives in the biographies of these revealers, I briefly consider the subsequent refinement and normalization of *Bka' brgyad* mythology, which is intimately intertwined with their self-conception as reincarnations of prominent imperial-era figures. I then turn to the tensions between lineal precedent and the revelation of additional texts (if not a new collection) under the same name, and between the structural coherence of a corpus and the ever-expanding diversity of scriptural and ritual documents included within it. This process blurs the fundamental distinction separating treasure texts from those that are not, and further problematizes normative classifications of what constitutes a treasure cycle. My primary analysis thus compares the content of each collection, identifying key titles and genres of convergent and divergent texts, to gain insight into how *Bka' brgyad* and with it definitions of *gter* evolve under each of these revealers and their lineal descendants.

Jue Liang (Charlottesville, Virginia)

### **Conduit for Wisdom: Ye shes mtsho rgyal as a Knowledge-Conferring Vessel in *gTer ma* teachings**

Being the first and foremost Buddhist woman in Tibet, Ye shes mtsho rgyal is remembered as the consort to and an exemplary disciple of Padmasambhava; she is also regarded as an eminent teacher herself. She was understood as the disciple responsible for recording and concealing Treasures according to the normative narrative of the Treasure (*Gter ma*) tradition in the Rnying ma School of Tibetan Buddhism. This paper selects narratives in question-and-answer (*zhus lan*) literature from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the burgeoning years for Treasure revelation. It is a time when the practice of Treasure revelation and indigenous views about its historical origin were gradually consolidated from their previous heterogeneous and decentralized state. It considers Ye shes mtsho rgyal's role as a knowledge-conferring vessel in these narratives through her dual function as a disciple as well as a consort.

The first part of this paper looks at the narratives framing question-and-answer texts in a Treasure cycle and their formal features. By juxtaposing these narratives with the “irregular” (*vedulla* or *vaidulya*) Mahāyāna scriptures, this paper brings out their parallel narrative structures and argues that by imitating canonical voices of buddhas and bodhisattvas teaching their disciples, these Treasure narratives elevate the status of Padmasambhava as “the second Buddha,” legitimize the authenticity of his teachings, and weave together the individual, narrative, textual, and ritual elements in the cycles, and to a larger extent the Treasure tradition.

This paper also proposes a new way of understanding Ye shes mtsho rgyal's role as a conduit for Padmasambhava's teachings in light of similar function served by consorts in Tantric empowerment rituals. A consort's role in empowerment rituals is to connect the master with the disciple and convey his/her blessings. In a similar fashion, Ye shes mtsho rgyal was the conduit through which Padmasambhava's teachings were transmitted to future generations: the master entrusted her with his teachings, she encoded and concealed them all over Tibet, and when the time comes, she would reveal them to someone destined for those teachings. I consider the (hetero-)sexuality of Ye shes mtsho rgyal an integral part of her identity and of the emic history of Treasure revelations.

In conclusion, considering the various models of transmission available to Tibetan Buddhists at that time, this paper asks how this particular model fits in the Treasure tradition and its contexts and what might it tell us about broader theological concerns of the community at that time.

Cathy Cantwell (Bochum)

### **The Supreme Pacification (*zhi ba'i mchog*) Ritual Revealed by Nyang ral Nyi ma, its Precedent in the Dunhuang text, IOL Tib.J 331.III, and Nyang ral's Commentaries on it**

Nyang ral's twelfth century Supreme Pacification (*zhi ba'i mchog*) ritual within the 'Phrin las Phur pa section of his revealed corpus of the *Eightfold Buddha Word, Embodying the Sugatas (bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa)* is also found in the earlier Dunhuang text, IOL Tib.J 331.III. Nyang ral further included two commentaries on the text. This paper will explore exactly what revelation implies in this case, and how this seminal production may have impacted upon the rNying ma Vajrakīlaya traditions.

Dan Martin (Jerusalem)

### **Locating a Tertön Prayer in Terma History**

Recently, after decades thinking I had lost it forever, I regained access to a woodblock print of a 16<sup>th</sup>-century tertön prayer by Byang-bdag Bkra-shis-stobs-rgyal (1540-1578 CE). Although I haven't as of now come to any clear-cut conclusions, I would like to think of this text as if it were a pivotal one in the thousand-year-plus history of 'canonical' (if I may use this word) sets of tertöns. After its composition we can

see that it was used to structure yet other literary works concerning tertöns, including Karma-mi-'gyur-dbang-gi-rgyal-po's mid-17<sup>th</sup>-century terma history as well as the Record of Teachings Heard of the Fifth Dalai Lama dating to circa 1670 CE. Thus this tertön prayer arguably created a trajectory culminating in the famous Hundred Tertöns (Gter-ston Brgya-rtsa) of Kong-sprul (1886 CE). Yet it was itself a result of trends that came before it, perhaps going back to prophetic texts and not only works of the Terma Origins (Gter-'byung) genre. For the time being my only conclusion is that an investigation of the development of 'acceptable' or 'canonical' lists of tertöns (as these are found in collective prophecies, prayers and biographies) is likely to elucidate the history of terma rediscoveries over the *longue durée*.

Paper Session 2 – Monastic Communities and their Histories

དགོན་སྡེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།

Tshul khrim rgya mtsho ལྷུ་ལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། | Tsultsem Gyatso (Gangtok)

བོད་ཡུལ་གཙང་གི་བ་རི་སྐྱ་བྱང་དང་དགོན་སྡེའི་སྐོར་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་དཔྱད་པ།

བ་རི་སྐྱ་བྱང་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་ནང་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ས་སྐྱའི་ཁྲི་འཛིན་གཉིས་པ་བ་རི་ལོ་ལྟ་བུ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་གྲགས་ (1040-1111)

ཀྱི་མཚན་གནས་གཅིག་འབྲེལ་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་འཛིན་པའི་སྐྱ་བྱང་ཚོས་སྡེ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་གྲགས་པ་དང་། ཡང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་དཔེ་དེབ་ལག་

དུ་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་སྐྱ་བྱང་ལྷན་ལུངས་པའི་བ་རི་ཚོས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྷན་པུང་ལྷིག་དང་། ཡང་ས་སྐྱའི་ཁྲི་ཆེན་སོ་གཅིག་

པ་ཀུན་དགའ་སྒོ་ལོ་ས་ (1729-1783) ཀྱིས་བཟམས་པའི་ས་སྐྱའི་གདུང་རབས་རོ་མཚར་བང་མཛོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་དུ་ཁོང་གི་གཙུང་

མཐུན་སྐྱོབས་དབང་བླག་ (1734-1757) ཞིང་དུ་གཤེགས་པར་དབྱེས་གཙང་དགོན་སྡེ་ལག་དུ་མང་སྐོལ་བསྐྱོད་ཉེན་སྲུབ་པའི་ཐོ་

གཞུང་དུ་བ་རི་ཞེས་གསལ་པོ་འཁོད་འདུག ཡང་སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1653-1705) བཟམས་པའི་དགའ་ལྷན་ཚོས་

འབྲུང་དུ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཐང་སྐོར་རྒྱལ་པོས་ (1361-1485) དམ་བཅགས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བཟམས་པའི་ "བ་རི་སྐྱ་ཚལ་དགོན་ " ཞེས་གྲུབ་

མཐའ་དགེ་ལྷན་པ་ཡིན་པ་བཅས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཉུང་ཅམ་གསལ། འོན་ཀྱང་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནང་དུ་བ་རི་སྐྱ་དགོན་གྱི་བྱུང་རིམ་དང་འཕེ་

འལྱར། སྲུབ་མཐའ་དང་དགོན་བདག་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྷན་ཞིག་དུ་བར་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་གནང་མཁན་བྱང་མེད་ཚོད་ལྷ་བྱུང་

བཞེན། འབྲས་ལྗོངས་སྐང་ཏོག་དུ་ཉེན་གཞི་བྱས་པའི་བྱེས་ཀྱི་བ་རི་སྐྱ་དགོན་དུ་གཅེས་ཉར་མཛད་པའི་བཀའ་གཏན་དང་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་

ཁོངས་ལས་བྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༡ ལོར་ཀུན་གཟིགས་པཎ་ཆེན་སྐྱེ་བྲིང་བདུན་པ་ (1782-1853) མཚོག་ནས་སྐབས་དེའི་བ་རི་སྐྱ་དགོན་གྱི་

བརྟན་བདག་སྐྱ་མར་བཀའ་གཏན་ཞིག་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་ནང་དུ་ "བ་རི་སྐྱ་དགོན་འདི་པ་ཚོར་བོད་སྐོར་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྷན་པ་ལ་

བདག་རྒྱུན་བཟང་པོས་འཛིན་དབང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུལ་རིགས་སྐབ་ཆག་བབས་ཡང་མི་རྒྱུང་བའི་བཀའ་ཤོག་སྐྱེ་བྲིང་སྐྱེལ་འདུག་ཀྱང་།

བར་སྐབས་སྐྱ་དུས་དབང་དང་། མི་བབས་འཁོས་ཞན་སོགས་ལ་བཞེན་གནས་མིན་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དེང་དུས་སྐྱ་ཚང་མ་ཉམས་དམན་

དཀའ་སྐྱོངས་ཆེ་བབས་མ་བཟོད་པས། བྱིན་ཆད་ཚོས་བྱེད་འཁོས་ལེབས་ཤིང་། དགོན་གནས་ཉེན་གསུམ་འཛིན་དབང་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཚ་

བདག་དངོས་གཞི་སྐྱ་བྱང་རང་ལ་ལ་གཙང་དུ་སྐྱེལ་ཚོགས་ལ་ཞུས་བྱུང་བ་མ་ཟད། " ཞེས་དང་། "སྐྱ་མ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཚོས་འཕེལ་ "སོགས་

འཁོད་འདུག བཀའ་གཏན་འདི་ནི་ཆུ་མོ་ལུག་བྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༡ ལོར་སྐྱེས་སྐྱོབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ༡༩༩༠ ལོའི་བར་ལོ་རྩ་ ༨ ཅམ་རིང་དབྱེས་གཙང་

སོགས་སྐྱ་ས་ཞིང་རྒྱུང་འཁོར་སྐྱོམས་སྐྱིག་དང་ཁྲུལ་ལུལ་ལམ་ལུགས་ལེགས་བཅོས་མཛད་པའི་ཐོ་གཞུང་སྐྱེ་ལོངས་གྲགས་སྐྱེ་ལུགས་

སྐྱེ་ཞིབ་གཞུང་ཞེས་པ་གཏན་འབེབས་མཛད་པའི་ཇེས་སྐྱ་བསྐྱེལ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་འདུག ཉེ་ལྷོ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རིན་ཐང་ལྷན་

པའི་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་རྣམས་ལ་རྒྱབ་རྟེན་བཅོལ་ཞིང་། གྲུས་པ་རང་ཉིད་བ་རི་སྐྱ་བྱང་གི་བྱིམ་རྒྱུད་སྐྱེ་ཉེ་སོང་། ཞིང་གཤེགས་ཀྱི་རབས་

རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་ཐོས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་། ད་ཡོད་འཚོ་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་རབས་རྣམས་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ནས་བ་རི་སྐྱ་དགོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་

རིམ་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རགས་ཅམ་ཞིག་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

Thub bstan nam rgyal སྲུབ་བསྟན་ནམ་རྒྱལ། | Thupten Namgyal (Dharamsala)

འཛམ་གླིང་སྤྱི་དགོན་གི་ས་བབ་མཐོ་ཤོས་སྐྱེ་ཆགས་པའི་རྩ་རྩེ་དུ་ དགོན་གྱི་ སྐྱེ་བྱི་བྱུང་རབས་ལ་དཔྱད་ཞིབ།

རྩ་རྩེ་དུ་སྐྱེ་ཆགས་ཚོས་སྤྱི་དགོན་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ལ་སྐོད་དྲིང་རི་པ་དུག་ཅེས་པར་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་གངས་རི་མཐོ་ཤོས་རྩ་མོ་

སྤྱི་མཐོ་སྐྱི་ལེ་༤ ཅམ་ན་ཆགས་པའི་རྩེ་དགོན་ཞིག་ཡིན།

ཐོག་མར་རྗེ་ཤོང་ལུ་ཞེས་པའི་མ་སྐྱེད་ཐོགས་ཚུལ་དང་དགོན་དེའི་གནས་ཀྱི་ཆགས་བབ་དང་ཁྱད་ཚོས། བཀའ་མངའ་ལས།  
ཤོང་ལུ་རྗེ་ལ་སྐྱ་གཅིག་བསྐྱེད་ཅེས་ཡིག་རིགས་མང་པོར་སློབ་དཔོན་འབྱུང་དང། མ་ཅིག་ལ་བ་སློབ། རྗེ་མི་ལ། རྗོ་ལ་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྗེ་  
སོགས་སློབ་ཆེན་དུ་མས་སྐྱབ་པ་མཛད་ཚུལ་སོགས་དངོས་ཡོད་གང་ཡིན་དཔྱད་ཞིབ། ལ་སྟོང་ལུ་དེར་ནང་ཚོས་ཐོག་མར་རྗེ་  
ལྷར་དང་ཚུལ་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་པད་བྱུང་ལ་དེ་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མེད། དགོན་དེ་ནམ་ཞིག་ནས་ཕྱག་བཏབ་མིན་དང་རྒྱ་ཁྲིན། ལྷར་རྗེ་  
ཀྱི་སྟོན། དགོན་དེའི་ཐོང་སྤྱི་ནང་གི་དགོན་ལག་ཁག་གི་གནས་སྡེ་དང་འབྲེལ་ལམ། མཁའ་རབས་ཆ་ནས་དང་པོ་གཙང་  
ལེགས་བྱུང། གཉིས་པ་བཀའ་སློབ་སྟོན་པོ་སོགས་བརྒྱུད་མཐར་རྗེ་སྐྱེལ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་ལོར་བར་དངོས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་དང་སློབ་  
སྐབས་རྗེ་འབྲེལ་ཞིག་རིག་པོ་ཆེ་དེ་གའི་སྐྱེལ་ཆགས་སྡེ་དང་ཁོ་ཚོའི་གསུང་འབྲེལ་རྗེ་ལྷག་སྟོན།

དུས་འགྲུར་མ་བྱུང་གོང་གི་དགོན་དེའི་ལེས་ཡོན་གྱི་གནས་སྡེ་དང། དེ་བས་དབྱར་དགུན་ཚོས་ཐོག་སྐབས་རྗེ་གནང་  
དང་ལྷ་བཅུན་གྱི་གངས་ཚད་འཚོ་རྗེ་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྟོན། དགོན་དེ་ནས་ལུགས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ཅམ་ཐེབས་མིན་  
དང་མང་ཚོགས་ཚོས་ཚོས་ལུགས་ལ་ལྷ་སྡེ་དང་ལེས་ཚད། ཐོང་ལ་གར་འཆམ་སྲོལ་ནས་བྱུང་མིན་དང་དགོན་དེའི་གར་  
འཆམ་གྱི་ཁྱད་ཡོན། དུས་འགྲུར་རྗེས་དགོན་དེའི་ལེས་ཡོན་སློབ་གསོ་དང་དེ་གའི་སྐྱེལ་ལ་སྟོང་ལུ་གྱི་སྐྱེལ་ཆགས་པའི་  
བརྒྱུད་རིམ་སོགས་གནད་དོན་འགྲུབ་བཀའ་མངའ་སོགས་ཡིག་རྩིང་ལྷ་བཅུན་ལ་གཏུགས་ཏེ་བྱི་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

Skal bzang rgyal སྐལ་བཟང་རྒྱལ། | Gazangjie (Xining)

བལ་ལུལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དགོན་སྡེ་ལག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དཔྱད།

བལ་བོད་གཉིས་ནི་གནམ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ཤིང་འབྲོར་རིག་གསུམ་གྱི་ཐད་ནས་འབྲེལ་བ་དམ་ཟབ་ཏུ་གནས་ཤིང་། སྐོས་ལུ་ཚོས་ལུགས་རིག་གནས་  
ཐད་ནས་པམ་ཚུན་ལ་ལུགས་རྒྱུན་ཟབ་མོ་ཐེབས་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་གྲུབ་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཆེན་མོ་དག་བལ་ལུལ་བརྒྱུད་དེ་རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་  
པའི་ལུལ་ལ་སློབ་གཉེར་ཏུ་ཕེབས་ཤིང་། ཁོང་ཚོས་བལ་ལུལ་ནས་ཀྱང་སློབ་དཔོན་གང་མང་བསྟན་ཏེ་སློབ་གཉེར་མཛད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བརྒྱན་  
བཅོས་གང་མང་དུ་མཆོག། དཔེར་ན། མར་བལོ་རྒྱ་བ་མཚོག་ཀྱང་བལ་ལུལ་གྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་དག་གིས་སློབ་དཔོན་རྒྱ་རོ་པ་རོ་སྟོང་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་  
གར་འཕགས་པའི་ལུལ་དུ་སློབ་གཉེར་ཏུ་ཕེབས་པ་དང། ར་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཆེན་མོ་མཚོག་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་གར་དང་བལ་ལུལ་གཉིས་ནས་ལོ་བདུན་ཅམ་ལ་སློབ་  
གཉེར་མཛད། བརྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་བོ་རྗེ་ཨ་ཏི་ཤའང་བོད་གངས་ཅན་ལུལ་དུ་ཕེབས་ཁར་བལ་ལུལ་ནས་འགྲོ་བའི་བརྟན་པ་བརྒྱུད་ས་  
པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མཆོག། མདོར་ན། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞིའི་ཡན་ལ་བལ་ལུལ་གྱིས་སངས་རྒྱུས་བརྟན་པ་བོད་ལུལ་དུ་དར་བར་ལུས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོན་པ་  
རེད།

རྒྱ་གར་ནས་སངས་རྒྱུས་བརྟན་པ་ཆུ་མེད་དུ་བཏང་བ་དང་བསྟན། བལ་ལུལ་གྱི་ནང་བརྟན་ཡང་ཉམས་རྒྱུད་དུ་གྱུར་ཞིང་། བལ་ལུལ་གྱི་  
མཚོན་རྗེ་བྱ་རུང་ལ་ཤོར་དང་འཕགས་པ་ཤིང་ཀུན། ལྷག་མོ་ལུས་སྤྱིན་སོགས་ནང་བའི་གནས་མཚོག་དག་གིས་བདག་གཉེར་དང་ཞིག་གསོ་  
ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱམ་འབྲོར་བ་དང་སྐྱེལ་དག་གིས་མཛད་པ་མ་ཟད་ཁོང་ཅག་གིས་བལ་ལུལ་ནས་འགྲོ་བའི་བརྟན་པ་འང་མཛད་པ་རེད། དཔེར་ན།  
བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱམ་འབྲོར་པ་གཙང་སྟོན་ཏེ་ཏ་ཀ་མཚོག་གིས་འཕགས་པ་ཤིང་ཀུན་གྱི་མཚོན་རྗེ་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་གསོ་བྱས་པ་དང། ཀམ་པ་སྐྱེལ་བཅུ་  
གསུམ་པ་མཚོག་གིས་ཀྱང་འཕགས་པ་ཤིང་ཀུན་གྱི་མཚོན་རྗེ་ཞིག་གསོ་བྱས། དུས་རབས་ཉེ་ཤུའི་དུས་མགོར་ཤར་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་མཚོག་གིས་  
ཀྱང་མཚོན་རྗེ་བྱ་རུང་ལ་ཤོར་དང་འཕགས་པ་ཤིང་ཀུན་གྱི་མཚོན་རྗེ། ལྷག་མོ་ལུས་སྤྱིན་གྱི་མཚོན་རྗེ་སོགས་ཞིག་གསོ་བྱས། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་  
བཞིའི་རྗེས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱམ་འབྲོར་བ་དང་སྐྱེལ་དག་གིས་བལ་ལུལ་ནས་འགྲོ་བའི་བརྟན་པ་མ་ཉམས་གོང་འཕེལ་གཏོང་བར་ལུས་པ་གས་  
ཆེན་བཏོན།

དུས་རབས་ཉེ་ཤུའི་ལོ་རབས་ལྷ་བཅུན་རྗེས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེལ་དག་གིས་བལ་ལུལ་མཚོན་རྗེ་བྱ་རུང་ལ་ཤོར་གྱི་འགྲམ་ནས་བོད་བརྒྱུད་  
ནང་བརྟན་གྱི་དགོན་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གསར་བཞེངས་བྱས་ཤིང་། དེའི་ཁྲིད་དུ་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བརྟན་གྱི་རྗེ་ཅམ་བ་དང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པས་སྐྱེ་བ།  
དགོན་ལུགས་པ་སོགས་གྲུབ་མཐའ་དག་གི་དགོན་པ་ཡོད་ལ། སྐྱེལ་ཚོས་དགོན་པ་འདི་དག་ལ་རྗེ་ཏེ་བལ་ལུལ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱུས་བརྟན་པ་ཆེས་  
ཆེར་དར་སྐེལ་བཏང་བ་མ་ཟད། གཞན་འགྲོ་བའི་བརྟན་པ་ཨེ་ཤ་ལ་དང་ལུ་ཕྱོགས་སོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་མང་པོར་ཁྱབ་སྐེལ་བྱེད་པར་ལུས་པ་  
གས་ཆེན་ཐོན། དགོན་པ་འདི་དག་གི་མ་དགོན་བོད་ལུལ་ན་མཚོས་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་མ་དགོན་དང་བལ་ལུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་དགོན་ལག་བཅས་ཀྱི་  
བར་དུ་ཚོ་གཟུག་ལེན་དང་གྲུབ་མཐའ་དར་སྐེལ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཐད་ནས་འབྲེལ་བ་དམ་ཟབ་ཏུ་ཆགས་ཡོད།

དེ་བས། དབྱུང་ཚོམ་འདྲིའི་ནང་བལ་ལུལ་དགོན་པ་ལག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དཔྱད་སྐོས་ལུ་ཁྱེད་དགོན་པ་དང་ཞེ་ཆེན་དགོན་པ། དེལ་ཡས་  
དགོན་པ་སོགས་མཚོན་རྗེ་བྱ་རུང་ལ་ཤོར་གྱི་འགྲམ་ནས་རྗེ་ལྷར་བཞེངས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་དགོན་པའི་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་བཅས་ལ་དབྱུང་  
པ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་གཤམ་གྱི་གནད་དོན་དག་ལ་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

- གཅིག་ བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བརྟན་གྱི་དགོན་པ་དག་བལ་ལུལ་ནས་རྗེ་ལྷར་བཞེངས་པ།
- གཉིས། བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བརྟན་གྱི་དགོན་པས་བལ་ལུལ་གྱི་ནང་བརྟན་དར་སྐེལ་ལ་ལུས་པ་ག་འདྲ་བཏོན་ཚུལ།

གསུམ། དགོན་པ་འདི་དག་གིས་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བརྟན་ཨ་ཤེ་ཡ་དང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གསུམ་ཁབ་དག་ལ་བྱེད་མཁོ་གཏོང་བར་རུས་པ་ག་འདྲ་  
བཏོན་ཚུལ།  
བཞི དགོན་པ་འདི་དག་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་མ་དགོན་བར་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་ག་འདྲ་ཆགས་ཡོད་ཚུལ་དང། བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བརྟན་སྐར་གོས་ཐང་ལ་རུས་  
པ་ག་འདྲ་ཐོན་ཚུལ་བཅས་ལ་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་ཚུ་ཡིན།

Cha zhabs Thub bstan kun dga' ཆ་ཞབས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཀུན་དགའ། | Thupten Kunga Chashab (Warsaw)  
**Revival of Shel dkar chos sde Monastery in Exile**

༄༅། ཚོམ་མུང་འདི་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༧/ ༢༠༡༠/ ༢༠༡༧ བཅས་པར་ཐུར་བོད་ནས་ཕེབས་པའི་ཤེལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱས་ཁབ་གཅིག་  
(མང་ཆེ་བ་འདས་ཟེན) དང་དགོན་གནས་འདིའི་ཐུགས་འགན་བཞེས་བཞིན་པའི་གྲོ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆར་འཁོད་པའི་དགོན་  
ཡོད་མི་སྣ་འགའ་ཞིག་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་ཞིག་པ་ཡིན།  
ཤེལ་དཀར་ཚོས་ལྷོ་མི་ལ་སྤོང་སྤོ་ཤེལ་དཀར་སྐོལ་མ་རིའི་འདབས་སུ་ཆགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆར་འཁོད་པའི་དགོན་  
རྙིང་ཞིག་ཡིན། འདི་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༥ ལ་ལ་སྤོང་སྤོ་པའི་དཔོན་ཆེན་སི་ཏུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཆེན་གྱི་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་འོག་ལོ་ཙ་བ་གྲགས་  
པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཐོག་མར་ཆགས་བཏབས། རྒྱལ་སྐབས་དེར་ས་སྐྱ་བ། བོ་དོང་པ་དང་དགེ་ལུགས་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་འཛིན་པའི་གྲོ་  
ཚང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། ཐོན་ཐོན་མཁས་པ་དབང་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ་(༡༩༣༥-༡༩༩༢)། རྗེ་རེས་མའའ་བ་དང་རྗེ་དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་  
པ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བཅགས། གོས་ས་མུ་བ་ཆེན་པོས་བོད་དབང་བརྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ཤེལ་དཀར་ཚོས་ལྷོ་དགེ་ལུགས་པར་  
བརྒྱུར་ནས་མཚན་ཏུ་ཤེལ་དཀར་དགའ་ལྷན་ལེགས་བཤད་སྤོང་ཏུ་བཏབས། གོར་བོད་དམག་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་གཞུང་སར་  
ཞབས་འདེགས་སློབ་མེད་པ་ཞུས། ཐུར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱུས་པ་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཙོ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་འགོར་བརྒྱུས་པའི་ཤེལ་དཀར་ཚོས་  
འབྱུང་དུ་གསལ།

རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ཤེལ་དཀར་ཚོས་ལྷོ་མི་ ༡༩༥༩ ལོར་བོད་ས་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་རྒྱ་ནག་གིས་མངའ་དབང་བརྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ཤེལ་དཀར་ཚོས་ལྷོ་  
དགེ་འདུན་པ་གྲངས་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལ་ཉེ་བ་ཁ་ཐོར་དུ་སོང་། དེ་ལོངས་ནས་དགེ་འདུན་པ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞེ་དུག་ཙམ་ཞུས་བྱ་གངས་  
ལ་བརྒྱུད་ཤར་ཞུས་ལུང་འབྲོར་ཉེ་ལོ་གཅིག་གཉིས་ཤིག་ཁ་རི་དགོན་པར་དབྱུར་གནས་ཚོགས། རྒྱལ་སྐབས་དེར་དགེ་འདུན་གཞིན་  
པ་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་བོད་ཤེལ་དཀར་དགོན་པར་བསྐྱོད་དེ་མཚན་རྒྱས་ལག་ཅིག་ཞུས་ལུང་གྲུབ་གདན་འདྲེན་ཞུས། ལྷོ་ལོ་དོན་གཅོད་  
བརྒྱུད་སྐྱེ་སྤོང་ཡིག་ཆང་ལ་ཐུལ། རིན་ཐང་ཆེ་བའི་མཚན་རྒྱས་དང་དངོས་ཆས་རྣམས་ནི་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་བྱེད་ཚོར་ཉེ་  
སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༧ ལོར་བར་ཤོ་རོང་བདེ་སྤོང་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ཉེ་འདབས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་འཇའ་ས་སླ་མའི་དགོན་པར་ཁ་ཐོར་དགེ་  
འདུན་པ་རྣམས་འཛོམས་ཉེ་དགོན་པར་དབྱུར་གནས་ལོ་ཤས་ཚུགས། འཇའ་ས་སླ་མས་གཞིགས་སྤོང་སློབ་མེད་པ་གནང་།  
སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༧ ལོར་བདེ་སྤོང་གཞིས་ཆགས་དགོན་ཐུབ་བརྟན་ཚོས་སྤོང་ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ། བོད་བཙོན་འབྲོལ་སྤྱི་ལོ་འཇའ་ས་སླ་མས་དང་མི་  
དམངས་བསམས་པ་གཅིག་མཐུན་གྱི་གཞིས་དགོན་གྱི་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་དགེ་ལུགས་གྲོ་རྒྱུན་གཙོ་བོ་ཤེལ་དཀར་དགེ་འདུན་པ་དང་  
རྒྱ་བཟང་པ་གཉིས་ལ་གནང་། གཞིས་དགོན་ཐུབ་བརྟན་ཚོས་སྤོང་ཏུ་ ༡༩༥༧ ཡང་ན་ ༡༩༥༩ ལ་སྤོང་སྤོ་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་དེར་ཤེལ་ཚོས་  
པ་མི་གྲངས་དུག་སྐོར་ཞིག་དང་རྒྱ་བཟང་པ་གྲངས་དུག་ཙམ། ངམ་རིང་དགེ་འདུན་དགེ་འདུན་གཉིས་བཅས་ནས་ལོ་མང་རི་  
ང་གཞི་གསུམ་ཚོགས་ཉམས་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་གནང་། ཉེན་རེའི་འཚོ་བའི་སྤྱི་བདག་ཞབས་བརྟན་ལ་རྟེན་ཉེ་བརྒྱལ། སྤྱི་ལོ་  
༡༩༥༩-༦༤ ལོར་ཤེལ་གྲོ་བ་བསམ་གཏན་ལགས་ཀྱིས་དབྱུང་འབྲིང་པའི་འོག་བལ་ལུལ་དུ་གནས་སྤོང་འགོ་བརྒྱུས། ལུགས་ཤོག་  
ཁབ་པར་ལོ་ཤས་བརྒྱགས། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༦༧ ལོར་ཤེལ་ཚོས་བས་ཀྱུ་སལ་དུ་དགོན་པ་གསར་བཞེངས་གནང་སྟེ་དེར་སྤོང་དགེ་  
འདུན་གྲངས་ ༩༩-༩༤ པར་བྱུང་། འདིར་ཡང་ཉེན་རེའི་འཚོ་བའི་སྤྱི་བདག་དང་ཞབས་བརྟན་ལ་རྟེན་ནས་བརྒྱལ། སྤྱི་ལོ་  
༢༠༠༠ ཐམ་པར་མཁས་པ་གྲོལ་ན་ཡོད་པའི་ད་ལྟའི་ཤེལ་དགོན་གསར་པར་གནས་སྤོང་གནང་། ད་ལྟའི་ཚོས་གྲོ་བཟང་པ་དག་  
བརྒྱ་གོ་གྲངས་ཤིག་ཡོད་པ་ནས་མང་བོ་ཞིག་ཉེ་མ་ལ་ཡི་མི་རིགས་ཁབ་ཡིན། དེང་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་གཉེར་གཙོ་བོ་གནང་བ་ལས་  
ཞབས་བརྟན་གཙོ་བོ་གནང་གི་མེད། མི་ལོ་དུག་ཅུའི་རིང་ཐུར་སྤོང་མི་ཉམས་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་གནང་བྱུང་།

## Paper Session 5 – Religion and Environment

ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་ལོར་ཡུག

Gidi Ifergan (Caufield)

### **Sense of Place in Longchenpa**

One of Tibet’s great thinkers, Longchen Rabjampa (kLong chen rab ‘byams pa 1308–1364) mentions certain places and landscapes in his works which range from poems in the *kāvya* style to philosophical texts. This is mostly in order to evoke and to point to a life oriented towards sense of Buddha nature itself and to the Dzogchen view of natural pure awareness, sometimes described as ‘expansive’. He accomplishes this by means of negating a state of affairs that characterizes a certain locality while at the same time affirming a different one. For example, he would privilege forest dwelling which is usually regarded as a most conducive place for the pursuit of the life of contemplation over life in a city, which prioritizes political power and material wealth. Such negations are usually expressed in tone of speech, which suggests protest, followed by an evocation of a sense of place that can foster authentic feelings of belonging. It can foster a sense of integration by linking a certain locality with natural awareness by means of metaphor—for example, Gangri Thokar is depicted as the “noble mansion of Samantabhadra” in the sense that Samantabhadra is taken as being emblematic of the pure natural awareness.

This paper looks not only into the link between the sense of place that Longchenpa evokes and the Dzogchen view of natural pure awareness but considers this in respect to actual places found in his writings and to what they metaphorically stand for. It looks further into the personal, historical and political narratives implied within the context of the sense of place that Longchenpa invokes. For example, such implied psycho/autobiographical materials may depict not only Longchenpa the yogin but also Longchenpa the man, that is, it is also a narrative that “humanises” Longchenpa and depicts a more “realistic” portrait of him.

Callum Pearce (Whissendine)

### **The Demonic Continuum: Instability and the Categorisation of lha ’dre**

Recent work on shamanism in non-Buddhist parts of North and Inner Asia has highlighted the amorphous and labile characteristics of spirits in these areas, often linked to conceptions of an essentially Siberian ‘ontology’ and contrasted to the more rigid and domineering approaches stereotypically associated with Tibetan religion. And yet, as Nebesky-Wojkowitz noted in *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, there are evident continuities between North Asian shamanism and Tibetan forms of spirit possession. Responding to these comments, and drawing on oral material from the western Himalaya, I will suggest that descriptions of spirits in Tibetan-speaking areas display the same essential instability and porous boundaries as those presented in ethnographic accounts from North Asia: spirits routinely move between named categories, shift in form and flicker in and out of reality. I will further argue that it is the very reliance on textual categories and elite knowledge—characteristic of Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s own work—that obscures these shared features and encourages a skewed representation of Tibetan Buddhism.

Bruce Huett (Cambridge)

### **Protecting a Beyul: Harnessing the Power of Mountain Gods and Environmental Law to Protect a Sacred Landscape**

Buddhism is often considered as a religion in which there is a positive relationship with the natural world and “environment friendly”. The Dalai Lama’s statement related to the Paris Climate Change conference

(COP 21) espoused these values as did those of a wide range of Buddhist leaders. There is a wide ranging body of literature on ‘green’ Buddhism which discusses the complexity of this form of engaged Buddhism in its multiple dimensions. Whilst Buddhist notions are often invoked in global narratives, local spirits tend to be mobilised when the protection of specific places is at stake. Many of Tibetan Buddhist rituals are focused on communicating with powerful “gods of the place” located in mountains, lakes and other water sources. Hidden lands (Beyuls) are particularly sacred and also biodiversity rich. In popular belief it is important that the gods are not upset and human actions do not disturb their environment, such as carrying out transgressive activities in their “domain”.

China, as a state, is also espousing “green values” and conservation NGOs have developed over the last few years, some of which are community based.

However the situation becomes more charged when conservation interests are set against business interests and this paper explores a local initiative linked to a monastery in a Tibetan inhabited area of China where a monk recruited the community to oppose controversial mining interests in the Beyul using ritual structures (Lab tse) and practices to call on the mountain dieties for support

It is certainly a very beautiful valley surrounded by impressive peaks and charming lakes identified with local and universal protector deities. The flora and fauna are rich and diverse.

The area historically had a strong tradition of Lab tse building, consecrated abodes and places of veneration for specific local territorial gods (yul lha, gzhi bdag, sa bdag). This was kept up by the local community but had recently fallen into some decline. However when it became known that mining plans were being developed by some companies the monastery energised the villagers into rebuilding and reconsecrating about 137 Lab tse as part of a campaign to restore the sacredness of the place and thus protect its environment.

Based on interviews with key players this presentation will describe how the local villagers were mobilised. This combined ritual activities with interventions through local government frameworks and publication of documents about the spiritual and ecological nature of the area. It will also explain how the community used the Chinese Environmental Protection Laws and Chinese Constitution to argue their case successfully.

The presentation will also place this activity in the context of similar contested conservation related activities in other parts of Tibet.

bDe chen dpal mo བདེ་ཚེན་དཔལ་མོ། | Dai Qingbamao (Lanzhou)

## **How Religion Can Change the Reaction of Tibetan People to Natural Disasters**

As a religious belief, Tibetan Buddhism has a tremendous impact on the lives of the Tibetan people. On April 14, 2010, a 7.1-magnitude earthquake occurred in Yushu Tibetan Prefecture, Qinghai Province, China. The number of casualties exceeded 3,000. Merely hours after the earthquake, a group of monks from the temples, not damaged by the shakes, began to save people from the ruins and rescue operations were started along with the soldiers. Ninety-seven percent of the citizens are Tibetans, and most of them believe in Tibetan Buddhism. Moreover, to prevent bacterial infection from spreading, more than 1,000 bodies were cremated three days later. During that process, bodies of the victims were purified by local monasteries and funerary rituals were performed by several hundred monks. Some of the remains were kept by their families or their own temples until they were over stretched and ready to be cremated or buried.

This paper focuses mainly on five aspects. First, it summarizes the religious traditions of the Yushu region and describes the popularity of Tibetan Buddhism in the Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Secondly, it analyses the main phenomena after the 2010 earthquake, and discusses the importance of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tibetan people’s life from the aspects of mourning and soul superfluity. Thirdly, it tries to analyse religious understanding of natural disasters. It combines natural disasters with human behaviour and analyses how religion knows that humans overcome disasters, accept results, and deal with aftermath. Fourthly, discuss the impact of the earthquake on local people. After the earthquake, local

people have changed to some extent in their outlook on life and values. Such as guarding consciousness from awakening. The last part is the conclusion of the article. Explain the interactive relationship between nature and Tibetans, and analyse the role of religion in this interactive relationship.

**Keywords:** Natural disasters, Tibetan Buddhism

## Paper Session 15 – Tantric Studies

### གསང་སྤྱུགས་ཞིབ་འཇུག

Urban Hammar (Uppsala)

#### **Chag lo tsa ba the 3<sup>rd</sup> Rin chen chos rgyal (15<sup>th</sup> century) on the History of Kalacakra in Tibet. The Chapter on the Tradition of Sha ba ra dbang phyug**

Since some years I am working on a project to investigate the tradition history of the Kalacakratantra in Tibet using texts on the doctrinal history of the Kalacakra Tantra. The first was the history by Bu ston which I translated in my dissertation 2005. The second was the Dus 'khor chos 'byung by Phyogs las rnam rgyal, a disciple of Dol po pa. It was published in the PIATS from Bonn 2006. The third was the history of Kalacakra by Taranatha presented at the IATS in Vancouver 2010. The fourth was a text by the 16<sup>th</sup> century rNying ma master gZhan phan dbang po presented at the IATS2016 in Bergen. At the IABS 2017 in Toronto I presented and analysed part of the the 15<sup>th</sup> century Dus 'khor chos 'byung by Chag Lo tsa ba the 3<sup>rd</sup> Rin chen chos rgyal. I treated mainly the chapter on the Tsa mi tradition of Kalacakra but also the Shakya shri bhadra tradition.

At present I am working with another part of the formerly mentioned text by Chag lotsa ba the 3<sup>rd</sup> Rin chen chos rgyal (b.1447). It is entitled title Dus 'khor chos 'byung dpag bsam snye ma. Chag lo tsa ba Rin chen chos rgyal was the third in the lineage of the Chag lo tsa bas after Chag lo tsa ba dgra bcom (1153-1216) and Chag lo tsa ba Chos rje dpal (1197-1264).

The main traditions of Kalacakra in Tibet treated in this text are Gyi jo Zla ba 'od zer (p.102-107), 'Bro (p.107-263), Rva (p.263-347), Tsa mi (p.347-404), Shakya shri (p.404-427) and the Sha wa ra dbang phyug school (p.427-458). From p.212 the text is written in cursive which makes it more time-consuming to read. I have earlier investigated the text on the schools of Tsa mi, Shakya shri and Gyi jo.

In this paper I will concentrate on the chapter on Sha ba ra dbang phyug who is identical with one of the 84 siddhas mostly known as Sha ba ri. He appeared in a miraculous way to Vibhucicandra (born in the later half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century) when he was old (see Stearns, The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian Mahapandita Vibhucicandra, JIABS 1996, p.139-142). The tradition continued with among others Ko brag pa (1170-1249) who also was a disciple of Shakyashri (1140-1225) and is mentioned in many places in this text. Vibhucicandra traveled to Ding ri and Srin po ri in Tibet together with Shakya shri in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that the most important part of the Kalacakra tradition continued in the Sha ba ra school was the Shadangayoga which is the practice of the perfection stage in the Kalacakra tantra. The tradition was spread in Nepal and in Tibet and Vibhucicandra traveled to these places. Vibhucicandra also collaborated with Chag lo tsa ba, the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Chos rje dpal (1197-1264).

I am also investigating the later parts of the chapters on the Rva and the 'Bro schools that treat the 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries in order to compare with the other studies I have made of these two schools. It is of importance for the research on the different traditions of Kalacakra in Tibet to study what Chag lo tsa ba writes on the subject. The relation between the different Tibetan schools of Buddhism concerning the Kalacakra tantra is interesting for the history of tantric Buddhism. I am planning to write a more comprehensive text on the history of the Kalacakra schools in Tibet based on this research.

Cameron Bailey (Seoul)

#### **The Magic Lasso Which Quickly Magnetizes: Enchanting Objects in a Tibetan Grimoire**

The rituals and doctrines of tantric Buddhism have historically been significantly, if not primarily, geared toward the practitioner's attainment of magical power. While there have been some studies of Indian magical practices and literature generally, which influenced and were influenced by Vajrayana Bud-

dhism, the way such literature was transmitted, adapted, and used in Tibet is very poorly researched and understood in Western scholarship. While texts describing the philosophical underpinnings of tantric practice have been translated and exhaustively studied by Western scholars, the extensive and detailed literature on the powers that tantric adepts are believed to be able to execute, the tangible fruits of tantric practice, have barely been touched.

This paper will attempt to help fill this lacuna in the available scholarship. Specifically, I will examine a text on subjugation magic found in the twelfth volume of Sle lung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje's massive compendium of tantric literature from the eighteenth century related to the deity Gsang ba ye shes mkha' 'gro. The text, redacted from the *Bla ma dgong 'dus* treasure cycle of about four hundred years earlier, is fully titled *Casting the Ultimate Magic Lasso Which Quickly Magnetizes, Supplementary Definitive Subjugating Activities of the Lady of the Dance, the Dakini of Secret Wisdom*. It is classified as *las tshogs*, or a "collection of activities" that can be carried out once the tantric practitioner has acquired the power of the deity through self-identification with her.

This text very narrowly focuses on the so-called "red" tantric magic of subjugation, or overpowering; specifically, the subjugation of different types of deities and people (including, to name a few, meditational deities, lamas, nuns, and kings) to one's will by means of different types of enchanted objects. The particular operations for empowering and "enchanted" the objects vary in each case, but all the spells rely on the creative imagination of generation-stage tantric practice. In analyzing *The Magic Lasso*, I will note specifically its methodological and structural similarity to encyclopedic collections of magic spells in Indian tantric literature. I will also contrast it with the text immediately prior to it in the Gsang ba ye shes collection, another *las tshogs* text that I have previously researched and translated in full. While also an encyclopedic, grimoire-style text, unlike *The Magic Lasso*, this text is much more haphazard in its wildly varying methods and goals.

I hope this work sparks an interest in these magic compendiums, found throughout tantric collections, that they may be appreciated on the same level as other genres of Tibetan Buddhist literature.

Marion von Stockhausen-Wettstein (Bern)

### **Tantric Buddhist Dances of the Himalayas and Tibetosphere in Comparison**

This paper takes up the challenge of comparing Tantric Buddhist dances of the Himalayas and Tibetosphere. Richard J. Kohn once posed the speculation that Tibetan *gar 'cham* dance might be derived from the tantric Buddhist dance known as Charya Nrtiya among the Newar of the Kathmandu Valley (in his *Lord of the Dance* on the Mani Rimdu festival). Kohn also states: "If it is finally possible to answer the question of Newar influence or analogues, it will only be after studies are made closely comparing the choreography and liturgy of Tibetan dance and its relatives. It is to be sincerely hoped that someone undertakes such a study before the traditions involved disappear" (2001: 56). Nearly two decades have passed, and Tibetan *gar 'cham* and Newar Charya dance have both seen considerable transformations in the course of time. Notwithstanding the many changes—which include, for instance, staged performances for a tourist audience, or the inclusion of Western practitioners—both these dances are still performed as religious practice embedded in their respective philosophical and liturgical contexts. This paper reports the results of a detailed comparison of the choreography and liturgy of these two forms of tantric dance, based upon indigenous texts and ethnographic records, in order to test Kohn's hypothesis concerning a possible common ancestry for these dances. The comparison is specifically based upon rNying-ma-pa sect *gar 'cham* and the Charya performed in ancient Newar towns such as Patan and Bhaktapur.

Paper Session 16 – Practices of Learning and Reading

སྦྱང་རིམ་དང་སློབ་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལག་ལེན།།

Dar rgyas དར་རྒྱལ། | Thargyal (Dharamsala)

དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དགོན་སྡེའི་འཆད་ཉན་ དང་པར་བསྐྱེད་ལས་རིགས་ལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ།

༡༣༧། གཞུང་ས་ཚེན་མོ་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་འཕགས་པོ་དེ་ནང་བསྟན་རིག་གཞུང་  
མི་ཉམས་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་དང་གོང་སྡེལ་ཆེད་ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་རྒྱུང་ཆ་ཚང་བའི་མདོ་སྲུགས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པ་  
འཆད་ཉན་གྱི་དུས་འདི་གཞུང་ལག་སློབ་གཉེར་གྱི་ལྟེ་གནས་ཆེ་ཁག་མང་དུ་བཅུགས་ཤིང་། དེ་དག་གི་  
འཆད་ཉན་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་ཡུན་གནས་ཆེད་ཡོད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཆེན་པོས་བྱས་པའི་འགན་རྒྱ་ཆེན་བཞེས་ཏེ་རི་བོ་  
དགོ་ལུགས་པའི་བསྟན་པའི་གནས་གཞི་སེ་འབྲས་དགོ་གསུམ་གྱིས་གཙོས་རིམ་མེད་དགོན་སྡེ་མང་  
པོར། ༡)གཞུང་ཆེན་མོ་འཆད་ཉན་སློབ་གཉེར་གྱི་སྐབས་སོགས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་སྤྲིད་གཞི་མང་  
པོ་གསལ་བཟོ་གཏན་འབེབས་གྱིས་རབ་བྱུང་དུར་སྤྱི་གའཆང་བའི་སྤྱི་གཞི་འབྲས་ཆེད་དང་དོ་  
དམ་ཞིབ་ནན་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་རིམ་ལ། ༢) གཞུང་ཆེན་མོར་སྐྱུངས་པ་མཐར་སོན་རྗེས་མཁས་པ་འཕམ་དགོ་  
བཞེས་ཀྱི་གནས་རིམ་དང་མཚོ་རིམ་གྱི་མཚན་གནས་སྤྱོད་གཏན་འབེབས། ༣) རིམ་མེད་ཆོས་  
བརྒྱུད་ཁག་གི་ཁྲི་འཛིན་རྒྱ་ཆེན་མང་པོར་འབྲེལ་ལམ་གོང་སྡེལ་དང་དེ་དག་ལ་དབུ་འཛིན་ནམ་གདན་  
མོབ་ཀྱི་རིམ་ལ་གསལ་བོར་བྲེས་ལ། ༤) སློབ་གཉེར་དང་འཆད་ཚོད་ཚོམ་གསུམ་གྱི་གནས་ཆེད་མཚོ་དུ་  
གཏོང་བའི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བ་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཁང་དང་གཞུང་ཆེན་ཁག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་ཤིང་བར་བཞོས་པའི་  
ལས་གཞི་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་དང་། ༥) དེའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་བོད་ཁམས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྒྱ་བྱུང་ཏུ་འབེལ་  
རྒྱུ་སློབ་ལ་ཡིག་ཁུངས་རྒྱུང་བ་དང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་མ་ཡིན་པ་རིགས་གཙོ་གནད་དུ་བཟུང་སྟེ་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་  
བྱས་པའི་དཔུང་བཞེད་རྩོམ་ཡིག་ཅིག་ཡིན་པ་བཅས།

Re mdo Seng ge རེ་མདོ་སེང་གེ། | Sangay (Dharamsala)

དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་བྲལ་ལུགས་སྦྱངས།

དང་པོ། དཔུང་རྩོམ་གྱི་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོངས།

༡༣༧། གཞུང་སྐྱོ་བོད་ལ་སློབ་དེབ་དང་། སློབ་དུས། སློབ་ལོ། སློབ་ཐོན་གྱི་བྱུག་འབྲེལ། སློབ་ཐོན་རྗེས་ཀྱི་གནས་སྦྱངས་བཅས་གོ་  
རིམ་ཞིབ་ཚགས་ལྷན་པའི་སློབ་བྲལ་ཞིག་མེད་དེས་ཀྱང་། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིའུ་སྲོང་ལྟེ་བཅན་གྱི་སྐུ་དུས་ནས་བོད་ལ་སློབ་བྲལ་ལུགས་སྦྱངས་  
ཡོད་པ་གསལ་བོ་ཡིན། བསྟན་པ་བྱེ་དར་གྱི་འགོར་བོད་དུ་ཁྲིམ་ཆེད་གི་སློབ་གསོའི་ལམ་ལུགས་དང་། དེ་ནས་རིམ་པས་དགོན་པའི་  
འཆད་ཉན་གྱི་ལམ་སློལ་ལུགས་ཆེད་དར་བ་མ་གཏོགས། མང་ཚོགས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སློབ་བྲལ་ལུགས་དང་ཁྲུབ་བྱུང་མེད། དགའ་  
ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་པའི་སྤྱི་དབང་དབུ་བརྟེན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ། རིམ་པས་མདོ་དབུས་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་ས་གནས་མང་པོར་གཞུང་སྡེར་གྱི་སློབ་  
བྲལ་འཆོམས་བྱུང་ཡོད། སློབ་བྲལ་དེ་དག་གིས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་འགྲུབ་བཞེད་པོ་གཏོང་བྱུང་ཡོད་མེད་གང་ལྟར་ཡང་། སྐབས་སོ་  
སོར་བྱེད་པའི་དགོས་མཁོ་སྐབས་པར་མན་ཐོགས་གང་འཆོམ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་གསལ་བོ་ཡིན་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་མང་ཚོགས་སྤྱི་ཡོངས་ལ་ཡིག་ཅིས་  
སློབ་སྦྱང་བྱ་དགོས་པར་སྐུལ་འདེད་དང་མིག་ལྟོས་བཟང་པོ་ཞིག་གྱེད་བྱུང་ཡོད།

གཉིས་པ། དཔུང་རྩོམ་གྱི་སྦྱང་དོན།

༡) སློབ་བྲལ་ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྲུང་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ནང་ག་དུས་ནས་བྱུང་ཡོད་མེད། ༢) དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་  
ཏེ། ལྷོ་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༣ ལོ་ནས་ལྷོ་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༤ ལོའི་བར་བོད་དུ་མང་ཚོགས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སློབ་བྲལ་ཅི་ཅམ་བྱུང་ཡོད་མེད། ༣) སློབ་བྲལ་དེ་  
དག་གི་སློབ་སྦྱང་གི་དོ་བོད་སློབ་དུས། ༤) སློབ་བྲལ་ཐོན་རྗེས་ཀྱི་གནས་སྦྱངས། ༥) སློབ་བྲལ་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོངས་དང་དམིགས་ལུགས་  
མ་འདྲ་བའི་ཁྲུང་པར་བཅས་དོན་ཚན་ལྟ་བུའི་དག་ནི། ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་དང་དཔུང་རྩོམ་འདིའི་སྦྱང་དོན་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་ཡོད།

གསུམ་པ། དབྱུང་ཚོམ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཆ་དང་དབྱུང་ཐབས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ།

༡༽ ཡ་རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་ལུ་ནས་བཅུ་བཞི་བའི་བར་ཉེ་ཡ་རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་རིམ་བྱོན་ནས་ཐར། ༢༽ པཎ་ཆེན་མོ་བཟང་  
ཚོས་རྒྱན་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་པཎ་ཆེན་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ཐར། ༣༽ སྟེ་སྟོན་སངས་རྒྱུས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་སྟོན་སྟོང་སྟོན་གྲག་  
བར་གྱི་སྟེ་སྟོན་དང་སྟོན་སྟོང་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ནས་ཐར། ༤༽ པཎ་ཆེན་གཞི་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་ཚོས་བཟུང་རིམ་མེད་གྱི་  
སྟེ་སྟོན་ཆེན་དག་གི་རྒྱུ་ཐར། ༥༽ བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དབྱུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་འདེམས་སྟོན་ཅེས་པའི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་དེབ་ཐོབ་ཁག་ ༦༽ དག་  
རྒྱན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དེབ་ཐོབ་ལས་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་རིགས། ༧༽ དེ་སྟེ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་སྟངས་ལ་དམིགས་བསལ་རྒྱུས་མངའ་ཅན་  
འགའ་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི། ༨༽ དགའ་ལྡན་ལོ་བྲང་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་གསོ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་དབྱུང་ཚོམ་བཅས་ལ་གཞི་རྩ་བྱས་ཉེ།  
ཅི་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གཏིང་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡོད་ཐབས་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད།

Benjamin Nourse (Denver)

### Giving Voice to the Word: Reading Practices in Tibetan Buddhism

This paper is an exploration of the varieties of reading practices in Tibet, particularly in religious contexts. One of the inspirations for this investigation comes from the work of Paul Bach-y-Rita, a pioneer in the study of neuroplasticity and sensory substitution, the latter being tools or devices which enable one sense faculty to be applied to a realm of sensory perception usually handled by a different sense faculty (see, for example, Bach-y-Rita and Kercel 2003). An example of a sensory substitution tool is Braille, in which visual information perceived by the eye is converted to tactile information perceived through touch. Other systems have been invented in which people are able to use their auditory sensory faculty as a means of perceiving objects in the visual field.

How does this relate to reading practices in Tibet? Bach-y-Rita has suggested that the written word is one of the originally forms of sensory substitution, in which auditory information (speech) is converted into visual information (writing). This suggests a close relationship between speech and text, in which writing becomes a substitute for, or repository of, auditory information. I would argue that a similar notion is implied in much of the language used to describe the written word, textuality, and books in the Tibetan language. Such a notion also seems to be congruent with reading practices in Tibet, particularly the common reading practices which are performative, or give voice to the written word, thereby returning this form of information to the auditory realm. Several scholars, particularly Klein (1994) and Dreyfus (2003), have looked at reading practices in Tibet and the relationship between textuality and orality. Both Klein and Dreyfus approach the subject through their own experience in contemporary Tibetan scholastic settings and its use in such contexts. My research adds depth to their insights by taking a historical approach to the subject through an examination of how reading practices are described and framed in Tibetan historical works, such as the fifteenth-century *Blue Annals (Deb ther sngon po)* and the nineteenth-century *Ocean Annals (Deb ther rgya mtsho)*. In these historical works we find a range of reading practices represented, from silent reading (usually indicated with verbs that emphasize the visual aspect of the activity, such as *lta ba/gzigs pa*) to the oral recitation of texts (for which we find verbs such as *sgrog pa* and *'don pa*). However, many of these practices are not strictly one or the other but often exist somewhere within a spectrum and there is significant overlap between notions of the textual and the oral within historical sources. As Klein has argued, Tibetan reading practices challenge contemporary notions of reading as a purely visual and solitary practice. Recent sensory substitution research shows that there is fluidity and overlap between the human senses. This paper offers an examination of historical Tibetan reading practices which demonstrate a parallel sensitivity toward the notion of reading and the complex interplay between the written and spoken word.

Bach-y-Rita, Paul and Stephen W. Kercel. 2003. "Sensory Substitution and the Human-Machine Interface." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 7, no. 12: 541-46.  
Dreyfus, Georges B. J. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.  
Klein, Anne Carolyn. 1994. "Oral Genres and the Art of Reading in Tibet." *Oral Tradition* 9, no. 2: 281-314.

Andrei Bazarov (Ulan-Ude)

## **The last catalogue of Tibetan woodblock printing in Russia's Buryat lands: an analysis of the Buddhist reader interests of the Buryats in the 1920s**

Tibetan woodblock printing in Russia's Buryat lands probably started in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but its active phase was only from around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> through the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although being that short-lived it nevertheless managed to leave a vast legacy of Tibetan script literary works on almost every aspect of Buddhist teaching.

Over the past couple of years a strong attention to the Aginsk monastery's rich xylographic heritage has been given by the author of this paper. The investigation of the library funds of the said datsan as well as of some other depositories and funds revealed a fair amount of bibliographical literature, including those previously unknown to the scientific circles. The most numerous of them are the *dpar thos* that go under the very same title as presented in Geza Bethlenfalvy's paper. These *dpar thos* are coming in several different redactions with the number of folios ranging from 8 to 16. We've got more than 20 copies of this catalogue scrutinized and cross-checked. As for the time of appearing of the catalogue (Geza's redaction), we estimate it could be between 1920 and 1923. The name of the catalogue we are going to make a presentation of, has already been mentioned in scientific literature at least twice. In both papers a basic structure description of this catalogue has also been given, but no word of whether that was a manuscript or a xylograph was actually uttered. We think it's about time to finally furnish the detailed description of this catalogue for the purposes of clarity.

The full name of the catalogue in question is "Byang phyogs kyi a ko'i dgon sde chen po bde chen lhun grub gling 'dir bzhugs pa'i dpar gyi tho yig". The physical copy of the source text was kindly provided to us by the holder of the lore of the Buryat literary culture, the wielder of a vast collection of xylographic books, the Did Khambo lama of Transbaikalia, Dondukbaev Tsyren lama. Unlike Geza's catalogue which include both Tibetan and Mongolian works, the Did Khambo catalogue enumerates only Tibetan and bilingual books. The date of publishing of this catalogue, as reported by Tsyren lama, could be 1923 or 1924, i.e. not long before the printing in Buddhist monasteries in Soviet Russia was banned.

A comparative analysis of the Tibetan woodblock printing catalogues in Aginsk monastery showed that publishing activity is increasing between 1920 and 1924. The total of Tibetan items printed in Aginsk surpass the number of 1200, some of which were printed during this period. This source allows you to know the real development of Tibetan Buddhism in Buryatia in a difficult period of history.

## Paper Session 17 – Translation of Buddhist Texts

ནང་ཚོས་བཀའ་བསྟན་སྐྱུར་ཚུལ།

Jonathan Silk (Leiden)

### **Tibetan Sūtra Translations from Chinese: What can they tell us?**

While the majority of translations of scriptures into Tibetan in the premodern period were based on sources in Sanskrit (with a small number perhaps in other Indic languages such as Apabhramśa, and at least one or two from languages such as Uighur or Mongolian), there also exists a significant corpus of works translated from Chinese. The current presentation examines a sub-set of these translations, namely those of non-tantric scriptures; that is, it excludes not only tantras, but it also excludes śāstras (treatises), Chan (Zen) literature, and so on. Approximately forty such texts have been identified so far. While the majority are found in the Kanjur (Bka' 'gyur) traditions, others are recovered only from old manuscripts, the majority of which were recovered from Dunhuang.

This body of material offers a great deal of historical, philological and doctrinal interest. We can argue, for instance, that the Tibetans responsible for these translations had a notion of completeness which extended to recovering versions of the Buddha's word wherever it could be found. Likewise, careful examination of these translations reveals a great deal about the working of translation teams, especially since there is evidence that at least in some cases these teams did not rely exclusively on a single version as the basis of their translation, even consulting both Sanskrit and Chinese sources simultaneously. From another perspective, while in examining Tibetan translations from Sanskrit in almost no case do we actually know precisely what the Vorlage of their translation looked like, in the case of rendering from Chinese this is not the case; we usually know precisely what Chinese text the translators were rendering. This allows us to understand much more precisely how the translation process itself functioned. Although many more points of interest could be adduced, one final one is this: in reading medieval Chinese translations, their Tibetan renderings allow us to know much more precisely how contemporary educated readers understood the Chinese texts, and in some cases this allows us new insight into the Chinese translations as well. Although in the short time allotted for a presentation only superficial treatment can be given to these issues, it is felt that they are of sufficient interest to share them more broadly.

Robert Kritzer (Kyoto)

### **The Tibetan and Chinese Translations of Chapter Seven of *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* and the Lost Sanskrit Original**

*Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* is an extremely long text in seven chapters that seems to have been compiled by the start of the fifth century. It largely takes the form of a monk's meditations on cosmological and doctrinal topics. We have a partial Sanskrit manuscript of the first six chapters. Gautama Prajñāruci's Chinese translation of all seven chapters, *Zheng fa nian chu jing* 正法念處經 (T721), dates to 538-541. A complete Tibetan translation, *Dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar gzhag pa* (Tohoku 287), is attributed to Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (twelfth century). There is also a Mongolian translation of the Tibetan translation.

Despite its length, the sūtra does not seem to have been widely cited in India, and I have found no references to it in Indian commentatorial literature. However, Chinese authors, beginning with Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523-592), mention it more frequently. In Japan, *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* was the source for Genshin's (942-1017) influential descriptions of hells in *Ōjōyōshū*.

Chapter Seven, which has its own title, *Lus dran pa nye bar gzhag par zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs* ("The Dharma Teaching called 'The Establishment of Mindfulness Based on the Body'"), is, as its title suggests, basically a meditation on the body. I have begun editing and translating this chapter. In

the course of my work, particularly in the several sections on internal worms, I have noticed that there are numerous differences between the Chinese and Tibetan translations concerning the numbers of worms said to afflict various parts of the body, the names of the worms, and their descriptions. In some cases, it is hard to imagine that the Chinese and Tibetan translators were working from the same Sanskrit text. According to the research of Daniel Stuart and Mitsuyo Demoto, the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Chapter Two and Three, seem to be based on the same recension as the Sanskrit manuscript. (The other chapters have not yet been examined.) However, Stuart has found evidence that there was at least one other recension of the text.

The seventh chapter not only has its own title but also differs considerably in structure and content from the other six chapters. This suggests that the textual history of the chapter and its translations might be quite different from the other chapters. In my presentation, I shall compare in detail the Tibetan and Chinese translations of Chapter Seven to see whether a difference in recension is necessary to explain the many discrepancies between them or whether they can be attributed to other factors.

Jowita Kramer (Munich)

### **The Tibetan Translation of Sthiramati's *Abhidharmakośa* Commentary by Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po**

This paper focuses on the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmakośaṭīkā Tattvārthā*, a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* composed by the Indian Yogācāra scholar Sthiramati (6<sup>th</sup> century). The investigation of this commentary not only provides new insights into Sthiramati's understanding of Abhidharmic topics but also into the very specific nature of late Tibetan translations, which often are less reliable than those produced in the main translation period from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century and parts of which are not understandable without the Sanskrit original. Until recently only the Tibetan translation of the text and some Chinese and Uyghur fragments of it as well as a Mongolian translation of the Tibetan version were available. A few years ago a Sanskrit manuscript of this very extensive commentary came to light in the collection of microfilm copies kept in the China Tibetology Research Center (the originals of which are preserved in Lhasa). One of the exciting aspects of the Sanskrit manuscript is that it seems to be one of the oldest manuscripts in the Tibetan collection, having been dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century. Despite this old age of the manuscript, the Sanskrit text has been translated into Tibetan only in the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century by the Tibetan grammarian Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527/28), after having been asked to do so by the fourth Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524). One of the reasons that the Sanskrit text was not translated earlier might have been the text's difficulty and maybe the unusual script of the manuscript. As the Tibetan translators of this late period could not work with Indian teachers anymore and maybe also because of the difficult script of the manuscript, the Tibetan translation of the commentary is full of mistakes and misunderstandings and includes passages that are only transliterated and not translated. In my presentation I will deal with various philological problems of the Tibetan translation and aim at new insights into the work of the Tibetan translators of this late period.

Rig 'dzin thar rgyal རིག་འཛིན་ཐར་རྒྱལ། | Rinzin Thargyal (Oslo)

### **A poetic rendition of Sakya Pandita's *blo brtag pa***

The purpose of my paper is to argue for the merits of translating the source text into verse rather than rendering it into prose. My source text is Sakya Pandita's (1181-1251) Second Chapter Investigating the Mind (ལྷོ་བརྟག་པ་) of his magnum opus Epistemology: *The Treasure of Reasoning* (ཚད་མ་རིགས་པའི་གཞིར་) which has been the subject of extensive scrutiny, laudation, criticism and translation. The treatise was translated into Sanskrit, and its Fourth Chapter was translated into English by Leonard Kuijp van der in 1979 and some of its parts have been translated into other languages. I shall refrain from going through the Tibetan polymath's proverbial erudition and intellectual legacy. I shall rather discuss the translatability of the source text that,

I maintain, warrants a poetic rendering into English owing to its syllabic and metrical devices. I am aware of the caveat that Tibetan and English are not cognate languages and that mastering the two languages is imperative for doing successful translation. Moreover, ardent foes of meta-poetry have questioned its feasibility and denounced translators as betrayers. However, I strongly believe in the translatability of Tibetan classical texts though producing impeccable renditions is a different matter.

Let me accentuate that Sakya Pandita wrote the entire ཚད་མ་རིགས་པའི་གཏེར་ modeled on the Sanskrit form of writing metrical verse with 7 syllable lines. In the Tibetan poetic parlance a trochaic foot (རྒྱང་པ་) consists of two syllables (the stressed and unstressed syllables) and Sakya Pandita's classical verse typifies this metrical template. Each of his verse line consists of three feet with the merging together of the last two unstressed syllables as shown below.

སློལ་མཚན་ཉིད་རིག་པ་ཡིན། (line1) Reasoning is a mental attribute

+ - + - + - -

ཡལ་སོགས་སློན་ནས་དུ་མ་འགྱུར། (line 2) Objects et al, beget divers changes

+ - + - + - -

The plus and minus signs indicate their metrical system (the stressed and unstressed syllables) with the contraction of the final two unstressed syllables, making it a synalepha, a poetic device which Sakya Pandita employed elsewhere. Hence, rendering Sakya Pandita's poetry into verse is both prerequisite and challenging. With obvious grammatical discrepancies, the words in the first line are more conducive to translation, but any attempt to do literal translation is unwarranted.

In the second line the term སློན་ནས་ (by means of or due to) presents the choice of either retaining its adverbial import or substituting for it a verb. I chose the latter, viz. the verb beget, as it renders the subject directly responsible for the causation of mutations. Each line of my English rendition is three syllables longer, than that of the source text, in order to facilitate the translation of the rather specialized theme and convoluted structure of the text. For the purpose of the abstract, I have presented a few arguments of my translation project on which I have been working for sometime now. My seminar paper will be a substantiated and analytical presentation of the need to render the source text into a meta-poem.

## Paper Session 21 – Lives Narrated

མི་ཚོ་འཛོལ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་བཤ།

Alexander Schiller (Vienna)

### **The Fifth Yol mo sPrul sku Karma bdud ‘joms (1726-1789): The Life of a Tibetan Ritual Priest in the Border Region of Tibet and Nepal**

In my presentation, I will explore the life of the 18<sup>th</sup> century rNying ma priest Karma bdud ‘joms who, due to the religious obligations of his ancestors, was mainly active in Mang yul (Western Tibet) and Helambu (Northern Nepal).

Karma bdud ‘joms was born into a family whose paternal lineage can be traced back to the “treasure revealer” (*gter ston*) bsTan gnyis gling pa Padma tshe dbang rgyal po (1480-1535) and was thus linked to the religious traditions that were handed down in his family. For generations, members of this family held the post of custodian of the Byams sprin lha khang (Mang yul), one of the oldest temples in Tibet and most important sanctuaries in Mang yul. Later in his life, Karma bdud ‘joms was recognized as a reincarnation in the lineage of the Yol mo sPrul skus. Since the First Yol mo sPrul sku Śākya bzang po (15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> cent.), all following reincarnations in this *sprul sku* lineage, had unfolded their activities in Helambu (Sindhupalchok), a region lying north-east of Kathmandu along the upper reaches of the Melamchi Khola and Yangri Khola. Śākya bzang po had identified Helambu with the so-called “hidden land” (*sbas yul*) of Yol mo, which was known to him from the written prophecies of Rig ‘dzin rGod kyi ldem ‘phru can (1337-1409) in which the *sbas yul* Yol mo was described as a place of refuge for the adherents of his religious tradition. With respect to their sphere of activity in the “hidden land” of Yol mo, this reincarnation lineage became thus known as Yol mo sPrul skus, and Karma bdud ‘joms was the fifth and last reincarnation in this lineage.

The lengthy autobiography of Karma bdud ‘joms with an addendum by his disciple Tshe dbang ‘chi med mgon po (*Rig ‘dzin chen po karma bdud ‘joms zhabs kyi rnam pa thar pa gsal bar byed pa’i nyin byed ngo mtshar snang ba’i gter mdzod*, NGMPP, L381/9-L382/1, Ms., dbu med, 156 fols.) and his extensive records of teachings received (*Rig ‘dzin bla ma karma bdud ‘joms zhabs kyi gsan yig gi rim pa rnams phyogs gcig tu sgrigs pa zab rgyas chos kyi gan mdzod*, NGMPP, L382/2, Ms., dbu med, 167 fols.) provide us with detailed insights into the religious orientation of Karma bdud ‘joms and keep records of some of his main activities in the Tibetan-Nepalese border region.

Michael Monhart (New York)

### **Katok Tsewang Norbu: Mediating Between Gods and Humans**

This paper starts with an examination of an autobiographical account (*rig pa ‘dzin pa tshe dbang nor bu rang nyid kyi spyad rabs las byung ba mu ma nas snyim pa’i chu ltar sa bon tsam zhig smon pa ‘dir bzhugs so*) of the travels of Katok Tsewang Norbu (1698-1755) during the years 1749-1751. A remarkable polymath, restorer of sacred holy sites, preserver of endangered teachings, skilled mediator and historian, Tsewang Norbu was a keen observer of his times. He regarded this period, as have later historians, as a critical juncture in Tibetan history and his travel account is a rich source of information concerning the dispute between Gyurme Namgyel and his brother, the murder of Gyurme Namgyel, the subsequent killing of the ambans in Lhasa and the sequence of shifts in leadership that followed as Doringpa and then the 7<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama assumed power. I set Tsewang Norbu’s observations in the context of this time period and then look in detail at his mediation activities. Looking further to one of his verse autobiographies (*rig ‘dzin chen po tshe dbang nor bu’i skyo shas kyi glu dbyangs smos pa sna tshogs pad+ma’i phreng ba*) we can see that Tsewang Norbu moved easily through a world where dreams and visions, gods and demons had the same relational intensity as the people he met and the places he visited. It is a perspective,

an attitude towards others, visible and invisible, that shaped him as a mediator. Looking, in particular, at how he mediated quarrels between local gods and local inhabitants allows us to reframe the context of such quarrels. His work in settling disputes between the differing sects of Tibetan Buddhism reveals that he conceptualized the relations between sects as currents of relationships rather than hardened political positions.

Tshe brtan dpa' mo ཚེ་བརྟན་དཔའ་མོ། | Cai Danhuamu (Beijing)

### Life Story of the Development of a Modern County Chief

Dkon-mchog-chos-'phel, aged 74 , was born in an ordinary herdsman's family of the Tibetan tribe called Gtsang-a-rig in 1944. Owing to some coincidences, he became a monk at the local temple named Gtsang-dgon-pa, at the age of nine. However, the reform of Chinese religious systems started in 1958, he had to go through all kinds of hardships to resume his secular life. After his returning home, he took up the post of a captain of the rural commune, then he got a promotion to be their local village party branch secretary. He went to Minzu University of China for further studies at the age of 31. Finally, through his all hard work, he served as a state cadre and became the youngest county magistrate in the history of this county when he was 36. During his tenure, there were many grassland dispute cases took place in his county, he always handled them properly and built good reputation. At the time of local cultural revival, he also made contributions and score achievements. He finally retired in 1996 and he was happy to took part in ecological protection works. Meanwhile, he participated in compiling the local historical account of past event. He published about 7 Tibetan books including abundant topics such as history, religion, folklore and landscape culture in Henan county.

The author attempts to analyze the ethnic relationship between Tibetan tribe Gtsang-a-rig and Henan Mongolia through the life story of Dkon-mchog-chos-'phel and his views of local culture and history. The author also tries to figure out the changes and development of the nomadic culture in Rma-chu region during the past 100 years.

**Keywords:** Gtsang-a-rig; ethnic relationships;Mongolia;Tibetans.

Shes rab bsam 'phel ཤེས་རབ་བསམ་འཕེལ། | Sherab Samphel (Dolanji)

### མཁའ་འགྲིང་གཉན་གྱི་གདུང་ལས་གྲོལ་བའི་སྤྲོད་སྟོན་ནམ་མཁའ་སློབ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་གསང་གསུམ་གྱི་མཛད་སྒྲིལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག

དང་པོ་གདུང་རྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤེ་བླ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚན་མཁའ་འགྲིང་གཉན་གྱི་གདུང་ལས་རིམ་པར་གྲོལ་ཏེ་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཡས་མས་སུ་  
ཞང་ཞུང་གི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཚོད་ཀྱི་དབང་གིས་ཞང་ཞུང་སྤོང་རྒྱུད་རིང་མོ་མདོ་སྤྱད་དུ་བྱོན་ཏེ་དེ་ལས་མདོ་སྤྱད་སྤྱང་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོའི་རིགས་  
རུས་གྲོལ། འགའ་ཞིག་ནས་ཞུ་སློབ་འཇུག་ཞིག་ལས་གྲོལ་བར་ཡང་བཤད། རྣམས་འདིར་གྲུང་བར་བྱ་བའི་སྤྱི་ཚོད་ཞོད་ནི་རབ་བྱུང་བཙོ་  
ལྷ་བའི་བོད་བྱ་ཞེས་པ་ལྷགས་མོ་ཡོས་ (༡༩༧༦)ལོར་ཡབ་སྤྱང་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་ལ་བཟང་སྤྱོད་ཚོགས་དང་ཡུམ་མོ་བཟའ་བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་སྤྱིད་  
གཉིས་ལས་སྐྱེ་འཇུངས་ཤིང་སྤྱི་མ་ཐག་ནས་པ་མའི་མཚན་འདིར་ཞིང་སྤྱོད་དུ་གར་གཤོག་སྤྱོད་སྤྱད་སྤྱད་ལྷག་ཤམ་སྤྱོད་འཇུག་ཡིག་གིས་  
རྒྱན་པ་ཞིག་དུ་འཇུངས།

ཞོད་སྤྱོད་ཚོད་ཚོ་ཡོངས་འདིར་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དབང་ལྡན་དང་སློབ་ཟུང་མཚོག་ལེགས་སོགས་བཤེས་གཉེན་དུ་མ་བསྟེན་ནས་འདི་  
སྤྱོད་ལ་སློབ་ཞིང་དགོངས་ལོ་ལྷ་སྟེ་ཤིང་མོ་ལྷག་གི་ལོར་མདོ་སྤྱད་སྤྱང་ཞིག་དགོན་ཆེན་གྱི་གསེར་ཁྲིར་མངའ་གསོལ་མཛད། དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་  
གསུམ་ཐོག་ཁྲིམས་ལྡན་དང་སྤོང་དུ་མའི་དུང་ནས་བསྟེན་རྫོགས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་པ་མདོས་ཤིང་སྤྱོད་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་བོད་དུས་མིན་གྱི་ཟས་དང་ཤ་ ཆང་སྟོག་  
གསུམ་གཉན་དུ་སྤྱང། རིམ་བཞིན་རྒྱ་འོངས་བསྟན་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་སོགས་མཚན་ལྡན་གྱི་ལྷ་མ་དུ་མའི་བདུན་ནས་དབ ང་ལྷང་མན་དག་གི་  
གདམ་པ་དོམས་མེད་དུ་ཞུས་ཏེ་ཞོད་གྲོལ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་ལམ་ལ་རང་གཞན་གྱི་མཁའ་སྤྱོད་ལས་བསྟུན་བཞུགས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་གནས་སུ་གྱུར།

དེའི་སྐར་དགོན་འདིར་གོང་མེར་གྱི་སྤྲོ་ལྷ་བྱ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དམ་པ་ཁོང་གིས་རྣམ་དག་འདུལ་བའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་གཞིར་བཟུང་  
 ཞིང་གོང་ལུགས་སོགས་ག་དར་ལེགས་པར་བྱས་ཏེ་དམ་ཚིག་ལ་སེལ་མེད་པའི་གཙང་དགོན་རྣམ་མ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱར། དགྲུང་ལོ་ཉེར་དགུའི་  
 ཐོག་གྲུ་ས་འོག་མའི་དཔོན་སློབ་ཤེས་རབ་གྲགས་པ་གདན་ཞུས་ལྷན་བྱོན་དེ་དགོན་འདིར་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་ཐོག་མར་བཅུག་ཅིང་དམ་པ་  
 ཁོང་གིས་སྤྱད་ཉུགས་ཚད་གསུམ་ནས་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་གསུམ་གྱི་བོན་ལ་སྤྱང་བ་མཐར་སོན་དེ། དགྲུང་ལོ་སོ་བདུན་ཐོག་རབ་འབྱམས་ དགོ་  
 བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་གྱི་མཚན་བཏགས་བཞེས། སློབ་མ་ཡང་བསྟན་པའི་མངོས་རྒྱན་དུ་གྱུར་བའི་སློབ་མ་ལྔ་དང་བསྟན་ འགྲོའི་དོན་ཚེན་སྐྱབ་  
 པའི་ཐུགས་སྲས་བརྒྱད་སོགས་མདོ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཁོང་གི་ཞལ་སློབ་དུ་མ་མཆིས་སོ། །ཁོང་གི་སྐྱབས་ཚོམ་གྱི་སློབ་ལའང་མང་དུ་  
 ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཡིག་ཚོགས་མང་བས་འདིར་མ་བྲིས། གཞན་སྐྱབ་པའི་ལྷ་ཞལ་མངལ་ཚུལ་དང་ལྷ་སྲིན་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ཚུལ་གྱུབ་ཉུགས་ཞབས་  
 རྒྱས་བཞག་ཚུལ་སོགས་མང་དུ་ཡོད་པས་རྒྱས་པར་དབྱེ་ཚོམ་དུ་སློབ་ཡོད། མཐར་འགྲོ་དོན་གྱུབ་ནས་དགོངས་གངས་ང་ལྷ་སྟེ་ (༡༧༥༡)ལོར་  
 རེ་ཞིག་གཞུགས་སྐྱའི་བཀོད་པ་དབྱིངས་སུ་བསྐྱས་སོ། །ཁོང་གི་རྣམ་ཐར་རྒྱས་བསྐྱས་ལག་དང་ཟན་པོ་ཉམས་ཚུང་ཅན་དག་གི་ཞལ་རྒྱན་ལ་  
 གཞི་བཙོལ་དེ་དབྱེད་འབྲས་རིགས་བསྐྱས་ཅམ་བཀོད་པའོ། །

## **Tibetan Regional Studies (Amdo, Khams, etc.)**

ས་བྱུང་རིག་པ་ རྒྱ་དཔེ་རྒྱ་ཁམས་ཨ་མདོ་མངའ་རིས་ཅི་དགེ།

### Panel 3 – Putting the “Frontier” Back into the Sino-Tibetan Frontier: Thinking Beyond the Sino-Tibetan Binary

རྒྱ་བོད་མཚམས་ལ་“མཚམས་”དོན་དཔྱད་པ། རྒྱ་བོད་གཉིས་འཛིན་ལས་འདས་པའི་བསམ་པ།

#### Panel organizers

Benno Weiner (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania)

Dáša Pejchar Mortensen (Greensboro, North Carolina)

**Panel abstract** – When during the early twentieth century western observers reported back from the borderlands that separate the Chinese and Tibetan political cores, they commented extensively on the region’s ethno-cultural diversity and complex political alignments. In the latter half of the century, however, state-building processes, ethno-nationalism, and scholarly inclinations have conspired to help obscure (although never erase) this diversity and reinforce the binary of the “Sino-Tibetan frontier.” The result has been to further marginalize liminal peoples, polities, histories, languages, and traditions and enforce new levels of homogeneity over identities that historically had been far more fluid.

Starting from Adelman and Aron’s (1999) definition of “frontier” as a “meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders [are] not clearly defined,” and “borderlands” as the “contested boundaries between colonial domains,” this panel brings together ethnographers, historians, anthropologists, scholars of literature and religion, and others to put the “frontier” back into discussions of the Sino-Tibetan frontier. While frontiers and borderlands are defined by their relationships with one or more political, economic, and/or cultural cores, each is also a unique political and social space formed through complex historical processes that must be investigated on their own terms (Rieber, 2014). Moreover, as Lipman (1997) reminds us, even as they share and contest space, resources, customs, and sovereignties, different communities within each frontier region may look to different cores as sources of cultural, religious, and political legitimacy. Some communities historically have regarded Lhasa or Beijing as political, cultural, or religious cores, while others may have viewed the Middle East, Central Asia, Mongolia, or South Asia as contending or overlapping sources of cultural or religious power. With papers covering the 16th century to the present and written from a wide range of disciplinary perspectives, this panel aims to move beyond a Sino-Tibetan binary in highlighting the complexity and historical fluidity of local ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious, and political dynamics on the Tibetan plateau.

Brenton Sullivan (Hamilton, New York)

#### The Golden Bridge between China and Tibet in the Late Ming Dynasty

This paper will uncover and explain the roles played by the multiple actors along the Hexi Corridor in the late Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) who paved the way for and made possible the later alignments between the Dalai Lama’s Geluk school of Buddhism and the Mongol and Manchu rulers further to the east. These actors—Tibetan missionaries, Chinese garrisons, Mongols, and Monguor headmen (themselves descendants of earlier waves of Mongols)—converged in the region known in Tibetan as Pari (dpa’ ris). It appears to be a crucial section of the geographic and cultural corridor between China and Tibet that the Fifth Dalai Lama once called the “golden bridge.” It was “golden” because it was the route through which the yellow edicts of the emperors of China made their way to Tibet and because it was the route for the wealth of faithful Mongol patrons that supported Buddhist monasteries on the Plateau.

This paper is part of the panel organized by Benno Weiner and Dáša Pejchar Mortensen entitled “Putting the ‘Frontier’ Back in the Sino-Tibetan Frontier: Thinking Beyond the Sino-Tibetan Binary.” The paper grows out of a larger project that aims to consider the efforts of early Geluk missionaries and local Mongolic patrons on the frontiers between China, Tibet, and Mongolia, figures whose contributions to history have been overshadowed by the “big men” of history such as the Dalai Lamas. It draws on Ming and Qing

archives (of the Grand Secretariat 內閣 and, for the Qing, the Grand Council 軍機處), local gazetteers (including the *Kangxi-era Gazetteer of Nianbo Garrison* 康熙碾伯所志 (1711), the *Gazetteer of Xining Prefecture* 西寧府志 (1595/1657), and the *Comprehensive Gazetteer of Gansu* 甘肅通志 (1736)), and hitherto unexamined biographies and autobiographies of early Geluk missionaries in this region (‘Dan ma grub chen Tshul khirms rgya mtsho (1587-1664) and Stong ‘khor Yon tan rgya mtsho (1557-1587)).

Donald Sutton (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania)

### **Coexistence in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland: The Songpan Garrison and the Shar khog Monasteries**

In the 1370s, the Ming founder established a garrison among Sharwa and other communities in the Min River valley high above the Chengdu plain. Violence (and its threat) played an obvious role in the Chinese regime in this region, but that is only part of the story. The garrison and its many outposts, after all, survived during long periods when central Chinese power was passive or completely absent. This paper reconstructs the daily relations of the garrison with Bonpo and other monasteries in the Shar khog region, paying special attention to trading relations, the practical workings of the tribute system, and Chinese efforts at religious organization. In considering the social effects of interaction between the forts and Sharwa and proto-Qiang communities, it poses the question whether concepts of ethnicity are applicable in this period. I will add further material to the general arguments on the Ming Sino-Tibetan frontier in Kang Xiaofei and Donald Sutton, *Contesting the Yellow Dragon: Ethnicity, Religion and the State in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland* (Brill, 2016).

Paul Nietupski (Cleveland Heights, Ohio)

### **Continuities and Discontinuities in Amdo**

Communities in the greater Labrang region of Amdo are places where “geographic and cultural borders ... [are] not clearly defined.” This project seeks to describe the interfaces of neighboring communities in this region, and especially the means of establishing sovereignty, often validated by appeal to religion, but often fueled by politics and economies. Writing of the Tibetan imperial period, but relevant through Amdo history, Kapstein remarked that “Buddhism ... due in large measure to its place in the international culture of the time, came to play a distinctive role in the process of bilateral ‘confidence-building’ such as this was pursued according to the diplomatic codes of the day.” (Kapstein 2009) This “bilateral confidence-building” was and to a certain extent remains, as will be made evident in the IATS panel “Putting the ‘Frontier’ Back in the Sino-Tibetan Frontier: Thinking Beyond the Sino-Tibetan Binary” organized by Benno Weiner (bweiner@andrew.cmu.edu) and Dáša Pejchar Mortensen (damortensen@davidson.edu).

In Amdo, the proximity of often Lhasa-educated or affiliated Tibetans, Khoshud Mongols, Hui Muslims, and over time emissaries of the Qing, Republican, and later Communist Chinese resulted in a fluid phenomenon, one of mixing and accommodation, and of recognition and at times manipulation of the forces at play. In Amdo one of the key forces was monastery-centered Tibetan Buddhism. Within often poorly defined borderlands, places of mutual acculturation, or “middle grounds” emerged for political advantage, ethnic solidarity, and economic benefit. (Adelman and Aron 1999) This project will study the forces that generated clusters of usually pastoral estates around monasteries, a borderlands society on a frontier. The monastery-centered estates, and their principle scholars were the seats and agencies of regional power, politics, and economies.

This project focuses on the Labrang Monastery estates, traditionally eighteen, but by the modern period numbering at least thirty-two. Beyond these, there were over eighty prominent teachers who accumulated wealth and political power in lesser estate communities. In the large majority of cases ownership and prestige were passed by “rebirth” (*bla brgyud*). The estate owners, usually religious figures and at the same time politically powerful landowners exercised sovereignty over their local and translocal communities, sometimes including non-Buddhists. Their authority derived from religion, evidenced in their own writings, in writings of their associates and disciples, and by chroniclers of regional history.

The paper will use biographical accounts, historical works, secondary scholarship in Tibetan and Chinese, and online databases. Lineages listed in Yonten Gyatso's work on Labrang (1987) will provide a starting point.

Max Oidtmann (Doha)

### **Arson in the Borderlands: Law, Ethnicity, and Empire in 19th Century Gansu (Or, Why Burning down the Mongol Prince's House at Labrang Monastery was Historically Significant)**

In February of 1883 Qing officials in Gansu province learned that the manor of the Mongol prince at Labrang Monastery had been burned to the ground by unknown arsonists. So opened yet one more chapter in the history of the troublesome Tibetans on the Gansu frontier and in the seemingly irreversible saga of "Mongol decline." Local correspondents predicted that another regional war and Qing authorities despaired at what seemed to be their inability to keep the peace. This paper will reconstruct this arson case on the basis of Qing archival documents from Gansu province and subsequent Tibetan-language chronicles. Who burned down the manor and why? What was the historical context? This case offers insights into the broader history of the Amdo region and reminds us that well into the late 1800s, the Sino-Tibetan frontier was not simply the place where Chinese met Tibetans. On the contrary, it was a complex borderland populated by many communities that did not fit into the Sino-Tibetan binary. Moreover, specific characteristics of Qing rule profoundly shaped the course of events. I argue that, paradoxically, that the events that followed the burning of the prince's manor led to enhanced Qing authority in and around Labrang and contributed to the growing reliance of Mongol and Tibetan communities on Qing legal forums.

Hannah Theaker (Oxford)

### **Their Gods and Lamas Have Failed to Protect Them: The Great Northwestern Muslim Rebellion (1860-1872) in Amdo History**

The Great Northwestern Muslim Rebellion (1860-1872) left behind it a devastated land: mosques and monasteries burnt, farms unoccupied, refugees crowding the market towns of Amdo, millions dead. Based on archival resources drawn from the Qing county seat of Xunhua (T. Yardzi), this presentation seeks to locate the rebellion as an event in Amdo history – from its local beginnings as a conflict in the market towns at Kumbum and Tongkhor, to the destruction of major monastic institutions and the settlement of refugees into upland communities that occurred in its wake. I argue that the modern religious landscape of He-Huang is a result of demographic changes that occurred during the rebellion and its immediate aftermath. Furthermore, the post-rebellion imperially-led identification of Muslims as an implicitly ethnicised religious group redefined the ways in which it was possible for Muslims to relate to the frontier and its fluidity: enforcing a collective identity and thus rewriting the complex roles Muslims played within the borderland economy.

Scott Relyea (Chengdu)

### **Where Did the Tibetans Go? 'Great Han' Sichuan before the Republic of China**

In the waning months of 1911, as Sichuan's frontier army sought to consolidate provincial authority across the Kham region of eastern Tibet, their former commander and newly appointed governor-general, Zhao Erfeng, confronted a different kind of adversary in the provincial capital, Chengdu. In late November, following several turbulent months of conflict with the nascent Sichuan Provincial Assembly and the Railway Rights Protection League, Zhao was presented with an ultimatum by Pu Dianjun, president of the Assembly. The 11-point document defined the transition of ultimate authority in the province from Zhao and the governor-general's office to the provincial assembly, paving the way for a declaration of in-

dependence from the Qing Court and the establishment of the Great Han Sichuan Military Government. While one provision explicitly reappointed Zhao to his previous post as frontier commissioner, returning him to Kham tasked with maintaining the security of Sichuan, the final provision proclaimed the equal treatment of all peoples within the province – whether Manchu, Mongol, Muslim, or Han. But whither the Tibetan (and Khampa) inhabitants of Sichuan in the eyes of the Great Han government?

This paper is a preliminary exploration of the perceptions and jurisdictional realities of the Kham borderland during the last years of the Qing empire and the transitional period before the formal establishment of the Republic of China in 1912. These perceptions and realities contributed to the dominance of the familiar ‘Sino-Tibetan’ binary prevalent in subsequent rhetorical appellations and understandings of the region – both within China and among external observers. This paper suggests that the absence of ‘Tibetans’ in Pu’s and the provincial assembly’s conception of the people comprising Sichuan Province was indicative of their perception of the administrative ‘pacification’ of other peoples inhabiting Kham, if not also a perception of their relative ‘assimilation’ within a burgeoning ‘Chinese’ identity. By 1911, the regions of most of these peoples, such as the Yi, had been integrated into Sichuan’s provincial bureaucratic structure of authority, while the Tibetan regions had not.

This perception of the situation in the Kham borderland erased the relevance of externally-identified ethno-cultural diversity from the Sichuanese and Chinese perspective; its complex politics in the region seemingly domesticated (pacified?) by the extension of Sichuan’s bureaucratic structure. Yet the Tibetan challenge to provincial authority in Kham, particularly the persistent challenge emanating from Lhasa via local monasteries, remained, situating Tibetans (and Khampas) outside a burgeoning Chinese ‘nation’. Thus, viewed through this early twentieth century prism, Chinese and Sichuanese governmental, military, and intellectual consideration of Kham focused almost exclusively on the Tibetan cultural, political, and by 1918 military challenge to the region’s incorporation into Sichuan and the Republic of China. This remnant of the Great Han Sichuan Military Government’s recognition of the remaining Tibetan challenge fostered characterisations of western Sichuan as *bianzang* (the borderland of Tibet), and a focus on issues in the region as solely ‘Sino-Tibetan.’

Lara Maconi (Paris)

### **Remembering School Days: Pupils’ Memories from 1930s and 1940s Kham**

This paper builds on previous research and is part of a larger ongoing research project on the “cultures of annexation” implemented in Eastern Tibet (Kham) by the ROC government in order to de facto integrate Kham people into the newly established Republic of China. Together with the organization of Chinese exploratory missions in Kham and the creation of Sino-Tibetan magazines, China-implemented Chinese-medium “modern” schooling and education are among the cultures of annexation I am currently investigating, and are the topic I deal with in this paper. Previous papers I gave on this subject focused on the civilizing objectives of Chinese educational policies and practices in Kham, their ambitions, limits and failures, and the strategies of non-military resistance which the Tibetans elaborated in response to the Chinese schooling venture in Kham, their short-term efficacy and long-term insufficiency. In this paper however, I adopt a completely different point of view to explore this topic. It is my intention to mainly focus on school life and to analyze the complex and multilayered frontier loci which were schools in Kham during the ROC through the prism of pupils’ oral memories and written notes, accounts and personal school-life records, and one school journal. Based on extensive fieldwork research and first-hand information and data, the materials presented here are completely new and unheard-of, they include rare and precious interviews I did with former pupils (and one teacher!) who are already aged 80 or 90 nowadays. Some of those former students would form the political-cum-cultural Tibetan elite in (post-)Maoist times. Even though the elaboration of these materials cannot produce a comprehensive cross-section of school life in Kham during the ROC, it nevertheless provides a vivid description and a deeper understanding of schools as “meeting places” where more traditional political, linguistic, cultural, ethnic, gender and ideological views were challenged and where new previously unheard of cultural and political Tibetan agencies, representations, ideas and ways started to germinate.

Dáša Pejchar Mortensen (Greensboro, North Carolina)

## **Negotiating with the ‘Fanzu’: The Red Army’s Experiences during the Long March in Southern Kham**

When the Chinese Communist Red Army retreated west to evade the Nationalist forces between 1934-1936, it split into different divisions and generals led their troops into areas inhabited by Tibetans, Na, Bai, Nuosu, Hui, and others in southern Kham. Communist Party historians later used the term the ‘Long March’ to collectively refer to the routes that the Red Army traversed during this two-year-long retreat. In late April and early May, 1936, General He Long led 18,000 troops belonging to the Second Front Army through Gyalthang. After crossing the Yangtze River at Shigu on small wooden rowboats and transporting their supplies northward, the Red Army set up their temporary command center in Gyalthang while they negotiated with representatives of Ganden Sumtsenling Monastery to purchase barley, salt, and sugar to provision their desperate troops.

How did Red Army commanders and soldiers understand ethnicity in Gyalthang when they entered this region in 1936? To what extent were they aware of the area’s cultural and linguistic diversity or its complex history of inter-ethnic relations? This paper analyzes a collection of oral narratives, newspaper reports, speeches, treaties, and photographs, entitled *Illuminating the ‘Prosperous Fanzu’: The Red Army’s Journey Through Zhongdian* (‘兴盛番族’之光: 红军长征过中甸), which was compiled by the political office of the Diqing military in 1991. Describing the Long March as a significant historical turning point for Sino-Tibetan relations in Gyalthang, the editors of this volume assert that the treaties co-signed by He Long and Ganden Sumtsenling’s monastic representatives established a positive precedent that laid the foundation for the ‘liberation’ of Gyalthang when the People’s Liberation Army next entered the area in 1950.

This paper uses these Red Army commanders’ and soldiers’ accounts to interrogate the utility of applying the concept of ‘the Sino-Tibetan borderland’ to southern Kham. Until very recently, the ethnically Tibetan world did not directly interface with the ethnically Han world in Gyalthang. Tibetans in Gyalthang have long resided within a complex multi-ethnic zone marked by interactions between Na, Hui, Lisu, Premi, Nuosu, Bai, and other non-Han and non-Tibetan groups. Indeed, in the treaties and speeches they composed in 1936, Red Army commanders did not portray Gyalthang as the borderland between Tibet and China, but rather depicted it as an area inhabited by the ethnically-ambiguous *fanzu*. In addition to analyzing this edited volume of Red Army narratives, this paper also draws on two additional sources: exhibits in the Diqing Red Army Long March Museum, and interviews conducted with Gyalthang descendants of Red Army soldiers who stayed behind during the Long March and settled in town.

Françoise Robin (Paris)

## **The Uneasy Incorporation of a Tibeto-Mongolian Community of Amdo with the Chinese State: the 1956 and 1958 Uprising in Gser lung and Their Aftermaths**

Sog rdzong (Henan) Mongolian autonomous county lies at the south of Rma lho (Huangnan) TAP in Qinghai province, and represents an interesting case of ethnic liminality between the Tibetan and the Mongolian worlds, with a long history of Mandchu, Muslim and, more recently, Han Chinese encounters. Its entirely nomadic population was traditionally divided until the 1950s in about twenty banners or “arrows” (Tib. *mda*’, an administrative unit inherited from Mongols that represented ca. 150 families each). These twenty “arrows” were divided as follows: the largest group came under the authority of the ‘Mongolian King’ or Qinwang, with 11.5 “arrows”. It was followed by the Mda’ tshan community, that consisted of 5 “arrows” and, finally, of the Ra rgya community, with its 4 “arrows”. In total, Sog rdzong might have numbered about 20,000 persons.

According to a reliable source, 2,000 persons (mainly men) from Sog rdzong were arrested or killed in 1958, including men from Gser lung, a locality of Mda’ tshan, in the eastern part of Sog rdzong. But “1958” was not the first violent encounter between the local population and the PLA. In July 1956, inhabitants of Gser lung clashed violently against the PLA, who accused them of fomenting rebellion. While, out of the 2,000 participants to the 1958 rebellion, all but 16 to 17 were rehabilitated in 1980 (and offered the paltry sum of 300 yuan as a compensation), the 1956 “rebels” were never rehabilitated, in spite of petitioning at the provincial and

national level. In the summer of 2017, I was able to interview at length an old man from Gser lung who had taken an active part to both events. This paper will present the point of view of that witness, while reflecting upon the rationale behind the persistent refusal by the PCC to rehabilitate the 1956 participants.

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And various local gazetteers.

sKal bzang g.yung drung bla ma སྐལ་བཟང་གཡུང་རྩུང་བླ་མ། | Kalsang Yungdrung Lama (Solan City)

རྒྱལ་ཤོར་ཚུ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བྱང་ལམ་ལོ་མཉམ་པའི་གསལ་འཕྲིན་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ་ཐོག་མར་དབུང་པ།

དབུང་ཚོམ་སྒྲིབ་བསྟུན།

ལོ་རྒྱུས་འདི་དག་གཞི་བཙུག་པའི་མཐོ་མཐོ་ཆེན་ལུང་གིས་ཚུ་ཚེན་ཡམ་པར་བྱས་ནས་མཐར་གཡུང་རྩུང་ལྷ་སྐྱེད་དགོན་པ་གཏོར་བཙུག་པའི་སྐབས་དེར་མཚོན་རྟེན་གྱི་འོག་ཏུ་སྐབས་པའི་གནའ་དཔེ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཚེན་འགའ་དང་ཚུ་ཚེན་དང་ཁོ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མེས་པོ་རྣམས་པ་དག་གི་དག་རྒྱུན་ལོ་རྣམས་གཞི་བཙུག་ཡོད།

༡༽ བོད་མས་རྒྱལ་ཤོར་ལ་དམག་བརྒྱབ་དགོས་དོན།

བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་སྐྱེན་གྲགས་ཆེ་བའི་ཚུ་ཚེན་རབ་བརྟན་རྒྱལ་པོར་གྲགས་པ་དེ་མ་འོངས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་མ་ཚུ་ལུང་གི་རྒྱལ་མར་འཛིན་པའི་ལུང་བསྟན་ཡོད་པ་གཏམ་ཞིག་བོད་མས་ཐོས་འདི། གཏམ་དེས་བོད་མའི་སེམས་ནང་བརྗེད་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་ནང་གཞི་སྒྲིལ་མེ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར། རིམ་བཞིན་དུས་ཀྱི་འགྱུར་ལོ་དང་བརྟན་ནས་ཚུ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྗེ་དང་འདི་བཙུག་གི་ཚུ་ལ་དུ་བརྟན་པའི་བོད་མས་ཆེད་གསལ་ལུ་བས་ཚུ་ཚེན་གྱི་པོ་བྱང་གི་གསལ་བ་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་གི་ལམ་ནས་བོད་མར་ལུ་ལོང་། དེར་བརྟེན་ས་འབྲུག་ལོ་རྣམས་བརྒྱུད་ཚུ་ཚེན་དང་གཡུལ་བའམས་ནས་ཆེས་ཐོག་མར་འཐབ་འཕོ་རྒྱུགས་པས་ལོ་དེར་ས་འབྲུག་ལོ་འབྲུགས་རྒྱུད་ཟེར།

༢༽ གསལ་བའི་ས་ཁུལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས།

བྱིས་པ་འབྲུག་ཐར་ཞེས་པ་དེའི་པ་ཚུ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དམག་དཔོན་ཡིན་ནའང་། དམག་ཐབས་རེ་འགའ་འོར་འབྲུག་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཁྲིམས་ཆད་པོག་པས་ཚོ་སྐོར་ལོར་ཞིང་། རྒྱལ་ཤོར་གི་ལུ་མ་རྒྱུད་དུ་པ་དག་གིས་རྩོད་ཅེས་པའི་དཔེ་ལྟར་པ་ཡི་ལ་འཁོར་རྩོད་ལེན་ལ་དམིགས་ཏེ་བྱུ་འབྲུག་ཐར་གྱིས་ཚུ་ཚེན་གྱི་གསལ་བའི་ས་ཁུལ་ནས་བོད་མའི་དམག་དཔོན་ཨ་ཅང་རྩུན་ལ་སྤྱད་དེ་མཐར་ཚུ་ཚེན་ཡམ་པར་བྱས་པས་ལོ་དེར་ལྷགས་ཡོས་ལོ་འབྲུགས་ཆེན་ཟེར།

༣༽ སྤར་གྲགས་མ་མེད་བའི་བོད་མའི་ཕྱོད་གྲུབ།

ལོ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་རིང་ཚུ་ཚེན་དང་དམག་འཐབ་ཁྲོད་བོད་མས་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་དམག་ཕྱེད་ཀར་ཚུ་ཚེན་ལ་མངགས་འདི། ཁྱོད་བཟོ་མ་འགོ་སོང་དུལ་སྤང་བྱེ་བ་བདུན་བརྟེན་ལ། ལུ་ལག་སྐྱེལ་འདྲན་བྱེད་མཁུ་གྱི་འབངས་མི་འབྲུམ་གཅིག་ལྟག་ཕྱིན་ཞིང་། དམག་འཐབ་གྱི་ཁྲོད་དུ་དམག་མི་ཁྲི་དུག་ལྟག་གི་ཚོ་སྐོར་ལོར་བར་མ་བཟང་ཆེད་སྐོས་དམག་དཔོན་སུམ་རྩ་ཅོམ་འདས་གོངས་སུ་གྱུར་བས་བོད་མར་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུད་སྤོང་ལ་འཚངས་འདི་ནང་གིས་བརྒྱུད། མཐར་དམག་དཔོན་ལོ་ཀྱུང་ཆེ་ཡོད་ནས་ཚུ་ཚེན་དང་མཐུན་གཏམ་གང་མང་བྱས་མཐར་གཡོ་ཐབས་འོག་ཚུ་ཚེན་ཡམ་པར་བྱས་འདི། ཚུ་ཚེན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་གསུམ་པ་ཀྱ་ལ་ཡེར་གཡུལ་བའམ་པར་གྲགས།

གོང་མས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ཆེན་གྱི་ས་ལག་མཐིམ་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་ཡམ་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་ད་བར་འདི་འདྲའི་ཆག་ཉེས་བྱུང་མ་གྱིང་ཞེས་  
སྤྲུག་སྐད་འོར་ཞིང་པེ་ཅིན་དུ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་ཡམ་པའི་རྗེ་རིང་ཞིག་དམིགས་བསལ་གྱིས་ཆེད་དུ་བཞེངས་པར་བྲག་གས་སོ།

rMe ru Yul lha thar རྗེ་རུ་ཡུལ་ལྷ་ཐར། | Yelatai (Xining)

བོད་སེལ་བྱའི་ཕྱིས་སུ་མདོ་ཁམས་ཡུལ་དུ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁག་ཅིག་བྱུང་བའི་གནས་སྐབས་སྐོར་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

ནང་དོན་གནད་བསྟུན། མངའ་བདག་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཅན་སྐབས་ལ་བོད་ཁམས་སེལ་བྱུང་བའི་ཐོར་རྗེས། དེ་མའི་  
བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་མངའ་རིས་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་ས་གནས་བཅད་བཟུང་གི་རྣམ་པར་གནས་པའི་སྤང་ཚུལ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། རྗེད་  
དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྷ་ཙམ་དང་སྤང་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྷ་ཙམ་ཞེས་བོད་བཅན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་འཕྲོ་སྤྱོད་མཁན་བཅན་  
པོའི་སྲིད་དབང་རྒྱ་ཁྲུལ་མི་རྒྱུད་བ་དག་ཀྱང་རིམ་བུར་བྱུང་། སྐབས་དེར་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་སོ་སོར་ས་གནས་  
རང་སྲོད་གི་སྲིད་དབང་ཆེ་ཆུང་བསྟུང་མར་བྱུང་བ་ལས། མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ནི་ནང་ཆོས་བསྐྱར་གྲུབ་བྱེད་མཁན་གྱི་  
བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱི་བདག་གི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་ཆབ་སྲིད་གར་སྟེགས་སྤེད་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། ལ་ཤས་ནི་ཆོས་སྲིད་བྱུང་  
འབྲེལ་གྱི་རྣམ་པས་ཚོགས་སྡེའི་ཚུལ་བཟུང་བ་ལས། བོད་ནི་རིམ་གྱིས་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཤིག་ཏུ་གྲོ་  
ལ་ངང་གིས་སྤོང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚང་ཁག་ཏུ་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་ན། སྐབས་དེར་མངའ་རིས་སྲོད་དང་དབུས་  
གཙང་དཀྱིལ་དེ་མེན་མདོ་སྤང་ཚོང་ཁའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བཅན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཕྱི་མའི་རིང་གི་ས་གནས་མངའ་བདག་  
སྟོབས་ཆེན་པོ་འགའ་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར། མདོ་ཁམས་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་པལ་ཆེར་ནི་གཅིག་འོག་གཅིག་ལ་མི་འདུ་བའི་  
སྲིད་དབང་ཉི་ཆེ་བའི་ངང་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་། རིམ་གྱིས་ས་གནས་ཚོགས་ཁག་བར་གྱི་ཁེ་ཕན་དབང་ཚོད་དང་བོད་  
རྒྱ་འགལ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ལོ་ངོ་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་འགའ་བརྒྱུ། བྱིམ་རྒྱུད་ཆེན་པོ་དང་ཆོས་སྲིད་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཚོགས་སྡེས་  
ཡུལ་ལྔ་བཅད་བཟུང་གི་ས་གནས་སྲིད་དབང་ངམ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྤྱོད་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཕན་མི་འདུ་བ་དུ་མ་  
བཅུ་གས། དེ་དག་ལ་དུས་ཀྱི་སྲོད་ནས་ལྷ་ཕྱིའི་བྱུང་བར་ཡོད་ཅིང་དབང་རིས་ཐད་ནས་ཆེ་ཆུང་གི་བཅན་གཉེན་  
ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། སྲིད་དབང་གནས་པའི་དུས་ཡུན་དང་བོད་ཡུལ་དབུས་དང་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་འབྲེལ་ལམ་བྱུང་བའི་གནས་  
སྐབས་ཀྱང་མི་འདུ། དེ་མེན། ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕན་འདི་དག་གི་ཆབ་སྲིད་སྤྱི་གཞི་ཡང་མི་མཚུངས་ཏེ། ལ་  
ལ་སྟོབས་ཆེའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་གྲུབ་མཐར་རྒྱབ་བརྟེན་བའམ་ཁ་ཤས་ས་གནས་བྱིམ་རྒྱུད་ཆེ་ཁག་གི་དབང་ཤུགས་ལ་རྟེན་  
བཅས་ཤིང་། རེ་འགའ་ཆོས་སྲིད་བྱུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་སྤོ་རྣམ་སུ་བསྐྱེད་པའང་ཡོད། ལྷག་པར། མདོ་ཁམས་  
ཡུལ་དུ་བྱིམ་རྒྱུད་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་དགོན་སྡེ་བྱུང་ཞིང་བྱིམ་རྒྱུད་ཆེ་ཁག་དང་དབང་འཛིན་རིམ་གས་ཀྱིས་དགོན་སྡེ་ཆེ་  
ཁག་བདག་ཏུ་བཟུང་བའི་གོ་རིམ་ཅན་དང་། ས་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཕན་འདི་དག་གི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་འགྲུར་བའི་འཕེལ་སྟོབས་ཀྱང་  
མི་འདུ། དེར་བརྟེན། མདོ་ཁམས་ཡུལ་དུ་སེལ་བྱའི་ཕྱིས་ནས་བཟུང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བུར་བྱུང་བ་ལས་  
ནང་སོ་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕན་དང་ཚོ་དཔོན་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕན། ཆོས་སྲིད་གཉེས་བདག་གི་རྒྱལ་ཕན་  
སོགས་གང་མང་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེས་ལོ་ངོ་ཆེག་སྟོང་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་མདོ་ཁམས་ཡུལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཕེལ་འགྲུར་ལ་  
ཤུགས་རྒྱུན་གཏོང་བའི་ཐབས་ཡོད།

བརྗེ་ཆད་གཙོ་བོ། མདོ་ཁམས། ས་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཕན། གནས་སྐབས། འཕེལ་འགྲུར།

Valentina Punzi (Napoli)  
**Peripheral (to Whom)? Baima in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland**

Baima is a group of ten thousands people living in eastern Gansu and northern Sichuan. In the 1950s, PRC scholars provided “proofs” through linguistic documentation and ethno-historical reconstruction that served the state’s ethnic identification (minzu shibie gongzuo), which officially classified Baima as Tibetan. However, as it is the case for other minorities in the context of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, such identification remains controversial. Baima contest that they have been denied recognition as a separate ethnic group. From the perspective of other Tibetans, this small group does not constitute a different group but rather peripheral, in both geographical and cultural terms — scattered along the north-eastern fringes of the Tibetan Plateau and at the margins of Tibetan imperial history and Buddhism. Such ascription of peripherality reflects a degree of marginal belonging to a supposedly consistent core of Tibetan identity, against which the Tibetanness of Baima is only nominally assessed by other Tibetans and the state.

This paper asks two questions: first, how scholars and the state represent Baima; second, how Baima perform their identity in a combination of appropriating state identification.

From a macroperspective, the case of Baima will also serve as an example of the heuristic potential of the Sino-Tibetan frontier—as a space where small communities challenge the dominant paradigm of ethnic classification—further debunking the assumption of them being peripheral to both the Tibetan and Han centres.

bSod nams 'byor ldan བསོད་ནམས་འབྱོར་ལྷན། | Sonam Joldan (Skurbuchan village, Leh-Ladakh district)

### **Traditional Trade Routes in Ladakh: A Historical Survey**

This study focus on 'remote region, Ladakh', Jammu of Kashmir in India. The region today often referred as 'tribal' area and a key national border of India. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ladakh played an important role in the historical Central and South Asian trade. The region once situated at 'Cross Road of Asia' having trade linkages with different regions/countries comes to an end. The linkages between Ladakh and Tibet comes to end with the occupation of Tibet by the People Republic of China. As the result, centuries old religious, spiritual and trade relations between Ladakh and Tibet ended. Whereas, the linkages between Ladakh and Baltistan ends as the result of the partition which left thousands of families divided.

People of Ladakh are consistently demanding for the re-opening of the two traditional routes; one is through Demchok on Ladakhi side and Tashigang on Tibetan side, second is between Kargil and Skurdu. Re-opening of these routes would not only benefits divided families but also promote trade, pilgrimage and tourism in the region. Little study has been done on the impact on the people living along the border villages in Ladakh due to the closure of these two traditional routes.

As such, this study will focus on the two traditional routes, its impact on the people living on border villages in Ladakh due to its closure and future prospects if the routes could be opened. This study is mostly based on the first-persons accounts, untold stories. The stories of the divided families and traders of Ladakh are mostly the basis of the study.

Irina Garri (Ulan-Ude)

### **A Tibetan Lama's Account on Religion and Politics in Kham**

The paper will explore the place and role of the Nyitso gonpa (Linquesi) in ethnic mobilization in a county town Tau (Chin. Daofu) of the Kandze Tibet Autonomous Prefecture (Chin. Ganzi). The principle source of the data is interviews with the abbot and locals conducted during the field research of the author in 2014-2015.

The Nyintso-gonpa monastery is one of the 13 Hor monasteries of Kham, historically very influential in the local politics and Sino-Tibetan conflicts. Sangye Gyatso (born 1964) was an ordinary Tibetan monk who fled to India and studied there for eight years. After his return he was elected in 2007 as an administrator-abbot chiba of the Nyintso-gonpa.

During seven years of his leadership great changes took place, both in the monastery and county. He brought order in the discipline and education of the monks, revived regular religious practices, taught people religion, and guided the community in everyday life. For instance, he urged people not to carry knives, not to fight, not to drink, and not to steal. As a result today, as locals confirm, theft has completely ceased in the county. During the 2008 Tibetan unrest the monastery mobilized people to sit on the road until the authorities would free the arrested people, and the latter were released. In 2009 the locals protested against a mineral excavation in the sacred mountain area, and the development was stopped. In 2010 the county population celebrated for the first time the birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. As the abbot told to me in interview, his main merit is that he and the monastery united all the county population as one inseparable entity. His activity caused a confrontation with the authorities, on the one hand,

and enormous esteem among Kham Tibetans, on the other. Six self-immolations followed the repressions against the monastery, such as switch off the electricity and water for forty days. In 2014 he resigned from his post, but continued to be a counselor of the new abbot. In summer 2017 he suddenly disappeared without any traces and nobody knows about his whereabouts.

I argue that the abbot's account is a very important source for the investigation of the current situation in Eastern Tibet and can be seen as a mirror of the state-sangha relations in Greater Tibet. Constituting still the quintessence of Tibetan people, Tibetan lamas not only ensure the preservation of Tibetan religion and culture, but also make a significant impact on shaping Tibetan national identity challenging the power of the local authorities.

## Panel 40 – Rule and Authority in the History of Eastern Kokonor Region

མཚོ་སྔོན་ཕྱོགས་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དང་དབང་ཐང་།

### Panel organizers

Franz Xaver Erhard (Leipzig)

Bianca Horlemann (Buenos Aires)

Jarmila Ptackova (Prague)

Ute Wallenböck (Vienna)

**Panel abstract** – Comprising the present day Chinese province of Qinghai and parts of Gansu and Sichuan, the Kokonor Region is a transitional area and contact zone of different cultural and political entities. Throughout history, the surrounding powers sought control of this area between China, Tibet and Inner Asia. However, situated far from the centres of authority in Lhasa and Beijing, direct exercise of power by China and Tibet was often limited and the region remained politically fragmented with the actual power and administrative control vested in the hands of petty territorial rulers, both temporal and ecclesiastical. The panel explores local centres of power and authority in 14<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century Amdo as well as their specific role in the local ethnic (Tibetan, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu, Salar, Hui etc.), political, social and economic power relations

Franz Xaver Erhard (Leipzig)

### Traveling the Wilderness: Rdo ring Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor's visit to A mdo in 1793

In his *Biography of Doring Paṇḍita* (in full: *Dga' bzhi ba 'i mi rabs kyi byung ba brjod pa zol med gtam gyi rol mo*) Rdo ring Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor (b.1760) gives a vivid account of his return from Beijing to Lhasa through A mdo, to which at some point he refers as “the wilderness and empty land that is devoid of people.” The rich detail of Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor's account informs the reader not only about his travel companions and provisions but also about the social relations he relied upon during his travels. His experiences and interactions shed light on the complexity of ethnic structures and local hierarchies of power. My reading of his account will analyze the political and social infrastructure as reflected in the memoirs of the (then) former *bka' blon*.

Liu Kuo-wei (Taipei)

### History and Features of the Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries in the Nangchen Area

Khams was traditionally referred to as *chu bzhi sgang drug*, i.e. ‘four rivers and six ranges’. Among the various small kingdoms in Khams, the five main independent regions were *lcags la*, *sde dge*, *gling tshang*, *nang chen* and *lha thog*. The present day Yushu (*yul shul*) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is the main area being ruled by the king of Nangchen (*nang chen rgyal po*) since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, nowadays, this area is still called by most Tibetans Nangchen. According to the *History of the Nangchen King* (*Nang chen rgyal rab*), as early as in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Nangchen royal family had developed an inseparable connection with the 'Bar rom Bka' brgyud school, the sub-sect being instrumental in establishing the esoteric tradition of Tibetan Buddhism at the Tangut court before its destruction in 1226. As time passed, the Nangchen king also formed close ties with other Kagyu sub-schools. Except for the Stag lung Bka' brgyud, almost all other existing Kagyu sub-schools are prevalent in Nangchen now, such as the 'Bri gung, 'Brug pa, Karma, together with its two further branches Zur mang and Gnas mdo, and the almost died out Yer pa Bka' brgyud. Approximately since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, there are four major Kagyu monasteries keeping direct relationship with the Nangchen king. Traditionally, only abbots from these

monasteries could give initiations directly to the king: Lho me g.yel ('Bri gung), Dgon zhabs (Karma), Byams me ('Brug pa), and Tshab zhi monastery ('Brug pa).

In recent years, there are quite a few old historical texts being discovered in Nangchen, some of them are included in the twenty-five-volume *Collection of Yushu Old Texts*. There are also some other old 'Bar rom historical texts depicting the early historical relationship between this school and the Nangchen royal family. Besides these sources, the modern monk-scholars from Nangchen also wrote several books on the historical development of Buddhist monasteries in the area. We also should not ignore that there is also rich information in Chinese from the government survey through the local publications

Based on these textual sources, I would like to show a clear depiction about the features of the Kagyu sub-schools there, and to analyze how the historical relationship between the Kagyu School and Nangchen royal family being formed through these centuries. Meanwhile, I will also use some oral information being collected through conversing with the local Tibetan senior scholars there.

Klu mo skyid ལུ་མོ་སྐྱེད། | Limaoji (Xining)

### **The Rise and Fall of Sects of Tibetan Buddhism in Tsong kha Region from 14–19 Century**

In history, different sects of Tibetan Buddhism had risen and fallen along with power shifts in A mdo. Therefore, my research on the politicoreligious relationship between A mdo and Dbus gtsang, as well as between A mdo and the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties will shed light on the reasons why some sects had fallen whereas the Dge lugs pa one was flourishing. My presentation focuses on the monastic chronicles of Zi na Monastery and Gro tshang Go tam sde in Tsong kha region, with the aim to investigate the changes of sects as well as the involved power shifts in the region. On the basis of autobiographies of masters such as Zi na Dge bshes and Bsam blo Bla ma the relationship between the Lamas and local leaders of Tsong kha region with Dbus gtsang and the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties will be scrutinized. According to historical records, during the Yuan dynasty, Sa skya pa not only governed Dbus gtsang, but also the Tsong kha region through the Mchod-Yon patronage relation. Due to the good relationship between Dbus gtsang and the Yuan court as well as the close relationship between Zi na Dge bshes and Sa skya, Zi na mkhan po She rab ye shes had become Khri dbon of Tsong kha and contributed to the spreading of Sa skya influence in the region. The study of the historical background of Zi na Monastery as the center of culture and politics of Tsong kha highlights the importance of the monastery in strengthening Sa skya influence in the region, as well as the important role played by the lamas of Tsong kha in course of the relation of Sa skya and the Yuan court. Furthermore, the historically changing role of Gro tsang Go tam sde, as a mediator between the Ming court, Dbus gtsang and the Mongolians will be discussed in order to demonstrate the reasons why Tibetan Buddhism was supported by the Ming court in the region. In order to govern the Mongolians, the Ming and Qing dynasties offered the title of *guo shi* 国师 to Tsong kha's prestigious Lamas as well as titles and seals in support of the Dge lugs pa. This was one of the reasons why the schools of Zi na monastery and Gro tsang Go tam sde had been converted from Sa skya and Bka' brgyud to Dge lugs pa. It can be stated that the rise and decline of Buddhist sects in the Tsong kha region is closely related with Dbus gtsang. In order to establish political influence and power, the Buddhist sect ruling in Dbus gtsang built as well close relationship with lamas and monasteries in A mdo. Aside from that, A mdo plays crucial role as a connection zone between the Yuan, Ming and Qing territory to both Central Tibet and Mongolia. This fact resulted in an imperial support of local lamas and political leaders.

Yang Zhiqiang (Maru Gyatso) (Hong Kong)

### **Making a Center for Thousands of Valleys: The Establishment of the Chone Kingdom on the Sino-Tibetan Frontier, 1675–1773**

On the eastern fringe of the Tibetan Plateau, limestone ranges, undulating mountains and crisscrossing rivers serve as natural barriers which segment the Luchu and Drukchu River basins into countless long

valleys and deep gorges. Over 700 independent and semi-independent *tsowa* (*tsho-ba* or *zu*) had dwelled in these valleys and been ruled by dozens of secular and monastic rulers before the Chone *sakyong* (king) or *tusi* (chieftain) family exerted its rule over the whole region. Specifically, the ninth Chone *sakyong* officially instituted the administrative system and enacted the law to govern his newborn kingdom, which was built upon conquests and alliances in the 1670s. After his early death, his successors were repeatedly challenged by many revolted *tsowa* in the Chone kingdom and the Taozhou officials of the Great Qing. Therefore, in the following decades, the *sakyong* family straddling betwixt the Qing officials and Tibetan subjects sought all means to maintain its rule. As a result, a family history was *created* and *circulated* to legitimize its authority. To comprehend this intricate historical process and phenomenon, this paper discusses how this geographically, socially, religiously and politically fragmented frontier zone was integrated piece by piece into the Chone kingdom, and how the *sakyong* family legitimized its rule over the countless valleys from 1675 to 1773.

Jarmila Ptackova (Prague)

### **A mdo under Chinese rule? The garrisons of Guide and Xining**

The Qing garrison in Guide or the administrative office in Xining were among the important points demonstrating authority of the Qing imperial court in the A mdo area. However, how far-reaching was actually the influence of the soldiers and representatives appointed by the imperial court and which means did they use to exercise power among the ethnically diverse population groups or how did they comply with the local clan and monastic hierarchies?

Consulting available records describing the establishment and function of the Qing garrisons and administrative offices in Guide and Xining, this paper will present some aspects of the execution of imperial rule over the frontier regions in A mdo from the point of view of the Sinophone historiography.

Ute Wallenböck (Vienna)

### **The Mongol rulers South of the Yellow River: From the Genghisid to the Oirat Rulers**

My paper aims to elucidate the significance of the diverse Mongol ruling lineages of the area of the so-called Hequ (Tib. rMa chu) grasslands, which designates the area of modern Henan Mongol Autonomous County within the Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. As early as in 1252, the first Mongol settlers arrived south of the Yellow river under their leader Havut Hasar (1164-1219), Genghis Khan's alleged younger brother. Thus, the first Mongol settlers are considered to be of Khalkha descent. Then, in the mid-16th century, the Tümed under Altan Khan (1508-1582) competed for local power with the Khalkha rulers. During the 17th century, Tsering Eldechi, who is considered to descend from the Khoshut ruler Gushri Khan (1582–1655), appears in Qing sources as the “first” Oirat ruler in the Hequ grasslands arrived there. In conclusion, the paper will summarize aspects of the Hequ grasslands' and their (local) leaders' significance in their entirety.

My paper will trace back the genealogy of the various Mongol rulers of the Hequ grassland, not only in pre-modern historical sources, but also in contemporary sources such as the 300m long thangka scroll on the history of Henan County exhibited in the 2014 opened Museum of Henan Mongol Historical Culture.

Bianca Horlemann (Buenos Aires)

### **The Incorporation of Muslim Ethnic Groups into the Power Structures of the Kokonor Region During the Ming era (1368–1644)**

From the Yuan era (1279–1368) onwards, the Kokonor region has become home for different ethnic groups known today as Hui (or Chinese Muslims), Salar, Dongxiang and Baoan/Bonan, who are relat-

ed to each other through their adherence to Islam in a predominantly Buddhist surrounding. This study will examine to what extent Muslims exerted political, military and economic power in Amdo during the Ming and how this might have been intertwined with the tea and horse trade. Insights into Muslim involvement in the Sino-Tibetan tea and horse trade will simultaneously provide clues on how Muslims were incorporated into the existing power structures among their Tibetan, Chinese and Mongol neighbors. It has gone more or less unnoticed in western and Chinese scholarship that Xining had once been governed by several Muslim princes of Mongol descent during the 14<sup>th</sup> century and that their clans continued to be influential well into the Ming era. And despite the fact that during the early Ming other Muslim personalities such as the Ming military commander Mu Ying and Ye Zhiming, the local leader/tusi of Minhe near Xining, clearly exercised political and military influence in the Kokonor region locally, it is still often assumed that Muslims only held very limited—and then mostly economic—power, primarily serving as middlemen involved in the crucial Sino-Tibetan tea and horse trade. While historically important tea and horse markets like Xining, Hezhou and Taozhou have remained major hubs for Muslim life in Amdo to this day, we know very little about their genesis as Muslim centers

## Paper Session 14 – Regional Histories

ས་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས།

Cameron Foltz (New York, New York)

### Monastic Administration and Community Formation in Eighteenth-century Amdo

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dge lugs monasteries proliferated in the Kokonor region (Amdo). At the same time, the number of new *sprul sku* lineages in Amdo soared. In order to understand the implications that these developments bore on political, economic, and social relations in the region, we must consider the social and material bases for these monasteries and their affiliated *sprul sku* lines, namely, local communities and estates (*lha sde*; *mchod gzhi*). These communities are often described as gifts to a monastery from a local ruler. Moreover, the *sprul skus* that presided over newly converted or established Dge lugs monasteries were often locals from the very same communities that served as a monastery's estate. These local *sprul skus* sometimes went on to serve as abbots of Amdo's major monasteries, such as Sku 'bum and La mo bde chen, often times incorporating their local monastery as a branch (*dgon lag*) of the major monastery.

There are different Tibetan terms for the communities that supported monasteries. One such term, *tsho ba*, can refer to a variety of different social forms. In Khri ka and the region immediately west of the Rma River (present-day Brag dkar/Xinghai County), *tsho ba* can refer to relatively large groups of tents or households (sometimes exceeding one-hundred households). Some members of these *tsho ba* served as patrons (*sbyin bdag*) for the construction of monasteries by offering their land, and *sprul skus* were often recognized among children born in these *tsho ba*. In this paper, I will explore the relationship of *tsho ba* in Amdo with the foundation of Dge lugs monasteries and the recognition of *sprul sku*. I argue that the large-scale establishment of Dge lugs monasteries, affiliated *sprul sku* lines, and the establishment of their estates played a decisive role in community formation in Amdo.

John Bray (Singapore)

### Roman Catholic missionaries' engagement with Tibetans on the Amdo frontier

Roman Catholic missions maintained a presence in Xining and neighbouring areas from 1912 until the early 1950s. The pioneers were Frs Louis Schram and Joseph Essens of the Belgian Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), often known as the Scheut Missions. In 1922, following a Vatican-sponsored reallocation of Chinese mission fields, the CICM withdrew in favour of the German/Dutch Society of the Divine Word (SVD), and they remained active in the region until forced to withdraw in the early 1950s following the Chinese communist revolution. Together with their Protestant counterparts, individual missionaries spent longer in the region, and arguably had a deeper and more intense personal engagement with its peoples, than any other category of Westerner. Their presence added another element to a region that was already cultural diverse, including Han, Monguor and Hui communities, as well as Tibetans.

A select group of missionaries from both the CICM and the SVD developed a special interest and expertise in the Tibetans and the Monguors, who were also Tibetan Buddhists. This paper considers their experience in this frontier region from three perspectives:

- The missionaries' primary vocation of sharing Christian teaching with Tibetan Buddhists required 'translation' both literally and metaphorically. So how far did this engagement amount to a set of one-way sermons, and how far was there a dialogue involving real exchange? What did the various parties to this 'conversation' learn from each other?
- The missionaries no doubt saw themselves as primarily concerned with religious matters, but they also needed to navigate the constantly shifting political complexities of the region, latterly during a



Ngag dbang rgya mtsho ངག་དབང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། | A Wangjiacuo (Lanzhou)

མདོ་སྐད་སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་མྱེ་བདག་བདུན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་དེ་ལྟེང་གི་གནས་བབ།

མདོ་སྐད་སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བོན་གྱི་བཟུང་པ་དར་སྤེལ། གནས་འདིར་དང་པོ་བོན་པོ་ལེ་གྲེ་གྲོང་བོན་གྱིས་དམངས་ཁྲོད་དུ་བཅས་ལྟོན་  
སྤེལ་བ་དང་། རྒྱ་འབྲེགས་པ་སོགས་བོན་གྱི་ཚོ་ག་སྤེལ་ནས་གོགས་བར་ཆད་སློབ་པའི་ལས་ཀ་གཉེར། ཕྱིས་སྐུ་ཞིག་ཆེན་ལས་སྤང་ཞིག་སྤང་ཞིག་  
ཅེ་ཞིག་སོགས་བོན་གྱི་སྐབས་ཆེན་ནས་ཀྱིས་ས་ཆ་འདིར་བོན་གྱི་དགོན་སྡེ་དང་རེ་ཁྲོད་བཅུགས་ནས་འཆད་ཉན་སྤེལ། གཡུང་རྒྱུད་མྱེ་བདག་  
བདུན་ཏེ་བོན་གྱི་དགོན་པ་བདུན་ཅུ་འཕེལ་བ་དང་། ཕྱིས་སྐུ་ཚོ་མེ་དཔོན་རབས་རིམ་གྱིས་པལ་ཆེར་དགོ་ལྷགས་སྐུ་བསྐྱར།

དང་པོ། སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བོན་པོ་ལེ་གྲེ་དར་སྤེལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་

མདོ་སྐད་སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བོན་པོ་ལེ་གྲེ་གྲོང་ཞེས་འབོད་ཚུལ་ཡོད་དེ། ཚོ་མེ་བཟུང་འགྲུའ་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ལས། ལྷ་ལེ་གྲེ་ཏེན་འབྲེལ་ཅེས་གྱི་  
སྐོ་ནས་ཆོ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་ཅེས་མཚན་བཏགས། ཞེས་པ་ལྟ་བུ།

གཉིས་པ། སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་མྱེ་བདག་བདུན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་

༡ རྒྱང་ཞིག་ རྒྱང་ཞིག་ རྒྱང་ཞིག་གཉིས། ༢ རྒྱང་ཞིག་ རྒྱང་ཞིག་གཉིས། ༣ རྒྱང་ཞིག་དང་མཁའ་སྐྱོ། ༤ ཅེ་དབུས་སམ་ཅེ་ཞིག་ ༥ བེར་  
ཞིག་དང་བོན་སྡེ་གཞན་དག

གསུམ་པ། གཡུང་རྒྱུད་མྱེ་བདག་བདུན་དགོ་ལྷགས་སྐུ་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་

- ༡ འགྲོ་མགོན་འཕགས་པ་སྐབས་སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བོན་དགོན་ས་སྐྱར་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་
- ༢ དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་སྐབས་སྐུ་བོན་དགོན་དག་དགོ་ལྷགས་སྐུ་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་
- ༣ བོན་སྡེ་ལག་ལྷ་དགོ་ལྷགས་སྐུ་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་
- ༤ ཅེ་དབུས་རེ་ཁྲོད་དགོ་ལྷགས་སྐུ་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་
- ༥ དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དགུ་པའི་སྐབས་སྐུ་རྒྱང་ཞིག་གི་གདན་ས་དགོ་ལྷགས་སྐུ་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་

བཞི་པ། སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བོན་དགོན་ལག་གི་དུས་རྒྱུས་གནས་བབ།

ལྔ་པ། སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བོན་སྡེ་ལག་གི་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་དང་ཕྱིས་སྐུ་བོན་སྡེ་གཞན་དག་ལ་ཐེབས་པའི་ཤན་ལྷགས་

༡ རྒྱང་དབུས་གཙོ་བོ་དུ་གྲུ་ལ་ཡ་བཞི་བྱེད་བརྒྱུད་དང་། བར་དུ་ཁྲུང་པོ་དཀར་ནག་ལ་གསུམ། མདོ་སྐད་དུ་འཕགས་པ་ན་མ་གསུམ།  
གཡུང་རྒྱུད་ལུ་འབོར་བཞི། མདོ་སྐད་སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་མདོ་སྐད་སྐུ་ཚོང་བདུན་ནས་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་མྱེ་བདག་བདུན་ཞེས་དར་སྤེལ། མདོ་སྐད་བྱང་  
རྒྱུད་བོན་གྱི་བཟུང་པའི་སོག་གིང་ལྷ་བྱུང་གྱུར་ཡོད་དེ། ལྷག་པར་དུ་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་མྱེ་བདག་བདུན་བཅུགས་ཏེ་སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བོན་གྱི་བཟུང་པ་དར་  
བར་མཛད།

༢ མདོ་སྐད་ཞིག་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱུད་ལས་སྤང་ཞིག་དང་། བེར་ཞིག་ རྒྱང་ཞིག་ ཅེ་ཞིག་གམ་ཅེ་དབུས་སོགས་ཀྱི་གདན་ས་གཙོ་བོ་སྐུ་རྒྱ་  
རྒྱུད་དུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པས། ད་ལྟ་དགོན་པ་འཇིག་ཀྱང་དེ་དག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཐོག་དང་དག་ཐོག་གང་ཅུང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དགོན་པ་དང་རེ་ཁྲོད་  
འབྲེལ་ཁང་སོགས་ཀྱི་གནའ་ཤུལ་ད་དུང་མཛོད་རྒྱ་ཡོད།

༣ སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བོན་གྱི་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་མང་པོ་འབྱུངས་ཡོད་པ་དབེན་ན། རྒྱང་ཞིག་རྒྱལ་བ་སྐོ་གོས། རྒྱང་ཞིག་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྒྱང་  
ཞིག་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྒྱང་ཞིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྒྱང་ཞིག་སྐོ་བོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། བེར་ཞིག་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་མཚན། བེར་ཞིག་ཤེས་དགོ།  
བེར་ཞིག་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་མཚན། བེར་ཞིག་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས་མཁའ་པོ་བྱུང་སྡེ་བོན་གྱི་བཟུང་པ་སྤེལ་བར་མཛད།

༤ སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བོན་གྱི་དགོན་སྡེ་ལག་འགྲོ་མགོན་འཕགས་པ་དང་། ཚོ་མེ་དཔོན་ཚོང་གིས་རིམ་གྱིས་སྐབས་མཐའ་བསྐྱར་ཀྱང་། སྐུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་  
དུ་བོན་བཟུང་པ་མཛད་དུ་མ་སོང་བས་ད་དུང་བོན་གྱི་དགོན་པ་གཅིག་དང་། དམངས་ཁྲོད་དུ་རྒྱ་འབྲེགས་པ་སོགས་བོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོ་ག་ཅི་  
རིགས་སྤེལ་བཞིན་ཡོད།

༥ རྒྱང་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱུད་དེ་མདོ་སྐད་འཕན་རྒྱུད་དར་ནས་བབ་བཟོ་མངའ་ཆེན་གྱི་གདན་ས་བསམ་གསུམ་ཅམ་བཟུང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད། ཅེ་དབུས་  
སམ་ཅེ་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱུད་དེ་མདོ་སྐད་བྱང་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཆད་དེ། ཆན་གྱ་དང་རེབ་གོང་། བ་ཡན་གྱི་དོར་ཞིག་སོགས་ལྷག་ནས་མདོ་སྐད་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་དུ་བོན་གྱི་  
བཟུང་པ་དར་བར་མཛད།

### Paper Session 23 – Regional Studies

#### ས་གནས་ཞིབ་འཇུག

Tshe brtan bkra shis ཚེ་བརྟན་བརྟ་ཤིས། | Tashi Tsetan/Cidanzhaxi (Lhasa)

#### མདོ་མཁར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རབ་བརྟན་གི་མངའ་ཆང་སོར་མདོར་ཅོམ་སྐྱེད་བ།

དཔལ་ཚུལ་འདིར་བོད་ཡུལ་མཚོ་སྐང་རྫོང་མདོ་མཁར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རབ་བརྟན་གྱི་དམངས་སྲིལ་དུས་ཚེན་མངའ་ཆང་གི་ནང་དོན་ཏེ་གཤགས་ཅིང་སྐྱོ་བརླུངས་བ་དང་སྐྱད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལྷ་མང་བྱེད་སྐོའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་དག་ས་བཅད་གསུམ་ལ་དབྱེ་བའི་ཐོག་ནས་རགས་བརྗོད་བྱས་ཡོད་དེ།

༡ མངའ་ཆང་མིང་གི་བྱུང་བ་དང་ཡུལ་དུས་གང་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་སྐོར་དང་པོ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་འགའ་རེའི་ནང་མངའ་ཆི་མངའ་ཆི་མངའ་ཆང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་དང་འགའ་རེའི་ནང་བཅུའི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བར་བཞིན་ཅིང་དུག་གས་བཅུ་གང་ཡིན་ཡང་གང་ལྟར་གཞོན་སྤོང་པའི་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་བར་འདོད་པ་གཅིག་མཐུན་སྣང་བོད་ཀྱི་མངའ་གཞུང་ཐོག་མར་གདོད་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་དང་མངའ་ཆང་བཅུ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཡོད་སེལ་མ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སམ་བཞི་བཅུའི་སྐབས་མཚོན་ཆའི་བྱེད་བྱ་ཏུ་གྱུར་བ་ཡིན་ནའང་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་ཤིག་བོད་བཅོན་པའི་དུས་དང་སེལ་བྱུར་ཐོར་བའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཡིན་པ་མངོན་གཉིས་པ།མངའ་ཆང་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མི་སྣ་མདོ་མཁར་ཞབས་དྲུང་ཚོ་རིང་དབང་རྒྱལ་སྐོར།

༢ མངའ་ཆང་གི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་དང་པོ་མངའ་ཆང་གི་ལྷ་གསོལ་ཚོ་གའི་སྐོར་མངའ་ཆང་གི་ལྷ་གསོལ་ཚོ་ག་ཡང་དང་ཐོག་མངའ་བ་རྣམས་ཏུ་ལྟར་གྱིས་ཡུལ་སྤོང་གཞི་བདག་སོགས་གསོལ་བ་དང་དེས་རང་ཉིང་ལ་རོགས་སྐྱོར་བྱས་ཏེ་མངའ་ཆང་འགྲན་བསྐྱར་ནང་རང་ཉིང་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐོབ་པ་དང་རང་ཉིང་གི་མགོན་སྐབས་ཡོང་བར་སློན་ལམ་འདེབས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཏེ་ལྟར་ལྷ་གསོལ་མཚོང་འབྲུལ་བྱས་རྗེས་མངའ་བ་རྣམས་ནས་རང་ཉིང་སློབ་ཁྲིམ་དང་ལུས་ལྷན་མི་འདང་བར་བསམ་པའི་རྒྱགས་བྱེ་ཞིག་འབྱེན་ཞིང་ལྷ་མིའི་རྣམས་ལྷན་ལྷན་འབྲེལ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་པ་རོལ་ལས་རྒྱལ་བར་འདོད་པའི་བསམ་སྐོའི་ཡིད་ཆེས་དང་དང་བ་སྤྱོད་མེད་ཅིག་ཆགས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་གཉིས་པ།མངའ་ཆང་གི་སྤྱོད་པོ་སྐོར། མངའ་ཆང་ཚེན་མོའི་སྐབས་དེ་སྤོང་ལྷང་ཁག་གསུམ་གྱི་ལྷང་དཔོན་ནས་འབྲེལ་སྤོང་དང་དགོས་བྱེད་ཅི་དང་ཆང་རྒྱ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་པའི་སྤྱི་ག་ཆ་མ་གང་ཅི་ལྷང་དཔོན་རང་ནས་ལོ་འོའི་མི་སོ་སོར་སྤོང་ཚུད་ནས་ཇ་མར་ཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་བཀོད་ལེགས་དགོས་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལ་ལྷང་ཁག་གསུམ་གྱི་བཅུ་དཔོན་ནས་གྲུ་དབུས་སུ་གྲུ་མཚོང་དང་བཤད་པ་འཇགས་རྒྱུས་སོགས་བརྗོད་དགོས་གསུམ་པ།མངའ་ཆང་གི་བྱེད་སྐོའི་སྐོར་མངའ་བ་རྣམས་རེ་རེ་བཞིན་མངའ་རྒྱུ་ཚར་རྗེས་མངའ་ཆང་མཚན་གངས་སྐོག་པར་གཞིགས་ནས་གྲུ་དུ་འཇུག་ཏེ་བཞུགས་གྲུ་གི་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་ལངས་ནས་གཙོ་བོའི་མི་སྣ་སྤེ་ཚོས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མགྲུ་ཏུ་མཚན་བརྒྱུད་ལ་ཇ་ཡི་མཚོང་པ་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ཡོད་པ།

༣ མངའ་ཆང་ལས་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་ཚོས་སྐོར་དང་པོ་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་ཁྱད་ཚོས་མངའ་ཆང་དེ་དང་ཐོག་ཚོས་རྒྱུད་སྐྱེད་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ར་སྤོང་ལུས་ལ་སྤྱིས་དུས་ཀྱི་ཡོ་ལང་དང་གྲུབ་མཐའི་དབང་ཐང་མི་འདྲ་བས་ཡང་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པད་མ་འབྱུང་གནས་ལ་མཚོང་པ་སྐྱེད་ཡིག་སྐབས་ཐུན་གཞོན་ལུའི་སྤྱི་བུ་བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ལས་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པད་མ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཏེ། ལྷ་སྤོང་སྤེ་བརྒྱུད་སྐྱེ་མ་ཡིན། དེ་ནི་ལྷག་ཤར་གཞོན་པ་དའི་ཁྲུས་པ་གསོལ་བའི་རྗེ་བོ་ལགས་སོགས་པ་དང་གོང་དུ་བཤད་ཟེན་པའི་བྱམས་མཚོང་གྲུ་ཏུ་མཚན་བརྒྱུད་སོགས་པ་ལས་གྲུབ་མཐའ་རྣམས་མའི་ཤར་ལུགས་པ་ར་སྤོང་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་པ།སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པའི་ཁྱད་ཚོས་སྐྱེད་དེར་བོར་ཤོབ་དང་བསྤོང་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་རེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཤོད་སྐྱེད་སྤོང་ལོད་ཀྱང་གཙོ་བོར་དམག་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་གི་སར་སྐྱེད་གི་ནང་དུ་འང་དམག་མི་པན་ཚུན་བར་ལམ་ལེང་མཚོན་ཆ་བེད་སྤོང་མི་བྱེད་པར་སྤོང་ལེན་རེས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་རང་རང་གི་དཔལ་སྤོང་བསྐྱོར་བོ་མས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་དང་གཞི་རྒྱུད་བའི་སྤོང་ལམ་གཏོར་རྒྱག་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་བ་བྱེད་སྐྱེད་ཀྱང་གདངས་དང་ཚོག་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཅོམ་ལས་རྣམས་པ་འདྲ་བོ་འདུག དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་དུས་སྐྱེད་དང་ཤོན་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ཐོག་མར་དམག་འབྲུག་སྐབས་སུ་པན་ཚུན་རང་དོམས་བྱེད་པའི་གཏམ་ཞིག་མིན་འགོ་བསམ་གྱི་འདུག

mChod rten skyabs མཚོ་ད་རྟེན་སྐབས། | Qiaodanjiabu (Xining)

རེབ་གོང་བོད་སྐོར་སྤྲེལ་བའི་ཞིང་ལས་ཐོན་བསྐྱེད་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོགས་ཉམས་འགྱུར་སྐོར་ལ་ ཅུང་ཅམ་དབྱེད་པ།

ཕྱིར་རེབ་གོང་གི་ཡུལ་གྱི་འདྲིའི་མཚོན་ན་ཞིང་ལས་གཙོ་བོར་གཉེར་བའི་ས་ཁུལ་གྲིག་ཡིན་པས་  
 ཞིང་ལས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་གའང་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་དང་ལྷན་ཡོད་དཔེར་ན་ལོ་སྐོར་  
 རྒྱ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་འགྲོམ་དང་བསྐྱེད་ནས་གོ་ནས་སྤོ་གསུམ་གྱི་སོན་འདེབས་དང་། ཐར་  
 འགོག་ཆར་པལ། ལོ་སྐྱེད་སེར་འགོག་གཡུལ་གཙོག་སྟོན་བཟུ་སོགས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་  
 ག་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ལ། ལོ་སྐོར་ག་དེ་དག་ནི་ཡུལ་གྱི་དེའི་མེས་པོའི་ཡུན་རིང་གི་རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་འདུལ་  
 སྤོང་གི་གོ་རིམ་ཁོང་དུ་གྱུ་བ་ཅིང་ཡུལ་དེའི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྟ་ཚུལ་ཡང་མཐོན་ཡོད།  
 དུས་རབས་འདིའི་དུས་འགོར་རང་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་དབུལ་འབྱོར་གསར་སྤེལ་གྱི་སྤྱི་དུས་རབ་དང་རིམ་  
 པ་ལག་ཏུ་བསྐྱར་བ་དང་བསྐྱེད་ནས་འགོ་འདྲི་གི་འགྲིམ་འགྲུལ་སྐབས་བདེ་དང་སྣ་མང་ཅན་གྱིས་  
 བཤུལ་སྐོར་ལས་རིགས་དར་སྤེལ་སོགས་ལྷི་ལོ་ལུལ་གྱི་ཤུགས་རྒྱུན་གྱི་དབང་གིས་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞིང་  
 ལས་བསྐྱར་ཏེ་རིམ་བཞིན་སྤེལ་མང་གི་ལག་ཤེས་བཟོ་ལས་དང་ཚོང་ལས་སོགས་ལྷན་ཞུས་ཤིང་བརྟེན་  
 ཞིང་ལས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་གར་ཤུགས་རྒྱུན་མི་ཉུང་ཞིག་ཐེབས་དང་ཐེབས་བཞིན་  
 འདུག དཔྱད་ཚུལ་འདྲིའི་རིག་གནས་མའི་རིགས་རིག་པའི་ཡུལ་དངོས་རྟོག་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་སྤྱད་  
 དེ་བོད་སྐོར་སྤྲེལ་བའི་ཞིང་ལས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོ་གའི་ཉམས་འགྱུར་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཅམ་དབྱེད་ལུས་བྱས་  
 ཡོད།

dBang chen bkra shis དབང་ཆེན་བཀྲ་ཤེས། | Xiangqingzhaxi (Zeku, Qinghai)

ཅེ་ལོག་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་སྤོང་འཇལ་བའི་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་གནས་བབས་སྐོར་རགས་ ཅམ་སྤྱོད་བ།

སྤོང་འཇལ་བའི་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་རིག་གནས་འདི་ནི་བོད་བཅོན་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་ནས་དར་ཞིང་བོད་བྱིངས་ལ་ཁྱབ་བརྒྱུ་དུ་  
 མོང་བའི་བོད་རང་གི་རིག་གནས་ཁྱད་ཚོས་ལྡན་པའི་གྲོད་དོན་ཐག་གཅོད་བྱེད་ཐབས་ཤིག་ཡིན། དེ་ཡུན་རིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུད་  
 ཉམས་སྤྱད་དུ་མ་སོང་བར་མ་ཟད། གོ་རིམ་དང་ནང་དོན་སོགས་གང་ཅིའི་ཐད་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆ་ཚང་ཡིན་པའི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་  
 རིག་གནས་ཤིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་བརྟན་དང་དབུལ་འབྱོར་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ལ་རྒྱ་སྐོར་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་  
 གདོན་མི་ཟ། ཡིན་ནའང་ལོ་འདི་འགའི་རིང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཇི་ཞིབ་དང་རང་སྤྱོད་གི་དབང་ཐང་ཇི་དམན་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དེས་སྤོང་  
 འཇལ་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་རིག་གནས་ལ་ལྷུ་ན་མེད་པའི་བརྒྱུ་གཞི་ཆེན་པོ་ཐེབས་པ་དང་དེའི་གནས་བབས་ལ་འགྱུར་ཚོགས་ཆེན་པོ་  
 བཏང་ཡོད། དཔྱད་ཚུལ་འདིའི་ནང་ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་འགའི་རིང་ཅེ་ལོག་སྤྱོད་བཅུད་སྤོང་འཇལ་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གཞིར་བྱས་ཏེ་ཡུལ་  
 དེའི་སྤོང་འཇལ་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་གནས་བབས་སོགས་ལག་གསུམ་དུ་དབྱེ་སྟེ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ཡོད། ལག་དང་པོའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་  
 ཀྱི་སྤོང་འཇལ་བའི་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་རིག་གནས་ཅམ་པོ་སྤོང་བྱས་པ་བརྒྱུད་ཅེ་ལོག་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་གཟུ་བ་དང་། གྲོད་པ་གྲོད་ལ་མང་པོར་  
 བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་པའི་དོན་དངོས་དང་ཁྲིམས་ཁང་དང་ཁྲིམས་འཛིན་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་འདུམ་འགྲིག་གསར་ཀ་དངོས་གཞིར་བྱས་  
 ཏེ། སྤོང་འཇལ་བའི་གཟུ་བ་ཤད་རིག་གནས་དེས་ཅེ་ལོག་སྤྱོད་བཅུད་མི་སྐོར་གྱི་མཐུན་སྦྲེལ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་བརྟན་ལ་རྒྱས་པ་  
 ཅི་འདྲ་ཐོན་སྐྱོད་བའི་སྐོར་ཅུང་ཟད་སྤོང་ཡོད། ལག་གཉིས་པ་ནི་ནང་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་ལ་དེའི་ནང་ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་འདི་འགའི་  
 རིང་ཅེ་ལོག་སྤྱོད་བཅུད་སྤོང་འཇལ་བའི་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་ལ་འགྱུར་ཚོགས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་དང་འབྲུང་བཞིན་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གསལ་  
 བཤད་དང་། འགྱུར་ཚོགས་ཐེབས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གནས་བབས་དང་། འགྱུར་ཚོགས་དེ་འདྲ་བྱུང་དགོས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་དང་དགོས་  
 མཁོ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་ཅད་ཞིབ་དང་། དེས་ཅེ་ལོག་བདེ་བཅུད་མི་དམངས་ལ་ཕན་གཞོན་གང་འདྲ་ཐེབས་བཞིན་ཡོད་པར་

ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ཡོད། ལག་གསུམ་པའི་ནང་དུ་རྒྱ་མཚན་གང་མང་ཞིག་གི་དབང་གིས་དེང་རབས་སྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་  
ཚོགས་ལ་སྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ཙམ་ལས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཡན་འབྲས་ལེགས་པོ་ཐོབ་ཐུབ་ཀྱིན་མེད་ལ། རྒྱུད་པ་དང་རྒྱུད་ཡ་སོགས་  
ཀྱིས་སྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཐག་གཅོད་མང་པོ་ཞིག་དང་ལེན་ཡག་པོ་བྱེད་ཐུབ་ཀྱིན་མེད་པར་མ་ཟད། ལྷན་འགན་འགལ་བ་ཚོ་དག་ཅན་  
དུ་འགྱུར་སྤོང་བས། བོད་སྐད་རྒྱུན་གྱི་གསུང་བཤད་རིག་གནས་དེ་རྣམ་པ་དེས་ཅན་ཞིག་གིས་གནས་དགོས་པའི་གལ་ཆེན་རང་  
བཞིན་དང་དེའི་མ་འོངས་པའི་འཛིན་རྒྱུད་སྤེལ་གསུམ་སྐོར་གྱི་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བསམ་གཞིགས་ཐོར་བྱ་སྤེལ་ཡོད།

mGon po bkra shis མགོན་པོ་བཀ་ཤིས། | Gonpo Tashi (Sarnath)

མི་ཉལ་འབྲོག་ཁུལ་གྱི་གཉེན་སྣོན་གཏམ་བཤད་སྐོར་བ།

དེ་ཡང་མི་ཉལ་ལུལ་གྱི་འབྲོག་པ་ཚོ་ནི་བོད་མི་སྤྱི་དང་མཚུངས་པར། མི་ལོ་སྤོང་ཕྱག་མང་པོར་མདོ་  
དབུས་མཐོ་སྐང་གི་ས་ཆར་རྟེན་གཞི་བྱས་ཏེ། གནས་དེའི་ཡུལ་དུས་གནས་བབ་དང་མཐུན་པར་ཐུན་མོང་མ་  
ཡིན་པའི་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་གོམས་གཤམ་བྱུང་པར་བཞིག་གྲུབ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ཡུལ་མི་དག་གི་ཁ་ན་ཆོ་གཅིག་གི་འདུག་  
ཆས་ཞེས་རྒྱུན་དུ་གཤམ་པ་ལྟར། མི་ཚོ་གཅིག་གི་དོན་ཆེན་དུ་བཞེས་པའི་གཉེན་སྣོན་མོ་སྟེ། མི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཁྱིམ་  
གཞི་ཐོག་མ་འཇུགས་པའི་ཚོ་གཞི་ལྟར་གཉེར་བའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་དང་སྤེལ་ནས། ཆེས་འབྱུར་དུ་ཐོན་པའི་ས་  
གནས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་བྱུང་པར་བཞི། བོད་མི་ཚོས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་རྣམས་དག་གི་རྩལ་གསུམ་སྟེ། ལོ་  
རྒྱུས་ཀྱིས་དགོ་ཐོན་པ་དང་། གཏམ་གྱིས་བཞད་གང་ཐོན་པ། ཤགས་ཀྱིས་པ་རོལ་ལོན་པ་གསུམ་པོ་གཞི་རྩར་  
བཟུངས་ནས། ས་དེའི་སྐྱེས་པ་ཁ་རྩལ་ཅན་དག་གིས་འཛོན་ཐང་སྣོན་ས་གཙོ་བོ། གཉེན་སྣོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་  
གཏམ་བཤད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། དེང་སང་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གི་དབང་གིས། གཞོན་རབས་པ་  
རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གཉེན་སྣོན་གཏམ་བཤད་ལ་དེ་ཙམ་མཐོང་ཆེན་དུ་མི་བཞེས་བས། གནའ་བོས་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་བྱུང་པར་བ་  
དེ་ཉིད་ཉེན་རེ་ནས་ཉེན་རེར་ཉམས་རྒྱུད་དུ་འགྲོ་བཞེན་པའི་དངོས་ཡོད་གཞི་ལ་བཞག་སྟེ། ལོ་བོས་འདིར་དེང་  
རབས་ཀྱི་དབྱུང་ཚོམ་འབྲི་ཐབས་སྤུང་ནས་<<མི་ཉལ་འབྲོག་ཁུལ་གྱི་གཉེན་སྣོན་གཏམ་བཤད་སྐོར་བ>>ཞེས་  
པའི་བཅོང་གཞིའི་ཐོག་ཡུལ་དེའི་གཉེན་སྣོན་གྱི་ཚོ་གཞི་ལྟར་གཉེར་བའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ཆ་ཚང་ཞིག་དང་སྤྲུགས།  
ཡུལ་དེའི་ཐུན་མེན་བྱུང་ཚེས་མངའ་བའི་གཉེན་སྣོན་གཏམ་བཤད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་རྩལ་རང་བཞིན་ནས། ཆེས་སྤྲུག་དུ་  
གྱུར་བའི་གལ་ཆེའི་རིང་བཞེན་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་དང་། བྱུང་རབས་པ་དག་གི་དག་རྒྱུན། གཏམ་བཤད་ཀྱི་  
སྤོང་དོན། རང་གི་མཐོང་ཐོས་རྒྱུང་གསུམ་བཅས་གཞི་རྩར་བཞག་ནས། གཉེན་སྣོན་གཏམ་བཤད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་  
ཐང་དང་། ཚོམ་རིག་སྤྱི་རྩལ་གྱི་ཆ་དག་སྤོང་བྱས་ཏེ། ཉམས་པར་ཡངས་བའི་གནའ་བོའི་སྲོལ་བཟང་དེ་  
ཉིད་རྒྱུན་འབྲེངས་ཡོང་ཐབས་སམ། འཛི་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་རིག་གནས་ཤིག་གི་ཚོ་སྤོང་རྒྱུར་སྤོབ་དང་། ཕྱི་རབས་པ་  
དག་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བཟན་པོ་ཞིག་གནས་པར་འབད་པ་ལྟར་ལེན་བྱས་ཡོད།

Ting 'dzin skyid ཉིང་འཛིན་སྤྱིད། | Dangzengji (Xining)

**Concerning the Diversifying Tibetan Politico-religious Relationship - Taking the Theocratic System of the Amdo Tibetan Region “Longwu Monastic Mode” as an Example**

The Tibetan theocratic system research is mainly referred to U-tsang as the typical mode. Dongga·luosang chilie is the first Tibetan fellow who wrote the book “Concerning the Tibetan theocratic system”. He has been influenced by socialist ideological trend, therefore this book has used the concept of Marxist political economics and the viewpoint of class, and analysis the relation of manor political and econom-

ic during the different historical periods. It has summed up the theocratic system’s profound historical conditions, social basis and class roots in Tibet. Later Mr. Wujun’s research paper “Discussion of the Theocratic System in the Amdo Tibetan Region”, he has pointed that the theocratic system in the Amdo Tibetan region has more multifarious systems than the U-tsang’s mode. In this article, he has titled the theocratic system of the Rebgong area as “Longwu Monastic mode”. And the characteristic of “Longwu Monastic mode” works as “the older brother is Tusi, and the younger brother is the monastic head”. This system is also similar to Zhuoni’s. but the “Longwu Monastic mode” is not that simple as his views, also is not same with the Zhuoni’s case. So it needs further deeper research and studies. This article points out that during the different historical periods; the “Longwu Monastic mode” has the different characteristics. Under the theocratic system , the regional chief “Longwu Nangso” and Longwu Monastic head “Xiari cang”, they are competitors as well as depended on each other and help each other in need

dKon mchog o rgyan དཀོན་མཆོག་ཨོ་རྒྱལ། | Konchog Urgen (Dehradun)

དུགས་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྐྱེ་གྱི་འཇུག་དོན་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་གཟུར་གནས་དགེས་པས་འབེལ་གཏམ།

དང་པོ་སྒྲིབ་ཤ།

༡། དེ་ཡང་རྩོམ་འདིའི་ནང་ལ་སྡེ་ཚན་བཞིའི་སློབ་མཛུགས་བཤད་ཡོད།

༡། (དུགས་པོ) ཡུལ་ལ་འཇུག་སྐབས་སུ་ཡུལ་དེ་གང་ན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆགས་རྒྱལ་སྐོས་མདོར་ཚམ་བཤད་པ།

༢། (དུགས་པོ) གང་ཟག་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་གང་ཟག་སུ་ལ་གོ་དགོས་པ་དང་། དེའི་མཚན་འབྲིན་སྐོར་མདོར་ཚམ་བཤད་པ།

༣། (དུགས་པོ) གང་ན་རབས་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་སྐབས་དུགས་པོའི་གང་ན་འཛིན་གྱི་རིམ་པ་ག་ཚད་བྱུང་ཡོད་མེད་སྐོར་མདོར་ཚམ་བཤད་པ།

༤། (དུགས་པོ) ཚོས་བརྒྱད་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཚོས་བརྒྱད་དེའི་བྱུང་རིམ། དེའི་ཁྱབ་ཚད་སྐོས་མདོར་ཚམ་བཤད་པ་བཅས་སོ།

གཉིས་པ་དངོས་གཞིའི་སྐབས་སུ།

སྡེ་ཚན་བཞི་པ་དེ་གཅིག་ལ་མདོར་ཚམ་ཞུས་ན།

དུགས་པོ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཞེས་པའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱད་འདི་ནི། བོད་གངས་ཅན་རྫོངས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱད་ཚེན་པོ་ལག་གི་ནང་ནས་དཔལ་མཉམ་མེད་འགོ་མགོན་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཞེས་པ་དེའི་ནང་གསལ་གི་བྱེ་བྱལ་པ་ཞིག་ལ་གོ་དགོས། ཚོས་བརྒྱད་འདི་རྗེ་མཉམ་མེད་དུགས་པོ་རེན་པོ་ཚེས་རྗེ་པོ་རྗེ་ལྷ་གཅིག་ལས་བརྒྱད་པའི་བཀའ་གདམས་པའི་གང་མས་པ་དཔལ་རྩེ་ལྷ་མ་རྣམས་ལས་གསན་པ་དང་། རྗེ་ཚོ་བླ་མ་མར་པའི་ཐབས་བྱོལ་གྱི་གདམས་པ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལའི་བྱུང་ལས་གསན་ཟེར། དེ་ཡང་ས་རྒྱ་མང་ཐོས་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་བཟུན་ཚེས་གསལ་བའི་ཉིན་འབྲེད་ལས། ས་མོ་ཡུག་ལ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་དུགས་པོ་བཟུངས། རང་ལོ་ཉེར་དུག་ལ་མར་ཡུལ་སློབ་ཕྲན་ལས་བརྟེན་པར་རྫོགས། ཐོག་མར་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཚེན་པོའི་སློབ་བྱ་མང་ར་བ་བརྗོན་འགྲུལ་འབར་སྐོས་ལས་བཀའ་གདམས་པ་གསན། རང་ལོ་སོ་གཉིས་ལོན་པའི་ཚུ། རྗེ་མི་ལ་དོན་གཅིག་བཞེས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་མཇལ་ཏེ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཐབས་ཚོས་གསན། བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཚུ་བོ་གཉིས་འདྲེས་ཀྱི་གདམས་པ་མངའ།

སྐྱེ་མའི་ཁྱབ་བཟུན་པ་བཞེན་དུ་དུགས་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་པའི་རི་བོའི་མགུལ་དུ་དགོན་པ་བཏབ་ཅིང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་སློབ་ཚོགས་བརྒྱུད་པས་བརྒྱུད་པ་འདི་ཉིད་ལས་བྱུང་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་ས་ཁུལ་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་དུ་བྱུར་བ་ཡིན་ལ། ས་མིང་སྐྱེ་མལ་ཐོགས་པ་དུགས་པོ་ལྷ་རྗེ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་ས་མིང་ཚོས་ཐོགས་ནས་དུགས་པོ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཞེས་ཟེར། ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་འདི་ཡི་ཁྱབ་ཚོས་ནི་མདོ་ཐོགས་འགལ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉམས་ལེན་གནད་དུ་དྲིལ་ཞིང་དེས་དོན་ལྷག་ཆུ་ཚེན་པོའི་རྟོགས་པ་རྙེད་པའི་ལས་བཟང་ཞིག་ཡིན།

ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་འདིས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་སྐྱེ་ལ་ཁྱབ་གི་མེད་ལ་ཁྱབ་དགོས་པ་ཡང་མ་ཡིན། བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གཞན་པར་ཞོགས་མར་པའི་གདམས་པའི་བརྒྱུད་འཛིན་ཡིན་ན་དུགས་པོ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཡིན་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་པ་ཡིན་ཚོ། །འོན་ཀྱང་ད་ལྟོ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པའི་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ་འདི་རྣམས་པལ་ཆེར་དུགས་པོ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཡིན་པ་སྐོས་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དེ་ཚམ་བཞག།

གཟུར་གནས་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚོག་འདི་བརྗོད་གཞི་བཟུང་དགོས་པས་རྒྱ་མཚན།

སྐྱེ་དུགས་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚོག་འདི་ལབ་ཡོང་དུས་པལ་ཆེར་གྱིས་སྐྱེ་མ་ག་གོ་མོ་ཞིག་ལས་གཞན་གང་ཡང་གོ་རྒྱ་མེད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྣང་རྒྱལ་ཡོད་པས། དེར་རྟེན་གོང་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་དོན་གནད་ཁག་དེ་དག་གི་ཁྱབ་པར་གསལ་པོར་མཉམ་རྟེན་རྟོགས་ཡོང་ཆེད་དུ་དཔྱད་ཚོས་འདི་བྲིས་པ་ཡིན། འདི་ཡིས་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མཁས་དབང་རྣམས་པའི་གཞི་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་དང་རིག་གཞུང་ལ་དོ་སྣང་ཅན་གྱི་རིགས་མཐུན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་རྒྱ་རྣམས་ལ་ཚོག་གཅིག་ལ་འཇུག་གཞིའི་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱི་གནད་དོན་མ་འདྲ་འདི་ཚོས་བཟུན་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཐུར་མེད་ལེགས་བཤད། ཁ་གསལ་བ། གོ་བདེ་བ་ཡིག་ཚོགས་ཁྱུང་བ་བཅས་ཀྱིས། ཚོས་འབྲུང་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས། རྣམ་ཐར་ལག་སྟོག་མེ་དགོས་པ་གལ་གནད་ཆེ་བས་དོན་རྣམས་བདེ་སྐྱབ་དུ་རྟོགས་བྱུང་པའི་རི་བོ་ལྷ་བཞེན་ཡོད།



## Roundtable 6 – The Rise of Khams Studies

ཁམས་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་འགོ་འཛུགས་།།

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