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PERCEPTIONS AND EFFECTS OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE
ON THE INDO-TIBETAN FRONTIER

ALEX MCKAY
Australia

The enormous diversities of interests contained within the external frontiers of British India—regional, racial, religious, class, social, political, linguistic, and geographic—are well known. These diversities ensured that there were a great variety of contemporary shades of opinion and reactions to the prospect of the Transfer of Power in India. While the British personnel who served the imperial Government of India were predictably dubious as to the merit of Home Rule for Indians, a desire for independence from Britain was by no means universal in Indian society either. (Most obviously it was opposed by the rulers of the majority of the Indian Princely States). Neither did India’s neighbours necessarily favour its independence. Nowhere was this more obvious than among the imperial and indigenous elites in Sikkim and Tibet, where the prospect of Indian independence came to be accepted as inevitable, but was viewed with very little enthusiasm indeed.

This article, drawing on the records of the Oriental and India Office Library in London, the National Archives of India, and interviews with those who served on that frontier, seeks to examine perceptions and effects of Indian independence among the imperial and indigenous peoples of Sikkim and Tibet during the first half of the 20th century. Although these sources primarily reveal elite perspectives, they do disclose certain aspects of the thinking of other indigenous social groups, which enable us to partly reconstruct wider class understandings of the historical process.

The British imperial government was represented in this region by the Political Officer [for] Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet, who was based in the Sikkimese capital, Gangtok. The states with which he dealt varied in their official status. While Tibet enjoyed de facto if not de jure independence from 1912-50, and was thus an external state, Sikkim and Bhutan retained theoretical autonomy within British India, although they were in practice subject to the will of the imperial power.1

After creating the Sikkim position in 1889, the British had established diplomatic posts in Tibet late in 1904, after a mission lead
by Colonel Francis Younghusband of the Indian Political Department had fought its way to the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, and forced the Tibetan government to enter into treaty relations with the Government of India. Three so-called ‘Trade Agencies’ were then opened on Tibetan territory, at Yatung, in the Chumbi Valley close to the Indian frontier, at Gyantse, in central Tibet, and at Gartok, in western Tibet. The most important of these was at Gyantse, until 1936 when a British Mission was established in Lhasa. These positions were all under the control of the Political Officer Sikkim.

During the period 1904-1947, more than 100 British officers and men (including military escort, medical, and technical staff), served in Tibet. This cadre established a distinct institutional identity for the Tibetan service within the overall traditions of the frontier officers of the Indian Political Department and followed broad common lines of policy, which were developed from the ideas of Sir Francis Younghusband and his patron, Lord Curzon, and astutely refined by Sir Charles Bell, Political Officer Sikkim for most of the period from 1904-1920. The primary aim of these policies was to ensure the security of India’s north-eastern frontier by the creation of an Indian-influenced Tibetan ‘buffer state’, strong, united, and preferably but not essentially, independent. This policy was seen as best serving the interests of India’s security whether it was under British rule, or independent. The great merit of this policy, in the eyes of the imperial government at least, was that it was an economical solution to the problem of security on India’s northern frontier. The alternative solution, garrisoning the frontier with troops, would have been an enormously costly undertaking, as India today has found.

A Political Officer’s primary duty was to establish his own good relations with the local rulers of his area of responsibility, in order to be able to exert his personal influence upon them. In line with the general policy aims of the Government of India and the ‘buffer state’ policy, the Sikkim Political Officers sought to persuade the Tibetan Government to follow policies suiting British Indian interests. To a large extent, such success as they achieved in this aim was due to the personal influence of successive Political Officers and their Agents. Men such as Charles Bell developed close ties with the Tibetan leadership, constructing an alliance of interests between the ruling elites of both states which lasted until 1947, when it was abruptly severed by the imperial power.

The Political Officer’s contacts were primarily with the local elites, but in developing their relations with Tibet, these imperial officers
developed a very real sense of mission, and their relationship with the Tibetans was akin to that which Lionel Caplan, in describing the relationship between British and Gurkha, describes as ‘paternal’. They were aware of cultural differences and that, as one officer put it, ‘My ideas…when I arrived in India…were subject to the inevitable limitations of an English (or Irish) environment and upbringing.’ While relying largely on elite indigenous perspectives to overcome these ‘limitations’, the majority of these officers did make genuine attempts to understand the perspectives of other social groups within their district, and in particular they drew heavily on the understandings of a bureaucratic class of intermediaries drawn from among the Buddhist communities of Sikkim and the Darjeeling district.

As Buddhists, these intermediaries were thought by the British to have an inherent insight into Tibetan culture and mentality (despite the historical differences between Sikkimese and Tibetan culture and society). They were expected to act, therefore, as translators in the broadest sense, explaining one culture to the other, and seeking mutually agreeable solutions to inter-state problems. Most of these individuals were drawn from marginalized social groups, in order to ensure their independence from local factionalism, and they were promoted on merit, rather than caste or seniority. Educated and trained on the British model, with work and social patterns emulating those of their British employers, they came to form a distinct social group in the frontier regions. As the majority were Sikkimese, they did not regard themselves as ‘Indian’ and their primary loyalty was to the imperial government. In turn, the Political Officers, recognising that Sikkim had been taken within British Indian administrative frontiers largely for reasons of security, considered the Sikkimese to be a separate race from ‘Indians’.

As agents of the British Government of India, the imperial officers and their local employees had a vested interest in the results of the Indian independence struggle. So too did the Tibetan government, which was increasingly drawn into the British Indian sphere of influence while seeking to establish an identity and status independent of China, which regarded Tibet as a part of its empire. The British saw Tibet as a bulwark against Russian and Chinese infiltration of India, and successfully encouraged the Tibetan leadership to see the British as their main supporter in their efforts to maintain Tibetan social and political structures free of external control. But the Tibetans were aware that an independent India was unlikely to be in a position to support them in their efforts, while in their concern with changes in India, the
British, Indians, and to an extent even the Tibetans, all failed to recognise the emerging threat from the communist forces in China.

The early period

Historically, the Himalayan mountain chain had formed an effective barrier between the two states, and Indo-Tibetan relations at government level were virtually non-existent. Neither party maintained official representatives in the other’s capital, and there was no established means of inter-government communication. But there were religious ties, and Tibetan pilgrims visited the sacred sites of Indian Buddhism while Indian pilgrims visited both Hindu sacred sites within Tibet, such as Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar, and the Buddhist monasteries of central Tibet, which traditionally offered hospitality to Indian renunciates. ⁹ In addition to pilgrims, Indian and Tibetan traders regularly crossed the Himalayan frontiers, although whereas Indian traders were generally restricted to dealing with middlemen in the Tibetan border regions, such as the Tromowas who monopolised trade in the Chumbi Valley, Tibetan traders frequently ventured to Calcutta, the major centre of government and trade in eastern India.

While both trade and pilgrimage provided the opportunity for the gathering of political and economic intelligence, neither party found the need for regular diplomatic intercourse. But this traditional situation was incompatible with British imperial understandings of government, which required diplomatic links between neighbouring states. The failure of the Tibetans to respond to British initiatives aimed at establishing diplomatic ties had been one of the main factors behind the Younghusband mission, which had forced the Tibetans to accept British representatives within Tibet.

While primarily designed to protect India from external threats, the Trade Agencies also served as a listening post to protect the internal security of India, with the Trade Agents knowledge of Indian traders and pilgrims enabling them to prevent Tibet from becoming a base for anti-imperial activities. As early as 1908, the Trade Agent in Gartok reported rumours of a Punjabi agitator in western Tibet who was preaching the ideals of the swardeshi movement, urging the Indian Bhotia traders (who made annual visits to Tibet) to spin their wool at home rather than send it to the woollen mills in the service of British interests. ¹⁰ Following this report, the Punjabi’s activities were presumably curtailed by the Indian state authorities.
During World War One, Tibetan visitors to Calcutta returned with (often garbled) accounts of the progress of the war. Sir Charles Bell records how they reported that ‘Turkey was growing in power and had driven out the French and recaptured large territories; and that India had rebelled against the British and introduced her own currency notes.’\textsuperscript{11}

By 1921, when Bell became the first European to be invited to Lhasa, the Indian independence movement had gained considerable strength and the figure of Mahatma Gandhi had become a significant one. Today, the 14\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama of Tibet preaches a message of non-violence which specifically invokes the Gandhian model.\textsuperscript{12} But at that time, the alliance of interests between Bell and the 13\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama, who had established close personal ties, meant that any threat to one party was a threat to the other. Thus, in his meetings with Bell, the Dalai Lama demonstrated his concern with issues threatening the stability of the British position. He questioned Bell closely about Gandhi’s activities, as he did the Irish question, expressing the hope that these issues would be resolved.\textsuperscript{13}

David Macdonald, the Yatung Trade Agent from 1909-1924, noted in his annual report for the year 1921-22 that, ‘There was much excitement in Tibet when the people heard about the doings of Gandhi in India, but now they are pleased that he has been imprisoned and that all the mischief has been stopped’. Macdonald added that the Tibetan Prime Minister had written to him, stating that ‘When Mr Bell was leaving Lhasa, we told him that if these evil persons were not punished at once, trouble would increase’.\textsuperscript{14}

While Bell and Macdonald’s comments reflect the view—shared by the Tibetan elites—that Gandhi represented a threat to the security of British India, there was an alternative perspective developing amongst non-elite sections of Tibetan society. Tibetans revered India as the home of Buddhism; it was from India that Tibet had taken the texts and teachings which firmly established that religion in Tibet. Bell noted that, as a result, the Tibetans tended to credit Indians with supernatural powers and, when this was so, ‘they gain the influence that fear bestows.’\textsuperscript{15} Gandhi thus came to be seen as an incarnation of Padmasambhava, the Indian Tantric master who was credited with successfully establishing Buddhism in Tibet. But Gandhi’s message of non-violence lost something in the translation. Tales circulated among the Tibetan peasantry describing Gandhi as a warrior leading Indian armies to victory over the British forces.\textsuperscript{16}
At the time, however, the British found it hard to take Gandhi seriously, regarding him with a mixture of incomprehension and derision. The idea that this ‘half-naked fakir’ could seriously threaten British power and prestige was almost beyond British understanding. A popular song carried the refrain ‘Oh Mr Gandhi, your legs are so bandy’. As a contemporary observer noted, ‘We were rather rude about Gandhi at that point, he wasn’t the sacred holy man then that he is now.’

The Anglo-Tibetan alliance ensured that the Tibetan authorities actively assisted British attempts to restrict the activities of those struggling for Indian Independence. During Bell’s visit to Lhasa the Tibetans, presumably at Bell’s request, deported two Indian saddhus who had come to Tibet. One was reported to be active in ‘the east’, while the other, one Koramal Baba, stayed in the grounds of the Nepalese Agency in Lhasa, where he reported to be actively engaged in ‘anti-British propaganda.’ The Nepalese were persuaded to expel him from their embassy, whereupon the Tibetan Government deported both saddhus back to India. Yet there is evidence that not all Tibetans shared their government’s view. Bell was aware of the strength of anti-British feeling in India and he noted that it was ‘natural that it should spread to Lhasa also.’

Bell retired after his visit to Lhasa, and subsequently wrote several books on Tibetan history and culture, works which formed the basis of his successors’ understanding of Tibet. In his first work, *Tibet Past and Present* (first published in 1924), Bell discussed the possibility of Indian independence and its effect upon Tibet. He recognised that

> It may be that the British race will in future withdraw from the task of administering Asiatic countries, whose peoples, both numerous and intellectual, are now too well educated in Western studies to permit, for long, the white man to order their forms of government. But a considerable time is likely to pass before the need for this withdrawal is fully recognized: recognition of the principle may long precede its translation into practice: and, even when she governs herself, India may well elect to enjoy the advantages which membership of the British Commonwealth of nations endows her.

While he carefully avoided taking a position on independence, a detailed study of his official and private writings suggests that Bell had developed a certain sympathy with Indian aspirations as a result of seeing them in a wider context. In discussing his negotiations over Tibet with the Chinese, Bell wrote that
Without wishing to touch unduly on the thorny question as to how far or how soon Home Rule is desirable in India, I may perhaps be permitted to record how conscious I was of a certain weakness in my own position. I was continually urging our Government to press on China the need for Home Rule in Tibet, while I was aware that they could not point to Home Rule in India. The Chinese Government had not failed to make use of the discrepancy between the two positions.\(^{22}\)

Bell frequently quotes ‘Tibetan’ opinion, or at least that of the Lhasa ruling elite, whose position informed, and was informed by, Bell. Thus we read a Tibetan official quoted on the relationship between Tibet and a self-governing India in these terms:

> Tibetans look upon Indians as religious people, and should be able to be friendly with them. But India by itself will not be strong enough to help Tibet materially against China unless India’s support included armed British assistance. If therefore Indian Home Rule should mean that British soldiers leave India, Tibet would throw her lot in with any strong Power that would treat her well, or would perforce gravitate back to a closer relationship with China.\(^{23}\)

‘A very eminent Tibetan authority’ (who we may safely assume is either the Dalai Lama or the Tibetan Prime Minister), is also quoted as stating, ‘I do not think the grant of self-government to India should affect Tibet, provided always that British military power is fully maintained there. Otherwise, civil strife will break out in India, which will be powerless to aid Tibet.’ Bell goes on to state that ‘The same authority did not think Hindus would harm Tibet, but distrusted Mahomedans. Deep down in the minds of most Tibetans lies an instinctive dislike of the Mahomedan religion.’\(^{24}\)

While the possibility that British troops would remain in India after independence was a never a realistic one, the opinions that Bell quotes were very much in line with his own thinking, and reflect his own role in influencing Tibetan elite perspectives; Bell himself had previously recommended to the Government of India that neither Muslims nor Hindus should be employed in the British positions in Tibet.\(^{25}\) Contemporary imperial opinion held that Indian unity derived largely from British government, and thus Bell did not regard the Himalayan peoples, such as those of Sikkim, Bhutan, and Nepal, as ‘Indian’. In contrast to his discretion in regard to Indian independence, he strongly supported independence for the Himalayan states. He claimed that in those regions where the Himalayan peoples were in contact with Indians ‘there is a great deal of anti-Indian feeling’, and a belief that an independent India would cause ‘trouble’ on the north-east frontier, as
would other groups who would try to recover territory lost to the British expansion. Again quoting elite Tibetan opinion, Bell states that

A Government of Indians will not be as considerate of the feelings of Tibetans and others, as the British are. There will be friction between Indians and frontier peoples. Besides, Tibetans look on the British as powerful, and will accept decisions from them which will not from Indians.26

Bell, writing in a work first published in 1946, quotes the 13th Dalai Lama as saying to him that

All nations should govern themselves, if possible. But in India, if the British left, the different religions and sub-races would strive for mastery. We Tibetans look on Indians as of one general race, but there are of course different sub-races, as in Tibet. In Tibet, however, we have but one religion, so we do not have this religious difficulty. And individuals would also strive for mastery; everybody would be as good as his neighbour; everybody would want to be a ruler … Lawlessness would prevail; there would be great disorder. Everybody would want to be on top. The British Government is to India as the Dalai Lama is to Tibet. Nobody can be equal with either, and that keeps order in both countries.27

The Dalai Lama warned that the Gurkhas would take Sikkim and Darjeeling and advance into north India, and that Russians would then invade India. Bell quotes him as saying that

When Gandhi was working his agitation and British goods were not being bought, we Tibetans thought that the Indians had got some other powerful nations behind them, supporting them. But later on we realised that this was not so, and we thought the agitation doubtful strategy on India’s part, for we knew that she could not stand alone … The Indians naturally want to rule their own country, but they will bring themselves into great trouble if they do so.28

After their retirement both Bell and Macdonald remained in close touch with events on the frontier. In 1930, Macdonald, who had retired to Kalimpong, wrote to Bell that ‘Tibet…is watching events in India keenly, and is…interpreting the lenience of the Government in dealing with the present unrest in that country, as weakness. This is a danger to the tranquillity of this frontier.’29 In the following year, the Trade Agent in Gartok again warned of traders who were part of the ‘non-co-operation movement’, stating that three such agitators had visited Tibet that year.30
Yet among the British officers serving on the Tibetan frontier, the freedom from communal and Home Rule troubles was part of the attraction of service in the Himalayas, and at that time it was felt that the British imperial presence was secure, at least in the short-term. As Colonel Weir, the Political Officer Sikkim 1928-33 wrote, in regard to talks between Gandhi and the British authorities, ‘I don’t know what the future will hold but I think India will last out till 1938 when I go.’

This view prevailed for at least another decade. In April 1941, the Government of India renewed the lease of the land on which their Gyantse Trade Agency was situated for another thirty years.

The imperial officers’ view that the empire would continue was partly based on their belief that a British presence was necessary to the maintenance of good order and government in India. This belief that imperial government was the best option for the vast majority of Indians, particularly the peasant class, underpinned the British understanding of their own moral authority to rule India. They generally regarded those Indians agitating for independence as motivated by greed and self-interest. As one Gyantse Trade Agent wrote in 1944, concerning his discussions with an ‘educated American’, ‘I tried to give him the angle of the British District official, who sees corrupt and incompetent municipal and district bosses who call themselves Congressman, rather than the fine phrases of the nationalist leaders in the papers.’

By the 1940s, however, the Tibetan government had apparently recognised the need for new structures to cope with the changes occurring in their relationships with foreign powers. In 1942, they created a Foreign Office, staffed by a secular official, Surkhang Dzasa, and a monk official, the Ta Lama. The establishment of the Foreign Office was also a means by which to demonstrate Tibetan independence. The Chinese representatives in Lhasa refused to deal with the Foreign Office, on the grounds that they were not a foreign power in Tibet, thus losing much of their influence on the Tibetan Government. Reading between the lines of British reports, it appears that the British were not overly keen on either Surkhang Dzasa or the new Foreign Office, which also restricted their direct access to the Tibetan government, but they did adjust to the new reality and found they were able to deal informally with the new Office, without the formalities required of dealing directly with the Dalai Lama and his Cabinet (Kashag).

It was clear that the Tibetan Foreign Office recognised that great changes were underway, changes which would affect Tibet’s future.
Thus they explored new means of establishing an independent presence on the world stage, such as discussing the possibility of mutual diplomatic representation with an American agent, Ilya Tolstoy, who visited Lhasa in 1942.\textsuperscript{34}

In 1944, Surkhang Dzasa visited India and reported to his government that the British had promised India independence immediately after the war ended.\textsuperscript{35} The Tibetans appreciated that the war kept the attention of the Chinese focussed on their struggle against Japan, although the wartime alliance between Britain and China, and British defeats such as their loss of Singapore, reduced British prestige in Lhasa. But the War was generally of little relevance to the Tibetans. The British reported that VE day was ‘a matter of more or less indifference’ to them, and the British Mission in Lhasa held a three-day party for Tibetan officials in order to ‘combat this ignorance’.\textsuperscript{36}

The Tibetan Government, however, recognised the opportunity to be represented in the new world order which was emerging from the ruins of World War Two. They sent a ‘Tibetan Goodwill Mission’ to India and China, which arrived in Delhi in February 1946. This ‘Goodwill Mission’ included both Surkhang Dzasa’s brother and the Dalai Lama’s brother, although the latter was not a formal member of the mission. In Delhi, members of the Mission called on the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, and attended imperial victory celebrations, as well as passing on letters from the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Cabinet (\textit{Kashag}) for President Trueman (which they gave to the American Chargé d’Affaires). The Mission then travelled to China, where, in disputed circumstances, they took part in the Chinese National Assembly, before returning to Tibet in May 1947. Tibet also sent a delegation to the Inter-Asian Relations Conference in Delhi in March-April 1947, which met with Gandhi and Nehru. Yet none of these tentative steps succeeded in gaining official recognition of Tibet’s sovereign status, an issue too complex to be resolved without, at the very least, strong British and Indian support, which was not forthcoming.\textsuperscript{37}

\textit{Intelligence and independence}

Within British India, existing intelligence structures were strengthened to cope with the new political realities of post-war Asia. Frontier intelligence had, since 1936, been the responsibility of the Central Intelligence Officer, Eric Lambert, who was based in Shillong (Assam). In 1946, a new post was created in Kalimpong, that of Deputy Central
Intelligence Officer Shillong, to organise the collection of intelligence (particularly concerning Chinese infiltration) in Tibet and areas in Assam bordering on Tibet. The officer appointed to the post was Lieutenant Lha Tsering, who had served as an intelligence officer with the Gurkhas in Mesopotamia during the First World War.38

The tiny Himalayan foothill town of Kalimpong had become of increasing importance during the war years. It was the centre for the wool and cloth trade, and was the main Indian staging post on the route from Calcutta to Lhasa. It was also a hive of intelligence activity. A Japanese intelligence agent recalled that in post-war Kalimpong there were Indian, Tibetan and Russian agents, as well as Chinese from three rival agencies, the Defence Department, the Transport Department, and the Tibetan-Mongolian Affairs Commission, whose rivalry was so intense that they even killed each other.39

Of particular interest to British Indian intelligence was the ‘Tibet Revolutionary Party’, also known as the ‘Tibet Improvement Party’, which had been founded in Kalimpong in 1939. In reality a largely idealistic and naive group of intellectuals rather than an effective revolutionary movement, the party was under Nationalist Chinese influence from the beginning. In 1945 they produced a manifesto, ‘redolent with Kuomintang rhetoric’, which called for the overthrow of the ‘existing tyrannical Government’ in Tibet. Indian intelligence identified as one of the movement’s leaders a Tibetan exile from an important merchant family. This was Pangda Ragpa, who had close ties to the Reting monastery incarnation who acted as the Regent of Tibet from 1933-43.40

In June 1946, the British moved to destroy the Tibet Revolutionary Party, deporting individuals such as the Tibetan intellectual Gendun Chopel, as well as Pangda Ragpa, who went to China. Some degree of co-operation undoubtedly existed between the British officials and the Tibetan Government in this matter, with Surkhang Dzasa being informed of the actions, and of the Reting Regent’s possible involvement.41

Arthur Hopkinson, the last British Political Officer in Sikkim, who had succeeded to the post in June 1945, wrote that

The great excitement for [Eric Lambert] is that we have just been having a round-up of naughty Tibs., the Tibetan Revolutionary Party, but this is very hush hush. One of the revolutionaries keeps a diary, sometimes in English … Needless to say the would be revolutionaries were inspired and financed by my mincing Chinese colleague (now in China) of this the diary obligingly supplies proof.’[sic]42
Around this time Hopkinson was also reporting the presence of other 'undesirable Tibetans' in India, principally women engaged in prostitution in Calcutta, a circumstance reflecting the instability of the period and the fluid state of the Indo-Tibetan border.\textsuperscript{43}

As unrest in India grew in the immediate post-war period, Tibetans visiting India witnessed events such as the communal riots in Calcutta and the Naval Mutiny in Bombay. Their reports doubtless contributed to the Tibetan Government becoming increasingly concerned at the possible changes in India's future status. But in June 1946, when Surkhang Dzasa visited the British Mission in Lhasa to enquire about the effect of Indian independence on Indo-Tibetan relations, he was warned of the likelihood of British withdrawal and of the consequent necessity for Tibet to establish direct relations with independent India.\textsuperscript{44}

Some indication of the Tibetan Government's reaction to this may be seen from their taking concrete measures towards their defence. In March 1947, they requested that India supply them with 42 two inch mortars, 144 Bren guns, 168 Sten guns and 1,260 rifles, along with their shells and ammunition. In India, Pandit Nehru, as head of the interim government, was consulted and agreed that India would continue to supply ammunition for these weapons after the Transfer of Power.\textsuperscript{45}

Within the Political Department there was also a growing recognition that Indian independence was imminent and that new strategies were required. Within the exception of the somewhat peripheral activities of the isolated Gartok Trade Agent (an Indian Hindu from the neighbouring Punjab Hill States), the principal positions within the British posts in Tibet had always been occupied by British officials. But from 1936 onwards, and in increasing numbers in the 1940s, the Buddhist intermediaries from Sikkim and Darjeeling began to be appointed to the more senior positions of Trade Agent Yatung and Head of British Mission Lhasa. But while a handful of Christian Anglo-Indian or Anglo-Sikkimese officers (such as David Macdonald) had served in Tibet, no Hindu, Sikh or Muslim had ever been appointed to a responsible post there. Changing this situation was now considered. Hugh Richardson, the Head of the British Mission in Lhasa for much of the period from 1936-1947, suggested in 1946 that a Hindu be appointed Trade Agent in Gyantse, to spend the summers at the Lhasa Mission training to assume that post.\textsuperscript{46} But the suggestion was not acted upon.
In the lead-up to the Transfer of Power, the British frontiersmen redoubled their efforts to strengthen Indo-Tibetan ties. Political Officer Arthur Hopkinson explained the purpose of these efforts in regard to trade matters:

for the past three years through the system of cloth procurement and by every other means we have deliberately set out to demonstrate to the Tibetans the economic and commercial advantages of the connection with India; in order that, when changes should come, the economic and commercial bonds should hold firm, preserving the Indian connection intact against all other stresses and strains.  

But Whitehall and the British Government were largely preoccupied with security and central government issues. Tibet was a peripheral concern to which little thought was given. Arthur Hopkinson later described how

There was what seemed to us terrible delay in informing the Tibetans of our future intentions and it was only in July 1947, less than three weeks before the actual Transfer of Power in India, that I was informed that India would succeed to the rights and obligations of His Majesty’s Government in Tibet, though H.M. Government would continue to be represented through the High Commissioner in New Delhi. We were instructed to convey the assurance of India’s goodwill to the Tibetan Government.  

Hopkinson passed to the Tibetan Government the news that

After August 15th the close and cordial relations which have existed for so many years with themselves and the Government of India will continue with the successor Indian Governments upon whom alone rights and obligations arising from existing Treaty provisions will thereafter be devolved.  

The Tibetan Government telegraphed its congratulations to India on its independence and were informed that

The Government of India would be glad to have an assurance that it is the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis until new arrangements are reached on matters that either party may wish to bring up. This is the procedure adopted by all other countries with which India has inherited treaty relations from His Majesty’s Government.  

One aspect of this devolution of power which passed without comment was that all matters involved in the British Indian relationship with Tibet passed to the responsibility of India; there was no mention made of Pakistan. The Tibetan Muslims who went into exile in India in the
1950s thus remained with the Tibetan exile communities in centres such as Dharamsala, and do not appear to have had contacts with Pakistan (or Bangladesh).¹⁵¹

The British Government had, at the last moment, given thought to their post-independence representation in Lhasa. Captain James Guthrie, the Medical Officer at the British Mission, had offered to stay on when the Mission changed hands; a suggestion rejected on the grounds that ‘Pandit Nehru has made clear on several occasions that no Government of India Mission abroad will have a British European on its staff in any capacity’.¹⁵² The British Lhasa Mission Head, Hugh Richardson, thus informed the Tibetans that on the Transfer of Power he would be replaced by an Indian official. But there were no Hindu Indians qualified to fill the senior positions on the frontier. While Lha Tsering took over from Lambert as intelligence chief on that frontier, Political Officer Hopkinson carried on for another year in Gangtok, and Richardson stayed on until 1950 as the Head of Indian Mission Lhasa, probably the last imperial official to remain in Indian government service.

Richardson’s continued presence must have reassured the Tibetans that no radical changes were taking place. As Alastair Lamb has pointed out, the Tibetans presumably continued to associate Richardson with the British, rather than the Indian government.¹⁵³ The only immediate change at the Trade Agencies and the Lhasa Mission was in the flag. As Richardson reported from Lhasa:

> The National Flag was hoisted in the morning and its significance explained to the staff who are mostly Tibetans. Eleven years after its establishment the Mission became the Indian Mission. May it have a long, prosperous and beneficial life for the common good of India and Tibet.’

The report noted that the wheel symbol on the new Indian flag resembled one of the Tibetans most auspicious symbols, and was thus considered a good omen.¹⁵⁴

Soon after the Transfer of Power, the Tibetans invited the new British High Commissioner to India, apparently without response.¹⁵⁵ In general, however, the Tibetans were facing up to the new realities and distancing themselves from the British, investigating such possibilities as an airlink with India.¹⁵⁶ One observer had noted that as early as 1944 that

In Lhasa, I got the impression that the British had many friends among the officials, but the latter were extremely discreet in their
views. They seem to feel that the most they could hope for in a crisis with China is diplomatic assistance. Thus, they are doing nothing to antagonize the Chinese.\textsuperscript{57}

The Tibetans were left with a number of territorial problems when the British withdrew. Major disputes such as that over the demarcation of the border in the Assam Himalayas remained unresolved, while other more traditional territorial arrangements, such as Sikkimese and Bhutanese state enclaves within Tibet, continued despite being inappropriate in the age of the nation-state.\textsuperscript{58} There were more human problems as well, such as the status of retired Indian soldiers living out their days in Gyantse.\textsuperscript{59}

Nor did Indian independence recognise the perspectives of local Himalayan identities. Although the Bhutanese were able to maintain a quasi-independent status which they have retained to this day, the Sikkimese were drawn firmly within India’s borders, and in 1975 they lost any claim to separate status. While the intermediaries who had served the British continued in Indian service, and many of their descendents now occupy senior positions in Sikkim, none were promoted to the principal post of Political Officer Sikkim, and they found that the Indians did not follow the British recognition of their separate identity. A certain nostalgia for the British period thus lingers on in Sikkim today, albeit mitigated by the obvious comparison of their situation with the fate of the Tibetans.

After the Transfer of Power, the remaining British frontier officers—Hopkinson and Richardson—were cautiously optimistic about the future. Hopkinson wrote to another retired Political Officer that ‘At first the Congress showed signs of completely selling out the Tibs (sic), but we persistently combated this...[although] we seemed to get no help encouragement or guidance from HMG or the officers at Delhi’. Hopkinson even noted ‘how harassing the last British year was...[with]...a moribund secretariat, intent on their next jobs’—and how much improved the situation was when the Indians took over.\textsuperscript{60}

Hopkinson’s eventual replacement in Gangtok, Harish Dayal IAS, had gained experience in dealing with Tibetan affairs at the Political Department secretariat, and was considered sympathetic to Tibet, as was the new Indian Foreign Minister, K.P.S. Menon.\textsuperscript{61} Dayal, who took over from Hopkinson in September 1948, visited Lhasa in late 1949, the last Political Officer to do so. Richardson, meanwhile, was finally replaced by a Dr S. Sinha in September 1950.
The Chinese Threat

What is apparent from a study of events surrounding Indian independence on this frontier is the extent to which governments and individuals in India and even in Tibet failed to recognise the radical change underway in their neighbour, China. Indo-Tibetan understandings of China were largely based on their experience of a weak, divided, and corrupt empire at the end of centuries of decline. Allied support for the Chinese in the war against Japan had then created a wide-spread perception of Chiang Kai-shek’s regime as an ally, which, while likely to seek power over Lhasa when it had established a solid base, was a state with which bi-lateral relations could be conducted in the established diplomatic manner. Even among the British and Tibetan officials who had struggled to restrict Chinese influence in Tibet, there was absolutely no comprehension of the extent to which the Chinese communists represented a radical new force in Asia, one which was to play by very different rules.62 As John Lall IAS, Prime Minister to the Maharajah of Sikkim for five years from 1949, recalled ‘No one had seriously thought that the Chinese would take military action in Tibet…the milieu was shattered by the Chinese invasion.’63

Richardson recalls, however, that ‘Even in 1948 when no one in Lhasa or elsewhere foresaw the speed with which the avalanche was about to descend, the Tibetans were greatly disturbed by a number of baleful portents…a great comet…monstrous births…the canopy of an ancient stone pillar at the foot of the Potala [which] fell…inexplicably, to the ground.’64 These omens became more significant when Peking fell to the communists in January 1949. When this was followed by the fall of Nanking in April and Shanghai in May of that year, the fall of the Kuomintang regime in China became inevitable.

In July 1949 the Tibetans expelled all of the Chinese in Lhasa and central Tibet in the hope that this would insulate them from events in China. But October 1949 saw the formal proclamation of the People’s Republic of China by Chairman Mao, and in January 1950 India formally recognised the new Chinese government. Richardson at least realised Tibet was now likely to fall to the Chinese. ‘It is’, he wrote, ‘merely a question of when the Communists choose to come…the only possible line I can recommend for the government to pursue is to arouse moral feelings for Tibet.’65
In October 1950 Chinese forces entered Tibet, and the Tibetans have remained under Chinese rule since that time, with the British government acquiescing, for all practical purposes, in China’s actions. India, in the first flush of enthusiasm for a new post-colonial world order, was equally muted in its protests, despite Nehru’s statement in the Indian Parliament on 7 December 1950 that; ‘Since Tibet is not the same as China, it should ultimately be the wishes of the people of Tibet that should prevail and not any legal or constitutional arguments…the last voice in regard to Tibet should be the voice of the people of Tibet and of nobody else.’

But India refused to supply further arms to Tibet and soon entered into negotiations with China which implicitly recognised their rule over Tibet. These talks resulted in the status of the Trade Agencies and the Indian Mission in Lhasa being agreed in the Sino-Indian Agreement of 29 April 1954.

The new post-war era which saw the Transfer of Power in India and the communist take-over in China thus spelt the end of Tibet’s most recent period of independence, one in which their failure to establish an independent identity on the world stage and to confront the problems of modernisation was to prove fatal to their freedom. Just as the Tibetan Government and their British imperial allies had feared, India was unable, and unwilling, to support the Tibetans against Chinese imperialism. India, in its idealistic attempts to construct a new post-colonial world order, abandoned the imperial frontier policy which had kept their north-eastern borders secure at minimal cost and kept the Tibetans in relative freedom. Instead they opted for a policy of cooperation with the Chinese communists, at the ultimate cost of Tibetan independence and a frontier heavily garrisoned to this day.

In retrospect, official British support for Tibet, and indeed Sikkim, was never more than a tool of wider imperial interests, to be withdrawn when necessary. The frontier officers recognised this, Basil Gould, for example, the Sikkim Political Officer from 1935-45, reported to his government that on a visit to Lhasa he had ‘given assurances of continued diplomatic support without committing ourselves to writing.’ Thus, when Britain withdrew from India, they abandoned any official contact with, or support for, Tibet and left the Tibetan problem to the new Indian Government. But as Bell had warned many years before, if British India did not support Tibet the result would be that

‘Sheep that trusted in the pasture; – O’er the precipice were hurled.’

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67
68
ENDNOTES

1 British relations with Sikkim were regulated by the Treat of Tumlong in 1861 and with Bhutan by treaties in 1865 and 1910. The British did not maintain a permanent presence in Bhutan.

2 The service underwent several name changes; the term ‘Political Department’ was that commonly used by the officers themselves.

3 Although the isolated Gartok position was under the control of the neighbouring Indian Punjab Hill States until 1942.


9 The issue of Indian ascetics at Tibetan monasteries is as yet unexplored by scholarship.

10 National Archives of India (hereafter NAI) FD., 1908, External B May 65, Government of United Provinces to Government of India Foreign Department, 29 January 1908.


13 Oriental and India Office Collection (hereafter OIOC), 1999 E.121, Dr Kennedy’s Lhasa mission diary, entry of 28 July 1921.

14 OIOC L/P&S/10/218-2134, Yatung Annual Report, 1921-22.

15 Bell, *op cit.*, p.199.


17 Author interview with Mrs J-M. Jehu (who visited Lhasa in 1932 as the daughter of Sikkim Political Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel J.L.R. Weir), 26 March 1993.

18 Bell, *op cit*, p.199; OIOC L/P&S/11/210-4102, Bell (in Lhasa) to Government of India Foreign Department, 12 May 1921; L/P&S/11/201-4756, British Trade Agent Yatung to Government of India Foreign Department, 19 September 1921.

19 Bell, *op cit*, p.199.


21 Bell, *op cit*, p.244.

22 Bell, *op cit*, p.200.

23 Bell, *op cit*, p.244.
Bell *op cit*, p.244, also see anti-Muslim sentiments expressed on pp.260-61. Despite this stated prejudice, however, there was a Tibetan Muslim community of around 1,000 people in Lhasa, mostly traders with close ties to Ladakh and Kashmir, but including many of Tibetan ethnic origin. There is no evidence that they suffered any undue treatment from the Tibetan authorities or people. For details on this community, see the articles by Attaullah Siddiqui and Abdul Ghani Sheikh in *The Tibet Journal*, XV1.4, 1991.

OIOC L/P&S/7/229-923, Gyantse Annual Report, 1908-09, cover note by Bell, 11 May 1909; NAI PD, 1909 Establishment B, December 318-321, Bell to India, 29 July 1909.

Bell *op cit*, p.245.


*Ibid*.

OIOC Bell collection, MSS Eur F.80, 5a 92, Macdonald to Bell, 8 July 1930.


Weir papers, Lt-Col. J.L.R. Weir to his wife, 9 March 1931, collection of the late Mrs J-M Jehu.

NAI EAD, 1943 Index, File No 11-A. While Indian archive files relating to Tibet after 1913 are restricted, valuable information may be obtained from the unrestricted indexes concerning these files.

Mainprice papers, Cambridge University Centre for South Asian Studies, diary entry of 10 July 1944.

NAI EAD, Index 1944, File No 191 C.A. Secret. The idea of diplomatic relations with America had been raised by US consular officials as early as 1921, when they met Tibetan officials in Derge; NAI F&PD, Index 1921, External Dec 170-183A, Part B. Tolstoy was a grandson of the Russian author. He served in the OSS, forerunner of the CIA.

OIOC L/P&S/12/4166-3395, Yatung Annual Report, 1944-45.

OIOC L/P&S/12/4201-2859, Lhasa Mission Report, week ending 13 May 1945.


NAI EAD, Index 1946, File No 304 C.A. Lha Tsering was the son of Bell’s confidential clerk, A-chuk Tsering.


Lamb, *op cit*, pp.499-500. In April 1947, the Reting Regent attempted to regain his position in a *coup d’état*. He died in prison on 8 May 1947. The two events may not be unconnected.

Indian Political Intelligence files recently de-classified by the India Office library, but unavailable to me at the time of writing, may shed more light on these events.

OIOC, Hopkinson collection, MSS Eur D 998/18, Hopkinson to his wife, 30 June 1946.

NAI EAD, 1946 Index, File No 1 (53).


46 OIOC L/P&S/12/4197-6072, Richardson’s Report on 1946 Mission to Lhasa.
49 OIOC L/P&S/12/4197, Government of India to Political Officer Sikkim, 23 July 1947.
51 The Indian border regiments who have engaged Pakistani forces in the various conflicts in Kashmir have included numerous soldiers of Tibetan stock; whether these include Muslims is an interesting question.
52 OIOC L/P&S/12/4197-7218, UK High Commission in New Delhi to India Office, 2 July 1947.
53 Lamb, *op cit*, p.511.
54 OIOC L/P&S/12/4202, Lhasa Mission Report, week ending 17 August 1947.
57 Steele, A.T., *In the Kingdom of the Dalai Lama*, Sedona (Arizona), 1993, p.76; this work reproduces Steele’s original newspaper reports from his visit to Lhasa in 1944.
61 Hopkinson, *op cit*, p.239.
62 In the 1920s, Indian military intelligence had considered the possibility of a Chinese communist government leading to an invasion of Burma and India. But it concluded that this posed no major threat to Tibet; OIOC L/Mil/7/19395 – undated military report on Central Asia, circa 1927.
63 Author interview with John Lall IAS, 19 October 1993.
66 Quoted in Kumar, *op cit*, pp.7-8.
67 The text of the 1954 Agreement and attached notes, along with the Sino-Indian Trade Agreement of 14 October 1954 may be found in Richardson, *op cit*, pp.293-300. The Indian positions were finally closed as a result of the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962.
THE 'BA’ RA BA TEACHINGS REACH THE
HIDDEN LAND OF DEMOJONG ('BRAS MO LJONGS):
MAHĀSIDDHA DΚΟΝ ΜCHΟΓ RGYAL MTSHAN (1601-1687)
AND THE TAMING OF DEMONS IN CHUNGTHANG

MARLENE ERSCHBAMER
University of Munich

Introduction

The term bKa’ brgyud refers to tantric teachings, which are transmitted orally from teacher to disciple. It sums up many lines which go back either to Dwags po lha rje, i.e. sGam po pa (1079-1153), the main student of the famous Mi la ras pa, or to Khyung po rnal 'byor. Khyung po rnal 'byor founded the Shangs pa bKa’ brgyud pa, a tradition which has almost disappeared. In contrast, many different lines deriving from the Dwags po bKa’ brgyud pa still exist today. One of these lines is called 'Ba’ ra ba bKa’ brgyud pa, a tradition which has received little attention, but once had monasteries and followers at different places in Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim.

The Mahāsiddha dKon mchog rgyal mtsan (1601-1687) was the first to establish a 'Ba’ ra ba monastery in the hidden land of 'Bras mo ljongs. Therefore he can be regarded as the founder of the 'Ba’ ra ba teachings in Sikkim. It is noteworthy that according to the common Sikkimese perception, the first bKa’ brgyud pa monasteries were built by Karma bKa’ brgyud pas in the 18th century and not by members of the 'Ba’ ra ba bKa’ brgyud pa tradition in the 17th century, as it will emerge from this paper.

The following observations are the results of a literary and ethnographic research. Among the literary sources is the hagiography

1 First of all, I owe special thanks to Prof. Dr Franz-Karl Ehrhard for suggesting a study of the 'Ba’ ra ba bKa’ brgyud pa school. Furthermore, I am grateful to Mr Tashi Densapa, Dr Anna Balikci-Donjongs and Tsultsem Gyatso Acharya as well as to Jenny Bentley. They were all very helpful during my fieldwork in Sikkim in 2010. I am also thankful to Mr Tashi Tsering from the Amnye Machen Institute for his support during my research for my M.A. thesis.
2 The biographical data of Khyung po rnal 'byor is ambiguous. Sometimes 978/990-1127 is reported, in other cases 1002-1064. The same applies to the life dates of Mi la ras pa, where the following are given: 1028-1111, 1040-1123 or 1052-1135.
4 I am currently working on a history of the 'Ba’ ra ba bKa’ brgyud pa as a PhD project.
of dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, which was written by his disciple Rin chen bstan pa’i gsal byed (1658-1696) in 1693.5

Some notes on the 'Ba’ ra ba bKa’ brgyud pa

The 'Brug pa tradition, which was founded by Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128-1188), is one of the so-called eight minor bKa’ brgyud pa lineages. The name derives from the first 'Brug pa monastery called gNam 'brug, which was established by gTsang pa rGya ras (1161-1211), a disciple of Gling ras pa. In the course of time, many different transmission lines appeared among the 'Brug pa. The 'Ba’ ra ba tradition is an offshoot of the Yang dgon bKa’ brgyud pa, founded by Yang dgon pa (1213-1256/1258), which again is a sub-branch of the sTod 'brug, established by rGod tshang pa (1189-1258).6

The 'Ba’ ra ba bKa’ brgyud pa school was named after the place 'Ba’ ra brag in the Shangs valley, which lies in central Tibet, about 30 km from gZhis ka rtse. 'Ba’ ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310-1391), who was regarded as an incarnation of Yang dgon pa and who was the founding father of this tradition, was born there. He travelled several times to Bhutan, where the monastery 'Brang rgyas kha was built for him in sPa gro. He passed away in this monastery and afterwards it became an important pilgrimage site for his successors.7

During the 16th century, Nam mkha’ rdo rje (1486-1553) brought the 'Ba’ ra ba teachings to Mang yul Gung thang. He spent his last years in the village Grwa, a village between sKyid grong and the valley of Lan dhe. One of his benefactors was Druung pa sNyan grags dbang

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5 The hagiography is part of the bKa’ brgyud gser phreng chen mo, published in 1970 and more recently in 2010; see gSer-phreng/a and gSer-phreng/b. The part dealing with dKon mchog rgyal mtshan’s travels to Sikkim was edited and published in Bkra shis tshe ring: 'Bras ljongs dang dgon sde khag gcig gi chags rabs yig cha bzhugs, pp. 26-39. For a complete edition and a translation of the text see Erschbamer (2011). The author Rin chen bstan pa’i gsal byed, a member of the lCe family of Zhwa lu, was regarded as the 3rd incarnation of rJe ‘Ba’ ra ba, the founding father of the ‘Ba’ ra ba tradition. He travelled several times to Sikkim to meet his teacher dKon mchog rgyal mtshan.

6 See Ehrhard (2000, p. 51), Ehrhard (2009, pp. 184-188) and Smith (2001, pp. 44-45). Unfortunately, the ‘Ba’ ra ba tradition sometimes is mistakenly confused with the ‘Ba’ rom bKa’ brgyud pa or the Shangs pa bKa’ brgyud pa. Both, the Shangs pa and the ‘Ba’ ra ba were linked to the Shangs valley, but they are two completely different traditions. The ‘Ba’ rom, having a similar name as the ‘Ba’ ra ba, is one of the four greater branches of the Dwags po bKa’ brgyud pa.

po, a member of the 'Jam [dpal] gling [pa] family, who popularised the 'Ba’ ra ba tradition.8

Mahāsiddha dKon mchog rgyal mtshan (1601-1687)

dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, who was born in Grwa in 1601, received his name from Sangs rgyas chos 'phel, a member of the 'Jam [dpal] gling [pa] family.9 dKon mchog rgyal mtshan got different reading authorisations, for example for the bKa’ brgyud gser 'phreng and the 'Ba’ ra bka’ 'bum. Then he heard about the 2nd 'Ba’ ra ba sPrul sku Karma gSal byed (d. 1658), who was travelling to Grwa to receive 'Ba’ ra ba teachings from Nam mkha’ rgyal po, a 'Ba’ ra ba master who was staying in that region at that time.

Afterwards [he] heard that 'Ba’ ra ba Karma gSal byed, the master and some disciples, were coming [to Grwa phu chos gling] in order to request the 'Ba’ ra ba doctrine from Bya btang Nam mkha’ rgyal po. [dKon mchog rgyal mtshan] was utterly pleased as [he] went to meet [him]. Like father and son meeting each other, their minds melted into one. At that time, they listened together to the entire 'Ba’ ra ba teachings of Pha Nam mkha’ rgyal po.10

8 See Ehrhard (2000, p. 51 and p. 65). Srong btsan sgam po (7th century), the first Buddhist king of Tibet, is said to have placed 100 or 500 monks in that region, which is why the place became known as Grwa. Grwa is an abbreviation for Grwa pa, which means monk. Another explanation is that the monks, supposed to have been sent by Srong btsan sgam po, drew a Buddhist monastic boundary and built a monastery in one corner (tib. grwa) of that boundary; see Chos dbyings rdo rje: “'Jam dpal bde chen gling pa’i gdung rabs skor gsal ba”, pp. 56-57, Ehrhard (2004, p. 115 and p. 422, note 198), Jäschke (2003, p. 75) and Vitali (2007, p. 287). For the printing activities of the ‘Ba’ ra ba in this region see Ehrhard (2000).

9 The 'Jam [dpal] gling [pa] family already lived in Grwa during the Yar [k]lung[s] dynasty. During a visit of sKyid grong, Sa skya Pandita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) named their family monastery 'Jam dpal bde chen gling, the name under which the family itself became known. Sangs rgyas chos 'phel was a son of Drung pa sNyan grags dbang po, the person who acted as an important donor during the time of the 'Ba’ ra ba teachings reached sKyid grong; see Chos dbyings rdo rje: “'Jam dpal bde chen gling pa’i gdung rabs skor gsal ba”, pp. 56-64, Ehrhard (2009, p. 197) and Vitali (2007, pp. 287-291 and 295-303).

10 Compare gSer-phreng/a (Vol. 3, 99.6-100.2); de nas skabs cig (= shig) tu / 'ba’ra ba karma gsal byed dpon slobz (= slob) ‘ga’/ [100] bya btang namkha’ (= nam mkha’) rgyal po'i drung na 'bar chos zhus ba la phbes ’dug zer ba bsan (= gsan) pas / shin tu nas brnyes (= mnyes) nas ’jal (= mjal) du phesbs pas / phan thsun yab sras mjal ba ltar / thug (= thugs) yid cig (= gcig) 'dres su gyur nas / der pha namkha’ (= nam mkha’) rgyal po la / 'bar chos yongs rdzogs lhan du bsan (= gsan). See also Erschbamer (2011, p. 26). Nam mkha’ rgyal po (16th century) took his first vows in
After taking the vows of a novice, dKon mchog rgyal mtshan went to ‘Ba’ ra brag in the Shangs valley to study under Karma gSal byed, who became his main teacher. He travelled several times to Bhutan, before he received a prophecy from his teacher, telling him to go to the previously opened sBas yul ‘Bras mo ljongs (i.e. present-day Sikkim). According to the hagiography of dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, he met the Buddhist ruler Phun tshogs rnam rgyal and visited the sacred site of Tashiding.11

Subsequently, he constructed his own monastery in the ‘Mon style’ (mon lugs) in a place called ‘Dam bzang:

Then [dKon mchog rgyal mtshan] went to ‘Dam bzang. Afterwards [he] met Zhal ngo dKon mchog bstan pa. ‘As donations for my teachings are provided, [I] will stay here!’ [he] said forcefully. He established a monastery in the mon-style. Excellent offerings, just like 500 khal of rice, horses, pure tsam pa, rigorous copper pots, a roll of cotton and perfectly complete honours serving teacher and students were made. Then [he] stayed in a one-pointed practice: [he] increased the meditation experience and great benefit arose. All superior and inferior sentient beings of that region became his donors. The master himself erected a temple and a great assembly hall [in which was housed] a golden statue of Vajradhāra equal to the seize of a four-year-old child [containing] different kinds of stones and soil from the sacred sites of India and Tibet, ‘increasing relics’ of the Buddha [Śākyamuni], bones and hairs of the previous teachers and the white

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and red bodhicitta of Ācārya Padmasambhava, father [and] mother, together with many blessed dhāranīs.12

Afterwards, he returned to Tibet and stayed for awhile at the main residence of the ‘Ba’ ra ba at ‘Ba’ ra brag. Then he decided to return to ’Dam bzang to act for the welfare of sentient beings. After several years he came back to ‘Ba’ ra brag, where he gave different teachings during the summer. In autumn, he set forth on his last journey, which took him to Northern Sikkim.

*Taming of Demons in Chungthang*

dKon mchog rgyal mtshan travelled to bTsun mo rin chen thang (i.e. present-day Chungthang in Northern Sikkim). As he arrived, he saw demons, which caused great harm to the locals: Due to a lake-spirit, there was no water in the village, which is why the Mahāsiddha gave different blessings and a new spring of water appeared. Furthermore, he saw a stone looking like a snake-head. He recognised it as an evil demon, which would cause misfortune for the village.

Then [dKon mchog rgyal mtshan] reached bTsun mo rin chen thang [and the following] took place: Because of magical power of a local territorial divinity, it snowed heavily. Teacher and disciple were worn down. In a faithful vision, the master [recognised] the bad-temperate people being a snake-like demon and a lake spirit of the so-called old teachings. [They were] tall, [had] red eyes and stared with [their] big, wide-open eyes [and they] caused various kinds of cruelty due to two

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12 Compare gSer-phreng/a (Vol. 3, 116.4-117.4); 'dam bzang du phebs so // de nas zhal ngo dkon mchog bstan pa dang 'jal [= mjal] nas / bdag gi bstan pa'i shyn bdag byed pas 'dir bzhugs pa zhu zhes gsol ba nan tan btab nas / mon lug [= lugs] kyi dgon pa yang btab / 'bras khal lnga brgya dang chib [= chibs] pa gsol 'byo khrong zang [= zangs] dar mnan ras yug la sogs pa'i 'bul ba bzang po dang / dpon slob rnams la zhaps tog snyen [= bsnyen] bkur phun sum tshogs pa mzdad / der [117] sgrub pa la rtse geig tu bzhugs pas / thugs dam 'phel zhing bogs che ba byung / yul de'i skye bo chog [= mchog] dman thams cad kyang sbyin bdag tu gyur / rje nyid rang gis kyang dgon par lha khang chen po cig rdo rje chang [= 'chang] gi gser sku byis pa io bzhi pa'i bong dang mnyam pa cig la / rgya bod kyi gnas kh Yad par can gyi sa sna rdo sna dang / sangs rgyas kyi 'phel gzung [= gdung] / bla ma gong ma rnams kyi dbus [= dbu] skra dang pur rus / slob dpon pad ma yab yum gyi byang sms dkar dmar sogs / bzung [= gzungs] byin rlbs can du ma dang ldan pa zhig bzhengs pa gnang nas. See also Ardussi (2011, p. 36), Ehrhard (2009, p. 196) and Erschbamer (2011, p. 44). It is not clear, where exactly dKon mchog rgyal mtshan built this monastery. However, the name of the place probably refers to the area around modern Kalimpong, a town in West Bengal, which even today is called Damsang by local Lepchas; see Ardussi (2011, p. 36) and Mullard (2011a, p. 54).
bad-temperate women. [dKon mchog rgyal mtshan] subdued [the
demons] by compassion and through the power of his concentration
and they promised to produce dutiful buddha activity.\footnote{Compare gSer-phreng/a (Vol. 3, 131.5-132.2); de nas btsun mo rin chen thang la
phebs par btsams [= brtsams] pa la / gzhi bdag gi cho 'phrul gyi kha ba cher babs
nas dpon slobs [= slob] nnams 'o rgyal [= brgyal] ba byung / khyad par rje nyid dad
kyi gzigs snang la chos sngon pa zer ba'i [132] klu bdud de dang / msho sman de
gnyis gyi mi nag po gzugs che zhing mig dmar zhing che [= mche] ba gdang [=
sdang] mig tu bsgrad pa cig [= gcig] dang bud med nag mo cig [= gcig] gnyis kyis /
gdug rtsub sna tshogs byed du byung bas / byams pas ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang du
}
dKon mchog rgyal mtshan erected a monastery consisting of a temple
and an assembly hall to tame the demons.\footnote{See bKra shis tsho rong: 'Bras ljongs nang dgon sde khag gcig gi chags rabs yig cha
stone looking like a snake-head can still be seen today.}
He spent his final years in Chungthang, where he passed away in 1687. According to his last
instructions, his disciple Rin chen bstan pa'i gsal byed travelled from
Tibet to Northern Sikkim to perform the necessary rituals and to bring
the relics of his teacher to the main residence at 'Ba' ra brag in the
Shangs valley. A statue of the deceased master was built by craftsmen
from rTse gdong, a Sa skya monastery not far from gZhis ka rtse.
Nowadays the monastery follows rNying ma pa tradition. In the
1980s Lendup Lepcha, Panchayat of Chungthang, did some research on
dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, being aware that this monastery was once
established by the 'Ba' ra ba. He found a depiction of the master
according to which a statue was built. The statue was put on the altar of
the monastery in Chungthang. Locals still tell the story about how
dKon mchog rgyal mtshan tamed the demons and thus prevented
greater harm for the village. Apart from the snake-like stone, a tiny
spring of water is located in the vicinity of the monastery. According to
local perception, it appeared after dKon mchog rgyal mtshan had given
several blessings.\footnote{This stone and spring of water is not to be confused with Guru gnas do of
Chungthang, the rock and water source related to Guru Padmasambhava, which is
located in a different place in Chungthang.}

Furthermore, one can visit a mChod rten on a hill above the village.
It is very tiny, adorned by prayer flags and with a tree growing in the
middle. The 'Ba' ra mchod rten, as it is called by locals, was erected to
commemorate dKon mchog rgyal mtshan and his virtuous deeds.
Conclusion

Several meaningful events took place in Sikkim in the 17th century: the land was opened for the Buddhist doctrine, the first Buddhist ruler was enthroned and the first Buddhist monasteries were established. The rNying ma pa tradition is connected to all these occurrences. Thus it is understandable that, according to common Sikkimese historiography, they are considered to be the main tradition which disseminated the Buddhist doctrine at that time. Nevertheless, they were not the sole tradition that spread from Tibet to Sikkim soon after the opening of the land. From the above it emerges that the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa school was present in Sikkim in the 17th century. This fact has not received much attention, but it can be proved with written and oral evidences.

Today a few monasteries in Sikkim follow the tradition of the 'Ba' ra ba, among the three largest ones are Ri nag, rTsa brngas and sPa phyug. However, they do not seem to be connected to the first 'Ba' ra ba monastery which was established in Chungthang.

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DISAMBIGUATING TIBETAN VERB STEMS
WITH MATRIX VERBS IN THE INDIRECT INFINITIVE
CONSTRUCTION

EDWARD GARRETT, NATHAN W. HILL, ABEL ZADOKS
SOAS, University of London

Introduction

A great deal of digitized Tibetan texts are now available online, including the entire Derge Kanjur\textsuperscript{1} and over 60 Dunhuang documents.\textsuperscript{2} Nonetheless, there is a dearth of tools to access and process these data efficiently. To better exploit the profusion of available material, a research project at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, is currently working to create a part-of-speech tagged corpus together with an automatic word segmenter and part-of-speech tagger.\textsuperscript{3} Garrett et al. (forthcoming a) describes the part-of-speech tag-set used in this project. Garrett et al. (forthcoming b) describes Version 1.0 of the rule-based tagger, designed for Classical Tibetan materials. In the long term, the rule-based tagger will be combined with a statistical tagger to achieve improved results.

Our project began by hand-tagging an initial 17,522 words of the \textit{Mdzaṅs blun}. We developed the initial part-of-speech tag set during this phase. In the next phase, covering the next 26,937 words of the \textit{Mdzaṅs blun} and the first 32,083 words of the \textit{Mi la ras paḥi rnam thar}, we developed the rule-based tagger through an ad hoc process of trial and error. As of 8 June, 2014, the hand-annotated corpus contains 47,927 words of the \textit{Mdzaṅs blun}, 32,083 words of the \textit{Mi la ras paḥi rnam thar}, and 10,069 words of the \textit{Bu ston chos Ḫbyuui}. The rule-based tagger operates across this corpus with an accuracy of 0.998 and an ambiguity of 1.360.

In addition to the training corpus of hang-tagged data, there is a larger test corpus includes all of these three texts and a number of other

\textsuperscript{1} Available at http://www.thlib.org/encyclopdiias/literary/canons/kt/catalog.php#cat=d on 10 June 2014.
\textsuperscript{2} Available at otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp on 10 June 2014.
\textsuperscript{3} The project 'Tibetan in Digital Communication' is funded by the U.K's Arts and Humanities Research Council.
texts digitized by the University of Otani,\(^4\) including the Sa-skya legs-bṣad, Ḫgro-ba bzai-mohi rnam-thar, Sa-pan-gyi rnam-thar gsun-sgros-ma, Gṣen ŋi-mahi rnam-thar, Rwa-loḥi rnam-thar, and Mar-pahi rnam-thar. This larger corpus permits the testing of hypotheses against a larger data set than the comparatively small hand-tagged training corpus.

The rule-based part-of-speech tagger uses the grammatical rules known to any first year Tibetan student to preclude unlikely part-of-speech interpretations. For example, the tagger knows that the syllable -so when it occurs after a verb stem that ends in -s and before the šad punctuation mark is not the noun 'tooth'. Unfortunately, for certain verb forms it is not possible in all cases to specify an unambiguous tense analysis.\(^5\) The circumstances giving rise to tense ambiguity are best illustrated with an example. The verb gṣegs 'go' is invariant across all four tenses. Often syntactic cues disambiguate the correct tense (e.g. gṣegs šig must be the imperative), but in other contexts disambiguation is not univocal. In the phrase mi gṣegs the verb gṣegs is either a present (cf. mi byed) or a future (cf. mi bya), but cannot be understood as a past. Thus, the tag [v.fut.v.pres] species that in this and comparable contexts it is impractical to decide between [v.fut] and [v.pres]. Finally, there are contexts such as gṣegs šiṅ and gṣegs so, in which it is only possible to say that gṣegs is not the imperative (cf. byed ciṅ, bya ziṅ, byas šiṅ; and byed do, byaho, byas so). Rather than tagging such contexts with the lengthy [v.fut.v.past.v.pres] we instead employ the tag [v.invar].\(^6\) Following these protocols the rule-based tagger disambiguates verb stems in those places where they can be disambiguated with certainty, but leaves them ambiguous in cases where the interpretation is not clear-cut.

One of the main purposes of the creation of the corpus and tagger is to yield new insights into Tibetan grammar. Consequently, it would be foolish to rest content with those facets of verb stem distribution well known to the first year Tibetan student. Instead, the tools created so far should be harassed to discover new patterns, patterns which in turn can be fed back into refining the corpus and tagger. The current version of

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4 Available at http://web.otani.ac.jp/eri/twrp/project/otet/ on 10 June 2014.

5 In this paper the term 'tense' is used to refer to the distinct four principal parts of verbs used in the indigenous grammatical tradition. This terminology is not intended to imply that the morphosyntactic categories recognized by the indigenous tradition correspond semantically to 'tense' (as opposed to 'aspect' or 'mood') as it is used in linguistic typology.

6 One must bear in mind that use of the tag [v.invar] is not a positive claim that a verb is (morphologically or otherwise) invariant, but rather is the negative claim that the stem of this verb in this context cannot be more precisely stated.
the tagger already includes one such new pattern, namely the prohibition of the future stem before the converb -nas. Although we introduced this rule on the basis of anecdotal evidence, it appears to be quite robust. For example, all instances of bya nas in the Derge Kanjur appear to involve either bya 'bird' or nas 'barley'. The goal of the current investigation is to see whether verb stems may be disambiguated before the terminative converb in the indirect infinitive construction (e.g. sloñ-du hoñs 'came to ask').

To explore this question we gathered evidence by searching the test corpus for the following types of part-of-speech patterns (cf. appendix).

[v.pres] [cv.term]
[v.fut] [cv.term]
[v.fut.v.pres] [cv.term]
...

We subsequently collated the results of these searches according to the rightward context to list the subcategorization patterns attested with each matrix verb, both in its stem form (e.g. byed) and its nominalized form (byed-pa).

**The subcategorization patterns of positive matrix verbs**

This section discusses the various patterns of subcategorization found with unnegated verbs. Verbs appear to fall into three classes, those that take future and present stems with equal preference, those that select for the present, and those that select for the future. Although the corpus does provide examples of subordinated past stems, this phenomenon appears to be unsystematic.

Eight matrix verbs occur with subordinate present and future stems and with stems that are ambiguous between present and future.

*bcug(-pa) (24 v.pres, 20 v.fut, 6 v.fut.v.pres), gźug(-pa) (5 v.pres, 1 v.fut, 4 v.fut.v.pres), hjug (3 v.pres, 1 v.fut), chug (1 v.pres, 1 v.fut.v.pres)*

*soñ(-ba) (14 v.pres, 4 v.fut, 12 v.fut.v.pres), hgro (11 v.pres, 2 v.fut, 1 v.fut.v.pres), phyin(-pa) (9 v.pres, 3 v.fut, 2 v.fut.v.pres)*

*btañ(-ba) (20 v.pres, 8 v.fut, 12 v.fut.v.pres), gtoñ (1 v.pres, 1 v.fut.v.pres)*

*byon(-pa) (5 v.pres, 5 v.fut, 10 v.fut.v.pres), hbyon-pa (1 v.pres)*

*gyur(-pa/-ba) (3 v.pres, 3 v.fut, 9 v.fut.v.pres), hgyur (3*
Six matrix verbs appear to select only for the present stem. In the corpus there are examples of these matrix verbs selecting presents and selecting verb stems that are ambiguous between present and future, but there are no examples of these six verb selecting unambiguous future stems.

\[ \text{höns(-pa)} (12 \text{ v.pres, 7 v.fut.v.pres}), \text{höni(-ba)} (11 \text{ v.pres, 5 v.fut.v.pres}), \text{yoñ-ba} (4 \text{ v.fut.v.pres}), \text{yoüns-pa} (1 \text{ v.pres, 1 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

\[ \text{mdzad(-pa)} (1 \text{ v.pres, 13 v.fut.v.pres}), \text{byas(-pa)} (2 \text{ v.pres, 2 v.fut.v.pres}), \text{btags-pa} (1 \text{ v.pres, 2 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

\[ \text{bzuñ-pa} (1 \text{ v.pres, 1 v.fut.v.pres}), \text{hdzin-pa} (1 \text{ v.fut.v.pres}), \text{mchi} (1 \text{ v.pres, 1 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

One must however bear in mind that it is always possible the absence of unambiguous future stems in the subordinate clause might be an accident gap in the corpus, rather than a structural fact about the Tibetan language. It is only the verb *hön/yüns* which is well attested enough that it seems quite likely that the occurrence of future stems in the subordinate clause can be precluded.

There are also six matrix verbs that appear to select only the future stem. In the corpus there are examples of these matrix verbs selecting futures and selecting verb stems that are ambiguous between future and present, but there are no examples of these six verb selecting unambiguous present stems.

\[ \text{gsol} (19 \text{ v.fut, 7 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

\[ \text{med(-pa)} (7 \text{ v.fut, 8 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

\[ \text{grags(-pa)} (2 \text{ v.fut, 1 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

\[ \text{yod-pa} (2 \text{ v.fut, 2 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

\[ \text{ruñ-ba} (1 \text{ v.fut, 1 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

\[ \text{gṣeṛs-pa} (1 \text{ v.fut, 1 v.fut.v.pres}) \]

The fact that these six verbs show no stem changes lends credence to their interpretation as a structural class. The presence of both *med* and *yod* in this category cannot be a coincidence. In contrast, in light of the fact that motion verbs general appear among those verbs that take the present and future with equal preference, it seems likely that a lack of *gsṛgs* selecting a present stem is an accidental gap.
Turning to the past stems in subordinate clauses, there are some surprises. Although past stems are the most common stem in the corpus overall, only four verbs occur more than once as matrix verbs selecting the past stem: 1. gsol(-ba) (9), 2. soñ (2), phyin (1), ḥgro-ba (1), 3. hoñ (2), hoñs-pa (1), 4. yod-(pa) (3). All four have been discussed previously. The first (gsol) and fourth (yod) generally selects for the future. The second (ḥgro/phyin/soñ) selects for either present or future. The third (hoñ) selects the present. If one looks at the actual occurrences of these four verbs when they appear to select the past stem, the past stems in question turn out to predominantly be misspellings of the future stem.

bzuni (gzuñi) du gsol (5)
bcad (gcd) du gsol (1)
bcad (gcd) du hoñs-pa (1)
bsad (gsad) du hoñ (1)
byuñ (hbyuñ) du soñ (1)
byuñ (hbyuñ) du ḥgro-ba (1)
byuñ (hbyuñ) du yod-pa (2)

This misspelling of futures as pasts is not unexpected, since the spoken languages lose the future and often the etymological future is homophonous in a given dialect with an etymological past because of sound change. In some cases the sandhi makes clear that a future was intended.

gyur du (past requires -tu) hoñ (1)
bsgrubs tu (past requires -su) gsol-ba (1)
bsgrubs tu (past requires -su) yod (1)

All of these cases merit more detailed philological discussion; here it suffices to conclude that there is no solid evidence for a class of matrix verbs that select the past stem in the subordinate clause.

For the purposes of verb stem disambiguation, one may conclude that if a verb has any interpretation other than [v.past] and it occurs as the subordinate verb of this infinitive construction, then the analysis of this verb as [v.past] may be removed. One may more tentatively conclude that a verb that has interpretations other than [v.fut] (and [v.past]) should have [v.fut] removed, if the matrix verb is one of the six verbs that selects the present, although perhaps this stipulation is only safely applied to hoñ and its forms. Because there are few futures in the corpus in general the lack of a future before the other verbs seven present selecting verbs may be a coincidence.
Reciprocally, if the matrix verb is one of the six future selecting verbs, then the analysis of the subordinate verb as [v.pres] can be precluded. In this case, the overall prevalence of presents over futures in the corpus means that the lack of presents before these verbs can be safely understood as a systematic gap. Furthermore, the fact that all future selecting verbs are invariant in their stem morphology, and that *yod* and *med* both occur in this category, bolsters the security of the analysis. Nonetheless, because *gsags* is the only motion verb in this group, and most motion verbs can select either present or future stem, it would be a mistake to forbid the analysis of a verb subordinate to *gsags* as a present.

*The subcategorization patterns of negative matrix verbs*

Because negated verbs are less frequent than positive verbs, the evidence of negated matrix verbs in the indirect infinitive construction is sparse. However, the investigation of subcategorization patterns with positive verbs provides a framework to analyze these data, i.e. if the evidence of negated verbs confirms the patterns seen with the unnegated verbs then the pattern in question more secure.

Four of the eight verbs that select for both present and future are attested with negation.

\[
\begin{align*}
  & hjug-pa \ (1 \ v.\text{pres}, \ bcug(-pa) \ (2 \ v.\text{pres}, \ 1 \ v.\text{fut.}\text{v.pres}) \ \\
  & byuñ \ (1 \ v.\text{pres}, \ 1 \ v.\text{fut}) \ \\
  & phyin \ (1 \ v.\text{fut.}\text{v.pres}) \ \\
  & gtoñ-ba \ (1 \ v.\text{fut.}\text{v.pres})
\end{align*}
\]

These data support the perspective that these verbs select both present and future, although they suffice to conclude this only in the cases of *byuñ*.

Turning to the verbs that in the positive appear to select for the present, the evidence from negated matrix verbs is very thin.

\[
\begin{align*}
  & byas \ (1 \ v.\text{pres}) \ \\
  & yoñ \ (1 \ v.\text{fut}), \ hoñs \ (1 \ v.\text{fut.}\text{v.pres}), \ hoñ \ (1 \ v.\text{fut.}\text{v.pres})
\end{align*}
\]

The occurrence of *yoñ* with an unambiguous subordinate future weighs against the theory that this verb selects for the present. The deviant examples is *bsgrub tu ma yoñ-ba 'did not come to accomplish*. One may perhaps suspect a spelling mistake of *bsgrub* for *sgrub*.

The verb *ruñ* is the only verb that selects for future for which negated examples occur in the corpus. In fact, this verb occurs far more frequently negated than in the positive form. Most of the negated forms
support the analysis of this verb as selecting a future stem.

ruṅ (11 v.fut, 4 v.fut.v.pres, 2 v.fut.v.past)

However, there are two problem cases. In one of these cases ruṅ selects the past stem byuṅ, which is possibly a simple misspelling for ḥbyuṅ. The other case is a genuine problem. The passage is gcod du mi ruṅ with an unambiguous present. So, paradoxically although (mi) ruṅ selecting the future is among the most robust patterns in the corpus, gcod du mi ruṅ is also one of the most clear-cut counter-examples to any pattern identifiable in the corpus.

A number of matrix verbs that predominantly appear in the negative were not noted in the discussion of positive matrix verbs. The verb chud appears to only select for the present.

chud (1 v.pres, 1 non-negated v.pres, 7 v.fut.v.pres)

Three verbs appear to select the present and future with equal ease.

btub(-pa) (2 v.pres, 1 v.fut, 10 v.fut.v.pres), gtub-pa (1 v.pres)
ḥdod(-pa) (1 v.pres, 3 v.fut.v.pres, 1 v.fut.v.past)
snaṅ (1 v.pres, 1 non-negated v.fut)

Concerning the verb tshud, one can only say that it does not select the past, which is not surprising since no verbs appear to select the past.

tshud (3 v.fut.v.pres)

The verb gnaṅ has a strange pattern of subcategorization, appearing to select the past in two cases (once selecting phyuṅ and once byuṅ).

gnaṅ (1 v.fut, 2 v.past)

The verbs snaṅ, tshud, and gnaṅ are not well enough attested in the corpus to yield any reliable conclusion.

Conclusions

With a certain fuzziness around the edges, the data surveyed here suggest that past tense verbs do not occur as the subordinate verbs of indirect infinitives and that the matrix verbs gsol, med, grags, yod, ruṅ select the future tense in the subordinate clause. It is possible that one group of verbs selects the present tense whereas others are equally happy to select the present and the future, but the overall rarity of future stems in the corpus makes the line between these two categories difficult to draw.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX: MATRIX VERBS IN INDIRECT INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTION

\[\text{[v.pres]} [\text{cv.term}]\]

- bcug-(pa) (24), gzug-(pa) (5), chug (1), chug (3), chug (1)
- soñ(-ba) (14), hgro (11), phyin(-pa) (9)
- hős(-pa) (12), hños(-ba) (11), yons-pa (1)
- btañ(-ba) (20), gtoñ (1)
- byon-(pa) (5), hbyon-pa (1)
- gyur-(pa) (3)
- hchad(-pa) (2), bšad (1)
- tshor-ba (2)
- bsgyur-pa (1), bsgyur-ba (1)
- byuñ (2)
- byas-(pa) (2)
- byiñ(-ba) (2)
- chud (1)
- mchi (1)
- gña-g-ba (1)
- btags-pa (1)
- doñ-ba (1)
- drañs-pa (1)
- smra-ba (1)
- btsugs (1)
- brtsams-pa (1)
- brtsis-pa (1)
- mdzad (1)
- brdzais-pa (1)
- bzuñ-pa (1)
- len (1)

\[\text{[v.fut]} [\text{cv.term}]\]

- bcug-pa (20), gzug-pa (1), hjug-pa (1), grags-(pa) (2)
- gsol (19), yod-pa (2)
- soñ(-ba) (4), phyin-pa (3), hgro (2)
- doñ-ba (1)
- nus (1)
- snañ (1)
- btañ(-ba) (8)
- byuñ (1)
- med-(pa) (7)
- smra (1)
- byon-(pa) (5)
- žugs (1)
- gyur-(ba) (3)
- ruñ-ba (1)
- bsdus-pa (2)
- gšegs-pa (1)

\[\text{[v.fut.v.pres]} [\text{cv.term}]\]

- soñ (12), phyin (2), hgro (1)
- btañ(-pa) (12), gtoñ (1)
- gyur-(pa) (9), hgyur (3)
- hños(-pa) (7), hños(-ba) (5), yoni-
ba (4), yoṅs-pa (1)  
bcug(-pa) (6), gzung(-pa) (4),  
chug (1)  
mdzad(-pa) (13)  
byon(-pa) (10)  
gsol (8)  
byun (8)  
med(-pa) (8)  
bkod(-pa) (4), hgod-pa (1)  
cha-ba (3), chas-pa (1)  
phubs(-pa) (3)  
bzuṅ (1), hdzin-pa (1)  
don-ba (1), ḡdoṅ (1)  
khrid-pa (2), ḡkhrid (1)  
mkhyen (2)  
ñal (2)  
btags (2)  
byas (2)  
yod-pa (2)  
bskyams (1)  
khol-ba (1)  
grags (1)  
gryas (1)  
bgvi-ba (1)  
rgyugs-pa (1)  

[\text{v.past}] [\text{cv.term}]  
gsol(-ba) (9)  
soṅ (2)  
hoṅ (2), hoṅs-pa (1)  
yod-(pa) (3)  
miṅ-va (1)  
ñe-ba (1)  
lhuṅ-ba (1)  
byin-pa (1)  
bsdus-pa (1)  
byas-pa (1)  
gsuṅs-pa (1)  

[\text{v.fut.v.past}] [\text{cv.term}]  
gsol (11)  
byon-pa (1)  

soṅ (2)  
bskye-ba (1)  
snyoms-pa (1)  
mìṅ (1)  
ḥgril (1)  
bcad (1)  
sbyar (1)  
bcug (1)  
ḥkhrunś (1)  
spyod (1)  

[\text{v.fut.v.past}] [\text{cv.term}]  
gsol (11)  
yoṅ (1), yoṅs-pa (1)  
med(-pa) (2)  
śog (2)
btun (1) bţugs (1)
byun (1)

[v.pres] [cv.term] [neg]

ţhug-pa (1), bcug(-pa) (2) byas (1)
btub (2), gtub-pa (1) byun (1)
ruñ (1) snañ (1)
dbañ (1) chud (1)
ḥdod (1) ster-ba (1)

[v.fut] [cv.term] [neg]

ruñ (11) zad-pa (1)
gnañ (1) yoñ (1)
btub (1) byun (1)
bzad-pa (1)

[v.fut.v.pres] [cv.term] [neg]

btub(-pa) (10) phyin (1)
chud (7) e (1)
ruñ (4) stsal (1)
tshud (3) dad-pa (1)
ḥdod(-pa) (3) gtoñ-ba (1)
hoñs (1), hoñ (1)
bcug-pa (1)

[v.past] [cv.term] [neg]

gnañ (2) ltuñ-ba (1)
ruñ (1)

[v.fut.v.past] [cv.term] [neg]

ruñ (2)
re (1)
ḥdod-pa (1)
AN INTRODUCTION TO
LEPCHA MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND SONGS

AZALEA BIRCH
Singapore

Abstract

This paper presents a preliminary sketch of some of the musical instruments and song traditions of the Lepcha people of Sikkim, a small Himalayan state in northeastern India. The music of the Lepchas is fairly unique in the Himalayan region given that most of the world’s Lepcha population is found in Sikkim and the foothills of West Bengal.¹ The study draws mainly from ten days that I spent in Sikkim’s capital of Gangtok, and in Kalimpong, a hill town in West Bengal. It also draws from previous research, from information available online, and from CDs and DVDs obtained in Gangtok.² This paper is the result of my brief experience in the region, and is not meant to be conclusive or definitive.

Introduction

On my first day in Gangtok, Sikkim, I woke up to the sound of deep drums beating in the distance. Then, there was the unmistakable low rumble of the radung (long bass horn). It was the beginning of November and it was frigid at this time of day. I stepped out of my room, which was a studio apartment rented to researchers by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.³ It is located on a hill just below the Institute and slightly above the Ropeway, a cable car that provides

¹ Nepal’s Central Bureau of Statistics lists the Lepcha population of Nepal as 3660 as of 2001 (Statistical Yearbook of Nepal 2009). In contrast, the Census of India lists the Lepcha population of Sikkim as 40,568 and that of West Bengal as 32,377 (2001). To get a sense of the Lepcha population of Bhutan, George van Driem lists 2,000 speakers of the Lepcha language in his paper Language Policy in Bhutan (1994).
² The most comprehensive music research done in Sikkim that I found was that of Fredric Lieberman and Michael Moore, undertaken in 1970.
³ The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology was established in 1958 as an institute to study Mahayana Buddhism, and more recently it has also become a ‘hub for Sikkim-centric research and studies’ (Tashi, 2008 p. 7). See <http://www.tibetology.net> for more information.
panoramic views of Gangtok and, on clear days, of the mountains beyond.

I made my way down the hill to find a place to have breakfast. The sounds of drums and horns were now replaced by those of traffic on the busy national highway. I ended up at Porky’s, the restaurant at one of the dozens of hotels lining the streets of Gangtok. Porky’s had the radio tuned to the local branch of ‘Red FM,’ which plays the top hits of Sikkim every morning.⁴ ‘Good morning, you’re listening to Red FM, it’s rocking,’ stated the radio jockey. The songs were all the latest hits in the Nepali, Indian and American pop world, such as those by Nepali singer Leezum Bhutia, American pop star Kelly Clarkson, and songs from recent Bollywood films.

Later in the day, as I walked up an outdoor stairway flanked on both sides with shops, I passed by several stores selling CDs, competing for sound-space with a mix of music similar to that played on ‘Red FM’ in the morning. I asked the shopkeepers if they had any CDs of local music. They all had a few, but I never heard this local music played on their shop stereos during the several times that I passed by. I later bought as many of these CDs as I could, and ended up with a collection of Lepcha and Bhutia rock, modern renditions of Bhutia folk songs, Gurung pop, a melodic rendition of the Tibetan Buddhist mantra, ‘Om Mani Padme Hum,’ and a compilation, ‘Folk Music of Himalaya,’ that included three tracks, one each of Nepali, Lepcha and Bhutia instrumental music.

The mix of commercialized Western, Indian, and Nepali pop music served as the soundtrack throughout much of my time in Sikkim. I never heard a Lepcha or Bhutia song played on the radio, in bars or other public spaces, such as by shopkeepers streaming music into the streets or taxi drivers blaring songs from their car stereos.⁵ Instead, most of the music found in such spaces was the product of Western/global, Indian, and Nepali cultures. When viewed through the paradigm suggested by Mark Slobin in his ‘Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West,’ these three dominating ‘mainstream’ cultures are musical supercultures. In contrast, less visible music (i.e. encountered much less often), such as music of the Lepcha and Bhutia

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⁴ http://www.redfm.in/gangtok/index.asp is the website for Red FM’s Gangtok’s branch.

⁵ My criteria for whether a song is ‘Lepcha’ or ‘Bhutia’ is whether it is defined as such by either the musician or the community. I am not considering Nepali pop songs sung by Lepcha or Bhutia people, as these are effectively ‘Nepali songs.’
groups, Buddhist ritual music, or Nepali music outside of the mainstream, are ‘micromusics.’\(^6\)

Some of the micromusics in Sikkim were more readily encountered than others. I chanced upon both Buddhist ritual music and Nepali folk music without any special effort, albeit less frequently than mass-produced pop music. Since Tibetan Buddhism is widely practiced in Sikkim, it is not surprising that the ritual music is relatively abundant. The existence and sustainability of ritual music depends upon how well the associated beliefs are upheld (Zhang Boyu, 2010). As for Nepali folk music, as the Nepalese constitute a majority of the population in Sikkim, one would expect to hear such music proportionally more often than the micromusics of other Sikkimese groups. In comparison, in order to hear Lepcha folk music, I had to find a musician through the Cultural Affairs and Heritage Department of the Government of Sikkim.\(^7\) I also had to make a special trip to the Lepcha Museum of Kalimpong to meet a Lepcha musical legend.

With this as a backdrop, I will introduce several Lepcha musical instruments and singing traditions in the following section.

**LEPCHA MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND SONGS**

This section provides a glimpse into the traditional Lepcha musical world through an overview of stringed instruments, wind instruments, percussion instruments, and singing styles. Most of the information was gathered from interviews with Mickma Lepcha in Gangtok (he comes from the village of Tashiding in West Sikkim) in person on November 2, 2011 and again on the phone on December 8, 2011, and Sonam Tshering Lepcha at the Lepcha Museum in Kalimpong, West Bengal on November 08, 2011.

Mickma is a young musician who is interested in all music and whose favorite band is the Beatles. He has been studying a variety of Lepcha instruments with Hildamit Lepcha, the wife of Sonam Tshering Lepcha. Hildamit Lepcha, in turn, studied primarily from her husband. Sonam Tshering Lepcha is a legendary figure in his community, and is known as ‘Lapon,’ meaning guru (Tamsang, 2008, p. 83). He is now in his mid 80s and he has been playing and promoting Lepcha music for more than half a century. In 1995, he received the Sangeet Natak

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\(^6\) In the first sentence of his ‘Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West,’ Mark Slobin defines micromusics as ‘…the small units within big music cultures’ (1993, p. 11).

\(^7\) See <http://www.sikkim-culture.gov.in/Home/Index.aspx> for more information.
Academi award in their traditional and folk music category. This award is the highest recognition for a performing artist in India, and is given by the Sangeet Natak Academi, India’s national academy for music, dance, and drama, located in Delhi.

I. Stringed instruments

A. Tumbok/Tungbuk: Plucked string instrument

This instrument is made of a carved single piece of wood, approximately two feet in length. Goat leather is stretched over a hollowed out sound box, and three holes are bored into the leather. A bridge sits on the leather surface. There are three strings attached to three tuning pegs and stretched across the bridge. The three strings are normally tuned to sol-do-sol, suitable for a pentatonic scale. However, the instrument can theoretically be tuned in any number of ways and can also play in major and minor scales. The tumbok, such as the one played by Sonam Tshering Lepcha, can also have four strings, and four corresponding tuning pegs. The strings are currently made of nylon, but Mickma mentioned that they were traditionally made from numerous materials, including nettle fiber. A cloth band is attached to the instrument so that it may be hung around the player’s neck. It is plucked with a bamboo plectrum, but Mickma uses a guitar plectrum, because he prefers the sound it produces.

The tumbok is used to accompany singing. Mickma Lepcha played Zonyot Kala (In the Paddy Field), a song about a man wooing a woman while working on a dry paddy field. The meter had a compound duple feel, with two strong beats, each divided into three pulses. The following is a notation of the tumbok accompaniment:
Sonam Tshering Lepcha playing the *tumbok* with four strings

The *tumbok* played by Mickma Lepcha, with three strings

B. Sutsang: Bowed fretless string instrument

The *sutsang* (also *satsang*) is a bowed instrument similar to the Nepali *sarangi*. However, unlike the *sarangi*, the strings are not raised on the fingerboard. The player bows with the right hand and Mickma explained that he presses the strings with the flesh of the fingers of his left hand to produce notes. The *sutsang* is made of a single piece of lightweight wood. The soundbox is hollowed out and covered with a piece of leather. A bridge sits on the soundbox. There are four strings,
made of nylon or steel, with four corresponding tuning pegs. The bow is traditionally made of horsehair and is treated with resin before use.

The sutsang

II Wind instruments

A. Pungtung Plith: Bamboo flute

The Lepchas consider the pungtung plith to be the father of all flutes. Mickma Lepcha explained that it can be made from two types of bamboo growing in high-altitude. It has five holes: one for the mouthpiece and four for the fingers. The pungtung plith that Mickma played for me produced the following scale: C (all finger holes closed), D# (top three finger holes closed), F (top two finger holes closed), G (top one finger hole closed), and B (all finger holes open). Although there is no standard length for this flute, the ones I saw were approximately 16-18 inches long. It is held either to the left or right of the player and Mickma said that it is played as a solo instrument. The melodies are either passed down from older generations, or are improvised, making this instrument a vehicle for emotional expression.
Two *pungtung plith* flutes

Different stories revolve around the origin of the *pungtung plith*. According to a story that has been passed down in Mickma’s family, and which his father retold to him, the flute was a gift from the god of music, Narok Rum, to an orphaned boy:

Once there was an orphaned boy who herded cattle. He lived with his uncle, who mistreated him. The boy only found solace with the animals he looked after and spent as much time with them as he could. Narok Rum was very touched by this boy and his love for the animals. He decided to pay the boy a visit, disguised as an ordinary man. Narok Rum chatted with the boy and told him he would give him a gift because of the boy’s love for the animals. He then gave the boy the *pungtung plith*. From that day on, the boy played the flute often, using it as an emotional outlet.

One day when the boy was resting under a tree, a crow came and stole the flute. The crow flew to the land of the serpent god. The serpent god tried to kill the crow and the two dueled. The crow lost and gave up the flute.

Meanwhile, the boy missed his flute and travelled everywhere looking for it. He finally arrived in the land of the serpent god and discovered that it was there. He asked the serpent god to return it, but the serpent god refused, saying that
he had won this flute in a competition against the crow. He could not simply give the flute back. The only way the boy could have the flute back was by competing for it. The boy agreed to the challenge because he was longing for his flute so much. He asked the serpent god if he could use the flute for the competition, and the serpent god agreed. Once he had the flute, the boy began to play. The melody was so beautiful that the serpent god told the boy that not only could he take the flute black, but also that whenever he played the flute in times of sadness, the serpent god and other deities would come to the boy’s aid.

This is why there is a belief that if you play this flute, especially early in the morning, the gods will come and help you.

B. Nimbryok (joined) Plith: end-blown double pipe flute

This flute consists of two end-blown bamboo flutes joined side by side, and produces one tone. Each flute has six holes and is approximately one foot in length. It is held vertically and fingers from both hands are used to cover the finger holes. Sonam Tshering Lepcha played a melody sung by a mun (Lepcha female shaman [Balikci, p. 163]) when diagnosing patients. He adapted it to play on this flute.

The **nymbryok plith**

The following is an excerpt from the melody. The nuances of the rhythm, which was very free, are only approximated:
Sonam Tshering Lepcha playing the nymbryok plith

C. Gyom (right) plith: Low-pitched bamboo flute

The gyom plith is a bamboo flute that is lower in pitch and longer than the pungtung plith. Like the pungtung plith, it has five holes—four for the fingers and one mouthpiece. It is held to a person’s right, at a 60-degree angle away from the body pointing in the two o’clock direction. The end above the mouthpiece is closed. When Sonam Tshering Lepcha demonstrated it to me, he sang (without lyrics) as he blew into the mouthpiece, so that the sound of his voice doubled the melody of the flute.

The gyom plith
Close-up of the mouth piece on the *gyom plith*

D. Bumpothyut: Bamboo bird whistles

These short bamboo pipe instruments imitate the sounds of birds. They are used in music as sound effects. Sonam Tshering Lepcha believes these instruments to be the mother and father of musical instruments. Different tones are produced by inserting one’s finger into the pipes, opening and closing the end hole with one’s palm, or blowing at different intensities. They can be blown from the end, similar to blowing into a glass bottle, or into the hole that acts as a mouthpiece. A vibrato-like effect is created by drumming the body of the pipe with one’s fingers while blowing.

*Bumpothyut* (bird whistles) of various sizes
III Percussion instruments

A. Tungdar bong: Barrel bass drum

This drum is made from a hollowed piece of wood. Both ends are usually covered with deer leather, or sometimes with goat leather. Leather straps tie the two leather heads to the body of the drum, and wooden pegs are placed beneath the straps to tighten the heads. It is not tuned to a particular pitch. Mickma Lepcha described this drum as an accompanying instrument that keeps the tempo.

A *tungdar bong* made by Mickma Lepcha’s father

Mickma Lepcha playing the *tungdar bong*
B. Poposong (bigger) and popotek (smaller): Split bamboo percussion instrument

Lepchas traditionally used these bamboo instruments to scare away birds and animals from the fields. Originally sound was created by a string attached to the bamboo stick, which when pulled caused the two sides of the bamboo stick to strike against each other. Now, it is used as an accompanying percussion instrument. It is often played held in one hand and struck against the thumb and pinky fingers of the other hand. A typical rhythm, as Sonam Tshering Lepcha demonstrated to me, is as follows:

![Poposong rhythm]

*Poposong* (top) and *popotek* (bottom)

![View of the poposong from top]

C. Zanga: Kettledrum

This kettledrum has a body made of copper, has a leather head, and is struck with a pair of sticks. Generally, there are two drums, one male and the other female, played by two people. They are used in Buddhist monastic ensembles. For instance, in the recording of a cham in the village of Lingthem produced by the Namgyal Institute
of Tibetology, the pair of zanga drums is part of an ensemble consisting of two gyaling (shawm), two ragedung (long horns), two conch shells, and a small gong (2007). The origin of the zanga is debated, but some believe it was a Lepcha instrument that was incorporated into Buddhist monastic music. Although the zanga was not used during the Guru Tsengyed Cham that I watched at Sangha Yangtse monastery in Rinchenpong, it can be used in cham music ensembles, as shown in the Lingthem village cham recording mentioned above.  

A zanga of the Sangha Yangtse monastery in Rinchenpong

IV Singing

A. Apyrivom (classical folk song):

An apyrivom is a type of Lepcha folk song that is traditionally sung without instrumental accompaniment or a fixed beat. However, Sonam Tshering Lepcha likes to add a fixed beat to make the songs more appealing. Apyrivom songs usually consist of a repeated melodic line, with improvised lyrics, although the lyrics of many apyrivom songs have been written and there are song collections in the Lepcha museum in Kalimpong, directed by Sonam Tshering

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8 This drum is similar, if not the same as the tungda kettledrum in the Lepcha band ensemble recorded by Lieberman during his visit in 1970. He writes the following in his liner notes: ‘These two kettledrums...have copper bodies and leather heads, attached with thong lacing.’ They are also played in the same way: ‘...they are suspended from a frame fashioned of live saplings...The players use two wooden drumsticks, striking the head near the center.’ The ensemble he records consists of two kettledrums, a shawm, and a small cymbal. In the DVD recording produced by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology of the two zanga drums played in Lingthem in 2007, the drums are also suspended from a frame.
Lepcha. There are different types of apryavom songs, categorized as prayer songs, joyous songs, sad songs and patriotic songs (Tamsang, 2008, p. 63-64). The song that Sonam Tshering Lepcha sang for me is about a girl who gets married to someone other than her lover. It uses two melodic lines, one of three beats and the other of four, repeated throughout the song with slight ornamental variations. Each beat is subdivided into three smaller beats, so that the three-beat melodic line has nine pulses, and the four-beat melodic line has twelve pulses. A variation of the three-beat melodic line is played at the end of every stanza, followed by a slight breath pause. In this way, the first stanza consists of four lines arranged as A (three-beat melodic line)+A (three-beat melodic line)+B (four-beat melodic line)+A’ (variation of three-beat melodic line):

B. Folk songs:

Unlike apryavom songs, folk songs can have musical accompaniment. Sonam Tshering Lepcha demonstrated one song about ‘Satim Puno,’ the porcupine king. This song also appears on his album, Lepcha Folk Songs, with musical instrument accompaniment under the title ‘Chya-nya-nya’ (no date). The lyrics, which are sung in Lepcha, describe the life of the porcupine saying such things as, ‘When it rains, I go under a rock, and when it’s sunny I come out. I forage for food on the jungle floor’ (Sonam Tshering Lepcha, Nov 8, 2011). In the version of the song on Youtube, the lyrics are translated as follows:

Chya nya-nya,
I, Sthim Puno, King of the Porcupines,

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9 In the recording of a woman singing a historical narrative made by Fredric Lieberman in Sikkim in 1970, she uses ‘a freely repeated melodic formula which may be employed for many different stories.’ When I played this recording for Sonam Tshering Lepcha, he stated that it was an apryavom song.

10 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JWc_Ef0wANY
Roaming the high and low lands,
I, Sthim Puno, King of the Porcupines,
Foraging and eating,
Fruits of the highland,
Wild yam of the lowland.

Like other Lepcha songs transcribed above, this song’s beats were each subdivided into three pulses. Although the meter had a compound duple or quadruple feel, I chose to transcribe it in a 3/8 meter, since there was an odd number of beats and no obvious pickup measure. A transcription of the first stanza, as it is on the recording Sonam Tshering Lepcha passed to me, is as follows:
Conclusion

Wherever you go in the world, you might hear Kelly Clarkson crooning on the radio. Go anywhere in South Asia and you’re bound to have Bollywood hits blasting from all directions. Go anywhere that uses Nepali as a primary language and you’re going to hear Nepali pop, as well as Kollywood (the ‘Bollywood of Kathmandu’) hits. It is not surprising, therefore, that the musical products of these three supercultures seem to dominate Sikkim’s musical landscape. However, they do not yet make up the entirety of the musical fabric. While in Sikkim, you might also hear Tibetan ritual music, Lepcha folk music, or a wandering Nepali gaine minstrel. These are the musics, or ‘micromusics’ that people from outside are less likely to know about, the musics that are less likely to be played on the radio.

Lepcha folk music is rare, at least in the areas I visited. I cannot claim this is true for all of Sikkim, since I spent most of my time in Gangtok. In order to hear the music at all, I had to seek out musicians in Gangtok and Kalimpong. However hard it might be to encounter though, it still exists, and it would be interesting to explore what factors keep it going. Some young Lepchas are learning traditional instruments, and creating their own music, such as those of the ‘Lepcha rock fusion band,’ Wvaoth, of which Mickma Lepcha is a member (Sikkim NOW! Retrieved August 08, 2012). Also, Sonam Tashi Gyaltse of Echostream, a design studio in Gangtok, told me that the Cultural Affairs and Heritage Department of the Government of Sikkim has commissioned them to document the musical instruments of Sikkim (Sept 12 2012, personal communication).

What I have written about is only a sketch of the music of the Lepcha people. Nevertheless, I hope that this will provide valuable information to anyone interested in music in Sikkim, and in particular, Lepcha music. Furthermore, I hope it will contribute to future research that will shed light on the diversity of the music and peoples, and on the cross-cultural interactions that take place in this part of the Himalayas.
Acknowledgements

There are a few people whose help and guidance were instrumental in making this research happen. These are Professor Zhang Boyu of the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing, and staff at the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology in Gangtok, especially Anna Balikci-Denjongpa (research coordinator), Tashi Densapa (director), and Tenzin Samphel (general librarian). Last but not least, I thank Fredric Lieberman (UC Santa Cruz) for sharing his experiences and the LP record of music he recorded in Sikkim. Any errors in this paper are mine alone.

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LHAMO EKAJATI:
THE SPIRITUAL SYMBOL OF INDO-BHUTAN RELATIONS

TSHERING TASHI
Thimphu, Bhutan

Statue of Ekajati in Tumdra Ney

The eighth century, Buddhist mystic, Guru Padmasambhava created many spiritual treasures and concealed these special ciphers and codes in our country for posterity. Over the centuries, tertons or ‘treasure discovers’ have revealed many of these ters at the predestined time
under circumstances, which have been shrouded in mystery and miracle.

In the eighteenth century, Terton Drukda Dorji, discovered some of these ters including the Guru’s lungten or ‘prophecy,’ relating to the relationship between India and Bhutan. The prophesy also contains the dokthab kurims or the ‘skillful means to ward off obstacles’ necessary to cement and enhance the relationship between the two countries.

Folio No. 82 of Terton Drukda Dorji’s Ma ‘ong gi lungten, states that the Tumdra Hill in Pasakha has many ters necessary to enhance the bilateral relationship of Bhutan and India. Until the treasures are found, it is crucial to recite the Kanjur a hundred times as dokthab kurim.

Tumdra Hill

Guru Padmasambhava, hid spiritual treasures in the environs of unusual natural features, and often under supernatural circumstances. The Tumdra Hill (521m) is one such place. It is in Pasakha on the Indo-Bhutan border and more accessible from Buxa in India then from Bhutan. For most of the year, it is inaccessible as the Shachaphu River, cuts off the route during the monsoon season.

The hill has 51 caves, which are all carved out of the steep cliff-face of the hill. The Terton’s zhugthri or ‘seat’ is still in one of the caves, which remains intact in present day Chunabati Lhakhang.

The other unusual features of the landscape are the lakes and the stories surrounding it. Amongst the lakes, the Ami La Tsho is considered to be the most sacred as it is believed to be the ‘soul lake’ of Lhmao Ekajati. The lake is located in the outskirts of an Indian village called Janti.

The spiritual marks on the physical landscape of the Tumdra Hill have no physical significance but in spiritual terms they are seen as the work of the universal mind, the mind of the Guru and nothing less.

Lhmao Ekajati

The chief resident of the power place in Tumdra Hill is Lhmao Ekajati. She is highly revered and feared by both the Hindus and the Buddhists.

In the Nyingma tradition, there are three primary choesungs or ‘Dharma protectors’ and Ekajati is considered one of them in the trinity of Ma dza dam sum, comprising Mamo Ekajati, Dza Rahula and Damchen Dorji Legpa. Further, the blue Tara is considered the emanation of Ekajati. It is believed that Guru Rinpoche had subjugated and made her one of the principal protectors of the Dharma.
The Dharma protector is described to be short-tempered and in her wrathful form capable of striking misfortune to anyone who displeases her but also known for her power to fulfill wishes.

Lhamo Ekajati, has a unique look and is depicted with a single breast, one leg and an eye, which is located on her forehead below her hair that is tied up in a single knot. The unitary symbol reflects unified views of all things.

The Hindus worship Ekajati as Mahakali or the supreme mother who is the consort of Lord Shiva; one of the most powerful gods in the Hindu religion. The Hindus believe that when the goddess died, Lord Shiva flew the corpse around the world and somewhere along the journey, the body of Mahakali split into 51 parts, which then descended on earth. According to this legend, the right leg of Mahakali, fell in Tumdra Ney while the heart fell in Kalighat in Kolkata, India.

Some Bhutanese believe, Lhamo Ekajati to be the secret consort of Terton Drukda Dorji. Ap Tsenda, a village elder of Chapcha village, recounts stories of how the Terton visited the *ney* in Geshelem, the ancient name for Pasakha, and can orate the details of how the Treasure Discover revealed a *ter* in a place called Gamana in proximity of Lhamo Ekajati’s abode.

Another oral story, narrates of how the Terton meditated in the caves of Tumdra Ney and discovered a statue of Ekajati, which was concealed by Guru Rinpoche.

The locals in Chapcha believe that the Dzongpon or the Governor of Pasakha looked after the *ter* until the 1864 Duar war during which time, it is said that the Governor, fled his domain leaving behind the statue. Subsequently, a monk found the statue and took it to Dokhachu Lhakhang in Chapcha where it is currently housed.

**Background**

The Tumdra Ney has many names; the most common ones are Tumdra Ami Ney, Aum Kangchema Ney, Lhamo Ekajati Ney, Shiv Mandir, Mahakali Mandir, Mahakal Dham, Janti and Sachaphu Ney.

Pilgrims visit the *ney* from January till March. The Buddhists believe the *ney* as Phurpui Ney and the Hindus worship it as the abode of Mahakali making it a popular pilgrim spot. Every year, in February, thousands of Hindus from all over India flock to the site in Bhutan to celebrate the festival of Shiv Ratri.¹

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¹ There is no Hindu temple at the *ney*. The *pandits* stay in a cave and many of the Hindu pilgrims visit the monastery.
Bhutanese pilgrims, normally from Tala, Gedu and Chapcha, visit this lake and offer prayers to Aum Kangchema every year coinciding with the 15th day of the first month of the Bhutanese calendar. Indian pilgrims also perform rituals every year on Lord Buddha’s Parinirvana.

There is one small Bhutanese temple at the _ney_. In 1968, on the behest of Lam Tokdhen Drep and Gelong Neynchen Drep, Her Majesty, Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck sponsored the construction of the present _lhakhang_.

Subsequently, the temple was offered to the State monk-body (Dratshang Lhentshog) who looked after it but during the 1990 anti-Bhutan uprising the _lhakhang_ was damaged. Ever since, Lopen Thinley volunteered to look after the sacred temple and has been on the job for over two decades.

Finding spiritual treasures are not evidence based like medicine or archaeology. The miraculous status is important and more relevant than whether or not the _ters_ are genuine ancient items. Within the _terma_ tradition, empirical proof has a different significance. Bhutanese consider the _terma_ tradition important, precious and above all, effective, as spiritual means. The primary purpose of the treasure teaching is to provide followers of the Dharma with fresh or direct source of wisdom and spiritual power.

Like many religions, in Buddhism reality and truth are to a great extent internalized. People who believe in objective reality mostly do not believe in miracles, as it requires faith contradictory to empirical truth. Buddhists view that there is no contradiction since there is ultimately, no dividing line between subjective and objective truths and between physical and spiritual.

**Conclusion**

There may be _ters_ yet to be discovered, in Tumdra Hill, on the Indo-Bhutan border. Tertons know that visualization of the sought-for treasure is essential to the process of discovery. Hence, visualizing protective and enhancing rituals is essential to cement the understanding of the interconnectedness of all beings and the discovery of new and mutually beneficial _ters_.

Believing in the prophecies is one thing, but Lhamo Ekajati is a symbol of oneness, reflecting unified views of all things. In Tumdra Hill she is supreme and has unified the hearts of the Hindus and Buddhists and brought together the minds of the Indian and the Bhutanese.
RINZING LHADRIPA LAMA (1912–1977)
AND THE NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY’S
AJANTA HALL

Anna Balikci-Denjongpa
Namgyal Institute of Tibetology

Rinzing Lhadripa Lama with two of his thangkas, 1947-8

Rinzing Lhadripa Lama, also known as Barmiok Lhadrip from the Chungyalpa family, was the best thangka painter Sikkim has ever had. Born in 1912 in the village of Temi in South Sikkim, he joined the Ralang monastery at about ten years of age where he excelled in his

1 With information kindly provided by Kunzang Chungyalpa, daughter of Rinzing Lhadripa, and Tashi Densapa.
2 Photograph by P. Goodwin, courtesy Kate Wentworth (born Hopkinson).
studies and served the Barmiok Lama, Karma Palden Chogyal, the then head of the monastery. He stayed with Barmiok Rinpoche serving and receiving teachings from him for several years. Barmiok Rinpoche soon noticed Rinzing’s artistic talent as he drew with charcoal on the walls.

While Rinzing Lhadripa was with Rinpoche, the Panchen Lama’s court artist Champa Tashi Lhadrip U Chenmo (Byams pa bKra shis), the greatest artist of Tsang, arrived in Sikkim from Tashihlumpo on his way to Kalimpong. Recognizing Rinzing’s prodigious artistic talent, Rinpoche placed Rinzing in 1924 under the great master of Tashilhunpo with whom he trained for seven years. He thus had the unusual good fortune to be trained directly under a grand master.

Rinzing’s first formal assignment came as the lead assistant to the master of Tashilhumpo who, in 1930, had been commissioned by the royal family to paint the murals of Gangtok’s Tsuglakhang, Sikkim’s Royal Chapel. Upon completion of the Tsuglakhang, although still very young, Lhadrip Rinzing had himself become an accomplished artist.

In 1941, the Chogyal of Sikkim asked Rinzing Lhadripa to train students from Sikkim’s six major monasteries which he continued to do throughout his life. It is thought that he trained more than sixty students—lhadripas although none came close to his artistic skills or his spiritual knowledge and experience.

In the early 1964-5, Rinzing Lhadripa contributed murals to the newly constructed Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. Established in 1958, the Institute served as a repository of Tibetan manuscripts, and later as a museum and research centre. Not being a monastery, the walls of the Institute’s top floor’s hall offered a canvas on which Rinzing Lhadripa could apply his talent perhaps without having to subscribe to the rigid rules of Tibetan iconography. Inspired by a visit to the Ajanta caves and aided by photographs, Rinzing Lhadripa painted ten panels representing various events of Buddha’s life and the Jātaka Tales, in a style blending early Indian wall painting and Tibetan iconography.

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4 Among his students were Lama Ganden Lhadrip, Lhadrip Tobden of Pemayangtse (from 1959), Omze Ngawang Gelek of Pemayantse, Lhadrip Kunzang of Pemayantse, Karma Dorjee of Marchak, Lhadrip Tenzing Norbu (Balu), Ugyen Choeda of Phensang and Karma Tshering of Ralang monastery.
Unfortunately, a leaking roof eventually caused extensive damage to these unusual murals. Appreciating their value, Tashi Densapa\(^5\) Director of the Institute requested Late André Alexander of the Tibet Heritage Fund (THF) to undertake their restoration once the leaks were sealed. In the spring of 2013, the murals were restored by chief conservator Anca Nicolaescu together with assistant conservators Yangchen Dolma and Skarma Lotus of Ladakh, together with Lhadripa Tenzing Norgay Lachungpa of North Sikkim.

Prior to this, THF and chief conservator Anca Nicolaescu had undertaken the conservation of Gangtok’s Tsuglakhang murals,\(^6\) which had partly been painted by Rinzing Lhadripa.

Rinzing Lhadripa independent major works include (with approximate dates):

**Mural Paintings**

1942 – Tashiding monastery, West Sikkim
1945 – Dubde monastery, West Sikkim
1947 – Phodong monastery, North Sikkim
1949-50 – Enchey monastery, Gangtok, East Sikkim\(^7\)
1950 – Luktso monastery, Darjeeling
1957 – Ship monastery, Dzongu, North Sikkim
1959 – Phodong monastery, North Sikkim
1959 – Guru Lhakhang, Deorali, Gangtok, East Sikkim\(^8\)
1960 – Phensang monastery, North Sikkim
1960 – Lachung monastery, North Sikkim
1964-65 – Institute of Tibetology, Ajanta Hall, Gangtok, East Sikkim
1967-68 – Pemayangtse monastery, West Sikkim

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\(^5\) It should be noted that Tashi Densapa is considered the reincarnation of the Barmiok Lama, Karma Palden Chogyal, who had first noticed Rinzing’s talent and placed him under the Tashilhumpo master.


\(^7\) Date provided by Agya Ugyen, lama of Enchey monastery.

\(^8\) Date provided by Lhadrip Tobden of Pemayangtse.
1976/77 – Karmapa’s Centre in Copenhagen. He was asked by the 16th Karmapa to undertake the assignment. He expired there towards the end of his work.

The majority of these wall murals, very unfortunately, are no longer standing. Due to Sikkim’s extreme climate and numerous earthquakes, the majority of these monasteries have since been rebuilt without preservation of the original murals. However, murals painted by Rinzling Lhadripa can still be viewed at the monasteries of Lachung, Pemayangtse and Dubde as well as at the Namgyal institute of Tibetology and Gangtok’s Tsuglakhang.

THANKGAS

Rinzling Lhadripa painted numerous thangkas during his life time including some for foreign visitors to the Palace. His major thangka paintings include:

1. Nyeten Chudrup (gNas brtan bcu drug), thangka set for Barmiok Athing painted in his late twenties. Rinzling Lhadripa later painted one set for the Chogyal of Sikkim; one set for his friend from Lachen which, it is said, was later offered to HH the Dalai Lama; and one for late Yap Zerung.

2. Dorje Phurba tsok shing (rDo rje phur pa tshog zhing) painted under the direct guidance of HH Dudjom Rinpoche while he was conducting terzod wang (gter mdzod dbang) in 1944. The thangka is said to be at HH Dudjom Rinpoche’s monastery in Kongpo.

3. Gyalrab (rGyal rab), series of five thangas on the history of Sikkim, commissioned by the Chogyal in the 1960s and currently with the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.

4. Kagyu Sertheng (bKa’ brgyud gser phreng), 15 ft thangka of the Kagyud lineage painted as offering to HH the 16th Karmapa. Currently under lock and seal of the Indian Government along with other precious belongings of HH Karmapa.
Panel 3: Jātaka Tales: The Chandatta Elephant

Mural conservation work in-progress
Yangchen Dolma and Tenzing Norgay Lachungpa at work
Panel 10: The 9th of the 12th deeds of the Buddha: ‘Defeating a host of devils’
THE LIVES OF THE 3\textsuperscript{RD} AND 4\textsuperscript{TH} LACHEN GOMCHENS: 
NGAWANG KUNSANG RINPOCHE (1867-1947) AND 
KUNSANG YOUNGDOL WANGPO (1949-2012)

VEN. LACHEN GOMCHEN RINPOCHE
KUNSANG YOUNGDOL WANGPO

Translated by Tsewang Gyatso
Namchi Government College, Sikkim

The 4\textsuperscript{th} Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche (1949-2012)

Note from the Editor:
Ven. Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche passed away on 18\textsuperscript{th} September 2012. In guise of obituary, I thought it appropriate to publish a translation of the biographies of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} Lachen Gomchens which were personally written by Late Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche and of which he gave me a copy some twenty years ago, to which, the translator
Tsewang Gyatso and myself only added a couple ending paragraphs in order to complete the list of Rinpoche’s achievements.¹

To the life of the 3rd Lachen Gomchen, I only wish to add that the Gomchen was also known as the teacher of the French Buddhist-explorer Alexandra David-Néel who, already in 1914-16, had undertaken meditation retreats in remote corners of the Lachen Valley under the supervision of the 3rd Lachen Gomchen.

Little is known of the lives of the 1st and 2nd Gomchens. Rinpoche once told me that the first incarnation of the Lachen Gomchen was known as R zig Pema Yongda, a Rig ’dzin lineage holder from Pemayangtse monastery in West Sikkim. He was a good scholar and looked well after the monastery. Out of respect, villagers called him Na jor Pema Tsen Chan (rNal ’byor pad ma mtshan can). The second incarnation lived in Sang, South Sikkim, and was known as Tuputam Tsampo (mTsham po), he meditated in a cave and was not involved in monastic affairs.

THE 3RD LACHEN GOMCHEN NGAWANG KUNSANG RINPOCHE

Lachen Gomchen Ngawang Kunsang Rinpoche was born at Namok in North Sikkim. He was quite stubborn and fierce right from childhood. Because of his temperament, his father and brother sought advice and placed him in the Labrang Gonpa in North Sikkim. One day, the discipline master strongly slapped and scolded him after he had dropped a pot of porridge while serving the monks. Following this incident, he ran away to the Lopon at the Phodong Gonpa. There he completed his basic training in ritual and practice, and eventually received the instruction of the ‘fierce fire flame Vajrāpani,’ (’phyag rdor gtum mo me ice khrid) and went into retreat at a hermitage called Yaphi la where he stayed for a three year retreat following a simple living.

Unsatisfied with his practice, he left for Tibet where he received teachings from various accomplished masters. Among these, he received oral instructions, explanations and empowerments from Kharchen Lama (mKhar chen bla ma) and Phudak Kyabsgon (Phun dag skyabs mgon) as his previous karmic connection; he also received the

¹ We would like to thank Pema Garwang, Tsultsem Gyatso Acharya, Phurba Tshering Bhutia and Hissey Wongchuk for their help in transcribing, typing and proofreading the original handwritten Tibetan and Hissey Wongchuk for providing the Wylie transcriptions.
complete empowerment of Hayagrīva and worshipped him as his meditational deity.

In the course of his life, he undertook retreats at several locations including Zargang (located above Lachen), Thangu Gonpa, Deothang (above Kalep, on the way to Thangu) and other caves. He is believed to have undertaken strict three and nine year retreats at secluded places. Above all, he never slept during the night but remained in sitting meditation. He also used to do three daily meditation sessions.

The 3rd Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche (1867-1947)
He received teachings on arterial system and wind practice (rtsa dang rlung) from the enlightened master Tokden Shakya Shri (rTog Idan Sha kya shri) in the course of two of his travels to Tsari in Tibet. I myself heard from late Labrang Gomchen that Tokden Shakya Shri used to hold him in high regards and addressed him ‘Denjong Tokden’ or ‘Sikkimese meditation master.’ He thus gave away entire teachings as if pouring down from a vase. As later narrated to me by late Labrang Gomchen who had accompanied him, he added that each and every word should be remembered by Denjong Gomchen.

The late Lachen Gomchen was an authentic great master. He specialized in arterial system and wind practices. It is said that once he blew away a large new conch shell which nobody could blow. And, he blew it loudly. He is also said to have bent a piece of iron to be placed under a prayer cylinder which couldn’t be bent by any skilled blacksmith. He came out of retreat and bent it by simply placing it on his knee. The same is still preserved under the prayer cylinder of the Lachen Mani Lhakhang. He also possessed several other powers such as the ability to divert the direction of hail-stones, cure severe leprosy and other serious diseases caused by malignant spirits. There are several other things which I have not written here as I am now tired and will write later if the time is right.

The great yogi on his visit to Lachen was once requested to be the lama of the region by Chipon Dachom (spyi dpon dGra bcom) and other residents. He was also requested to do so by Chogyal Thutob Namgyal and Prince Sidkeong Tulku. He took complete responsibility for Lachen Ngodup Choeling (dngos grub chos gling) monastery for 49 years from the eighth month of the Earth Dog year (1898) of the 15th Rabjung of the Tibetan calendar.

During his stay, he contributed the mural paintings of the temple, a statue of Guru Nangsi Zilnon (sNang srid zil gnon) made of copper gold, several clay statues of Buddhas of the three times (chos longs sprul gsum - Dharmakāya, Sambokāya and Nirmānkāya), Tengyur (bstan ‘gyur) from the Narthang press, twelve vajrā dancer costumes made of pure Chinese silk, increased the enrollment of novices and even contributed the oil-burners for the temple’s butter lamps as seed of the offerings which needed nobody else to seek from.

Eventually, he passed away in the evening at the age of 81, in the fifth month of the Female Fire Pig year (1947), 16th Rabjung cycle (thams cad ‘dul). The passing away of this great lama was marked by seven days Samādhi (thugs dam). During the funeral, devotees witnessed numerous auspicious physical signs as prescribed in the Tantra as opposed to a fictitious story.
THE 4TH LACHEN GOMCHEN KUNSANG YOUNGDOL WANGPO

I, his reincarnation, Lachen Gomchen Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo, a simple and innocent person, was born on a Tuesday morning at Yangang, South Sikkim in a humble family in the eleventh month of the Earth Ox year (1949) of the 16th Rabjung cycle of the Tibetan calendar.

When I was three, a powerful ngakpa (sngags pa) who could control hailstones was invited to our home in order to perform some rituals. One morning, I sat on the upper most section of his seat and touched his ritual instruments including his damaru and vajrā upon which the former debarred me from doing so. On that occasion, I said that I had better ritual instruments than his and also narrated names of lamas, yaks, dri, horses, mules, etc. I can’t remember clearly but I still remember that I sat on the upper most section of his seat and uttered one word: ‘Lachen.’

Whatever it may be, during the Ngakpa’s travel to Kalimpong, he probably narrated the story to some of the tradesmen from Lachen. Upon hearing the news, the people of Lachen decided to approach Sir Tashi Namgyal, the then Chogyal of Sikkim, and briefed him about the child. The Chogyal and his council of ministers discussed the matter and consulted divinities upon which my name was confirmed. My recognition was further endorsed by HH Jamyang Khyentse Rinpoche and HH the 16th Gyalwa Karmapa who were on pilgrimage to Sikkim at that particular time.

At the age of nine, I reached Lachen. Later, my hair cutting ritual was carried out by Khyentse Rinpoche at Gangtok who named me Kunsang Dechen Wangyal. In the beginning, HH Jamyang Khyentse Rinpoche explained the ‘praise of Manjushri’ (gang blo ma) by opening the way of the Dharma followed by bestowing on me the empowerment of the ‘gathering of precious jewels’ (dkon mchog spyi ‘dus) and long life empowerment.

Later, upon his departure, I went to seek his blessings; he gave me a statue of Buddha, the printed khangloma (gang blo ma), vajrā and bell and a blessing cord with prayers and aspirations.

Again, when I went to see him, he was quite seriously ill due to his failing health. He did not allow devotees to visit him but gave me special time on two occasions when I also received teachings. Later, while leaving his place he gave me an upper garment and a hat made in eastern Tibet. He asked his attendant to pick a hat among others kept in boxes, held it in different ways and eventually, recited a complete ‘wish
fulfilling prayer’ (bsam pa lhun grub) and put it on my head. After some months, the news of his passing away was heard.

Thereafter, I also received teachings, explanations and empowerments from the great hidden yogi Jokhang Rinpoche Kunzang Choepel (Kun bzang chos ’phel).

Generally, I started to learn reading and writing from the age of nine, also memorizing the daily prayers. I then committed to stay in strict retreat in order to undertake the complete preliminary practices of ‘five Mandalas.’ In the course of my retreat, I recited the mantra of my meditational deity, including ‘wrathful guru and lion-faced dākinī’ (bla ma drag seng), several million times. I especially recited several million mantras of my meditational deity.

From the age of sixteen, I again received several major empowerments, instructions and oral transmissions followed by future prophecies which I cannot put on record here. At the age of seventeen, I went to seek the blessing of HH Dudjom Jigdral Yeshe Dorje whose name and fame spread far and wide. Thus, I had a strong desire to seek his blessing at Kalimpong but he had already proceeded to Bodhgaya to participate in a congregation of non-sectarian Buddhist lamas. I also departed for Bodhgaya and sought his first blessing there. Since then, I kept meeting Rinpoche and received several empowerments, instructions and oral transmissions from him on which I will write separately. In particular, I received the Rinchen Terzod (rin chen gter mdzod) precious treasure collection empowerment at Rewalsar Lake where Guru Rinpoche miraculously transformed the fire into a lake. I will not elaborate on the teachings I received from HH Rinpoche as this isn’t the right time to do so.

At the age of twenty, just as I had the intention, the opportunity to pursue further studies came about as HM the King Palden Thondup Namgyal offered me to do so. I then joined the Sikkim Institute of Higher Nyingma Studies, Deorali, Gangtok and received training for six years under the guidance of the learned scholar Khenpo Dazer (mkhan po Zla zer) and Khenpo Tsondru (mkhan po brTson ‘grus). I studied the commentary of ’ju Mi pham and other treatises and grammars for which rare and sacred texts I had a certain disposition.

Following this, as the political situation in Sikkim was deteriorating, I took a break and went into retreat for several months during the summer. Because of the harsh climate and the cold, I fell ill and did not improve despite taking both Tibetan and allopathic medicines.

In fact, I had no doubt that it was due to my previous karma. Thus, in order to purify it, I made one million miniature stupas plus thirty
thousand extra which took me three and half months without counting
the time it took to dig up the soil. These were placed in a duly
consecrated stupā on the way to Thangu at a cross road where pilgrims
can circumambulate it. From which, I accumulated merit in the
beginning, in the end and dedicated it.
Later in the fourth month of the Fire Snake year (1977) of the
Tibetan calendar it was unanimously decided to renovate the Lachen
monastery (gyang dgon). The Pipon and Chutimpa (chos khrims pa),
head of the village and discipline master approached the Ecclesiastical
Department for a financial grant which was made and for which I
remain grateful.
At that time, the monk body and people of Lachen several times
together requested me to take responsibility for the monastery’s
renovation even though I didn’t have the qualifications to do so. Yet,
considering how times had changed and also how the time had now
come according to the prediction, I saw the construction as a rare
opportunity to contribute to the restoration of the Buddha Dharma. I
was also encouraged to be able to utilize this precious human birth for
this noble cause. It took almost two years to widen the site as the old
monastery’s site was quite narrow resulting in the temple having to face
south-west, which was not a favorable direction for the enhancement of
the monk’s community as well as their teaching and learning practices.
Because of this, the ground was leveled in an attempt to make the
temple face east.
In the course of construction, the monk and people of Lachen
selflessly rendered their services as unpaid labor for three months and
twenty days. Moreover, the foundation of the monastery was made
according to the rules stipulated in the scriptures; these were followed
by making the ‘stomach of lord of earth’ (sa bdag lto phyê) along with
complete rituals. After reaching a certain level of construction, the
necessary rituals were performed for the installment of the sacred vase
(sa chu bum gter). It was installed as per the prescribed rules and by
consecrating it with the ‘Mind practice for pacifying all the obstacles’
thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel) which was the treasure discovered by
Terton Chogyal Lingpa of the degenerated age. The ritual was
performed by ten monks including myself together with propitiations
over a period of seven days. Nine vases were installed in different
directions including one in the centre of the temple.
During this period, I had several auspicious dreams and physical
signs which might sound fictitious if narrated here.
The outside of the monastery was built with white stone whereas the inner portion was made with modern technology by using rod and concrete cement.

According to the Five Dhyani Buddhas (rigs lnga) treasure of Guru Rinpoche, as predicted in the prophecy of Bayul Demonjong (sbas yul ‘bras mo ljong), in the eight directions are: Guru Nangsi Zilnon (guru sNang srid zil gnon), Panchen Bimalamita (pan chen Bi ma la mi ta), Yeshi Tsogyal (Ye shes mtsho rgyal), Gyalwa Lhatsun (rgyal ba IHa btsun), Chogyal (chos rgyal), Buddha, and paintings of exorcists together with other murals and paintings of Mipham in the temple. All the painted posts, pillars, main door and windows were made of concrete cement and rod. The main shrine (’du khang), the protector’s room (mgon khang), the bed room (gzim chung), and store room were positioned as prescribed in the ‘the elegant sayings of white Bedruriya’ (legs bshad be dur dkar po).

The monastery is surrounded by the monks’ private cells with separate apartments reserved for high lamas. Altogether, it represents the ‘thirty seven limbs of enlightenment’\(^2\) surrounded by a fence together with two large doors on either side.

In front of the monastery, at a distance of one fathom, there is a two storey building reserved for the novices’ recitation, memorization, reading and writing and to accommodate monk-students visiting from other places.

In 1979, I was elected as a lone Sangha member of the State Legislative Assembly and was inducted in the state cabinet in which I served selflessly as a minister for four and a half years. During my tenure, I looked after the departments of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Cultural Affairs and ST/SC Affairs. The Sikkim Institute of Higher Nyingma Studies was affiliated with the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi during the said period. The introduction of monastic schools in the monasteries of Sikkim was also executed when I served as a minister in the State Cabinet.\(^3\)

\(^2\) dren pa nye bar bzhag pa bzhi, yang dag spang ba bzhi, rdzu ‘phrul gyi rkang pa bzhi, dbang po lnga, stobs lnga, byang chub mchog gi chos bdun and ‘phags lam yan lag brgyad

\(^3\) This paragraph was added by Tsewang Gyatso and translated from a biography authored by Ven. Lachen Rinpoche published in *Bibliotheca Sikkim Himalayica, Series 1, Guru Duechen Number Symposium Volumie, 25\(^{th}\) July 1996, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim.*
Addition:4

Under the guidance of Kyabje Dodrupchen Rinpoche, Ven. Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche first introduced the Lama Gongdue (bla ma dngos ’dus) practice at Tashiding in 1999, which has since been performed annually at the Ringhem monastery in North Sikkim.

Later in life and with the intention of reviving Sikkim’s Pang Lhabsol tradition (dPang lha gsol—‘offering to the witness god’),5 Rinpoche undertook the construction of Samten Choeling monastery located at Thangdu at an altitude of 14,000 ft in the upper reaches of the Lachen Valley. Following a thorough study of the scriptures concerned with the Pang Lhabsol celebration, Rinpoche personally oversaw the preparation of the costumes, the performance of the rituals and the training of the young Lachenpas who performed the Pangtö cham (dPang bstod ’cham—‘dance in praise of the witness god’) in honour of Kangchendzonga (gangs snow, chen great, mdzod treasure, lnga five), Sikkim mountain deity. The Pang Lhabsol celebration has been held annually at Thangu since 2009.6

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4 Added by the Editor partly from an unpublished Brief Life Sketch of Late Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche authored by Rinpoche’s family.
5 This ’cham was designed by the third Chogyal, Chagdor Namgyal when he established the Pemayangtse monastery (in 1705) upon his return from Tibet.
6 Under the supervision of Rinpoche, a film was made on the first Pang Lhabsol’s celebration held at Thangu in 2009, partly in collaboration with the NIT.
བོད་ཐོག་མི་སུམ་གཏན་ལས་པའི་བློ་རི་ལྷན་ལ་མོང་སྣོ་ཞིང་
ཤེས་པའི་རྣམ་མཁའི་བསུམ་ལམ་

ཚོགས་པ་འབོད་ཐོག་ཀིད་ེ་
དོན་ནོར་བོད་གླིང་བོད་ོ་

༩༩། འབད་ལྟངས་ཀའི་མཐོན་དུས་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་།
ལོག་པོ་སེམས་དཔོན་དེ་དེ་དབེ་བས་བནོ་གསུམ་པོ་སྐྱིད་།
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ལོངས་མེད་ཅེ་ཤབ་མེད་དཔོན་སྐོེལ་བོད་ོ་

དེས་གཉིང་བཤིས་གྲུབ་གྲུབ་གཞི་ནམ་ཟབ་བྱེད་བཤེུབ་སྤྱོད་པའི་
དྲ་བསྡེ་ལྷོག་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཐ་མི་ཐད་པར་ཐ་མི་ཐད་པོ་
སོགས་པའི་ཐ་མི་ཐད་ཐོག་བསྡེ་ལས་པའི་མ་པོ་མ་པོ་བཤེུབ་སྤོད་པོ་
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ཐ་མི་ཐད་པོ་བསྡེ་ལས་པའི་མ་པོ་མ་པོ་བཤེུབ་སྤོད་པོ་
ལོངས་མེད་ཅེ་ཤབ་མེད་དཔོན་སྐོེལ་བོད་ོ་
དེས་གཉིང་བཤིས་གྲུབ་གྲུབ་གཞི་ནམ་ཟབ་བྱེད་བཤེུབ་སྤྱོད་པའི་
དྲ་བསྡེ་ལྷོག་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཐ་མི་ཐད་པར་ཐ་མི་ཐད་པོ་
སོགས་པའི་ཐ་མི་ཐད་ཐོག་བསྡེ་ལས་པའི་མ་པོ་མ་པོ་བཤེུབ་སྤོད་པོ་
འི་མ་པོ་མ་པོ་བཤེུབ་སྤོད་པོ་བསྡེ་ལས་པའི་མ་པོ་མ་པོ་བཤེུབ་སྤོད་པོ་
དུས་མེད། རྣམ་པའི་དགའ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེ་བསྐྱར་བྱིན་ེང་ཞིང་གི་ཐོན་པ་ཟུར་མེད། སངས་རྡོ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཞེད་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཕུན་ཚན་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དགིས་དེ་བཅོམ་ཡིན་པ་ཅིང་གི་གཞན་ཡཱ་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་དང་གཞན་བཅུ་གུར་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཐལ་བ་ཞེས་བྱོན་པ་ཉེས་པས་འབུལ་མ་ཟེར་འབུལ་མ།
བོད་ཀྱི་དོན་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ལྟ་རུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁོ་བས་ཀྱི་འབུགས་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ཀྱི་དོན་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ལྟ་རུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁོ་བས་ཀྱི་འབུགས་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ཀྱི་དོན་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ལྟ་རུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁོ་བས་ཀྱི་འབུགས་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ཀྱི་དོན་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ལྟ་རུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁོ་བས་ཀྱི་འབུགས་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ཀྱི་དོན་དང་སྣོ། ། བོད་ལྟ་རུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁོ་བས་ཀྱི་འབུགས་དང་སྣོ། །
སོགས་གསར་པའི་གུ་བོར་ཟིན་གསར་ཀུན་བསྡུན་སོགས་པ།

"གྲང་གི་སྐུ་ལྷུནས་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་སོགས་པའི་ཆེན་པོ་
དཀར་ཆེན་པོ་མེད་པས།" ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁེས་པ་མིན་པོ་མི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་

"ངོ་བོ་ལྟར་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་རྒྱ་མཚན་སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་སོགས་པའི་ཆེན་པོ་
དཀར་ཆེན་པོ་མེད་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་སོགས་

"བོད་ཀྱི་ཤིག་ཡི་ཤེས་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་དང་ཤེས་པའི་མི་ལེ་གནས་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་
སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་སོགས་པའི་ཆེན་པོ་
དཀར་ཆེན་པོ་མེད་པས།" བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་

"གུ་བོར་ཟིན་གསར་ཀུན་བསྡུན་མི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་
སོགས་པ་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱིན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ཡི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་ཤུ་སོགས་པའི་ཆེན་པོ་
དཀར་ཆེན་པོ་མེད་པས།"
བདོན་བབས་ཀྱི་ཉིད་གམ་ཉིད་ཅུབ་པར། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། འཇིག་ཞིག་ལས་གྱི་ཐབས་ལུས་ཁྲིམས་གསུང་ནས་དེ་ཞིག་བཅོས་དེར་མཛོད་པ་ན། བདེ་ནི་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོན་པའི་ིར་མོར་བ་མ། རྡེི་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅོས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་dBོན་བཅོས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་dBོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་dBོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་dBོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་dBོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་ཟེར་བཞགས་ནས་དེ་བོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་dBོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་dBོན་བཅས་ཐོགས་དམིགས་ལྡན་པར་སེར་བཞགས་ནས་d
The sublime Khen Rinpoche Dechen Dorje (mKhan Rin po che bDe-chen rdo je) was born to Dawa Gyatso and Drolma, in the Fire Female Cow Year of the 16th Tibetan Calendrical Cycle ‘Rabjung,’ 2417 year since the Parinirvana of Shakyamuni Buddha, corresponding to Friday, October 15, 1937 in the region called Shari, near Phensang Sangag Choeding (Phan bzang gSang sngags chos sdings) Monastery in North Sikkim.
He entered one of Sikkim’s six great monasteries, Phensang Sangag Choeding, when he was eight years old. From the time he learned to read and write, he trained and excelled in the doctrines of the monastery’s systems, rituals and other aspects.

He received his name ‘Dechen Dorjee’ from Dungsey Thinlay Norbu Rinpoche (gDung sras ’Phren las nor bu rin po che, 1931-2011), son of Kyabje Dudjom Rinpoche (sKyabs rje bDud ’joms rin po che). At the age of 27, he entered the Sikkim Institute of Higher Nyingma Studies (’Bras gzhung snga ’gyur bshad gra Thub bstan mdo sngags chos gling) in 1964. For fifteen long years, he thoroughly studied the unique major scriptures of sutra and mantra based on ’Jam mgon mi-pham Rinpoche’s higher textbooks, as well as common subjects like spelling, grammar and poetics with Khenpo Lama Rinchen (mKhan po bla ma Rin chen, 1931-1971), Dzogchen Khenpo Dawa Wozer (rDzogs chen mkhan po Zla ba’i ’od zer, 1922-1990) and Dzogchen Khenchen Thubten Tsondru Phuntshog (rDzogs chen mkhan chen Thup bstan brtsun ’grus phun tshogs, 1920-1979).

He received the complete empowerments and transmissions of Nyingma Kama (rNying ma bka’ ma) and Terma (gter ma), lower and higher Nyingthigs (sNying thig). Lama Gongdue (bLa ma dgongs ’dus), the nine volumes of Jigme Lingpa (’Jigs med gling pa), the five volumes of the 3rd Dodrupchen Rinpoche (rDo grub chen rin po che) and other transmissions from his personal Lord, the fourth Kyabje Dodrupchen Rinpoche Thinlay Pal Sangpo (sKyabs rje rDo grub chen rin po che ’Phrin las dpal bzang po, b.1927).

In the Male Earth Monkey Year (1968), he received empowerments and transmissions of the Rinchen Terzod (Rin chen gter mdzod), the Great Treasury of Precious Termas, from Kyabje Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche Rabsel Dawa (sKyabs rje Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che Rab gsal zla ba, 1910-1991) at Woenchang Sangag Rabtenling (dBen can gsang sngags rab brtan gling) Monastery. From Kyabje Dudjom Jigdrel Yeshi Dorjee (sKyabs rje bDud ’joms rin po che ‘Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, 1904-1987), he received the empowerments and transmissions of the new cycle of Tersar teachings of Dudjom Lingpa (bDud ’joms gling pa, 1835-1903) and the empowerments of his own cycle of teachings in the Female Fire Snake Year (1977) in Nepal. He also received empowerments and transmissions from Kyabje Mingling Trichen Rinpoche Gyurme Kunsang Wangyal (sKyabs rje sMin gling khri chen rin po che ‘Gyur med kun bzang dbang rgyal, 1930-2008), Kyabje Yangthang Rinpoche Kunsang Jigme Dechen Woesel Dorjee (sKyabs rje gYang thang rin po che Kun bzang ’jigs med bde chen ’od
gsal rdo rje, b.1929), Khunu Lama Rinpoche Tenzin Gyaltsen (Khu nu bla ma rin po che bsTan ’dzin rgyal mtshan, 1895-1977), Dungsey Thinlay Norbu Rinpoche (gDung sras ’phrin las nor bu rin po che), Khen Rinpoche Mewa Thupten Woeser (mKhan rin po che sMe ba thub bstan ’od-zer, 1928-2000) and several other lamas and noted masters.

In 1971, he took on the responsibilities of prefect in the dharma place of the Shedra (bshad gra). In 1973-74, he received the novice ordination vows from the propounder of the five sciences, Pandita Khenpo Tsodru (mKhan po brTsun ’grus). In 1977, he received the full ordination vows of a bhikshu from Kyabje Dzarong Zhadeo Trulshik Rinpoche Ngawang Choekyi Lodro (sKyabs rje rDza rong zha de’u ’khrul zhig rin po che Ngag dbang chos kyi blo gros, 1924-2011) at the Jarung Khashor (Bya rung kha shor) Boudhanath Stupa in Nepal.

On the 18th day of the 11th month of the Female Fire Snake Year (1977), Kyabje Dudjom Rinpoche Jigdrel Yeshi Dorjee issued a handwritten letter bestowing the Khenpo title along with a white scarf as a mark of auspicious blessing. Following which, on the extraordinary holy day commemoration of Matchless Shakyamuni Buddha’s Sambhodiprapti day, on the 15th day of the fourth month (Saga Dawa) of the Female Earth Sheep year (1979), Kyabje Dodrupchen Rinpoche designated and enthroned him as a Khenpo at Chorten Sangchen Ngodrup Palbarling Monastery in Gangtok. From the time of his recognition as Khenpo, till the Female Fire Ox Year (1997), he served as the fourth in the succession of great scholar-abbots of Sikkim Institute of Higher Nyingma Studies. For 19 years, he bestowed instructions on the ocean of sutras and tantras of the Nyingma system, as well as by serving as the administrator of the Shedra, among other things. During his tenure as the Principal of the Shedra, he managed to procure the affiliation with the Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishwavidhyala, based in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. He took great care in maintaining a very high standard of discipline and decorum in the Shedra as well as a high standard of education qualification among the students, thus contributing immensely to the Buddha Dharma during the onset of this Kalyug age. After retiring from the Shedra as per the Sikkim Government Service rules, he gave teachings on various Buddhist topics as well as moral advice to the general public of Sikkim, both monks and lay, at regular intervals. Beside he also organized the first observance of the rite of Drupchen (sGrub chen) Great Accomplishment on Lama Gongdue (bLa ma mdgons ’dus) Summary of
the Guru’s Intention at Ringon Rigzin Choeling (Rin dgon rig ’dzin chos gling) Monastery in North Sikkim.

In the Female Iron Snake Year (2001), he established Ngagyur Shedra Pema Drodlul Phelgiling (sNya ’gyur bshad gra Pad ma ’gro ’dul ’phel rgyas gling) which is adjacent to Sangag Yangtse (gSang sngags yang rtsa) monastery in Rinchenpong (Rin chen spungs) in West Sikkim. The newly set-up Shedra has over 80 students assembled from all over Sikkim. The juvenile students were taught reading, writing, memorization of text, alongside imparting the knowledge of making dough offerings, chanting, and performing ritual traditions. The senior ones were strenuously taught the major scriptures of the Buddha Dharma including the milk-like amrita of the sacred Dharma. Since most of the monks in the monastery are novices and pre-novice monks, he bestowed full ordination of a bhikshu or gelong (dge slong) to four senior monks, thus setting the ground for a proper learning by firmly establishing monastic vows and discipline at the Shedra. In order to expand the Institute, as per Khenpo’s own initiative and directives, the committee of monks of Rinchenpong Monastery unanimously provided ten acres of land in order to realize his vision. The expansion work was sponsored under the Members of Parliament’s fund, from the Central Government of India, and he laid the foundation work of the extended construction. Currently, Khenpo’s disciples are fulfilling the construction of the assembly hall, an office, and quarters for the monks as envisioned by Khenpo.

In 2010, as per the request by the committee of the monks of the Phensang Sangag Choeding Monastery including umdze (dbu mdzad) and discipliner, Khenpo was ceremoniously enthroned as the Vajra Master of the monastery and after assuming the role he looked after the monastery well in all aspects. Besides, he also conferred the ordination of novice monks to the new recruits at Chorten Sangchen Ngodrup Palbarling Monastery in Gangtok. In summary, he strictly guarded the Vinaya rules and freely gave the teachings of holy Dharma. As such he spontaneously evoked the faith of the people and hence was highly revered by people from all walks of life in Sikkim.

Khenpo contributed several articles related to the hidden land of Sikkim as well as wrote commentaries on Byang chub sems dpa’ spyod pa la ’jug pa (Boddhisatvas Way of Life) and rGyal sras lag len so bdun ma (Thirty Seven Practices of Boddhisatva), etc.

Khenpo Dechen Dorjee remained as an ornament of the Buddha Dharma in general and to the Hidden land of Sikkim in particular for having contributed immensely in the service of the Dharma. However,
as a result of lack of *karma* on the part of monks and laypeople of Sikkim, after assuming an illness for a few years, the sublime Khenpo Dechen Dorjee passed away peacefully on Friday late evening on the 21st day of the fifth month of the Male Water Dragon year of the seventeenth Tibetan Calendrical Cycle, corresponding to 9th July 2012, at the Central Referral Hospital, at 5th mile, Tadong, Gangtok. As per the instruction of Kyabje Dodrupchen Rinpoche, his reliquary body was kept for one week at Phensang Sangag Choeding Monastery which was followed by two days at Rinchenpung Sangag Yangtse Monastery, to allow and enable monks, lay disciples, followers and general public to pay their last respect. Subsequently, his reliquary body was carried to Drakar Tashiding (Brag dkar bkra shis sding), the heart of the sacred sites of the Hidden land of Sikkim, and was incinerated while performing the religious rituals from the four corners at the crematorium site, based on the *mandala* rituals of the profound Tantra, led by Kyabje Yangthang, along with *khenpos, tulkus* (sprul sku) and monks of Phensang Sangag Choeding Monastery, Rinchenpung Sangak Yangtse Monastery, Drakar Tashiding Monastery, and Chorten Sangchen Ngodrup Palbarling Monastery, Gangtok.
བོད་ཀྱི་དིངོལ་བོ་དོན་དེ་ཞིི་

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(1920-1979) བོད་ཀྱི་དིངོལ་བོ་དོན་
(b.1927) བོད་ཀྱི་སྲེག་གོ་དབང་ཕྲོད་པ་སྙེ་གྲོ་བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་སྒྲབ་དབང་ཕྲོད་གཞི་གླིང་པ།

(1910-1991) བོད་ཀྱི་སྲེག་གོ་དབང་ཕྲོད་ཀྱི་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱི་བདེ་བར་གཞི

(1904-1987) བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོ་བསྡན་དབང་གཞི་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱི་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱི་བདེ་བར་གཞི

(1835-1903) བོད་ཀྱི་སྲེག་གོ་དབང་ཕྲོད་ཀྱི་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱིས་ལྷན་པ་སྤྲོད་པའི་ཚིག་

(1930-2008) བོད་ཀྱི་སྲེག་གོ་དབང་ཕྲོད་ཀྱི་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱིས་ལྷན་པ་སྤྲོད་པའི་ཚིག་

(1895-1977) བོད་ཀྱི་སྲེག་གོ་དབང་ཕྲོད་ཀྱིས་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱིས་ལྷན་པ་སྤྲོད་པའི་ཚིག་

(1928-2000) བོད་ཀྱི་སྲེག་གོ་དབང་ཕྲོད་ཀྱིས་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱི་ལྷན་པ་སྤྲོད་པའི་ཚིག་

(2001) བོད་ཀྱི་སྲེག་གོ་དབང་ཕྲོད་ཀྱིས་ཐང་དཔལ་དྲི་མཆེན་གྱི་ལྷན་པ་སྤྲོད་པའི་ཚིག་
(1924-2011) ངེས་པའི་སྤུར་བཙོལ་དམ ིི་ཞིག་གི་(2011) མིའི་སོགས་དཔེ་ རིན་ཆེན་མོ་ལྡན་པོ་སྤྲེ་བུ་། རྒན་ལྡེ་བཏབས་བསྡུས་བཅོས་ལ་ཕྱིར་ རྒྱུ་དེ་བཞི་བྱིན་བོ་བཞེད་ཕྲུག་བཞེད་ རྒྱུ་བཞི་ཆི་བཞེད་ཀྱི་གཞན་གསུམ་བུ་ཡིན་ གང་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཞི་བྱིན་ཕྲུག་བཞེད་ཀྱི་ འཕུགས་དུས་ཁོ་བ་པོ་སྤྲེ་བུ་། རྒན་ལྡེ་ བཏབས་བསྡུས་ཀྱི་གཞན་གསུམ་བུ་ཡིན་ གང་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཞི་བྱིན་ཕྲུག་བཞེད་ཀྱི་ལྟས་ བཟང་ལྡེབ་དཔེ་སེམས་དཔོན་དཔོན་པོ་སྤྲེ་བུ་། རྒན་ལྡེ་བཏབས་ རྒྱུ་དེ་བཞི་ཕྲུག་བཞེད་ཀྱི་གཞན་གསུམ་བུ་ཡིན་ གང་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཞི་བྱིན་ཕྲུག་བཞེད་ཀྱི་ལྟས་ བཟང་ལྡེབ་ཕོ་སྤྲེ་བུ་། རྒན་ལྡེ་བཏབས་ 

(Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi, U.P.)
བོད་སུམ་ཅིག་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལ་ཞལ་སྤྱིས་གུང་ཐོ་ེན་པ་ལྷ་བོས་མ་དེ་བོེ།

106  ཕོ་ནུས་ཐུགས་ཐོ་ེན་པ་ལྷ་བོས་མ་དེ་བོེ།

107  ཕོ་ནུས་ཐུགས་ཐོ་ེན་པ་ལྷ་བོས་མ་དེ་བོེ།
ཨུག་པ་འཛིན་བཟའ་འཕགས་པ་བཟའ་པོ་བཟུང་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཁོང་ས་ཞིག་གི་ཐོད་པ་
དུས་མི་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་བཟུང་
ངས་པོ་དག་པ་བཟུང་ཉིད་དོན་འབྲོག་བཟུང་ཉིད་དོན་འབྲོག་
འབར་སྐྱེ་བཞེས་པ་བཟུང་ཨ་མི་བཟུང་
་ཨ་མི་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་
ལོག་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་
་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་
ལོག་བཟུང་པོ་བཟུང་

(Central Referral Hospital, 5th Mile, Tadong)
VEN. KHENPO DECHEN DORJEE (1937-2012)

1937: Born October 15, Phensang, North Sikkim

1943: Admitted to the Phensang Monastery School

1964: Joined the Nyingma Shedra (Sikkim Institute of Higher Nyingma Studies) at Gangtok for higher Buddhist studies where he graduated with the Acharya degree in 1970

1971-78: Appointed Prefect/Lecturer (*kyorpom*) at the same institute

1977: Bestowed the title of Khenpo by Dudjom Rinpoche

1979-1997: Appointed Principal, Institute of Higher Nyingma Studies, Gangtok

1980: Ordained Gelong and enthroned as Khenpo by Dodrupchen Rinpoche in 1980

1980: Attended and represented Sikkim at the World Fellowship of Buddhists Conference, Thailand


1984-85: Earned a double doctorate degree for his research on ‘An introduction to the spread of Buddhism in Sikkim’ and ‘The role of Mahasiddha Lha-Tsuen Chhenpo in Buddhist Propagation’ (Shantiniketan)

1985: Conferred Life Membership of the Maha Bodhi Society of India

1988-89: Organized Sikkim’s first Rinchen Terdzoe empowerment by Dodrupchen Rinpoche at Tashiding Monastery

1994: Organized Sikkim’s first Kagyed Drubchen at Phensang Monastery, which has since been held annually

1997: Onwards: Effected substantial reforms within his own monastery at Phensang

1998: Participated in the World Fellowship of Buddhists Conference, Australia

1999: Assistant Professor for one year at Vishwa Bharti University, Shantiniketan
2000: Under the guidance of Ven. Lachen Rinpoche, organized the Lama Gongdu Drubchen at Ringhem Monastery in North Sikkim, which is still conducted annually

2000: Initiated the establishment of a Shedra within the Rinchenpong Monastery compound which came into legal existence in 2001 as the Institute for Higher Buddhist Studies and Research Centre

2010: Appointed Dorje Lopen of his parent Phensang Monastery

2011: Organized his dream project, the first ever Guru Tsen Gyed cham at Rinchenpong monastery with the help of senior monks of Mendroeling Dratsang of Dehradun

2012: Ven. Khenpo Dechen Dorjee left for his heavenly abode on 9 July 2012. His devotees and students are of firm belief that the late Khenpola would cause his rebirth in an appropriate incarnation in due course of time
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

ALEX McKAY has a Ph.D. from the London University School of Oriental and African Studies (1995). He has held various research and teaching fellowships at SOAS, UCL and at the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden, The Netherlands. He is affiliated to the Namgyal Institute and has written or edited more than 30 books and articles on the Indo-Tibetan Himalayas, including *Tibet and the British Raj: The frontier cadre 1904-1947* (1997), and *Footprints Remain: Biomedical beginnings across the Indo-Tibetan frontier* (2007). He has recently completed a history of the Kailas pilgrimage.

MARLENE ERSCHBAMER is currently working on her Ph.D. thesis ‘The 'Ba'-ra-ba bKa'-brgyud-pa: Historical and Contemporary Studies regarding an almost forgotten School of Tibetan Buddhism’ within the Doctoral Program for Buddhist Studies at the University of Munich. She received an M.A. in Tibetology, Philosophy and Sociology from the same university in 2012. Her research interests include Tibetan Buddhism, philosophy and Himalayan Studies.

EDWARD GARRETT (PhD Linguistics, UCLA 2001) is a linguist and software developer at SOAS, University of London. His work focuses on tool creation for language documentation and analysis. He was the initial developer of Jskad, an early Tibetan language text editor, and has since worked on endangered language archiving, interactive transcripts for language learning and research, and natural language processing for Tibetan. Edward is co-founder of Pinedrop, a company that creates websites and collaborative research tools for scholarly communities and archives. In addition to his technical work, Edward maintains an active interest in linguistic theory.

NATHAN W. HILL (PhD Tibetan Studies, Harvard 2009) is Lecturer in Tibetan and Linguistics at SOAS, University of London. His research focuses on the descriptive linguistics of early Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman/Sino-Tibetan historical linguistics. His books include A Lexicon of Tibetan Verb Stems as Reported by the Grammatical Tradition (Munich, 2010), and, with Kazushi Iwao, Old Tibetan Inscriptions (Tokyo 2009). He is Co-Investigator on ‘Tibetan in Digital
Communication’ a research project to develop Tibetan corpus linguistics.

ABEL ZADOKS is a PhD student in linguistics at SOAS, University of London. His thesis will describe certain features of Old Tibetan syntax and trace their development in later periods.

AZALEA BIRCH currently lives in Singapore, where she teaches speech and drama to young children. From 2007 until 2012, Azalea worked as an editor and translator at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing. There, she worked closely with the chair of the musicology department on projects such as the first English translation of a dictionary of Chinese music, and texts for displays at a musical instrument museum. In 2011, she was sent to Sikkim, India by the Central Conservatory to research music. Her paper, ‘A Musical Journey to Sikkim,’ will be published in forthcoming Chinese and English anthologies of Himalayan music. Azalea is also a tabla player, an instrument she started studying as a child in Kathmandu, Nepal. She graduated from Wesleyan University in 2005 with a B.A. in music.

TSHERING TASHI is the co-author of Bold Bhutan Beckons, Symbols of Bhutan and author of Mysteries of the Raven Crown, Legacy of Gongzim Ugyen Dorji and Myth and Memory—Untold Stories of Bhutan. He writes for Bhutan’s national newspaper, Kuensel, and contributes articles to international magazines. He is a board director of the Royal Society for Protection of Nature and the Director of Australian Bhutan Friendship Association. Kyoto University, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, have invited him to give talks on Bhutan. Similarly, he has given talks in England, US and Australia.

ANNA BALIKCI–DENJONGPA is Research Coordinator at the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim, and editor of the Bulletin of Tibetology. An anthropologist whose research interests centre on Sikkim’s indigenous cultures, history and the medium of ethnographic films, she received her Ph.D. in Social Anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, which was published as Lamas, Shamans and Ancestors: Village Religion in Sikkim (Brill 2008). Together with Dawa Lepcha and Phurba Tshering Bhutia, she completed a series of seven ethnographic films on Sikkim’s Lepcha and Bhutia communities which were screened at several ethnographic film festivals worldwide.
TSEWANG GYATSO BHUTIA, Assistant Professor, Dept of Bhutia, Namchi Government College. Dr Bhutia studied Buddhist Studies at the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Choglamsar, Leh, Ladakh, obtained his Acharya and Ph.D. degrees from Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi where he wrote a thesis on ‘A critical study of the significance of Drukpa Kagyud; its philosophy and meditation.’ He has attended and presented articles at several national seminars and workshops, contributed articles to the Sikkim Gazetteer Update Project for the Govt of Sikkim, and is presently working on a Comprehensive History Project for the Department of Information and Public Relations.

TSULTSEM GYATSO ACHARYA was born in Gangtok in 1969. He first studied at Enchey School before joining the Institute of Higher Nyingma Studies (Shedra) where he obtained his Acharya degree in 1992. He then joined the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology where he works as Cataloguer in the Tibetan Library. He currently carries out research on Tibetan and Sikkimese history and religious culture.