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The Liturgies and Oracular Utterances of the Spirit-mediums of Upper Tibet

— An Introduction to their *bSang* Rituals —

John Vincent Bellezza
(Tibet Center, University of Virginia)

Introduction

n this paper, I present an introduction to the *bsang* (fumigation/incense purification) rituals of the spirit-mediums of Upper Tibet (sTod and Byang-thang).¹ This work, as the first in a series, introduces the liturgies and oracular utterances of the spirit-mediums, which include a wide range of ritual procedures and pronouncements. The spirit-mediums (*lha-pa/lha-mo, dpa'-bo/dpa'-mo*) occupy an important place in the social and religious life of Upper Tibet. It is widely held that under the possession of deities they dispense healing therapies of both a physical and psychological nature. They are also believed to protect livestock and the countryside against harm, offer sage advice, and make declarations concerning the future course of events. In my book on the cultural history of the spirit-mediums of Upper Tibet (2005), I describe the trance ceremonies in some detail but do not present their recitations and dialogues *verbatim*.² The actual words of the spirit-mediums constitute a fascinating and telling aspect of the trance proceedings from both a literary and historical perspective. These utterances are made in a variety of regional dialects (dBus, gTsang, sTod, and Hor), and in a cant peculiar to the *lha-pa* known as the 'language of the gods' (*lha-skad*).

Between 2004 and 2006, I made a series of recordings of trance ceremonies (*lha-bzhugs*) convoked by prominent spirit-mediums of the

¹ The delivery of this paper at the International Association of Tibetan Studies conference in 2006 and travel to Bonn from the Indian Subcontinent was made possible through a generous grant awarded me by the Lumbini International Research Institute (Nepal), an institution dedicated to the advancement of Buddhist studies. Grants for fieldwork in Upper Tibet and the procurement of high quality portable sound recording equipment came from the Asian Cultural Council (New York), and the Donald and Shelley Rubin Foundation (New York). These fine organizations supported my research work from 2002 until 2008. In this project to record the words of the spirit-mediums, I also warmly acknowledge the assistance of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences and the Tibet and Himalayan Digital Library.

² A pioneering study of the activities of spirit-mediums of Upper Tibet was made by Berglie 1980; 1978; 1976. An excellent overview of Tibetan spirit-mediums is found in Diemberger 2005. I consider this work highly complementary with my treatise on the cultural history of spirit-mediums (2005), in that Diemberger treats sociological and political aspects of contemporary spirit-mediumship, whereas I do not.

region.³ From the digital recordings I undertook the rigorous task of transcription and translation. Translations have been prepared for the proceedings of the trance ceremonies of ten different spirit-mediums, in part or in whole. These individuals dwell in the '*brog-pa* (herder) communities of the great Tibetan upland between *gNam-ru* in the east and *Ru-thog* in the west. The work of transcription and translation was carried out in collaboration with Yungdrung Tenzin, a Bonpo scholar of exceptional ability. In addition to well known ritual materials available in written form, highly unusual liturgical sequences are also represented in the transactions of the trance ceremony. These mostly belong to the *bsang* (fumigation) and *gser-skyems* (libations) types of ritual dispensation. The trance proceedings also reveal a scarcely known genre of 'oral literature', the purported words of the deities as spoken by their human mouthpieces. This highly colorful and evocative material includes poetic recitations about the lineages and activities of the deities, discourses on religious topics, the counseling of clients, and prophecies with wide-ranging implications.

The hallmark of the words of the spirit-mediums is its stunning diversity; it encapsulates a wide spectrum of Tibetan ritual observances. To my knowledge, no other ethnographic or literary source demonstrates such a rich and unmodified juxtaposition of ritual themes derived from disparate cultural sources. In the liturgical traditions of Tibetan texts, content is dictated by sectarian compulsions with their prescribed doctrinal conventions and stipulated modes of literary presentation. On the other hand, the oral tradition of the spirit-mediums is far more eclectic and elastic. Liturgical strands from Bon, *bon* and the various sects of Buddhism are woven into recitations without critical hesitation.⁴ The ordering of the oral liturgies is also much more fluid as it is not tightly bound by established literary tradition. As such, native and Buddhist deities, concepts and practices are interchangeable throughout the recitations, sitting right next to each other in apparent concord. Generally speaking, this eclecticism reflects the development of Upper Tibet's religious and cultural heritage over many centuries (probably from pre-Buddhist times onwards). Ancient indigenous

³ This work was carried out on the High Tibet Welfare Expedition (2004), the Tibet Upland Expedition (2005) and the Tibet Highland Expedition (2006).

⁴ I use *bon* written in the small case here and in other instances in this paper, to refer to the entire corpus of non-Buddhist religious traditions in Tibet. In this work, no attempt is made to differentiate ancient indigenous traditions from later folk practices, and I concede that both may be bound up in the term *bon*. On the other hand, I employ the proper name (Bon) to refer to doctrines, deities and concepts directly derived from the literature of the Eternal Bon religion, an integral institutionalized faith that emerged in the late tenth century. I make this distinction to avoid necessarily equating non-Buddhist traditions with the ecclesiastic establishment of Eternal Bon and its many Buddhist inspired foundations. I hasten to add that the Bon-po (and the Buddhists for that matter) do not normally make this distinction, seeing the two types of *bon/Bon* as largely one in the same. Surely, the historical continuity that Tibetans predicate their position on has much validity (I begin to grapple with this extremely complex subject in *Zhang Zhung: Foundations of Civilization in Upper Tibet* (2008), nevertheless, the different pedigrees of tradition that make up the religious fabric of Tibet could be overlooked if only one word was used to designate them all. Bjerken (2004: 43–48) furnishes a critical discussion about the tripartite systems of classification of Tibetan religion studied by Stein and Tucci. As Bjerken makes clear, the dividing line between Buddhism/Bon and the so-called 'popular religion', 'nameless religion', or 'folk religion' is hazy indeed. That is to say, the allotment of a particular custom, tradition or belief in one category or the other is not always possible with any degree of certitude.

traditions and the various schools of Buddhism have conspired to leave their mark on the culture of Upper Tibet in a syncretistic arrangement. This is mirrored in the uncritical and embracing fashion in which the spirit-mediums conceive of their profession. In fact, the trance ceremonies and their philosophical basis are one of the best living examples of old religious and imported Buddhist concepts and practices existing side by side in the culture of Upper Tibet.⁵

The main bodies of ritual tradition represented in the trance ceremonies include that found in:

- Mahayāna and Vajrayāna doctrines
- Tibetan folk culture
- gCod cult practices
- The Gling ge-sar epic
- Bon Phya-gshen traditions

The *bsang* ritual usually occurs after Buddhist refuge prayers (*skyabs-'gro*) and aspirant prayers (*smon-lam*) are said. The *bsang* is a crucial part of the pre-trance invocations, which are intended to attract the attention of the relevant deities and make them amenable to assisting the spirit-medium. It has two parts: the actual fumigation of the deities with incense (*bsangs*) and the supplications to them (*lha-gsol*). Ordinarily, a long line of divinities are beckoned and cleansed with fragrant incense. The use of incense is not merely an offering but is intended to purify the deities and restore their equilibrium. It is commonly believed that the environment-bound pantheon is of a limpid composition (*gtsang-rigs*) and is especially prone to being contaminated by anthropogenic activities of a negative character. In order to counteract the harm wrought upon the gods and to insure that the ritual venue is suitably clean, incense is burnt throughout the *bsang* ritual and for the duration of the trance ceremony.⁶ One focus of the *bsang* ritual of the spirit-mediums is the possessing deities of the trance. Typically, many different mountain gods and lake goddesses are mentioned by name, and some description of them may also be given. In addition to divinities native to Upper Tibet, great mountain gods of other areas of Tibet may also be invoked. As part of the *bsang* the so-called higher deities of Buddhism are also entreated. These include the sky-goers (*mkha-'gro*), mGon-po (Mahākāla) and other Buddhist and Bon protectors (Chos-skyong/Bon-skyong). The *bsang* is composed in verse but unlike some of the textual variants of the ritual, the syllabification of the lines is not strictly regimented. The tone of language and style of chanting of the spirit-mediums tend to be stately and lyrical as befits a sacred ritual.

⁵ Diemberger's (2005: 146–148) analysis of the historical development of spirit-mediumship in both pastoral and agricultural regions of Tibet is largely in sync with what I propound here. She considers that the spirit-mediums are the embodiments of ancestral and territorial deities of pre-Buddhist origin as well as being involved in Buddhist tantric practices. She further observes that these two bodies of disparate tradition are part of a two-way assimilative process that has been informing the religious life of Tibet for centuries.

⁶ For an authoritative introduction to the themes and applications of the *bsang* ritual, see Karmay 1998, pp. 380–412. Karmay (*ibid*: 387) stresses that the cult of indigenous deities as ancestral figures for localized populations has an integral place in the *bsang*.

KARMA RIG 'DZIN (born circa 1935)*i. Biographical sketch*

Karma rig-'dzin hails from Mad-pa, in Shan-rtsa county. He is a man of considerable moral authority, which is derived from the great respect '*brog-pa*' of the region have for him. Karma rig-'dzin is frequently sought out by fellow herders to remedy a wide range of human and veterinary ailments. Initial interviews with him were conducted in 2002 and these are described in *Calling Down the Gods* (pp. 154–169). Both his father and mother were spirit-mediums for deities indigenous to the Byang-thang. Karma rig-'dzin reports that he belongs to the Zur-bzhi lha-babs bzhi (Four God Descending Ones of the Four Corners), an illustrious lineage of *lha-pa*, which as he sees it, originated in primordial times. He is a medium for the gNyan-chen thang-lha and rTa-rgo circles of mountain gods, and for bDud-btsan dmar-po, a chief protector (*srung-ma*) of the sTag-lung bka'-brgyud subsect.⁷

ii. The structure of the trance ceremony

The trance ceremony from which a digital sound recording was made was convened by Karma rig-'dzin in sMad-pa, on May 17, 2004. Its purpose was to divine the road ahead for drivers who were accompanying part of the High Tibet Welfare Expedition. The presiding deity was the sTag-lung protector bDud-btsan dmar-po. The resulting transcription was checked with the *lha-pa* on April 27, 2006. Only the pre-trance portion of the proceedings could be reviewed by Karma rig-'dzin, as he has no recollection of what transpires after the 'descent of the gods'. The liturgical and oracular sequences of the trance ceremony were structured as follows:

1. Fumigation of the deities ritual (*bsang/lha-gsol*) (transpired between zero seconds, zero minutes and 12 minutes, 23 seconds of the trance ceremony = 00:00 to 12:23). This is a rather deliberate and cadenced portion of the ceremony with the somewhat subdued playing of the drum (*rnga*) and flat bell (*gshang*).
2. Libations offering ritual (*gser-skyems*) (12:24 to 17:31). This is a faster paced ritual but one in which the enunciation of the words is still relatively clear.
3. A discourse about Karma rig-'dzin's *lha-pa* lineage (18:06 to 20:00). This is primarily made to educate those in attendance about his trance practices.
4. A discourse about sundry historical and contemporary topics (20:01 to 28:00).
5. Prayers directed to specific deities (*gsol-ba 'debs*), refuge prayers (*skyabs*) and dedicatory prayers (*smon-lam*) (28:00 to 30:58). This portion of the

⁷ Part of a triad of special protectors of the sTag-lung-pa, which also includes g.Ya'-dmar and dGe-bsnyen. For an account of their history, see Bellezza 2005, pp. 56–63.

ceremony consists of slow, distinct enunciations without musical instruments.

6. Invitation of the deities (*lha spyan-'dren*) to the ritual venue and body of the *lha-pa* (30:58 to 36:50). This segment begins slowly and methodically but gradually the tempo increases. It features just the drum.

7. Proclamation of the lineage of the deities (*lha-rgyud smos-pa*) (36:51 to 57:42). This sequence marks the beginning of possession by the deities of the trance. It consists of a long litany of names and descriptions of indigenous deities in verse. This is a musical segment with a euphony characteristic of many Upper Tibetan spirit-mediums. The canticle divulges the iconography of numerous divine figures in a lilting but dignified fashion. Just the drum is sounded in this interval.

8. The petitioning of the deities of the trance (*bka'-lung*) in which clients ask their questions to the *lha-pa* and he responds to their requests (57:43 to 1-03:16). More lore about the gods is also pronounced. In this conversational segment, the voice of Karma rig-'dzin has the same qualities it had during the pre-trance discourses. His possessing deity, sTag-lung bdud-btsan dmarpo, likes to speak to clients in the dialect of dBus, revealing his Central Tibetan origins.

9. Formulating the prophecy (*lung-bstan brtag-pa*) (1-03:17 to 1-05:47). This portion of the trance ceremony is highly lyrical and features the playing of the drum.

10. The oracular utterances (*lung-bstan*) and advice (*zhal-gdams*) of the *lha-pa* (1-05:49 to 1-10:14 approximately). This segment consists of a disquisition in which the fate of the client is pronounced and religious advice given, as well as a diatribe against the excesses of the old Tibet government.

11. The return of the deities to their abodes (*gshegs-bskyod*). The trance proceedings terminate with praises to the deities as they retreat from the *lha-pa*'s body and ritual venue (this part of the ceremony was not recorded).

iii. The bsang

Here for inspection, I present all of Karma rig-'dzin's *bsang* ritual. Normally, most trance ceremonies are prefaced with Buddhist prayers in which refuge is taken and the protection of the Buddhist divinities sought. In this ceremony however, the introductory prayers were dispensed with because Karma rig-'dzin had already made his daily religious observances. As I have commented (2005: 14), it is likely that before the Buddhacization of Upper Tibet, spirit-mediums relied solely on native deities such as those that dominate this *bsang*.⁸ In any case, as we shall see, its liturgical structure has many *bon* or non-Buddhist characteristics. A cross-section of male and

⁸ In *Zhang Zhung* (2008), I examine textual passages that specify the role of elemental spirits in the archaic funerary rites, which were designed to convey the consciousness principles of the deceased to the ancestral afterlife.

female deities inhabiting a large swathe of territory between gNam-mtsho and Dang-ra g.yu-mtsho are invoked during Karma rig-'dzin's fumigation ritual, reinforcing its regional orientation. Many lines in the *bsang* end in the verb *bsang* [ba] (I/we fumigate).⁹

The *bsang* of Karma rig-'dzin begins with the *lha* and *klu* of the dichotomous universe (composed of heaven and earth) (ln. 1). This heralding of the deities of the upper (*yar*) and lower (*yog*) realms is one of many *bon* features in this *bsang*. It is made clear that this ritual is also a *khrus* (ablutions) type, which is carried out by the sprinkling of water during the recitations (ln. 2). The first gods mentioned by name are atmospherical in quality and represent personal tutelary deities of Karma rig-'dzin in his role as a spirit-medium (Ins. 4, 5). This is immediately followed by the invocation of the *mkha'-gro*, those sky-treading benefactresses that occupy a fundamental place in the pantheon of Buddhism (ln. 6). The non-Buddhist character of the *bsang* reasserts itself with the *dgra-lha/sgra-bla* and *wer-ma* (a closely related class of martial spirits) (Ins. 7–9). According to the Bon religion, the *sgra-bla* formed the mainstay of the pre-Buddhist tradition of spirit-mediumship. Known as *lha yi bka'-bab* (the commands of deities), this oracular system is found as part of Phya-gshen theg-pa, or the first vehicle of Bon teachings. To this day, the *dgra-lha* command a key position in the various curative and protective rites of the trance ceremonies of Upper Tibet. Another mainstay of the native Tibetan tradition is the words *ki* and *bSwo/bso*, which are commonly used in the *bsang* and *lha-gsol* rituals to awaken, invoke and praise the deities (Ins. 11–17). Essentially, these words are employed to call to action the deities of the trance ceremony:

- ln. 1: You are the *lha* and *klu* doctrine protectors (*bstan-srung*) of the four directions of dBus and gTsang in the center (*bar dbus gtsang ru-bzhi/ lha klu bstan-srung khyed rnam* /).
- ln. 2: I invite you to come to this incense (*bsang*) and ablutions (*khrus*) [ritual] (*bsang dang khrus la spyan-'dren gshegs su gsol* /).
- ln. 3: *Om A hum*.
- ln. 4: I fumigate (*bsang*) gNam-bdag sgo-lha khyung-rdzong (Sky Master Portal Lha Horned Eagle Fortress) (*gnam-bdag sgo-lha khyung-rdzong bsang* /).
- ln. 5: I fumigate rNam-sras thog-lha me-'bar.¹⁰
- ln. 6: I fumigate all the sky-goers of formless emptiness (*ma-lus stong-niyid mkha'-gro bsang* /).
- ln. 7: I fumigate the three hundred and sixty *wer-ma*.
- ln. 8: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the eye beholders (*lta-ba mig gi dgra-lha bsang* /).
- ln. 9: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the ear listeners (*nyan-pa rna-ba'i dgra-lha bsang* /).
- ln. 10: *Om A hum* (repeated many times). <The drumming begins>
- ln. 11: I call the *lha* saying *ki ki* (*lha ki ki zer kyin 'bod-pa yin* /).
- ln. 12: I invoke you saying *bswo bswo* (*bswo bswo zer kyin bswo ba yin* /).

⁹ Karmay renders *bsang-ba* as 'let us purify' or 'it must be purified' (1998: 382). I have elected to use a more direct and simple phrasing in my translation, which is reflective of the candid spirit of the rituals conducted by the spirit-mediums.

¹⁰ This deity appears to be a composite form combining the wealth god rNam-thos-sras with a celestial figure Thog-lha me-'bar (Blazing Thunder God).

In. 13: *Ki* and *bswo* are the {invitation} [words] of the *lha* (*ki bswo lha yi spyan {drangs so} /*¹¹).

In. 14: *Yā* (Ah yes), I call the *lha* saying *ki ki* (*yā lha ki ki zer kyin 'bod-pa yin /*).

In. 15: I invoke you saying *bswo bswo*.

In. 16: *Ki* and *bswo* are the callers of the *lha* (*ki bswo lha yi 'bod-pa yin /*).

In. 17: *Ki ki ki la bswo bswo bswo!*

In. 18: *Hum hum ma ra yo phat!*¹²

<The *lha-pa* blows his copper horn (*zangs-gling*) several times and begins to play his *gshang*>

A number of important gods are invoked next in the *bsang*, including the chiefs of the *lha*, *gnyan* and *klu*, the spirits of the three planes of existence (*srid-pa gsum*) (Ins. 19–21). Although well known Buddhist gods are represented here, the tripartite cosmos (*steng*, *bar*, *'og*) alluded to is yet another *bon* motif of Karma rig-'dzin's *bsang*. The Tibetan astrological gods are also singled out for special mention: the *lha* of the twelve *lo-skor* (duodecimal calendrical system), the *lha* of the nine *sme-ba* (basic constructs of existence), and the *lha* of the eight *spar-kha* (astrological trigrams) (Ins. 24–26). After some repetition in the names of deities mentioned, there is a litany of Buddhist protectors (Ins. 34–41). The identity of the last god/gods in this interval, Mi-mgon lcam-dral mchor-po, is not clear. The goddess of gNam-mtsho, gNam-mtsho phyug-mo, is invoked next in the liturgy (In. 43). According to Karma rig-'dzin, this is ordinarily followed in his *bsang* by an enumeration of the goddess auxiliaries of the four cardinal directions of gNam-mtsho. He calls these subsidiary figures *gter-bdag* (treasure mistresses). They include: east – Klu-mo dung-khrab dkar-mo (residence: gNam-mtsho do?), south – Me-tog g.yang-mdzes phyug-mo (residence: mGar lha-mo gdong?), west – Sa-klu dung-skyong dkar-mo (residence: Ti-rang smug-po do?), and north – Klu-mo gser-khrab ser-mo (residence: Sems-mtsho).¹³ In this particular ritual, however, the quartet of subsidiary gNam-mtsho goddesses was omitted. Finally, in this sequence all the invoked deities are invited to the ritual venue in order to win their favor:

¹¹ Brackets designate uncertain readings of the *lha-pa*'s utterances.

¹² This mantra is usually said for dispatching deities. It does not seem particularly appropriate this early in the *bsang* ritual. One might view this as an example of how the largely illiterate spirit-medium community of Upper Tibet is not especially versed in liturgical traditions, but this is actually not the case here. The spirit-mediums sometimes purposely dispense with liturgical conventions that other types of ritualists (monks, *sngags-pa*, etc.) feel compelled to follow. For his peers, the early use of this mantra is a demonstration of the great power that spirit-mediums such as Karma rig-'dzin are reputed to have, for he is invested with the capability to summon the gods with only a minimum of formalities.

¹³ There is also a rNying-ma tradition of four goddesses of the cardinal directions. These divinities dwell around the four bathing heads (*khrus kyi sgo-mo bzhi*) of gNam-mtsho and are conceived of along the lines of the *'phrin-las bzhi* tantric scheme of worship and ritual dispensation (pacific, expanding, empowering and wrathful modes). See Bellezza 1997, pp. 103, 104. This textual tradition may possibly represent the Buddhist adoption of gNam-mtsho's four *klu-mo* acolytes. In any case, as their names indicate, two of Karma rig-'dzin's *klu-mo* don armor made of gold and conch. According to Bon ritual tradition, it was customary for Zhang-zhung goddesses to be clad in such a fashion. For example, four lake goddesses of far western Tibet are described with armor and helmets in the *Zhang zhung me ri'i sgrub skor* (Bellezza 2008: 329–331).

- In. 19: I fumigate the {defending} Lha-chen tshangs-pa dkar-po (Brahma) (*{skyongs} lha-chen tshangs-pa dkar-po bsang /*).
 In. 20: I fumigate the great gnyan sKu-lha ger-mdzod.
 In. 21: I fumigate the great *klu* gTsug-na rin-chen.
 In. 22: I fumigate the *sa-bdag* and twelve *brtan-ma*.¹⁴
 In. 23: I fumigate the earth-holder Lag-pa chen-mo.
 In. 24: I fumigate the *lha* of the twelve *lo-skor*.
 In. 25: I fumigate the *lha* of the nine *sme-ba*.
 In. 26: I fumigate the *lha* of the eight *spar-kha*.
 In. 27: I fumigate gNam-bdag sgo-lha khyung-rdzong.
 In. 28: I fumigate rNam-sras thog-lha me-'bar.
 In. 29: I fumigate all the sky-goers.
 In. 30: I fumigate the 360 *wer-ma*.
 In. 31: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the eye beholders.
 In. 32: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the ear listeners.
 In. 33: I invite you here to this place of repose ('dir bzhugs gnas la spyan-'dren no /).
 In. 34: I fumigate Lha-btsan rdo-rje 'bar-ba (Blazing Adamantine Lha-btsan).
 In. 35: I fumigate bTsan-rgod jag-pa me-len (Wild bTsan Plunderer Fire Bearer).¹⁵
 Ins. 36-37: I fumigate mGon-po chos-skyong ber-nag (Black Tent mGon-po Buddhist Defender).¹⁶
 In. 38: I fumigate all the black (*rog-po*) mGon-po chos-skyong (mGon-po Buddhist defenders).
 In. 39: I fumigate the Buddhist defender Bya-rog gdong-can (Black Bird-Headed One).¹⁷
 In. 40: I fumigate Phyag-drug gser-khrab (Six Armed Golden Cuirass).
 In. 41: I fumigate Mi-mgon lcam-dral mchor-po (Defender of Humans Bothers and Sisters of Riches).
 In. 42: I invite you here to this place of repose.
 In. 43: I fumigate the mother gNam-mtsho phyug-mo.
 In. 44: I fumigate the owners of treasures of good fortune outcome (*las 'phro gter gyi bdag-po bsang /*).
 In. 45: I invite you here to this place of repose.

The goddesses of the four cardinal directions around the rTa-rgo/rTa-sgo range are accorded more detailed treatment in the *bsang* (Ins. 46–59). Despite being a devout Buddhist, Karma rig-'dzin admits that the rTa-rgo divinities could not be effectively brought into the Buddhist fold and retain a fundamental Bon/bon identity (Bellezza 2005: 157, 158). Only two of the directional goddesses are mentioned by name but all four belong to the *klu-mo* class. They are benevolent figures responsible for the protection of the

¹⁴ The brTan-ma/bsTan-ma bcu-gnyis are examined in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 181–198.

¹⁵ A *btsan* especially popular among the 'Brug-pa bka'-brgyud, which is also a common protective figure in the monasteries of other Buddhist sects in Upper Tibet and among the spirit-mediums.

¹⁶ This appears to be a native protector of the black yak hair tent (*sbra-nag*) of the 'brog-pa who came to be assimilated to Mahākāla.

¹⁷ The personal guardian of the founder of the Bhutanese state, Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 241).

local '*brog-pa*' and their social and economic interests.¹⁸ As is often found in the *lha-gsol* and *bskang-ba* (appeasement and expiation rituals) and in the utterances of the bards (*sgrung-mkhan*), Karma rig'-dzin uses trisyllabic indicators (*sha ra ra*, *spungs se spung* and *brengs se breng*) to vividly describe the goddesses of rTa-rgo, a native poetical device:

- In. 46: I fumigate the mistress of the east side of rTa-rgo, Klu-mo dung-skyong dkar-mo (*rta rgo shar gyi bdag po (= mo) la / klu-mo dung-skyong dkar-mo bsang /*).
- In. 47: She rides on a white lioness mount (*chibs su seng-ge dkar-mo bcibs /*).
- In. 48: I fumigate the mistress on the south side of rTa-rgo, the protectress of every human generation (*rta-rgo lho yi bdag-po (= mo) la / mi-rabs yongs kyi srung-ma bsang /*).
- In. 49: She rides on a striped tigress mount (*chibs su stag-mo ris-bkra bcibs /*).
- In. 50: She has yellow golden armor *spungs se spung* (conveys that the armor is piled high).
- In. 51: I fumigate the mistress on the west side of rTa-rgo, Dung-skyong dkar-mo of the earth *klu*.
- In. 52: She rides on a yellow orange (*ngang-ma*) female hybrid yak (*chibs su mdzo-mo ngang-ma bcibs /*).
- In. 53: She has a draped arrow in her right [hand] and a jewel in the left (*mda'-dar g.yas dang rin-chen g.yon /*).
- In. 54: Her tray of jewels (*rin-chen nor gzhong*) *spungs se spung* (conveys that the jewels are heaped high).
- In. 55: I fumigate the mistress of the north side of rTa-rgo, the protectress of humans, wealth and life, these three (*rta-rgo byang gi bdag-po (= mo) la / mi nor tshe gsum, srung-ma bsang /*).
- In. 56: She has a golden helmet on her head *brengs se breng* (conveys that the helmet is quivering).
- In. 57: She rides on a spirited big mule mount (*chibs su rgya drel rol-mo bcibs /*).
- In. 58: The big mule trots in a fine manner *sha ra ra* (conveys the unstoppable quality of the trotting) (*rgya drel 'gying 'gros sha ra ra /*).¹⁹
- In. 59: It has the five types of jewels (*rin-chen sna-lnga*)²⁰ *spungs se spung* (conveys that there are great heaps of them).²¹

In the next sequence of the *bsang*, a litany of goddesses who dwell in the g.Yag-pa and Nag-tshang regions is enumerated. All of these figures in one form or another are *klu-mo* who reside in the great lakes and mountains of the Byang-thang. Nevertheless, their residences are not all identifiable by Karma rig'-dzin. rGyal-gangs lha-mo is the goddess of the highest mountain

¹⁸ The *bsang* ritual of the *lha-bon* priests of Dzar (in Glo) also petitions four local divine benefactresses; these are collectively known as *mo-rgyud* ([divine] female lineage). The *bsang* recitations of the *lha-bon*, as part of the *ka-lag bi-pa* ceremony, are studied in Ramble 1998, pp. 129–132.

¹⁹ '*Gying* denotes a fine and imposing or majestic bearing.

²⁰ Gold (*gser*), silver (*dngul*), turquoise (*g.yu*) coral (*byu-ru*), and pearl (*mu-tig*), with some substitutions permitted.

²¹ This line either refers to the Goddess herself or to her mule mount.

(6444 m) in the meridian range just west of Shan-rtsa, but even she has a *klu-mo* persona (ln. 64).²² Mu-tig dar-la g.yu-mtho resides in the eponymous lake of Ba-tsha, in g.Yag-pa (ln. 63); sKe-rengs/sKe-ring 'bum-mtsho phyug-mo is the goddess of sKe-ring mtsho, in Shan-rtsa (ln. 65); and Ngang-bzang klu-bkra mchor-mo is the goddess of Mu-skyu mtsho, in sMad-pa (ln. 66). The prominent position of the *klu-mo* in the *bsang* reflects the potent role they have in the religious life of the Byang-thang. As archetypal divine females (*mo-lha*), the *klu-mo* goddesses are the epitome of fertility, nurture of the young, and insurance of healthy crops and flocks. Accordingly, they have a critical function in the curative and apotropaic rites of the *lha-pa*:

- ln. 60: I fumigate Klu-mo dung-seng dkar-mo (White Conch Lion Female Klu).
- ln. 61: I fumigate Klu-mo cang-seng g.yang-lha.
- ln. 62: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the thousand (innumerable) human generations (*mi-rabs stong dgra-lha bsang /*).
- ln. 63: I fumigate Mu-tig dar-la g.yu-mtsho.
- ln. 64: I fumigate rGyal-gangs lha-mo drel-bzhon (Mountain Queen Goddess Rider of the Mule).
- ln. 65: I fumigate sKe-ring 'bum-mtsho phyug-mo.
- ln. 66: I fumigate Ngang-bzang klu-bkra mchor-mo (Good Goose Bright Klu of Riches).
- ln. 67: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the thousand human generations.

The consequent figures to undergo purification with incense are the gods of rTa-rgo (thought to mean ‘snow mountain’ in the language of Zhang-zhung), a group known as rTa-rgo mched-bdun rol-brgyad (Ins. 68–76). The names of the individual members in Karma rig-'dzin's *bsang* differ significantly from those found in the relevant *gsol-kha* literature, a sign of the inherent fluidity of the oral tradition.²³ The gods of the rTa-rgo range are important possessing figures of spirit-mediums in much of the Tibetan cultural world, a legacy perhaps of the prominence they are supposed to have enjoyed in ancient times. According to Bon tradition, rTa-rgo was the soul rock formation (*bla-brag*) of the Zhang-zhung kingdom. In any event, this region is very rich in pre-Buddhist (archaic cultural horizon) monumental ruins. The most valuable figure in the rTa-rgo brotherhood for Karma rig-'dzin and other spirit-mediums is Ngo-dmar lha-btsan (a chief possessing deity), and this is reflected in his mention twice in the *bsang*. The god sGo-bdag (Master of the Portal) (ln. 77) and the three 'Om-thang deities (Ins. 80, 82, 86) are well known members of the rTa-rgo group and occupy

²² According to the manuscript *gNyan chen g.ya' spang pa'i mchod sprin nam mkha' 'brug sgra* (*Voice of the Dragon of Space: Cloud Offerings to the Great gNyan of the Slate [Mountain] and Meadow*), compiled at rTa-nag thub-bstan (a Sa-skyia monastery in bZhad-mthong-smon) by the abbot Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i rdo-rje (folio 4a, 4b): “The mistress wife and noble woman of the only man gNyan-chen g.ya'-spang (a mountain god of Shan-rtsa) is Sheltsha gangs kyi rgyal-mo (rGyal-gangs lha-mo), the white woman of conch with a marvelous turquoise visage. You are the attractive woman at the margin of the slates and meadow. In your hand you hold a *ga'u* (a container for sacred substances) of crystal. You ride on a white lion mount. You are surrounded by a circle of one hundred thousand *gangs-sman*. Your secret name is Gangs-klu sman-cig ma (Only sMan Mountain Klu Woman)”

²³ For these standard lists of the rTa-rgo mched-bdun rol-brgyad, see Bellezza 1997; 2005.

prominent landforms in the vicinity.²⁴ Nag-mer gser-mtsho phyug-mo is the protectress of a small holy lake situated high up on the flanks of Ngo-dmar lha-btsan (In. 78). This pilgrimage lake is popularly conceived as being the right eye of the goddess Dang-ra g.yu-mtsho.²⁵ Shod-tram phug, a vital location for the initiation of spirit-mediums, is also located on the flanks of Ngo-dmar lha-btsan (In. 79).²⁶ According to Karma rig-'dzin, the *btsan* yaks noted in the ritual are the *nor-bdag* of rTa-rgo, the divine protectors of yaks and other livestock (In. 81). Another livestock god noted is the *lha-lug* or 'divine sheep', the protector of sheep and ally of spirit-mediums (In. 87). The rTa-rgo gods are described in colorful language characteristic of *bon* liturgical traditions (Ins. 83, 84, 87, 88), a form of verse that has spread to Buddhist texts and especially those of the Bon religion:

- In. 68: I fumigate Byang-btsan rta-rgo dkar-po (White Snow Mountain Northern bTsan).
- In. 69: I fumigate rTa-rgo dge-rgan rogs-cig (Only Friend Venerable Old Snow Mountain).
- In. 70: I fumigate Yon-tan chos-rgyal 'bum-me (Dharma King of Excellence One Hundred Thousand Fires).
- In. 71: I fumigate rTa-rgo Gangs-bzang lha-btsan (Snow Mountain Good Mountain Lha-btsan).
- In. 72: I fumigate rTa-rgo gangs-thig btsan-dmar (Snow Mountain Snow Spots Red bTsan).
- In. 73: I fumigate rBa-rong lha-btsan smug-po.
- In. 74: I fumigate rTa-rgo lcags-nag dgu-khri.
- Ins 75, 76: I fumigate rTa-rgo ngo-dmar lha-btsan (Snow Mountain Red-Faced Lha-btsan).
- In. 77: I fumigate sGo-bdag lha-btsan spun-bdun (Master of the Portal Seven Lha-btsan Brothers).
- In. 78: I fumigate Nag-mer gser-mtsho phyug-mo (Overflowing Blackness Golden Lake of Riches).
- In. 79: I fumigate rTa-rgo shod-tram phug-pa.
- In. 80: I fumigate rTa-rgo 'om-thang gong-ma.
- In. 81: The thunderous grunts (*ngar-skad*) of the *btsan* yaks *di ri ri* (conveys a thunderous sound).
- In. 82: I fumigate rTa-rgo 'om-thang bar-pa.
- In. 83: The sound of the *btsan* army *di ri ri* (*btsan-dmag skad-sgra di ri ri* /).
- In. 84: Their arrow, spear, the bow and arrow and sword *shigs se shig* (conveys a quaking motion) (*mda' mdung 'khor-gsum shigs se shig* /).
- In. 85: I invite you here to this place of repose.
- In. 86: I fumigate rTa-rgo 'om-thang 'og-ma.
- In. 87: The bleating ('ba'-*sgra*) of the *lha-lug* *di ri ri* (conveys a very sharp sound).
- In. 88: The whistles (*bshug*) of the *btsan* men *kyu ru ru* (conveys a whistling sound).
- In. 89: Please come to this place of repose.

²⁴ The shrine of sGo-bdag on the rTa-rgo 'phrang and that of 'Om-rong ('Om-thang) are described in Bellezza 1997, pp. 315, 327 (n. 43), 398.

²⁵ For lore about this holy lake, see Bellezza 1997, p. 404.

²⁶ Information on this cult cave is found in Bellezza 1997, p. 403; 2005, pp. 70, 71, 156–158.

In. 90: Please come, we invite you for *tshogs* (ritual cakes) (*tshogs la spyān-'dren gshegs su gsol /*).

The next interval of Karma rig-'dzin's *bsang* is devoted to the Mount Ti-se (Gangs rin-po-che) region, many of the places and deities of which are well known (Ins. 91–100). Some of the great pilgrimage centers located around Ti-se are mentioned by name in this litany (Ins. 91, 95, 96, 98). The sky-treading goddess of rGyang-grags monastery on the inner circuit of Ti-se is a substantial cult figure for many of Upper Tibet's spirit-mediums (In. 94). She appears to be a native protectress of the locale that was subsequently brought into the Buddhist pantheon. The goddess rJe-btsun grol-ma dkarsngon is said to be the guardian goddess of sGrol-ma la, the famous pass straddling the high point of the Ti-se pilgrim's circuit (In. 97). dMag-zor rgyal-mo/dPal-l丹 lha-mo is Tibetan Buddhism's most important protectress, a key defender of the trance ceremony:

- In. 91: I fumigate the great lake Ma-pham g.yu-mtsho.
- In. 92: I fumigate the great *klu* gTsug-na rin-chen.
- In. 93: I fumigate Lha-dbang rdo-rje g.yu-sgron (Adamantine Power Lha Turquoise Lamp).
- In. 94: I fumigate rGyang-grags mkha'-gro dkar-mo.
- In. 95: I fumigate the great holy place (*gnas-chen*) sPre-ta pu-ri.
- In. 96: I fumigate the great holy place Gangs-dkar ti-se.
- In. 97: I fumigate rJe-btsun sgrol-ma dkar-sngon (White and Blue Noble Queen Savioress).
- In. 98: I fumigate the cemetery (*dur-khrod*) bSil-ba tshal.²⁷
- In. 99: I fumigate the mistress of the cemetery dMag-zor rgyal-mo.
- In. 100: I invite you to this place of repose.

The following sequence is mostly dedicated to the *dgra-lha*, the warrior spirits of Tibet (Ins. 101–129). Several celebrated *btsan* of Upper Tibet are also offered purification in this interval (Ins. 101, 102, 104). The *dregs-pa* are likewise heeded (a large class of minor deities of diverse origins) (In. 111), as well as Kha-'dzin and sKyes-bu chen-po, appellations for any manner of indigenous gods (Ins. 108, 109). The *dgra-lha* act as personal protectors and patrons, achieving their ends through aggressive actions and militaristic means. This extremely popular class of gods has been amalgamated to Buddhist doctrines and notions of piety, but here in the *bsang* of Karma rig-'dzin they retain their indigenous character as mercenary spirits. The *dgra-lha* are unabashedly beseeched to provide for the needs of their supplicants and to destroy enemies. As noted, according to the Bon tradition, the *dgra-lha* (*sgra-bla*) were the original objects of possession for Tibetan spirit-mediums.²⁸ The conspicuous place of these deities in Karma rig-'dzin's *bsang* ritual lends credence to this assertion, as does the central placement of the *dgra-lha* in many of the curative, apotropaic and fortune-bestowing rites of various trance ceremonies:

²⁷ Originally a great charnel ground in India. The Ti-se counterpart is located above 'Bri-ra phug monastery on the trail leading to the sGrol-ma la.

²⁸ The tradition of Bon *sgra-bla* in spirit-mediumship is comprehensively examined in Bellezza 2005.

- ln. 101: I fumigate bTsan-rgod rol-pa skya-bdun.²⁹
 ln. 102: I fumigate the great bTsan 'bar-ba spun-bdun.
 ln. 103: I fumigate gNyan-stag dmar-po of the *dgra-lha*.
 ln. 104: I fumigate Zangs-ri 'bar-ba btsan-rgod.
 ln. 105: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the father (*pha*) and paternal uncle (*A-khu*).
 ln. 106: I fumigate the *lha* of the mother (*ma*), maternal aunt (*sru-mo*) and maternal uncle (*zhang*).
 ln. 107: I fumigate the four brothers of the long-life lineage (*tshe-rabs*).
 ln. 108: I fumigate Kha-'dzin (Great Advisor) and your circle.
 ln. 109: I fumigate sKyes-bu chen-po (Great Holy Man) and your circle.
 ln. 110: I fumigate Ye-shes chen-mo (Great Wisdom Mother) and your circle.
 ln. 111: I fumigate the *dregs-pa* (haughty ones) and your circle.
 ln. 112: I invite you here to this place of repose.
 ln. 113: I fumigate dGra-lha me-stag dmar-po (Red dGra-lha Sparks).
 ln. 114: I fumigate Mi-bdun rta-bdun (Seven Men Seven Horses).
 ln. 115: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the swift ones (*myur-mgyogs-can*).
 ln. 116: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of abiding virility and bravery (*dpa' rgod 'dzoms-pa*).
 ln. 117: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of indomitable bravery (*dpa'-snying che-ba*).
 ln. 118: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of abiding swift power (*mthu-myur 'dzoms-pa*).
 ln. 119: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* of the cutter of the life-force of the enemy (*dgra-srog gcod-pa*).
 ln. 120: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* that plunders the enemy's wealth (*dgra-nor 'dzoms-pa*).
 ln. 121: You *dgra-lha* and your circles please come here (*dgra-lha 'khor-bcas gshegs su gsol* /).
 ln. 122: I fumigate the great army (*dmag-dpung chen-mo*) of *dgra-lha*.
 ln. 123: You are mounted on an onager with a white muzzle (*chibs su kha-dkar rkyang-bo bcibs* /).
 ln. 124: Always be our advisor and befriend us (*kha-'dzin yun du 'grogs-par gyis* /).
 ln. 125: { / / }³⁰ *thibs se thib* (conveys a convergence of great numbers of spirits).
 ln. 126: Surrounded by a circle of one hundred thousand *dgra-lha* ('*khor-yang dgra-lha 'bum gyis bskor* /).
 ln. 127: I fumigate the 920,000 *dgra-lha*.
 ln. 128: I fumigate 990,000 *dgra-lha*.
 ln. 129: I invite you here to this place of repose.

The next portion of the *bsang* contains a welter of divinities in which little attempt is made to separate one type from another (Ins. 130–155). It begins with the *btsan* of Bar-tha, Go-ra, gNam-ru, and another named *btsan* (Ins. 130–132), as well as the *ma-sangs* (ancestral spirits) and *wer-ma* (warrior

²⁹ A study of this *btsan* brotherhood popular in Upper Tibet is made in Bellezza 2005.

³⁰ This pair of slashes enclosed in brackets designates that one or more words in a line are inaudible.

spirits) (lns. 131, 133). The *dgra-lha* are described using quaint similes of the Upper Tibetan oral tradition (lns. 134–137). In the midst of these diverse gods dPal-ldan lha-mo is invoked (ln. 139). In the Buddhist tradition, she is often viewed as the chief (*gtso-mo*) of these kinds of local and elemental spirits but in the *bsang* of Karma rig-'dzin she has an intimate place among them rather than being singled out for special treatment. Among more mountain gods and elemental spirits, the *dgra-lha* are again cited (ln. 149, 150). In the purification of the great mountain god of southern Tibet Yar-lha sham-po (ln. 152) and 'Od-lde spu-rgyal (ln. 153), an ancestral king, the caesura *ni* is added to the lines for greater emphasis. This grammatical structure is likewise encountered in the Dunhuang manuscripts and ancient *gsol-kha* literature:

- ln. 130: I fumigate Nam-ra and bTsan-rgod go-ra.
- ln. 131: I fumigate the *ma-sangs*, rKyang-khra and others.
- ln. 132: I fumigate Zog gi bdud-btsan smug-po.
- ln. 133: I fumigate the three hundred and sixty *wer-ma*.
- ln. 134: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* who are like a herd of congregating yaks (*dgra-lha 'brong khyu rub 'dra bsang /*).
- ln. 135: I fumigate the wielders of swords (*gri bzung*) who are like a herd of congregating yaks.
- ln. 136: I fumigate the spear holders (*mdung bzung*) who are like a mob.
- ln. 137: I fumigate the bow holders (*gzhu bzung*) who are like a congregating herd of onagers.
- ln. 138: I fumigate the red butcher of bSam-yas (a *btsan* deity).
- ln. 139: I fumigate dPal-ldan dmag-zor rgyal-mo.
- ln. 140: I fumigate 'Brong-dur rog-po of bSam-yas (a wild yak god).
- ln. 141: I fumigate A-myès rma-chen spom-ra (the great mountain god of A-mdö).
- ln. 142: I fumigate the three hundred and sixty orders of *rma*.
- ln. 143: I fumigate the excellent southern world (*lho yi 'dzam-bu-gling mchog*).
- ln. 144: I fumigate the three hundred and sixty circles of *klu*.
- ln. 145: I fumigate gNyan-chen thang-lha of the west.
- ln. 146: I fumigate the 360 circles of the *gnyan*.
- ln. 147: I fumigate Lha-mtsho spos-gnas of the north.
- ln. 148: I fumigate the three hundred and sixty circles of *btsan*.
- ln. 149: I fumigate all the mighty *dgra-lha*,
- ln. 150: Roving in all directions, east, south, west, and north (*shar lho nub byang kun 'gros-pa'i / dgra-lha gnyan-po thams-cad bsang /*).
- ln. 151: I fumigate the *rma* fraternal lineage (*rabs-mched*) and the brothers and sisters (*lcam dral*).
- ln. 152: I fumigate that Yar-lha, yes, sham-po (*yar-lha de ni sham-po bsang /*).
- ln. 153: I fumigate that 'Od-de, yes, spu-rgyal.
- ln. 154: I fumigate gNyan-po sku-lha ger-mdzod.
- ln. 155: I invite you here to this place of repose.

The next sequence of the *bsang* is dedicated to the gNyan-chen thang-lha group (lns. 155–165). It brings the zoomorphic circle of this mountain pantheon to the fore (lns. 160–164). These are well known remedial spirits of

the Upper Tibetan spirit-mediums, mirroring the dominance of the pastoral way of the life in the region:

- ln. 155: I fumigate gNyan-chen thang-lha of the world.
- ln. 156: I fumigate Thang-sras mchor-po of gNyan-chen thang-lha.
- ln. 157: I fumigate Thang-lha yar-bzhur btsan-po.
- ln. 158: I fumigate Thang-lha'i dge-bsnyen dkar-po.
- ln. 159: I fumigate the circle of three hundred and sixty *gnyan* of Thang-lha.
- ln. 160: I fumigate the white *lha-rta* (divine horses) of Thang-lha.
- ln. 161: I fumigate the *lha-nor gwa-pa* (divine yaks with a white face) of Thang-lha.
- ln. 162: I fumigate the *lha-lug gwa-pa* (divine sheep with a white face) of Thang-lha.
- ln. 163: I fumigate the *lha-ra ngang-ba* (orange divine goats) of Thang-lha.
- ln. 164: I fumigate the *khyi-btsan dmar-po* (red *btsan* dogs) of Thang-lha.
- ln. 165: I invite you here to this place of repose.

The ensuing sequence begins with the Rong-lha/Rong-btsan gods of Khams, a celebrated group of *yul-lha* (Ins. 166–168). The rest of the sequence is primarily directed towards the rGya-gar ('India'), a diverse class of possessing and remedial gods (Ins. 169–190). These include Indian Buddhist tantric adepts of yore (Ins. 171, 177); Thang-stong rgyal-po, the fifteenth-century Tibetan mastermind (ln. 172); and a variety of cult gods involved in the proceedings of the trance ceremony. Also, famous personages of the *gcod* tradition, Pha dam-pa sangs-rgyas and Ma-cig lab-sgron, are heralded (Ins. 174, 175). These twelfth-century historical figures act as patrons and protectors of the trance. Each line ends in the typical fashion with the verb *bsang*:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ln. 166: Rong-lha rgyal-mtshan of the south. ln. 167: Rong-btsan kha-ba dkar-po ln. 168: Three hundred and sixty valley Rong-lha. ln. 169: <i>Lha</i> lineage of eighty <i>rgya-gar</i> ln. 170: rGya-gar me-ri dmar-po ln. 171: Eighty <i>sngags</i> lineage <i>rgya-gar</i> ln. 172: The adept (<i>grub-chen</i>) Thang-stong rgyal-po ln. 173: Yum-chen kun-dga' blo-gros ln. 174: Pha-cig dam-pa sangs-rgyas ln. 175: Ma-cig yum kyi sgron-ma | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ln. 176: Adepts of the <i>gcod</i> lineage ln. 177: Sa-ra ha-pa ln. 178: sNgags-chen hum-nag me-'bar ln. 179: Invitation ln. 180: rGya-gar me-ri dmar-po ln. 181: rGya-gar A-tsa sngon-po ln. 182: rGya-gar ri-brag mchor-po ln. 183: rGya-gar { / } ln. 184: rGya-gar { / } ln. 185: rGya-gar { / } ln. 186: rGya-gar yar-rtse bla-ma ln. 187: rGya-gar chos-sgrub bla-ma ln. 188: Yar-rtse dbu-dkar bla-ma ln. 189: White vulture of the west ln. 190: Invitation |
|--|---|

Consequent invocations in the *bsang* are for A-ne gung-sman rgyal-mo (Noble Woman Benefactress of the Heavens Queen), a personality of the Ge-sar epic, who appears to be modeled on the ancient goddess gNam-phyi gung-rgyal (Celestial Grandmother Queen of the Heavens) (Ins. 191–213):

On the right side of the eight [parts] of heavens, on the left side of the eight [parts] of the heavens, between the horns of the male wild yak of the white clouds, in the precious house of crystal, I fumigate A-ne gung-sman rgyal-mo. On your head you wear a golden crown of five diadems (*rigs-lnga*). Your golden crown of five diadems *thibs se thib* (conveys a sparkling). You have the conch [white] face of the full moon. Your eyes are like the great star at dawn. In your right hand you hold the *daru* of acacia (*seng-ldeng*)³¹ with hangings ('phur-ma). The melodious sound of the *daru khro lo lo* (conveys a musical sound). In your left hand you hold a white silver bell. The melodious sound of your bell *khro lo lo*. From your mouth you blow a human thighbone trumpet (*rkang-gling*). The sound of the human thighbone trumpet *di ri ri* (conveys a thunderous sound). On your body are precious ornaments. Also, you are surrounded by a circle of one hundred thousand *mkha'-gro*. You ride the white lioness below you. You lead the blue dragon behind you. On the plain you lead a black (*rog-mo*) cow. I fumigate the chief of the one hundred thousand *mkha'-gro*. I invite you here to this place of repose.³²

The next sequence of Karma rig-'dzin's *bsang* recitations are for a collection of tantric tutelary deities (*yi-dam*), Buddhist protectors (Chos-skyong) (Ins. 214–228), as well as for a couple native goddesses of Tibet. These latter figures are the well-known mountain goddess of the gNyan-chen thang-lha range, Jo-mo gangs-dkar, and the long life quintet Tshe-ring mched-lnga (Ins. 214, 219). Once again, we see the intertwining of diverse classes of deities with no regard for their relative doctrinal status. Reference to the 360 horse-headed tutelary gods uses a numerical ascription common in the Bon tradition (ln. 226). All of these lines of the liturgy end with the verb *bsang*:

- ln. 214: rGya-gar jo-mo gangs-dkar
- ln. 215: mKha'-gro sgron gyi dbang-mo
- ln. 216: mKha'-gro ye-shes mtsho-rgyal
- ln. 217: dPal-ldan dung-skyong lha-mo
- ln. 218: Bri-gung A-phyi chos-skyong
- ln. 219: dPa'-mo tshe-ring mched-lnga
- ln. 220: Invitation

³¹ In a Bon mythic origins of the drum (*rnnga-rabs*) text, acacia is recorded as one of five different types of wood growing around the world mountain Ri-rab, from which the primeval *gshen* sTag-la me-'bar made drums. See Bellezza 2005, pp. 425–427.

³² *dgung-gnam brgyad gi g.yas zur na / dgung-gnam brgyad kyi g.yon zur na / sprin-dkar 'brong-pho'i rwa bar na / rin-chen shel gyi khang chen na / A-ne gung-sman rgyal-mo bsang / dbu la gser gi rigs-lnga gsol / gser gyi rigs-lnga thibs se thib / zhal ras bco lnya'i dung zla la / spyan-mig thorang skar-chen 'dra / phyag g.yas seng-ldeng daru bsnams / daru gsung-snyan khro lo lo / phyag g.yon dingul-dkar dril-bu bsnams / dril-bu gsung-snyan khro lo lo / zhal nas mi rkang-gling-bu 'bud / mi rkang skad-sgra di ri ri / sku la rin-chen rgyan-cha la / 'khor yang mkha'-gro 'bum gyis bskor / 'og la seng-ge dkar-mo bcibs / rol la g.yu-'brug snigon-mo khrid / thang la ba-mo rog-mo khrid / mkha'-gro 'bum gyi gtso-mo bsang / 'dir bzhugs-gnas la spyan 'dren no /.*

- ln. 221: Khro-bo rta-mgrin dmar-po
- ln. 222: Yi-dam rdo-rje 'jigs-byed
- ln. 223: Yi-dam kha-gsung brag-btsan
- ln. 224: Khro-bo rngam-chen 'bar-ba
- ln. 225: Se-ra rta-mgrin 'bar-ba
- ln. 226: Three hundred and sixty rTa-mgrin
- ln. 227: Invitation
- ln. 228: Invitation to partake of *tshogs*

The final part of the *bsang* returns to native deities of Upper Tibet, not all of which can be identified by Karma rig-'dzin (Ins. 229–237). All lines terminate in the customary fashion with *bsang*. Although, he is not yet fully possessed, Karma rig-'dzin discloses that this interval was orchestrated by the gods themselves. He states that this is so because he has no recollection of what was spoken and this is not the way in which he would customarily end his *bsang* ritual. It seems as though the native divinities of Upper Tibet are exercising the right to be the last ones heard in the liturgy. In the *bsang*, they co-inhabit the liturgy with the so-called higher gods of Buddhism with no apparent contradiction or conflict. Here the two streams of Tibetan religious tradition, lamaist and non-lamaist, exist side by side as if each one was oblivious of the other. The deities of both categories appear to be able to fulfill the same protective and patronizing role, intimating that the Buddhist gods may not be as essential to the trance ceremony as they are unswervingly stated to be. This would seem especially true if one takes a long view of the history of Upper Tibetan spirit-mediumship:

- ln. 229: Lha-btsan mi-dkar (White Man Lha-btsan)
- ln. 230: Lha-ri { / }
- ln. 231: Lha-ri mi-bkra rta-bkra (Divine Mountain Shining Man Shining Horse)
- ln. 232: sKya-rengs and her circle, the assembly of *lha*
- ln. 233: bTsan-rgod {byang-chub} grags-pa
- ln. 234: {g.Yu-lung brag-btsan jo-bo}
- ln. 235: {g.Yu-'od} tsha-tsha dmar-po
- ln. 236: { / } Gangs la nyi-shar
- ln. 237: Invitation

PHO BO SRID RGYAL (born circa 1927)

i. Biographical sketch

Pho-bo srid-rgyal, a kind and gracious man, is gNam-ru's senior-most *lha-pa*. I first had the privilege of interviewing him in 2003 (October 31 to November 2). Pho-bo srid-rgyal's paternal clan is sBa-pha and his maternal clan gDong-pa. He worships a paternal clan god (*rus-lha*) named Khams-btsan, divulging his ancestral origin in eastern Tibet some generations ago. His main gods of possession are Thang-lha mi-dkar rta-dkar (the Thang-lha group), rKyang-khra (the main *btsan* of gNam-ru) and bTsan-rgod nam-ra (the main *btsan* of Bar-tha), all well known figures in the eastern Byang-thang. Pho-bo srid-rgyal's mentor was the famous spirit-medium of Ring-pa,

dPon-skya mGon-po dbang-rgyal (died circa 1974), the father of the late dPon-skya lha-dbang.³³ Pho-bo srid-rgyal states that when the two spirit-mediums went into trance together they would perform *bsang* and *gser-skyems*, to strengthen the bonds between themselves and the deities. This was necessary so that they would prove reliable partners in the service of the community. Pho-bo srid-rgyal notes that at the age of 25, a consecration ceremony (*rab-gnas*) was made for him by the high lama Sa-skya gong-ma. His final act before becoming a fully empowered spirit-medium was to undertake an 11-day pilgrimage around gNam-mtsho. Pho-bo srid-rgyal reports going into trance many dozens of times per year. He has no set fee schedule and treats the indigent free of charge. Those who can afford to pay for his services offer either money or livestock. In many ways, his regimen of curative rites resembles that of the great dPon-skya lineage to which he is connected through tutelage. He observes that none of his four children practice as spirit-mediums.

ii. The structure of the trance ceremony

The trance ceremony from which a recording was made was held on the morning of May 21, 2004. The presiding deity of possession was rKyang-khra (Variegated Onager), considered to be a son of gNyan-chen thang-lha.³⁴ The purpose of the trance was to bless the participants of the ongoing High Tibet Welfare Expedition, which had suffered a number of logistical setbacks. The liturgical and oracular sequences of the trance ceremony were structured as follows:

1. *bsang* (3:47 to 9:20). A rhythmic chant. Near its end the pace of the recitations picks up in intensity until most of the last 14 lines of the ritual are inaudible. The *bsang* is made to the accompaniment of the drum and *gshang*. The *bsang* ritual culminates in the gods entering Pho-bo srid-rgyal, a development marked by his crying, “*phat!*”
2. *Lha-rabs* (proclamation of the lineage of the deities) and ‘*phrin-bcol* (entrusting of activities to the deities) (9:21 to 29:20). This section of the trance ceremony is characterized by poetic and often cryptic descriptions of the deities and their places of residence. The officiating god rKyang-khra announces his identity to those in attendance only well into this portion of the proceedings. Pho-bo srid-rgyal as this *btsan* spirit conjures a long line of protective *dgra-lha* and livestock deities. Interspersed between these native gods are occasional lines appealing to Buddhist protectors and sky-goers but very few proper names are articulated. Under possession, the timbre of the *lha-pa*’s voice is shallower. He plays his drum regularly and sometimes his *gshang* as well. The descant melody changes in pitch and tempo several times during this segment.

³³ The family history and activities of the *lha-pa* dPon-skya/Pho-bo lha-dbang are detailed in Bellezza 2005, pp. 110–141.

³⁴ Information on this *btsan*, derived from the oral and literary traditions, is found in Bellezza 2005.

3. *Lung-btsan* (the declamation of prophecies) (29:21 to 34:35). The gods declare that the High Tibet Welfare Expedition would indeed prove successful with all its aims being realized. There would however be challenges and we are told, "You make the prayer of clearing obstacles whatever place you go" (*khyod sa-gar song-bar chad lam sel thon* /). This segment also features the use of the drum and *gshang*. The enunciation of the words tends to be clear and measured, and the manner of chanting rhythmic.

4. *gShegs-bskyod* (the retreat of the deities from the *lha-pa* and the return to their abodes) (34:36 to 39:30). rKyang-khra orders back the hosts of helping spirits under his charge to their homes in picturesque and stimulating language. The impression is one of tremendous activity taking place. This last part of the trance ceremony is musically identical with the preceding section; they are only differentiated from one another by what is being sung. The *lha-bzhugs* culminates with the word *phat*, indicating that Pho-bo srid-rgyal has returned to his normal frame of consciousness.

iii. The bsang

The fumigation ritual of Pho-bo srid-rgyal begins in a conventional fashion with a Buddhist dedication (Ins. 1–16). Technically speaking, it is not possible to fumigate or make any other type of action that could have any impact on the Buddha or other-worldly Buddhist protectors (*'jig-ten las 'das-pa'i srung-ma*). In this theological context, the *bsang* becomes an offering of incense (*bsang-mchod*) rather than a cleansing procedure. In the first step of the performance, Pho-bo srid-rgyal calls upon the assistance of and takes refuge in Buddhism and its tutelary deities (*yi-dam*), sky-goers (*mkha'-'gro*), and protectors (*srung-ma*). This reflects the hierachal arrangement of the deities in the trances of Upper Tibet; those of Buddhism watch over and orchestrate the actions of the 'lesser' divine members of the ceremony. It is popularly held by the spirit-mediums that all the transactions of the trance are made under the auspices of the Buddhist gods, which have full discretion over the spirits incumbent in the physical environment:

- In. 1: *Om A hum bdzra gu-ru padma siddhi hum.*
- In. 2: I offer the lama Dharma protector { // } purification (*bla-ma chos-skyong* { // } *bsang* /).
- In. 3: I offer the objects of refuge Triple Gems purification (*skyabs gnas dkon-mchog gsum-po bsang* /).
- In. 4: I offer the assembly of pacific and wrathful tutelary deities purification (*yi-dam zhi khro'i lha tshogs bsang* /).
- In. 5: I offer the sky-goers, wealth *lha* and Buddhist Doctrine defenders purification (*mkha'-'gro nor-lha bstan-skyong bsang* /).
- In. 6: Please receive these holy offerings (*mchod-pa dam-pa 'di bzhes la* /).
- In. 7: Please receive this adamantine libation (*rdo-rje gser-skyems 'di bzhes la* /).
- In. 8: Please carry out the activities to which you are entrusted (*bcol-ba'i phrin-las sgrub gyur cig* /).

Ins. 9 to 16: <consists of a nearly identical repetition of the above lines>

Once the dedication is complete, there is a litany of Buddhist protective deities, some of which were originally enlisted from the indigenous pantheon (Ins. 17–28). These protectors (both minor and important) hold positions between the rarefied ontological plane of Buddhas and tantric tutelary gods and that of the genii loci. Like commanders on the battlefield, the Buddhist protectors mediate between the Buddhist sovereigns and the indigenous spirits (the foot troops who carry out the work of healing and combating demons). The *lha-srin sde-brgyad* are the eight orders of elemental spirits as conceived in Buddhist tradition (ln. 29). They are found in the retinue of many a Buddhist protector. Each line of this segment of the ritual ends with *bsang* (I/we fumigate), as does much of the rest of the liturgy:

- ln. 17: I fumigate Lha yi dbang-po brgya-byin (Indra).
- ln. 18: I fumigate Lha-min dbang-po thag-bzang (a king of the demigods).
- ln. 19: I fumigate Klu yi rgyal-po {dga'-po} (a king of the *klu*).
- ln. 20: I fumigate Mi-'am skyes-mchog.
- ln. 21: I fumigate gNod-sbyin gang-ba bzang-po.³⁵
- ln. 22: I fumigate the Dharma defender Ma-ha ka-la (mGon-po).
- ln. 23: I fumigate gNod-sbyin shan-pa gri-thogs.³⁶
- ln. 24: I fumigate Srin-po {g.yu yi srog-bdag}.
- ln. 25: I fumigate bDud-po re-ti 'gong-yag.³⁷
- ln. 26: I fumigate Chos-skyong gnod-sbyin dmar-po.³⁸
- ln. 27: I fumigate Lha-mo {cang-seng blo-ldan}.
- ln. 28: I fumigate dGe-bsnyen rdo-rje {legs-pa}.³⁹
- ln. 29: I fumigate the *lha-srin sde-brgyad* and their circles.
- ln. 30: Please carry out the activities to which you have been entrusted.

Now the focus of the *bsang* shifts to the native pantheon but with the generic kinds of figures found throughout the Tibetan cultural world. Perforce, many of these gods and goddesses have assumed Buddhist iconographic forms and classifications. Unlike the *bsang* of Karma rig-'dzin, very few deities specific to the Upper Tibetan environment are heralded by Pho-bo srid-rgyal. I am of the opinion that the more standardized *bsang* of Pho-bo srid-rgyal is a liturgical innovation whose origin postdates the genre recited by Karma rig-'dzin. Although there is an interpenetration of Buddhist

³⁵ This god belongs to a subdivision of the Dregs-pa sde-brgyad known as Phyi yi sde-brgyad. This division of deities is commonly invoked during magic ceremonies. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p. 254.

³⁶ This god is part of a subdivision of the Dregs-pa sde-brgyad known as gSang-ba'i sde-brgyad (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 255, 259).

³⁷ Originally, a chief *bdud* in the retinue of the Bon deity Mi-bdud 'byams-pa. According to Buddhist reckonings, he is a member of a subdivision of the Dregs-pa sde-brgyad known as gSang-ba'i sde-brgyad (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 255, 259, 274, 288).

³⁸ This is the well known protector Ts'i'u dmar-po, a chief of the *btsan*. This god is scrutinized in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 166–176.

³⁹ An important protector who resides in sGar-sde. He is studied in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 154–159; Bellezza 2005, pp. 302–311.

deities in Karma rig-dzin's *bsang*, it is largely founded upon native or *bon* liturgical traditions.

The first deity mentioned, Klu-rgyal dung-skyong, is a popular king of the *klu* who is believed to reside in many places across the plateau (ln. 31). Reference to the *dgra-lha* of the right shoulder and the *ma-mo* of the left shoulder is an old Tibetan belief concerning the relative position of gender-specific protectors on the human body (Ins. 38, 39). In addition to the ubiquitous *sde-brgyad* and *lha-btsan* (Ins. 40, 41), there are what appear to be personal guardians who reside inside the human body (Ins. 42, 43). Localized and astrological divinities are accorded a number of lines in the recitations (Ins. 44, 49–53). These are immediately followed by celebrated Buddhist *sa-bdag* (earth sovereigns) (Ins. 56, 57). Two lines are also devoted to the '*go-ba'i lha-lnga*, the quintet of guardian spirits who are thought to have various seats on the human body (ln. 60, 61):

- ln. 31: *Kye!* We offer to the excellent *klu*, Klu-rgyal dung-skyong.
- ln. 32: *Nag-po* { / / }.
- ln. 33: { / / / }.⁴⁰
- ln. 34: In the center (*dbus-phyogs*).
- ln. 35: To the *sde-brgyad* and their retinues in [all] directions (*phyogs gi sde-brgyad 'khor-bcas la* /),
- ln. 36: Receive this adamantine libation,
- ln. 37: And please carry out the activities to which you have been entrusted.
- ln. 38: I fumigate the *dgra-lha* manifestations of the right shoulder (*dpung g.yas dgra-lha'i sprul-pa bsang* /).
- ln. 39: I fumigate the *ma-mo* manifestations of the left shoulder.
- ln. 40: I fumigate the *sde-brgyad* manifestations of the right side of the body (*glo g.yas sde-brgyad sprul-pa bsang* /).
- ln. 41: I fumigate the *lha-btsan* manifestations of the left side of the body.
- ln. 42: I fumigate the *gza'-bdud* and *gnyan-bdud* manifestations [in],
- ln. 43: The eyes, heart and liver, these three (*mig dang snying dang mchin-pa gsum/ gza'-bdud gnyan-bdud sprul-pa bsang* /).
- ln. 44: *gZhi-bdag* manifestations and their retinues,
- ln. 45: Carry out the activities to which you have been entrusted.
- lns. 46–48: <a largely repetitive sequence pertaining to Buddhist protection and refuge>
- ln. 49: I fumigate the seventy-five *dpal-mgon* (minor protectors often of the *yul-lha* class).
- ln. 50: I fumigate the haughty (*dregs-pa lha-srin sde-brgyad*).
- ln. 51: I fumigate the five orders (*sde-lnga*) of Srid-pa'i *gza'-chen* (Great Planets of Existence).
- ln. 52: I fumigate [the deities] of the year, month, day, and time { / / } (*lo zla zhag dus* { / / } *bsang* /).
- ln. 53: All the *yul-lha* and treasure protectors,
- ln. 54: With your retinues please receive this libation (*yul-lha gter-srung ma-lus pa/ 'khor-cas gser-skyems 'di bzhes la* /).

⁴⁰ Three slashes enclosed in brackets designates that an entire line in the recording is incomprehensible.

- In. 55: Carry out the activities to which you have been entrusted.
 In. 56: I fumigate Sa-bdag hal-khyi nag-po (a deity of astrology and divination).⁴¹
 In. 57: I fumigate Sa yi lha-mo brtan-ma (an earth goddess).⁴²
 In. 58: I fumigate the Dharma protectors and the great kings *sde-brgyad*.
 In. 59: I fumigate the seventy-five mGon-po.⁴³
 In. 60: I fumigate all the *gzhi-bdag* of this country (*yul 'di'i gzhi-bdag thams-cad bsang /*).
 In. 61: I fumigate the *pho-lha* (god of males), *dgra-lha* and *srog-lha* (god of the life-force).
 In. 62: I fumigate all the *mo-lha* (goddess of females) and *zhang-lha* (uncle god).

Indigenous and Buddhist deities are unabashedly interwoven in the next segment of the *bsang* (Ins. 63–69). One might see this as a sign of the tremendous commitment that Pho-bo srid-rgyal has to Buddhism and indeed, this is the case. Although he will soon be possessed by local spirits and his consciousness replaced by theirs, his faith lies squarely with the divinities and tenets of Vajrayāna Buddhism. His religion, his conceptual and affective beacon, will see him through the difficult transition and keep him safe while his own consciousness rests somewhat precariously in the mirror (*gling*) of the trance ceremony. Yet, I think the interposition of native and Buddhist motifs must be seen in a historical light as well. These represent two cultural categories of largely independent historical genesis that have become intermingled over the centuries. Without critical self-reflection on the part of contemporary *lha-pa*, indigenous and Buddhist religious traditions have been brought together in the *bsang* as mutually beneficial forces, which reinforce the efficacy of one another. At least as regards the trance ceremonies of the spirit-mediums, these disparate traditions can be seen as having an equivalent function and worth. Pho-bo srid-rgyal concludes these recitations by offering the deities and his root lama the purification of incense (Ins. 71–73):

- In. 63: To all the *gzhi-bdag* of tangible existence and their circles,
 In. 64: Please receive these adamantine offerings and incense (*snang-srid gzhi-bdag 'khor-bcas la / rdo rdo-rje bsang mchod 'di bzhes la /*).
 In. 65: Carry out the activities to which you have been entrusted.
 In. 66: I fumigate the glorious lamas of {ordinary and special consummations} (*{mchog thun dngos-grub} bsang /*).
 In. 67: I fumigate the pilgrimage protectors of the ocean of Buddhist scriptures and sky-goers (*rgyud-sde rgya-mtsho'i gnas-srung mkha'-gro bsang /*).
 In. 68: Mother protectors, *sa-bdag* and {Tshe-ring} mched-lnga to you,

⁴¹ According to the *Vaidūrya dkar po*, this well known *sa-bdag* has human, canine, avian, and serpentine anatomical features (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 264).

⁴² According to the *Vaidūrya dkar po*, she holds a vessel at her breast and is yellow in color (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 264, 265).

⁴³ The various mGon-po often appear in a group of seventy-five members. They are described in detail in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, pp. 38–67.

In. 69: I give offerings of incense, perfectly carry out our wishes (*ma-mgon sa-bdag {tshe-ring} mched-lnga la / bsang-mchod 'bul-lo bsam-don lhun-'grub mdzod /*).

In. 70: *Om Arya kro ta hu lu sarba tista bdzra hum phat.*

In. 71: I fumigate the three hundred and sixty *yi-dam*.

In. 72: I fumigate the root lama of myself in this period (*rang-rang dus da rtsa-ba'i bla-ma bsang /*).

In. 73: {I fumigate} the twelve *brtan-ma*.

The last segment of Pho-bo srid-rgyal's *bsang* has a very different quality about it than the previous ones. For one thing, the chanting is now much more musical and the tempo livelier. The pace of the performance picks up to the point that many of the last lines are completely inaudible. It is thought that the deities of the trance having been beckoned to the ritual venue are descending upon the spirit-medium's *gling* and his very body. As his own consciousness begins to dim, he beseeches his Buddhist allies to remember and help him (Ins. 74–77). In the recitations he asks them to 'be aware of him' or 'think about him', rendered by the verb *mkhyen*. In a last self-conscious act he earnestly prays to his root lama (*rtsa-ba'i bla-ma*) to stay with him (In. 78). The moment of possession is drawing close for Pho-bo srid-rgyal because in rapidly sung lines he announces the presence of its gods. First they appear as a generic group, merely known as the *sde-brgyad* (In. 80). But in the course of scant seconds, the chief of the possessing spirits is made known to the spirit-medium; it is an aspect of the great mountain god gNyan-chen thang-lha in his most pacific form (Ins. 81–86). As Pho-bo srid-rgyal's consciousness slips from his body, this god is described in the guise of a long life deity holding a silver urn and draped arrow. Other lines follow but most of them are incomprehensible and what can be gleaned has little context (Ins. 87–99). The import of these recitations appears to be that more and more gods and goddesses are entering the spirit-medium and *gling*, as his consciousness is displaced to a special site in the *gling*:

In. 74: *Kye!* Please think about me tutelary god Gu-ru drag-po (*yi-dam gu-ru drag-po mkhyen /*).

In. 75: Please think about me great mothers (*yum-chen*) and sky-goers.

In. 76: { // }

In. 77: Please think about me the root lama of myself.

In. 78: I pray to you, please stay above the crown of my head (*gsol-ba 'debs so spyi-bo'i gtsug du bzhugs /*).

In. 79: { // }

In. 80: Circle of *lha sde-brgyad* { // }.

In. 81: The power master of the world *lha* ('*dzam-gling lha yi mthu bdag /*).

In. 82: Thang-lha of the world ('*dzam-gling thang-lha*).

In. 83: The world's master of power gNyan-chen thang-lha ('*dzam-gling mthu-bdag gnyan-chen thang-lha /*).

In. 84: You ride on a light orange horse of the *lha* mount (*chibs su lha-rta ngang-dkar bcibs /*).

In. 85: You {hold a draped arrow} in your right hand (*phyag g.yas {mda'-dar bsnams /}*).

- In. 86: You hold a white silver urn (*dngul-dkar bum-pa*) in your left hand.
 Ins. 87–89: { // / }
 In. 90: Great mothers and sky-goers { / / }.
 Ins. 91–96 { // / }
 In. 97: bTsan-rgod nor-bu spun-bdun (Wild bTsan Jewel Seven Brothers).
 Ins. 98, 99 { // / }
 In. 100: *phat!*

Relying on the borrowed body of the *lha-pa*, rKyang-khra announces his identity after vividly describing his abode. The god warbles, “Hey (*A kho-re*), the borrowed body of me, yeah (*nga*), gZugs mchor-po (Handsome Body). Hey, if you do not know the body of me, yeah, bTsan mchor-po (Handsome bTsan), yeah, it is me the eastern {jewel of} the world, hey, known as rKyang-khra.”⁴⁴ Poetic and often enigmatic verses mark the utterances of the possessing deities. I shall explore these and other verbal aspects of the trance ceremonies of Upper Tibet in due course.

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⁴⁴ *nga gzugs mchor po'i rang lus la A kho re g.yar po de / nga btsan mchor po'i rang lus la A kho re ma shes na / nga shar {nor bu'i} 'dzam gling la A kho re rkyang khra zhig zlo /*. Diemberger (2005: 113–115) provides an unannotated translation (Tibetan words phonetically rendered, and without the benefit of the Tibetan text) of a possessing deity, an emanation of rTa-rgo, announcing his presence in old style language to those in attendance. This occurred in the trance ceremony of a female spirit-medium (*lha-bka'-ma*) from Ngam-ring.

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P1: Karma rig-'dzin donning his ritual attire before the start of the trance ceremony.



P2: Karma rig-'dzin as the god bDud-btsan dmar-po receiving an offering scarf (kha-btags) from one of the supplicants. Note the mda'-dar in the left hand of the spirit-medium.



P3: Pho-bo srid-rgyal with an assistant preparing the altar for his trance ceremony.



P4: Pho-bo srid-rgyal possessed by Kyang-khra forcefully recalls the lineage of the deities while playing his big drum (rnga-chen) and gshang.

Reb kong: Religion, History and Identity of a Sino-Tibetan borderland town*

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Introduction

iven that Reb kong is an important place in A mdo, the north-eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau, so far it has received relatively little attention.¹ The monastery of Reb kong, Rong bo dgon chen (Rong bo bde chen chos 'khor gling), counts as one of the larger monasteries in A mdo. Reb kong is the birthplace of a number of remarkable people who are viewed as important religious, political and cultural figures within Tibetan history. The Buddhist master Chos rje don grub rin chen (1309-1385), who was the teacher of Tsong kha pa (1357-1419), Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho (1606-1677), an influential monk-scholar, the yogi Zhabs dkar tshogs drug rang grol (1781-1851), the intellectual and historian Dge 'dun chos 'phel

* At the time of writing this article, Sonam Tsering was working on a similar project and he generously shared his knowledge and passion about Reb kong with me. I must also thank Robbie Barnett, Geoffrey Samuel, Ulrich Pagel and two anonymous reviewers, who have read an earlier draft of the paper, for their valuable suggestions and comments.

¹ The following works deal with individuals from Reb kong: Mathieu Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar. The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogi* (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2001); Heather Stoddard, *Le Mendiant de l'Amdo* (Paris: Societe d'Ethnographie, 1985); Pema Bhum, "The Life of "Dhondup Gyal. A Shooting Star that Cleaved the Night Sky and Vanished," trans. Lauran Hartley, *Lungta*, no. 9 (1995) and Victoria Sujata, *Tibetan Songs of Realization. Echoes from a seventeenth-century scholar and siddha in Amdo* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). On Reb kong's art, see Mark Stevenson, "The Politics of Identity and Cultural Production in A mdo Reb gong," *The Tibet Journal*, vol. XXIV, no. 4 (winter 1999) and "Art and Life in A mdo Reb gong Since 1978," in *Amdo Tibetans in Transition. Society and Culture in the Post-Mao Era*, vol. 5 of PIATS 2000: *Tibetan studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Leiden 2000, ed. Toni Huber (Leiden: Brill, 2002). For a brief historical introduction of Reb kong see: Lawrence Epstein and Wenbin Peng, "Ritual, Ethnicity, and Generational Identity," in *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, ed. Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) and Andreas Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces: Amdo*. vol. 2: The Qinghai Part of Amdo (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001). Anthropological works on some villages in Reb kong include: Kalsang Norbu, Yongzhong Zhu, and Kevin Stuart. "A Ritual Winter Exorcism in Gnyan Thog village, Qinghai," *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 58, no. 1 (1999); Dpal ldan bkra shis and Kevin Stuart, "Perilous Novelties: The A mdo Tibetan Klu rol Festival in Gling rgyal Village," *Anthropos* 93; Snnyi bo rgyal and R. Solomon Rino, *Deity Men. Reb gong Tibetan Mediums in Transition* (Lulu.com: Asian Highlands Perspective, 2010) and Charles Kevin Stuart, Gerals Roche and Tshe dbang rdo rje, eds., *Asian Highlands Perspectives*, vol. 1 (Lulu.com: Asian Highlands Perspectives, 2009) and Katia Buffetrille, "Qui est Khri ka'i yul lha? Dieu tibétain du terroir, dieu chinois de la littérature ou de la guerre? Un problème d'identité divine en A mdo," in *Territory and Identity in Tibet and the Himalayas, Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the IXth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Leiden 2000, ed. Katia. Buffetrille and Hildegard Diemberger. (Leiden: Brill, 2002),

(1903-1951) and Sha bo tshe ring (1920-2004), master artist of the Reb kong Art School, all hailed from Reb kong. Don grub rgyal (1953-1985), founder of modern Tibetan literature, although born in the neighbouring county of Gcan tsha (Ch. Jianzha), studied in Reb kong. Yet despite Reb kong's rich cultural resources and its unique location at the frontier, the area still remains under-researched.

In this paper, I explore the role played by local regional and religious elites in the formation and mobilisation of a cultural, political and religious identity in Reb kong. After a brief introduction of the place, I begin with looking at the origin myth of Reb kong. I then examine how the elites of Reb kong maintained cultural and political ties with the Chinese empire as well as with central Tibet. One way of maintaining a relation was through the system of receiving titles and seals. My focus here is on the *nang so* title, which the rulers of Reb kong borrowed from central Tibet as a model of ruling system. I trace the origin and use of the term *nang so* in Tibetan history and examine the practice of that title in Reb kong. Next, I discuss the religious landscape of Reb kong, why and how Reb kong became a Dge lugs stronghold. The role played by religious figures such as the new Shar skal Idan reincarnation line in influencing, transmitting and shaping a sense of identity will be covered in this section. Finally, I highlight Reb kong's multi-religious society by focusing on the community of tantric practitioners (Reb kong sngags mang).

The essay covers the period from the fourteenth until the nineteenth century. The chronological purview is extremely broad but necessary if major changes in agency practice are to be identified. The article is also a narrative of Tibetans living in the Sino-Tibetan border region. Reb kong shares a distinct culture with other border communities located at a frontier.² Alvarez suggests that we look at the borderland as "a region and set of practices defined and determined by this border that are characterized by conflict and contradiction, material and ideational".³ The border can thus be understood as a space where societies, cultures and individuals clash or come together. The survival of their identity depends on symbols, rituals and behaviours.

According to an official Chinese website, 65.2% of the people living in Reb kong county are Tibetans.⁴ As in many parts of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, different ethnic groups (Han, Hui, Mongol, Salar, Bao'an and Monguor) share the territory with the Tibetans. The Hui,⁵ for example, trace

² On borderlands, see Alexander Horstmann and Reed L. Wadley, ed., *Centering the Margin. Agency and Narrative in Southeast Asian Borderlands* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *Journal of World History*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1997); Michele Lamont and Virag Molnar, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences," *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 28 (2002) and Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford: Berg, 1999).

³ Robert R. Alvarez, Jr. "The Mexico-US Border: The Making of an Anthropology of Borderlands," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 24 (1995): 448.

⁴ <http://www.huangnan.gov.cn/html/124/1973.html> accessed 15 February 2010.

⁵ On the Hui see Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991) and Jonathon N. Lipman, *Familiar Strangers: A history of Muslims in Northwest China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997). See also Susette Cooke, "Surviving State and Society in Northwest China: The Hui Experience in Qinghai Province under the PRC," *Journal of Muslims Minority Affairs*, 28 (3), (2008) and Andrew Fischer, "Close Encounters of an Inner-asian Kind: Tibetan-Muslim

their origins back to Central Asian Muslims and settled in Xining, the present capital town of Qinghai province, as early as the fourteenth century;⁶ the Great Mosque in the Hui quarter of Xining, for instance, dates back to 1380 and was built by the Ming government to foster trade in the area.⁷ The Bao'an, believed to be originally Mongol soldiers, settled in Reb kong after the fall of the Mongol empire and the records of the emperor Wanli (1563-1620) mention a Bao'an camp in the village of Tho kyA (Ch. Bao'an).⁸ Like the Bao'an, the Monguor inhabitants of Gnyan thog (Ch. Nianduhu), Seng ge gshong (Ch. Wutun), Ska gsar (Ch. Gashari), and Sgo dmar (Ch. Guomari), all villages in Reb kong, claim their descent from Mongolian frontier soldiers.⁹ The Salar, who migrated from Samarkand, settled in the nearby Xunhua county (Tib. Rdo sbis) as early as 1370.¹⁰ Thus the different ethnic groups have been residing in and around Reb kong for centuries. This multi-ethnic composition makes Reb kong a culturally diverse and dynamic place, which can be seen, for example, in the cultural traditions of the Monguor and the Bao'an, or in the style of the Reb kong Art School.¹¹

It is also evident, then, that Reb kong has become a place of multiple religious communities: Confucianism (Han), Islam (Bao'an, Hui and Salar) and Tibetan Buddhism (Bao'an, Tibetans, Mongols and Monguor) are the main three set of beliefs with which each ethnic group identifies itself. In addition to that, the Dge lugs, Rnying ma and the Bon traditions are all represented in Reb kong.

In spite of Reb kong's multi-ethnic and multi-religious composition, the Tibetan inhabitants of Reb kong have maintained their distinct identity in an environment that screams pluralism and diversity from all corners, be it in the ethnic, religious or linguistic sense. Some obvious questions then can be raised: How was this possible and who were the institutions and agents which played a role in the formation and confirmation of a Tibetan identity? How did these agents postulate and reproduce a trans-local relationship with other members of their community and what kind of strategies did the political elites employ to maintain power?

⁶ Coexistence and Conflict in Tibet, Past and Present," *Working Paper no. 68. Crisis States Programme*, LSE (2005).

⁷ Piper Rae Gaubatz, *Beyond The Great Wall. Urban Form and Transformation on the Chinese Frontier* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 58.

⁸ Cooke, "Surviving State and Society in Northwest China: The Hui Experience in Qinghai Province under the PRC", 402 & Gaubatz, *Beyond The Great Wall. Urban Form and Transformation on the Chinese Frontier*, 220.

⁹ Henry G. Schwarz, *The Minorities of Northern China. A Survey* (Bellingham, WA: West Washington University, 1984), 139. Kalsang Norbu, Zhu Yongzhong and Kevin Stuart mention a castle that was built in Tho kyA (Tho kyA, Ch. Bao'an) in 1589. See Kalsang Norbu, Zhu Yongzhong, Kevin Stuart, "A Ritual Winter Exorcism in Gnyan Thog Village, Qinghai," *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 58, no. 1 (1999), 191.

¹⁰ Kalsang Norbu, Zhu Yongzhong, Kevin Stuart, "A Ritual Winter Exorcism in Gnyan Thog Village, Qinghai," 191-192.

¹¹ Schwarz, *The Minorities of Northern China. A Survey*, 40; See also Ma Jianzhong and Kevin Stuart, "Stone Camels and Clear Springs. The Salar's Samarkand Origins," *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 55, no. 2, (1996): 288.

¹² For more on Reb kong Art see Mark Stevenson, "Art and Life in A mdo Reb gong Since 1978". On the Monguors, see Louis M. J. Schram. *Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier* in ed. Charles Kevin Stuart (2006 [1954-1961]), www.digitalhimalaya.com/collections/rare_books/; Kevin Stuart and Limusishiden, "China's Monguor Minority: Ethnography and Folktales," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no 59, (December 1994).

The Setting

Reb kong (Ch. Tongren) is situated in the traditional Tibetan province of A mdo. Tibetans also refer to the region as Mtsho sngon. Much of the area lies within the Chinese province called Qinghai, and Mongols refer to it as Kokonor. All these terms mean “Blue Lake” and refer to the largest salt water lake in China. In Tibetan literature, Reb kong is also known as the Golden Valley (*gser mo ljongs*), a reference to Reb kong’s topography such as the Golden Mountain (*gser ri*) or the Golden Stone (*gser rde'u*).

Reb kong is located about 180 kilometres south of Xining, the capital of Qinghai province. It is the capital of Rma lho (Ch. Huangnan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.¹² Established in 1955, the prefecture consists of four counties: Gcan tsa (Ch. Jianzha), Rtse khog (Ch. Zeku), Sog po Mongol Autonomous County (Ch. Henan) and Reb kong (Reb kong / Thung ren; Ch. Tongren). At present, the county of Reb kong consist of two towns, ten townships and 75 villages.¹³

According to local history, Reb kong comprised of eighteen outer groups (*phyi shog bco brgyad*) – a vast area that not only covers present-day Reb kong, but also includes places in the north such as Khri ka (Ch. Guide) in Mtsho lho (Ch. Hainan) prefecture, Rdo sbis (Ch. Daowei) in Mtsho shar (Ch. Haidong) prefecture and Sog po in the south – and the twelve inner groups (*nang shog bcu gnyis*), which include numerous villages in the surrounding of Reb kong. The names of the villages within the twelve inner groups are too many to be listed here and the reader can consult them elsewhere.¹⁴

Reb kong’s historic area has diminished greatly over the time and in particular after the founding of the PRC, when it was given a county-level status. The villages which belonged to the twelve inner groups have remained up to the present under the jurisdiction of Reb kong and Rtse khog county. The little available literature on the subject suggests Mdo sde 'bum, son of Lha rje brag sna ba, as the one who established the twelve inner groups.¹⁵ More information about the two people will follow shortly, but suffice it to say that the time frame for founding the twelve inner groups was in the fourteenth century. Those who ruled over the twelve inner groups were the holders of the *nang so* title and the Shar skal ldan incarnations, both of which will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

¹² There are the six Autonomous Prefectures in Qinghai Province: Mgo log (Goluo), Mtsho byang (Haibei), Mtsho lho (Hainan), Rma lho (Huangnan), Mtsho nub (Haixi) and Yul shul (Yushu).

¹³ www.qh.xinhuanet.com/tongren/trij.htm accessed 15 February 2010.

¹⁴ See Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong rig pa 'byung ba'i grong khyer le lag dang bcas pa'i lugs gnyis gtam gyi bang mdzod las bsdus pa'i chos 'byung sa yi lha mo zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (Delhi, 2005), 12; Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong gser mo ljong kyi chos srid byung ba brjod pa 'dod 'byung gter gyi bum bzang* (Xining: Tianma, 2002), 37; 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen gyi gdan rabs rdzogs ldan gtam gyi rang sgra zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 731.

¹⁵ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 15 and 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 731-732.

Myths of Origins

The historian Dge 'dun chos 'phel (1905-1951) states that the Tibetans from A mdo are descendants of the royal army from central Tibet that fought with the Chinese army in the area during the seventh century.¹⁶ Other Tibetan historians, including the well-known Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa and Samten Karmay, make similar statements.¹⁷

Each village has its own version of the origin of the Tibetans in Reb kong. For instance, a well-known folk story suggests that many are descendants of minister Mgar (Blon po Mgar).¹⁸ King Srong bstan sgam po (617?-650) famously sent this minister to China to arrange a marriage for the King with Wencheng, a princess from the Tang imperial family.¹⁹ This version of the story describes a love affair between the Princess and the minister during the long journey back to Tibet, and the consequent birth of their son. Knowing that he will receive harsh punishment from the King if he brings his son back to Lhasa, Minister Gar puts his son in a leather trunk and places it into the Rma chu River.²⁰ An old couple finds the trunk and names the child Bse rgyal mtshan 'bum, who remained in the village called Mgar rtse. His four sons and their descendants spread throughout the area of Reb kong.

A more widely accepted origin myth is that of the rulers of Reb kong (or Rong bo tsang), who trace their origin back to Lha rje brag sna ba, a doctor and accomplished tantric practitioner of the Sa skya Khon lineage. At the request of the Sa skya hierarch 'Gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa (1235-1280), Lha rje brag sna ba sets out on his mission to propagate Buddhism and arrives in Reb kong with three hundred men.²¹ He settles down in the area and marries a girl from Khri ka.

The identification by the Reb kong Tibetans with the Sa skya Khon lineage seems to fit with local beliefs. We can see this in the worship of the protector deity Gur mgon (Skt. Mahākāla).²² This deity, who is a patron protector of the Sa skya pa, has special significance for the people from Reb kong.²³ Gur mgon is also the clan deity (rus lha) of certain villages in Reb kong.²⁴ A visit to Sa skya monastery to pay respect to the monastery and to

¹⁶ Dge 'dun chos 'phel, *The White Annals* [Deb ther dkar po] trans. Samten Norboo (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1978), 25.

¹⁷ Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet. A Political History* (New York: Potala Publications, 1984), 42; Samten Karmay, *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet* (Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1998), 427.

¹⁸ Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong chos 'byung*, 21.

¹⁹ Rolf A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilisation* (London: Faber & Faber Ltd, 1972), 63; Hugh Richardson, "The Mgar Family in the Seventh-Century Tibet," in Hugh Richardson. *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture* (London: Serindia, 1998), 114.

²⁰ Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong chos 'byung*, 21.

²¹ Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 729; Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong chos 'byung*, 30; Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos'byung* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 303.

²² Jonathan S. Bell, "The Murals of Baiya Monastery," Asianart.com <http://www.asianart.com/articles/bell/index.html#Z> April 1998 (accessed 30/12/2008); Chaya Chandrasekhar, "Gur-gyi Mgon Po," http://kaladarshan.arts.ohio-state.edu/exhib/sama/Essays/CCGur_gyMgonPo.html 9 June 1998 (accessed 30/12/2008).

²³ Before leaving, Lha rje brag sna ba chooses Gur mgon as his protector deity. See 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 81 & 736. Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring also mentions this deity in relation to the people from Reb kong. See Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 16..

²⁴ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 114.

that deity is an essential part for many from Reb kong during a pilgrimage to central Tibet.²⁵ For instance, when the rulers from Reb kong went to central Tibet, they visited Sa skya monastery and usually left a generous donation for the monastery.²⁶ This deity is thus connected with local history.

According to this story, Lha rje brag sna ba's descendants become the subsequent rulers of Reb kong, starting with his son Mdo sde 'bum, who ruled over the twelve Reb kong groups (*Rong bo shog khag bcu gnyis*).²⁷ Mdo sde 'bum's rise in power was even recognised by the Yuan emperor, who sometime in 1301 or 1302, conferred on him through writing the title of *nang so* and an official ivory seal.²⁸ Mdo sde 'bum thus became the first ruler of Reb kong to have that title.

Titles, seals and recognitions

I shall only briefly touch upon the practice of conferring titles and seals to leaders of local ethnic groups as this subject has been dealt with in other literature.²⁹ Titles and seals were used, among others, to manipulate or to reinforce alliances with local leaders. This is nothing new in Chinese history. The court bestowed titles, seals and sometimes stipends to local leaders, which the grantee accepted as "official" or legitimate approval of his position. The act of granting such investitures to local leaders demonstrated the superiority of the emperor while the acceptance of these titles "confirmed" the subordination and submission of the recipients. The acceptance of such titles thus brought the local leaders within China's polity.

The incorporation of local leaders within the imperial system also served to diffuse the authority of the leaders in the periphery while strengthening the centre. If the emperor was not satisfied with a local leader, he had the right to strip him off his titles and credentials. However, it was mainly during the Qing period (1644-1912) that local elites from the periphery were under considerably more political control than during the Ming period (1368-1644).³⁰ The native chieftain system (Ch. *tusi zhidu*), which was created during the early Ming, was reformed by the Qing state.³¹ As a

²⁵ I thank Sonam Tsiring for pointing this out to me.

²⁶ See 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 720-777.

²⁷ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 15. The twelve Reb kong groups and the twelve inner groups are the same (*nang shog bcu gnyis*). 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 732.

²⁸ 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 732; Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 15.

²⁹ See for instance Denis Twitchett, John K. Fairbank, and Michael Loewe, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 1. The Ch'in and Han Empires*, 221 B.C. – A.D. 220 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 412-418; Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 189-197. Jennifer Took, *A Native Chieftaincy in Southwest China: Franchising a Tai Chieftaincy under the Tusi System of Late Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) and John E. Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

³⁰ John E. Herman, "Empire in the Southwest: Early Qing Reforms to the Native Chieftain System," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Feb. 1997).

³¹ The institutional predecessor of the *tusi* system was the "haltered and bridled prefecture" (Ch. *jimi zhou*), established during the Song dynasty (960-1279). For more on this, see Jennifer Took, *A Native Chieftaincy in Southwest China: Franchising a Tai Chieftaincy under the Tusi System of Late Imperial China*.

consequent, the Qing's political legitimacy increased and they were in control of the selection process of its frontier elites.

The late historian 'Jigs med theg mchog, by citing others, writes that the term *nang so* refers either to a rank (*go sa*) or to a minister or a high functionary.³² In *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, the entry for *nang so* shows the definition as a rank (*go gnas*).³³ However, the historian Dge 'dun chos 'phel traces the term back to the duty of an official who watched over the border.³⁴ He differentiates between two terms, the "inner (nang) watchman; or spy (so)" and the "outer (phyi) watchman; or spy (so)". The task of the *nang so*, he writes, is to watch out for *internal* enemies whereas the *phyi so* guards against *external* enemies. From his explanation, we can conclude that the person who holds the title *nang so* is the watcher or spy for the one who confers him with this title. Dge 'dun chos 'phel's explanation of the term does not differ much from the definition provided in *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, which defines *nang so* as an individual who keeps watch at the border.³⁵ Sperling translates *nang so* as "frontier official", which seems to fit with Dge 'dun chos 'phel's initial remark about an official whose duty is to guard the border.³⁶

In the *Old Tibetan Annals*, Dotson locates the term *khab so* and defines it as a functionary within the Tibetan imperial system. He writes "the *khab so* appear to have been the Tibetan Empire's accountants and tax collectors" and suggests the term as the precursor to *nang so*.³⁷

Petech, in his monograph on the history of the Yuan-Sa skya period, mentions several times the terms *nang so*, *nang chen pa* and *nang gnyer*.³⁸ He translates Chief Attendant for *nang gnyer* and *nang chen* (sometimes also referred to as Chief Secretary for *nang chen*) and the duty of the *nang gnyer* or *nang chen* was to be in charge of the general administration of the Sa skya estates and treasury.³⁹ Once promoted, the *nang so* became the *nang chen pa*.⁴⁰

It is Tucci who provides us with the most detailed information on this title. By consulting the *Rgyal rtse Chronicles* (Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar), written between 1479 and 1481, he states that the highest officials,

³² 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 736. Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring gives the same explanation for this term. See Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 16.

³³ *Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las*, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002), 1204.

³⁴ Dge 'dun chos 'phel, "Sngon dus bod pa rnams kyi gnas skabs dang tshul lugs ci ltar yod lugs skor," in *Dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsung rtsom. Deb gnyis pa*, ed. Hor khang Bsod names dpal 'bar (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994 [1990]), 85 and Dge 'dun chos 'phel, "Bod chen po'i srid lugs dang 'brel ba'i rgyal rabs debt her dkar po zhes bya ba bzhugs so," in *Dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsung rtsom. Deb gsum pa*, ed., Hor khang Bsod names dpal 'bar (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994 [1990]), 220. Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring also relies on Dge 'dun chos 'phel's explanation. See Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 16.

³⁵ Zhang Yisun, ed., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1998 [1993]), 1511.

³⁶ Elliot Sperling, "A note on the Chi kyā tribe and the two Qi clans in Amdo," in *Les Habitants Du Toits Du Monde. Etudes Recueillies en Hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald*, ed. Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant, (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 1997), 112.

³⁷ Brandon Dotson, *The Old Tibetan Annals, An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History* (Wien: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 2009), p. 58.

³⁸ I thank the anonymous reader for directing my attention to this book.

³⁹ Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yuan-Sa skya Period of Tibetan History* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 18-21 & 79.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 126.

who were the princes of Rgyal rtse, were holding the office of *nang chen* or *nang so chen mo* at the Sa skya court. He then continues by saying that "the *nang so* presided over the administration of justice and was a sort of Prime Minister."⁴¹ Tucci also mentions the *phyi so*, an official who was concerned with external affairs, as opposed to the *nang so*, whose duties concerned with internal affairs. He continues, "these two names, although they correspond to modern expressions, cannot be rendered with "Home Secretary" and "Foreign Secretary": the *nang blon* was rather a prefect of the Court, who helped the king in his work, after the manner of absolute governments, while the *phyi blon* was rather the head of the executive machine, an overseer of state administration."⁴²

From this, we learn that the term *nang so* refers to a civil officer and that the precursor of this term, *khab so*, was used to refer to an official of the Tibetan Empire who was responsible for taxation. The term and office *nang so* seems to be in use since the Sa skya-Mongol rule in Tibet. On that account, Tucci observes that "this office was also to be found in other states, and in fact continued ancient traditions."⁴³ We can also conclude that the rank, responsibility and authority of the individual who held that title increased depending on the time and place and included dignitaries such as the lords of Rgyal rtse to the rulers of Reb kong and abbots of monasteries. Moreover, the *nang so* title was not only restricted to Tibetan officials. Sperling, for instance, talks of a Mongol frontier official bearing the title of *nang so*.⁴⁴

The ancestors of the ruling house from Reb kong had close contact with the Sa skya government and it is therefore not surprising to see that the office of the *nang so* was modelled on the administrative organisation of the Sa skya pa's. This "inherited" tradition legitimised the practice of the *nang so*.

The *nang so*'s residence, which was located in Rong bo (Ch. Long wu), the historical centre of Reb kong, was referred to as the *nang so*'s court (*nang so'i khriims sgo*), built and first occupied by Mdo sde 'bum.⁴⁵

As to how the *nang so* governed the territory, we know from Petech that the holder of that title was in charge of the general administration and treasury. Unfortunately, we do not have abundant information on the governing system of the *nang so* from Reb kong, but similar to the princes of Rgyal rtse, we can say that the *nang so* of Reb kong was the chief ruler of Reb kong who may have, for a limited time, executed orders from the Sa skya hierarchs.

Samten Karmay writes that Tibetans in A mdo were not ruled by a single leader after the 9th century.⁴⁶ Principalities such as that of Co ne (Ch. Zhuoni), chieftains, tribal heads and Lamas with considerable political power shared among them the territory of A mdo.⁴⁷ The rulers of Reb kong were among

⁴¹ Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), p. 35.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Sperling, "A note on the Chi kyā tribe and the two Qi clans in Amdo," 112.

⁴⁵ Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 732.

⁴⁶ Samten Karmay "Amdo. One of the Three Traditional Provinces of Tibet," *Lungta*, no. 8 (1994):3. However, there were some, such as the chieftains of Mgo log, who acknowledged the authority of the Central Tibetan government. See Lodey Lhawang, "The Conferring of Tibetan Government Ranks on the Chieftains of Golog," *Lungta*, no. 8 (1994):13-17.

⁴⁷ For more on Co ne, see the article by Wim Van Spengen, "Chone and Thewu: Territoriality, Local Power, and Political Control on the Southern Gansu-Tibetan Frontier, 1880-1940," in *Tibetan Borderlands, PIATS 2003*, ed. Christiaan Klieger (Leiden: Brill, 2006). For Lamas with political power in Amdo, see the article by Nietupski in which he

the many who ruled in the region. Also, there was not only one *nang so* ruling over Reb kong. For example, Mdo sde 'bum's three middle sons were known as "the three *nang so*" (*nang so gsum*) for they were the rulers of upper Reb kong (Rong bo yar nang), lower Reb kong (Rong bo mar nang) and Blon che, territories which their father had divided among them.⁴⁸ But even within the territory of Reb kong itself, smaller units such as hamlets or larger villages had their own chieftain. The hundred household chieftain from 'Jam, Gnyan thog, Bse, Hor nag or Rgyal bo serve here as examples. However, these chieftains and local leaders usually accepted the authority of the *nang so* and were loyal to him. In return, they had a certain degree of autonomy within their own village or area.

The Reb kong *nang so* was assisted by a council of twelve ministers, who came from different backgrounds such as local chieftains, rulers and lamas.⁴⁹ The *nang so* was responsible for the taxation, a duty which, as we have seen, dates back to the Tibetan empire.⁵⁰ His authority also stretched into the monastic community and when necessary, the *nang so* gave orders to tighten monastic rules. One *nang so* even conducted a population and household census and ordered families with three sons to send at least one to Rong bo dgon chen, the monastery founded by his family and which consequently became the main monastery of Reb kong.⁵¹

In Reb kong, the *nang so* title was initially a hereditary title but this system changed over the time as in the early eighteenth century, a council consisting of lay and clerical members re-established the rule that the *nang so* could only be transferred hereditarily.⁵² The same council also decided that the *nang so* could hold his position only for a certain period of time.

The legitimacy of the *nang so* was based on a mixture of hereditary claims and official recognition given by the Chinese emperor and the central Tibetan government.

To strengthen the relationship and to heighten their prestige, the *nang so* went to these two places to receive additional titles. Consequently, from the Chinese emperor, they received titles such as *Daguoshi* (Great National Preceptor) or *Beile* (Lord).⁵³ Among those who went to China was Blo gros seng ge, son of Mdo sde 'bum, who received the title of *Daguoshi* from the emperor.⁵⁴

Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, a nephew of Mdo sde 'bum, received the title of *Be lu nang so*⁵⁵ and *Daguoshi* from the Ming emperor.⁵⁶ Not only was he the

discusses the lineage of 'Jam dbiyangs bzhad pa. Paul K. Nietupski, "Labrang Monastery: Tibetan Buddhism on the Sino-Tibetan Frontier," *Religion Compass*, 2/4 (2008).

⁴⁸ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 16; Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 735.

⁴⁹ Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 733.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 744.

⁵¹ Ibid., 97. This was Blo gros seng ge, the son of Mdo sde 'bum.

⁵² Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 34; Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 746.

⁵³ Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos byung*, 308; Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 738; Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 17.

⁵⁴ Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos byung*, 304; Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 13. Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 95.

⁵⁵ The term *be lu* refers to the Manchu term *bei le* (Lord). Given the time period of Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, it is therefore not possible for him to have received such a title. Thus, the *be lu* might either refer to some other title or the author has mis-applied this title to him. I am grateful to the anonymous reader for pointing this out to me.

⁵⁶ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 17.

nang so of the twelve inner groups, but he also controlled the territories of upper Reb kong, lower Reb kong and Rdo sbis.

Don grub rin chen, the son of Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, went twice to China to receive titles while Blo gros mchog grub, his grandson, received the title of *Daguoshi* from the emperor. The younger brother of Blo gros mchog grub, Blo gros don grub, went four times to China and received the title of *Daguoshi*. He was also given the rank of a General in the imperial army, which implied that he is expected to assist China in protecting its territory.⁵⁷ In return for such assistance, the local elite holding a military title enjoyed a higher degree of autonomy than the one holding a civilian title.⁵⁸

During the time of Blos gros bstan pa and Bsod nams don grub, the authority of the *nang so* diminished. To regain their power, the *nang so*, who was at that time Bsod nam don grub's son Dpal ldan gu ru, entered into a patron-priest relationship with the Mongol ruler Ta'i ching chu khu.⁵⁹ In return for the Mongol's support, *nang so* Dpal ldan gu ru gave orders to build four *stupa* in 1605 and enlarged the monastery of Rong bo dgon chen.⁶⁰ From this time onwards, the Dge lugs tradition was established in Reb kong.

Central Tibet was the primary cultural and religious centre. The acceptance of titles from the Tibetan government not only legitimised the authority of the *nang so*, but equally important, it was a means to claim membership within that community. The "rituals" of travelling to central Tibet could be viewed as symbolic expressions of identification with that community, but China was equally important and a visit there brought prestige to the *nang so* and the recognition by the Chinese state as the official representative for that area. As a consequent, they went to central Tibet and to China to receive titles and to negotiate influence and political control.

To sum up, the *nang so* played an active role within the complex political structures of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing and the Tibetans. And because of the *nang so*, Reb kong became a regional centre and gained a significant position within the history of A mdo. Most importantly, they were instrumental in creating a sense of collective identity among its subjects.

The peripheral location of Reb kong also turned into a strategic advantage for its rulers. The relative distance from central Tibet and China meant that they were able to enjoy a high degree of autonomy while maintaining at the same time a healthy relationship with both powers. In other words, the rulers of Reb kong were quite content with their marginal location – not only did it gain their autonomy and thereby an avenue to evade incorporation into the state systems of Tibet and China, but their continual friendly relationship with the two powers also provided them with access to its resources. The ties to both places were thus essential in creating and maintaining autonomy, legitimacy, prestige and social cohesion.

⁵⁷ 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 99 & 739.

⁵⁸ John E. Herman, "Empire in the Southwest: Early Qing Reforms to the Native Chieftain System".

⁵⁹ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 18; 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 99.

⁶⁰ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 18.

Religious pluralism in Reb kong

Reb kong's main monastery, Rong bo dgon chen, can be considered as the third largest Dge lugs pa monastery in A mdo. As mentioned, it was founded in 1342 by Mdo sde 'bum's family, the first *nang so* of Reb kong.⁶¹ The eldest son of Mdo sde 'bum, Rong bo bsam gtan rin chen, established a patron-priest relationship with the hundred-household chieftain of Sa kyil and he founded eighteen other monasteries in the area.⁶² Because his ancestor (i.e. Lha rje brag sna ba) was of the Sa skya school, the monastery was originally of that tradition.⁶³ However, Rong bo bsam gtan rin chen was also a disciple of Chos rje don grub rin chen,⁶⁴ Tsong kha pa's teacher, and Rong bo monastery gradually turned into a Dge lugs institution, most notably with the emergence of the Shar skal ldan lineage.⁶⁵

As mentioned above, the power of the *nang so* weakened in the early seventeenth century and their structure of leadership declined. A new incarnation line, the Shar skal ldan lineage, took over the leadership from the *nang so*. The decline of the *nang so* power and the establishment of a new incarnation line occurred during a time when the Dge lugs were gaining political and religious dominance. Their rise in power was supported by the Qoshot Mongols and partly by the Qing emperor.

The first Shar skal ldan, known as Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho (1606-1677) was born in 1606 in Reb kong. He learnt reading and writing from his half-brother Chos pa rin po che (1581-1659), said to be a reincarnation of Mi la ras pa, the famous 11th century yogin and poet.⁶⁶ At the age of eleven, Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho went to central Tibet with his half-brother and studied at Dga' ldan monastery. There, he received the name Skal ldan rgya mtsho.⁶⁷ After ten years of absence, he returned to Reb kong and planned to lead the life of a hermit. His half-brother discouraged him from this and had other plans with his younger brother - he wanted him to pursue a monastic career in order to expand Rong bo monastery and thus increase Dge lugs influence in Reb kong.⁶⁸ At his request, Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho established the College of Philosophy (mtshan nyid grwa tshang) and became the first abbot of Rong bo monastery.⁶⁹ To the disapproval of his half-brother, he divided his time between the monastery and Bkra shis 'khyil, his hermitage where he practiced meditation and composed many spiritual hymns (mgur) which are still sung today.⁷⁰ At the age of sixty-three, he resigned from his position at Rong bo monastery and spent his remaining years in Bkra shis 'khyil, his

⁶¹ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 12 & 143; 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 92.

⁶² 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 92; Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos'byung*, 304.

⁶³ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 143.

⁶⁴ Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos'byung*, 304.

⁶⁵ Stevenson also comes to this conclusion. See Stevenson, "Art and Life in A mdo Reb gong," 202.

⁶⁶ Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos'byung*, 304-306; Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 20.

⁶⁷ 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 166; Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos'byung*, 306. Earlier to that, he was called Skal ldan thogs nyis.

⁶⁸ 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 143-144.

⁶⁹ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 24; 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 168.

⁷⁰ For the spiritual hymns, see Sujata, *Tibetan Songs of Realization*.

hermitage.⁷¹ Besides a collection of two hundred and forty-two spiritual hymns, he authored fifty-nine other works ranging from biographies to local religious histories as well as instructions in meditation and deity practices.⁷² Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho is the most revered and the most popular of all the Shar skal ldan incarnations.

With Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho as its head, Rong bo monastery became firmly established in the Dge lugs tradition. The religious teachings he gave all over the region also helped in the spreading of the Dge lugs tradition in A mdo. Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho lived at a time when Gushri Khan, the Qoshot leader, after defeating the rival tribe led by Chogtu (also known as Tsogt by Mongolians) *taiji* in the mid-1630s, moved his tribe from the north to settle down in the Kokonor area. Although Gushri Khan and his descendants were fervent supporters of the Dge lugs, and the ascendance of a Dge lugs pa Lama in Reb kong coincided with the rule of the Qoshot Mongols in Kokonor, Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho seemed to dislike the Mongol overlords. In 1662, he wrote the following song:

In this time in which the Buddha's teaching,
the origin of benefit and happiness,
is being seized by the Mongols
generally it is hard for the Tibetan people to be happy.
In particular, the lamas don't have independence.
The most beautiful clothes, the best cushions,
the best horses, the best food and drink
are in the hands of the Mongol masters.⁷³

The second Shar skal ldan, Ngag dbang 'phrin las rgya mtsho, received the title and seal of *Nomunhan* from the 6th Dalai Lama in 1703.⁷⁴ At the age of thirty he became the chief religious advisor (dbu la) of the Mongol prince Tsaghan Tenzin and his royal family and received for this recognition a seal and a certificate.⁷⁵ In collaboration with the *nang so*, at that time Ngag dbang blo bzang, he established in 1732 the Great Prayer Festival (smon lam chen mo),⁷⁶ based on the tradition established in Lhasa in the early 15th century. This was yet another attempt at embedding the Dge lugs tradition within the religious landscape of Reb kong. It was around this time that the twenty-one smon shog, the number of villages who in turn were sponsors of the Great Prayer Festival, was established.⁷⁷ Later on, the *nang so* decided to give a large portion of his share of donations from the Prayer Festival to the Shar skal ldan, indicating thus a shift of power from the *nang so* to the Shar skal ldan reincarnation.⁷⁸

⁷¹ Sujata, *Tibetan Songs of Realization*, 29.

⁷² Ibid., 77.

⁷³ Ibid., 2-3.

⁷⁴ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 31.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 34; 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 134. 'Jigs med theg mchog describes the year as the Water Dog year of the 12th rab byung. This would correspond to 1742, when the second Shar had already passed away. Blo bzang mkhyen rab writes that the third Shar established the Great Prayer Festival. See Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong chos 'byung*, 169.

⁷⁷ Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong chos 'byung*, 169.

⁷⁸ Gling rgya bla ma tshe ring, *Reb gong kyi chos srid*, 34.

The third in the Shar skal ldan lineage, Dge 'dun 'phrin las rab rgyas (1740-1794), ascended the throne of the monastery at the age of twenty.⁷⁹ In 1764, at Dgon lung monastery, he met Lcang skyā rol pa rdo rje, who had come from Beijing to perform ceremonies for his deceased father.⁸⁰ The son of Shar skal ldan's nephew was recognised as the third 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1792-1856), the head of Bla brang monastery.⁸¹ The 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa from Bla brang were a religious and political authority in A mdo and to have the next reincarnation born into one's own family naturally increased the power and influence of the Shar himself. Likewise, the fourth Shar, Blo bzang chos grags rgya mtsho (1795-1843), was born into the family of Lcang skyā rol pa rdo rje, who was the most influential Lama in the Qing court.⁸² The fourth Shar is credited with having enlarged the monastery by adding a library and a chapel for the protectors. A year later, he secured enough money to renovate the Assembly Hall and the courtyard.⁸³

The majority of the Shar incarnations went to study in one of the great Dge lugs monasteries in central Tibet. Their long journey to central Tibet shows that although Rong bo monastery offered scholastic training, the monasteries at the periphery were, as Dreyfus writes, "unable to compete with the great scholastic centres" in Lhasa.⁸⁴

At its peak, Rong bo monastery had about 2,300 monks and 43 incarnate Lamas.⁸⁵ The economic resources of the monastery were similar to those of any other monastery in Tibet. Income was generated through its estates, patrons, private donations and by mortgaging land to peasants.⁸⁶ The monastery was thus also an active agent in the local economy with activities such as loans, trade and other commercial ventures.

Reb kong had maintained good relation with Tsaghan Tenzin (aka Erdini Jinong), the Qoshot prince whom the Qing played against his cousin Lozang Tenzin, a grandson of Gushri Khan, who led an unsuccessful rebellion against the Qing in 1723.⁸⁷ For his loyalty, the Qing emperor elevated Tsaghan Tenzin from a *junwang* (prince of second rank) to a *qinwang* (prince of first rank) and as the only *qinwang* in the Kokonor region, entrusted him

⁷⁹ Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos'byung*, 309.

⁸⁰ Xiangyun Wang, "Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of Lcang skyā rol pa'i rdo rje, 1717-86" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995), 166.

⁸¹ Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong chos'byung*, 166; Nietupski, "Labrang Monastery," 528.

⁸² Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos'byung*, 310; Blo bzang mkhyen rab, *Mdo smad re skong chos'byung*, 169.

⁸³ The fifth Shar died at a young age and was followed by Blo bzang skal ldan bstan pa rgyal mtshan (1859-1915), the sixth Shar. The seventh Shar Blo bzang 'phrin las lung rtogs rgya mtsho (1915 - 1976) was followed by the present Shar, Bstan 'dzin 'jigs med skal ldan, who was born in 1979.

⁸⁴ Georges B.J. Dreyfus, *Sound of Two Hands Clapping. The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 47.

⁸⁵ Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces: Amdo*, 54.

⁸⁶ For an example of monastic economic organisation, see Melvyn C. Goldstein and Paljor Tsarong, "Tibetan Buddhist Monasticism: Social, Psychological & Cultural Implications," *The Tibet Journal* 10, 1 (1985).

⁸⁷ For more on the rebellion, see Shuhui Wu, *Die Eroberung von Qinghai unter Berücksichtigung von Tibet und Khams. 1717-1727* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995); Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIth Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 1950) & "Notes on Tibetan History of the 18th Century," *T'oung Pao* vol. LII (1966); Uyunbilig Borjigidai, "The Hoshuud Polity in Khökhnuur (Kokonor)," *Inner Asia*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2002)

with maintaining stability in the region.⁸⁸ Tsaghan Tenzin thus ruled over four banners located in Sog po, south of Reb kong.⁸⁹ The Qing then took revenge on those who supported Lozang Tenzin and monasteries such as Sku 'bum, Dgon lung, Gser khog and Bya khyung were ransacked or burned down and head Lamas, monks and entire villages were wiped out.⁹⁰ Since Labrang monastery was under the patronage of the Mongol prince, it was spared destruction after Lozang Tenzin's revolt.⁹¹ Rong bo monastery also escaped the wrath of the Qing. As mentioned, Ngag dbang 'phrin las rgya mtsho, the second Shar, was close to Tsaghan Tenzin's family and he even became their root Lama.⁹²

Mongol intervention was prevalent in the areas where there was strong Dge lugs pa influence since the Qoshot princes were supporters of the Dge lugs – Bla brang and Sku 'bum monasteries are good examples of earlier Qoshot Mongol support and patronage. In areas where the Mongols had less influence, and therefore also the Dge lugs pa, other Buddhist traditions were able to flourish. In Reb kong, for example, we can see clusters of Rnying ma and Bon po villages in the outskirts, and the Jo nang school, widely thought to have been almost extinct in central Tibet, is well-represented in Mgo log 'dzam thang (Ch. Rang tang) by Chos rje and Gtsang ba monasteries.

I will now take a closer look at the Rnying ma pa tantric practitioners community to highlight the diverse religious communities found in Reb kong. A central figure of that community is Zhabs dkar tshogs drug rang grol (1781-1851), the yogin-poet from Zho 'ong, a village belonging to Reb kong. Zhabs dkar was born into a family of Rnying ma pa tantric practitioners, also referred to in Tibetan as a sngags pa (Skt. māntrin). The tantric practitioners often have hereditary lineages, where the tradition is passed from the father to the son, but individuals who do not claim to belong to a lineage can also train to become a sngags pa. The study for a sngags pa takes from twelve to eighteen years and involves rigorous training and practice in reciting mantras, meditation, readings, receiving esoteric instructions and transmissions and undertaking solitary retreats.⁹³

⁸⁸ Wu, *Die Eroberung von Qinghai unter Berücksichtigung von Tibet und Kham*. 1717-1727, 59.

⁸⁹ The four banners included the following tribes: the first front banner, the right central banner south of Machu, the left central banner south of Machu and the front banner in the south. See Yizhi Mi, *Qinghai mengguzu lishi jianbian* (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1993), 231.

⁹⁰ Peter Perdue, *China Marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 180-197; Dam chos rgya mtsho Dharamatala, *Rosary of White Lotuses, Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country*, trans. Piotr Klafkowski (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 311 and Wu, *Die Eroberung von Qinghai unter Berücksichtigung von Tibet und Kham*. 1717-1727, 181-191.

⁹¹ In 1709 Tsaghan Tenzin invited the first 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648-1721) to establish Bla brang bkra shis 'khil, the largest Dge lugs monastery in A mdo. From then on, Bla brang was under the patronage of all the subsequent Mongol rulers from Sog po, since they had established a patron-priest relationship with the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa lineage. See Dbal mang pandita dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, *Gya bod hor sog gyi lo rgyus nyung ngur brjod pa byis pa 'jug p'i 'bab stegs bzhungs so* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 84; Nietupski, "Labrang Monastery," 526-527.

⁹² Rje 'jigs med dam chos rgya mtsho, *Phyag na pad mo yab rje skal ldan rgya mtsho'i skyes pa rabs kyi rgyud gsang gsum snang ba'i sgron me zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 277-278.

⁹³ For a detailed description on the education of a sngags pa, see Nyi zla he ru ka, "Sngags pa'i shes rig la dpayad pa'i gtam," in *Sngags pa'i shes rig dus deb 6*, vol. 2, 2003, ed. Sngags mang zhib 'jug khang (Xining: Xining minzu yinshuachang), 82-99.

Zhabzdkar was a member of the Reb kong sngags mang, the collective term used for the sngags pa community in Reb kong, famous for their supernatural abilities acquired through reciting mantras. The community is also known as Reb kong's One Thousand Nine Hundred Ritual Dagger Holders (Reb kong phur thogs stong dang dgu brgya), a name that refers back to a tantric ceremony held at Khyung mgon monastery in 1810.⁹⁴ During that ceremony, Spyang lung dpal chen nam mkha' 'jigs med (1757-1821), the head Lama of the monastery, offered each of the participants a gift of a wooden ritual dagger, a tool used during ritual ceremonies or initiations. At the end of the ceremony, he had distributed one thousand nine hundred wooden daggers, roughly reflecting the number of tantric practitioners then living and practising in Reb kong.

The sngags pa tradition in Reb kong traces its origin up to the ninth century, but it acquired a structure only in the early eighteenth century, under the initiative of Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis (1688-1743), a native of Rgyal bo chu ca, a village belonging to Reb kong.⁹⁵ He summoned all the tantric practitioners to Rig 'dzin rab 'phel gling, the monastery located in his native village and which later became his monastic seat, established mandatory prayer sessions and laid down the community's constitution and code of conduct.⁹⁶ In doing so, a communal identity of the sngags pa was created, which Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis expanded in his travels and teachings in other areas. For these reasons, he is credited as the founder of the Reb kong sngags mang.⁹⁷

The members of the Reb kong sngags mang are loosely affiliated to two branches: the three seats on the shaded side (srib kyi gdan sa gsum) and the three monasteries on the sunny side (nyin gyi dgon pa gsum).⁹⁸ The shaded and sunny sides refer to the location of the monasteries on each side of the mountains near Reb kong, with the Dgu River marking the border between the two traditions and their sites.⁹⁹ The main monasteries which belong to the "shaded side" are Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis's seat, Rig 'dzin rab 'phel gling; Spyang lung dpal chen nam mkha' 'jigs med's monastery, Khyung mgon mi 'gyur rdo rje gling and Zhabzdkar's monastic seat, G.ya' ma bkra shis 'khyil. The main monasteries on the "sunny side" are Chos dbyings stobs ldan rdo rje's seat, Ko'u sde dgon rdzogs chen rnam rgyal gling.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Lce nag tshang hum chen and Ye shes 'od zer sgrol ma, eds., *Reb kong sngags mang gi lo rgyus phyogs bsgrigs* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 46.

⁹⁵ For a more detailed history of the tantric practitioners in Reb kong, see Yangdon Dhondup, "From Hermit to Saint: The Life of Nyang snang mdzad rdo rje (1798-1874)," in eds., Hildegard Diemberger and Karma Phuntsho, *Ancient Treasures, New Discoveries: PIATS 2006: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006* (Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009).

⁹⁶ Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis, *Rig 'dzin chen po dpal ldan bkra shis kyi gsung rstrom phyogs bsgrigs* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 14-28.

⁹⁷ Lce nag tshang hum chen and Ye shes 'od zer sgrol ma, *Reb kong sngags mang gi lo rgyus*, 8.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁹⁹ On the use of the terms "srib" and "nyin", see Anne Chayet, "A propos de l'usage des termes "nyin" et "srib" dans le Mdo smad chos 'byung," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no 14 (October 2008), 71-80.

¹⁰⁰ Considering that Chos dbyings stobs ldan rdo rje is seen as the third reincarnation of Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis, he should belong to the sngags pa community of the shaded side (srib lta sngags mang). However, his monastery is considered as one of the main monasteries of the sngags pa community of the sunny side (nyin lta sngags mang). It

Khams bla khtag 'thung nam mkha' rgya mtsho's seat, Dgon la kha; and Mag sgar kun bzang stob ldan dbang po's, Rig 'dzin pad ma rnam grol gling. Those belonging to the "shaded side" follow the tradition of Smin grol gling; members of the "sunny side" emphasise the teachings of Klong chen snying thig. The tantric community was thus known as the "nyin lta (mtha or tha) sngags mang", the tantric community of the sunny side and the "srib lta sngags mang", the tantric community of the shaded side.

Zhabzdkar chose to lead a non-monastic lifestyle and, in contrast to a systematic scholastic training, received his education from many different lamas. It was only in the later part of his life that he spent most of his time in G.ya' ma bkra shis 'khyil, the small monastery on a hilltop near Reb kong. His root-teacher was one of Tsaghan Tenzin's descendants - the fourth Mongol prince from Sog po, junwang Ngag dbang dar rgyas (1740-1807). To the great disappointment of his subjects and Bla brang monastery, of which the junwang was the patron, Ngag dbang dar rgyas, unlike his Mongolian predecessors, had adopted the Rnying ma tradition.¹⁰¹ Zhabzdkar received many instructions, empowerments and teachings from this remarkable Rnying ma pa master, the most notable being "the Wish-fulfilling Gem, Hayagriva and Varahi" (Rta phag yid bzhin nor bu), a collection of teachings that covers the preliminaries to the Great Perfection category of Tantra practices.¹⁰²

Zhabzdkar then travelled to central Tibet and Nepal and requested teachings from Lamas of all the different schools of Tibetan Buddhism. On his journey, he composed spiritual hymns (mgur), meditated in caves and visited monasteries. In the following song, he expressed his freedom as a wanderer:

I am called "Child of Garuda, King of Birds".

To begin with, I was nurtured with warmth from my bird-queen mother.

Later, I was fed with foods of various kinds.

Now, my great wings are spread out in strength;
the Garuda soars in space through his parent's kindness.

I don't stay in one place now,
but go wandering across azure heavens.
The Garuda's domain is the vast skies.

...
I don't stay in one place now,
but go wandering across high plateaus.
The renunciate's home is wild solitude.¹⁰³

therefore seems that Chos dbyings stobs ldan rdo rje created his new incarnation lineage with the founding of his monastery.

¹⁰¹ For a detailed account of his life, see Lce nag tshang hum chen, "A Brief Introduction to Ngag dbang dar rgyas and the Origin of Rnying ma Order in Henan County (Sogpo), the Mongolian Region of Amdo," in *The Mongolia-Tibet Interface. Opening New Research Terrain in Inner Asia, PIATS 2003*, ed. Uradyn E. Bulag and Hildegard Diemberger (Leiden: Brill, 2007) & Ricard, *Life of Shabkar*, 565-567.

¹⁰² For the lineage of this cycle of teaching, see Ricard, *Life of Shabkar*, 569-576.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 70-71.

Zhabz dkar's lifestyle was in keeping with his Rnying ma pa background. Unlike the Dge lugs, who had established monastic centres and who stressed a monastic lifestyle with scholastic training, the Rnying ma pa were only gradually conforming to this monastic model.¹⁰⁴ Though not living in a monastery, Zhabz dkar was ordained and led a celibate life, which was not required for the practice of tantric Buddhism.¹⁰⁵

The majority of the members of the Reb kong sngags mang were non-celestial and were leading an ordinary life, mostly as farmers in the surrounding villages of Reb kong. At present, the lay tantric practitioners still represent the majority within the sngags pa community. Those who have mastered the practice of inner heat (gtum mo) wear the white robe (gos dkar), which together with the way in which the hair is worn, marks symbolically the identity of a tantric practitioner. The identity of a sngags pa is thus marked visually by their long hair and white robe and spiritually by their arcane rituals and practices of worship.

Many of the villages where tantric practitioners live, also referred to as sngags sde, have a "tantric hall" (sngags khang) in which they hold their ritual ceremonies. Among the regular ceremonies is the Ritual of the Tenth Day (tshe bcu'i mchod pa), a ceremony honoring Padmasambhava.

Within the Reb kong sngags mang, there were many charismatic figures who were instrumental in strengthening a sngags pa identity and in spreading the Rnying ma pa tradition in A mdo. Among them were as mentioned Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis, the founder of the Reb kong sngags mang community, Spyang lung dpal chen nam mkha' 'jigs med, Mag gsar kun bzang stob ldan dbang po (1781-1832), Chos dbyings stobs ldan rdo rje (1785-1848), Grub dbang pad ma rang grol (1786-1838), Khams bla khrag 'thung nam mkha' rgya mtsho (1788-1859), and Nyang snang mdzad rdo rje (1798-1874).

Why did so many of the tantric masters appear at this particular time? The proximity to Khams, where many Rnying ma pa masters were active and influential, such as Rdo grub chen 'jigs med 'phrin las 'od zer (1745-1821) or Gzhan phan mtha' yas (b. 1800), may have influenced the Rnying ma pa revival in Reb kong.¹⁰⁶ If we widen the historical lens, we could link the upsurge of Rnying ma pa activity in A mdo with the resurgence of the Rnying ma pa in the eighteenth-century.¹⁰⁷ The person who stood out during this period was 'Jigs med gling pa.¹⁰⁸ For instance, Zhabz dkar's root-teacher, junwang Ngag dbang dar rgyas, was a close disciple of Rdo grub chen, who, in turn, was one of the main disciples of 'Jigs med gling pa.¹⁰⁹ At the

¹⁰⁴ For the time period when the main Rnying ma pa centres were built, see Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts. History & Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 17.

¹⁰⁵ He is not alone in this and there were many Lamas who were celibate and members of the Reb kong tantric practitioners community. For some of their lives, see Yangdon Dhondup, "From Hermit to Saint: The Life of Nyang snang mdzad rdo rje (1798-1874)".

¹⁰⁶ Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 24; Lce nag tshang hum chen, "A Brief Introduction to Ngag dbang dar rgyas and the Origin of Rnying ma Order in Henan County (Sogpo), the Mongolian Region of A mdo," 242.

¹⁰⁷ See Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 14-26.

¹⁰⁸ For more on his life and work, see Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self. The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁹ Ricard, *Life of Shabkar*, xxii.

invitation of the *junwang*, Rdo grub chen stayed for a while in Sog po, the main seat of the Mongol prince located not far from Reb kong.¹¹⁰ Also, Spyang lung dpal chen nam mkha' 'jigs med, who studied in Khams for three years, became a disciple of Rdo grub chen.¹¹¹ Chos dbyings stobs ldan rdo rje and Khams bla khtag 'thung nam mkha' rgya mtsho, too, were disciples of that great Lama.¹¹² The influence of Rdo grub chen in spreading the Rnying ma tradition in A mdo cannot be underestimated.

The lifestyle chosen by the tantric practitioner also suggests a reason for the Rnying ma pa's growth. The decentralised and non-hierarchical structure, coupled with the bypassing of the officially sanctioned monastic centres, allowed more flexibility and freedom for the recognition and development of outstanding and charismatic individuals. Thus, Zhabs dkar and his contemporaries found an avenue to distinguish themselves outside the conventional monastic institutions. Janet Gyatso and Hanna Havnevik aptly describe this phenomenon: "the relatively non-standardized and open environment of yogic communities ... allowed more leeway than hierarchical monastic settings for recognising outstanding ... teachers."¹¹³

With such great masters within their community, tensions between the Dge lugs and the Rnying ma pa were inevitable. This is exemplified in the remark by Brag mgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (1801-1866), author of *Mdo smad chos 'byung* and forty-ninth abbot of Bla brang monastery. He writes condescendingly about Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis, whom he accuses of practising neither the Buddhist nor the Bon religion.¹¹⁴ Or, the hostility between Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis and Mkhan chen dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1679-1765), the abbot of Rong bo monastery, is still not forgotten and is recounted in colourful stories today by locals.

One reason for resentment might have to do with the socio-religious role played by the Rnying ma tantric practitioners. As mentioned, the tantric practitioners from Reb kong are renowned for their incantation of powerful mantras and the lay community consult them for specific purposes such as controlling the weather, curing diseases, protection or riddance of evil spirits or the increase of one's luck or well-being. Their reputation of possessing "supernatural" power was not only confined to Reb kong or A mdo. During the British invasion of Tibet in 1904, the Tibetan government even requested the assistance of the second Zhabs dkar, 'Jigs med theg mchog bstan pa rgyal mtshan (1852- 1914), in opposing the enemy.¹¹⁵ In their varied functions as healers, astrologers, diviners or religious teachers, the community of tantric practitioners challenged the authority of the Dge lugs monasteries. In addition, these charismatic religious figures were articulating an alternative form for salvation based on an esoteric interpretation of Buddhism. Thus, by offering an alternative path to liberation and thereby challenging the legitimacy of the authority of the Dge lugs, they were not only in direct competition with the Dge lugs, but were also competing for influence.

¹¹⁰ Dbal mang pandita dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, *Gya bod hor sog gyi lo rgyus*, 120.

¹¹¹ Lce nag tshang hum chen and Ye shes 'od zer sgrol ma, *Reb kong sngags mang gi lo rgyus*, 715.

¹¹² Ibid: 72 & 757.

¹¹³ See Janet Gyatso and Hanna Havnevik, eds., *Women in Tibet* (London: Hurst & Company, 2005), 12.

¹¹⁴ Brag mgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, 326.

¹¹⁵ Lce nag tshang hum chen and Ye shes 'od zer sgrol ma, *Reb kong sngags mang gi lo rgyus*, 163.

Reb kong is also the main centre of the Bon religion in the Kokonor area, where a Bon po monastery was built as early as during the time of Khri srong lde btsan (790-844), the second religious King of Tibet.¹¹⁶ Nowadays, the Bon po are represented in Reb kong by Bon brgya monastery. Tsering Thar surveyed the Bon po population in 1996 and found that there were 681 Bon po families with a population of 4368 in Reb kong.¹¹⁷ Like the tantric practitioners, the Bon po represent only a minority in Reb kong and their relationship with the Dge lugs remains strained. The Bon po's biggest challenge is to keep their tradition alive, whose decline is accelerated by the fact that they carry a social stigma because of their belief.

The inhabitants of Nyanthog village belong to another minority group that differs not in religious tradition but in ethnic composition or self-identification. The Gnyan thog people are ethnically Monguors; they practise Tibetan Buddhism but speak a language which is incomprehensible to local Tibetans. To complicate the matter further, the inhabitants of Seng ge gshong village are also classified as Monguors, but speak a language which is incomprehensible to those from Gnyan thog.¹¹⁸

The inhabitants of these two villages and the different religious communities in Reb kong have managed so far to hold on to their distinct identity. The agents in shaping and articulating their identity were the local elites such as the *nang so*, Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho, Rig 'dzin dpal ldan bkra shis or Zhabs dkar. Each of them defined themselves through a tradition which they passed on to the next generation and to which a group identified themselves. Although the primary aim of the Shar lineage was to encourage and further a Dge lugs identity, they were nonetheless active in promoting Rong bo monastery as a centre for Tibetan religious practices and learning in general. Likewise, the Rnying ma pa tantric halls or the Bon monasteries are regarded not only as sites of worship but also as places where Tibetan culture and tradition is preserved and studied.

Conclusion

Despite Reb kong's diverse religious and cultural environment there seems to exist nevertheless a group identity that transcends all these multiple identities, histories and loyalties. It is within this communal, shared identity that the inhabitants, despite their diverse and fluid identities, feel "the sense of a primacy of belonging".¹¹⁹ This communal identity is, as I have tried to demonstrate above, defined and constructed by dominant institutions such as the *nang so* or the Shar skal ldan lineage. It "exists in the minds of its members" and is, according to Cohen, highly symbolised and "refers to a putative past or tradition."¹²⁰ Furthermore, it is "sufficiently malleable that it

¹¹⁶ Tsering Thar, "Bonpo Tantrics in Kokonor Area," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no 15 (November 2008): 538.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 541.

¹¹⁸ Kalsang Norbu, Zhu Yongzhong, Kevin Stuart, "A Ritual Winter Exorcism in Gnyan Thog village, Qinghai".

¹¹⁹ Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, 2000 [1985]), p. 15.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 98-99.

can accommodate all of its members' selves without them feeling their individuality to be overly compromised."¹²¹

But from the set of shared values and meanings which induces a community, I would argue that ethnicity and religion (Buddhism or Bon) - within the context of being situated at the border - are the two elements which reinforced this communal identity. These criteria are parts of what we today understand under the concept of a "national identity" but even in the pre-modern period they seem to have provided enough resources to construct a group identity and to make the imaginary community a tangible reality.¹²²

The history of Reb kong is a marginal and perhaps a neglected history. In focusing on the local, I have presented some preliminary observations about the cultural and historical complexity of the place. There is need for more study, in particular, a detailed history of the many villages of Reb kong. It is clear that the area is of considerable historical significance to local, borderland and even national histories of Tibet and China.

The various histories of the borderlands differ in political and symbolic significance according to those who read them. To the local inhabitants, it provides them with a sense of identity that allows them to define their spatial and social space; we may also examine in this way the distinction between the "local" definition of boundary and the state's definition of borders or simply, the relation between the borderland and the state. Histories of the borderlands are also an attempt to redress the imbalance whereby the national history is the point of departure. Thus, an informed historiography of the Sino-Tibetan borderland would help not only to better understand past events but also to enable us to analyse and anticipate the long-term continuance of centuries of complex communal, religious and ethnic strategies of co-existence in the Sino-Tibetan relationship.

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¹²¹ Ibid., 109.

¹²² See E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) and Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991). Smith lists the features of national identity as follows: 1) an historic territory, or homeland 2) common myths and historical memories 3) a common, mass public culture 4) common legal rights and duties for all members 5) a common economy with territorial mobility for members. See Smith, *National Identity*, 14.

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An Archaeological Account of the Markha Valley, Ladakh.

By Quentin Devers¹ and Martin Vernier²

Mn this paper we intend to give a first account of the archaeological remains of Markha valley (Ladakh, state of Jammu & Kashmir, India). In spite of its rich historical heritage, this valley has received very little to no academic attention, and, except for the temple of Skyu and the fortified village of Hankar, all the sites described here are unpublished material³. Our account will follow a geographical order, reporting the sites as one encounters them when walking the valley upstream. But, before we do so, we shall give a quick overview of the valley's geographical setting within Ladakh.

Markha valley, which is south of and parallel to the Indus [Fig. 1], has five traditional access routes [Fig. 2]. The first and easiest one is by crossing the Zanskar river near its meeting point with the Markha river. There one can cross the Zanskar by means of a rudimentary trolley (although a bridge is now under construction with the aim to link the valley to the modern road network). Until recently, the traditional spot to cross the river was further downstream, nearby the hamlet of Chilling. Once on the other bank one had to follow a path over the low Kuki pass (3420 m) before reaching the Markha valley itself. A second route leads directly from central Ladakh. It starts from the village of Spituk in the Indus valley, on the right bank of the river 7 km south of Leh town, and crosses the mountains via the Ganda pass before it reaches Skyu, the second village of the valley. A third pathway is located a few hundred meters before the monastery of Teacha, at the junction with the Shakyam Tokpo. This route, leading to Zanskar and locally known under the name of Jumlam, used to be a major trade road for the exchange of salt from the northern Changthang lakes and barley from the Zanskar valleys. The last two ways of accessing the valley follow the two streams that merge near Hankar to form the Markha river. One leads to the pasture lands located in the large plain of Nyimaling, where two paths connect to the Indus valley and another one to the Gya-Meru valley. The other stream goes up the Langthang Chen valley: the route then extends over the Zalung Karpo pass from which it leads either southward to Dat in the Karnag area or westward to meet the Jumlam road at Rabrang Sumdo towards Zanskar.

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³ For the temple of Skyu and the fortified village of Hankar see respectively Kerin 2007 and Howard 1989.

Dzasa Thang (*rdza-sa thang*)⁴

At the confluence of the Markha (*mar-kha*) and Zanskar (*zangs-dkar* or *bzang dkar*) rivers, and along the latter, the landscape is constituted by a large plateau named Dzasa Thang. Its length is slightly less than a kilometre and its width is about 500 m. A sacred site called Guru Doh (*gu-ru mdo*) is located on the opposite bank, almost facing the Markha river where it meets the waters of the Zanskar. The Dzasa Thang plateau is the only open space along the Zanskar river between its junction with the Indus at Nimu (*nyi-mu*) and the plains of Padum (*dpa-lдум / dpa-dum*) further south that begin at Zangla (*bzang-la*). It is dotted with two carved boulders, located roughly at its two ends. The first boulder, on the northern end, has engravings consisting of a few animal representations. Most of them can't be identified with certainty. The other boulder, on the southern end of the plateau, is carved with motifs that are more varied. Several anthropomorphic figures are depicted in various positions, along with ibexes, wild sheep and other unidentified animals. The motifs were executed at different periods, as their superimposition and patinas indicate. A Tibetan syllable *rgyo* was engraved in a more simple and basic manner, and several modern Tibetan letterings were painted on the surface. The boulder is topped with a pole holding prayer flags and white ceremonial scarves (*kha btags*), showing that it is revered nowadays. This is more likely due to the size of this boulder that stands out in the landscape, which is also probably the reason why it got carved in the first place. It is a recurring fact in Ladakh that rocks of unusual shape, size or colour are revered and linked to local tales and beliefs⁵.

Kaya (wylie spelling unknown)

Kaya is the first and one of the greenest villages of the lower Markha valley. It is located on a terrace on the northern bank of the river and it is divided in two by a side valley that marks its historical centre. On the western crag of this side valley, overlooking the fields of the village, stand, according to local informants, the ruins of an ancient royal storehouse castle (*rgyal-po'i mdzod mkhar*). The lack of historical sources and the unclear nature of the oral tradition attached to it did not allow us to clarify what is to be understood under the rather vague term "store" – grain storehouse?, tax storehouse?, etc. Remnants of several long buildings are spread along the

⁴ In this paper we intend to provide in italics the Wylie spellings of all the Tibetan words and names that we use. However, for some names of places we were not able to collect any satisfactory spelling. In that case only a phonetic rendering of the place is given. In order to facilitate the reading the Wylie spelling is indicated only with the first mention of the word, after which only the most widely used phonetic rendering is used (e.g. "chorten" instead of *mchod-rten*). The names mentioned in the introduction were voluntarily left aside, because many are from other areas and providing the Wylie spellings for all these places is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁵ See for example Vohra 1983, p. 67 (bullet 'g') and plate 16.

slope, which are made of mud-mortared mixed-stones⁶ with rammed earth on their top. Their function is rather unclear. Three buildings made of a similar masonry are contiguous on the top of the slope. On a crag overlooking them is a rectangular tower about 3 x 3 m at its base and about 4 m high [Fig. 3]. Its access is not easy and requires climbing. It is made in a different fashion than the other buildings, in a stonework in a different random texture and without rammed earth. Based on masonry alone, this tower seems older than the other buildings.

On the other side of the dry torrent bed, facing the castle, is an almost vertical cliff of very fine clay about 100 m high. On its upper part is a rectangular opening, obviously dug by humans. Even from a careful examination with binoculars it is hard to say what is precisely beyond the opening, but one can reasonably assume that at least one room is dug out there. The lack of proper climbing equipment has unfortunately prevented us from accessing it. On the top of the same cliff, overlooking the valley, are the ruins of what seem to have been walls made of dry stone in random texture. Their position, as well as their discovery at the last minute of our survey, precluded our visiting them.

At the mouth of this side valley, down between the castle on one side and the cliff on the other stand some ruins locally said to be the remains of a "lotsawa lhakhang" (*lo-tswa-ba lha-khang*), or "translator's temple". This term refers to Rinchen Zangpo (*rin-chen bzang-po*), therefore linking, in the oral tradition, the temple to the translator's time (11th century). Only three ruined walls are left, forming a cella of 6.70 x 6.70 m. The attribution to the great translator is a recurrent phenomenon among local people in Ladakh as almost all temples, or remains of temples, of great antiquity are popularly attributed to him. This is clearly a way to express that these temples are very old, but beyond that, no direct link to Rinchen Zangpo can be traced from these local beliefs. This is even more true for the ruin of Kaya: in its present state of preservation and without any proper excavation, there is not enough material to propose any hypothesis about what it might have once been.

Skyu (wylie spelling unknown)

The village of Skyu is contiguous with that of Kaya. Many historical remains are to be found there: two castles, at least one ancient temple, one old *chorten* featuring murals, and six stelae. Except for one of the castles, all these remains are located at the mouth of the side valley that marks the beginning of the village, which also leads to the villages of Yulchung (*yul-chung*), Zingchen (wylie spelling unknown) and Spituk (*dpe-thub*) in the Indus valley over the Ganda pass (wylie spelling unknown). The first castle and the temple are located on each side of this valley, on the eastern and western sides respectively [Fig. 4].

The castle, known as Gyalpo Khar (*rgyal-po'i mkhar*), is in a very decayed state of conservation. On the slope facing the side valley only pebbles and parts of walls are to be found [Fig. 5]. On the other side of the crag, on the

⁶ See appendix at the end of this paper about the different types of masonries used in Markha valley.

slope facing the Markha valley south-eastwardly, is a better looking and probably more recent building. Only a couple walls are left, but they are still preserved on r. 6 m. They are made of a mixed-stones masonry with timber lacing at three different levels that gives the building a palace-like appearance. On a small platform there is a leached trunk in which steps were carved. It is supposed to be used to access a ledge in the cliff that leads to the top of the crag where two *lhathos* (*lha-tho*, small structure for propitiating the gods) can be observed. According to the villagers, every year someone makes the vertiginous ascent to renew the juniper branches as well as the prayer flags.

The castle is linked to a local tale, the account of which is as follows: there was a local Buddhist king married to a Balti princess. She was coming from Chigtan (*cig-ldan*) according to most of the different versions of the legend. She was gifted with foresight, enabling her to predict the future. One day she had a premonitory dream about a flood devastating the valley. At that time, the glacier of Taktsungtse (*brag-chung-tse*) was obstructing the valley of Nyimaling (*nyi-ma-gling*), where a lake was expanding. If the glacier was to break, the entire valley would be flooded. But nobody listened to her, not even her husband. As a result she decided to write a letter to her parents asking them to come to rescue her. She put the letter in an ibex horn sealed by bee wax, which she threw in Markha river. The horn followed the current down to the Zanskar that carried it to the Indus, which in turn brought it all the way down to Sanjak (wylie spelling unknown). There, the horn went to the Lungma stream (*lung-ma chu*) and travelled against the current up to Chigtan. Eventually the parents found it stuck in the stream nearby their house, after which they went to take their daughter back home. Later on, the flood occurred and the king died without an heir. The castle fell to ruins and thereafter there was no longer a king in Markha valley.

In 2009, we came upon some additional information regarding this story. Skyu and Kaya reportedly used to be one and the same village, centred on the *gonpa* and Gyalpo Khar in modern Skyu. Following a flood coming from the valley of Ganda-la, some of the inhabitants settled downstream and founded Kaya (possible distortion of *gshag-byes*, “to divide, to split”, in the local dialect) while the others stayed in the ancient village that became Skyu (possibly a distortion of *khad-byes*, “to get stuck”). The ruins of the old village are still visible at the foot of the Gaylpo Khar.

It is not impossible that a flood from Nyimaling or Ganda pass happened at some point in the history of the valley. Floods caused by the collapse of a glacier that temporarily obstructed a stream seem to be recurrent in Ladakhi history and are reported for different valleys in Ladakh. Among them the most famous and impressive are those of the Shyok river into the Indus valley, where Cunningham reported no less than three floods for a period of about 30 years in the first half of the 19th century⁷. The etymology of the last village in the direction of Nyimaling, Hankar, may be linked with our above discussion. It could come from *gangs*, “glacier”, and *kar-po*, “white”. Given the flexibility of the word *gangs* in Ladakhi which does not designate a glacier in the same strict sense as its English counterpart, it may well be an indication that there used to be something resembling a glacier at this

⁷ Cunningham 1854, p. 99-111.

location obstructing the course of the river⁸. However, this etymology as well as the two proposed above have to be treated for what they are, i.e. angles of inquiries and in no case historically verified facts.

To our knowledge, the chapel of Skyu, along with the fortified village of Hankar, is one of the few historical remains that has been studied so far in the Markha valley. It is located on the other side of the side valley, facing the ruins of the Gyalpo Khar. According to the local traditions two sites linked to the period of the great translator Rinchen Zangpo are said to be located in Markha valley, though neither are mentioned in any biographies from this period nor in the *Chronicles of Ladakh* (*la-dwags rgyal-rabs*). Taken in the sense of “ancient” (as explained earlier for Kaya) this popular attribution has been confirmed by recent academic studies at least for this small chapel⁹. It is located within the back of the more recent *dukhang* (‘du-khang) locally called Skyu *gonpa* (*dgon-pa*), which was built around it [Fig. 6]. It houses a large Maitreya (*byams-pa*) statue as well as some very damaged murals figuring mandalas and other figures. As a full coverage of this chapel has been recently published by Melissa Kerin¹⁰, we will not further describe it here.

An interesting point however needs to be highlighted for our concern. In her study Kerin proposes the late 12th century for the murals¹¹. This dating – or let’s say a close range of dating of the late 12th to early 13th century – is further corroborated by our findings in the *chorten* of Markha village and in Teachā (*bte-byā*) *gonpa*, which we will mention later in this paper. If we are right, this small chapel is most probably the remnant of a larger ancient temple enclosed by two chapels. The element leading us to this conclusion is the monumental statue: there is no other example from the considered period of such a large statue set in such a small chapel standing on its own, isolated from any monastic context and not part at least of a larger temple complex. However similar large statues do exist in the valleys around Markha, but they are all parts of larger architectural complexes and follow two different patterns. The first type of structures with large clay statues is found in temple complexes such as those of Mangyu (*mang-rgyu*) and Sumda Chung (*gsum-mdā chung*). In these two cases the statues of similar size are standing in small chapels on both sides of a central temple¹². These small chapels are accessed by low doors and are of homologous sizes as the one in Skyu. The second type of structures with large clay statues are the ones found, among other places, in Saspol (*sa-spo-la*) Chamba Lhakhang and Wanla (*wan-la*) old *dukhang*. In these cases the statues are included in

⁸ In the above cited chapter, Cunningham ascribes different origins to these dams: 1) some are actual glaciers extending down to the valley; 2) some are parts of such glaciers that broke and slid down to the valley; 3) some are made of avalanches and masses of ice. For our concern it could not have been an actual glacier as in point 1) as geological studies show that the last glacier at Hankar existed between 40 000 and 78 000 years BP (see Damm 2006, p. 95; Taylor and Mitchell 2000, p. 91 and p. 96). However points 2) and 3) are possible, and compatible with the Ladakhi term *gangs*.

⁹ Kerin 2007, p. 54.

¹⁰ Kerin 2007.

¹¹ Kerin 2007, p. 54.

¹² In Vitali’s typology of temples built during the 10th and 11th c. in West Tibet this kind of temple falls under the category: «temples enclosed by other chapels containing a monumental statue ». See Vitali 1996, p. 94.

recesses of the inner temple, where two statues are symmetrically distributed either on both sides of a central altar or on both sides of a central third statue – like in Alchi Sumtsek (*a-lci gsum brtsegs*). As the murals on the walls of the chapel are most probably contemporary with the statue, the second type is unlikely. Furthermore the layout does not fit this type either. Therefore, very probably the small chapel still standing at Skyu was once one out of two side chapels flanking a temple now gone.

About 50 m toward the river from the foot of the castle is an old *chorten*. Its upper part was recently re-made for the visit of His Holiness the 12th Drukchen Rinpoche in the summer of 2009. Inside, traces of murals are visible but are badly damaged and unclear because of the mess caused by the re-construction and the white washing that followed the completion of the renovation. From the bits remaining, one can note a careful drawing and a style that suggest an ancient origin. A careful study of these murals would be of great interest in order to postulate any dating and determine whether or not a link can be made with the *lotsawa lhakhang*. Four stelae were grouped inside this *chorten* after its restoration was completed. They were previously located nearby in a ruined structure and were simply backed against a wall [Fig. 7, stelae 1 to 4, pictures taken when they were at this former location]. Another stela is enshrined in an adjacent basic white-washed shelter and depicts a four armed Chenrezig (*spyan-ras-gzigs phyag bzhi-pa*) with his five-tipped crown and a lotus in one of his hands [Fig. 7, stela 5]. A sixth stela is located some 20 m from the *chorten* in the direction of the castle. It features a main bodhisattva figure with a five-tipped crown, a small cross-legged Buddha on the lower right corner and a flaming jewel on the left side [Fig. 7, stela 6]. Some parts of the figure seem to have been scratched at a more recent date. The six stelae from Skyu are all executed on reddish or greenish slabs (that are actually large flat cobbles as indicated by their edges which have been smoothen by the flow of water). Their height does not exceed one meter. The four inside the *chorten* are obviously of greater aesthetic value than the two others. They follow the traditional iconography and iconometry, though with distinctly rustic traits. They represent bodhisattvas with five- or three-tipped crowns. Some are adorned with necklaces and bracelets and all are resting on lotus-style bases. Out of these four, three are shown standing and the remaining one is sitting cross-legged and holds a vase in his hands. Out of the three standing figures, two have inscriptions on their sides, one in *lantsa* script and the other in Tibetan *uchen* (*dbu-can*) script.

Halfway between the Gyalpo Khar and the next village, Pentse (wylie spelling unknown) (i.e. approximately 2 km between the Gyalpo Khar and Pentse), on the right bank of the river stands an interesting site locally known as Lonpo Khar (*blon-po mkhar*), or “fortress of the minister”. It is composed of two distinct fortifications [Fig. 8]. First, overlooking the path and some 100 m from it, is the main castle. It is composed of several buildings aggregated around what look like two hoodoos that would have lost their hard tops. The walls are all made with mud-mortared mixed-stones in random texture and are in a fair state of preservation. A few walls have small openings about 30 cm wide with stone lintels, but most of them were filled with a mud-mortared masonry in a rearrangement of the site. One wall features bricks on its top, which are of the unusual size of

c. 42 x 35 x 12 cm. Few ceramics are to be observed on the ground, and no timber is left. On top of one of the 'hoodoo' a structure is visible, but its access is quite difficult if not impossible. It is most probably the remains of a tower. There is a direct line of sight between the top of the 'hoodoo' and Pentse's top-most tower. On the other hand, it is impossible to see the Gyalpo Khar of Skyu downstream because of the curve of the valley.

The second part of the site is to be found some 500 m higher up on the mountain. Accessing these fortifications requires a good amount of determination as they are very high and steep, and no path or even remnants of path are to be found. The last four meters involve climbing, overlooking the vertiginous ascent. The entrance of the site is on top of a small cliff highly perched in the mountain. The buildings, eight in all, are spread along the slope above this cliff. The walls are all made of lightly mud-mortared schist with small stones. The top-most building is a c. 2 x 2 m square tower. Only one sherd was found, and no storage structure of any kind is to be noted. No wood in any form is to be observed either. Some distance down the cliff, there is a small outpost structure watching the crest that goes all the way down to the 'hoodoo' crowned with the probable tower of the main castle.

In the vicinity of the site, on a small platform above the trail, over a dozen ancient *chortens* of different types are to be observed. They are very likely linked to the Lonpo Khar as no other remains are to be reported in the area. This emphasizes the importance of the castle, a fact corroborated by its name ("castle of the minister"). A closer study of the *chortens* and their content could bring valuable information about the history of this site.

In the future a few issues need to be investigated for this site. The first one is whether the two castles were functioning together: were they in use at the same time, and if so, were they designed to be complementary? The second question is the access to the top castle: where was the path leading there? If the two castles were complementary, then it is very likely that the path used to be via the crest that goes from the other side of the now inaccessible hoodoo to the outpost that sits shortly before the cliff of the top castle. The third question that arises, and a vital issue in such a case, is the water supply and the use of the top castle: how was this castle – where there is no easy nor short way to water and where there are no traces of storage – used?

Pentse (wylie spelling unknown)

The village of Pentse is about three kilometres upstream. On the right bank of the river, along the slope facing it at the junction with a side valley, are the remains of what appear to have been a fortified village. The ruins of various buildings can be seen spread at different levels along the slope [Fig. 9]. On the top of the crest three towers are aligned along a north to south axis. The first and northern-most one (A) is rectangular and c. 2 x 3 m, made of mud-mortared schist in random texture. The second tower (B), made with the same masonry, is of an irregular shape and is approximately 1.5 x 2 m. From both of them one can see the top castle of the Lompo Khar. The last one (C) is also rectangular and c. 1.5 x 2.5 m.

Gesar Kyi Yul (*ge-sar-kyi-yul*)

On a small terrace 700 m upstream on the right bank of the river are the remains of an old village, locally known as Gesar Kyi Yul (*ge-sar-kyi-yul*) [Fig. 10]. A spring emerges from the foot of the terrace. About 30 buildings are still visible, as well as four *chortens* including one that collapsed. One building features higher walls with traces of beams, pointing to the existence of a second floor. At least two stages of construction are observable. The first one corresponds to a masonry of mud-mortared mixed-stones in random textures about 40 cm thick, with walls that include boulders at their base at several spots. In a second stage, walls 80 cm thick leaning against those of the first stage were built with dry schist. The site is covered with shards of schist coming from the cliff overlooking the terrace, and several large boulders that fell from it also dot the area.

It is quite unclear to us why this location is named after Gesar, we have not collected any material about this. There are nowadays no habitations in the area. The settlement didn't move to the bottom of the valley, like it is usually the case, it vanished. As we will see with other similar sites, this points to a global evolution of the occupation of the valley.

Gyalpo Shissa Gyak or Gadmo Shi Dud

Collapsed ruins adorn the top of a massive boulder about 400 m upstream on the right bank of the river [Fig. 11]. The place is known under two names, Gyalpo Shissa Gyak and Gadmo Shi Dud. These names are linked to a tale still well known in the valley, which we will discuss in a moment. It is a massive boulder measuring 14 x 15 m, and a bit more than 10 m high. Remains of walls made in a multi-colored cobble masonry might have formed one building of importance or a small group of contiguous buildings. There is a small cave on the southern side, about 5 m long and 3 m tall. Small walls at the entrance are visible. It would be interesting to excavate the floor of the cave: it is inclined toward the interior and as a result it seems that there is an important sedimentation, which could be hiding older structures.

The tale linked to this site was collected from a variety of informants, but several points remain obscure to us. The main character of the tale is a certain Gyalpo: he was sacking Markha valley and people fled with their most precious belongings before his advance. His name is ambiguous and it is unclear whether he was a famous highwayman who raged in the valley or if he was a local king (*rgyal-po*) who was ransoming his subjects and thus behaving like a bandit¹³. At the place today known as Gyalpo Shissa Gyak

¹³ John Bellezza also pointed that a *rgyal-po* can be a class of homicidal demons: the main character could thus be a dead ruler or some other person that died violently and then came back as a demon, it could even not necessarily be a person. Personal communication of the 2nd of March 2010.

there used to live an old grandmother. She refused to leave the place, arguing that she was too old to flee away, and that she had nothing left to lose anyway. The old lady remained alone at the settlement. By the evening Gyalpo arrived at the village. He asked the grandmother to prepare food and to light a fire to warm him up. She obeyed and started a fire. Gyalpo went to rest close to the fireplace. His chin was lying on the top of his bow, the rope of which was turned in the direction of the fire. Seeing that Gyalpo was nearly falling asleep, the old lady put more wood into the fire. At some point the flames burnt the bowstring, which suddenly broke. The tip of the bow thrust in Gyalpo's throat and he died on the spot.

The etymology of "Gyalpo Shissa Gyak" is quite unclear: Gyalpo (*rgyal-po*) is the name or title of the main character of the tale as stated above, "shissa" comes from *shi-byes* "to die", but the last term "gyak" or "gyaks" is subject to many interpretations. It may derive from *mgyogs-pa*, "quickly, shortly, suddenly", in which case the name of the place could then be translated as "where Gyalpo died shortly". But other interpretations fit the tale and the etymology as well. For example it could also come from *gyags* that designates the ration of the traveller – mostly tsampa (*tsam-pa*, roasted barley flour) – in which case the name of the place would mean "where Gyalpo died while obtaining fresh supplies". The second name, "Gadmon Shi Dud", is more clear: it comes from *rgad-mo shi bdud*: "the old lady killed the devil".

Domolung (*rdo-mo-lung*)

Ruins of a defensive complex are located about 900 m further upstream, on the left bank, on the edge of a crag overlooking the river. The site consists of three main square buildings made in a mixed-stones masonry [Fig. 12]. Two or three corners of walls are still over two meters high and must have formed the main building of the complex. They feature rectangular loopholes on their lower parts, as well as stone niches and stone doorways set in the ground. Surrounding walls remaining on the cliff can be described as shapeless piles of stones and collapsed rows of cobbles.

The ruins are located a few meters from a narrow breach in the cliff that allows access to a hidden side valley. After a quick investigation nothing special seems to be found there. The name of the site might come from this hidden valley: *rdo* "rock", *mo* is a feminine particle, and *lung* "valley", where the feminine particle *mo* could well stand in a symbolic way for the interstice in the cliff.

Nagling gomgog (*nag-gling dgon-gog*)

Two and a half kilometres further up the Markha river, on the opposite bank to the place known as Nagling, lies the remains of what must have been in the past an important religious Buddhist complex. The ruins are settled on an inclined terrace bordered on one side by a cliff overlooking the valley and on the other side by a cliff going further up in the mountain [Fig. 13]. Nowadays no access is left to climb up there, and the site is cut off from the rest of the valley by the river that is now flowing all along the cliff. Reaching

the site requires a good knowledge of climbing and a good dose of self control as well, but one is amply rewarded by the rich and interesting remains of this ancient site. The remains consist of eight caves, one main building and a secondary one, four entrance-like structures built at the entrances of the caves, a "*lha-bab*" or ladder type *chorten*, and two tsakhangs (*tsha-khang*), "tsatsa houses". Remains of small wall sections and earthworks are also present in a state of illegible remnants. One of the caves is nowadays inaccessible (cave 1) and another one is located down the terrace nearby the bank of the river (cave 8).

Caves 2 to 7 are located at the foot of the upper cliff and overlook the small steep terrace that once housed the complex that is approximately 200 m long and 50 m wide. One cave stands out from the others by its interior design (cave 2). It features a niche in the outside shape of a Buddhist deity with its two different halos, a round above the head and one more oblong and ogival round the rest of the body [Fig. 14]. There are two other small square niches in the same cave, dug out in the rock, and, on the ground on the right of the central niche, a cooking set built out of mud and stones. The walls of the cave – as well as the walls of all the other caves except for cave 4 – have been plastered with mud and appear smooth although very blackened by smoke. The ceilings exhibit the natural rocks of the cave, while the floors seem to be made in rough rammed earth.

Three other caves are located in the vicinity of this "main" one (caves 3, 4 and 5). These three caves show clear remains of basic layout including small niches and stair-like structures that might have served as altars. A last cave is located at the extreme east end of the cliff and was more summarily converted (cave 7). Its less blackened walls contain charcoal drawings, which are obviously a later addition. In fact, all the caves bear simple drawings picturing monks and religious symbols as well as some Tibetan mantric lettering. But these pictographs are all of a more recent execution.

The remains of two buildings are located at the lower end of the terrace. The largest one (building A) is rectangular in shape, measures about 8 x 5 m and is built in mud brick above a base made in a masonry of mixed-stones in random texture. A section of a dividing brick wall goes roughly from the middle of the eastern wall few meters into the building. On the south side of this rectangular building, and linked to it at its southeastern corner, a stone wall about 8 m long follows the edge of the cliff immediately overlooking the river all the way to the *chorten* located at the opposite corner of that building. The ruins of a second building stand at the western end of the terrace. It is made of mud-mortared stones in rough texture, and measures 3.5 x 2.5 m.

Remains of walls are located immediately at the entrance of the caves 2, 3, 5 and 6 and were most probably, at a given time, entry locks and façades to the caves. The buildings of caves 2 and 3 are made of neatly aligned mud-mortared mixed-stones surmounted by bricks, while those of caves 5 and 6 are in a rougher masonry. Doorways and remains of windows are still clearly visible in these buildings framing caves 2 and 3.

A tsakhang is located on the thin strip of land forming the eastern end of the plateau leading to cave 7 and is built out of stone masonry with an outside mud plastering. A second structure much smaller partially collapsed is located just next to it. The tsakhang is filled with tsatsa (*tsha-tsha*) mainly

in the shape of small conical *lha-bab chorten* – most of them bearing traces of an ochre coating – and also of few rounded stamped figures of Chenrezig. As tsakhangs are traditionally acting as repositories for religious artifacts (scroll paintings, scriptures¹⁴) on top of their primary function of holding ashes of cremated individuals, this structure might be a central part of the site. As such we suspect its proper examination and meticulous excavation could bring out important findings for learning more about the whole site, its affiliation and its dates.

Peldot (wylie spelling unknown)

The site of Peldorf is located about 500 m upstream. It features a tower perched far above the complex composed of a dozen buildings located at different levels along the slope. The path leading to the tower, built in a very steep and vertiginous escarpment, is partly washed out. It leads to a small berm protected on one side by a wall and bordered on the other by a cliff. From there, the access to the top tower requires a 5 m climb on a rock face made out of schist. The tower is small, less than 2 m in diameter¹⁵. All walls in the site are made of schist, either dry or mud-mortared. A small *chorten* less than a metre tall is to be noted among the remains.

Like Nagling, it is on the right bank of the stream while the modern path is on the opposite side. The river, whose course changes easily, runs nowadays alongside the mountain between Peldorf and Nagling, making it impossible to walk from one site to the other without crossing the stream. It must have been different in the past, and it would not be surprising that both sites used to be related both physically and in their functionality.

The segment of the valley from the Lonpo Khar to Peldorf is currently uninhabited, though it is dotted with abandoned villages, abandoned defensive sites and even an abandoned cave complex – which is a rare feature in Ladakh. This raises the question of the history of the occupation of the valley: Were there that many more people living there in the past? Were they producing all that wealth in order to support the numerous military structures spread at close intervals as well as a religious complex like Nagling?

Sara (*sa-ra*)

Sara is the name of a small cultivated plateau located on the left bank a kilometre and a half up the valley. Nowadays it is inhabited by a single family that lives in a relatively recent house. Some ruins are located in the slope overlooking the river on the opposite bank slightly upstream. Their access is perilous, the erosion having turned the original slope's edges into

¹⁴ Regarding the findings of ancient religious artifacts in similar structures in the neighbouring area of Zanskar, see Linrothe and Kerin 2001.

¹⁵ None of the authors was able to do the climb. The size of the tower was reported by our local helper Lobsang Eshey.

an almost vertical cliff. The remains, spread across three different close spots, consist of buildings made of mud-mortared stones in random texture. One wall features a banded texture layer made of slabs set horizontally in the masonry. There are about a dozen buildings of a square ground plan, several enclosures and several structures all of which in too precarious a state for further interpretations. The largest measurable buildings are nearly 3 x 4 m. Partially eroded holes in the ground more than 2 m wide are located around the complex. No pottery was found in the debris of the site.

Chalak (*wylie unknwon*)

The village of Chalak is located less than one and a half kilometres upstream. Nowadays only one house is still inhabited, raising again the issue of the evolution of the occupation of the valley: Were all these sites occupied at the same time? Or do we have the ruins of sites that moved over time, leaving us a horizontal density that is to be sequenced vertically for its interpretation?

A long crag, bordered by the Markha valley on one side and by a side valley on the other one, bears the remains of an ancient village on its flat top [Fig. 15]. The site is dominated by two square towers, of which only the bases made in mixed-stones masonries remain. A third noticeable building is also square with a similar base, but only one of its walls is still standing. It is made of bricks whose size is 26 x 20 x 10 cm. The inner side is mud-plastered, and the coat bears several interesting contiguous rows of 14 cm wide circles that are about 1 or 2 mm deep in relief [Fig. 16]. Traces of ochre are still visible on some parts of the wall. These features and the fact that it is the only wall left of the entire site suggest that this building might have had a special function, maybe of religious affiliation. We hope that an analysis of the distributions of the circles, holes and traces of pigment that we are conducting will help us determine whether such an affiliation can be asserted or not.

After the last fields of Chalak proper, about half way to the next hamlet of Tinley Katpa (*phrin-las gad-pa*), one crosses a small side rivulet at a place called *Lhatho Marpo* (*lha-tho dmar-po*). This place is believed to have been visited by Taktsang Repa¹⁶ for some time. It is marked with a big *lhatho* and with piles of horns painted in red with ochre. Just next to this site is a boulder engraved with several petroglyphs, including a hunting scene and two possible masks [Fig. 17].

Tinle Katpa (*phrin-las gad-pa*)

A kilometre and a half further up the valley, at the turn that marks the beginning of the hamlet named Tinle Katpa, on a long and thin strip of land

¹⁶ Taktsang Repa, born in 1574, was an important yogi. Under the patronage of the king Sennge Namgyal (*seng-ge rnam-rgyal*) he established or restored several important monasteries in Ladakh among which Hemis, Hanle and Chemre.

oriented South to North, slightly overlooking the Markha river and bordering a side valley, lie the remnants of an ancient village and of a small castle.

The remains of the habitations are found at the southern end of the terrace. Each one of them can be described as one or two rectangular parallel arrays of stones set vertically into the ground. At first glance one cannot but think of the single- or double-course quadrate enclosures reported all over the Tibetan High Plateau by John Bellezza¹⁷. But we have here structures of a very different nature, and the key to understanding them is found in one of the still standing walls of one of the buildings. The bases of its walls are made of the same two parallel arrays of stones solidly planted into the ground, above which a stone masonry was set up. This simple building technique provides a solid and firm base for the walls. Interestingly a few hundred meters downstream in the valley a modern enclosure using the same technique is to be noticed [Fig. 18]. When the site was abandoned the villagers probably re-employed the stones of the walls for new constructions, leaving only those that were deeply planted into the ground¹⁸.

North of these habitations, at the foot of a crag are two 9 m-long buildings that form the main part of the castle [Fig. 19]. The first one (A) is made of mud-mortared mixed-stones in random texture, while the second one (B) is made of three successive masonries: a mix of dry cobbles and angular stones constitute a terracing base, above which is a mud-mortared stonework in irregular texture pierced with small stone-linteled openings. Finally comes a mix of dry or lightly mortared stones that seem to have been patched above it. A couple of smaller buildings lie on the edge of the ravine bordering the side valley. Up the crag are two square towers. The top-most one has a small building attached to it, though we have not been able to access it. The second tower is 2 x 2 m. Its masonry is of lightly mud-mortared stones in rough texture, featuring large stone linteled loopholes. Interestingly, two of them look toward the first tower, which makes one wonder if there is another access to the latter making it more vulnerable and, as such, necessary to get protected from in case it is taken by an attacker. Ceramic on the surface is to be found at the castle and throughout the plateau.

Further north, between the crag and the Markha valley lies a boulder engraved with a dozen petroglyphs. They are of a rather dark patina and depict mostly animals – an ibex and wild sheep – some unreadable designs and a representation of a mask [Fig. 20]. This *mascoid* figure is of an unusual type, never seen before anywhere else in Ladakh¹⁹. Its specificity comes from its realistic rather than geometric and stylised design. All the other *mascoids* found in Ladakh display triangles to summarize the details of the face delineated by a circle [Fig. 20a]. The mask carved at Tinle Katpa is therefore of a surprisingly realistic type, clearly showing eyebrows, a nose with

¹⁷ Type II.2.a and II.2.b in his typology (Bellezza 2008, p. 28). For pictures and drawings of these structures see Bellezza 2008, p. 117 & 120.

¹⁸ Though we believe these enclosures are the remains of buildings, the possibility that they could be actual tombs has to be considered and kept in mind. Only excavations will be able to determine it for sure.

¹⁹ For an account of Ladakhi rock art see Vernier 2007.

nostrils and lips. The general appearance of the figures and their typology tend to bring them close to similar figures dated from the Bronze Age.

Markha (*mar-kha*)

Markha is the eponymous village of the valley and has several very interesting ruins. Indeed this place alone deserves a full article, which we intend to prepare in the near future. In the current paper we will briefly list and describe the main historical remnants of the place.

On a morainal terrace oriented south to north on the right bank of the river are perched the remains of a stronghold featuring the later addition of a palace. An erosional entail divides the terrace in two halves. The northern half bears the remains of a massive quadrangular tower, whereas the palace lies on the southern one [Fig. 21].

The former half of the terrace suffered more from erosion, and as such the enclosure that once protected it is to be found now at the bottom in the valley where it fell. The tower, three or four story high, is made of a massive multi-colored cobble masonry in random texture with timber lacing [Fig. 22]. It is the most heavily built defensive structure of the valley. One of its walls collapsed revealing its interior with its falling timbers and piles of cobbles. Close to it is a building featuring blind walls made of 40 x 20 x 10 cm bricks built on a base of mud-mortared stones in random texture. The rooms are accessed from openings on the roof. These characteristics make one think of a grainhouse. There are other remnants of buildings on this half of the terrace, but they are in a too precarious state for further description and interpretation.

The palace, locally called Markha Khar (*mkhar*), or Markha Gyalpo Khar, is an impressive three-story building made of a multi-colored cobble masonry in random texture. The outer walls are mud-coated and show timber lacing at the lower portions of the building's corners. At first glance this stonework look more recent than that of the tower. This impression is due to the larger stones used in the lot thicker walls of the latter. But the use of timber lacing indicate that it can't be much older than the palace. The coarser aspect of the tower is more likely due to a different function of defense rather than to a different period of construction. The palace is topped by the traditional red painted parapet, slightly overhanging. The general shape of the building closely follows the Tibetan architectural style with its typical inward bending walls. Until the recent heavy rains of the summer of 2006 the building was in a fairly good condition. Its ground floor consists of several stores organised around a central hall sustained by round wood pillars, some of them being a later addition. From this central hall one accesses the second floor by stone stairs. There, one finds a large and very blackened kitchen, two long windowless chambers for storing grain, latrines, a store room and a large reception hall with two carved square wooden pillars. The roof of this large room is now partly collapsed, but it is the only room within the palace where all the beams supporting the roof are, like the pillars, of square section [Fig. 23]. The grain chambers are built of mud bricks while the kitchen parting wall is made in a wattle and daub technique. The kitchen contains a cooking set and shelves built into the wall.

There is also a wooden pillar (*ka*) – an important component of the traditional beliefs related to the home deity – which has, as an offering, a rather fresh twisted sheaf of barley tied round it. Another interesting detail, also linked to local beliefs and magico-religious practices, is the representation, very blackened through time, of a stylised *peyrak* (*pe-rag*) – the traditional lady headdress – on the wall facing the furnace made in clay. The headdress is roughly represented by the means of butter traces as well as two hands on both sides. This strongly recalls the practice, still contemporary, of drawing auspicious designs and symbols on beams and walls during the New Year celebration. A large wooden ladder brings to a much smaller top floor. It consists of two rooms. The largest and nicest one might have been the private chamber or chapel of the chaplain. It is now in an advanced state of decay.

The entire building shows clear signs of past transformations and repairs such as blocked windows and blocked doors or later additional wooden pillars. A *lhatho* located at the north-eastern corner of the roof is still in use and the villagers regularly renew its juniper branches. This, together with the above mentioned ritual remains located in the kitchen, attests to the fact that the place is still believed to be inhabited by its specific and local spirits and that they are still worshipped nowadays. *Lhathos* are actually found in many of the ruins we visited. Some sites are literally just a few crumbling walls featuring a *lhatho* that is still worshiped.

Several decayed buildings surround the palace, and the whole is protected by a stone enclosure. The only building still standing within the enclosure is a two room and single-story structure. It is facing south, overlooking the precipice and has a large wooden balcony of traditional local style that is now partially collapsed. The entrance door is painted in red as are the corners of the building. Inside, only one of the two rooms is still accessible, the floor of the second having collapsed. In this room of about 3 x 2.5 m various objects including cooking utensils, locks, leather shields and pottery have been grouped together.

Down the terrace, on its eastern side, are located the fairly well preserved and important abandoned buildings of the Hemis Labrang²⁰ (*bla-brang*). This three-story building is attached to an entrance portico leading to the palace. The eastern façade is pierced with windows and a balcony, while its west side is built directly against the cliff and includes small caves. A large courtyard gallery occupies almost the entire top floor.

A few meters east is a very interesting *chorten*. One of its walls collapsed about 80 years ago (according to local informants), and the entire structure is now in danger of sagging [Fig. 24]. Its inner three remaining walls are covered with murals showing a rich iconographic programme [Fig. 25]. Above the original entrance are portrayed a representation of a form of Mahakala with a horse-mounted protector on the side, two unidentified

²⁰ A *labrang*, in the case of these buildings, is a rest house to accommodate monks while they are away of their monastery. Each *labrang* is owned and managed by a specific monastery. At Markha village, the Hemis Labrang located at the foot of the old palace was used by the monks and other religious dignitaries from Hemis monastery while they were in the valley. It was then converted into a school run by monks just before its final abandonment. It consists of an important three story building, topped by an open courtyard that is surrounded by a gallery.

Kagyüd-pa lamas and, most probably, the famous Tibetan yogini Machig Labdrön. Unfortunately, the wall facing the entrance, which traditionally contains the main figures leading the theme of the whole, is the one that has fallen down. We are then missing the key to fully appreciate and interpret the remaining murals. Those on the two side walls are pretty damaged, only half of each being preserved. The walls still bear a dozen inscriptions, which can be divided in two sets: a first set is integrated with the figures and is likely to be contemporaneous with them, whereas another set was added afterwards, written on a grey background painted above the original motifs. According to their style, as a preliminary dating waiting for further studies, these murals can reasonably be dated from the 14th or 15th centuries. The inner chamber contains a beautifully fluted column topped with a capital carved with floral patterns and *makara* heads (in Tibetan *chu-srin*) [Fig. 26]. The capital is engraved with a *mandorla* housing a Buddha on the center of one side and a Bodhisattva figure on the other [Fig. 27]. Unfortunately, on both sides of the capital the faces of the deities have been damaged and are no longer visible. This is also the case for most of the faces of the painted figures on the walls, which lead to the suspicion of a deliberate act of vandalism. The capital shares many characteristics with wooden pieces from other temples of considerable antiquity in the area. It strongly reminds one of the fluted columns of Alchi Sumtseg and Sumda Chung temple that bear the same floral decorative pattern. The closest examples are the capitals of Lhachuse [Fig. 26a], both in style and composition. It can also be compared with the capital of Shalkar Lhabrang in Spiti²¹, where *makaras* can be seen as well. Based on these resemblances, the column and its capital are most likely from the 12th century²², the 11th century being not to be excluded according to Luczanits to who we shew pictures of it²³. In any case, they clearly predate the *chorten* and its murals, and have been reused from an earlier construction. We will come back to this point with the site of Teacha, located about 3 km upstream.

In the vicinity of this *chorten*, lying on another one, four stelae were grouped together [Fig. 28]. The first one shows a sitting figure with four arms and is crowned by a five-tipped headdress. As the figure holds a flower in one of its hand and has the two main hands in prayer (*anjali mudra*) it is most probably a representation of the four-armed Chenrezig. The second stela shows a standing figure with a five-tipped crown as well and a flower is also visible above the left shoulder. The figure bears the bracelets and earring ornaments of the bodhisattvas. A third stela shows a more faded

²¹ Many thanks to Christian Luczanits for pointing the previous reference and the present comparison to us. Pictures of this capital can be seen at the following address: <http://www.univie.ac.at/itba/pages/pictures/ShalkharCapital/index.html>.

²² The carvings of Lhachuse have been very recently revisited by Poell in a forthcoming article. He shows that though they are very close to those found at Alchi, they display earlier features and are much closer to Kashmiri Buddhist sculpture (p. 12). Though it is hard to say how much earlier, there are clearly from before the 13th century. As for the world famous Alchi Sumtseg, it has been amply studied and surveyed. Luczanits shed new light on it, stating its foundation to be from the early 13th century (Luczanits 2007, p. 73). Sumda Chung is part of what Luczanits calls the "Alchi group of monuments", which he dates to be from around 1200 (Luczanits 2005, p. 86).

²³ We really want to thank Christian Luczanits for his insights and support on the different artworks presented in this paper.

sitting figure with a five-tipped crown and earrings. The fourth and last stela is engraved with a sitting figure of a Buddha in *bhumisparsha mudra* and holds what could be a bowl in one hand. This one could accordingly be a representation of Sakyamuni. All four stelae are quite deeply carved and show a rustic interpretation of the iconography and especially of the iconometry. The rustic character of the execution and the absence of similar pieces securely dated prevent us from proposing a date for them.

The monastery of the village, being of a relatively recent construction – it is dedicated to Shamunata, the third incarnation of the founder of Hemis monastery, Tagtsang Repa – and of limited historical interest, will not be taken into account here.

The great historical significance of Markha village is evidenced by the valley being named after it, the stronghold with its palace, the extraordinary findings in the *chorten* and the stelae.

Thangring (*thang-ring*)

A kilometre and a half upstream, on a crag on the right bank of the valley, at a place locally known as Thangring, stands the remains of a small castle. No path to approach it is to be observed. Accordingly, accessing it requires some climbing. Its core is a 3 m large irregular pentagon tower built in a masonry of mud-mortared stones in rough textures made with large cobbles and large angular stones. It is pierced with small loopholes. A few other buildings are spread on the short slope between it and the cliff. In one of the retaining walls one can see two to three stages of construction. The site is in a too poor state of preservation to account for the exact layout of the different buildings. Cobbles are covering the entire ground, and only one fragment of ceramic was noticed above them.

A small outpost like Thangring points to an evolution of the dangers in the valley. If we leave Skyu, Markha and Hankar aside, which are later sites, the numerous small defensive structures spread all along the valley are designed for resisting small attackers like brigands, inter-valleys or inter-villages raiders. They are not built to face a larger threat: the inhabitants were protecting themselves from local enemies. However, the later sites of Skyu, Markha and Hankar respond to another design, where the valley is taken as a whole, and where the fortresses are built to resist larger attacks, at a time when the ennemis to be secured from are more distant and more powerful (like the Tibeto-Mongols, the Baltis or the Dogras) and when the valley was then a full component of the larger Ladakhi kingdom.

Shakhyam (wylie spelling unknown)

Only 600 m upstream, on the left bank of Markha river at its confluence with Shakhyam Tokpo, remnants of structures made of dry schist are visible along a very steep slope. They are in a very bad state of preservation, and one can only suppose that they may be the remains of some kind of fortifications. Shakhyam Tokpo used to be an important route for the trade of salt brought from the Chang Thang area to the Zanskar valleys to be

exchanged there for grain. This trade route is still well known locally under the name "Jumlam" (*gzhum-lam* or *zham-lam*). Caravans using sheep and goats as pack animals transported goods along this route until the late 1980's²⁴. As a result, this site may well have had some kind of customs and defensive role.

Teacha or Techa²⁵

About 700 m after this important junction, on a double twist of the valley stands the site of Teacha. It is spread across two crags separated by a side gorge. The original paths to these two crags were built on the escarpments bordering the side gorge, with their ascent beginning at the same level in the gorge, whose entrance is guarded by a wall [Fig. 29].

On the eastern crag, proudly perched on the towering cliff that looms above Markha river, stands the small monastery known under the name of Teacha or Techa gompa [Fig. 30 & 31]. The complex, nowadays affiliated to Hemis *gonpa*, consists of a few buildings perched 80 m above the path. Remains of small structures made of dry stone in random texture dot the slope for several meters below the present complex and all around it. The relatively flat top of the cliff is literally crowned with various remains of building structures. The site is sprinkled with *chortens* from different periods as well as *lhathos* and *mendongs* (mani walls).

When one has completed the trying climb, one has to pass through an entrance portico that gives access to the religious complex. The compound consists mainly of a *dukhang* preceded by a small covered courtyard, a residential building for monks, a few storerooms and a new *dukhang* that was built during the spring of 2009. The walls of the courtyard preceding the old assembly hall still bear at some places remnants of mantra lettering. In the *dukhang* itself there are few remains – some *thangkas* (*thang-ka*) paintings and few pieces of furniture – but there are no statues left. Interestingly, some ancient war gear is to be found in a small wooden safe, including a helmet and a chainmail. The main wall (opposite the entrance) bears figures, the main ones being Maitreya Buddha, a Kagyudpa lama and Dorje Chen (*rdo-rje-'chang*). These three characters are painted with gold paint (*gser-chu*). In the middle of the right wall a door leads to the *gongkhang* (*mgon-khang*) – the chapel housing the *dharmapala* or ferocious protectors of the faith. The room is, as it is often the case for *gonkhangs*, closed to visitors almost all year long, so we are not able to describe it here. Two small rooms for the accommodations of the monk in charge were set up in an old building a few meters away from the old *dukhang*. Following the visit of the Drukchen Rinpoche to the valley in June 2009 a new *dukhang* was built on top of the site that houses the books and statues of the deities that were previously in the old one.

The most exciting artifact to be found is an ancient wooden fragment. It was identified by chance during our survey in the summer of 2009. It is an

²⁴ Oral communication from the ven. Tsering Tundrup, Tahan-Tungri-pa, 1998.

²⁵ Etymologically the name of the monastery is unclear to us, according to some local informants it might come from *bteg-byes*, "to lift", or from *theb-byes*, "to reach to extend".

ancient carved console or carved beam's end presently used to support a rough pillar in the small courtyard preceding the old *dukhang* [Fig. 32]. The fragment shows a stylised lion with the tail curled above its back: a carved line made of square dots depicts its mane, its ears are triangular and its jaws are big and round. Two flowers are engraved on its body: one on the hip and another one, more elaborate, on its shoulder. The piece was reshaped at some point with a double curve that severely damaged the face. Such a double curve strongly reminds one of those on capitals of a more recent provenance, and as such probably indicates a past reuse of this piece as a capital. Although severely damaged, this lion is in many ways similar to those found in other Ladakhi temples dating from the 12th to 14th centuries. Its overall shape and its stylistic features are undeniable signs of its antiquity. Indeed similar wooden lions, used either as consoles, beams' ends or portico elements, are observed in the Sumsek²⁶ and Lotsawa lhakhangs in Alchi, as well as in the temples of Sumda Chung, Mangyu²⁷, Wanla²⁸, Ensa, and Lhachuse²⁹. The latter is perhaps the closest in style [Fig. 32a]. In our opinion, this piece should be connected with the fluted column and carved capital of the *chorten* of Markha village. They may very well have the same origin, i.e. a temple that would have been destroyed or transformed quite early in history, and from which several pieces would have been reused in various locations in the valley. The fact that their closest exemplars are to be found in a single temple, in Lhachuse, is also a corroborating sign. Such a temple could be identified with the ruined temple of Kaya, or with the temple that likely once stood along with the chapel of Skyu. If we are right, i.e. if this temple existed and if the wood works from Markha and Teacha come from it, then it would have to be considered preceding what Luczanits call the "Alchi group of monuments"³⁰. Both the column and the console show close similarities with these temples, but with attributes that show that they are earlier. As for the murals, Kerin noted the "stylistic resonances with paintings at Alchi's Sumtsek" but that they "narrowly predate [it]"³¹. It's geographical setting is also similar, i.e. on a network of secondary routes that run parallel to the Indus valley³².

As said previously, His Holiness the 12th Drukchen Rinpoche visited the valley recently and all the temples and monasteries on his way were reconditioned and cleaned. Several new additional buildings for His

²⁶ As stated previously, Christian Luczanits dated the foundation of the Sumsek as being from the early 13th century (Luczanits 2007, p. 73).

²⁷ Sumda Chung and Mangyu are part of what Luczanits calls the "Alchi group of monuments", which he dates to be from around 1200 (Luczanits 2005, p. 86).

²⁸ Christian Luczanits dates the foundation of the temple of Wanla as being between the end of the 13th and the early 15th century, "most likely the first half of the fourteenth century" (Luczanits 2002, p. 124).

²⁹ Heinrich Poell, as seen previously, dates the wood carvings of Lhachuse as preceding the Alchi Sumsek, so as being from before the 13th century (Poell forthcoming, p. 12).

³⁰ See Luczanits 2005, p. 65, footnote 1.

³¹ Kerin 2007, p. 58.

³² The possible temple of Chalak also has to be kept in mind. It is geographically closer to both Markha and Teacha, and, as no other temple is to be found in the area that could have reused its art at its dismantling, it makes the traveling of its carvings to these two places more logical. A closer study of the possible sculptural configuration of the wall of Chalak will, hopefully, give us a better idea of whether such an origin is possible or not.

Holiness' accommodations purposes (*gzim-chung*) were added to different religious compounds and in some cases intensive restoration work was accomplished. As a result of these activities, this carved ancient wood fragment seems to have resurfaced out of a storeroom.

Another intriguing artifact and, indeed, even more enigmatic, also resurfaced for this occasion: a statuette of a small lion made out of dark-greenish soft stone, measuring about 9,5 x 4 x 3 cm [Fig. 33]. We found it in a garbage heap that was, as asserted by the monk in charge, completing the cleaning of the old *dukhang*. The figure shows uncharacteristic features: it depicts a feline recognizable by its tail – short and thick – represented up on its back. A collar of hair around the neck represents the mane of the beast, which makes it a lion. The legs are incomplete (sketched or broken), but the thighs and shoulders are strongly highlighted. The left rear leg is marked by eight strokes similar to a superficial representation of fur. The shoulders are separated from the rest of the body by a slight depression that ends in a point under the body. Its mouth opens with a sketch of its upper and lower canines and also possibly its tongue. The eyes are almond shaped and slightly rounded; only the right eye shows clear traces of an eyebrow. The nose is pointed and slightly damaged. The flanks were clumsily engraved with Tibetan Uchen letters. On the left flank a possible "da" or "nga" or more probably a draft sketch of "om"; on the right flank an "a" or more probably another "om".

The figure has twenty holes of about 4 mm all over its body, distributed more or less symmetrically. They served as a support for incense sticks (some are still clogged by the remains of incense). The holes located on the back, the thighs, the shoulder and one of those on the neck pierce through the whole body. Some holes on the back and on the skull are contiguous. These interventions seem recent and made with the same tool.

The statuette shows at some points the trace of the tool used to shape it, a blade or at least a flat tool with a blade more than 5mm wide. This is evident in some flat surfaces where corners have been trimmed. Except for some angular parts, mainly located on the face and legs, the rest of the body has been polished and presents a smooth appearance.

A quite similar figure of a lion from a reliquary, but made out of crystal, was found in Dharmarajika Stupa complex at Taxila³³. Though very close in size and style, it does not have a tail or a mane. Given its size and the fact that the figure of the lion is traditionally linked to Vairocana, this piece could originate from a reliquary as well, but this cannot be asserted without further investigation³⁴.

Let us now turn to the remains located on the western crag. The first half of the path that once led there is now washed out. All the structures are made of dry stone in random texture with a predominance of schist. The top consists mainly of a 3 x 3 m square building (A) that was likely a tower, from which an allure runs for about 25 m on the crest [Fig. 34]. One side of the

³³ See Drachenfels and Luczanits 2008. Many thanks to Amy Heller for kindly bringing this resource to our attention.

³⁴ We want to mention here the opinion of Christian Luczanits, who rightly pointed that the lion of the reliquary of Taxila was there because of its precious material, not because it is a lion. Given the soft stone the lion of Teacha is made of, it's actually quite unlikely that it originated from a reliquary as well.

allure is cut in the bedrock while the other is bordered by a short 60 cm high wall with triangular loopholes. From the end of the allure, one can see downstream the sites of Shakhyam and Thangring. On the other side, upstream, one can only see the *gonpa*, which obstructs the view farther away. There are several other small defensive structures along the end of the crag (D and E), as well as along the slope facing the Markha valley (B and C) [Fig. 34]. It looks like there is another structure on top of the towering crest behind the eastern end of the allure, but its access remains an open question. It should be noted that the defensive structures are all oriented toward the Markha valley, with D watching the entrance of the side valley – none are watching the side valley itself nor the path.

The building (A) has walls made of bricks above a base of mixed-stones masonry, of which only a few bricks remain. They are quite weathered, but their size is still measurable: 32 x 20 x 10 cm. The western half has been quickly re-built with dry stones up to a height of 1 m. This points to a hasty reconstruction after a previous abandonment or destruction. The stonework is similar to that of the wall bordering the allure, as well as of the other walls visible on this crag in general. The structures currently visible are thus likely a late state of the site, hurriedly constructed to face a sudden threat. The original structures are at least building (A) and the allure - of which one side was cut in the bedrock. In our opinion the other structures (B, C, D and E) are also probably built over older levels, but a closer study of the site is necessary to determine it.

The original path to the *gonpa* on the eastern crag was on the side gorge and is now also partly washed out. The current path is on the slope facing the Markha valley. There one finds several dry stone structures that look like remnants of defensive features. It is likely that in the past these structures were more numerous and that they were dismantled with the construction of the current path. From the *gonpa* one has an open view upstream, while downstream the view is totally obstructed by the western crag.

It is pretty clear that Teacha as a defensive site was designed from the beginning as a whole, i.e. with one part on each crag. There is little doubt that the eastern crag was also defensive, as witnessed by the structures visible along the slope. The particular twist of the valley at this spot implies that, in order to have an efficient defensive function, the site had to be settled on both crags in order to see in both directions, upstream and downstream. The most important direction to watch is, according to us, downstream in order to see the sites of Thangring and Shakhyam Tokpo whose functions are very likely to guard the Shakhyam Tokpo route to Zanskar. Looking upstream from this vantage point, there is not much to be seen: the valley quickly makes another turn and leads to Hankar, a few hours walk away. Up to Hankar no site has been noted – so very likely no message was ever to be expected from this direction. In this respect, the western crag is the most strategic one, but its narrowness makes it a tricky place to settle a full-size defensive site. On the eastern crag, the flat top makes it easy to build several buildings and the steepness of its ascent easy to defend. The two paths leading to the same spot on the side valley, the defensive wall at its entrance (F), and the total absence of defensive structures on both crags oriented toward the side valley show that they were functioning together. Furthermore, these facts indicate that the side gorge

was expected to remain a safe place where the defenders could go back and forth from one crag to the other: they were not expecting an attacker coming from there. The layout of this side gorge makes it really easy to defend when one has the control of both crags: a wall as short as the one closing the gorge may have very well been enough to protect it.

A last feature to be noted is a tower on the opposite side of the Markha river (H). We have not been able to access it: it is situated high up and does not seem accessible from this valley. Perhaps a path leading there is to be found in the Shakhyam Thokpo valley.

To conclude, the three sites Thangring, Shakhyam and Teacha are likely linked with the function of guarding and locking the valley at this important confluence of Shakhyam Tokpo and Markha river. A question that will need to be addressed in the future is the importance of this trade route in the past wealth of the valley.

Hankar (wylie spelling unknown)

Hankar is the last village before the valley splits up. On top of a crag lie the remains described by Howard as “the perfect fossil of a defensible town”³⁵ [Fig. 35, 36 & 37]. We will not repeat here what Howard already wrote about this site, and we will accordingly proceed only with a brief description of what is to be found here.

Locally, this ancient town is believed to have been a residence of the lonpo, or minister, of Domkhar (*mdo-mkhar*), in the Sham (*gsham*) area. The town is surrounded by cliffs that ensure its defense. Most of the buildings lie on the northwestern half of the plateau, and are dominated by a tower perched on a small crag located on the northeastern corner of the town [Fig. 38]. The latter is built in a very neat mixed-stones masonry in random texture with timber lacing. Its doorframe, very weathered and about 80 x 80 cm, is finely and thoroughly carved. Howard proposes to see in it “a geometric type similar to the Wan-la balcony”³⁶. A careful examination of the upper frame reveals that the pattern is rather floral with interlaced flowers and buds coming out of a central vase (*bum-pa*) [Fig. 39]. Actually, this vase seems to be in line with the eight symbols of luck, which, from left to right would be: the umbrella, the knot, the wheel, one unidentified, the vase, the conch, the lotus, and another unidentified. According to Luczanits, to whom we shew further pictures of the lintel, it could date from the 12th or 13th century³⁷.

³⁵ Howard 1989, p. 261.

³⁶ Howard 1989, p. 264.

³⁷ We want to thank him again for his valuable comments, the identification of the pattern of the eight symbols must be fully credited to him. Here are some of his observations, which we find helpful and useful to indicate : “[...] The vase is placed in the centre, since the scroll surrounding the symbols derives from it. The latter is not really used as such in the woodcarvings of the earliest monuments in the region (Ribba, Kojarnath, Tholing), but becomes very common in both painting and sculpture of the 12th century onwards. Of the eight symbols of luck, the knot is rather unusual, but does relate to those represented in the Alchi Sumtsek murals, the wheel has comparisons all over in the early monuments, from Tabo to Alchi. If the vase has prominent ribbons at the side, it would put it rather

For Howard the buildings exhibit "so few signs of repair and modification that they seem all to come from one period and not to have been in use for long"³⁸. An analysis of the mortars used throughout the site leads us to disagree with this statement. It seems to us that there are three observable stages of construction. During the first, walls were built with a yellow mortar, and openings featured only stone lintels. Then, in a second stage, many walls were patched and their upper parts rebuilt with a masonry using a red mortar. The walls that show traces of reconstruction always have red mortar on top of the yellow mortar. Red-mortared walls feature both wood and stone lintels. Buildings made entirely with this latter masonry tend to have neater walls, use more schist and less cobbles. Finally, in a third stage, the tower in its present form was built with a stonework using again yellow mortar. In our opinion this later construction was made at a time when the rest of the town was no longer in use, the villagers having left to settle down in the valley. But excavations are needed to support this hypothesis.

In addition to the *lhatho* located on the top of the tower and still maintained by the villagers, the remains of another one are visible in the ruins of a building in the western part of the town. It is now reduced to a pile of half-decomposed juniper branches from which emerge a few leached arrows whose fletchings are still observable. Its location within a building – not on a roof – and the large number of cobbles engraved with religious figures may attest to the presence of an ancient religious building inside the town.

At the foot of the crag, bordering an important set of *chortens* of various sizes, a small village temple (*yul lha-khang*) is believed to shelter religious artifacts from the old defensible town. Its rudimentary exploration, executed in respect of the limits set by the person in charge of the temple (and therefore not exhaustive), revealed some interesting ancient *tangkas* (*thangka*) and clay statues as well as one or possibly two kashmiri-style bronzes. Among the *tangka* paintings, two have an inlay of a drinking scene featuring male figures wearing turbans and women with *peyrak*-like headdresses.

Taktsungtse (*brag-chung-tse*)

A kilometre after Hankar the valley splits up. Following the northern-most stream in the valley of Nymaling leads to the small high plateau of Taktsungtse. There traces of earthworks of abandoned fields as well as irrigation channels can be observed. Ruins of mud-mortared stone constructions are located at three different points overlooking the terraces. These few basic and now partly collapsed buildings might have once been a small permanent or semi-permanent settlement. Two *lhathos* still overlook the site, and a few hundred meters downstream some fields of barley are still cultivated by the inhabitants of Hankar. The place has been used for several decades as a camping ground on the way to the higher pasturelands

towards the end of the range given above [i.e. the 13th century]" (personal communication of the 1st November 2010).

³⁸ Howard 1989, p. 264.

and by trekkers, and the increasing tourist activity during the last twenty years or so have considerably spoiled the place.

Conclusion

In spite of its mere 40 km, Markha valley has a rich archaeological heritage that extends from protohistorical rock art to late medieval architecture. Though it is very close to the Indus valley and the main road network, surprisingly it has not received adequate scholarly attention. This situation is now hopefully on the way of being corrected. Besides providing the first comprehensive description of the different sites in the valley, we have proposed a few leads to start interpreting its history. The ruins of settlements long abandoned (Gesar, Peldot, Chalak), the ruins of habitation where there are nowadays only a few people left (Pentse, Sara, Tinle Katpa), the defensive sites distant from any villages (Domolung, Lonpo Khar, Thangring, Shakhyam, Teacha) are as many signs that the occupation of the valley used to be quite different in the past. As to know whether these sites were all in use at the same time, pointing to a far more important population, or whether they were used at different periods, pointing to a moving occupation, only proper excavations will allow us to determine it. These sites are also as many signs that the valley was probably wealthier in the past, in order to support an extensive defensive network and a more important religious community. We can also outline an evolution of the defense of the valley: the older defensive sites are smaller and dot the valley at close intervals, whereas the more recent sites are larger, more heavily built, a lot less numerous and located at places indicating that the valley was considered as a whole (i.e. located at its beginning, middle and end). This points to a shift from a defense against small attackers that could come from anywhere in the valley to a defense designed to resist larger threats that could come only from outside. Comparative studies with the sites found in other areas such as Nubra, Purig, Sham, etc. will help us deepen these observations and determine to what extent these schemes (evolution of the settlements and evolution of the defensive sites) are applicable on a more global scale. In coming papers we intend to address several issues that we have raised in this article (the murals of the *chorten* of Skyu; the standing wall of Chalak; a full study of the *chorten* of Markha; the possible link between the column of Markha *chorten*, the sculpted console of Teacha monastery and the chapel of Skyu; the chronological framework of the fortified sites, their typology and their use; the comparative studies with other areas). We hope that these pages will help raise awareness of this interesting part of Ladakh among other scholars. We also hope that in the near future some action can be promoted to conserve and prevent both the full collapse of the *chorten* of Markha village and any further decay of its palace.

Appendix: notes on the masonries in Markha valley

The masonries in Markha valley can be divided in six types that can be grouped under two larger categories. All these masonries are in random texture:

1. Masonry made mainly with cobbles:

- a. Multi-colored cobble masonry [Fig. 40]: stones are mud-mortared and are mainly cobbles of several colors, the most noticeable and characteristic being green. The stones come from fluvio-glacial sediments, visible at various locations in the valley. We call this masonry “multi-colored” to differentiate it from the more classic cobble stoneworks found in other valleys, like at the castle of Phey, where the stones are all of the same greyish color and where they are more rounded [Fig. 46]. In the rest of Ladakh masonries with cobbles point to early, though undateable, constructions³⁹. However, in Markha valley, where this material is abundant, there are far more buildings built with cobbles, and these masonries appear to have been used down to more recent periods.
- b. Multi-colored cobble masonry with timber lacing [Fig. 41]: it is the same kind of masonry, with the addition of timber lacing. This feature is used to stabilize multistory buildings, and points to more recent constructions, though it is delicate to venture any *terminus post quem* for this building technique in Markha valley. This masonry is used in only two sites: Skyu's Gyalpo Khar and Markha's palace.

2. Masonry made mainly with angular stones:

- a. Mixed-stones masonry [Fig. 42]: stones are mud-mortared and of mixed natures. This is the most common masonry used at every periods.
- b. Masonry with a mix of schist and small stones [Fig. 43]: there is little to no mortar, and small stones 2 to 3 cm in diameter are used to stabilize the slabs of schist. The buildings made with this masonry tend to look older than those made with other angular stones masonries. However we have no dateable examples.
- c. Masonry with a predominance of schist [Fig. 44]: the courses are mainly made of schist and are mud-mortared. This masonry is usually found on sites that are built over a schist bedrock. This type of masonry seems to have been used at every periods.
- d. Mixed-stones masonry with timber lacing [Fig. 45]: this is the same type of masonry as 2.a) with the addition of timber lacing. Like for 1.a) it points to a more recent construction. Only one building uses this technique: the tower of Hankar. It is also the only one that can be dated, thanks to its doorframe that is, as we saw, from the 12th or 13th century.

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³⁹ Howard 1989, p. 219.

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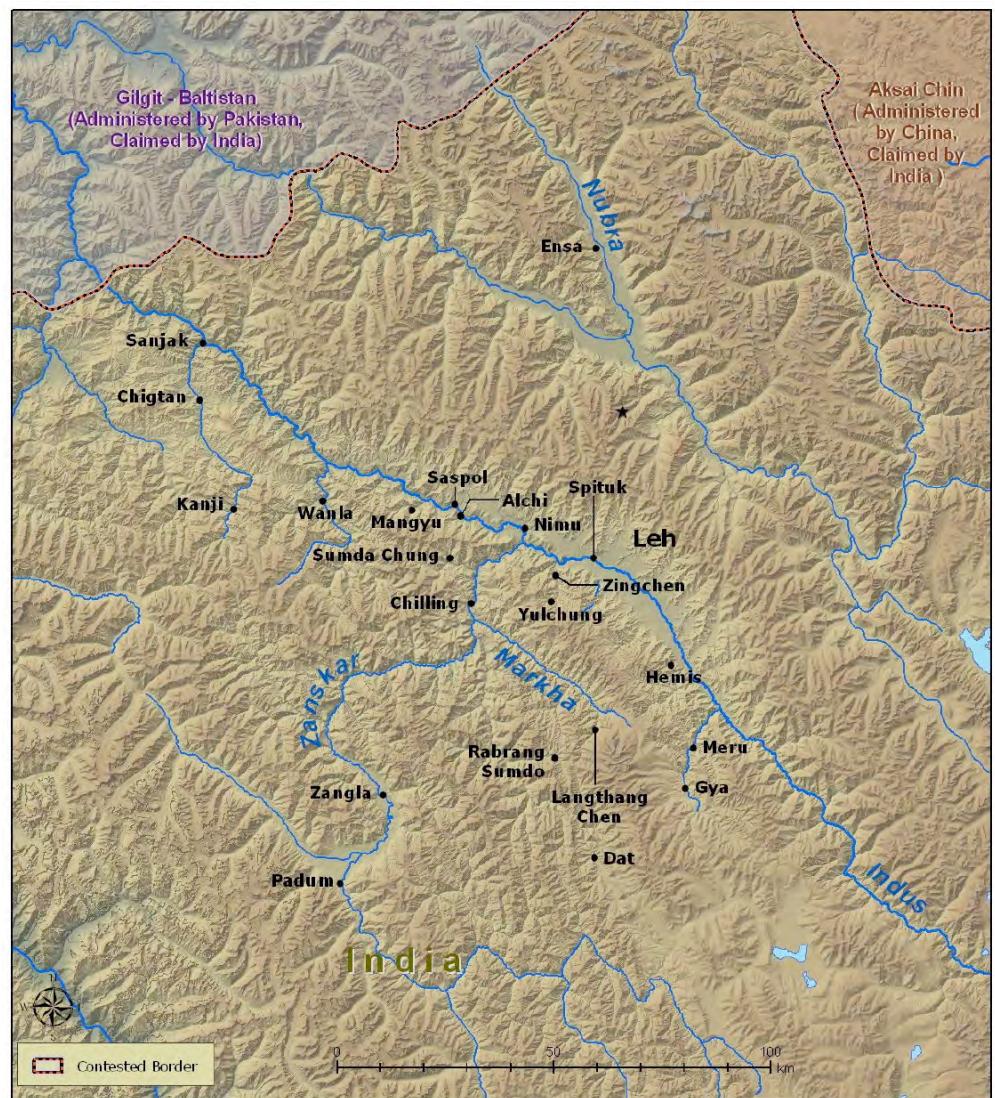


Fig. 1: Map of Ladakh, displaying the different places cited in the text.
[credits: Devers 2009]

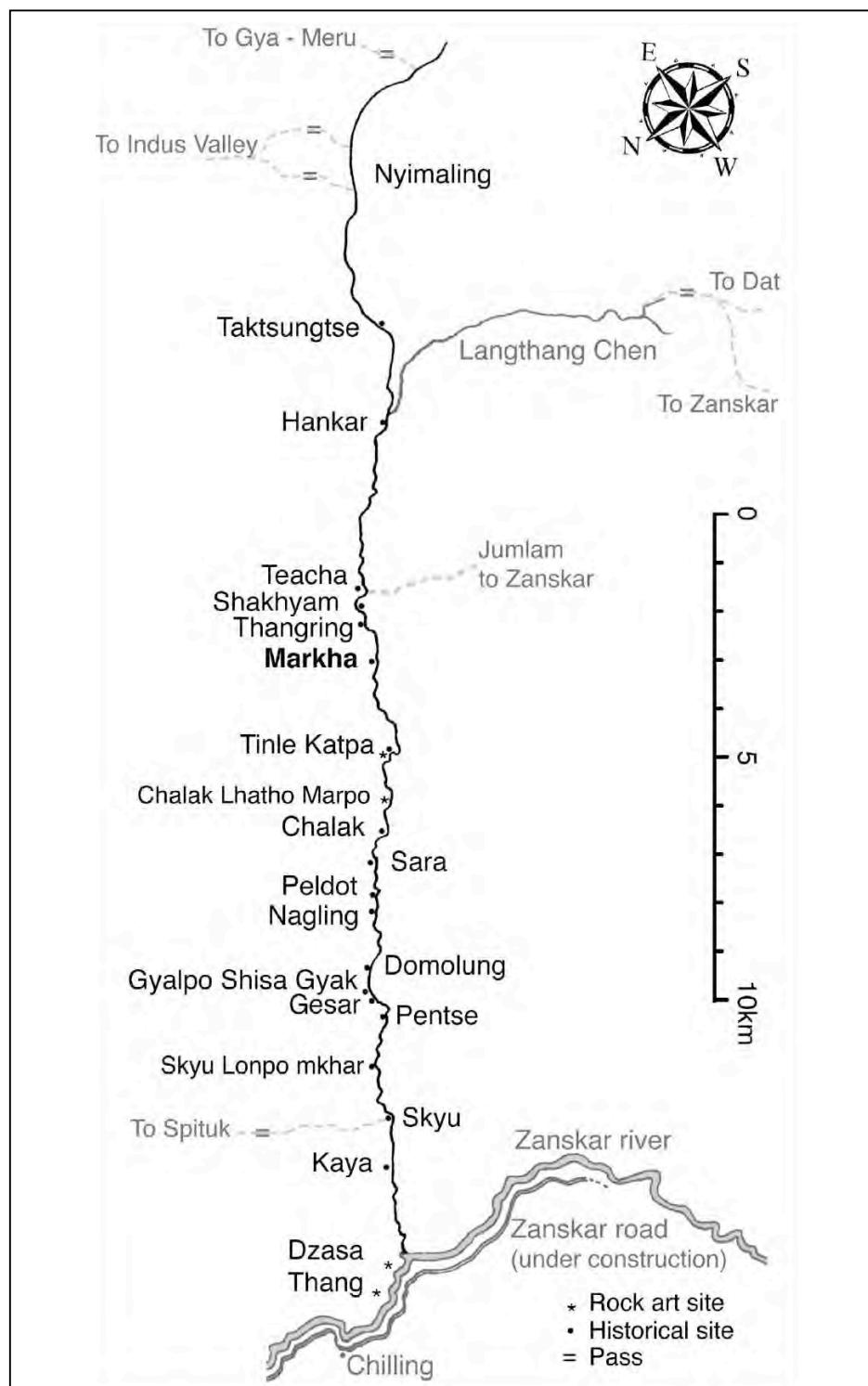


Fig. 2: Map of Markha Valley. [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 3: Kaya: tower of the castle viewed from the west (mud-mortared stones, r. 3x3 m).
[credits: Devers 2009]

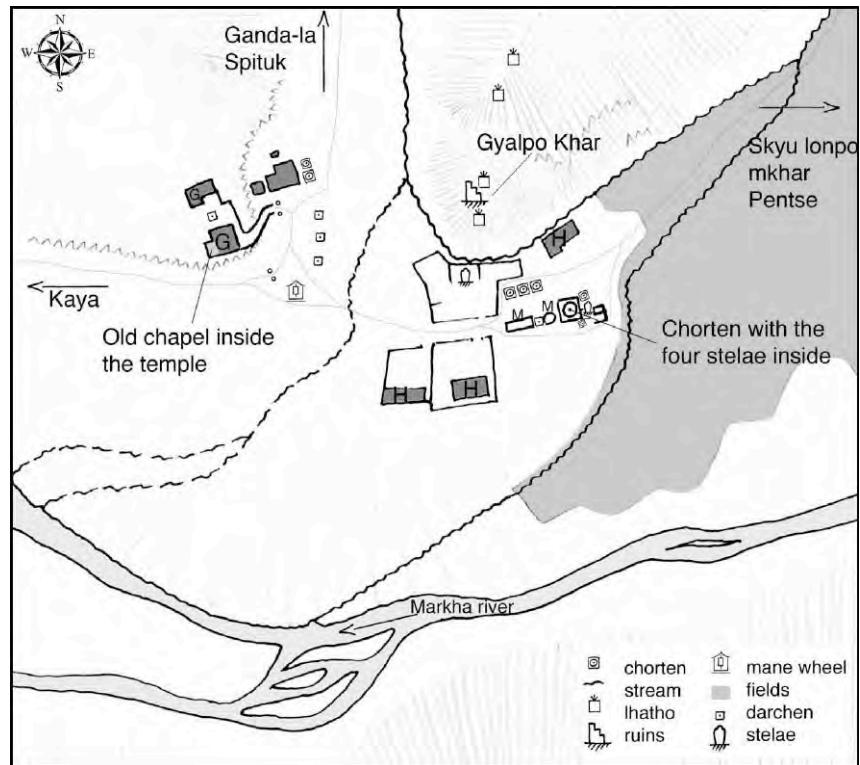


Fig. 4: Skyu: sketch map of the center of the village. Not to scale.
[credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 5: Skyu: ruins of the Gyalpo Khar over the slope on the left. The renovated chorten with the stelae is on the far right. Panorama taken from the gonpa, looking eastward. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 6: Skyu: gonpa seen from the Gyalpo Khar looking wetward.
[credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 7: Skyu: the six stelae. Pictures of stelae 1 to 4 were taken before their relocation in the reno-vated chorten. [credits: stelae 1 to 5: Vernier 2004; stela 6: Devers 2009]



Fig. 8: Skyu: Lonpo Khar from the south. The arrow on the background points to the remains of the top castle. [credits: Devers 2009]

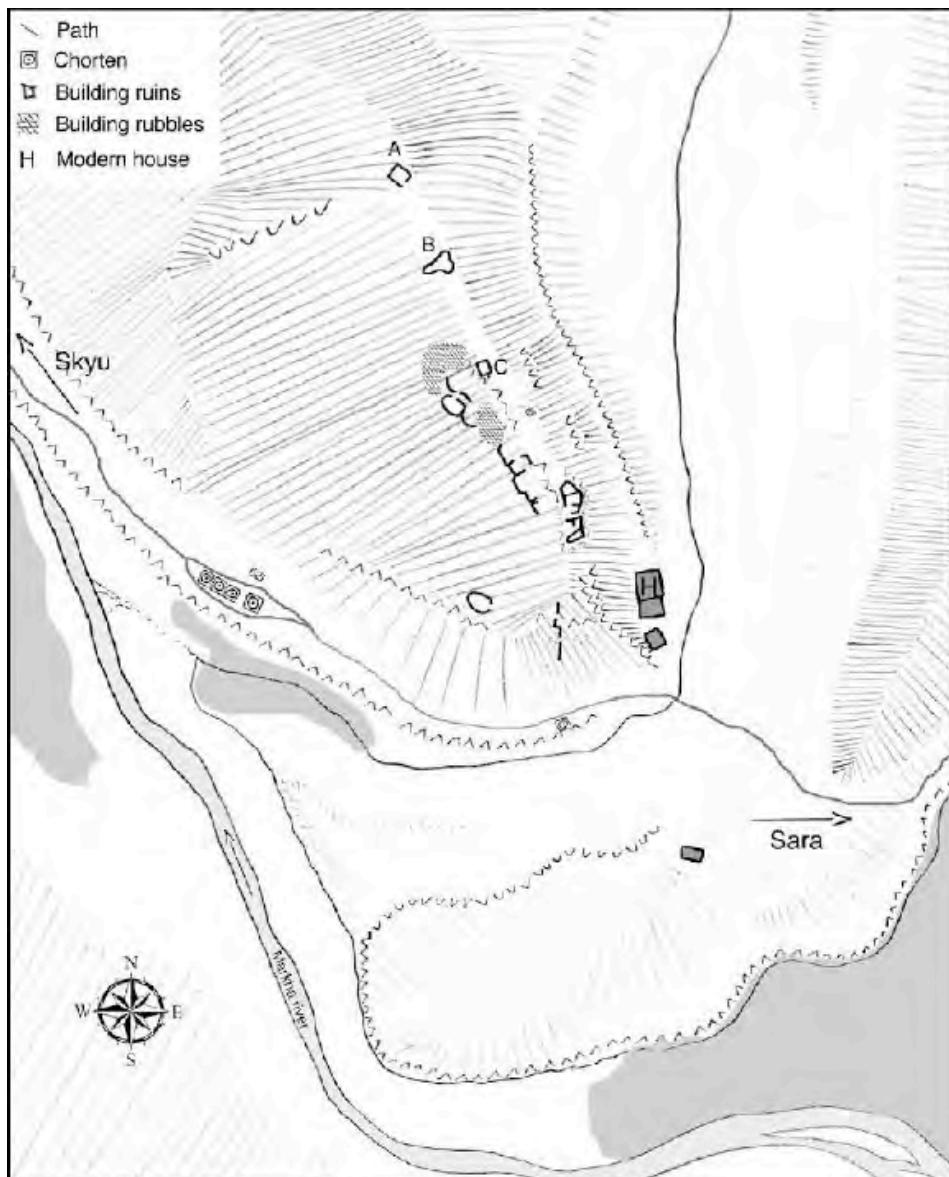


Fig. 9: Pentse: sketch map of the ruins. Not to scale. [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 10: Gesar: panoramic view of the ruins from the north. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 11: Gyalpo Shissa Gyak: view of the boulder from the river on the south east (r. 14x15x10 m).
Ruins are over its top. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 12: Domolung: view of the main ruins from the oppo- site bank looking westward.
[credits: Devers 2009]

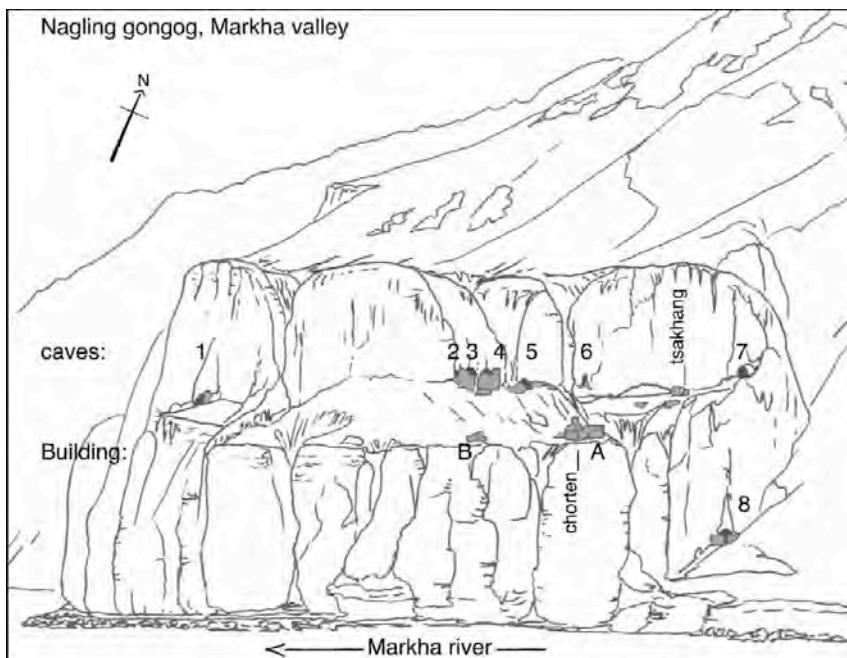


Fig.13: Nagling: general view of the caves and buildings as seen from the opposite bank.
[credits: Vernier 2009]

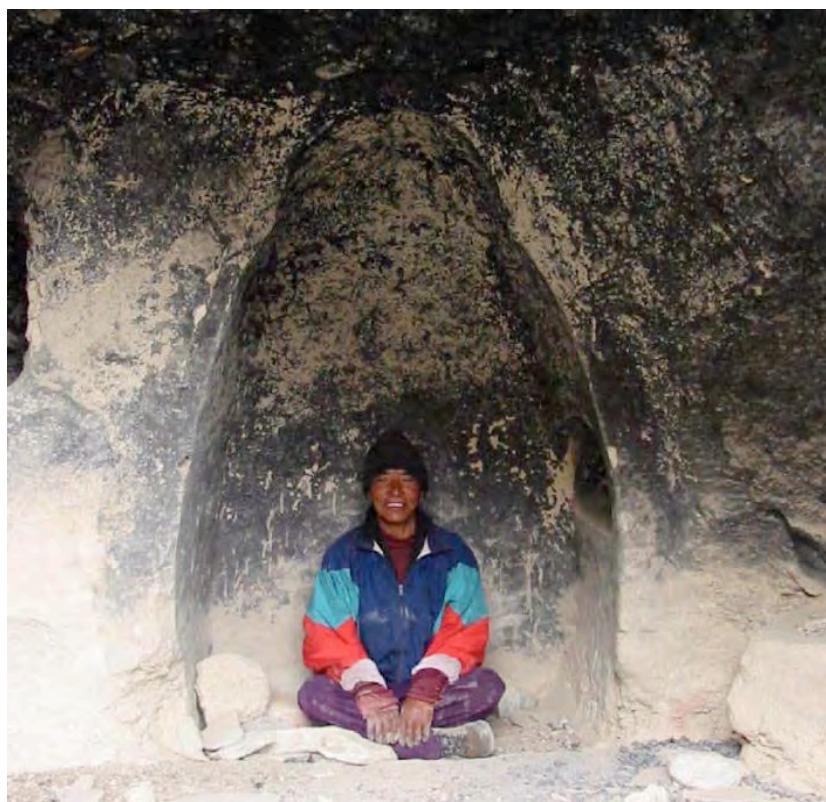


Fig. 14: Nagling: "meditation" niche of cave 2. [credits: Vernier 2003]



Fig. 15: Chalak: general view of the site from the top-most tower, looking south-eastward. The standing wall in the middle is detailed on fig.16. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 16: Chalak: wall with the contiguous rows of circles on the left and on the bottom. The yellow folder is 24x31 cm. Wall made of mud-bricks (26x20x10 cm). Circles are 14 cm in diameter. Picture taken from the south. [credits: Devers 2009]

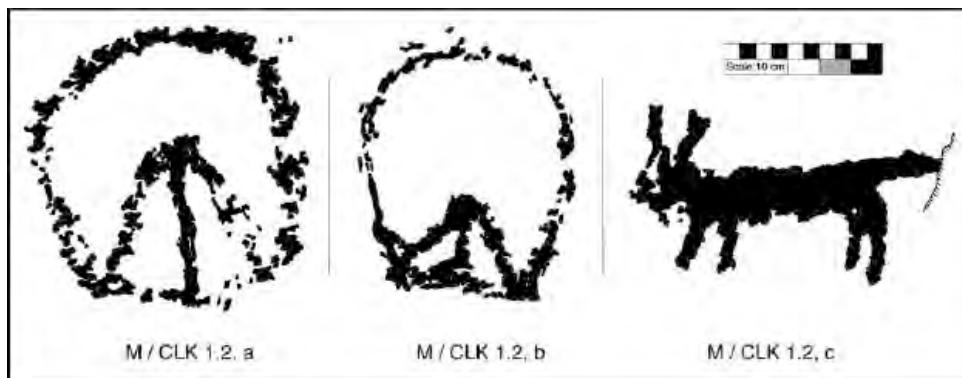


Fig. 17: Chalak: selected petroglyphs from the rock art site of Lhatho Marpo. From left to right: two possible "mascid" figures and one ibex. [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 18: Tinle Katpa: a modern low wall using the same construction technique of stones set in the ground as a basis for the stone work. Wall in dry stone, r. 1 m high. [credits: Devers 2009]

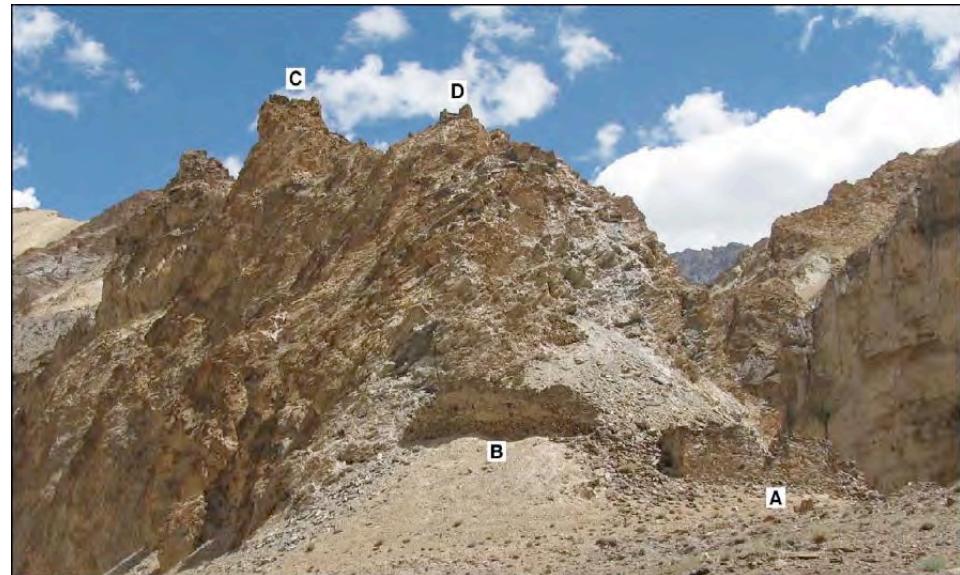


Fig. 19: Tinle Katpa: ruins of the castle viewed from the south-east. [credits: Devers 2009]

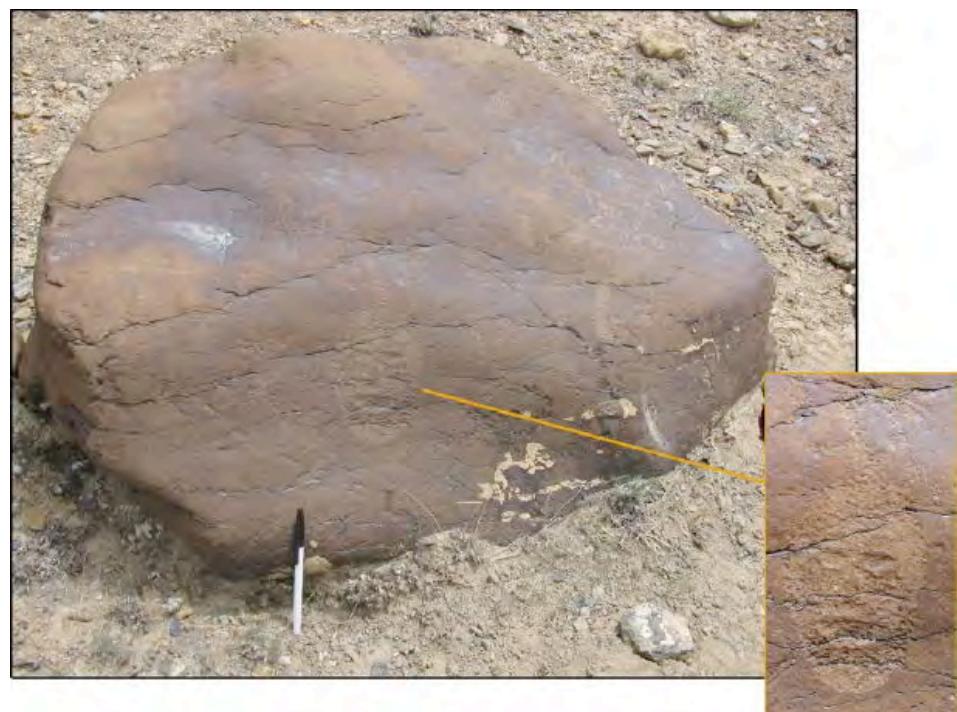


Fig. 20: Tinle Katpa: engraved boulder with the "mascoid". The pen measures 15 cm.
[credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 20a: Schematic example of a more common “mascoid” figure. [credits: Vernier 2009]

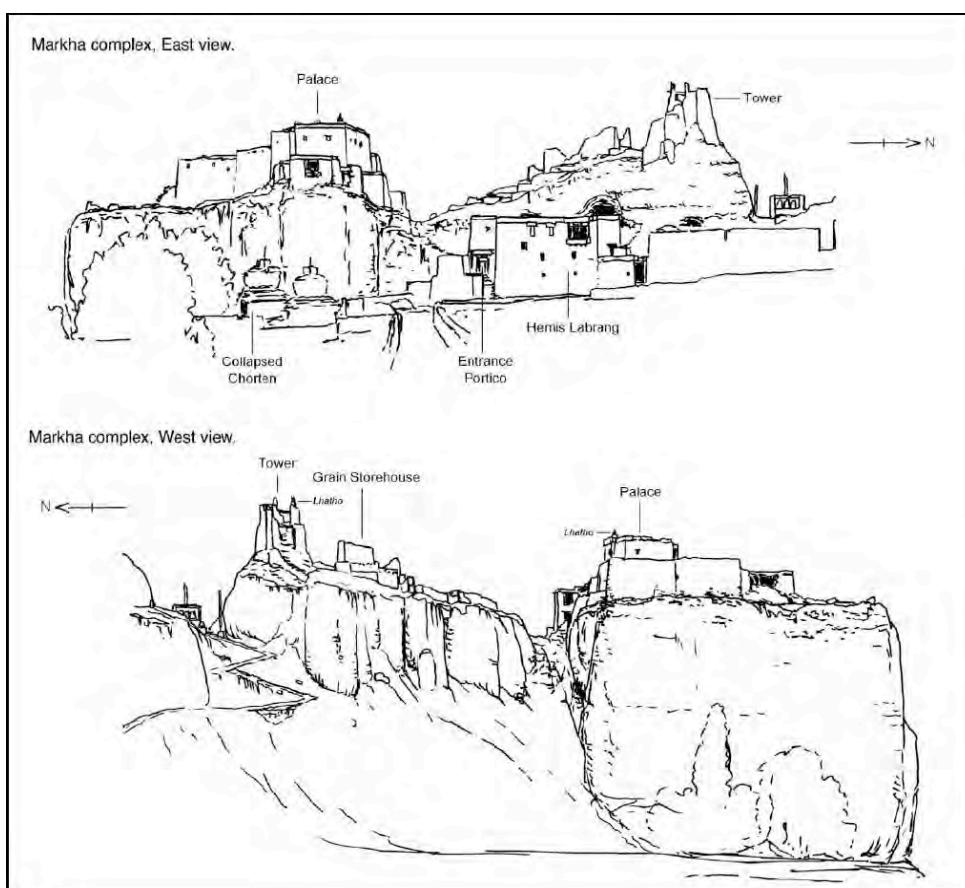


Fig. 21: Markha: east and west view of the palace. [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 22: Markha: tower of the northern crag (left, mud-mortared stones) and possible grainehouse (right, mudbricks: 40x20x10 cm) viewed from the west. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 23: Markha: "reception hall" of the second floor, with timbers of square section.
[credits: Vernier 2004]



Fig. 24: Markha: chorten with the collapsed wall seen from the palace, looking eastward.
[credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 25: Markha: interior of the chorten viewed from the collapsed wall. The original door is now closed with piled stones (background). The fluted column with the engraved capital is in the middle (see fig.26).
The murals are probably from the 14th century and the column from the 12th century.
[credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 26: Markha: eastern side of the fluted pillar and sculpted capital (juniper, 24 cm in diameter, probably 12th century). [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 26a: Lhachuse: one of the capitals inside the temple (12th century). [credits: Luczanits 2000, picture ID: Lhachuse CL00 51_36]

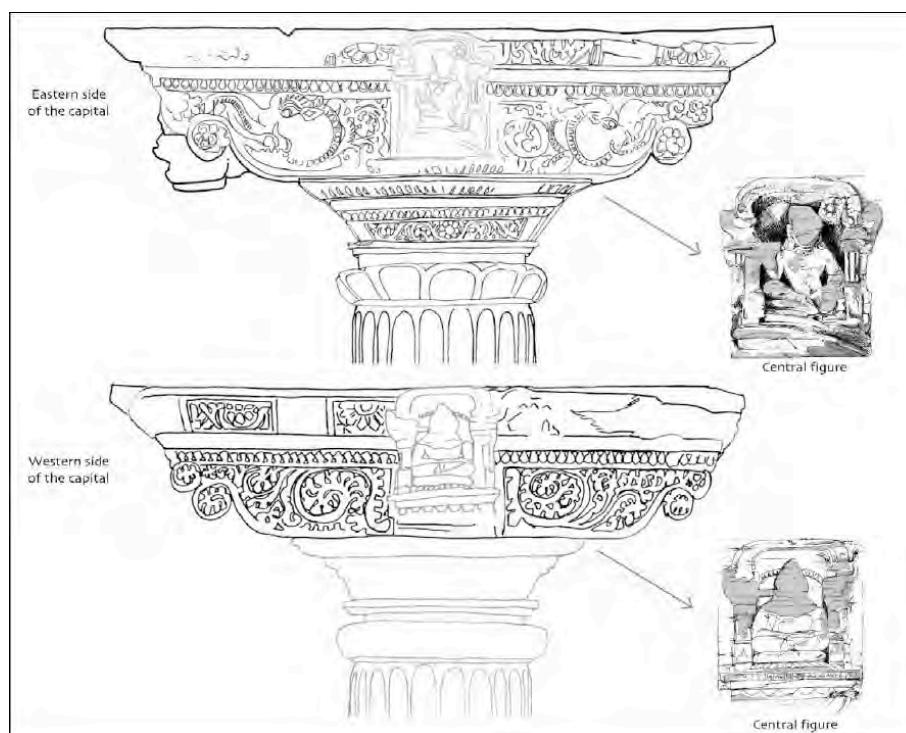


Fig. 27: Markha: eastern and western side of the capital. [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 28: Markha: the four stelae next to the chorten. [credits: Vernier 2004 (pictures) & 2009 (drawings)]

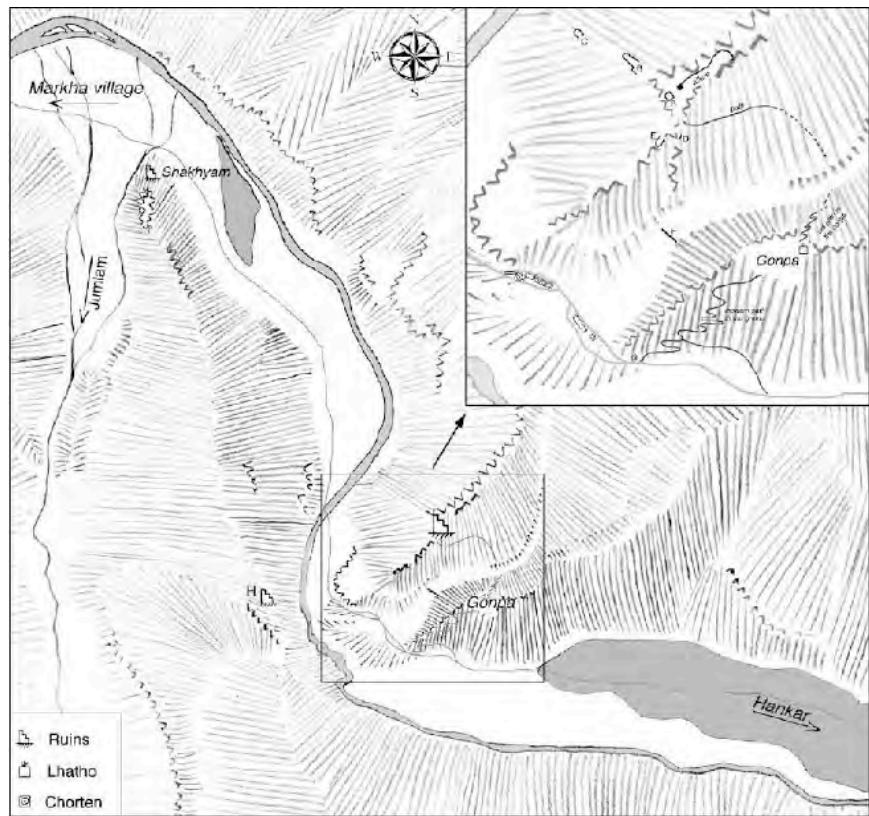


Fig. 29: Teacha: sketch map of the site. Not to scale. [credits: Vernier 2009]

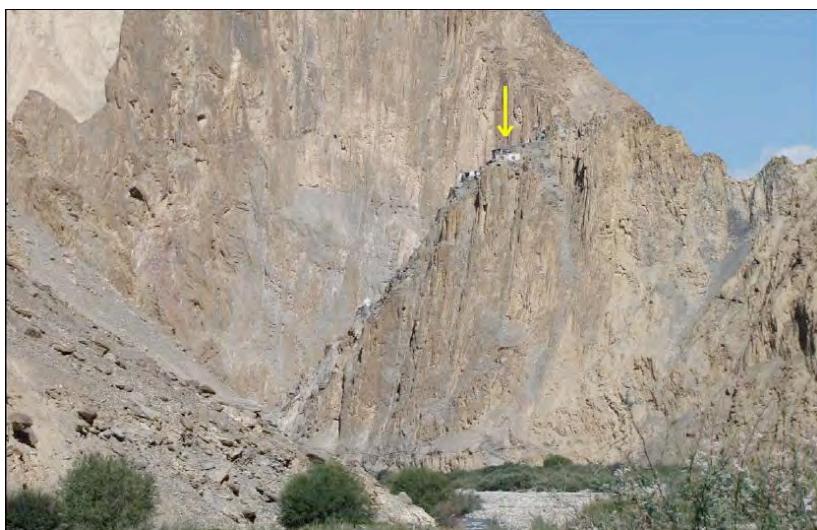


Fig. 30: Teacha: view of the monastery from the valley upstream looking north-westward. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 31: Teacha: view of the monastery from the allure on the western crag (so monastery viewed from the other side as compared to Fig.30). The path visible is the former one, descending in the side valley.
[credits: Devers 2009]

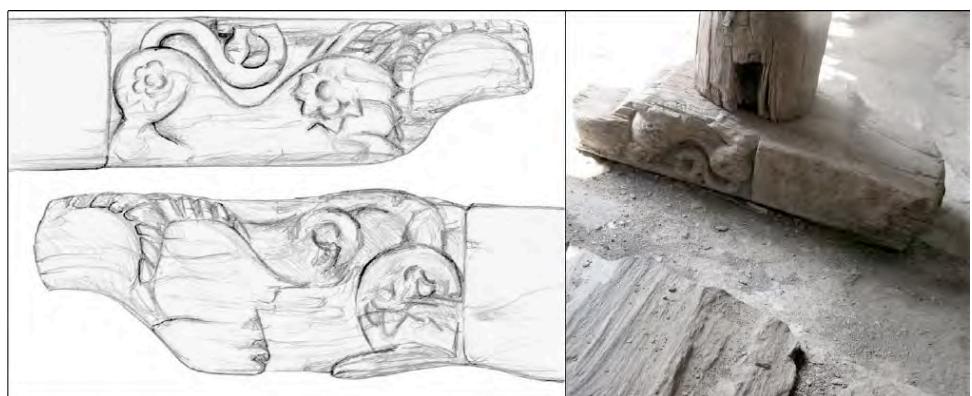


Fig. 32: Teacha: sculpted consol (juniper?, 70x27x17 cm, probably 12th century). [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 32a: Lhachuse: sculpted console (12th century).
[credits: Luczanits 2000, picture ID: Lhachuse CL00 51_33]

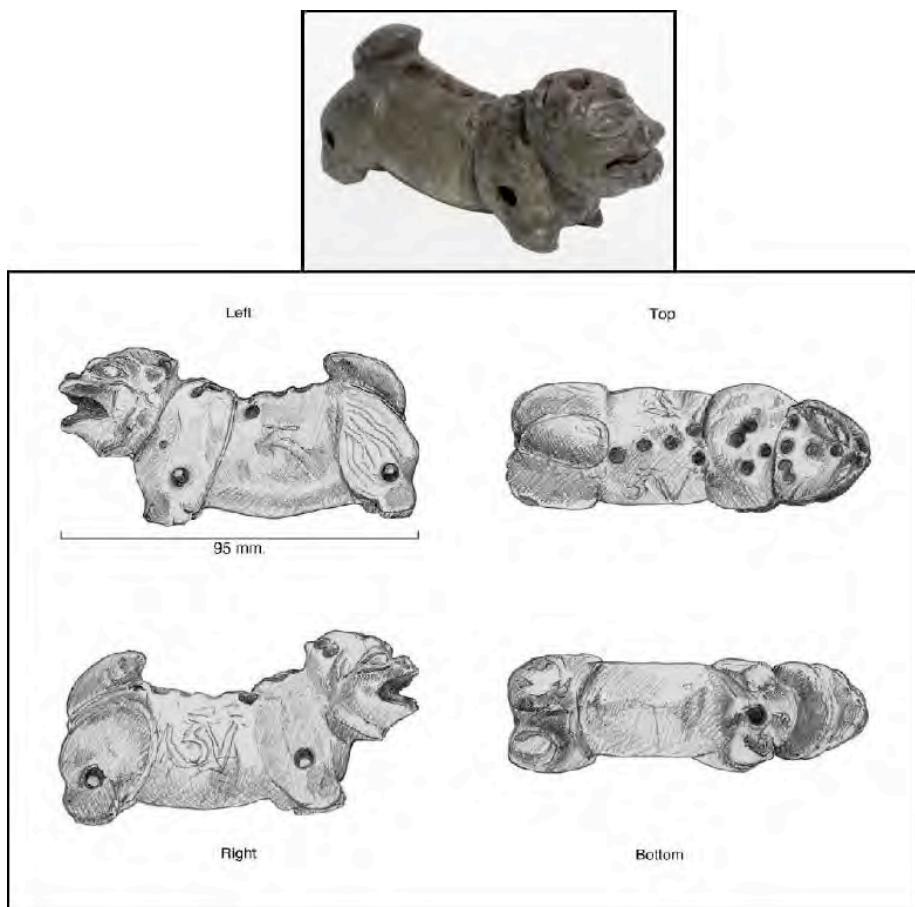


Fig. 33: Teacha: lion-shaped statuette (soft stone, 95x45x33 mm). [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 34: Teacha: West crag; the allure on the top of the crag, with the tower A on the background viewed from the north-eastern end of the allure [left]; one of the defensive structure (B) viewed from the south-east [right] (dry stone masonry, walls are r. 80 cm high and 6 m long). [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 35: Hankar: view of the fortified village from the north-west.
[credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 36: Hankar: panoramic view of the village from the tower looking south-westward.
[credits: Devers 2009]

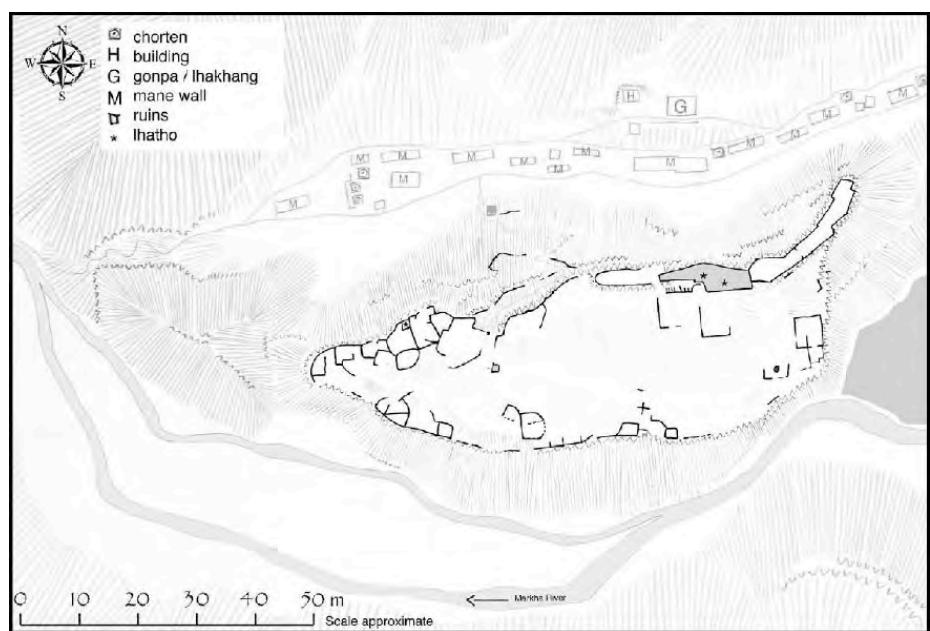


Fig. 37: Hankar: sketch map of the ruins. Scale approximate. [credits: Vernier 2009]

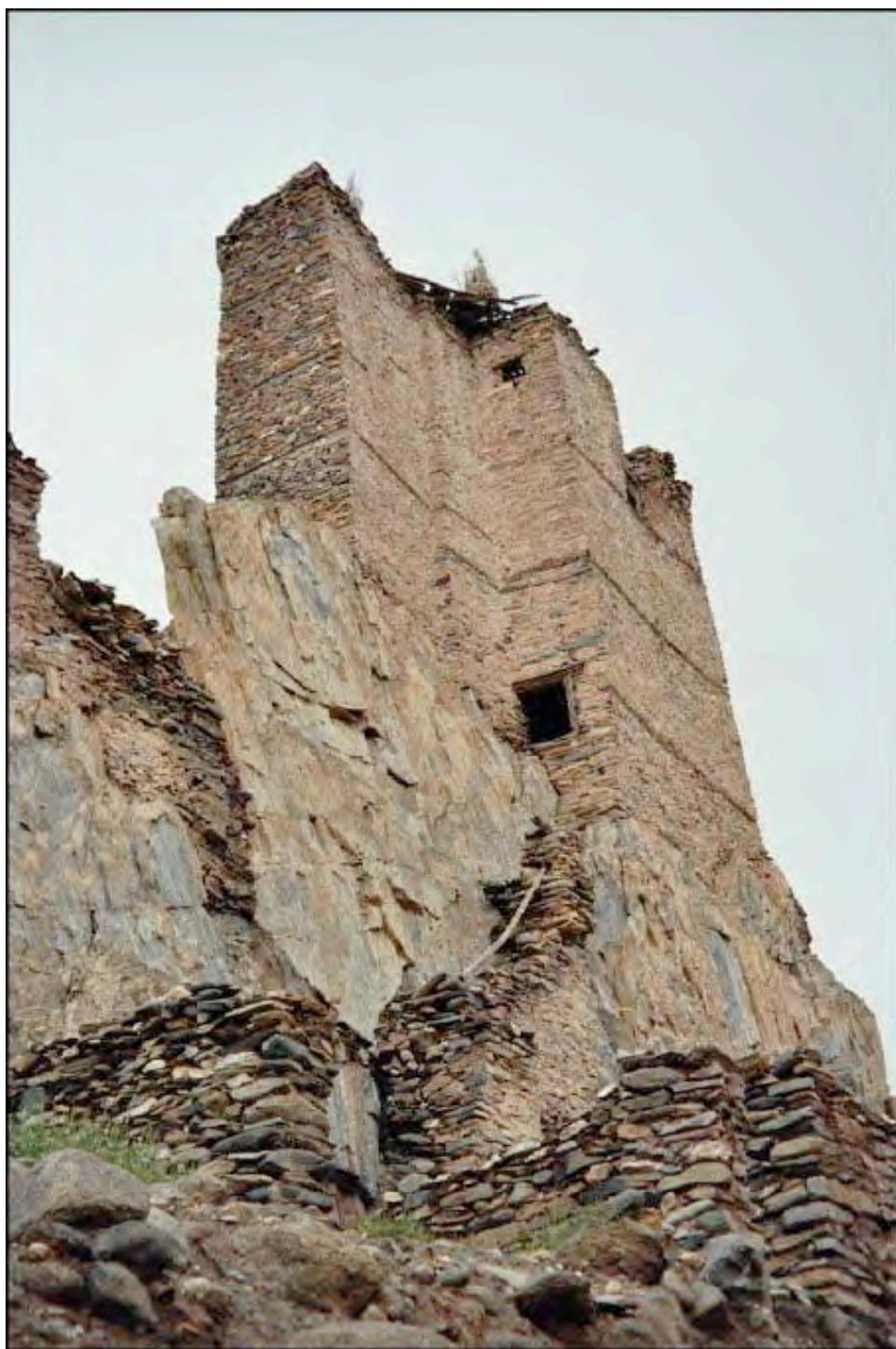


Fig. 38: Hankar; view of the tower from the south-west. Mud-mortared stones with timber lacing.
[credits: Vernier 2009]

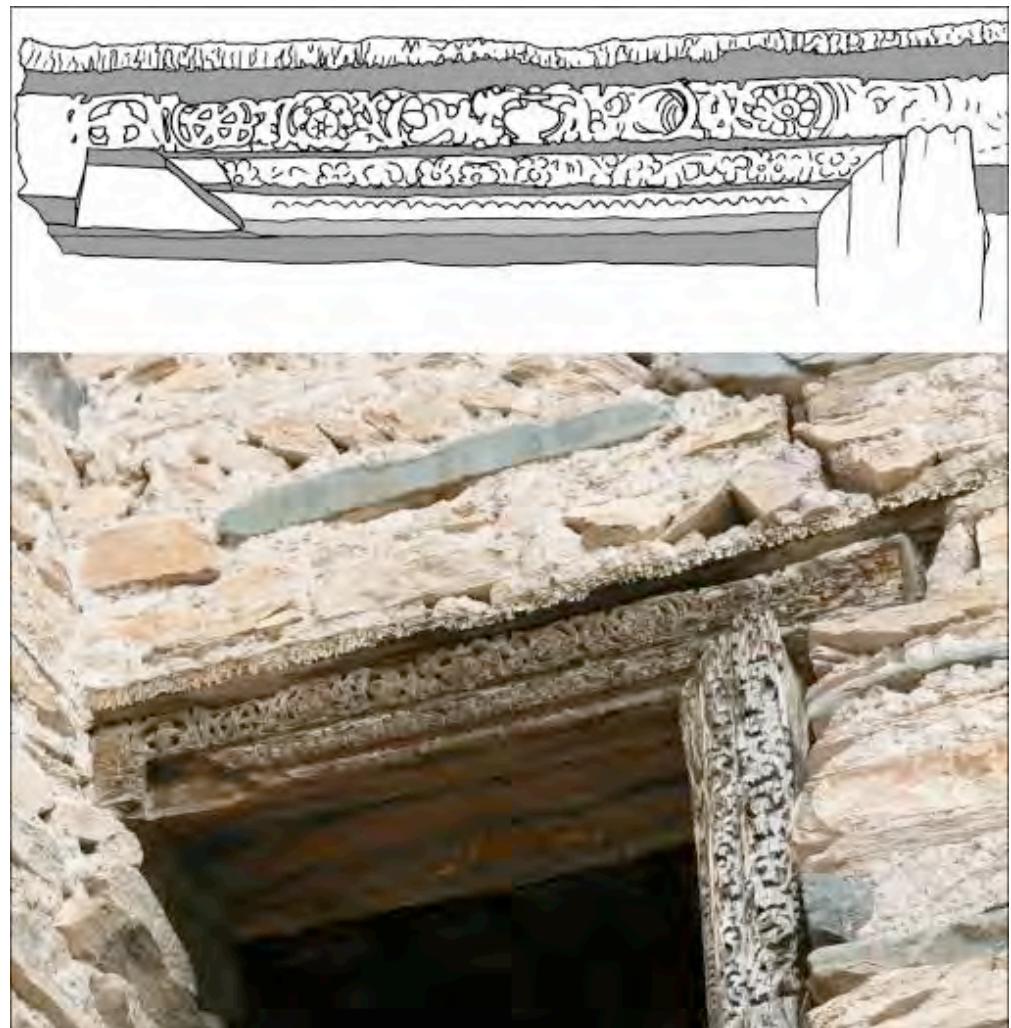


Fig. 39: Hankar: sculpted doorframe of the tower. The lintel part is r. 80 cm long. [credits: Vernier 2009]



Fig. 40: Multi-colored cobble masonry: stones are mainly cobbles and are of several colors, the most noticeable and characteristic being green. The stones come from fluvio- glacial sediments, visible at various locations in the valley. Tower of Thangring, the wall is about 1 m high. [credits: Devers 2009]

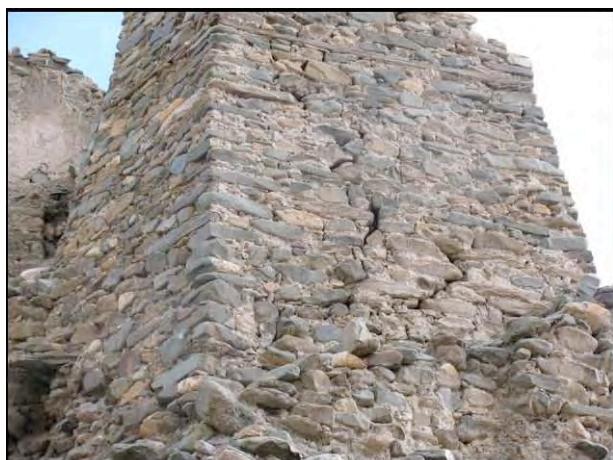


Fig. 41: Multi-colored cobble masonry with timber lacing. Timber lacing is a sign of more modern construction. Tower of Markha, the wall is about 2.5 m long. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 42: Mixed-stones masonry. Wall of building A, castle of Tinley Katpa. [credits: Devers 2009]

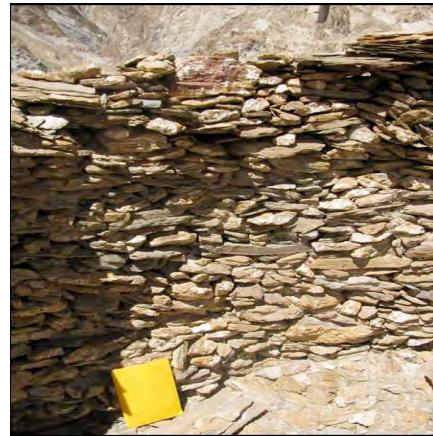


Fig. 43: Masonry with a mix of schist and small stones. The latter are 2 to 3 cm in diameter and are between the slabs of schist. Such stone works have little to no mortar. The yellow folder is 24 x 31 cm.
Wall of the circular room downhill of tower C, Pentse. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 44: Masonry with a predominance of schist. This wall is one of those made with red mortar at Hankar. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 45: Mixed-stones masonry with timber lacing. Tower of Hankar. The wall on the foreground is about 1.5 m long. [credits: Devers 2009]



Fig. 46: Masonry of greyish cobbles at the castle of Phey. The blue folder is 24x31 cm.
[credits: Devers 2009]

Alternances entre *h* et *b* en tibétain ancien et dans les langues tibétaines modernes

Nathan W. Hill

Introduction

L'exemple le plus remarqué de la variation entre <h> et en tibétain écrit est le suffixe diminutif *bu*, dérivé du mot *bu* 'fils', qui apparaît comme *hu*, dans des termes comme *rtehu* 'poulain' (*rta* 'cheval'), *sprehu* 'singe' (*spra* 'anthropoïde'), et *byiḥu* 'petit oiseau' (*bya* 'oiseau'). Une occurrence pour une variante de ce type est disponible en tibétain ancien et dans les langues tibétaines contemporaines, ainsi que pour les mots *sa-bon* 'semence', *ri-boṇ* 'lapin', *na-bun* 'brouillard', et *zla-bo* 'assistant'.

sa-bon

Le mot *sa-bon* 'semence' n'est pas enregistré habituellement dans la littérature dialectologique. Dans la *lingua franca* de l'A-mdö, il se prononce /s^ha won/ (Dños grub, 1989: 482). Mdzo-dge-pa-sde, également en A-mdö a /s^hæwon/ (Sun 1986: 239 # 45). Ces deux langues sont compatibles avec l'orthographe classique *sa-bon*. Comme le souligne Uray "In every original intervocalic position the labial stops of the Cl. T. [tibétain classique] variable -pa/-ba suffixes appear as -w-, -u-, or *-w-, *-u- > ø" (1952: 191). Ainsi, le changement de [b] > [w] pour le /b/ dans *sa-bon* est attendu. En revanche, dans la langue de Žo-nu en A-mdö, le mot *sa-bon* 'semence' se prononce /səye/ (Sun 2003: 793). Sun y voit un réflexe exceptionnel, qui serait valable pour **b*, mais qui correspond très bien avec un **h* initial. On peut comparer *ho-ma* /ywa/ 'lait' (Sun 2003: 780), et *hwa* /ye/ 'renard' (Sun 2003: 812) dans la même langue. A Chab-mdö, le mot *sa-bon* se prononce /sa¹ jon¹/ (Jin 1958: 101). Cette forme semble correspondre à **sa-yon* en tibétain ancien. Néanmoins, les variantes *yon/hoṇ* 'venir', *yai/haṇ* 'encore, même', et le suffixe génitif *-yi/hi* démontrent que cette prononciation de Chab-mdö peut être considérée comme indiquant aussi **sa-hon* en tibétain ancien. Les morphèmes *yai/haṇ* et *-yi/hi* sont des affixes qui se produisent également dans d'autres formes (*kyai* et *kyi*, *gyi*, *gi* respectivement) dictées par les règles du *sandhi*; ils sont donc (phonétiquement) internes au mot exactement comme *-bon*. En fait, l'astérisque avant **sa-hon* peut être retiré, parce que le mot 'semence' est deux fois orthographié *sa-hon* dans la *Chronique Ancienne du Tibet* (Pelliot tibétain [PT] 1287 ll. 52, 60)¹ et une fois dans *Le Sūtra Tombé du Ciel* (IOL Tib J 370.5 ligne 18, voir Stein 1986: 174, 180). Déjà, en tibétain ancien, ce mot a la forme *sa-hon* à côté de *sa-bon* (PT 1297.1 ligne 1) et cette variation est également en évidence dans les langues

1 Pour l'interprétation de ce mot comme 'semence', voir Gñah ḡoṇ dkor mchog tshe brtan (1995: 20 note 25 en page 23 qui est notée comme 26) et Hill (2006b: 96, n. 26).

tibétaines modernes.

Dans une grande partie occidentale du pays, le mot 'semence' ne correspond pas au mot tibétain écrit *sa-bon*, mais plutôt à *son*, par exemple /son/, Leh, Ladakh (Norman 2001: 110)² et /son/, Purik (Bailey, 1920: 42). Ces deux mots pour 'semence', *sa-bon* et *son*, sont sans doute liés l'un à l'autre. La langue du Zangskar apporte la preuve qui permet d'établir la relation entre eux. Le Zangskar, qui a /sa?on/ 'semence' (Hoshi et Tsering 1978: 7 #0127) et /ri?on/ 'lièvre' (Hoshi et Tsering 1978: 41 # 0534), ne distingue pas clairement entre le /-b-/ et le /-h-/ du tibétain ancien. Le coup de glotte /ʔ/ est le réflexe de /b/ intervocalique — comparer *glo-ba* /lo?a/ 'poumon' (Hoshi et Tsering 1978: 40 #0505) et *ka-ba* /ka?a/ 'pilier' (Hoshi et Tsering 1978: 42 #0575) —, mais il est également le résultat de /h/ intervocalique, comme l'indique le mot *sprehu* /ji?u/ 'singe' (Hoshi et Tsering 1978: 42 # 0540).

En général, le -b- intervocalique a été réduit à l'ouest à un coup de glotte, comme il l'est aujourd'hui dans les exemples du Zangskar /sa?on/ 'semence' et /ri?on/ 'lièvre'. Dans d'autres langues occidentales ce coup de glotte a été perdu, et les voyelles commencent à fusionner (comparer Balti /soon/ et /söan/ [Sprigg 2002: 159]). La fusion des deux voyelles conduit à des formes telles que /son/ à Leh, au Ladakh et à Purik. Un locuteur qui prononce le mot 'semence' comme /son/ n'écrit pas ce mot en tibétain écrit comme *sa-bon*, mais plutôt comme *son*. Cette hypothèse expliquant l'origine de la forme *son* du tibétain écrit serait confirmée si l'on pouvait démontrer que les auteurs de l'ouest du Tibet préfèrent écrire *son*.

Si l'on est tenté de connecter *sa-bon* 'semence' avec le mot *sa* 'la terre', il faut résoudre l'obstacle que constitue la signification du terme *bon* dans ce contexte. En cherchant les racines verbales qui pourraient être liées au *bon* de *sa-bon*, l'on est ramené aux verbes *bon* 'demander, offrir' (Uray 1964) et *sbon* 'manger', tous deux archaïques. La compréhension de la «semence» comme «offrande de la terre» ou bien «nourriture de la terre», est plausible mais pas convaincante.³

ri-boṇ

Certaines langues tibétaines indiquent sans ambiguïté *ri-boṇ* en tibétain ancien:

- ri-boṇ, Lahul (de Roerich 1933: 103),
- riJ pū:ṛ, Mñah-ris, Sgar (Qu et Tang 1983: 294-295 #647),
- riJ wu:ṇ, Mñah-ris, Ru-thog (Qu et Tang 1983: 294-295 #647),
- ri-woṇ, Central (de Roerich 1933: 103).

La langue Spu-hreng du Mñah-ris a une forme redoublée intéressante /pu:ṇJ+ reJ wu:ṇJ/, indiquant également un -b- original (Qu et Tang 1983: 294-295 # 647). La langue du Ladakh telle qu'elle est parlée à Leh a 'ri(b)ong' (Norman 2001: 113), où le est entre parenthèses. L'utilisation des parenthèses marque des sons qui «are optional or almost disappear in connected speech» (Norman 2001: face à l'intérieur de la page de couverture). Peut-être cette notation indique-t-elle une prononciation telle que

2 Norberg-Hodge donne par contre sa on pour la langue du Ladakh (1991: 192).

3 Les verbes *bon* 'demander, offrir' et *sbon* 'manger' peuvent être liés, et sont encore liés au mot *bon*, la religion autochtone du Tibet. Si Lalou (1953) a raison de lier *bon* et *bod*, le nom tibétain pour le Tibet, *sa-bon* peut être même étymologiquement lié au Tibet lui-même.

[ri³³boŋ]. Norberg-Hodge donne ri-on^g et ri-boŋ pour ce mot dans la langue du Ladakh (1991: 173). La langue Mu-nya a /ri³³βø⁵³/ 'lièvre' comme mot d'emprunt venant du tibétain (Ikeda 2004: 393).

Un certain nombre de langues tibétaines de l'A-mdö ont des prononciations qui doivent venir de *ri-*hoi* en tibétain écrit. Bsañ-chu, Reb-gon,⁴ Rdo-sbis, et Rme-ba ont /rə-yoŋ/, Ba-ya-mkhar a /rok-yoŋ/, et Them-chen a la prononciation très étrange /rə-rgoŋ/ (Hua 2001: 80-81 # 369). Haller, contrairement à Hua, donne la prononciation moins étrange /rəyŋ/ pour Them-chen (2004: 303, 392). Toujours en A-mdö, Mdzo-dge-pa-sde a /rɤyoŋ/ 'lapin' (Sun 1986: 204 # 48).⁵ Ces langues indiquent <h> [ɣ] plutôt que comme la prononciation du début de la deuxième syllabe.

Au premier coup d'œil, quelques langues du Tibet central semblent avoir des formes indiquant *ri-*koi* ou *ri-*goi* en place de *ri-boi* ou *ri-*hoi*:

- ri¹¹ kō¹⁴, Lha-sa (Hua 2001: 80-81 #369),
- rikō, Gzis-ka-rtse (Haller 2000: 232),
- rikōn, Drokpa (Kretschmar 1986: 479),
- rigō, Skyid-gron, Lende (Huber 2005: 334).

On peut également constater ce phénomène dans des langues du Mñah-ris:

- ri¹ ku:^ŋ, Rtsa-mdah (Qu et Tang 1983: 294-295 #647),
- ri¹ ko:^ŋ, Dge-rgyas (Qu et Tang 1983: 294-295 #647),
- ri¹ ko:^ŋ, Mtsho-chen (Qu et Tang 1983: 294-295 #647),
- rə¹ ko:^ŋ, Sger-rtse (Qu et Tang 1983: 294-295 #647).

La langue Brag-g.yab du Khams exprime une prononciation parallèle: /regö:n/ (Schwieger 1989: 154). Toujours dans le Khams, le dialecte de Tiānquán 天全 du XVI^e siècle, consigné dans le *Xifānguǎnyìyǔ* 西番館譯語 a la prononciation 里公, qui Nishida analyse comme [ri-guŋ] (1970: 28).

Plusieurs langues centrales, et la langue de Mtsho-chen au Mñah-ris montrent également un *k*- pour le *h* du suffixe -*hu* dans le mot *rtehu*:

- tilki¹, Lha-sa (Qu et Tang 1983: 288 #605),
- tiū / tiki, Gzis-ka-rtse (Haller 2000: 150),
- tiki [tiyɪ], Diñ-ri (Hermann 1989: 433),
- tilki¹, Mñah-ris, Mtsho-chen (Qu et Tang 1983: 289 #605).

La langue Dge-rgyas du Mñah-ris est exceptionnelle par son usage de /ri¹ ko:^ŋ/ pour <ri-boi> mais /tiu:¹/ (sans *k*) pour <rtehu> (Qu et Tang 1983: 289 # 605). J'ignore comment expliquer ceci, peut-être peut-on suggérer que l'un ou l'autre de ces mots est un emprunt d'un dialecte voisin, ou que /tiu:¹/ est une prononciation littéraire, comparable à /tiū/ a côtés du /tiki/ à Gzi-ka-rtse, ou la variante littéraire /ri²poŋ⁴/ pour /ri²kun⁴/ à Lha-sa (Zhang 1996: 24).

Les réflexes de <ri-boi> avec [k], parce qu'ils sont parallèles aux prononciations

4 Il ya un certain désaccord quant à la forme Reb-gon, Gō donnant /ri-won/ (Gō 1954: 91 # 1264), et de Roerich /ri-yoŋ/ (de Roerich 1958: 146).

5 Mdzo-dge-sde-pa donne /w/ pour le en *sa-bon* /s^hæwon/ (Sun 1986: 239 # 45), mais /v/ pour le <h> en *ri-boi* /r ɤyoŋ/ 'lapin' (Sun 1986: 204 #48).

de <rteḥu>, peuvent être considérés comme compatibles avec les réflexes qui ont [y], suggérant <ḥ>, en tibétain ancien. En remarquant que ces langues qui ont /k/ pour <ḥ> dans le mot <rteḥu>, ont soit un zéro initial soit /w/ pour <ḥ> dans les mots <ḥo-ma> 'lait' et <ḥod> 'lumière', l'hypothèse est que, après qu'un [y] initial a été perdu dans ces langues, un [y] interne au mot a été rephonologisé comme un allophone de /k/. Après ce changement, il serait possible de substituer l'allophone [k] du phonème /k/ pour les allophones [y] du phonème /k/ en Inlaut également (voire aussi Hill 2006a: 86 et note 15).

Cette même explication justifie la distribution en tibétain écrit de la forme variante <gu> du suffixe diminutif <-bu>. Le suffixe <bu> peut survenir après toutes les finales. La forme <ḥu> survient après les syllabes ouvertes ou des syllabes finissant en <ḥ>. Les variantes <ḥu> dans la position intervocalique sont dues à un affaiblissement phonétique [b] > [w] > [y]. Toutes les autres formes, telles que <ru>, <lu>, <ṛiu>, et <nu> ne surviennent qu'après une finale identique, par exemple *nal-lu* 'enfant illégitime', *gzon-nu* 'jeune', et *thui-ṛiu* 'diminutif, court' (comparer Uray 1952: 186). Les suffixes à consonnes initiales <ru>, <lu>, <ṛiu>, et <nu> sont clairement des cas d'assimilation. Étonnamment, le suffixe <gu> survient après <g>, après les syllabes ouvertes et même parfois, après d'autres finales (Uray 1952: 186-187). Par conséquent, les racines ouvertes peuvent avoir jusqu'à trois variantes diminutives, par exemple *gri-gu*, *griḥu*, *gri-bu* 'petit couteau' (Uray 1952: 187). Le cas de <g> après une /-g/ est un cas d'assimilation. La variante <gu> en position intervocalique montre une réanalyse du son [y] au phonème /g/. Quant au cas de <gu> après les finales autres que <g>, celui-ci peut s'expliquer comme Uray le fait, par analogie. Quand <gu> survient après la finale <g> et après les voyelles ouvertes, il y a assez d'exemples présentant le suffixe <gu> dans suffisamment de contextes différents pour que le suffixe puisse même être étendu ailleurs. Le mot *ri-boi* apparaît en tibétain ancien (par exemple PT 0216 lignes 133 et 136, PT 1289 v3-03). L'orthographe **ri-ḥoī* n'a pas encore été trouvée. En passant, on peut noter que l'analyse étymologique évidente de ce mot est composée de *ri* "montagne" et *boī* "âne".

na-bun

Comme autre exemple de la variation entre *ḥ* et *b*, l'on pourrait également citer la remarque de Laufer « statt *na-bun* ['le brouillard'] findet sich in einer alten Ausgabe des Milaraspa *naun* [c'est-à-dire *nahun*] [au lieu de *na-bun* "brouillard" on trouve *nahun* dans une ancienne édition de la Mi la ras pa] » (1898 / 9, partie II: 106-107, 1976: 91-92). Cette citation est malheureusement invérifiable, et je n'ai pas pu retrouver ce mot dans la littérature dialectologique.

zla-bo

Un dernier exemple de variation entre *b* et *ḥ* signalé par Uray (1955: 108) est le mot *zla-bo* 'assistant' qui se trouve dans la *Chronique Ancienne du Tibet* épelé *sla-ḥwo* (PT 1287 l. 221). Compte tenu du fait que la lettre classique tibétain <w> vient du digraphe <ḥw> en tibétain ancien il est possible que <ḥwo> soit censé représenter [wo]. Toutefois, étant donné l'ancienneté de ce texte une interprétation [ywo] est tout

aussi probable.⁶ Le même texte présente l'orthographe *sa-hon* pour *sa-bon* 'semence'. Ensemble, ces deux mots indiquent peut-être une caractéristique du dialecte dans lequel la *Chronique Ancienne du Tibet* a été écrite.

Analyse

En tibétain ancien, /b/ se produit dans les positions phonétiques suivantes : /#b(C)C/, /#bV/, /VbV/, /Vb#/ et /Vbs#/ (où V indique une voyelle et # une limite du mot). Dans la linguistique historique du tibétain et de la famille tibéto-birmane en général, il existe une tendance à traiter le tibétain comme une langue 'monosyllabique', et ainsi d'oublier la position /VbV/. Parmi les réflexes de /bC#/ on trouve /b/, /f/, /ɥ/, et /χ/ (Róna-Tas 1966: 185). Them-chen a /b/ avant les sonores, /p/ avant les occlusives et les affriquées sourdes, et /ɸ/ comme le réflexe du /b/ devant un /s/ du tibétain ancien (Haller: 2004). Il n'existe aucun obstacle empêchant de suggérer qu'en tibétain ancien, /#bC/ a été prononcé comme [b] avant les sonores et [p] avant les sourdes. Dans la position /#bV/, les langues qui ont toujours maintenu un contraste de voisement conservent /b/ ; celles qui ne l'ont pas maintenu ont /p/, mais au ton bas, ce qui indique le voisement original ; et certaines langues, notamment à l'est, ont développé /w/, compatibles avec le traitement des bilabiales dans ces langues en général (Róna-Tas 1966: 178-183). Il ne fait aucun doute que /b/ en tibétain ancien a été prononcé [b] dans cet environnement. Dans les positions /Vb#/ et /Vbs/, les langues modernes tibétaines ont /p/ presque sans exception (Róna-Tas 1966: 145-146).

En raison de l'analyse erronée du tibétain comme langue 'monosyllabique', le /-b-/ intervocalique n'a reçu presque aucune attention. Comme on l'a déjà mentionné, /Vba/ est prononcé [Vwa] plus ou moins dans toutes les langues tibétaines modernes (Uray 1952: 191). Dans les positions /Vbo/ et /Vbu/ il existe des variantes dans les langues modernes entre [w], [y], [g] et [k]. Les cas évoqués ici sont le suffixe diminutif -bu, et les mots *ri-boñ* 'lièvre', *sa-bon* 'semence', *na-bun* 'brouillard', et *zla-bo* 'assistant', mais les données sporadiques suggèrent que le phénomène est plus répandu. Par exemple, le Zangskar *tsha-bo* /tsʰayo/ 'petit-fils' (Hoshi et Tsering 1978: 11 #0210). La théorie qui s'accorde le mieux avec ces données est que /VbV/ > /VwV/ en tibétain ancien, et plus tardivement /VwV/ > /VyV/ avant les voyelles /u/ et /o/. Ce premier changement phonétique est survenu très tôt. Il a pris effet dans toutes les langues de la famille tibétaine. Le deuxième changement phonétique a pu se produire indépendamment dans plusieurs langues, et ses résultats ont été confondus en raison des emprunts aux différents dialectes, ainsi que des emprunts savants tirés de la langue écrite. Le changement phonétique VwV > VyV avant les voyelles /u/ et /o/ est probablement un cas de dissimulation. Un auditeur, en écoutant le son labiovélaire w devant une voyelle arrondie, peut percevoir [w] comme une fricative vélaire assimilée à la voyelle arrondie suivant [y^w]. L'articulation labiale de la labiovélaire aurait été perçue comme étant due à un effet de la voyelle arrondie. Phonologiquement, la geste labiale aurait été ensuite dissociée de la spirante labio-vélaire voisée et la labiovélaire aurait été delabialisée en une articulation vélaire pure. Après ceci, le segment serait réanalysé phonologiquement en /y/. Ohala mentionne une explication similaire pour /bw/ >/by/

⁶ Il y a des savants qui lisent ce mot *sla-lbo* (par exemple Imaeda et al. 2007: 208), mais on peut se demander ce que ceci veux dire.

dans la langue bantoue Venda (1978: 381), et discute de la phonétique des labiovélaires et leur effet sur le changement phonétique en général dans une publication précédente (Ohala et Lorentz 1977, voir aussi Ladefoged et Maddieson 1996: 356).⁷ En plus du changement /VwV/ > /VŷV/, à l'ouest certaines langues tibétaines ont subi le changement /VwV/ > /V?V/ et d'autres ont adopté ce changement en le portant plus loin avec la chute du coup de glotte /V?V/ > /VV/.

Une langue tibétaine spécifique a souvent plusieurs réflexes pour /-b-/ intervocalique devant les voyelles /u/ ou /o/. Bien que les changements phonétiques pertinents puissent clarifier le Stammbaum de la famille tibétaine, le problème nécessitera l'attention de nombreux savants sur une longue période. Pour que cette entreprise soit possible, il faut que les futures études sur les langues tibétaines enregistrent les informations sur les mots effectués, et plus généralement qu'elles tiennent compte de toutes les positions possibles au sein d'un mot. Et aussi qu'elles ne fassent plus comme si le tibétain possédait seulement des mots monosyllabiques comme cela a été le cas jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

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7 On peut peut-être aussi comparer le passage de la spirante labio-vélaire voisée à l'occlusive vélaire voisée /g/ qui est bien connue dans l'histoire de la langue arménienne (Mann 1963: 153-154) et les emprunts germaniques en française (comme *war>guerre, *wise>guise).

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Deux remarques supplémentaires à propos du développement du *ra-btags* en tibétain parlé^{*}

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1. Introduction

Cet article est une suite à mon article précédent Suzuki (2009b), qui présentait de nouvelles données sur deux dialectes tibétains, et mettait en évidence un phénomène typologiquement rare concernant le développement du son correspondant à la lettre *ra-btags* du tibétain écrit¹. Cet article présente le cas de deux dialectes khams-tibétains peu connus² :

1. le dialecte de Daan, parlé au village de Daan, le district de Yongsheng, la préfecture municipale de Lijiang, Yunnan, Chine; et
2. le dialecte de Zhollam [Gagatang], parlé au village de Pantiange, le district de Weixi, la préfecture de Diqing, Yunnan, Chine.

Ces deux dialectes appartiennent au sous-groupe de Melung du groupe de Sems-kyinyila d'après la classification présentée dans Suzuki (2009ac). Ils sont de surcroît parlés dans les confins de l'aire linguistique naxi³. Dans cet article, je présenterai en premier lieu des données de ces deux dialectes; puis, j'ajouterai quelques considérations typologiques sur le développement du *ra-btags*.

2. Dialecte de Daan : le *ra-btags* omis

Le *ra-btags* du dialecte de Daan a chuté sans influencer la prononciation de la consonne précédente dans la majorité des exemples. Cela implique que l'initiale de base conserve une consonne identique à celle du tibétain ancien en général.

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¹ Voir Qu (1991), Jiang (2002), Tournadre (2005:26-38) et Zhang (2009:257-358).

² Le présent article introduit à nouveau des données partielles de mes deux articles : Suzuki (2009d) écrit en japonais et Suzuki (2009c) présenté en anglais à la conférence ICSTLL42 (Chiangmai, Thaïlande). La description phonétique est basée sur l'API avec plusieurs caractères phonétiques étendus par Zhu (2010).

³ Le Naxi est appelé *jang* en tibétain écrit. Voir He & Jiang (1985) sur la langue naxi.

2-1. Le développement du ra-btags

Selon les correspondances entre le tibétain écrit et le dialecte de Daan, on observe les règles suivantes :

1. les attaques de type *Kr-* en tibétain écrit correspondent à *K-* :
kr-, khr-, gr- > k-, kh-, g-.
2. les attaques de type *dr-* en tibétain écrit correspondent à *d-*.
3. les attaques de type *sr-* en tibétain écrit correspondent à /*h*s/.
4. les attaques de type *Pr-* en tibétain écrit ont deux séries de correspondances :
 - a. la série bilabiale (préservation du lieu d'articulation)
Pr- > P-
 - b. la série non-bilabiale (changement du lieu d'articulation)
(s)pr-, phr-, (s)br- > /f, v, w; x^h, x, y/

La cause de cette double correspondance pour les groupes *Pr-* n'est pas encore élucidée.

2-2. Exemples

La série vélaire

tibétain écrit	Daan	sens
<i>khrag</i>	‿kʰa:	‘sang’
<i>gro</i>	‿kwə	‘blé’
<i>khra</i>	‿kʰa	‘faucon’
<i>grog ma</i>	‿gu ma	‘fourmi’
<i>gri chung</i>	‿gə‿dʐə̃	‘couteau’
<i>grang mo</i>	‿ku: ro	‘frais (température)’
<i>grang</i>	‿kwã	‘geler’
<i>khrid</i>	‿kʰə	‘guider / tirer’
<i>mkhris pa</i>	‿ŋkʰa wa	‘vésicule biliaire’
<i>skra</i>	‿ka	‘cheveu’
<i>mi dgra bo</i>	‿nə gu:	‘ennemi’
<i>skrag</i>	‿ka: nə	‘s’effrayer’
<i>bkru / 'khru</i>	‿ku: /‿kʰu:	‘laver’
<i>skrang</i>	‿ku: ji	‘s’enfler’
<i>'gro</i>	‿gwə	‘aller’

La série alvéolaire⁴

⁴ On peut noter que le mot ‘six’ apparaît au ton haut (cf. Suzuki 2009b:78). Zhang (2009:336-337) relève que la construction consonantique initiale de *drug* ‘six’ en tibétain écrit n'est pas *dr-* (initiale + liquide), mais *d-r-* (préinitiale + initiale). La forme de Daan /tʊ:/ suggère que la préinitiale *d-* a causé un ton haut en maintenant la prononciation de la combinaison consonantique /dr/ ou /tr/, puis /r/ a disparu comme dans d'autres mots présentés ici.

tibétain écrit	Daan	sens
<i>drel</i>	'tu:	'mulet / âne'
<i>drug</i>	'tur:	'six'
<i>bcu drug</i>	⁻ʰtsɔ ʰt̪ur:	'seize'
<i>drug cu</i>	'twi t̪ɔ	'soixante'
<i>drang</i>	'twõ	'droit'
<i>dron po</i>	'to wa	'chaud'
<i>dri</i>	'tə	'interroger'
<i>sra</i>	⁻ʰsa	'dur'
<i>srab</i>	⁻ʰso nə	'mince'
<i>srung</i>	⁻ʰsõ	'défendre'

La série labiale (articulation bilabiale maintenue)

tibétain écrit	Daan	sens
<i>phrug</i>	⁻ʰpu:	'vêtement épais en laine'
<i>sbrang</i>	⁻ʰbɔ:	'abeille'

La série labiale (articulation bilabiale non-maintenue)

tibétain écrit	Daan	sens
<i>brag</i>	ˣʰɑ:	'roche / précipice'
<i>phrug</i>	ˣwɪ: / ˣʰwɪ:	'enfant'
<i>bri</i>	ˣwɪ:	'écrire'
<i>'brug</i>	ˣgʷə	'foudre / dragon'
<i>'bras</i>	ˣŋʷu:	'riz'
<i>'bras bu</i>	ˣŋʷwa:	'fruit'
<i>sprin</i>	ˣxū ja	'nuage'
<i>spre'u</i>	ˣxõ jã	'singe'
<i>sprel</i>	ˣfu:	'année de singe'
<i>sbrul</i>	ˣvu: / ˣʰwu:	'serpent'
<i>sbrang</i>	ˣyū:	'mouche'
<i>sbrang</i>	ˣwə / ˣyə	'sucre'

La dernière série n'est pas un simple cas de chute du *ra-btags*. C'est l'abondance d'exemples qui permet montrer que le *Pr-* en tibétain écrit peut aussi bien correspondre à une vélaire qu'à une labiale. Une telle correspondance est peu commune dans les dialectes tibétains.

2-3. Quelques exemples notables

Comme le montrent les exemples ci-dessus, le *ra-btags* a presque entièrement disparu dans le dialecte de Daan. Dans ces exemple, le même morphème qui inclut *Pr-* en tibétain écrit correspond à deux ou trois formes distinctes, exemples :

• <i>phrug</i>		
Daan	sens	
‐p ^h u: / x ^h u:	‘vêtement épais en laine’ ‘enfant’	
• <i>sbrang</i> ⁵		
Daan	sens	
‐t ^h bɔ: / w ^h ɔ: / ɣ ^h ɔ:	‘abeille’ ‘mouche’ ‘sucre’	

Il y a par ailleurs un exemple de *sr-* en tibétain écrit correspondant à /ç/, mais il est dû au fait que les consonnes fricatives et affriquées alvéolaires ne peuvent pas apparaître devant une voyelle antérieure fermée ou une médiale /j/ :

tibétain écrit	Daan	sens
<i>sran ma</i>	‐c ^h jɛ ma	‘soja’
<i>ser ser</i>	‐c ^h i c ^h i	‘jaune’
<i>mdzes po</i>	‐n ^h dzi: nə	‘beau’

Additionnellement, il y a un exemple exceptionnel :

tibétain écrit	Daan	sens
<i>bkra shis</i>	‐t ^h sa s ^h i	‘félicité’

Généralement, les groupes avec *ra-btags* correspondent le plus souvent à des occlusives ou des affriquées rétroflexes dans les dialectes tibétains. Le mot ‘félicité’ doit être emprunté. Et dans le dialecte de Daan, *r* comme une initiale de base peut maintenir cette prononciation /r/⁶ (exemples omis).

3. Dialecte de Zhollam : pharyngalisation ou omission du ra-btags

Les groupes initiaux à *ra-btags* dans le dialecte de Zhollam présentent des particularités remarquables. Le *ra-btags* peut disparaître comme dans l'un des deux traitements de ces groupes dans le dialecte de Daan, ou bien causer une voyelle pharyngalisée ou rhotacisée. Il convient également de noter que le /r/ du tibétain ancien lui-même a disparu.

La pharyngalisation est un phénomène rare même dans les langues tibéto-birmes, quelques articles comme Iwasa (2003) et Evans (2006) rapportent l'existence de voyelles pharyngalisées en *ahi* (*axi*), en *azha* et en *qiang*⁷. La rhotacisation, qui a été traitée

⁵ Il y a un cas similaire à propos de ce morphème dans le dialecte de rGyalthang (parlé au district de Xianggelila; appartenant au groupe de Sems-kyi-nyila). Dans ce dialecte aussi, les trois mots /t^hbõ dã/ ‘abeille,’ /z^hɛ:/ ‘mouche’ et /d^hzõ/ ‘sucre’ incluent le même morphème *sbrang* en tibétain écrit.

⁶ Cf. § 3-3.

⁷ L'*ahi* et l'*azha* appartiennent au groupe loloïque (Yi/Ngwi). Le *qiang* appartient au groupe qiangique.

dans Suzuki (2009b) est, en fait, un terme polysémique (cf. Ladefoged 2006:224-226). Dans le sous-groupe tibétain de Melung parlé à Weixi⁸, il s'agit d'une voyelle avec une articulation rétroflexe. Toutefois, les données du dialecte de Zhollam attestent d'un nouveau type de développement phonétique dans les dialectes tibétains inconnus autrefois.

3-1. Voyelles pharyngalisée et rhotacisée : remarque articulatoire

La valeur phonétique de la voyelle pharyngalisée est un son impliquant que la racine de la langue se rapproche du pharynx progressivement pendant l'articulation de la voyelle. Une voyelle longue, en particulier, représente une pharyngalisation très forte à la fin de l'articulation vocalique. Au cas où l'initiale précédant une voyelle pharyngalisée serait /fi/, cette consonne peut se représenter comme une fricative pharyngale sonore [ɸ].

La valeur phonétique de la voyelle rhotacisée dans le dialecte de Zhollam est presque identique à celle de Melung⁹: il s'agit d'un son dans lequel la rétroflexion est maintenue pendant toute l'articulation de la voyelle, sans aucune articulation consonantique avant ou après la voyelle. On peut noter que les voyelles pharyngalisées et rhotacisées ont une distribution limitée :

normal	i e ε a ə ɜ A ɑ ɔ o u ɯ e ɤ ɤ̄ r
pharyn-	ɛ̄ ɛ̄ ā ə̄ ɜ̄ ɑ̄ ɔ̄ ō
rhotac-	ə̄

L'unique voyelle rhotacisée est non seulement marginale dans le système, mais les exemples en sont peu nombreux. L'articulation pharyngalisée quant à elle est en train de s'affaiblir lentement dans la prononciation de la jeune génération. Les voyelles pharyngalisées se confondent alors avec leurs équivalents en voix modale.

3-2. Exemples

Le *ra-btags* > la pharyngalisation

tibétain écrit	Zhollam	sens
<i>nag sprin</i>	naŋ pə̄	'nuage'
<i>mgo skra</i>	ŋḡv̄ hkā	'cheveu'
<i>dpral</i>	hpā?	'front'
<i>khrag</i>	χ̄k̄ā:	'sang'
<i>sbrang nag</i>	bāj naŋ	'mouche'
<i>grog ma</i>	kwē mA	'fourmi'
<i>khra</i>	χ̄k̄ā	'faucon'
<i>'bras</i>	mb̄ē:	'riz'
<i>gri</i>	χ̄k̄:	'couteau'

⁸ Suzuki & Tshering mTshomo (2007:101) indiquent dans leur résumé en tibétain que la rhotacisation dans le dialecte de Melung est *lce sgril dbyangs* 'voyelle avec la langue roulée.'

⁹ Voir Suzuki (2009b:78).

<i>phra</i>	ˊpʰa ^f nɛ:	‘mince’
<i>sgra</i>	‐hka	‘bruyant’ ¹⁰
<i>bgrad</i>	ˊf̥ga ^f :	‘tailler’
<i>skrag</i>	ˋhka ^g ?	‘s’effrayer’
<i>'phrog</i>	‐m̥pʰo ^f :	‘piller’
<i>'khrung</i>	‐ŋ̥kʰe ^f :	‘mettre bas’

Le *ra-btags* > l’omission

tibétain écrit	Zhollam	sens
<i>'brug glog sgra</i>	ˊm̥bɔ: lu hka ^f	‘foudre’
<i>srog</i>	‐hso?	‘vie’
<i>'bru</i>	ˊmbu:	‘millet’
<i>sran ma</i>	‐hsej mA	‘soja’
<i>sran ril</i>	‐hsej lo?	‘pois’
<i>sprel</i>	ˋhpv:	‘singe’
<i>sbrul</i>	‐f̥bu:	‘serpent’
<i>'brug</i>	ˊm̥bɔ yɔ	‘dragon’
<i>khrid</i>	‐kʰaj?	‘guider’
<i>khrol</i>	ˋkʰv py	‘desserrer’
<i>'khru</i>	‐ŋ̥kʰu	‘laver’
<i>'gro</i>	‐ŋ̥gv	‘aller’

Le *ra-btags* > la rhotacisation¹¹

tibétain écrit	Zhollam	sens
<i>bri</i>	ˊpə:	‘lettre’
<i>bri bri byed</i>	ˊpə pə̥ be	‘écrire’

Bien qu’il n’y ait qu’un petit nombre de mots avec une voyelle rétroflexe, on peut juger qu’ils sont d’origine tibétaine étant donné la correspondance avec le tibétain écrit¹².

¹⁰ Le mot ‘bruyant’ ne correspond pas parfaitement à *sgra*, c’est une hypothèse suggestive.

¹¹ La voyelle rhotacisée forme une paire minimale avec celle de la pharyngalisation :

tibétain écrit	Zhollam	sens
<i>bri bri byed</i>	ˊpə pə̥ be	‘écrire’
<i>nag sprin</i>	ˊna? pə̥	‘nuage’

D’ailleurs, la construction morphologique *bri bri byed* n’existe pas en tibétain écrit. La réduplication d’un verbe avec *byed* ‘faire’ est courante dans le dialecte de Zhollam, mais elle y est spéciale.

¹² On peut douter qu’une forme avec une voyelle rétroflexe soit un mot d’emprunt du naxi, car le mot ‘écrire’ en naxi est décrit comme /pə̥^{ss}/ ou /pə̥^{ss}/ généralement (cf. He & Jiang (1985:158) et Kurosawa (2009:71)). Mais on doit noter que la voyelle *rhotacisée* /ɔ/ ou /ɔ/ en naxi se prononce comme une voyelle vélarisée [ɔ̥] dans au moins les dialectes parlés à Weixi (Tacheng, Yongchun et Yezhi ; enquête personnelle), ainsi que celui de Dayan à Lijiang (Kurosawa 2009:71), laquelle est parfaitement différente de la prononciation /ɔ/ du dialecte de Zhollam.

Mis à part les exemples ci-dessus, on trouve quelques mots qui ont perdu le son correspondant au *ra-btags* dans la prononciation des jeunes, en particulier ceux qui ont moins de trente ans :

tibétain écrit	Zhollam (jeune génération)	sens
<i>drel</i>	~t̪y:	‘mulet’
<i>drug</i>	~t̪ow?	‘six’
<i>drus ma</i>	^t̪e mA	‘riz décortiqué’
<i>bcu drug</i>	~t̪swəŋ ~t̪ow?	‘seize’
<i>'dra 'dra</i>	~dA ~dA	‘pareil’

Tous ces exemples incluent *dr* en tibétain écrit, et sont prononcés avec une initiale rétroflexe occlusive /t̪/ ou /n̪d/ dans la prononciation des vieillards¹³. Par conséquent, le développement de *dr* est différent du type de l'omission du *ra-btags* mentionné ci-dessus. Le processus /t̪/ > /t̪/ ne se rapporte pas directement au changement causé par le *ra-btags*, et c'est un nouveau développement progressif qui a suivi /dr/ > /t̪/. Cela veut dire que le *ra-btags* dans le dialecte de Zhollam a agi sur la formation des consonnes initiales rétroflexes.

Dans les exemples ci-dessus, on peut observer que la pharyngalisation de la voyelle et l'omission du *ra-btags* sont les plus fréquentes. En considérant le vocalisme du dialecte de Zhollam, on peut voir que nombre d'exemples dans lesquels le *ra-btags* disparaît ont une voyelle sans équivalent pharyngalisé, ce qui veut dire que la distribution synchronique des voyelles pharyngalisées est liée à une divergence dans le développement du *ra-btags*.

3-3. Note concernant le *r* comme une initiale de base

Comme il a été dit précédemment, le dialecte de Zhollam n'a pas de /r/. L'initiale de base *r* en tibétain écrit, donc, correspond à d'autres phonèmes, dont l'un est une voyelle pharyngalisée de même que le *ra-btags* :

tibétain écrit	Zhollam	sens
<i>ra</i>	ˊfia᷑:	‘chèvre / étable’
<i>ras</i>	ˊfe᷑:	‘vêtement’
<i>ri</i>	ˊfi᷑:	‘montagne’
<i>rus ?</i>	ˊfa᷑j tç᷑i:	‘os’
<i>red</i>	ˊfa᷑:	‘être bien’
<i>rogs po</i>	ˊfo᷑: py	‘ami’
<i>rwa</i>	ˊwā᷑	‘corne’

Dans ce cas ci-dessus, la pharyngalisation de la voyelle se maintient même dans la prononciation de la jeune génération.

¹³ Les personnes entre deux âges mélangeant souvent les initiales alvéolaires et rétroflexes dans ces mots, et la prononciation est dans un état transitoire.

Il y a un autre développement de l'initiale de base *r* quand elle est au milieu d'un mot, lequel est la formation d'une latérale rétroflexe¹⁴ :

tibétain écrit	Zhollam	sens
<i>rgya ka ra</i>	‘f’dzA kA A	‘araignée’
<i>sta re</i>	‘h’tA ø	‘hache’
<i>phor ba</i>	‘p’hu u	‘bol en bois’
—	‘ku u	‘âne’

Les exemples ‘bol en bois’ et ‘âne’ proviennent de formes telles que /p^ho ra/ et /ko ro/ respectivement dans d’autres dialectes.

En dehors du dialecte de Zhollam, pour tous les autres dialectes du sous-groupe de Melung, les phénomènes de pharyngalisation, latérale rétroflexe et disparition complète de /r/ dans son consonantisme sont inconnus¹⁵.

4. Remarque typologique

Comme que je l'ai mentionné ci-dessus, le développement du *ra-btags* est vraiment varié, et le phénomène introduit ici est particulier à la langue tibétaine dans la famille tibéto-birmane. Mais en remarquant la variété phonétique, on peut noter qu'il y a deux autres langues qui présentent un phénomène similaire : l'anglais et le naxi.

4-1. Phénomène de la rhotacisation en anglais

Le terme *rhotacisation* est phonétiquement polysémique, ce fait linguistique est constaté par Ladefoged (2006:224-226) et Zhu (2010:249-250). Selon Ladefoged (2006:224-226), une voyelle *rhotacisée* [ɜ̥] en anglais américain représente trois articulations principales: [ɜ̥] (rétroflexe), [ɜ̥̄] (vélarisée) et [ɜ̥̄̄] (rétroflexe-pharyngalisée)¹⁶; et puis, ce phonème correspond à [ə̥] (rhotacisation omise) en anglais britannique (*RP = received pronunciation*). La voyelle *rhotacisée* en anglais américain provient d'une consonne *r* qui suit une voyelle. Si cela diffère de l'origine de la rhotacisation / pharyngalisation en tibétain, la variété phonétique de /ə̥/ (ou /ɜ̥/) est néanmoins réellement similaire entre ces deux langues.

¹⁴ Le phonème /l/ est rare dans la langue tibétaine, mais quelques dialectes du naxi le possède (Michaud 2006). Dans le dialecte de Jincheng du chinois aussi, /l/ est trouvé, qui a rapport à /ə̥/ en mandarin (Zhu & Jiao 2006).

¹⁵ L'existence d'une consonne fricative pharyngale sourde [h] a été en fait découverte dans les dialectes khams-tibétains tels que le dialecte de Derge (sKal-bzang ’Gyur-med & sKal-bzang dByangs-can 2002:98) et mBathang (enquête personnelle). Mais son origine est *h-* en tibétain écrit, laquelle n'a aucun rapport avec le *ra-btags* et l'initiale *r*.

¹⁶ On peut l'écrire comme /ɜ̥/ phonétiquement.

¹⁷ Les transcriptions phonétiques sont approximatives, interprétées par moi selon le schéma de Ladefoged (2006:225).

4-2. Phénomène de la rhotacisation en naxi

Ainsi que je l'ai indiqué dans la note 12 *supra*, le naxi possède d'une manière générale une voyelle *rhotacisée* /ə/. Mais cette articulation dans plusieurs dialectes se réalise comme une voyelle vélarisée (Kurosawa [2009:71] et enquête personnelle), tandis que Michaud (2006) la décrit comme une voyelle rétroflexe sur d'autres dialectes. J'ajoute un autre cas du naxi : le dialecte de Sanba (parlé dans le district de Xianggelila) possède une voyelle pharyngalisée (Kurosawa [2001] et enquête personnelle). Je contraste les trois mots suivants¹⁸ :

dialecte	provenance	'foie'	'poumon'	'écrire'
Dayan	Kurosawa (2001)	sər ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h ər ⁵⁵	pər ⁵⁵
Dayan	Suzuki	səv ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h əv ⁵⁵	pəv ⁵⁵
Baidi	Kurosawa (2001)	sɿr ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h ɿr ⁵⁵	—
Dongba	Suzuki	sə ^{v55}	tʂ ^h ə ^{v55}	pə ^{v55}

Malgré la différence de son explication phonétique sur la *rhotacisation* des dialectes Dayan (vélarisée) et Baidi (pharyngalisée), Kurosawa (2001) utilise le même signe /ɹ/ pour la voyelle *rhotacisée*. On peut noter que l'articulation de la voyelle *rhotacisée* est spécifique à chaque dialecte à ma connaissance, et que la vélarisation ne peut pas alterner avec la pharyngalisation dans un dialecte¹⁹.

Le cas de la *rhotacisation* en naxi est similaire au sous-groupe tibétain de Melung sur deux points :

1. la *rhotacisation* inclut une voyelle rétroflexe et pharyngalisée ; et
2. chaque articulation est particulière à chaque dialecte.

Par ailleurs, Michaud (2006) indique deux correspondances entre une voyelle rétroflexe avec une labialisation et celle sans rétroflexe dans les dialectes de Lengbuluo et Fengke. Donc, en naxi également, l'articulation secondaire comme une *rhotacisation* peut être omise de la même façon du sous-groupe tibétain de Melung.

Concernant le développement phonétique du naxi proposé par Jacques & Michaud (à paraître), le glide *r dans le proto-Na est omis sans influencer la consonne initiale dans plusieurs exemples ; ce point est similaire au cas du dialecte tibétain de Daan.

5. Conclusion

Les groupes à *ra-btags* du tibétain écrit correspondent habituellement à des rétroflexes dans la plupart des dialectes (Jiang [2002:240-244], Zhang [2009:321-337]). Toutefois, quelques exceptions remarquables existent dans les dialectes parlés dans la région périphérique du sud-est. Cet article a ajouté deux nouveaux types de plus à l'histoire du *ra-btags*. Les deux dialectes traités ici appartiennent au même sous-groupe dialectal,

¹⁸ La description phonétique est changée selon le mode que j'utilise, sauf la *rhotacisation*.

¹⁹ Donc, théoriquement, il n'est pas problématique d'utiliser le même signe pour la *rhotacisation*, mais la différence dialectale ne peut pas se réfléchir.

mais ils ne sont pas proches géographiquement. La variété des développements du *ra-btags* dans ces deux dialectes est sûrement remarquable parmi les langues tibétaines ; cependant, ils ont pour point commun le fait que le *ra-btags* ne concerne pas la formation d'une initiale rétroflexe dans la majorité des exemples.

La contribution la plus importante à la linguistique tibéto-birmane ou tibétaine à propos du développement du *ra-btags* en tibétain est une présentation du processus sûr du changement phonétique. Ce processus a influencé non seulement le développement de l'initiale (formation d'une consonne rétroflexe), mais également celui de la rime (formation d'une voyelle rétroflexe ou pharyngalisée), ou bien alors il disparaît sans influencer la prononciation. Le cas du tibétain pourrait suggérer de nouvelles pistes concernant le développement phonétique du naxi, qui possède une voyelle vélarisée, pharyngalisée ou rétroflexe.

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A Brief Bibliographical Key to *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* Editions With Special Attention for Sources on the Early Lineage

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his modest contribution is part of ongoing work on the lineage and history of ideas of *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud rDzogs chen* teachings. Following several requests, I here publish an intermediate version of my bibliographical tools, which will hopefully provide better access to the oldest available editions and their metadata. Included are the 'Dolanji' publications from Menri Monastery in exile; several invaluable manuscripts and blockprints that were kindly provided by the Menri Abbot; and the recent PRC editions of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* and *bKa' brten*. A few manuscripts are known but are not accessible to me (or unfit for publication).¹ Recent computer-typeset editions, which are often based on the afore-mentioned, have not been incorporated (yet some do appear in the *sigla*). Included find: TOCs; first lines, last lines, and colophons; and preliminary cross references to the older, published versions (so not to unique manuscripts). Reprints are not included. Finally, based on these sources, I also include a bibliographically cross-referenced list of early *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* masters.

I particularly wish to thank Ponlop Trinley Nyima Rinpoche, who, in April 2003, kindly came to Leiden to help me sort out the lineage data from available sources.²

Sigla of Older ZZNG Editions

- BSZh *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bla ma'i nyams rgyud 'bring po sor bzhag dang bs dus pa 'thor bu bcas*, Dolanji 1973 = T.III.223, NB. deb gzugs.
K&M *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bla ma'i nyams rgyud rgyas pa skyas smug gnyis kyi gsung pod*, Dolanji 1973, NB. deb gzugs.
K.II.110 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, contained in volume 110 of the 'second' edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* (K.II); the edition used for the Oslo Bon *bKa' 'gyur* catalogue.

¹ Such as the *sNyan rgyud ye dbang chen mo'i skor* or *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud las spros bral rig pa'i rtsal dbang*, in the possession of Yongdzin Rinpoche Tenzin Namdak (info provided by Gerd Manusch), or manuscripts in private possession, which I am not at liberty to publish about.

² The responsibility for the conclusions that I publish(ed) elsewhere, based on my work on these data, rests with me alone. There are bound to be views that he or his peers will strongly disagree with.

- N *History and Doctrine of Bon-po Niṣpanna-Yoga (rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi)*, published by Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak, New Delhi 1968 (=Snell), NB. *deb gzugs*.
- N2 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi gsung pod*, published by Yongs 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin, New Delhi n.d., NB. *dpe cha*.
- NyR *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor bka' brgyud skor bzhi*, blockprint from Nyag rong (set kept in Menri), printed by Nyag rong ba bya btang mChog sprul Tshe dbang 'gyur med, the dPe rtsis is by Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan (1859–1934), NB. *dpe cha*.
- Sg *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor*, manuscript from bSam gling, Dol po (Menri photocopy), NB. *dpe cha*.
- Sh.2 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor* and *sNyan rgyud nam mkha' phrul mdzod nges skor*, published by Sherab Wangyal, Dolanji 1972, NB. *deb gzugs*; cf. dBra.
- Snell *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud bka' brgyud skor bzhi*, microfilm blockprint of D.L. Snellgrove, JOLM/3/471 (filmed by J. Briggs 9-Oct-1962) (=N), NB. *dpe cha*.
- YST *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud bon skor*, published by Yongs 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin, Dolanji 1974, NB. *deb gzugs*.

Additional Sigla for Some Recent Computer-Typeset Editions

- dBra *Nyams rgyud rgyal ba'i phyag khrid bzhugs so*, 'by' Bru chen rGyal ba g-yung drung (NB. contains sPa bsTan rgyal dpal bzang po's lineage history), published by mKhan po dBra tsa bsTan 'dzin dar rgyas, Kathmandu 2002, NB. *deb gzugs*; = *Nyams rgyud rgyal ba'i phyag khrid*, Bru rgyal ba g-yung drung, Vol.7 of the Gran tu'u, Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa/Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2008 (not in my possession; apparently this edition lacks the *Lam nyams su len pa 'od gsal bsgom pa'i khrid*, info by Manusch); cf. Sh.
- GS *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi*, in rGyal gshen gSung rabs Nyams zhib dPe skrun Khang, Vajra Publications: Kathmandu 2006, NB. *deb gzugs*.
- NT *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi gsung pod*, in Zhang Bod Shes rig dPe tshogs (Zhang Bod Educational and Cultu<t>ral Texts), arranged by sNang mtha' bsTan 'dzin nyi ma, 770 pp., TAR 2005, NB. *deb gzugs*.
- TNL *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi'i gsung pod*, Triten Norbutse Library, 2002, NB. *dpe cha*.
- TNL2 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud nyams rgyud rgyas 'bring gnyis gyi gsung pod*, Triten Norbutse Library, 2002, NB. *dpe cha*.
- TNL3 *Nyams rgyud kyi sngon 'gro'i rim pa rnams*, 'by' Bru rgyal ba g-yung drung (NB. contains sPa bstan rgyal dpal bzang po's lineage history), Triten Norbutse Monastery 2002, NB. *dpe cha* (not in my possession, info by Manusch).
- YTs *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi sngon 'gro dang dngos gzhi 'khrul 'khor thun mtshams dang bcas pa*, Bru chen rgyal ba g-yung drung, published by g-Yung drung gTsugs gshen rnam rgyal, Bod

ljongs mi dmangs pe skrun khang, Lhasa 2009 (not in my possession, info by Manusch).

Abbreviations of Canonical Collections, brGyud rim, dKar chag, etc.

- AYKC *g-Yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur glog par ma'i dkar chag*. This is the catalogue that accompanies and describes the 154-volume 'first' reprint edition of the Bon Kanjur, by A g-Yung Rin po che.
- K.I *bKa' 'gyur*, 'first' edition, see AYKC.
- K.II *bKa' 'gyur*, 'second' edition.
- K.III *bKa' 'gyur*, Mongyal Lhasay Rinpoche, 'third' edition, Chengdu Sichuan 1995–99.
- KGI/II Used in the lineage outline as shorthand for the *bKa' brgyud skor bzhi*
- KGKC *g-Yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur dkar chag* (=Zab dang rgya che g-yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur gyi dkar chag nyi ma 'bum gyi 'od zer), by Rig 'dzin Kun grol grags pa. Published under the 'cover title' *g-Yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur dkar chag*, edited by Tshe ring Thar, Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, Beijing 1993. This is a catalogue of a manuscript Kanjur made under patronage of the Khro chen King, Kun dga' nor bu, completed in 1751.
- NTKC *bKa' 'gyur brten 'gyur gyi sde tsan sgrigs tshul bstan pa'i me ro spar ba'i rlung g-yab bon gyi pad mo rgyas byed nyi 'od*, by mKhan chen Nyi ma bstan 'dzin (b. 1813); see Kværne (1971). NB. NTKC (Tibetan version): also published in the Śatapiṭaka Series, Vol.37, Pt.2, New Delhi 1965.
- NyG Used in the lineage outline as shorthand for the *Nyams brgyud*.
- SGK Samten Gyaltzen Karmay, *The Little Luminous Boy*, Bangkok 1998.
- T.III *bKa' brten*, published by Sokde Tenpai Nyima Rinpoche, Lhasa 1998; this edition came out together with the 'third' edition of the *bKa' 'gyur*, by Mongyal Lhasay Rinpoche but it actually is the first commercial edition ever; it corresponds to the Osaka/Kathmandu catalogue by Nagano (2001).
- TBMC *Tibetan Bon Monastic Centre*, which is based in Menri Monastery, the main seat of Bon traditions in Dolanji, H.P. India.
- YTKC *rGyal ba'i bka' dang bka' rten rmad 'byung dgos 'dod bzhin gter gyi bang mdzod la dkar chags blo'i tha ram 'grol byed 'phrul gyi lde mig go*, by g-Yung drung tshul khriims dbang drag, Palace of National Minorities: Beijing 1995. This work was composed in the years 1876–1880.

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- 1a-b **N/N2**—*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi.*
- 2 **K.III.171**—*Zhang zhung snyan brgyud Texts in the Bon bKa' 'gyur ('III').*
- 3 **K.II.110**—*Zhang zhung snyan brgyud Texts in the Bon bKa' 'gyur ('II').*
- 4 **NyR**—*Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor bka' brgyud skor bzhi, Nyag rong.*
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- 6 **Sh.2**—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor.*
- 7 **YST**—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud bon skor: Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo sogs dang brgyud phiyag bcas kyi gsung pod.*
- 8 **K&M**—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bla ma'i nyams rgyud rgyas pa skyas smug gnyis kyi gsung pod.*
- 9g **T.III.223**—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bla ma'i nyams rgyud 'bring pos sor bzhag dang bsdus pa 'thor bu bcas.*

1a N—History and Doctrine of Bon-po Niṣpanna-Yoga (print identical with Snell)

Info on edition: Original Tibetan texts on the transmission, teaching, rites and deities of the Rdzogs chen Zhang zhung school of the Bon-po's. Reproduced by Prof. Dr. Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak, Lopon of the Sman ri Monastery in Tsang. Published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 1968.

rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi

- 1 (ka) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar*, pp. 1–130 (=N2.2.55–184 (N2.2.185–92 excluded) and =dBra.1.3–120 (dBra.1.120–8 excluded), not in K.II.110; cf. K.II.110.4; T.III.101.1 & =Sh.2.1; YST.5; T.III.156.10; and T.III.156.22)
- 2 (kha) *Rigs drug rang sbyong gi gdams pa*, pp. 131–42 (see N2.3, T.III.223.9 and cf. T.III.156.24 and K.II.110.9)
- 3 (ga) *sKu Inga rang khrid*, pp. 143f (see N2.4 and not in K.II.110)
- 4 (nga) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*, pp. 145–68 (see N2.5 and K.III.171.5)
- 5 (ca) *rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis*, pp. 169–79 (see N2.6 and K.III.171.7)
- 6 (cha) *rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don bsttan pa*, pp. 181–92 (see N2.7, K.II.110.13 and cf. K.III.171.4)
- 7 (ja) *'Phrul 'khor lde mig*, pp. 193–8 (see N2.8, K.III.171.8 and K.II.110.15)
- 8 (nya) *mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me*, pp. 199–231 (see N2.9, K.III.171.9 and K.II.110.15)
- 9 (ta) *lTa ba spyi gcod kyi mnyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len*, pp. 233–44 (see N2.10, cf. K.III.171.9 and K.II.110.15)
- 10 (tha) *dGongs rgyud dgu'i yig chung*, pp. 245f (see N2.11, cf. K.III.171.1 and K.II.110.17)
- 11 (da) *rJe ta pi hri tsa'i lung bsttan*, pp. 247–54 (see N2.12, cf. N2.13&14 and N.12&13, included in K.III.171.2, and in K.II.110.18 (pp. 158–161r1 and pp. 166r3–170r4, colophon/lineages, (as usual) missing here), cf. T.III.156.20, also cf. T.III.156.16&21)
- 12 (na) *Zhe sa dgu phrug(s)*, pp. 255f (see N2.13, cf. N2.12&14 and N.11&12, included in K.III.171.2 and in K.II.110.18 (pp. 158–161r1 and pp. 166r3–170r4, colophon/lineages, (as usual) missing here), cf. T.III.156.20, cf. also T.III.156.16&21)
- 13 (pa) *mJal thebs bar ma*, pp. 257–259 (see N2.14, cf. N2.12&13N. and N.11&12, included in K.III.171.2 and in K.II.110.18 (pp. 158–161r1 and pp. 166r3–170r4, colophon/lineages, (as usual) missing here), cf. T.III.156.20, also cf. T.III.156.16&21)
- 14 (pa) *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*, pp. 259–67 (see N2.15 and not in K.II.110)
- 15 (pha) *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, pp. 269–92 (see N2.16, K.II.110.19 and cf. K.III.171.11)
- 16 (ba) *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, pp. 293–354 (see N2.17)
- 17 (ma) *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, pp. 355–422 (see N2.18 and not in K.II.110)

- 18 (*tsa*) *Kun gzhi'i zhal shes gsal ba'i sgron ma*, pp. 423–31 (see N2.19, cf. K.II.110.22 and T.III.156.18)
- 19 (*tsha*) *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len*, pp. 433–48 (see N2.20, K.III.171.10 and K.II.110.20)
- 20 (*zha*) *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*, pp. 449–64 (see N2.21, K.III.171.12 and K.II.110.23, also cf. K.II.110.24)
- 21 (*za*) *Bya bral rjes med*, pp. 465–77 (see N2.22, K.II.110.25 and cf. K.III.171.16)
- 22 ('*a*) *Man ngag le'u brgyad pa*, pp. 479–502 (see N2.23, K.III.171.14 and K.II.110.26)
- 23 (*ya*) *gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi gzhung*, pp. 503–19 (see N2.24, K.III.171.15, and K.II.110.27, also cf. T.III.156.9)
- 24 (*ra*) *gZer bu nyer gcig gi 'grel pa*, pp. 521–82 (see N2.25 and cf. K.II.110.28)
- 25 (*la*) *'Od gsal sems kyi me long*, pp. 583–98 (see N2.26, T.III.223.11, K.II.110.29 and not in K.III.171)
- 26 (*sha*) *rTags tshad gsal sgron*, pp. 599–611 (see N2.27, K.II.110.30, cf. N.27 and N2.28)
- 27 (*sa*) *rTags tshad gsal sgron chung ba*, pp. 613–7 (see N2.28 (in AYKC and NTKC combined with K.III.171.16/N.21/N2.22/K.II.110.25), cf. N.26, N2.27, and K.II.110.30)
- 28 (*ha*) *rTsa rlung gi<=> man ngag*, pp. 619–29 (see N2.29, cf. T.III.223.40 and not in K.II.110)
- 29 (*a*) *'Phrul 'khor zhal shes man ngag*, pp. 631–43 (see N2.30)
- 30 (–) *sNyan rgyud bka' srung srog bdag rgyal po nyi pang sad bka' bsgo*, pp. 645–646 (see N2.32 and not in K.II.110)
- 31 (–) *rGyal po nyi pang sad dang sman mo gnyis kyi bskul pa*, pp. 647f (see N2.33 and not in K.II.110)
- 32 (–) *Bon bstan rgyas pa'i smon lam yid bzhin kun 'grub ces bya ba*, pp. 649–52 (see N2.34 and not in K.II.110, not in Snell, rest print identical)

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1b N2—*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi gsung pod*
cf. N1, cf. also K.II.110.1

- 1 (–) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi 'chad thabs*: pp. 1–53 (*dbu med*, not in N, cf. K.II.110.1)
- 2 (*ka*) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar*: pp. 55–184 & 185–192 (=dBra.1.3–120, =N.1.55–184 (N2.2.185–192 not in N.1), not in K.II.110; cf. K.II.110.4; T.III.101.1 & =Sh.2.1; YST.5; T.III.156.10; and T.III.156.22); N.B. rest titles N2: *dbu can* = N unless indicated otherwise
- 3 (*kha*) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rigs drug rang sbyong gi gdams pa*: pp. 193–204 (see N.2, T.III.223.9 and cf. T.III.156.24 and K.II.110.9)
- 4 (*ga*) *sKu lnga rang khrid*: pp. 205f (see N.3 and not in K.II.110)
- 5 (*nga*) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*: pp. 207–30 (see N.4 and K.III.171.5)
- 6 (*ca*) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis*: pp. 231–41 (see N.5 and K.III.171.7)

- 7 (cha) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don bstan pa:* pp. 243–254 (see N.6, K.II.110.13 and cf. K.III.171.4)
- 8 (ja) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las 'phrul 'khor lde mig:* pp. 255–60 (see N.7, K.III.171.8 and K.II.110.15)
- 9 (nya) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las mdo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me:* pp. 261–93 (see N.8, K.III.171.9 and K.II.110.15)
- 10 (ta) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las lta ba spyi gcod kyi myam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len:* pp. 295–306 (see N.9, cf. K.III.171.9 and K.II.110.15)
- 11 (tha) *dGongs rgyud dgu'i yig chung:* pp. 307f (see N.10, cf. K.III.171.1 and K.II.110.17)
- 12 (da) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rje ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan:* pp. 309–16 (see N.11, cf. N.12&13 and N2.13&14, included in K.III.171.2 and in K.II.110.18 (pp. 158–161r1 and pp. 166r3–170r4, colophon/lineages, (as usual) missing here), cf. T.III.156.20, also cf. T.III.156.16&21)
- 13 (na) *Zhe sa dgu phrug(s):* pp. 317f (see N.12, cf. N.11&13 and N2.12&14, included in K.III.171.2 and in K.II.110.18 (pp. 158–161r1 and pp. 166r3–170r4, colophon/lineages, (as usual) missing here), cf. T.III.156.20, also cf. T.III.156.16&21)
- 14 (pa) *mJal thebs bar ma:* p.319 (see N.13, cf. N.11&12 and N2.12&13, included in K.III.171.2 and in K.II.110.18 (pp. 158–161r1 and pp. 166r3–170r4, colophon/lineages, (as usual) missing here), cf. T.III.156.20, also cf. T.III.156.16&21)
- 15 (pa) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs:* pp. 321–9 (see N.14 and not in K.II.110)
- 16 (pha) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las sgron ma drug gi gdams pa:* pp. 331–54 (see N.15, K.II.110.19 and cf. K.III.171.11)
- 17 (ba) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las sgron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan:* pp. 355–416 (see N.16 and not in K.II.110)
- 18 (ma) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las sgron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa:* pp. 417–84 (see N.17 and not in K.II.110)
- 19 (tsa) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las kun gzhi'i zhal shes gsal ba'i sgron ma:* pp. 485–93 (see N.18, cf. K.II.110.22 and T.III.156.18)
- 20 (tsha) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len:* pp. 495–510 (see N.19, K.III.171.10 and K.II.110.20)
- 21 (zha) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las 'khor lo bzhi sbrag:* pp. 511–26 (see N.20, K.III.171.12, K.II.110.23, also cf. K.II.110.24)
- 22 (za) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las bya bral rjes med:* pp. 527–39 (see N.21, K.II.110.25 and cf. K.III.171.16)
- 23 ('a) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las man ngag le'u brgyad pa:* pp. 541–63 (see N.22, K.III.171.14 and K.II.110.26)
- 24 (ya) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las gzer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi gzhung:* pp. 565–81 (see N.23, K.III.171.15, and K.II.110.27, also cf. T.III.156.9)
- 25 (ra) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las gzer bu nyer gcig gi 'grel pa:* pp. 583–643 (see N.24 and cf. K.II.110.28)
- 26 (la) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las 'od gsal sems kyi me long:* pp. 645–60 (see N.25, T.III.223.11, K.II.110.29 and not in K.III.171)
- 27 (sha) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rtags tshad gsal sgron:* pp. 661–73 (see N.26, K.II.110.30, cf. N.27 and N2.28)

- 28 (sa) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rtags tshad gsal sgron chung ba*: pp. 675–9 (see N.27 (in AYKC and NTKC combined with K.III.171.16 / N.21 / N2.22 / K.II.110.25), cf. N.26, N2.27, and K.II.110.30)
- 29 (ha) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rtsa rlung gi<s> man ngag*: pp. 681–91 (see N.28, cf. T.III.223.40 and not in K.II.110)
- 30 (a) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las 'phrul 'khor zhal shes man ngag*: pp. 693–705 (see N.29)
- 31 (–) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi ngo sprod thig le drug pa*: pp. 707–16 (dbu med, not in N, cf. K.II.110.21)
- 32 *sNyan rgyud bka' srung srog bdag rgyal po nyi pang sad bka' bsgo*: pp. 717f (see N.30 and not in K.II.110)
- 33 *rGyal po nyi pang sad dang sman mo gnyis kyi bskul pa*: pp. 719f (see N.31 not in K.II.110)
- 34 *Bon bstan rgyas pa'i smon lam yid bzhin kun 'grub ces bya ba*: pp. 721–4 (see N.32 and not in K.II.110)

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2 K.III.171—*Zhang zhung snyan brgyud Texts in the Bon bKa' 'gyur ('III')*
(Sangs rgyas g-yung drung bon gyi rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur chen mo)

Info on edition: This is volume 171 of the so-called ‘third’ edition of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* (pp. 1–353), published by sMon rgyal lha sras, aka Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, and gShen sras Nam mkha' dbang ldan, in 178 volumes, in Chengdu, Sichuan, 1995–99.

- 171.1 (ka) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi dgongs rgyud dgu yi bshad byang*, pp. 1–5 (see K.II.110.17, cf. N.10 and N2.11)
- 171.2 (kha) *Yab sras mijal tshul*, pp. 7–16 (see T.III.156.20; cf. N.10, N2.11)
- 171.3 (ga) *Phyi lta ba gcod kyi mijal bar*, pp. 17–23
- 171.4 (nga) *g-Yung drung tshig rkang bcu gnyis kyi don bstan*, pp. 25–38
- 171.5 (ca) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi<s> gdam ngag le'u bcu gnyis*, pp. 39–69 (cf. N.4 and N2.5)
- 171.6 (cha) *rDzogs chen snyan rgyud kyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis pa*, pp. 71–85 (cf. N.6 and N2.7)
- 171.7 (ja) *rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis*, pp. 87–102 (see N.5 and N2.6)
- 171.8 (nya) *'Khrul [emend: 'phrul] 'khor lde mig*, pp. 103–9 (see N.7, N2.8, cf. K.II.110.15)
- 171.9 (ta) *mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me*, pp. 111–55 (see N.8, N2.9 and K.II.110.15, cf. N.9 and N2.10)
- 171.10 (tha) *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug zhes pa'i lag len*, pp. 157–79 (see N.19, N2.20 and K.II.110.20)
- 171.11 (da) *sGron ma drug bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs*, pp. 181–230 (cf. N.15, N2.16 and K.II.110.19)
- 171.12 (na) *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*, pp. 231–52 (see N.21, N2.20 and K.II.110.23, also cf. K.II.110.24)
- 171.13 (pa) *rTags tshad gsal ba'i sgron ma*, pp. 253–71
- 171.14 (pha) *Man ngag le'u brgyad pa*, pp. 273–306 (see N.22, N2.23 and K.II.110.26)

- 171.15 (*ba*) *gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi gzhung*, pp. 307–27 (see N.23, N2.24 and cf. T.III.156.9)
- 171.16 (*ma*) *Bya bral rjes med bzhugs pa'i dbus phyogs*, pp. 329–46 (see N.21, N2.22, and K.II.110.25)
- 171.17 (*tsa'o*) *rTags tshad gsal sgron nyung ba*, pp. 347–53 (see N.27, N2.28 (in AYKC and NTKC combined with K.III.171.16/ N.21/ N2.22/ K.II.110.25), cf. N.26, N.2.27, and K.II.110.30)

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3 K.II.110—*Zhang zhung snyan bryud* Texts in the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* ('II')
(Sangs rgyas g-yung drung bon gyi rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur chen mo)

Info on edition: This is the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* section of the so-called second edition of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur*, which is volume 110. The complete volume was photographed in Triten Norbutse Monastery, in Kathmandu 2005, with the kind permission of the local monastic authorities. For the colophons and many more useful metadata, see the corresponding section in the Oslo Bon *bKa' 'gyur* catalogue By Per Kværne, Dan Martin et al. This particular section was prepared by dGe bshes rNam rgyal nyi ma brag dkar. The catalogue was published by Yasuhiko Nagano and Samten Karmay in the Senri Ethnological Reports (SER 40), Bon Studies 8, in Osaka 2003, with Dan Martin (main editor), and Per Kværne, as *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur*.³ The colophons are included in the catalogue and will not be reproduced again in this contribution.

- 110.1 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi 'chad thabs*, pp. 1–25 (in N2.1, not in N and K.III.171)
- 110.2 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bka' rgyud skor bzhi'i 'chad thabs*, pp. 27–54 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.3 *Zhang zhung snyan bryud kyi bon skor bka' bryud skor bzhi'i dpe rtsis mu tig phring ba*, pp. 1–3 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.4 *rDzogs pa chen pos zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyis bla ma'i rnam thar lo rgyus rnams rgyas pa*, pp. 4–48 (cf. T.III.101.1 & =Sh.2.1; cf. N.1, =N2.2.55–184 (N2.2.185–192 excluded) and =dBra.1.3–120 (dBra.1.120–128 excluded), not in K.II.110; YST.5; T.III.156.10; and T.III.156.22)
- 110.5 *sNyan rgyud kyi mi rtag pa*, pp. 49–54 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.6 *sNyan rgyud gsol 'debs*, pp. 55–60 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.7 *rJe ta pi hri tsa la gsol ba phur tshigs su gdab pa*, p.61 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.8 *gSol 'debs byin rlabs char 'bebs*, pp. 62–7 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.9 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rig<s> drug rang sbyong gi gdams pa*, pp. 68–75 (see N.2, N2.3 and cf. T.III.156.24 & 223.9)
- 110.10 *sGrib sbyang lam sel gyi khrid*, pp. 76–9 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.11 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud phyi lta ba spyi gcod las man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*, pp. 80–97 (see N.4, N2.5 and K.III.171.5)

³ On-line at CiNii: http://ci.nii.ac.jp/vol_issue/nels/AA11751099/IS S0000335843_en.html.

- 110.12 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi rtsa ba'i glad* [emend: *klad*] *don rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis*, pp. 98–106 (see N.5, N2.6 and cf. K.III.171.6)
- 110.13 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lta ba spyi gcod rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don bstān pa*, pp. 107–15 (see N.6, N2.7 and cf. K.III.171.4)
- 110.14 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lta ba spyi gcod gyi 'khrul* [emend: *'phrul*] *'khor lde mig*, pp. 116–20 (see N.7, N2.8 and K.III.171.8)
- 110.15 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi phyi lta ba spyi gcod gyi mdo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron ma*, pp. 121–45 (see N.8, N2.9 and K.III.171.9)
- 110.16 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi phyi lta ba spyi gcod myam bzhag sgom ba'i lag len*, pp. 146–54 (see N.9, N2.10 and not in K.III.171)
- 110.17 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi phyi lta ba spyi gcod las rgyal ba dgongs rgyud dgu'i bshad byang*, pp. 155–7 (cf. N.10, N2.11, K.III.171.1, is included in K.III.171.2; cf. T.III.156.20)
- 110.18 *Phyi lta ba cig chod kyis klad don bshad thabs 'jal tshul rgyud de rnams bzhugs so / man ngag gnad kyis gdams pa sā mā yā smar ro*, pp. 158–70 (cf. N.11,12(missing here),13, N2.12,13(missing here),14, included in K.III.171.2, cf. T.III.156.20, also cf. T.III.156.16&21(missing here))
- 110.19 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud gyis sgron ma drug pa*, pp. 171–92 (see N.15, N2.16 and cf. K.III.171.11)
- 110.20 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung rgyud kyi yang khyad / byang chub sems kyi gnad drug zhes bya ba'i lag len gnad drug*, pp. 193–203 (see N.19, N2.20 and K.III.171.10)
- 110.21 *Ngo sprod thig le drug pa*, pp. 204–11 (not in N, see N2.31 and not in K.III.171)
- 110.22 *Zhal shes rnams*, pp. 212–6 (cf. N.18, N2.19 and T.III.156.18)
- 110.23 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi 'khor lo bzhi sbrag*, pp. 217–25 (see N.21, N2.20 and K.III.171.12)
- 110.24 *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag gi yig chung*, pp. 226f (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)
- 110.25 *sNyan rgyud bya bral rjes med*, pp. 228–36 (see N.21, N2.22 and K.III.171.16?, cf. N.22, N2.23 and K.III.171.17)
- 110.26 *Ngo sprod le'u brgyad pa*, pp. 237–51 (see N.22, N2.23 and K.III.171.14)
- 110.27 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyis gzer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig pa*, pp. 252–63 (see N.23, N2.24 and K.III.171.15, cf. T.III.156.9)
- 110.28 *gZer bu'i 'grel pa*, pp. 264–302 (see N.24, N2.25 and not in K.III.171)
- 110.29 *'Od gsal sems kyi me long*, pp. 303–12 (see N.25, N2.26, T.III.223.11 and not in K.III.171)
- 110.30 *rTag tshad gsal sgron*, pp. 313–20 (see N.26, N2.27, cf. N.27, N2.28 and see K.III.171.17)
- 110.31 *rDzogs pa chen po snyan rgyud gyis zhal gdams 'pho ba dang bcas pa*, pp. 321–7 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171, cf. T.III.223.21&33)
- 110.32 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi spyi don gsal ba'i sgron ma*, pp. 328–80 (not in N, N2 and K.III.171)

4 NyR—*Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor bka' brgyud skor bzhi, Nyag rong*

Info on edition: Photographed late 2008, in Menri Monastery in exile, from three identical sets of prints from the Nyag rong wood blocks. Printed by Nyag rong ba bya btang mChog sprul Tshe dbang 'gyur med. The *dPe rtsis* was prepared on request by Shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan (1859–1934).

0 *dPe rtsis*: ff.1–2; the second title is from the dKar chag.

(*dang po*) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi skor*

- 1 (ka) NA—*Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*: ff.NA
- 2 (kha) NA—*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi sngon 'gro gsol 'debs*: ff.NA
- 3 (ga) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rigs drug rang sbyang gi khrid*—*Rigs drug rang sbyong*: ff.1–10
- 4 (nga) *lTa ba spyi gcod las man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*—*Grol 'khrul dang dbang po'i khyad par gyi gnas nges par ston pa'i man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*: ff.1–17
- 5 (ca) *Byang sems kyi gnad byang g-yung drung tshigs rkang bcu gnyis dbu phyogs*—*lTa sgom spyod pa'i khog dbub par ston pa byang chub sems kyi gnad byang rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis zhes pa le'u bcu gnyis*: ff.1–8
- 6 (cha) *rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don gsal bar bstan pa dbu phyogs* (*bzhugs pa legs so*)—*rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don nges par byed pa bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don bstan pa zhes pa don bcu gnyis pa*: ff.1–8
- 7 (ja) *'Khrul 'khor lde mig*—*lTa sgom spyod pa'i khog bkrol bar ston pa 'khrul 'khor lde mig*: ff.1–3
- 8 (nya) *mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me dbu phyogs* (*bzhugs pa legs so*)—*'Khrul 'khor lde mig gi don gsal bar ston pa mdo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron ma*: ff.1–21
- 9 (ta) *lTa ba spyi gcod kyi mnyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len*—*mNyam bzhag sgom pa'i gnad ston pa*: ff.1–8
- 10 (tha) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi phyi lta ba spyi gcod las rgyal ba dgongs brgyud dgu'i bshad byang*—*dgongs brgyud dgu'i bshad byang*: ff.1–3
- 11 (da) *Ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan*—*yab sras mijal tshul rnams so*: ff.1–7

(*gnyis pa*) *Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor*

- 12 (na) *Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor las spros bral rig pa'i rtsal dbang*—*Khyad par gyi lam la 'jug pa'i sgor ston pa spros bral rig pa'i rtsal dbang*: ff.1–16
- 13 (pa) *sGron ma drug gi dbu yi gzigs phyogs*—*dNgos gzhi'i gnad zab mo'i gnas nges par ston pa sgron ma drug ces pa'i le'u drug*: ff.1–16
- 14 (pha) *sGron ma drug gi 'grel pa*—*sGron ma drug gi 'grel pa bru rgyal bas mdzad pa*: ff.1–53
- 15 (ba) NA—*Man ngag gsum sgron ma bzhi*: ff.NA
- 16 (ma) *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba lag len*—*Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug*: ff.1–12

- 17 (tsa) *Thig le drug pa'i man ngag* (*bzhugs pa legs so*)—*Thig le drug pa'i man ngag*: ff.1–8
- 18 (tsha) NA—*Zhal shes gsum*: ff.NA
- 19 (dza) *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag gi gdams pa*—*'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*: ff.1–11
- 20 (wa) *gDams pa bya bral rjes med* (*bzhugs pa legs so*)—*gDams pa bya bral rjes med rnams so*: ff.1–10
- (*gsum pa*) *gSang ba rig pa gcer mthong*
- 21 (zha) *gSang ba rig pa gcer mthong skor las gdams pa le'u brgyad pa*—*Lam dang sgo'i gnad la brten nas rig pa dang 'od gsal gyi snang ba mingon gsum par ston pa man ngag le'u brgyad pa sogs so*: ff.1–16
- (*bzhi pa*) *Yang gsang gnas lugs phug chod kyi skor*
- 22 (za) *Yang gsang gnas lugs phug chod kyi skor las gzer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig*—*gZhi lam 'bras gsum gyi don des pa* [emend: *nge pa*] *mthar thug par sto pa* [emend: *ston pa*] *gzer bu nyer cig pa*: ff.1–12
- 23 ('a) *gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi 'grel pa*—*gZer bu nyer gcig pa'i 'grel pa gyer spungs snang bzher lod pos mdzad pa*: ff.1–44
- 24 (ya) *'Od gsal sems kyi me long*—*Grol 'khrul gyi gnas lam gnad las lam snang du sku gsum lam du chod par ston pa 'od gsal sems kyi me long*: ff.1–12
- 25 (ra) *rTtags tshad sgron ma che ba zhes bya ba* (*bzhugs pa legs so*)—*rTags ma nges pa dang nges pa'i nges par bzung ba dang khyad par gyi rtags snang ba bzhi'i gnas gsal bar ston pa rtags tshad sgron ma che ba*: ff.1–9
- 26 (la) NA—*rTags tshad sgron ma chung ba*: ff.NA
- 27 (a) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhu[ng] snyan brgyud kyi ye dbang khrid rig pa spyi blugs*—*sNyan brgyud ye dbang chen mo skor rnams so*: ff.1–16

Not in *dPe rtsis*

- 28 (a) *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kun bzang don gyi phrin las kyi chog khrigs nges pa'i thig le*—NA: ff.1–19
- 29 (a) *Zab lam bla ma'i rnal 'byor 'dod 'byung gter gyi bum bzang*—NA: ff.1–2
- 30 (NA) *gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs las gsang ba 'dus pa thabs chen yab kyi lung rgyud*—NA: ff.1–46
- 31 (a) *gSang ba 'dus pa thabs chen yab kyi lung rgyud* [title page missing]—NA: ff.1–26

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5 **Sg—rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud—bSam gling Manuscript**

Info on edition: Photographed from a photocopy of a manuscript from bSam gling, Dol po, kept in Menri and kindly provided by the present Menri Trizin. Photographed in Menri, late 2008. Extra copies of pp. 52–61 are appended to the text, some of which are soiled. There is a gap from pp. 219–332 and the chapters *kha*, *ga* and *nga* are missing.

- 1 (ka) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar chen po rgyal sras spa mdzad pa*, ff.1–104, pp. 3–218 incomplete, ends at N.117.7
- 2 (kha) -
- 3 (ga) -
- 4 (nga) -
- 5 (ca) *sNyan rgyud gsol 'debs bsdus don*, first folios missing: ff.4–11, pp. 333–48
- 6 (cha) *mNyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len*, ff.1–6, pp. 349–60
- 7 *mNyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len mtshan med par bzhag pa*, ff.1–7, pp. 361–74
- 8 (ja) *g-Yung drung tshig rkang bcu gnyis*, ff.1–10 (two numbers 6), pp. 375–95
- 9 (nya) *brGyud bu chung bcu gnyis*, ff.1–10, pp. 396–417
- 10 (ta) *'Phrul 'khor lde mig*, ff.1–5, pp. 418–28 (number 421 skipped)
- 11 (tha) *mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me*, ff.1–30, pp. 429–88
- 12 (da) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi gdams ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*, ff.1–30, pp. 489–529
- 13 (na) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bon spyod dgu rim*, ff.1–3, pp. 530–5
- 14 (pa) *rJe ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan*, ff.1–8, pp. 537–51
- 15 (pha) *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, ff.1–24, pp. 552–98
- 16 (ba) *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, ff.1–48, pp. 600–94
- 17 (ma) *Kun gzhi'i zhal shes gsal ba'i sgron ma*, ff.1–8, pp. 695–710
- 18 (tsa) *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len*, ff.1–14, pp. 711–38
- 19 (-) *Zhe sa dgu phrug (bzhugs lags s-ho)*, ff.1–2, pp. 739–42
- 20 (-) *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag gis yig chung*, ff.1–3, pp. 742–7
- 21 (tsha) *'Khor lo bzhi srag*, ff.1–14, pp. 748–75
- 22 (dza) *rTags tshad gsal sgron*, ff.1–12, pp. 776–98
- 23 (dza) *rTags tshad gsal sgron nyung pa*, ff.1–4, pp. 799–805
- 24 (wa) *Man ngag le'u brgyad*, ff.1–23, pp. 806–50
- 25 (zha) *gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi gzhung*, ff.1–15, pp. 852–81
- 26 (za) *gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi rang 'grel (bzhugs lags s-ho)*, ff.1–60, pp. 881–1000 (NB the page number 881 is used twice)
- 27 ('a) *Bya bral brjes med*, ff.1–13, pp. 1002–27
- 28 (a) *sNyan rgyud 'phrul 'khor*, ff.1–11, pp. 1028–49
- 29 (-) *sNyan rgyud kyi srung dbang*, ff.1–16, pp. 1050–81
- 30 (-) *dBal gshen me ri'i rgyud pa* (colophon: *me ri'i sras rgyud dbang gi brgyab yig*), ff.1–7, pp. 1082–94
- 31 (-) *'Bring po sor bzhag gi sngon 'gro klad don*, ff.1–4, pp. 1095–1102
- 32 (-) *gSal byed yang gsang 'bar ba'i 'grel pa*, ff.4–9, pp. 1102–11
- 33 (-) *Bla ma nyams gyi man ngag 'ching pa'i skye rags dang 'dra ba*, ff.1–9, pp. 1113–1130 (a small amount of text follows on p.1130)
- 34 (-) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcod (bzhugs lags s-ho)*, ff.1–6, pp. 1131–41 (one page unnumbered between 131 and 132)

6 Sh.2—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor*

Info on edition: This is the second section of a combined Dolanji volume: *sNyan rgyud nam mkha' phrul mdzod nges skor* and *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor*. Texts from two cycles of Bon-po Rdzogs-chen oral transmission precepts. Compiled and reproduced by Sherab Wangyal from the xylographic prints from sManri blocks, TBMC, Dolanji, 1972, pp. 539–725.

- 1 (ka) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus rnam thar dang bcas pa*, pp. 539–89 (author: Bru rje rGyal ba g-yung drung (1242–90) of g-Yas ru dben sa kha = T.III.101.1; cf. N.1, =N2.2.55–184 (N2.2.185–192 excluded) and =dBra.1.3–120 (dBra.1.120–128 excluded), not in K.II.110; cf. K.II.110.4; YST.5; T.III.156.10; and T.III.156.22)
- 2 (kha) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bon spyod dgu rim (sngon 'gro)*, pp. 591–607
- 3 (ga) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi khrid rim lag len*, pp. 609–38
- 4 (nga) *gZhi rang ngo sprod pa gcer mthong lta ba'i khrid*, pp. 639–55
- 5 (ca) *Lam nyams su len pa 'od gsal sgom pa'i khrid rim*, pp. 657–73
- 6 (cha) *rKyen lam du slong ba rtsal sbyong spyod pa'i khrid*, pp. 675–97 (see T.III.138.10)
- 7 (nya) *'Bras bu rang sa bzung zhing sku gsum dmar thag gcod pa'i khrid*, pp. 699–713
- 8 (—) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud las gcig rgyud 'od gsal bdun bskor (mun khrid)*, pp. 715–26 (see T.III.138.13)

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- 7 **YST—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud bon skor: Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo sogs dang brgyud phyag bcas kyi gsung pod***

Info on edition: A collection of texts of Bonpo Zhang zhung Snyan rgyud precepts of Rdzogs-chen practice. Reproduced from a manuscript from the Samling Monastery in Dolpo (northwestern Nepal) by Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin, TBMC, Dolanji, 1974.

- 1 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsis byang*, pp. 1–16
- 2 *sNyan rgyud le'u'i sgrigs kha*, pp. 17–23
- 3 (*sGron gzer gyi 'chad lugs*), p.25
- 4 (*sNyan rgyud sems kyi me long gi bshad lugs*), pp. 27–30 (written by Yang ston chen po)
- 5 *sNyan rgyud brgyas* [emend: *rgyas*] *bshad chen mo*, pp. 31–146
- 6 *rGyud pa 'khrugs can*, pp. 147–60
- 7 *sNyan rgyud sgron gzer gyi rnam dar* [emend: *thar*], pp. 161–95
- 8 (*rgyud khungs zab mo*), pp. 197–200
- 9 (*rDzogs chen snyan rgyud brgyud phyag 'bring po*), pp. 201–6 (the work of Ya ngal bkra shis rgyal mtshan)
- 10 (*sTong thun*), pp. 207–85
- 11 (*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi brgyud phyag rgyas pa*), pp. 287–309 (the work of Ya ngal bkra shis rgyal mtshan)

- 12 *Zhal shes brjed tho yi ger bkod pa* (*Ye shes bzhi sbyor 'pho ba'i zhal gdams mi gcig pa bzhi*), pp. 311–34
- 13 *Ma bcos gnyug ma'i don bstam pa'i bdams* [emend: *gdams*] *pa* (*Bar do 'od Inga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag*), pp. 335–59
- 14 *sNyan rgyud dbang gi yig chung yig phran cha tshang cha lag cha rkyen dang bcas pa*, pp. 361–411
- 15 *sNyan rgyud brda dbang*, pp. 413–32
- 16 (*sNyan rgyud dbang gi yig chung*), pp. 433–6
- 17 (*sNyan rgyud srog rtsol gdams ngag*), pp. 437–42
- 18 *Man ngag lha khrid*, pp. 443–56
- 19 (*Phyi nang gsang srid kyi sgron ma rtod* [emend: *gtod*] *la gnon pa nyi ma'i khrid zhal shes kyi yig chung dang po*), pp. 45f
- 20 (*sNyan rgyud 'don dmigs pa*), pp. 459–62
- 21 (*Zhal zhes 'thor bu'i yig phran*), pp. 463–6
- 22 (*Man ngag thabs kyi gags* [emend: *gegs*] *sel dang sgron ma'i man ngag thor bu*), pp. 467–76
- 23 (*Bla ma spyi'i rnam thar bab chen drug*), pp. 477–88
- 24 (*Lha sgom zhal bdams* [emend: *gdams*]), pp. 489–503
- 25 *Zhal bdams* [emend: *gdams*] *'od gsal gsang rtam* [emend: *gtam*], pp. 505–18
- 26 *Lha sgoms kyis srungs pa'i man ngag*, pp. 519–37
- 27 (*Chig chod dad shes bla ma bzhi la nyams zhus pa*), pp. 539–46
- 28 (*Yang ston chen po man ngag gi nyams rgyud*), pp. 547–52
- 29 (*The tshom gsal ba'i zhal shes*), pp. 553–64
- 30 *sNyan rgyud sngon 'gro sems 'dzin gyi yig chung*, pp. 565–72
- 31 *gSas mkhar skyed mi dgos gi* [emend: *pa'i*] *man ngag* (*gSas mkhar skyed dang mi ghal* [emend: *'gal*] *ba'i bdams* [emend: *gdams*] *ngag yang yod*), pp. 573–85
- 32 *sNgags snyan rgyud*, pp. 587–608

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- 8 K&M—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bla ma'i nyams rgyud rgyas pa skya smug gnyis kyi gsung pod*

Info on edition: A collection of instructions incorporating the insights of the successive masters of the Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud teachings of the Rdzogs-chen approach to Bon together with other Rdzogs-chen instructions from the rediscoveries of Tshe-dbang-rgyal-po. Reproduced from rare manuscripts from the Bsam-gling Monastery in Dol-po and from the library of Bstan-'dzin-rnam-dag by Ngawang Sonam, TBMC, Dolanji, 1973.

NYAMS RGYUD

- 1 *sNyan rgyud rgyas pa'i skor ma bu sa bcad* (*nyams rgyud*), pp. 1–4
- 2 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi nyams rgyud skya ru* (*nyams rgyud*), pp. 5–231
- 3 *sNyan rgyud smug gu* (*nyams rgyud*), pp. 233–432

RDZOOGS CHEN GSER GYI ZHUN MA

- 4 *Bon khrid gser gyi yang snying gi khrid yig* (*gter ma*), pp. 433–52

- 5 *Man ngag gser gyi yang zhun* (*gter ma*, g-Yung drung Tshe dbang rgyal po), pp. 453–64
- 6 *Bon gser gyi yang zhun* (*gter ma*, sPrul sku Tshe dbang rgyal po), pp. 465–92
- 7 *lTa ba sangs rgyas dgongs 'dus kyi bon gser gyi yang zhun las rgyab chos gser gyi thur ma* (*gter ma*, sPrul sku Tshe dbang rgyal po), pp. 493–518
- 8 *Sangs rgyas dgongs pa 'dus pa las bon dgongs kyi zhal gdams gser gyi 'phreng ba* (*gter ma*, sPrul sku Tshe dbang rgyal po), pp. 519–67

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9a-g T.III.22/164/101/113/138/156/223—*Zhang zhung snyan brgyud* Texts in the Bon *bKa' brten*

Info on edition: Several volumes in the recent Bon *bKa' brten* collection. This first commercially published edition by Sog sde bsTan pa'i nyi ma was published in Lhasa, 1998, at about the time that the so-called third edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* also came out from Chengdu. Please note that the number of the published volumes varies according to the time of printing, with the number of volumes increasing over time.

ME RI

Me ri gyad phur, Vol.22, 1147pp.

- 022.4 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung me ri snyan rgyud kyi rgyan bkod* (rGyal ba g-yung drung), pp. 165–9
- 022.5 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi sngon 'gro'i tshig bshad*, pp. 171–89
- 022.6 *sNyan rgyud gsol 'debs bs dus ma byin rlabs thog babs* (sNang bzher lod po), pp. 189f
- 022.10 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyis (kyi) bla ma brgyud pa'i bstod phyag* ('Gro mgon klu brag pa dang khyung sgom dpal 'byor lhun grub zung), pp. 207–17
- 022.32 *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud (snyan rgyud) kyi me ri yang snying gi phrin las*, pp. 765–79

Me ri gter ma'i sgrub pa, Vol.164, 568pp.

- 164.7 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rgyud skong*, pp. 503–10

rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud

Zhang zhung snyan rgyud lo rgyus dang bstan bcos legs bshad, Vol.101, 190pp.

- 101.1 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus* (Bru rGyal ba g-yung drung), pp. 1–64 (=Sh.2.1; cf. N.1, =N2.2.55–184 (N2.2.185–192 excluded) and =dBra.1.3–120 (dBra.1.120–128 excluded), not in K.II.110; cf. K.II.110.4; YST.5; T.III.156.10; and T.III.156.22)
- 101.2 *mNgon brjod kyi bstan bcos legs par bshad pa er sangs bu mo'i zhal lung* (bsTan 'dzin blo gros rgya mtsho), pp. 65–186
- 101.3 *Mya ngan nyams su myangs ba'i smirang brjod* (Hor btsun bsTan 'dzin blo gros rgya mtsho), pp. 187–9
- 101.4 *(Tshogs kyi sbyang spel dang lhag bsngo)*, pp. 189f

sBrags pa skor gsum, Vol.113, 706pp.

- 113.1 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi 'chad thabs gsal byed* (Tshe dbang rgyal po), pp. 1–18

sNyan brgyud (rgyud) kyi sngon 'gro'i rim pa, Vol.138, 220pp.

- 138.1 *sNyan brgyud (rgyud) kyi sngon 'gro'i rim pa rnams* (gsal 'debs sna tshogs), pp. 1–2
- 138.2 *sNyan brgyud (rgyud) kyi sngon 'gro'i rim pa rnams*, pp. 3–22
- 138.3 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud (rgyud) kyi sngon 'gro gsol 'debs* (Bru yi gshen po rGyal ba g-yung drung), pp. 23–39
- 138.4 *rJe ta pi hri tsa'i gsol 'debs* (Gyer spungs sNang bzher lod po), pp. 39f
- 138.5 *bDe smon nyung 'dus dang gsol 'debs sna tshogs*, pp. 41f
- 138.6 *(sMon lam)*, pp. 43f
- 138.7 *Zab mo gnad kyi gdams pa dngos gzhi* ((Bru yi gshen po rGyal ba g-yung drung)), pp. 45–82
- 138.8 *gZhi rang ngo sprad pa mthong lta ba'i khrid* (Bru yi gshen po rGyal ba g-yung drung), pp. 83–105
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- 156.8 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi 'chad thabs gsal ba'i sgron me* (Bam ras chen po), pp. 307–23
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- 156.10 (*Bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar*) (sKyang sprul Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan), pp. 335–395 (cf. N.1, =N2.2.55–184 (N2.2.185–192 excluded) and =dBra.1.3–120 (dBra.1.120–128 excluded), not in K.II.110; cf. K.II.110.4; cf. T.III.101.1 & =Sh.2.1; YST.5; and T.III.156.22)
- 156.11 *Kun 'byung shel 'od lta bu'i zhal shes*, pp. 397–404
- 156.12 (*sNgon 'gro*), p.405
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- 156.14 *sNyan rgyud ma nub pa'i gtan tshig*, pp. 420–28
- 156.15 *Kun bzang lha khrid* [g-Yung drung lha rtse], 428–38
- 156.16 *mjal thebs bar ma* [(sNang bzher lod po)], pp. 439f (cf. N.11&12 and N2.12&13, included in K.III.171.2 and in K.II.110.18, also cf. T.III.156.16&21)
- 156.17 *rTags tshad gnad kyi yig chung* [(sNang bzher lod po)], pp. 440–52
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- 156.22 *sNyan rgyud 'bring po sor bzhag gi sngon 'gro* [rgyud pa khungs ldan gyi bla ma rnams], pp. 471–665 (cf. N.1, =N2.2.55–184 (N2.2.185–192 excluded) and =dBra.1.3–120 (dBra.1.120–128 excluded), not in K.II.110; cf. K.II.110.4; cf. =T.III.101.1 & =Sh.2.1; YST.5; and T.III.156.10)
- 156.23 (*sNyang rgyud sgrib sbyang zin ris*) (Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan), p.667
- 156.24 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rigs drug rang sbyong mun gsal sgron ma*, pp. 669–84 (cf. N.2 and N2.3, T.III.223.9 and cf. and K.II.110.9)
- 156.25 (*Rang sbyong 'khor lo'i dpe ris*), p.685
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- 223.2 *sNyan rgyud thugs kyi nges don* 'bring po sor bzhag- klad kyi zhwa dang 'dra ba'i gdams pa, pp. 15–46
- 223.3 *Lus kyi gos dang* 'dra ba'i gdams pa, pp. 47–81
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- 223.5 *sGros (sGro)* 'dogs gcod pa don gyi rgyud pa zhes bya ste rang gi lus dang 'dra ba'i gdams pa, pp. 103–32
- 223.6 *Nyams su blangs ba man ngag gi rgyud pa la mi tshig gis lhad ma zhugs pa* 'ching ba'i ske rag (rags) 'dra ba'i gdams pa, pp. 133–44
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- 223.22 *sGra 'od zer gsum btsan thabs gcig rgyud*, pp. 303f
- 223.23 '*od gsal bdun skor gyi nan du sbyang ba*', pp. 304–6
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- 223.25 *gNyid dang bsam gtan bsre ba'i ngo sprod gdams pa*, pp. 308f
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- 223.30 *Mi 'gyur g-yung drung lhun po*, pp. 313–6
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- 223.35 *Man ngag yig chung*, pp. 323–30
- 223.36 *Ma bcos gnyug ma'i don bstan*, pp. 330–51
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- 223.40 *sNyan rgyud kyi rtsa rlung gi 'phrul 'khor gyi zhal shes*, pp. 509–29 (cf. N.28 and N.2.29)

- 223.41 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi 'od gsal mtshams bcad kyi man ngag dang rtsa rlung 'khrul 'khor 'od gsal*, pp. 531–6
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 223.43 (*sngon 'gro'i 'khrul 'khor*), pp. 547f
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 223.46 *sNyan rgyud rtsa khrid mun sel shel phreng* (Rang grol bla ma rgyal mtshan), 571–647

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First Lines, End of Texts and Colophons

NB. In the following transliterations, I faithfully tried to render what appears in the source texts, usually without attempting to correct the readings, especially if the redaction of the original is poor (and the many corrections would hamper readability). The writing or printing often is unclear and more often than not also derives from a single MS or blockprint. A few emendations do appear however, whenever I made use of (part of) that colophon. The reader should always refer to the original text.

Please note the following additional conventions for rendering Tibetan text in Wylie romanisation:

/	ordinary <i>shad</i>
!	<i>spungs shad</i>
?	<i>sbrul shad</i> , or other ornamental <i>shad</i> ; n.b. bracketed [?]: uncertain reading
%	<i>gter shad</i>
:	looks like <i>gter shad</i> , but without central dash
-	<i>shad</i> absent (mainly after <i>rjes 'jug ga</i> and <i>ka</i>)
=	abbreviation sign
@	<i>dbu</i>
{}	Tibetan chapter markings
[#]	indication of pages, folios, sometimes including lines
[]	emendations or additions to text
<>	superfluous parts, to be deleted from text
()	less relevant passage
...	preceding or following text

- 1a&b** N or N2—*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi* or *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi gsung pod*

Not in N/N2.1 (–) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi 'chad thabs*:

Beginning text: *sku gsum sangs rgyas rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*
 Colophon: -

- N.1/N2.2 (ka)** *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar*:
 Beginning text: / *lrdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rnam bshad gsal ba'i me long zhes bya ba/ /sangs rgyas sems dpa'i tshogs la phyag 'tshal lo/*

/gang zhig mos pas spyi bor legs bsgom ste/ /rtse gcig dad pas gsol ba btab gyur na/
 /tshe 'dir sangs rgyas ster ba'i thugs rje can/ /rgyal bryud par bcas la phyag 'tshal
 lo/ /gang gi mtshan tsam rna bar thos pas kyang 'khor ba'i 'jigs 'phrog ngan 'gro
 gdung sel ba/ /de phyir khyed kyi yon tan rgya mtsho las/ /chu thigs tsam zhig bdag
 gis bshad par bya/ /dir rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud la gsum ste!
 spyi don sngon du 'gro ba dang / dngos gzhi gdams pa bstan pa dang / cha rkyen
 mdzad srol gyi lag len ngos bzung pa'o [emend: ba'o]/ /...

Colophon: ... // ? // *zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bla ma bryud pa'i rnam thar lo*
rgyus 'di/ sngar kyi [emend: *gyi*] *rnam thar rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum mang du*
'dug pas [by Yang ston chen po(?), not extant anymore (but cf. YST.5?)]; see
 also colophon of Bru rgyal ba g-yung drung's text in K.III.101.1] *bla ma gang*
zag 'ga' zung gi zhal rgyun bdud rtsi'i thigs pa dang / khyad par slob dpon [130]
bsod nams blo gros rgyas bshad dang / rgya sgom bstan bzang de gnyis las sogs te/
thos pa phyogs med kun la dris brda' bskor cing gtugs nas/ sa mo phag gi lo/ zla ba
bcu pa'i tshes bcu/ skar ma bya bzhug la/ dpal ri khud yang dben bde chen sgang gi
pho brang dkar po ru/ spa btsun bstan rgyal seng ge dpal bzang bdag gis ni/ phyi
rabs gang zag mos 'dun byed pa'i phyir/ the tshom blo mun bsal phyir du/ sgros
'dogs bskur 'debs med par/ mos 'dun dad pas bkod pa re zhig tshar ro/ sems can
thams cad rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams kyi thugs rjes zin par gyur cig- dge bas 'gro
rnams theg chen don rtogs shog/ sarba mangga lam// //

N.2/N2.3 (*kha*) *Rigs drug rang sbyong gi gdams pa*:

Beginning text: / /bon thams cad gyi [emend: *kyi*] sngon du 'gro ba snying rje
 byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed par bya/ /bca' ba lus kyi gnad/ /lus rang bzhin
 cha lugs Inga ldan gyi phyag rgya bca'/ /rang sa gzhi la 'dug pa'i mdun gyi bar
 snang la/ /spyi gtsug khru gang gi sar/ /sing khri nyi zla padma'i gdan la/ /a mu ye
 a dkar a ni a/ /zhes brjod pas/ /mi mngon pa'i dbyings nas a dkar po chu shel gyi
 mdog 'dra ba gcig- /gdan de'i thog tu babs/ /...

Colophon: -

N.3/N2.4 (*ga*) *sKu Inga rang khrid*:

Beginning text: / /rdzogs sku rigs Inga'i sku khrid bstan pa ni/ /lus mnyam bzhag
 bya/ /a'i bdag gshen la 'od dkar du sgom ste/ /don snying rnam Inga rigs Inga yab
 yum bcur bsgom/ /phyag na rigs rtags rnam Inga bsnams/ / ...

Colophon: -

N.4/N2.5 (*nga*) *Phyi Ita ba spyi gcod kyi man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa*:

Beginning text: / /ka /kun tu bzang po khyab bdal dgongs pa che la phyag 'tshal lo/
 (de'i don 'di ltar bkrol te bstan pa ni/ 'khor 'das gnyis su ma gyes sngon rol du/
 sangs rgyas sems can bya ba'i tha snyad med/ shes rig rgyal po kun gyi 'byung gzhi
 'di/ kun la khyab ste gang gi mthas ma reg- /gzhi don rtogs dang ma rtogs khyad
 par las/ sangs rgyas sems can gnyis kyi 'byung gzhir gnas/ snang gsal dngos med
 mkha' la nyi shar bzhin/ sems kyi ngo bo cir yang ma grub ste/ 'char tshul ma gags
 cir yang gsal/) ...

Colophon: ... / /sa ma ya/ kun tu bzang po ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku des/ skal med
 snod ngan rnams la gsang / skal ldan las 'phro can la sbyin/ gtang bzhag gi tshod la
 mkhas pa mdzod/ dus mtha'i bar du mi nub 'gro don byed par shog- ces gsungs nas
 sprul pa'i sku de nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar gshegs so/ /sarba mangga lam/
 /dge'o/

N.5/N2.6 (ca) rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis:

Beginning text: / /zhang zhung smar gyi skad du na/ /t thi ku yig khri rtse u pa tan tra thaad do ci/ /bod skad du/ /rdzogs pa chen po byang chub sems kyi gnad byang / /thig le nyag gcig e ma ho/ /kun tu bzang po rang/ 'byung rig pa'i lha la phyag 'tshal lo/ 1 /'di skad bdag gis bstan pa'i dus gcig na/ /gnas 'og min bon nyid kyi dbyings na/ 2 /ye nyid kyi ston pa kun tu bzang po/ /cir yang mtshon du dka' ste/ /gdod nas brjod med chen por bzhugs so/ /de'i ngang las/ /thugs rje'i ston pa kun tu bzang po/ /thugs rje kun la snyoms par bzhugs so/ /thugs nyid ma g-yos pa'i ngang las/ /g-yo ba ye shes kyi cho 'phrul du/ /sems can gzhan la tshad med pa'i snying rje shar ro/ /tshad med pa'i snying rje des/ /sems can thams cad la phyogs dang ris med par gyur to/ /snying rje de nyid thugs rje'i bdag nyid du sangs rgyas pa'i rtags su/ /sprul pa'i ston pa gshen lha 'od dkar[/]chu zla'i dkyil 'khor ltar gsal la 'tsher ba/ /sku snang la rang bzhin med pa/ /mtshan dang dpe byad yongs su rdzogs pa/ /'khor dang zhing khams dang bcas par gyur te/ /de'i thugs rje'i 'od zer las/ /thugs rje ma 'gags pa'i [171] rtsal du/ /rig pa 'od kyi khye'u chung zhes kyang bya/ /gshen tshad med 'od ldan zhes bya ba byung ste/ /ye ci bzhin ma'i sangs rgyas rig pa rang snang can dang thabs cig tu bzhugs so/ 3 ...

Colophon: ... / /bder gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu'i thugs kyi bcud/ /gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i nyams kyi man ngag dril/ /sprul pa'i sku yis las can gshen la bstan/ /dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog- /ces gsungs so/ /sprul pa'i sku nyid nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar gshegs so/ /gyer spungs nyid dgongs pa mkha' ltar grol lo/ /rim gyis rgyud nas dar ba'o/ /sarba mangga lam/ /bkra shis/

N.6/N2.7 (cha) rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don bstan pa:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po khyab bdal phyogs ris bral la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...
Colophon: -

N.7/N2.8 (ja) 'Phrul 'khor lde mig:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po yon tan pha rol phyin la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...
Colophon: -

N.8/N2.9 (nya) mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po ma rig mun pa sel la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...
Colophon: -

N.9/N2.10 (ta) lTa ba spyi gcod kyi mnyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len:

Beginning text: / ! /kun tu bzang po rang rig mnyam par gnas la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...
Colophon: (... / /sa ma ya/? /rigs kyi bu bder gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu'i thugs kyi bcud/ /nyi shu rtsa bzhi nyams kyi man ngag dril/ /lta sgom gnad kyi gzer bu mnyam bzhag sgom pa'i man ngag 'di/ /skal ldan ma nor lam la khrid phyir bstan/ /yang gsang thugs kyi dkyil du zhog- /skal med rnams la shin tu gsang / /dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog- /sa ma ya/) zhes sprul pa'i sku yis gyer spungs chen po la gsungs so/ /mtshan med la sems bzung zhing / /mnyam par bzhag pa'i man ngag rig 'dzin gyi snyan rgyud/ /mi tshig gi lhad ma zhugs pa'i gdams pa/ /snyan rgyud yig ger bkod pa/ /sa ma ya/ /rgya rgya rgya/ atha/

N.10/N2.11 (tha) dGongs rgyud dgu'i yig chung:

Beginning text: // ka /kun tu bzang po thugs rje rgyun chad med la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...

Colophon: -, but see the otherworldly transmission that is the topic of the text (cf. K.III.171.1)

N.11/N2.12 (da) *rJe ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan*:

Beginning text: / kha /rje sprul pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ dus de tsam na gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po des/ mkhas par blo sbyangs/ btsun por khri ms bsrung / mtshan nyid thams cad ma rmongs par thugs su chud/ dus de tsam na/ bod na grub thob grangs kyis bzhugs kyang / spa ji phrom dkar po bzhugs pa'i dus/ zhang zhung na grub thob grangs kyis bzhugs na yang / tso men gyer chen bzhugs pa'i dus/ mkhas pa grangs kyis bzhugs na yang / tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan bzhugs pa'i dus/ g-yung drung bon la minga' bsnyems pa/ stong rgyung mthu chen bzhugs pa'i dus/ rkyen dang dus su 'dzom pa lo tsha ba mi bzhi bzhugs pa'i dus yin te/ se sha ri dbu chen/ lde gyim tsha rma chung / bla dran pa nam mkha'/ me nyag lce tsha mkhar bu chung dang bzhi'o/ zhang zhung gi yul na rgyal po lig mi rkya bzhugs pa'i dus/ bod kyi rgyal po khri strong sde [emend: lde'u] btsan bzhugs pa'i dus/ dus de tsam na g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa nub ste/ nub lugs ni/ kha byang ltar lo rgyus kyi rgyud nas shes par bya'o/ ...

Colophon: -

N12/N2.13 (na) *Zhe sa dgu phrug(s)*:

Beginning text: // /rje ta pi hri tsas gyer spungs chen po la/ zhe sa dgu phrug phul te/ ...

Colophon: (... /zhe sa dgu phrug [256] tu phul bar gda' lags so// //)

N13/N2.14 (pa) *mJal thebs bar ma*:

Beginning text: / de nas gyer spungs chen pos/ lo gsum song ba dang / brag sha ba gdong gi dgon pa la/ dben gnas mdzad nas bzhugs tsam na/ khong gi thugs la sprul pa'i sku de dang mjal yun thung bas/ gdams ngag kyang mang po ma thog da gcig mjal na! gzhan don du 'gro ba'i gdams ngag 'dra thob snyam/ cis kyang gcig mjal nas snyam pa'i mos nga skyes/ srod la bla ma la gsol ba btags/ dgongs pa la bzhugs/ sang gi gdugs shar ba'i zer la/ mdun gyi nam mkha' la rje ta pi hri tsa sku dri ma/ med pa shel dkar dvangs pa lta bu/ rang byung rig pa'i sku la rgyan med gcer bu bzhugs pa mthong ste/ dad gus mos pa dpag tu med pa bskyed de/ bskor ba byas lha phyag btsal/ rje'i zhal nas 'di skad gsungs/ ...

Colophon: -

N.14/N2.15 (pa) *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*:

Beginning text: / /bstan pa dar nub kyi lo rgyus bstan pa ni/ dang po bstan pa g-yung drung bon gyis bzung nas dar zhing rgyas par byas/ mkhas btsun grub pa thob pa rnams kyis bstan pa bskyang / sgrub pa po rgyal thebs rnams kyis bstan pa 'dzin/ mthu bo che man ngag dang ldan pa rnams kyis bstan pa bsrung / bod dang zhang zhung gnyis ka na bon ma yin pa chos kyi skad tsam med/ dus de tsam na zhang zhung na grub thob tso men gyer chen dang / bod na spa ji phrom dkar po/ stong rgyung mthu chen/ mkhas pa mi bzhi/ bla chen dran pa nam mkha'i sku tshe'i smad/ sprul pa'i sku bzhi ni/ zhang zhung bkra shis rgyal mtshan/ gu rub stag wer shing slags/ ma hor stag gzigs/ tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan dang bzhi'o/ ta pi hri tsas gdams pa bzhag pa'i/ mchog thun mong gnyis la minga' bsnyems pa yi/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po bzhugs pa'i dus/ dus kyi<s> 'khor lo'i gshugs kyis g-yung drung gi bon nub pa lags tel rgyal po ni/ zhang zhung gi<s> rgyal po lig mi rgya/ mon gyi rgyal po pan ra ling / (bod kyi rgyal po khri strong sde [emend:

lde'u] btsan [261] bzhugs pa'i dus/ de gong rgyal po re re la sku 'khrungs pa'i dus su/ ...) ...

End text: ... / der g-yung drung gi bon dar zhing rgyas par bzhugs dus/ bka' byin rlabs kyi bdag po gyer spungs snang bzher lod po la/ mkhas pa grub thob stong rgyung mthu chen gyis zhus te/ bon sgo bsam gyis mi khyab pa zhus so/ de rnams kha byang rgyas par gsal/ 'di ni bsdus pa'i lo rgyus bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs zur tsam bstan pa lags so// sarba mangga lam/ dge'o// //

Colophon: -

N.15/N2.16 (*pha*) *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*:

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po rang rig thams cad mkhyen la phyag 'tshal lo/ /gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po dra bye'i nub phyogs/ /brag sha ba gdong gi dgon pa na bzhugs tsam na/ /rje ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku de byon nas/ /dregs pa'i nga rgyal bcoms nas/ /rig pa'i gnas lugs bstan/ /bcings tshad kyi sgrog las bkrol nas/ /mnyam pa'i thang la phyung stel/ /rig pa rang sa zin par byas so/ /...

End text: (... / rigs kyi bu/ byang chub sems kyi gnad drug po 'di ni/ sems ma rtogs pa rnams rtogs par byed pa'i man ngag- sems med pa rnams kyi sgron ma/ sems ma mthong ba rnams kyi me long / sems bros pa rnams kyi lcags skyu/ sems stor ba rnams kyi gzer bu/ sems rmugs pa rnams kyi gsal 'debs/ sems ldengs pa rnams kyi bogs 'don/ sems rengs pa rnams kyi gnya' shing / sems bcings pa rnams kyi lde mig yin pas/ rigs kyi bu/ ma 'ongs pa'i dus na btang bzhag gi tshod zung la/ dbang po'i snod dang sbyor la/ skal ldan gyi gang zag ma nor lam sna khrid cig ces gsungs nas/) dza /sprul pa'i sku de nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba bzhin mi snang par [emend: bar] gyur to/ gu rub snang bzher lod po yang / rig pa dmar thag chod nas mchog thun mong gi dngos grub du ma snyems par gyur to/ /snyan rgyud mi tshig gi lhad ma zhugs pa rdzogs chen sgron ma drug gi gdams pa rdzogs so// sarba ma<m>ngga lam// //

Colophon: -

N.16/N2.17 (*ba*) *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*:

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po rang rig thams cad mkhyen la phyag 'tshal lo/ / ...

Colophon: ... / /de ltar byang chub sems kyi gnad drug po 'di/ /kun tu bzang pos ji ltar gsungs pa/ /grub thob bla ma zhal gyi gdams pa rnams/ /cung zad gsal bar byas te/ /u ri bdag gis bkod pa rdzogs so/ /sarba mangga lam//

N.17/N2.18 (*ma*) *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*:

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po rang rig rang la shar la phyag 'tshal lo/ /dir rgyud lung man ngag gi mthar thug- /the gso gdams pa kun gyi yang bcud/ kun tu bzang po thugs kyi nying khu/ rgyal ba dgongs rgyud dgu yi man ngag rig 'dzin nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i snyan rgyud/ gyer spungs snang bzher lod po'i dngos grub/ byang chub sems kyi gnad drug gi gdams pa/ ...

Colophon: ... / /de ltar rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi gdams pa las nang man ngag dmar khrid du bshad [422] pa/ sgron ma rnam pa drug gi dgongs don legs par bkrol ba/ grub chen gong ma rnams kyi gsungs dang / rtogs ldan dam pa rnams kyi phyag len dang mi 'gal bar/ bru sgom rgyal ba g-yung drung la/ 'og blon sgom chen bkra shis shes rab bya ba'i nyams len pas/ dad mos gus pa'i rtsol bas cher bskul nas/ yi ger bkod cing sbyar ba rdzogs so//

N.18/N2.19 (*tsa*) *Kun gzhi'i zhal shes gsal ba'i sgron ma*:

Beginning text: / /kun gzhi'i gnas lugs la the tshom bsal ba'i zhal shes ni/ nam mkha' phyi nang gi dpes mtshon pa ni/ blo chung pa 'gas byang chub kyi sems ni/ nang rig pa'i steng du khyab la/ phyi yul gyi snang ba la ma khyab bam/ snyam nas the tshom za ba la/ dper na nam mkha' ni snang srid yongs la spyi blugs su khyab pas/ phyi nang gnyis su med kyang / gnas khang gi dbang gis phyi nang gnyis ltar snang ngo / de yang gnas khang gru bzhi gru gsum nar mo zlum por gnas na/ /nam mkha' yang de dang mthun par gnas so/ ...

Colophon: -

N.19/N2.20 (*tsha*) *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len*:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po rang rig gsal bar ston la phyag 'tshal lo/ snyan rgyud sems kyi me long / mthar thug don gyi sgron me/ man ngag gnad kyi byang bu 'di la don drug ste/ ...

Colophon: (... / /nyams rtogs dang 'char tshul rdzogs shing / bla ma'i rgyud zin pa gcig la bstan zhing / gnyis la mi spel lo/ gcig rgyud yin pas/ gnyis phan chad la spel na/ mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad yod do/) bla ma ya ngal gong bkra pa chen po nas rim kyis [emend: gyis] rgyud nas dar ba'o/ /sarba mangga lam/ /

N.20/N2.21 (*zha*) *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*:

Beginning text: / ca /brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ snyan rgyud sems kyi me long las/ 'khor lo bzhi sbrag gi gdams pa ma shes na/ rgyud 'chad pa'i ston pa ni/ dpung gnyen med pa'i mgron po dang 'dra/ ...

Colophon: -

N.21/N2.22 (*za*) *Bya bral rjes med*:

Beginning text: / /gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po/ dra bye'i nub phyogs brag sha ba gdong gi dgon pa na/ nyams len mdzad cing bzhugs pa'i dus su/ rje ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku de drung du byon pa la/ ...

Colophon: -

N.22/N2.23 ('a) *Man ngag le'u brgyad pa*:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po rang rig khyab bdal rtogs pa che la phyag 'tshal lo/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po de/ mtsho gling gi do la dgongs par bzhugs yod tsam na/ mdun gyi nam mkha' la rje kun tu bzang po/ ta pi hri tsa de sku dri ma med pa shel dkar dangs pa lta bu/ rang byung rig pa'i sku la rgyan med pa[r] gcer bur bzhugs pa mthong ste/ dad gus mos pa dpag tu med par skyes nas/ bskor ba byas lha phyag 'tshal/ rje'i zhal nas 'di skad gsungs/ ...

Colophon: ... / sa ma yal/ de skad gsungs nas sprul pa'i sku de/ nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar mi snang bar gyur to/ gu rub snang bzher lod po ni/ rig pa sangs rgyas kyi skur ngo shes na/ rtogs grol dus mnyam du phung po lhag med du sgra dang 'od kyis bskor nas/ bon nyid kyi dbyings su gshegs so/ snyan rgyud zab mo 'di ni/ rim par rgyud nas dar ba'o/ /sarba mangga lam//

N.23/N2.24 (*ya*) *gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi gzhung*:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po khyab bdal thugs rje che la phyag 'tshal lo/ ... (cf. inceptions at ka etc.)

Colophon: ... / sa ma yal/ /rgyud lung man ngag kun gyi yang bcud/ lam rnams kun gyi mthar thug- /the [519] pa kun gyi yang rtse/ grub thob rnams kyi snyan

rgyud/ skal ldan rnames kyi dngos grub/ nyi shu rtsa gcig gnad kyi gzer bu rdzogs so/ /grub chen gong ma rnames la rim par rgyud nas dar ba'o/ /sarba mangga lam/

N.24/N2.25 (ra) gZer bu nyer gcig gi 'grel pa:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po bde ba'i ngang la phyag 'tshal lo/ /dir brgyad khri bzhi stong bon gyi mthar thug- / bder gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu'i man ngag-gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i snyan rgyud/ rnal 'byor grub thob rnames kyi nyams rgyud/ (rdzogs pa chen po gnad kyi gdams pa 'di la/ bshad lugs rnam pa bzhi ste/ ...)

Colophon: -

N.25/N2.26 (la) 'Od gsal sems kyi me long:

Beginning text: / /e ma ho/ kun tu bzang po mkha' ltar khyab bdal myam nyid phyogs ris med la phyag 'tshal lo/ /rje kun tu bzang pos snang bzher lo po la/ snyan rgyud le ka drug cu gsung[s] pa'i rjes la/ rig pa'i rtsal dbang dang / 'od gsal kyi [emend: gyi] me long 'di gnyis gsungs pas/ snyan rgyud drug bcu'i bcud bsdus pa zhig yod gsungs/ (ye <g>nas kyi kun bzang la/ grol 'khrul gyi tha snyad gyis ma gos pa'o/ lhun grub gyi kun bzang de/ rang snang shes pas rang sa zin pa yin/ khams gsum sems can gyis rang snang ma shes pas/ ri bo la me shor ba dang 'dra gsungs/ (snang bzher gyis zhus pas/ /sangs rgyas dang sems can gyi rgyu gang nas byung zhus pas/ /...) ...)

End text: ... / /bon 'di kun tu bzang po'i thugs bcud/ rig 'dzin rnames kyi<s> snyan rgyud/ grub thob rnames kyi<s> nyams myong / mkha' 'gro rnames kyi snying khrag- /'gro drug rnames kyi bdud rtsi yin pas/ snyan nas snyan du brgyud pa ma gtogs pa/ yi ge ris su gdab mi bya/ 'di'i bka' srung yum sras lnga/ /rgyal po dang sman gyil[s] gyis/ /rgya rgya rgya rgya/ /sa ma ya/ /mu tsug smar ro/ /e ma ho/

Colophon: -

N.26/N2.27 (sha) rTags tshad gsal sgron:

Beginning text: / /bla ma dam pa rnames la phyag 'tshal lo/ (nyams su len pa'i skal ldan rnames kyis 'di ltar rig par bya'o/ /) ...

Colophon: -

N.27/N2.28 (sa) rTags tshad gsal sgron chung ba:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po rang bzhin bye brag phyed la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / sa ma ya/ /snyan rgyud rtags tshad gdams pa 'di/ shin tu gsang ba'i man ngag ste/ gcig rgyud yin pas bka' rgya sdoms/ gtang bzhag tshad la mkhas par mdzod/ ces gsungs so/ sa ma ya/

N.28/N2.29 (ha) rTsa rlung gi<s> man ngag:

Beginning text: / /bka' drin can gyi bla ma rnames la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

N.29/N2.30 (a) 'Phrul 'khor zhal shes man ngag:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po phyi nang bar chod sel la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

Not in N/N2.31 (-) Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi ngo sprod thig le drug pa:

Beginning text: / /myong rtogs grol nas 'gro ba rnames la thugs brtse ba'i/ sems can nyon mongs ma lus 'dren pa'i dpal la phyag 'tshal lo// ...

Colophon: -

N.30/N2.32 (–) *sNyan rgyud bka' srung srog bdag rgyal po nyi pang sad bka' bsgo:*

Beginning text: / /dpal chen ge khod gnod sbyin 'dul la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / zhes bka' skyong nyi pang sad kyi bka' bsgo 'dil gsang sngags kyi gzhung lugs mang po'i dgongs pa la brten nas/ gshen gyi drang strong shes rab rgyal mtshan gyis bkra shis sman ri'i khrod du sbyar ba dge'o/

N.31/N2.33 (–) *rGyal po nyi pang sad dang sman mo gnyis kyi bskul pa:*

Beginning text: / //bka' skyong mchod pa ni/ ?bon skyong spyi la tshogs dang gtor ma gzhung bzhin bya la 'bul/ snyan brgyud bka' srung rgyal po nyi pang sad las/ /byin gyis rlabs pa spyi ltar ro/ ...

Colophon: ... / / /bka' srung rgyal po'i nyi pang sad kyi mchod bskul 'di ni rgyud la btus so//

N.32/N2.34 (–) *Bon bstan rgyas pa'i smon lam yid bzhin kun 'grub ces bya ba:*

Beginning text: / /e ma ho/ /bskal bzang 'gro ba'i bskyab mchog bla na med/ /mchog gsum rgya mtsho dang 'dir dgongs su gsoll/ /bdag gis ji smon bsam 'phel dbang po la/ /smon lam thebs bzhin 'grub par byin gyis rlabs/ /skyobs mchog g-yung drung gnas bzhi'i thugs rje dang / /don dam bslu ba med pa'i bden stobs dang / /bon skyong dam can rgya mtsho'i mthu rtsal dang / /bdag gi bden smon rnam par dag pa'i mthus/ /grub mtha'i rgyal po theg chen g-yung drung bon/ /rab 'byams skye dgu'i bsod nams zhing mchog tu/ /phyogs bcu'i zhing khams kun tu khyab rgyas nas/ nam yang 'gyur nub med pa'i bkra shis shog- / ...

Colophon: ... / //g-yung drung slob dpon sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin gyis/ /g-yung drung bon bstan rgyas smon gsung bskur ngor/ /g-yung drung gling gi slob rgan tshul rgyan pas/ /g-yung drung shad par brgya dang rtsa brgyad spell/ /g-yung drung bstan pa rgyas pa'i rgyur gyur cig // /dge'o!

*

2 K.III.171—Volume 171 from the Bon *bKa' 'gyur***K.III.171.1 (*ka*) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi dgongs rgyud dgu yi bshad byang:***

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po thugs rje rgyun chad med la phyag 'tshal lo/ ... See also the otherworldly transmission that is the topic of the text (cf. N.10/N2.11)

Colophon: // sprul pa'i skyes bu'i las ldan gshen la bstan/ skal ldan thar pa'i lam sna khrid nas kyang / dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog- sa ma ya% mu tsug smar ro/

K.III.171.2 (*kha*) *Yab sras mjial tshul:*

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo// dus de tsam na// mkhas cing rig pa che ba'i slob dpon snang bzher lod po bzhugs pa'i dus/ g-yung drung bon la minga' snyems pa'i zhang zhung stong rgyung mthu chen bzhugs pa'i dus/ dus dang rkyen du 'dzom pa'i lo tsha ba mi gsum ni/ se sha ri dbu chen/ lde gyim tsha rma chung / me nyag lce tsha mkhar bu chung / bla bon dran pa nam mkha'i sku tshe'i stod/ zhang zhung na grub pa thob pa gtso leb men gyer chen/ bod na grub pa thob pa spa ji phrom dkar po/ zhang zhung gi rgyal po lig mi rgyal

mnga' mdzad pa'i dus/ bod du rgyal po khri srong sde [emend: lde'u] btsan la mnga' phyung pa'i [emend: ba'i] dus su/ g-yung drung gi bon [9] thang cig las dang rkyen gyis nub ste/ nub lugs rgyas par gzhan du lta'o// // de'i dus na zhang zhung ri khyim pa'i ru pa na/ da rog gi gling bzhi/ da lung gi brag ri la gnas pa'i dus su/ smer phyag po g-yung drung rgyal mtshan la/ khye'u shin tu skye byed mtshar ba'i sprang po cig zas slong yongs pa la/ phyag pos khyod kyi las nus sam gsungs pas/ khye'u na re nus te 'tshol mkhan med ces pas/ 'o na nga can du sdod gsungs nas/ bsdad pas shin du [emend: tu] go chod pa cig byung nas/ ming yang khye'u snyed legs su btags so/ phyag rdzir chug pas/ de la yon bdag mo chags pa skyes nas/ khye'u la 'dzus tel/ gdung ba'i tshigs smras pa/ nga la de yi 'dod [10] pa med/ khyod la lan chags 'jal ba yin/ ces gsungs so/ /de nas nyin cig phyag tsho ri la bzhugs nas/ shing thum cig khur nas yongs pa dang / slob dpon snang bzher lod po rgyal po bla'i mchod gnas su bteg pa de/ brag ri'i breg gu'i rtsa nas bzhugs pa dang gnyis mjal bas/ khye'u slob dpon la zhe sa dgu phrug snyung ring dang chas pa cig phul bas/ slob dpon kyi thugs la rtog pa skyes nas smras pa/ khyod ni grub mtha' blos sgyur ba cig 'dug- /slob dpon ni su yin/ nyams su ni ci len/ sgom pa ni ci sgom// khu ru ni ci yod pa de 'dra ba byed pa ni ci yin/ ces gsungs pas/ khye'u smras pa/ slob dpon 'di ltar snang ba yin/ nyams su rnam par mi rtog len/ sgom pa khams gsum snang tshad yin/ khu ru rnam par rtog pa yin/ spyod pa 'gro ba'i khol po yin/ ces gsungs pas/ ...

End text: (... ! bla ma'i zhal nas thos chung srangs/ nyams chung skrag/ tha ma la gyi blo ru mi shong pa'i gdam ngag/ rnal [16] 'byor las can gyi dgongs pa yin/ man ngag thugs kyi gter du sbas so/ nga ni ta pi hri tsa stel/ nga ma brjed na nga dang rtags du 'phrad/ nga ma dran na nga dang 'phrad du med/) ces gsungs nas khye'u ni nam mkha' la gzha' tshon ya[l] nas gshegs so/ /snyan rgyud gnad kyi gdams pa/ yab sras dang po mjal ba'i lo rgyus rdzogs s-ho// mu tsug sm<r>ar ro// dge'o// //

Colophon: -

K.III.171.3 (ga) *Phyi lta ba gcod kyi mjal bar:*

Beginning text: // //rje sprul pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ dus de tsam na/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po des/ mkhas par blo sbyangs/ btsun por khrims bsrung / mtshan nyid thams cad ma rmong par thugs su chud/ sbyangs pa'i stobs kyi thun mongs gis dngos grub mong po bsnyems/ nga che'i nga rgyal rgyud la skyes pa ni/ mtshan nyid thams cad kyi rnams grangs mkhyien/ thams cad thugs su chud pas/ gdam ngag thams cad tshigs su mkhyien/ rgyal po bla yi mchod pa'i gnas su bteg pas/ nga'o mnyam pa'i nga rgyal rgyud la skyes nas/ mchog gi dngos grub sgrib nas bzhugs pa'i dus su yin! zhang zhung re khyim pa da rog gis klung nas gnas grong du/ smer phyag po g-yung drung rgyal mtshan la/ khye'u cig zas slong du 'ong pas/ khye'u la phyag pos/ khyed kyis las mi nus sam dris pas/ khye'u na re 'tshol mkhan med pas zer ro/ der phyag po na na re/ 'o na nga can du sdod byas pas bsdad do/ khye'u go chod pas phyi nang [18] gis las thams cad byed pa cig byung nas/ ming yang snyed legs su btag so/ phyag rdzir btsud pas/ khye'u bzhin bsdug las spyod pa bzang pas/ yon bdag mo chags pa skyes nas 'jus so/ nga la de yis 'dod pa med/ khyed kyi bu lon mjal ba yin gsungs pas/ bud med skying nas de yi rtsad gcod ma nus so/ /de nas khye'u chung phyag bdas nas shing thum ri khur 'ong tsam na/ slob dpon snang bzher lod po de/ da rog dung lung gi shing gseb/ brag gu cig gi rtsa ba na dgongs pa ma gnas pa dang tug mjal bas/ khye'u chung gi zhe sa dgu phrug gnyugs ring dang bcas pa cig phul bas/ slob dpon rtogs pa skyes nas gsungs pa/ khyod grub mthar slob bsgyur ba cig 'dug pas/ slob dpon su yin/ nyams su ci len/ bsgom pa ci bsgom/ khu rgyu ni ci 'dod/ spyod pa ci spyod gsungs pas/ khye'u

*smras pa/ slob dpon 'di ltar snang ba yin/ nyams su rnam<s> par rtog pa len/
bsgom pa khams gsum snang tshad bsgom/ khu ru rnam par rtogs pa yin/ spyod pa
'gro ba'i khol po byed/ ces pas/ ...*

Colophon: -

K.III.171.4 (nga) *g-Yung drung tshig rkang bcu gnyis kyi don bstam*:

Beginning text: // //zhang zhung smar gyi skad du na// ithi ku yig khri rtse u pa tan tra thad do ci/ bod skad du/ rdzogs pa chen po byang chub sems kyi gnad byang / thig le nyag cig e ma ho// kun tu bzang po rang 'byung rig pa'i lha la phyag 'tshal lo// // 'di skad bdag gis bstam pa'i dus gcig na! /gnas 'og min bon nyid kyi<s> dbyings nas/ ye nyid kyi ston pa ku[n] tu bzang po// cir yang mtshon du bka' ste/ gdad [emend: gdod] nas brjod med chen por bzhugs svo// de yi ngang las/ thugs rje'i ston pa kun tu bzang po// thugs rje kun la snyoms par bzhugs so// thugs nyid ma g-yos pa'i ngang las/ g-yo ba ye shes kyi cho 'phrul du/ sems can gzhan la tshad med snying rje shar ro// tshad med pa'i snying rje des// sems can thams cad la phyogs dang ris med par khyab par gyur ro/ snying [27] rje de nyid thugs rje'i bdag nyid du sangs rgyas pa'i rtags su/ sprul pa'i ston pa gshen lha 'od dkar[/]chu zla'i dkyil 'khor ltar gsal 'tsher ba! sku snang la rang bzhin med pa/ mtshan dang dpe byed yongs su rdzogs pa/ 'khor dang zhing khams dang bcas par 'gyur to// ... (cf. K.III.171.1 and N.10/N2.11)

Colophon: ... / bder gshegs dgongs rgyud yi thugs kyi<s> bcud! gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i nyams kyi<s> man ngag gi bcud dril/ sprul pa'i sku yi las can gshen la bstam/ dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog/ sprul pa'i sku nyid kyang nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar gshegs so/ gyer spungs nyid kyang dgongs pa nam mkha' ltar grol lo/ !mu tsug smar ro/ //

K.III.171.5 (ca) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi<s> gdam ngag le'u bcu gnyis*:

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po khyab bdal dgongs pa che ba la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: / sa ma ya/ /kun tu bzang po ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku des/ skal med snod ngan rnames la gsang / skal ldan sbyangs 'phro can la sbyin/ gtang bzhag tshod la mkhas par mdzod/ /dus mtha'i bar du mi nub 'gro don mdzad par shog/ ces gsungs nas sprul pa'i sku de nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar gshegs so/ gyer spungs nyid ni gnas lugs kyi don rtogs rig pas rang sa zin no/ / ta pi hri tsa'i/ snang bzher lod po nas rim gyi[s]l brygud nas/ rtogs ldan cig chod dad shes/ rtogs ldan rig pa shel blo/ rang grol bla ma rgyal mtshan nas rim<s> par/ spa bstam rgyal! slob<s> dpon khro/ shar pa drang strong nas rim<s> bzhin/ tshul khrim 'od la brygud/ drin can dam pa de yi drung nas bdag la'o// //

K.III.171.6 (cha) *rDzogs chen snyan rgyud kyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis pa*:

Beginning text: // //zhang zhung smar gyi<s> skad du na/ a tha i thi ku yig khri rtse u pa tan tra tha[d] do ci/ bod skad du/ rdzogs [pa] chen po byang chub sems kyi gnad byang / thig le nyag cig e ma ho// kun tu bzang po rang 'byung rig pa'i lha la phyag 'tshal lo// // 'di skad bdag gis bstam pa'i dus gcig na/ gnas 'og min bon nyid kyi dbyings na/ ye nyid ston pa kun tu bzang po// cir yang mtshon du med ste/ gdod nas brjod med chen <chen> por <por> bzhugs so/ /de yi ngang las/ thugs rje'i ston pa kun tu bzang po/ / thugs rje kun la snyoms par bzhugs so/ / thugs nyid ma g-yo ngang la/ g-yo ba ye shes kyi<s> cho 'phrul du/ sems can gzhan la [note: tshad med pa'i snying rje shar ro/]tshad med pa'i snying rje des// sems can thams cad la

phyogs ris med par khyab par gyur ro/ [73] snying rje de nyid thugs rje yi/ bdag nyid du sangs rgyas pa'i rtogs su/ sprul pa'i ston pa gshen lha 'od dkar/ chu zla'i dkyil 'khor ltar gsal bar 'tsher ba/ sku snang la rang bzhin med pa/ mtshan dang dpe byed yongs su rdzogs pa/ 'khor dang zhing khams dang bcas par gyur to/ ... (cf. K.III.171.1 and N.10/N2.11)

Colophon: ... / / bader gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu yi thugs kyi<s> bcud/ gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i nyams kyi man ngag drill/ sprul pa'i [85] sku'i las can gshen la bstan/ dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog/ ces gsungs so/ sprul pa'i sku nyid kyang / nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar gshegs so/ / gyer spungs nyid dgongs pa mkha' ltar grol lo/ / rim gyis brgyud nas/ se sgom ye shes blo gros bzang po'i drung du/ bdag nag sang gnas brtan gyis zhus so/ / tha tshan mu tsug smar ro// // //

K.III.171.7 (ja) *rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis*:

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po khyab bdal phyogs ris bral la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

K.III.171.8 (nya) *'Khrul [emend: 'phrul] 'khor lde mig*:

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po yon tan pha rol rang sa thob la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Toward end text: ces sprul pa'i sku yis gsungs te/

Colophon: -

K.III.171.9 (ta) *mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me*:

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po ma rig pa'i mun pa sel la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / ces sprul pa'i [155] sku yi[s] gyer spungs gshen la gsung[s] / gyer spungs nyid kyi pha ba rgyal gzigs gsas chung la sogs zhang zhung grub chen drug la brgyud/ de nas gu ge blo ldan la sogs 'khrul zhig drug la rgyud/ de nas spang la gnam gshen/ des lung sgom rtog<s> med/ des snyel sgom 'khrul med/ des gnyag sgom sher tshul/ des u ri bsod rgyal/ des rkong tsha bkra shis dar/ des co ston smon lam blo gros/ de[s] tre ston rgyal mtshan dpal/ des mkhian po nyi dpal/ des dkar tsha bsod nams blo gros sogs rim bzhin brgyud nas bdag la'o/ rin po che khyung sgom tshul khrims 'od zer gyi rtan du/ minga' ri bsam gtan gling pa sgrub sgrwa ru/ sprang 'byam[s] bdag<i> gi sgo gsum gus pas gu ger rgyud/ tha tshan mu tsug sm<r>ar ro//

K.III.171.10 (tha) *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug zhes pa'i lag len*:

Beginning text: // !! //kun tu bzang po rang rig gsal bar ston la phyag 'tshal lo/ snyan rgyud sems kyi me long / mthar thug don gyi sgron me/ man ngag gnad kyi byang bu 'di la don drug ste/ ...

Colophon: ... / man ngag 'di yi yon tan nyams shar ba dang / sgron ma dang gzer lta bu'i gdams pa bshad pa la bog 'don nyams dang 'char tshul rdzogs pa'i tshad ni/ bla ma'i zhal las dge/ nyams rtog dang 'char tshul rdzogs shing / bla ma'i rgyud zin pa [179] cig la bstan zhing / gnyis la mi spel lo/ gcig rgyud yin pas/ gnyis phan chad la spel na/ mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad yod do/ bla ma ya ngal gang bkra ba chen pos rim<s> kyis [emend: gyis] brgyud nas/ khyung sgom tshul khrims 'od zer la brgyud/ dam pa de yi drung nas bdag gis bka' nyams tshang mar zhus nas bris svo/ mu tsug sm<r>ar ro/

K.III.171.11 (da) *sGron ma drug bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs*:

Beginning text: // !! //kun tu bzang po rang rig thams cad mkhyen la phyag 'tshal lo/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po/ dra bye'i [deleted: ni] nub brag sha ba gdong gi dgon pa na bzhugs tsam na/ lrje ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku de byon nas/ dregs pa'i nga rgyal bcom nas/ /rig pa'i gnas lugs bstan/ bcing[s?] tshad kyi sgrog<s> la[s] bkrol nas/ mynam pa'i thang la phyung stel/ rig<s> pa rang sa zin par byas so/ /...

Colophon: ... / ! gdam ngag zab mo 'di ni/ pha ba rgyal tig gsas chung la sogs/ zhang zhung grub thob drug dang / gu ge blo ldan la sogs/ 'khrul zhig [230] drug nas/ rim gyis brgyud nas/ se sgom ye shes bzang po'i drung du/ bdag rgyal mtshan gyis zhus// // // // //

K.III.171.12 (na) *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*:

Beginning text: // // snyan rgyud bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo// snyan rgyud sems kyi me long la[s]/ 'khor lo bzhi sbrag gi gdams pa ma shes na/ rgyud 'chad pa'i ston pa ni dpung gnyen med pa'i mgon po 'dra[/] ces pas/ ...

Colophon: -

K.III.171.13 (pa) *rTags tshad gsal ba'i sgron ma*:

Beginning text: // //bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ nyams len pa'i skal ldan rnams kyi[s] 'di ltar rig par bya'o// ...

Toward end text: ... ces sprul pa'i sky yi[s] gsungs pas rdzogs so//

Colophon: -

K.III.171.14 (pha) *Man ngag le'u brgyad pa*:

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po rang rig khyab bdal rtogs pa che la phyag 'tshal lo/ yang dus res gcig tsam na/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po de/ mtsho gling gi do la dgongs pa la bzhugs nas yod tsam na/ mdun gyi nam mkha' la/ rje kun tu bzang po[/ ta pi hri tsa de] sku dri ma med pa shel dkar dvangs pa lta bu/ rang byung rig pa'i sku la rgyan med par gcer bur bzhugs pa mthong stel/ dad gus mos pa dpag tu med pa skyes nas/ bskor ba [275] byas// lha phyag 'tshall// rje yi zhal nas 'di skad gsungs// ...

Colophon: ... / / sa ma ya/ de skad gsungs nas/ sprul pa'i sku de nam mkha' la 'ja' yal ba ltar thim nas mi snang par [emend: bar] gyur to/ / gu rib snang bzher lod po ni/ rig pa sangs rgyas kyi skur ngo shes nas/ ! rtogs grol dus mynam du phung po lhag med du sgra dang 'od kyi[s] bskor nas bon nyid du gshergs so/ / snyan rgyud zab mo 'di ni/ pha ba rgyal gzigs la gdam [306] des dmu tso ge la/ des dmu sho khram la/ des dmu rgyal ba blo gros/ des dpon btsan po la/ des gu ge shes rab blo ldan la/ des pu rong [phonetically Eastern Tibetan, emend: hrang] kun dga' ring mo la/ des rnal 'byor gsas mchog la/ des bla ma khyung byid la/ des rtsa bde ba ring mo la/ des rang rtog<s> med zhig po la/ des bla ma ya<ng> ngal ba chen po la/ de nas rim par brgyud nas/ spa bstan rgyal la brgyud/ des slob dpon khro bo la/ des shar pa drong [phonetically Eastern Tibetan, emend: drang] srong la/ des bla ma shes rab 'od zer la/ des rtog ldan rin po che shes rab rgyal mtsho la brgyud/ des nas rim par brgyud nas bdag la'o// tha tshan mu tsug sm<r>ar ro//

K.III.171.15 (ba) *gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi gzhung*:

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po khyab bdal thugs rje che la phyag 'tshal lo/ ... (cf. consequutive inceptions)

Colophon: ... // sā ma yā// snyan rgyud sgron ma snying dang 'dra ba'i bon skor 'di/ sprul pa'i sku'i gyer spungs nyid la gsungs/ grub thob skal ldan rnam la rim gyi[s] brgyud nas/ khyung sgom tshul khrim 'od zer la brgyud/ drin can dam pa de'i drung du sprang 'khyam bdag gi bka' rgyud nyam[s] su rgyud 'thor bu'i sde/ cig rgyud 'od gsal dang bcas pa ma lus pa rdzogs par zhus ni bris so/ 'di bris dge bas pha mas gtso byas khams gsum sems can thams cad mkha' la mnyam cing klong du bdal bar shog/ bkra shis par shog/

K.III.171.16 (ma) Bya bral rjes med bzhugs pa'i dbus phyogs:

Beginning text: // //gyer spungs chen po snang bzhed [emend: bzher] lod po// gra byi'i nub phyogs/ brag sha ba gdong gi<s> dgon pa'i nub phyogs na! nyams len mdzad cing bzhugs pa'i dus sul rje ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku de drung du byon pa la/ ...

Colophon: ... / /gyer spungs chen po nas/ pha wa rgyal gzigs gsas chung la gdam/ des las can dam pa drug la/ des rtogs ldan 'khrul zhig drug la/ des yang ston chen po nas/ bka' brgyud drug la gdam/ de nas rim<s> kyi [emend: gyis] brgyud nas/ spa bstan rgyal bzang po// slob dpon khro bo/ /shar pa drong [phonetically Eastern Tibetan, emend: drang] strong / /rtogs ldan tsha ba sgang pa/ de yis drung du rtogs ldan shes rab rgya mtsho/ /des blo gros rgyal mtshan/ des slob dpon bstan pa 'od zer/ des nyi ma 'od zer/ des tshul khrims 'od zer/ drin can dam pa de yi drung nas bdag gis zhus zo/ /tha tshan mu tsug sm<r>ar ro// // //

K.III.171.17 (tsa'o) rTags tshad gsal sgron nyung ba:

Beginning text: // /kun tu bzang po rang bzhin bye<d> brag phyed la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... // sā ma yā// snyan rgyud rtags tshad gdam[s] pa 'di/ shin tu gsang ba'i man ngag ste/ !gcig rgyud yin pas bka' rgya dam/ btang bzhags tshad la mkhas par mdzod// ces gsungs so// sā ma yā// tha tshan mu gtsug sm<r>ar ro/ :atha: ...

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- 3 **K.II.110—Zhang zhung snyan brgyud Texts in the Bon bKa' 'gyur ('II')**
 (Sangs rgyas g-yung drung bon gyi rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur chen mo)

For transliterations of the colophons and additional data see the Oslo catalogue; the colophons are not included here.

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- 4 **NyR—Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor bka' brgyud skor bzhi, Nyag rong**

NyR.0 dPe rtsis (the second title is from the dKar chag)

Colophon: [fol. 3v4]: / ? /bon sgo theg ryud kun gyi yang snying mchog- /snying gi khrag ltar gces shing zab pa'i bon/ /snyan brgyud bka' brgyud skor bzhi'i gdams ngag rnam/ /bon phung ri rab tsam las 'di nyid gces/ zhes pa 'di'ang nyag rong ba bya btang mchog sprul tshe dbang 'gyur med nas snyan brgyud bka' brgyud skor bzhi'i par bkod pa'i dus na dpe rtsis bkod dgos kyi gsung gis bskul ba la brten nas skor bzhi'i bon rnam la zhib dag dang chab gcig tu shar rdza'i bya bral bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyis sbyar ba dge'o //

Cf. K.II.110.3: *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor bka' brgyud skor bzhi'i dpe rtsis mu tig phring ba*

(dang po) Phyi lta ba spyi gcod kyi skor
NyR.1 (ka) NA—Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar

NyR.2 (kha) NA—rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi sngon 'gro gsol 'debs

NyR.3 (ga) rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rigs drug rang sbyang gi khrid—Rigs drug rang sbyong:

Beginning text: // // /rigs drug gnas 'dren yul drug dong nas sprug// /'dul ba gshen drug sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ /nyon mongs sdug bsngal nad sel rin po che/ /grub thob bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo// //snyan brgyud sdug bsngal zhi byed lam sel gyi man ngag bstan te/ khrid kyi rtsa ba las/ mtshan bcas 'khrid ces pas/ sngon du 'gro ba lam sel gyi khrid mtshan bcas su bshad de/ ...

Colophon: ... // / /ces snyan brgyud 'di kha rigs drug rang sbyong lugs gnyis 'dug pa las/ 'di ni sgrib sbyang lam sel gyi man ngag gi lugs su sprul sku'i khrid ces ba ta pu hri tsa nas brgyud pa'i bon cung zad [10v] nyams su len bde bar byas nas shar rdza'i bya bral bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyi bsgrigs pa dge'o// //a rDzogs snyan gsum gyi rigs drug rang sbyong gsum po 'di dag zhag zhe dgu re la smra bcad byas nas bzlas na skye ba gsum du ngan 'gror mi brgyud par mtho ris su dge spyod pa'i lus yang yang thob nas mthar thar pa'i 'bras bu thob par 'gyur ro// ces shar rdza bas smras so// //bkra shis so// //dge'o//

NyR.4 (nga) lTa ba spyi gcod las man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa —Grol 'khrul dang dbang po'i khyad par gyi gnas nges par ston pa'i man ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po khyab bdhal dgongs pa chen la phyag 'tshal lo/ (/de'i don ni 'di ltar bkrol te bstan pa ni/ /'khor 'das gnyis su ma gyes sngon rol tu/ /sangs rgyas sems can bya ba'i tha snyad med/ /shes rig rgyal po kun gyi 'byung gzhi 'di/ /kun la khyab ste gang gi mthar ma reg- /gzhi don rtogs dang ma rtog khyad par las/ /sangs rgyas sems can gnyis kyi 'byung gzhir gnas/ /snang gsal dngos med mkha' la nyi shar bzhin/ /sems kyi ngo bo cir yang ma grub ste/ /'char tshul ma 'gag cir yang gsal/) ...

Colophon: ... // /gu rub snang bzher lod pos pha ba rgyal tig gsas chung la gdams/ /des dmu tso ge la gdams/ /des dmu tso stong la gdams/ /des dmu shod dram la gdams/ /des rgyal ba blo gros la gdams/ /des dpon btsan po la gdams/ des gu ge shes rab blo ldan la gdams/ /des bu rang kun dga' ring mo la gdams/ /des rnal 'byor gsas mchog la gdams/ /des bla ma khyung byid la gdams/ des rtsis bde ba ring mo la gdams/ /des rong rtog med zhig po la gdams/ /des bla ma ya nga ba la gdams/ /des lung sgom rtog med la gdams/ /des la stod bla ma 'khrul med la gdams/ /des [17v] nyag sgom rtog med la gdams/ /des dbu ri sgom chen la gdams/ /de nas rim gyis brgyud nas nyi ma 'od zer gyis zhus/ /des rim gyis brgyud nas bdag la'o// dge'o/ /dge'o// /dge'o//

NyR.5 (ca) Byang sems kyi gnad byang g-yung drung tshigs rkang bcu gnyis dbu phyogs—lTa sgom spyod pa'i khog dbub par ston pa byang chub sems kyi gnad byang rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis zhes pa le'u bcu gnyis:

Beginning text: / zhāng zhūng smār gyī skād du nā/ /t̄ thi ku yig khri rtse u pa tan tra thād do ci/ /bōd skād du/ /rdzogs pa chen po byang chub sems kyi gnad byang / /thig le nyag gcig e ma ho/ /kun tu bzang po rang byung rig pa'i lha la phyag 'tshāl lo/ /di skād bdag gi ston pa'i dus cig na/ /gnas 'og min bon nyid dbyings nas/ /ye nyid kyi ston pa kun tu bzang po/ /cir yang mtshon du dka' ste/ /gdod nas brjod med chen por bzhugs/ /de'i ngang las! /thugs rje'i ston pa kun tu bzang po/ /thugs rje kun la snyoms par bzhugs so/ /thugs nyid ma g-yos pa'i ngang las/ /g-yo ba ye shes kyi cho [2r] 'phrul du/ /sems can gzhan la tshād med pa'i snying rje shar ro/ /tshād med pa'i snying rje des/ /sems can thams cad la phyogs dang ris med par gyur to/ /snying rje de nyid thugs rje'i bdag nyid du sangs rgyas pa'i rtags su/ /sprul pa'i ston pa gshen lha 'od dkar/ /chu zla'i dkyil 'khor ltar gsal la 'tshe[r] ba/ /sku snang la rang bzhin med pa/ /mtshan dang dpe byad yongs su rdzogs pa/ /'khor dang zhing khams dang bcas par gyur te/ /de'i thugs rje'i 'od zer las/ /thugs rje ma 'gags pa'i rtsal du/ /rig pa 'od kyi khye'u chung zhes kyang bya/ /gshen tshād med 'od ldan zhes bya ba byung stel/ /ye ci [2v] bzhin ba'i sangs rgyas rig pa rang snang can dang thabs shig tu bzhugs so/...

Colophon: ... / /bde gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu'i thugs kyi bcud/ /gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i nyams kyi man ngag dril/ /sprul pa'i sku yis las can gshen la bstan/ /dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog- /ces gsungs so/ sprul pa'i sku nyid nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar gshegs so/ gyer spungs nyid dgongs pa gzha' ltar grol lo/ rim gyis brgyud nas bdag la'o/ dge'o/ dge'o/ /bkra shis so//

NyR.6 (cha) rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don gsal bar bstan pa dbu phyogs (bzhugs pa legs so)—rGyud bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don nges par byed pa bu chung bcu gnyis kyi don bstan pa zhes pa don bcu gnyis pa:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po khyab bdal phyogs ris bral la phyag 'tshāl lo/ ...
Colophon: -

NyR.7 (ja) 'Khrul 'khor lde mig—lTa sgom spyod pa'i khog bkrol bar ston pa 'khrul 'khor lde mig:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po yon tan pha rol phyin la phyag 'tshāl lo/ ...
Colophon: -

NyR.8 (nya) mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me dbu phyogs (bzhugs pa legs so)—'Khrul 'khor lde mig gi don gsal bar ston pa mdo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron ma:

Beginning text: / ? /kun tu bzang po ma rig mun pa sel la phyag 'tshāl lo/ ...
Colophon: // /ces sprul pa'i skus gyer spungs gshen la gsungs/ /gyer spungs nyid kyis pha wa rgyal tig gsas chung la sogs/ /zhāng zhūng grub chen drug la rim par brgyud/ /de nas gu ge blo ldan la sogs 'khrul zhig drug la brgyud/ /des lung sgoms rtog med/ /des spang la gnam gshen/ /des snyel ston 'khrul med la brgyud/ /des snyags sgom ri pa la brgyud/ /des mtshan ldan u ri bsod rgyal la brgyud/ /des rkong tsha kra dar la brgyud/ /des tso ston smon lam blo gros la brgyud/ /des dre ston rgyal mtshan dpal la brgyud/ /des mkhan po nyi dpal la brgyud/ /des gar tsha rtogs ldan bsod nams blo gros la brgyud/ /de nas rim par brgyud nas/ /rtsa ba'i bla ma 'grub bsgom nyi ma 'od zer gyis phyag dpe la/ /'khrul zhig g-yung drung tshul khriims gyis zhal bshus so/ /dam pa de'i drung du bdag gling zhig nor bu don 'grub gyis ma gyur sems can gyis don du bzhengs pa dge'o/ dge'o/ /dge'o/ /bkra shis so//

NyR.9 (ta) lTa ba spyi gcod kyi mnyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len—mNyam bzhag sgom pa'i gnad ston pa:

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po rang rig mnyam par gnas la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...
 Colophon: (... / sa ma ya/ /rigs kyis bu bde gshegs dgong brgyud dgu yi thugs kyis bcud/ /nyi shu rtsa bzhis nyams kyis man ngag dril/ /lta sgom gnad kyi gzer bu/ / mnyam bzhan [emend: bzhag] sgom pa'i man ngag 'di/ /skal ldan ma nor lam la khrid phyir bstan/ /yang gsang thugs kyi dkyil du zhog- /skal med rnam la shin tu [8v] gsang ! /dus mtha' mi nub 'gro don byed par shog- /sa ma ya/) ces sprul pa'i skus/ gyer spungs chen po la gsungs so/ /mchan [emend: mtshan] med la sems bzungs zhing / /mnyam par bzhag pa'i man ngag- /rigs [emend: rig] 'dzin gyi snyan brgyud/ /mis tshig gyis lhad ma zhug pa'i gdams pa/ /snyan brgyud yig ger bkod pa/ sa ma ya/ /rgya rgya rgya/ ithi dge'o//

NyR.10 (tha) rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi phyi lta ba spyi gcod las rgyal ba dgongs brgyud dgu'i bshad byang—dgongs brgyud dgu'i bshad byang:

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po thugs rje rgyun chad med la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...
 Colophon: -, but see otherworldly transmission, the topic of the text (cf. K.III.17.1)

NyR.11 (da) Ta pi hri tsas'i lung bstan—yab sras mijal tshul rnam so:

Beginning text: / /rje sprul pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ /dus de tsam na/ /gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po des/ /mkhas pa blo sbyangs/ /btsun pa'i khrim bsrungs/ /mtshan nyid thams cad ma rmongs par thugs su chud/ dus de tsam na/ /bod na grub thob grangs med par bzhugs kyang / /spa ji pho brang dkar po bzhugs pa'i dus/ /zhang zhung na grub thob grangs med par bzhugs na yang / tso men gyer chen bzhugs pa'i dus/ /mkhas pa grangs med bzhugs na yang / /tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan bzhugs pa'i dus/ /g-yung drung bon la mnga' bsnyems pa/ /stong rgyung mthu chen bzhugs pa'i dus/ /[2r] rkyen dang dus su 'joms [emend: 'dzoms] pas lo tshā ba mi bzhi bzhugs pa'i dus yin te/ /se sha ri dbu chen/ lde gyim tshā rma chung / /bla dran pa nam mkha'/ me nyag lce tshā mkhar bu chung dang bzhi'o/ /zhang zhung gi yul na rgyal po lig mi rgya bzhugs pa'i dus/ /bod kyi rgyal po khri strong lde btsan bzhugs pa'i dus/ dus de tsam na/ g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa nub ste/ /nub lugs mi/ /kha byang ltar lo rgyus kyi rgyud nas shes par bya'o/ ...
 Colophon: -

(gnyis pa) Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor**NyR.12 (na) Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor las spros bral rig pa'i rtsal dbang—Khyad par gyi lam la 'jug pa'i sgor ston pa spros bral rig pa'i rtsal dbang:**

Beginning text: // /kun tu bzang po rang rig ye shes rtsal dang ldan la phyag 'tshal lo// /...

Colophon: ... / ithi //rje ta pi hri tsas gyer spungs la brgyud/ des las can dam pa drug nas rim gyis brgyud do// //dge'o// //bkra shis par gyur cig// //

NyR.13 (pa) sGron ma drug gi dbu yi gzigs phyogs—dNgos gzhi'i gnad zab mo'i gnas nges par ston pa sgron ma drug ces pa'i le'u drug:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po rang rig thams cad mkhyen la phyag 'tshal lo/ /gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po de/ /dra bye'i nub phyogs/ /brag sha ba gdong gi dgon pa na bzhugs tsam na/ /rje ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku de byon nas/

/dregs pa'i nga rgyal bcom nas/ /rig pa'i gnas lugs bstan/ /bcings tshad kyi sgrog las
grol nas/ /mnyam pa'i thang la phyung stel/ /rig pa rang sar zin par byas so/ /...

Toward end text: (... [f.16r.5] / rigs kyi bu/ /byang chub sems skyi gnad drug po
'di/ /sems yod pa rnams kyi sgron me/ /sems ma mthong ba rnams kyi me long /
/sems bros pa rnams kyi lcags skyu/ ? /[note: ? sems stor ba rnams kyi gzer bu/] /
/sems rmugs pa rnams kyi gsal 'debs/ /sems rdings pa rnams kyi bog 'don/ /sems
rings pa rnams kyi gnya' shing / /sems bcings pa rnams kyi lde dmig yin pas/ /ma
'ongs pa'i [16v] dus na btang bzhag gi tshad zungs / ? /dbang po snod dang sbyor
la/ /skal ldan gyi gang zag ma nor ba'i lam la khrid cig gsungs nas// //sprul pas sku
de nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba ltar/ /mi snang bar 'gyur to/ /gu rub snang bzher lod
po yang / /rig pa dmar thag chod nas/ /mchog thun mong gi rdzu 'phrul du mang
snyems par gyur tel/ /snyan rgyud la mi tshig gi lhad ma zhugs so/ /rdzogs chen
sgron ma rdzogs so// // ...

Colophon: ... // //gu rug [emend: rub] snang bzher lod po yis/ /pha ba rgyal gzigs
gsas chung la gdams/ /des dmu tso ge la gdams/ /des dmu tso stong la gdams/ /des
dmu shod tram la gdams/ /des dmu brgyal ba blo gros la gdams/ /des dpon tsen po la
gdams/ /des gu ge shes rab blo ldan la gdams/ /des pu rong kun dga' ri pa la gdams/
/des rnal 'byor gsas mchog la gdams/ /des bla ma khyung byid la gdams/ /des rtsis
bde ba ring mo la gdams/ /des rang sgom rtog med zhig po la gdams/ /des bla ma ya
ngal ba la gdams/ /de nas rim par brgyud nas bdag la gnang ba'o// /dge'o// /dge'o//
/dge'o//

NyR.14 (pha) sGron ma drug gi 'grel pa—sGron ma drug gi 'grel pa bru rgyal bas mdzad pa:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po rang rig rang la shar la phiyag 'tshal lo/ /dir
rgyud lung man ngag thams cad kyi mthar thug- /the gso gdams pa thams cad kyi
yang bcud/ /kun tu bzang po'i thugs kyi nyding khu/ /rgyal ba dgongs brgyud dg'u'i
man ngag- /rig 'dzin nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i snyan brgyud/ /gyer spung snang bzher lod
po'i dngos grub/ /byang chub sems kyi gnas [emend: gnad] drug gi gdams pa la
gsum stel/ /...

Colophon: ... / /de ltar rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud gyi gdams pa
las/ /gsang ba rig pa gcer mthong du bshad pa/ /sgron ma drug gi dgongs don legs
par bkrol ba/ /grub chen gong ma rnams kyi gsung dang mi 'gal ba zhing / /rtogs
ldan [f.53r] dam pa rnams kyi phyag len dang mi 'gal bar/ /bru yi btsun pa rgyal ba
g-yung drung gis reg zig tu bkod pa lags sol/ /gro mgon shes rab rin chen la/ /se
btsun tshul 'od bdag gis gus pas zhus// //de ltar zab mo yang bcud/ /thugs kyi
snying khu'i gdams pa 'di ni/ /kun khyab thugs rje'i bdag nyid can gyis! /kun
mkhyen rtogs pa'i ye shes kyis/ /kun gyi blo mun sel mdzad pa'i/ /kun gyi dpal dang
mgon gyur pa/ /gro mgon yid bzhin nor bu la/ /gus pa mchog thob ldom bu pas/
/yang yang gsol ba btab nas zhus/ /thugs rjes gzigs nas rdzogs par gnang / /brtsam
gzhi'i phyag bris zhal bshus shing/ /legs par gtugs pas dag par bdog// //de las byung
ba'i dge ba ni/ /bdag gzhan rnam mkhyen sal ba sngo / /yi ge pa ni rgyal mtshan
sgom gyis/ /ri khrod se khrom gnyan gyi zhol du/ /dad mos gus pas bzhengs pa dge
bar gyur cig gu// //dge'o// //dge'o// //dge'o//

NyR.15 (ba) NA—Man ngag gsum sgron ma bzhi

NyR.16 (ma) Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba lag len—Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug:

Beginning text: // /kun tu bzang po rang rig gsal bar ston la phyag 'tshal lo/ /snyan brgyud sems kyi me long / /mthar thug don gyi sgron me/ /man ngag gnad kyi sgron ma/ gnad kyi byang bu 'di la don drug ste/ ...

Colophon: ... / /sprul sku ta pi hri tsas lung bstan nas/ /gyer spung snang bzher lod po man chad nas/ /rtogs ldan dad pa yan chad du/ /mu tig shel phreng ltar du brgyud pa la/ /rtogs ldan dad shes la/ /ri pa she blos yang nas yang du zhus/ /de'i drung du nyi ma 'od zer gyis dbang lag len ngo sprod dang bcas pa zhus nas gnang ba lags sol/ /nyi ma 'od zer nas/ /nam mkha' 'od zer de nas bdag la'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /

NyR.17 (tsa) Thig le drug pa'i man ngag (bzhugs pa legs so)—Thig le drug pa'i man ngag:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po 'gro rnames thugs rjes skyob/ /thams cad 'dren pa'i dpal la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...

Colophon: ... / /sa ma ya/ /rong gi rtog med zhig go [emend: zhig po] la/ /stag sde yang la ston pas zhus/ /rim par so sor brgyud nas kyang / /snyan brgyud bla ma bco lnga la/ /'u sgom bsod rgyal bdag gis zhus/ /de nas rim par brgyud nas srid btsun bsod nams gtsug phud kyis/ /nyag rong blo gros rgyal mtshan la zhus nas/ /da lta bdag yan chad do/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/

NyR.18 (tsha) NA—Zhal shes gsum**NyR.19 (dza) 'Khor lo bzhi sbrag gi gdams pa—'Khor lo bzhi sbrag:**

Beginning text: / /bla ma rnames la phyag 'tshal lo/ /snyan brgyud sems kyi me long las/ /'khor lo bzhi sbrag gi gdams ngag ma shes na/ /rgyud 'chad pa'i ston pa ni/ /dpung gnyen med pa'i mgon po dang 'dra/ /zhes pa/ /...

Colophon: .../ /rim gyis brgyud nas gcig chod dad shes/ /ri pa she blo nas/ /nyi ma 'od zer/ /nam mkha' 'od zer sogs da lta bdag cag la'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/

NyR.20 (wa) gDams pa bya bral rjes med (bzhugs pa legs so)—gDams pa bya bral rjes med rnames so:

Beginning text: /gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po des/ /bra bye'i nub phyogs brag sha ba gdong gi nub phyogs [emend: dgon pa] na/ /nyams len mdzad cing bzhugs pa'i dus su/ /rje ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku de drung du byon pa la/ /...

Colophon: / /snyan brgyud sems kyi me long [10r] las! rje sprul pa'i sku yis/ /snang bzher lod po la gdams pa'o/ /gyer spungs chen po'i/ /pha ba rgyal tig gsas chung la gdams pa'o/ /des las can dam pa drug la gdams/ /des rtogs ldan 'khrul zhig drug la gdams/ /des grub chen lnga la gdams/ /des yang ston chen po la gdams/ /des bka' rgyud drug la gdams/ /de nas ri pa shes blo la gdams/ /des nyi ma 'od zer la gdams/ /des nam mkha' 'od zer la gdams/ /des bdag la'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /bkra shis par shog cig/

(gsum pa) gSang ba rig pa gcer mthong

NyR.21 (zha) *gSang ba rig pa gcer mthong skor las gdams pa le'u brgyad pa – Lam dang sgo'i gnad la brten nas rig pa dang 'od gsal gyi snang ba mnong gsum par ston pa man ngag le'u brgyad pa sogso:*

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po rang rig khyab bdal rtogs pa che la phyag 'tshal lo/ /gyer spungs snang bzher lod po de/ /mtsho gling gi do la bzhugs tsam na/ /mdun gyi nam mkha' la/ /rje kun tu bzang po/ /sku dri ma med pa/ /shel dkar dag pa 'dra ba/ /rang byung rig pa'i sku la rgyan med pa[r]! /gcer bur bzhugs pa mthong ste/ /dad gus mos pa dpag tu med pa bskyed nas/ /bskor ba byas/ /lha phyag 'tshal bas// /rje'i zhal nas 'di skad gsungs/ /...

Colophon: ... / /sa mā ya/ /de skad gsungs nas sprul pa'i sku de/ /nam mkha' la 'ja' yal ba ltar thim nas mi snang bar gyur to/ /gu rub snang bzher lod po ni/ /rtogs grol dus mnyam du/ /phung po lhag ma med par sgra dang 'od kyis bskor nas bon nyid dbyings su gshegs so/ /snyan brgyud zab mo 'di ni/ /pha ba rgyal ti la <la> gdams/ /des dmu tso ge la gdams/ /des dmu tso stong la gdams/ /des dmu shod tram la gdams/ /des dmu rgyal ba blo gros la gdams/ /des slob dpon tsen po la gdams/ /des gu ge shes rab blo ldan la gdams/ /des pu rang gi kun dga' ring mo la gdams/ /des rnal 'byor gsas mchog la gdams/ /des bla ma khyung byid la gdams/ /des rtsi bde ba ring mo la gdams/ ! [16v] des rang sgom rtog med zhib [emend: zhig] po la gdams/ /des bla ma yang ston chen po la gdams/ des 'bum rje 'od la gdams/ /des klu brag pa la gdams/ /des rtogs ldan dbon po la gdams/ /des rgyal mtshan rin chen la gdams/ /des gcig chod dad pa shes rab la gdams/ /des ri ba shes blo la gdams/ /des nyi ma 'od zer la gdams/ /des nam mkha' 'od zer nas rim pa brgyud nas da lta bdag la'o/ /snyan rgyud zab mo'i gdams pa/ /mi tshig gi lhad ma zhugs pa/ /gdams pa le'u brgyad pa rdzogs so/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/

(bzhi pa) Yang gsang gnas lugs phug chod kyi skor

NyR.22 (za) *Yang gsang gnas lugs phug chod kyi skor las gzer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig – gZhi lam 'bras gsum gyi don des pa [emend: nges pa] mthar thug par sto pa [emend: ston pa] gzer bu nyer cig pa:*

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po khyab brāl thugs rje can la phyag 'tshal lo/ ... (cf. inceptions at ka etc.)

Colophon: ... / /sā mā yā/ / /rgyud lung man ngag gis yang bcud/ /lam rnams kun gyi mthar thug- /theq pa kun gyi yang rtsel /grub thob rnams kyi snyan brgyud/ /skal ldan rnams kyi dngos grub/ /nyi shu rtsa gcig gnad kyi gzer bu rdzogs so/ /sā mā yā/ /skal ldan rim gyis brgyud nas rtogs ldan nyi ma 'od zer/ /nam mkha' 'od zer nas rim gyis da lta bdag la'o/ //dge'o/ //dge'o/ //dge'o/

NyR.23 ('a) gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi 'grel pa – gZer bu nyer gcig pa'i 'grel pa *gyer spungs snang bzher lod pos mdzad pa:*

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po bde ba'i ngang la phyag 'tshal lo/ /dir brgyad khri bzhi stong bon gyi mthar thug- /bde gshegs dgongs brgyud dgu'i man ngag- /gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i snyan rgyud/ /rnal 'byor grub thob rnams kyi nyams brgyud/ /(rdzogs pa chen po gnad kyi gdams pa/ /di la bshad lugs rnam pa bzhi ste/ /...)

Colophon: ... / /gsum pa mdor bsdu ba ni/ /rgyud lung man ngag gi yang bcud/ /lam rnams kun gyi mthar thug theq pa kun gyi yang rtsel /grub thob rnams kyi snyan brgyud/ /skal ldan rnams kyi dngos grub/ /nyi shu rtsa gcig gnad kyi gzer bu rdzogs so/ /zhes pas mdor bsdu pa'o/ /skal ldan dang grub thob rim par brgyud de/ /'or sgom kun 'dul la brgyud/ /des yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan la brgyud/ /des

bla ma 'bum rje 'od la brgyud/ /des bla ma kun 'dul la brgyud/ /des bkra shis rgyal mtshan la brgyud/ /des rtogs ldan dbon po la brgyud/ /des rgyal mtshan rin chen la brgyud/ /des rtogs ldan dad shes la brgyud/ /des ri pa she blo la brgyud/ /des nyi ma 'od zer la brgyud/ /des nam mkha' 'od zer la brgyud/ /des rim par brgyud nas da lta las ldan gshen po bdag la'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/

NyR.24 (ya) 'Od gsal sems kyi me long—*Grol 'khrul gyi gnas lam gnad las lam snang du sku gsum lam du chod par ston pa 'od gsal sems kyi me long:*

Beginning text: / /e ma ho/ /kun tu bzang po mkha' ltar phyogs ris med la phyag 'tshal lo/ snyan brgyud le'u drug cu gsungs pa'i rjes la/ /rig pa'i rtsal dbang dang / /'od gsal sems kyi me long 'di gnyis gsungs/ /snyan brgyud drug cu'i bcud bsdus pa cig yod gsungs/ /(ye gnas kyi kun bzang la/ /grol 'khrul gyi tha snyad kyis ma gos pa'o/ /lhun grub kyi kun bzang des/ /rang snang shes pas rang sar zin pa yin/ /khams gsum sems can gyi rang snang ma shes pas/ /ri bo la me shor ba dang 'dra'o gsungs/ /(snang bzher gyis [2r] zhus pa/ /sangs rgyas dang sems can gyi rgyu gang nas byung zhus pas/ / ...) ...)

End text: ... / /bon 'di kun tu bzang po'i thugs bcud/ /rig 'dzin rnams kyi snyan brgyud/ /grub thob rnams kyi nyams myong / /mkha' 'gro rnams kyi snying khrag- /'gro drug rnams kyi bdud rtsi yin pas/ /snyan nas snyan du brgyud pa ma gtogs pa/ /yi ge ris su gdab mi bya/ /'di yi bka' srung yum sras lnga/ /rgyal po dang sman gyis gyis/ /rgya rgya rgya/ /sa ma ya/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/ /dge'o/

Colophon: -

NyR.25 (ra) *rTags tshad sgron ma che ba zhes bya ba (bzhugs pa legs so)—rTags ma nges pa dang nges pa'i nges par bzung ba dang khyad par gyi rtags snang ba bzhi'i gnas gsal bar ston pa rtags tshad sgron ma che ba:*

Beginning text: / /bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ /(nyams su len pa'i skal ldan rnams kyis 'di ltar rig par bya'o/ /) ...

Colophon: -

NyR.26 (la) NA—*rTags tshad sgron ma chung ba*

NyR.27 (a) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhu[ng] snyan brgyud kyi ye dbang khrid rig pa spyi blugs—sNyan brgyud ye dbang chen mo skor rnams so:*

Beginning text: / /dgongs brgyud rnam dgu thugs rje'i yas sprul bdag- /nyi shu rtsa bzhi 'od gsal rdzogs pa'i gshen/ /brgyud pa rnam lnga'i mdo 'dzin gyer spungs che/ /dbyer med rtsa ba'i bla ma la phyag 'tshal// //skor bzhi la sogs zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi/ /bon sgo bsam gyis mi khyab pa zhugs pa yi/ /jug sgo'i thog mar ye dbang chen po yi/ /bskrung thabs dbang khrid rig pa spyi blugs bstan// //...

Colophon: // //bka' brgyud bon sde rin chen gling 'dra las/ /ye dbang chen mo'i man ngag gser zhung ltar/ /grub chen gong ma'i snyan brgyud zang [emend: zab] mo'i bon/ /dbang lung brgyud pa'i phreng ba ma chad pa/ /bka' rgyud bla mas phyag len gtsor bzung nas/ /rang gzhan don du dbang khrid 'jug bder bris/ /nyes 'gal gyur na bla ma brgyud par 'chag- /dge mchis srid 'gro thar pa'i rgyu ru bsngo // /zhes pa 'di nyid a 'do rnya yul gyi mchog sprul tshul khriims bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan nas snyan brgyud ye dbang chen mo 'di dbang bskur ba las gshen dka' bar snang bas dbang khrid 'jug bde zhig shig gsungs kyang / de sngar yan chad kyi snyan brgyud bla ma rnams 'dis chog 'dug pas mi dgos snyam nas ma bris/ /phyis nyag yul [19v] du bya sprul tshe dbang 'gyur med nas snyan brgyud par bkod skabs ye dbang chen mo'i dpe bsgur[?] zhig gsungs pa la/ mkhas grub gnyis 'dzin gyi

*drang srong sengge nyi ma nas kyang 'di nyid par bkod chog pa'i dbang khrid cig
bris dang bstan pa'i zhabs tog tu 'gyur bas legs gsungs pa sogs la brten nas shar
rdza'i bya bral bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyis ye dbang chen mo'i dbang yig dang
dbang gi yig chung sogs la brten nas bla ma gong ma rnams kyi phyag len dang mi
'gal bar bris pa'i yi ge pa ni btsun pa ngag phrin gyis bgyis pas bstan 'gro'i don du
'gyur bar gyur cig// dge'o/*

Not in *dPe rtsis*

**NyR.28 (a) *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kun bzang don gyi phrin las kyi chog
khrigs nges pa'i thig le—NA:***

Beginning text: // / / gshen lha 'od dkar bde gshegs 'dus pa'i sku/ /ye rdzogs kun
bzang la phyag 'tshal lo// /zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi kun bzang don gyi 'phrin
las 'di la don rnam pa bcu gsum yod de! ...

Colophon: ... // /ces pa 'di nyid nyag yul du sprul sku tshe dbang 'gyur med kyis
snyan brgyud skor par bkod pa'i dus na/ /lta ba don gyi phrin las chen mo las btus
zhes pa'i zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi kun bzang don gyi phrin las bsdus pa dad
shes nas bru rgyal ba la brgyud ces pa zhig 'dug pa de rgyas par byas pa yin nam
snyam pa zhig 'dug kyang nyog pas/ de las a 'do rnya yul gyi mchog sprul tshul
khrims bstan pa'i rgyul [emend: rgyal] mtshan sogs slob ma rnams kyis bskul nas
cung zad bsdus [14r] te shar rdza'i bya bral bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyis chog
khrims su bsdeb pas nyes 'gal mchis na brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la mthol lo
bshags/ dge mchis g-yung drung bon bstan phyogs bcur rgyas shing srid mtha'i bar
du gnas nas sems can gyi 'gro'i don rgya chen por 'grub pa'i rgyur gyur cig- dang
po'i yi ge pa ni btsun pa bzod pa'i ming gis bgyis pas sems can gyi don rgya chen po
'grub pa'i rgyur gyur cig/ /dge'o/ /bkra shis so// //

**NyR.29 (a) *Zab lam bla ma'i rnal 'byor 'dod 'byung gter gyi bum bzang—
NA:***

Beginning text: (/ /zab lam bla ma'i rnal 'byor 'dod 'byung gter gyi bum bzang
zhes bya ba bzhugs so/) ...

Colophon: ... / /pad ma blo gros dang tshul khrims mchog rgyal gnyis kyis singa
phyi'i lan grangs su bskul phyir/ spang btsun bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyis shar
rdza'i wer snying[?] gi ri sul shing sa yul ljon pa'i tshal gseb tu bris pa'o/

**NyR.30 (NA) *gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs las gsang ba 'dus pa thabs
chen yab kyi lung rgyud—NA:***

Beginning text: NA

Colophon: NA

NyR.31 (a) *gSang ba 'dus pa thabs chen yab kyi lung rgyud—NA:*

Beginning text: NA

Colophon: NA

5 **Sg—rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud, bSam gling Manuscript**

Sg.1 (ka) rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar chen po rgyal sras spa mdzad pa, incomplete, ends at N.117.7:

Beginning text: / /rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rnam bshad gsal ba'i me long zhes bya ba// ? //sangs rgyas sems dpa'i tshogs la phyag 'tshal lo// ? //gang zhig mos pas spyi bor legs bsgom ste! ? //rtse gcig dad pas gsol ba btab 'gyur na// ? /tshe 'dir sangs rgyas ster ba'i thugs rje can// ? //rgyal ba rgyud par bcas la phyag 'tshal lo/ ? /gang gis mtshan tsam rna bas thos pas kyang / ? //khor ba'i 'jigs 'phrog ngan 'gro gdung sel ba/ ? //de phyir khyed kyi yon tan rgya mtsho la/ ? /chu thigs tsam cig bdag gis bshad par bya// ? /'dir rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud la gsum ste/ ? /spyi don sngon du 'gro ba dang / ? / [2v/6] dngos gzhi gdams pa bstan pa dang / ? /cha rkyen mdzad srol gyi lag len ngos bzung pa'o [emend: ba'o]// ...

Colophon: equally missing

Gap from 219–332; also the chapters *kha*, *ga* and *nga* are missing:

Sg.2 (kha) NA

Sg.3 (ga) NA

Sg.4 (nga) NA

Sg.5 (ca) sNyan rgyud gsol 'debs bsdus don, first folios missing:

Beginning text: missing.

Colophon: ... // ?/ ces pa'i snyan rgyud gsol 'debs bsdus don 'di/ don ldan bla mas mdzad pa'i yon tan gyis! phyogs bcu kun du dar rgyas shog// 'di bris dge ba ma sogs bon don du bsngo'o// dge'o// dag go// bkra shis s-ho//

Sg.6 (cha) mNyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len:

Beginning text: // ? kun du bzang p[ol] rang rig mynyam par gnas la phyag 'tshal lo// //...

Colophon: ... // ? sprul pa'i sku yis/ las can gshen la bstan/ gyer spungs nyid kyis/ zhang zhung grub chen [6v/360] drug la rgyud/ de nas gu ge blo ldan la sogs/ rtogs ldan 'khrul zhig drug la rgyud/ de nas spang lha gnam gshen la rgyud/ des lung sgom rtog med la rgyud/ des snyel sgom 'khrul med la rgyud/ des gnyag sgom sher tshul la rgyud/ des u ri bsod rgyal la rgyud/ des kong tsha bbra shis dar la rgyud/ des co ston smon lam blo gros la rgyud/ des 'gro sgom bsam she la rgyud/ ces ston dang / 'gro sgom gnyis la/ kre [emend: tre] ston rgyal mtshan dpal gyis zhus/ des nas spa bstan rgyal bzang po la rgyud/ ding sang spa'i sprang po bdag gi dad pa'i brten lags/ rnam dag dri ma med pa'o// zhus dag go// // //

Sg.7 mNyam bzhag sgom pa'i lag len mtshan med par bzhag pa:

Beginning text: // //kun du bzang po rang rig mynyam nyid ngang la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... // ? rigs kyi bu/ bder gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu'i thugs bcud/ nyi shu rtsa bzhi rnams kyi man ngag dril/ lta sgom gnad kyi gzer bu/ mynyam bzhag sgom pa'i man ngag dam pa 'di/ skal ldan ma nor lam la khrid pa'i phyir du bstan//yang gsang thugs kyi dkyil du zhog- skal med rnams la shin tu gsang / dus

mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog// sa ma ya//) ces sprul pa'i sku yis gsungs so// mtshan med la sems bzung zhing / mnyam par bzhag pa'i man [7v/374] ngag / rigs 'dzin gyi snyan rgyud la/ mi tshig gis lhad ma zhugs pa/ /snyan rgyud yig ger bkod pa lags so// sa ma ya// rgya rgya rgya/ bkra shis s-ho//

Sg.8 (ja) *g-Yung drung tshig rkang bcu gnyis:*

Beginning text: // // {ka} zhang zhung smar gyi skad du na// ithi ku yig khri rtse u pa tan tra thad do ci/ bod skad du/ rdzogs pa chen po byang chub sems kyi gnad byang / thig le nyag cig e ma ho/ kun du bzang po rang byung rig pa'i lha la phyag 'tshal lo/ 1 'di skad bdag gis stan pa'i du[s] gcig na/ gnas 'og men bon nyid kyi dbyings na/ 2 ye nyid kyi ston pa kun du bzang po/ cir yang mtshon dka' ste/ gdod [5r?/377] nas brjod med chen por bzhugs svo// de'i ngang las! thugs rje'i ston pa kun du bzang po/ [note: thugs rje kun la snyoms par bzhugs so//] thugs nyid ma g-yos pa'i ngang las/ g-yo' ba ye shes kyi cho 'phrul du// sems can gzhan la tshad med pa'i snying brje shar ro/ tshad med pa'i snying rje des/ sems can thams cad la phyogs dang ris med par khyab par 'gyur to/ snying rje de nyid thugs rje'i bdag nyid du sangs rgyas pa'i rtags su/ sprul pa'i ston pa gshen lha 'od dkar/ chu zla'i dkyil 'khor ltar gsal la 'tsher ba/ sku snang la rang bzhin med pa/ mtshon dang dpe byad yongs su rdzogs pa/ 'khor dang zhing khams dang bcas par gyur to/ ... (cf. K.III.171.1 and N.10/N2.11)

Colophon: ... // ? bder gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu'i thugs kyi bcud! gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i nyams kyis man ngag gi bcud drill sprul pa'i sku yis las can gshen la bstan! dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog/ ces gsungs svo! sprul pa'i sku nyid kyang nam mkha' la bzha' yal ba ltar gshegs s-ho/ gyer spungs nyid kyang dgongs pa nam mkha' ltar grol lo// [10r/395] //sā mā ya// 'gro don rgyas par shog// bkra shis 'phel// 'di bris dge ba'i rtsa ba ci mchis pa/ bdag gi drin cen pha mas brtse byas/ nam mkha' khyab tshad sems can thams cad kyi don du bsngo/ rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas thob par gyur cig// bkra shis s-ho// ho ho//

Sg.9 (nya) *brGyud bu chung bcu gnyis:*

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po khyab bdal phyogs ris bral la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...
Colophon: -

Sg.10 (ta) *'Phrul 'khor lde mig:*

Beginning text: / / / kun tu bzang po yon tan pha rol rang sa thob la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...
Colophon: -

Sg.11 (tha) *mDo 'grel gsal ba'i sgron me:*

Beginning text: / / kun tu bzang po ma rig pa'i mun pa sel la phyag 'tshal lo/ /...
Colophon: ... // / / ces sprul pa'i sku yis gyer spungs gshen la [30v/488] gsungs/ gyer spungs nyid kyis/ zhang zhung grub chen drug la rgyud/ de nas gu ge blo ldan la svo[gs] 'khrul zhig drug la rgyud/ de nas spang lha gnam gshen lung sgom rtog med dang ! snyel bsgom 'khrul med snyag sgom ri pa dbu ri bsod rgyal rkon tsha kras dar nas/ lung bstan co ston smon lam blo gros la rgyud! /de la mre [emend: dre] ston gyis zhus! de nas rim par brgyud nas/

Sg.12 (da) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcdod kyi gdamns ngag le'u bcu gnyis pa:*

Beginning text: // {ka} // kun du bzang po khyab bdal dgongs pa che la phyag 'tshal lo// (de'i don 'di ltar bkrol ste bstan pa ni// 'khor 'das gnyis su ma gyes sngon rol

du// sangs rgyas sems can bya ba'i tha snyad med// shes rig rgyal po kun gyi 'byung bzhi 'di// kun la khyab ste gang gis mthas ma reg/ bzhi don rtogs dang ma rtogs khyad par las/ sangs rgyas sems can gnyis kyi 'byung bzhir gnas/ snang gsal dngos med mkha' la nyi shar bzhin/ sems kyi ngo bo cir yang ma grub stel/ 'char tshul ma 'gags cir yang gsal/) ...

Colophon: ... // sā mā yā! //kun du bzang po ta pi hri brtsa sprul pa'i sku des// bskal med snod ngan rnams la gsang / skal ldan sbyangs 'phro bcan la sbyin/ btang bzhag tshod la mkha ba mdzod/ dus mtha'i bar du mi nub 'gro don byed par shog/ gsungs nas sprul pa'i sku de nam mkha' la bzha' yal ba ltar gshegs s-ho// ta pi hri tsal/ snang bzher lod po nas rims kyis rgyud nas/ rtogs<s> ldan chig chod dad she[s]/ rtogs ldan ri ba sher blo/ rang grol bla ma brgyal mtshan nas rim par/ spa bstan rgyal! slob dpon khro bo! shar ba drang strong!

Sg.13 (na) rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bon spyod dgu rim:

Beginning text: // {ka} //kun du bzang po thugs rjes rgyun chad med la phyag 'tshal lo! ...

Colophon: -

Sg.14 (pa) rJe ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan:

Beginning text: // //kun du bzang po'i sku la phyag mtshal lo// dus de tsam na/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po des/ mkhas par blo sbyangs/ btsun por khrims srungs/ mtshan nyid thams cad ma rmongs par thugs su chud nas yod pa'i dus de tsam na/ bod na grub thob grangs kyis bzhugs kyang / spa byi khrom dkar po bzhugs pa'i dus/ zhang zhung gi yul na grub thob grangs kyis bzhugs kyang / btso men gyer chen bzhugs pa'i dus/ mkhas pa grangs kyis bzhugs kyang / tshe [2r/539] spungs zla ba brgyal mtshan bzhugs pa'i dus/ g-yung drung bon la minga' snyems stong rgyung nthu chen bzhugs pa'i dus/ rkyen dang dus mdzom pa la mkhas ba mi bzhi bzhugs pa'i dus yin ste/ sve sha ri dbu chen/ lde gyim tsha rma chung / bla dran pa nam mkha'/ me nyag lce tsha mkhar bu chung dang bzhi'o/ zhang zhung gi yul na rgyal po lig mi rgya bzhugs pa'i dus/ bod kyi brgyal po khri strong lde btsan bzhugs pa'i dus/ dus de tsam na/ g-yung drung gi bon nub tel/ nub lugs kha byang ltar lo rgyus kyi rgyud la shes par bya'o/ ...

Colophon: -

Sg.15 (pha) sGron ma drug gi gdams pa:

Beginning text: // ? //kun du bzang po rang rig thams cad mkhyen la phyag mtshal lo/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po! // bra bye'i nub phyogs brag sha ba gdong gi dgon pa na bzhugs tsam na! // ? // rje ta pi hri tsa sprul pa'i sku de byon nas/ dregs pa'i nga rgyal bcom nas/ rig pa'i gnas lugs bstan/ bcings tshad kyis sgrog la bkrol nas mynam pa'i thang la phyung stel ...

Toward end text: ([p.596.2=f.20r.2] ... / rigs kyi bu/ byang chub sems skyi gnad drug po 'di ni/ sems ma rtogs<s> pa rnams rtog<s> par byed pa'i man ngag/ sems med pa rnams kyi sgron me/ sems ma mthong ba rnams kyi me long / sems bros pa rnams kyi lcags kyu/ sems stor ba rnams kyi gzer bu/ sems rmugs pa rnams kyi gsal 'debs/ sems ldengs pa rnams kyi bogs 'don/ sems rengs pa rnams kyi gnya' shing / sems cings pa rnams kyi lde dmig yin pas/ rigs kyi bu/ ma 'ongs pa'i dus na btang bzhag gi tshod bzung la/ dbang po'i snod dang sbyor la/ skal ldan gyi gang zag ma nor lam la khrid cig/ bces gsungs nas//) {dza} sprul pas sku de [20v/597] nam mkha' la gzha' yal ba bzhin mi snang bar 'gyur to/ gu rub snang zher lod po yang /

rig pa dmar thag chod nas/ mchog thun mongs gi dngos grub du ma ... mnga' snyems par gyur/ / ...

Colophon: ... / *gdam ngag zab mo 'di ni gu rub snang zher lod pos/ pha ba rgyal tigs gsas chung la bdams/ des dmu gshen tsog ge/ des dmu tso stangs la/ des amu shod kram la/ des dmu bryal ba blo gros la/ des dpon tsan chen po la/ des gu ge shes rab blo ldan la/ des pu rang kun dga' ring mo la/ des rnal 'byor gsas mchog la/ des khyung byid mu thur la/ des rtsi bde ba ring mo la/ des rong rtog<s> med zhig po la/ des bla ma ya ngal shes rab rgyal mtshan la/ des ya ngal 'bum rje 'od/ des ya ngal ston rgod/ des rtogs ldan gnyag sgom/ des bla ma 'khrul med la rgyud/ des bla ma ri ba shes rab [21r/598] blo gros la rgyud/ de nas rim par rgyud nas/ gar tsha bsod rnams blo gros/ spa stan bryal bzang po/ slob dpon khro bo bryal mtshan/ shar ba drang strong tshul khriims dpal bzang de la bla ma tsha ba sgang ba shes rab 'od zer/ de la rtsa ba'i bla ma rtogs ldan rin chen shes rab brya mtsho'/ de'i drung du bdag gis dka' ba nyams su blangs nas zhus pa lags s-ho// 'di bris dge' ba'i rtsa ba ci mchis rnams! drin can pha mas rtso [emend: brtse] byas/ nam mkhas khyab tshad sems can thams cad kyi don du bsngo'o// 'gro kun sangs rgyas myur thob shog// bkra shis don dang ldan par shog// legs s-ho// zhus dag// The lineage appended obviously derives from sPa btsun's lineage text, it even ends with the same additions to the sPa lineage.*

Sg.16 (ba) *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan:*

Beginning text: // // *kun du bzang po rang rig thams cad mkhyen la phyag 'tshal lo// ...*

Colophon: ... / *de ltar byang chub sems kyi gnad drug po 'di/ kun du bzang pos ji ltar gsungs pa dang / grub thob bla ma'i zhal gyi gdams pa rnams/ cung zad gsal bar bya ste yi ger btab/ 'grel pa nyi 'od bryyan zhes bya ba rdzogs s-ho// u ri sgom chen gyis yi ger btab pa'o/ 'gal 'khrul nor pa ci mchis bzod par gsol/ zhus dag/ 'di bris dge' ba pha mas btso [emend: brtse] byas sems can don du bsngo'o/ bdag gzhan rang sems don rtogs shog// dge'o// dag go/ bkra shis s-ho// // //*

Sg.17 (ma) *Kun gzhi'i zhal shes gsal ba'i sgron ma:*

Beginning text: // ? / *kun gzhi'i gnas lugs<s> la the tshom bsal ba'i zhal shes ni// nam mkha' phyi nang gi dpe'i mtshon pa ni/ blo chung pa 'gags/ byang chub kyi sems ni/ nang rig pa'i steng du khyab la/ phyi yul gyi snang ba la ma khyab pam/ snyam nas the tshom za ba la/ dper na nam mkha' ni snang srid yongs la spyi blugs su khyab pas/ phyi nang gnyis su med kyang / gnas khang gyi dbang gyis phyi nang gnyis ltar snang ngo / de yang gnas khang gru bzhi gru gsum nar mo zlum por gnas na/ /nam mkha' yang de dang mithun par gnas sol/ ...*

Colophon: ... // 'di bris dge ba la sogs<s> sems can don du sngo 'o// 'bras bu kun gzhi sgrub med rtogs par shog// dge'o/ dag go/ bkra shis s-ho// // //

Sg.18 (tsa) *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len:*

Beginning text: /// ... *kun du bzang po rang rig gsal bar ston la phyag 'tshal lo// snyan rgyud sems kyi me long / mthar thug don gyi sgron me/ man ngag gnad kyi byang bu 'di la don drug stel/ ...*

Colophon: (*nyams rtogs<s>*) *dang [14v/738] 'char tshul rdzogs shing / bla ma'i rgyud zin pa gcig la bstan zhing / gnyis la mi spel lo/ chig bryud yin pas/ gnyis phan chad la spel na/ mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad yod do/) bla ma ya ngal gong kra chen po nas rims kyis rgyud nas/ drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma shes rab rgyal mtsho la rgyud/ bka' drin can gyi bla ma de'i drung du bdag gis zhus pa lags sh-o// 'di bris dge ba!*

pha mas rtso [emend: *brtse*] *byas nam mkhas khyab tshad sems can don du bsngo'o// zhus dag/ dge'o/ bkra shis s-ho// // //*

Sg.19 (-) *Zhe sa dgu phrug (bzhugs lags s-ho)*:

Beginning text: // ? // *rje ta pi hri tsa'i/ gyer spungs chen po la zhe sa dgu 'phrug phul te/ ...*

Colophon: (... / *ces dgu 'phrug du phul ba bda' lags so/ zhu dag go/ / dge'o/ bkra shis s-ho// //*)

Sg.20 (-) *Khor lo bzhi sbrag gis yig chung*:

Beginning text: // ? // *snyan rgyud sems gyis me long las/ (lta ba rang 'byung gi rgyal po dpangs mtho yang / rgyud pa bzhi'i skyas bar[?] nas ma thon/ lung gi che ba la ma brten na/ lta ba slob pa 'di/ bye ma'i [deleted '<a>]ri la mkhar btsigs [emend: brtsigs] pa dang 'dra/)* ...

Colophon: ... / *dran chog 'gru sgom nyi ma 'od zer gyis drung du/ bdag tshul khriims ye shes kyi zhus s-ho// dge'o/ dag go// bkra shis dpal 'bar 'dzam gling rgyan do byon// he he//*

Sg.21 (*tsha*) *Khor lo bzhi srag*:

Beginning text: // ? // {ca} // *snyan rgyud sems kyi me long las/ 'khor lo bzhi srag gi gdams pa ma shes na/ rgyud 'chad pa'i ston pa ni/ dpung gnyen med pa'i mgron po 'dra bces pas/ ...*

Colophon: ... // *ithi/ drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma shes rab brgyal mtsho' la zhus dag/ 'di bris dge ba drin can pha mas brtso* [emend: *brtse*] *byas sems can don du bsngo'o// dge'o/ bkra shis s-ho//*

Sg.22 (*dza*) *rTags tshad gsal sgron*:

Beginning text: // *bla ma dam pa rnams la phiyag 'tshal lo// (nyams su len pa'i skal ldan rnams kyis 'di ltar rig par bya'o//) ...*

Colophon: (... / *des na rtag tshad 'di nyid rab du bces! bces sprul pa'i sku yis gsungs pa rdzogs s-ho// sā mā yā// rgya rgya rgya// dge'o/ bkra shis s-ho/*)

Sg.23 (*dza*) *rTags tshad gsal sgron nyung pa*:

Beginning text: *kun du bzang po rang bzhin bye brag phyed la phiyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon: -

Sg.24 (*wa*) *Man ngag le'u brgyad*:

Beginning text: ? ? ? *kun du bzang po rang rig khyab bdal rtogs pa che la phiyag 'tshal lo/ [note: yang dus res cig brtsam nal] gyer spungs chen po snang zher lod po de/ mtsho' gling gi do la dgongs pa la bzhugs pa yod tsam na/ 'dun gyi nam mkha' la/ rje kun tu bzang po sku dri ma med pa shel dkars dangs pa lta bu/ rang byung rig pa'i sku la brgyan med pa[r] bcer bur bzhugs pa mthong ste/ dad gus mos pa dpag tu med [2r/808] <med> pa skyes nas/ bskor ba byas/ lha phiyag rtsal/ rje'i zhal nas 'di skad gsung/ ...*

Colophon: ... // *sā mā yā// ? // de skad gsungs nas sprul pa'i sku de nam mkha' la 'ja' yal ba ltar thim nas mi snang par 'gyur to// gu rub snang zher lod po ni/ rig pa sangs rgyas kyi skur ngo shes nas/ rtogs<s> grol dus myiam du phung po lhag med du sgra dang 'od kyis skor nas bon nyid du bshegs so// snyan rgyud zab mo 'di ni/ pha ba rgyal bzigs la gdams/ des dmu tso ge la/ des dmu rtso stangs la/ des dmu shod khram la/ des dmu rgyal ba blo gros la/ des dpon btsen po la/ des gu ge shes rab blo ldan la/ des pu rangs kun dga' [23r/850] ring ma la/ des rnal 'byor gsas mchog*

la/ des bla ma khyung dbyid la/ des rtsi bdeb [emend: bde ba] ring mo la/ des rong rtog med zhig po la/ des bla ma ya ngal ba chen po la/ de nas rim par rgyud nas/ spa stan brgyal la rgyud/ des slob dpon khro bo la/ des shar pa drang strong la/ des bla ma shes rab 'od zer la/ des rtogs ldan rin po che shes rab rgya mtsho' la rgyud/ bka' drin can de'i drung du! bdag spa btsun shes rab dpal bzang gis! gdams pa 'di phyag len dmar khrid dang bcas pa zhus pa lags s-ho// 'di bris dge bas ma [emend: la] svogs nam mkha' dang mynyam pa'i! sems can thams cad kyis sungs rgyas rang sems rtogs par shog// dge'o/ dag go/ zhus dag/ bkra shis s-ho// // //

Sg.25 (zha) gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi gzhung:

Beginning text: ? //kun du bzang po khyab bdal thugs rje che la phyag 'tshal lo/ ... (cf. inceptions at ka etc.)

Colophon: ... // sā mā yā// // rgyud lung man ngag kun gyi yang bcud/ lam rnams thams cad kyi mthar thug/ theg pa ku[n] gyi [15v/881] yang rtse/ grub thob rnams kyi snyan rgyud/ skal ldan rnams kyi dngos grub/ nyi shu rtsa gcig snad [emend: gnad] kyi gzer bu rdzogs s-ho// bsnyan rgyud sgron ma yang snying 'gra ba'i bon skor 'di/ sprul pa'i bsku yis gyer spungs nyid la gsungs/ grub thob skal ldan rnams la rims kyis rgyud nas// drin can shes rab brgya mtsho' la bdag gis zhus// 'di bris dge ba la sogs sems can thams cad kyi don du sngo'o// dge'o// dag go// bkra shis///

Sg.26 (za) gZer bu nyi shu rtsa gcig gi rang 'grel (bzhugs lags s-ho):

Beginning text: // ? //kun du bzang po bde <bde> ba'i ngang la phyag 'tshal lo/ 'dir rgyad khri bzhi stong bon gyi mthar thug// bder bshegs dgongs rgyud dgu'i man ngag// gang zag nyi shu rtsa bzhi'i snyan rgyud// rnal 'byor grub thob rnams kyi nyan rgyud// (rdzogs pa chen po [2r/883] gnad kyi gdams pa 'di la// bshad lugs rnam pa bzhi ste/ ...)

Colophon: ... // rgyal ba dgongs rgyud dgu nas/ grub thob skal ldan rnams la rims kyis rgyud nas/ dkar tsha bsod nams blo gros/ spa stan rgyal bzang po/ slob dpon khro bo/ shar ba drang strong/ rtogs ldan tsha ba sgang pa/ rtsa ba'i bla ma shes rab rgyal mtsho/ drin chen de'i drung du bdag spa'i 'khyam po ba shes rab dpal bzang gyis/ gdams pa rin por che 'di dbang lung man ngag dang bcas pa rdzogs par zhus pa legs svo// 'di bris dge ba khams gsum yongs la bsngo'o/ don gnyis myur du 'grub pa'i bkra shis shog// dag go/// dge'o// bkra shis s-ho// //

Sg.27 ('a) Bya bral brjes med:

Beginning text: gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po// gra bye'i nub phyogs/ grag sha ba gdong gi dgon pa'i nub phyogs<s> na/ nyams len mdzad cing bzhugs pa'i dus su// ? //rje ta pi hri tsa sprul pā i sku de drung du byon pa la/ ...

Colophon: ... //snyan brgyud sems kyi me long las/ rje sprul pa'i sku yis/ rje snang bzher lod po la gdams pa rdzogs s-ho// gyer spungs chen po nas/ pha wa rgyal bzigs bsang [emend: gsas] chung la gdams/ des las can dam pa drug la/ des rtogs<s> ldan 'khrul zhig drug la/ des yang ston chen po nas/ bka' rgyud drug la bdams/ de nas rims kyis rgyud nas/ spa stan brgyal! slob dpon khro bo! shar ba drang strong! rtogs ldan tsha ba sgang ba! de'i drung du rtogs ldan shes rab brgya mtshos zhus! drin chen de'i drung du bdag gis zhus so// [13r/1027] 'di bris dge ba'i brtsa ba 'dis/ pha mas brtso [emend: brtse] byas nam mkha' dang mynyam pa'i sems can rnams kyis bya bral brjes med don rtogs shog// dmigs pa med par bsngo bar dgyi'o [emend: bgyi'o]/ dge'o/ // dag go// bkra shis s-ho// //

Sg.28 (a) *sNyan rgyud 'phrul 'khor*:

Beginning text: *kun du bzang po phyi nang bar chod sel la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon (hardly legible): / ithi // rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi/ rtsa ba bye brag 'khrul 'khor rim pa 'di/ dpon rgyal btsan po nas rims kyis brgyud nas/ spa bstan rgyal/ slob dpon khro bo/ shar ba drang strong/ tsha ba sgang pa/ de'i drung du rtogs ldan rin po che shes rab rgyam mtshos zhus/ drin can bla ma de'i drung du/ bdag spa'i ldum bu bas/ lung man ngag zhal shes dang bcas pa rdzogs par zhus pa legs s-ho// lam pa'i bar chad zhi ba dang // dar la rgyas [deleted: par] pa'i bkra shis byon// /dag go// dge'o// //

Sg.29 (-) *sNyan rgyud kyi srung dbang*:

Beginning text: (// ? //e ma ho/ bon nyid khyab bdal dbyings kyi 'og min nas/ ye nyid ston pa brjod med bon gyi sku/ rang byung skye med ngang nyid bon dbyings kyi sku/ thugs rje ston pa byin rlabs gzi brjid dbang ldan sku/ sku gsum ngang nas tshed bzhi ldan thugs rje can/) ...

Colophon: ... / / le ma ho/ stong zhing bdag med nyid kyi rang bzhin las/ lta ba rnam dag bon nyid mkha' ltar dag/ sgom pa rnam dag kun bzang ngang la gnas/ spyod pa rnam dag bla med mngon sangs rgyas/ gong nyid nyi ma 'od zer thugs rjes can/ mi mngon= sgrub gshen= gnas lugs don dam rtogs pa'i dbang thob par gyur cig/ dge'o bkra shis s-ho/

Sg.30 (-) *dBal gshen me ri'i rgyud pa* (colophon: *me ri'i sras rgyud dbang gi brgyab yig*):

Beginning text: (*dbal gshen me ri'i rgyud pa khung gis gshen/ gshen rab gsang ba 'dus pa nyid kyis rang bzhin ni/*) ...

Colophon: (... / ? me ri'i sras rgyud dbang gi brgyab yig legs s-ho// bkra shis dge'o//)

Sg.31 (-) *'Bring po sor bzhag gi sngon 'gro klad don*:

Beginning text: (// ? // phyag 'tshal lo/) ...

Colophon: (... / bla ma kun 'dul la yang ston chen pos zhus so//)

Sg.32 (-) *gSal byed yang gsang 'bar ba'i 'grel pa*:

Beginning text: bla ma rin po che'i zhabs la 'dud/ ...

Colophon: ... / rong gi bla ma kun 'dul la/ stag sde'i yang ston 'bum rje'i 'od gyis zhus s-ho// de nas rims kyis brgyud nas bdag spa btsun la'o// dge'o/ dag go/ bkra shis//

Sg.33 (-) *Bla ma nyams gyi man ngag 'ching pa'i skye rags dang 'dra ba*:

Beginning text: / bla ma grub thob rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / gcig rgyud man ngag gsang ngo/ drin can drung du zhus cing bris s-ho// dag go/ dge'o/ bkra shis s-ho// // [a small amount of text follows on p.1130]

Sg.34 (-) *Phyi lta ba spyi gcod* (bz hugs lags s-ho):

Beginning text: // ? //brje sprul pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ dus de tsam na/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po des/ mhas par blo bsbyangs/ btsun por khriims bsrungs/ mtshan nyid tham[s] cad ma rmongs par thugs su chud [until here cf. rJe ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan, the colophon indeed identifies this text as the *mJal*

thebs bar ma]/ sbyangs pa'i stobs kyi thun mongs gyis dngos grub mang po snyems/

...

Colophon: (... /mjal thebs bar ma'o/ sā mā yā/ rgya rgya rgya/ u ya: dag go/ dge'o/ bkra shis s-ho//)

*

6 Sh.2—*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor*

Sh.2.1 (ka) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus rnam thar dang bcas pa:*

Beginning text: / rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / bdag gis gdams pa khyad par can 'di/ kha 'thor ba la brten nas zhu ba la nyer len dang rtsol ba/ dka' tshogs mang po byas pas/ gzhug [589] la spros pa chod pa byung ba ni/ grub chen gong ma rnams la mos gus byas pa'i thugs rje'o/ rdzogs pa chen po snyan rgyud kyi rnam thar lo rgyus dang bcas pa 'di ni/ phyi rabs dag snang bskyed pa'i phyir du/ sngar gyi rnam thar las go bde zhing / srong dril nas g-yas ru'i bru sgom rgyal ba g-yung drung la sprul sku rkyang 'phags chen po'i thugs sras/ las can gyi bshes gnyen dam pa/ thogs med sku mched gnyis kyis nye bar bskul te/ thang lha gangs kyi mar zur/ nam ra gangs kyi g-yas zur/ sho mon mdzoms ra'i mdun zhol/ khams dbus gnyis kyi so mtshams/ sgrom mdzod dpal gyi dben dgon zhes bya bar/ byi ba'i lo dbyar zla tha chung la sbyar ba'o/ /sarba mangga lam/ dge'o/

Sh.2.2 (kha) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bon spyod dgu rim (sngon 'gro):*

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po khyab bdal 'gro ba 'dren/ rang rig mnong du gyur la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

Sh.2.3 (ga) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi khrid rim lag len:*

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po khyab bdal 'gro ba 'dren/ rang rig mnong du gyur la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

Sh.2.4 (nga) *gZhi rang ngo sprod pa gcer mthong lta ba'i khrid:*

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po khyab bdal 'gro ba 'dren/ rang rig mnong du gyur la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

Sh.2.5 (ca) *Lam nyams su len pa 'od gsal sgom pa'i khrid rim:*

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po khyab bdal 'gro ba 'dren/ rang rig mnong du gyur la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

Sh.2.6 (cha) *rKyen lam du slong ba rtsal sbyong spyod pa'i khrid:*

Beginning text: / kun tu bzang po khyab bdal 'gro ba 'dren/ rang rig mnong du gyur la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

Sh.2.7 (nya) 'Bras bu rang sa bzung zhing sku gsum dmar thag gcod pa'i khrid:

Beginning text: / /kun tu bzang po khyab bdal 'gro ba 'dren/ rang rig mngon du gyur la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / bru'i gdams pa'i gnad bsdus man ngag snying por phyung / dgongs pa'i zhe phugs lag len mdo rtsar dril/ zab don snyan brgyud dgongs pa'i bcud 'di la/ lhag bsam dag pa'i nye bar bkod mod kyang / bsdebs nyes bzu lum 'gal 'khrul ci mchis pa/ bdag blo rmongs skyon ra chod med par bshags/ dge bas rang gzhan 'gro ba ma lus pa/ rig stong 'od gsal mchog gi don rtogs shog/ de ltar rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi/ phyi nang gsang ba yang gsang dang bcas pa'i gnad bsdus/ zab don snying po'i gdams pa du ma'i bcud dril ba/ grub chen gong ma rnams kyi gzhal gdams/ mthar thug pa 'di ni/ bru yi btsun pa rgyal ba g-yung drung la/ ngur smig [713] 'dzin pa'i bshes gnyen/ bkra shis rin chen gyis/ yang dang yang du bskul nas/ lag len go rim bzhin sbyar ba rdzogs so/ dge'o/ sarba mang ga lam/ bkra shis par gyur cig // //

Sh.2.8 (—) rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud las gcig rgyud 'od gsal bdun bskor (mun khrid):

Beginning text: // //e ma ho/ /ye nyid ston pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / /sva mra yāl /ithi/ ?rnam dkar bsod nams bdud rtsi'i zigs ma yis/ las nyon 'thas pa'i thal ba brln byas te/ tshogs gnyis myu gu'i sdong bu bskyed pa'i rtser/ byang chub chen po'i 'bras bu g-yur za shog- /'di yi dge ba'i tshogs dag ni/ am 'phan shes rab dbang rgyal pas [emend: bas]/ bon gyi sbyin pa'i tshul gyis su/ 'phrul gyi dpar las drangs te bskrun/ bkra shis/

*

7 YST—Zhang zhung snyan rgyud bon skor: Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo sogs dang brgyud phyag bcas kyi gsung pod

Not included here.

*

8 K&M—Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bla ma'i nyams rgyud rgyas pa skyas smug gnyis kyi gsung pod**KM.1 sNyan rgyud rgyas pa'i skor ma bu sa bcad:**

Beginning text: // //! snyan rgyud thugs kyi<s> nges don la/ rgyud pa bzhi skyas bar nas shar ching / gdams ngag sum bcu'i khog phul te/ ...

Colophon: -

KM.2 rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi nyams rgyud skyas ru:

Beginning text: // ? bla ma'i bla ma gang ma'i dgong ma rnams la phyag tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / ithi // gdam[s] pa zab mo sems la chang / rdzogs chen snyan rgyud kun la med pas [emend: pa'i] dam pa yin/ shin tu zab pas man ngag go- khyad par can gyi [g]dams pa 'di/ rje sprul sku bstan rgyal bzang po nas rim par [b]rgyud nas/

rtsa pas [emend: ba'i] bla ma tshul khrims 'od zer kyi [emend: gyi] drung du bdag ya<ng> ngal ston pa bkra shis rgyal 'tshan [emend: mtshan] gyis zhus pa la lags so/ 'di bris dges pas [emend: dge bas] rtsa pa'i [emend: ba'i] 'brel tshad sems can kha nyams [emend: mkha' myam] sems can thams cad rdzogs pa sangs rgyas kyi sa 'khod par shog- ['l]gro don rgya che[r] phel par [emend: bar] shog- bkra shis dpal 'par [emend: 'bar] 'dzam gling rgyan du shog- dge'o/ bdag ldong btsun bstan pa 'tshul khrims gyi [emend: kyis] bris nas drung pa sku 'ched [emend: mched] snams [emend: rnams] kyi<> phyag du phul pa [emend: ba] lags s-ho/ bkra shis zhal gro/ gyes [read: dge<s>] legs phel

KM.3 *sNyan rgyud smug gu:*

Beginning text: // grub thob bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ snyan rgyud thugs kyi<s> nges don 'di/ yi<g> ge bris bar [emend: par] ma gsung[s] de [emend: te]/ bdag 'dra gang zag blo dman gyis/ gsal 'debs don [deleted: nga] du zhengs pa lags/ ? // bla ma rnams la rzod [emend: bzod] par gsol/ ? ...

Colophon: -

*

9g T.III.223—Volume 223 from the Bon bKa' brten *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud 'bring po sor bzhag*

T.III.223.1 *sTong thun gyi 'grel pa:*

Beginning text: / / thugs rjes khyab bdal 'gyur med bde ba ston/ ye nyid ston pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / rong gi bla ma kun 'dul la/ stag sde'i yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan gyis zhus so/ nam mkha' lta bu yangs kyi lta ba/ chu bo lta bu rgyun chad med pa'i sgom pa bar snang rlung po lta bu thogs rdug med pa'i spyod pal yid bzhin nor bu lta bu 'bras bu rang chas shes na/ rnal 'byor pa yin no// rtogs ldan dad shes gsungs so// dge bas 'gro kun yongs la bsngo'o// dge'o// bkra shis par shog// //

T.III.223.2 *sNyan rgyud thugs kyi nges don 'bring po sor bzhag- klad kyi zhwa dang 'dra ba'i gdams pa:*

Beginning text: !? ?? // thugs rjes khyab bdal 'gyur med bde ba ston/ ye nyid ston pa'i ngang la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... // yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan gyis/ bla ma kun 'dul gyi gsung las thob pa'o// des ya ngal bdun pa la/ mu tig shel 'phreng ltar rim pas brgyud nas bdag la'o//

T.III.223.3 *Lus kyi gos dang 'dra ba'i gdams pa:*

Beginning text: // // brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... // 'di ni bla ma bcu'i bshad bsrol stel/ lus kyi gos dang 'dra pa'i [emend: ba'i] gdams pa rdzogs so// rje kun 'dul gyi gsung las/ yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan gyis zhus/ de la sras yang ston gong khra bas/ de la gcung po klu brag pas=/ de la rtogs ldan dad shes [erased and replaced by: <illegible character>dbon pos] zhus/ de la ya ngal gdan pa bas/ de la rtogs ldan dad shes zhus so/ de nas rim par brgyud nas da lta bdag la'o// dus mthar mi nub 'gro don byed par shog// dge'o// bkra shis par shog/

T.III.223.4 *rKang gi lham dang 'dra ba'i gdams ngag- phyi nang gsang gsum gyi ngo sprod lnga'i gdams (pa):*

Beginning text: // rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / *rje kun 'dul gyi gsung las/ yang ston gyis zhus s-ho// bstan pa nyi ma'i zer bzhin rgyas par shog// ? dge bas 'gro ba yongs la bsngo'o// dge'o// bkra shis s-ho//*

T.III.223.5 *sGros (sGro) 'dogs gcod pa don gyi rgyud pa zhes bya ste rang gi lus dang 'dra ba'i gdams pa:*

Beginning text: ? *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon: -

T.III.223.6 *Nyams su blangs ba man ngag gi rgyud pa la mi tshig gis lhad ma zhugs pa 'ching ba'i ske rag (rags) 'dra ba'i gdams pa:*

Beginning text: // !/ *rgyud pa'i bla ma rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon: -

T.III.223.7 *Yid ches grub pa snyems pa'i rgyud pa zhes bya ste khong pa'i snying dang 'dra ba'i gdams pa:*

Beginning text: // // *rgyud pa'i bla ma rnam la/ phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon: -

T.III.223.8 *dPral ba'i mig dang 'dra ba'i gdams pa:*

Beginning text: // // *rgyud pa'i bla ma rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon: ... // // *rje bla ma nyid la phyag 'tshal lo// bder [g]shegs dgong[s] rgyud gang zag nyer bzhi'i snyan nas snyan du rgyud pa'i gdam[s] pa rin chen la/ ... [rest difficult to read, contains no relevant lineage data]*

T.III.223.9 *Rigs drug rang sbyong gi gdams pa zab mo:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.10 ('Dul ba gshen drug gi gsol 'debs):

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.11 *sNyan rgyud 'od gsal sems kyi me long:*

Beginning text: // // *e ma ho! kun tu bzang po mkha' ltar khyab bdal mnyam nyid phyogs ris med la phyag 'tshal lo!/ rje kun tu bzang pos snang bzher lod po las/ snyan rgyud le ka drug cu gsungs pa'i rje la/ rig pa'i rtsal dbang dang / 'od gsal sems kyi me long 'dis gnyis gsungs pas/ snyan rgyud drug cu'i bcud bsdus pa gcig yod gsungs/ ye <g>nas kyi kun bzang la/ grol 'khrul gyi tha snyed la gos pa'o/ ...*

End text: ... / *bon 'di kun tu bzang po'i thugs bcud/ rig 'dzin rnam kyi snyan rgyud/ 'grub thog [emend: grub thob] rnam kyi nyam[s] myong / mkha' 'gro rnam kyi snying khrag! 'grub thog [emend: grub thob] rnam kyi bdud rtsi yin pas/ snyan nas snyan du brgyud pa'i ltog [emend: gtog] pa/ yi ge ris su gdab mi bya/ 'di bka' srung yum sras lnga rgyal po dang sman gyi gyis/ rgya rgya/ sa ma ya/*

Colophon: -

T.III.223.12 *rTsa rlung 'od gsal bdun skor:*

Beginning text: / *kun tu bzang po rang rig mnong du ston la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon: -

T.III.223.13 Go cha rnams gsum:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / rje chen po'i gdams ngag go/ bkra shis par shog[?]/

T.III.223.14 Man ngag gcig brgyud kyi gdams pa:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.15 Mi 'gyur g-yung drung lhun po:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.16 Phyi snang srid kyi sgron me rtod la gnon pa'i yig chung:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.17 Nang bhi gi ta chu yi sgron me gtod la gnon pa'i yig chung:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.18 sTong pa sgra yi yig chung:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.19 gSang ba mkha' gsal nam mkha' yig chung:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.20 rLung lnga dus 'dzin:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / sa ma ya/ lag len dmar khrid zab mo 'di/ man ngag<s> songan nga'i
 'o ma 'dra/ kun la legs te thabs kyi rgya/ mang du spel na sman dang rgyal po[?] rgo[?] long sdom/ gyer spungs chen pos grub thob rnams kyi lag khrid rgyud pa 'di!
 bla ma klu brag pa nas/ rim gyil[!] brgyud nas rtsa ba'i bla ma la bdag gil[!] zhus so!
 sa ma ya/ ithi

T.III.223.21 Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsa gcig 'pho ba gcig rgyud:

Beginning text: / ? kun tu bzang po rang rig mnong sangs rgyas la phyag 'tshal lo/

...

Colophon: ... / gdam pa pho ba gcig rgyud bka' rgya ma yin/ rim par brgyud nas bdag ras gos can kyang gcig pa la'o/ ithi

T.III.223.22 sGra 'od zer gsum btsan thabs gcig rgyud:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.23 'od gsal bdun skor gyi nan du sbyang ba:

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / sa ma ya/ gcig rgyud bka' rgya dam po yod/ ithi

T.III.223.24 *Lus gnad lnga yi lag len:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.25 *gNyid dang bsam gtan bsre ba'i ngo sprod gdams pa:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.26 *rTags tshad gcig rgyud:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.27 *rTsa gcig rgyud:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / de sku gsum [unconventionally contracted to skrum?] gyi gnas
lugs yin lags/ 'di kun gyi rtsa ba der mchis pas/ su la yang mi ston zhu/ gar ston
bdag gi dgongs nyams spa bstan rgyal la phul/ ithi rgya% %%**T.III.223.28 *Nyams lho rgyud:***

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / gcig rgyud g-yer po che/

T.III.223.29 *Nyams byang rgyud:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / nyams gcig rgyud/ ithi

T.III.223.30 *Mi 'gyur g-yung drung lhun po:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / nyams gcig rgyud yin/

T.III.223.31 *rTsa gcig rgyud:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... / de sku gsum [unconventionally contracted to skrum?] gyi gnas
lugs yin lags/ 'di kun gyi rtsa ba der mchis pas! su la yang mi ston par zhu/ sprang
po gar ston gyi dgongs nyams man ngag- spa bstan rgyal la phul/ ithi**T.III.223.32 *Thig le gcig rgyud:***

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.33 *'Pho ba gcig rgyud:*Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po rang rig mnong sangs rgyas la phyag 'tshal
lo// ...

Colophon: ... / 'di 'pho ba gcig rgyud bka' rgya ma yin no/ sa ma ya/ ithi//

T.III.223.34 *'Od gsal bdun skor gyi gnad:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.35 *Man ngag yig chung:*

Beginning text: -

Colophon: ... // rje snang bzher lod po man chad nas/ rtsa ba'i bla ma yan chad kyi/ zhang zhung snyan rgyud bcud dril man ngag<s> yig chung 'di/ yi ge bkod pas 'gro rnams grol bar shog//

T.III.223.36 *Ma bcos gnyug ma'i don bstam:*

Beginning text: // kun tu bzang po ye sangs rgyas la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon (very unclear): ... / rgyal sras bla ma'i phyag dpe la zhal bshus pa'i snyan rgyud/ !

T.III.223.37 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi dgongs nyams kyi man ngag khyad par can:*

Beginning text: // e ma ho! thugs rje bzhi ldan sku gsum [unconventionally contracted to skrum?] ston pa dang / bde bar gshegs dgongs pa'i rgyud pa dang / snyan rgyud gang zag brgyud pa dang / grub thob nyams kyi brgyud pa dang / bdag la don gyi bka' drin 'jog pa yi/ brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... / bla ma nyams kyi man ngag<s> rim gyils] rgyud nas/ rnal 'byor nyi ma 'od zer la rgyud/ des rim ni rgyud nas rtsa ba'i bla ma bdag la'o/ ?

T.III.223.38 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi nyams brgyud nor bu'i phreng ba:*

Beginning text: / thugs rje khyab bdal 'gyur med bde ba ston/ ye nyid ston pa'i ngang la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

T.III.223.39 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsa rlung 'phrul 'khor 'od gsal:*

Beginning text: // /e ma ho! ye nyid ston pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: ... // bla ma dam pa rnams la rim bzhin rgyud nas/ mnga' ri tshul khrims dpal bzang la brgyud/ des nyar ma shes rab bkra shis la= de[s] slob dpon drung yig pa la= de'i drung du rtsa ba'i bla ma nyi ma 'od zer la= de yi's 'khrul zhig g-yung drung tshul khrims la= de'i drung bdag gis zhus pa lags svo/

T.III.223.40 *sNyan rgyud kyi rtsa rlung gi 'phrul 'khor gyi zhal shes:*

Beginning text: // //kun tu bzang po phyi nang gi bar chod sel la phyag 'tshal lo/ ... Colophon: ... / dam pa 'bum rje 'od kyi gsungs pa'o/ rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsa ba yan lag bye brag thun mong gi rim pa 'di/ dpon rgyal btsan po nas/ stod lugs kyi 'khrul zhig drug- smad lugs kyi grub chen lnya nas/ yang ston chen pos/ 'bum rje 'od/ bkra shis rgyal mtshan/ rtogs ldan dbon po/ rgyal mtshan rin chen/ gcig chod dad shes/ rgyal po[?] ri pa shes blo/ rang grol bla ma rgyal mtshan/ bsod nams blo gros/ bstan rgyal bzang po bkra shis 'od zer/ des nas bdag la'o/ dge'o/ bkra shis/ zhal dro/ byin cha'o/ [hardly legible small writing follows, not included here]

T.III.223.41 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi 'od gsal mtshams bcad kyi man ngag dang rtsa rlung 'khrul 'khor 'od gsal:*

Beginning text: ... ! e ma ho// ye nyid ston pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...

Colophon: -

T.III.223.42 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsa rlung 'khrul 'khor 'od gsal:*

Beginning text: // *e ma ho!! ye nyid ston pa'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ brgyud pa'i bla ma rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ ...*

Colophon: ... // *bla ma dam pa rnam rim par brgyud nas mnaga' ri tshul khri ms dpal bzang la brgyud/ des nyar [looks like an erroneous contraction with nyar or nyer plus ra btags] ma shes rab bkra shis/ des slob dpon drung yig pa la/ des nyi ma 'od zer la sogs rim par brgyud nas bdag la'o/*

T.III.223.43 (*sngon 'gro'i 'khrul 'khor*):

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.44 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsa rlung gegs sel 'khrul 'khor gyi rim pa:*

Beginning text: // // *kun tu bzang po phyi nang bar chod sel la phyag 'tshal lo// ...*

Colophon: ... / *yon tan stod [leader to note, but no note] 'tshang snying rlung dang / snying mi dga' ba'i nad las grol/ dam pa 'bum rjes mdzad pa yin/ rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi/ rtsa ba bye brag 'khrul 'khor rim pa ni/ dpon rgyal btsan pos mdzad nas/ rim gyis brgyud nas da lta bdag la'o/ bkra shis par byon/*

T.III.223.45 (*Lugs gsal lus gnad*):

Beginning text: -

Colophon: -

T.III.223.46 *sNyan rgyud rtsa khrid mun sel shel phreng (Rang grol bla ma rgyal mtshan):*

Beginning text: // // *kun tu bzang po mtshan mar ston la phyag 'tshal lo// ...*

Colophon: [after end text] ... / *sa ma ya/ rgya rgya rgya% dge'o// bder gshegs dgongs rgyud dgu/ grub thob nyi shu rtsa bzhi/ sprul sku drin chen gnyis/ zhang zhung smar gyi grub chen drug/ spu rgyal bod kyi grub thob gsum/ rtogs ldan dngos grub rgyal mtshan/ 'or sgom kun 'dul khu [d]bon gnyis dang lnya / bka' brgyud bla ma bdun rim par brgyud nas/ bdag rang grol bla ma rgyal mtshan gyis/ dbang lung man ngag<s> rtsa rlung yig chung dang bcas pa rnam [648] rim par rdzogs par thob/ rtsa rlung man ngag<s> lag len khri[g]s k<h>a 'di/ gangs lta [emend: rta] sgo shel bar/ gnas chen nyi ma long du/ bdag rang grol bla ma rgyal mtshan gyi[s] [b]sgrigs pa lags/ bder gshegs rig 'dzin mkha' 'gro dbal mo dang / bon skyong srung ma'i tshogs la bzod par gsol/ rdzogs chen snyan rgyud lag len 'di/ 'gro don nyi zer bzhin du rgyas par shog/ bkra shis dpal 'bar 'dzam gling rgyan du shog/ sa ma ya/ rgya rgya rgya%% dge'o// zhal dro// byin che'o/*

**The Early *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud* Lineage, according to the
rdzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam
thar**

By *spa btsun bstan rgyal seng ge dpal bzang* (probable date of composition
1419)

N.1, =N2.2.55–184 (N2.2.185–192 excluded) and =dBra.1.3–120 (dBra.1.120–128 excluded), not in K.II.110; cf. T.III.101.1 & =Sh.2.1 (rdzogs pa chen po zhang

zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus dang rnam thar dang bcas pa by bru rgyal ba g-yung drung, 1242–1290), cf. K.II.110.4; YST.5 (*snyan rgyud rgyas bshad chen mo*, first parts may be by *yang ston chen po*, end 11th–12th AD, later lineage supplemented by others (see last name lineage)); T.III.156.10 (*bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar by skyang sprul nam mkha' rgyal mtshan*); and T.III.156.22 (*snyan rgyud 'bring po sor bzhag sngon 'gro*).

[...] indicates that changes have been implemented to *spa btsun bstan rgyal seng ge dpal bzang*'s text

Cf. now Blezer, H.W.A, (2010), "Greatly Perfected, in Space and Time: Historicities of the Bon Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung", in *The Earth Ox Papers*, a special issue of LTWA 2009 proceedings in *The Tibet Journal* edited by Roberto Vitali, Autumn 2009, vol. XXXIV n.3 – Summer 2010, vol.XXXV n.2, pp. 71–160.

- 1 *ring rgyud mu chags su rgyud pa* (5.2–26.4, Sh.2.1.540.3), NyG & KGI
- 1.a. *rgyal ba dgongs pa'i rgyud pa, dgu* (5.3–13.4, Sh.2.1.540.4)
 (non human figures)
ye nyid kyi ston pa (5.4–6.3, SGK.1, YST.5.32.8, Sh.2.1.540.4–5: *kun tu bzang po*)
thugs rje'i ston pa (6.3–7.4, SGK.2, YST.5.43.10, Sh.2.1.540.5: *gshen lha dkar po*)
sprul pa'i ston pa (7.4–8.6, SGK.3, YST.5.44.1, Sh.2.1.540.5–541.1)
tshad med 'od ldan (8.6–9.5, SGK.4, YST.5.44.2: *yang sprul pa'i ston pa*, Sh.2.1.541.1 skips next, -> *yum sras yab gsum*, see next)
'phrul gshen snang ldan (9.5–10.3, SGK.5, YST.5.44.2–3: *rgyud khungs kyi ston pa*, not in Sh.2.1)
 (YST.5.44.5:
mkha' rang bzhin gsal ba'i ston pa)
bar snang khu byug (10.3–11.1, SGK.6, YST.5.44.5: *bar (k)long gi sprul pa g-yu<'>bya khu byug*)
 often represented by a cuckoo
bzang za ring btsun (11.1–11.6, SGK.7, YST.5.44.6: *dbyings rnam par dag pa'i ston pa yum bzang za ring btsun*, Sh.2.1.541.1–2: *yum bzang za ring btsun*)
'chi med gtsug phud (11.6–12.5, SGK.8, YST.5.44.6: *mkha' dbyings kyi sprul pa'i sras 'chi med tsug phud*, Sh.2.1.541.2: *sras 'chi med tsug phud*) -> 1.b.1.1
gsang ba 'dus pa (12.6–13.3, SGK.9, YST.5.44.6–7, (*yab*) *gshen gsang ba 'dus pa*, Sh.2.1.541.1–2: (*yab*) *gshen gsang ba 'dus pa*) -> 1.b.1.3
- 1.b. *grub thob snyan khung<s> gi rgyud pa, gnyis* (13.4–26.4, Sh.2.1.541.3: *sems dpa' ting 'dzin gyi rgyud pa* (*yum sras gshen gsum*), starts with *rgyud pa 'khrug med*), NyG & KG I
 (in SGK moved toward the end, continue with *rgyud pa 'khrug med*; YST.5 listed immediately after *rgyud pa 'khrug med*)
- 1.b.1 *rgyud pa 'khrug can, gsum* (13.4–21.1, cf. also YST.6: *rGyud pa khrug<s> can*, N.B. not in Sh.2.1)

(exists parallel to *rgyud pa 'khrug med*)

**1.b.1.1 *drod skyes 'chi med gtsug phud nas rgyud pa (bcu bdun)*
(13.4–20.4)**

(exists parallel to *ye gshen gtsug phud nas rgyud pa* and *gsang ba 'dus pa*
nas rgyud pa)

gshen hor ti chen po (13.5–14.5, SGK.72, YST.5.52.4, YST.6.149.2:
dpon *hor ti chen po*, **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)
cf. *hor ti chen po*, 1.b.2.3

(*bla ma*) *kun mkhyen don grub* (14.5–15.1, SGK.73, YST.5.52.5: *kun*
mkhyen don grub, YST.6.149.3: *dpon chen kun mkhyen don*
grub, N.B. not in Sh.2.1)
cf. *don kun grub*, 1.b.2.4?

(*bla ma*) *tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan* (15.1–15.3, SGK.74,
YST.5.53.7–8: *dpon chen tshe spung(s) zla ba rgyal*
mtshan, YST.6.152.5: *dpon chen tshe spungs (b)zla ba*
rgyal mtshan, **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)
cf. *zla ba rgyal mtshan*, 1.b.2.4
-> *gyer spungs* (*ring brgyud*)
-> *ta pi ra tsa*

(*bla ma*) *ra sangs klu rgyal* (15.3–15.4, SGK.75, YST.5.54.1,
YST.6.152.8: *dpon chen ra sangs klu (b)rgyal*, **N.B. not in**
Sh.2.1)

cf. *ra sangs 'phan rgyal*, 1.b.2.4?
father and teacher following

(*bla ma*) *ta pi ra tsa* (15.5–15.6, SGK.76, YST.5.54.4: *dpon chen ta*
pi ra tsa, YST.6.153.3: *dpon chen ra sangs ta pi ra tsa*, **N.B.**
not in Sh.2.1)
cf. *dpon chen ta pi ra tsa*, 1.b.2.4?
-> *gyer spungs* (in vision: *nye brgyud*)

(*bla ma*) *ra sangs ku ma ra tsa* (15.6–16.2, SGK.77, YST.5.54.6: *ra*
sangs ku ma ra (tsa), YST.6.153.5: *sras ra sangs ku ma ra*
(tsa), **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)

(*bla ma*) *ra sangs bsam grub* (16.2–16.5, SGK.78, **N.B. not in**
YST.5 and in Sh.2.1, YST.6.153.7: *yab chen po ra sangs*
(b)rtsegs)
cf. *ra sangs bsam grub*, 1.b.2.2?

(*bla ma*) *zhang zhung sad ne ga'u* (16.5–17.1, SGK.79, YST.5.54.9:
zhang zhung sad ne ga'u, YST.6.154.2, **N.B. not in**
Sh.2.1)
cf. *gu rib gsas dga'*, 1.b.2.4??

(*bla ma*) *gu rib lha sbyin* (17.1–17.2, SGK.80, YST.5.55.4: *gu rib*
lha sbyin, YST.6.154.7, **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)

gu rib dpal bzang (17.2–17.4, SGK.81, YST.5.55.7: *sras gu rib dpal*
bzang, YST.6.152.8: *gu rib dpal bzang*, **N.B. not in**
Sh.2.1)

(*bla ma*) *ra sangs khrin ne khod* (17.4–18.2, SGK.82, YST.5.55.9: *ra*
sangs khrin ne khod, YST.6.155.6, **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)
'phrin las nyi ma: contemporary 28th (=31st?) king stag ri
gnyan gzigs (5th/6th c. AD, 28th: *lha tho tho ri gnyan*
btsan). He spread the teaching to *sum pa* through *sum*

pa a ba ldong and via him to China, through *gsal ba 'od chen* (or directly to both from *khrin ne khod*, see MS (*srid pa spyi mdos*) Namkhai Norbu: by *Krin ne khol*, which he believes to be a contemporary)

(*bla ma*) *jag rong gsas mkhar* (18.2–18.4, SGK.83, YST.5.56: *jag rong gsas mkhar*, listed after *sum pa'i bon po a ba ldong* (who is mentioned separately), *rgya nag gi bon po gsal* is here a student of *sum pa'i bon po a ba ldong* rather than a fellow student with *ra sangs khrin ne khod*, YST.6.156.4: also listed separately after *sum pa'i bon po a ba ldong*, *rgya'i bon po gsal ba 'od chen* is here a fellow student of *sum pa'i bon po a ba ldong* with *ra sangs khrin ne khod*, N.B. not in Sh.2.1)

(*sras gsum gyi bar ma* (18.2), YST.5.56.9–10: *sras gsum gyi bar pa*, YST.6.157.2: *sras po gsum gyi bar ma*, **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)

(*bla ma*) *khyung po a ba ldong* (18.4–18.6, cf. *sum pa'i bon po a ba ldong* in SGK.84, YST.5.56.3, see comments at *jag rong gsas mkhar*: *sum pa'i bon po a ba ldong* is listed before *jag rong gsas mkhar*, ditto in YST.6.156.3:, **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)

(*bla ma*) *khyung po bkra shis rgyal mtshan* (18.6–19.3, SGK.85, YST.5.57.3: *khyung po bkra shis rgyal mtshan*, YST.6.157.5, N.B. not in Sh.2.1)

father and teacher following

(*bla ma*) *khyung po legs mgon* (19.3–20.1, SGK.86, YST.5.57.7: *khyung po legs ghon*, YST.6.158.2, **N.B. not in Sh.2.1**)

cf. *khyung po legs mgon*, 1.b.1.2

(*bla ma*) *ma hor stag gzig* (20.1–20.4, **N.B. not in SGK and Sh.2.1**, YST.5.58.1: *ma hor stag gzig*, YST.6.158.6: *ma(n)g) hor stag gzig*)
-> *gyer spungs*

1.b.1.2 *sgong skyes ye gshen gtsug phud nas rgyud pa* (brgyad) (20.4–20.5)

(exists parallel to *'chi med gtsug phud nas rgyud pa* and *gsang ba 'dus pa nas rgyud pa*)

don grub legs pa klu'i sras (20.4, **N.B. not in SGK and not in Sh.2.1**, YST.5.51.5: *don grub legs bu'i* [emend: *pa*] *klu'i sras*)

zhang zhung khra snya stag sgro (20.4, **N.B. not in SGK and not in Sh.2.1**, YST.5.51.6: *zhang zhung khri snya stag khron*)

zhang zhung g-yu lo (20.4, **N.B. not in SGK and not in Sh.2.1**, YST.5.51.6: *zhang zhung g-yung po*)

zhang zhung khri pa (20.5, **N.B. not in SGK and not in Sh.2.1**, YST.5.51.6: *zhang zhung khri bo*)

khyung po legs mgon (20.5, **N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1**)

cf. *khyung po legs mgon*, 1.b.1.1

ma hor stag gzig (20.5, **N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1**)

gu rib shing slag can (20.5, N.B. not in SGK and not in Sh.2.1,
YST.5.51.7: *gu rib stag wer shing slag can*)
cf. Buddhist *grum ye shes rgyal mtshan/grum shing slag can*

snang bzher lod po (20.5/27.4, SGK.35, YST.5.51.7: *snang zher lod po*, Sh.2.1.542.5: *gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po*)

Royal preceptor to, so contemporary of, *lig mi rhya*; therefore traditionally dated to approximately 7th AD. Most likely he is a legendary figure, however, who is not firmly established by a convincing body of historical references. *Gyer spungs* seems to represent a relevant divide in the lineage (re)construction, i.e., he may indicate the start of another, more historical section of the *zhang zhung snyan brgyud* lineage, as such he may well represent the actual starting point of an early version of the lineage. With *gyer spungs* some more biographical data are appended to names. His clan name, *gu rib* occurs very frequently in names or in biographical data appended to these.

Found two suitable 'vessels', of 3 (*dmu tsog ge*, taught at 19) and 73 years (*pha ba rgyal gzigs gsas chung*). Instituted *sman kumāra(rā)ja* and *nyi pang sad* as protectors.

Sh2.1.542.5:- son of (*yab*) *gu rub 'bum me* and (*yum*) *mang wer za sgron ne*. Entered Bon religion at thirty. Teacher *tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan*.

1.b.1.3 *rdzus skyes gsang ba 'dus pa nas rgyud pa (dgu)* (20.5–21.1)
(exists parallel to *'chi med gtsug phud nas rgyud pa* and *ye gshen gtsug phud nas rgyud pa*)

lha bon thod dkar (20.6, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

ye gshen bsam grub (20.6, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

gyer spungs legs grub (20.6, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

rgyung yar btsad po (20.6, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

khre sras rgyal ba (20.6, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

zhang zhung dga' rab (20.6–21.1, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

ra sangs bsod nams brtseg (21.1, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

zhang zhung bkra shis rgyal mtshan (21.1, N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5 and not in Sh.2.1)

snang bzher lod po (21.1, SGK.35, N.B. not in YST.5; Sh.2.1.542.5: *gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po*)

1.b.2 *rgyud pa 'khrug med, bzhi* (21.1–26.4, N.B. here Sh.2.1 resumes lineage)

(exists parallel to *rgyud pa 'khrug can*)

1.b.2.1 *sems dpa' brda'i rgyud pa* (drug), but actually only five, the first (*mngal skyes*) is a group-heading that got disconnected from the previous three headings at the *rgyud pa khrug can*: *drod skyes, srong skyes, rdzus skyes*) (21.2–22.3; Sh.2.1.541.3: *sems dpa' ting 'dzin gyi rgyud pa*)

mngal skyes sprul pa'i ston pa gshen rab (21.2, N.B. not in SGK, YST.5.44.9: has a true heading here: *la zla ba'i bla ma lnya*, ditto Sh.2.1.541.3: *la zla ba'i gshen po lnya* (but lists six), Sh.2.1 counts *gshen po nyi shu rtsa bzhi* (*sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin sems dpa' chen po*, Sh.2.1.542.3) from 1.b.2.1–1.b.2.4)

lha rab 'od kyi sras yongs su dag pa (21.2–21.4, SGK.10, YST.5.44.7: *lha'i bon po yongs su dag pa* (cf. YST.59.6: *lha'i gshen po yongs su dag pa*), Sh.2.1.541.3: *lha bon yongs su dag pa*)

bram ze lha byin mdzes kyi sras bu klu bon ba nam (21.4–21.5, SGK.11, YST.5.44.7: *klu'i bon po ba nam skyol po* (cf. YST.59.7), Sh.2.1.541.3–4: *klu bon ba nam skyol po*)

rgyal po khri lde 'od kyi sras mi bon khri lde zam bu (21.5–21.6, SGK.12, YST.5.44.8: *mi'i bon po khri lde zam bu* (cf. YST.59.8), Sh.2.1.541.4: *mi bon khri lde zam bu*)

ba nam skyol po (21.6–22.1, SGK.13, YST.5.44.8: *zhang zhung ba nam skyol po* (cf. YST.59.9), Sh.2.1.541.4: *zhang zhung ba nam skyol po*)

sras khri shol rgyal ba (22.1–22.3, SGK.14, YST.5.44.9: *khri sho rgyal ba* (cf. YST.59.7: *sras khri sho rgyal ba*) Sh.2.1.541.4: *sras khri shod rgyal ba*)

1.b.2.2 *rig 'dzin rig pa'i rgyud pa* (drug) (22.3–23.4, Sh.2.1.541.4: *don drug gi gshen po rnam pa drug*)

ra sangs bsam grub (22.3–22.4, SGK.15, YST.5.44.9–45.1, Sh.2.1.541.4)

cf. *ra sangs bsam grub*, 1.b.1.1?

dar ma shes rab (22.4–22.5, SGK.16, YST.5.45.1, Sh.2.1.541.5)

dar ma 'bod de (22.5–22.6, SGK.17, YST.5.45.1, Sh.2.1.541.5: *dar ma bo de*)

zhang zhung khri 'phan (22.6–23.1, SGK.18, YST.5.45.2, Sh.2.1.541.5)

mu ye lha rgyung (23.2–23.3, SGK.19, YST.5.45.2, Sh.2.1.541.5)

rma gshen legs bzang (23.3–23.4, SGK.20, YST.5.45.2: *rma'i bon po legs bzang*, Sh.2.1.541.5)

1.b.2.3 *gang zag snyan khung<s> kyi* [emend: *gil*] *rgyud pa* (dgu) (23.4–25.4, YST.5.45.6: *bdam* [emend: *gdams*] *ngag gi bla ma rgu* [emend: *dgu*], Sh.2.1.541.5: *gdams ngag dgu yi gshen po dgu*)

gyer gshen stag lha (23.4–23.6, SGK.21, YST.5.45.3: (*sras*) *stag lha*, Sh.2.1.542.1: (*sras*) *stag lha*)
ra sangs g-yung drung gsas (23.6–24.1, SGK.22, YST.5.45.3–4, Sh.2.1.542.1: (*sras*) *g-yung drung gsal*)
ra sangs g-yung 'phan (24.1–24.2, SGK.23, YST.5.45.4: (*sras*) *g-yung drung 'phan*, Sh.2.1.542.1: (*sras*) *g-yung drung 'phan*)
dge 'phar don grub (24.2–24.3, SGK.24, YST.5.45.4: *dge 'bar don grub*, Sh.2.1.542.1: (*sras*) *dge 'bar don grub* (N.B. listed fifth))
gyer spungs dge 'phen (24.3–24.4, SGK.25, YST.5.45.4–5: *ra sangs dge 'phan*, Sh.2.1.542.1: (*sras*) *dge dge 'phan* (N.B. listed sixth))
(*sras*) *dge rgyal* (24.4–24.5, SGK.26, YST.5.45.5 (*sras*) *dge rgyal*, Sh.2.1.542.1: (*sras*) *dge rgyal ba* (N.B. listed fourth))
zhang zhung rnam rgyal (24.5–24.6, SGK.27, YST.5.45.5: *zhang zhung rnam rgyal*, Sh.2.1.542.1–2)
mu rgyung dkar po (24.6–25.1, SGK.28, YST.5.45.5: *ye mu rgyung*, Sh.2.1.542.2: *ye mu rgyung*)
hor ti chen po (25.1–25.4, SGK.29, YST.5.45.6: *gshen hor ti chen po*, Sh.2.1.542.2)
cf. *hor ti chen po*, 1.b.1.1

1.b.2.4 *mkhas pa lo paṇ gyi rgyud pa (bzhi)* (25.4–26.4, YST.5.45.8: *dbu' [emend: dbu] rgyan gyi bla ma bzhi*, Sh.2.1.542.2: *dbu rgyan bzhi gyi gshen po bzhi*, end *gshen po nyi shu rtsa bzhi* in Sh.2.1)
don kun grub pa (25.4, SGK.30, YST.5.45.6, Sh.2.1.542.2)
cf. *kun mkhyen don grub*, 1.b.1.1?
ra sangs 'phan rgyal (25.4–25.5, SGK.31, YST.5.45.7: *ra sangs ('')phan rgyal*, Sh.2.1.542.2)
cf. *ra sangs klu rgyal*, 1.b.1.1?
gu rib gsas dga' (25.5, SGK.32, YST.5.45.7 *gu rib sras rga'* [emend: *dga'*], Sh.2.1.542.2: *gu rub gsas dga'*)
cf. *zhang zhung sad ne ga'u*, 1.b.1.1??
zla ba rgyal mtshan (25.5, SGK.33, YST.5.45.7–8: *tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan*, Sh.2.1.542.2: *tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan*)
cf. *Tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan*, 1.b.1.1
-> *dpon chen ta pi ra tsa, ring brgyud*
-> *gyer spungs nang bzher lod po, ring brgyud*

2. *nye rgyud thog babs su rgyud pa (26.4–129.6, Sh.2.1)*
rnam sprul 'gro don gyi rgyud pa, drug (26.5–120.4; Sh.2.1.542.5: *grub thob rig 'dzin gyi rgyud pa*)

2.1 *sprul sku drin can gnyis (26.5–31.5)*, NyG & KG I
dpon chen ta pi ra tsa (26.6–27.4, SGK.34, YST.5.46.1: *sprul pa'i sku ta pi ra tsa*, N.B. not in Sh.2.1)
cf. *ta pi ra tsa*, 1.b.1.1?

- > *gyer spungs, nye brgyud*
gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po (27.4–31.5, SGK.35, YST.5.46.1–2:
gu rib snang zher lod po, cf. YST.5.63.3: *gyer spungs chen po snang zher lod po*, YST.6.159.6: *dpon chen gu rib snang zher lod po*, Sh.2.1.542.5)
 see above
- 2.2 *zhang zhung smar gyi grub chen drug* (31.5–38.2, Sh.2.1.558.1: *zhang zhung gi grub chen drug*), NyG & KG I
pha ba rgyal gzigs gsas chung (31.5–33.2, SGK.36, YST.5.46.2: *pha wa rgyal tig gsas* (cf. YST.5.66.3–4), Sh.2.1.558.2: (*pha ba*) *rgyal gzig(s) gsas chung*)
 priest to king *ral pa can* (805–?), but cf. the fact that he was taught by Gyer spungs snang bzher lo po (7th c. AD) at the age of 73!
 son bodyguard (*sku srung*) to the king
 son of (*yab*) *ya ngal gsas rgyal* and (*yum*) *thod dkar sman skyid*
 taught by *gyer spungs* at 73, died at 317 (SGK: 370, Sh.2.1.558.2: 317)
dmu tsog ge (33.2–33.6, SGK.37, YST.5.46.2: *dmu tso ge* (cf. YST.5.68.4), Sh.2.1.559.2: *gu rub kyi grub thob chen po dmu tso ge*)
gu rib clan
 son of (*yab*) *gu rib gyer rgyung* and (*yum*) *snyia mo lcam gcig*
 (SGK: *gyer spungs*—probably not: perhaps a disciple of *gyer spungs*?; Sh.2.1.559.3: *gu rub gyer rgyung* and (*yum*) *snyia mo lcam zhig*)
 paternal uncle *dmu shod tram chen po*
 spotted at 3 by *Gyer spungs*, taught by former at 19, died at 171
dmu tso stangs (33.6–34.4, SGK.38, YST.5.2–3: *dmu btso stangs* (cf. YST.5.69.3: *dmu tso stengs*), Sh.2.1.560.2: *gu rub grub thob chen po tso tang*)
gu rib clan
 son of (*yab*) *gu rib ston pa rgyung nge* and (*yum*) *rog shud za a lo sman* (Sh.2.1.560.3: (*yab*) *gu rub stong rgyung nge*)
 taught at 47, lived until 113
dmu shod tram chen po (34.4–35.3, SGK.39, YST.5.46.3: *dmu shod kram chen po* (cf. YST.5.69.9), Sh.2.1.560.5–6)
gu rib clan
 son of (*yab*) *gu rib khro rgyal* and (*yum*) *ra mo lu gu*
 (Sh.2.1.560.6: (*yab*) *gu rub khro rgyal*)
 nephew *dmu tsog ge*
 renunciation at 40, lived until 117
dmu rgyal ba blo gros (35.3–36.3, SGK.40, YST.5.46.3: *dmu<'> rgyal ba blo gros*, cf. YST.5.70.9, Sh.2.1.561.3)
gu rub clan
 son of (*yab*) *gu rub tsu gu* (Sh.2.1.561.3: *gu rub rtsu gu*)
 renunciation at 45, meets teacher *dmu shod tram chen po* (SGK: 40, Sh.2.1.561.3: 44), taught at 54 (SGK: 49, Sh.2.1.561.3: 53)

(Sh.2.1.561.3: 53: lived until 220)

dpon chen btsan po (36.3–38.2, SGK.41, YST.5.46.3: *gu rib tsen po*, cf. YST.5.72.3: *dpon tsen po*, Sh.2.1.561.6: *grub thob chen po*)

thog la clan at da rog gi brag ri

son of (*yab*) *sku gshen thog lha rtse mo* and (*yum*) *mang wer za rgyan chung ma* (Sh.2.1.561.6: (*yab*) *gshen thog lha rtse mo*)

met master at 12, lived for 1600 years

transformed himself into a cuckoo

teachings here branch into *smad lugs* (NyG) and *stod lugs* (KG)

-> *dpon chen lhun grub mu thur*

-> *gshen rgyal lha rtse*

2.3 *smad lugs kyi bla ma Inga* (38.2–55.6, Sh.2.1.562.6: *bod kyi grub chen Inga* (cf. later (576.4): *snyan rgyud smad lugs*)), N.B. NyG only!

(exists parallel to *stod lugs*, which in SGK appears at the end)

dpon chen lhun grub mu thur (38.2–40.5, SGK.67, YST.5.46.4: *lhun grub mu thur* (cf. YST.5.74.4), Sh.2.1.562.6)

khyung po clan

son of (*yab*) *khyung byid grub pa'i rgyal po* and (*yum*) *gyer lo za snang srid rgyan* (Sh.2.1.562.6: (*yab*) *khyung byed grub pa rgyal* (*yum*) *gyer za snang rgyan*)

taught by *dpon chen btsan po*

gshen rgyal lha rtse (40.5–44.5, SGK.68, YST.5.46.4: *g-yung drung lha rtse ba* (cf. YST.5.77.5), Sh.2.1.564.1)

gshen clan

son of (*yab*) *gshen 'bar ba glang nag* (and (*yum*) died when young) companion of *dpon chen btsan po* taught by him and *dpon chen lhun grub mu thur*

lived until 113

lha sgom dkar po (44.6–48.6, SGK.69, YST.5.46.4 (cf. YST.5.82.3: *khom (lhom?) ting snam chen*), Sh.2.1.567.3: *lom ting sgo chen*)

'or clan

son of (*yab*) *lom ting a tsa ra*

sets of to study Bon at 8 (Sh.2.1.567.3: 7)

died at 97

dngos grub rgyal mtshan ring mo (48.6–53.3, SGK.70, YST.5.46.4: *dngos grub rgyal mtshan* (cf. YST.5.89.2: *bla ma dngos grub rgyal mtshan*), Sh.2.1.570.3: *dngos grub rgyal mtshan*)

'or clan

son of (*yab*) 'or bon *lha 'bum* and (*yum*) *men mo chos se* (Sh.2.1.570.3: *chen mo chos se*)

died at 73

also studied with Buddhists

(*rje*) 'or *sgom kun 'dul* (53.3–55.6, SGK.71, YST.5.46.5: *rje kun 'dul*, cf. YST.5.94.10, Sh.2.1.573.6: [*rje*] *kun 'dul ba*)

'or clan

son of (*yab*) 'or *pon ston pa rgyal ba gsas* and (*yum*) *khyung byid za byang chub sgron* (Sh.2.1.573.6: (*yab*) *ston pa rgyal ba sras*)

- cousin *dngos grub rgyal mtshan ring mo*
 started studying at 13 with *lha rje me nyag, snyan rgyud* with
 uncle *dngos grub rgyal mtshan ring mo* at 19, lived until
 83 (Sh.2.1574.2: 80)
 he didn't have many Bon students, also taught Buddhists; 'or
sgom and one of his main students, the later *yang ston chen po*, had merely prepared some brief notes on the
 latter's request; at that time no extensive written text
 existed yet; later in his life, two *khams pa-s* wrote his
 teachings down (120 folios of 13 lines)
 -> (*yang ston chen po*) *shes rab rgyal mtshan*
 -> '*bum rje 'od*
- 2.4 *stod lugs kyi bla ma drug* (55.6–60.5, not in YST.5, Sh.2.1.576.6: *bka' rgyud kyi bla ma drug* (cf. later (576.5): *snyan rgyud stod lugs*)), N.B. KG only!**
 (exists parallel to *smad lugs*)
(gu ge) shes rab blo ldan (55.6–56.6, SGK.42, not in YST.5, Sh.2.1.576.5:
gu ge'i grub thob shes rab blo ldan
snyel clan
kun dga' ring mo (56.6–57.5, SGK.43, not in YST.5, Sh.2.1.576.5: *pu [h]rang kun dka'* [emend: *dga'*] *ring mo*)
 < *pu hrang, stong pa clan*
rnal 'byor gsas mchog (57.5–58.4, SGK.44, not in YST.5, Sh.2.1.576.5–6:
rnal 'byor gsal mchog)
 = *bya yon zhig po, sprul sku of tshe dbang rig 'dzin*
(bla ma) khyung byid mu thur (58.4–59.2, SGK.45, not in YST.5,
 Sh.2.1.576.6: *khyung byid mu thur*)
 < *gro shod, khyung po clan*
(bla ma) rtsi bde ba ring mo (59.2–59.6, SGK.46, not in YST.5,
 Sh.2.1.576.6: *rtsi bde ba ring mo*)
 < *gro shod, rong po clan*
(bla ma) rtog med zhig po (59.6–60.5, SGK.47, not in YST.5, Sh.2.1.576.
 6: *rong rtog med zhig po*)
 < *west of glo, rong po clan*
 -> (*yang ston chen po*) *shes rab rgyal mtshan*
 -> *lung sgom rtog med*, but also <- *lung sgom rtog med*
- 2.5 *byang rgyud kyi bla ma dgu* (60.5–81.2, not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1, even though some few names of the *byang rgyud* do seem to appear later on in two lineage-descriptions starting from '*bum rje 'od*', NyG & KG II**
 (exists parallel to *lho rgyud*, first three individuals have all studied
 with and taught to each other)
 [[<(*yang ston*) *shes rab rgyal mtshan* (=*yang ston chen po*) (60.5–64.3,
 SGK.48, YST. 5.46.5: *yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan* (cf.
 YST.5.97.9: *yang ston shes rab rgyal 'tshan* [emend: *mtshan*]),
 Sh.2.1.574.6)]
 (separate from list in Karmay, N.1 / N2.2, and Sh.2.1)>

son (*yab*) *ya ngal gsung rab bskyab* (who died after thirteen days) and (*yum*) *snyi mo chos skyid* (Sh.2.1.575.1: (*yab*) *ya ngal gsung rab skyabs* (*yum*) *snyi mo chos dbyings*)

father of [*dam pa*] *'bum rje 'od*, *'gro mgon klu brag pa* [*bkra shis rgyal mtshan*], and *ya ngal jo lcam* (Sh.2.1.578.3–4: *dam pa* *'bum rje 'od*, *glu* [emend: *klu*] *brag pa bkra shis rgyal mtshan*, *ya ngal jo lcam*)

yang ston chen po according to tradition was the first ever to write down the long and short version of the NyG with the permission and help of (*rje*) 'or *sgom kun 'dul*; he moreover taught it to more than one student; he seems fairly reliable as a historical figure, he must have lived in the last quarter of the 11th c. AD (as he studied Buddhism from *ba ri lo tsā ba* (1040-?))

yang ston is considered to be incarnation of *spang la gnam gshen* (as predicted by (*bla ma*) *rtog med zhig po*)

had discussions with Buddhists

first the extensive and short versions of the NyG from (*rje*) 'or *sgom kun 'dul*, which he wrote down

(first in touch with disciple of 'or *sgom*, *se bon khro rgyal*)

then three parts of the KG from (*bla ma*) *rtog med zhig po*, the fourth *rtog med zhig po* had already given to *lung sgom rtog med*, this being a *gcig rgyud*, *yang ston chen po* therefore requested the rest of the KG from *lung sgom rtog med*

NyG -> *lung sgom rtog med*

died 63 (tradition: because he violated the secrecy of the teaching in some ways, Sh.2.1.578.1: prophesied 73, but actually 63)])

lung sgom rtog med (64.4–65.2, SGK.49, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

received KG and NyG from (*bla ma*) *rtog med zhig po*

received NyG from *yang ston chen po*

(*nyal sgom*) *'khrul med zhig po* (65.2–65.6, SGK.50, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

< eastern *glo*, *snyel* clan

gnyag sgom ri pa sher tshul (65.6–66.5, SGK.51, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

< *dang ra spyan dgon*, *gnyag* clan, *rgya* tribe

taught by both *lung sgom rtog med* and (*nyal sgom*) *'khrul med zhig po*

u ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan (66.5–70.1, SGK.52, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

< *bi ri nang skor ba*, *khams*, *ldong* clan

taught by both *gnyag sgom ri pa sher tshul* and *bya btang pa tshul khriims bzang po*

bsod nams ye shes (70.1–70.6, SGK.53, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

< *dar lding*, *snyel* clan, *sgron nya* family

also studied with and taught *gshen chen ye shes blo gros* (see also *rgya ston ye shes rin chen* and *bkra shis rgyal mtshan*)

rgya ston ye shes rin chen (70.6–75.3, SGK.54, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

also called *khro rgyal*

< *smad chags, dbal rong* valley, *rgya* clan

taught *gu rib bstān skyab*, father of *bya btang pa mched gnyis*

also studied with *gshen chen ye shes blo gros* (see also *bsod nams ye shes* and *bkra shis rgyal mtshan*)

bya btang pa mched gnyis:

bya btang pa tshul khrims bzang po (75.3, SGK.55, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**) &

oldest son *gu rib bstān skyab*

rkyā rgya, gu rib clan

-> *u ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan*

-> *glan ston bsod nams rgyal mtshan*

sa le 'od tshul khrims rgyal mtshan (75.3–77.4, **N.B. not in SGK, not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

(not counted by Karmay)

rkyā rgya, gu rib clan

youngest son *gu rib bstān skyab*

glan ston bsod nams rgyal mtshan (77.5–81.2, SGK.56, **not in YST.5, not in Sh.2.1**)

< *snya nang, zangs tsha* clan, *glan* family

2.6 II

lho rgyud kyi bla ma bcu gcig (81.2–120.4; Sh.2.1.578.3), NyG & KG

(exists parallel to *byang rgyud*)

[[(*yang ston*) *shes rab rgyal mtshan* (=*yang ston chen po*) (60.5–64.3, SGK.48, YST.5.46.5: *yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan* (cf. YST.5.97.9: *yang ston shes rab rgyal 'tshan* [emend: *mtshan*]), Sh.2.1.574.6), father of *dam pa 'bum rje 'od* and *bkra shis rgyal mtshan*, for more data see *byang rgyud*]]

(*bla ma*) *dam pa 'bum rje 'od* (81.2–86.1, SGK.57, YST.5.46.5: *dam pa 'bum rje*, cf. YST.5.105.8: (*bla ma*) *'bum rje 'od*, Sh.2.1.578.3: *yang ston dam pa 'bum rje 'od*)

ya ngal clan

older son (*yum*) (*yang ston*) *shes rab rgyal mtshan* and (*yum*) *gnyan mo bkra shis* (Sh.2.1.578.3: (*yab*) *yang ston chen po* (*yum*) *gnyag mo bkra shis lcam*)

older brother and teacher *bkra shis rgyal mtshan* (not in Sh.2.1) studied with his father and after his father's death also with his mother

also studied with *nyi ma rgyal mtshan* (Sh.2.1.578.3: *bru ston nyi rgyal*)

later he studied with his father's teacher '*or sgom kun 'dul* (Sh.2.1.587.3–4, lineage according to some: *yang ston 'bum rje 'od, 'khrul med zhig po, dpon gsas (dbyl ston) khyung rgod rtsal* (3–4, b. 1175), *dbyl ston nam mkha'* *bsod nams* (cousin of previous) and according to others: (Sh.2.1.587.5–6) *ya ngal 'bum rje 'od, 'khrul med, rtogs ldan nyag sgom ri pa, sum ldan rong sgom, phyogs med*

sgom dad pa, ri khrod pa sher tshul (6), *mkhas grub zhang ston*)

bakra shis rgyal mtshan (86.1–88.5, SGK.58, YST.5.46.6, cf. YST.5.113.8:
klu brag pa bkra shis rgyal mtshan, **not mentioned in Sh.2.1)**

also called *klu brag pa*

ya ngal clan

younger son (*yab*) (*yang ston*) *shes rab rgyal mtshan* and (*yum*)
gnyan mo bkra shis (Sh.2.1.578.3: (*yab*) *yang ston chen po*
(*yum*) *gnyag mo bkra shis lcam*)

younger brother and disciple (*bla ma*) *dam pa 'bum rje 'od*

[father *bla ma sngags pa* (eldest son) and cousin of *rtogs ldan dbon po ye shes rgyal mtshan* (son *bakra shis rgyal mtshan*'s sister, *ya ngal jo lcam*), and the first to go to *dol po* (i.e., *bi tsher*); Ramble, Kailash, 1983.x.3/4:285]

[founder *klu brag* and first temple *bsam gling*, now lost;
present temple *phun tshogs gling* is founded by *dkar ru grub dbang bstan 'dzin rin chen* (b. 1801); Ramble,
Kailash, 1983.x.3/4]

also studied with *gshen chen ye shes blo gros* (see also *rgya ston ye shes rin chen* and *bsod nams ye shes*)

rtogs ldan dbon po ye shes rgyal mtshan (88.5–91.4, SGK.59, YST.5.46.6:

rtogs ldan dbon po, cf. YST.5.117.6: *rtogs ldan dbon po ye shes rgyal mtshan*, Sh.2.1.580.1: (*khong rang gi dpon po*) *rtogs ldan dpon po*)

< *mus kyi sta mo*

son of (*yab*) '*o brgyad rog po* and (*yum*) *ya ngal jo lcam* (family of
brigands, himself an illiterate robber)

maternal nephew (*khong pa rang gi snag dbon po*) of (*bla ma*)
dam pa 'bum rje 'od and *bakra shis rgyal mtshan* (son of
their sister),

taught by *bakra shis rgyal mtshan* after having abandoned his
studies with (*bla ma*) *dam pa 'bum rje 'od* (frustrated
since he was rebuked by *'bum rje 'od* because of his
illiteracy)

yang ston rgyal mtshan rin chen (91.4–94.2, SGK.60, YST.5.46.6: *rgyal mtshan rin chen*, **N.B. here YST.5 stops with this specific transmission lineage**), cf. YST.5.121.3 *yang ston rgyal mtshan rin chen*, Sh.2.1.581.1: *yang ston gdan sa pa*)

ya ngal clan, also a *yang ston*, but not *yang ston chen po*

son of (*yab*) *ya ngal phur pa* and (*yum*) *nya mo kun skyid*

lineage comes through the maternal uncle (*khong pa rang gi sku zhang*) of *rtogs ldan dbon po* (i.e., (*bla ma*) *dam pa 'bum rje 'od* and *bakra shis rgyal mtshan*), i.e., is likewise
maternal nephew of his teacher (Sh.2.1.581.1: *khong rang gi dbon po*). When the last heir of the *dol po ya ngal*
lineage *ya ngal ba su*, who is the son of *bla ma sngags pa* [who in turn is the eldest son of *bakra shis rgyal mtshan*;
Ramble, Kailash, 1983.x.3/4:285], dies, *yang ston rgyal mtshan rin chen* is brought in from *stag rtse'i rdza ri* (in

upper *gtsang*) to *dol po*, after consultation with *bla ma sngags pa*
contemporary of *bru chen po rgyal ba g-yung drung* (1242–1290),
the latter acquired his *rnam thar* and *lo rgyus* from this master
founder *bde ldan bsam gtan gling*
died 62

rtogs ldan gcig chod dad pa shes rab (94.2–98.4, SGK.61, **not in YST.5 general lineage**, only in detailed discussion: YST.5.125.3–4:
rtogs ldan dad pa shes rab, **skipped in the ordered list of Sh.2.1**, but mentioned later in Sh.2.1.583.1, when *bru chen po* relates how he got his teachings: *rtogs ldan dad pa shes rab* (cf. Sh.2.1.587.5))
son of (*yab*) *sro bon khro bstan* and (*yum*) *mgon mo rgyan*
died 73

bru chen po rgyal ba g-yung drung (98.4–104.1, SGK.62, **not in YST.5 general lineage**, only in detailed discussion: YST.5.125.3: *bru rin po che rgyal ba g-yung drung*, **Sh.2.1 ends here with its author bru chen po**)
<*g-yas ru dben sa kha*, *bru clan*
son of (*yab*) *bru zha bsod nams rgyal mtshan* and he was the third of four brothers
abbot of *g-yas ru dben sa kha*, *bru family tradition* started in 1070 at their family seat at *thob rgyal*
originally requested his *rnam thar* and *lo rgyus* from *yang ston rgyal mtshan rin chen*, by messenger, but got only textual initiation for the whole of the teaching and a letter telling him to get the actual transmission from *yang ston's student dad pa shes rab*
died 49

la stod ri pa sher blo (104.2–105.2, SGK.63, **not in YST.5 and Sh.2.1**)
<*dol po*, *sangs clan*
studied with both *rtogs ldan gcig chod dad pa shes rab* and *la stod ri pa sher blo*

khyung po rang grol bla ma rgyal mtshan (105.2–109.8, SGK.64, **not in YST.5 and Sh.2.1**)
<*tsher lung*, *gser ri'i ru rgyal*, *khyung po clan*
son of (*yab*) *yon bdag khro bo srung* and (*yum*) *rgyal khri za ba bkra shis*
debated *tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa* (1357–1419)
Buddhists also studied with him

a thog ye shes rin chen (109.8–112.2, SGK.65, **not in YST.5 and Sh.2.1**)
<(*g-yas ru*) *dben sa kha*, *a thog clan*
attended to *bru chen po rgyal ba g-yung drung*
died 120

(slob dpon) kar tsa bsod nams blo gros (112.2–116.4, SGK.66, **not in YST.5 and Sh.2.1**)
<*mdo smad kyi gyod du*, *kar ts<h>a clan*
son of (*yab*) *khro bo yag* and (*yum*) *phag mo dar*
died 70

[(*slob ma sprul sku*) *bstan rgyal bzang po* (116.4–120.4, SGK.66+1
 (described), **not in YST.5 and Sh.2.1**
 (author text)

spa clan

son of (*yab*) *spa nyi dpal bzang po* and (*yum*) *dpos gsas lcam mo nam mkha' khye 'dren*
 also taught by *rgya sgom bstan bzang* and in the *byang lugs*
 according to *tre ston rgyal mtshan dpal*]]

[[Addenda (later teachers, added by their students) (120.5–129.6), NyG & KG II

(*slob dpon*) *khro bo rgyal mtshan* (120.5–124.5, SGK.66+1+1 (not described), **not in YST.5 and Sh.2.1**)

skyi clan

the second of three children of (*yab*) *dbang chen skyabs* and (*yum*) *dpal ldan ming 'dren*

studied together with his teacher *spa bstan rgyal bzang po* the *snyan rgyud* with *kar ts<h>a bsod nams blo gros*

(*shar ba drang strong*) *tshul khrims dpal bzang* (124.5–129.6, SGK.66+1+2 (not described), **not in YST.5 and Sh.2.1**)

<*theb chu rong*, *dbra* clan

the youngest of three children of (*yab*) *dbra rigs kyi sras po lcags 'phan* and (*yum*) *sga za g-yung drung sman*]]



The Early Years of Khyung sprul rin po che: Hor (1897-1919)*

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Introduction

Khyung sprul rin po che (1897-1955), who spent more than fifty years of his life traveling in Tibet, India, Bhutan and Nepal, was one of the most renowned Bon po pilgrims of his time. Born into a family of Amdo Ga rgya aristocratic lineage, in the nomadic Bon po kingdom of Hor, he showed a great will to devote his entire life to religious activities from a very early age.

The whole of his spiritual life was inspired by the *ris med* movement, making no distinction between Bon and Buddhism, as he constantly asserted in his poems.¹ Thus, he received his full *drang srong* vows in the Bon po scholastic tradition of sMan ri monastery (gTsang), but later he had no objections in joining the Buddhist community of *rdzogs chen* practitioners

* This article is the starting point of a series of publications about the life and works of Khyung sprul rin po che. Many people from different academic and religious institutions have encouraged this research work for a long time and I am indebted to all of them. In the first place, I wish to thank Dr. Helmut Tauscher for his extraordinary help, insight and guidance; without his continuous intellectual assistance this work would have never been realized. I also owe thanks to many Tibetans and Kinnauris who have participated in a greater or lesser degree in this research project. Sonam Drolkar gave me invaluable advises and insightful suggestions for the translation job. For his part, Geshe Kalsang Norbu (Tengchen) shared his knowledge with me and provided a superb contribution to the whole project. A few people who had personally met Khyung sprul rin po che were very kind to describe their personal experiences with the Bon po lama: the abbot dGe slong bsTan 'dzin dbang grags in Gur gyam Monastery, mKhas mchog rdo rje in sMan ri Monastery (Dolanji), the Kinnauri nun bSod nams dpal skyid from Lippa and the former monk bsTan 'dzin rnam rgyal established in Wombu. Sadly two of them have already passed away while I write these lines. I also want to thank Samdrup (Lhasa) for his advice which has been of enormous importance for the completion of this work. I deeply appreciate the descriptions given by Geshe Tenzin Drukdkak (Bachen) about the local traditions of Hor. My gratitude also goes to Amdo Tsogyal for facilitating my work in Lhasa as much as circumstances permitted. Finally, I am most thankful to H.H. Lung rtogs bstan pa'i nyi ma, the Thirty-third Menri Trizin, for his kind assistance, provided whenever needed. Any mistakes in what follows remain my responsibility alone.

¹ On his birth in 1897 he was named bSod nams bstan 'dzin by his parents. Later, in 1911, on receiving his first monk's vows, he was renamed g.Yun drung rgyal mtshan. In 1919, when he received the *drang srong* vows in sMan ri, he also received a new Bon po name: g.Yung drung rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. After joining the bDe ba'i rgyal po, in 1924 he received a Buddhist name: Jigs med nam mkha'i rdo rje. Eventually, he was to be known as Khyung sprul 'Jigs med nam mkha'i rdo rje or just Khyung sprul rin po che without any sectarian connotation.

established in Nam mkha' khyung rdzong (mNga' ris) under the guidance of bDe chen rgyal po. He spent a large part of his time in India as a Buddhist pilgrim visiting most of the sacred sites of northern India², but at the same time he was the instigator of the return of Bon po traditions to the ancient land of Zhang zhung in mNga' ris. Very significantly, he showed a particular interest for the remote Kinnaur valley, where he was to spend long periods of his life undertaking the difficult task of eliminating the deeply rooted, ancient traditions of offering blood sacrifices to the local deities (*yul lha*). In the heart of the Lippa woods, his exceptional knowledge attracted a large group of Buddhist Kinnauri followers and eventually, after returning to mNga' ris, he founded a permanent Bon po monastery on the barren plain of Gur gyam. After establishing his permanent seat there, he and his followers continued to cross the Western Himalayan borders through Kinnaur and Garhwal — in present-day Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, respectively — until the end of his life. These journeys to India combined extensive pilgrimages to Buddhist sites with visits to Delhi in order to publish several treatises. Khyung sprul rin po che also had a considerable impact on a number of Westerners that he met during his life. This was the case of Giuseppe Tucci who had several occasions to meet the pilgrim in Tibet. Thanks to these meetings we have interesting descriptions of him (together with a few pictures) that help us understand his rich biography from a variety of different angles and viewpoints. Tucci provides us with the following somewhat bewildering description of Khyung sprul rin po che dated to 1935:

(Gigmmèdorgè) non è solamente una delle persone più dotte che vivano oggi nel Tibet, medico ed astrologo a cui si attribuiscono cure e profezie miracolose, ma è anche da tutti venerato come uno degli stregoni più potenti che vivano sull'altipiano. Al suo cennò ubbidisce un disordinato mondo di forze, ora benefiche, ora malvagie, che sconvolgono, turbano, placano uomini e cose.³

Most of his religious and medical activities were concentrated around the banks of the Upper Sutlej river, where he had earlier founded Gur gyam mDo sngags grags rgyas gling Monastery next to g.Yung drung rin chen 'bar ba'i brag phug, the eighth century meditation cave of Dran pa nam mkha' according to the Bon po tradition. Khyung sprul rin po che identified the area surrounding Gur gyam as Khyung lung dngul mkhar, the capital city of the ancient Zhang zhung kingdom⁴. After dedicating some twenty years of his life to his teachings and pilgrimages throughout the region, he died in 1955 in Dran pa nam mkha's cave, and with his death, a chapter in the

² As far as Sāncī Stūpa.

³ Tucci (1987), p. 102. The French translation renders the paragraph as follows: *(Djigmé Dordjé) non seulement, il est un des plus grands hommes de science du Tibet d'aujourd'hui, un médecin et un astrologue à qui on attribue de miraculeuses guérisons et prophéties, mais il est aussi vénéré par tous comme un des plus puissants magiciens de tout le haut plateau himalayen. Un seul geste de lui suffit pour que lui obéisse tout un monde anarchique de forces mystérieuses, bienveillantes ou néfastes qui trouble l'âme humaine ou se manifeste dans l'univers.* Tucci (1989), P. 183. I am unaware of the existence of any English translation.

⁴ For a discussion on the precise location of Khyung lung dngul mkhar based on Khyung sprul rin po che's biography see Blezer (2007) and Vitali (2008).

history of Tibet was closed. In accordance with his last wishes, after his death two disciples were entrusted with the mammoth task of composing his *rnam thar*. dPal ldan tshul khrims (1902-1972), who had accompanied the lama since 1930, oversaw the project and took particular care to review the metrics in all the poetry written by Khyung sprul rin po che and to provide a summary, in verse form, at the end of each chapter of the key episodes narrated in that chapter. Meanwhile, the Kinnauri monk mKhas mchog rdo rje (b. 1933), who had joined his teacher in 1942, was responsible for narrating events throughout the biography. At least two versions were compiled and dGe slong bsTan 'dzin dbang grags (1922-2007), Khyung sprul rin po che's main disciple and successor in Gur gyam Monastery, took one of them to Delhi for publication in 1957. Three hundred lithographic prints were issued in that same year entitled *sKyabs rje mkhas grub 'Jigs med nam mkha'i rnam thar dad bryga'i rma bya rnam par rtse ba*. Fifteen years later, sMan ri Monastery in Dolanji (India) published a copy of that same version.⁵ This is the edition that has served as the basis for most of the published studies in the West about the life and works of Khyung sprul rin po che.

However, in the twenty-first century a new manuscript of the biography surfaced in Khyung lung (mNga' ris). The text had managed to survive the Cultural Revolution hidden away in the home of its owner, Khyung lung Mes tshe dbang.⁶ It was edited and published in 2004 by the Zhang zhung rig gnas dar rgyas tshogs pa of Lhasa.⁷ Although this new edition did not include any significant changes with respect to the 1957 and 1972 editions, the fact that the 2004 edition was supervised by dGe slong bsTan 'dzin dbang grags and edited by his disciple Zhung Karma rgyal mtshan provided some new insights into the last days of Khyung sprul rin po che and amended a number of errata present in the first edition. For these reasons, this is the text the author has used here as the main source for his translation of Khyung sprul rin po che's *rnam thar*.

Listed below are the thirteen chapters and epilogue in which the biography is divided together with their summarized titles. The list also includes the place names where the particular events described in each chapter took place and their approximate dates. The corresponding page numbers from the 2004 edition are also given.

First chapter

On his birth and early infancy.

Hor (1897-1907)

[pp. 24-63]⁸

⁵ On the cover of the 1972 edition we find: The biography of Khyung sprul 'Jigs med nam mkha'i rdo rje. Being the text of *Khyab bdag 'khor lo'i mgon po mkhas grub 'Jigs med nam mkha'i rnam thar dad bryga'i rma bya rnam par rtse ba*. Written by the late Dpal-ldan-tshul-khrims together with the Žal gdams and Nams mgur of Khyung sprul. Reproduced by Sonam Dakpa from a lithographic print published in Delhi in 1957. Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, New Thobgyal, P.O. Ochghat (Via Solan), H.P., 1972.

⁶ dPal ldan tshul khrims (2004), p. 9 in the introduction.

⁷ The Western-styled book was printed in Hong Kong by Ling Editions, as the first volume of the series called *Zhang zhung rig gnas dpe rnying dpe tshogs*.

⁸ The narrative of events starts on page 28.

Second chapter**Hor (1909-1916)***On how he received religious teachings from Bon po lamas and his decision to abandon worldly affairs.*

[63-102]

Third chapter*On his virtuous acts in Hor and travels to the sacred places of dBus and gTsang.***Hor and Central Tibet (1919)**

[102-129]

Fourth chapter*On the teachings received from dGe slong Nyi ma grags pa and g.Yung drung tshul khirms.***Central Tibet (1919-1920)**

[129-150]

Fifth chapter*On his practices in Gangs can Phyug mo dpal ri leaving behind the monastic centres and his home country.***Central Tibet (1920-1921)**

[150-171]

Sixth chapter*On his religious practice in the southern sacred sites of 'Brig mtshams, mTsho rNga brag dkar and Bhutan.***Central Tibet - Bhutan (1921-1922)**

[171-188]

Seventh chapter*On his pilgrimages to lHa ri nyi phug, lHo gro mo and India.***Bhutan - Central Tibet - India - Nepal (1922)**

[188-205]

Eighth chapter*On his practices in sacred and secret A su ra yi brag phug cave after visiting the other sacred sites of Nepal.***Nepal (1923-1924)**

[205-235]

Ninth chapter⁹*On his pilgrimage to Gangs ri mtsho gsum¹⁰ and how he received the deep teachings of rdzogs chen from his lama in Nam mkha' khyung rdzong after visiting Za hor, Kinnaur and Zhang zhung in mNga' ris.***Nepal - India - Western Tibet (1924-1925)**

[235-262]

⁹ Full translation of the ninth and eleventh chapters, corresponding to the Kinnauri period, is planned to be published in Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde (2012).

¹⁰ This term is open to many interpretations in the text and is discussed more fully in the second part of this work.

Tenth chapter

On his retreat in Khyung lung dngul mkhar rgyal ba mnyes pa.

Western Tibet (1925-1929)

[262-320]

Eleventh chapter¹¹

On how he wandered around Zhang zhung, India, O rgyan, Za hor and Kinnaur.

Western Tibet- India - Western Tibet (1930-1934)

[320-381]

Twelfth Chapter

On how he founded a new monastery in Khyung lung dngul mkhar of Inner Zhang-zhung.

Western Tibet- India - Western Tibet (1935-1947)

[381-426]

Thirteenth chapter

On how he composed and published several treatises to spread religion for the welfare of all living beings.

Western Tibet - India - Western Tibet (1948-1955)

[426-466]

Epilogue

On his last wills and his death.

Western Tibet (1955-1958)

[466-483]

Over the last fourteen years, several studies have been published examining the many cultural implications of Khyung sprul rin po che, including his medical and linguistic works. Insightful summaries of his biography have also been published, but no full account of his life and travels is yet available, perhaps because of the enormity of the task and the difficulties inherent within the original text. The lengthy 1957 lithographic edition consists of 883 pages, divided into two volumes in 1972, while the 2004 edition consists of 490 pages.

In 1996 the abbot of Gur gyam Monastery, dGe slong bsTan 'dzin dbang grags, wrote a book on the History of mNga' ris in which he highlighted the relevance of Khyung sprul rin po che in the reintroduction of Bon in mNga' ris.¹² Nevertheless, the first article to explain in detail the biography of Khyung sprul rin po che was published in Tibetan in *Bon sgo* in 1997 under the title *Khyung sprul 'Jigs med nam mkha'i rdo rje'i mdzad rnam rags bsdus*,¹³ but unfortunately it went largely unnoticed outside Dolanji (India). Its author was the aforementioned Kinnauri mKhas mchog rdo rje who can undoubtedly be considered the pioneer in the field of Khyung sprul rin po

¹¹ Full translation of the ninth and eleventh chapters, corresponding to the Kinnauri period, is planned to be published in Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde (2012).

¹² bsTan 'dzin dbang grags (1996), pp. 289-293.

¹³ mKhas mchog rdo rje (1997).

che research. A year later Per Kvaerne published *Khyung-sprul 'Jigs-med nam-mkha'i rdo-rje (1897-1995): An Early Twentieth-century Tibetan Pilgrim in India* in English as a chapter in *Pilgrimage in Tibet*.¹⁴ This was considered the starting point for Khyung sprul rin po che's biographical studies and gave rise later in 2001 to an unpublished master's dissertation by Sonam Chogyal about the Bon po lama's foundation of his own monastery in mNga' ris.¹⁵ More recently, a few studies have been published examining a number of more specific aspects of Khyung sprul rin po che's life and works.¹⁶

Whatever approach is taken to the study of Khyung sprul rin po che's life and works, his biography, undoubtedly provides a very rich account of the first half of the 20th century in Tibet and in its neighboring countries; in other words, it offers a portrait of the cultural history of these Himalayan regions. The Bon po lama met some of the most powerful men of religion (both Bon and Buddhism) and politics of his time. The list is long and includes the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Twenty-eighth and the Thirtieth sMan ri Khri 'dzin, the Ninth Panchen Lama, the Sixteenth Karmapa, the First bDe chen rgyal po, the first Bhutanese king, the last king of the Princely State of Bushahr and several provincial governors of mNga' ris, among many others.

At the same time, his biography also provides a unique, and therefore highly valuable, source of information regarding the traditional toponymy and onomastics of remote and isolated regions including Hor, Kinnaur and mNga' ris.

What follows in this article is an abridged edition of the first, second, and (a part of the) third chapters of Khyung sprul rin po che's biography, corresponding by and large to the period of time that extends from his infancy and early youth in Hor¹⁷ (1897-1919), prior to his joining the Bon po centres of sMan ri and mKhar sna and taking the full vows of *drang srong*. This English edition is a translation as literal as possible of the Tibetan original and includes the whole succession of events described therein and all personal and geographical names. However, no attempt is made to translate the long poems, which anyway do not provide any new details. All additional information from the author of this article is supplied in footnotes to the text so as not to interfere in the retelling of the events described in the original text. The aim, therefore, is to offer a detailed account of Khyung sprul rin po che's *rnam thar*, and one that is as faithful as possible to the original description of events that took place in Hor. In the near future a second article corresponding to the period that extends from 1920 to 1955 will be published.

¹⁴ Kvaerne (1998).

¹⁵ Chogyal (2001).

¹⁶ On Zhang zhung History: Blezer (2007). On Tibetan Medicine: Millard (2009). On the origin of Tibetan scripts: Alay (2010).

¹⁷ For a brief history of this Bon po nomad enclave see Karmay (2005), pp. 181-210; bKra ba (1985, 1990); and Shes rab rgya mtsho (1994).

Khyung sprul rin po che in Hor¹⁸

Place of birth

[First chapter][28-29] Khyung sprul rin po che was born in a place called sPa ba lung nang¹⁹ at the foot of Mount sPa ba brag nag,²⁰ within one of the ten divisions of the country of 'Brog shog phyed drug bryga. This region was a beautiful combination of gorges, rocks and meadows with waterfalls, plants, trees and a large variety of flowers as well as plenty of livestock such as yaks, sheep and horses. In the midst of this stunning scenery there was the monastery of Klu phug g.Yung drung bde chen gling,²¹ seat of the Dam pa Hor bla bsTan 'dzin dbang grags,²² supreme emanation of lHa bla bsTan pa phun tshogs.²³ The latter had arrived from Shar lHa thog at the foot of Zo dor zhi nag smug po mched brygad and it is believed that he was led to full spiritual realization by the three *Khro*, *Phur* and *Zhang* tutelary deities,²⁴ as well as by the *gShed dmar nag* deities.²⁵

Khyung sprul rin po che's home country was inhabited by people of outstanding intelligence, fortune, courage and bravery, skilled in the arts and medicine, learned in the Bon of cause and effect, and devoted to practicing virtue. His home was in Khyung po dkar nag gser Hor sde stod smad,²⁶ the realm of the Second Victorious Blo Idan snying po.²⁷ He was a member of the so-called Thirty-nine Tribes of Ji ghir Hor gyi rje bo²⁸ from the

¹⁸ In the 1972 edition the first nine pages include the following Zhang zhung-Tibetan lines:

(4) *a kyo ti ga tig smar gyer no tho ye / kho spyod kun du smar di phyog cu tse // rnam dag bde chen zhing du bon gyi skur / brnyes te kun tu bzang po phyogs bcu yi //*
 (5) *ti ta wer ya de cod min mung nam / mu min gyer tsakra lgyu(m) khor dun gu hrun // bder gshegs rgyal ba grangs med 'khor rnams la / bla med bon 'khor bskor la phyag 'tshal lo //*
 (8) *wer ya te la sum sad nam mtsho ro khung / gyag min da dod wang shel u tha sho // rnam rgyal rtsa gsum lha gnas g.yu lung du / chi med sprul pa'i skur bstan gsang 'dus dang //*
 (9) *la he sad na ga ni gyer dzii ra sam / u hrun gyer tsakra lgyum khor pa ta ya // stag la lha klu mi'i gshen rig 'dzin tshogs / gsang singags bon 'khor bskor la phyag 'tshal lo //*

Pages 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 include Sanskrit-Tibetan lines. From pages 1 to 9 the author wrote the text in the following Bon po scripts (see: Alay, 2010): *sTags gzigs spung so che ba*, *sTags gzigs spungs so chung ba* and *Zhang zhung gi rmad yig che ba*. From page 10, the text is only written in Tibetan.

¹⁹ In present sBra chen county (Nag chu prefecture, TAR).

²⁰ Local deity and back- (or rear-) mountain: *yul lha rgyab ri*.

²¹ The first hermitage was founded in 1626. It was not until 1827 that the hermit became a monastery. For a complete history of Klu phug g.Yung drung bde chen gling (sBra chen county) and for biographies of the throne holders, see g.Yung drung gtsug phud (2007).

²² The Dam pa Hor bla was considered the highest incarnate lama in Hor under the protection of the royal house. bsTan 'dzin dbang grags was the son of Be hu lHa mkar bstan rgyal. He was born in 1791 and after taking monastic orders he transformed the tantric hermitage of mKhar dmar bla brang into the full monastery of Klu phug g.Yung drung bde chen gling. On the Second Dam pa Hor bla bsTan 'dzin dbang grags' biography, see: Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 145.

²³ Founder of the *sprul sku* lineage known as the Dam pa Hor bla. He was considered a manifestation of Bla chen Dran pa nam mkha'.

²⁴ *Khro bo*, *Phur pa* and *Zhang zhung* (me ri).

²⁵ *gShed dmar* and *gShed nag* deities.

²⁶ Upper and Lower Hor including the three divisions of Khyung po, i.e. *dkar nag gser*.

²⁷ Blo Idan snying po (b. 1360), revealer of sTon pa gshen rab's twelve volume biography known as the *gZi brjid*.

²⁸ Geshe bsTan 'dzin 'brug grags has recounted several stories to me regarding the term *Ji ghir*. In one, the first Mongol to arrive in Hor heard a bird singing a melody like *ji hir*;

lineage of the Mongolian Se chen rgyal po,²⁹ who in turn was an emanation of the three brother gods called *gnam the'u*, who reside on top of the Three golden fishes³⁰ on Sog chu river, which in turn originates as a necklace of flowing nectar just in front of Mount Sog rje rGyal ba thod dkar in the Zil mo'i sgang stod³¹ range between the dNgul chu and rDza chu rivers, on the western side of Chu bzhi sgang brgyad³² in the region of Rong bzhi shod brgyad. The entire territory belongs to lower mDo Khams, which together with middle Tibet and high Zhang zhung is part of Greater Tibet.³³ This Great Snowland is located north of the noble nation of India where the blessed and victorious Śākyamuni turned the wheel of Dharma; east of 'Gro lding,³⁴ O rgyan, Bru sha³⁵ and Kha che,³⁶ in the direction of A bri ka and Yo rob;³⁷ south of Su len,³⁸ Grug,³⁹ Phrom,⁴⁰ Ge sar Hor;⁴¹ and west of the Eighteen Provinces of Great China.⁴² All of them surround the sacred land of rTag gzigs 'Ol mo gling where Bon was taught by sTon pa gshen rab.

His parents' lineages

Khyung sprul rin po che's family was linked to both the Hor and A mdo regions. His father belonged to the A mdo Ga rgya ru tribe, one of the eight A mdo tribes. Among four Snow Mountains called gNyan chen sde, one for each cardinal point, the northern one called Byang gi sNyan chen thang lha is linked to the eight A mdo tribes by means of the following eight local deities/mountains: A mdo'i sGro bgad smug mo, Byang gi Jam la ri dmar, Nam ra btsan rgyal smug po,⁴³ sKyung gi sMug gu mthon po, gSang phu'i bSam gtan gangs gzang, Brung gi rDza rgan yol po, [30] Go ra'i Bag chen khor po, and Byang gi Tsig gi bya khyung.

whereas in another this first Mongol heard a *ji ghir* sound from a stone. The term "Ji ghir Hor" is also mentioned in Achard (2004), pp. 71 and 96; and as the "land of *Gyi ghir*" is mentioned in Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 139.

²⁹ Khubilai Khan.

³⁰ *Sog gser nya spun gsum*. Geshe bsTan 'dzin 'brug grags describes three rocks located in the midst of the Sog chu river and known as the "Three golden fish." According to the Geshe, there are up to eighteen *pho nya* installed in this area of Sog chu river, but the text only mentions the three *gnam the'u* that are known by their colours: *dkar po*, *nag po*, *khra po*. The same term appears as *Sog gi gser nya spun gsum* in g.Yung drung gtsug phud (2007), p. 5.

³¹ More commonly known as *Zal mo'i sgang stod*. See g.Yung drung gtsug phud (2007), p. 5.

³² More commonly known as *Chu bzhi sgang drug*. See g.Yung drung gtsug phud (2007), p. 5. *Bod chen*.

³⁴ This might be a reference to South India according to Sarat Chandra Das Dictionary, where the entry '*gro lding*' indicates "n. of a country in the south of India, i.e., Dravira." Jäschke Dictionary has a similar entry: "Dramila, country in the south of India; another reading gives Draviḍa (Coast of Coromandel)."

³⁵ Burusho valleys of Gilgit (Pakistan).

³⁶ Kashmir.

³⁷ Africa and Europe.

³⁸ Russia.

³⁹ Turkestan.

⁴⁰ Byzantium.

⁴¹ Hor understood as the mythical land of Gling Ge sar.

⁴² *Ma hā Tsi na rGya nag zhing chen mo bco brgyad*.

⁴³ This is the Ga rgya tribe's protector deity.

According to a local legend, gods and warriors would appear every three generations in the Ga rgya tribe⁴⁴ as sons of the local deity Byang btsan Nam ra ban rgan. This had been the case of the Ga rgya Ra bzhi and Ga rgya Thod 'bur families. As a result of this agreement between god and men, Khyung sprul rin po che's great-grandfather, who was called Ga rgya bsTan pa rgyal po, became a wealthy and courageous man in A mdo, an owner of many livestock. He decided to leave his home country and move to sPa ba lung⁴⁵ where he increased his wealth significantly under the protection of the local deity there. His son Ga rgya Tshe brtan grags pa was a very intelligent man and well versed in both religious and worldly affairs, who became the chief minister of the *Hor spyi khyab rgyal po*,⁴⁶ and had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son was Ga rgya bSod nams bstan dar, Khyung sprul rin po che's father, a powerful and wealthy man of exceptional bravery who was appointed minister and treasurer of the kingdom of Hor.

In ancient times,⁴⁷ while king Hor Se chen sa gad⁴⁸ was sitting on the throne of Eastern China, seven ministers of his own lineage known as the La rgyal of Hor [31] left China and departed for a place called Gru khug in Sog, where they were known as the *Hor thor ba skyas bdun*. Their chieftain had three sons, the middle brother being the brightest of them. His body was of an extreme reddish color which is why he was called the Red King.⁴⁹ The new sovereign seized territories in all directions from upper Mount Kailash⁵⁰ to lower Mount Glang chen 'gying ri⁵¹ and his descendants became kings of Hor as was the case of Hor spyi khyab Be hu Khri rgyal rje chen.⁵² One of the lesser princes left the household and eventually became treasurer of the kingdom. His family was known as the "treasurers of rTa rdza mda' in Sog" or just as "the family of ministers living near the river," since they lived near the shore of Sog chu river. Treasurer bSod nams ngang ril had many children and among them was Khyung sprul rin po che's mother whose name was bSod nams gnam mtsho. She was regarded by everybody as an exceptionally religious and virtuous woman.

His parents' dreams

[32] Before Khyung sprul rin po che was born, his parents had many dreams. Once, his mother had a dream in which a Bon po adept with long hair was playing a drum, a *gshang* and a white conch in front of a richly ornamented golden *stūpa* which was placed inside a cavity in the house. The man gave

⁴⁴ From this page, the author uses Ga rgya as the name of the tribe/clan or just as Khyung sprul rin po che's family.

⁴⁵ sPa ba lung nang.

⁴⁶ The title for the king of Hor.

⁴⁷ This very accurate description of Khyung sprul rin po che's mother's lineage provides a valuable source of information about the remote (and often confusing) origins of the Hor pa royal family and can be contrasted, for instance, with the description given in Karmay (2005).

⁴⁸ Khubilai Khan.

⁴⁹ rGyal po dmar po. Third in the lineage according to Karmay (2005), p. 205.

⁵⁰ Gangs dkar Ti se. Mt. Kailash is named in rather different manners throughout the text.

⁵¹ Mount Emei or Emeishan (Sichuan). The text includes rGod ngang ma'i nyin lam bco brygad, gShog 'gyur gcig dang bcu dgu and Yang 'gyur gcig dang nyi shu.

⁵² Twelfth in the lineage according to Karmay (2005), p. 205.

her a *tsakli* with a *g.yung drung* drawn on it and said: "Keep it for some time." She hesitated as she thought that she was too young to take care of such an important sacred object and might involuntarily damage it, but finally she felt obliged to keep it. [33] In a different dream, she found a few flowers and jewels with which she made an ornament for her head; then a ray of light, brighter than the rising sun and moon, suddenly shone. On one particular night, a ray of light this time emanated from a small golden statue of a lama, the size of a thumb, lighting up the crown on her head. After this dream she felt an incomparable happiness and that excellent qualities were growing inside her womb. Khyung sprul rin po che's father also had many dreams during this period. In one of them, a lama gave him a white conch; in another he was buying precious jewels; and in yet another, a bright seed syllable appeared in his heart. All of these were considered auspicious signs.

Birth and early childhood

Khyung sprul ri po che's was born in the beginning of the after midnight ox-period⁵³ of the twelfth day of the eighth month of the male fire cock year,⁵⁴ known as the *gser 'phyang*⁵⁵ year (1897). His mother did not suffer any labor pains and the delivery was without any complications. When he was born, his eyes were open, his body rather large, and the umbilical cord was coiled around the upper part of his back as a mark of virtue and good luck. Lama rGyal ba tshul khrims⁵⁶ cleaned the newborn baby's tongue and drew the syllable *hri:* on it with saffron juice. [34] He was given the name bSod nams bstan 'dzin, the first part of his name being in recognition of his father and forefathers.

As a baby he never cried and all the time a smile was drawn on his face. The astrologers' calculations predicted a man with a lucid brilliant mind devoted entirely to religion, a wealthy man of handsome appearance and a big heart, and free of any danger caused by illness if he did not look after himself. He had been born under a good star and in the year of his birth it rained generously in the region ensuring abundant crops in summer as well as in winter. [35] As a little child he neither lied nor used rude words, but rather he dedicated himself to playing virtuous games. He used to play a drum, read scriptures and recite religious melodies while sitting in the meditation position with his back straight. His favorite games consisted of making offerings and piling up stones in representation of newly founded monasteries. Other games consisted of going into retreat caves and conferring initiations. He was honest by nature and showed compassion towards his playmates and people in general. He adopted this attitude at home with servants and visitors as well as with shepherds and travelers, to whom he used to bring food as a gift. He was so close to other people that he would even fall asleep in the lap of his hosts.

While still but a child, he saw on more than one occasion bright religious images similar to those found in *thangkas* and when shrouded in darkness he

⁵³ *Phyed yol glang*. Between 1:00 and 2:00 am.

⁵⁴ Early hours of 8th September 1897.

⁵⁵ *Hemalamba* (skt.): 31st year of a *rab byung* cycle.

⁵⁶ His first teacher. He died in 1911 according to the biography.

could point out rainbows to his mother. He could also hear sounds emanating from the sky, some of which were terrifying while others were melodious, scaring him or bringing him happiness by turns. His mother could neither see nor hear anything, but she knew that her son could and believed them to be bad omens. Finally, she decided to visit the lama, rGyal ba tshul khrims, who told her that in his past life her son might have been a lama or an excellent being devoted to the cultivation of virtue and so she had no cause for worry. However, for these reasons, she should prevent him from coming into contact with dirt and she should keep him clean at all times, so that in the future he would contribute to the benefit of both himself and others.⁵⁷

His siblings

[36] Khyung sprul rin po che was the eldest of seven brothers and one sister. When he was about five years old, in the iron ox year (1901), his brother Karma bsod nams was born. In the water hare year (1905) sTag la skyabs was born. In the fire sheep year (1907) dKon mchog rgyal mtshan was born.⁵⁸ There existed a prophecy about the family lineage which established that every three generations the personification of the local god sPa ba brag nag rDo rje dgra 'dul would appear in a member of the family. People believed that dKon mchog rgyal mtshan was this personification. He behaved strangely and bore the physical mark of a black mole that spread across his right cheek. He was fearless, brave, courageous and skilful as the great heroes of Hor Gling. In the battlefield, he could not be wounded by either arrow, knife or sword.⁵⁹

[37] In the iron dog year (1910) his only sister was born. She married sPa ston Ye shes g.yung drung from the sPa tshang lama's family and was considered to be his *dakinī* consort. His youngest brothers were rJes rgyal tshe ring born in the water rat year (1912) and bSod nams kun grags born in the iron tiger year (1914).

Meeting his first teacher

In the years that followed, Khyung sprul rin po che listened carefully to all the religious teachings imparted by several lamas staying at the family residence. When he was only four years old (around 1900), he was already able to receive the oral instructions of Zhu rGyal mtshan nyi ma, 'Gro mgon Shes rab g.yung drung⁶⁰ and Bla khri rGyal ba g.yung drung.⁶¹ He learnt the meaning of the karma law of cause and effect, the meaning of virtue and sin,

⁵⁷ An indication that the lama considered Khyung sprul rin po che a possible *sprul sku*.

⁵⁸ The biography provides some details about Khyung sprul rin po che's famous brother as he played a remarkable role in the history of the Hor state.

⁵⁹ For further details of the life and early death of dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, see Karmay (2005) and sKal bzang bkra shis (1990).

⁶⁰ Born in 1838. Founder of mKhar sna. Karmay (1972), p. xl.

⁶¹ Lama from Bla khri Monastery in Jom mda' county. This monastery was founded in 1754 (Karmay and Nagano, 2003, p. 204). He was also known also by his Zhang zhung name: Bla khri Wer ya drung mu (see Achard, 2004, p. xxii).

as well as the benefits of certain rituals such as performing circumambulations.

[38] From that point on he avoided committing any sins and devoted himself solely to virtuous actions. During the summer harvest he protected the worms and in winter he worried about the animals that were to be slaughtered. For these reasons, he would pray and recite the three most important mantras as the *ma tri* mantra.⁶² He used to watch his mother prostrating herself and tried to imitate her. He also burnt incense and lighted butter lamps at home.

One day his father took him to meet his teacher rGyal ba tshul khrims for the first time. He was staying in retreat inside a meditation house. Khyung sprul rin po che felt very happy and imagined a future in which he would also become a yogi wandering from cave to cave. [39] The lama told his father that it was essential to teach his son how to read and write and to bring him back on an auspicious day. On that day, A myes Tshul khrims rgyal ba, who was also called Ga rgya dBu dkar, took Khyung sprul rin po che to meet the lama. He learnt the Tibetan characters from the lama and later he studied with A myes Tshul khrims rgyal ba. He paid a lot of attention to his lessons and learnt very quickly, so that he became their best student. The lama considered the boy to be very intelligent and established that there was a karmic connection between them. He insisted once again on the need to educate the boy and not to give him any polluted food or clothes but to keep him clean at all times.

[40] At that time, Ye shes bzang po, a close attendant of Khyung sprul rin po che since he had been born, fell seriously ill and was unable to leave his room, being forced to keep to his bed. During those difficult days, Khyung sprul rin po che would bring him food and climb onto his bed, but on one occasion when he was trying to do just that, many people rushed into the room and sent the boy away. They told him that Ye shes bzang po had passed away and they needed to prepare the cremation ceremony. Just the thought that his friend would never come back caused him great sadness. He understood the meaning of impermanence and made an offering of money to his teacher to pray for the deceased. Many years later, he still felt very sad when thinking about that man.

[41] At the age of seven or eight (1903-1904), he already knew all the various writing styles and could recite scriptures. When he was three or four years old (1899-1901), sPa ston Nyi ma 'bum gsal,⁶³ sublime lama of Ye tha Sog in Lower Hor, visited Upper Hor and was invited to Khyung sprul rin po che's home, [42] where he gave all kind of initiations to the boy. Similarly, when still very young, he received more initiations and instructions from gTer sras Tshe dbang 'gyur med⁶⁴ and sKam bla Zla ba rgyal mtshan⁶⁵ from sDe dge.

⁶² *sNying po rnam gsum*.

⁶³ Member of the sPa family, he was born in 1854 and became the abbot of sPa tshang Monastery in Ye tha, Hor (Karmay, 1972, p. 136; Lhagyal, 2000, p. 460). He was one of the three "sun" (Nyi ma) root-lamas of Khyung sprul rin po che. Although the biography does not mention explicitly the date of his death, it can be derived from one of Khyung sprul rin po che's visions in the seventh chapter [190] to have occurred in 1922. In the chapter colophon the lama is referred to by his Tibetan-Sanskrit-Zhang zhung name: sPa ston Surya kha ri [101].

⁶⁴ He was gTer ston bDe chen gling pa's son. See Achard (2004), p. xxii, n. 45.

The eruption of violence

His father used to go on regular business trips to Upper A mdo to sell tea and purchase wool.⁶⁶ A powerful gang of local bandits tried to get away without paying for the merchandise and a fight broke out between their chief and Khyung sprul rin po che's father. The latter stabbed the chief to death with a knife but he could not avoid being badly injured. He was rushed back home, where he received all kinds of attention and medical treatment. [43] rGyal ba tshul khrims stayed with the family for a long time and took the opportunity to explain to them his travels and pilgrimages to the sacred sites of Upper Tibet as well as his methods to pacify *gnyan* spirits. A myes dBu dkar⁶⁷ for his part described his frequent business trips to Upper Tibet which included visits to the sacred sites of Mount Kailash, Lake Manasarovar,⁶⁸ rGya nyi ma, Pretapuri⁶⁹ and Khyung lung dngul mkhar. Khyung sprul rin po che was inspired by these stories of the sacred places in the west and expressed his wish to visit them in the future. It was during this time that the family residence received the visit and teachings of sMon rgyal bla ma Nam mkha' dbang rgyal.⁷⁰

When Khyung sprul rin po che was seven or eight years old (1903-1904), sGo rgyal Nyi ma rgyal mtshan rin po che,⁷¹ root lama of the entire region, visited the place and [44] gave teachings and empowerments. After this meeting, a fresh episode of violence broke out around Khyung sprul rin po che's household when a family feud erupted with a neighboring clan.⁷² The feud concerned Ne ne Chos skyid, Khyung sprul rin po che's aunt, who was married to Tsha thang Be kyang dpon 'Od rdil, also known as the Tsha dpon, one of the three minor chiefs called dPon phran Be kyang. He was answerable only to the chief minister of the royal 'Brog shog tribe. One day, after a family argument had broken out, he decided to repudiate his wife. The two clans entered into negotiations trying to find a solution that was satisfactory to both sides, but this did not work out since the Be kyang clan was under the protection of the Hor pa king and Ne ne Chos skyid was forced to leave her husband's house.

Later on, a large gathering was organized in Hor rDza dmar, where a public horse race and archery contest took place. Tsha thang was there to

⁶⁵ From the same sKam family as Khyung sprul rin po che's root lama sGo ston Nyi ma rgyal mtshan.

⁶⁶ In contrast to the peaceful atmosphere described above, the biography goes on to narrate several violent episodes that were played out involving Khyung sprul rin po che's family.

⁶⁷ The aforementioned A myes Tshul khrims rgyal ba.

⁶⁸ Gangs rin po che / mTsho Ma pang.

⁶⁹ Tirthapuri.

⁷⁰ Abbot of sMon rgyal dga' ldan dar rgyas gling Monastery in rDza khog (sDe dge), founded by Kun grol grags pa (b. 1700). See Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 363.

⁷¹ Born in 1837 and according to one of Khyung sprul rin po che's visions described in the biography he passed away in 1919 [123]. This is the first appearance of the second "sun" and Khyung sprul rin po che's root lama. Also known as sGo ston Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, he was the seventh Bla rabs of Klu phug Monastery (g.Yung drung gtsug phud, 2007, p. 63-68).

⁷² This event probably took place around 1905, the year in which Hor entered a brief, but intense, period of chaos leading to the killing of king Tshe dbang lha rgyal and his entire family. The eventual disappearance of the Bon po nomadic Hor monarchy was approaching. See Karmay (2005), p. 187.

investigate a judiciary case involving the Tsho pa stod shog Inga tribe. One night, while he was sleeping in his tent, Khyung sprul rin po che's father, the uncle-monk and six or seven servants appeared inside the nomad camp looking for revenge. They sneaked inside and brought down one of the tents. Tsha thang came out from his tent, but upon seeing his enemies he rushed back inside. Khyung sprul rin po che's father called him, shouting: [45] "I am Ga rgya bsTan dar. Where are you going?" Tsha thang was determined to confront him and rapidly threw a spear at him but he managed only to hit the sheath of the knife which Ga rgya bsTan dar wore at his waist. However, Tsha thang's second spear was more accurate and injured his father's leg, but Khyung sprul rin po che's father whipped out his left hand and held fast his attacker's spear and with his right hand he stabbed Tsha thang with his knife. The latter ran away but Ga rgya bsTan dar's party of men pursued him and stabbed him to death. They went back home where the badly injured father was treated by his physicians. The king of Hor was furious about the tragic outcome of events and as he still had another unsettled dispute with the Ga rgya clan, caused by the treasurer Zhang po phyag mdzod tshang, who was Khyung sprul rin po che's maternal uncle, the king mustered an army of three hundred troops and sent them against the Ga rgya clan to drive them out from Hor. However, before the army could reach the place, the entire Ga rgya clan — including Khyung sprul rin po che, his family and his maternal uncle's family — gathered all their horses and set off to 'Dam zhung region. The party consisted of about fifty riders in total.

During this brief period of exile, Khyung sprul rin po che accompanied his teacher to several *gnyan* sites. The child won the admiration of all as he did not manifest any signs of fear of them. [46] At the same time he and his teacher had several dreams which portended that if the family did not wander too far from home, their land and wealth would not suffer too much damage. Since a relative of theirs called A myes Tshe brtan grags pa had remained back home, it was thought he would probably be able to reconcile the Ga rgya family with the king. [47] After some time, they decided to go back home, initially without their women, except for Khyung sprul rin po che's mother who was still treating her husband's injuries. However, it seems that this decision did not meet with the approval of the maternal uncle. Moreover, the paternal uncle, A khu Ga rgya dPa' co, provoked an incident while they were trying to cross a river by refusing to follow the maternal uncle to the opposite shore. This led to a fight between the two men and only the intervention of a certain The las grwa pa avoided a bloodbath.

[48] Khyung sprul rin po che's family went first to Upper A mdo and stayed there until the royal pardon was issued in exchange for monetary compensation being paid to Tsha thang's family. Then they went back home without encountering any further problems. Meanwhile, the maternal uncle's family crossed Hor Drug cu and awaited the royal pardon in 'Brong pa dge rgyas. Eventually they were allowed to return, but their property had suffered much damage and this gave rise to another confrontation with the king, but this time the sovereign solved the new dispute by mercilessly crushing the uncle's family.

Pilgrimages to Khyung po and rKong po

One winter Khyung sprul rin po che, his parents and servants started out on a pilgrimage to Khyung po. First they visited Gyim shod⁷³ shel le rgya skar⁷⁴ that had been opened by Blo ldan snying po, as well as the three monasteries of the white, golden and black tribes of Khyung po where they made many offerings. They circumambulated Ri rtse drug Monastery⁷⁵ more than a hundred times. [49] Here Khyung sprul rin po che had a vision in which he appeared on top of the highest pinnacle of Ri rtse drug, after which they decided to move on to sTeng chen where they visited all the temples belonging to sTeng chen ri khrod monastery established under the protection of Mount sNa brag dmar ri. [50] Here they met Grub pa'i dbang po Tsha be sMon lam rgyal mtshan rin po che⁷⁶ who did not eat any kind of solid food, surviving only by drinking pure water. On the way back home they visited Bla ma Shel zhig rin po che from dKar legs Monastery,⁷⁷ Gar shel bla ma from gSer tsha khog⁷⁸ and Bla ma Sangs rgyas from sGang ru.⁷⁹ Then they received a long life empowerment from lama sPa ston Nyi ma 'bum gsal in Ye gzhung sPa dgon g.Yung drung rab brtan gling Monastery⁸⁰ and Khyung sprul rin po che's father confessed to his sins of having killed two men. In order to make amends for these wicked acts he made many offerings, recited prayers and circumambulated the monastery for a period of fifteen days. After returning home the family received the visit of many Bon po lamas who gave many teachings to them: [51] Bla ma rGyal mtshan rin po che from Bon ri rTag rtse, (Bon ri) sTag bro sa'i bla ma, (Bon ri) sGyel ri sprul sku, many lamas from Khyung po, Zhu ri zhing bla ma,⁸¹ as well as the abbots of sMan ri, mKhar sna and g.Yung drung gling monasteries.

After some time had elapsed, Khyung sprul rin po che joined his teacher rGyal ba tshul khrims on a pilgrimage to rKong po. People entrusted them with so many kinds of offerings to be made in Bon ri at various monasteries and temples that yaks and horses were needed to carry them all. They crossed Shag gzhung and took the opportunity to visit Rong po and Lo 'brong monasteries. Next they crossed Nag chu river and from Byang mir hri gong they went through Mer gzhung ending up in rKong po rGya mda'.

⁷³ See Martin (2010), p. 20, n. 39.

⁷⁴ C. Ramble describes Langgi Gyimshö in Sumpa as the location of the cemetery that is the "six-fold exalted place of Shel le rgya skar." (Ramble 1999, p. 22).

⁷⁵ Founded in Khyung po by Blo ldan snying po in 1383. See Karmay and Nagano (2003), pp.181-189.

⁷⁶ His relics are in a *stupa* located at sTeng chen hermitage near sTeng chen Monastery. See Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 168 and 139.

⁷⁷ Ka legs g.Yung drung gling dgon pa is located west of sTeng chen and is the seat of the Shel lineage. See Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 173-175. Bla ma Shel zhig rin po che could be Shel zhig g.Yung drung rnam rgyal, a personal disciple of Grub dbang Shar rdza. See Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 124.

⁷⁸ Present-day Ser tsha, about 50 km northwest of sTeng chen. The monastery might be that of Ga shel in Gwa tha. See Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 160.

⁷⁹ sGang ru dgon Dar rgyas monastery. Founded in 1310 and located in Khri do (sTeng chen). See Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 178.

⁸⁰ Founded in 1847 by a member of the sPa family. Also known simply as sPa tshang Monastery (sBra chen county). See Karmay and Nagano (2003), pp. 131-136.

⁸¹ In the vicinity of rGyal rtse.

From there they descended to the foot of Mount rKong po Bon ri.⁸² The party was received by the lamas of the three monasteries of rKong po and they performed the ritual of the vase consecration in sTag rtse hermitage⁸³ just as the people back home had instructed them to. In the great monastery of Srid rgyal⁸⁴ they saw the sacred image of dKar mo Srid rgyal, as well as various religious masks and the tombs of rTogs ldan Ri pa 'brug gsas⁸⁵ and Rag shi Nyi ma rgyal mtshan.⁸⁶ From sTag bro sa⁸⁷ they visited many places including the following retreat sites:⁸⁸ dBus phug gSang ba yongs rdzong, Shar gTer lung sgrub phug, [52] Byang Srin mo mtha' rtsa, Nub Bya khri sgrub phug, lHo Nyi ma sgrub phug,⁸⁹ rDzong chung steng,⁹⁰ dGon pa steng, Shel sku sbug and gNyan khri kha. Khyung sprul rin po che circumambulated Bon ri thirteen times and one day he had a series of fantastic visions. In one of them he saw an assembly of gShen lha 'od dkar deities of different colors gathered inside tents made of rainbows. The deities appeared in groups of five or three, and once he saw just a single deity. Later he saw *dakinis* talking to him but he could not recall their exact words. Once they finished the circumambulations they headed back home to Hor.

Religious games

Khyung sprul rin po che was already absorbed by his religious life when he was just ten years of age (1906). [53] At that time, he received the visit of his root lama who came asking local families to send half of their children to the monastery. According to the lama, their virtuous practices would benefit them and the whole community. He advised people to follow the path of sTon pa sangs rgyas⁹¹ and once again Khyung sprul rin po che heard the call to become a monk. [54] When he was only ten or eleven years old, (1906-1907), his teacher dGe 'dun grags pa taught him the old and new secret mantras and various rituals, such as making *gtor ma*, reciting scriptures, making *mudrās*, *mandalas* and so forth. It was during this period that he started building a meditation house in the mountains with the help of a few children from his village. His parents warned him against doing it since it was too dangerous for children to play games of this nature, but he did not listen to them. He collected stones and wood and eventually built the house.

⁸² For a full and detailed description of this paramount Bon po sacred site, see: *gSang ba'i gnas mchog thugs sprul bon ri'i dkar chag yid bzhin ljon pa'i phrang ba* (*Bon ri'i dkar chag*), in Zhang zhung ring gnas 2003 (Lhasa), pp. 72-122.

⁸³ Known as sTag rtse dgon or sTag rtse g.Yung drung gling. See *Bon ri'i dkar chag*, pp. 97-99; Karmay and Nagano (2003), pp. 231-233.

⁸⁴ Srid rgyal dgon chen. Founded in 1330. See *Bon ri'i dkar chag*, pp. 92-49; Karmay and Nagano (2003), pp. 228-231.

⁸⁵ Born in 1270. First abbot of the monastery. He is believed to be the emanation of sTag la med 'bar and to come back to the monastery every year in the form of a bird.

⁸⁶ Second abbot of the monastery.

⁸⁷ sTag bro sa dgon (*Bon ri'i dkar chag*, pp. 99-100).

⁸⁸ The complete list can be found in Karmay and Nagano (2003), p. 227.

⁸⁹ Located in the five cardinal points: center, east, north, west and south, respectively (*Bon ri'i dkar chag*, pp. 89-90, 101-106).

⁹⁰ rDzong chung steng dgon (*Bon ri'i dkar chag*, pp. 96-97).

⁹¹ sTon pa gshen rab.

[55] Not unexpectedly the meditation house collapsed and a child was injured. Khyung sprul rin po che's father was very angry and went to look for his son who ran away to hide in the mountain. His father left no trace of the meditation house standing, smashing all *gtor ma* made by the children. He eventually caught up with his son and rebuked him for the bad example he had set to the rest of the children as they had been unable to work on their daily duties while distracted by these games. He ran after his son, throwing stones at him, until they faced each other exhausted and Khyung sprul rin po che asked his father to stop or he would feel obliged to throw stones back at him. His father could not believe his son's words and started laughing on seeing his son's determination. He dropped his stone and walked away. That evening Khyung sprul rin po che did not dare go back home and [56] it was not until the day after that his mother went to look for him.

[57-58] On one occasion, Khyung sprul rin po che, accompanied by an attendant, visited an office of the Tibetan government and on their way home they described the various places they saw in a song they composed. After reciting the poem, both of them started laughing and Khyung sprul rin po che asked his attendant not to tell anybody, not even his parents, that he had composed a song.⁹²

Visit to Lhasa

[Second chapter] [63-64] At the age of thirteen (1909), Khyung sprul rin po che engaged in several conversations with his root lama sGo ston Nyi ma rgyal mtshan. His lama asked him if he had any intentions of marrying a pretty, intelligent girl, to which Khyung sprul rin po che replied that his decision to become a monk was immutable and that he would drink from the nectar of the *g.yung drung bon*, and that although he knew he would never attain full liberation, still he preferred to wander around remote mountain retreats, without knowing the place of his death. [64-65] His lama was very happy with these words and recited a poem about the reality of *samsara*. [66] Khyung sprul rin po che understood that the lama was testing his determination and convictions and his answers were sufficient to convince the lama. His teacher asked Khyung sprul rin po che to discuss the matter with his parents without delay, since he feared they might already be looking for a spouse for him so that he could become the next head of the Ga rgya family, as tradition dictated for the eldest son.

[67] About a year later, his father was by now aware of Khyung sprul rin po che's intentions and for this reason he organized a visit to Lhasa together with his son. They were received in audience by Blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi rgya mtsho⁹³ to whom they made many offerings.⁹⁴ Khyung sprul rin po

⁹² [59-63]: First chapter colophon.

⁹³ The Thirteenth Dalai Lama. In the text: *Gangs can lha gcig rgyal ba'i dbang po pad dkar 'chang mgon thams cad mkhyen pa skyabs mgon Blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi rgya mtsho*.

⁹⁴ The exact date, not even the year, of this crucial meeting is given in the biography. Nevertheless, this audience could only have taken place between the first and second exiles of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. This short period of time ran between 25th December 1909 and 12th February 1910.

che's father registered his son in the *Yid tshang* office and introduced him to bsTan pa yon tan, a nephew of the most famous governor of the northern regions called Be ri 'Jam dbyangs rgya mtsho. This social activity in Lhasa made him realize that his father's intention was to involve him in more worldly affairs rather than religious ones. [68-69] Indeed, the Lhasa visit only hastened Khyung sprul rin po che's decision to become a monk. One day he entered his parents' room to announce his decision to abandon *samsāra* and to solemnly seek their permission to join the monastic life. His father did not utter a single word, whereas his mother advised him to follow his father's lineage, because this would be the most effective way for him to practice virtue. Finally his father spoke to remind him that according to their tradition the first obligation of a child was to follow his parents' decisions and to listen to them carefully. He said that this was "the tradition of people with black heads" and that if it was necessary to give a monk from within the family this honor it would correspond to the youngest son. However, his father understood that Khyung sprul rin po che had no intention of abandoning his plans. In the months that followed, Khyung sprul rin po che continued his studies of the arts and medicine and [70-72] composed a poem in remembrance of the sacred site of Mount Bon ri.

The Assembly of 'Brog shog and Ye tha Tribes

[72] At that time a large meeting of Upper and Lower Hor tribes was called in sBra chen. A few ministers and all the chiefs of the 'Brog shog and Ye tha tribes⁹⁵ responded to the assembly call and at some point a discussion was begun regarding the future of the Ga rgya family and the role to be played in it by Khyung sprul rin po che, the eldest son. Among others, gZhu mkhan⁹⁶ Tshe dbang lhun grub, Bra'o A dkar po, gTsang tsha rab brtan and Bra'o rGya mtsho expressed their concern and told Khyung sprul rin po che's father that he should begin looking for a good wife for his son since he was now old enough. His father replied that his son was only concerned about worthless matters such as becoming a wanderer with no fixed destination, although he was then no more than thirteen or fourteen years old. He added that if his son continued to act in that way, he would never grow to be a real man. [73] The other chiefs considered Khyung sprul rin po che's attitude not to be positive and thought that action should be taken quickly regarding his somewhat strange behavior. They suggested finding a beautiful patient woman from a noble lineage of ministers, with whom he could be married and so continue the lineage of his forefathers, those who from their positions as tribal chiefs had practiced virtuous acts. Eventually, he would probably reach the rank of minister and this would be a remarkable achievement for all the tribes of Hor. Khyung sprul rin po che, present at the meeting, decided to intervene. He replied that pure virtue could only be encountered in the practice of religion and recited a poem for the occasion.

[74] After this episode, Khyung sprul rin po che's family received a new visit from the root lama sGo ston Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, who came to

⁹⁵ The two most important nomadic tribes in Hor.

⁹⁶ The archer.

perform some rites in the house. Khyung sprul rin po che took the opportunity to seek his parents' approval for becoming a monk and in a poem he insisted he was ready to renounce having a family and added that "woman was like a demon who cuts the root of virtue." [75] In the end, his parents conceded to their son's wishes, but they asked him that if he should decide to take on the monk's habit that he should never abandon them. They also asked him to practice only in the caves close to the house without leaving for far off lands, so that he could still help them in the house. He accepted and rushed to meet his lama announcing that an agreement had been reached with his parents. Only then did they decide to organize the formal ceremony of taking the vows of monkhood.

Taking the vows and receiving the teachings

The morning of the seventh day of the *sa ga zla ba* month of the female iron pig year (1911), Khyung sprul rin po che received the vows of monkhood in the presence of his root lama sGo ston Nyi ma rgyal mtshan and his teacher rGyal ba tshul khrims. He received the name of g.Yung drung rgyal mtshan. [76] He started to meditate in solitary hermitages and his root lama taught him the preliminary practices of *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud* in the *rdzogs chen* tradition. [77] Later, Rab bla Sems nyid gling pa, a visiting lama from mDo Khams, who was staying in a place called Khrag zi nang, gave the empowerment and instructions of Nyag gter gSang sngags gling pa's *gter ma* to him and his teacher. His teachers rGyal ba tshul khrims, dGe 'dun grags pa, Shes rab nyi ma, Wer ya tshul mi, Phywa btsun pradznya and Wang ya khi khar taught him the knowledge of the arts, medicine, astrology, grammar and the meaning of tantras and mantras.⁹⁷

[78] The death of his teacher rGyal ba tshul khrims had a great impact on Khyung sprul rin po che.⁹⁸ Before he passed away, they had time to exchange poems, but when the lama died, Khyung sprul rin po che felt extreme sadness and only his mother could comfort him. His father made plenty of offerings and rituals were performed in remembrance of the lama. During the cremation ceremony, a white cloud shaped like a rainbow arched over the lama's house of meditation on top of the mountain and everybody present felt a sense of devotion and faith. They interpreted this to mean that the teacher had departed for the land of rTag gzigs 'Ol gling.

Khyung sprul rin po che continued his religious studies with his new teacher rGyal rong dge rgan dBang ldan 'od zer, devoting himself particularly to the study of astrology. But unfortunately he too passed away shortly after and Khyung sprul rin po che once again felt extreme sadness. His father thought it to be a good idea that in the winter his son should accompany him collecting taxes and debts in the regions of Yul sde shog Inga and Yul sde shog dgu. Khyung sprul rin po che agreed and helped his father in this task for a few years, although he took every opportunity to

⁹⁷ The colophon to this chapter gives the additional name of Rab bla Rin chen rnam rgyal, who taught him *gcod* [100].

⁹⁸ Around 1911. From 1912 the Tibetan Government took full control of Hor and expelled all Manchu officials from the region. The Bon po nomadic monarchy of Hor was eventually abolished.

visit lamas and monasteries during these trips [81] and he derived great pleasure from burning the debt documents of the poor. [82-84] He was to compose many poems during this time and for this reason various monks intimated that Khyung sprul rin po che might be the reincarnation of Mi la ras pa.

In Klu phug g.Yung drung bde chen gling Monastery

[84] He made tea offerings in the Hor sde 'Brog shog monastery of Klu phug g.Yung drung bde chen gling and the mKhar dmar bla brang regent Hor Sangs rgyas btsan 'dzin⁹⁹ asked his father to let his son stay on as the sacred compound treasurer for a period of one year. Khyung sprul rin po che took this opportunity to further his studies of the Bon scriptures and to enhance his spiritual practice. [85-87] He composed a poem for his lama, Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, in which he described his personal experiences in the various religious practices and reiterated his intention to eventually abandon his home and seek a retreat in the mountain where he might concentrate on his spiritual practice. Since he was by now twenty years old (1916), he believed that it was time to leave home. His lama understood his decision but asked him first to discuss it very carefully with his parents so that they would agree and a secret escape could be avoided. [88-90] The lama, therefore, composed a poem containing advice for Khyung sprul rin po che. [90] They bent forward and touched foreheads and Khyung sprul rin po che went back home.

[91] A memorable event took place during this period when gTer chen Tshe dbang 'gyur med's son was recognized as the reincarnation of bsTan pa rgyal mtshan,¹⁰⁰ *sprul sku* of Klu phug mkhar dmar monastery.¹⁰¹ On the occasion of his enthronement, Khyung sprul rin po che accompanied several teachers from the monastery, and together with the most important 'Brog shog tribe chiefs, they visited Ye tha sPa tshang Monastery in order to invite sKam bla g.Yung drung 'gyur med rin po che and other teachers. The root lama, sPa ston Nyi ma 'bum gsal, and the parents of the reincarnated child were also invited to the enthronement. After the ceremony, Khyung sprul rin po che received *rdzogs chen* and *bya ri ma* teachings as well as empowerments from his lama Nyi ma 'bum gsal. He also asked the lama to compose a poem as a prayer and protection for his wish to find a solitary retreat.

Plans for a pilgrimage

[92] Khyung sprul rin po che had in mind a prolonged pilgrimage in Tibet and proposed three possible itineraries to his lama in order to receive his wise counsel.

⁹⁹ He was the the sixth Bla rabs of Klu phug Monastery (g.Yung drung gtsug phud 2007, pp. 60-63).

¹⁰⁰ As such, he was the fourth Dam pa Hor bla and the eighth Bla rabs and his name (not mentioned in the biography) was sKal bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan. He was born in 1912 into the rMe'u lineage from sDe dge (g.Yung drung gtsug phud 2007, pp. 68-70).

¹⁰¹ Klu phug g.Yung drung bde chen gling Monastery.

The first itinerary would take him southwards. In Khyung po he would receive the teachings of the lamas of rGyab ri sna and g.Yung drung dpal ri, after which he would meditate in the famous monastery of Ri rtse drug. He would then continue his meditation in Kha ba dkar po and rKong po Bon ri. He would end his pilgrimage in rTsa ri tra.

The second route would take him to the west. First, he would spend some time in sMan ri Monastery receiving the teachings of the famous lamas and then he would practice meditation in Nepal. Finally he would visit Mount Kailash, Lake Manasarovar¹⁰² and Khyung lung dngul mkhar.

The last itinerary was to the east. He would travel to sDe dge and receive the teachings of Shar rdza rin po che¹⁰³ and [93] Nyag gter gSang sngags gling pa. Afterwards, he would go and meditate in rGyam rDo ti gangs dkar, rMa chen pom ra,¹⁰⁴ mTsho Khri shog,¹⁰⁵ and finally rGya nag Glang chen.¹⁰⁶

Khyung sprul rin po che sought a divination from his lama that he might discover the best itinerary, but his teacher just contemplated the sky without uttering a word and smiling, his face as round as the full moon on the fifteenth day. Without performing any divination, the lama told him that his intention of setting out on a pilgrimage was very positive and he was convinced that by abandoning the village and his family he would achieve great results. There was no difference in this present life between any of the three itineraries, since all were equally good. If Khyung sprul rin po che chose the excellent route to the south, he would be purified in the Clear Light and travel through the land of Kun tu bzang po; if he headed eastwards to sDe dge, rMa pom ra and Glang chen 'gying ri, there would be benefits for all sentient beings; and there would also be great results too, if he chose to travel to the great monasteries and the highlands of Mount Kailash¹⁰⁷ and Khyung lung dngul mkhar,

The lama concluded by saying: [94] "I will only add that in the opinion of this elderly man, despite the fact that in ancient times Bon originated in the land of high Zhang zhung in mNga' ris, today the teachings of Bon are so weak up there that not even the name of Bon is to be found; what's more, I have heard that Bon po pilgrims face great difficulties in that region. For this reason I would be most pleased if they were to receive some support."

Nyi ma 'bum gsal further advised him to visit 'Gro mgon Nyi ma grags pa,¹⁰⁸ a Hor pa lama who lived in gTsang at that time. Khyung sprul rin po che was most impressed by his response and a strong devotion towards Nyi ma grags pa arose within him. [94-96] Straight away he asked his uncle, A khu grwa pa bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs, who was about to depart on a trade expedition to gTsang, to deliver a letter to Nyi ma grags pa in which he sought permission to take refuge with him. [96-98] By way of reply, Nyi ma

¹⁰² Gangs ri mTsho ma pang.

¹⁰³ The famous Bon po teacher Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan (1859-1934).

¹⁰⁴ A myes rMa chen.

¹⁰⁵ mTsho sngon po.

¹⁰⁶ Mt. Emei.

¹⁰⁷ Gangs Ti se.

¹⁰⁸ He would become third "sun" root-lama of Khyung sprul rin po che. He was the third rGyal tshabs or Bla rabs of mKhar sna. Nyi ma grags pa was born in 1854 according to *Bon 'jug*, p. 146; and passed away in 1923 according to the tenth chapter of Khyung sprul rin po che's biography [265].

grags pa sent a few blessed amulets to Khyung sprul rin po che. Before Khyung sprul rin po che was about to set out for gTsang, Nyi ma 'bum gsal composed a poem of advice for him.¹⁰⁹

Departure

[Third chapter] [102] Khyung sprul rin po che finally decided to begin his pilgrimage to the western monasteries. His first destination was to be sMan ri Monastery, where he could meet Nyi ma grags pa. When he was twenty-three years old, in the ninth month of the earth female sheep year (1919), he bade farewell to his parents. They had prepared for him a bag with all kinds of provisions and a horse. In reply to the sadness caused by his departure, [102-108] he composed a long poem in which he explained the reasons for his decision to abandon *samsāra*. [108] His mother felt very sad to see her son leaving home but respected his decision. His father expressed his understanding of his son's wishes, since his pilgrimage would be to the benefit of all sentient beings and Bon religion in general. His father added that if he wished to send back home any remaining provisions and his horses on his arrival at sMan ri Monastery, he should feel free to do so.

[109] Khyung sprul rin po che attended a day's teaching from his root lama sGo ston Nyi ma rgyal mtshan at which he offered him a *maṇḍala*. The lama told him: "We cannot know whether we will meet again in this life or even when we will die, but this year I have often felt the wish to abandon this realm and to depart for rTags gzigs lHo shar bdud 'dul sngags gling; I will pray for you." The lama smiled and Khyung sprul rin po che was very sad to hear these words, but he did not manifest openly his deep feelings and left. [110-117] Three days later Khyung sprul rin po che composed a long poem containing advice for his family. This made it easier for his mother to accept her son's departure.

Farewell to the local deities

[117] On the seventeenth day of the nine month of the earth female sheep year (1919), Khyung sprul rin po che began his journey to gTsang accompanied by a young relative, a monk and a number of other people. When they reached the top of the hill from which it was still possible to glimpse his village one last time, [117-118] he composed a poem and burned incense for the local deity sPa ba brag nag. At night, while Khyung sprul rin po che was resting in a meadow, [119] he had a dream in which rDo rje dgra 'dul, lord of sPa ba brag nag, appeared on horseback wearing his ornaments and weapons, followed by a multitudinous entourage.

He bade farewell to all those deities who told him that they would accompany him on his journey to gNam mtsho Lake. Nevertheless, Khyung sprul rin po che begged them to stay and protect the local people and their religion. The deities replied claiming that they would always be ready to help him if he was in need. They wished him a safe journey and gave him

¹⁰⁹ [99-102]: Colophon to the second chapter.

some advice as to how to avoid any future obstacles. After circumambulating his tent several times, the deities vanished and the dream ended.

Visions along the way to gTsang

Khyung sprul rin po che continued his journey through Nag shod, crossed the lands south of rDza dmar and from Nag chu arrived in Nam skyung. After a day's journey they reached mount Byang Nam ra. A white cloud appeared on the mountain, shaped like a rainbow, and pointing at Khyung sprul rin po che himself. Light snow started to fall and some of the monks, members of the party, said that this was Nam ra's way of welcoming him, since this was the deity of his ancestors.

[120] The next day, while resting in Nam skyung, he had a dream in which he saw a shining, brown man holding a prayer wheel bearing *gzi* designs. He addressed Khyung sprul rin po che with the following words: "Where are you going? The caves in this mountain are best suited for meditation. This prayer wheel was given to me by a Bonpo lama who told me that if somebody ever wished to turn it, then I should give it to him; however, to this date I have found nobody." Then, people began to arrive, one by one, from the north until they formed a multitude. Each of them said a few words to Khyung sprul rin po che or asked questions: "I take refugee in you"; "I bow with devotion"; "Will you stay near?"; "Body of clarity", "Support the religious practice!"; "How wonderful!"; or "*E ma ho!*". On awaking he eventually took the decision to continue his journey westwards.¹¹⁰

Around gNam mtsho Lake

They continued on their journey to mDung mtsho and 'Bum mtsho lakes and from there they headed southwards until they came to rest at a place full of pasture and water called "The horse of Thang lha." Khyung sprul rin po che climbed a white rock seeking a quiet spot. He cast a glance to his left and then to his right and only then did he become aware of the immensity of the place extending out in front of him. gNyan chen thang lha and gNam mtsho Lake could both be partially contemplated and [121-123] he composed a laudatory poem dedicated to the beauty of the scenery.

[123] They continued their journey along the northern shores of the lake and at one of the stops, Khyung sprul rin po che had another dream in which a reddish man appeared to him riding a dark yellow horse. As the horseman rode across the horizon, the sun bathed Upper Hor in light, but few rays fell on Lower Hor. The red man told Khyung sprul rin po che to hurry up, as many people suddenly appeared on galloping horses. He woke up in a state of anxiety unable to understand fully the meaning of the dream, though he suspected it might be a premonition of the death of his root lama,

¹¹⁰ The colophon to this chapter sheds light on the whole episode: [127-128] the dream was not considered auspicious and the turning of the prayer wheel was a symbol of spreading Bon in that region. Therefore, Khyung sprul rin po che decided to leave.

sGo rgyal Nyi ma rin po che.¹¹¹ Khyung sprul rin po che was overcome by sorrow for a number of days until he finally reached bKra shis sMan ri Monastery.

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