

## Regulating the Performing Arts: Buddhist Canon Law on the Performance and Consumption of Music in Tibet

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**B**uddhist canon law prohibits its lay and monastic adherents from performing, teaching, or watching song (Skt. *gīta*; Ch. 歌; Tib. *glu*), dance (Skt. *nṛta*; Ch. 舞; Tib. *gar*), or instrumental music (Skt. *vādita*; Ch. 伎樂; Tib. *rol mo*) to varying degrees.<sup>1</sup> Yet, renowned Buddhist masters and high-ranking monks in Tibet regularly ‘violated’ this prohibition. For the Tibetan yogin Mi la ras pa (1040-1123) and the Dge lugs pa monk abbot Shar Skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607-1677), composing and performing songs of spiritual realization (*mgur glu*) were a means of sharing experiences that were acquired through solitary religious practice. In *A Happy Feast for the Eyes, Mind, and Ears* (*Mig yid rna ba’i dga’ ston*), a late seventeenth century songbook with notes on melodies whose compilation was attributed to the Tibetan regent (Sde srid) Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705), two local regents from western Tibet (Gtsang)—Phun tshogs rnam rgyal (1586? -1621) and Bstan skyong dbang po (1606-1642)—were said to have established a form of court music (*gar glu*) under their regime in the early seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> After that regime collapsed in 1641, this form of music was brought to the court of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter, the Tibetan spellings of terms will be provided in brackets without the abbreviation Tib. Only Skt. and Ch. will be added for Sanskrit and Chinese terms respectively. For a detailed study of rules in Buddhist canon law that prohibit fully ordained Buddhist monks and nuns from performing, teaching, or consuming song, dance, and instrumental music, see Liu 2014.

<sup>2</sup> See Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1991: 1-4. For an extensive study of this songbook, see Dge ‘dun ‘phel rgyas 2008; 2009.

1682). This is corroborated by the fact that musical performance had become a form of primary entertainment on numerous occasions in the court of the Fifth Dalai Lama from the second half of the seventeenth century onward. The Fifth Dalai Lama recorded one such occasion in his autobiography, noting that he had entertained various lay and monastic guests with musical performances on New Year's Day in 1681.<sup>3</sup> Given the prohibition in Buddhist canon law against ordained Buddhists performing, teaching, or watching song, dance, or instrumental music, was it not a violation for the Fifth Dalai Lama to arrange such musical performances to entertain his guests, many of whom would likely have been high-ranking monks? Why is there no recorded criticism of him for doing so? How did the Tibetans reconcile the discrepancy between the precept and practice of monastic regulations regarding music performance and consumption?

To address these questions, I have identified twenty-nine Indic and Tibetan texts elaborating on the disciplinary rules for ordained Buddhist novice monks and nuns in order to trace the continuities and changes in the interpretation of this rule against music that occurred through the transmission and development of this literary tradition from India to Tibet. Only commentaries on rules for novice monks and nuns provide further explanation of the prohibition against music. While the prohibition against music is also found in disciplinary rules for fully ordained monks and nuns, detailed discussion of this prohibition is only found in commentaries on disciplinary rules for novice monks and nuns. For this reason, these commentaries are the primary sources for my paper.

The literary tradition of novice rules represented by these Indic and Tibetan texts evolved around two central works.<sup>4</sup> They are fifty stanzas of *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśramaṇerakārikā* ('*Phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa*), hereafter abbreviated as NĀ, which is attributed to the second-century Indian scholar Nāgārjuna, and three hundred stanzas of *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśramaṇerakārikā* ('*Phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa*), hereafter abbreviated as ŚA, which is attributed to Śākyaprabha, a much later Indian scholar who was traditionally

<sup>3</sup> For a description of this New Year event, see Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho 1991: vol.3, 403-404. The Fifth Dalai Lama also wrote that monks from the Mgnaris College had lined up and performed a dance and song of the Bumping Harvest Festival to welcome him (*mnga' ris grwa tshang gis gser sbrengs dang 'on skor gyis bro gzhas rgyas pa bstar*). See Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1991: vol.1, 328. The Bumping Harvest Festival (*'ong skor*) is usually held in Tibet prior to the autumn harvest.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion of connections in the structure and content of these texts, see Liu (forthcoming).

considered to be a disciple of the seventh-century Indian scholar Guṇaprabha. A third equally influential text is Śākyaprabha's auto-commentary on ŚĀ, *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśramaṇerakārikāvṛtti-prabhāvati* ('Phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa 'od ldan), hereafter abbreviated as ĀBH.

Appendix 1 provides a complete list of the twenty-nine texts.<sup>5</sup> Among them, nine are Indic texts preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist canon *Bstan 'gyur*; nine are early eleventh to thirteenth century Tibetan commentaries preserved in the recently published *The Collected Writings of the Bka' gdams School* (*Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*);<sup>6</sup> and eleven are later Tibetan commentaries dated from the fourteenth century to the twentieth century. Twenty-five of these are examined in detail in this article. Four are excluded for lack of detailed discussion regarding the rule concerning song, dance, and instrumental music.<sup>7</sup>

### *Defining Performing Arts*

Central to any discussion of the regulations of song, dance, and instrumental music in Buddhist canon law is the definition of these terms. In the Tibetan translation of Nāgārjuna's NĀ, these terms are rendered as song (*glu*), dance (*gar*), and cymbal (*sil snyan*). The same set of terms in Śākyaprabha's ŚĀ is translated in Tibetan as dance (*bro gar*), song (*glu*), and instrumental music (*rol mo*). Among the Indian authors, only Kamalaśīla and Vinītadeva elaborate on the characteris-

<sup>5</sup> For transliterations of the sections on the rule concerning song, dance, and instrumental music, see the Appendixes in Liu 2014.

<sup>6</sup> These nine texts were identified from the first three collections published in 2006, 2007, and 2009, respectively. I was unable to access the texts in the fourth collection published in 2015 for this article, but I will examine them in the near future.

<sup>7</sup> Among the texts listed in Appendix 1, N1, N2, K7, and T9b are excluded from the discussion in the present article. The author of the first Indic text N1 is unknown. Its colophon indicates that the Kashmir preceptor Narasadeva translated it in collaboration with the Tibetan monk translator Rgyal ba'i shes rab. This text enumerates the duties of a newly ordained novice monk in the first year of training. This text has been omitted from the following discussion because it only lists the ten rules for the novice monks and provides no discussion of the rule concerning song, dance, and instrumental music. The other Indic text N2 is also omitted from discussion for the same reason. Its colophon dates the text to Nāgārjuna and indicates that the Tibetan translator Gzhon nu'i zhabs from Rtse thang translated it. The text describes the ritual for conferring the novice precepts and only mentions the rule concerning song, dance, and instrumental music without further explanation. The third text K7 is a brief summary of Śākyaprabha's auto-commentary of a text elaborating the rules for novices that I will introduce below. The last text T9b was also excluded here due to its lack of detailed discussion of the rule concerning music.

tics of song, dance, and instrumental music in significant detail. In his commentary on NĀ, Kamalaśīla defines song as singing from the Gandhāra region of western India and from eastern India (*glu ni shar dang gan da ra la sogs pa'o*). In the Tibetan translation, the Tibetan word *shar*, which literally means “east”, refers to an eastern musical tradition as opposed to the Gandhāra tradition of the west. Dance, on the other hand, is defined by Kamalaśīla as the moving to and fro of the feet and the twisting of the body (*gar ni rkang lag g.yob cing lus sgyur bar byed pa'o*).<sup>8</sup>

In the other literary tradition centered on Śākyaprabha's ŚĀ, commentators shift to define song, dance, and instrumental music by introducing the psychological aspects of these activities. In his commentary on ŚĀ, Vinitadeva writes,

*gang cung zhig rgod pa'i bsam pas lus rab tu skyod par byed pa  
ni gar yin la | | gang cung zhig de nyid kyi bsam pas dbyangs  
len par byed pa ni glu yin no | | brdung bar bya ba dag ni  
gang 'ga' zhig tu rdza rnga dang rnga bo che dag la tha na sor  
mo dag gis kyang rim gyis sam | go rims ma yin pas rdung bar  
byed cing rab tu skyod par byed pa yin te | |*<sup>9</sup>

Dance is the mere movement of the body caused by wild mind (*rgod bag*). Song is the performance of melody caused by a similar wild mind. Striking [instruments] is the mere striking or moving of the finger on the clay drum and big drum.

Tibetan commentators long paid attention to the physical and psychological aspects of song, dance, and instrumental music. Those that focused on the physical aspects defined song, dance, and instrumental music in relation to moving the body or producing sound with musical instruments. Rgyal tshabs Dar ma rin chen (1364-1432), a principle student of Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419), comments that singing involves the movement of the throat (*mgrin pa*), dancing begins with the movement of the eyebrow (*smin ma*), and playing instrumental music entails producing sounds with musical instruments. Identical definitions of song, dance, and instrumental music in relation to the origins of the sound or movement are also found in commentaries of Gu ge yongs 'dzin Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho (1748-1813), 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912), Glag

<sup>8</sup> L4: 782.

<sup>9</sup> S2: 625. For a detailed study of various drums, including the clay drum and the big drum, see Scheidegger 1988: 31-36.

bla Bsod nam mchog 'grub (1862-1944), and Brag dkar Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags (1866-1928).

Apart from the emphasis on the physical aspects of these musical activities, the earlier Tibetan commentators from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries also stress the importance of the utterance of words in establishing a definition of song. Phwya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-1169) writes in his commentary on ŚĀ that the defining characteristics of song include both the "moving of the throat (*'grin 'gur*" and "the utterance of verses (*tshigs su bcad par longs pa*)." Similar interpretations are also found in a commentary by Sbal ti Brtson 'grus dbang phyugs (1129-1215) on ĀBH and another by the twelfth century scholar Rog Chos kyi dbang phyug. In another commentary on ĀBH, the Vinaya master from Bya Brtson 'grus 'bar (1091-1167) only mentions the utterance of verses (*tshigs su bcad pa longs*) and describes "knowledge of the word (*ngag gi rig byed*)" as the defining characteristics of song (*klu'i mtshan nyid*).<sup>10</sup> Yet, this slight variation in the definition of song does not separate the Bya Vinaya master from other commentators, as he, like the authors of the other commentaries, also considers "movement of the eyebrow (*smin ma bskyod pa*)" to be a defining characteristic of dance.

A few early Bka' gdams pa commentators from the eleventh and early thirteenth centuries further specify how much body movement is sufficient to qualify as song and dance. In his commentary on the gradual training of novices, Phywa pa specifies that the transgression against song occurs the moment one moves one's throat and (sings) "one stanza of verse (*tshigs su bcad pa cig*)." <sup>11</sup> The twelfth century scholar 'Dar Tshul khriims rgyal po,<sup>12</sup> Sbal ti Brtson 'grus dbang phyugs (1129-1215),<sup>13</sup> and the anonymous author of Text K6 similarly emphasize the mere utterance of one śloka of verse in their respective commentaries on ŚĀ.<sup>14</sup> The last two authors also define the momentary completion of a dance movement (*bro gar gyi le'u 1*) as the consummation of transgression. The Vinaya master from Bya further specifies in his commentary on ĀBH that this dance movement constitutes the movement of one's eyebrow (*smin ma bskyod pa*). Phywa pa also makes this same claim in his commentary on the gradual training of novices, writing "Knowledge of the body establishes the defining characteristics of dance (*lus kyi rig byed bro gar gyi mtshan nyid du grub pa*)." <sup>15</sup> The twelfth century Tibetan scholar Rog Chos kyi

<sup>10</sup> K1: 157-158. Note that song is spelled as *klu*.

<sup>11</sup> K2b: 584:585.

<sup>12</sup> K4: 77-78.

<sup>13</sup> K3b: 105-106.

<sup>14</sup> K6: 384.

<sup>15</sup> K2b: 584-585.

dbang phyug, on the other hand, describes “the movement of the body (*gzugs bsgyur*)” as the defining characteristic of dance.<sup>16</sup>

The emphasis on what motivates one to sing and dance in Śākyaprabha's ŚĀ also found strong resonance among Tibetan commentators in the early and later periods. In addition to bodily movement, some of the later Tibetan commentators also list wild mind (*rgod bag*), attachment (*chags pa*), and thought of attachment (*chags sems*) as sources of motivation defining such bodily movements as dance. References to these terms are found in Rgyal tshabs's notes of Tsong kha pa's lecture on novice precepts given at Gnam rtse lding,<sup>17</sup> a commentary by Tshe mchog gling yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan (1713-1793) on ĀBH,<sup>18</sup> as well as in the respective works on the novice precepts by Gu ge yongs 'dzin,<sup>19</sup> Glag bla,<sup>20</sup> and Brag dkar.<sup>21</sup>

What distinguishes the early Bka' gdams pa commentators from the later Tibetan authors is the theorization of the importance of motivation as a crucial indicator, in a four-fold adjudicating scheme that I will discuss in detail shortly. In this four-fold scheme, a reported or confessed transgression is examined in four respects: the basis of the transgression, the doer's intention, the means employed to perform the transgression, and the result of the transgression. The commentaries of the early Bka' gdams pa commentators discuss each of these four respects of transgression concerning song, dance, and instrumental music. As illustrated in Column 4 of Appendix 2, in considering the intention of the offender against this rule, all of the Bka' gdams pa commentators (K1, K2a and K2b, K3a, K4, K5, and K6) list arousal of thought (*kun slong*), self-entertainment (*rang dga'*), and wild mind (*rgyod bag*) as common intentions behind singing, dancing, or playing instrumental music.

<sup>16</sup> K5: 175-176.

<sup>17</sup> T1: 591. This lecture was recorded in Tsong kha pa's biography. See 'Brug rgyal dbang chos rje Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (? : 426).

<sup>18</sup> T3a: 234.

<sup>19</sup> T4:39-40.

<sup>20</sup> T6:636.

<sup>21</sup> T8:13.

*Introducing the Rule*

In Buddhist canon law, the necessity of prohibiting fully ordained Buddhist monks and nuns from performing, teaching, or watching song, dance, or instrumental music is most commonly explained using cases that illustrate the consequences of not observing the prohibition. In Buddhist canon law of the Mahāsāṃghika, Mahāsāṃghika Lokottaravāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Sarvāstivāda, and Dharmaguptaka traditions, as well as in the Pāli Vinaya, such a prohibition is introduced with legal cases concerning monks and nuns in a band of six (Skt. *ṣaḍvārgika*; Tib. *drug sde*; Ch. *liùqún* 六群).<sup>22</sup>

The event that led to the promulgation of this regulation against music for fully ordained monks and nuns is presented in three versions. In the first version, which is recorded in Buddhist canon law of the Sarvāstivāda and the Dharmaguptaka traditions, as well as the Pāli Vinaya,<sup>23</sup> the monks and nuns simply went to watch songs, dance, and instrumental music. In the second version, recorded in Buddhist canon law of the Mahāsāṃghika and Mahāsāṃghika Lokottaravāda,<sup>24</sup> they went to watch and diverted the audience's attention away from the performers through their exaggerated behavior, thus ruining the performance. In the third version recorded in Buddhist canon law of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition,<sup>25</sup> they put on lay costumes and performed to compete against some musicians from the south to avenge them for insulting the monks in an earlier performance. These stories of monks and nuns in bands of six are used to demonstrate why the prohibition against monks and nuns performing song, dance, or instrumental music was established.

One invention in the literary tradition on the novice precepts is the adoption of these stories to demonstrate the necessity of establishing this rule for novice monks and nuns. Column 1 in Appendix 2 summarizes the occurrences of this introductory story in the Indic and Tibetan texts on novice precepts. This summary shows that this

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of the role of monks and nuns in the band of six in the Buddhist canon law, see Liu 2013.

<sup>23</sup> See *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (T1435: 269b27-269c6; 342a11-342a27); *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (T1428: 662b8-662c24); and *Pāli Vinaya*, Oldenberg 1880: vol.2, 107-108 in original and Horner 1963, vol.5, 145 in translation.

<sup>24</sup> See Roth 1970: 274-275, Nolot 1991: 299-300; *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* (T1425: 494a8-494a24; 540b20-540c8).

<sup>25</sup> See 'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa, in *Bka' 'gyur*, Dpe bsdur ma (Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008), *Ja*, vol.7, 534-558; *Dge slong ma'i 'dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, in *Bka' 'gyur*, Dpe bsdur ma, (Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008), *Ta*, vol.9, 577-579; *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (T1442: 842c26-845a23); *Mūlasarvāstivāda Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* (T1443: 987c29-988b1); *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayasamgraha* (T1458: 593a4-593b12).

case story was used to introduce the prohibition in Kamalaśīla's commentary on NĀ but was absent in the other Indic texts. In this commentary, Kamalaśīla begins his explanation of the rule against music with an introductory story (*gleng gzhi*) in which the monks in the band of six sang, danced, and played musical instruments to avenge some southern musicians at a festival celebrating the erection of two temples for two serpent kings.<sup>26</sup>

This summary in Appendix 2 also illustrates the growing popularity of these introductory stories among the early Bka' gdams pa commentators. All of the Bka' gdams pa authors except the Bya Vinaya master cite these stories of the band of six to argue for the need to establish the rule against music. This exception is understandable, as the Bya Vinaya master's work is a commentary on ĀBH, which also lacks the introductory story concerning the band of six. The case story of the band of six seems to have declined in popularity among later Tibetan commentators from the fourteenth century onward, appearing only sporadically in the commentary of 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912) on NĀ.<sup>27</sup>

The failure to observe the prohibition against song, dance, and instrumental music has dire and irreversible consequences in certain cases. One widely cited case concerns monks and nuns who were criticized by lay people for having watched a musical performance. In another such case recorded in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* (T1421: 97b16-96b17), some Buddhist nuns who went to watch musical performances became attached to such entertainment, lost interest in Buddhist practices, and eventually left the monastic community to join the non-Buddhists.

However, these introductory stories did not explicitly explain the reasons why and how involvement in, or consumption of, song, dance, or instrumental music performances could jeopardize spiritual practice. The Indic compositions on novice rules attributed to Nāgārjuna and Śākyaprabha contain the earliest discussion of this. In a commentary on NĀ, Nāgārjuna explains why song, dance, instrumental music, garlands, and luxurious beds are prohibited in regulations for novices: "The performances such as singing and dancing will arouse one's arrogance. One who has abandoned arrogance is

<sup>26</sup> The fullest version of this story appears in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*. For a summary of this story, see Liu 2014: 68-70.

<sup>27</sup> The last few pages of 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho's work identifies it as a commentary on NĀ attributed to Nāgārjuna. For different editions of this text, see 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho 1999a; 1999b; and 2007. For an English translation of this text by Glenn Mullin and Lobsang Rapgya, see 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho 1978; 1997. For a Chinese translation of this text, see 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho 2006.



called a vow-holder.”<sup>28</sup> In his commentary on NĀ, Kamalaśīla explains this prohibition for vow-holders, writing “Why? It is because they [song, dance, and instrumental music] will cause self-aggrandizement (*rgyags*) and arrogance (*dregs pa*), and secondarily, they will keep one in a cyclic existence.”<sup>29</sup>

This notion of attachment to a cyclic existence in this world is elaborated further in the literary tradition of novice regulations centered on the works of Śākyaprabha. In both ŚĀ and its auto-commentary ĀBH, Śākyaprabha explains that the prohibition was introduced because “they [the things prohibited] are the source of attachment to this world” (*‘di ‘dir ‘khor ba la chags rgyu yin no*).<sup>30</sup> Commenting on Śākyaprabha’s explanation, Vinītadeva writes,

*ci ‘di rgyu gang gis mi bya ba yin zhe na | ‘di dag ‘khor bar  
chags par byed pa’i rgyu zhes bya ba smos te | ‘khor ba la  
chags pa ni ‘khor bar chags pa ste | kun nas zhen pa zhes bya  
ba’i don to || gar la sogs pa byed pa ‘di ni ‘dir rgyu ste byed  
pa’i rgyu zhes bya ba’i don to || gang gi phyir gar la sogs pa  
la rab tu dga’ ba ni skyo bar mi ‘gyur ba de’i phyir mngon par  
dga’ ba ni ‘khor ba’i rgyu yin no ||*<sup>31</sup>

What does “this is the cause and nobody should do it” mean? It means that these are the causes of attachment to cyclic existence. “Attaching to the cyclic existence” means, attaching to the cyclic existence, which means completely attached. Performance of dance and so forth is the cause [of attachment to cyclic existence] in this world, which means it is the cause of the act [of attachment]. Why? Since dance and so forth cause one to become extremely happy, but not become sad, for this reason, genuine happiness is the cause of cyclic existence.

According to Vinītadeva, the performance or consumption of song, dance, and instrumental music can bring happiness and dispel sorrow. For this reason, one who watches such musical performances would be content with worldly life and fail to see the peril of attachment to cyclic existence.

Discerning one’s intention to sing, dance, or play instrumental music is of primary importance. As mentioned above, Vinītadeva

<sup>28</sup> L1: 729.

<sup>29</sup> L4: 781-782.

<sup>30</sup> S1a: 184-185; and S1b: 359-361.

<sup>31</sup> S2: 625-627.

analyzes song and dance as physical movements caused by “wild mind” (*rgod bag*). In later eleventh and thirteenth century Bka' gdams pa commentaries, “wild mind” became one of the most salient terms in discussions of motivations that would consummate the violation of this regulation. In these works, the Tibetan authors discuss the performer's intention from two perspectives: consciousness (*'du shes*) and arousal of thought (*kun slong*). In particular, the Bya Vinaya master maintains that if someone who is not mentally ill sings, dances, and plays instrumental music, it is a transgression.<sup>32</sup> The reason, he writes, is as follows,

*'di gsum gi dgag bya ni rgyud ma zhi zhing rgod bag gi rnam  
par 'phel pas 'khor ba la chags shing zhen pa'i rgyu la | de'i  
dbang gis 'khor ba'i gnyen po sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa rgyud  
la brten pa'i bsam pa mi 'gyur ba yin no//<sup>33</sup>*

Concerning the ways to prevent these three things: as [these three are] the cause of clinging and attachment to cyclic existence due to the development of un-pacified mental stream and wild mind. By the power of those [three things], one would not develop the thought to rely on the stream of the Buddha's teachings, the remedy for cyclic existence.

According to the Bya Vinaya master, the major threat is that people who indulge in musical entertainment are less likely to devote themselves to learning and practicing Buddha's teachings to transcend cyclic existence. All other commentaries from this period express similar meanings. Phywa pa concurs with this interpretation, writing:

*'o na gsum po de bya mi rung pa ci'i phyir zhe na | 'di 'dir  
zhes te | sa steng 'dir ram | gsum po 'di byar mi rung pa'i  
skabs 'dir ro || des myang ngan las 'das pa ma'dod pa'i bsam  
pa mi 'gyur pa'o ||<sup>34</sup>*

However, why is it not appropriate to do these three things? “This here” means in this world or the time when it is not appropriate to do these three things. That would cause one not to want to transcend from suffering.

<sup>32</sup> Conversely, if one participates in such activity while mentally ill, it is not deemed a transgression.

<sup>33</sup> K1: 158.

<sup>34</sup> K2a: 465.

Among the later Tibetan commentators, Gzhan phan Chos kyi gnang ba (1871-1927) also views thoughts of distraction as the cause of being trapped in cyclic existence.<sup>35</sup>

In sum, these Indic and Tibetan commentaries maintain that if one indulges in performing or consuming this triad of song, dance, and instrumental music, one would lose interest in pursuing transcendence from cyclic existence. This is because sensual happiness brought by such entertainments conceals the suffering that results from cyclic existence and thus deceives one into continuing in the illusory happiness of dwelling in this world.

### *Exception*

With the exception of NĀ, all of the Indic and Tibetan writings on novice regulations make some accommodation for exceptional circumstances among those exposed to music to remain transgression-free. Given that the NĀ only enumerates the ten precepts for novice monks and nuns, the lack of the mention of such exceptions does not indicate opposition to accommodating exceptional circumstances. The fact that all the three commentaries on NĀ propose accommodating exceptions indicates that discussion of these exceptions may have been omitted for brevity.

The accommodation of these exceptions in various Indic and Tibetan texts is summarized in Column 2 in Appendix 2. This summary reveals that authors of these Indian and Tibetan commentators contend that novice monks and nuns commit no offence when using music in verbal activities on some or all of the following three occasions: praising the Buddha (*ston pa la mchod pa*), preaching the Dharma (*chos 'chad pa*), and performing the Tripartite Tridaṇḍaka ritual (*rgyun chags gsum pa*).<sup>36</sup> Commenting on NĀ, Kamalaśīla writes that there is no offence when one blends melodies and songs to praise the grand quality of the Triple Jewels.<sup>37</sup> To this, Kalyāṇamitra adds one more exceptional occasion and writes that there is also no offence when one "sounds melodies" (*dbyangs kyis 'don par byed pa*) when one does so to praise the Buddha for worshipping or to perform the Tridaṇḍaka ritual.<sup>38</sup> The last anonymous author of Text L2, who also comments

<sup>35</sup> T9a: 195-196.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion on a manual from the Dunhuang cave library on how to perform the Tripartite Tridaṇḍaka ritual, see an analysis of IOL Tib J 466 in Dalton 2016: 206-208.

<sup>37</sup> L4: 781-782.

<sup>38</sup> L3: 862-863.

on NĀ, warned that one should not perform [music] even in the presence of the Triple Jewels if it is performed not to worship the Triple Jewels but to entertain oneself.<sup>39</sup> Shortly afterward, the author further commented that on three slightly different occasions the use of music would be free of transgression: when preaching the Dharma (*chos 'chad pa*), reading books (*yi ge klog pa*), or praising the Triple Jewels (*dkon mchog gsum la bstod pa*). Thus, according to these Indian authors, a novice Buddhist monk or nun may have the option to apply melody in verbal activities when praising the Buddha or the Triple Jewels, performing the Tridaṇḍaka Ritual, preaching the Dharma, or reading books.

The early Tibetan commentators have also accorded with their Indian predecessors to accommodate the use of music in these exceptional situations. Instead of affirming novice monks and nuns when music could be used without infringing a violation, the Tibetan commentators preferred to present these occasions as cautions. The Bya Vinaya master writes that singing (*klu len pa*) will only constitute an offence when it is not done to preach the Dharma, praise the virtues of the Buddha, or perform the *Tridaṇḍaka* ritual. With the exception of Text K6 where the author did not mention occasions when the use of music will be excused, this rhetorical strategy is evidenced in all of the early Bka' gdams pa commentaries.

The later Tibetan commentators are less enthusiastic in discussing exceptions. Tshe mchog gling yongs 'dzin (T3b) and 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (T5) did not discuss any circumstances that would excuse the use of music. Rgyal tshabs (T1), Gu ge yongs 'dzin (T4), Glag bla (T6), and Brag dkar (T8) only consider the use of music excusable when it is performed to worship the Buddha or the Triple Jewels. Rong tha chung tsang Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho (1865-1917), on the other hand, considers instrumental music played to worship the divine (*lha mchod pa*) to be excusable (T7). Gzhan phan (T9) increases the circumstantial exceptions to include two occasions: when one praises the virtue of the Buddha or when preaching the Dharma (*chos sgrogs par byed pa*). Only Zhwa dmar is willing to consider the use a melody (*dbyangs su 66y aba*) in verbal activities free of offence when one does so to praise the virtue of the Buddha, recite Buddhist texts (*mdo 'don pa*) or perform the Tripartite Tridaṇḍaka ritual (T2).

Buddhist canon law addresses two of these three exceptions in rules for fully ordained monks and nuns. These exceptional situations allow the use of musical melody to praise the Buddha's virtues

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<sup>39</sup> L2: 832.

or to perform the Tridaṇḍaka ritual.<sup>40</sup> What remains puzzling in these Indic and Tibetan commentaries is the accommodation of the third occasion that allows novice monks and nuns to use music when preaching the Dharma. This puzzling discussion appears in both the anonymous author's commentary on NĀ in L2 and in the commentary of Gzhan phan (T9). Fully ordained Buddhist monks and nuns are prohibited from using music to preach dharma or to recite the Prātimokṣa, an enumeration of verified disciplinary rules for fully ordained monks and nuns.<sup>41</sup> These prohibitions are discussed explicitly in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (T1428: 817a14-817b1), the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* (T1421: 121c3-121c4), and the *Pinimu jing* (T1463: 833-a21-833a26). Fully ordained monks and nuns exclusively participate in the recitation of the Prātimokṣa as a regular ritual. Novice monks and nuns are not qualified to attend those recitation rituals. Yet the anonymous author's commentary on NĀ in Text L2 states that a novice monk or nun will not commit a transgression when using music to preach the Dharma (*chos 'chad pa*). For Gzhan phan, music should be permitted when reciting canonical Buddhist scriptures (*mdo 'don pa*). The fact that only two of the Indic and Tibetan authors mention this exception indicates perhaps that other commentators are against permitting the use of music to preach the Dharma.

### *The Validating Ritual*

To prevent abusing exceptions that would provide Buddhist novice monks and nuns flexibility to occasionally use music for legitimate purposes for the sake of enhancing their religious practices, a proper ritual must be performed prior to the commencement of the musical performance in order to avoid committing a transgression. In this ritual, the performer is asked to proclaim the nature and the purpose of the subsequent musical performance.

Commentaries on both NĀ and ŚĀ contain detailed instructions on how to perform this ritual. In his commentary on NĀ, Kamalaśīla writes that one should not proclaim that "For the sake of worshiping, let me sing and dance." Instead, one should say, "In the same way the lord of the gods and demi-gods worships, let me worship the dust at the foot of the Buddha."<sup>42</sup> Afterward, one can sing or dance to worship without committing a transgression. ŚĀ, its auto-

<sup>40</sup> For a discussion of these exceptional rules for fully ordained monks and nuns, see chapter six on "Reciting and Chanting in Buddhism" in Liu 2014: 151-205.

<sup>41</sup> For discussion on these prohibitions, see Liu 2014: 175-182.

<sup>42</sup> L4: 781-782.

commentary *ĀBH*, and *Vinītadeva's* commentary on *ŚĀ* also contain explanations of this ritual. *Śākyaprabha* writes in *ŚĀ*,

*mchod pa'i ched du'ang rol mo'i sgra dang ni | glu byos zhes ni mi  
brjod 'on kyang ni | lha dang lha min dbang pos zhabs rdul gtugs | |  
sangs rgyas la ni mchod par byos zhes brjod | |*<sup>43</sup>

Even for the sake of worshipping, do not say, “let me sound music and sing song.” Instead, say, “The lord of the gods and demi-gods touched the dust at the foot [of the Buddha?]. Let me worship the Buddha [likewise].”

*Śākyaprabha* further elaborates on this passage in *ĀBH*, writing:

*cher na ston pa la mchod pa'i phyir yang brtul zhugs can gyis bro gar  
dang | glu dang | rol mo'i sgra byos shig ces brjod par mi bya'o | |  
'o na ci lta zhe na | lha dang lha ma yin rnams kyis zhabs kyi rdul la  
gtugs pa'i bcom ldan 'das la mchod pa byos shig ces brjod par bya'o  
| | 'dir gzhung ni | bzhin bzangs dag bcos ldan 'das la rang gi bzos  
mchod pa byos shig ces 'byung ba yin no | | dmigs kyis bsal ba ni |  
chos sgrogs byed pa'i glu ni nyes pa med | |*<sup>44</sup>

Even for the sake of worshipping the Teacher, a vow-holder should not say, “Let us sing, dance, and play musical instruments.” Instead, how should it be done? Say, “Let us worship the Buddha, the dust at whose feet were touched by the Lord of the gods and demi-gods.” This is because the phrase “Let us worship the lord whose countenance is excellent and pure” appears in the root text. The exception [is]: there is no wrong in songs articulating the doctrine.

The key point in adding this ritual is to ensure that performers correctly articulate the purpose of musical performance as a form of worshipping the Buddha. Different wordings could change the legitimacy of the same performance, even for a performer with the same intention. However, none of the early *Bka' gdams pa* commentaries contain any discussion of this ritual. Yet, similar instructions are found in the later Tibetan commentaries. *Rgyal tshabs* writes that there is no transgression if, for the sake of worshipping the Buddha, one says the following before singing or dancing: “Oh! Let me wor-

<sup>43</sup> S1a: 184-185.

<sup>44</sup> S1b: 359-361.

ship the Buddha!”<sup>45</sup> Failure to properly proclaim the nature of one’s performance would result in a transgression. On this possibility, Bragdkar writes that, even for the sake of worship, a transgression would occur if one said “let me sing and dance,” but not “Let me worship the Buddha.”<sup>46</sup>

### *A Mandatory Skill*

Buddhist canon law of extant traditions also requires those who are unable to use music on those occasions to practice their musical skills in a solitary place. The introductory story of this requirement appears in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayakṣudrakavastu* (T1451: 223b22-223b29), where a young monk did not know how to make his praise of the Buddha or the performance of the Tridaṇḍaka ritual more musically pleasing. When this was reported to the Buddha, he told the young monk to practice his musical skills. Therefore, monks began to practice in their living quarters as well as in the assembly halls in the monastery. When the elderly Anāthapiṇḍada came to visit, he found it unbearable when he saw and heard monks practicing their musical skills everywhere, and complained to the Buddha. Hence, the Buddha told monks to practice their musical skills in solitary places (Ch. *pingchu* 屏處; Tib. *dben pa*), not in public space.

Kamalaśīla discusses the importance of using music on these occasions in his commentary on NĀ, noting:

*yang na gngang bas sem can gzhan rnams dad pa bskyed pa'i phyir |  
dkon mchog gsum gyi che ba'i yon tan bstod ra rnams dbyangs dang  
glu bsres te byas na nyes pa med do | |<sup>47</sup>*

However, the performance [of song] intended to cultivate faith in other sentient beings, which is the praise of the great virtues of the Triple Jewels intonated with a combination of melody (*dbyangs*) and song, is without fault.

Occurrences of this requirement in the Indic and Tibetan texts obliging ordained Buddhists to hone their musical skills in solitary places are summarized in Column 3 in Appendix 2. This summary reveals that, except for the NĀ, all of the Indic texts on novice regulations discuss this requirement and urge novices who are unable to use mu-

<sup>45</sup> T1: 591.

<sup>46</sup> T8: 13.

<sup>47</sup> L4: 781-782.

sic properly on those two occasions to practice their musical skills in a solitary place. Kamalaśīla writes in his commentary on NĀ, "If one doesn't know songs (*glu dbyangs*) but wants to learn, he should be led by those who know [how to sing] and practice in a solitary place".<sup>48</sup>

Śākyaprabha expresses a similar sentiment in ŚĀ, where he writes, "If one does not know songs for the sake of the noble doctrine, one should go to a solitary place and learn them well."<sup>49</sup> He further explains this line in ĀBH, "Any vow-holder (*brtul zhugs can*) who does not know songs (*glu*) should go to a solitary place. For the sole sake of articulating the noble dharma, [the vow-holder] should learn songs well."<sup>50</sup> In his commentary on ŚĀ, Vinītadeva comments on this passage by Śākyaprabha, writing:

*dbyangs mi shes pa ni dbyangs la mi mkhas pa'i dge tshul dben  
par zhugs te bslab par bya'o | | ci'i rgyu mtshan gyis zhe na |  
dam pa'i chos kyi phyir zhes smras pa yin no | | ni'i sgra ni 'dir  
yang dbyangs la hi mkhas na zhes snga ma las khyad par du byed  
pa'i don to | | nyid ni don gzhan rnam par gcod pa'o | | dben par  
zhugs te zhes smos pa ni bag med par rnam par sbang ba'i pyhir ro  
| | bslab par bya zhes bya ba ni 'di bslab par gzhan ni ma yin gyi  
| gal te dam pa'i chos la bstod pas nye bar mchod pa'i phyir bslab  
pa la nyes pa yod pa ma yin no zhes bya ba de lta bu'i tshig de dag  
ni mchog tu zhes bya bar shes par bya'o | |*<sup>51</sup>

"Do not know melody" means that novices who are not good at melodies should stay in a solitary place and learn. Why? It is for the sake of the noble dharma. The syllable *ni* distinguishes "those who are not learned in melodies" from the former situation. "Self" excludes others. The reason to stay in a solitary place is to renounce recklessness completely. "Should learn" means this is not the basis of the learning; it should be understood as "there is no harm in learning if it is intended to thoroughly worship the noble dharma".

Among the Tibetan commentators, Tshe mchog gling yongs 'dzin elaborates on this in his commentary on ĀBH, where he writes,

*dam chos ched du glu ni mi shes na | dben par song ste rab tu  
bslab par bya | zhes gsung dkon mchog mchod pa'i ched min*

<sup>48</sup> L4: 781-782.

<sup>49</sup> S1a: 184-185.

<sup>50</sup> S1b: 359-361.

<sup>51</sup> S2: 625-627.



*par rang dgar glu gar sogs byed pa ni nyes dmigs che ste | de  
dag gang byed kyang rgod bag dang chags pa'i sems kyis byed  
pa shas che la | 'dod chags ni 'khor bar 'ching byed kyi gtso bo  
yin pa dang | 'dul ba'i bslab khrims rnams ni 'khor bar 'ching  
byed 'dod chags sreng pa 'gog ba gtso bor mdzad pa yin pas |  
rang nyid bslab khrims las g.yel zhing skye bo gzhan dag kyang  
g.yengs nas nges 'byung dang skyo shas ma skyes pa mi skye |  
skyes pa rnams kyang nyams pa'i rkyen du che lo |<sup>52</sup>*

“For the sake of the noble doctrine, if one does not know song, one should go learn it well in a solitary place,” meaning, if it is not for the sake of worshipping the Triple Jewels, it is a heavy transgression if one performs song, dance, and so forth. Whoever performs it mostly with wild minds, and attachments and desires are the principal cause of cyclic existence. Because disciplinary regulations are the principal means to cease [and] burn attachments tied to cyclic existence, having neglected the disciplinary regulations, oneself and others whose minds were wild would not have the thought for renunciation or suffering [of cyclic existence]. Even those who have generated such thoughts will likely degenerate.

Among the later commentators, only Zhwa dmar briefly mentioned this requirement in his commentary on the disciplinary rules for novices. At the end of his comment on this rule on song, dance, and instrumental music, Zhwa dmar maintained that one should “use melody (*dbyangs su bya ba*)” when praising the Buddha’s virtues, and “adopt a musical voice (*dbyangs kyi ro bya bar gnangs ba*)” when reciting canonical Buddhist scriptures (*mdo 'don pa*) or performing the Tridaṇḍaka ritual. And those who do not know how to do so must learn and practice it in a solitary place.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> T3b: 235-236.

<sup>53</sup> T2: 888.

*The Four-fold Adjudicating Scheme*

In Buddhist canon law, reported transgressions are investigated from four different perspectives. In the case of a violation of the rule against killing a human being, the guilt or innocence of a suspect depends on the following four key factors. Was the victim a human being? Was the killing intentional? Did the suspect try to enact the killing? And did the victim die? All four of these conditions need to be met for a transgression that, in theory, would call for the expulsion of the suspect from the monastic community. Otherwise, the suspect would either be found innocent or would be given a lighter punishment.

This four-fold scheme of investigation is widely discussed in the Buddhist canon law of all extant traditions in South and East Asia. An early occurrence of the four terms used to theorize this scheme is also found in the Tibetan translation of the Indic Vinaya commentaries preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. One such source is *Prātimokṣasūtraṭīkavīnayasamuccaya*, a commentary on versified monastic regulations for fully ordained Buddhist monks, attributed to the eighth century Indian scholar Vimalamitra.<sup>54</sup> In the Tibetan translation of this text, four terms are given: basis (*gzhi*), intention (*bsam pa*), effort (*sbyor ba*), and result (*mthar thug*).<sup>55</sup>

In Indic texts, these four terms are used mainly to elaborate on regulations for fully ordained monks and nuns; but they were not used in any of the Indic commentaries on novice regulations. Yet they were used innovatively by Vinaya scholars in Tibet to elaborate on novice regulations between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Column 4 in Appendix 2 summarizes the occurrences of this four-fold adjudicating scheme in all the Indic and Tibetan commentaries on novice regulations. This shows that the Tibetans first used five terms, and later four terms, for this scheme. The innovation began with the eleventh century Bya Vinaya master who introduced the following five terms in his commentary: basis (*gzhi*), consciousness (*'du shes*), arousal of thought (*kun slong*), effort (*sbyor ba*), and result

<sup>54</sup> See Vimalamitra. *So sor thar pa'i mdo rgya cher 'grel pa 'dul ba kun las btus pa*, in Bstan 'gyur, Dpe bsdur ma (Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008), *Pu*, vol.85, 3-828. This text was translated by Jinamitra, Sarvajñadeva, and Klu'i rgyal mtshan. The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1980:64) wrote in *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs* that Vimalamitra came to Tibet by royal invitation from the Tibetan king Khri srong lde btsan. For a recent English introduction on Vimalamitra, see Gruber 2013.

<sup>55</sup> Thānissaro characterizes a transgression as having five factors in the *Pali Vinaya*: the *effort*, the *perception* under which it is made, the *intention* motivating it, the *object* at which it is aimed, and the *result*. See Thānissaro 2007: 7; 27.

(*mthar thug*).<sup>56</sup> These five terms also appear in Phywa pa's commentary. Phywa pa, a student of the Bya Vinaya master, used the same set of five terms in a commentary illustrating the gradual training of the Buddhist novices (K2b). Yet in his commentary on ŚĀ, Phywa pa consolidated "consciousness" and "motivation" into one term: intention (*bsam pa*).<sup>57</sup>

The new set of four terms was then used consistently in all of the other works by Sbal ti, 'Dar Tshul khrims rgyal po, and the anonymous work Text T6. The following commentary on singing by 'Dar Tshul khrims rgyal po clearly demonstrates how the four terms were used in these Tibetan commentaries to analyze different aspects of transgression in the rule concerning music. He writes,

*yan lag la gzhi bsams sbyor ba mthar thug pa'o || gzhi la 2  
gang blang par bya ba'i don dang | len yang byed pa bdag nyid  
do || don la 2 'grin gyur glu'i rgyal mtshan nyid du grub pa  
dang | tshad shu lo ka 1 longs pa'o || bdag nyid 3 ston pa'i  
yon tan yang dag par bsgrags pa'I dus ma yin pa dang | rgyun  
bshesgs 3 pa 'don pa'i dus ma yin pa dang | de dag slob pa'i  
dus ma yin pa'o || bsam pa la 'dus shes ma 'khrul | kun slong  
rgod bag gi bsam pas glu len par 'dod pa | sbyor ba dag nyid  
dam gzhan tha snyad dang ldan pa la skos pas len par zhugs pa  
| mthar thug shu lo ka 1 gi tshad du longs pa yongs su rdzogs  
pa'o ||*<sup>58</sup>

The secondary aspects include basis, intention, effort, and result. Basis has two aspects: what is sung and the condition of the singing. What is sung refers to moving the throat, which completes the defining characteristic of song, and the singing of one stanza. The condition [of singing] has three aspects: 1) when it is not the time to articulate the pure virtues of the Teacher; 2) when it is not the time to recite during the third event of the day; and 3) when it is not the time to learn these things. Intention: one who is not mentally disturbed desires to sing due to recklessness. Effort: One sings or causes others to sing by preparing the condition. Result: the singing of one stanza completes the result.

<sup>56</sup> K1: 158.

<sup>57</sup> K2a: 465.

<sup>58</sup> K4: 78.

The above analysis of the application of the terms of the four-fold scheme in Indic and Tibetan texts on novice regulations shows that Tibetan writers in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries innovatively borrowed these four terms to elaborate on novice regulations. Yet in later Tibetan commentaries on novice regulations from the fourteenth century onward, these four terms seem to have lost popularity. Column 4 in Appendix One shows that none of the later Tibetan commentators discussed this four-fold adjudicating scheme in their commentaries.

*Tantric Buddhism's Impact on Music Practices in Tibet*

The aim of this article is to understand how the involvement of ordained Buddhist monks in the performance and consumption of song, dance, and instrumental music came to be accepted in Tibetan society. The above investigation of the novice rule on musical performance shows that such acceptance was clearly not fostered by radical reinterpretation of doctrine, given that the Tibetan commentators by and large concurred with the interpretation of their Indian predecessors on those regulations as presented in the translated literature. Indeed, the Tibetans even agreed with ŚĀ and ĀBH that an additional ritual must be performed properly to justify the subsequent musical performance used to praise the Buddha's virtues or to perform the Tridaṇḍaka ritual. Hence, to understand the practice of music in Tibetan Buddhism, we must probe beyond Buddhist canon law to trace the historical, religious, and social causes that led to Tibetan society's acceptance of Buddhists being involved in various forms of musical activities.

Historically, a tradition of composing and performing poems of spiritual realization was established in Tibet no later than the eleventh century. The late eighteenth century Amdo yogin and song writer Zhabs dkar ba Tshogs drug rang grol (1781-1851) traced the origin of this tradition to the eighty-four accomplished Indian siddha adepts who composed countless numbers of such poems in order to discipline sentient beings.<sup>59</sup> According to Zhabs dkar ba, this tradition flourished in medieval Tibet from the early to later period of Buddhist dissemination without interruption.<sup>60</sup> Zhabs dkar ba also discussed when and how to perform songs of spiritualization. Accord-

<sup>59</sup> Zhabs dkar ba Tshogs drug rang grol 1987: vol.1, 4-5. In this song, Zhabs dkar ba used vajra songs (*rdo rje'i mgur*), songs of spiritual realization (*mgur*), and *doha* songs interchangeably. Schaeffer 2005: 3-4 has also quoted this passage on varja songs.

<sup>60</sup> See Zhabs dkar ba Tshogs drug rang grol 1987: vol.1, 4-5.

ing to him, a yogin should sing songs (*glu dbyangs len*) in order to arouse people's interest in Buddhist doctrine when many people are assembled on the following occasions: when an empowerment *maṇḍala* is completed, when distinguishing cyclic existence from transcendence, when walking to the graveyard, or when coming from the island garden of pleasure.<sup>61</sup> The use of music on each of these occasions must comply with certain regulations on wearing costumes and ornaments, holding instruments, and bodily movement. If someone is unable to compose songs spontaneously, he should sing songs composed by previous saints. Zhabs dkar ba further argued that the merits of singing on such occasions are enormous. In particular, singing songs of spiritual realization could please the Buddha and the yoginīs, attract the virtuous deities to come assemble like clouds, arouse faith in the audience, and direct the sentient beings to the Buddha's teachings.<sup>62</sup>

Today, the Tibetan literary corpus still preserves numerous such poems composed by Tibetan yogins, monks, or lay writers. These poems have come down to us through textual and/or oral transmission. This is the historical background in which ordained Buddhist monks such as the abbot Shar Skal ldan rgya mtsho and the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote songs of spiritual realization and entertained guests with vocal and instrumental music.

The complex social and religious context of medieval Tibet also had a major influence on the treatment of music in Tibetan Buddhist practices. On one hand, medieval Tibetans earnestly sought to revitalize the practice of Buddhism in Tibet by advocating the strict observance of Vinaya rules. However, with the persecution of Buddhism in the ninth century, Buddhist activities were reduced to near extinction: in central Tibet, monasteries were destroyed, their residents either exiled or forced to disrobe, and monastic ordinations were brought to an end. This persecution continued and was witnessed by Tibetans into the fourteenth century. One such witness, Bu ston, made the criticism that even ordained monks who stayed in monasteries merely wore religious robes and only observed the four root vows for three months during summer retreats; in other seasons of the year, they disregarded even the four root vows.<sup>63</sup> The nineteenth century author 'Brug rgyal dbang chos rje Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal captured the lamentation over the decline of Buddhist monasticism in his biography of Tsong kha pa. The author criticized the tantric practitioners who were formally ordained to wear monas-

<sup>61</sup> Zhabs dkar ba Tsogs drug rang grol 1987: vol.1, 8.

<sup>62</sup> Zhabs dkar ba Tshogs drug rang grol 1987: vol.1, 11.

<sup>63</sup> See Bu ston 2000: 878-879. For Chinese translation, see Bu ston 1988: part 1, 265.

tic robes but engaged in sexual and other behaviors inappropriate for ordained Buddhists. With expressions of outrage, the author accused these tantric practitioners of disgracing the Buddhist community. He wrote,

*la la ni gsang sngags pa yin zhes sha chang dang | bud med la byung  
rgyal du spyad de bu dang bu mos mtha' brten cing | glu bro gzhas  
sogs khyims pa dang gnyis su ma mchims pas sngar dus kyi sbyor  
sgrol du grags pa'i bstan pa slar yang spel ba dang |<sup>64</sup>*

Some claimed to be tantric practitioners. They indulged in alcohol and women, and were bound by son and daughter. They enjoyed song and dance, and behaved in a manner that was not different from lay people. For this reason, the practice formerly known as liberating through sex (*sbyor sgrol*) began to spread again.

Indeed, according to this author, during one summer retreat at Gnamts rtse ldeng monastery, Tsong kha pa purposefully taught Vinaya in order to restore purity in the teaching and practicing of Vinaya in Tibet.<sup>65</sup>

There were efforts to purify Buddhist monastic practice in medieval Tibet by advocating strict observance of monastic regulations, including abstinence from song, dance, and instrumental music. However, the arrival of tantric Buddhism, in which music was indispensable to ritual liturgies, seriously challenged these efforts. Tantric Buddhism grew on Indian soil and arrived in Tibet as early as the early dissemination period, but it only began to flourish in Tibet during the later dissemination period beginning in the tenth century.<sup>66</sup>

A unique feature of the Tantric tradition is the indispensability of music in tantric rituals and the enormous merit of music offerings in these rituals. Here, I will briefly discuss the role of music in one tantric text, the *Hevajra Tantra*,<sup>67</sup> which describes tantric rituals, focusing

<sup>64</sup> 'Brug rgyal dbang chos rje Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (? : 458).

<sup>65</sup> 'Brug rgyal dbang chos rje Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (? : 426).

<sup>66</sup> Davidson 2005:121 remarks that the older form of tantric practice maintained by individuals who had transgressed the vow structure of the esoteric dispensation had functioned as a source of monastic corruption. In order to "bring back to Tibet the pure esoteric dispensation" and to "resurrect the temples and monasteries with Indian consultants, not just Tibetans from the northeast," young Tibetans were sent to study authentic esoteric Buddhism in India.

<sup>67</sup> The major extant commentary on *Hevajra Tantra* is the Sanskrit text *Yogaratanmālā* by a certain Kāṇha. The *Hevajra Tantra* was translated into both Tibetan and Chinese. For critical study on the *Hevajra Tantra*, as well as its edited Sanskrit edition and Tibetan translation, see Snellgrove 1959; Farrow and Menon 1992. For the

on Hevajra and his consort Nairātmyā.<sup>68</sup> The *Hevajra Tantra* consists of two parts. The sixth chapter in the first part describes the practice, that is “the cause of perfection by means of which one gains the finality of this perfection of Hevajra.”<sup>69</sup> In this practice, the yogin first puts on a specific set of costumes, including various symbolic ornaments. Then, he takes a qualified girl from the Vajra-family to perform the practice together. Next, music and dance are performed. The text provides the following rationale for the use of song and dance:

“If in joy songs are sung, then let them be the excellent Vajra-songs, and if one dances when joy has arisen, let it be done with release as its object. Then the yogin, self-collected, performs the dance in the place of Hevajra.”<sup>70</sup>

Based on this description in the *Hevajra Tantra*, Kværne concludes in his study of the tantric songbook *Cāryagīti* that “dance and song played an important part in tantric rites.”<sup>71</sup> Other scholars working on Tantric Buddhism have expressed similar opinions. Ray describes “theater and dances” as one of “the most vivid aspects of Tibetan religious life” that “have their roots in the Vajrayāna.”<sup>72</sup> In his work on violence in early tantric texts, Dalton writes that tantric practitioners are also expected to celebrate the completion of a practice by singing and dancing. In particular, he writes:

...the destruction of an effigy remains at the heart of the rite. Only the surrounding ritual context has changed to include many of the standard Yoga Tantra ritual elements. One must use the right kind of implements, perform the proper *mūdras* and recite the corresponding mantras, and after the destruction is complete, one should make offerings, release the ritual space, dismiss the deities, protect one’s body, and engage in celebration (typically in the form of song and dance).<sup>73</sup>

But why should tantric practitioners sing and dance in a tantric rite? In the *Hevajra Tantra*, various *dākinīs* headed by Vajragarbha were

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Chinese translation of *Hevajra Tantra*, see *Foshuo dabeikongzhi jingang dajiaowang yiguijing* 佛說大悲空智金剛大教王儀軌經 (T892).

<sup>68</sup> Snellgrove 1959a: 10.

<sup>69</sup> Snellgrove 1959a: 63.

<sup>70</sup> For the Sanskrit version of this passage, see Snellgrove 1959b: 18. For the Tibetan translation, see also Snellgrove (1959b: 19).

<sup>71</sup> Kværne 1977: 8.

<sup>72</sup> Ray 2001:5.

<sup>73</sup> Dalton 2011:33.

also puzzled by this, so they asked Bhagavān Vajrasattva: "O may the Lord remove our doubts. (Firstly) as for what is said in the Chapter on Performance about singing and dancing as bestowing perfection, concerning this I have doubts. What is this singing and dancing?"<sup>74</sup> In reply, Vajrasattva explained the purpose of performing song and dance, how to perform them, and their functions in the tantric rite. He said:

Union takes place at that meeting, for Ḍombī is not there rejected.  
 Dancing as Śri Heruka with mindful application, undistracted,  
 Meditating with thought impassioned, the mind uninterrupted in its concentration,  
 Buddhas and Masters in the Vajra-doctrine, goddesses and yoginīs,  
 Sing and dance to their utmost in this song and dance.

There comes thereby protection for the troupe and protection for oneself. Thereby the world is reduced to subjection, and all reciting of mantras [is perfected] by it.

Decorously one sings there; decorously one dances there. The leader is first appointed, and then he should note the scent, first of garlic, next of vultures, and then of camphor and sandal-wood. Afterwards he should note the effective power of the song. The sound of a goose and a bee is heard at the end of the song, and he should note the sound of a jackal too in the garden without.<sup>75</sup>

This reply elaborates on the necessity to sing and dance by explaining their key functions in this tantric ritual centered on Hevajra. First, such singing and dancing provide protection to both the practitioners and the assembly present in the ritual. Second, the songs and dances performed in the ritual also help the rite leader to monitor the progress of the practice that is marked by an array of bad and fragrant smells that are described to appear successively.

Concerning the function of song and dance in this tantric rite, Farrow and Menon argue that the dancing movements can help the tantric practitioners to become familiar with the postures of the deities

<sup>74</sup> Snellgrove 1959a: 100.

<sup>75</sup> Snellgrove 1959a: 101-102. The majority of this reply is only transliterated in the Chinese translation and therefore, has not been consulted for comparison.



with whom they are to emanate, and the songs help to protect the whole assembly and to subdue the inimical forces. In this manner, “the whole assembly is empowered by the dance and the song during the assembly of the circle of initiates.”<sup>76</sup> The *Hevajra Tantra* itself, according to Snellgrove’s interpretation of the Sanskrit text and the Tibetan translation, only says that because “song symbolizes mantra” and “dance symbolizes meditation,” the yogin should always perform song and dance in the ritual.<sup>77</sup> The Chinese translation of the *Hevajra Tantra* only says that the varja singers speak pure mantra. Furthermore, a yogin should not perform song and dance for the purpose of obtaining offerings.<sup>78</sup>

The Tibetans are certainly familiar with or at least aware of such discussion on the role of song and dance in the *Hevajra Tantra*. In Tibet, this *Hevajra Tantra* has been most popularly practiced among Bka’ brgyud and Sa skya followers. In 1030, the ‘Brog mi translator Śākya ye shes (993-1074/1077/1087) translated the *Hevajra Tantra* into Tibetan. Following from this, the Sa skya master ‘Khon Dkon mchog rgyal po (1034-1102) who had founded the Sa skya monastery in 1073 also studied the *Hevajra Tantra*. His practice later became a major practice of the Sa skya pas in Tibet.<sup>79</sup>

Apart from providing knowledge of song and dance in tantric ritual, the *Hevajra Tantra* contains discussions of the power of singing in Tibetan writings from the thirteenth century onward, which inform us of how Tibetans have understood the role of music in tantric practices. One discussion is found in commentaries on Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan’s (1182-1251) twelve-folio *Treatise on Music* (*Rol mo’i bstan bcos*).<sup>80</sup> This *Treatise on Music* has two major commentaries, one by the fourteenth century Zhwa lu scholar Zla ba dpal rin and the other by the seventeenth century Sa skya pa scholar A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga’ bsod nams (1597-1659/1660) who con-

<sup>76</sup> Farrow and Menon 1992: xli.

<sup>77</sup> For the Sanskrit text, see Snellgrove 1959b: 64: *mantraviśuddhya sthita gīta nartana bhāvanā smṛtā / tasmād gītān ca nātyān ca kuryād yogī sadā sadā //* The Tibetan translation of this passage is in Snellgrove 1959b: 64: *glu ni rnam dag sngags su gnas | | gar ni sgom pa byas pa nyid | | de yi phyir na glu dang gar | | yo gis rtag tu rtag tu byas | |*

<sup>78</sup> *Foshuo dabei kongzhi jingang dajiao wang yiguijing* 佛說大悲空智金剛大教王儀軌經 (T892: 591c10-591c12): 住金剛歌詠者真言清淨。又復不應為求利養作是金剛歌舞事業。是故瑜伽者當如是行。

<sup>79</sup> For a comprehensive study of the transmission of the *Hevajra Tantra* in Tibet with a focus on its transmission among the Sa skya School, see Sobisch 2008. See also Snellgrove 1959a: 10.

<sup>80</sup> For a comprehensive study of the *Treatise on Music*, see the doctoral thesis of Canzio 1978. For further discussion on this treatise, see Tian 1989; Mao 1990; 1993.

stantly quotes the work of Zla ba dpal rin.<sup>81</sup> Concerning the importance of singing, A mnyes zhabs wrote:

*de skad du | chen po drug la ma gyer na || yo ga dbyangs kyi  
bstan pa nub || ces gsungs shing | chen po drug ni slob dpon  
tsandras | chen po drug la gyer bar bya || sgrub mchod dbang  
bsdur rab tu gnas || dus mchod gshin don sbyin sreg rgyas  
|| zhes gsung pa ltar ro ||*<sup>82</sup>

[The *Treatise on Music* says]: “If (we) do not sing on the six grand occasions, the teachings of the Yoga melodies will decline.” The six grand occasions should be understood in accordance with what Master Chandra wrote, “Singing should be applied on the six grand occasions [such as] at the ritual to make offerings, at the empowerment ritual, the consecration ritual, at the periodic offering ritual, at the funeral, and at the fire ritual.”

A treatise on tantric costume, ornaments, and musical instruments by the eighteenth century Tibetan master Bkra shis rgya mtsho also contains an elaboration on the importance and power of singing in tantric practice. Bkra shis rgya mtsho self-identified as a student of a certain Padma rgya mtsho. In the colophon to his treatise, he explains that he wrote this commentary when he was seventy-two years old by request from Sgo me Chos rje Kun bzang snyan grags rgya mtsho from the region of Kokonor lake (*mtsho sgnon po*).<sup>83</sup> Concerning the significance of singing and dancing in Buddhist practices, he wrote,

*rdo rje bkod pa las | glu yi yon tan bsam mi khyab || sngon gyi  
rgyal ba glu yis 'grub || rig 'dzin rdo rje glu yi 'dren || rnal  
'byor dbang phyug glu yis 'grub || bstan pa rgya mtsho glu yis  
spel || srid pa'i bum o glu yis 'dren || bdud dang srin glu yis*

<sup>81</sup> Zla bad pal rin's commentary is entitled *Dbyangs kyi bstan bcos blo gsal mgul rgyan*. In his commentary on the *Treatise on Music*, A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams mentions Zla ba dpal rin as Chandragomin.

<sup>82</sup> A mnyes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams 2000: vol.6, 506. For the Chinese translation of A myes zhabs 's commentary, see Zhao 1990.

<sup>83</sup> See Rgan po Bkra shis rgya mtsho 1996:170. The author appears to be a Rnying ma pa with some connection with the Smin grol gling monastery in central Tibet. In the colophon of another text explaining in detail the tenth day of the month entitled *Tshes bcu'i rnam bshad blo gsal rgyan gyi phreng ba*, the author called himself Old man (*Rgan po*) Bkra shis rgya mtsho. See Rgan po Bkra shis rgya mtsho 2002: 37.

'dul || dngos grub rgya mtsho glu yis 'bebs || ces rdo rje glu yi  
yon tan ni gsang rgyud mtha' yas pa nas bstan | |<sup>84</sup>

The *Vajra Tantra* says,<sup>85</sup> "The virtue of song is inconceivable. The former Buddha accomplished through song, the tantric practitioners are guided by diamond song, the lord of yogins accomplished through song, the ocean of dharma are spread by song, men and women of the world are guided by song, demons and spirits are tamed by song, the ocean of accomplishment are brought by song." This is a demonstration of the virtue of diamond songs in the infinite Tantric teachings.

Torn between the avocation of strict observance of the monastic regulations against the performance, teaching, and consumption of song, dance, and instrumental music and the necessity to sing and dance in tantric rituals, how did the Tibetans come to accept such monks as Shar Skal Idan rgya mtsho and the Fifth Dalai Lama, who apparently violated these regulations?

A decisive factor that has radically affected the Tibetans' approach towards music in Buddhism is the co-existence of a set of three vows (*sdom gsum*): the Vinaya vows in Buddhist canon law for ordained Buddhists, the Bodhisattva vows for lay or ordained Buddhist practitioners, and the tantric (*gsang sngag*) vows for tantric practitioners. Among these three sets of vows, only the Vinaya vows discuss the regulations against song, dance, and instrumental music. Unlike the Vinaya vows, the fourteen root tantric vows summarized by Tsong kha pa do not prohibit the use of song, dance, and instrumental music.<sup>86</sup> Depending on one's interpretation of the interrelations of these three sets of vows, performing song, dance, or instrumental music is

<sup>84</sup> Bkra shis rgya mtsho 1996: 106. Bkra shis rgya mtsho then continued to quote from *Lalitavistara Sūtra* and elaborated on the power of singing the seven or six musical notes. The concept of the seven musical notes was imported from India. These notes are: *madhyama* (*bar ma pa*), *rṣbha* (*drang srong pa*), *gandh sr* (*sa 'dzin pa*), *ṣaḍja* (*drug ldan*), *pañcama* (*lga pa*), *dh a paa* (*blo gsal*), *niṣāda* ('*khor nyan*).

<sup>85</sup> The colophon of the Tibetan translation of this tantric text states that the Indian preceptor Dharmabodhi translated it in collaboration with Dānarakṣita and the Tibetan translator Btsan skyes. For the full text in Tibetan translation, see *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po rdo rje bkod pa'i rgyud rnal 'byor grub pa'i lung kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo theg pa chen po mngon par rtogs pa chos kyi rnam grangs rnam par bkod pa*, in *Bka' 'gyur*, Dpe bsdur ma (Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008), *Ka*, vol.101, pp.219-672.

<sup>86</sup> See the English translation of Tsong kha pa's list of the fourteen tantric vows in Sparham 2005: 83-113. For the Sanskrit verses of these fourteen vows summarized by Tsong kha pa, see Lévi 1929: 266-267.

either a violation for exoteric Buddhists who observe the Vinaya vows, or a required skill for Buddhists who are not bound by Vinaya vows but only by Bodhisattva vows and/or Tantric vows.

In his study of the literary tradition of the three sets of vows in Tibet, Sobisch summarizes two major Tibetan dispositions on the interrelations of the three sets of vows.<sup>87</sup> One view describes the three sets of vows from inferior to superior metaphorically, as star, moon, and sun. In particular, the inferior Vinaya vows would enter a dormant mood when outshined by the superior Bodhisattva or Tantric vows. In other words, one who has obtained the more "advanced" Bodhisattva or Tantric vows can dismiss the regulation against song, dance, and instrumental music because this regulation only appears in the inferior Vinaya vows. The other view maintains that all three sets of vows are essentially the same and must be observed to the same degree. In other words, one who has taken the Vinaya vows must continue to abstain from song, dance, and instrumental music even after he has obtained the Bodhisattva or Tantric vows.

Therefore, as long as the Vinaya vows prohibit the use of song, dance, and instrumental music, those who consider the three sets of vows to be substantively the same must always observe this prohibition even after becoming a tantric practitioner. Yet, if we accept the superior-inferior theory, anyone who has received tantric initiation no longer needs to observe the Vinaya vows for inferiors that prohibits song, dance, and instrumental music. Hence, depending on one's interpretation of the interrelations of the three sets of vows, Buddhists who sing and dance in Tibet are either cursed or glorified.

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<sup>87</sup> See Sobisch 2002: 14-15.

**Appendix 1:  
Indic and Tibetan Texts on Novice Precepts**

- L1/  
NĀ Nāgārjuna.  
*Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśramaṇerakārikā* ('Phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa). In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Su, vol.93, 725-732. 83y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- L2 Anonymous.  
*Sarvāstivādiśramaṇerakarāṇa* (Thams cad yod par smra ba rnams kyi dge tshul gyi 83y aba). In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Su, vol.93, 800-903. 83y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- L3 Kalyāṇamitra.  
*Śramaṇeraśikṣapadasūtra* (Dge tshul gyi bslab pa'i gzhi'i mdo). In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Su, vol.93, 848-884. 83y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- L4 Kamalasīla.  
*\*Śramaṇapañcāśatkārikāpradābhismaraṇa* (Dge sbyong gi k'a ri k'a lnga bcu pa mdo tsham du bshad pa). In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Su, vol.93, 733-799. 83y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- S1a /ŚĀ Śākyaprabha.  
*Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśramaṇerakārikā* ('Phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa). In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Shu, vol.93, 167-199. 83y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- S1b /ĀBH Śākyaprabha. *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśramaṇerakārikāvṛttiprabhāvati* ('Phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa 'od ldan). In *Bstan 'gyur*, Dpe bsdur ma, Shu, vol.93, 200-443. 83y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- S2 Vinītadeva.  
*Trisatakārikāvyaḳyāna* (Tshig le'ur byas pa sum brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa). In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Shu, vol.93, 444-722. 83y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.

- N1 Anonymus. *Sramaṇeravarṣāgraṃ* (*Dge tshul gyi dang po'i lo*). In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Su, vol.93, 904-910. 84y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- N2 Anonymus. *Bslab bya bcu'i cho ga bzhugs*. In *Bstan 'gyur*, dpe bsdur ma, Su, vol. 93, 1443-1446. 84y aba: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008.
- K1 Bya 'dul 'dzin Brtson 'grus 'bar (1091-1167). *'Dul ba 'od ldan gyi tikka*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs gnyis pa*, vol. 31, pp. 77-181. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- K2a Phywa pa Chos kyi sewng ge (1109-1169). *'Od ldan zhes 84y aba'i tshig don rab gsal ldeb*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs dang po*, vol.9, pp.251-527. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006.
- K2b Phywa pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-1169). *Dge tshul rnam kyi bslab bya'i rim pa ston pa'i rnam bshad*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs dang po*, vol.9, 533-598. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006.
- K3a Sbal ti Brtson 'grus dbang phyug (1129-1215). *'Grel ba 'od ldan gyi tshig don gsal byed*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs gnyis pa*, vol.36, pp.11-141. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
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- K4 'Dar Tshul khrim rgyal po (12<sup>th</sup>). *Sum brgya pa'i tikka*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs gnyis pa*, vol.34, pp. 47-97. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- K5 Rog Chos kyi dbang phyug (12<sup>th</sup>). *Dge tshul rnam kyi tshig le'ur byas pa'I rnam bshad*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs gnyis pa*, vol.34, 129-

191. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.

- K6 Anonymous.  
*Tshig le'ur byas pa sum brgya pa'i don gsal bar byed pa*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs gsum pa*, vol.79, 355-396. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2009.
- K7 Anonymous.  
*'Grel ba 'od dang ldan pa'i bsdus don*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs thengs gnyis pa*, vol.38, pp.155-173. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- T1 Rgyal tshabs Dar ma rin chen (1364-1432).  
*Dge tshul gyi bslab bya gnam rtse lding ma*. In *Smad rgyud grwa tshang gi chos spyod rgyas pa*, vol. 11, pp. 581-596. Hunsur: Gudmed Tantric College, 1982. TBRC W00EGS1016253.
- T2 Zhwa dmar Chos gras ye shes (1453-1524).  
*Dge tshu gyi bslab pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa lnga bcu pa'i 'grel pa thar pa'i lam gyi sgron me*. In *Gsung 'byum*, vol. 2, pp. 875-895. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009.
- T3a Tshe mchog gling Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan (1713-1793).  
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- T3b Tshe mchog gling Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan (1713-1793).  
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- T4 Gu ge Yongs 'dzin Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho (1748-1813). *Dge tshul gyi sdom pa'i bcas mtshams bsrung tshul ltung ba'i chu lon*. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 3, pp. 25-50. New Delhi: Chophel legdan, 1976. TBRC W23879.
- T5 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912).  
*Dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i mchan 'grel nor bu'i phreng ba*. Bylakuppe: Snga 'gyur mtho slob mdo sngags rig pa'i 'byung gnas gling, 1999a.

- T6 Glag bla Bsod nam mchog 'grub (1862-1944).  
*Dge tshul gyi bslab bya nyung bsdus*. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 633-644. Delhi: Dkon mhog lha bris, 1997. TBRC W22389.
- T7 Rong tha chung tshang Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho (1865-1917).  
*Dge tshul gyi bslab bya gsal bar bshad pa dge legs pad ma 'byed pa'i snyang ba*. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 103-117. New Delhi: N. Sopa, 1975. TBRC W13528.
- T8 Brag dkar Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags (1866-1928).  
*Dge tshul gyi bslab bya tshul khrims rnam par dag pa'i bsil khang*. In *The Collected Works of Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags*, vol. 5, pp. 5-20. Chengdu: Dmangs khrod dpe dkon sdus sgrigs khang, 2001.
- T9a Gzhan phan chos kyi snang ba (1871-1927).  
*Dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa sum brgya pa'i mchan 'grel*. In *Gzhung chen bcu gsum*, vol. 2, pp. 269-314. Delhi: Konchog lhadrepa, 1987a. TBRC W23198.
- T9b Gzhan phan chos kyi snang ba (1871-1927).  
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**Appendix 2:  
Occurrence of References**

Author	Text	1	2	3	4
		Intr. Story	Exceptions	Required Skill	4-fold Scheme
		x: drug sde	X1: ston pa'i yon tan stod pa X2: chos 'chad pa	x: dben pa	x1 : gzhi x2 : bsam x2a : 'du



			X3: rgyun chags gsum pa		shes x2b : kun slong x3: sbyor ba x4: mthar thug
Nāgārjuna	L1				
Anonymous	L2		x1; x2	x	
Kalyāṇamitra	L3		x1; x3	x	
Kamalasīla	L4	x	x1	x	
Sākyaprabha	S1a		x1; x2	x	
Sākyaprabha	S1b		x1; x2	x	
Vinītadeva	S2		x1	x	
Bya	K1		x1; x2; x3		x1, x2a, x2b, x3, x4
Phywa pa	K2a	x	x1; x2		x1, x2, x3, x4
Phywa pa	K2b	x	x2		x1, x2a, x2b, x3, x4
Sbal ti	K3a	x	x1		x1, x2, x3, x4
Sbal ti	K3b		x1; x3	x	x1, x2, x3, x4
'Dar	K4	x	x1; x2; x3		x1, x2, x3, x4
Rog	K5	x			x1, x2, x3, x4
Anonymous	K6	x	x1		
Rgyal tshabs	T1		x1; x2; x3		
Zhwa dmar	T2			x	
Tshe mchog	T3a				
Tshe mchog	T3b	x <sup>88</sup>	x1	x	
Gu ge	T4				
'Ju	T5	x			
Glag bla	T6				
Rong	T7		x1		

<sup>88</sup> This text mentioned the specific names of the monks in the band of six: 'char ka,'gro, m.gyogs, nabs so, dmar ser can.

Brag dkar	T8		x1; x2		
Gzhan phan	T9a		x1; x2		
Gzhan phan	T9b				

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