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Demonic tobacco in Tibet

DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, Charles University

Summary: In this paper, the subject of tobacco in Tibet is seen primarily through the genre of didactic literature discussing the evil of tobacco (*tha ma kha'i nyes dmigs*). The introductory parts attempt to summarise the bits and pieces left in the literature on attitudes towards tobacco in Tibet from an historical perspective. The myth of the origin of tobacco and the alleged ancient prophecies about tobacco are then discussed. They lead to the conclusion that a number of these texts probably originally concerned opium and that the phonetic similarity of the expressions for “final” (*tha ma*) and “tobacco” (*tha ma kha*) etc. played a role in later interpretations of the prophecies as speaking about tobacco. The paper concludes with a translation of the ban on cigarettes issued by the 13th Dalai Lama in 1918.

It is already a decade since fate brought me close to Jaroslav. He was a person with a kind of halo above his head; dean of our faculty and a linguist, one who was fluent in so many languages. My humble level of knowledge and simple interest in things Tibetan created a kind of fear of him. Then a surprise came from his side. He showed his personal warmth and offered me an unprecedented level of help in establishing Tibetan Studies at Charles University in a manner which is not common at all.

Despite our almost idyllic relationship, there was always one matter which blotted my copybook in his eyes. I am a smoker and everybody knows Jaroslav as a serious adversary of smoking habits and tobacco in general. Some colleagues from our institute even used to hide from him when smoking like schoolboys or schoolgirls.

Dear Jaroslav, I must confess that I used to offer cigarettes to those members of our institute who were attempting to quit smoking. I frequently brought snuff from Tibet and India as a gift to our colleague Jugderiin Luvсандорж. With such a confession of my shortcomings I dedicate to you this paper, revealing the crimes I have committed.

I wish you further bright years without that demonic poison. *Tshe ring! Lo brgya!* (Long life! One hundred years!).

Tobacco in Tibet and in Tibetan texts

The reports about tobacco in Tibet appear in three types of sources. Firstly there are texts explaining the evil (*nyes dmigs*) of tobacco,¹ quite commonly grouping tobacco together with *chang*, garlic and onion. These texts make use of prophecies (*lung bstan*) about the evil of tobacco. Tobacco is spoken of as appearing in a future era of degeneration, according to these texts. As a matter of course they are written exclusively by monks and represent their viewpoint. Secondly, there are official documents represented by decrees concerning the banning of tobacco or monastic rules (*bca' yig*) composed for particular monasteries.² Thirdly, there are the observations of visitors to

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- 1) Only the restricted number of such texts available to me is used in this paper. They comprise those written by Gelukpa masters Chu bzang Ye shes rgya mtsho (1789–1856), and brief notes by Gung thang Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762–1823) and Cha har dge shes alias Blo bzang tshul khriims (1740–1810) from Inner Mongolia. The works of Nyingmapa masters available to me are those of Gar gyi dbang phyug (1858–1930) and Brtul zhugs gling pa (20th Century). As for the Bonpo sources, this paper makes use of a rather lengthy work by Skyang sprul Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (b. 1770) from eastern Amdo. In an earlier article (Berounsky 2007) I translated the extracts on tobacco from the guide-book to the holy mountain Dmu ri in The bo region of Amdo, written in the 20th century by Bonpo master Tshul khriims rnam dag. Now it is clear that this follows the text by Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, often almost verbatim. In my previous article, the author of Gelugpa text is mistakenly mentioned as Dharmabhadra. This was due to the scribal error contained in the version of the text I used at time (giving Chos bzang instead of the correct Chu bzang).

Rather atypical are poems on tobacco by Dza ya paṇḍita (1642–1708/1715?) and similar poems by Blo bzang 'jam dbyangs rgya mthso (1786–1816). There are also two modern texts on tobacco written for Tibetan journals by Nor brang o rgyan (2006) and the Bonpo doctor Rmog ru g.yung drung thar (1999). These two texts combine the traditional approach to tobacco, but also add a modern perspective giving the statistics of smokers and mentioning the dangerous outcomes of using tobacco from the perspective of modern medicine.

Two titles in the Kawaguchi's collection of Tibetan texts in Japan (http://61.197.194.9/Database/kawaguchi_titles.html, accessed 25/11/2013) remain rather enigmatic. In the catalogue available online, references to the works of two early Nyingmapa masters (who lived before the spread of tobacco) appear. I have not been able to consult them so far. These are: 1. (Call No.25, Ref. No. 0573, Folios 1a1–57a7) Gter ston Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396) *Tha ma kha'i nyes dmigs*; 2. (Call No.22, Ref. No. 0570(3), Folios 26b3–28b4) Gter ston Ratna gling pa (1403–1479) *Tha ma kha'i nyes pa khol du phyung ba'i lung bstan*. I suppose that they contain the prophecies concerning the time of degeneration, as discussed in the subchapter on prophecies in this paper, and in fact do not necessarily mention tobacco.

- 2) The *bca' yig* literature I consulted comprises only three texts of this genre: 1. *Pan chen sku phreng brgyad pas bkra shis lhun po dgon la btsal ba'i bca' yig*, 2. *Tā la'i bla ma sku phreng bdun pas rnam rgyal grwa tshang la btsal ba'i bca' yig gser gyi gnya' shing*, 3. *De mo rgyal thog dang po 'jam dpal bde legs rgya mtsho bstan rgyas gling dgon la btsal ba'i bca' yig*. There

Tibet in the form of testimonies concerning the attitudes of Tibetans towards tobacco, which were left in their travel books.

The sources which I have been able to consult so far remain undoubtedly incomplete. Nevertheless, one can draw a picture of what tobacco represented for Tibetans from them.

Tobacco is referred to in Tibetan texts as *tha mag*, *tha ma kha*, *tha mi kha*, *ta ma ka*, *tha ma khi*, etc. These expressions designate the product for consumption, which can be specified as snuff-tobacco, literally “nose-tobacco” (*sna thag*, *sna tha kha*, *sna'i tha ma kha*, etc.), or “mouth-tobacco” (referring to the smoking one, *kha'i tha mi kha*, *kha ma kha*, etc.). It is distinguished from the tobacco plant by some Tibetan authors, which is referred to as *rdo tha* (*rdo tha ma kha*, etc.). In contemporary language the smoking of tobacco is described as “drawing in the tobacco” (*tha mag 'then*), “drinking the tobacco” (*tha mag 'thung*), or “drinking the smoke” (*du ba 'thung*). In the older sources, however, the verb for “sucking” (*rngub*), which in this context could be rendered perhaps as “inhaling”, is often used. In the modern Lhasa slang, it is also referred to as “exhaling the fumigation” (*bsang btang ba*).³ Despite the common usage of the expression of “tobacco” (*tha mag*) for cigarettes by contemporary Tibetans, the Tibetan word which had been used to refer to cigarettes before the Chinese occupation was *shig ras*/*shig ral*, apparently a distorted loanword from the English “cigarette”, but written in such a way that it retains a negative meaning (*shig* meaning “to destroy” and it resembles the expression *zhig ral* “ruins”, frequent in the prophetic texts). Quite frequently, tobacco is referred to as *kha zas* (“food”), *dug zas* (“poisonous nourishment”), *zas ngan* (“evil nourishment”), namely in the prophetic texts. Through such expressions the absurdity of the usage of tobacco is stressed, it is often repeated that “tobacco does not satiate thirst or hunger.”

The highways bringing tobacco to Tibet were likely paved by Chinese merchants, but not exclusively. It was also the direction from Central Asia and India, through which the trade with tobacco flourished. Being a post-Columbus phenomenon, it probably appeared in Tibet only after the 15th century. Tobacco in general was widely spread across the world through the European colonies in the 16th century. In the 17th century a number of bans

exist, of course, many more such texts, but thus far I have not been able to undertake a more extensive, but also highly exhausting, search for references to tobacco in them.

3) For this reference I am indebted to Zuzana Vokurková and her research notes on Lhasa slang.

were issued throughout the world.⁴ The earliest ban on tobacco I know about from Tibetan societies was issued by the first king of Bhutan in the 16th century (cf. Bell 1928, pp. 242–243; Aris 1986, p. 141) and this act fits in with the general wave of bans on tobacco in the wider world of that time. In the text of the ban, tobacco is characterized in the following way (Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, fol. 107a):⁵

Moreover, the evil nourishment called tobacco, which is one of the many arrangements by demons *bdud* (Skt. *māra*), is used day and nights by all subjects: bodyguards, servants and other lay people. Not only does it suppress the supports of the body, speech and mind,⁶ by pollution, it causes the decline of the gods above, agitation of *btsan* spirits in the middle sphere and harms the spirits *klu* (Skt. *nāga*) of the world below. This substance makes a long eon of diseases, wars and famines arise in this sphere of the World of Destruction, as the great teacher Padma[sambhava] has spoken about in many prophecies...

Thus already in this ban on tobacco, the strong influence of prophetic literature is felt. It at the same time concisely expresses the main arguments against tobacco, which did not change through the centuries.

The 5th Dalai Lama (1617–1682) already expressed his reservations against its use in the monasteries (see below), which seem to be rather innocent in comparison with the later texts. He also alludes to the myth of the origin of tobacco, which will be the subject of the next subchapter.

That monks used to smoke in some areas is reported, for example, from the Dagpo area (Dwags po). The hagiography of Drupkhangpa (Sgrub khang pa dge legs rgya mtsho, 1641–1712) mentions that at the time of his overseeing of the monastery there, a number of monks were smoking tobacco. But there immediately appeared signs of discomfort on the part of the protective deity Palden Lhamo (Blo bzang 'jam dbyangs rgya mtsho, fol. 4b). One can also trace back its prohibition in monasteries through a variety of individual documents concerning “monastic rules” (*bca' yig*). In the few cases from the 18th century I know about, the punishment for the smoking of tobacco is

4) 1611 in Turkey, 1616 in Japan, 1617 in Mughal India, during the reign of Abbas (1587–1629) in Persia, 1632 in Sweden, 1632 in Denmark, 1634 in Russia, cca 1637 in China, 1638 in Manjuria, 1642 in Vatikan, 1649 in Germany, etc. See Olivová 2005, p. 19.

5) Tib.: gzhan yang bdud kyis yo lang bshams pa'i zas ngan tha ma kha zer ba 'di da ltar sgar lto gzan sogs mi nag sbye bo kun gyi nyin mtshan du spyod par 'dug mod/ 'dis ni sku gsung thugs rten grib kyis non par ma zad/ steng lha nyams/ bar btsan 'khrugs/ 'og klu la gnod cing/ rgyu des 'jig rten khams su nad mtshon mu ge'i bska ba rgyun du 'byung bar/ slob dpon chen po padmas lung bstan mang po gsungs 'dug pa ltar/...

6) The supports of the body are depictions of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, those of speech are religious books and the supports of the mind are stūpas.

usually listed together with usage of garlic and onion,⁷ which explains why the genre of texts on the “evil of tobacco” (*tha ma kha'i nyes dmigs*) often groups tobacco with *chang*, garlic and onion.

Its rather widespread presence in Tibet is, however, reported several times by the Christian missionary Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733). He mentions that “laymen and women nearly all smoke”, but not monks. If monks smoke, it is done in privacy (Desideri 1971, p. 189). This shows that the restriction on the use of tobacco concerned mainly the monk’s communities. The sources available to me point to an 18th century ban on tobacco in the main monasteries of Central Tibet, which was issued by regent Demo Ngawang Jampal Deleg (De mo Ngag dbang ’jam dpal bde legs, regent in the years 1757–1777), who ordered that the text banning the use of *chang* and tobacco be read in the main monasteries of the Gelugpa order every year starting from the fire-pig year, i.e. 1767 (see Berounský 2007, p. 204; Chu bzang Ye shes rgya mtsho 1990, fol. 5a).

Although the texts often speak about the evil of tobacco in general, there was in practice a tolerance of snuff-tobacco even on the part of monks. Thus, Chuzang Yeshe Gyatso recollects a story related to his teacher Shartse Khenpo living in 18th century (Chu bzang Ye shes rgya mtsho, fol. 14a):⁸

My master from Tsang, Shartse Khenpo, travelled to Central Tibet in the past. When he was giving his teaching, the monks were carelessly enjoying snuff while listening to the teaching. The precious master got angry in his heart and said scolding them: “Our monks from Tsang carelessly use *chang*, the monks from Central Tibet carelessly use snuff-tobacco.”

Some realistic descriptions of the spread of the use of tobacco within Tibetan society come, however, only with the reports of travellers in Tibet during the 20th century. Despite the number of notes on tobacco existing in the literature, two of them are probably the most revealing. The first represents observations by Heinrich Harrer, the well-known author of the book *Seven Years in Tibet* (Harrer 1982, p. 177):

- 7) At least, it appears so in two 18th century *bca' yig*, the first of them was written for the Rnam rgyal grwa tshang temple by the 7th Dalai Lama (*Tā la'i bla ma sku phreng bdun pa'i...*, p. 532) and the second by the regent Jampal Deleg Gyamtsho (*De mo rgyal thog dang po 'jam dpal bde legs rgya mthso bstan rgyas gling dgon la btsal ba'i bca' yig*, p. 542).
- 8) Tib.: ngon du bdag gi bla ma gtsang gi shar rtse mkhan po dbus su phebs nas bka' chos gnang skabs/ grwa pa rnam nas sna tha kha bag med du chos nyan pa'i tshes spyod pas bla ma rin po che thugs khro ba'i tshul gyis bdag tsho'i gtsang gi btsun pa rnam kyis chang la bag med du spyad/ dbus kyi btsun pa rnam kyi(s) sna tha kha bag med du spyad gsung bkas bkyon par mdzad pa.../.

(...) most Chinese are passionate opium smokers, and there is no explicit prohibition of opium smoking in Tibet. Sometimes a Tibetan, seduced by the example of the Chinese, takes to the opium pipe. If he does, he is likely to be punished. There is no danger that opium smoking may become a national vice. The vigilance of the authorities is far too keen. They already consider tobacco smoking to be a vice and control it very closely and, though one can buy any sort of cigarette in Lhasa, there is no smoking in offices, in the streets, or at public ceremonies. When the monks take control in Fire-Hound-Year they even forbid the sale of cigarettes.

That is why all Tibetans are snuff takers. The laity and the monks use their own preparation of snuff, which they find stimulating. Everyone is proud of his own mixture, and when two Tibetans meet, the first thing they do is to take out their snuffboxes and exchange a pinch of snuff.

But probably the most detailed report on tobacco in Tibet of the first half of the 20th century was left in the text written by Charles Bell. One part of his chapter in the book *People of Tibet* from the year 1928 deals with habits connected with tobacco.

He says that despite some monks indulging in smoking, this is done in secret. The monks are particularly against smoking, while taking snuff used to be tolerated among them. The Nyingmapa sect is even stricter in relation to the usage of tobacco than the Gelukpa one. He says that authorities of Lhasa were strongly against tobacco in general, but the tightest restrictions concerned cigarettes.

Undoubtedly, the decree issued in 1918 by the 13th Dalai Lama and translated at the conclusion of this paper stands behind the restriction mentioned by Bell.

According to Bell, in some parts of Tibet the smoking of tobacco from the small pipe was rather widespread among the lay people, but snuff was used and tolerated across all strata of society including monks. Nevertheless, still according to Bell, the already-mentioned recent restriction concerned snuff too and particularly around Lhasa it was no more permitted among monks. Tibetans in Central Tibet were using a substitute for the snuff made from rhubarb plant. Bell (1968, p. 243) gives us the reasons standing behind the strict condemnation of tobacco by the monks and authorities of that time:

I asked one of the Dalai Lama's Secretaries, why smoking is prohibited. He replied, 'When people indulged in smoking, there was a serious outbreak of illness. Further inquiry showed that Spirits of Tibet disliked the smell and caused the illness. So smoking was forbidden.' Others confirmed it.

Although it is not explicitly mentioned by Bell, it is still very likely that the mentioned *further inquiry* was done through consultations with some of the state oracles.

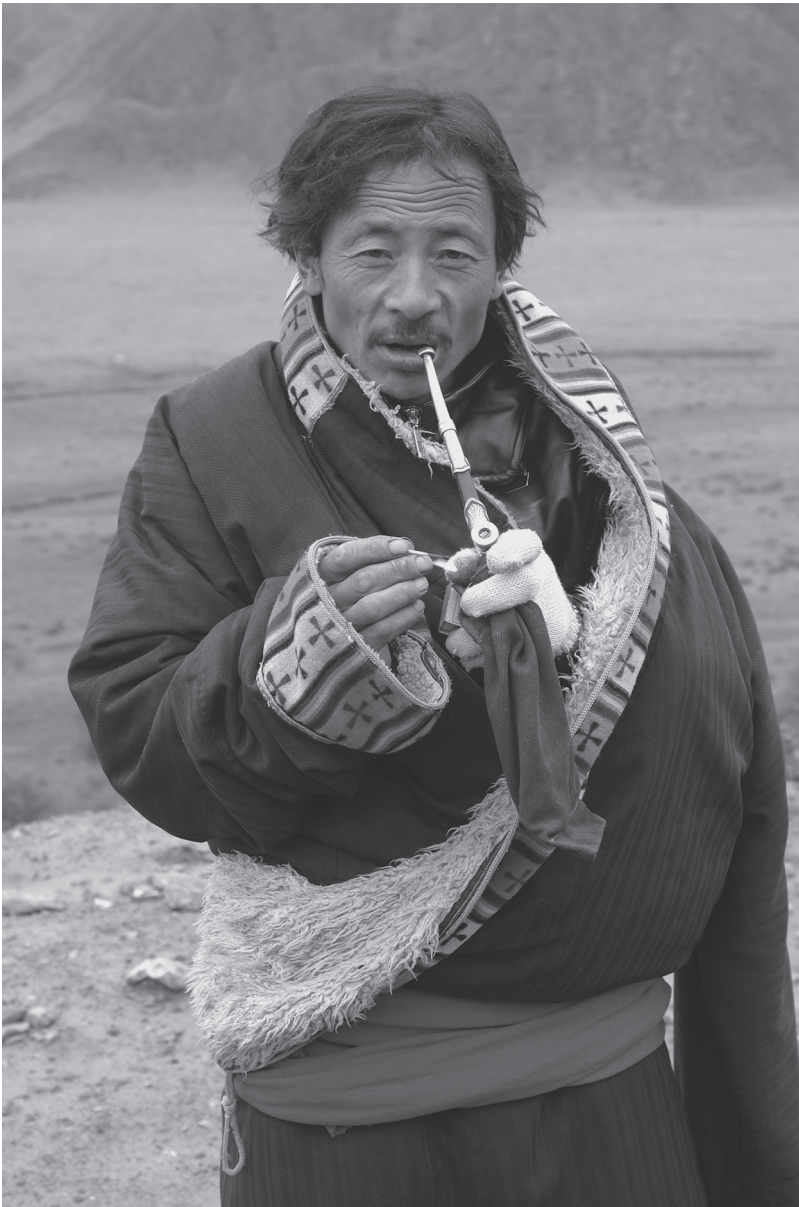


Figure 1. Nomad from Amdo smoking the traditional pipe (photo: Pavol Breier, 2007).

The myth on origin of tobacco

There is a widespread myth concerning the origin of tobacco, which is alluded to or narrated by all the texts on the “evil of tobacco” available to me. The earliest mention known to me is contained in the work of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682) in his voluminous work on *vinaya* rules written in 1669. In the part dealing with the consumption of *chang* he states (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, fol. 49a-49b):⁹

When one thinks about the creation of the great foundation of heedlessness in connection with *chang* and intoxication thereby, [one thinks also about] so-called tobacco, despite the fact that it had not been widely spread and clearly was not present at that time [of Buddha]. This plant appeared in China and India some hundred years later. It grew from the blood of some woman, which leaked onto the soil following her perverted prayer. Given the circumstances of its creation, the evil demons *'byung po* enter the heart of those who inhale its smoke and there is a little help from the need [to smoke it]; it gives rise to many diseases and other things. Thus it should be strictly prohibited and as with *chang* it should be included among those items, which [cause] heedlessness.

There is no way to determine whether Fifth Dalai Lama was the first to mention this origination myth or already followed some circulating narration. However, it is without any doubt that by mentioning it in his work on *vinaya* it became rather well-known among the monks in Tibet.

The later didactic texts on the evil of tobacco (*tha ma kha'i nyes dmigs*) often bring a more elaborate version than this brief mention of it. As with the Dalai Lama's version, they ascribe the origin of tobacco to a time some hundred years after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, but as for the location, all of the texts speak about China (not “China or India”) and the woman becomes a demoness (Tib. *bdud*, Skt. *māra*). The highly polluting nature of tobacco is given by the fact that it originated from her menstrual blood. What follows is a version written by 20th century author Tulzhug Lingpa (Brtul zhugs gling pa, fol. 1b):¹⁰

9) Tib.: de ltar chang gis myos par gyur ba la brten nas bag med pa'i gzhi chen po byed par dgongs pa ltar na dus der ma dar bas gsal kha ma byung ba ma gtogs tha ma khir grags pa'i sngo 'di lo brgya lhag tsam nas rgya gar dang rgya nag du byung zhing/ de yang bu med cig gis smon lam log par btap pa'i khrag sa la lhung ba las skyes shing/ byed rkyen gyis 'byung po snying la zhugs nas du ba rngub dgos pa'i gang la yang phan pa chung zhing nad sogs mang du bskyed pas dgag bya che ba khyad par bag med pa'i gnas su sbyor ba la chang dang 'dra'o/.

10) Tib.: ...sngon sangs rgyas mya ngan las 'das nas lo brgya tsam song ba na rgya nag po'i yul du bdud rigs kyi bud med gcig sems 'dod chags kyis myos te 'chi bar nye ba na 'di skad du/ nga'i lus rten 'dis 'dzam gling sems can phal cher ngan song du 'khrid nus pa'i smon lam thebs yod pas/ nga'i phung po 'di ma smas par sbas nas zhog dang/ ji zhig na mngal gyi

In the past, when some hundred years passed after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, there was a woman from the family of demons *dü* (Tib. *bdud*, Skt. *māra*) in the land of China. She went crazy in her lustful mind. When she was approaching death, she said: “May by pronouncing the prayer this bodily support of mine gain the power to lead most of the sentient beings of Jambudvīpa to the bad realms of rebirth. May my bodily remains be hidden undamaged. One day, from within its womb will grow a flower, which will be unlike any other. To bodies and minds an incomprehensible pleasure and bliss will come by smelling its odour. [The body and mind] will be intoxicated by bliss, which would exceed that of sexual intercourse between males and females. It will become widespread and eventually most of the people of Jambudvīpa will use it involuntarily...

This origination myth is known also to Chuzang Yeshe Gyamtsho (Chu bzang Ye shes rgya mtsho, 1772–1851), who says that the plant grew from the menstrual blood of the above-mentioned demoness. She then pronounced a perverted prayer in which she asked that the hundreds of thousands of dwellings of both *nāgas* and gods be destroyed by its smoke (cf. Berounský 2007). We will see soon that this part was evidently blended with a prophecy concerning tobacco ascribed to Padmasambhava and translated below.

Probably the most detailed version of this myth can be found in the Bonpo text on the evil of tobacco by Namkha Gyaltsen (Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan, b. 1770) from Amdo (in what is today *Mzod dge* county). He was following the so-called “new Bon” (*bon gsar ma*) and at the beginning of the text he pays homage to Padmasambhava in an allusive way. The myth contained in this version adds colourful details unknown to other authors (Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan, fol. 26b–28a):¹¹

nang nas me tog gzhan dang mi ’dra ba zhig skyes nas ’ong/ de’i dri tsam tshor bas kyang
lus sems la dga’ bde bsam gyis mi khyab pa pho mo ’khrig pa spyad pa las lhag pa’i bde bas
myos pa ’ong/ de nyid mang du ’phel bas mthar ’dzam gling skye bo phal cher kyis dbang
med du longs spyod pa ’byung.../.

- 11) Tib.: dam sri spun dgu’i tha chung bdud mo de/ rgya nag yul du gzhan dang mi ’dra ba’i/
bu mo shin tu mdzes ma zhig byung bar/ kun gyis thob shor byed cing ’thab rtsod bgyis/
de tshe pha yis su la ma sprad par/ phugs su rbas nas khrag nad kyis gdungs te/ ’chi la thug
tshe bu mos kha chems la/ nga ni skyes pa dang ni ma ’phrad pa’i/ lan yin nga nyid ’chi ba’i
rjes su re/ mi kun rgyu ba’i rgya gram lam du sa/ brkos nas kha ni gan rkya! sgyel la zhog/
kun gyis ’gro zhor ’dri chu ’dor du chug/ ’dri chu mtshan ma’i nang du ’ong bar gyis/ de tshe
de las rtswa min shing min gyi/ me tog kha dog rna tshogs skye bar shog/ skyes kyang kun
gyis de la longs su spyod nas dge ba nyams par shog/ sdig pa’i kha ni shin tu dar bar shog/
khyad par de dus nang ba sangs rgyas pa’i/ bstan pa ’dzing skyong spel gsum byed nus pa/
rnams kyis spyod nas bstan pa nyams par shog/ de dus nga yi sprul pa gzugs mdzes ma/
mang pos sa steng khengs par bstan ’dzin gyis/ spyod cing bstan bshig nus par shog cig gu/
zer nas dbugs chad de bzhin byas pa la/ phyis lo mngal nas me tog mdog mdzes pa/ bsnom
na dri zhim pa zhig byung ba de/ kun gyis bsregs nas la las zhib btags nas/ sna la ’thung bas
sna tsha sbrid pa byung/ la las me la bsregs nas kha ru ’thung/ kha tsha yid kyang tshim pa
zhig byung ngo/ de las kyun gyis son blangs sa la btab/ mang po ’phel nas rgyal kham kun
tu khyab/.

The demoness dümo (*bdud mo*), the youngest from the nine demons damsi (*dam sri*),
 Appeared as a girl in the land of China,
 Being very beautiful and unlike any other,
 All were fighting in order to win her,
 Not to meet anyone, her father at that time,
 Hid her eventually and she was tormented by passion (*khrag nad gdungs*),
 When approaching death, that girl pronounced her testament:
 “This will be the retribution for not meeting any man,
 Following my death,
 May I be thrown on my back to the place,
 Dug at the edge of the crossroad where all people pass,
 All of them will urinate on their way,
 And make the urine enter my female organ,
 At that time from neither plant nor tree,
 A flower of variegated colours may grow,
 Let all people enjoy it,
 Enjoying it may their virtue decline!
 Let its smell of evil become widespread!
 And particularly may at that time,
 Those who are able to follow, protect and spread
 The Inner Teaching of the followers of Buddhas,
 Let them use it and thus make the Teaching decline!
 May at that time the surface of the earth,
 Be covered by [suchlike,] my many
 Miraculous transformations of beautiful form,
 And being used by the holders of Teaching,
 Let [the flowers] come to might to destroy the Teaching!”
 So saying her breath expired and accordingly,
 Flower of beautiful colours, shape and smell,
 Appeared from her womb the next year,
 All burnt it; some ground it into powder,
 Inhaling it by nose they got a disease of numbness,
 Some burnt it by fire and inhaled it by mouth,
 Their mouth became sick, but their mind was satisfied,
 All took the seeds and sowed them on the soil,
 It spread throughout the country...

Rigzin Gargyi Wangchug (Rig 'dzin Gar gyi dbang phyug, 1858–1930, born in Kham) is the author of a number of didactic texts on various “evils” (*nyes dmigs*), among them texts on the evils of hunting, eating meat, blood offerings, drinking alcohol and a very sexist text on the evil of women. He mentions this origination myth in his writing on the evil of tobacco only sporadically. He mixes the origination myth concerning tobacco with the already-mentioned prophecy by Padmasambhava translated in the next part. Thus, the demoness is *dam sri mo* in his text (as a prophecy on *dam sri* demons bound by Padmasambhava and figuring in the text revealed by Ratna Lingpa). Tobacco

is introduced in his text as a plant of five colours (evidently the flowers are meant) corresponding to the “five poisons” (*dug lnga*) of Buddhists (Rig ’dzin Gar gyi dbang phyug, fol. 10b):¹²

As for the manner in which the perverted prayer was pronounced, a plant of five colours grew from the blood of the womb of that manifestation of the demoness dü (*bdud*). It became the root of five poisons and afflictions.¹³ Given the level of correspondance, the power of the afflictions grew. The demons dü and damsi (*dam sri*) entered the bodies, ruined everything, and deprived the Teaching and beings of their benefit...

But this is certainly another attempt to put together originally diverse sources on the evils of tobacco. The five colours of the blossoms of the plant are mentioned in an extract from the prophecy of Sangye Lingpa (Sangs rgyas gling pa, 1340–1396):¹⁴

Sangye Lingpa says: The name of the poison is Black Hala. Its kinds and colours appear in five ways; yellow, blue, white, red and black. These are five poisons in their entirety. In particular, the yellow one generates pride. The blue one, the poison of water [element], grows dark like the darkness of ignorance. The white one, the poison of the sky, spreads hatred. The red one, the poison of fire, brings the lake [containing the] blood of lust to the boil. The black one, the poison of wind, spreads the affliction of slander...

When observing these various versions of the myth more closely, one can conclude that they vary. When compared with the oldest known version of the 5th Dalai Lama, the later narrations add a number of details. Parts of them seem to be narrative additions (as with the urine and crossroad details given in the Bonpo text), while parts of the details and additions were also evidently inspired by the prophetic literature discussed later.

None of the versions mentions the source of the origination myth. It thus supports the conclusion that this myth was based on oral tradition. Such a conclusion is shared with Lozang Tshultrim alias Chahar Geshe from Inner

12) Tib.: smon lam log pa btad tshul ni/ bdud sprul mos kho mo'i mngal khrag las rtsa kha dog lngar skyes nas nyon mongs dug lnga'i rgyur 'gyur ba dang/ deng (rten) 'brel tshad la nyon mongs pa stobs rgyas zhing bdud dang dam sri lus la zhugs nas rang gzhan phung ba dang/ bstan pa dang 'gro ba'i bde skyid 'phrog...

13) I.e. desire, anger, ignorance, pride and envy.

14) Rig 'dzin Gar gyi dbang phyug, fol. 11a. Tib.: sangs rgyas gling pas/ dug gi ming ni ha la nag po zhes/ rigs dang kha dog mi 'dra lnga ru 'byung/ ser po ngon po dkar po dmar po dang/ nag po'i rigs te so sor dug lnga tshang/ bye brag ser pos dung nga rgyal bskyed/ ngon pos chu dug gti mug mun ltar gtibs/ dkar pos nam mkha'i dug can zhe sdang rgyas/ dmar pos me dug 'dod chags khrag mtsho khol/ nag pos rlung dug nyon mongs phrag dog 'phel/.

Mongolia (Blo bzang tshul khirms, 1740–1810), who in his text against tobacco says (Blo bzang tshul khirms, fol. 3a):¹⁵

There is no need for tobacco and other things similar to it. A number of Noble Ones say in accordance with **past oral tradition** that it is the kind of plant which grew from the blood of the woman from the family of demons dü (Tib. *bdud*, Skt. *māra*).

Another striking feature of the narrations on the origin of tobacco is that they never mention tobacco *expressis verbis*. They frequently speak about Black Hala (*ha la nag po*). This often refers to the poisonous species of *aconite* plants, but here it seems to be a synonym for poisonous plants in general.

Only the author of the second translated extract, Tulzhug Lingpa (Brtul zhugs gling pa), confesses that the myth in fact concerns opium. Other authors clearly mix together narrations about tobacco with those about opium without noticing it. Tulshug Lingpa says immediately following the extract translated above (Brtul zhugs gling pa, fol. 1b):¹⁶

This is known mostly as opium (*g.ya' phing*) these days. Smoke of nose- and mouth-[tobacco] is similar to it...

It would also be strange for Sangye Lingpa to speak in his prophecy about tobacco. He lived in the 14th century and, as was already said, the spread of tobacco is a post-Columbus phenomenon; it spread two centuries later. In his own verses about the poisonous plant, referred by him as the Black Hala, he speaks about the number of colours of its blossoms. In the case of the tobacco plant, the flowers are not used for smoking. But in the case of opium, the fruit of the flowers (the poppy head) is used. If the tobacco used for smoking and snuffing has red or yellow flowers, the plant renowned for the great variation of colours of its blossoms, including that of almost black (mentioned by Sangye Lingpa), is the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*).

So, it may be concluded that the myth of origin and also a number of prophecies (to be dealt with in the next part) concerned the opium poppy. For Tibetans, however, both tobacco and opium are related. Besides the rather well-known fact that opium was frequently sold in a form mixed with tobacco in China and India, the Chinese expression *yān* (煙) designates both tobacco and opium. Opium was known much earlier than tobacco, and is

15) Tib.: ta ma ka ni de dag dang 'dra ba'i dgos pa med cing/ sngon gyi gtam rgyud las bdud kyi rigs kyi bud med kyi khrag las skyes pa'i rtsa'i rigs yin par dam pa mang pos gsungs/.

16) Tib.: (zhes smras pa bzhin byung ba) deng sang g.ya phing du grags pa 'di dang/ de dang cha 'dra ba'i kha sna'i du ba 'di...

called nowadays in Tibetan *nyal thag/ nyal tha* (“lie down-tobacco”) of *tha mag nag po* (“black tobacco”). Through the language the opium was seen as a specific kind of tobacco. It is obvious that these expressions were coined after the introduction of tobacco. Only in some texts is the phonetic rendering from Chinese as *g.ya phing/ya’ phing* (Ch. *yāpiàn*, 鴉片) used for opium.

Yet, the myth speaks through its own language. It explains the demonic nature of tobacco (or in fact opium), which grew from the blood of a lustful demoness. Let’s remind that in Tibet, blood is seen as the generative fluid of females and also as a representation of their lust. Through it the myth explains the addiction of consumers and also its power to pollute.

Prophecies concerning tobacco

A number of prophetic texts are mentioned in the texts on the evil of tobacco. This concerns a genre of texts, which became frequent after the 13th century invasions of Mongols in Tibet. Such texts contain mostly prophecies of the past masters, which were revealed as “treasures” (*gter ma*). Drawing a vivid picture of the time of degeneration, the devastating acts of Mongol forces in Tibet were apparently the inspiration of these texts (cf. Kollmar-Paulenz 2008), which are typical of the Nyingmapa (Rnying ma pa) sect in Tibet. It explains the note by Charles Bell that among the Nyingmapa sect the prohibition of tobacco is even stricter (Bell 1928, pp. 243–244). Bell even mentions a saying that “Padmasambhava forbade the smoking, but the Buddha did not.”

Such prophetic texts introduced to Tibet a kind of view which could be labelled millenarian. After the time of degeneration, the ideal Buddhist society will be established. The time of degeneration is often characterized as a period when demons, various disasters, wars, epidemics, famines, etc., would appear. There is no space here for citing the vivid visions of horror they contain. But a number of Tibetan authors quickly connected such a time of deterioration with tobacco.

As will be seen later, these prophecies do not mention explicitly tobacco and thus one has to ascribe the identification of the poisonous plant of the texts with tobacco to the efforts in interpretation of some later masters.

However, there is one sole exception, which is the most frequently cited extract. It comes from the prophecy allegedly written by Padmasambhava and revealed by Ratna Lingpa (1403–1479) according to the texts on the evil of tobacco (Brtul zhugs gling pa, fol. 2a; Chu bzang Ye shes Rgya mtsho, fol. 2b). None of sources available to me cites properly the origin of the extract.

My effort to search for the original has also been in vain so far. The extract is the only one, which explicitly mentions tobacco (Brtul zhugs gling pa, fol. 2a; Chu bzang Ye shes Rgya mtsho, fol. 2b):¹⁷

At the time when great ācārya Padmasambhava,
Bound nine brothers of demons damsi (*dam sri*),
The youngest of the nine brothers said:
‘Brothers, do not grieve and listen to my speech,
I will miraculously transform myself into **tobacco** in China,
My poisonous name will be Black Hala,
I will grow on the outskirts of Tibet,
People from the bordering areas will carry me to the central part,
Subjects of Tibet will be engaged in ease, happiness and pleasure,
By the power of the five poisons they will depend on [tobacco] and spread it,
Abandoning ten virtues, they will practice ten non-virtues,
The followers of Teaching will pass to the sphere of unsteady length of life,
The poisonous smoke will go under the earth,
It will destroy hundreds of thousands of cities of *nāgas*,
Then the rainwater will not fall and the harvest will be poor,
Various undesirable diseases, quarrels, epidemics will appear,
The poisonous smoke will go into the luminous sphere of the sky,
By its power the cities of gods will be destroyed,
A star will arise as a sign of bad times and an eclipse [will appear],
The ‘bodhicitta vein’¹⁸ of the men drinking [the smoke] will be dried up,
404 kinds of diseases will start to float,
The drinking men will be at the time of death reborn in the three unwholesome realms.’

It is hardly possible that tobacco was already known in Tibet in the 15th century. One must only hypothetically assume that either the expression

17) Tib.: slob dpon chen po padma 'byung gnas kyis/ /dam sri spun dgu dam la bzhag pa'i tse/ /spun dgu'i tha chung nyid gyis 'di smras so/ /spun rnams mya ngan ma byed gdam la nyon/ /nga ni rgya yul tha ma kha ru sprul/ /dug gi ming ni ha la nag po zer/ /bod kyi mtha' khob rnams su skyes nas yong/ /mtha' mi rnams kyis dbus su khyer nas yong/ /bod 'bangs bde skyid longs spyod de la byed/ /de yi stobs kyis dug lnga rag shing rgyas/ dge bcu spongs nas mi dge bcu la spyod/ /bstan 'dzin sku tse mi brtan zhing du gshegs/ /dug gi du ba sa yi 'og tu song/ /klu yi grong khyer chen po 'bum tsho 'jig/ /char chu mi 'bebs lo phyugs mi legs shing/ /nang 'khrugs rims nad mi 'dod sna tshogs 'byung/ /dug gi du ba nam mkha'i mthongs su song/ /de yi stobs kyis lha yi grong khyer 'jig/ /gza' 'dzin dus log skar ma rtags can shar/ /'thung ba'i mi de byang chub sems rtsa skams/ /bzhi brgya rtsa bzhi'i nad rnams ldang bar byed/ /'thung bas shi tshad ngan song gsum du skyel/.

18) The “veins of the enlightenment mind (Skt. *bodhicitta*)” reffer here to the concept of the subtle body used in Tantric practices. The term “enlightenment mind” could be synonymous with “drop” (Tib. *thig le*, Skt. *bindu*). The “veins” or “channels” (Tib. *rtsa*, Skt. *nāḍī*) containing seminal fluid (“enlightened mind”) are what constitutes the subtle body.



Figure 2. Ratna Lingpa
(mural from the stūpa of Dpal yul monastery in Kham; photo author, 2006).

“tobacco” was added later to the text, or it was ascribed to Ratna Lingpa only retrospectively.

In the Bonpo text on the evil of tobacco such a myth is modified and drawn within the specific Bonpo mythology. Namkha Gyaltsen offers a mythical account of the taming of the demon Dhashagriva (Dha sha gri ba)¹⁹ by

19) This is evidently Daśagrīva, the “Ten-necked” demon of the Rāmāyaṇa. It, however figures in a different way in Bonpo mythology (see Berounský 2007, p. 201).



Figure 3. Sangye Lingpa
(mural from the stūpa of Dpal yul monastery in Kham; photo author, 2006).

the ancient sage Tagla Mebar (Stag la me 'bar), who then, as in the above-mentioned example, pronounces his perverted prayer concerning his future appearance as tobacco (Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, fol. 27a).

As said, the other authors of early prophecies do not specifically name tobacco in their texts. The extracts from the earliest prophecies, which are often mentioned by the texts on the evil of tobacco, come allegedly from Sangye Lingpa (Sangs rgyas gling pa, 1340–1396), Macig Labdron (Ma gcig lab sgron, 1055–1149) and Rigdzin Godemcen (Rig 'dzin Rgod ldem can, 1337–1409).



Figure 4. Rigdzin Godemcen
(mural from the stūpa of Dpal yul monastery in Kham; photo author, 2006).

The following extract from the prophecy by Sangye Lingpa is often cited (Brtul bzhugs Gling pa, fol. 3b):²⁰

At this time of degeneration, various forms of misbehaviour will appear. Namely, one will not rely on tasty nourishment and will make use of poisonous **foreign food** (*mtha' zas*) with a bad smell. Never satisfied, one's craving [for it] will become greater and greater.

What was translated as “foreign food” or “food from the borderlands” is in the original pronounced as “tha-zay” (*mtha' zas*). It is probable that such an expression in the highly allusive text was taken to be an abbreviation referring to tobacco, i.e. “tha-ma-kha” (*tha ma kha*).

The quotations from the prophecies revealed by Rigzin Godemcen are probably based on a similar assumption, namely that the expression “tha-ma” (*tha ma*), in this context translated as “limit,” is in fact alluding to “tha-ma-kha”, i.e. tobacco. Besides that, this time the prophecy apparently concerns

20) Tib.: snyigs ma'i dus 'dir spyod ngan sna tshogs byed/ khyad par kha zas ro ldan mi brten par/ mtha' zas dri ngan dug can zas su spyod/ nam yang ngoms med sred pa ches cher 'phel/...

some scent of smoke (Brtul zhugs gling pa, fol. 3a; Rig 'dzin gar gyi dbang phyug, fol. 14a).²¹

At the **limit** (*tha ma*) of the bad times the food of scent-eaters (Skt. *gandharva*),
The bad exhalation will be eaten as a food,
By merely smelling [it one would] proceed to the Avīci hell,
Thus, it is important to abandon it now...

Another extract appearing frequently in the texts comes from the prophecy ascribed to Macig Labdron. Again, in the Tibetan original it appears as if the expression “tha-ma” (*tha ma*, “final, last”) could refer to “tha-ma-kha”, i.e. tobacco (Chu bzang Ye shes rgya mtsho, fol. 3a-3b):²²

Listen to me once again, all my disciples!
At the **final** (*tha ma*) period of time, in the time of strife,
There will appear a food of five poisons in their entirety,
It will appear from China,
It will spread through the land of Hor (Mongols),
It will be the food of the beings of Tibet,
Given its power, here, in the Jambudvīpa continent,
Rainfall will not be balanced, frosts and hail appear,
When this will be eaten, by meditating,
Even over hundreds of eons [the yoga of the tutelary] deities will not be accomplished,
Later, the bad states of rebirth will be wandering forever,
And compassion of the Three excellent [Gems] will lack power to save.

One can conclude from these early prophecies about the future time of degeneration that an allusion to poisonous food was later associated with tobacco on the basis of similarity of pronunciation of “final period of time” (*dus kyi tha ma*) or borderland (*mtsha*), i.e. notions that appear frequently in such texts, and the expression for tobacco (*tha ma kha*). It was not necessarily connected with tobacco originally and opium, already known at that time, would again be a better candidate for what was being alluded to in a number of cases.

21) Tib.: dus ngan tha mar dri za'i zas/ ha spyugs ngan pa zas su za/ dri tshor tsam gyis mnar med 'gro/ de phyir da lta spang ba gces/.

22) Tib.: yang cig nyon dang bu slob kun/ dus kyi tha ma rtsod ldan dus/ dug lnga tshang ba'i kha zas gcig/ byung ni nag po rgya nas 'byung/ dar ni hor gyi yul du dar/ zas ni bod khamas 'gro ba'i zas/ de yi dbang gis 'dzam gling 'dir/ char chu mi snyoms sad ser ldang/ sgom sgrub byed bas 'di zos na/ bskal ba brgyar yang lha mi 'grub/ phyi mar ngan 'gror gtan 'khyams byed/ mchog gsum thugs rjes skyob mi nus/.

The arguments against tobacco

In general, the arguments against tobacco coming from the clergy and officials in Tibet could be summarized in four parts: (1) ideas connected with harmonious ties between gods, various spirits, and humans, (2) tantric practices and deity-yoga, (3) the authority of past masters and (4) Buddhist ideas of non-attachment and valid cognition.

The first cluster of ideas concerns the ability of tobacco to pollute earthly and heavenly beings. The good connection between people and deities is viewed as a must for the harmonious life of society. It is one of the basic assumptions underlying Tibetan religiosity in general, which appears in ancient myths on the wars between demons and gods in many particular versions, but also in relation to the deities of the class of “protectors of Teaching”. This idea was expressed in the translations above, in the sense that tobacco pollutes the deities, spirits and underworld beings. Polluted deities would then bring epidemics, diseases, hail, frost and bad harvests. One of the text also mentions the pollution of the personal deities (“deities of the body” */lus kyi lha/*), which are seen as residing in the body of humans (*’go/mgo/mgon ba’i lha lnga*). This idea is strongly present in the ban imposed by the king of Bhutan, and similar arguments constitute large parts of the texts on the “evil of tobacco”.

As for the Tantric practices, namely the “deity yoga” (*lha’i rnal sbyor*), there is not always a sharp distinction from the “wordly” deities mentioned above. Despite being of higher rank than the “worldly” ones, they are still often considered as deities who could be polluted by tobacco. Noting specifically Tantric practices, the texts mention the inefficiency of “consciousness transference” rituals (*’pho ba*), pollution of the “subtle body”, inefficiency of the mantras, etc., on the part of those who use tobacco. One of the texts even contains a mantra, which should be repeated a thousand times during the “generation stage” (*bskyed rim*) of Tantric practice and as a result deprives the mind of thinking about tobacco. The mantra addresses Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi and expels tobacco through the syllable *phaṭ* (Rig ’dzin gar gyi dbang phyug, fol. 17b):

Oṃ vaḡīśvari mūṃ. Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ. Oṃ vajrapāṇi hūṃ. Demon tobacco (bdud sri tha ma kha la) māraya phaṭ!

But most of the texts, in particular those of Nyingmapa provenance, use an argument against tobacco which is based on the authority of past masters, in particular Padmasambhava. The alleged prophecies on tobacco by him

are thus the main argument. One can mention the following example (Brtul zhugs gling pa, fol. 4a):²³

Because Orgyan Rinpoche never deceives with his *vajra*-speech, it is improper to think with a perverted view: How is it possible that mere smoke of a plant can do so much harm?

Another text may also be cited: it articulates a similar idea differently and even contains a threat (Gar gyi dbang phyug, fol. 16b):²⁴

If one follows the Inner ones of Buddha and if one does not accept the undeceiving words of the second Buddha Guru Rinpoche [Padmasambhava], the ambrosia of the heart without hesitation, it is said that:

“If one holds a perverted view,
In relation to the words of Lord Padmasambhava,
It is great crime
Of killing hundred thousands of bodhisattvas,
And destruction of hundred thousand supports of body, speech and mind.”

As for the main ideas of Buddhist thinking, such as non-attachment, etc., these are not frequently mentioned as a main argument against tobacco, but they are not entirely absent. What follows is an extract of this kind, dealing with the evil of snuff-tobacco (Gar gyi dbang phyug, fol. 15a):²⁵

Why should not it be against the Words of Buddha, if the nose is attached to its object – the smell of snuff – and thus one behaves with attachment?

Or another example, in which the use of tobacco is criticized as being a result of “erroneous cognition” (Blo bzang tshul khirms, fol. 5b) reads as follows:²⁶

When compared with unmistakable knowledge of what is good and what is bad, [tobacco] generates erroneous cognition, which is similar to desire for the excrement of dogs and pigs.

Several texts on tobacco written in Tibetan were authored by Mongolian writers. I will mention here only those, which do not follow the general structure

23) Tib.: o rgyan rin po che'i rdo rje'i gsung gis nam yang bslu ba med pas na/ sngo sdum gyi du ba zhiḡ la 'di tsam gyi nyes dmigs yod pa ga la srid snyam pa'i log lta gtan nas byed mi rung ste/...

24) Tib.: nang pa sangs rgyas kyi rjes 'jug yin na sangs rgyas gnyis pa gu ru rin po che'i bka' bslu med 'di la the tshom mi 'tshal bar snying gi bdud rtsir bzhes par ma mdzad na/ bdag nyid padma 'byung gnas kyi/ bka' la the tshom log lta na/ byang chub sems dpa' 'bum gsod dang/ sku gsung thugs rten 'bum gshigs pas/ nyes pa shin tu che ba yin/ zhes dang/...

25) Tib.: sna da ni sna'i yul du dri la 'dod cing chags pa yin na 'dod chags spyod pas rgyal ba'i bka' dang ci phyir mi 'gal/.

26) Tib.: bzang ngan ma 'khrul par shes pa yod pa las/ khyi phag bshang pa la zhen pa dang 'dra ba'i 'khrul shes bskyed pa'i phyir/.

of the genre of texts on the “evil of tobacco”. One should mention the poem on tobacco written by the famous Dzaya Paṇḍita. According to the text, he playfully rewrote an existing eulogy to tobacco originating from his place of birth, transforming it into a poem denouncing tobacco (see *Dza ya paṇ ḍi ta*). There is another poem on tobacco written in a similar style by the abbot of Kumbum (Sku ’bum) monastery in Amdo, Lozang Jamyang Gyatso (Blo bzang ’jam dbyangs rgya mtsho, 1786–1816). Another interesting text on tobacco was written by the Mongolian author Lozang Damdin, known also as Gurudeva (Blo bzang rta mgrin, 1867–1937). Although it also deals briefly with the “evil” of tobacco at the beginning, it is less threatening and most of its content describes various medicines which could cure bad outcomes from the use of tobacco. These extracts from the texts of some Mongolian authors reflect a more relaxed attitude towards tobacco when compared with the texts by Tibetan authors.

Some remarks before the conclusion

What made the attitude of official Tibetan circles so merciless towards tobacco? One could guess that there is no single cause, but a whole set of ideas which contributed to it. However, the most evident reasons against tobacco in the texts are the idea of purity connected with worldly deities and the great danger stemming from their pollution. In my humble opinion, this strong and – in the particular forms it takes – specifically Tibetan notion explains why monks are allowed to smoke cigarettes in Burma, despite the Burmese Buddhist tradition putting greater stress on meditation practices when compared with Tibet. One cannot explain the strong negative attitude toward tobacco merely in terms of Buddhist ideas. It is the specific sense of ritual purity, which seems to play a strong role in this case.

An appropriate closing of this paper will be provided by a translation of the decree (*rtsa tshig*)²⁷ issued by the 13th Dalai Lama (Thub bstan rgya mtsho, 1867–1933) in 1918. The decree is aimed primarily against cigarettes and it is stated in it that they appeared in Lhasa from 1914. Cigarettes became a mass phenomenon only at the beginning of 20th century, when large machine production in the US made them a cheap alternative to other means of

27) This particular kind of decree was issued annually and distributed to the district officers (*rdzong dpon*). It stated the general rules of conduct which were to be observed by all. See Bell 1968, pp. 38–39.

consumption of tobacco. The 13th Dalai Lama evidently saw them as a great danger. The decree aims to uproot the usage of tobacco in general within five years.

There are two enigmatic elements contained in the decree. The first of them appears at the very beginning, when it is stated that in the past there appeared cracks in the eaves of the Jokhang temple in Lhasa (the text says: *water leaking from the each of the throats of the sea-monsters of the roof of the central miraculous temple of Lhasa*). This was taken as a bad omen and after some inquiry (I would again suppose that this was made through consulting the oracle) it was decided that it was caused by the spread of tobacco. We do not know even approximately when it happened, but it well illustrates the way tobacco was dealt with.

The second enigma concerns the expression *rdo tshor*. The text states that *rdo tshor* is mixed with tobacco and that the state officials were already forbidden to use it. I had several ideas about what this expression could mean, but none of them could be confirmed even after consultations with a number of specialists.

From the decree itself the 13th Dalai Lama appears as an adamant adversary of tobacco frightened by the new fashion of smoking cigarettes. A light and rather anecdotal episode on this issue appears in his hagiography. It describes in high style the way the Dalai Lama was upset by the behaviour of the head of the Mongol Buddhists, Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu. During their meeting in Mongolia, he was smoking in his presence! The text itself shows in a very ornamental manner what sort of offence the Dalai Lama felt this to be (Thub bstan byams pa tshul khrims bstan 'dzin 1981–1982, p. 824).²⁸

“It is said in Kadam Legbam:

Kye! Great Garuda soaring in the sky
Is disparaged by a red chicken from the house,

28) I am indebted to Elliot Sperling for pointing this episode out. The Tibetan text reads: bka' gdams glegs bam las/ kye khyung chen mkha' la lding ba la/ bya mtsha' lu khyim nas 'phya ba bzhin/ nga ye shes sbyings su lding ba la/ sems khong skran can de 'phya bar byed/ / ces 'byung ba bzhin gong sa mchog phyogs der kun gyis mchod 'os gcig bur bzung ste mchog dman mtha' dag gis sri zhu lhur len pa dang/ gdams ngag dang/ rjes bstan zhu ba sogs mdzad 'phrin dang/ snyan grags phyogs ku tu rgyas pa la rje btsun dam pa ho thog thu nas snyigs dus kyi skye bo phal pa'i ngang tshul dang bstun te cung ma rangs pa' rnam pa dang/ thugs dad 'gyur ba'i tshul gyis bzhugs khri stor bzhig dang/ sku mdun du'ang tha mi kha bzhes pa sogs lugs gnyis dang mi mthun pa'i grub spyod ya ma zung sna tshogs kyis sa gsum rnam 'dren dam par tsu ti'i yul kyi rkang gnyis ltar ras bor brnyas thabs mdzad pa...

My soaring in the sphere of primordial wisdom,
Is similarly disparaged by those with ulcerous minds.

In conformity with what appears [in the verses], all consider His Holiness solely as the praiseworthy one. All highest, lower and lowest [people] make an effort to venerate him; they send him messages asking him to give instructions and teachings. Against [such] a reputation extensive in all directions Damba Khutukhtu acted in the manner of common folk of the time of degeneration and somewhat disrespectfully. In the style of unsteady faith the throne [offered for] sitting was broken and ruined. He even smoked in the presence of His Holiness. By such and other behaviour, which is incongruent both with worldly ways and those leading beyond this world, by various improper ways towards the Leader of the Triple World [Dalai Lama] and as [one-legged people of] Cuti country²⁹ [towards] the two-legged ones, he acted in a manner that evinced disrespect and mistreatment...”

Translation of the decree of 13th Dalai Lama³⁰

Public decree with Dalai Lama's office seal on the need to abolish that poisonous article known as cigarette within five years starting from the 15th rabjung of the earth-horse year (1918)

[This is a] message [addressed] to all beings dwelling under the sun in general and in particular to the three great religious centres, monasteries represented by Upper and Lower Tantric colleges; to the highest, lowest and middling subjects of the great government in their entirety.

A request to examine water leaking from the each of the throats of the sea-monsters of the roof of the central miraculous temple of Lhasa appeared in the past. [It was caused by] the widespread leaves of the evil tobacco plant in this dharma-field of Tibet, which appeared through black and evil aspiration. In addition, since the year of wood-dragon (1914) the product of tobacco with many bad additions called cigarette has similarly been used by many high

29) Cuti or Cūti is said to be a fabulous land where asuras had only one leg.

30) The two modern editions of the text were used for the translation, see *Rab byung bco lnga pa'i sa rta nas bzung lo lnga'i thsun dug rdzas shig ras rtsa bsnubs gdong dgos kyi sbug dam rtsa tshig* in the bibliography.

and low people. Its nature as bad odour spread through the earth and stones and struck the blessed triple supports with pollution, so that their marks of blessing and power were weakened. The disapproval of the powerful protective deities and the *nāgas* of the soil caused problems concerning the harvest and crops and generally in the upper lands epidemics and diseases spread more and more among the people and cattle, the poisonous vapours of the mamo (*ma mo*) demoness were subsequently multiplied and starting from small children upwards [to adults] the large degeneration appeared. This notice is issued in order to abate such calamity through measures regarding what is to be abandoned and what is to be accepted.

It has already been [stated] in the the prophecies by ācārya Pemakara and Macig Labdron, as they appear in collected works of Panchen Lama Lozang Choekyi Gyaltsen and Tagphu Yongzin Yeshe Gyaltsen, that in the future time of degeneration a plant of the evil substance harming both oneself and others and known as tobacco will grow from the leaked menstruation blood of a demoness *dū* (*bdud*). By the power of evil aspiration all people would enjoy it carelessly and without reason. When the nine relative demons *dam-si* (*dam sri*) were bound under the oath, the youngest of them pronounced: "My relatives do not mourn. I will miraculously manifest myself as Chinese tobacco. The name of the poison will be known as Black Hala. I will arrive through being grown in the border areas. The people of the border regions will bring me to the Central part and the Tibetan subjects will enjoy me happily and with pleasure. At that time the five poisons will spread and the ten virtues will be abandoned. Ten non-virtues will be practised. The life-span of the holders of Teaching will not be long and stable. Through the poisonous smoke each of the hundred thousand dwellings of *nāgas* and a hundred thousand dwellings of gods will be destroyed. The rain will not fall and the harvest will always be bad. Various unpleasant sufferings will appear through civil war, epidemics, diseases and other things. Despite having the 'veins of enlightened mind',³¹ they will dry for those who drink [the smoke]. 404 kinds of diseases will spread and rise. Dying, in the next life [the people] will be born in the triple bad states of existence. Despite meditation, practice, and strife towards liberation, [such people] will not win the benevolence of the deities. Despite their great compassion they will not be able to receive the refuge of the triple excellent [Gems]."

This is clear, true and how things are. Besides the general great harm to the Teaching and beings, in particular the virtuous mind of the users [of tobacco]

31) See note 18.

becomes non-manifest and their evil-mind spreads further and further. The eye of their minds becomes blind towards the virtues of the dharma and worldly matters (*chos srid*) and their wisdom is obstructed similarly by the defects explained above. It is necessary to make a final decision connected with several signed agreements that, since the first month [of Buddha's] miracles of this year, the so-called cigarettes, newly produced and most harmful in the present and for the future, will not be used anywhere, be it in private or on public. This concerns in a similar manner snuff-tobacco and inhaling the smoke mixed with *rdo tshor*. Yet, based on the previous restriction of the *rdo tshor* substance, because these are not helpful in satisfying hunger and thirst, because they are destroyers who, by sneaking into the support of freedom – the human body – destroy the root of well-being, they have already been forbidden to governmental officials. As a matter of course and without confusion about its benefit or harm, there will be no means of obstructing this path and no relaxation from it for all the highest, lower and lowest [people] starting from this year. Even if there will be a few of stubborn disposition, given their sickness, it is possible to totally uproot the usage of the evil substance of cigarettes and others by skilful means within five years. With the importance of the root of well-being in the mind, all the officials of particular monasteries, high-positioned local authorities and leaders of districts and estates will be delivered and presented with this public decree. Keeping it, copying and delivering it to all communities and high-positioned ones, requires it to be constantly maintained. Therefore, all must accordingly follow the proclamations of detailed inquiry of the outer, inner and secret [circumstances] without hesitation regarding acceptance of the law.

This was written in the Dekyi Kunga Khyilway Kalzang Palace of Norbul-ingka on the auspicious sixth day of the third month of the earth-horse [year].

Original Tibetan text of the decree

Rab byung bco lnga pa'i sa rta nas bzung lo lnga'i tshun dug rdzas shig ras rtso bsnuks gtong dgos kyi sbug dam rtso tshig

nyi 'og tu 'khod pa'i skye rgu spyi dang/ bye brag chos sde chen po rnam gsum rgyud grwa stod smad kyiis mtshon pa'i dgon sde khag/ gzhug sa chen po'i chab 'bangs su gtogs pa'i mchog dman bar pa mtha' dag la springs pa/

sngon du lha ldan sprul pa'i gtsug lag khang lte ba'i rgya phibs kyi chu srin lkog shal nas chu lon kha yar 'dzags skor 'di gar brtag zhu byung bar log smon nag po brtsegs pa'i lo 'dab kyi rdzas ngan rdo tha kha bod ljongs chos kyi zhing khams 'dir dar khyab che khar/ lhag par shig 'brug

tsam nas bzung rdo tha kha'i thon rdzas ngan mang sbyar gyi shig ras zer ba'i 'di bzhin skye bo mchog dman phal cher nas longs spyad gshis dri ngan sa khyab rdo khyab sbags btsoq gis rten gsum byin can rnams la nyams grib phog pas byin rlabs nus mthu'i mtshan kha chung zhing/ srung ma gnyan po/ sa klu 'gras pas lo legs skya rgyas 'byung dka'i thog yul spyir rims dang/ mi phyugs la yams nad sogs ches cher bdo ba ma mo'i kha rlangs kyi dug tshogs rim pa je rgyas su gyur bas chung byis pa nas yar 'degas kyi god ka shin tu che ba shar gshis/ nyes skyon de dag rang zhir gyur phyir tshang mar spang blang 'jug ldog rtas tshig btang don/

de yang pan chen blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan dang/ stag phu yongs 'dzin ye shes rgyal mtshan kyi gsung 'bum las/ slob dpon padma ka ra dang/ ma cig lab sgron ma'i ma 'ongs lung bstan du/ phyis snyig dus rang gzhan gnyis phung gi rdzas ngan tha mi kha zhes grags pa 'di ni bdud kyi mngal khrag 'dzags pa las sngo zhig skyes pa skye bo kun gyis rgyu mtshan ci yang med par log smon brtsams pa'i shugs kyis rang gir bag med du longs spyod cing/ dam sri spun dgu dam la bzhag pa'i tshe tha chung des smras pa/ spun rnams mya ngan ma byed/ nga ni rgya yul tha mi khar sprul/ dug gi ming ni ha la nag po zer/ mtha' khob rnams su skyes nas yongs/ mtha' mis dbus su khyer nas bod 'bangs bde skyid longs spyod de la byed/ de'i skabs su dug lnga rgyas/ dge bcu spangs/ mi dge bcu la spyod/ bstan 'dzin rnams kyang sku tshe yun du mi brtan/ dug gi du bas klu'i grong khyer dang/ lha'i grong khyer 'bum tsho re re 'jig/ char chu mi 'bab pas rtag tu lo nyes 'byung/ nang 'khrug rims nad sogs mi 'dod pa'i sdug bsngal sna tshogs 'byung/ 'thung ba'i mi de byang chub kyi sems rtas yod kyang skam/ bzhi brgya rtas bzhi'i nad rigs rgyas shing ldang bar byed/ shi tshad tshe rabs phyi mar ngan song gsum du skye/ sgom sgrub byed cing thar pa don du gnyer bas 'di zos pas na bska brgyar yang lha bzang po mi 'grub mchog gsum thugs rje ji ltar che yang skyabs par mi nus zhes gsal ba dang nges pa don la gnas shing/ spyir bstan 'gro 'i bde skyid la gnod skyon che khar/ bye brag dri ngan 'di dag 'then pa pos rang nyid kyang dge sems bag la zha bas sdig sems che cher rgyas shing/ shos srid yon tan gyi blo mig mi gsal ba'i shes rab bying 'thib sogs gong du nyes dmigs ji ltar 'doms pa bzhin/ 'di phyi gang sar gnod 'gal che shos gsar thon shig ras zer ba 'di dag 'di lo cho 'phrul zla ba dang po nas bzung ngo llog gang sar lag len tsam mi byed pa'i mtha' 'doms gan rgya khag 'brel 'jog len dgos rgyu dang/ phyogs mtshungs sna tha kha dang/ rdo tshor bsres pa'i du ba 'then pa 'di dag kyang rgyu rdo tshor la brten snga dus nas dam bsgrags yod mus bcas bskres skom gang la mi phan zhing/ rnyed par dka' ba'i dal rten chud bzos skye 'gro 'i bde rtas 'joms pa'i gshed mar brten gzhang zhabs rnams la dam bsgrags zin pa dang/ byings mchog dman mtha' dag gis 'di lo nas bzung ngam ngam shugs kyi khe nyen ma 'dzol ba'i lam de las 'gog thabs lhod med thog/ re zung lang shor nad babs kyis rkyen pa yod rigs kyang thabs shes kyis lo lnga tshun rdzas ngan shig ras sogs kyi lag len rtas bsngags thub pa dgon sde khag gi las sne dang/ sa gnas rdzong gzhis sne sdod gtso drag tshang mar bde rtas gal cher bsam shes kyis rtas tshig 'di yang sprok khongs su nyar tshags kyis 'du gnas che sa tshang mar ngo bshus re sbyar bas mjug gnon rgyun bsgrags dgos rgyur/ 'di nas kyang phyi nang gsang gsum du rtogs zhib bya rgyu yin gshis de rtis tshang mas khrims 'brel spang blang 'dzol med du spyod par gyis/

nor gling bde skyid kun dga' 'khyil ba'i skal bzang pho brang nas/ sa rta zla gsum pa'i tshes drug bzang por bris/

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The Ya-ngal family of Tibetan Royal priests in Dolpo

Part III

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Summary: The present paper represents the third part of a work dealing with the Ya-ngal family from Dolpo in Nepal. It presents a translation of the larger part of genealogy of its family lineages of Dolpo and Mustang. The translation published here gives different readings of the various manuscripts in the footnotes and the original Tibetan text is appended to the paper.

7. Translation of the main text; Genealogy of the Royal priests Ya-ngal¹

Now, as for the family lineage of Transmitted instructions of the royal priests Ya-ngal, the kings “Honoured by many”² were manifestations of Sipa Sangpo Bumtri, descendants of Yeje Monpa, [from] the lineage of the son of Yabla Dhaldrug. [Among such kings “Honoured by Many” was] Pāndu. When “half to thirteen times one hundred thousand” [years] had passed,³ he prayed to

- 1) The numbers of the pages appearing in the translation follow the pagination of the YD-E version. At the very beginning, the text deals in general with how the Buddha of the thousand aeons came into being and how the sentient beings of the three worlds were released. Since the information about Ya-ngal starts only after page 28, I started my translation from there. See Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, pp. 1–28. Throughout the text additional notes appear written by an unknown commentator. These are mostly above the main text or below it and I include them in smaller and “indexed” type. Square brackets mark the addition of some expressions which are missing in the original text, but were added for better understanding in English.
- 2) Tib. *Mang pos bkur ba'i rgyal po*, Skt. *Mahāsammata*, i.e. the mythical dynasty of early Indian kings according to Buddhist sources.
- 3) I.e. 1,250,000. The Tibetan text reads *'bum phrag phyed dang bcu gsum*. It could perhaps be understood as “the half of one hundred thousand and thirteen” (50,013). It depends on the reading of *phyed dang* in the compound, if connected with *'bum phrag* or *bcu gsum*. However, the first possibility seems to be more plausible since the frequent and auspicious number thirteen might play a role here. It is the time slightly before the important event of the descent to earth of both the first Tibetan king and the royal priest Ya-ngal. This might

his tutelary deity. Through this he [came to] attainment (*dnogs grub*) [in the form of his] divine son.

And then, in general, the history is narrated as above, [the history] about his being instructed by the tutelary deity, about how he first descended from the Gods of Clear Light, about Lord Nyatri Tsenpo and the separation of his human lineage from the gods, about his coming to the narrow earth to be the universal Lord of the black-headed humans.

In particular, the Tsemi had come as 'priest of the body' (*sku gshen*) of Lord King to clean the 'defilement from the decline of pledges' and the continuity of this Bonpo lineage has existed unbroken to this day.

If⁴ one thinks that Ya-ngal and Tsemi were not present from the beginning of the descend [of the first king] from the heaven until the [end] of the "Seven Thrones" of the royal succession when [the successors of] Cho acted as a royal priests,⁵ there is an explanation in the [following citation]: "The pure royal priests Ya-ngal, Tsemi and Chomi, the three acted [as royal priests]." And so some of this nonsense talk amounts to random guesswork. Until those [end of] royal successors [of "Seven Thrones"] the family lineage [of Ya-ngal] went hidden.

Well, if it is asked what it was like, the royal priest [and] great minister Ya-ngal was a manifestation of Sugata of three times, forty magical syllables appeared on his body, he miraculously transformed (*sprul*)⁶ the contaminated material body of flesh and blood into a luminous body of uncontaminated wisdom. Having attained the power of controlling his birth and death he became a *vidyādhara* of "Mastery over Lifespan."⁷ So he lived during [the time of] many royal successors and thinking about the benefit for sentient beings he examined [what is] auspicious [for them].⁸

be expressed through the number in which a half unit is missing to thirteen times hundred thousand (i.e. 1,250,000).

4) In the sentence ...*mi gda' snyam nas*, I read *na* instead of *nas*.

5) I.e. "successors of Chomi".

6) YD-A, YD-B and YD-C read *sgrol* which YD-D changes in *sprul*.

7) I.e. the second level from the following four: 1) *rnam par smin pa'i rig 'dzin*, 2) *tshé la dbang ba'i rig 'dzin*, 3) *phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin*, 4) *lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin*; four *vidyādhara* levels.

8) All the versions contain *bkra btags pa'o*. This, however, does not make much sense. I read it as *bkra brtags pa'o*. It could also be read as *pra brtags pa'o*.

He presented excellent⁹ offerings and prayers to Nyipangse, the king-deity and guardian of donated treasures (*dkor bdag*), and gave a “cursing oath” to the divine bird.¹⁰ He pronounced: “I instruct (*bka' bsgo*), the guardian deity from the Yarlung Sokha. (Note; this is a seat where they first descended from the [place of] luminous diety of Central Tibet /Dbus/).” Then it is said that the bird flew and descended on the place in Upper Tsang called ‘Bird Hill of Tagtse’ (Stag rtse bya ri). The royal priest Ya-ngal took land [to settle] in Tagtse of Tsang there. (Note; after the death of the king Tri Ralpachen the royal priest was drawn back from Upper Tsang.)¹¹ Lama Ya-ngal was the earliest owner of the land there. Since the divine bird descended there, [the place] came to be called ‘Bird-hill’ (Bya ri). Then the divine bird again flew from there and proceeded to Upper Ngari. Lama (48) Ya-ngal said: “It seems that in the future the doctrine of my descendants will be established in the directions of Lo [Mustang] and Dol[po] in Ngari.”¹²

Then, to the descendants of both, the royal priest Ya-ngal and his wife Lhayi Dronma, the lady from Tsang, it is said: “Three priests of Pha-ngal Ya-ngal [family lineage], three priests of Ya-ngal Gurib [family lineage].”¹³ At that time, when the fathers were in the sixties of their age, a son was born to them and served only for the welfare of sentient beings for many years. In particular, having attained mastery in ritual actualisation of ‘Black [and] Red Net’ [deities], the Human-Demon Jampa Trakgo (Mi bdud 'byams pa khrag mgo) offered the “heart of his life” as a pledge [to him and promised to] accomplish whatever deeds he was entrusted with.

At a certain time, in the “family dwelling” (*tshang*) [called] Tagdhe¹⁴ there appeared three [sons who] fathered distinct lineages of descendents:¹⁵ Bontso, Khutso, Mentso, the three. The two sons of the learned physician [Ment-

9) YD-A reads *dam dar [b]gyis shing*, YD-B *dam par gyis shing*, YD-C *dam par bgyis shing* and YD-D changes into *dam par byas nas*.

10) The Tibetan phrases *dmod bor* and *dmod btsugs* have the meaning ‘to swear the truth’.

11) Snyan rgyud, 2006, p. 17: *rgyal po khri ral pa can gyi sku srung ni/ ya ngal gas rgyal dang thod dkar sman skyid gnyis yin/*.

12) YD-A contains the following phrase: *rgyud pa dus mtha'i bar du yong*, which could be rendered as “the lineage will continue until the limit of time”. It is written almost as a note and all the rest of the versions omitted it.

13) This citation is not clear. It could be read as: “Pha-ngal, Ya-ngal, Shen, the three; Ya-ngal, Gurib, Shen, the three...”

14) YD-A and YD-B read *sde'i* but YD-D changes into *zla'i*. According to Heller’s note YD-C reads *rtse'i* which makes more sense since they were dwelling in a place called *stag rtse*, but *stag sde* is also mentioned later in the text.

15) Tib. *pha sgo*. Meaning: “The fathers, from whom the family lineage continued”.

so] were Ya-ngal Sungrab Kyap and Sungrab Bum, the two. The son of the Bontso was (49) Ya-ngal Legpar Yungdrung.¹⁶ He was an ordained monk¹⁷ from Tsang and known as a ‘person who upholds the teachings of Tagtse in Tsang’. The son of Khutso was Ya-ngal Phurpa Kyap.

The son of Sungrab Kyap and Nyala Choeying [Nyimo Choekyi]¹⁸ was born from her womb. He was Yangton Chenpo Sherab Gyaltsen, the “miraculously manifested body” and Master of beings, the second Buddha and Lord of Aural Transmission teachings. In his childhood he met some of the learned and accomplished [people] and rose to eminence with his mastery of knowledge concerning the hidden treasure, the superior treasure of the Exposition Tantras. He was called Tshabmar Drag¹⁹ and was renowned as a scholar unrivaled by any of the monks and nuns. At that time he underwent hardship in order to examine and investigate the Thirteen Hidden Treasures of Bon teachings and realised that appearances in this life are worthless. Then he experienced a vision in which he saw the face of Lama Pontsed [Pontsen-po] and it was said that [his mind] became ‘abiding in its own nature’. At that time he took two wives but had no children. From Lama Orgom Kundhul he listened to the [teachings of] the Experience Transmission (Nyams rgyud) from the lower tradition of Aural Transmission. (50) Lama told him: “Go to Upper Ngari. You will even have two sons. You will also have many son-like disciples. Son, Upper [Ngari] is where you will be of benefit to people.” Saying so, Orgom made such a prophecy. He went to Lo [Mustang].

The marvellous place, the dwelling of the Victorios Ones [called] Dhongkya was blessed and its local deities were bound by oath for the benefit of future generations of priests by the learned Tonggyung himself. He hid [the teachings of] ritual practice and visions as “treasures”, which were [later] revealed at Gawa.

16) Compare this with (*yang*) [*ya*] *ngal lag g.yung po* in Tenzin Namdak 1972, p. 463, which is written as *ya ngal g.yung phur* in Bru ston rgyal ba g.yung drung 2010, p. 43.

17) YD-A and YD-B give spelling *gtsang rtsun* while according to Heller’s note YD-C gives *gt-sang btsun*, which means “monks from Tsang”.

18) See Spa bstan rgyal bzang po 2006, p. 32.

19) This name can be rendered as “Renowned as Substituting One”. Although Dak (“Renown”) would seem to be strange as a part of his name, he is frequently mentioned as such. Later the text speaks about Vairocana’s prophecy, in which he mentions a person with “Drakpa” in his name. This might be one of the reasons for Drag appearing as a part of his name (see p. 52 of the original text).

At that time the earliest resident [here] was Tonggom²⁰ Zhigpo from Eastern Tibet, a disciple of Lama Drutsang. He came to Lo [Mustang] as a soldier. [Local people] learned that there was an exceptional Bonpo among the [people] wounded on the battle field. In the Upper Lo [Mustang] patrons from the Bonpo side supported him and he resided there at Bonkhor. He performed the “practice of approaching [deity]” (*bsnyen sgrub*) in a large cave of Dhongkya and wonderful signs of accomplishment appeared, such as the dancing dagger. He stuck a dagger in a dry place in the upper part of the valley and a big spring burst out there. The cultivation of what are now fields started there at that time. Besides that (51) he was also an excellent person who achieved many ordinary and extraordinary *siddhis*.

After that Lama Manggom resided and practiced there and his power of clairvoyance of the five gates [of senses] became clearly manifested. Residing there and meditating, the succeeding Lama Gurgom became a great person abiding in a spontaneously liberated natural state of mind (*gnas lugs rang grol*). When dying he said: “Khambon Drangsang,²¹ stay here at this very place until the warmth of my bed vanishes.” It is said that later [Khambon] became a great person of many achievements.

Then Wonpo²² Wangdze, the monastic head, offered the monastic estates along with its donors to the Lama Yangton Chenpo. Thus as the Dhongkya was in the past called the “region of demons and land of darkness of Lowo [Mustang]”, he acted there as a lamp of Teaching. Since the Lama Ya-ngal resided there, it later became known as “Ya-ngal”. He received there the Cycle of Instruction Transmission [teachings] from the Upper tradition of Aural Transmission²³ from Rong[gom] Togme Zhigpo.

Then the [teachings] of Aural Transmission split into two [lineages] from the Lord of Teaching and the “miraculously manifested body” Yangton: the Southern and the Northern. The lineage of Lunggom is the Northern Lineage. That of Bumje Woe, the son [of Yangton] (52) is the Southern Lineage. It could be accepted that Great Yangton himself was a “miraculous manifestation” of a *vidyādhara bodddhisatva*, [since] the ‘Prophecy of Vairocana’ says:

20) YD-A and YD-B read *tong sgom*, while according to Heller’s note YD-C gives *stong sgom* and YD-D changes into *rtogs sgom*.

21) Drangsang is a fully ordained monk who is also called Gelong.

22) Tib. *dbon po*. This is the title of the nephew of the head lama of the monastery, who became his successor in this position at that time.

23) Tib. *Snyan rgyud stod lugs bka’ rgyud skor*.

From among the 'miraculous manifestations' of Gyimtsa Machung,
The one Ya-ngal [whose name] contains the sound 'Dragpa' will appear,
He will tame the lands of demons without discrimination,
A boy of pronounced prayer will appear.

[Also] Togme Zhigpo made a prophecy that he was a manifestation (*dnegos byon*) of Pangla Namshen. As concerns his life-span, he did not practise according to his Lama's instructions. He did not teach secret Bon²⁴ to a certain widow, [but later he] revealed it [written down] in letters. Because of this [his life span] was shortened and at sixty-five [years of age] he 'passed beyond sorrow' leaving no Self.

It is said that in the vision of Ḍākinī Yeshe Sal, he became a great *vidyādhara* who removed the obstacles to practitioners keeping their pledges (*dam tshig*). Leading [others] towards the end of ultimate path he established its goal with certainty and unerringly. Since in his previous life he was a king called "Reaching the Goal" (Don 'grub), transmigrating, he "reaches double goals" [of himself and others] (*don gnyis grub pa*) even in this life.

If some think that former ancestors were [called] Ya-ngal and thus it is not acceptable to address the present [family] as Yangton (Buddha Ya-ngal), then when his mother gave birth to Great Yangton, there appeared miraculous signs of sounds, [colored] lights and rays. Minor signs and major marks of Buddha fully manifested themselves [on his body]. The time of his birth was similar [to Buddha]. Relics, which became the supports of devotion for future generations, gathered in thousands. Therefore, he was the Second Buddha of the good and bad parts of the eon and since his father was [from the lineage of] Ya-ngal, he was named "Great Yangton" (Buddha Ya-ngal). From that time [the family] became [called] Yangtonpa.

Yangton Sherab Gyaltsen and his wife Nyamo²⁵ Tashi had a three [children], two sons and one daughter. The elder son Bumje Woe was a 'tsangtsug' monk.²⁶ The younger son was Ludrakpa, the Lord of Beings. Their sister (54)

24) Tib. *phag bon*. Although there is a possibility that this compound is the name of the mentioned widow (*phag bon yugs sa mo*), it seems that the meaning "secret bon" is more probable here.

25) YD-A, YD-B and YD-C read *gnya' mo* but YD-D reads *gnyan mo*. Yangton Sherab Gyaltsen married Nyamo Tashi, Lama Ngakpa married Nyamo Ngodup and Phurpa Kyap married Nyamo Kunkyi. Three Nyamo were married with Yangtons and this could be *gnya'* lineage identical with that of Nyatri's mother.

26) Tib. *gtsang gtsug*, A Bon term abbreviated from *gtsang ma gtsug phud*, monk who is ordained with 25 vows.

was Ya-ngal Jocham Jangchub Semma. [That daughter and Wogyé Rogpo] both had a son who was Togdhen Woenpo, the Samantabhadra in person.

Yangton Dhampa Bumje was a manifestation of *vidyādhara*. In his [previous] birth as Zutrul Yeshe, the abbot of Yagong, he went to Olmolungring land in Tagzig through his miraculous power. From inside of the self-originated crystal *stūpa* [he retrieved] Buddha's *shariram* relic and brought it to Tibet and China/India.²⁷ Later he was said to be Drenpa Namkha [in his previous life].

Great Master Drenpa says: "At Latoe (La stod), right in the Upper Lo [Mustang], [there will appear] a Ya-ngal family lineage holder named Bumje, He will also be blessed by me." Thus it was said in '*Dul ba gling grags*. It was also said that Lama accomplished the triple trainings²⁸ and his practice became as if one with his life-span.²⁹ Thus, he left a footprint on the slope (55) of Mt. Kailash and as is clear from his hagiography, there appeared many signs of his attainment [and] many visions of deities to him. Later, at the time when he was departing from his body to the space of "ultimate nature" (*bon nyid*) of great bliss, the Lama said: "I am the one who realised emptiness itself, who has directly recognised the naked nature of my mind."³⁰ Do not burn my corpse and take it to the mountain." His son-like disciples asked him: "Please let us burn your body [in order to receive relics] which would be beneficial for the future generations." And then a jewel-like relic appeared from his nose, the one which exists even at the present time.

Drogon Ludrakpa took a wife in the earlier part of his life and had sons and a daughter. Altogether three were born to him. At the age of thirty-one he became disgusted by worldly life and received ordination from Shen Namkha Gyaltsen and was given the name Tashi Gyaltsen. He received instruction in Dzogchen's Aural Transmission from his elder brother Bumje Woe. His insight and contemplation became equal to those of Great Master Drenpa [Namkha]. Then Tashi Gyaltsen left riding a mare which had a colt. The patrons of the village of Kag escorted him up to the plain. Then they asked

27) YD-A, YD-B, YD-C and YD-D give *gdung sha ri ram rgya bod du gdan drangs* but I added a note in YD-E: *gdung sha ri ram lnga brgya bod du gdan drangs* (He brought five hundred Buddha's shariram relics to Tibet). However, it is not sure whether China or India is meant by *rgya*.

28) Tib. *bslab gsum*, i.e. "morality" (*tshul khrims*), "meditative concentration" (*ting nge 'dzin*), "wisdom" (*shes rab*).

29) I.e. poetical expression meaning that he fully integrated the practice into his life. Instead of *bsnyems* of the text, I read *mnyam*.

30) Tib. *nga stong nyid pa sems smar thag chod pa yin*. The expression *sems smar thag chod pa* is synonymous here with the specific term of Dzogchen practices *rig pa gcer mthong*. The expression also implies that he reached the ultimate goal as understood within Dzogchen.

him: “Better not to go there, it is a land of the demons Dud and Sin (56).” He replied: “My benefit for the beings will come there.” The colt was hidden in a big boulder by a local deity. The mare ran after him and kicked the boulder. The colt kicked from inside and the stone of the boulder cracked creating a piece [in the shape] of a triangle and the colt came out. There are [still] imprints of the mare and colt in the stone. Lama left the imprint of his drinking-bowl.³¹ Then he stayed in the cave practising the [teachings focused on] Meri [deity]. After a few days many miracles were carried out by Sin demon Kyareng Tragme, but the Lama remained inseparable from his concentration. Then the demon was brought under the control and bound under oath by him. Chasing them down, he then tamed both male and female poisonous snakes. Then he made the “cursing oath”³² with two small needles to see whether the village could be founded or not and put those [needles] under the soil and put a basket on them upside down. He came back to see it seven days later and found that [needles changed into a walnut tree. Growing, the tree]³³ filled the basket [with sprouting branches] so that it was lifted, just not touching the ground.³⁴ There were other countless signs of his accomplishment and miraculous power. Since these are clear from his hagiography, I do not write them here.

(57) The second Buddha Yangton Tashi Gyaltsen was Drenpa Namkha, who in reality as the “Key of prophecies” (Lung-bstan lde-mig) says:

In the Upper Ngari there will be Tashi Gyaltsen,
from the family lineage of Ya-ngal,
and also he will act as the “lineage holder” of the Doctrine.

In particular, Sin demon Kyareng Tragme and local deities presented to this Lama nectar during three [months of] spring, presented him with flowers during three [months of] summer and presented “essence of grains” (i.e. chang) during three [months of] autumn saying the following words:

31) Tib. *chab zhal gyi rjes*, i.e. *chab* abbreviated from *chab ka* of local dialect in Dolpo, the honorific for liquor. *zhal* abbreviated from *zhal lu*, the honorific expression for a cup.

32) Tib. *dmod*.

33) The explanation in brackets follows stories in oral tradition which are well known in the area. The walnut tree still exists there and is highly esteemed by the local people.

34) YD-A does not contain the account of Tashi Gyaltsen's subduing demons and founding a village. It has the following lines: *lta sgom bla chen dran pa dngos dang mnyam nas/ klu brag tu srin po bran du khol/ grub rtags rdzu 'phrul grangs med byung ba rnam thar nas gsal lo/ 'dir ma bris/*.

You, yogi who realised the view (*lta ba*) of primeval purity (*ka dag*),
being not separated from the main goal of your undisturbed meditation (*sgom pa*),
we pray you to accept [this] “cloud of offerings”; the wealth of spontaneous behaviour (*spyod pa*),
in the state of detachment devoid of constructing (*spros bral*).

You yogi, who actualised the “development” and “completion” [of visualising],
with your own body in the *maṇḍala* of tutelary deity,
we pray you to accept [the offerings] to grant us highest and ordinary *siddhi*,
bringing blessing from “offerings pleasing senses” [changed] into five nectars.³⁵

You yogi, the one of completely pure triple training,
not parting with noble code of conduct.
We pray you to accept these arranged beautiful, attractive and pure offerings.
For encouraging us towards virtue in the state of ease and abundance.

Finally, when this Lama was ninety five, his thought dissolved into the “space of ultimate nature” (*bon dbyings*).

Yangton Tashi Gyaltsen’s elder son was Lama Ngakpa, his younger [son] was Ngoelang Gyaltsen Bum [and] his daughter was Ya-ngal Drangsongma. The family lineage of Gyaltsen Bum (59) spread in Lubdak (Lubra). Lama Ngakpa went to Jicher (Bicher) of Dolpo.³⁶ Lama Ngakpa was the earliest [from the Yangton family] who went to the Dolpo. To both Yangton Lama Ngakpa and his wife Nyamo Ngoedrup many children were born, who did not survive long. Three children, brother and sisters survived. The elder son was Ya-ngal Bhasu. It is said that daughter Tashi Tsomo became wife of someone else.

The middle [child] was [female] Lama. She was even mentioned in a prophecy as being the ‘miraculous manifestation’ of Ḍākinī Choza Bonmo, and [having reached] the eighth stage [of *bodhisattva*] she preached the teaching of Bon and maintained the doctrine. At the age of seventeen she received ordination from Abbot Ludrakpa and she was given the name Sempasal [or Semnyisal]. She underwent many full-year practices of wrathful deities at Gongdra monastery. Through them she showed many signs of progress (*drod rtags*) and *siddhis*. Her other virtuous acts which she did are to be found clearly in her hagiography. To the destined people her body appeared as illuminated and having the nature of variegated light. At the age of sixty-four

35) I.e. the so called “inner offering” practice is touched upon here. During it the “offerings pleasing senses” are transformed in visualization into the so called “fivefold nectar” and the blessing comes from it eventually.

36) From here YD-A does not contain the following section about Ya-ngal Drangsongma and Tashi Tsomo.

her body shook three times and she departed for the space [of ultimate nature] accompanied by the light of the rainbow.³⁷

The son³⁸ of [Lama Ngakpa's] son Bhusu died at the age of twenty-one. [Bhasu] invited Yangton Gyaltsen Rinchen, the son of Ya-ngal Phurpa Kyap, at the age of eight from the past homeland of his ancestors – Tagtse Jari of Upper Tsang. After that it is said that all those of Yangton [lineage] from Tagtse village, father and sons, went to Ngari and following their own hasty decision. [Gyaltsen Rinchen] built the Dhedhen Samten Ling monastery.³⁹ Besides this, there appeared various “signs of his accomplishment” such as binding Lutsen under oath,⁴⁰ bursting out of an “accomplished spring”⁴¹ and other things as is made clear from his hagiography.

This Yangton Gyaltsen Rinchen, the lord of teaching, was the one whose nature was the essence of all the Buddhas and *vidyādhara*s assembled and who arrived for the sake of beings. As it is also said in the *Middle Prophecy*:⁴² “At the mountain cave of Mer in Latoe, the youth Nyeleg, a ‘miraculous manifestation’, will be born. (61) There will appear seventeen *siddhas* who had trod the [*bodhisattva*] stages, an uninterrupted stream of ‘miraculously manifested bodies’ will appear there.” So is it said from the mouth of Great Master [Drenpa Namkha].

Ya-ngal Phurpa Kyap and Nyamo Kunkyi, the two, had four sons. The eldest one was as mentioned above Gyaltsen Rinchen, after him was Lodoe Tenggial and after him was Yangton Ton-goe. The youngest was Lopon Lhabum. These were also “miraculous manifestations” of *vidyādhara*s. As the prophecy says: “In Upper Ngari there will appear Ya-ngal called Ton-goe. He will also be the lineage-holder of the doctrine. He is Khoepung Drenpa Namkha reborn and manifested in a human body.” When Yangton went to Ludrak (Lubra) for the welfare of beings, the yak he was riding left a footprint [and] the Lama himself left a handprint there. These Lamas (62) met tutelary deities in reality and the protective deities acted as supportive friends to them.

37) This section does not appear in YD-A.

38) YD-A says: *ya ngal sngags pa'i sras (+) ya ngal bha su/ sras de dgung lo nyi shu rtsa gcig la sku 'das nas/*. But YD-B changes it into: *sras ya ngal bha su'i sras de dgung lo nyi shu rtsa gcig l sku 'das nas*. So it is more likely that Bhasu himself was not his son. The mistake in YD-B was made when inserting information about Ya-ngal Drangsongma and Tashi Tsomo.

39) I.e. the monastery known nowadays as Samling (Bsam gling).

40) Tib. *Klu btsan*. Here it refers to the particular protector of Samling monastery known also as Dge bsnyen rong chung.

41) Tib. *sgrub chu*. It is the spring which did not appear of itself (*rang 'byung*), but was created through ritual or power of the accomplished master (*sgrub*).

42) Tib. *Lung bstan 'bring po*.

In particular Gyalpo deity Nyipangse accomplished whatever deeds were entrusted to him.

Yangton Lodoe Ten-gyal had two sons, the elder Tritsug Yungdrung [and] the younger Lopon Zilnon. The son of Ton-goe was Khenpo Drakgyal. Lopon Lhabum had two sons, the elder was Lhagoe Bum [and] the younger Trogyal Kyap. Lhagoe Bum had three sons, the eldest one Ge-nyen, the middle one Khenpo⁴³ and the youngest one Bonkyong Kyap. They were blessed by 'Four Learned Persons'⁴⁴ so whoever would meet [them] certainly would not fall into [the three] lower states of rebirths. For the destined people they appeared in illuminated bodies. This is all clear from the older *Genealogy*.

Yangton Tashi Gyaltsen's son Drungpa⁴⁵ Gyaltsen Bum had three sons. The eldest one was Waldhar Bum, the middle one Lhagoe Kyap and the youngest one Gekhoe Tsering. Waldhar Bum received ordination from Druton Tsultrim Gyaltsen (63) and was given the ordination name Khenpo Sonam Gyaltsen. He was also a 'miraculous manifestation' of Drenpa [Namkha]. He mastered the practice of tutelary deity Meri and there is a story about his binding the Sin demon Kyareng [Tragme], the chief with his entourage, into servitude.⁴⁶ [The demon] was extremely angry [and] he appeared with the face of a roaring tigress [almost as big] as the slope of a mountain. Without even the slightest fear in his heart the Lama generated his tutelary deity through 'generation stage' practice and thus [the demon] disappeared.

Yangton Gekhoe had two sons, the elder was Namkha Wangyal and the younger one was Phurpa Khadro. Yangton Namkha's son was Taklowa⁴⁷ Drungpa Nyigyal. During the time of those [Yangton] a saying appeared among worldly people:

43) YD-A and YD-B have abbreviation *mkhron* which could be a mistaken form of *mkhro'*, abbreviation of *mkha' 'gro*, but YD-D reads it as *mkhan po*.

44) The "Four scholars" (*mkhas pa mi bzhi*) were Tonggyung Thuchen, Shari Uchen, Chetsa Kharbu and Gyimtsa Machung.

45) Tib. *drung pa*. It seems that this was the high title of a learned master. It often appears together with the syllable *mkhan* (*mkhan drung*, *mkhan po drung pa/ma*) and it might mean something like "his learned presence". Consider Bhutanese title *zhabs drung* for learned masters, which, however, later started to be used also in the sense of "relatives" of past *zhabs drung*, or as the title of a lineage based on reincarnation of the past *zhabs drung*. In Lo Mustang *zhabs drung* designates noble persons related to the family of kings of Lo Mustang.

46) YD-A reads *bran du 'khol ba'i mthar*, but from YD-B it changes into *bran du 'khol ba'i rnam thar*.

47) Tib. *stag lo ba* could be the meaning of one who was born in the Tiger year or it could be a title.

"A section cut out from the sky by Lama,
a section made by splitting the earth by monk,
the shoe [became] a crow's share".⁴⁸

Nyima Gyaltsen had two sons. The elder Tenpa Samdup was (64) great Tsewang Rigzin who took rebirth as a human. He recited 'Salewoe' [*mantra*] regularly [and] he "met the face" of [the Buddha] Kunsang Shenlha Woekar. He left imprints of his hand and foot as signs of changelessness. He gathered the "instructed protector" (*bka' skyong*), Sin demon Kyerang along with his entourage under the oath. He experienced a vision in which he proceeded to an assembly of *vidyādhara*s. From the assembly of *vidyādhara*s he brought the ritual traditions of Trowo Wangchen (*khro-bo dbang-chen*).

The younger [son] Phuntsok Namgyal had three children, a sister [and] two brothers. The son Tenpa Woser was a *Bodhisattva* reborn. He produced the "Collection of satiation rituals" (*bskang 'bum*) and several other scriptures. He had two sons, Yangton Rigzin Dhuepa and Yangton Trowo Samdup. The son of that [Yangton Rigdzin Dhuepa?] was Yungdrung Gyaltsen and he had two sons and one daughter. His elder son Drungpa Rinchen Wangyal was a 'tsangtsuk' monk. He was "miraculous manifestation" of the mind of Tong-gyung [Thuchen]. [Reciting] the heart-*[mantra]* of "Emptying the bad realms of rebirth from the bottom" (*ngan-song dong-sprug*) [the amount of

48) According to Geshe Lunggrig Wangchuk of Lubra village, the king of Sompö Garab Dzong offered a large amount of land to Yangton Tashi Gyaltsen where he later founded the village of Lubra. The metaphor compares the king's land to the sky, and Lubra and its surrounding land are like a small piece "cut from the sky". Later monks of Lubra provided a small piece of land to Kag villagers for grazing their horses. That is referred to as "a section made by splitting the earth by monk". According to an oral story the account of the shoe is linked with the legend of sorcery combat between Yangton Tashi Gyaltsen and Dzar Khepa (Rdzar mkhas pa). They were both equal in the power of sorcery. One day Yangton pretended to die and let the rumor reach Dzar that his corpse was placed at Naru Dzong (Rna ru rdzong) on the top of Lubra's hill. Dzar Khepa was in doubt and he came to the top of Lhot-suk (Lho gtsug), an eastern hill of Lubra to confirm this for himself. There he was attacked by Yangton's sorcery. His last wish was that his corpse be placed by the spring of the Lubra River and he promised to destroy Lubra in a flood. Yangton learned about this and offered his shoe in order to stop the flood. Whenever there was a flood, the villagers used to point the sole of the shoe in the direction from where it came and continued to do so until the nineteenth century. Then a bride was married in the Yangton residence, whose family lineage can be traced back to Dzar Khepa. When she found that shoe in the treasure room, she took it out and tied it to the pillar of the roof saying: "Why keep such an old damaged shoe in the treasure room?" From there the shoe was once taken by a crow, but fortunately it was found later in poor condition. Then it was hung on an apricot tree and the purification ritual was performed. Later it disappeared once again and was never found. Now Lubra faces serious damage from the flood these days.

repetition] reached one million.⁴⁹ Then the syllable ‘A’ arose on the rock following this Lama’s having produced spittle. In particular the three haity “instructed protectors”, the guardians of secret Bon treasures, (65) acted as supportive friends, being like his shadow.

The daughter went to Dzong [village] to get married. She gave birth to one son. After that, being disgusted with *samsāra*, she followed the Virtuous Doctrine (*chos*), so she became a female *Bodhisattva*, practitioner Rigzin Wangmo. The younger brother Nyima Namgyal’s son [was] Yangton Tsewang Samdrup,⁵⁰ [and] he had three sons. The lay name of the eldest one [from] Yangton⁵¹ [brothers] was Kyitsul [and] his religious name was Tenzin Namgyal. The middle [son] was Lama Phuntsok. These two separated the family lineage into two. The youngest [son] was Yangton Tsewang. [Tsewang Samdrup] had three daughters.⁵²

The son of Yangton Tenzin Namgyal was Yangton Trinley Phuntsok. Yangton Lama Phuntsok had a son Lama Garse Kyap. Yangton Lama Trinley Phuntsok’s son was Yangton Lhagoe. Yangton Garse Kyap had two sons, but they died in childhood.

Yangton Lhagoe had one son. This son Yangton Wangyal had (66) three sons. Two [sons] died in childhood. The surviving one had two daughters. As the mother [of his children] departed from her life at a young [age], Yangton Wangyal became disgusted by *samsāra* and was ordained as monk by Yangton Tsukphue Namgyal in Dolpo and he was given the ordination name Lodoe Gyaltsen. Then after he left for Central Tibet, the only son he had also departed from life. Then [he] came to Dolpo to ask for a son and his gracious root Lama Yangton Tsukphue Gyaltsen told him that “The lineage reached the point of extinction now, so I, your root Lama give you permission. Give up your monastic vows!” For this Yangton Lodoe Gyaltsen adhered to his Lama’s order and returned back [to Lubra] but here his mother and sister did not let him to give up his monastic vows. Then he went to Nagtsang

49) Most of the Bonpo texts had counted *bye ba* as one million and *sa ya* as ten millions.

50) From here YD-A reads *khong pa'i sras yang ston bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal/ khong pa la sras gnyis/ sras mo gsum yod/*. After this line it concludes the section about the family line of Sungrab Kyap of Lubdak. However YD-B, YD-C and YD-D add one and half folios about the above family line in the following section.

51) YD-A gives something in the footnote which is not clear: *che ba yang ston (Note: yang ston...) skya ming skyi tshul/*.

52) According to Heller’s note YD-C reads the text a little differently in this section: *khong pa la sras gsum/ che ba yang ston bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal/ bar ba bla ma phun tshogs (khong gnyis nas sgo gnyis la song ba yin/ yig chung) chung ba yang ston tshe dbang yin/ sras mo gsum yod/*.

at Jangthang. All the patrons believed in him without any hesitation. Shen Trichen Rinpoche said that he was a “miraculous manifestation” of Drenpa Namkha. Then his body passed to the space of non-manifestation at Draklung Karmo, the (67) monastic seat of Gongzoe Ritroe Chenpo, when he was returning from there. These were the family lineages of Yangton of Ludrak, the sons in the lineage of Ya-ngal Sungrab Kyap.⁵³

There arrived a garland of matchless *siddhas* and venerable learned masters like pearls threaded on silk in the lineage of the sons of Ya-ngal Phurpa Kyap. Furthermore, the sons of the above-mentioned Yangton Lupon Zilnon were Namkha Lodoe and Yungdrung Gyalpo. It is said that Yangton Yungdrung Gyalpo dwelt in the hermitage of Zilpo and [amount of repetition] of the heart [mantra] of “Emptying the bad realms of rebirth from the bottom” (*ngan-song dong-sprung*) reached a huge seven millions. So he [possessed] many⁵⁴ various ordinary *siddhis* and non-human spirits really made offerings and prostrations to him.

The two sons of Khenpo Dragwang were Dhondup Pal, the elder son, and Yangton Palden Sangpo, the younger one. It is said that, “Among the ‘miraculous manifestations’ of Shen Bhadha Bhisha, there will be one named Ya-ngal Palden Sangpo. (68) He will be the one with the power and strength to arouse experience of ‘Skull-traverse’ (*thod rgal*),⁵⁵ he will spread the teachings of Instruction Transmission. That Victorious one had produced texts (*gsung rab*) of one hundred and thirteen scriptures of ‘*Prajñāpāramitā* Division’ (*’bum sde*). It, then, appears in several texts that “ordained khenpo Drungpa⁵⁶ Palden Sangpo brought the daylight of doctrine to Dol[po] and Lo [Mustang].” When the experience of ‘Skull-traverse’ arose in him, he stayed on the ground floor during the three [months of] summer and stayed on an upper floor during the three [months of] winter, so some of the lower caste people called him “Crazy Palsang”. The Lama became enraged and made a knot out of iron things and there appeared various other marks of his accomplishment.

Yangton Namkha Lodoe’s son Namkha Rinchen brought to an end the “practice of approaching” (*bsnyen sgrub*) the wrathful tutelary deity Phurpa. He was a noble person who attained mastery over the ‘generation’ and

53) The most recent part of the lineage of Sungrab Kypa’s family of Lubra starting from Yangton Tenzin Namgyal is not contained in YD-A. It was added later in YD-B. It remains unclear why it is omitted and from which source it was added.

54) YD-A reads *’du ba* but from YD-B this expression is changed into *du ma*.

55) A practice of various postures and gazes in order to achieve “spontaneity” (*lhun grub*). See Rossi 1999, p. 68 and also Karmay 1988, pp. 193, 213–215.

56) Tib. *mkhan po drung pa*, see note 45 above.

‘completion’ [stages of practice]. Yangton Ge-nyen Khadro’s son was Yungdrung Gonpo. He also spent his whole life in the state of “practice of approaching [deity]”. (69) At the age of sixty-three his thought dissolved into the “space of ultimate nature” along with rainbow light. There arose several bodily relics (*śarīram* ‘body’) and other things as a support for the devotion of future generations.

Yangton Dhondup’s [elder] son was Nyima Gyalpo. His younger [son] was Yungdrung Namgyal. When he became a monk, his ordination name was Yungdrung Gyaltsen. Nyima Gyalpo, the elder son, brought an end to the “practice of approaching” (*bsnyen sgrub*) tutelary deities Red [and] Black Garuda, and with his finger he made hail move and he was an excellent person who suppressed the Nāga [spirit] and the “lord of earth” (*sa bdag*) through his splendour. Yangton Yungdrung Gyaltsen, the mind emanation of Kuntu Zangpo, recited the heart [*mantra*] Salewoe ten million times. He was an excellent person of completely pure triple training.⁵⁷

Yangton Namkha Rinchen had four sons: the eldest Yungdrung Tenpa, then Rigzin Bonkyap, then Tsultrim Samdup and the youngest Rinchen Namgyal. Rigzin Bonkyap’s ordination name was (70) Yungdrung Tsultrim. He was also a ‘supreme miraculous manifestation’ of Great Master [Drenpa Namkha] and he built many *stūpas* containing relics and “triple supports” [of body, speech and mind]⁵⁸ for future generations and he was a great person of completely pure “triple training”.

Yangton Yungdrung Tenpa had four children, boys and girls. The elder son was Rinchen Gyaltsen [and] the younger son was Wonchung. It was the time when Khyungton Tsultrim Legpa was living. Yangton Wonchung, the *Bod-dhisattva* [and] great hermit of upper valley of Kya[ri], stayed in seclusion in the cave. He asked Lama Khyungton to provide “reminding instruction”⁵⁹ at the time of his passing away. Once, at the age of thirty-nine, with his face sinking down, the Lama’s mind dissolved in the cave. Then Khyung-gom blew a sacred conch-shell from the peak of the mountain. It is said that the Lama’s “mind then became controlled”⁶⁰ and through such thought he was abiding

57) For “Triple training” see note 28 above.

58) Three main shrine objects; images of the Buddha as a support of the body, scriptures as a support of speech and *stūpas* as a support of the mind.

59) Tib. *gsal gdab*. In this context, it is the “guiding instruction” leading through the process of dying and passing through the “intermediate states” (*bar do*) for the person who has already mastered them during his life. It is thus only “reminded”.

60) Tib. *thugs zin*. This is a term used in Dzogchen for *sems ngo phrod pa*, which in this context means something like “recognition of natural mind”.

in a state of brightness devoid of wavering. Drungpa Rin[chen] Gyal[tsen], mentioned above, was one of the ‘miraculous manifestations’ of *vidyādhara* and he became the “lord of Teaching”.

Yangton Rinchen Namgyal had three sons. His eldest son Tashi (71) Gyaltsen became a monk and received empowerments and reading-transmissions (*dbang lung*) together with Mind Instructions (*sems khrid*) from Khyungton Tsultrim Woser. Then he [spent] his whole life in the ‘practice of approaching’, meeting the faces of tutelary deities. It is said that during the practice of tutelary deity Meri (“Mountain of Fire”)⁶¹ in particular flames of fire appeared on his rosary and various other things. The youngest [son] was Yungdrung Phuntsok.

The middle son Yangton Rinchen Gyaltsen and Khendrungma Palzom, the two, had four sons. The eldest son was Yangton Yungdrung Namgyal, the ‘miraculous manifestation’ of Shen Tseme Woedhen, whose ordination name was Tsultrim Namgyal. The virtuous deeds accomplished by this Victorious One and his miraculous powers, all of which are to be found, appear clearly in his hagiography.

After him came Lama Takla. After him came Rinchen Lhundup [and his] ordination name was Rinchen Gyaltsen. He produced numerous scriptures on the Transmitted Instruction teaching. In the big volume of *Drime Ziji*, around the length of an arrow, he wrote each of the whole lines of letters by dipping his bamboo pen into the inkpot [only] one time for each line. This was the sign of his “ordinary *siddhi*”. (72) The youngest [son] was Sherab Gyaltsen. Yangton Takla and [his] “secret consort”⁶² Sagyama Yumbu Goezom, the two had three children, brothers and a sister. The [two sons were] Yangton Sithar Namgyal and Lama Rinchen.

Sithar Namgyal became disgusted by *samsāra* and became a monk. His ordination name, which spread resounding like summer thunder in all the upper and lower [parts of the country], was Yangton Woser Gyaltsen; the mind-emanation of [deity] Takla. He carried out empowerments, transmissions and expositions just like the flow of a river. More than two hundred his son-like Bonpo disciples who had a white hat⁶³ gathered from the upper [and] lower [parts of the country]. Many holders of the teachings who were capable of benefiting beings appeared [among them]. Finally, he passed

61) Tib. *Me ri*, The expression “mountain” is used metaphorically and it designates the shapes of a blazing fire. For the deity see Kvaerne 1995, pp. 84–6.

62) Tib. *las kyi mkha' 'gro ma*, or *las rgya*, are synonyms for a tantric consort.

63) YD-A reads *zhwa dkar* and from YD-B it changes into *zhwa ltar*.

away on the eighth day [and] fourth month of the Rat-year at the age of sixty-three. In a visionary meeting with Tenpa Gyaltsen, the one with full realization (*rtogs ldan*), he departed for the “ultimate space” ([*bon*] *dbyings*) having completed the luminous body [of five colors dissolving] into the rainbow dome of the sky.

Lama Sherab had two sons: the two were Lhagoe and Trowo Namgyal. The ordination name of Lhagoe was Yungdrung Gyaltsen. He built a monastery in Tarap (73) and besides this he spread the doctrine widely. One son born to him was the “supreme miraculous manifestation” Sherab Woser. The noble person *bodhisattva* Yangton Rinchen and [his wife] Yumbu Bomchog, the two, had four children, brothers and a sister. The eldest [son] was Goejor, the youngest one was Yungdrung Namgyal. The middle son passed away in childhood.

Yangton Goejor’s ‘tsangtsuk’ ordination name was Yeshe Gyaltsen [and] his Drangsong name was Tsukphue Gyaltsen. Furthermore, Shen Migyur Tsukphue said that he was a ‘miraculous manifestation’ of Shenrab Dhoepa Gu-gyur. For the support of the body he built ‘Triple Lords’ (*mgon-po rnam-gsum*)⁶⁴ and other all possible statues.⁶⁵ For the support of speech he produced *Khamchen*⁶⁶ and other all possible scriptures. For the support of mind he produced painted scrolls (*thangkas*) with twelve deeds of [Shenrab], the [three-headed *stūpa* called] Lopen Usum (*lo paṇ dbu gsum*) and other things. Besides these he led and maintained properly every monastery [of the area]⁶⁷ and his horse (74) left a footprint as a sign of his achieving the highest and the ordinary *siddhi*. He had more than three hundred son-like disciples in upper [and] lower [parts of the country] and also some *siddhas* appeared [among them]. He became a great Lord of the Doctrine.

Finally he departed into the ‘space of ultimate nature’ at the age of sixty-six on the full-moon day of the third month of the Wood-Horse [year], accompanied by many wonders such as a shower of flowers and a dome of rainbow-light. The body he left spontaneously burst into flames and on his bones

64) For them see Kvaerne 1995, p. 84 (although he does not refer to them as ‘Triple Lords’).

65) The text contains the expression *sku gdung*, which would mean “*stūpa*” or “body containing relics”. But here the text evidently refers to statues.

66) Tib. *Khams chen*, i.e. scripture in 16 volumes of the genre resembling the *prajñāpāramitā* of the Buddhists.

67) Starting from here the rest of the information that follows about Goejor, including his time of death, has been newly added in YD-B. YD-A does not contain this information. It is obvious that it was not added by the author, since Goejor died almost one year after it was written.

countless syllable letters and images [of the Buddha or deities] appeared. He became a great lamp of the Doctrine.⁶⁸

Yangton Trowo Namgyal was a noble person and a “holder of the Doctrine” of Yangtonpa, since he was skilled in all “divine teachings”.⁶⁹ He had three sons. [One of them was] Yangton Yungdrung Namgyal, who transmigrated from his previous [life] as a throne holder Lama called Dhangra Godhag with triple vows.⁷⁰ Many children were born to him and did not survive long. Three sons among those six siblings remained alive.⁷¹ The eldest one was Tenpa Gyaltsen, (75) the middle one was Migyur Gyaltsen [and] the youngest one was Sherab Woser.

The middle [son] Migyur Gyaltsen acquired control over his mind in his childhood, and when he went herding, he several times stayed in meditative concentration for about three days in a cave. At the age of eighteen he went to a solitary hermitage and went into silent retreat for some three years. Besides that he merely practised austerities. Staying in seclusion for nine years, he had many visionary meetings with Tsewang Rigzin and received prophecies from him. Due to obstructions he did not reach the limit of his life-span and his thought passed into the ‘space of ultimate nature’ at the age of thirty-one on the seventeenth day [and] the third month of the Wood-horse [year].

The number of syllable-letters, images [of deity or Buddhas], bodily relics (śarīram) and other things appeared on his body. It happened that due to his body being defiled, some of them flew into the sky and some of them disappeared, etc. Dhangtrul Tritsug Tenzin said that this supreme ‘miraculous manifestation’ was a mind-emanation of Tsewang Rigzin.⁷²

(76) In short, the prophecy says: “The lineage will remain until the limit of time, the greatly blessed one will permanently appear.” In agreement with

68) Up to this point a half folio about Goejor was inserted into the YD-B and does not appear in YD-A.

69) Tib. *lha chos*. In its usual meaning, it is opposed to “teachings of human” (*mi chos*) and concerns non-wordly aims as opposed to the worldly ones of “teachings of human”.

70) Tib. *sdom gsum: so thar gyi sdom pa, byang sems kyi sdom pa, gsang sngags kyi sdom pa*. Three precepts (*pratimokṣa* vows, *bodhisattva* training, *vajrayāna samayas*).

71) From this point on the information about author Migyur Gyaltsen and his siblings was inserted later in YD-B and it was also written in an additional folio of one and half pages in different handwriting. This information, including the author’s death, is not available in YD-A.

72) Up to this point the information about the author was inserted from YD-B, since it does not appear in YD-A. This additional information is inserted in YD-B in a separate folio of one and half pages written in different handwriting.

the meaning of what was said, the pure family lineage of sons was not interrupted by [mingling with some] other, [starting] from Ya-ngal Gyimong⁷³ Sripa up to the Yangton fathers and sons of the present time. Mind-emanations with the nature of omniscience would not be contaminated by ordinary beings who know only themselves.⁷⁴ For sure, the supreme blessing remains with these.

As it is said in the “Aural transmission”: “At the mountain cave of Mer in Latoe, the youth Nyeleg, a ‘miraculous manifestation’ will be born, there will appear seventeen *siddhas* who had trod the [*bodhisattva*] stages, an uninterupted stream of ‘miraculously manifested bodies’ will appear there.” (77) Then, also, it is said that the family lineages of Ya-ngal Sungrab Kyap were those of Ludrak and the family lineages of Ya-ngal Phurpa Kyap are those Yangtons of Dolpo. In fact, when in the meantime these family lineages became minor, it is certainly apparent that protecting each other henceforth both [these family lineages] were kept [within a single family].

Such a genealogy of Ya-ngal, family lineage of Transmitted instructions,
‘Melodious voice of Brahma’s great conch shell’, well exposed,
is not fitting for the ears of those falling to bias,
you noble straightforward ones, consider it in your minds!

There is no wish to hear even wisely preached Elegant Sayings,
from those foolish with perverted erroneous minds,
Similarly to the wolf who sees what appears as enemies,
and those whose series of smiles are as if baring fangs.

(78) Thus, I would consider well my own nature,
engaging appropriately in silent [practice] at a solitary place,
but all our pious monks and nuns,
solicited me with words of devotion and thus I wrote this [text]

This flower grown from impure mud,
was set among the offerings to the Buddha,
similarly for us, people, though with limited power,
it is marvelous to gain such fortune from few words.

Three Jewels, Master, tutelary deity and *dākinī*,
commit your virtuous deeds, you ocean of oath-bound protectors of the Doctrine,
that successive masters of stainless Ya-ngal family lineage,
make flourish as Lords of the Doctrine and beings.

73) YD-D changes *gyim gong* into *gyi dgos*.

74) Starting from here one folio of two pages is missing in the copy of YD-A that I have.

(79) Let whatever merit appearing from this [work],
 increase more and more as a waxing moon,⁷⁵
 being once our mothers, let all beings, exceeding the limits of the sky,
 gain the noble state in the family lineage of Yangton.
 Thus I concluded with a dedication prayer.

In such a way, this genealogy is based mainly on the *Divine Genealogy of Mushen*. And also “Words of Shenrab” (*bka'*), the *Immaculate Splendor* (Dri med gzi brjid); the explanatory scripture (*lung*) *The Proclaimed One [that Recieved] Fame [in the] Continent* (*Bsgrags pa gling grags*); the tantric scriptures *Vidyādhara's Collected Tantras* (*Rig 'dzin rgyud 'bum*); the *Four Cycles of Instruction Transmission* (*Bka' rgyud skor bzhi*) from the the Oral Tradition; the *Collected Words of the Victorious One* (*Rgyal ba'i bka' 'bum*) and others together with the older *Genealogy [of Ya-ngal]* were compiled here into a single [scripture].

I, Yangom Migyur Gyaltsen, finished at this point putting into writing this self-rising sun of history, unavailable in the past, in order to remove the darkness of delusion and doubt of those with ignorance of mind, during the session breaks of the recitation of a secret mantra in seclusion for a performance of the “Four Main Rituals of Tsewang [Rigzin]” (Tshe dbang gzhung bzhi) without speaking to others, at the residence-palace of Samten Ling, during the waxing moon of the first spring month of the water female Snake year.

I beg those learned excellent scholars to see and correct,
 all that occurs as improper, opposing and mistaken to them.
 Virtue! Good Fortune! Auspiciousness! *Sarvamaṅgalam!*

Abbreviations

- YD-A *Kun (kyis) [gyi] nang nas dbang po'i (dang) [dwangs] ma mig ltar sngon du 'byung ba rgyal gshen (yang) [ya] ngal bka' rgyud (kyis) [kyi] gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs s.ho.* Manuscript kept in the Library of Tibetan Work and Archives, Daramsala, India.
- YD-B *Kun (kyis) [gyi] nang nas dbang po'i ('dangs) [dwangs] ma mig ltar sngon du 'byung ba gshen (yang) [ya] ngal bka' rgyud (kyis) [kyi] gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Manuscript from Lubra copied by Charles Ramble.
- YD-C *Kun (gyis) [gyi] nang nas sngon du 'byung ba dbang po'i (dangs) [dwangs] ma mig ltar gces pa rgyal gshen ya ngal gyi bka' brgyud kyi gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba.* British Library, Lodon (Amy Heller's transcription).

75) Until this point in the text one folio of two pages is missing in my copy of YD-A.

- YD-D 1978, *Kun gyi nang nas dbang po mig ltar sngon du byung ba gshen ya ngal bka' rgyud kyi gdung (rab) [rabs] un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Published in Dolanji by Khedup Gyatso, Dolanji, India.
- YD-E 2005, *Kun gyi nang nas dbang po mig ltar sngon du byung ba rgyal gshen ya ngal bka' rgyud kyi gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs*. Edited by Nyima Woser Choekhortshang, Dol po'i gsung rab nyams gso khang, Kathmandu/Menri.

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- YANG SGOM MI 'GYUR RGYAL MTSHAN, a, *Kun (kyis) [gyi] nang nas dbang po'i (dang) [dwangs] ma mig ltar sngon du 'byung ba rgyal gshen (yang) [ya] ngal bka' rgyud (kyis) [kyi] gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs s.ho*. Manuscript kept in the Library of Tibetan Work and Archives, Daramsala, India (YD-A).
- YANG SGOM MI 'GYUR RGYAL MTSHAN, b, *Kun (kyis) [gyi] nang nas dbang po'i ('dangs) [dwangs] ma mig ltar sngon du 'byung ba gshen (yang) [ya] ngal bka' rgyud (kyis) [kyi] gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Manuscript from Lubra copied by Charles Ramble (YD-B).
- YANG SGOM MI 'GYUR RGYAL MTSHAN, c, *Kun (gyis) [gyi] nang nas sngon du 'byung ba dbang po'i (dangs) [dwangs] ma mig ltar gces pa rgyal gshen ya ngal gyi bka' brgyud kyi gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba*. British Library, London, Amy Heller's transcription (YD-C).

Appendix: Original Tibetan text

'dir rgyal gshen ya ngal gyi bka' rgyud kyi gdung rgyud ni/ srid pa sangs po 'bum khri'i sprul pa/ ye rje smon pa'i gdung rabs/ yab lha bdal drug gi sras (46) rgyud/ mang pos bkur ba'i rgyal la/ 'bum phrag phyed dang bcu gsum song ba'i dus su skya seng gis yi dam lha la gsol ba btab pas/ dngos grub lha sras dang bcas pa la/ spyir yi dam lha yi lung bstan nas/ dang po 'od gsal lha las bab cing/ rje gnya' khri btsan po dang mi rgyud lha nas chad nas/ dog mo'i sa la mgo nag mi yi spyi rje ru gshegs pa'i lo rgyus gong ltar la/ khyad par rje btsan po'i nyams grib sel ba'i sku gshen la/ mtshe mi ru byon nas da lta'i bar du bon po'i rgyud pa zam ma chad pa gda' lags/

kha cig gis/ dang po lha las bab nas rgyal rabs khri bdun gyi bar du sku gshen bco yis mdzad cing/ ya ngal mtshe mi gnyis mi gda' snyam na/ sku gshen dag pa ya ngal mtshe bco gsum gyis mdzad/ ces yod par bshad la/ rgyal rabs de rnams kyi bar du gdung rabs rnams gab tu song ba'i mu cor smra ba 'ga' zhig ni 'ol tshod kyi bab chol du zad do//

'o na ci ltar zhe na/ sku gshen blon chen ya ngal de nyid dus gsum (47) bde bar gshegs pa'i rnam sprul/ sku lus la 'phrul yig bzhi bcu gsal zhing/ zag bcas sha khrag gdos pa dang bcas pa/ phung po zag med ye shes 'od kyi sku ru (sgrol) [sprul] nas skye 'chi la rang dbang thob cing/ tshe la dbang ba'i rig 'dzin du gyur te/ rgyal rabs du ma'i bar du sku bzhugs nas sems can don la dgongs nas bkra btags pa'o// dkor bdag rgyal po nyi pang sad la gsol mchod dam (dar bgyis) [par byas] shing/ lha bya la dmod bor nas/ dbus kyi yar lung (dang po 'od gsal lha las bab pa'i gdan sa/ mchan) sog kha nas lha srung bka' bsgo gsungs nas/ bya spur bas/ yul gtsang stod stag rtse bya ri bya ba la bab 'dug skad/ der sku gshen ya ngal gyis gtsang stag rtser yul bzung/ (rgyal po khri ral pa can sku 'das gting la sku gshen gtsang stod nas yar chad pa lags so// mchan) yul 'dzin pa la snga ba bla ma ya ngal pa yin pa dang/ lha bya der babs pas bya ri zer ba yang de nas thogs so// lha bya yang de nas 'phur nas mnga' ris stod phyogs la song ngo// bla ma (48) ya ngal gyi zhal nas/ physis sras rgyud rnams kyi bstan pa mnga' ris glo dol phyogs su tshugs par 'dug/ [rgyud pa dus mtha'i bar du yong] gsungs so//

de nas sku gshen ya ngal dang yum gtsang bza' lha yi sgron ma gnyis kyi sras rgyud la/ pha ngal ya ngal gshen gsum/ ya ngal gu rib gshen gsum/ zhes so// de'i dus yab dgung lo drug cu bzhes pa dang sras re 'khrungs shing/ mi lo mang por sems can gyi don kho nar mdzad do// khyad par du drwa ba dmar nag gi sgrub pa mnga' bsnyems shing mi bdud 'byams pa khrag mgos rang dam srog gi snying po phul nas ci bcol gyi las kun bsgrub bo//

re zhig stag sde'i tshang la pha sgo gsum byung ste/ bon tsho dang khu tsho dang/ sman tsho gsum mo// mkhas pa sman pa'i sras gnyis ni/ ya ngal gsung rab skyabs dang/ gsung rab 'bum gnyis so// bon tsho'i sras (49) ya ngal legs par g.yung drung/ gtsang btsun gtsang stag rtser bstan pa 'dzin pa'i skyes bur grags so// khu tsho'i sras ya ngal phur pa skyabs lags so//

gsung rab skyabs dang/ yum (nya la chos dbyings) [snyi mo chos skyid] gnyis kyi sras rgyal ba gnyis pa snyan rgyud bstan pa'i mnga' bdag/ 'gro ba'i mgon po sprul sku yang ston chen po shes rab rgyal mtshan de nyid lhums nas bltams pa lags so// chung nas mkhas grub 'ga' la thug cing bshad rgyud kyi dam pa gter ma 'di la mkhas pa phul du phyin pas/ ban btsun kun gyi 'gran zla dang bral ba'i mkhas par grags pa'i yang ston tshab mar grags zer/ dus der gter kha bcu gsum gyi bon la dri gda' bka' thub mdzad pas/ 'di ltar gyi snang ba don med du rtogs nas/ nyams snang la bla ma (dpon rtsad) [dpon btsan po] zhal gzigs nas/ gnas pa rang babs su byung ba yin skad/ de dus btsun mo gnyis blang ste sras med/ bla ma 'or sgom kun 'dul la snyan rgyud smad lugs nyams rgyud skor rnams gsan zhing/ (50) bla ma'i zhal nas/ khyed rang mnga' ris stod du phebs shig sras gnyis kyang yong/ bu slob kyang mang du 'ong/ bu khyed kyi 'gro don stod la yod/ gsungs nas/ 'or sgom gyis lung bstan pa yin/ glo bor phyag phebs so// sa

gnas khyad par can rgyal bzhugs gdong skyar phyi rabs gshen gyi don du mkhas pa stong rgyung nyid kyi sa gzhi byin gyis brlabs shing gzhi bdag dam la btags/ sgrub dgongs gter du sbas nas ga bar nas thon gda' o//

de nas bzhugs pa la snga ba smad nas/ bla ma bru tshang gi zhal slob/ (tong) [rtogs] sgom zhi po de dmag la glo bor byon pas/ 'khrugs pa g.yul kha rmas pa'i gseb nas/ khyad par can gyi bon por shes nas/ glo stod du bon phyogs yon bdag gis btegs nas bon 'khor du bzhugs shing/ gdong skya'i phug mo cher bsnyen sgrub mdzad pas phur pas bro brdung ba la sogs grub rtags khyad par can byung zhiing/ phu yi lung skam la phur pa btab pas chu mig chen po rdol nas da lta zhiing byed pa de nas byung/ gzhan yang thun mong (51) dang khyad par gyi dngos grub du ma bsnyems pa'i skyes mchog go//

de rjes bla ma mang sgom gyis bzhugs shing bsgrubs pas/ sgo lnga'i mngon shes gsal ba byung/ de rjes bla ma gur sgom gyis bzhugs shing bsgoms pas/ gnas lugs rang grol gyi skyes bur gyur/ khong 'grong dus mal drod ma yal ba 'dir khams bon drang srong sdod cig gsungs/ phyis don ldan gyi skyes bu gcig byung skad//

de nas gdan sa ba dbon po dbang mdzes kyis dgon gzhis yon bdag dang bcas pa bla ma yang ston chen po de nyid la phul lo/ zhes sngar gdong skya zer ba la glo bo bdud yul mun pa'i gling la bstan pa'i sgron me mdzad do// bla ma ya ngal bzhugs pas phyis ya ngal du grags so// der rong rtog med zhi po nas snyan rgyud stod lugs bka' rgyud skor zhus/

de nas bstan pa'i mnga' bdag sprul sku yang ston nas snyan rgyud lho byang gnyis su gyis so// lung sgom la rgyud pa byang rgyud do// sras 'bum (52) rje 'od lho rgyud do// yang ston chen po de nyid rig 'dzin sems dpa'i rnam sprul yin par 'thad de/ be ro tsa na'i lung bstan las/ gyim tsha rma chung sprul pa las// ya ngal grags pa'i sgra can 'byung/ bdud yul phyogs med de yis 'dul/ smon lam btab pa'i bu zhiig 'byung/ zhes dang/ rtog med zhi pos spang la gnam (mkhyen) [gshen] dngos byon yin par lung bstan/ sku tshe ni bla ma'i bka' bzhin ma bsgrubs pa dang/ phag bon yugs sa mo gcig la ma bshad par yi ger ris su bstan pas na mar nyung nas drug cu rtas lnga pa la bdag med mya ngan las 'das so//

mkha' 'gro ma ye shes gsal gyis mthong snang la/ rig 'dzin chen por gyur nas sgrub pa dam tshig can gyis bar chod sel zhiing/ don gyi lam (53) sna 'dren pa ni/ don 'chug med du gtan la phab nas/ sku tshe snga ma yang rgyal po don 'grub bya ba sku tshe 'phos pas/ 'dir yang don gnyis grub par byung ba yin gsungs so//

kha cig gis/ gong ma yab mes rnam la ya ngal pa la/ deng sang yang ston zhu ba mi 'thad snyam na/ yang ston chen po de nyid yum nas btsa' ba'i dus sgra 'od zer gsum ya mtshan gyi rtags rnam byung zhiing/ sangs rgyas kyi mtshan dpe rdzogs pa/ 'khrungs pa'i dus mtshungs pa/ phyi rabs mos pa'i rten du gdung stong 'dus byon pas/ de ni bska pa ya thog ma thog gi ston pa gnyis pa yin/ yab ya ngal yin pas na yang ston chen por btags so// de tshun la yang ston pa'o//

yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan dang/ yum gnya' mo bkra shis lcam gnyis la/ sras gnyis sras mo gcig dang gsum yod de/ gcen po 'bum rje 'od gtsang gtsug/ chung ba 'gro mgon klu brag pa/ srang mo ya ngal jo (54) lcam byang chub sems ma'o// [sras mo de dang 'o brgyad rog po] gnyis kyi sras/ rtogs ldan dbon po kun bzang dngos yin no//

yang ston dam pa 'bum rje de nyid rig 'dzin rnam sprul yin te/ skye ba ya gong mkhan po rdzu 'phrul ye shes kyis/ rdzu 'phrul stobs kyis rtag gzigs kyi yul 'ol mo lung ring du byon nas/ rang byung shel gyi mchod rten gyi nang nas ston pa'i gdung sha ri ram (rgya) [lnga brgya] bod du gdan drangs/ de rjes dran pa nam mkha' yin gsungs/

bla chen dran pa'i zhal nas/ la stod glo bo'i stod nyid du/ ya ngal gdung 'dzin 'bum rje'i ming/ de yang nga yis byin gyis brlabs/ zhes 'dul ba gling grags las gsungs/ gzhan yang bla ma de bslab gsum don dang ldan zhiing/ sku tshe dang sgrub pa bsnyems [mnyam] pas/ ti se'i mgul (55) du zhabs rjes bzhag pa dang/ grub rtags zhal mjal du ma byung ba rnam thar nas gsal lo// phyis sku bde chen bon nyid dbyings su gshegs dus der/ bla ma'i zhal nas/ nga stong nyid pa sems

smar thag chod pa yin/ phung po ma sreg ri la skyol zhig gsungs/ bu slob rnams kyis phyi rabs 'gro ba'i don du sku gdung zhig bzhu 'tshal zhus pas/ shangs nang nas sha ri ram zhig byung ba da lta yang yod do//

'gro mgon klu brag pa sku tshe'i stod la yum bzhes nas/ sras lcām sring gsum 'khrungs/ dgung lo sum cu so gcig pa la 'khor ba la zhen pa log nas/ gshen nam mkha' rgyal mtshan drung nas rab byung zhus nas/ mtshan bkra shis rgyal mtshan du gnan/ gcen po 'bum rje las rdzogs chen snyan rgyud kyi gdam pa zhus/ lta sgom bla chen dran pa dngos dang mnyam/ de nas bkra shis rgyal mtshan rta rgod ma rte'u yod pa zhig la chibs nas phebs/ skag gi sbyin bdag rnams thang du skyel ma byas/ de nas phar phebs rgyu mi 'ong bdud (56) dang srin po'i lung pa yin zhus pas/ nga yi 'gro don 'dir yod gsungs/ rte'u gzhi bdag gis pha bong nang du sbas/ rjes la a ma rgyugs nas pha bong la 'phra brgyab/ rte'u nang nas 'phra brgyab nas rdo pha bong gru gsum du gas nas rte'u thon no// rdo la ma bu gnyis kyi rjes yod/ bla ma'i chab zhal gyi rjes bzhang go// de nas phug pa ru me ri'i sgrub pa la bzhugs so// zhag 'ga' nas srin po skye rang skrag med kyis cho 'phrul mang du byung yang/ bla ma dgongs pa dang ma bral bar bzhugs so// de nas srin po dbang du bsdu nas dam la btags so// dug sbrul pho mo gnyis sham 'ded byas nas thul lo// de nas rgya khab gnyis la yul tshugs mi tshugs kyi dmod btsugs nas sa 'og la bzhang nas steng skon pa kha shub nas bzhang/ zhag bdun nas bltas pas skon pa gang byung nas/ sa la ma reg tsam bskyags nas gda/ gzhan yang grub rtags rdzu 'phrul grangs med byung ba ni rnam thar las gsal phyir 'dir ma bris/

(57) rgyal ba gnyis pa yang ston bkra shis rgyal mtshan de/ dran pa nam mkha' dngos yin te/ lung bstan lde mig las/ mnga' ris stod du ya ngal gyi/ gdung la bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyis/ des kyang bstan pa'i rgyud 'dzin byed/ ces gsungs so// khyad par srin po skye rang skrag med dang gzhi bdag rnams kyis/ bla ma la dpyid gsum rtsi bcud kyi mchod pa 'bul/ dbyar gsum la me tog gi mchod pa 'bul/ ston gsum 'bru bcud kyi mchod pa 'bul zhing 'di skad zhus so// ka dag lta ba rtogs pa'i rnal 'byor ba/ g.yo med sgom pa'i don dang mi 'bral zhing/ shugs 'byung spyod pa'i longs spyod mchod pa'i sprin/ (58) 'dzin med spros bral ngang du bzhes su gsol/ bskyed rdzogs mngon du gyur pa'i rnal 'byor ba/ rang lus yi dam lha yi dkyil 'khor du/ 'dod yon bdud rtsi lnga ru byin brlabs nas/ mchog thun dngos grub tsol phyir bzhes su gsol/ bslab gsum rnam par dag pa'i rnal 'byor ba/ spyod tshul dam pa'i khirms dang mi 'bral zhing/ gtsang mdzes yid 'ong bshams pa'i mchod pa 'di/ dal 'byor dge la bskul phyir bzhes su gsol/ zhes so// mthar bla ma de dgung lo dgu bcu rtsa lngar dgongs pa bon dbyings su thim mo//

yang ston bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyi sras che ba bla ma sngags pa/ chung ba ngos slang rgyal mtshan 'bum/ sras mo ya ngal drang srong ma/ rgyal mtshan (59) 'bum gyi gdung klu brag tu spel/ bla ma sngags pa dol po byi gcer du phebs so// dol por phyag phebs par snga ba bla ma sngags pa yin/ yang ston bla ma sngags pa dang yum gnya' mo dngos grub gnyis la sras mang du 'khrungs nas ma btub/ gsos pa lcām dral gsum byung/ sras che ba ya ngal bha su/ lcām mo bkra shis mtsho mo de gzhan zhig la khyim thaabs su song skad/

bar pa bla ma [ya ngal drang srong ma] 'di yang lung las kyang/ mkha' 'gro co bza' bon mo'i sprul pa brgyad pa'i sa las bon sgra sgrog cing bstan pa skyong bar bshad gda' o// dgung lo bcu bdun la mkhan po klu brag pa las rab byung zhus nas mtshan sems dpa' gsal du btags/ gong 'gra dgon par khro bo'i lo sgrub mang du mdzad nas/ drod rtags dngos grub du ma bsnyems pa dang/ gzhan yang mdzad pa'i 'phrin las ji snyed yod pa rnam thar las gsal lo// las can gyi snang ngor sku lus 'od kyi rang bzhin du gsal ba/ re bzhi la sku lus thengs gsum sprugs nas 'ja' 'od dang bcas nas dbyings (60) su gshegs so//

sras bha su'i sras de dgung lo nyi shu rtsa gcig la sku 'das nas/ sngar yab mes kyi 'byon yul gtsang stod stag rtse bya ri nas ya ngal phur pa skyabs kyi sras yang ston rgyal mtshan rin chen dgung lo brgyad la spyān drangs so// de rjes stag sde'i yang ston yab sras kun rang 'ur byas nas mnga' ris su phyag phebs skad/ bde ldan bsam gtan gling (la) dgon pa btub/ gzhan yang grub rtags klu btsan dam la btags shing sgrub chu brtol ba la sogs byung ba rnam thar du gsal lo//

bstan pa'i mnga' bdag yang ston rgyal mtshan rin chen de ni/ rgyal ba rig 'dzin thams cad 'dus pa'i ngo bo 'gro ba'i don la byon pa yin te/ lung bstan 'bring po las kyang/ la stod smer gyi phug ri la/ sprul sku khye'u rnyed legs 'khrungs/ (61) sa non grub thob bcu bdun 'byung/ sprul sku rgyun chad med par 'byung/ zhes bla chen gyi zhal nas gsungs so//

ya ngal phur pa skyabs dang gnya' mo kun skyid gnyis la sras bzhi yod pa la/ che ba gong ltar rgyal mtshan rin chen/ de 'og blo gros bstan rgyal/ de 'og yang ston ston rgod/ chung ba slob dpon lha 'bum/ de rnams kyang rig 'dzin rnam sprul yin te/ lung las/ mnga' ris stod du ya ngal ston rgod bya ba 'byung/ des kyang bstan pa'i rgyud 'dzin byed/ khod spungs dran pa skye ba mi ru bstan pa yin/ zhes gsungs so/ yang ston de klu brag tu 'gro don la byon dus chibs g.yag gis zhabs rjes bzha/ bla mas phyag rjes bzha go/ bla (62) ma de rnams yi dam dngos su mjal zhing srung mas sdong grogs byed/ khyad par rgyal po nyi pang sad kyis ci bcol gyi las byed do//

yang ston blo gros bstan rgyal la sras gnyis/ che ba khri gtsug g.yung drung/ chung ba slob dpon zil gnon/ ston rgod kyi sras mkhan po grags rgyal/ slob dpon lha 'bum la sras gnyis/ che ba lha rgod 'bum/ chung ba khro rgyal skyabs so// lha rgod 'bum la sras gsum/ che ba dge bsnyen/ bar ba mkhan po/ chung ba bon skyong skyabs/ de rnams mkhas pa mi bzhis byin gyis brlabs pa yin pas/ mjal tshad ngan song du mi ltung par nges so// las can snang ngor 'od skur gsal ba'o// de rnams sngar gyi gdung rabs las gsal lo//

yang ston bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyi sras/ drung pa rgyal mtshan 'bum la sras gsum ste/ che ba dbal dar 'bum/ bar pa lha rgod skyabs/ chung ba ge khod tshe ring/ dbal dar 'bum bru ston tshul khrims rgyal mtshan drung (63) nas rab byung zhus/ tshul ming mkhan po bsod nams rgyal mtshan/ de yang dran pa'i sprul pa yin te/ yi dam me ri'i sgrub pa la mnga' bsn'yems shing/ srin po skye rang gtso 'khor rnams bran du 'khol ba'i rnam thar/ kho drag por khros pa'i ngo gdong stag mo ngar gyi ri ngos tsam snang/ bla ma'i thugs cung zad kyang ma skrag par yi dam gyi bskyed rim byas pas mi snang bar gyur/

yang ston ge khod la sras gnyis/ che ba nam mkha' dbang rgyal/ chung ba phur pa mkha' 'gro/ yang ston nam mkha'i sras stag lo ba drung pa nyi rgyal lo/ de rnams kyi dus la/ bla mas gnam dras pa'i dum bu/ grwa bas sa gshag pa'i dum bu/ zhabs lham pho rog la skal / zhes 'jig rten pa'i kha dper snang/ nyi ma rgyal mtshan la sras gnyis/ che ba bstan pa bsam 'grub/ tshe dbang rig 'dzin chen po skye ba (64) mi ru bzhes pa'o// sa le 'od nar mar gsungs/ kun bzang gi zhal mjal/ phyag zhabs kyis rjes bzha pa de mi 'gyur ba'i rtags/ bka' skyong srung ma srin po skye rang 'khor bcas dam la 'dus/ nyams snang la rig 'dzin gyi tshogs gral du phyin nas/ khro bo dbang chen gyi phyag len rnams rig 'dzin tshogs gral nas bsams pa'o//

chung ba phun tshogs rnam rgyal la sras lcam dral gsum/ sras po bstan pa 'od zer skye ba byang chub sems dpa' o/ khong pas bskang 'bum la sogs gsung rab tha dag cig bzhengs so// de yi sras gnyis/ yang ston rig 'dzin 'dus pa dang/ yang ston khro bo bsam 'grub/ de'i sras g.yung drung rgyal mtshan ni/ khong pa la sras gnyis dang sras mo gcig/ sras che ba drung pa rin chen dbang rgyal gtsang gtsug pa'o// stong rgyung thugs kyi sprul pa bla ma de yis ngan song dong sprug gi snying po bye ba song nas ljags mchil pha bong la gtor bas yi ge a 'khrungs so// khyad par gsang gter bon (65) gyi srung ma/ bka' skyong dregs pa de gsum gyis kyang sdong grogs dang grib ma bzhin du byed do//

sras mo de rdzong du khyim thabs la phyin/ bu gcig skyes pa dang/ 'khor ba la zhen pa log nas chos byas pas/ byang chub sems ma sgrub pa mo rig 'dzin dbang mo yin no// chung ba nyi ma rnam rgyal gyi sras yang ston tshe dbang bsam 'grub/ khong pa la sras gsum/ che ba yang ston skya ming la skyi tshul/ chos ming la bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal/ bar pa bla ma phun tshogs/ khong gnyis sgo gnyis su song ba yin no// chung ba yang ston tshe dbang yin/ sras mo gsum yod/ yang ston bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal la sras yang ston 'phrin las phun tshogs yin/ yang ston bla ma phun tshogs la sras bla ma gar [gsas] skyabs yin/ yang ston 'phrin las phun tshogs kyi sras yang ston lha rgod yin/ yang ston gar skyabs la sras gnyis yod kyang chung nas 'das so//

yang ston lha rgod la sras gcig yod/ sras yang ston dbang rgyal la (66) sras gsum byung/ gnyis chung nas/ das/ gcig yod pa la sras mo gnyis yod/ a ma chung nas tshe 'phos nas/ yang ston dbang rgyal de 'khor ba la zhen pa log nas dol por yang ston gtsug phud rgyal mtshan las rab tu byung nas tshul ming blo gros rgyal mtshan du gngang/ de nas dbus gtsang la phebs shul du bu gcig yod pa de yang tshe 'phos/ de nas dol po ru bu gcig slong du phebs pas/ drin can rtse ba'i bla ma yang ston gtsug phud rgyal mtshan gyi zhal nas da gdung rabs chad la thug 'dug pas nga rtse ba'i bla mas bka' grol ba yin/ khyed rang chos log cig gsungs/ de la yang ston blo gros rgyal mtshan gyis bla ma'i bka' rtis log nas yong pas/ 'dir ma dang sring mo rnams kyis chos log tu ma bcug go// de nas byang nag tshang du phebs so// sbyin bdag rnams kyis dad pa rtse gcig tu byas so// gshen khri chen rin po che'i zhal nas/ dran pa nam mkha'i sprul pa yin gsungs so// de nas log phebs dus brag lung dkar mo dgongs mdzod ri khrod chen po'i (67) gdan sa ru sku mi mngon pa'i dbyings su gshegs so// de rnams ya ngal gsung rab skyabs kyi sras rgyud yang ston klu brag pa'i gdung rgyud lags so//

yang ngal phur pa skyabs kyi sras rgyud mu tig dar rgyus ltar grub thob dang mkhas btsun 'gran zla dang bral ba za ra tshags su byon pa yin/ de yang gong gi yang ston slob dpon zil gnon gyi sras/ nam mkha' blo gros dang/ g.yung drung rgyal po legs so// yang ston g.yung drung rgyal po de ri khrod zil por bzhugs nas (chas) [bcad] rgya la ngan song dong sprug snying po bye chen bdun song bas/ thun mong grub rtags ('du ba) [du ma] sna tshogs dang/ mi ma yin gyis mngon sum du phyag dang mchod pa 'bul bar byung gsungs so//

mkhan po drag dbang gi sras gnyis/ sras che ba don 'grub dpal/ chung ba yang ston dpal ldan bzang po'o// gshen bha dha bhi sha'i sprul pa las/ ya ngal dpal ldan bzang po'i mtshan/ (68) nyams (tha skar) [thod rgal] shar ba'i stobs shugs can/ bka' rgyud bstan pa dar bar byed/ ces so// rgyal ba des gsung rab 'bum sde po ti brgya dang bcu gsum bzhengs nas/ glo dol du bstan pa'i nyin mor 'byed pa'i rab gnas mkhan po drung pa dpal ldan bzang po zhes gsung rab tha dag tu snang ngo// khong pas (tha skar) [thod brgal] nyams shar ba'i tshe dbyar gsum 'og thog tu bzhugs/ dgun gsum steng thog tu bzhugs pa la/ rigs ngan kha shas nas dpal bzang smyon pa zhus pa la/ bla ma thugs rgyal bzhengs nas lcags la mdud pa rol pa la sogs grub rtags mang po byung ngo//

yang ston nam mkha' blo gros kyi sras/ nam mkha' rin chen de yi dam khro bo phur pa'i bsnyen sgrub mtha' ru phyin/ bskyed rdzogs la rang dbang thob pa'i skyes bu yin no// yang ston dge bsnyen mkha' 'gro'i sras/ g.yung drung mgon po/ de yang sku tshe gcig la bsnyen sgrub kyi ngang la bzhugs so// (69) dgung lo drug cu re gsum la 'ja' 'od dang bcas nas dgongs pa bon nyid dbyings su thim mo// phyi rabs mos pa'i rten du gdung sha ri la sogs ('byan 'byon) [byin chen?] mang po 'khrungs so//

yang ston don 'grub kyi sras/ nyi ma rgyal po/ chung ba g.yung drung rnam rgyal/ de rab tu byung ba'i tshul ming g.yung drung rgyal mtshan no// sras che ba nyi ma rgyal po de/ yi dam khyung dmar nag gi bsnyen sgrub mthar phyin nas/ ser ba mdzub khrid (mthong) [byed] pa dang/ klu gnyan sa bdag zil gyis gnon pa'i skyes mchog go// kun bzang thugs sprul yang ston g.yung drung rgyal mtshan de/ sa le 'od snying po bye ba bcu gsungs/ bsal gsum rnam par dag pa'i skyes mchog go//

yang ston nam mkha' rin chen la sras bzhi/ che ba g.yung drung bstan pa/ de 'og rig 'dzin bon skyabs/ de 'og tshul khrims bsam 'grub/ chung ba rin chen rnam rgyal/ rig 'dzin bon skyabs rab tu byung ba'i mtshan (70) yang ston g.yung drung tshul khrims/ de yang bla chen mchog sprul yin te/ phyi rabs don du sku gdung rten gsum mang po bzhengs shing/ bsal gsum rnam par dag pa'i skyes bu'o//

yang ston g.yung drung bstan pa la sras lcam dral bzhi/ sras che ba rin chen rgyal mtshan/ chung ba dbon chung yin/ khyung ston tshul khrims legs pa bzhugs pa'i dus yin/ yang ston dbon chung de skya sgom byang chub sems dpa' brag phug tu bcad rgya la bzhugs pa dang/ bla ma khyung ston la 'das dus gsal gdab re byed par byas so// dus nam zhig bla ma de dgung lo

sum cu so dgu la brag phug tu kha sbub tu thugs thim mo// de nas khyung sgom gyis ri rtse nas chos dung btang ba dang/ bla ma thugs zin te dgongs pa las lhang nge bzhugs 'dug skad/ gong gi drung pa rin rgyal rig 'dzin rnam sprul bstan pa'i mnga' bdag tu gyur pa yin no//

yang ston rin chen rnam rgyal la sras gsum/ sras che ba bkra shis (71) rgyal mtshan de rab tu byung nas khyung ston tshul khirms 'od zer drung nas dbang lung sems khrid dang bcas pa zhus nas/ sku tshe bsnyen sgrub kyi ngang nas yi dam lha zhal mjal ba dang/ khyad par yi dam me ri'i sgrub pa la phyag 'phreng la me 'bar ba la sogs byung gsungs/ chung ba g.yung drung phun tshogs/

sras bar pa yang ston rin chen rgyal mtshan dang/ mkhan drung ma dpal 'dzoms gnyis la sras bzhi/ sras che ba gshen tshad med 'od ldan gyi sprul pa yang ston g.yung drung rnam rgyal/ tshul ming tshul khirms rnam rgyal/ rgyal ba de'i mdzad pa'i 'phrin las dang rdzu 'phrul ji snyed byung ba rnam thar las gsal/

de 'og bla ma stag lha/ de 'og rin chen lhun grub/ tshul ming rin chen rgyal mtshan/ khong gis bka' rgyud gsung rab grangs mang bzhengs/ dri med gzi brjid glebs bam mda' tshad tsam la/ snag phor du smyu gu lan re bcug nas yig 'phreng re re bris pa de thun mong gi grub rtags lags so// (72) chung ba shes rab rgyal mtshan/ yang ston stag lha dang/ sa rgya ma yum bu dgos 'dzoms las kyi mkha' 'gro ma de gnyis la sras ming sring gsum/ yang ston sri thar rnam rgyal dang bla ma rin chen/

sri thar rnam rgyal 'khor ba la zhen pa log nas rab tu byung ba'i tshul ming stod smad kun tu dbyar nga ltar grags pa'i stag lha'i thugs sprul yang ston 'od zer rgyal mtshan/ des dbang lung 'chad nyan chu bo'i rgyun ltar mdzad pas/ bu slob stod smad kun nas bon zhwa dkar gon pa nyis brgya lhag tsam 'dus so// bstan 'dzin skyes bu 'gro don nus pa mang du byung/ mtha' mar sku tshe yang re gsum la byi lo hor zla bzhi pa'i tshes brgyad la 'das dus rtags ldan bstan pa rgyal mtshan gyi mjal snang la/ nam mkha' 'ja' tshon gur khang du 'od skur grub nas dbyings su gshegs so//

bla ma shes rab la sras gnyis/ lha rgod dang/ khro bo rnam rgyal gnyis/ lha rgod kyi tshul ming g.yung drung rgyal mtshan/ khong gis rta rab (73) tu dgon pa btap ba dang/ gzhan yang bstan pa rgyas par spel lo// sras gcig 'khrungs pa mchog sprul shes rab 'od zer ro// skyes bu byang chub sems dpa' yang ston rin chen dang/ yum bu bom mchog gnyis la sras lcam (sring) [dral] bzhi/ gcen po dgos 'byor/ chung ba g.yung drung rnam rgyal/ sras bar pa de chung nas 'das/

yang ston dgos 'byor/ gtsang gtsug gi mtshan ye shes rgyal mtshan/ drang srong gi mtshan gtsug phud rgyal mtshan/ de yang gshen mi 'gyur gtsug phud kyi zhal nas/ gshen rab 'dod pa dgu 'gyur gyi sprul pa yin gsungs/ khong gis sku yi rten du mgon po rnam gsum la sogs sku gdung ci snyed dang/ gsung gi rten du kham chen la sogs gsung rab ci snyed dang/ thugs kyi rten du mdzad bcu'i zhal thang dang/ lo paN dbu gsum la sogs bzhengs so// gzhan yang dgon gnas tha dag gi mgo 'dren skyong ran mdzad cing/ mchog thun gyi dngos grub thob pa'i rtags su chibs (74) pas zhabs rjes bzhag pa dang/ stod smad kun tu bu slob sum brgya lhag tsam byung zhing/ grub pa thob pa yang 'ga' zhig byung/ bstan pa'i mnga' bdag chen por gyur pa lags so//

mthar dgung lo drug cu re drug nas shing rta zla ba gsum pa'i tshes bcu la 'ja' 'od gur khang me tog gi char pa la sogs ngo mtshar du ma dang bcas te bon nyid kyi dbyings su gshegs so// sku spur la zhugs me rang bzhes dang/ gdung rus la yig 'bru [dang] lha sku la sogs grangs rt-sis mi thebs pa dpag tu med par byung shing/ bstan pa'i sgron me chen por gyur pa lags so//

yang ston khro bo rnam rgyal de lha chos kun la mkhas pa'i [yang ston pa'i] bstan pa 'dzin pa'i skyes bu lags so// de la sras gsum yod/ sngon dwang ra sgo dwags khri pa zhes bla ma sdom gsum dang ldan pa de tshe 'phos nas/ yang ston g.yung drung rnam rgyal yin no// de la sras mang du 'khrungs nas ma btub/ gsos pa'i lcam sring drug yod pa la sras gsum/ che ba bstan pa rgyal mtshan/ (75) bar pa mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan/ chung ba shes rab 'od zer/

bar pa mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan de nyid chung nas rang sems la rang dbang thob cing/ rdzi bo la phebs nas phug pa'i nang du zhag gsum re tsam dgongs pa la bzhugs pa dang/ dgungs lo bco brgyad la ri khrod dben pa ru phebs nas/ gsung bcad lo gsum tsam mdzad pa dang/ gzhan yang dka' spyad kho nar mdzad cing/ sgo bcad lo dgu bzhugs shing/ tshe dbang rig 'dzin gyi lung bstan zhal mjal du mar byung zhing/ bar chad dbang gis sku tshe mthar ma phyin par dgung lo sum cu so gcig nas shing rta zla ba gsum pa'i tshes bcu bdun la dgongs pa bon nyid dbyings su gshegs so//

sku gzugs la yig 'brul lha sku sha ri ram la sogs du mar byung yang/ sku sgrib dbang gis la la mkha' la 'phur ba dang/ la la yal ba la sogs byung/ sprul pa'i sku mchog de nyid tshe dbang rig 'dzin gyi thugs sprul yin zhes/ dwang sprul khri gtsug bstan 'dzin gyis gsungs so//

(76) mdor na lung las kyang/ rgyud pa dus mtha'i bar du gnas/ byin chen re ni rtag par 'byung/ zhes gsungs pa'i don dang mthun par ya ngal gyim gong srid pa nas/ da lta'i yang ston yab sras 'di rnams kyi bar dri med gdung gi sras la rgyud pa gzhan gyis bar ma chod cing/ rnam mkhyen ngo bo'i thugs kyi sprul pa la so skyes rang rgyud pas lhad ma zhugs par/ mchog gi byin rlabs bzhugs nges yin/

ci skad du snyan rgyud las/ la stod smer gyi phug ri la/ sprul sku khye'u rnyed legs 'khrungs/ sa non grub thob bcu bdun 'byung/ sprul sku rgyun chad med par 'byung/ (77) zhes so// de yang ya ngal gsung rab skyabs kyi gdung rgyud klu brag pa dang/ ya ngal phur pa skyabs kyi gdung rgyud dol po'i yang ston pa yin zer yang/ bar skabs su (sku) gdung rnams phra mor song dus don la gnyis 'dzin phar (khyab) [skyabs] tshur (khyab) [skyabs] byas yod nges snang/

de ltar ya ngal bka' rgyud gdung rabs kyi/ legs par bshad pa un chen tshangs pa'i dbyangs/ phyogs lhung skyes bu'i rna bar mi shong bas/ gzur gnas dam pa rnams kyi thugs soms shig/

snang tshad dgra ru mthong ba'i rol spyang dang/ 'dzum 'phreng ston yang mche ba rtsigs pa ltar/ blo sems log par phyogs pa'i blun po la/ legs bshad gsong por smras kyang nyan sems ci/

(78) de bas rang gis ngang tshul legs bsam nas/ dben par smra bcad don la gnas rig kyang/ rang re dad ldan grwa btsun tha dag gis/ mos snang ljags kyis bskul nas 'di bgyis so//

mi gtsang 'dam nas skyes pa'i me tog 'di/ sangs rgyas mchod pa'i gral la 'khod pa bzhin/ bdag cag skye bo mthu stobs dman na'ng/ cung zad smra ba'i skal pa thob 'di rmad/

mchog gsum bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro dang/ bstan srung dam can rgya mtsho'i tshogs rnams kyis/ ya ngal dri med gdung gi rim pa de/ bstan 'gro'i mgon du dar rgyas 'phrin las mdzod/

(79) 'di las byung ba'i bsod nams gang yod pa/ yar ngo'i zla ltar je cher dar rgyas nas/ nam mkha'i mtha' klas ma gyur 'gro ba kun/ yang ston rgyud pa'i go 'phang thob par shog/ ces bsn-go smon gyis mtha' bsdus so//

de ltar gdung rabs 'di la yang/ dmu gshen lha yi gdung rabs gtsor bzhag pa 'di/ bka' dri med gzi brjid dang/ lung bsgrags pa gling grags dang/ rgyud rig 'dzin rgyud 'bum dang/ snyan rgyud bka' rgyud skor bzhi dang/ rgyal ba'i bka' 'bum sogs sngar gyi gdung rabs bcas 'di rnams phyogs gcig tu bsdus nas/ sngar med lo rgyus nyi ma rang shar 'di/ blo rmongs rnams kyi the tshom 'khrul mun gsal phyir du/ yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan bdag tshe dbang gzhung bzhi'i bcad rgya la smra bcad gsang 'dzab 'dren pa'i thun mtshams su chu mo sbrul lo'i dpyid zla ra ba'i yar tshes la pho brang bsam (80) gtan gling du yi ger btab pa re zhig rdzogs so// mi 'thad 'gal 'khrul gyur pa ji srid pa/ mkhyen ldan mkhas mchog rnams kyis gzigs bcas 'tshal/ dge'o// bkra shis/ zhal dro/ sarb mangg laM// //

Oral narratives of the encounter between Agvaandandar Lkharamba of Alashaa and Danzanravjaa, the Fifth Noyon Khutagt of Gobi

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Summary: This paper focuses on the orally transmitted stories of the relationship between the two famous Mongolian literates – Danzanravjaa, the Fifth Noyon Khutagt of the Gobi (1803–1856), and Agvaandandar Lkharamba of Alashaa (1759–1840). It provides original texts, translations and comparative notes of several stories collected from local sources in both (Khalkha) Mongolia and Alashaa, and gives available historical and biographical background of both literates, and a few other stories related to some significant moments in their lives.

1. Introduction

According to the prevailing interpretation, Danzanravjaa, a prominent and extraordinary personality of 19th century Mongolian religion, culture, literature and education got the idea to perform a famous religious drama, The Story of Moon Cuckoo (*Саран Хөхөөний намтар* / *Saran kökügen-ü namtar*),¹

1) The Story of Moon Cuckoo (Tib. *Bya mgrin sngon zla ba'i rtogs brjod*, Дагнү хувилган Лувсандамбийжалцан 2011, p. 4) was originally written in Tibetan by Dagrü Luvсандамбийжалцан (Tib. Stag phu Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1714–1762) in 1737 (Цэрэнсодном 1987, p. 354) and later translated into Mongolian by the famous Mongolian translator Dai güüsh Agvaandampil in 1770. This text, characterized by Damdinsüren (1962, p. 1) as verse novel, has spread throughout Mongolia under the name of Tale of Moon Cuckoo (Mo. *Saran kökügen-ü tuyuji*). The Story of Moon Cuckoo adapted to a kind of musical drama with elements of tsam (цам, Mo. *čam*, Tib. *'cham*) most likely by Danzanravjaa himself used to be performed in the monasteries of the Gobi region from 1832 (see below in the text) until the beginning of the 20th century. The story of the musical drama takes place in the ancient city of Vārānaśi and recounts intrigues and betrayal, the fight of good and evil, the consequences of peoples' deeds – through the story of a prince that learns how to enter dead bodies, and once, while he is in the body of a cuckoo, his own body is stolen and he is forced to remain in the body of the cuckoo. Later the prince-cuckoo is assigned to preach the teachings of Buddha to the birds in the forest. For new commented revision of the Mongolian translation from Tibetan see Дагнү хувилган Лувсандамбийжалцан 2011, for study of Mongolian translation of the Story see Повесть о Лунной кукушке 2004, for the full texts of manuscripts of literary and technical scenarios see Damdinsüren 1962 and Хөвсгөл 2011 (with transcription and conversion into Cyrillic).

while travelling or staying in Alashaa (Mo. Alaša, Alašan), the most western league of Inner Mongolia. Danzanravjaa's visits to Alashaa gave rise to a story (or stories), the main idea of which is based on the subject of an encounter between Danzanravjaa and the much older scholar, respected Buddhist philosopher, logician, linguist and poet Agvaandandar Lkharamba of Alashaa. The main reason for this encounter, to introduce Agvaandandar to the wisdom of emptiness (*хоосон чанарын ухаан*), or "to show him a miracle" (*ид шид үзүүлсэн*) as one of the Alashaa sources has put it, is dealt with in some versions under the topic of obtaining the text of the Story of Moon Cuckoo. The story (or stories), which has undergone various changes in the course of the predominantly oral transmission, appears in several versions in both (Khalkha) Mongolia and Alashaa, where it is popular especially among the local people in the places related to the protagonists of the story. The story was noted and either mentioned or recorded by literary historians such as Altangerel (Алтангэрэл 1968, p. 9), Möngke (1962, p. 45), Heissig (1994, vol. I, p. 186, 196) and Khürelbaatar (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 274, 278).

Texts of the stories collected and chosen for the purpose of this paper consist of the recordings made by the author in Alashaa in 2012, two stories as taken down from the local people in (Khalkha) Mongolia and published and several stories published as a part of the collection of local oral narratives of Agvaandandar Lkharamba. For comparison purposes the respective parts of Danzanravjaa's biography are included.

2. Agvaandandar Lkharamba and Danzanravjaa

The following are very simplified biographies of the two scholars presented in order to introduce or mention the most remarkable moments of their lives and their extraordinary significance, especially in the eyes of the local people. This is what provided the main basis for the origin of the oral narratives about them.

2.1. AGVAANDANDAR LKHARAMBA (1759–1840)

Agvaandandar² was born in 1759 in Bayannuur bag of Khoshuud Banner in Alashaa (Inner Mongolia) as the second son of *jayisang* Inai from the

2) Agvaandandar Lkharamba is also known by different wordings of his name and title

Yeke qoyid clan. At the age of 7 he was given to *Buyan arbidqayči süme* (The Temple of Multiplying Good Deeds) where he studied in the school of Buddhist philosophy (*čaniḍ dačang* / *цанид дацан*). In 1774 at the age of 18 he left Alashaa and went to Lhasa visiting the big monasteries like Gönlung and Kumbum on his way. He studied very diligently for about twenty years in the Faculty of Buddhist Philosophy of Drepung Monastery (Mo. *Beray-ibung*) under the supervision of Longdol Rinpoche. Agvaandandar finished his studies by being awarded the highest academic degree of *lkharamba* (Tib. *lha rams pa*) (Süngrüb 2003, p. 41–42).

After Agvaandandar *lkharamba* returned to Alashaa in 1800, he was appointed as monastery disciplinarian (Mo. *čoyčün gebküi*) in *Buyan arbidqayči süme* and in 1803 he was awarded the title of *čorji* (Tib. *chos rje*). In the same year he was moved to the newly built *Ĵegün keyid* (Eastern Monastery) as the head of a group of about 60 monks. There Agvaandandar *lkharamba* was appointed as Abbot (*širegen lama*), but later decided to leave the monastery. He devoted himself to scholarly and educational work, collecting books and travelling mainly through Mongolia and Tibet (Süngrüb 2003, p. 43–45). He was highly respected among Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhist scholars (Щербатской 1916, p. III). It is said that as an old man Agvaandandar *lkharamba* realized the very low level of knowledge of written Mongolian among the Mongolian scholars as the language of education was either Tibetan, or Chinese, so he decided to improve the status of literacy in Mongolian.³ Following this, in 1828, at the age of 71, he wrote a still highly regarded (Төмөртоо 2002, p. 425–427) grammatical work *Mongyol üsiüg-ün yosun-i sayitur nomlaysan kelen-ü čimeg kemegdekü orusibai* (The Adornment of Language in which the rules of Mongolian language are properly described) and in 1838 *Ner-e-yin udq-a-yi todudqayči saran-u gegen gerel kemekü dokiyan-u bičig orusibai* (A dictionary named Moonlight – the Clarifier of the Meaning of Words).⁴

including the Tibetan version of his name, for example, as *Lkharamba* from Alashaa, *Dandar lkharamba*, *Ngag dbang bstan dar* (*Lha rams pa*), etc.

- 3) According to a story told to the author by Dr. J. Lubsandorji (IN, 2013), when Agvaandandar *lkharamba* realized his knowledge of Mongolian was so poor that he was not able to compile his works in his mother tongue, he was very ashamed. He left his banner so that nobody would know about it, found a teacher in a distant place and spent several years in profound study of Mongolian.
- 4) During his life Agvaandandar *lkharamba* wrote more than 40 works both in Tibetan and Mongolian and most of them are noted for their beautiful verses. The collected works (*süng-büm*) of Agvaandandar *lkharamba* in Tibetan including more than 30 letters to various

Agvaandandar lkharamba died at the age of 82 in 1840 and his ashes are buried in *Jegün keyid* (Eastern Monastery). There are many tales and legends narrated about him by the Alashaa people. He is often depicted as a wise and extraordinary man with trousers and a pipe as typical attributes, which sometimes proves rather strange and had the ability of performing miracles.

2.2. DANZANRAVJAA, THE FIFTH DOGSHIN NOYON KHUTAGT OF GOBI (1803–1856)

Danzanravjaa⁵ was born in 1803 in former Gobi mergen wang Banner of Tüsheet khan aimag (now Dornogobi aimag in Mongolia) in the very poor Dulduit family. His mother died very soon and Ravjaa wandered with his father begging and serving other families. He showed a talent for improvisation and composing verses at the early age of 7 or 8 (Цэрэнсодном 1987, p. 334, Алтангэрэл 1968, p. 5). At the age of 8 he was half-secretly recognised as the reincarnation of Navaan Agrampa Tsorje (ML 1968, p. 6, Altangerel – Khatanbaatar 2009, p. 31).⁶ Later Ravjaa studied Buddhist philosophy, logic and the art of debate in Dolonnuur, Bagdar and Choiling monasteries in Inner Mongolia and was taught by many high-level, respected teachers.

Being responsive to poetry and songs by nature he is said to have become interested in the poetry of famous Kaldan Gyatso⁷ of Rongwo Monastery (1607–1677) in Amdo at that time (Цэрэнсодном 1987, p. 334). He himself composed many songs and poems both in Mongolian in Tibetan, and other

high-ranking monks and scholars were xylographically published in the Kumbum Monastery (Щербатской 1916, p. III; Sečen – Soyul 2007, p. 46).

- 5) Referred under his full name as Luvsandanzanravjaa or more often under shortened Ravjaa.
- 6) According to Altangerel (Алтангэрэл 1968, pp. 6–7) the Noyon Khutagts of Gobi represent one line of reincarnations of the Tibetan monk bodong Chogloi namgyal (бодон Цоглайнамжил, *ibid.* p. 6, English version given according to Altangerel – Kharanbaatar 2009, p. 20), who reincarnated in Mongolia in three lines of Khutagts (Noyon Khutagt of Gobi, Aduuch and Nomch Noyon Khutagt) at the same time. For a list of Indian and Tibetan reincarnations that precede the Mongolian ones and some commentaries on the Mongolian reincarnations including their brief biographies see Altangerel – Kharanbaatar (*Ibid.* pp. 8–24). After the Fourth Noyon Khutagt was accused of murdering a son-in-law of the Manchu Emperor and thereby executed in Beijing, the Emperor banned the further recognition of Noyon Khutagt. Only afterwards was Danzanravjaa recognized as a reincarnation by Tibeto-Mongolian highest Buddhist representatives. For recognition of Danzanravjaa as Gobi Khutagt see Altangerel – Kharanbaatar 2009, pp. 23, 31, (with legends about) Баатар 1993, pp. 6–9, Хүрэлбаатар 2006, pp. 312–313, etc.
- 7) Tib. Skal Idan rgya mtsho (See Sujata 2005).

versed works, including ritual texts or very popular didactic poetry. These pieces proved the outstanding combination of his natural talent, skills in Mongolian oral poetry, erudition in Buddhist studies and knowledge of Indian, Tibetan and Chinese (Altangerel – Khatanbaatar 2009, p. 33) literature.⁸ Danzanravjaa is said, and we find evidence of it in his autobiography, to have been surrounded by a group of singers, who often composed melodies to Danzanravjaa's verses and prayers (Баатар 1993, p. 60, Хүрэлбаатар 2006, pp. 267–268, 358). In terms of remarkable literary and cultural activities he is renowned for introducing the first spectacularly staged musical drama “The Story of Moon Cuckoo” (first performed in 1832).

As Agvaandandar Ikharamba, Danzanravjaa also travelled a lot, mainly through Outer and Inner Mongolia, and meanwhile established several monasteries and temples, such as the Tantric Faculty (Мо. *jüdba dačang*, Tib. *rgyud pa grwa tshang*), a Story (*namthar*) Performing Temple (Хамтар дуулах дацан), a Children's school (Хүүхдийн дацан), the Display Temple (Гиваадин равжаалин) in the Khamar Monastery, the Three monasteries of Galba Gobi (Галбын гурван хийд), etc.

Danzanravjaa is said to have died of poisoning in 1856⁹ and his mummified body (*шарил*) was placed in the Display Temple of the Khamar Monastery.

3. Textual section

The following section contains several folk stories about the encounter of Agvaandandar Ikharamba and Danzanravjaa. Story 3.1. was told to the author by a source in Bayanqota, the center of the Alashaa region in 2012. Stories 3.2. and 3.3. were taken from sources published in Alashaa related to local history or outstanding personalities, such as *Züün khiid* (Eastern Monastery) and Agvaandandar Ikharamba. Stories 3.4. and 3.5. are taken from the (Khalkha) Mongolian written sources, but are noted down as narrated by local people and at the end of this section (3. 6.) are excerpts from the Fifth Noyon Khutagt's short biography (*Tabuduyar noyan gegegen-ten-ü čedeg-ün*

8) Ravjaa's poetry is described in Цэрэнсодном 1987, pp. 336–354, ML 1968, pp. 8–28; Ravjaa's poetry originally written in Tibetan (with transcription and translation into Mongolian) is published in Алтангэрэл 1968; Ravjaa's selected poetry is published in Равжаа 1992.

9) The legend of Danzanravjaa's dying of poisoning is well-known in the Dornogobi region; it was told to the author by a driver Prevjav in 2010. A recorded version and analysis of historical data is provided in Damdinsüren (1962, pp. 14–17).

tobči quriyangyui orosibai – Хүрэлбаатар 2006, pp. 372–399) related to his visits to Alashaa and preparation for performing the Story of Moon Cuckoo.

3.1.

As was mentioned above, the story presented below was told to the author in 2012 by Mr. Čoytu, a bookstore owner in Bayanqota. This story is written down in phonetic transcription in order to mediate the specific features of the local dialect of Mongolian including the meaningless words, shown in brackets.

Č: yučin negen ond /odō/ end irsēn baena. End irēd Alašāgās bol en Saran köxōgīn tūž en neg žūžgīn nom šte. Šašnē žūžgīn nom, enīg /odō/ žalž avāčsān gež xeldīmā. En Saran köxōgīn tūž gež /odō/ manai en Barūn kīd Šašnyy badrūlayč sūm gež ene sūmd en sūmīn /odō/ ežēn lam šte /odō/ gegēn en bol /odō/ žoxiož tövdōs orčūlž barād toglož baesān gež xeldagīm.

Author: Odoo tiim toglolt baexgüi.

Č: Odō baexgüā ...

Tegēd /odō/ enī bol en Danžanravžā bol irēd en baedlyg üžēž baex yum bol Tövdöd suralcaž baesān yum ū, tend baegād enūgēr žamār öngroxdōn en nomyg žalž avāčsān janžtā, im, im. En bol mjangā najmān žūn yučin negēn on baex janžtā. Tegēd en Ayvāndandartā ūlžāž baex bol en baray en yučin negēn ony ūja baenū, jū baen. Ayvāndandāryn žoxiol /odō/ im neg jūm baen.

Texlēr en Ayvāndandāryn bayš n' bol /odō/ Lundul rinbūči Ayvānluvsan gešēn kūn baēž ... töv^ud xūn. /odō/ tavān uxānd neversēn ix erdemtē xūn baesān. Tegēd bol en Ayvāndandār töv^ud očin /odō/ lxārambā colō xamgālxādān bol /odō/ bayš n' /odō/ xelsen baexgüjū, či odō utsān dörötā javā, kūnē xariultyg bol dōngōž l xariulād l baj, bitgi xūnēr čadlā darā gež ingēž žaxšān baexgüjū. Ingē odō ter arvin /odō/ nom xajilcāž baeštē, ingēd /odō/ xajilcāxyn dund /odō/ neg kūn /odō/ bayši n' yutāž /odō/ togōndō jumgüj emčin šanagand ju baexāv gež /odō/ ingēž yutāsān baexgüjū. Ingexlēr /odō/ Ayvāndandār /odō/ būr čangār xariulād bügdīn /odō/ alivā /odō/ asūsān būx jumy ... darž garād ...

Ingē(d) bayš n' /odō/ ix ūrlā gež xeldēgīmā. Čamae odō žaxiž baexād či /odō/ im xatūyār xariullā. Odō xatūyār xariulval ter ūjēd am' nasānd bas ajūltā, im učir baen, /odō/ xorlōx jumū im učir. Ingēd bayš n' ix ūrlād ter ödört n' či odō xurdān jav, odō endēs javgüj boloxgüj, javaxgüj či am' nasānd ajūltā, tegēd nutuytā xariullā gež xeldgīm. Texēd bol en Danžanravžānā bayš n' bas en kūn baen. Tegēd bolō enē Danžanravžānā bayš n' /odō/ en Ayvāndandār(t) žaxidāl irūlsēn baen šū. Mini šav' odō jamar jamar kūn odō očinō gež, ēngexēd odō Ayvāndandār en žaxidlyg negentē olō(d) avsān baesān, ēngēd /odō/ Danžanravžātā ūlžād en /odō/ en Sunēd gešēn yažar gež /odō/ endēs /odō/ barāg tavinā yažār baena. Xorin tavān kilom'ētēr, žaētā. Ter Sunēd gešēn neg ayuī baedāy. En ayuē bol ertnā ayuī. End bol us ūyād /odō/ baežē gež, Ayvāndandār očōd ūlžāž, ūlžxad bol ter šid ūžūlsēn baen. /Odō/ xāžūdān exnēr xūxēdtē, xūxēn xāžūdā jū gešēn, arix ūčixsān im neg lam baelā gež. Danžanravžān bol josōn dērē Ayvāndandārās nas žalū, /neg/ dōčōd, dōč šaxām nasnē dū gēd, erdēm bol Ayvāndandārās sūrxā sursān baen. Tegē(d) en xōsōn čanāryn uxānyg /odō/ bayš n' /odō/ ingēd Ayvāndandār wačsān, očōd ūžsēn ingēd exner xūxēdtē /odō/ Ayvāndandār dotrō žāxān evgue, en odō jū č baex, en /odō/

ingēž bodsön baen. Texēd bol /odō/ ter kūn šidē üžülēd tegsēn bol /odō/ Ayvāndandār enē /odō/ būrēn mörgölō gež baen. /Odō/ ingēd ix biširsēn gež, im /odō/ domog baedäg Alašād ... (IN Čoytu, 13. 8. 2012)

IN: [He] came here in [18]31. And [he] came here and that Story of the Moon Cuckoo, that book of the drama. It is said that [he] took the book of religious drama [to his homeland]. There is the Baruun khid (Western) Monastery¹⁰ – “The Temple of Making the Religion Flourish”: in that temple, people say that the owner – the monk of that temple, the *gegeen* – wrote, translated this Story of the Moon Cuckoo from Tibetan and [it was] performed.

Author: Now, there are no performances any more, [are there]?

IN: No, there are not.

And then that Danzanravjaa came there: and if one has a look at how things were, he may have studied in Tibet, or he might have been there as he passed this place on his way, and he took that book with him, that's it, that's it. This occurred possibly in 1831. And it was probably in that year [18]31 that he and Agvaandandar met, or so. There is something like this in Agvaandandar's work.

And so Agvaandandar's teacher, a man whose name was Lundul rimpoche Agvaanluvsan ... a Tibetan, he was highly educated in the five wisdoms. And so when Agvaandandar visited Tibet and was passing the examination to obtain the degree of *lkharamba*, the teacher told him, you know? Now, you are in a very peculiar situation: just answer the people's questions, do not demonstrate your abilities, so this was how [his teacher] instructed him, you know? And you know, they debated on the doctrine (*ном хаялцах*), and during the dispute one man insulted his teacher saying that “there there is nothing in the kettle, so there is obviously nothing in the ladle,” that is how he offended [Agvaandandar's teacher], you know? And therefore Agvaandandar began to answer all [the questions] very sharply.

And it is said that his teacher was very angry: “You have answered so pungently, even if I have instructed you.” Answering sharply might have been dangerous for one's life at that time, that's how it used to be, one might have been poisoned or something like that. And so his teacher was very angry and one day he told him: “It's better for you to leave now, you cannot stay here anymore, if you stay it may be dangerous for your life.” And Danzanravjaa's teacher was the same man. And that Danzanravjaa's teacher sent a letter to Agvaandandar. “My disciple, such and such a man, is going to visit [you].” And once Agvaandandar got the letter, he met Danzanravjaa at the place called Süned, [that is] about fifty *yazar*¹¹ from here, twenty five kilometers. There is a cave in Süned, a very old one. And it is said that he was drinking water there, Agvaandandar went to visit him and when he visited him, he showed him a miracle. He had a wife (and children) next to him, a woman next to him, and he was drinking spirits, what a kind of monk was he? -that's what people said. In fact Danzanravjaa was younger than Agvaandandar, about forty, more than forty years younger and in terms of erudition – he was enormously more erudite than Agvaandandar. And [concerning] the

10) According to Jalsan, who was the last reincarnation of the sixth Dalai lama Sangye Gyatso and the Chief Abbot of Baruyun keyid (the Western Monastery), the monastery was officially given the name of *Šasin-i badarayulayči süm-e* (Chin. *Guangzongsi*), the Temple of Making the Religion Flourish (Jalsan 2002, p. 352).

11) *yazar* is a traditional length unit still frequently used by Inner Mongolians. One *yazar* is about 576m (MED, vol. I, p. 456).

wisdom of emptiness ... the teacher ... and [therefore] Agvaandandar came, came and saw [him with] a wife and children, and Agvaandandar felt uneasy, and he wondered what should he do now. And that man showed him a miracle and after that Agvaandandar worshipped him completely, it is said. As a proof that he admired him very much, there is a legend about it in Alashaa ...

3.2.

The following version of the folk story was taken from the History of the Eastern Monastery of Alashaa (*Alaša jēgün keyid-ün teūke*) compiled by Süngrüb (2003). The end of this version is identical to the text given in Jayarday – Norbu (1999, p. 434)

Aywangdandar lharamba ... neyigem-dü keregčege büküi jokiyal-ud-i tuyurbin bičijü, arbaduyar jokiyal-i tegüskejü bayiqu üy-e-ber, Qalq-a-yin Doysin Noyan Qutuytu Alaša qosiyun-u Sünedü-yin bay-tu ireged bayiy-a čimege sonostujai. tegekü-dü Longdol baysi-yin urid jakiju bayiyas: «minu šabi qalq-a-yin doysin noyan qutuytu alaša-du niyuča tarni-yin uqayan-u yosu-bar čim-a-du qoyosun činar-i onoqu ubadis olyaqu bolumui, tere üy-e-dü čī sakil sanwar-ıyan burqan-du ergüjü yögezer-ün¹² dūri-ber rengm-a sitüjü bolun-a» gesen ni aywangdandar lharamba-yin sanayan-du orojai. yay tere üy-e-ber qalq-a-yin doysin noyan qutuytu Sünedü-yin bay-tu ireged küliyejü bayiqu-bar dayudayuluysan-du aywangdandar lharamba kürčü očiyad tegün-tei ayuljaqul-a nigen ariki darasu uuyuday böged ekener-tei lama bayiy-a-yi üjged baqan dur-a ügeiyiçegsen bolbaču Longdol baysi-yin jakıysan-i sanaju qaday barin mörgüjü uçir-ıyan ayıladaqaysan-a qariyu-duni qarin kümün-ü yabala-yin yasun ayayan-du kigsen qar-a ariki ögčü bariyuluyad Doysin Noyan Qutuytu yabnilung gedeg nom ungsıju baraqu üyes-ıyer yal badarjai. tegekü-dü pad tabalan üliyegeged odo uuyu gekü-ber ni uuyuyas-du ger-ün yaday-a dotor-a qola oyir-a-yin yayum-a bükün aysan jayur-a nebbe üjgedekü boluysan gedeg.

Aywangdandar lharamba tegün-eçe qoyisi Sünedü-eçe nige rengm-a olju abuyad jēgün keyid-ün yoriya dotur-a sayuqu-ban bolıju, süm-e-yin aru daki manda toluyai deger-e nige mayu qar-a čegejin ger bariju keden imay-a sayaju sayuday bolba. (Süngrüb 2003, pp. 43–44)

Agvaandandar lharamba ... was writing and compiling the works necessary for society and when [he was] just finishing the tenth book, there was a rumour that Dogshin (Savage) Noyon Khutagt of Khalkha had arrived at Süned bag of the Alashaa banner. And then Agvaandandar lharamba recalled the instructions his teacher Longdol had given him: “My disciple Dogshin Noyon Khutagt of Khalkha will induct you into the understanding of emptiness through the wisdom of the secret mantras [when he is] in Alashaa. At that time you will offer your monastic vows to the god and will worship *rengma* as a yoga master.” At that time Agvaandandar lharamba was invited to arrive just as Dogshin Noyon Khutagt of Khalkha was arriving at Süned bag and was waiting there. As [he] arrived and met him he saw a monk drinking spirits (lit. spirits and wine) and with a wife. [He] was disgusted, but he thought of the instructions of his teacher Longdol and took a khadag and made veneration to him and explained

12) Skt. *yogācārya* “yoga teacher”.

the reason [for his visit]. As a response [the monk] gave him a cup made of a human skull filled with very strong spirits, and when Dogshin Noyon Khutagt was finishing reading the book entitled *yabnilun* the fire burst out. Then [he] blew [onto the fire] with a great burst [of air] and told [Agvaandandar Ikharamba] to drink it up right away. And it is said that when [he] drank, everything outside and inside the yurt, far and nearby was became transparent.

After that Agvaandandar Ikharamba got a *rengma* in the [caves of] Sünedü, moved outside of the territory of Züün khiid (Eastern monastery), built up a small dark-coloured yurt and started to live there milking several goats.

3.3.

The following version of the story taken from an Inner Mongolian source (Zandan 2006, pp. 43 – 44) is identical to the text given earlier in Möncke (1962, pp. 45–46), where it is said to have been written down as recounted by Dashtseren, the 58-year-old guard of “Gereltü jam” (Light Way) community in Khövsgöl sum of Dornogobi aimag.

Noyan Qutuytu Alaša-du očiyaḍ Lobon čimbu-yin ayui-yi uquysan gedeg. ayui-yi uquju bay-iq-u-du Alaša Yamun-u noyad dur-a ügeyičejü, yamar kümün irejü yajar maltayad bayiy-a yum bui? gejü üjegülkü-ber nayan qasay nom üjegen Aywangdandar-i yabuyuljai. očiqu-duni Noyan Qutuytu ekener-tei qamtu ariki ayiray talbičiqaysan sayuju bayijai. Aywangdandar oruyad očiqu-du ayayan-duni ariki kiged ögei. ter-e ariki-ača ni kengsigüü ünürten buçalju bayiba. Aywangdandar arai gejü yurba oyočiyaḍ Noyan Qutuytu-ača yurban asayulta asayuba gen-e.

nigedüger asayulta: «čidgür bayin-a uu?» gebel, Noyan Qutuytu: «bayin-a gejü sanabal bayin-a, bayiḡ ügei gejü sanabal bayiḡ ügei. yayčaqan la sanayan-u jüil» gebe.

qoyaduyar asayulta: «burqan ünen üü?» gebel, noyan qutuytu: «ünen-degen ünen, qudal-dayan qudal» gebe.

yurbaduyar asayulta: «kümün üküged bučaju kümün bolday uu?» gekü-dü noyan qutuytu: «kümün kümün-eče törüdeg yum. ükügsen kümün bučaju kümün bolday-i bi medekü ügei» geju qariyulba. ene qariyulta-yi Aywangdandar sonosuyad bučaqu-dayan noyan qutuytu-yin ölmei door-a yurba mörgüged yabujai.

ergijü ireged noyan-dayan: «ken bolqu-yi medsen ügei, yosutai jangčib»¹³ gedeg čini le ene baiqu. qarin čidkür yum bol dütüger wangčuy»¹⁴ gedeg-eče doroyši ügei čidkür yum bayin-a. bi ču mörgül-e, ta nar yayakiday bui?» gejei.

«tere čini Aru Qalq-a-yin yobi-yin soytuyu mön bayin-a. tere mön bol öbür mongyol-ača očiysan kümün labtai mün siü. tere kümün-ü teüke man-u-du bui. tere kümün-i kitad-ud

13) In Möncke's older version it is *jangčub samba* (Möncke 1962, p. 45). Possibly > Tib. *byang chub sems dpa'* “Bodhisatva”.

14) In Möncke's older version it is *düdeger wangčuy* (Möncke 1962, p. 45.). Possibly > Tib. *bdud*, Mo. *düd* “demon, the one who makes obstacles to religious deeds” and *wangčuy* “the Powerful one”. Possibly the Lord of the Demons (Luvsandorji, In 2013).

*jidiyan quuṣang gedeg, teüken-dü Aru Qalqa-yin nutuy-tu očiysan geǰü temdeglegsən bayıday.*¹⁵ *yayakiyad Aru Qalqa-du očiysan bui? gebel, Aru-yin olan çerig Düüyen bayatur-i alaysan uçır tegün-ü ami-yi tölügükü-ber yabuyuluyśan yum gen-e bile.*¹⁶ *saran köküge sibayun-u namtar bol öber-ün-kini namtar yum. eyimü uçır-aça tegün-i öber-ün namtar-ıyar ni şangnaqu keregtei» geǰü alaśa-yin noyad yarılçayad noyan qutuytu-tu: «çi bol jidiyan qooşan-un qoyıçı qubilyan düri yum. ene bol çinu namtar mön» geǰü keleged «saran köküge-yin namtar»-i öǰei. tegün-eçe qoyisi noyan qutaytu öber-ıyen ǰasaǰu nemegeđ dayulayulǰu toylal-a gen-e. (Zan-dan 2006, pp. 43 – 44)*

It is said that when Noyon Khutagt came to Alashaa, he dug *Lobon Chimbu cave*. The nobles of Alashaa Yamun did not like the fact that he dug a cave. “Who is this man who [comes and] digs [into] the earth?” they asked, and sent [there] Agvaandandar who had read eighty cartloads of books, to that place. When [he] came [to that place] Noyon Khutagt was sitting there with a wife, and he had alcohol (lit. spirits and fermented mares’s milk) in front of him. When Agvaandandar entered, he was given a cup of alcohol. The alcohol was boiling and burning smell was coming out of it. Agvaandandar could hardly swallow three gulps, and he posed three questions to Noyon Khutagt.

The first question was: “Do demons exist?” and Noyon Khutagt answered: “If one thinks they do, so they do; if one thinks they do not, so they do not. It is a matter of thought.”

The second question was: “Is it true that Buddha exists?” and Noyon Khutagt answered: „If one takes it as truth, it is the truth; if one takes it as lie, it is a lie.”

The third question was: “If a human being dies, will he become a human being again?” and Noyon Khutagt answered: “A human being is born out of a human being. I do not know if a human being becomes a human being again after the death.” As Agvaandandar heard these answers, he bowed to Noyon Khutagt’s toe three times and left.

When he returned, he [said] to the nobles: “I could not know who this man is, but if perfection exists, so he is a sheer perfection. However, if he is a demon, he is no less than the most powerful of all demons. I have bowed before him; and what about you?”

“That is the Drunken One from Khalkha’s Gobi. If it is him, he originally came from Inner Mongolia. We have his history. The Chinese call him Buddhist monk Ji Tian: according to that history [he] went to the territory of Northern Khalkha. It is said that the reason why he went to Northern Khalkha is that since many Northern [Mongolian] soldiers killed Hero Düüyen, [he] was sent there to pay for his life. The Story of Moon Cuckoo is the story of his own life. Therefore, it is necessary to reward him with the Story of his own life,” the nobles of Alashaa discussed the matter. “You are the next reincarnation of the Buddhist monk Ji Tian. This is the Story of your life,” [the nobles of Alashaa] said to Noyon Khutagt, and they gave to him the Story of Moon Cuckoo. Since that time, Noyon Khutagt made corrections and additions to the story and had it sang and performed.

15) In Möngke’s older version it is *tere kümün-i kitad-un jıdan quuṣang gedeg teüken-dü Aru Qalqa-yin nutuy-tu očiysan geǰü temdeglegsən bayıday*. “In Chinese Story of the Buddhist monk Ji Tian it is written, that that man went to the territory of Northern Khalkha.” (Möngke 1962, p. 45.)

16) In Möngke’s older version it is *Aru Qalqa-yin olan çerig-i Düüyen bayatur alaysan uçır...* “since Hero Düüyen killed many Northern Khalkha soldiers ...” (Möngke 1962, p. 45.)

3.4.

The following short story is one of the stories about Danzanravjaa recollected by people in the Eastern Gobi compiled by Khürelbaatar (2006). This particular story is said to have been recounted by Tseveendorj, an old man from Saikhandulaan sum of Dornogobi aimag who lived in Sainshand at the time of the interview (Ibid, p. 274).

... Равжаа Алагишаа вангийн хошуунаас “Саран хөхөөний” жүжгийг авахаар явахдаа, хоёр гурван хүүхнээ дагуулж явсан гэдэг. Дандар лхарамбын ойролцоо, морьтой, тэрэгтэй жуузтай, ямар нь мэдэгдэхгүй, хэсэг эр эм, лам хар улс буучихаад байсанд, Лхарамбатан сэжигдэж гэнэ. Дандар лхарамбыг яваад очиход, Равжаа судар дэлгэсэн, архи барьсан, эмс охидыг хажуудаа суулгасан байж байж. Лхарамба, тэр хоёр эхлээд биесийг сорьсон янзтай ном хэлэлцэж, дараа нь Лхарамба, Равжаад мөргөөд явсан гэдэг. Равжаагаар, “Ламринчимийн гачой” шадлуулах болж гэнэ, Алагишаагийнхан. Равжаа шадлаад, үдийнхээ гүнцэгт залрах болж, өнөө хоёр охиноо дуудаж, “Цааи нь гүйцээ!” гээд явж. Хоёр охин жигтэйхэн сайхан шадалж, гүйцээсэн гэнэ. Тэгээд их өргөл хүндлэл үйлдэж, “Саран хөхөөг” залуулжээ.

... It is said that when Ravjaa went to the banner of Alashaa Wang to bring the [theatrical] play of Moon Cuckoo there, he took two or three women with him. When some people with horses, carts and palanquins, women and men, monks and lay people – nobody knew where they came from – stopped near Dandar lkharamba's place, the honourable lkharamba had doubts. When Dandar lkharamba came to meet [him], Ravjaa was sitting with an open book, with spirits in his hand and women next to him. At first lkharamba and Ravjaa disputed [about books] as if testing one other, and afterwards lkharamba made prostrations before Ravjaa and left. The people of Alashaa [made] Ravjaa recite “Lamrimchim Ganchoi”. Ravjaa recited it and when he went to have lunch, he called out to those two girls: “Finish [the prayer]!” – said Ravjaa as he left. People say that the two girls recited [it] marvellously till the end [of the prayer]. And there were many veneration and many paid their respects and [Ravjaa] was given [the story of] “Moon Cuckoo”.

3.5.

The following text of the story is taken from a recently published book of folk stories and recollections about the temples, monks and religious life of Mongolia prior to the 1921 revolution (Монголын бурханы шашны аман түүх 2012, pp. 56–57). It is described as told by L. Majaag from Ömnögobi aimag in 2008.

Говийн догшин ноён хутагт Данзанравжаа дууч хуурч эмс, бараа бологчдоо дагуулан Алишаа ууланд очиж дуу хуур болон хэд хоножээ. Гэтэл нутгийн ардууд энэ байдлыг үзээд “Ар Монголоос их шидтэн гэгдэгч согтуу эр олон эмс охидууд дагуулан манай энд ирж их дуу чимээ болж нутгийн ардуудын дунд төвөг удаж байна хэмээн Алишаа

ноён айлтгажээ. Үүнийг дуулсан Алишаа ноён нь Алишаа ван хэмээх Агваандандар лхарамбыг дуудаж “Тэр говийн согтуу ноён хутагтаас зайлахгүй. Түүнд ид шидийг үзүүлж, ном хаялцан хөөж явуул” гэжээ. Энэхүү Алиша ван хэмээх Агваандандар лхарамба нь насан өндөр боловч их газар явж ихийг үзэж ном эрдэмд нэвтэрхий боловсорсон нэгэн байв. Дандар лхарамба Данзанравжаагийн ирж амар мэндийг асуувал Данзанравжаа хариу мэндлээд дэргэдээ байсан эрдэнийн танзан товдтой¹⁷ архиа барьжээ. Дандар лхарамба “Архи уудаггүй, арван хар нүглийг тэвчиж явдаг”-аа айлдаад архианаас нь ядам хуруугаараа нанчид өргөөд эргүүлэн өгсөнд Алишаа ноён энэхүү Дандар лхарамбыг явуулж гэдгийг мэдээд Данзанравжаа товдтой архи авч нэг шившиээд “Үүнийг ус гээд, өөрийгөө үхэр гэж бодоод залгилчих” гэсэн гэнэ. Гэтэл нээрэн товдтой архи нь захаасаа хөөсрөн архины үнэр нь замхаран ариалад ус болсон байжээ. Ингээд тэр хоёр танилцан энэ тэрийг ярилцаад эцэст нь Дандар лхарамба “Танзан товдоо надад өгчих, над олдохгүй, чамд мундахгүй эд байна” гээд аягыг аваад өвөртөлсөнд Данзанравжаа инээгээд “Тэвэл та надад Жамгян мядагийн¹⁸ догжидоо¹⁹ өгчих” гэжээ. Энэ нь Данзанравжаагийн “Саран хөхөөний намтар” дуулалт жүжгийг эх зохиол болох Дорно дахины их бичгийн хүн Лувсандамбийжалцаны “Саран хөхөөний тууж” байжээ. Ингээд Данзанравжаа босож Дандар лхарамбаас адис авах гэтэл Дандар лхарамба мөн өөдөөс нь тэргүүнээ нийлүүлэн хүндэтгэлтэйгээр адислалцсан гэдэг. Дандар лхарамба Алиша ноёныг очоод “Би Говийн ноён хутагтад бараалхаад ирлээ. Доогуур ярьвал Дүдгар ваанчигаас²⁰ наашгүй, дээшээ ярьвал Жанчүв сэмбий са жүва товолсон байна билээ. Би мөргөсөн” гэсэнд Алшаа ноён “Багш хэрвээ мөргөсөн л юм бол би очиж мөргөлгүй яахав” гэж мөн Данзанравжаад бараалхаж мөргөсөн гэдэг.

Danzanravjaa, the Ferocious Noyon Khutagt of Gobi, went to the Alashaa mountains accompanied by female singers and musicians and his retinue, and spent some time there. But the local people, having seen this, turned to the Noble of Alashaa respectfully: “The drunken man with many women has come here from Northern Mongolia under the name of magician, but he makes noise and commotion here that is inconvenient to the local people.” When the Noble of Alashaa heard about this, he called Alashaa Wang whose name was Agvaandandar lkharamba, and said: “[I] cannot get rid of that drunkard Noyon Khutagt of Gobi. Show him a miracle, dispute with him and send him away.” This Agvaandandar lkharamba called Alashaa Wang was old, but used to travel to many places, studied a lot and was very educated. Dandar lkharamba came to Danzanravjaa's place and greeted him. Danzanravjaa greeted him in reply and took some spirits in a human cranium shaped bowl made of precious sandalwood which he had with him. “I do not drink spirits, I refrain from the ten black defilements,” answered Dandar lkharamba; he made offerings with his ring finger dipped in the spirits and returned [the bowl]. As soon as Danzanravjaa realized that Dandar lkharamba was sent by the Noble of Alashaa, he took the spirits and whispered: “Think that this is water, think that you are a cow and swallow it.” And then really the spirits started to foam at the edge, the smell of spirits vanished away and it became water. In such a way the two men became acquainted with each other and discussed different things. “Give me your

17) Possibly *зандан тодваа* (Tib. *tsan dan thod pa*) “a human cranium shaped bowl made of precious sandalwood”.

18) > Tib. *jam dbyangs me tog* “Asian globeflower” (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 98), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trollius_asiaticus.

19) > Tib. *rtogs brjoḍ* “legend, story, lifestory, tale” (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 84).

20) In Altangerel's older version it is *дүд гараванчуг* (Алтангэрэл 1968, p. 9).

bowl, I can't get it, you have plenty of the stuff," said Dandar lkharamba, and put the bowl into his breast pocket. Danzanravjaa laughed: "If this is so, give me the Story of Jamyanmyadag," he said. That was the original text on which Danzanravjaa's musical drama *The Story of Moon Cuckoo* is based – the *Tale of Moon Cuckoo* written by the great Asian scholar Luvsandambijaltsan. After that Danzanravjaa stood up and wished to receive blessings from Dandar lkharamba, but Dandar lkharamba also [stood up] so that their foreheads touched and they received blessings from each other. Dandar lkharamba came [back] to the Noble of Alashaa: "I have made a visit to Noyon Khutagt of Gobi. If speaking in the sense of the lower [world], he is to dispute with nobody lower than the Lord of Demons (i.e. the Most Powerful of the Demons) himself; if speaking in the sense of the upper [world], he is the very one who is able to dispute with the Boddhisatvas. I have bowed [to him]," he said and the Noble of Alashaa said: "Teacher, if you bowed [to him], I will certainly go and bow as well," and he paid visit to Danzanravjaa and bowed [to him].

3.6.

The following are the respective parts of Danzanravjaa's shortened biography (*Tabuduyar noyan gegegen-ten-ü čedeg-ün tobči quriyangyui orosibai*) related to his visits to Alashaa. The transcription of the Mongolian original with a detailed commentary is given in Khürelbaatar (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, pp. 372–399). Presumably the same or a very similar text was used as the basis for Ravjaa's biography given in Damdinsüren (1962, pp. 7–14).

[9r] "...taulai jil-ün jun-u čay alša-yin
 barayun keyid-yin yajar-a kürčü mörgün basaču
 boyda milarayiba-yin namtar boyda adiša-yin namtar
 burqan-u gegegen-e namtar terigüten-i
 dayudayulun üjebei. abural dalai kemekü yajar-a
 am-a-a-yin yangdoi ergübe. tengdeeče
 dorjipaymo-du mörgüged boyda-yin obuyan-u
 dergede ebüljikü-dü saran köküge-ü namtar-i
 nutuy-un yajar dayulqu bayisinyin modu-i
 küriyen-eče abčirayulju tusalamui kemen šabi
 [10v] jaruju jangjun van noyad-tan-a ayiladyulun
 jöbšiyeregdejü modu-i abčirayulu
 bayising süm-e-i
 bariju güiçeldegülkü-yin jabsar-a luu jil barayun жүг
 yabuju ru/a/ngjun burqad olan-tai učiran mörgüjü
 yaiyiqamsiytai olan orud-ud-i üjebei. ..." (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 387)

 "...bi ... bučaju alša nutuy-tu
 ireged uul keyid-yin yajarača šabinar
 dayudan abču
 saran kökügen-ü namtar jerge-i diglejü yosučilan
 dayulaju bayiqu üyes-tü küriyen-ü sayid beyise

-ten čilegerekegsen učartu biber uriydaju ...”

”...tegüngče tulyatu-yin yaǰar-a ireǰü
saran kökügen-ü namtar-i dayulyulju olan-du üjegülbei.”

(Ibid., pp. 387–388)

[9r] “...in the summer of the Year of the Rabbit²¹ [I] have reached the Western Monastery of Alashaa [where I] worshipped and prayed [and] also [I] was invited to see the story of Bogd Milarepa,²² the story of Bogd Atiša²³ and the story of Buddha. [Then] at the place called Abural dalai

[I] made the offerings of *am-a-a-yin yangdoi*.²⁴ From there [I went to] venerate *Dorǰipaymo*²⁵ and while spending the winter at *Boyda-yin obuya*²⁶

[I] sent a disciple to help with bringing the wood from Khuree²⁷ for the building (i.e., the theatre) for the singing of the story of Moon Cuckoo in [my/our] homeland,

[10v] [I had him] kindly ask the honourable general, lords and princes²⁸ to obtain the permission, and while

the wood was brought and the temple building was built in the Year of the Dragon²⁹ [I] went to the West³⁰ [where I] met and worshipped many deities that came into being by themselves and saw many fascinating places ...”

“... I returned [and when I] came to Alashaa, [I] called the disciples from [my home] monastery, and when the Story of Moon Cuckoo and the other ones were staged and sung in a proper way the respectable *amban* of Khüree fell ill and therefore I was invited to ...”

“... from there [I] came to Tulgatu, [and] the Story of Moon Cuckoo was performed for the public.”

21) 1831 according to Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 321.

22) In Mongolian tradition know also as Мяс Богд, Tib. Mi la ras pa (1052–1135), one of the most famous Tibetan yogis and poets.

23) Atiša Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna (982–1054), a famous Buddhist teacher.

24) According to Damdinsüren’s interpretation, this refers to *lhamo-yin takil*, i.e. offerings to Lhamo (Damdinsüren 1962, p. 11).

25) Tib. Rdo rje phag mo, Skt. Vajravārāhi, the reincarnation of the consort of the wrathful deity Demchig (Tib. Khrag ’thung/ ’Khor lo bde mchog, Skt. Heruka/ Cakrasaṃvara). This refers to a sacred stone which depicts Dorǰipagma seated in the air on the ground of the Western Monastery (*Baruun khiid*) in Alashaa (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 350).

26) Supposedly the ovoo at Bogd uul (*Bogda ayula-yin obuya* → *Boyda-yin obuya*) that is now known as Takhilga. Bogd uul has a shape of camel’s hump and is situated in the middle of the range of Erveekhei uul (Butterfly mountain) in Alashaa (Цолмон 2013, p. 79).

27) Here and further in the text under Küriye or Neyislel Küriye (Нийслэл хүрээ) the capital of Outer Mongolia and present-day Ulan Bator is to be understood. (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 321, Цолмон 2013, p. 80).

28) According to Khürelbaatar (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 350) this refers to general Lkhasüren-bazar, the prince of Gobi Mergen Wang banner. Considering the plural form of *noyad* this expression may refer to general and princes.

29) 1832 according to Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 321.

30) Countries and places to the West, this is generally understood as Tibet.

4. Comments to the texts

4.1. THE STORYLINE

As the sources have said (IN Čoytu, Zandan 2012) and as can also be seen from the texts of the stories presented above, there are basically two versions of the story – one where the image with boiling or flaming spirits appears and another where Danzanravjaa is given three questions – with different modifications. In all of them the main subject (the encounter of Agvaandandar lkharamba and Danzanravjaa) remains the same but episodes preceding (the reason for the encounter) and following it (what precisely happened during the encounter and what consequences, if any, it had) developed into different varieties. In short, the content of the story varieties can be summed up as follows:

Preceding section	Main subject of the story		Subsequent section
Letter from Longdol lama (3.1)	Agvaandandar lkharamba goes to see Danzanravjaa in the caves / “somewhere” in Alashaa	Strong spirit in a bowl turns into flames	Agvaandandar acknowledges the power and abilities of Danzanravjaa (3.4)
		Danzanravjaa shows Agvaandandar lkharamba a miracle (3.1)	
Instruction given earlier by Longdol lama (3.2)		Strong spirit in a bowl turns into flames; drinking the spirit makes all things visible through and through (3.2)	
Own decision / invitation		Danzanravjaa is given three questions to answer (3.3) ³¹	Agvaandandar gets empowerment in emptiness from Danzanravjaa (3.1, 3.2)
		Strong spirit in a bowl turns into water (3.5)	
Upon the suggestion of Alashaa noble (3.3, 3.5) / the disciples ³²		The two men have a Buddhist debate together (3.4)	Danzanravjaa gets the story of Moon Cuckoo (3.4, 3.5) Danzanravjaa is recognised as the reincarnation of Chinese Buddhist monk Ji Tian and is given the Story of Moon Cuckoo because it is perceived as the story of his life (3.3)

31) Алтангэрэл 1968, p. 9.

32) Ibid.

4.2. LOCATION

While in most of the Khalkh Mongolian versions (3.4. and 3.5. including Altangerel's version in Алтангэрэл 1968, p. 9) the story is set in Alashaa in general, the versions known in Alashaa mention two places where the encounter of Agvaandandar lkharamba and Danzanravjaa could have possibly happened. According to some of these versions, as well as according to the version recorded by Möngke (1962, p. 45), the story took place at the Caves of *Lobunchinbu* (*Lobun čimbu* in version 3. 3.),³³ which is also referred to as the Cave Temple (*Ayui-yin süme*) or *Qaruun-a-yin ayui* by local sources. Charleux describes the place as situated about 110 km to the North-West of Bayanyol city in Alashaa region in the vicinity of the former caravan route from Gansu to Yeke Khüriye (Charleux 2006, Catalogue – Alashan p. 12). She mentions (ibid, Alashan p. 13) it is believed that the Cave Temple was established by Danzanravjaa, which might be a possible explanation for its affiliation to nyingmapa. The idea of Danzanravjaa digging the caves appears also in version 3.3. of the story presented in this paper.

According to other versions (3.1. and 3. 2.), Agvaandandar lkharamba went to see Danzanravjaa at the caves of *Süned* (or *Sümed*)³⁴, that is a large complex of cave temples dug in a massive area situated for about 25 km from Bayanqota, the center of Alashaa region. The caves are empty now, but there are still traces of Buddhist paintings on the walls and bases of apparently large statues left in some of them that show the original purpose of the caves. Some high situated and hard-to-reach caves are said to have been used by monks for meditation (IN, 2012). In another modified version of the story Agvaandandar lkharamba himself presented Danzanravjaa *Lobun Čimbü* cave after meeting him in the *Sümedü* caves. The later moved to *Lobun Čimbü* cave and repaired it so that it became a real Buddhist palace (*labrang*).³⁵ It is, however, worth noting that these caves are explicitly mentioned in Danzanravjaa's shortened biography only much later – he visited the Cave Temple (*Ayui-yin süm-e*) in the Year of the Monkey (1836) and the Cave Temple Complex in *Sümetü* (*Süm-e-tü-yin olan ayui*) in the Year of the Ox (1841).³⁶

33) Tib. Slob dpon chen po, Padmasambhava (Charleux 2006, Catalogue – Alashan, p. 12).

34) In some written versions this is sometimes referred to as *Sünedü bay* or *Sümedu bay*, i.e. administrative unit in which caves are situated. Based on *süm-e-tü-yin olan ayui* as stated in Danzanravjaa's shortened biography (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 392) *Sümetü* caves seems to be more correct.

35) *Ĵayarday* – Norbu 1999, p. 434.

36) Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 389, p. 393 respectively.

4.3. MAIN PROTAGONISTS OF THE STORY

As it is clear from all the versions of the folk story, there are two main protagonists in it. Agvaandandar lkharamba is depicted as the one who is searching for or is sent to meet Danzanravjaa. Though he is a highly educated, erudite scholar and even much older than his partner, in some versions he is instructed to ask for the empowerment in emptiness or in secret mantras (*нууц тарни*), and it is Danzanravjaa from whom he can obtain these. While Agvaandandar lkharamba is mistakenly identified with the prince of Alashaa only in version 3. 5. (Khalkha Mongolian source), although it is generally believed that it is Danzanravjaa, he is sometimes given different titles or even names, as for example “a monk whose title is Khüükhen Khutagt” (Keüken Qutuytu kemekü lam – Töbjaryal 1999, p. 47), or “the Ferocious Khüükhen Khutagt of Khalkha” (Qalq-a-yin Keüken Qutuytu Doysin Noyan – Jayaday and Norbu 1999, p. 433). And according to one local source it was not the Fifth (Danzanravjaa), but the Fourth Reincarnation of Doysin Noyon Khutagt who Dandar lkharamba met and debated with (IN, 2012). However, in this folk story Ferocious Noyon Khutagt of Khalkha is depicted as a very extravagant and unusually behaving monk (having or drinking spirits and being accompanied by a woman, women, children or singers) that conforms to some of the rumors spread about Danzanravjaa and that, according to the stories, “embarrassed Dandar lkharamba at first”. On the other hand, he is shown as possessing extraordinary abilities.

As there is no direct reference about meeting (or debating) with Agvaandandar lkharamba in Danzanravjaa's shortened biography, the time of the possible encounter of the two men can only be guessed. Based on the following facts – the time of the visits of Danzanravjaa to Alashaa given in his shortened biography, and especially the time of his first visit (1831),³⁷ when he mentions he had seen performances of *namtar*, the fact there is a letter of reply addressed to Noyon Khutagt of Gobi dated the Year of the Dragon (1832 – Sečen and Soyul 2007, p. 108) among the letters xylographically published in Agvaandandar lkharamba's collected works (*süngbüm*) and also the fact that in 1831 Agvaandandar lkharamba was 73 years old and it is therefore presumed that he was not travelling as much as in previous years – it is

37) According to the shortened biography Danzaravjaa later visited Alashaa in the Year of the Dragon (1832), the Year of the Monkey (1836) and sometime before the beginning of the Year of the Ox (1941), etc.

assumed that the encounter that became the main subject of the folk stories presented above occurred in 1831 (Sečen and Soyul 2007, p. 117).

It has to be mentioned that in one of the versions of the discussed story Danzanravjaa was rather strikingly identified with the eccentric and often drunk Chinese Buddhist monk Ji Tian, the hero of the Chinese Novel *Chikung-chuan*, from the numerous translations which were popular among Mongols at that time. (Heissig 1994, vol. I, p. 186).³⁸ Based on this Danzanravjaa was given a text of the Story of Moon Cuckoo as the nobles of Alashaa believed it was the story of his life (see the text of the story signed in 3.3).

As another, but rather marginal personage, the Tibetan monk Longdol lama³⁹ appears in some versions of the story. To be correct, Longdol lama (1719–1794) was really Agvaandandar lkharamba's teacher, but at the time of the encounter of Agvaandandar lkharamba with the Fifth Noyon Khutagt of Gobi he had already passed away, so he could not send letters to Agvaandandar in propria persona (3.1 and Töbjaryal 1999, p. 47, Jayaday and Norbu 1999, pp. 432–433), nor could he be the Danzanravjaa's teacher as stated by the source in 3.1.

4.4. A FEW WORDS ON THE STORY OF MOON CUCKOO

Now, let's return to the information available about the performance of the Story of Moon Cuckoo – the play, the text of which is mentioned in several versions of the discussed folk story, and in some of them as the reason why Danzanravjaa visited Alashaa. In his account on Tibetan theatre (Владимирцов 2003, pp. 310–322) Vladimirtsov describes different types of theatrical performances, starting from pure religious pantomimic performances (*tsam* / *цам*, Mo. *čam*, Tib. *'cham*), through *tsams* with dialogue up to dramatic performances, however he mentions that Tibetan theatre lacks stage or coulisses whatsoever. He describes the Milarepa *tsam* as a popular example of *tsam* with dialogue (Ibid. pp. 316–317) and then mentions the existence of the Story of the Prince Cuckoo, which belongs more to historical

38) The novel was popular under different titles, such as *jigüŋ juwan kemekü jitiyen boyda toyin-u teüke* "The Story of the Holy Monk Ji Tian called Ji Gong Zhuan" (Heissig 1994, vol. I, p. 222), or *Seng čin quyi kemekü teüke sudur* "The Story named Seng čin quyi" (Владимирцов 2003, p. 47), etc.

39) Longdol Lama Ngagwang Lobzang, Tib. Klong rdol bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang (<http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=698>). In Alashaa Mongolian pronunciation his name sounds as Lundul (see above 3.1).

drama and consists of narration combined with dialogue. In Tibet all the *tsams* are said to be performed at the monasteries and the actors are monks. Vladimirtsov also mentions the existence of hand-written texts of the dialogue (Ibid. p. 317). As to the Milarepa *tsam*, the one Danzanravjaa mentions in his shortened biography which he watched during his first visit to Alashaa (see 3.6) – it is still performed in Tibet.⁴⁰

The sources in Bayanqota hesitated to say whether there was a Story of Moon Cuckoo performed either at the Western or Eastern Monastery before the Cultural Revolution. They recalled that a *tsam* used to be performed there, but did not remember what kind of *tsam* it was. According to what Khürelbaatar collected from Gobi elders, soon after Danzanravjaa introduced the Story of Moon Cuckoo in his monasteries, the tradition vanished in Alashaa (Хүрэлбаатар 2006, p. 278). People say that the choreography of the Story of Moon Cuckoo originated in the Western Monastery in Alashaa, but in fact it came from some Tibetan monastery situated to the South-West of Alashaa (Ibid. 270).

After Danzanravjaa's death in 1856 the annual theatrical performances stopped until they were said to be re-established by the Seventh Noyon Khutagt⁴¹ (Altangerel – Khatanbaatar 2009, pp. 18, 24). However, in his famous book about the Buddhist monasteries in Mongolia Pozdneev (1887, p. 268) writes as follows: "I was told that about five years before my visit to Chakhar grasslands, Noyon Khutagt of Gobi who became very poor after the Dungan Revolt (1862–1877) invented another way of subsistence. He choose the most able of his monks, taught them the art of theatrical performance, made some decorations and started to wander through the banner performing the play, the subject of which was taken from one of the famous Buddhist literary works "the Life Story of Moon Cuckoo". Later I found out that it was not the invention of Noyon Khutagt, but that earlier the Khutagt of Alashaa did the same thing when he was performing the story of Milarepa."

40) <http://www.chamdancing.com/gonpo-dorje-milarepa-cham.html>.

41) Seventh Noyon Khutagt Agvaan Luvsan Dambee Jantsan (1875–1931) restored many activities that were stopped during the previous reincarnation of Noyon Khutagt, a Tibetan by nationality, under the pressure of Manchu court (Altangerel – Khatanbaatar 2009, pp. 18, 23–24).

5. Conclusion

Oral history is noted for being creative in changing, adding or leaving out the details of the story while passing on through time thus creating many varieties. Although it is not an official historical account it has to be perceived as a powerful source of the events once happened which at the same time bears an emotive content in the sense that it has absorbed the attitude of the bearer of the tradition to the subject, event or the heroes of the story and bears witness to their imagination. As is the case of the story discussed in this paper, this appears in recently released historical novel “The Holy One” (“Гэгээнтэн”) by the famous contemporary Mongolian poet and writer G. Mend-Ooyo; oral narratives can easily cross over the border of orality and become immortalized in literature.

Abbreviations

Chin.	Chinese
ML	<i>Монголын уран зохиолын тойм</i> (See References)
Mo.	Mongolian
San.	Sanskrit
Tib.	Tibetan

Informants

G. *Čoytu*, a bookstore owner from Bayanqota, Alashaa

J. *Luvсандоржи*, Institute of South and Central Asia, Charles University in Prague

Püjee, about 40-years-old driver from Sainshand, Dornogobi aimag, Mongolia

Unknown old man from Bayanqota, Alashaa

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Hidden in plain sight: The story of “Mother Mongolia”

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Summary: This article describes and analyzes a devotional image currently kept in the library of Gandantegc'inlen Monastery in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. Created during the late Communist period, the image, entitled “Mother Mongolia” (*Mongol eez*), is actually an image of Green Tārā in disguise. The image of Mother Mongolia should be located within the paradigms of both traditional Mongolian visual culture as well as the visual culture of the USSR (of which Mongolia was a satellite state). In this article, I examine the visual strategies of subterfuge employed by the unknown creator of the image of Mother Mongolia in order to be able to display an image of Green Tārā openly, during an era when the display of such images would normally have been forbidden. At the same time, an analysis of the discourse that formed around this image as part of the interview with the Buddhist monk B. Mo'nhbaatar reveals the cognitive and religious-philosophical strategies that formed an integral part of the reception or “correct viewing” of this image.¹

This article is part of a larger planned study entitled “The Visual Culture of Mongolian Buddhism.”

0. Introduction

As is well known, the long era of Communist rule in Mongolia (1921–1990) witnessed several waves of repression of religious practise and of the suppression, often murderous and brutal, of both Buddhist and indigenous religious practises. While many of the worst excesses of repression occurred during the time of the purges of the late 1930s, surveillance and suppression of sacral practise were omnipresent until the very end of Communist rule in Mongolia.

The painting of Green Tārā in disguise – designated as *Mother Mongolia* (*Mongol eh*) – which is the subject of this article, is now kept in the library of Gandantegc'inlen Monastery in Ulaanbaatar. This sacred image is a testament to the ingenuity of an anonymous painter of deeply held religious beliefs, who, in creating an image of Tārā that could be displayed openly without fear of reprisal from Communist officials, employed various strategies

1) This article uses the system of transcription outlined in Oberfalzerová 2006.

of visual subterfuge to mislead any authorities who would be inspecting the picture for “religious content”.

The information about the image of Mother Mongolia was provided to the author by B. Mo’nhbaatar, a monk at The Centre of Mongolian Buddhists at Gandanteg’inlen monastery in Ulaanbaatar.²

1. Description of the image

The image of Mother Mongolia/Green Tārā (see Figure 1) is painted on the back side of a sheet of glass and measures 40 by 48 cm. It is currently surrounded by a wooden frame of a dark brown-maroon hue. In certain parts of the image, a kind of glittery multi-coloured foil-like substance was used.

It is useful to examine some of the particular features of this image in terms of traditional Buddhist iconography.³ In what aspects is the image of Mother Mongolia similar to the traditional iconography of Green Tārā, and in what respects is it different? The following table compares the attributes of Mother Mongolia with the traditional attributes of Green Tārā⁴ (see Figures 2 and 3).

	Attributes of Green Tārā	Attributes of Mother Mongolia
āsana/ posture of deity	torso leans slightly to right; head tilted slightly to left	torso more upright; head tilted slightly to right
mudrās	right hand: mudrā of giving refuge (Sanskrit: <i>śaranāgamana mudrā</i>) left hand: mudrā of generosity (Sanskrit: <i>varadamudrā</i>)	left hand: mudrā of giving refuge (Sanskrit: <i>śaranāgamana mudrā</i>) right hand: holding infant in <i>dhyāna mudrā</i> (<i>mudrā</i> of meditation)
object in hand	holds stem of blue lotus flower (<i>utpala</i>) between fingers of both hands	gently touches small lotus petals held in infant’s hands
lotuses	to the left, a fully opened lotus; to the right, a half-opened lotus	to the right, a fully opened lotus; to the left, a half opened lotus;
hairstyle	traditional depiction; three lotus flowers in hair	long, flowing hair: three large lotus flowers in hair

2) The author would like to express her sincere gratitude to the monk B. Mo’nhbaatar for providing access to the library at Gandanteg’inlen monastery and for granting the interview concerning Mother Mongolia.

3) Information about the traditional attributes of Green Tārā described here has been obtained from Schumann 2008, Beer 1999, Beer 2005, and Landaw 2006.

4) Attributes based upon a painting of Tārā purchased in Kathmandu in 2008, in possession of the author.

	Attributes of Green Tārā	Attributes of Mother Mongolia
ears	long ears	ears covered by hair
halo/aureole	halo behind head and body	halo (sun) behind head only
distal background	blue-white sky and clouds	blue sky
seating	seated on lotus pedestal (<i>karnikāpīṭha</i>) with upward-facing petals and downward-facing leaves	seated on ground next to a body of water
seated position	half-closed (<i>ardhaparyanka</i>) (right leg drawn inward, sole of foot facing upward; left leg extending downward; left foot resting on lotus pad)	half-closed (<i>ardhaparyanka</i>) (right leg drawn inward, sole of foot facing upward; left leg extending downward; right foot does not rest on lotus pad)
garments	legs are swathed in robes	legs swathed in glittery robes of golden hues
foreground	grass, water; small jewel heap	water



Figure 1: Mother Mongolia (photograph by author).



Figure 2: Traditional image of Green Tārā.



Figure 3: B. Mo'nhbaatar with the painting of Mother Mongolia in the library of Gandantegc'inlen Monastery, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, July 2013 (photograph by author).



Figure 4: The current placement of the painting of Mother Mongolia in the library of Gandantegc'inlen Monastery, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, July 2013 (photograph by author).

2. A brief history of the image and its current placement

The image of Green Tārā was created sometime in the 1970s or the 1980s. B. Mo'nhbaatar did not know the author's name, only the approximate date of its creation and, that after the death of the creator, the people who had known the artist decided to donate the image to the monastery. Until this time, the image had been openly displayed in a private residence. B. Mo'nhbaatar stressed that the person who had painted it was deeply religious, and that the exclusive motive behind the creation and display of this image was to serve the function of the veneration of Green Tārā.

During the interview about this image, B. Mo'nhbaatar consistently placed the act of the creation of Green Tārā/Mother Mongolia within the wider context of religious practise which of necessity had been driven underground (See Section 4.0 for a consideration of the correct reception of the image).

At the present time, the image of Green Tārā/Mother Mongolia is kept within the library at Gandanteg'inlen Monastery. It is not kept on the main altar place in the library or in the main shrines, but is placed on a very wide and deep windowsill, set perpendicularly to the window, and faces south, as does the altar place (see Figure 3).⁵ It is immediately visible as one enters the library. As such it does not immediately form a part of the main shrine behind the altar place, but is clearly an important element in a sacred space.

3. Strategies of concealment: Resemblances and dissemblances

The image of Mother Mongolia bears a certain resemblance to Green Tārā, even at first glance, so it is worthwhile to examine the visual strategies employed to render the image acceptable in the eyes of the Communist authorities. The task of the artist in this case, clearly, was to make the image "different enough" but clearly recognizable to a Buddhist as Green Tārā.

3.1. RESEMBLANCES

As we saw in the chart in Section 1, the general posture of Mother Mongolia is similar to that of Green Tārā. As in the case of a traditional image of Tārā,

5) The altar place and the painting of Mother Mongolia face the direction of the entranceway, as in a traditional Mongolian *ger* (yurt).

the upper half of her body is unclothed; the lower half of her body is draped in fabric. The halo around her head in the traditional image becomes a sun in the depiction of Mother Mongolia. The *mudrā* of bestowing refuge, traditionally the gesture indicated by Green Tārā’s left hand (Schumann 2008, p. 135), is, in the image of Mother Mongolia, transposed to the right hand. In the image of Mother Mongolia, the second finger of the right hand is slightly bent towards the lotus petals held by the infant (see Figures 5 and 6).



Figure 5: Refuge-bestowing *mudrā*: right hand of Mother Mongolia.



Figure 6: Refuge-bestowing *mudrā*: left hand of Green Tārā.

The centralized dynamic of the overall composition is similar (a seated female figure along the central axis of the picture), although while Green Tārā’s torso is gently inclined to the right, with her head tilted slightly to the left, Mother Mongolia is depicted as gently inclined to the right. The two loops of cloth on either side of the figure flow outwards at the same point and in the same fashion. Similar as well is the expression of benevolence emanating from the seated figure. Overall, there is a similarity of style on the macro level: the figure(s), the surrounding objects, as well as the foreground and background, are designated by relatively thin and uniform black outlines which then delimit a specifically defined colour field. In each case, bright and bold colours are employed, although the colour range for each image differs slightly. Apart from the difference in the position of the main figure’s hands, the general postures of both are nearly identical.

It is interesting to note the swathe of cloth looped around Tārā’s torso. In a sense this is replicated in the image of Mother Mongolia in the way the mother’s hands are almost intertwined with that of the infant’s. The infant’s

arms are visually very reminiscent of the swathe of fabric looped from Tārā's left side. Even the baby's puckered mouth recalls the reddish indent of the swathe of fabric that cascades down as it falls gracefully over Tārā's left arm. In any event, the fashion in which Mother Mongolia's right hand gently touches that of the infant's serves the same visual function as the cloth wrapped around Tārā's torso in her traditional portrayal (see Figures 7 and 8).



Figure 7: detail from torso of Mother Mongolia.



Figure 8: detail from torso of image of Green Tārā.

In particular, similar to the example of the sun god of the Incas cited by Morgan (see Section 3.4 below), the sun behind the head of Mother Mongolia, just like the solar disk, functions both as a secular image of the sun emitting rays, or – to the even slightly trained Buddhist eye – the halo placed behind Tārā's head in traditional iconography. In the image of Mother Mongolia, the larger aureole is seemingly disrupted. In traditional images of Tārā, there is usually an aureole or circular disk behind her entire body: here, however, the two extravagantly over-sized lotus flowers on either side of the seated female figure of Mother Mongolia, as well as the slightly altered angle of her right foot, actually serve to create the points of a traced circular form around the figure, creating, in effect, an invisible aureole.

In terms of the two lotus flowers, the blooms in the Mother Mongolia image are painted in a completely different style, one that is – similarly to the entire picture – highly suggestive of Secessionist imagery. The colour of the originally blue *utpala* lotuses has been rendered more naturalistically (and the blooms look very rose-like): their symbolism, however, has remained intact. In both versions, one lotus is half-open, the other is fully open, to reflect Tārā's willingness to aid both day and night.



Figure 9: Mother Mongolia with invisible aureole.



Figure 10: Green Tārā with aureole in the background.

In traditional Buddhist iconography, Green Tārā sits on a lotus pedestal or throne. Mother Mongolia, by contrast, sits on what appears to be the shore of a lake: in any event, she sits on a piece of grass-covered earth next to a body of water. Interestingly, the thickness of this depicted shore is nearly exactly equal to that of Tārā's lotus throne, and the outlines of the shore generally mimic those of Tārā's pedestal (with the exception that the shore is depicted as continuing to a space beyond the picture frame.) The vertical markings within the upper and lower demarcations of the shore line visually echo the folds of the lotus petals in the traditional depiction of Green Tārā. The depiction of Mother Mongolia as seated in front of a seemingly large body of water is hardly accidental, however. The early Tārā cults in India were strongly associated with the notion of the goddess who “as her very name would show ... (from *trī* – to swim across) is primarily the saviouress or deliveress who carries her votaries across waters or troubles” (Shastri 1998, p. 16).

I would postulate that these resemblances, both on the broader and the more subtle levels, functioned as *indicators of the sacred to the informed beholder*. In other words, the viewer who was *competent in the correct reception of this image* would have been immediately aware not only that he or she was viewing a somewhat adulterated image of Green Tārā, but that, crucially, *contrary to appearances, the sacredness inherent in the image had not in fact been disrupted*.⁶

6) It is worth noting that in Mongolian, the word for ‘deity,’ as well as ‘image or statue of a deity’ is one and the same (*burqan*) (Bold 2008, p. 369.) The referent and its signifier are perceived as being one, yet potentially separate in spatialized terms.

3.1. DISSEMBLANCES AND CAMOUFLAGE: THE SACRED “OTHER” AS A SMOKESCREEN?

The most immediate obvious difference between the two images is, of course, in technique: Mother Mongolia is painted onto the back side of a sheet of glass and is placed in a frame, in contrast to the traditional *thangka* image painted onto cotton and positioned onto a silk brocade scroll (see Shaftel 1986). In terms of scale, Mother Mongolia is much larger than a traditional *thangka*, not to mention the small votive paintings of deities that were relatively common in pre-1921 Mongolia.⁷

Beyond the rendering, as noted above, of each image in black outlines which delineate the respective colour fields, and that both images use relatively bold colours, the styles in which Mother Mongolia and Green Tārā are depicted differ considerably. Mother Mongolia is depicted in a style vaguely reminiscent of the “psychedelic” imagery popular in the 1960s and 1970s. (The use of glitter and bold colour contributes to this impression.) B. Mo’nhbaatar also commented on this aspect of Mother Mongolia, remarking that “She is quite contemporary.” (Interview with B. Mo’nhbaatar, July 2013). Her hair style does indeed seem rather “70s”, and the long tresses cover Mother Mongolia’s elongated ears. At the same time, there is a decided Art Nouveau or even Secessionist feel to the image: this image of Mother Mongolia, it seems fair to state, is somewhat more sexualized. The glittery foil-like material is employed in the golden sun behind Mother Mongolia’s head, the pink lotus flowers and green petals, the golden edges of the swathes of cloth wrapped around her shoulders, and the golden-reddish garments on her legs. The effect of this use of the foil, and the luminescent colours in general applied to the glass, is very reminiscent of European stained glass technique, and in particular of early 20th century stained-glass imagery.⁸ Overall, the effect created is that of a visual quotation of a stained-glass window in a Christian church. Clearly, this stylistic result is greatly heightened by the presence of the infant in the mother’s arms (of which more below).

There is, it would appear, a real irony in this use of Art Nouveau and Secessionist styles. Mongolia, as a Soviet satellite state, was by necessity profoundly influenced by the visual culture of the Soviet Union (see, for example,

7) See Heroldová 2013 for an illustrated summary of such holdings in Prague’s Náprstek Museum.

8) The image bears an almost uncanny resemblance to the stained glass commissions created for churches of Louis Tiffany, or, for example, some of the Secessionist images of Alphonse Mucha.

Maidar 1988). At the same time, the extensive use of the gold foil, particularly in the sun (the disguised halo) behind Mother Mongolia’s head, is reminiscent of an icon of Russian Orthodox provenance. (We can recall the use of gold leaf around sacred figures in the Russian Orthodox icon, which serves to dramatically emphasize the figure(s) in the icon.)

As noted above, one of the major differences between the two depictions is the presence of the infant in the image of Mother Mongolia. In the words of B. Mo’nhbaatar, the addition of the infant – a clear loan from Christian iconography – was indeed the main *desacralizing* element of the image. “As for the child... if the mother did not have a child, they [the authorities] would have thought this was a picture of a deity (*burqan*),” he stated (interview, July 2013).

In addition to these elements, other visual associations conjured up by the image and its presentation – from both Mongolian and non-Mongolian contexts – should be mentioned. The visual trope of an image painted on glass not only recalls the European stained glass window in both its secular and non-secular manifestations, but the way the glass image is placed within a frame immediately creates two very different associations: on the one hand, that of the framed painting of European classical tradition is conjured up, along with its implications of a shared cultural background of secularity, and of the painting generated exclusively as an object for aesthetic pleasure. At the same time, however, the presentation of Mother Mongolia, painted onto the back side of a sheet of glass, visually evokes the *j’aaz*: that is to say, the vitrine-like frame, placed upon a decorated chest or the altar place in the *hoimor*⁹ in the yurt (*ger*), which contains pictures of family members, friends, victorious horses, movie stars, deities, and so on. The *j’aaz* fundamentally functions as a kind of kinetic montage of these items, the composition of which can be endlessly re-arranged (Delaplace 2009, p. 312). The visual trope of the montage plays a crucial role in the visibility of Mother Mongolia, as we shall soon see.

In Sections 3.3–3.5, I will discuss the techniques of camouflage that were used by the artist. The visual strategies that lay behind the creation of Mother Mongolia conflate at least three different visual modes or “ways of seeing” simultaneously (they will be explained in detail below):

9) The *hoimor*, the place of honour in the yurt, is comprised of the interior part of the yurt located north of the hearth. Bold, 2008, p. 2530.

- the Soviet model of the visuality of appropriation and montage, through which the Christian iconography is filtered and appropriated
- the forms of Christian iconography themselves transposed onto the traditional depiction of Green Tārā
- a subtle but distinct tendency towards a kind of faux-naïve Orientalism inherent in the method of the portrayal of the female figure

The conflation of these modes, amounting to a strategy of visual camouflage, is what allows the inherent sacredness of the image to appear as non-manifest to the uniformed viewer.

3.2. TECHNIQUES OF CAMOUFLAGE: *MAT' GEROINYA*

Another significant cultural reference that the image of Mother Mongolia clearly draws upon is the iconography and symbolism of one specifically Soviet public award: the medal of *Mat' geroinya* (Mother Heroine), established in 1944, and awarded to any woman who bore at least ten children. The iconography on the medal of *Mat' geroinya* clearly seeks to differentiate itself from the traditional Russian Orthodox vocabulary of mother and infant: the mother (and one of her children) are both seen in silhouette, and gaze at each other tenderly.¹⁰ In other versions, they are both seen in profile, gazing bravely off into the distance.



Figure 11: Maternity medal, USSR.

10) See: <http://onagradah.ru/medal-materinstva-i-orden-mat-geroinya/>. Accessed September 13, 2013. (The Ukrainian version of the medal, however, is much closer to traditional Orthodox iconography. See: <http://polemika.com.ua/news-77401.html>. Accessed September 12, 2013).

These medals were awarded and distributed in many or all of the former Soviet bloc countries. Needless to say, there was a Mongolian version as well: the *Aldart eh* (Distinguished Mother)¹¹ medal, which, interestingly enough is still awarded today.



Figure 12: The Mongolian “Distinguished Mother” medal.

Even if the image of Mother Mongolia herself is not visually specifically identical with the iconography of the Mother Heroine medal of the Soviet era, the ostensible use of the ideology that informs it was clearly employed by the artist who created Mother Mongolia (as is also suggested by her name). In other words, the artist clearly relied upon the officially propagated cult of motherhood, instigated in the 1930s and prevalent throughout the Soviet era, as one of the many techniques of camouflage used in this image. The ostensible Soviet ideology underlying the image would render it acceptable to government authorities while obscuring the real and hidden intent of the image. This portrayal of Tārā as Mother Mongolia seemingly reduces her to a harmless folkloric element: as she is celebrated as a “giver of life”, her sacral power is apparently erased. Here, to the unsuspecting eye, she is nothing more than a visual manifestation of the one of the multiple and variegated “brotherhood of nations” that was, in terms of its own official propaganda, the USSR.

11) This image is taken from www.khanuul.mn. Accessed October 6, 2013.

3.3. THE CONTEXT OF SOVIET VISUAL CULTURE

The Soviet regime, particularly in its early revolutionary and Stalinist phases, was extraordinarily and aggressively attuned to the transformation of the everyday visual space. Obviously, this far-reaching effort served the purposes of propaganda, the “engineering of human souls”, in Stalin’s notorious formulation. However, this aggressive visuality, resulting in some of the most pioneering avant-garde movements of the early twentieth century, must itself be considered within an earlier and highly pervasive historical context: the deeply iconophilic visual culture of the Russian Orthodox Church.

It was at the First Congress of the Writers’ Union in 1934 that “Stalin approved the slogan ‘socialist realism’ and proclaimed it mandatory for all Soviet art” (Groys 1992, p. 36). Boris Groys writes in his study *The Total Art of Stalinism* that the mandated switch from the early avant-garde movements to Socialist Realism in 1934 was actually not a disruption of the avant-garde Constructivist program of the 1920s, but its logical fulfilment (ibid. p. 36):

...the Stalin era satisfied the fundamental avant-garde demand that art cease representing life and begin transforming it by means of a total aesthetico-political project... Stalinist poetics is the immediate heir to constructivist poetics.

Nonetheless, as Groys points out, the Socialist Realist program was itself inherently *syncretic* in terms of its content, as opposed to the often visually puritanical avant-garde (ibid. p. 40):

...it must not be forgotten that social realism regarded itself as the saviour that would deliver Russia from barbarism by preserving the classical heritage and all of Russian culture from the ruin into which the avant-garde wanted to plunge it.

Groys quotes Andrei Zhdanov (ibid. p. 40; emphasis mine):

...We Bolsheviks do not reject the cultural heritage. On the contrary, we are critically assimilating the cultural heritage of *all nations and all times* in order to choose from it all that can inspire the working people of Soviet society to great exploits in labour, science, and culture.

As Groys writes (ibid. p. 127; emphasis mine):

Now, looking not from the viewpoint of a disinterested spectator but that of an engaged participant, it becomes apparent that the Socialist Realist paradigm was less restrictive and more inclusive than, say, the Suprematist one because *it was allowed to operate with a much richer vocabulary of artistic forms, including forms appropriated from the traditions of the past*. The conflict between the Russian avant-garde and Socialist Realism was actually centred on the legitimacy of *artistic appropriation*... For the avant-garde, of course, appropriation equalled plagiarism.

By the 1970s, the Stalinist era had long since come to an end. Writing in the 1980s, Groys comments (ibid. p. 77) that “it is precisely now that Soviet ideology is truly becoming traditional and conservative, and in this process it willingly appeals, above all, to traditional Russian values, including a purely moralistically interpreted Christianity.”

The image of Mother Mongolia should therefore be considered within this context of Soviet visual culture, from its avant-garde beginnings in the 1920s through the “total aesthetico-political project” of Stalinism to the return to traditionalism of the pre-*glasnost* era (the approximate date, we will recall, of the creation of the image).

The use of Christian iconography, then, in the image of Mother Mongolia relies upon the visual strategies of “radical montage” that were characteristic of Soviet visual culture from its earliest incarnation. In terms of Soviet theory, these forms were made “new” and thus acceptable through this process of radical visual de-contextualization.¹² The employment of the traditional Christian iconography of the Virgin Mary with the Infant is in this case, of course, deeply ironic. The artist employs a *mode of visibility* which directly and forcefully quotes Soviet modernity with its assimilation “of all nations and all times”, allowing thus for abundant quotation of displaced elements within the Soviet culture of radical montage. Simultaneously and no less forcefully evoked – and to all appearances, indistinguishably from this deeply ironic deployment of Soviet visibility – is nothing less than the entire iconic tradition of both the Eastern and Western Christian Churches, as it inevitably inheres in the evocation of the Virgin Mary and the Infant.

3.4. DISSEMBLANCES: ASIAN CHRISTIAN ICONS AND EXPROPRIATED IMAGES

The artist’s use of appropriated Christian iconography should also be examined from the viewpoint of the history of Christian visibility within Asia. Clearly it is difficult to gauge the artist’s intention here, but the radical decontextualizing of the figure of the Virgin Mary transposed onto Tārā inevitably brings to mind the many other instances where Christian imagery was similarly deliberately displaced. In other words, the image of Mother Mongolia

12) It was the rejuvenation of these forms that legitimated them. This also allowed the theorists of Soviet visibility to avoid the charge of eclecticism. Ibid. p. 49.

inevitably brings to mind the unique visual culture of the long history of Christian missionary activity in the East.¹³

In his study of the sacred in visual culture, David Morgan refers to many instances of deeply syncretic “expropriated imagery” within the context of Christian missionaries in Asia and South America (Morgan 2005, p. 163; emphasis mine):

...not all local response to missionary efforts elicits the approval of missionaries. An important category of response is *non-Christian appropriation of imagery*. *Expropriated imagery is detached from its Christian context and meaning and redeployed in a non-Christian practise*. ...*Expropriated imagery is withdrawn from one cultural domain and made the property of another*. But the expropriation need not be purely negative or destructive. In both the original setting and the new, each culture may seek points of correspondence or analogies where one culture can be mapped over another. Images provide the way of doing so. *This analogizing may be conducted as a means of protest; as a strategy of survival or resistance directed against cultural incursion*.

Morgan’s analysis can read be on two different levels within the context of the present discussion. As has been noted, the artist who created Mother Mongolia appropriated elements of Christian iconography. Within the context of Soviet Communist ideology, this iconography was understandably deprived of any religious *missionizing function* it might have carried in a non-Christian indigenous context. Yet the presence of this contextually delegitimized Christian iconography in the image is precisely what contributes to its desacralization: it serves to neutralize the potentially disturbing Buddhist content. Mother Mongolia is therefore analogous to those cases cited by Morgan where expropriated imagery is used by the subjects of the regime against the colonial masters themselves *as a strategy of survival or resistance*. In this case, however, the maker of the image has borrowed the visual tropes of a *different colonialisng legacy* in order to render the sacred force of the image impotent, and thus suitable for insertion into the secular space of Soviet visibility. In his expropriation of Christian iconography, the artist was using the same strategies as the subjects of missionary activity that Morgan describes, even if the context was fundamentally different.

Morgan additionally cites an example from the history of the conversion of the Incas by Spanish colonialists in which a native symbol, seemingly deprived of its inherent sacred content and overlaid with the occupiers’ Christian iconography, can still retain a disturbing polyvalence of interpretation (Morgan p. 122; emphasis mine):

13) A missionary activity which began, we should not forget, with the exile of the Nestorian Christians to Central and Inner Asia in the 5th century C.E.

...In her recent examination of the visual culture of colonial Cuzco's celebration of Corpus Christi, art historian Carolyn Dean constructs a multilayered account of the annual performance, arguing that the same ritual was experienced very differently by Spanish authorities, Inca nobility, and ethnic Andean groups who had been subject to the Incas during preconquest days... Dean points out that a strategy of substitution was employed by the colonial state: *Christianity was mapped out over the indigenous precursor in a pattern that colonial Catholicism often relied on...* Incan nobility participated in the procession of the new Christian rite wearing traditional costume that included a solar disk, emblem of the Incan sun god but now also the symbol of the Christian deity. *Yet in creating this substitution via subordination, the Christian rite of Corpus Christi preserved the pre-Christian meaning.*

In addition, Morgan's study cites examples of Christian imagery generated within the context of 19th-century Christian missionary activity in India: instances of Buddha portrayed as a Christ-like figure, or vice versa, were not uncommon. At times this imagery was generated by the missionaries themselves as an attempt to win over their targeted audience; at times it was created by the newly-won faithful themselves as an act of devotion. Necessarily syncretic in nature, the very volatility of these images rendered them double-edged, like the solar disk that is both a halo and the Incan sun god. I would suggest that the image of Mother Mongolia clearly falls into this category of deliberately ambiguous and thus subversive images in which the subterfuges are subtle enough to deceive the colonial masters.

3.5. TECHNIQUES OF CAMOUFLAGE: A FAUX ORIENTALISM?

As mentioned above, the image of Mother Mongolia seems somewhat more sexualized, or sensual, than her traditional counterpart. Visually, this impression is created by the naturalist colour of her body (as opposed to the traditional green), her long, flowing hair, and the elaboration of detail around her nipples. The image falls easily into the Orientalist trope of the half-naked eastern female portrayed for the benefit of western or European eyes. It is likely that the creator of this image, in addition to the processes of expropriated imagery contributing to its ostensible desecularization, was employing a kind of *faux-Orientalism* as yet another camouflaging technique.¹⁴ This served to add yet another layer of dissemblance, this time borrowed as well from the legacy of European colonialism, to the hidden sacredness that nonetheless inheres in the image for the *knowledgeable* beholder.

14) See Said 1979 for a discussion of Orientalism.

4. The “Reading” of the image and its correct reception

In course of the author's discussion about Mother Mongolia with the monk B. Mo'nhbaatar, the question of the correct perception or viewing of the image continuously arose, as well as the question of the societal and political context in which the image was created. The Communist regime constantly sought to enact surveillance of potential religious practise on the part of the populace, although obviously the level of repression varied according to the era, and the region in which it took place. Clearly, there is not space in this study to examine the surveillance mechanisms of the Mongolian Communist regime in detail, but what can be mentioned in the context of our discussion are the many instances of inspections of yurts and other private residences to see if there was any religious iconography in a given household.¹⁵ These instances of religious restriction and repression remained very vivid for B. Mo'nhbaatar – if perhaps not as a personal memory, then certainly as events that were well within the living memory of what had occurred within his own family circle and those close to him.

Perhaps not surprisingly for a monk, B. Mo'nhbaatar viewed the religious and societal restrictions of the Communist era in Mongolia in terms of the traditionally Buddhist tripartite division of mind, body and speech. B. Mo'nhbaatar considered this tripartite division as further categorized into the division of either *outer* or *inner*. The Communist regime was, accordingly, constantly seeking to discover outer signs or evidence of inward tendencies. B. Mo'nhbaatar understood the attempts of the Communist regime to monitor instances of Buddhist religious devotion as a regularly occurring surveillance of manifestations of *body* and *speech* (interview, July 2013):

People have three freedoms; one person has three freedoms, three kinds of freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of the body, and freedom of mind. Our Communist government conducted surveillance of only two of these, they placed controls on two of these, the third one they did not control.

B. Mo'nhbaatar emphasized that due to this frequent surveillance, the outer forms of worship – those involving body and speech – frequently could not be practised. Older lamas at times prayed in secret in certain *gers*, but this of course was not without risk. Sūtras and thangkas were hidden, very frequently under beds, or placed behind other picture – for example, pictures of Lenin or other high communist dignitaries – in the frame of the *jaaz* on the family

15) This was also confirmed by J. Luvsandorj. Consultation, Sept. 2013.

hoimor.¹⁶ B. Mo’nhbaatar explained that when sacred items were placed under the bed – which normally would be considered as deconsecrating, since such votive objects must always be placed within the honorific space of the *hoimor*) – the owner of the item would subsequently beg its forgiveness:

Those people put the images of deities underneath their beds, and so sometimes inside themselves they [addressed the images] like this: Forgive me, if I don’t do this I can’t protect you...¹⁷

Because of the visual techniques of camouflage outlined above, the image of Mother Mongolia was not hidden, but displayed openly in the *ger* of its creator. B. Mo’nhbaatar emphasized that the apprehension of the sacredness of the image was wholly dependent on *the correct perception of the image* (interview, July 2013):

These old lamas were very smart. From the outside it [i.e., the image of Mother Mongolia] looks a little strange, doesn’t it? The hair has been placed outside. She’s holding a child. Although in that time there were obstacles, things were difficult, there were obstacles... it was hard. But as for what a person sees, it depends on himself.

In the case of Mother Mongolia, the correct apprehension of the division of *outer* and *inner* was what allowed the correction reception of the image of Green Tārā in disguise to take place. The correct *inner* reception of the image is what allows the beholder actively to disregard the *irrelevant outer aspects* that appear, in the formulation of B. Mo’nhbaatar, to desacralize the image in terms of traditional Buddhist iconography: the female figure’s flowing, rather unkempt hair,¹⁸ the presence of the infant, and the inclination of her head. As mentioned above, the insertion of the infant into the picture was one of the main deflecting strategies used by the artist. B. Mo’nhbaatar, however, went on to add:

From the inner viewpoint of a [religious] person, the fact that there is a child there is irrelevant. What is seen there is *Dari eh*,¹⁹ Green Tārā.

16) J. Luvsandorj also recalls sacred images being hidden behind other pictures in the *jaaz*. Consultation, Oct. 2013.

17) Interview with B. Mo’nhbaatar, July 2013. Note that the icon is treated as a living being.

18) The hair was also described by B. Mo’nhbaatar as *zadgai*, ‘open, unkempt’. Bold 2008, p. 949. See as well article by E. Obratilová in this issue for a consideration of *zadgai* as an iconopoeia within the context of Mongolian toponyms.

19) *Dari eh* is the Mongolian term for Tārā: literally, ‘Tārā the Mother’, which harkens back to an earlier appellation in Sanskrit (Shastri 1998, p. 5).

The fashion in which the picture is perceived wholly depends on the manner in which attention is paid to it. To one person, as B. Mo'nhbaatar pointed out, it might seem like a Mongolian mother, or "Mother Mongolia", but a person with correct inner perception will see Green Tārā (interview, July 2013):

Green Tārā was the object of inner devotion as she had been in the old days. It was not permitted to pray outwardly. As for the outside,²⁰ they said other things to people: "Well, this is a Mongolian mother, it's a mother. Well, this lovely Mongolian mother is holding a child..." – so the government did not give people a hard time. Oh, that's a picture of Mother Mongolia... [they said] – but as they did so, as for the inside,²¹ when that same person looked [at the picture], what they saw was Tārā (Dari eh.) The inner prayer – that was the task.

B. Mo'nhbaatar went on to say (interview, July 2013):

A person's thought is his faith, it is inside, and when seen from the inside it [the picture] looks different, when he looked at the picture [the beholder] became even, balanced...

We can see clearly from this statement the function of the image of Mother Mongolia. It was an object of meditative religious devotion that did not have to be kept from visibility, but was instead, like the "Purloined Letter" of Edgar Allan Poe's famous tale, hidden in plain sight. In short, Mother Mongolia is a votive image of Green Tārā, successfully camouflaged in a disguise that utilized the visual language of the colonial masters and the would-be censors, while simultaneously radically deconstructing this very language through a subtle yet intense visual irony.

5. Conclusion

From the arguments summarized in Section 3, we can see that the image under discussion could be read, within one perspective, as an entire series of ironies. First, the anonymous artist drew upon the standard tropes of a generally conformist folkloric style widespread in post-Stalinist Soviet aesthetics; yet at the same time the visually structuralling principles ironically employed the Soviet culture of radical montage to expropriate Christian iconography – historically already displaced within the Asian context and subject to visual strategies of subterfuge. Finally, the impression of a faux-naïve Orientalism itself performs a certain ironic reversal of aesthetics with

20) "Outside" refers to outward manifestations.

21) "Inner" here is a general term referring to their inner state, their inner thoughts.

its evocation of fin-de-siècle European visual sensibilities recycled through popular psychedelic forms of the 1960s and 1970s. And in the end, the greatest irony of all is the vitally necessary function that these layers of cultural associations serve: as a camouflage or mask for the sacredness of the image, which remains inherent for the knowledgeable beholder. In particular, the forceful quotation of Christian iconography acts as a displaced and decontextualized sacred “counter-force” which ostensibly erases the Buddhist sacredness of the image of Green Tārā.

We should of course not forget that Buddhism itself in Mongolia arrived as an external cultural system, grafted onto and adapted by indigenous religious cultures. This process included, of necessity, visual adaptation²² of figures from the Buddhist pantheon or cosmology to earlier concepts and legends. In other words, it is also necessary to recall that all of the previously noted visual strategies in no way formed a historic rupture with tradition – even despite the violent destruction of this tradition’s manifestations and practitioners – but manifested themselves in a culture with a long history of syncreticism, visual and otherwise.

The presence and genesis of an artefact such as the image of Mother Mongolia provides us with a compelling and moving instance of performative visual religious and spiritual resistance in the midst of an aggressively secular totalitarian regime. Within the more specific context of Soviet totalitarianism, it is possibly a rather unique artefact.

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22) One interesting example is that, according to J. Luvsandorj, many Mongolian children would visually assimilate the well-known demon of Mongolian folklore, the *mangas*, to the wrathful deity Yamānataka.

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Scenic impromptu of Kim Sakkat¹

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Summary: This article deals with a relatively well-known theme, i.e. scenic images in classical Korean poetry. The first part briefly examines the formal structure and requirements of Korean pre-modern poetry; it stresses the role of traditional technique in composing poems, the schemes of the plot and the most frequent motifs. The key part concentrates on the poetry of the vagabond poet Kim Sakkat (김삿갓, 金笠), the most controversial personality in the classical Korean *hansi* (漢詩) poetry written in classical Chinese, *hanmun* (漢文). It classifies motifs, invariants and deviations from the prescribed canonical scenes, also mentions themes and technique of no precedent, especially his language experiments.²

1. Introduction

East Asian classical poetry had been a part of the education of the elite for centuries, i.e. everybody who entered the educational process was able to write it. The demands of poetry are interlinked with the basic formal and aesthetic categories, which we could simply divide into three main prerequisites: a) technique (formal and thematic division of the poem), b) aesthetic maxims and, c) the continuity of the main principles. The last predisposition can be explained by the words of the famous early Chosŏn literati of the 15th century Sŏ Kŏjŏng (徐居正) in his *Tongin sihwa* (東人詩話): "It is not difficult to write poetry, it is difficult to know it."³ Thus, literati have to know the tradition, the poetic canon in the broad sense of this word, to keep it and to incorporate components of the canon into their own poetry. Every

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 - 2) The text summarizes the translator's experience with Kim Sakkat's poetry which was already published in the Czech language in 2009 under the title *Básně Kima Klobouka* (Translated by Miriam Löwensteinová. DharmaGaia, Prague 2009, 250 pp.).
 - 3) *Uri kyŏreūi mihak sasang*. Pori, Sŏul 2006, p. 420.

member of the literati reads the prescribed manuals which were infinite and differed in the purpose and level of their content. Nevertheless, manuals mirrored the fashionable trends not only in poetry but in calligraphy and literati painting as these “arts” are closely connected with it.

Hence, everybody knew how to write, but not everybody was able to write the immortal poetry.⁴ We have to be aware that though the tradition of China and Korea has the same (Chinese) background, it stresses different elements of creation. Korean poetry requires seriousness without humour (*haehak*, 諧謔) and satire (*p'ungja*, 諷刺). Chinese demands of poetry emphasize the so-called “aesthetic gesture”, meaning that poetry has to have *chông* (情) and *sin* (神); thus, it has to touch all human senses. If somebody has the ambition to write immortal poetry, he has to reach the stage when he reaches beyond the technique and all the prescribed formal, i.e. rhetorical elements. However, in Korean poetry the stress was not given to the creative element as much as in China. Korean poetic tradition accentuated more the objectivity of the experience or the scene and the lifelikeness/truthfulness of the poem. That means when writing about Kûmgangsan, the Diamond Mountains, the poet has to have seen the Diamond Mountains already and, the reader has to recall them when reading the poem as well. Simply put, the sensual and personal experiences have been incorporated into the poetry.

Thus many themes, images, technical components etc. are prescribed, fixed by poets, supported by works of calligraphers, painters and every poet oscillates within this frame. Hence, the “newly” created images of the well-known objects are only the modification of the broadly known and repeated ones and authors are obliged to know the initial model and its invariants; the background of the scenery, clichés and topoi as these are the required parts of every poem and signalize that the author is seemingly educated. This is not full plagiarism, but a way of keeping and following tradition and canon; the result is somewhat unintentional behaviour. As Kim Sakkat mocks himself in his famous poem (*Kim Ip sisôn*, 2000, p. 89): ... “why I am cribbing the words of the ancient poets?”

In today's Korean literary histories, the prevalent opinion of late Chosŏn poetry is that the *hansi* poetry has undergone many changes in terms of form and content. Nevertheless, most of the literati composed poetry that merely adhered to traditional conventions; on the other hand, many of them verbally appreciated these changes. By freeing themselves from the traditional

4) This topic is quite complicated; though it is not the main theme of this article we simplified it substantially.

Chinese models of making poetry, Kim Myǒng-sun, for instance, suggests, a distinctly “Korean-style” could emerge to express distinct Korean moods and Korean reality (Kim Myǒng-sun 2007, p. 39). However, the huge deviation from traditional poetry is more evident in domestic poetic genres such as *sijo* (時調) and *kasa* (歌詞). In the 18th century it was prose that already underwent substantial deviation toward democratization, although poetry, especially *hansi*, kept the position of the legitimacy of the aristocratic class.⁵

In the 19th century, literati started to compose poems about everyday life, including the so-called “woman’s descriptive poetry (女性記俗詩)” that dealt with women and was written from the position of women. Poems were still written in seven-syllable quatrain (七言四句), or in five-syllable quatrain (五言四句). The latter form incorporated some elements of folk songs, which willingly expressed mainly women’s feelings and hardships by using the colloquial style and form of dialogue (Kim Myǒng-sun 2007, p. 165).

2. Natural motifs in the East Asian poetry

They are connected with religious and philosophical concepts. Therefore the human has been considered only a part of nature. He lives with nature, he follows the changes of nature, he is intimate with all natural objects and sceneries. Thus, East Asian literati could not write poetry from the point of view “du dehors”;⁶ “from above”. Koreans have been taught, even in the modern era, that they have to live in harmony or unity with nature (so-called *kyōrhap*, 結合). This is not an ecological posture or gesture, but a residuum of the ancient attitude to nature considered as a whole, and to the natural objects, which were worshipped, highly estimated and observed from the point of view of their constant status.⁷

5) For Kim Yun-sik Kim Sakkat is a perfect example when explaining the changes of form and function of poetry in 19th century who, in a broad sense of meaning of his nickname *sakkat* (‘hat’, see later), symbolizes the vagabond poetry. In: Kim Yun-sik and Kim Hyōn 1993, pp. 52–55.

6) We use this term according to the theory of author’s possible positionality (focalization) as it has been articulated during the 1950s and 1960s in European theory of literature.

7) Since the ancient times in Korea natural behaviour has been carefully observed and every abnormality evaluated by astrologers who examined whether nature did not predict a catastrophe or the fall of the state.

In this sense, nature in Korean poetry is the foremost and most frequent theme. In the history of literature many schools of pure natural poetry arose,⁸ among them the poetry of mountains and lakes, *sanho si* (山湖詩). Later, regardless of the philosophical foundation, poems of the moment and occasional poems (impromptu) were popular. These describe the scenery that the poet observes, even as a whole, or through other object, e.g. through a window, though artificial or natural. As a result various views from various positions are depicted. Nevertheless, we still discuss the magnificent mountains, rivers, lakes, trees and plants, not animals.⁹

3. What is a classical poetic image?

Every poem begins with the initial image (*ki*, 起) which is followed by a parallel one (*sung*, 承). The third part of the prescribed content is the intervention of the lyrical subject/author into the scenery (*jon*, 轉) and the final, fourth part is harmonization (*kyöl*, 結). In Korean classical poetry this obligatory division of every poem was taken from Chinese poetry.

In this framework every motif is substantially limited by technique and canonical models. Naturally, the most popular objects of description are mountains and rivers, i.e. magnificent scenery. All the images could be depicted many times, according to the changing of the four seasons and somewhat modified by the point of view of the creator.¹⁰ The basic scenery has two possible messages; nature should be in harmony with the poet's psyche, or it can be in contrast to it.

Mountains and rivers have their constant attributes (epithets) like high, infinite, broad, deep, blue and green i.e. some supernatural characteristics, though the scope of Chinese characters creating the poetic inventory is also

8) These are plenty in today's Republic of Korea; many societies of the followers of natural poetry proclaim *chayön* as their program, called themselves ambiguously "naturalists"; their poetry is classical in themes and form, respectively.

9) During centuries many of the natural objects turned into cultural symbols, far from their original form and meaning. This attitude is evident especially when observing animals. Animals were important for the early religions; later the world of animals was divided into mythical and "real" animals. In short, the second category disappeared as an object of poetic expression as it was not considered a proper theme.

10) Korean poets oscillated between the required subjectivism (I) and required didacticism (you, we). What is obvious is that in their focalization they always calculated with the audience. Also in the case of the classics, they delimited themselves and they communicated with them, whether consciously or unconsciously.

determined. Moreover, within the poetry of mountains and rivers, which has stable images and popular motifs, other universal motifs for the whole of literature and art existed: *sagunja* (四君子, 'four nobles' – 'four plants'¹¹) and *samu* (三友, 'three friends'¹²). Flowers and trees are connected with birds, butterflies and insect. These are also classical motifs of painting, while the others are not of such importance.

Everybody who was born into a noble family was trained in writing poetry and well informed about the technique of depiction, i.e. that firstly the initial scenery has to be set out, then the parallel verse follows, while the third part is something of a thematic shift and the final one closes the poem; it is harmonization, conclusion, it contains morality as well. Thus, every poet's imagery and theme development is limited. As depicted scenes have their stable predecessors and these are not infinite, the poet could only write in answer to them, quote those whose poetry was canonical and modify their images or their messages. This continuity of models included not only the domestic tradition, but the Chinese poetic canon as well. As we mentioned above, Koreans stress the "technical" elements and correctness of the form and do not value humour. However, humour in Korean literary history can be ascribed to the man known as Kim Sakkat or Kim Rip (Kim the Hat).

4. Kim Sakkat

Kim Sakkat (김삿갓, 金笠, Kim Ip, Kim Taerip, Kim Pyöngyön, 1807–1863) is a real exception among Korean poets. First of all, he is the poet-vagabond, of which Korea did not have so many, as there was no tradition of voluntary exile unlike in China. Second: Kim Sakkat is an excellent follower of the *hansi* (漢詩) poetry whose form and "inventory" he utilizes; on the other hand, he experiments with it to an unprecedented extent. He keeps the classical form which is a sign of his social stratum, i.e. he writes mainly for the literati class; on the other hand he and his poetry are unacceptable to literati, not only because of the poet himself, but because of the "immorality" of his poems. Third, in most of his poems we can find themes which deviate from the middle stream of Korean classical poetry with its stable, nature-based,

11) The Four Gracious or Noble Plants (*maenankukjuk*, 梅蘭菊竹) – plum, orchid, chrysanthemum and bamboo. These are not only motifs of poetry, but also of calligraphy, paintings and craft.

12) Three friends of winter, i.e. plants which are stable and evergreen even in winter; plum, pine and bamboo.

and moralistic motifs. He evokes fantasy, plays with the readers, and forces them to think; he mocks and irritates everybody. The last specialty of Kim Sakkat is humour, a very rare phenomenon in Korean poetry written by the aristocracy. Humour, understandable even for us, Europeans of the 21st century. It is neither humiliation, typical of the traditional low forms of the theatre and prose, nor the pure *p'ungja*, 'satire'.¹³ It does not serve to relieve excessive emotions, as Korean humour usually does. Sometimes it crosses the boundaries imposed by delicacy, but not very frequently.

It is not possible to characterize Kim Sakkat's poetry in simple words, since we find both the traditional and new poems in his anthologies. We can only speculate that the rigid/prescribed/model poetry belonged to his first phase, the experimental themes to the second one, the language experiments to his third phase and modest poetry in both theme and form to his last one.¹⁴ It is indisputable that he received a classical education¹⁵ (this fact is evident when we read his poetry – there are many allusions and topoi that witness to the fact he was educated as was every member of a noble family) and his first phase represented pure *hansi* poetry in its themes and formal "requisites". The second period was connected with his wanderings; he wrote many scenic poems, and began to write about human beings, animals, and other objects of common life too. The form of this period remained traditional, though the content differed and the messages turned toward absurdity sometimes. Then he abandoned all conventions and experimented with form and language: he created puns, some of his poems were written in a mixed style, etc. The following phase is not well documented, but we presume he turned to simplicity, used the elliptic style and tried to avoid all the formal and thematic conventions.

Nevertheless, this could be speculation as we do not know much about his life¹⁶ and many poems were ascribed to him only due to the simple fact

13) Satire (*p'ungja*, 諷刺), as Frye said, demands ethical standard (Frye 2000, p. 430) i.e. poems may contain some criticism. In fact, what Kim Sakkat displayed, is mockery, not satire, especially of the elite of his time (*yangban*, 兩班). Humour (*haehak*, 諧謔), a more positive approach to poetry, can be characterized by its "humanity and sympathy." (Kim Jin-ak 1982, p. 16). Kim Sakkat composed not many of his "comforting" poems to the suffering people; there is no severe criticism, it is more wit and humour that create the charm of his poetry.

14) Or the last preserved. Many scholars suggested, his last phase of poetry disappeared.

15) But not in a way the major part of his fellows did; as a descendant of a "traitor" he did not enter the educational system of the hereditary aristocracy.

16) There is no doubt about Kim Sakkat's existence. Nevertheless the first survey of his life appeared only in 1918 in *Taedong sisŏn* (大東詩選); in 1926 in *Taedong kimun* (大東奇聞) and, in 1930 in *Hong Kyŏngnaejŏn* (洪景來傳), i.e. more than fifty years after his death.

that they are not ordinary in their content, but orthodox or elaborated in their form. We know that he wrote many so-called poems for state examination (*kwasi*, 科時);¹⁷ we presume these are not incorporated completely into his anthologies; according to the tradition, many of them he sold to the less talented scholars of the time. Thus, we cannot fairly declare that the poetry ascribed to Kim Sakkat is Kim Sakkat's. We have to believe the editors had the aim of collecting only his poems. But the aim of all the admirers or relatives of Sakkat is to collect many poems and good poems (according to stories, legends, folklore etc.) and the aim of the collector who does not like him is to collect the bad ones. Thus, the anthologies may certainly contain some falsifications.¹⁸

5. Main themes of his poetry

It is important to say that Kim Sakkat as a poet¹⁹ did not fulfil the Confucian requests for a poet's work since he did not respond to the demands of the time, as all official and the other literati did; not only by their themes, but

I Ŭng-su was the first who collected Kim Sakkat's poetry and published it in 1939 (a revised and enlarged edition in 1941). In the second half of the 20th century many scholars and writers continued their studies and tried to describe Kim Sakkat's life. Nevertheless, there are still many controversial moments in it. He was born in 1807 as a descendant of the powerful family of Kims of Ch'andong; in 1811 his grandfather Kim Ik-sun surrendered to the rebellious Hong Kyōng-nae army which was classified as a crime and Kim Ik-sun was executed. The whole family was not allowed to keep its position and they are forced to live as commoners in the country. Kim Sakkat tried to restore the family name and fame, but he failed. It is said, he left his family and spent more than 30 years as a vagabond. See e.g. I Un-sik 2010, pp. 11–20.

- 17) *Kwasi* was the poetic rhetoric style used during state examinations *kwagō* (科擧) and it is often referred to as *kwachesi* (科體詩) or *tongsi* (東詩). *Tongsi* has a seven syllable form, allegedly derived from the famous Koryō and early Chosōn literati Pyōn Kyeryang. Most of Kim Sakkat's *kwasi* have had the form of *tongsi*. Cf. Ko Yōn-gun 2009, pp. 9–22. Two reliable arguments support the thesis that Kim Sakkat composed *tongsi*. Firstly, he needed to prove his abilities when staying as a guest in the houses of the elite; second, this form was widely used among the intellectual elite of the day. In: Ku Sa-hoe 2005, p. 6.
- 18) Chōng Tae-gu examines all the collected poems including these of I Ŭng-su, the whole number of poems allegedly written by Kim Sakkat is 456 (248 *hansi* and 208 *kwachesi*). He emphasized that most scholars agree that all *kwachesi* belong to Kim Sakkat. Doubtful are some *hansi* (Chōng Tae-gu 1990, pp. 59–96). The problem of identification of the true authorship arises from the fact that nobody is able to differentiate all the people known as *sakkat* (*sakkat*, a conical bamboo rain-hat) who recited or composed similar vagabond poetry during the late 18th century – early 19th century (Im Hyōng-t'aek 1985, p. 32).
- 19) He did not fulfil it especially by his original sin and only then by his behaviour.

also by their stereotypical technique. This also means that he was allowed to write poetry of no precedent.

Though traditional in his poetic background, the most frequent of his poems are *scenic depictions*, viewed firstly in an opulent way by his young eyes and, gradually by the eyes of a vagabond, an outcast with no family and social ties. These poems are self-centred, connected with Kim Sakkat himself and his individual experience. Thus, he provides not only a description of scenic beauties or beauties of well-known historical sites, but his perspective also contains his personal story and history and sometimes leads to a surprising turning point (illustrative of this are poems of the old capitals Kaesŏng and P'yŏngyang, the poem of the famous Kwanhallu²⁰ pavilion as well this one composed impromptu at the tomb of the renowned poetess Hwang Jin-i²¹ etc.). We can demonstrate this from the poem Kaesŏng (開城), where the melancholy scenery of the ruined capital of Koryŏ kingdom is enriched/interrupted by the stone dogs, who poke out their silly tongues (*Kim Ip sijip*, 1974, p. 56).

The other theme of his poems is the view of the *human* from various social strata; his poems mocked literati (*yangbans* and stupid teachers especially), the wealthy, the uneducated, monks, lazy women etc. Some of them are impertinent, some of them sympathetic (e.g. a poem which describes an old woman who is no more interested in buying make-up, or his famous poem about a beggar lying dead in the street), some ironical. Obviously he is averse to the people who feign nobleness, to bigheads and others; the following poem To the governor who lost his falcon (*Kuŭngp'anje*, 求應判題) is a good example of this (*Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 285):

You won him from the green hills, you lost him in the green hills
ask the green hills, green hills do not answer
put the green hills under arrest.

He is very innovative in his approach to *animals* and *objects*. These are plenty as well, but not infinite. He enriched Korean poetry with his images of cats, dogs, fish, cocks, fleas, lice, chests, paper, brushes, pipes but piss pots as well. From the point of view of fantasy and shift of themes the most vivid are his *poem-dialogues* (*mundapsi*, 問答詩), written with monks, literati, women etc.) or, *poem-letters*. We can establish one additional category, i.e. *poems*

20) Pavilion in Namwŏn city, known as the place of meeting of two heroes of the famous story of the girl Ch'unhyang (春香傳, 春香歌).

21) Hwang Jin-i (黃眞伊, 1506 – ca 1560), known also as Myŏngwŏl, *kisaeng*, author of *sijo* and *hansi* poetry; semi-mythical figure inspiring literature, drama and films to this day.

for women and about women. Kim Sakkat was quite famous for his love affairs and allegedly he wrote many poems for women and about women as well as fictitious dialogues with them.²² In the then Confucian society these poems were absolutely scandalous; the expression of erotic motifs by aristocrats was strictly forbidden.²³

Some of his erotic motifs are hidden, insofar as we are not able to interpret them (actually, Korean translators try to find erotic motifs everywhere, i.e. many of Kim Sakkat's poems are classified in this way²⁴). The most famous are poems about *kisaeng*, but also Main and less wives (*Ch'öch'öp*, 妻妾) and the scandalous Sucking (*Yönyu*, 吮乳; *Kim Ip sisôn*, 2005, p. 120).

The man sucks up there,
the girl down there.
Up and down may differ,
the taste is the same.

The last category, which is not a theme at all, comprises *poem-jokes*: linguistic puzzles or poems whose meanings are hidden in symbols. They are humorous, mostly not transferable to other languages and not even Korean, as the various functions of Chinese characters serve the main vehicle of the poem's form and content.

6. Kim Sakkat's language experiments

As mentioned above, some of his poems are written in both Chinese characters and Korean script (but these are not many at all); some in Chinese by utilizing grammatical methods (sometimes neither classical Chinese nor Korean

22) Nevertheless, his fame can be exaggerated, as happened through the folk legends.

23) Today, Korean literary historians suggest that during the last period of Chosôn women emerged in the role of storytellers and, as the number of poems about women increased, many literati expressed their love for them. Kim Sakkat's poetry differed from others' as he did not only portray the hard life or joys of women, including *kisaeng* (妓生), but he expressed his, mostly not very serious personal emotions or funny experience with them. Kim Myöng-sun in her study about women in *hansi* poetry (Kim Myöng-sun 2007, pp. 115–166) explained these *hansi* as a) describing woman's life or, b) written by women. Nevertheless, Kim Sakkat's *hansi* did not fit her scheme of classification; some of them Kim Sakkat seemingly wrote with women in a form of dialogue, but these are only fictional and the content of them remained competitive as in *mundapsi* usually was.

24) Kim Sakkat's poetry is sometimes labelled erotic, due to the folk legends; these recorded many exaggerated stories about his love affairs. See e.g. I Ch'ang-sik 2011, pp. 69–96).

in their phonetic form), or by using only one key word in various positions. In some poems he alternates only two characters, e.g. 是 (*si*, 'good') and 非 (*pi*, 'bad') in four lines (是是非非詩, good or bad; *Kim Ip sisŏn*, 2000, p. 24). Another poem exists, in which all the lines are identical and only rhetorical rules can help us to decipher it (In barbarian lands there are no flowers, *Hojimuhwacho*, 胡地無花草; *Kim Ip sisŏn*, 2000, p. 165).

Savage lands have no flowers. 胡地無花草
 Savage lands have no flowers? 胡地無花草
 Savage lands have no flowers, they say. 胡地無花草
 But how can a land have no flowers? 胡地無花草

Some of his poems are based on the meaning of Chinese characters, personal or topographical names as in *Kuwŏlsan* (九月山, Ninth Moon Mountain), where the sense is based on the meaning of the name of the mountain (Ninth Moon Mountain x ninth moon – September; *Kim Ip sijip*, 1948, p. 79):

Last year I passed by Ninth Moon Mountain at the ninth moon, 昨年九月過九月
 This year I passed by Ninth Moon Mountain at the ninth moon. 今年九月過九月
 Every year I pass by Ninth Moon Mountain at the ninth moon, 年年九月過九月
 Ninth Moon Mountain's beauty is always at the ninth moon. 九月山光長九月

In some poems he utilizes homonymous words. The Sino-Korean pronunciation of two Chinese characters can be the same but their meaning is different. Although someone does not understand either Korean or Chinese characters, he or she can recognize that in the first part of the verse letters are the same (A=a) and, in the second one they are different (A≠a). In other words, the characters used for “A” are proper nouns (names of persons, places etc.), and every “a” is a verb. “A” forms a remarkable contrast with “a”; e.g. *A Nangmillu* is the name of a place in Hamgyŏngdo (함경도, 咸鏡道, the province of the northern part of Korea) and *a nangmillu* means “people shed tears”. If we translate this line, it means “people shed tears under Nangmillu”. But the meaning of the Chinese characters *A Nangmillu* is actually “the place where people are happy”, so the ironic, implied meaning of the whole is “the people must be happy but they are shedding tears” (*Kim Ip sijip*, 1948, p. 92):

A선화당상선화당 (Sŏnhwadangsangsŏnhwadang) A宣化堂上a宣火黨
A낙민루하a낙민루 (Nagmilluhanagmillu) A樂民樓下a落民淚
A함경도민a함경도 (Hamgyŏngdominhamkyŏngdo) A咸鏡道民a咸警逃
A조기영가조기영 (Chogiyŏnggachogiyŏng) A趙岐泳家a兆豈永

Another poem, *Kilju Myǒngchǒn*, plays with the meaning of geographical names, based on characters 吉 ('happy') and 明 ('clear'), Sad girl (*Karyǒn*) alternates the same character when using her name (可憐), sometimes for speaking about her (Ms Sad), sometimes as an attribute ('sad'), or as an adverb ('sadly'). In Poem of bamboo (*Chuksi*, 竹詩) Kim Sakkat uses Korean pronunciation of the character for bamboo (*chuk* in Sino-Korean pronunciation, *tae* in Korean) and uses it as the Korean particle *taero* ('according to'). This extreme play with pronunciation of characters in conjunction with grammar categories and its final use when he shifts from Chinese to Korean, forces the possible reader not only to change language, but grammar and phonetic codes as well.²⁵ In this way Kim Sakkat also tries to evoke fantasy as in his Poem of letters (*Ŏmun si*, 諺文詩; *Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 309):

(k) ㄱ the sickle tied at your waist
 (ng) ㅇ the ring in the ox's nose
 (l) ㄷ the body you go home and wash
 Else (t) ㅌ is the end, a dot and you're dead.²⁶

There are also undecipherable poems, since their interpretations vary and the meaning is very much hidden. It is difficult to determine if these poems should be read from the beginning or from the end, if the characters he used are not only a play with rhyme, etc. Nevertheless, Kim Sakkat definitely shows us the possibilities of classical Chinese.

25) We think these poems are not understandable or readable for the lower strata to whom Kim Sakkat poetry was – according to Korean literary historians – dedicated. The reading has to be codified by literati or, by legends. Legend interprets e.g. his most famous poem Under the twenty trees (*Isipsuha*, 二十水下) written in *hanmun* and readable in Korean dialect in two ways, as a play with the meaning and pronunciation of Chinese characters.

26) This poem is quite modern from the point of view of technique of association a point which Kim Sakkat proves many times in conjunction with his unique imagination as e.g. in his poem about louse. There, in a sentence "its shape is like a wheat berry / but it cannot be malt", he uses a double association. The method of free association has also been used by Czech Poetists. In particular, Kim Sakkat's poem about the letters of the Korean alphabet is analogous to Nezval's poem *Abeceda*.

7. Kim Sakkat's scenic impromptu

Being educated in a classical way, in his first poetic stage Kim Sakkat uses mostly poetic images by following recommendations of technique and motifs, as in the poem Asking for the news about azaleas (*Tugyŏnhwa sosik*, 杜鵑花消息; *Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 299):

I ask the birds outside my window
Where is your home? From what mountain did you awake from winter sleep?
Do you know the state of things there?
What about azaleas? Are they in bloom yet?

The poem Snow III (*Sŏl III*, 雪) is a fantasy that evokes the simple fact of falling snow, but it results in irregular associations (*Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 164):

*Is the king of Heaven dead, or the king of Earth?
Why are all the trees and hills in white instead of green and red?
If the sun comes tomorrow to console mourners,
tears will fall from every eave of everyone's house.*

Snow generally symbolizes purity, innocence, as well as blessing, so it is usually considered to be something positive; however, Kim Sakkat depicted a landscape, including the ground and the sky, in a special white, 소복 (mourning colour in Korea). Hence, snow is associated with death in this poem.

There are also many poems, where he plays with his and reader's imagination, as in the poem At the stream (*Ch'ŏngnryŏp*, 川獵) where he puts an unusual object in the first line (*Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 335):

*By the singing stream hangs a pan over propping stones.
With white flour and blue oil fry the red azaleas...*

With this simple but surprising object element (pan) Kim Sakkat could continue his poem in a very classical style in all aspects; the poem itself is quite regular in technique, but the content shifts early into irregularity as far as the theme is concerned.

As mentioned above, the most commonly used motifs in literature and in various kinds of art are *sagunja*, the "four nobles". Traditionally, these four plants symbolized "virtuous man"; Kim Sakkat depicted one of them – *maehwa* (梅花, 'a plum blossom') in his poem in this way: *Maehwa in the snow is like a drunken kisaeng*. Traditionally, "maehwa in the snow" in particular forms a stable image of nobleness; however, Kim Sakkat gives it a new

metaphorical meaning. In this way, he displays his imagery and imagination in nearly every poem.

The frequent and popular form of poem-dialogues give Kim Sakkat the opportunity to change the motifs quickly as people who compose poetry together compete in searching for the most difficult motif that the rival cannot simply follow. In short, two kinds of poems prevail: first, dialogues where the natural images turned into the greatest possible absurdity, second, there are dialogues where the natural motifs possess a hidden erotic meaning.

Together with the monk (II)²⁷

Though the hanging cliff is going to fall the laughing flowers stand still on its crest (monk)
 Though the sunny spring calls with joyful shout the lonely birds fly away with a sad song (Kim Sakkat)
 The rising clouds in the sky today will fall in rain tomorrow (monk)
 The maple leaf lying beneath the rocks in early spring fell from the branch in the late autumn.
 (Kim Sakkat) (*Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 216)

Together with the monk (V)

The heavy rock will fall to earth after rolling a thousand years (monk)
 The lofty peak will touch heaven if it soars one more foot (Kim Sakkat)
 If I buy the mountain the clouds will be mine cost free (monk)
 If I come to flowing water the fish will leap in glee (Kim Sakkat)²⁸

In the poems he composed with women or for women, natural motifs were often used as erotic symbols, like in the poem *Flowers whom I could not avoid* (*Nanp'ihwa*, 難避花; *Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 289):

A kisaeng in my young embrace, a fortune seems the straw.
 With a jar of wine in daylight, everything is like clouds.
 Wild geese flying on high follow easily a river's course.
 Butterflies passing green hills cannot shun these flowers.

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- 27) Sô Jông-ju, one of the leading Korean contemporary poets, criticized Kim Sakkat's poems as he believed that poetry has to depict other objects and write about positive feelings, i.e. for him Kim Sakkat's poems were not "real poetry". Nevertheless, he praised Kim Sakkat for his poetic abilities, which he showed in his poem-dialogues (Sô Jông-ju 1963).
- 28) *Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 221. As we have already demonstrated above, Kim Sakkat created many puzzles; sometimes he only played with words, repeated them or, what is frequent as well, each line is the opposite of the truth, and the whole gives the feeling of miscarried debate between philosophers.

Butterfly symbolizes man, flowers women, as in the following poem, The mad butterfly (*Kwangchôpholbi*, 狂蝶忽飛) where he plays with the names of kisaengs and its meaning (*Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 364):

On midnight the butterfly flies madly to find the fragrant abode
When the unfeeling flowers so unkindly close their petals
To the Southern pond he plunges to dig a Red lotus
And touches a drowsy sail on the autumn waves of the Dongting Lake.

In many poems of Kim Sakkat we could find an unusual view of nature which we could label extreme ability of visual display that sometimes is connected with onomatopoeia, i.e. sounds. In his last period of making poetry he also turns to the utmost simplicity in using words, as seen in his poem The rock of fighting cocks (*Chaenggyeam*, 爭鷄岩; *Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 360):

Rocks are facing alike fighting
Springlet runs amidst cleaves quarrels.

The ultimate use of language for poetic imagery he found in repetition of characters – thus, two characters for pine create an imagery of all pines, two characters for mountain create mountains and, in this way other things could be simply described (*Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 210):

Pine pine, fir fir, crag crag, swirl / 松松栢栢岩岩廻
Stream stream, hill hill, place place, strange. / 水水山山處處奇

Conclusion

Despite the fact that Kim Sakkat's life could not be verified and the authenticity of his poems is still questioned, he and his poetry continuously attract people's attention. His life has been fictionalized in many novels; his poetry has been a symbol of the energy during the hard time of Japanese occupation. We may consider that the freedom he displays in both his life and poetry is the reason for the immense popularity of his work.

Though it is an obvious statement, Kim Sakkat's life and poetry are closely interlinked. If the author was not an outcast, he could not write this kind of poetry. If he was not born into a noble family, he could not be able to write in the classical form, and if he was not a vagabond, he would not be able to describe such scenes and open the new themes he did. Thus, he is a poet of paradoxes, he wrote more or less for the literati as his form was *hansi* and,

on the other hand, his poems were well known in the lower strata due to their themes.

Lets' conclude with Kim Sakkat's words with which he expresses his own relation to his poetry (*Kim Sakkat si*, 2005, p. 310):

... good or bad, all of them are my kids.

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Review Section

Nicola Schneider, *Le renoncement au féminin: Couvents et nonnes dans le bouddhisme tibétain* [Renouncement of the Feminine: Convents and Nuns in Tibetan Buddhism]. Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, Nanterre 2013, 436 pp.; Paperback: 25 €; ISBN 978-2-84016-133-2 – Reviewed by Rachel Mikos

The volume at hand, a study of convents and nuns in Tibetan Buddhism by the anthropologist and scholar Nicola Schneider, will be of great interest to both lay readers and scholars alike. It provides an excellent overview of the issues surrounding the question of female monasticism in the Tibetan tradition. At the same time, however, the author relies on her own very extensive research, carried out over a period of roughly 10 years at the monasteries of Tashi Gonpar in Tibet, and Dolma Ling in India, to paint a vivid picture of female monastic life today both within Tibet and in exile.

In the “Introduction”, the author describes the earliest deliberations concerning female monasticism within the Buddhist tradition, according to which the historical Buddha was highly reluctant to admit women into the monastic order, doing so only after the intervention of his aunt, his adoptive mother, and his closest disciple Ānanda, and even then only on the basis of the “eight great conditions”. According to some sources, 500 females were ordained at this time, although as the author notes, this is probably an instance of a “retroactive legend”. The overall situation concerning female ordination in other Buddhist traditions is briefly outlined, as well as the issue of the more recent interventions of Western thought (i.e., the feminist movement) into the specifically Asian tradition of Buddhism.

In the section entitled “Female Monasticism in Tibet: A Historical and Historiographic Survey”, the author discusses some of the more important female figures connected with the early diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (7th–8th centuries C.E.). This includes Sru Tsenmongyal (Sru bstan mo rgyal), one of the first two Tibetan nuns to be ordained, and Yeshe Tsogyal (Ye shes mtsho rgyal), the tantric partner of Padmasambhava, who helped to establish Buddhism in Tibet (p. 43). No convents are attested in Tibet until the so-called second diffusion of Buddhism in the Tibetan lands, dating from about the beginning of the tenth century (p. 45). During this crucial era, during the early formation of the four great schools of Tibetan Buddhism, reports about female nuns are very rare (p. 47). This section also chronicles attempts by the Tibetan government-in-exile to ascertain the numbers of female monastics before 1959, as well as a historical discussion of the three types of religious institutions that received monastics: monasteries (*gon pa*), hermitages (*ri*

khrod), and “religious encampments” (*chos sgar*). A brief biography of the nun, born in the Kham region, Ani Pachen (A ne dpal chen, 1933–2000) is given: she was one of the few “fighting nuns” to have survived the uprising of 1959. When her father passed away in 1958, she assumed his role as leader of his clan (p. 70). The extreme religious suppression of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) is described. During the 1980s, there was a certain amelioration of the situation, but as the author herself notes, “...for an entire generation, no one had been able to embrace the religious life” (p. 80). The often frustrating effects on Tibetans of the Chinese government’s program of the “Development of the West (*xibu da kaifa*)”, enacted since the early millennium, are outlined in some detail.

The author resided at the monastery Tashi Gonsar (in Minyang, Kham) during the summers of 2002 and 2003, in order to become deeply acquainted with the lives of the nuns and their families. In the section entitled “Tashi Gonsar in Tibet: from Hermitage to Monastery”, she describes the historical significance of this part of Kham for Tibetans. The closest village, Lhagang, has been an important pilgrimage site dating back to the Imperial Era. No female monasteries existed here before 1959. The genesis of Tashi Gonsar as a monastery is fascinating: in 1978, Akhu Tsepel (A khu Tshe ‘phel, 1917–1998), who by all accounts excelled at meditation and was a renouncer (*bya bral ba*), decided to create a place of hermitage at Mañijango. He was joined by two nuns and three monks. Two years later, the lama and his disciples decided to create a religious edifice comprised of *mañi* stones. The teachings of the lama met with great success, and more and more nomads chose to spend the winter near the hermitage site. Towards the end of the 1980s, the lama decided to found a temple on the site. He was, it seems, particularly concerned that the many nuns among the population have a place to deepen their knowledge and meditate. With the construction of the temple (partially financed by Chinese devotees), monastic rules and a liturgical calendar based upon the *nyingmapa* school were introduced. Drugdra Gyatso (‘Brug grags rgya mtsho, 1968–) became the successor to Akhu Tsepel. Akhu Drugdra, as the author describes, attempts to go well beyond his monastic leadership role in working to aid the overall development of the community (p. 124). The author paints a vivid picture of the daily routine at the monastery, describing the nuns’ schedule, living quarters, work duties, opportunity for study, liturgical functions, as well as the overall financial organization of the monastery. Pilgrimages form an important component of the nuns’ activities. In 1999, Lama Drugdra introduced the “Gathering for Peace and Happiness”, during which the monastic and lay communities interact with each other.

A combination of teachings, initiations, didactic lectures for the public, and traditional Tibetan performing arts, this bi-annual festival has known great success since its inauguration.

In the third section, “Dolma Ling: An Institute of Buddhist Higher Education for Women”, the author presents a comprehensive picture of life at the Dolma Ling Nunnery and Institute, founded in 1993 in Sidhpur, eight kilometres away from Dharamsala. (Between 1996 and 2005, the author visited Dolma Ling at least six times: each visit lasted between three and six months.) Dolma Ling primarily accepts refugee nuns from Tibet. One of its founding goals is to be able eventually to offer a program of studies culminating in the *geshe* degree, previously available only to monks. In this section, the author gives an overview of the context, beginning in 1959, for nuns among the exiled Tibetan communities around Dharamsala. The Tibetan Nuns Project (TNP), for example, was launched by the Tibetan Women’s Association in 1987 when the number of nuns in exile reached approximately 400 (p. 186).

Unlike Tashi Gonsar in Tibet, Dolma Ling is affiliated with the *gelugpa* school of Tibetan Buddhism. It offers education as well in secular subjects (the sciences, English), and relies heavily on donations from the West. Traditional *gelugpa* monastic education places emphasis on textual commentary and Tibetan debating techniques. The course of study, however, usually lasts about five to seven years longer than, for example, that of Sera Jey Monastery in southern India. While the current Dalai Lama has been strongly supportive of the idea of nuns being able to obtain the *geshema* degree, there has been some reluctance among the monastic community (as the author notes, there are four different kinds of *geshe* degrees, some less prestigious than others). A quick internet search reveals, however, that as of May 2013, 27 nuns sat the *geshema* exam in Dharamsala, with 25 successfully obtaining the degree.

The fourth section, “Monasticism as an Alternative Way of Life for Women”, explores this subject from both the Tibetan and, to a certain degree, the Christian perspectives. Buddhist nuns are not “called” to monastic life as they are in traditional Christian thought. Most of the nuns interviewed by the author cited the wish to improve their karmic outcome as a motivation, as well as the profound wish to deepen their knowledge of the Buddha’s teachings. In distancing themselves from everyday life, they also distance themselves from the defilements committed routinely in everyday life: killing of livestock for sustenance, the harm done to insects while tilling the fields, etc. Many hail from a religious familial milieu. Paradoxically, the restrictions on religious practice within Tibet, leading to a belated discovery by some nuns of their spiritual heritage, only served to deepen their enthusiasm (p. 253). Almost

all are from a nomadic or semi-nomadic background. The question of the “woman’s lot” in these societies is also not without relevance in their decision. The author describes as well the actual process of becoming a nun, including the various stages of renunciation: the “minor” ordination of *getsulma*, “she of virtuous conduct”; the probation period of two years, after which the nun receives the titles *gelobma*, “she who has studied virtue”; and finally the full ordination of *gelongma* “she who inspires virtue” (Sanskrit *bhikṣuṇī*).

In the section “Monastic Challenges”, the author takes up two crucial issues: the first looks at the question of the *gelongma* (i.e., full) ordination for nuns; the second examines those instances when a nun decides to leave the monastic order. According to the Vinaya of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* School, to receive the *gelongma* ordination, a nun must take 364 vows in the presence of fully ordained monks and nuns. As there are currently no fully ordained nuns in this school, the *gelongma* ordination cannot, according to these textual precepts, take place. There has been in recent times a movement to bring about the *gelongma* ordination, partially initiated by Western Buddhist nuns, and endorsed by the 14th Dalai Lama. In the 1980s, eight nuns, supported by the Hong Kong Kagyu Dharma Centre, received full ordination in the Chinese *Dharmaguptaka* tradition. As the author notes, however, this is still problematic, as these nuns have been ordained within a different tradition, and therefore still are not able to officiate at important ceremonies in Tibetan monasteries. The organization Sakyadhītā, “Daughters of the Buddha”, founded in 1987, has taken as its goal the instigation of full ordination for female monks in those countries where it does not exist, as well as that of raising the status of female Buddhist monastics worldwide. The nuns at Dolma Ling expressed concern over the practical constraints that full ordination would mean for them: as one nun remarked, travel anywhere using public transport while respecting the *gelongma* precept to not look at any man above the level of his knees would, for obvious reasons, be cumbersome, if not impossible. At Tashi Gonsar in Tibet, the nuns are simply too preoccupied with maintaining religious life in a vastly differing majoritarian culture to delve into this issue. For the majority of Tibetan male clergy in exile, the mixing of traditions that the Chinese *Dharmaguptaka* ordination requires is unacceptable. Geshe Tashi Tsering, who has studied the Vinaya precepts extensively, suggests full ordination in the presence of male clergy: a precedent is suggested by a short dialogue of the Buddha with the nun Utpalī (p. 324). Needless to say, the intricacies of this debate within the Tibetan clerical community – among those, of course, who are willing to discuss the matter in the first place – attain a near-Talmudic complexity,

while feminist-minded Western nuns continue to press for full ordination. As for the nuns interviewed in this volume, for the most part they seem to share the view held by many high-ranking clergy that innovation of Tibetan religious tradition must come from within (p. 332).

The second part of the section “Monastic Challenges”, deals, as has been noted, with the question of renouncement of one’s vows, and the overall difficulties of female monastic life. As the author notes, “To breach the subject of tension or dysfunction in religious life is to undertake a difficult task in as much as the subject is taboo for reasons of ethics or etiquette” (p. 335). Monks who renounce are described as having “turned away” (*grwa pa log pa*), whereas the term for the female renunciant is a “wasted, useless being” (*phro brlag gro wa*) (p. 337). Renunciation of one’s vows is seen as a source of later infertility in women. As the same time, a proverb states that “It is rare to see a grey-haired nun,” meaning that women are largely viewed as being incapable of controlling their sexuality. Popular belief holds that a woman who has not engaged in sexual relations with a man by the age of twenty-five will fall ill and certainly die of a “female” disease by the age of forty. There is a certain degree of incidence of chronic illness in both Tashi Gonsar and Dolma Ling, which some traditional Tibetan doctors place within the context of the stresses of the isolation of monastic life, as well as in the extremely rapid pace of modernization in today’s China. As the author aptly points out, the trope of physical illness in the hagiographies of female Christian saints is well known.

The book is appended with a glossary of Tibetan and Sanskrit terms, as well as a bibliography. The sheer depth and thoroughness of the author’s research is evident on every page (as well as in the many footnotes directing the reader to further relevant sources). This highly readable volume will surely prove to be indispensable to anyone concerned with the topic of female monasticism in Tibetan culture.

Delaplace, Grégory, *L'invention des morts. Sépultures, fantômes et photographie en Mongolie contemporaine*, Centre d'Études Mongoles et Sibériennes- École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris 2008, 374 pp.; 29€; ISBN 978-2-9518888-4-6, ISSN 0766-5075 – Reviewed by Jonáš Vlasák

Grégory Delaplace, at the time of publication a research fellow at the University of Cambridge, presents material based on his long-term research work among the west-Mongolian Do'rvods of Harhira inUvs. The book is introduced by a preface written by Roberte N. Hamayon.

L'invention des morts presents a study of three topics: burials, ghosts and photography. Although the three topics are represented by three separate subdivisions of the book, all of them are studied as a part of the Mongolian attitude to death: burial as a result of ritual, revenants/ghosts as unfortunate consequences of death and photography as “extras” (“à-côté”).

In the Introduction, we find the theoretical basis of the book. There are two main influences, both of them represented by the title of the book itself. One influence is that of Robert Hertz, who is interested in the various aspects of death and its ritualisation in a society undergoing reforms. The other influence is that of the French philosopher Michael de Certeau, represented by the word “*l'invention*”. Mongolian society should therefore be understood as tactical in its culture and highly determined by its strategical nature. This idea is highlighted through the use of a quotation from Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet before the introduction itself (p. 13): “*Les nomades n'ont pas d'histoire, ils ont seulement de la géographie*. (Dialogues; 1996, p. 39).”

The first part, *Sépulture* (graves or burials), deals with burials in Mongolia, their history and institutionalisation. Mongols traditionally left their deceased on the open steppe. The first cemeteries were those of numerous Chinese and Russians living and dying in Ih Hu'ree from the beginning as it settled into what became its present location. However, Mongols were not in favour of such burial and Ulaanbaatar was infamous for dogs running across the city, fighting for human bones in the cemeteries, which were too dangerous to pass through because of the aggressive dogs living there. The first chapter therefore deals with various institutions which were formulated to bring order to the burial process during Soviet times (p. 59), and with the obligation to bury the deceased.

The second chapter studies cemeteries in Ulaanbaatar. Rapid urbanization in Mongolia during the last hundred years has been a rather chaotic process and cemeteries have not been exempt. Some rules, however, were instituted by the newly established state institutions mentioned in chapter

one. Cemeteries were moved to the north of the city with the graves facing south. The comparison of writings, material types and ornaments on graves over time (pp. 83–110) is also interesting. The last chapter of *Sépulture* focuses on burial habits in the Mongolian countryside, namely among the Do'rvods. Applying burial regulations here was a much more complicated process than in the capital. Like many other ordinances coming from Ulaanbaatar, it was basically ignored. The refusal of cemeteries is therefore the initial point of this chapter. The other issues discussed are the criteria considered before choosing a place for the deceased. Do'rvods must deal with local land and water deities (*ezed* or *savdag*) when finding a suitable location for the dead (p. 161).

The second part, called *Fantômes* (ghosts or phantoms), is covered by chapters 4–6. Chapter 4 begins with the various ways ghosts are referred to and, more interestingly, deliberately not referred to. *Fantôme* or *c'o'tgor* is, according to the Do'rvods who were interviewed, the deceased whose soul has not correctly detached itself (*expédié*). One special case is that of young people who, having died prematurely, leave their desires behind in this world. *C'o'tgor* is therefore a soul which has not found a real rebirth (p. 216). Thus the whole chapter discusses how to guarantee a good rebirth. This can be achieved by family members accumulating merits and by causing the soul of the deceased to be released through the services of a ritual specialist (*homme habile*), for example a lama (p. 194). It is important to practise silence, or rather not to speak about the dead person, because to do so could call him back.

The fifth chapter deals with faith in ghosts among Mongols and their place in Mongolian narratives. The chapter presents many well narrated histories and interviews from the Harhira region. One smaller section is interested in so-called *gu'ictei gazar* (lit. “places of running”) which refer to a haunted place. It is forbidden to build a nomadic settlement in such places and it is dangerous to even pass through them (p. 221).

Chapter 6 is called “The place of the deceased among the ‘invisibles’” (*La place des morts parmi les “invisibles”*) and presents more narratives from the Do'rvods. The stories discussed in this chapter tell us about people coming across diverse *u'zegdegui yum*. So we read, for example, about the great-grand father of a shepherd called Baadgai, who met *savdags* and spent a night in their *ger*, which disappeared in the morning (p. 283). We also read about the ability of horses to perceive ghosts (p. 279) or about *ongons* helping people (p. 275). The chapter distinguishes between ghosts and revenants (p. 257).

The last part, *Photographie* (Photography), is presented in one chapter. Photography is very important for Mongols because it is essential in elevating the deceased to the status of ancestors. At the beginning of the chapter, we are

shown the importance of photography: *Il n'est pas de maisonnée aujourd'hui en Mongolie, en ville ou à la campagne, où l'on ne trouve des photos de famille exposées au fond de l'habitation dans des vitrines décorées. Dans ces vitrines, les morts côtoient les vivants...* "There is no household today in Mongolia, either in the city or in the countryside, where we can't find family photos displayed in decorated vitrines. In these vitrines, the dead meet the living." (p. 294; my translation)

Photos of ancestors are part of the altar. In the traditional vitrine (*j'aaz*) kept upon the altar, these photographs are placed next to pages taken from *sūtras*, valuable documents, or images of *burhans* (deities). The photos themselves are interesting as well. The subjects are always photographed from a frontal perspective and are quite often retouched to create 'perfection'. In this way the deceased themselves become deity-icons, or *burhans* (p. 345).

L'invention des morts is a very inspiring book. It is based on fieldwork among natives of Uvs and the interviews are well-arranged, making a coherent complex with the rest of the book. It is a very helpful publication for any researcher, not only because of the cultural connotations of the dead but also due to its portrayal of transformations and crossings between the human world and the other world.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina, ed., 2012, *Old Tibetan Studies: Dedicated to the Memory of R.E. Emmerick*. Brill, Leiden-Boston, 254 pp.; ISBN 978-90-04-15517-6, price 101€ – reviewed by Daniel Berounský

During the second half of the 20th century a certain weakening in the discipline focusing on the period of the Tibetan Empire was felt. It should be stressed that the field of Old Tibetan Studies is extremely difficult and often frustrating. The texts available from that period are often very puzzling. One thus must appreciate the opportunity to witness a certain growth of interest in studies of the Tibetan Empire within the last decade. The volume under review promises new insights into that crucial period of Tibetan history.

It contains 10 contributions on diverse topics, which were presented during the Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in 2010. It is dedicated to the memory of the eminent scholar R. E. Emmerick (1937–2001). His immense contribution consists in the studies of Khotan, but his interest was far broader and concerned also Iran, India and Tibet. The reader is offered some memories about him presented in the introduction to this volume by its editor. These are followed by an impressive bibliography of his works.

The volume opens with a brief contribution by Roland Bielmeier entitled *Ginger: A Khotanese loanword in modern Purik-Tibetan* (pp. 21–27). It discusses the Tibetan term *li doñ ra* (Khotanese-ginger) as a loanword from the Khotanese *ttumgara* in a number of Tibetan dialects. The author comes to the conclusion that the syllable reduction and stress pattern in this case is witness to a more general development of tonal phenomena in certain Tibetan dialects.

The second contribution by Anne Chayet (*Aspects de la vie matérielle au Tibet ancien: notes préliminaires*, pp. 29–51) could be taken as a kind of survey of what one can learn about the material culture of the Imperial period of Tibetan history from available sources. It summarizes what the sources tell us about economic and social history, agriculture and breeding techniques, technical progress and the people who stood behind them. It discusses the character of the sources for this rather neglected topic and comes to inspiring conclusions. For example, the author states that Buddhism is not primarily viewed from the angle of its potential to yield material progress, but as legitimating a certain social group in the Tibetan sources.

Helga Uebach (*Tibetan officials in the 8th century south-eastern part of the empire*, pp. 53–64) enlarges our knowledge of the Imperial period through identification of the Tibetan names of officials mentioned in the Chinese sources concerning the area of Kham, which was known in the past as the

Myva, Jang (’Jang) or Nan-zhao kingdom. It focuses on so-called Tai he and Guozi inscriptions and with admirable erudition convincingly proposes the Tibetan names for the officials mentioned in Chinese. This is an example of a small, but important step towards better understanding of historical events in the south-eastern part of the Tibetan Empire.

The next article by Kayushi Iwao is entitled *Organization of the Chinese inhabitants in Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang* (pp. 65–75). It focuses on the so-called divisions of the ancient city of Dunhuang, through which the Tibetans administered the population there. The main contribution comes from a new understanding of the Chinese term *xingren buluo*, the designation of one of the divisions of Dunhuang. For a rather long time it was supposed that this term corresponds to the Tibetan *nyan rna* district and stood for “messengers band”. As the author points out with persuasive argument, the Chinese term actually corresponds to the Tibetan *rgod kyi sde*, “military district”. The article continues by elaborating and reconstructing how these divisions were created and the more precise localization of them in Dunhuang.

The contribution by Siglinde Dietz, entitled *The bŚes pa’i phrin yig of Nāgārjuna in the Collection of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Dunhuang* (pp. 77–112), provides a very detailed analysis of the Dunhuang fragment of the text ascribed to Nāgārjuna, which is known in its original Sanskrit version as *Suḥrillekha*. It provides interested scholars with palaeographic observations and continues with a critical transliteration of the whole fragment, with ample references to the readings of the available later Tibetan versions. It contributes to a better understanding of the palaeographic features of the Dunhuang documents.

The next article, *Re-examination of the 9th century inscriptions at lDan ma brag (II) in Eastern Tibet*, (pp. 113–118) is written by Yoshiro Imaeda. In a very concise way it firstly deals with the dating of the inscription discovered in 1983 in Eastern Tibet. There were several dates suggested by previous scholars for the year of the mouse mentioned in the inscription. With the help of the Treaty Inscription in Lhasa, the author first establishes dates for the rule of Emperor Khri lde bsrong btsan *alias* Sad na legs, namely 798/800–815. Since his name as a ruler is mentioned in the inscription, it follows that only the year 804 would fit the year of the mouse mentioned there. It is the only mouse-year of his rule. The author then carefully examines the content of the inscription and concludes that the mouse-year is mentioned as a year when Brang ka Yon tan was nominated to the High Council. The author suggests that the inscription commemorates this event.

What follows is a useful survey by Bianca Horlemann entitled *Buddhist sites in Amdo and former Longyou from the 8th to 13th century* (pp. 119–157).

As the title already might suggest, the article provides list of 91 monasteries or temples¹ from the mentioned period of time along with commentary, and is accompanied by the map localizing those identified. This very interesting contribution attempts to provide an inventory of our knowledge about Buddhism in northern and eastern Amdo bringing together various Tibetan and Chinese sources. It reminds scholars of the indisputable fact that Buddhism has been rooted in the bordering areas of Amdo since ancient times.

Brandon Dotson, in his contribution *At the behest of the mountain: Gods, clans and political topography in post-imperial Tibet* (pp. 159–204), focuses mainly on a narrative of the disintegration of the Tibetan Empire, which could be found in several Buddhist chronicles which, however, cite the non-extant chronicle *Lo rgyus chen mo*. Having carefully compared several existing readings of the text he comes to the conclusion that the story does not speak about the continuation of Revolt (*khen log*) accompanying the dissolution of the Tibetan Empire (as was understood by several past scholars), but about the resolution of the Revolt through a new arrangement of the territory of Tibet into principalities. The narration contains a list of Tibetan principalities (*rje dpon tshan*) which were created under the authority of the particular mountain god. The pairs of clans are connected with the names of their strongholds and the mountain gods in the list. The author then carefully examines similar existing lists of principalities or minor kingdoms (*rgyal phran*) to be found in numerous Dunhuang documents. With the help of these and other texts he attempts to localize the clans mentioned in the list of principalities. This leads to new insights into the historical geography of Tibet.

The next contribution, by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, is entitled *Old Tibetan Buddhist texts from the Post-Tibetan imperial period (mid-9th c. to late 10th c.)* / pp. 205–215/ and fails to provide an ordered and sequential line of argument. The author mentions firstly his previous research on post-imperial documents from Dunhuang, then jumps to the texts of Khotanese provenance giving a “selected list” of the texts of post-imperial documents from Dunhuang, without any argument as to why these in particular were selected. He then discusses the inventory numbers of them and finally dedicates a few lines to the topic of the variety of Tibetan scripts in the documents from Dunhuang.

The last article is written by Cristina Scherer-Schaub and bears the title *Tibet: An archæology of the written* (pp. 217–254). It contributes several fresh ideas to the understanding of the process of the invention of Tibetan script,

1) A mistake occurred in the list, where monastery No. 29 is mistakenly numbered as 4. This is why the number of the last monastery mentioned should not be 90, but 91.

which still remains obscure. The article touches upon Indian scripts which could serve as examples for Tibetan script before its establishment. Based on an older idea expressed by G. Uray, she mentions those scripts which used the triangular letter *ba* for both the phonemes *ba* and *va*. She also presents some evidence concerning the usage of Indian scripts by peoples using languages differing significantly from the Indian ones and develops the hypothesis that the Indian script could have been used in the bordering areas of the Tibetan Empire before the appearance of Tibetan script. Instead of the invention of a new script, it could be that a variety of Indian scripts already in usage were unified for the purpose of writing in Tibetan. In the second part of the article she mentions two interesting cases concerning the swearing of oaths. In the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* there appears a description of the swearing of an oath without the use of writing. This is contrasted with the inscription on the Zhol pillar, where writing is already at the core of the process of swearing an oath.

The whole volume contains contributions on a variety of topics and of various length and levels of elaboration. Despite being of varying quality, scholars interested in the problems of the Old Tibetan Empire will find among the articles published in this volume a number of studies which certainly take our knowledge further. This is sufficient reason for warmly recommending it.