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Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), Part Two*

Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp

(Center for Tibetan Studies, Sichuan University
Harvard University)

ust as with several of the colophons of the texts contained in a number of volumes that belong to an incomplete set of the writings by the great Sa skya pa scholar and saint Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan of Sa skya pa monastery's Rin chen sgang Residence (*bla brang*) that was cataloged a long time ago in Part One of this paper,¹ so also many of the colophons of a collection of texts as well as the texts themselves in the last, incomplete volume of this set, volume Na — the longest of these little treatises consists of but seven folios — ought to be of considerable interest to the social and intellectual historian of fourteenth century Tibet. The volume in question contains what may be considered Bla ma dam pa's miscellaneous writings, his *gsung thor bu*, that as a matter of course also include a number of more ephemeral and, to be sure, less consequential literary pieces. Bla ma dam pa was in sundry ways a quite remarkable man, so that even many of these relatively minor

* This paper includes some findings that I made during a research sojourn in Beijing from July to September of 1993. My stay was made possible by the second installment of a grant from what was then the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. Unless stated otherwise, all references to catalog numbers in the ensuing are taken from the in-house catalog of the Tibetan section of the Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (Mi rigs rig gnas pho brang / Minzu wenhua gong 民族文化宫), Beijing, [= C.P.N.] that was kindly made available to me during my stay there.

¹ See my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), Part One," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 7 (1993), 109-147. In the meantime, a catalog of the same corpus was published in *Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang gi dpe tho las gsung 'bum skor gyi dkar chag shes bya'i gter mdzod*, Smad cha, eds. Sun Wenjing 孫文景 and Mi nyag Mgon po (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 457-459.

works of his contain valuable information about his personal contacts and where he was when he wrote them. Indeed, they provide us with important insights into his intellectual development as well as into the social and political aspects of his life and his career as an intellectual and a man of the cloth. Thus, they considerably add to what we are able to learn from reading through his biographies. And it therefore goes without saying that a good number of the texts in this volume themselves constitute primary material for historical investigations in the religious and political history of his times, not to mention for a critical study of his life that will perhaps one day be written.² This is to be expected from one who was a leading member of one of Sa skya monastery's ruling families. A substantial number of texts in volume Na are in fact letters and panegyrics that are addressed to one or the other member of the Mongol imperial family in China, to Grand-Instructor (*ta'i si tu* < Ch. *da[i]situ* 大司徒) Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302–1364) — hereafter *Ta'i si tu* — and a host of other Tibetan notables, both religious and secular. Written in the *dbu can* script, the volumes of this set were kept in the Tibetan section of the Nationalities Library of the C.P.N. I came across them while I was doing research there in the summers of 1992 and 1993. In their catalog of his oeuvre, Sun Wenjing and Mi nyag Mgon po list three little works under what they wrongly designated volume Nya, whereas the Buddhist Digital Resource Center [formerly: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (tbrc.org)] correctly registers them for a microfilm copy of a very incomplete volume Na.³ In fact, these correspond to nos. 1, 16 and 17 of the catalog that is presented below in this paper, except that the latter is only four and not eighty-one folios in length as Sun Wenjing and Mi nyag Mgon po have it. Vol. Na was published in the sixth and last volume of the C.P.N.'s incomplete set of Bla ma dam pa's writings that were computer generated in Nepal.⁴ The catalog that I offer below

² A beginning is made in Li Mengyan 李梦妍, "Ju jixiang lama dan ba suo nan jian zan zhuanji" yizhu yu yanjiu 《具吉祥喇嘛丹巴锁南坚赞传记》译注与研究 [A Study of Dpal ldan Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar: Translation and Annotations], MA Thesis (Beijing: Renmin University of China, 2013), which is based on Bla ma dam pa's biography that was written by his disciple Dpal ldan tshul khriims (1321-1387 or 1333-1399), for which see below. Li's work was published in *Han Zang foxue yanjiu: wenben, renwu, tuxiang he lishi* 汉藏佛学研究: 文本, 人物, 图像和历史 [Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies: Texts, Figures, Images, and History], ed. Shen Weirong 沈卫荣 (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2013), 414-459.

³ See, respectively, their *Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang gi dpe tho las gsung 'bum skor gyi dkar chag*, *Shes bya'i gter mdzod*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 459, and tbrc.org, W00KG02390.

⁴ See *Collected Works*, vol. 6 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2007), 502-747, and also tbrc.org, W1KG11900.

is based in the first place on a photocopy of the original *dbu can* manuscript of volume Na that is in my possession.

More importantly, however, is the very recently published edition, in Lhasa, of an edition of his *Collected Works* in twenty-six volumes.⁵ This collection was the result of the herculean efforts of the late scholar *extraordinaire* Tshul khirms rgyal mtshan (1933–2001) of Nalen dra monastery in 'Phan po. Despite its size, it is still missing a number of works, but what we now have available to us is more than sufficient to further our understanding of Bla ma dam pa as a formidable intellectual. The first two volumes of this edition contain the texts of the C.P.N.'s volume Na.⁶ It is clear that this collection is based on a different set of manuscripts that were housed in the Nationalities Library of the C.P.N. and some of these differences will be signaled in my catalog.

The origin of the collection of Bla ma dam pa's writings of the C.P.N. is not entirely clear, but it appears that these volumes had been taken from what seems to have been the personal library of Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682) that was housed in 'Bras spungs monastery's Dga' ldan pho brang or, in any event, from one of this large monastery's many libraries. In fact, it is altogether quite likely that before they had become part of 'Bras spungs' library system, they were originally part of the spoils of the civil war that had raged on and off for more than two decades between the Dga' ldan pho brang and the ruling family of Gtsang, the Gtsang pa Sde srid, whose court was located in Bsam grub rtse, that is, what is now Gzhis ka rtse (= Shigatse).⁷ The Dga' ldan pho brang emerged victorious from the battle field in the spring of 1642, a victory that was to have far reaching consequences for the development of the institution of the Dalai Lama and thus for Tibet's pre-modern and modern history.

⁵ See *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe nying dpe skrun khang, 2016).

⁶ See *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 229-334, vol. 2, 1-113.

⁷ For the family as a whole, see B.E. Bogin's splendid *The Life of Yol mo Bstan 'dzin nor bu: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study of the Memoirs of a Seventeenth-century Tibetan Buddhist Lama*, PhD dissertation (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005), especially ix-x, 64-71, and his *The Illuminated Life of the Great Yolmowa* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2013), Index, 268, and D. Templeman, "The 17th cent. Gtsang Rulers and their Strategies of Legitimation," *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. R. Vitali (Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2012), 65-78, even if we cannot always agree with the dates in the latter. See also the précis in N. Lamminger, *Der Sechste Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630) und sein Reisebericht aus den Jahren 1629/1630: Studie, Edition und Übersetzung*, PhD dissertation (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2013), 12-16.

A summary of the biography of Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub (1571–1642), a scion of Sa skya's Rtse gdong Residence — this fiefdom was located to the northeast of Shigatse on the northern bank of the Gtsang po river — and a court chaplain of Karma bstan skyong dbang po (1606–1642), the Gtsang pa Sde srid's last ruler, contains a very brief but unusual account of the last battles that were fought until the fall of this ruler's fortress.⁸ It records with painstaking accuracy that Gushri

⁸ See Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros' (1729–1784) 1781 *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, ed. Dbyangs can seng ge (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 106 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian* 薩迦世系史續編, tr. Wang Yiping 王玉屏 (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1992), 29-30]; Sngags 'chang's extremely informative excerpts of a much longer biography of Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub of unknown authorship extend from pp. 48 to 113 of his work [*Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 5-32]. The year of Karma bstan skyong dbang po's birth is taken from *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, ed. Tshe ring dpal 'byor et al., Gangs can rig mdzod 7 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 87 [= Bsod nams tshe ring, *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 169]. For him, see also N.M. Gettelman, "Karma bstan skyong and the Jesuits," *Reflections on Tibetan Culture. Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, ed. L. Epstein and R.F. Sherburne (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 269-277. Authored by Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1569-1645), an undated and somewhat venal panegyric to him, which unfortunately contains no overt historical information, is *Phyogs las rnam rgyal ba'i gtan gzhol med na da'i sgra dbyangs* of which an *dbu med* manuscript in nine folios was cataloged under C.P.N. catalog no. 002866(6). This piece was recently published in *Gtsang stod rgyal po'i rnam thar dang rgyal rabs*, ed. Gzhon nu nor bzang, Gangs can rig mdzod 60 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2013), 1-17. In his path breaking study of the development of the Jo nang school, Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa (1920–1975) observes in his *Jo nang chos 'byung zla ba'i sgron me* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1992), 136, that Kun dga' rab brtan dbang gi rgyal po was an alternate name of Karma bstan skyong dbang po. There are many outstanding questions about the complicated history of the Gtsang pa Sde srid, and its story still needs to be written, ideally using the scores of edicts issued by this regime that are currently housed in the Tibet Archives, Lhasa. Although rather late, an important source is also Rag ra Sprul sku Khri chen Ngag dbang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's 1822 *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan, Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga*, ed. Ldan lhun Sangs rgyas chos 'phel et al., Gangs can rig mdzod 9 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1990), 249-254, 266-293. With much candor, this Dge lugs pa scholar gives a remarkably evenhanded account of the Gtsang pa Sde srid's rise and fall. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs' and Nor brang O rgyan's *Bod kyi lo rgyus rags rim g.yu yi phreng ba*, Bar cha (Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1990), 542-557, is also of considerable use, and Rdzong rtse Byams pa thub bstan's *Gtsang myang smad bsam 'grub rtse'i sde srid gtsang pa rim byung gi mnga' thang 'byor rgud kyi lo rgyus* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1994) is a first attempt at trying to make sense of the information on members of the family that lies scattered in a variety of sources. See, finally, also B. Bogin, "The Red and Yellow War: Dispatches from the Field," *Himalayan Passages. Tibetan and Newar*

Qan (1582–1655) of the Qoshot Mongols, the key ally of 'Bras spungs' Dga' ldan pho brang, had surrounded Shigatse and the fortress of Pho brang Bsam grub rtse on the ninth day of the fifth lunar month (*snron*, **jaiṣṭha*) of the iron-snake year, that is, on June 18, 1641. He then laid siege on the fortress for more than three months, but was unable to take it. It was only at this time that Bsod noms rab brtan (1595–1657), the Dga' ldan pho brang's financial secretary (*phyag mdzod*) [and much else besides] in an almost leisurely fashion came to the aid of the by now weakened army of the Qan. Bsod noms rab brtan, who also seems to have been called Bsod noms chos 'phel, where *chos 'phel* certainly has the sense of "spreading the [Dge lugs pa] religion," may have thought it not a particularly good idea to have a strong Mongol military presence in Central Tibet. Hence, his protracted absence from the battle field during the early stages! A series of talks between the parties were held in the presence of intermediaries, the then abbot of Sa skya A mes [also: myes] zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms (1597–1659) and the aged but indefatigable Paṅ chen Bla ma I [or: IV] Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1567–1662) among them.⁹ Karma pa X Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604–1674)¹⁰ had also been invited, but was

Studies in Honor of Hubert Decler, ed. B. Bogin and A. Quintman (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2014), 319-341.

⁹ Writing in 1660, Paṅ chen Bla ma I is quite clear that he left 'Bras spungs on the fifth day of the twelfth month, that is, on January 12, 1642; see *Paṅ chen Blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 202-203. In this passage, he mentions "the Qan [and his] object of patronage" (*rgyal po mchod yon*) which, although "the two" (*gnyis*) is absent, must, I believe, indicate Gushri Qan and Bsod noms chos 'phel; see also in this connection Y. Ishihama, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara," *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 64 (1993), 40. Paṅ chen Bla ma I refers to A mes zhabs as the Sa skya zhabs drung. A mes zhabs, his voluminous oeuvre, and his views on the *Hevajratantra* and its sources became the subject of two in-depth studies by J.-U. Sobisch, for which see his *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms, the Great 17th Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Supplement Band 38 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007) and *Hevajra and Lam 'bras Literature of India and Tibet Seen Through the Eyes of A-mes-zhabs*, *Contributions to Tibetan Studies* 6 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichelt Verlag, 2008). Happily, two editions of A mes zhabs' collected writings have been published in recent years, one in Kathmandu (2000), and the other in Lhasa (2012).

¹⁰ Much of how he saw his life up to 1630 can be gleaned from his recently excavated poetic biography of his main tutor Zhwa dmar VI Gar dbang chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630) as in-terwined with his own life that was published as *Byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa zhing kun tu rang nyid 'ong ba gdul bar bya ba kun gyi 'dod pa 'jo ba'i ba mo*, *Rje karma bcu pa chos dbyings rdo rje'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, *Mgo log dpe rnying dpe tshogs* 18 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 3-333. He completed this work in Rgyal thang on December 30/31, 1648. This and the other volume of his collected writings, published as the *Mgo log dpe rnying dpe tshogs* 19, that were rescued

absent during the negotiations. The probable reason why he was apparently unable to come or simply refused to participate in these proceedings may very well have been because he and his *bla brang*-corporation had been too deeply involved with the Gtsang pa Sde srid as a whole. While it is unlikely that this should have fallen within the competence of the still very young Karma pa, Karma bstan skyong dbang po's legal code indicates that the Karma pa had given his father Karma phun tshogs [phyogs thams cad las] rnam par rgyal ba (?1586–1620/1) the authority to rule over Dbus and Gtsang!¹¹ This must have

from oblivion through the tireless effort of A khu Gzan dkar Rin po che Thub bstan nyi ma and his associate Bkra shis, contain additional autobiographical poetic pieces. See now K. Debreczeny et al., *The Black Hat Eccentric: Artistic Visions of the Tenth Karma pa* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012) and also Shamar Rinpoche, *A Golden Swan in Turbulent Waters: The Life and Times of the Tenth Karmapa Choying Dorje* (Lexington: Bird of Paradise Press, 2012).

¹¹ *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 87 [= Bsod noms tshe ring, *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims*, 169]: *rgyal ba thams cad mkhyen pa karma pa chos dbyings rdo rjes dbus gtsang bdag po'i lung gnang ste shel tham dmar nag skya dar rgya gling sogs lung gi che ba mngon par mtho ba'i dge mtshan bsam gyis mi khyab cing bka' khrims bzang pos mnga' bangs rnams rdzogs ldan gyi dus ltar bde skyid du mdzad pa'o //*. Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal's dates are not unproblematic. His short biography in *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 85-87 [= Bsod noms tshe ring, *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims*, 168-169]: provides us with the following data: He was born in the fire-dog year, which would give the impossible 1550 or 1610. At the age of twenty-four, he overthrew Yar rgyab and other regions in Dbus. An army of barbarian (*kla klo*) Hor and Sog po Mongols entered Tibet in the earth-male-horse year [1618] and even occupied Lhasa [and the Jo khang]. In response, he led an army of eight "divisions" (*yan lag brgyad*) to Dbus and defeated them in lower Stod lung. At the same time, he brought Dbus under his control. According to some sources, this took place in 1610, so that he must have been born in 1586, which was a dog-year!; the notice that "quarreling broke out among the principalities" (*sde 'khrug langs pa[s]*) in Dbus and Gtsang during the years 1612-1613 in A mes zhabs' biography in Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 305 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 143], may refer to this or its consequences. This could mean that he was born in 1588 or 1589. On the other hand, Gtsang Mkhan chen 'Jam dbyangs dpal ldan rgya mtsho's (1610-1684) biography of Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1594-?1651), *Dpal 'brug pa rin po che ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgyas pa chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs* (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974), 313, states that the latter met him in about 1614 when Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal was sixteen or seventeen years old. This would mean that he was born in *circa* 1597, which must of course be a mistake if we accept that his son was born in 1606; see also M. Aris, *Bhutan. The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1979), 208-209. J.-U. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms, the Great 17th Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, 152, no. 173, registers a letter A mes zhabs had written to him in 1617 titled *Karma Phun tshogs rnam rgyal la guang ba'i gsung shog*. The year of his passing is not as controversial as that of his birth. Rag ra Sprul sku, *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*,

followed in the wake of Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal's effective military neutralization of the Yar rgyab and Sku rab families with whom he had controlled Dbus and Gtsang for a few years.¹² The success of his military campaigns enabled him to give Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub several religious estates (*chos gzhis*) in Dbus and

269, writes that he succumbed to small pox "sometime in the tenth lunar month of the monkey-year" [October/November, 1620] while he was campaigning in Zangs [read: Bzang] yul – Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 316 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 148], registers the first of a number of outbreaks of this scourge during the seventeenth century for the year 1614. His death was at first kept secret by his ministers. It appears that around the middle of 1620, Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal had urgently requested A mes zhabs to focus on the Buddha's teaching and sentient beings (*bstan 'gror dgongs pa*). Translated, this means that he underwrote his candidacy for the office of Sa skya's abbot and probably also that he was considering the afterlife. Ultimately, the great Kun dga' snying po (1575-1634), alias Tāranātha, who owed the 1615 construction of his see of Rtag brtan phun tshogs gling to the largesse of the deceased ruler, was to write of the circumstances of his patron's death. He relates in his autobiography that he heard about it, as well as the secrecy surrounding it, sometime in the second half of the first and the second lunar months. This means that his patron may have passed away around the turn of 1621. It all depends on how long it took for the news, which had at first been kept secret, to have reached him. For this, see *Rgyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa'i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa'i rtogs brjod*, *Collected Works* [Dzang thang ed.], vol. 1, (? , 199?), 464 ff. (= *Collected Works* [ed. Rtag brtan phun tshogs gling], vol. 1 (Leh: C. Namgyal and Tsewang Taru, 1982-1987), 476 ff.; *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 2, *Mes po'i shul bzhaq*, vol. 44, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2008), 78 ff.). He relates this information after his entry for the death of Bsod noms dbang po (1559-1621). Of passing interest is that Tāranātha's undated oral commentary on Nāgārjuna's (2nd c.) *Suhytlekha* was actually recorded by Phun tshogs rnam rgyal himself, for which see *Bshes pa'i 'phrin yig gi 'grel pa rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa tā ra nā tha'i gsung bzhin sde srid phun tshogs rnam rgyal gyis zin bris bgyis pa*, *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 42, *Mes po'i shul bzhaq*, vol. 84, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2008), 194-331. According to A mes zhabs' 1629 celebrated study of the ruling families and abbots of Sa skya monastery, the *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 483 [= *Sajia shixi shi* 薩迦世系史, tr. Chen Qingying 陳庆英 et al. (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1989), 344], his uncle Bsod noms dbang po passed away in Bkra shis bsam grub, in Dge sdings [in Shab], on the tenth day of the first lunar month [March 3] of the mouse-year [1621]. A mes zhabs himself was in Sa skya when he had learned of this. On the other hand, Tāranātha states that he was informed by Sa skya that the hierarch had passed away on the fourteenth day of the second fortnight of the previous lunar month (*zla ba snga ma'i mar ngo'i bcu bzhi*), that is, on February 21 of that year! In any event, Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal was succeeded by his son Karma bstan skyong dbang po in 1621, and A mes zhabs was among the hierarchs who attended his "coronation."

¹² Rag ra Sprul sku, *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*, 252-253, 269.

Gtsang from which he and his *bla brang* would draw income.¹³ To be sure, A mes zhabs, too, was hardly an impartial participant. Although he had first officially met the young Karma bstan skyong dbang po in 1621 during his coronation, they were thereafter in regular contact and he performed many apotropaic rituals on his behalf that, without any doubt, were directed against the Dga' ldan pho brang and its Mongol allies. The extent of his dealings with Karma bstan skyong dbang po was thus quite considerable and the depth of their relationship will have to be investigated on another occasion when all his biographies become available. The same holds for his elder brother Sgar chen Mthu stobs dbang phyug (1588–1637), who was also much sought after for his apparent expertise in the expulsion of Mongols (*sog bzlog*) through similar rituals. But Sgar chen was not alive at this time. His passing had been a sudden one. He had contracted small pox when, in 1636, a virulent epidemic of the disease broke out in Gtsang. This time, it was suspected that this highly infectious disease had been carried to Tibet by the army which Arslan, the son of Čoytu, chieftain of Kokonor, had led against Karma bstan skyong dbang po in the winter of the pig-year [November 1635–January 1636].¹⁴ Fearing imminent infection, Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub hurriedly left Shigatse to embark on a meditative retreat in his private quarters at Rtse gdong. Many others were of course not as fortunate and died a horrific death.

In addition to these transparent connections with the Gtsang pa Sde srid, Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub's niece Bsod nams rnam gyäl bu khrid (?–1637) was married to the king and had borne him a son named Dbang chen dpal 'bar in 1628.¹⁵ Obviously, it was precisely because of the close relationship A mes zhabs and his see had enjoyed with the Gtsang pa Sde srid [and perhaps also with the Be ri king Don yod rdo rje (?–1641) in Khams, who had been recently defeated and executed by Gushri Qan after a long war] that he was asked to intercede as an intermediary.¹⁶ But the negotiations went nowhere. In

¹³ Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 80 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 18].

¹⁴ Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 92 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 23–24].

¹⁵ Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 83 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 20].

¹⁶ J.-U. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, the Great 17th Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, 144, no. 113, 152, nos. 173–174, 179, explicitly registers panegyrics and letters to both parties. Suggesting that the brothers Karma mthu stobs rnam gyäl, Kun spangs Lha dbang rdo rje, and Karma bstan srung dbang po (d. 1611) shared a wife or wives, *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 85 [= *Bsod nams tshe ring, Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims*, 167–168], states that the three were Karma phun tshogs rnam gyäl's

father. These were three of the *circa* nine sons of Zhing shag Tshe brtan rdo rje (?-?1599), the Gtsang pa Sde srid's founder. J.-U. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms, the Great 17th Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, 157, nos. 169-171, records three additional little texts that appear to give the names of three other brothers, namely, Nam mkha' tsho dbang phun tshogs dbang gi rgyal po and Mi dbang Mthu stobs dbang po; according to the latter Mi dbang [Bsod noms] mthu stobs dbang po[i sde] and Bdag po Bsod noms phun tshogs were brothers. But here we have to be careful and do some more research, for Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 345 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 160], characterizes Bsod noms dbang po'i sde as Shar kha Mi dbang, that is, a ruler of the Shar kha family that lorded over Rgyal mkhar rtse, and notes that his son was Chos rje Ngag dbang bsod noms rgyal mtshan. For Zhing shag pa's nine sons as the "nine incarnate devils" (*bdud sprul dgu*), Dalai Lama V cites *Bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus kyi lung bstan* of Mnga' ris Pan chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (1487-1542) and Rigs 'dzin Legs ldan pa (16^{c.}), that is, Legs ldan rdo rje, in his 1642 chronicle as well as in his 1654 biography of his relation Ngag gi dbang po (1580-1639); see, respectively, *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 189-190, and *Byang pa rig 'dzin chen po ngag gi dbang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho, Bka' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* (Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1972), 707-708. For the Be ri king, see P. Schwieger, "Towards a Biography of Don yod rdo rje, King of Be ri," *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*, Indica et Tibetica, Band 34 (Swisttal Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1999), 247-260. Additional information on Don yod rdo rje and who was probably his father may now be gleaned, for example, from the biographies of 'Phags pa Lha III Mthong ba don ldan (1562-1604) and 'Phags pa Lha IV Chos kyi rgyal po (1605-1643) of Chab mdo in *'Phags pa lha sku phreng rim byon, Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*, vol. 9, ed. Gling dpon Padma skal bzang and Tsho rgyal (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1995), 32-34, 42-43, and in Shākya lha dbang's 1640 *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, ed. Bsod noms tsho brtan, *Gangs can rig mzdod 35* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2001), 178-181 - Shākya lha dbang [diplomatically!] makes no mention of Don yod rdo rje in his *Life* of 'Phags pa lha IV which runs to 1640! Dated 1627, A mes zhabs's letter to him that is contained in the former's miscellaneous writings declares that the "Sde srid Gtsang pa and I" had a close patron-patronized relationship; see *Dpal sa skya pa śākya'i dge bsnen paṇḍita theg pa mchog gi rnal 'byor pa sngags 'chang ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms kyi rang lo so gsum yan gyi 'phrin yig dang gdams pa'i skor sogs thor bu 'ga' zhis phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa*, *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000), 434. One of the earliest references to an ethnic grouping in Central Tibet called Be ri may very well be the one found in the narrative where Spyian snga Rin chen ldan (?1202-?) gives an especially poignant description of the havoc they and the Mongols (*hor*) had wreaked on the land when the Mongols invaded Central Tibet in 1240; see his biography of his master Yang dgon pa Rgyal mtshan dpal (1213-1258), *Chos kyi rgyal po rgyal ba yang dgon pa'i rnam par thar pa, Bka' brgyud gser 'phreng chen mo*, vol. 1 (Dehradun: Ngawang Gyaltsen and Ngawang Lungtok, 1970), 608. For the Be ri in Khams, see now also Li Zhiying 李志英, "Kangqu 'baili tusi' kao 康区 '白利土司' 考 [A Study of the Khams Region's 'Beri Chieftain']," *Zangxue xuekan 藏学学刊 / Bod rig pa'i dus deb / Journal of Tibetology* 13 (2015), 121-136, and Shi Shuo 石硕 and Li Zhiying, "Kangqu baili tusi dunyuejie de zongjiao taidu tantao - jianlun gushi han xiaomie baili tusi 康区白利土司顿月

March of 1642, both forces attacked the fortress of Bsam grub rtse, whereby the aforesaid account in Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub's biography has it that they needed more than nine months finally to take it. Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub, who had also been involved in performing apotropaic rituals on behalf of Karma bstan skyong dbang po and his political as well as military ambitions passed away on March 10, 1642. He was a probable victim of the siege. But the date of his death calls into question not only the origin but also the accuracy of the curious "nine months" of the passage. The sketch of his life contains an unusual afterword that reflects its equally unusual circumstances. In this interesting piece, we learn that Karma bstan skyong dbang po's ministers felt that his passing was a sign that the fortress would soon be lost. At this time, A mes zhabs had come to Bkra shis lhun po, the see of Paṅ chen Bla ma I. Making sumptuous offerings to the Paṅ chen Bla ma, the grand-financial secretary (*phyag mzod chen mo*) of the Dga' ldan pho brang, that is, Bsod noms rab brtan, Gushri Qan and others, he was able to secure the remains of his erstwhile teacher Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub from the fortress. After staying in Gnas rnying rgyal khang, he took the remains to Rtse gdong Lhun po rtse on April 13/14, where he presided over a lengthy set of funerary rites.

It will have been readily noticed that, in terms of the chronology of events, the "nine months" of this account does not at all square with the one that the autobiographies of Dalai Lama V and Paṅ chen Bla ma IV have in common, beginning with the narrative of the latter's departure from his see of Bkra shis lhun po on the eight day of the fourth Mongol month, that is, on May 18, 1641 to his assumption of the abbacy of Zhwa lu monastery on the second day of the sixth Mongol month, that is, on June 29, 1642.¹⁷ In fact, Dalai Lama V states *inter alia* that victory over the Gtsang pa Sde srid was achieved as early as April 13, 1642! The number "nine" is thus clearly a mistake for number "one" and can perhaps be most readily explained by the fact the numbers "1" and "9" are graphically somewhat similar, especially in cursive *dbu med* manuscripts. Many of the treasures, including manuscripts, from Bsam grub rtse and probably also from the large monastery Karma bstan skyong dbang po had founded just above Bkra shis lhun po, were taken to 'Bras spungs as the spoils of war.

杰的宗教态度探讨——兼论固始汗消灭白利土司[A Probe into the Religious Attitude of Don yod rgyal, the Khams Region's Beri Chieftain – as well as on Gushri Qan's Elimination of the Beri Chieftain]," *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学 3 (2016), 40-48.

¹⁷ See, respectively, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, Stod cha (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 205-228, and *Paṅ chen Blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 200-207.

As noted, the manuscript of vol. Na of the incomplete set of Bla ma dam pa's oeuvre was part of the holdings of the C.P.N. library. In this connection, I might mention one other notable literary treasure that I found while doing research in this treasure store. This is the **Pho brang bsam grub rtse'i dkar chag*, of which a probably unique, albeit slightly incomplete *dbu med* manuscript in three hundred and ten folios on high-quality paper is [or was] located under catalog no. 004351; the indigenous catalog number is 'bras snang [read: nang] 116, meaning that it was part of the library system of 'Bras spungs monastery. While its colophon says nothing about the identity of the author, this impressive inventory of the religious objects and murals was at least in part compiled by a certain 'Jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod noms bkra shis grags pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. He is of course none other than A mes zhabs. Extending from parts Ka to Sa, sections Kha to Nga, fols. 19-57, are missing, but the manuscript does note, on fol. 10-b, that A mes zhabs had been involved in its compilation. The in-house catalog of the Nationalities Library of the C.P.N. tentatively titled it **Pho brang bsam grub rtse'i dkar chag*. When the manuscript resurfaces, it will reveal that it is a catalog of the religious objects, including the murals, of the new monastery of Chos 'khor bde [read: sde] chen which Karma bstan skyong dbang po had begun to construct in 1638, not coincidentally right above Bkra shis lhun po. It was to be built on a very grand scale indeed. Arriving in Shigatse during the first week of October of 1637, Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub was told by Karma bstan skyong dbang po of his plans.¹⁸ Once, on a visit to Rgyal mkhar rtse as a young man, he had been so impressed by its great monastery and stupa that he wished to build something like it for himself. The site on which it was constructed was on the hillside above Bkra shis lhun po and the implications of this location must have been obvious to all. This is also underscored by its nickname "outshining/overcoming Bkra shis [lhun po]" (*bkra shis zil gnon*).¹⁹ Translating intention into action, work on its construction began after the Rtse gdong hierarch had consecrated the site on March 25/26, 1638. Clearly an insulting punch on the chin and an eye sore for Bkra shis lhun po and Paṅ chen Bla ma I personally, the construction of the monastery had been completed and its statuary and other sacred objects, both large and small, had already been consecrated, when Gushri Qan surrounded the fortress with his army, setting the stage for its imminent destruction. In an entry for the year 1645, Dalai Lama V writes that Qatun Dalai Kun ci, the Qan's wife, offered the wood and

¹⁸ For this and what follows, see Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 97-105 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 26-29].

¹⁹ See, for example, *Paṅ chen Blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 201.

other building materials from "Gtsang's large monastery" for the purpose of restoring Lhasa's Jo khang temple.²⁰ To be sure, "Gtsang's large monastery" refers to Chos 'khor sde chen. And Rag ra Sprul sku is definitely much more specific when he writes²¹:

*gtsang chos sde gsar pa'i shing rnams drangs nas jo khang
khyams khra [read: r[w]a] chen po bzo bkod phun sum tshogs
pa bskrun / pho brang bsam grub rtse'i rten mchod dngos
dpyad [read: spyad] khal rgyab stong phrag brgal ba dbus su
drangs /*

Having taken the wood of Gtsang's new monastery, they constructed the Jo khang temple's superbly crafted, large courtyard. More than one thousand pack-animal loads of Pho brang Bsam grub rtse's religious items and material things were taken to Dbus [read: to the Dga' ldan pho brang!].

He adds that a portion of the spoils of war was used towards the construction of the Potala Palace [in 1645] in which Dkon mchog chos 'phel (1573–1645), one of Dalai lama V's main tutors, had an important hand - it is worthy of mention apropos of the Potala Palace that the name "Potala" already occurs in connection with the Dmar po ri, the hill on which the palace was built, in the biography of the Tshal pa myriarch (*khri dpon*) Smon lam rdo rje (1284–1347) that was written by his son, Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje (1309–1364), alias Bde ba'i blo gros.²² To be sure, the end of the Gtsang pa Sde srid regime in Shigatse did not mean the end of warfare. The Dga' ldan pho brang's opponents were scattered far and wide, and for several years thereafter Gushri Qan and Bsod nams rab brtan were engaged in "pacification" operations in various principalities from Gtsang to Kongpo in southeastern Tibet. These operations coincided with a radical redistribution of landed property – this included entire hamlets and villages - whereby the Dga' ldan pho brang repaid its allies for their military and economic support against the Gtsang pa Sde srid and its allies. Needless to say, the ravages of war and the continuous political unrest had taken their severe toll on the general population, farmers

²⁰ *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, Stod cha, 258.

²¹ *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*, 292.

²² See *Dpal ldan bla ma dge sbyong chen po zhes pa tshal pa drung chen smon lam pa'i rnam thar*, sixty-nine-folio *dbu med* manuscript, 19a, in P.K. Sørensen and G. Hazod [in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo], *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung thang*, vol. 2 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

and herdsmen most of them, and the war, albeit on a less technological scale, must have given rise to what is nowadays rather insidiously called "collateral damage." It is in this sense that we must take Byams pa bsam gtan rgya mtsho's note in his biography of A mes zhabs²³:

*sprul lo nas bzung lo gsum gyi ring / dbus gtsang gyi ljongs
'dir mu ge chen pos nyam thag par gyur pa'i tshe / skye 'gro
rnams kyi bde thabs la dgongs /*

When in this region of Dbus and Gtsang the population was afflicted by a great famine during three years beginning with the snake-year [1641], A mes zhabs thought about a good turn for the people.

It would appear that "thinking" was apparently all he effectively did. Like most social elites, the Tibetan intellectual elite and the literature it has produced are generally quite mute when it comes to depicting the underbelly of everyday life in Tibet for any time period. We usually do not read about such things, but we can begin to imagine what those on the lower rungs of Tibetan society must have gone through when we read what Mi pham phun tshogs shes rab, the author of the 1688 biography of the 'Brug pa hierarch Cog grwa Mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang po (1617–1680), wrote about the harrowing consequences these wars had for the better situated²⁴:

*...bod dbus gtsang du mu ge chen po lo gsum bstud mar
byung nas / ya rabs dang dge sbyong rnam par dag pa rnams
zas kyi lhag ma la re / bkres pas nyen nas mi sha zos par lang
shor gyis bu tsha brkus bsad kyis za / dngos po bzang po dag
rtswa ltar dor/*

...a huge famine having repeatedly occurred for three years [1642-1644] in Tibet's Dbus and Gtsang, the upper classes and the pure clergy were hoping for leftover [or: surplus] food. Pained with hunger, eating human flesh,

²³ *Dpal sa skya pa sngags 'chang bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar yon tan rin po che 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho*, 602. The 1641-1643 famine is also briefly registered in A mes zhabs' biography in Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs go mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 364-365 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 169].

²⁴ See the Rje btsun rdo rje 'chang dngos mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i zlos gar, *The Biography of the Second Sding po che Cog grwa mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang* (Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1984), 367.

they are eating the [people's] sons and grandsons out of habit through abduction and murder. Good things were abandoned like a [useless] root.

The same biography also notes in an entry for the year 1652 that Cog grwa had wished to acquire an important religious object, the so-called Thub dbang zangs thang ma of the historical Buddha, and a small number of Bka' brgyud pa manuscripts from Bsam grub rtse.²⁵ His wish was not granted, but the passage suggests that the fortress had not [yet] been fully emptied of its sacred objects and also that it was not fully destroyed.

The vast majority of the manuscripts that were housed at the C.P.N. were repatriated to the Tibetan Autonomous Region in 1993. Reports have it that many were redistributed to those monasteries when they could be identified as the sources for those manuscripts that had been initially collected from them in the early 1960s, apparently at the order of then Premier Zhou Enlai, and when, indeed, they were still standing and had not been pulverized during the "Cultural Revolution." It is one of the ironies of history that this huge collection was saved from the ravages of that period. However, its bulk is now firmly deposited behind lock and key in the cellars of the Tibet Museum in Lhasa. Some were also stored in the Public Library in Lhasa, which is located across the street from the museum and has excellent facilities for keeping manuscripts. It is unclear why most of these should be stored away in the museum's basement. Thus, for the moment, they are to all intents and purposes inaccessible to any interested scholarly party, whether Tibetan, Chinese, or "other.

Before detailing the contents of volume Na, the last volume this collection of Bla ma dam pa's writings - its pagination runs from fols. 408 to 507, and forms part of the volume that includes incomplete portions of vols. Nya, Ta, and Tha of his oeuvre -, I will take advantage of the opportunity provided here to draw attention to several other sources on the life of this scion of Sa skya's Rin chen sgang Residence that I was able to recover since the publication of Part One, now already some twenty-five years behind me.²⁶ Further, I will single out

²⁵ *Rje btsun rdo rje 'chang dngos mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i zlos gar*, 402.

²⁶ A late biography of him was authored by Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728–1791), alias 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje II, and is found in his 1777 study of the life of Lcang skya III Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786) and his previous embodiments; see the *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i 'khrungs rabs kyi phreng ba gtam du brjod pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i ljong shing*, *Collected Works*, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1971), 364–389. This sketch seems to be based on the one written by A mes zhabs in his *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 265–

a manuscript of his treatise on Sanskrit grammar, a work that was not included in the set of volumes of his oeuvre of that formed the basis for my earlier paper. As stated above in n. 4, the texts included in vols. Nya, Ta, and Tha, are contained in vols. 1 and 2 of the 2016 Lhasa edition. And it so happens that his treatise on Sanskrit grammar is found in vol. 25 of that edition. A tradition that goes at least back to 1478 has it that Bla ma dam pa composed the chronicle that is best known under the titles of *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* or *Chos 'byung gsal ba'i me long*.²⁷ I will refer to this work as *Rgyal rabs* and I will try to show that, in spite of recent affirmations to this effect, there is plenty of evidence, even if it may not be "completely water-tight," for maintaining that this work did not originate from his pen and that we must continue questioning the identity of the author. The paper then concludes with an annotated catalog of the texts contained in volume Na and the relevant portions of vols. 1 and 2 of the Lhasa edition of his oeuvre.

1. Further Literary Sources on Bla ma dam pa's Life and Scholarship

In Part One, I signaled the recovery of an exemplar of the biography of Bla ma dam pa by his disciple Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo²⁸ - I

97 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 190-208], for which see Part One of this paper, as is also suggested by its listing of his oeuvre on pp. 383-384. See also the summary of Bla ma dam pa's life in K.-H. Everding, *Die Präexistenzen der Lcang skya Qutuqtus*, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 104 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 113-121. A volume dedicated to his biographies and sketches of his life is found in his *Collected Works*, ed. Bsod noms tshe brtan, Thub bstan smon lam et al. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol. 26.

²⁷ See P.K. Sørensen's outstanding study and translation of this work in his *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 128 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1994), which represents a milestone in Tibetan historiography. Another but much inferior translation may be found in *The Clear Mirror: A Traditional Account of Tibet's Golden Age. Sakyapa Sonam Gyaltzen's Clear Mirror on Royal Genealogy*, tr. M. Taylor and Lama Choedak Yuthok (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1996). Both studies agree that its author was Bla ma dam pa.

²⁸ The dates 1302-1380 given for him in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 111, should be changed to 1315-1379/80. The former is taken from the details of his life in 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal's (1392-1481) *Deb gter sngon po*, repr. L. Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1976), 691-692 [*The Blue Annals*, tr. G. Roerich (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 787-788, wrongly has 1243 to 1320]. They are repeated in the texts by Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1596) and Dngos grub rgya mtsho, a disciple of the latter, that

shall henceforth refer to him as Lo tsā ba - that I found among the holdings of the said library. In late 1993, shortly after Part One was published, I discovered in the same library another, this time a somewhat more carefully calligraphed *dbu med* witness of this work that was cataloged under no. 002780(1). It consists of sixty-seven folios and shows some minor orthographic deviations from the text that I had used earlier. One of these manuscripts formed the basis for the computer-generated text that was published in Kathmandu.²⁹ Luckily,

were published as *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed / Tha snyad rig gnas lnga'i byung tshul*, ed. Nor brang O rgyan, *Gangs can rig mdzod 4* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987), 184-185, 304-305. On the other hand, writing in 1732, Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho gives 1315–1392 as his dates, that is, one duodenary cycle later, in his *Shel dkar chos 'byung. History of the "White Crystal"*, tr. Pasang Wangdu and H. Diemberger with G. Hazod (Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 70, 72. Bo dong Paṅ chen 'Jigs med grags pa (1373/75–1451), alias Phyoṅ las rnam rgyal, appears to have written a fullfledged biography of him – the Lo tsā ba was his paternal great-uncle -, and he refers to his study of the transmission of Cakrasamvara in the *Gsang ba 'dus pa'i lung rigs man ngag ston par byed pa'i bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyoṅ las rnam rgyal*, vol. 64 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1972), 451. This work has yet to surface, however. A somewhat larger study of his life is given in Bya btang pa Padma gar dbang's 1538 *Zab chos sbas pa mig 'byed kyi chos bskor (sic) las paṅ chen sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud rdo rje [g]sum gyi bla ma [b]rgyud pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i rnga chen, dbu can* manuscript in one hundred and twenty-seven folios, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Running no. L4703, reel no. L-450/6, 62a-66a. Whereas the Lo tsā ba authored the biography of his own maternal uncle Dpang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276–1342) - his mother was Ye shes sman ne, Dpang Lo tsā ba's sister (*lcam mo*) -, his own life was studied by Zhwa lu pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1365–1448). At least there is a note to this effect in Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas' (1801-after 1867) *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*, ed. Smon lam rgya mtsho (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 11. This very informative work has now been published as *Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Yi [= 54] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 1-136, and the dates 1315–1379/80 are taken from it. One further correction should be made, this one anent the locale Gnas drug with which Blo gros mtshungs med, another disciple of Bla ma dam pa, is associated. While I wrote in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 128, that it refers to a place in Khams — there is indeed a place called Gnas drug that is located not far from Sde dge —, it refers here in all likelihood to the so-called Gnas drug temple (*lha khang*) of Sa skya, a structure located directly south of the Rin chen sngang Residence. For example, A mes zhabs provides a notice in his *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 236 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 172] that it was Imperial Preceptor Dharmapālarakṣita's (1268–1287) place of birth.

²⁹ See *Sa skya pa'i bla ma kha shas kyi rnam thar dang sa skya pa min pa'i bla ma kha shas kyi rnam thar*, vol. 1 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2008), 75-198.

I was also able to recover an *dbu med* manuscript of Dpal ldan tshul khrim's study of Bla ma dam pa's life in twenty folios that was cataloged under no. 002465(13). Dpal ldan tshul khrim was yet another one of his disciples. However, arguably of somewhat greater importance than the discovery of additional manuscripts of these two texts is that the same library also has at least one *dbu med* manuscript of the undated biography written by Karma pa Byams chos pa Byang chub rgyal mtshan (?-?)³⁰ — the text has "Karmā pa" instead of "Karma pa" and "Karmma pa" is also an attested variant of this epithet —, alias 'Be Byams chos pa. Till now generally unavailable, it is titled *Chos rje bsod noms rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsodus*, bears catalog no. 002813(3), and consists of forty-four folios. The recovery of this work by yet another one of his disciples now happily completes the three primary sources A mes zhabs explicitly acknowledged he had at his disposal while writing his own biographical sketch of Bla ma dam pa in his study of Sa skya monastery and her abbots.³¹ Both the title and final page of this manuscript have the marginal notation of "A"; the former has at its upper center the indigenous catalogue number of *phyi ra 152* and simply titles it the *Chos rje bsod noms rgyal*

³⁰ He is mentioned by name in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Deb gter sngon po*, 452 [*The Blue Annals*, tr. G. Roerich, 518] in the list of Karma pa IV Rol pa'i rdo rje's (1340–1383) disciples. A brief sketch of his life is found in Si tu Pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas' (1699/1700-1774) *Bsgrub brgyud karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba* [*History of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa Sect*], vol. I (New Delhi: D. Gyaltsan and Kesang Legshay, 1972), 397. Born in 'Be in Mdo khams, he owed his name in religion "Byang chub rgyal mtshan" to Bla ma dam pa; he also studied in Bo dong E monastery. Thereafter, he trained in basic Bka' brgyud pa teachings under Karma pa IV. The prefix "Karma pa" simply implies that he was considered a member of the Karma sect of the Bka' brgyud school. Apparently, he spent most of his adult life in meditation in Spu ru brag. Yar lung Jo bo Shākya rin chen sde, yet another disciple of Bla ma dam pa, mentions [Karma pa] Byams chos pa's biography in his brief note of Bla ma dam pa's life in his chronicle of 1376; see the *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, ed. Dbyangs can (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 163. Finally, there is little doubt that "Byams chos pa" is a title, indicating that the person who bore it had a solid reputation for his expertise in the so-called Maitreya (Byams pa) treatises (*chos*). For example, in his 1663 biography of Stag tshang Ras pa Ngag dbang rgya mtsho (1574–1651), Ngag dbang kun dga' lhun grub (1616–1675) mentions another person with this same title, namely a certain [Dka' bcu] Byams chos pa; see his *Au ḍi yā ṇa* (sic) *ba ngag dbang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar legs bris baidhūrya* (sic) *dkar po'i rgyud mang* [xylograph], 12b. Dpañg Lo tsā ba even mentions a "Kashmirian Byams chos pa" (*kha che'i byams chos pa*) in his undated commentary on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, for which see the *Chos mngon pa kun la btus pa kyi rgya cher 'grel pa shes bya gsal byed* (Dehra Dun: Sakya College, 1999), 76 [= two hundred seventy-two-folio *dbu med* manuscript, 27b]. A systematic search will no doubt turn up many more intellectuals with this title.

³¹ *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po, 296 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 207-208].

mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsdus pa. The rather uninformative colophon but states, on fol. 43b, that the author wrote it in Sa skya. The text actually consists of two parts; the main body of this work extends from fols. 1b to 38b, to which is appended the so-called *Skyes mchog de'i dus tha ma'i rnam par thar pa* or *Chos kyi rje 'gro ba'i bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pa'i dus tha ma'i rnam par thar pa* on fols. 38a-43b. It is of course devoted to a detailed description of his last days and passing. I am inclined to believe that such an "appendix," one that one often finds in the earlier biographical literature anent the lives of religious hierarchs, emulate or are modeled after the *Mahāparinivāṇasūtra*, which recounts the last days of the historical Buddha and his passing. Fol. 44a of the manuscript — this folio has the marginal notation "A" — contains the following quatrain and an exclamation "Virtue!" in a different hand:

*dpal ldan bla ma'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus 'di //
tshul khriims rgyal mtshan rang nyid dran gso dang //
skal ldan gzhan la'ang phan par 'gyur snyam nas //
lha gnyan rdzong ri rtse dgu'i mgul du bris //*

dge'o //

The verse tells us that this particular manuscript was written by a Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan in Ri rtse dgu of Lha gnyan fortress for the sake of refreshing his memory of Bla ma dam pa and for the benefit of others. On fol. 23a, Karma pa Byams chos pa notes that Bla ma dam pa was ritually installed or anointed (*dbang skur*) as *bdag chen*, "grand-abbot," of Sa skya upon the death of his elder brother Don yod dpal bzang po (b. 1310) in 1344, whom he therefore succeeded to this post. But he is silent on the precise duration of his term of office. The grand-abbacy of Sa skya was located in the Bzhi thog residence, as it had been the see of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280), the fifth patriarch of the Sa skya school. Further, while he also included a listing of his master's oeuvre, on fols. 29b-30b, which, in terms of its sequence of texts noted, deviates from the catalog given by the Lo tsā ba, it is by and large identical with the one given later by A mes zhabs. This might suggest that he was working with a manuscript edition of Bla ma dam pa's oeuvre that was different from the one described by the Lo tsā ba, and that A mes zhabs might have made use of it.³² However, like the

³² A mes zhabs also knows of a twenty-five-volume edition of his collected writings, for which see his 1638 *Dpal sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi nying kha 'khor lo sdom pa'i chos byung ba'i tshal legs par bshad pa bde mchog kun gsāl ba'i nyin byed*, Collected Works, vol. 16 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000), 225.

Lo tsā ba, but unlike A mes zhabs, Karma pa Byams chos pa also suggests that Bla ma dam pa wrote four works on *tshad ma*, Buddhist logic and epistemology, something that is not confirmed by the collections of his oeuvre that are under discussion.³³ A seven-folio *dbu med* manuscript of only the second part of the biography that is cataloged under no. 002816(3) states the author to have been "Byang chub rgyal mtshan, who is known as Dkar ba Byams chos pa," and lacks the afterword. None of the manuscripts of this work suggest when Karma pa Byams chos pa may have written it. But since Yar lung Jo bo cites it in his chronicle, we can be sure that he penned it shortly after Bla ma dam pa's death. Finally, as far as the date of Bla ma dam pa's passing is concerned, he dates it, on fol. 40a, to have fallen on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the wood-female-hare year, that is, July 23, 1375, and thus sides with the one given by the Lo tsā ba.

The biographies of Bla ma dam pa by the Lo tsā ba, Dpal ldan tshul khrim, and Karma pa Byams chos pa were conveniently reproduced *in toto* in the 2016 Lhasa edition of Bla ma dam pa's *Collected Works*.³⁴

Two additional *dbu med* manuscripts of hitherto unknown biographies of Bla ma dam pa have surfaced as well. The first of these is a synoptic seven-folio study of his life authored by Rin chen rgyal mtshan, yet another disciple of Bla ma dam pa. It bears the title of *Chos kyī rje rin po che bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pa'i rnam thar*, is cataloged under no. 002779(12), and has the indigenous catalog number of *phyi ra 110*. The text was written at the behest of a certain "Bla ma Bde mchog pa," obviously one known for his expertise in the Cakrasamvara cycle, whom I am unable to identify at present. Who was this Rin chen rgyal mtshan? At least three different individuals would seem to come into question. The first might be the Rin chen rgyal mtshan whose dates are 1353 to 1435. A complete *dbu can* manuscript of his biography, *Mkhas grub rin chen rgyal mtshan gyis (sic) rnam thar*, in twenty folios is extant under its indigenous catalog number of *phyi ra 164*.³⁵ It was written by his disciple Sangs rgyas dpal

³³ The three works that make up volume Da of the incomplete edition of his writings to which this and my earlier paper are devoted — see my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 143-145 — have now been published in *The Collection (sic) Works of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, volume-Da* (Dehra Dun: International Buddhist Academy & Sakya College, 1999) as well as in *Collected Works*, vol. 5 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2007). See now also *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vols. 3 and 4.

³⁴ See, respectively, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 1-111, 193-214, 135-192.

³⁵ An incomplete *dbu med* manuscript of his biography in eight folios is listed under C.P.N. catalog no. 004399(3); its indigenous catalog number is *phyi ra 193*. Another

bzang in the mountain retreat of Dpal Bde chen sdings at an unspecified time. We learn there that he was born in the patrilinear line (*gdung rus*) of the Ldong zi ma khum bu. His father had been chief-secretary (*dpon yig*) Bzang po dpal (?–1355), a secretary of sorts (*yig mkhan*) of Bzhi thog pa Mkhas btsun chen po Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1305–1343), Bla ma dam pa's half-brother and a scion of the Bzhi thog Residence; his mother was Jo sras ma Dpal chen (?–1355). Upon their passing, he was taken care of by one of his paternal uncles, 'Dul ba 'dzin pa Rin chen 'od mdzes pa, and studied with a number of scholars including Bu ston, Bla ma dam pa and the Lo tsā ba. Known as Shangs pa Dkar po, indicative of being affiliated with the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud school, his patrons included Mi'i dbang po Rnam sras rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1360–1408) of Sa skya's Dus mchod Residence.³⁶ In spite of his connections with Sa skya, there is absolutely no immediate, let alone indirect, evidence that he was the author of this biography of Bla ma dam pa.

The second Rin chen rgyal mtshan was a scion of the House of Byang [in La stod]. Born in 1345, he was a son of Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (?1323–?75), the ruler of Byang myriarchy and perhaps one of the last Grand-Governors (*dpon chen*) of Sa skya, and his third wife Ma cig Dpal ldan 'bum.³⁷ The brief sketch of his life

short biography of him, the *Shangs dkar ba rin chen rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar* by an unidentified author, is contained in the *Shangs pa gser 'phreng. A Golden Rosary of Lives of Masters of the Shangs-pa Dkar-brgyud-pa Schools* (Leh: Sonam W. Tashigang, 1970), 631-639.

³⁶ On this *bailan* prince, see L. Petech, "Princely Houses of the Yüan Period Connected with Ti-bet," *Indo-Tibetan Studies. Papers in honour and appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. T. Skorupski (Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990), 261-262. For the Bailan Wang hierarchs in general, see Chen Qingying, "Yuanzhao zai xizang suofengde bailan wang 元朝在西藏所奉的白蘭王 [The Installation of the Bailan Wang of the Yuan Dynasty in Tibet]," *Xizang Yanjiu 西藏研究 Tibetan Research* 4 (1983), 29-33, which is reprinted in Chen Qingying, *Zangxue lunwen ji 藏學論文集*, vol. Shang 上 [1] (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2006), 413-421; for an English translation, see "The Post of the Pa-len-dbang (King Palen) Installed in Tibet by the Yuan Court," *Tibet Studies. Journal of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences* 2 (1989), 37-45.

³⁷ See Dpal ldan chos kyi bzang po, *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che bstar ba, Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary Texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa*, Series 1 (New Delhi: T. Tsepel Taikhang, 1974), 179-181 [= Dpal ldan chos skyong(!) bzang po, *Byang pa lho bdag po'i gdung rab[s], dbu med* manuscript in eight folios, C.P.N. catalog no. ?, 3a = *G.yas ru byang pa'i gdung rabs, dbu med* manuscript in twenty-four folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002833(10), 6a-7a]. E. Sperling, "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Lineage of Byang la stod," *Zhongguo zangxue 中國藏學 [China Tibetology, Special Issue]* (1992), 275, took him to be a son of Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1332-1359) of Sa skya's Lha khang chen mo Residence, but I side with K.-H. Everding's reading of the text in his monumental *Das Königreich Mang yul Gung thang. Königtum und Herrschaftsgewalt im Tibet des 13.-17. Jahrhunderts, Teil*

indicates that he was a very important patron of Buddhism to the point of providing the funds for having a Kanjur copied and of even being considered a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara. It seems that he was famous for being an excellent practitioner, so that upon his passing his relics were treasured. The only problem with him is that he had several important titles, namely those of Duke (*gu'i gung* < Ch. *guogong* 國公), judge (*'jar go che* < Mon. *ṣaryači*), Grand Instructor, and *chang* (*chang* < Ch.? *jing* 境) Duke, none of which are used in the colophon's identification of its author.

The third is Spos khang pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1358–1430). A very brief biography of this man is included in Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po's (b. 1444) tract on the life and times of the Kashmirian scholar Śākyaśrībhadrā (1129–1225) and the transmission of the monastic *vinaya* code he introduced in Tibet during his stay there from 1204 to 1214.³⁸ There we read that Rin chen rgyal mtshan was ordained as a monk in 1367 in Bla ma dam pa's private quarters at Bsam yas whereby Bla ma dam pa performed the duties of overseer of the ritual proceedings. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po suggests that he was a prolific author, but so far only a manuscript of his large 1423

2. *Studien zur Geschichte des Reiches*, Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung I, Band 6(2) (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 2000), 460, where he is identified as Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's son. This is confirmed in Jo nang Kun dga' grol mchog's (1507-1566) undated biography of Byang bdag Rnam rgyal grags bzang (1395-1475), who was Rin chen rgyal mtshan's grandson, for which see *Rigs ldan chos kyi rgyal po rnam rgyal grags pa bzang po'i rnam par thar pa rab bsngags snyan pa'i 'brug sgra* [Ngam ring xylograph], 6b-8a [= *Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang gi rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u zhing chen grangs nyung mi rigs kyi gna' dpe legs sgrig gzhung las khang and Kan lho bod sman zhib 'jug khang, 1985), 18-26]; see also Dalai Lama V's remarks in his *Byang pa rig 'dzin chen po ngag gi dbang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho*, 462, where he states that Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's eldest son Rin chen rgyal mtshan occupied the position of a VIP (*chen po*).

³⁸ *Mkhan rgyud* (sic) *rnam gsum byon tshul gyi rnam thar, dbu med* manuscript in twenty-five folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002775(6), 18a-b. For this work, see K.R. Schaeffer, *Dreaming the Great Brahmin. Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 48-56, 75-8, and now also J. Heimbel, "The Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi: An Investigation into the History of the Four Monastic Communities in Śākyaśrībhadrā's Vinaya Tradition," *Nepalica-Tibetica. Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Band 1, ed. F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2013), 188-241. For another short piece by the same author, my "On the Composition and Printings of the *Deb gter* [or: *ther*] *sngon po* by 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481)," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 2 (2006), 14, www.thdl.org?id=T2714.

commentary on Sa skya Paṅḍita's famous *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba* has been published.³⁹

Whoever he may turn out to be, this Rin chen rgyal mtshan observes that Bla ma dam pa's passing took place in the morning of the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the wood-female-hare year, that is, on August 22, 1375. It would thus appear that either the "seventh month" is a mistake for the "sixth month," or that a different calendar was used!

The second biography was written by another one of his disciples, namely a certain Btsun pa Bsod nams yon tan. It is titled *Chos rje rin po che'i rnam thar byin rlabs kyi gter mdzod*, bears catalog no. 002768(2), and consists of twenty-seven folios. According to its colophon, it was composed at the request of a *drung* Chos rje and a lady Ma cig Byang chub sems ma, both of whom I am at present unable to identify. Bsod nams yon tan refers to several earlier biographies — he singles out the one by Karma pa Byams chos pa — and Bla ma dam pa's own record of the texts he had studied (*gsan yig*),⁴⁰ and relates that he also based himself on several oral reports of those who had known the master personally. The text was completed in a dragon year in Dpal E monastery [in Bo dong] where the scribe was Blo gros dpal bzang. The dragon year could of course be 1376, but 1388, or perhaps even 1400, are equally possible. Apparently, the manuscript had at one time belonged to a Mkhan rin po che Nam mkha' blo gros whom I am unable to identify. As did the Lo tsā ba, so also Bsod nams yon tan observes, on fol. 14b, that Bla ma dam pa had received "four jade seals [and] an edict ('jal sa < Mon. *ḡasaq*) [of appointment] of the emperor" (*gong ma'i shel gyi dam kha bzhi 'jal sa*) in the hen-year, that is, in 1345, and that he thus became abbot of the Bzhi thog Residence. He concurs with the Lo tsā ba that Bla ma dam pa passed away on July 23, 1375.

Lastly, we come to his biography that was written by Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349-1413) in 1409.⁴¹ We can deal with it in a few words, because, as Red mda' ba himself states at the end, it is more or less a précis of the Lo tsā ba's work. It, too, states that Bla ma dam pa

³⁹ It is now also reprinted in *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa*, Dpal sa skya'i sdom gsum phyogs bsgrigs, vol. 2, ed. Si khron bod yig dpe rnying bsdu sgrig khang (Chengdu: ?, 2015).

⁴⁰ This must refer to *Bla ma bryud pa'i mtshan 'bum* that is cataloged in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), Part One," 124-125; see also *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol.1, 1-228.

⁴¹ See his *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa'i rnam par thar pa*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol. 26, 112-134.

passed away on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the earth-female-ox year.

In terms of giving detailed chronological details about Bla ma dam pa's life, none of these studies of Bla ma dam pa's life measures up to the one that the Lo tsā ba had penned, even though Karma pa Byams chos pa's text does contain certain items not found in the former. In addition, Karma pa Byams chos pa, Rin chen rgyal mtshan, and Btsun pa Bsod noms yon tan are silent on the title of *guoshi*, "National Preceptor," that is predicated of him in the studies of the Lo tsā ba and Dpal ldan tshul khriṃs, and neither makes clear the exact number of years he spent on Sa skya's abbatial throne. There is also some disagreement about the place where he passed away. Some suggest that he passed away in Bde ba chen Snye thang. On the other hand, Karma pa Byams chos pa, and he is cited as such by Yar Lung Jo bo, holds that he died in Bsam yas monastery, and this is also the position taken by the Lo tsā ba and A mes zhabs.⁴² Red mda' ba's study is quiet on this score.

2. A Manuscript of Bla ma dam pa's Exegesis of Śarvavarman's *Kalāpasūtra* / *Kātantra*

In addition to the treatises of this collection cataloged in both parts of this paper, the Tibetan library also has a manuscript registered under no. 002349(1), which I am inclined to attribute to Bla ma dam pa.⁴³ The text in question involves a study of the *Kalāpasūtra*. It was written by a "monk (*btsun pa*) Bsod noms," a signature that we do not infrequently find in the colophons of his writings. The listings of his oeuvre by the Lo tsā ba, Karma pa Byams chos pa and A mes zhabs explicitly indicate

⁴² See also Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 30. K. Dowman, *The Power Places of Central Tibet. A Pilgrim's Guide* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Inc., 1988), 104-105, 152, 174, gives much "infononsense" about Bla ma dam pa. There we read that Bla ma dam pa was associated with Rgya ma Rin chen sgang monastery, which ultimately came under Sa skya control! A common name, Rin chen sgang is not always, well, Rin chen sgang. Moreover, Rdo rje gdan pa [Kun dga' rnam rgyal (1432–1496)] is alleged to have been a disciple of Bla ma dam pa as was Seng ge rgyal mtshan of Rtse thang who belonged to the Tshar pa lineage. This lineage had its inception in the writings and teachings of Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566)! For the latter, see C. Stearns, *Song of the Road. The Poetic Travel Journal of Tsarchen Losal Gyatso* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2014). The last piece seems to be partly based on the now dated information provided by L. Petech in A Ferrari, *Mkhyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Serie Orientale Roma XVI* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 123, n. 221.

⁴³ This work is contained in *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol. 25, where it is titled *Sgra rig pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i brjed byang nying ngu rnam gsal*.

that he wrote an exegesis of this work, and I am wholly convinced that we will have to identify the monk Bsod nams with Bla ma dam pa. The *dbu med* manuscript bears the following particulars.

Title: *Sgra rig pa'i bstan bcos ka la (sic) pa'i brjed byang*

Fols. 138

The upper center portion of the title page bears the indigenous, vertically arranged catalog number:

phyi
Za
83

Incipit: [1b] *om svasti pradznyiābhyah / sgra rig pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i brjed byang // rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang gnas rig pa'i pha rol du phyin pa dpal ldan blo gros brtan pa'i zhabs la gus par phyag 'tshal lo //*

Colophon: [138b] *ka lā pa'i brjed byang nyung ngu rnam gsal zhes bya ba : bdag nyid bdag dang bskal pa snyam pa la'ang phan pa'i ched du : btsun pa bsod nams kyis dpal ldan byang chub rtse mo'i gsung las legs par mnyan te : brjed thor bris pa'i yi ge'i rkyen / dge slong mañjushri zhes bya ba dang / thub bstan gsal byed ces bya bas sbyar te / gdan sa chen po dpal ldan sa skyar dbu btsugs pa nas dag [-space-] po po'i [= dwags / dags po'i] sa cha'i sdzams yul lung bzangs su legs par grub pa'o //*
bde legs su gyur cig / zhus // //

This treatise is thus a *brjed byang*, a "memorandum," of lectures on the *Kalāpasūtra* given by the Lo tsā ba, who, as the invocation suggests, was fully inspired by the instructions that he had received from his mentor Dpang Lo tsā ba. What makes this manuscript all the more interesting is that it contains a plethora of glosses in an unidentified hand. Mañjushrī⁴⁴ (ca.1319-1370) and Thub bstan gsal byed functioned

⁴⁴ This Mañjushrī must of course be distinguished from the Newar *paṇḍita* by the same name who, along with Dpang Lo tsā ba, had been a master of Kun spangs pa Chos grags dpal bzang po (1283–?1363). The Newar Mañjuśrī is also mentioned in Gha rung pa Lha'i rgyal mtshan's (1319–1401) biography of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361), the *Chos rje jo nang pa kun mkhyen chen po'i rnam thar, dbu med* manuscript in fifty-seven folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002815(1), fol. 16a, as well as in Dol po pa's biography that is attributed to Kun spangs pa, the *Kun mkhyen rton pa bzhi ldan gyi skyes rabs rnam thar tshigs bcad ma kun nyon tsha gdung 'phrog pa'i chos snang 'od dkar zla ba'i bsil zer, Kun mkhyen jo nang pa chen po'i skyes rabs rtogs brjod*, ed. Phur ko (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000), 422, as having been

as Bla ma dam pa's scribes; both are mentioned severally with the same function in other colophons of his oeuvre. The Lo tsā ba devoted a few lines to Mañjuśrī in the entry of his biography of Bla ma dam pa where he signals his passing and that he had served Bla ma dam pa for some forty-four years from the age of seven.⁴⁵ As is stated in the colophon, Bla ma dam pa had begun writing it in Sa skya, but completed it in the "good valley of the Rdzams area" in Dwags po at an unspecified date. The latter can perhaps be calculated on the basis of a close examination of his rewarding biography by the Lo tsā ba.⁴⁶ We are not told what might have motivated him to do so, but to all appearances Bla ma dam pa took up Sanskrit studies rather late in life. Reverting to the first person singular, the Lo tsā ba relates that "I" (*bdag gis*) taught him Sanskrit grammar for some six months while they were staying in Sman lung, in Dwags po, in 1349.⁴⁷ Then after Bla ma dam pa was invited to Sgam po to consecrate the "inner receptacle" (*nang rten*) of the supreme precious one (*rin po che gong ma*) [= ?], a certain Bla ma Ston dar gifted him the hermitage of Mkhar lung bzangs in Rdzams, where the Lo tsā ba continued to teach him grammar, poetics and other texts. Armed skirmishes raged outside as this was going on. After spending the entire tiger-year (February 8–December 29, 1350)

involved in the decorative art of Jo nang monastery's Sku 'bum that was completed during the ninth lunar month of 1333.

⁴⁵ See the *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, dbu can manuscript in seventy-five folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002898(6), 45a [= Ibid., *Collected Works* [of Bla ma dam pa], ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 67]. The phrase *thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, "wholesome at the beginning, the end, and the middle," is most probably an allusion to *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, 11d, although we do find it in several other works as well, such as in Asaṅga's *Paryāyasamgrahaṇī* chapter of the massive compilation, the *Yogācārabhūmi*; see the *Bstan 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]*, ed. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jig lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 75 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1997), 76.

⁴⁶ For what follows, see the *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 28a ff. [= Ibid., *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 42 ff.]

⁴⁷ This coincides with the Lo tsā ba's composition of a commentary on his teacher of Sanskrit Dpang Lo tsā ba's 1309 *Brda sprod pa'i snying po gsal ba*, for which see my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 111, n. 3. For the *Brda sprod pa'i snying po gsal ba* and the 1339 autocommentary, see now P.C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet. Volume Two, Assimilation into Indigenous Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 70-5, and now also Khu byug, "Dpang Lo tsā ba blo gros brtan pas brtsams pa'i <tshogs gsum gsal ba bzhugs so> zhes pa'i gzhung don gnad bsdu skor gleng ba," *Krung go'i bod rig pa 1* (2010), 29-45, and his *Dpang Lo tsā ba blo gros brtan pa'i mdzad rjes las 'phros pa'i khong gi brda sprod dang / snyan ngag yig sgyur skor gyi bsam blo la dpyad pa blo gsal rig pa'i dga' ston* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2013).

in religious retreat, holed up in a cave without meeting anyone, a low-level party from Sa skya arrived requesting him to return to his erstwhile see. He flatly refused to go. The party was followed by the arrival of a high-level delegation from Sa skya as well as other notables from Gtsang such as Mchims Blo bzang grags pa, then abbot of Snar thang, a Mkhan chen Bsod nams bzang po and even his old teacher Bu ston. They had come to Dbus to help mediate a conflict that had flared up between Ta'i si tu and the leadership of 'Bri gung monastery that was headed by Sgom chen Kun dga' rin chen.⁴⁸ The quarrelling parties agreed on a tenuous accommodation and what turned out to be a very short-lived truce was concluded between the parties, after which they took the opportunity to travel to Bla ma dam pa who was still in retreat in Mkhar lung bzangs. Why they did so is unclear, but they also asked that he return to Sa skya. Again, Bla ma dam pa denied their request, and it is possible that his denial was influenced by what he perceived to have been an injustice done to Ta'i si tu by the powers of Sa skya, notably by Grand-Governor Dbang phyug brtson 'grus and his son Nang pa Grags pa dbang phyug. But he was still quite reluctant to be drawn into the political intrigues that had become part of every day life in Sa skya and, indeed, in most of Central Tibet. Instead, he went on pilgrimage in Dbus. But family matters soon were to recall him to Sa skya. The Lo tsā ba writes that a certain Ma gcig had fallen ill in E, in Bo dong, a monastery where Bla ma dam pa had studied as a young man and where also the Lo tsā ba had strong ties. We are not told who this Ma gcig was, but on receiving word of her illness, they left posthaste for Gtsang. Upon their arrival at E, certain rituals were done for the "mother and son" (*yum sras*) — notice the change from Ma gcig to *yum*, the honorific form —, but she nonetheless passed away sometime in 1352. Very elaborate funerary rituals were conducted for her at Sa skya for the requisite forty-nine days. It is not easy to identify the mother in question. Bla ma dam pa's mother's name was Ma gcig Gzhon nu 'bum (b. 1286) or Ma gcig Jo mo lug skyes, and the fact that all of Sa skya was involved in these rituals, makes me inclined to suppose that the lady in question was none other than Bla ma dam pa's aged mother, herself the daughter of the erstwhile Zhwa lu ruler Sku

⁴⁸ For this, see L. Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyia Period of Tibetan History*, Serie Orientale Roma LXV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 110 ff. His source is Ta'i si tu's autobiography, specifically the manuscript reproduced in the *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar* (New Delhi: T. Tsepel Taikhang, 1974), 448 ff. [= *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, *Gangs can rig mdzod 1* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 205 ff. = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 109 ff.]. The meeting was held, not in "early 1350," but rather during the first winter month (*dgun stod*) of the iron-tiger year, that is, in *circa* November of 1350.

zhang Mgon po dpal. He stayed near and in Sa skya until early 1354, where he was privy to instructions given by Bu ston. Meanwhile, in late 1353, war had erupted up once again in Dbus between Ta'i si tu and an alliance comprising 'Bri gung, Gya' bzang and Nang pa Grags pa dbang phyug. As a result, many temples, including Bsam yas, were damaged by fire with the 'Bri gung forces being the main culprit. Still in Gtsang, Bla ma dam pa was invited to Zhwa lu for consultations to bring about the rescue of its ruler and his distant relative Sku zhang Ye shes kun dga', who had apparently been taken hostage by Ta'i si tu. This explains why he then left for Dbus where he met with Ta'i si tu in Gong dkar⁴⁹ and was able to secure the Sku zhang's freedom.⁵⁰ This is the very first time that we witness him playing the role of crisis manager. That relations between Ta'i si tu and the Sku zhang were not optimal can be seen from the way in which, admonishing his successors, Ta'i si tu voiced his feelings towards him near the end of his autobiography. He writes of the long-standing relationship between members of his and the Sku zhang's family, and that the Sku zhang was a schemer (*thugs sna mang ba*) and an opportunist (*'gyur skyen pa*), and that he was loathe to listen to his, Ta'i si tu's, advice no matter how sincere the latter was.⁵¹ But he nonetheless ends on a conciliatory note by saying:

*sngar gyi 'brel tshul la bsams nas / rang re tshang gis phan
ma thogs na'ang / gnod pa skyel ba'i rigs mi nyan /*

Considering the earlier relationships, even if he has not
been benefited by our family, do not bring him harm!

Perhaps in part because of seeing his restoration efforts at Bsam yas come to naught due to the constant political and military unrest, Bla ma dam pa could no longer sit on the sidelines, and he never returned

⁴⁹ Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal's 1447 *Lho rong chos 'byung*, ed. Gling dpon Padma skal bzang and Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje, Gangs can rig mdzod 26 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994), 378, states that he built Gong dkar fortress in 1350.

⁵⁰ Ta'i si tu does not speak of having captured the Sku zhang in his autobiography, but does mention that Bla ma dam pa had come to Gong dkar to help resolve the outstanding issues between him and the newly appointed Grand-Governor Rgyal ba bzang po; see *Lha rigs rlang kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 508 [= *Rlang po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 230 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 136].

⁵¹ *Lha rigs rlang kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 792-793 [= *Rlang po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 353 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 262]. The first and the third wrongly have *spyen snga zhi bar gshegs pa*. The other variant readings are immaterial.

to Sa skya. In 1357, he wanted to go Dwags po to take care of and retrieve his personal books, but his plans were thwarted because once again he was drawn into politics. This means that his memorandum of the lectures on the *Kalāpasūtra* or *Kātantra* was begun in *circa* 1352-1354 and that the finishing touches were completed in perhaps 1357.

3. On the authorship of the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* attributed to Bla ma dam pa

As indicated earlier, Sørensen's study and deeply annotated translation of the text of the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* — it is *inter alia* also referred to as the *Chos 'byung gsal ba'i me long* and the *Me long ma* — is fundamental reading for anyone interested in Tibetan cultural and political history. Its authorship, however, still poses a problem. It is truism that we have to reckon with many bibliographical gaps in our knowledge of Tibetan historical literature from, let us say, 1375 to the early 1480s, when the *Blue Annals* or, better, the *Blue Book* was compiled — and strangely, the *Blue Book* is silent on the *Rgyal rabs*. However, the curious fact remains that no less than eight outstanding chronicles that were written or that were compiled by way of a cut-and-paste method in the interim do *not* once allude to its existence, let alone mention it by title.⁵² In fact, the earliest explicit attribution of this work to Bla ma dam pa that I have seen — this is of course not to say that it is the earliest one! — dates from the first time printing blocks were prepared for it in Snel [or: Sne'u], in 1478, under the patronage of Dpal 'byor rgyal po,⁵³ at the time the ruler of this principality that

⁵² These are Yar lung Jo bo's chronicle, Spyan snga ba Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's (1386–1434) 1418 *Bka' brgyud rin po che'i chos 'byung mig 'byed 'od stong*, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*, vol. Zhi (Lhasa: ?, 2006), 1-179, Rgyal sras Thugs mchog rtsal's 1422 [mistitled] *Klong chen chos 'byung*, ed. Bu byung Dbang 'dus, Gangs can rig mdzod 17 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1991), Stag tshang pa Dpal 'byor bzang po's *circa* 1434 *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1985) [see also below n. 70], Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal's *Lho rong chos 'byung*, Dge ye Tshul khriims seng ge's 1474 *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rin po che*, ed. Khetsun, Sh. Miyaki et al. (Kyoto: Otani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute, 2007), Bsod nams lha'i dbang po's (1423–1496) 1484 *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mor byed pa'i 'od stong*, *Two Histories of the Bka' gdams pa Tradition* (Gangtok: Gonpo Tseten, 1977), 207-393, and Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's 1494 *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: B. Jamyang Norbu, 1972). For other fifteenth century historical sources, see D. Martin [with Y. Bendor], *Tibetan Histories, A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serindia Publications, 1997), 62 ff.

⁵³ He and his wife Drung Bu 'khrid Dpal 'dzom also figured as the financial sponsors of the printing of Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge's (15c.) works on

included the town of Lhasa.⁵⁴ His patronage of the carving of printing blocks should be seen as a continuation of his family's "religious works", one that was ever so closely linked to the ruling Phag mo gru dynasty. Recall that his half great-[great-]uncle Sne'u Nam mkha' bzang po sponsored the construction of 'Bras spungs monastery [in 1416], and that he and his wife or mother Chos kyī dpal 'dzom were great benefactors of the fledgling Dga' ldan pa sect.⁵⁵ Recall further that the xylograph explicitly attributes the work to a Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, who had completed it in an earth-dragon year, that is, in roughly 1388/9 or 1448/9, provided we remain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as dictated by its contents.

By the first half of the sixteenth century, the attribution of the *Rgyal rabs* to "our" Bla ma dam pa may have found widespread acceptance in non-Sa skya pa scholarly circles, as is in evidence from the relevant references to this work and its putative author in the large-scale 1545-1564 historical work of Dpa' bo II Gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1566).⁵⁶ On the other hand, writing somewhat earlier, in 1538, Paṅ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478-1554) first quotes the *Rgyal rabs* as the *Chos 'byung me long ma* and states that its author was *dpal ldan bla ma*, the "lustrous teacher," which, of course, is neither a personal name nor a name in religion.⁵⁷ This is curious, inasmuch as he does not hesitate to name the authors of other older chronicles that he had used for his work, such as 'Phags pa, Bu ston, ad nNel pa [= Sne'u pa/Snel pa] Paṅḍita Smon lam tshul khrims – it is true that while he quotes the *Deb gter / ther sngon po*, he does not identify its author by name – and that he was of course quite familiar with Bla ma dam pa and his connection with Ta'i si tu.⁵⁸ His comment at the end of his first quotation is critical of the *Rgyal rabs*,

Madhyamaka philosophy, for which see *Kun mkhyen blo gros rin chen seng ge'i gsung rtsom*, Mes po'i shul bzhang, vol. 39, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 551-552.

⁵⁴ See now the spellbinding study of the area in and around Lhasa in P.K. Sørensen and G. Ha-zod [in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo], *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung thang*, 2 vols. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

⁵⁵ For him and his printing projects, see Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 36, n. 105, and the literature cited therein.

⁵⁶ See, for example, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po, Stod cha (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 330-331, 413, Smad cha, 1405.

⁵⁷ See *Deb t'er dmar po gсар ma*, ed. and tr. G. Tucci, vol. 1, Serie Orientale Roma XXIV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973), 4a-5 [4b-5a]. Elsewhere, the Paṅ chen refers to the text as the *Me long ma*. The passage to which he refers is found in Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 50-52,

⁵⁸ See *Deb t'er dmar po gсар ma*, ed. and tr. G. Tucci, vol. 1, Serie Orientale Roma XXIV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973), 141, 144-145, 209. On the latter page, he mentions Bla ma dam pa by his full name.

stating that its accounting of the number of rulers from the last 'Khor bsgyur [Cakravartin = Cārumant (Mdzes ldan)] to Zas gtsang [Śuddhodana] is incomplete.

Something similar can be observed with Bla ma dam pa's own disciple Yar lung Jo bo. He was also very well connected with Sa skya monastery and her then abbot Kun dga' rin chen (1339–1399). In fact, the latter had personally requested him to compose his chronicle. Thus, writing only one year after his master's passing, Yar lung Jo bo does not once explicitly mention the *Rgyal rabs*, although he does refer to a number of other cognate works such as the *Sba bzhed* and, *expressis verbis*, to the chronicle of Bu ston, another one of his teachers, and Tshal pa Dge ba'i blo gros' (1309–1364) *Deb ther dmar po* and the sources which the latter cites by title. Note further that the *Rgyal rabs* and Yar lung Jo bo do not use Tshal pa's lay name "Kun dga' blo gros," but rather "Dge ba'i blo gros," which is the name he was given when he had taken his monk's vows. Being the loser in a bloody dispute with Ta'i si tu over, what else, property rights – at stake were *inter alia* the areas of Grwa phyi and 'Phyongs rgyas -, Ta'i si tu made Kun dga' blo gros take his religious vows in 1351 or 1352 under Don zhags pa Sangs rgyas rin chen (?-?) and thus forced him to relinquish his post as myriarch of Tshal myriarchy. This implied that he retired from active political life and that he had handed what was left of Tshal myriarchy to his younger brother Grags pa bshes gnyen. It is probably in the context of him having taken his vows that he addressed a question about the monastic code to Bu ston, whose reply is found in the latter's miscellaneous writings.⁵⁹

Further, it is perhaps a telling fact that the Sa skya pa historian Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523–1596) does not once cite from the *Rgyal rabs* in his famous *Bstan rtsis* and, indeed, the earlier ascriptions notwithstanding, a very important early seventeenth century Sa skya pa source explicitly casts aspersions on its authorship. Namely, in his youthful history of the Sa skya Path-and-Result (*lam 'bras*) system of 1621, A mes zhabs characterizes the *Rgyal rabs* as the "present day *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, which is alleged (*zer*) to have been authored by Bla ma dam pa" (*bla ma dam pas mdzad zer ba'i deng sang rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long...*).⁶⁰ The word *zer* suggests at a

⁵⁹ See *Thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston rin po che'i gsung rab thor bu pa, The Collected Works of Bu ston* [and *Sgra tshad pa*] [Lhasa print], part 26, repr. L. Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), 253-257.

⁶⁰ *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa rin po che'i nyams len gyi man ngag gsung rab rin po che'i byon tshul khog phub dang bcas pa rgyas par bshad pa legs bshad 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho, Lam 'bras khog phub bde mchog chos 'byung. Two Historical Studies of the Sa-skyapa Lam 'bras and Chakrasamvara (sic) Traditions* (New Delhi: Ngawang Topgay, 1974), 103,

minimum that A mes zhabs, the greatest historian to have appeared in the Sa skya pa school, a distant descendant of Bla ma dam pa himself, and an extremely astute bibliophile, was not altogether convinced that this work had in fact been written by his illustrious ancestor. Of course, we could attribute this to the fact that he was only twenty-four when he wrote that study and that he might have changed his mind later in his life. On the other hand, I have not come across any other work of his where he reverses his opinion, not even in his large 1636 study on the history of the Kālacakra cycle that includes a fine sketch of Bla ma dam pa's life.⁶¹ While this circumstantial evidence should give us pause, we must admit at the same time that these facts are by no means iron clad or "completely water-tight" arguments, to use Sørensen's phrase, against Bla ma dam pa being the *Rgyal rabs'* author. More ammunition is required. And, indeed, more is forthcoming.

Now, in Part One of this paper, I already briefly alluded to the problem of ascribing this work to Bla ma dam pa, if only because of its absence from *all* the title listings of his oeuvre that were then available to me – we should now add Karma pa Byams chos pa's register of these in which this work is also absent! The year and the place of the *Rgyal rabs'* composition given in the colophon of the xylographs and manuscripts that others and I have been able to consult are the earth-male-dragon year and Bsam yas monastery. The only earth-male-dragon year that occurred during Bla ma dam pa's lifetime is the one that fell in 1328/1329, and this would clearly be too early. Moreover, in 1328/1329, he had absolutely no connection with Bsam yas. This began only much later in his life, namely, in 1347. There is little utility in reviewing the early secondary literature on this issue, as Sørensen has already inimitably done this quite exhaustively.⁶² Suffice it to note here that Yamaguchi Zuihō proposed to amend the "earth-male-dragon" year to the "earth-male-monkey," that is, January 21, 1368 to February 8, 1369, on the grounds that *'brug* and *spre'u* are sufficiently orthographically similar in certain *dbu med* scripts as to be susceptible to confusion.⁶³ This found further substantiation when he and

and Brag dgon Zhabs drung, *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*, 6.

⁶¹ *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos 'byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i shing rta*, Collected Works, vol. 19 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000), 115-122.

⁶² See P.K. Sørensen, *A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work: Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long. Author, Date and Sources. A Case-Study* (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1986), 29-33; for what follows, see also his *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 31-34, 56-57.

⁶³ Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳, "On the Author and Date of the *Rgyal rabs rnam kyi byung tshul gsal ba'i me long*," Miscellaneous Paper 31, *The International Conference on China Border Area Studies*, Taipei, April 23-30, 1985, 1-18. We may add that Liu

Sørensen did a chronological calculation on the basis of the *Rgyal-rabs*-internal evidence as well as, in Sørensen's opinion, on some reports made by Bla ma dam pa's contemporaries.⁶⁴ The internal evidence is based on the author of the *Rgyal rabs* having taken Bu ston's "calculations of the Buddha's doctrine" (*bstan rtsis*) as found in his well known chronicle and the corresponding calculations of the early Sa skya pa scholars such as Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo (1142–1182) and Sa skya Paṇḍita as his point of departure – I should add that Bu ston also used the latter. In both cases it is clear that the author of the *Rgyal rabs* calculated his chronology from the said earth-monkey year! Another one of Sørensen's arguments is based on the colophon of the Lhasa xylograph of the text and I deal with it below. Finally, Sørensen mainly marshalls the *Rgyal rabs*' text-external evidence from Ta'i si tu's autobiography and Bla ma dam pa's connections with Bsam yas and the restorations he did or had done of this monastery. In the meantime, the issues were reexamined by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs in an essay with which Sørensen has voiced his disagreement.⁶⁵ Chab spel opens the first part of his essay with mentioning his discussion of the *Rgyal rabs* at the Tibetological conference held in 1992 at Fagernes, and in the second section of this paper he notes his conversation with *ten mag gi mkhas pa so'i nū tshon*, that is, of course, Sørensen. And he also comes to the conclusion that Bla ma dam pa composed the *Rgyal rabs* in 1368. Through the labors of A. Vostrikov, we know that Dalai lama V was at one time of the opinion that the author of the *Rgyal rabs* was a certain Legs pa'i shes rab, the sacristan-in-chief (*dkon gnyer dpon*) of the Jo khang.⁶⁶ At least, this is what we find in his undated study of the Jo khang — this is the unique mention of the *Rgyal rabs* in his entire oeuvre —, whereas he does not once quote the *Rgyal rabs* in his own

Liqian 刘立千 brings nothing new in the introduction to his Chinese translation of the *Rgyal rabs* in the *Xizang wang ji* 西藏王記 [*The Royal Chronicle of Tibet*] (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1987), 3-7.

⁶⁴ Sørensen, *A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work: Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long. Author, Date and Sources. A Case-Study*, 43-64.

⁶⁵ See, respectively, "<<Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long>> rtsom pa po dang brtsams dus skor gyi bskyar gleng," *Chab spel tshe brtan phun tshogs kyi dpyad rtsom phyogs bsgrigs*, Stod cha [I], ed. (Beijing: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang / Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 20-32 - my thanks to Ms. Rin chen sgrol ma of the CTRC, Beijing, for having so kindly sent me a two-volume collection of Chab spel's writings – and Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 29, n. 80. Chab spel reacted to the arguments Sørensen had presented in his 1986 study, which remained unchanged in Sørensen's 1993 study and translation of the *Rgyal rabs*.

⁶⁶ *Tibetan Historical Literature*, tr. H.C. Gupta (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past and Present, 1970), 74-78; this point is also made in Chab spel's "<<Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long>> rtsom pa po dang brtsams dus skor gyi bskyar gleng," 21-22.

chronicle of 1642. This is odd, since he cites there a number of earlier Tibetan chronicles.

But there are several problems with accepting 1368-1369 as the year in which the text was written that cannot be easily swept under the rug. For one, Bla ma dam pa was in personal contact with the Mongol imperial family and emperor Toγon Temür, the Shundi 順帝 Emperor (r. 1333–1368, 1368-May 23, 1370). The *Rgyal rabs* states that he ruled for forty-eight years, but this is incorrect, for the emperor ruled the Mongols from 1333 to 1370, albeit since 1368 not from China proper.⁶⁷ Thus we either have to reckon with an oversight on the part of Bla ma dam pa that was incorporated in the autograph or with a mistake made by an unknown glossator whose gloss was incorporated into the text of the manuscript or manuscripts on which basis the printing blocks were carved. The first alternative is extremely unlikely. The second is almost equally so, for the editor of the xylograph was careful to distinguish between the actual text and the marginal glosses that his manuscript[s] contained. It should be pointed out that the duration of Toγon Temür's reign was by no means an unknown quantity in Tibet. Both Yar lung Jo bo and Stag tshang pa Dpal 'byor bzang po have it that he became emperor in 1333 and fled the capital (*ta du* < Ch. *dadu* 大都) on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth lunar month, that is, on September 14, 1368.⁶⁸ And this date tallies ever so

⁶⁷ Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 92. The note [242] to this chronological error is tortuous and, in my opinion, unconvincing. The xylographs and manuscripts do contain a gloss that "thereafter he lost the capital to the Ta'i Ming Emperor."

⁶⁸ *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, ed. Dbyangs can, 85-86, and *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, 259, 268. The identity of the author of the latter work, he calls himself a secretary (*yig mkhan*)-layman Shri bhu ti bha dra (*sic*), has been a puzzle for quite a while. In his recently published autobiography, *Lo chen thams cad mkhyen pa shes rab rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i zhabs kyi rnam par thar pa*, *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, Mes po'i shul bzhang, ed. Rgyal mo 'brug pa (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 12-13, Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1405–1477) mentions that his grandfather Bsod nams rgyal po, the official (*dpon*) of Khang dmar was a secretary (*yig dpon*) of Dbang (< Ch. [Bailan 白蘭] wang 王) Rnam sras rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1360-1408). He had two sons, Don grub rgyal po, who inherited his title associated with Khang dmar and who was Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's father, and (*dpon yig*) Dpal 'byor bzang po. I strongly suspect that the latter was the *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*'s author. For one, Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's family was in the service in the Rnam rgyal gling estate in Shangs and, falling within the purview of Sa skya's Dus mchod Residence which was the home of the Bailan Wang hierarchs, and he devotes a special chapter to the ruling family of this estate in the *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, 419-426. The Bailan Wang-s had close connections with Stag tshang [rdzong kha]. Dbang Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1336–1378), Rnam sras rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's father, was even born there. He ended up marrying Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's sister by the name of Ma gcig Lha mo rin chen. For Stag tshang [rdzong kha], see also R. Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*

nicely with Chinese sources. Yar lung Jo bo writes that "it is known that he went to Mongolia." Stag tshang pa has the same and neither indicates when he passed away. On the other hand, Gtsang Byams pa [= Mus srad pa] Rdo rje rgyal mtshan's (1424–1498) 1475 study of Sa skya monastery, its ruling families, institutions, and religious treasures, which includes a chronology of Yuan and Ming emperors, has it that he reigned for a total of twenty-eight years, but that he fled the Yuan capital in 1369.⁶⁹ Given this kind of knowledge, this lapse of twenty-eight years remains inexplicable, unless, of course, the passage was after all a gloss whereby the Tibetan editor misread the manuscript's number "4" as a number "2," which is not altogether an impossible explanation.

The hypothesis of the water-male-snake being the year in which Bla ma dam pa had written the *Rgyal rabs* rests, as we have seen, in large part on the assumption that he used the chronology of the early Sa skya pa tradition. But here we have a major problem. In his survey of the chronology of the Buddha and his teaching, the author of the *Rgyal rabs* states that the historical Buddha was born in the wood-female-ox year and that he passed away in the wood-male-monkey year. He thus departs from the said early Sa skya pa tradition which held that the Buddha was born in the earth-male-dragon year (ca. 2213 B.C.) and passed away in the fire-female-pig year (ca. 2134/3 B.C.). According to the treatise on Buddhist chronology that Lha dbang blo gros bzang po (1549–1632), alias Sureśamatibhadra, of the 'Brug pa sect of the Bka' brgyud pa school completed in 1592, Bla ma dam pa held quite different views, views that were evidently based on his studies of Kālacakra astronomy and calendar calculation in which he was a recognized expert. According to him, Bla ma dam pa claimed that the Buddha was born in the year *rab 'byung* (*prabhava*), that is, in a fire-female-hare year, the equivalent for which would be 694 B.C., and that

according to the *Mnga' ris rgyal rabs* by Gu ge Mkhan chen Ngag dbang grags pa (Dharamsala: Tho ling gtsug lag khang lo gcig stong 'khor ba'i rjes dran mdzad sgo'i go sgrig tshogs chung, 1996), 565-574. Stag tshang rdzong kha Dpal 'byor bzang po is also associated with a little text concerned with the six teachings of Ba ri Lo tsā ba Rin chen grags (11th-12thc.), for which see the *Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*, Stod cha [1], comp. Karma bde legs et al. (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 1286, no. 013107. Sørensen, *A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work: Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long. Author, Date and Sources. A Case-Study*, 53, cites U rgyan gling pa's (1323-?) *Lo pan bka'i thang yig* to the effect that the Mongols lost Dadu on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth lunar month, which means that he used another calendar or that he made a simple mistake.

⁶⁹ *Sa skya mkhon* (sic) *gyi gdungs* (sic) *rab rin po che'i 'phreng ba*, incomplete ninety-folio *dbu can* manuscript, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel L 591/4, 59b-60a.

he passed away in the fire-female-pig year, that is, in 574 B.C.⁷⁰ And we do in fact find these very dates in Bla ma dam pa's response to a question that was related to what he had written in his history of the Kālacakra of 1365 [see below n. 112], in a work that he wrote in 1373, which commemorates the ten-day long Sne'u gdong council that was presided over by *guoshi* 'Jam dbyangs Shākya rgyal mtshan (1340–October 20, 1373), the late Ta'i si tu's nephew, as well as in part in a piece he wrote for the community of Bsam yas in, so it would seem, 1374.⁷¹

Another way of approaching the question of the *Rgyal rabs*' authorship is surely to examine more closely the text itself and compare some of its assertions with what Bla ma dam pa had written elsewhere and with those writings of which we can be certain that he knew them very well — I am thinking here in particular of the short chronicles of Tibetan imperial times written by his ancestors Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), the third patriarch of the Sa skya school, and 'Phags pa.⁷² This is what, among other things, Chab spel has also done, and it becomes quite apparent that the dates given for the rulers of Tibet's imperial period in the chronicles of his ancestors do not at all tally with those in the *Rgyal rabs*. To be sure, this was also noticed by Sørensen's keen eyes, but he chose to downplay and ignore these.

Perhaps even more compelling evidence for holding that the *Rgyal rabs* was not authored by Bla ma dam pa emerges when, upon comparing a passage from it with cognate statements in works that are indubitably his own, significant differences emerge. For example, he opens his history of the Path-and-Result transmission of the Sa skya pa school of 1341 — he was twenty-seven years old at the time — with the statement that both Glang [= Rlangs] Khams pa Go cha⁷³ and Thon

⁷⁰ See his *Bstan rtsis 'dod sbyin gter 'bum*, 'Brug lugs chos mdzod chen mo, vol. 98, ed. Nang chen Tshogs gnyis (Kathmandu: Drugpa Kagyu heritage Project, 200?), 25a-b [305-306].

⁷¹ See below under text no. 16, vol. Na, 426a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 257], text no. 17, vol. Na, 429a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2, 2], and text no. 49, vol. Na, 453b-457b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 308-317]. The second was the source for this very notice in *Yar lung Jo bo's* chronicle in the *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, ed. Dbyangs can, 17-18.

⁷² Handy editions of both are found in the *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*, ed. and tr. G. Tucci, 127-35.

⁷³ In his epistle written on the occasion of the passing of Spyana snga Grags pa shes rab (1310–1370) of Phag mo gru [see below text no. 51, vol. Na, 459a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 320], he calls Glang Khams pa Go cha a "grand-minister of Tibet's Mighty One [= ruler] of Tibet" (*bod kyi btsan po'i blon chen po*).

mi Saṃbhoṭa were responsible for the formulation of the Tibetan writing system⁷⁴ and shortly thereafter he lists the names of the first seven Tibetans who were ordained at Bsam yas monastery in the second half of the eighth century; these he classifies in the following three groupings:

I. The three older ones:

1. Dbas Ratnarakṣi ta - Rin chen srung ba; he is said to have been the first of these seven
2. Bha Dznyā nedra rakṣi ta - Ye shes dbang po srung ba,
3. Ratna indra rakṣi ta - Rin chen dbang po srung ba

II. The middle one:

4. Glang su ga ta warma rakṣi ta - Bde bar gshegs pa'i go cha srung ba

III. The three younger ones:

5. Pa gor Bai ro tsa na rakṣi ta - Rnam par snang mdzad srung ba
6. 'Khon Nā gendra rakṣi ta - Klu'i dbang po srung ba
7. Gtsang De wendra rakṣi ta - Lha'i dbang po srung ba.⁷⁵

The author of the *Rgyal rabs*, to the contrary, only knows of Thon mi Saṃbhoṭa as the creator of the Tibetan script, as does indeed [almost] every other Tibetan Buddhist chronicle known to me. Bla ma dam pa's inclusion of Rlangs Khams pa Go cha in this narrative is therefore highly idiosyncratic, to say the least! As the prefix "Glang" [= "Rlangs"] already suggests, Khams pa Go cha was one of Ta'i si tu's ancestors. Ever so aware of his own family's history, Ta'i si tu speaks about him in a speech he delivered in 1350 where he took pains to remind his audience largely comprising of members of the Sa skya school that Khams pa Go cha had been a disciple of 'Khon Klu'i dbang po [b]srung

⁷⁴ Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar snang ba, The Slob bshad Tradition of the Sa skya Lam 'Bras*, vol. 16 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983), 6-7 [= *dbu med* manuscript in fifty folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002799(7), 3a-3b = *Collected Works*, vol. 20, ed. Lhasa, 4].

⁷⁵ We find the very same list in Gu ge Pañ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan's (1415-1486) undated *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs dang zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, Gangs can gtsug lag rin chen phreng ba, vol. 7 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2014), 119.

ba, an ancestor of Sa skya's ruling families.⁷⁶ It is striking that the seven names listed by the author of the *Rgyal rabs* are quite at odds with those that are found in Bla ma dam pa's Path-and-Result history as well as those that are contained in the writings of Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan. The *Rgyal rabs* lists the following⁷⁷:

1. Ratna, son of Sba Shang shi
2. Shākya bre ba, son of Mchims A nu
3. Vairocana, son of Pa gor Ratna
4. Ngan Rgyal na mchog dbyangs
5. Rma Rin chen mchog
6. 'Khon Klu'i dbang po bsrungs pa
7. Gtsang Legs grub

What else do the available biographies of Bla ma dam pa have to say about his connections with Bsam yas? Again, the one by the Lo tsā ba is the most informative.⁷⁸ We learn that he first visited the monastery in 1347. Seeing it in a state of disrepair and being struck by the damage done to it by birds, he charged a certain Slob dpon Shes rab dpal with the task of making the appropriate renovations, therewith reasserting as it were the early Sa skya pa connection with this monastery that was put into place when Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) had visited it and taught there for some time. He returned to Bsam yas again in 1351 to inspect what had been accomplished. In 1356, he undertook a number of "grand restorations" (*gso ba rnams chen po*) at Bsam yas, which he, so it would seem, personally oversaw for one year.

But what do the studies of his life have to say about his whereabouts during the earth-monkey year, that is, the year that extends from January 21, 1368 to January 28, 1369? Here it is only the Lo tsā ba's

⁷⁶ *Bka' chems mthong ba don ldan*, in *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 448-451 [= *Bka' chems mthong ba don ldan*, in *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 205-206 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 109-110].

⁷⁷ Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 369-370; the variant readings in others ources are not taken into account. Omitted in this translation is the gloss anent 'Khon Klu'i dbang po srung ba / bsrungs pa which has it that: "There is also a statement in a chronicle that 'Khon Klu'i dbang po has not reckoned as one of the seven tested ones." (*lo rgyus cig na / 'khon klu'i dbang po sad mi bdun la mi the zer ba'ang 'duḡ*). I examined the various notices of the so-called "seven tested ones" (*sad mi bdun*) or the first Tibetans to be ordained as monks in my "Some Remarks on the Textual Transmission and Text of Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung*, a Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 25 (2013), 148 ff.

⁷⁸ What follows is in part taken from *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 23a, 29a, 34a [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 34, 44, 50].

study that sheds any light on this, and we read in an entry for the first lunar month of that year that he had gathered a number of artisans in Bsam yas and Chos rdzong in order to work on refurbishing the statuary and frescoes of the Jo khang temple in Lhasa.⁷⁹ And there is not one single mention of him having written anything at all during that year, let alone a work that was to occupy a reasonably important place in Tibetan historiography. He recorded some of his accomplishments (*gso [r]nams legs par grub*) in a short piece that is found in his miscellaneous works.⁸⁰ Hence, nothing is related about the composition of the *Rgyal rabs*. The detailed 1441 biography of the Lo tsā ba by his disciple Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1365–1448) suggests that he was not in the company of Bla ma dam pa during that year.⁸¹ Rather, in 1368, he spent a great deal of time in Sa skya at the invitation of her grand-abbot (*sa skya bzhi thog pa*) Kun dga' rin chen where he gave classes in grammar and poetics for which he was lavishly rewarded and was also given a *pandita's* cap to wear. From Sa skya he went to Bo dong E where he also gave extensive instructions in grammar and poetics as well as in Buddhist theory and practice. The following year, he spent quite some time with his erstwhile master Rgyal sras Thogs med bzang po dpal (b. 1295) in Dngul chu chos rdzong who had fallen seriously ill in the spring of that year and who ultimately passed away on October 18, 1369.⁸² In fact, the Lo tsā ba and Bla ma dam pa moved in quite different circles for several years and only when Bla ma dam pa himself had come to Gtsang did the two men meet again, this time in Bo dong E, in 1372.

Finally, two more problems: Firstly, of the manuscripts and xylographs of the *Rgyal rabs*, only one, namely the Lhasa Zhol xylograph, mentions in the colophon that a certain Lha btsun Rin chen dpal was the person at whose behest the *Rgyal rabs* was written. On the evidence that Sgra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal (1318-1388) stated in an entry for the year 1351 in his biography of Bu ston that Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's (?1323–?1375) name in

⁷⁹ *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 44b-45a [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 65-66].

⁸⁰ See below under text no. 16, vol. Na, 486b-490b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2, 58-62].

⁸¹ For what follows, see his *Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba*, 73-76 [37a-38b].

⁸² See his 1375 biography by Dpal gyi rin chen, the *Rgyal sras thogs med pa'i rnam thar 'gro ba kun gyi gnyen cig pu thugs rje'i mnga' bdag spyan ras gzigs la 'dud*, Rgyal sras dngul chu thogs med kyi rnam thar, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying 'jug khang (np, nd), 152. The Rgyal sras is also known as Sems dpa' chen po Dngul chu chos rdzong pa and Bo dong Thogs med.

religion (*rab tu byung ba'i mtshan*) was Rin chen dpal bzang po,⁸³ Sørensen suggests that he was none other than this Lha btsun Rin chen dpal — *dpal* is often used as an abbreviation of *dpal bzang po*. But this needs to be examined a little more closely. Everding gives 1316–1375 and 1312–1375 the myriarch's dates,⁸⁴ where the latter is obviously a typographical error. Although these may have the plausibility of fact and have appeared as such several times in the secondary literature, they turn out to be far from unproblematic. The year 1316 would seem to derive from a statement belonging to the unauthorized publication [in China] of Sperling's paper, without footnotes, that I cited above to the effect that, according to the manuscript of the *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, he was thirty years old in a "wood-bird year (*shing bya lo [sic]*) [1345/6]" when he was given the title of National Preceptor of the Great Yuan (*ta'i/tā'i dben / dbon gu shri < Ch.*

⁸³ See D. Seyfort Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, Serie Orientale Roma XXIV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 134, 28b. Sgra tshad pa calls him Grand-Governor (*dpon chen*) [of Sa skya] and he was concurrently also myriarch (*khri dpon*) of Byang Myriarchy.

⁸⁴ See, respectively, *Das Königreich Mang yul Gung thang. Königtum und Herrschaftsgewalt im Tibet des 13.-17. Jahrhunderts, Teil 2. Studien zur Geschichte des Reiches*, 240 ff, 468 ff., and *Herrscherurkunden aus der Zeit des mongolischen Grossreiches für tibetische Adelhäuser, Geistliche und Kloster, Teil 2: Diplomata Tibetica*, Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung III, Band 9 (Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2006), 139, n. 246 [on p. 135 he gives 1316–1375]. The latter occurs in the context of a decree issued by *btsun pa* Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan [dpal bzang po] (1349–1425), alias Theg chen Chos kyi rgyal po, which is dated the eighth day of the first lunar month of the *yos bu'i lo* [pp. 135–140] Everding suggests "1363/64." Another decree was issued by the same *btsun pa* on the eighteenth day of the first lunar month of the *yos* year, for which see *Herrscherurkunden aus der Zeit des mongolischen Grossreiches für tibetische Adelhäuser, Geistliche und Kloster, Teil 2: Diplomata Tibetica*, 141–145. Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan was a scion of Sa skya's Lha khang Residence. The son of Chos kyi rgyal mtshan and Ma gcig Rgyal mo mtsho, he was conceived before his father's ordination as a monk. Following 'Phags pa's calendar, Everding calculated these dates to correspond to January 23 and February 1, 1363. That Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan is styled *btsun pa*, an honorific word for monk or at least one who has formally renounced the world, appears *prima facie* to mitigate against this calculation. For the record shows that he took his first ordination, thereby effectively becoming a renunciate, in 1364 at the age of fifteen, under the then grand-abbot of Sa skya Kun dga' rin chen (1339–1399). At this point, he was given the name in religion of Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po — he only became a full monk in 1369; see his 1426 biography by his disciple Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, which is more or less reproduced in *A mes zhabs, Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 332–355 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 230–243]. The first decree notes a taxation ordinance that Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan had issued in connection with Mus, while the second decree notes two names, Master (*slob dpon*) A mo gha and Master Smon lam rdo rje, both of whom are associated with the ruling family of Mus. For this reason, I would be inclined to push the year forward by one duodenary cycle, that is, to 1375/6.

dayuan guoshi 大元國師.⁸⁵ This is not what the text says. Rather, it says that he was thirty [= twenty-nine] years old when he became Sa skya's Grand-Governor of Dbus and Gtsang, and that he thereafter had the title of *dayuan guoshi*. Indeed, it makes no mention of any "wood-bird year" at all! In my view, the origin of this curious error simply goes back to a misreading of the first part of his title that ends in *dayuan guoshi*. The three manuscripts read here, respectively, *thung ling shing bya lo tā'i dbon gu shri*, *tho ling shi gya bo ta'i dben gu shri*, and *tho gling shi gya'o ta'i dben gu shri*.⁸⁶ I strongly suspect that *shing bya lo* and *shi gya bo* are contaminations of something like *shi gya'o* which no doubt was intended to reflect Chinese *shijiao* 釋教, meaning "Śākyamuni's Teaching." There were several other Tibetans who were honored with this very same title.⁸⁷ Further, the manuscript of the *Byang pa lho bdag po'i gdung rab[s]* has a small supralinear note above his name that says *chu mo phag*. The equivalent of roughly 1323, this no doubt purports to indicate the year in which he was born. Whatever its historical veracity, this seems to be a reasonable working hypothesis. The year 1375 is apparently Everding's estimate based on an entry for him in the *Mingshilu* for February 23, 1373, and the myriarch's own *Mang yul kyi ljongs kyi rtogs brjod dal ba'i rna rgyan*, which may belong to the years 1370-1375. Unfortunately, the latter work is not available to me. The core-title of his title in religion, *ta'i dben gu shri*, is frequently abbreviated to *ta dben*, so that *ta dben pa* refers to an individual holding this title. This is in fact the title Dol po pa used in a large undated work in which he addressed the learned myriarch's questions that had to do

⁸⁵ "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Lineage of Byang La stod," 275. But this is an oversight and may ultimately go back to an identical statement made in Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyä Period of Tibetan History*, 132. Petech cites Dpal bzang chos kyi bzang po's *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa (New Delhi: T. Tsepel Taikhang, 1974), 6a-b [176-177], but the text says nothing of the sort.

⁸⁶ *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, 176 [= *Byang pa lho bdag po gdung rab[s]*, *dbu med* manuscript in eight folios, C.P.N. catalog no. ?, 2b, = *G.yas ru byang pa'i gdung rabs*, *dbu med* manuscript in ten folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002833, 5b.

⁸⁷ See my *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family, The Central Eurasian Studies Lectures 4*, ed. F. Venturi (Bloomington: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, 2004), 51, n. 154. Following the translation of Tang Chi'an 湯匙案 of the title the *Yar lung Jo bo chos 'byung*, 167, gives for Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1332-1359), the father of Theg chen Chos rje of n. 86, the title may render Chinese *tongling shijiao dayuan guoshi* 統領釋教大元國師; see his *Yalong zunzhe jiaofa shi* 雅隆尊者教法史 (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1989), 94, and see also A mes zhabs, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 331 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 230].

with the Kālacakra corpus.⁸⁸ To be noted here that there is no hint in this work that the myriarch was also called "Rin chen dpal [bzang po]."⁸⁹ We also need to be clear about one thing "Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po" is a perfectly fine name in religion, the *dpal bzang po* (*śrībhadra) affix beings emblematic of the ordination *vinaya*-line that passed through the Kashmirian scholar Śākyaśrībhadra (1127–1225), who had come to Central Tibet in 1204. That he fathered several children is not really a problem since he may have done so before his ordination.

Now if he were born in 1323, then he must have assumed the position of Grand-Governor in 1352. This more or less tallies with the fact that Sgra tshad pa calls him Grand-Governor, in an entry of the year 1351 in his biography of Bu ston, were it not that Tibetan writers often anticipate ranks, titles and positions that their owners may not have held at the time and then continue to use them even when the individual no longer holds the former rank or position. Further, the title *dpon chen* is not exclusively used for the Grand-Governors who ruled Dbus and Gtsang from Sa skya. Therefore, that Sgra tshad pa associated him with the *dpon chen* title in his entry for the year 1351 does not mean that he actually had this title at the time. Indeed, Petech proposes that he held this post in around 1357 and that he may have been reappointed as such in *circa* 1364. Turning to all three versions of Ta'i si tu's autobiography, we find that the narrative starting with the beginning of the winter of 1350 and ending in the seventh lunar month of 1353 indicates that Grand-Governor (*dpon chen*) Dbang phyug dpal handed his seal of office (*dam rtags*) to, and thus abdicated his position in favor of, the high official (*dpon*) Rgyal ba bzang po, and also for the first time mentions severally a Governor of Byang (*dpon byang pa*) in connection with having sided with the itinerant Mongol prince of the blood Aratnashiri, 'Bri khung, and G.ya' bzang against Ta'i si tu.⁹⁰ In

⁸⁸ See the *Dpon byang pa'i phyag tu phul ba'i chos kyi shan 'byed*, Jo nang kun mkhyen chen po'i gsung 'bum, vol. Ya [6] ['Dzam thang xylograph] (np., nd.), 403-604, and the same in *The 'Dzam thang Edition of the Collected Works of Kun mkhyen Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan*, comp. M.T. Kapstein, vol. 5 [Yā] (New Delhi: Shedrup Books, 1992), 473-702.

⁸⁹ *Kun mkhyen rton pa bzhi ldan gyi skyes rabs rnam thar tshigs bcad ma kun nyon tsha gdung 'phrog pa'i chos snang 'od dkar zla ba'i bsil zer*, Kun mkhyen jo nang pa chen po'i skyes rabs rtogs brjod, 421, 471.

⁹⁰ *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 478, 496 [= *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 218, 226, = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 122, 131]. Against these three witnesses, Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyä Period of Tibetan History*, 112-113, n. 116, claims that the mention of Dbang phyug dpal is an error for Dbang phyug brtson 'grus. This is not signaled in the Chinese translation of Ta'i si tu's autobiography, for which see *Lang shijiazu shi* 朗氏家族史 tr. Zanla Awang

combination with a few other sources, Petech arrives at the following succession:

...Rgyal ba bzang po (1328/9–1333) – Dbang phyug dpal (1333–1337) – Bsod nams dpal (1337–44) – Rgyal ba bzang po (2nd time) (1344–1347) – Dbang phyug brtson 'grus (1347–ca. 1350) – Rgyal ba bzang po (3rd time) (ca. 1350–1356 or 1358) – Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (ca. 1357) – Dpal 'bum (acting) (?–1360) – Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (2nd time?) (ca. 1364).⁹¹

This is virtually the listing of the two manuscripts of Tshal pa's chronicle except that neither recognized that Rgyal ba bzang po (d. late 1357) had a third term of office and both list the following after Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan: Grags pa rgyal mtshan → Dpal 'bum → Blo chen → Grags pa dbang phyug.⁹² After Rgyal ba bzang po's second term, Yar lung Jo bo writes⁹³:

*yang dpon chen rgyal ba bzang pos skyar nas go sa mdzad /
de nas dpon chen dbang brtson / phag lo la dbus gtsang du
phebs nas 'ja' sa bsgrags / 'di mar bcad la'ang dpon chen gyi
ming byin pa kha yar byung ngo //*

Further, Grand-Governor once again occupied the post. Then Grand-Governor Dbang [phyug] brtson ['grus], having gone to Dbus and Gtsang in a pig-year [1347], an edict was publicly proclaimed. Henceforth, title of Grand-Governor[s] had become chaotic.

On the other hand, Stag tshang pa collection of documents closely follows Tshal pa's list, but states that Rgyal ba bzang po was once again re-appointed (*khyon gyis bskyar nas*), but this time as the replacement-representative (*tshab*) of Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan.⁹⁴ Lastly,

赞拉阿旺 and Yu Wanzhi 余万治, ed. Chen Qingying (Lhasa: Xizang minzu chubanshe, 1988), 153.

⁹¹ *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyä Period of Tibetan History*, 145.

⁹² See the *Deb ther dmar po. The Red Annals. Part One* (Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 1961), 24a-5b [= ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981), 54]. This list seems to postdate Tshal pa who died in 1364.

⁹³ *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, 176.

⁹⁴ *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, 361.

Gtsang Byams pa Rdo rje rgyal mtshan's 1475 study indicates nothing of the sort that we find in the above, for he writes⁹⁵:

...de rjes shangs dpon chen rgyal ba bzang po / de rjes shab rdzi lung pa dpon chen dbang phyug dpal / de rjes mang mkhar stag stog pa dpon chen bsod nams dpal / yang dpon chen rgal ba bzang po / de rjes dbus kyi stog [read: stod] lung pa dpon chen dbang phyug brtson 'grus / de rjes byang pa dpon chen nam mkha' bstan pa / yang dpon chen rgyal ba bzang po [sublinear note: khyon gyi bkos pa'i dpon chen] de rjes dbus kyi pho brang gad pa steng pa dpon chen dpal 'bum lung byung yang / yar lung pa [read ?pas] dam stag ma sprad pa'i 'tsams su / shang[s] pa grags pa rgyal mtshan la lung byung nas / dpon chen byas / de rjes dpon chen dpal 'bum la dam stag sprad nas dpon chen byas / de rjes lho pa dpon chen a mo gha pa yin no //

...then Grand-Governor Rgyal ba bzang po from Shangs; then Grand-Governor Dbang phyug dpal from Rdzi lung in Shab; then Grand-Governor Bsod nams dpal from Stag stog in Mang mkhar; then Grand-Governor Dbang phyug brtson 'grus from Stod lung in Dbus; then Grand-Governor Nam mkha' bstan pa from Byang; again Grand-Governor Rgyal ba bzang po was a reappointed Grand-Governor, then although Grand-Governor Dpal 'bum of the Gad pa steng pa palace of Dbus had an authorization (*lung*), when Yar lung pa had not handed him the tiger-seal (*dam stag*), the authorization went to Grags pa rgyal mtshan of Shangs, and he acted as Grand-Governor; then when Grand-Governor Dpal 'bum was given the tiger-seal, he acted as Grand-Governor; then it was Grand-Governor Amogha [Tib. Don yod] pa from Lho.

Closest to the chaotic events of the late 1350s and early 1360s, I suspect that Yar lung Jo bo's candid remark is probably right on the money.

Zhwa lu pa mentions Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po as "Ta dben (< Ch. 大元) Byang pa" on several occasions in his study of the Lo tsā ba's life and *never* uses Rin chen dpal bzang po! Indeed, we owe to this Ta dben Byang pa the Lo tsā ba's and Lo tsā ba Nam mkha' bzang po's translation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* of probably 1356, which they prepared using a manuscript that may have been in

⁹⁵ Sa skya mkhon (sic) gyi gdungs (sic) rab rin po che'i 'phreng ba, 64a.

the possession of the Kashmirian Sumanaśrī, who functioned as the *paṇḍita*-informant of their translation.⁹⁶ In an entry between the years 1339 and 1344 of Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's 1387 biography of Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po (1306-1386), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal, first mentions him as "the great Ta'i si tu Nam mkha' brten [sic!] pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po" and then either as "Ta'i si tu [pa]" or "the great Si tu [pa]."⁹⁷ Finally, the Lo tsā ba also simply calls him Ta dben Nam mkha' in an entry for 1352.⁹⁸

Now in response to an objection raised by Petech,⁹⁹ Sørensen is quite correct in holding that the title *lha btsun* was not only reserved for those monks who could trace their ancestry back to the Tibetan imperial families. And he points out that Lha btsun Chos kyi rin chen was the Tibetan name in religion of the deposed Gongdi emperor of the Southern Song dynasty. While it is true that the ruling family of Byang traced its history to the Xi Xia/Tangut imperial family, the three extant manuscripts of the family's history do not countenance one single ordained member of the family with the title *lha btsun* in front of his name. Thus, Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po is never referred to as a *lha btsun* in these histories, brief as they are.¹⁰⁰ And to my knowledge the name Rin chen dpal bzang po does not once occur in any connection other than in Sgra tshad pa's biography of Bu ston. It is furthermore interesting to note that Bla ma dam pa's biographies do not anywhere suggest a direct contact between him and this important member of the family and a major political force in Central Tibet. Ta'i si tu's personal remarks about him are far from happy and he accuses him of having taken part in the murder of Lama Khang gsar ba [Bde legs rgyal mtshan] and Lama Kun spangs pa po [in 1357], and states that it is difficult to deal with him.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ *Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba*, 65 [32a]. This passage was also signalled in the fine dissertation of Epperson (2017: 46-47), where "autumn of the fire [male] monkey year (1357)" is an oversight and needs to be corrected to "autumn of the fire-male-monkey year (1356)." She also suggests that Bla ma dam pa may have been in Sa skya monastery at the time, but this is not borne out by his biographies, which have it that he was in Dbus during the years 1355-1356.

⁹⁷ See his *Chos rje phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam thar*, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgribs, vol. [50], ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang), 17a, 18a-b, etc.

⁹⁸ *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 31b [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 47].

⁹⁹ *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyä Period of Tibetan History*, 132, n. 186.

¹⁰⁰ *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, 176-177 [= *Byang pa lho bdag po gdung rab[s]*, 2b, = *G.yas ru byang pa'i gdung rabs*, 5b].

¹⁰¹ *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 790-791 [= *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 352 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, Chos 'dzoms, 261-262].

Secondly, the series in which a large number Tibetan biographies, autobiographies, and histories were published includes a work with the title *Rgyal rabs me long gsal byed // nyung ngu rnam gsal*,¹⁰² that is, *Clarification of the Rgyal rabs me long; A Slight Clarification*. The colophon of this work states that its author summarized the narratives of the succession of the various *chos rgyal*, religious kings, in the "*Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* of the holy lama (*rje bla ma*)."¹⁰³ The concluding verse:

sngon byon mes dbon la mos dang //
dam pa'i gsung rab la brten nas //
ratna rang gi brjed thor bkod //
nongs pa de gang bzod par gsol //

Thus, the author of this memorandum states that his name [in abbreviated form] was Ratna, that is, Tibetan Rin chen. For reasons best known to them, the editors of this volume attribute this work to Lo tsā ba Ratnabhadra (1489-1563), that is, Rin chen bzang po, and provide a capsule biography of him in the catalog volume that accompanies this collection.¹⁰³ This man had strong affiliations with the Sa skya pa and Jo nang pa traditions, but it is not at all transparent, at least not to me, why he should be credited with this partial synopsis of the *Rgyal rigs*.

Thus, after all is said and done, what we are left with is a rather meager and unsatisfactory result, which can be summarized as follows: Whereas a Bsod nams rgyal mtshan may very well have written this work, the chances are indeed much better than great, that this man was not Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, but rather his namesake.

4. A Catalog of the Miscellaneous Writings of Bla ma dam pa: Vol. Na of the Mi rigs Rig gnas Pho brang / Minzu Wenhua Gong Collection [= Vols. 1 and 2 of the Lhasa Edition of his *Collected Works*].

The earlier volumes that were catalogued in Part One contain texts that are primarily religious or philosophical in nature. But this gives a skewed picture of the remarkable Bla ma dam pa. True, he was a religious hierarch and possibly also quite influential in this capacity.

¹⁰² See *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgribs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Nya [= 8] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 523-561.

¹⁰³ *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgribs thengs dang po'i dkar chag*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 92-96.

He also booked success as participant, albeit a reluctant one, in the turbulent politics that raged throughout Central Tibet during the middle of the fourteenth century. A good number of the documents that are cataloged below indicate, as is also readily apparent from his biographies and Ta'i si tu's marvelous autobiography, that he moved very freely in the political landscape of his era and that he was among its most important players. Perhaps somewhat counterintuitive, he was a prominent member of Sa skya's ruling families as well as one of the most trusted councilors of Ta'i si tu as the latter revolted against Sa skya rule over Central Tibet, and ultimately gained the upper hand through diplomacy and open warfare. This fact alone should make a study of his life from this angle all the more interesting.

What now follows is a catalog of all the texts, small, smaller, and smallest, even those consisting of a single quatrain, that are contained in vol. Na of the incomplete collection of Bla ma dam pa's writings that I found in the Cultural Palace of Nationalities.¹⁰⁴ Some of these constitute fundamental source material for an as yet to be written intellectual and political history of fourteenth century Tibet. Others are rather ephemeral pieces that are neither of obvious historical interest nor of immediate consequence. We can also not assume that it is a complete collection of miscellaneous copies of his panegyrics, instructions, letters, etc. Indeed, it is not. For one, Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po records a letter Bla ma dam pa had written to Mi nyag Byang chub dpal bzang po (1287–1375), alias Rigs pa'i seng ge, that is not contained in Vol. Na or in the volumes of the Lhasa edition of his *Collected Works*.¹⁰⁵ Even if this volume contains but copies of his letters in which their original format and physical layout are clearly ignored and blurred over, their contents should be of some interest to historians of whatever stripe, as should be the epistolary collection of Khrims khang Lo tsā ba Bsod nams rgya mtsho'i sde's (1424-1482) letters that F.K. Ehrhard published not long ago and the unpublished, no doubt equally incomplete collection of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's correspondence.¹⁰⁶

Note: Only in rare cases have I made attempts to correct the spelling errors left behind by the scribe[s] of the manuscript. Further, whenever dates were given in the colophons, I have sought to convert them into

¹⁰⁴ The texts are found in vol. Na, fols. 408-507 [1-101], which bears the Cultural Palace's catalog no. 003877 and the 'Bras spungs catalog no. phyi la 331.

¹⁰⁵ *Mkhan rgyud (sic) rnam gsum byon tshul gyi rnam thar*, 15a.

¹⁰⁶ See, respectively, *A Buddhist Correspondence: The Letters of Lo chen Bsod nams rgya mtsho*, Lumbini International Research Institute, Facsimile Edition Series 3 (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002) and the collection of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's letters at tbc.org, W00KG01610.

their Western equivalents. In so doing, my assumption has been that Bla ma dam pa followed the *byed rtsis* of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan and/or the Kālacakra.¹⁰⁷ The numbers in the square brackets that follow the folio numbers of the manuscript refer to the page numbers of volumes 1 and 2 of the printed Lhasa edition of his *Collected Works*.¹⁰⁸ It should be noted that I have made no full-fledged attempts at comparing the Tibetan texts of the latter with those of the original *dbu can* manuscripts. As a matter of fact, except in very few cases, I have left the readings of the manuscript in tact.

1. *Kye rdo rje la bstod pa shloka gnyis pa*; 408a-b [1, 229]
Catalog no. *phyi la* 331

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dpal kye rdo rje la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo //*
No colophon.

A panegyric of Hevajra in two quatrains.

2. *Mkhan po zhi ba 'tsho la bstod pa*; 408b-410a [1, 229-232]

Incipit: *svasti pra dzā bhyaḥ gsung gi mnga' bdag 'phags pa 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo //*
Colophon: *de skad smra ba dpal ldan sa skya pa // chos kyi dbang phyug rje'i rjes 'brangs te // lung rigs smra ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes byas gus pa'i yid kyis sbyar // zhes pa 'di thub pa'i dbang po dang gnyis[s]u med pa mkhan po mkhas grub zhi ba 'tsho'i dbu thod la mchod pa'i tshogs sbyar zhing / bkra shis pa'i rten 'brel nye bar bsgrigs pa'i tshe / gung thang gi gtsug lag khang chen por dpa' bo'i lo dbo can gyi zla ba'i nyer brgyad kyi nyin par myur du bsdebs pa dge legs[s]u gyur cig /*

This panegyric of Śāntaraksita (8thc.) was written in the monastery of Gung thang on the twenty-eighth day of the month *dbo can* (**phālguna*) of the *dpa' bo* (**vikrama*) year, that is, on March 27, 1340.

¹⁰⁷ For this, see D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplement Band 16 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), 132 ff.

¹⁰⁸ See above n. 6.

3. *Lo tsa ba blo brtan la mdzad pa*; 410a-411a [1, 232-234]

Incipit: *phun tshogs mkhyen pa'i gting mtha' mi mngon zhing // tshad med thugs rje'i dba' rlabs phreng ba can // dpag yas phrin las nor bu'i gter gyur pa // sngon med chu bdag zas gtsang sras la 'dud //*

Colophon: *rab myos kyi lo // dka' thub can gyi zla ba'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes bcwa lnga la / mkhas pa'i mkhas rnams kyi bsti gnas mchog tu gyur pa dpal sa skya'i dgon pa nas rigs pa dang grol bar smra ba'i spobs can / mang du thos pa'i dge slong bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos / phrin yig tu gsol ba'i yi ge / slad nas rgyal ba'i bstan pa 'jig rten mig / lta spyod ngan pa'i tsher mas ma dkrugs shing // de 'dzin khyed kyang sku tshe brtan pa yis // 'gro la phan bde de'i dga' ston 'gyed par shog / lo tsa ba chen po blo gros brtan pa la mdzad pa /*

This is a biographical note anent his master Dpang Lo tsā ba that was written on the fifteenth day of the first half of the month *dka' thub can* of the *rab myos* (**pramāda*) year, that is, on February 3, 1330. A brief, undated and slightly incomplete sketch of Dpang Lo tsā ba's life is also found in *Bla ma dam pa's Spang Lo ts̄sha ba Blo gros brtan pa'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar mdor bsodus*, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), 106-113.

4. *'Di'ang lo tsa ba la mdzad pa*; 411a-412b [1, 234-238]

Incipit: *gang gi mkhyen pa'i yon tan dpag yas pa // dzambus mtshon pa'i gling du khyab gyur pas // thugs kyi bang mdzod gtams las gzhon nu'i dus // u rgyan grub pa'i skyes bus byin brlabs te //...*

Colophon: *de skad smra ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes byas bla ma'i drin thob las // go ba sla phyir snyan ngag rab spangs nas // don la gnas pa'i tshul 'di legs par bkod // lhag dman mi gsal ma tshang 'gal ba sogs // yongs 'dzin mchog la nongs gang bzod par gsol // 'di yi dge ba ston tshe'i nam[m]kha'i ngogs // nya ba'i zla ltar kun du rgyas pa shog // bkra shis par gyur cig / mkhan chen byang rtse bas bskul nas mdzad pa yin gsungs /*

This brief, undated biography of Dpang Lo tsā ba was written at the behest of Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo, Dpang Lo tsā ba's maternal nephew.

5. *Bla ma don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa*; 412b-414a [1, 238-241]

Incipit: *na mo ratna gu ru ve / bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal[l]o //*

Colophon: *bstod tshig 'di ni bla ma'i tshogs rnames kyi // gsung gi bdud rtsi'i thigs pa rab myangs pa // blo gros lus rtas bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes byas legs par sbyar ba yin // bla ma dam pa don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po gcen po la bstod pa'o //*

An undated praise of Don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, Bla ma dam pa's older brother.

6. *Bde mchog lū yi pa rtsom bzhed pa'i mchod brjod*; 414a-b [1, 241-242]

Incipit: *namaḥ shrī tsa kra samba rā ya / dpal 'khor lo bde mchog gi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga lag len gsal ba'i sgron ma zhes bya ba /*

No colophon.

The lines of invocation for a work he had wanted to write on the transmission of the Cakraśaṃvara teachings of Lū yi pa.

7. *Cha pa chos kyi seng ge la bstod pa*; 414b-? [1, 242-?]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / thub dbang nyin mor byed pa'i phrin las kyi // 'od stong gis phye bstan pa pad mo'i phreng // gangs ri'i khrod gnas bstan gtsug gi rgyan // 'byung gnas blo gros dkar ldan zhabs pad 'dud //*

No colophon.

An undated and incomplete panegyric of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-1169). Compare here the second Sa skya pa patriarch Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo's (1142-1182) eulogy to the same man, his erstwhile master, one that formed the text for the backside of a thangka painting¹⁰⁹; missing is fol. 415.

8. No title; ?-416a [?-1, 244]

Incipit: Missing.

¹⁰⁹ See the *Slob dpon phya pa la bstod pa*, *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 2, comp. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968), no. 5, 39/4-41/2.

Colophon: *mkha' 'gro ma'i rdo rje tshig bzhi la brten pa'i gdams pa / sde snod 'dzin pa āryas / tshig nyung zhing don 'dril ba cig zhu zer ba'i ngor / btsun pa bsod nams kyis sbyar ba'o // 'di'i brgyud pa ni / sgrol ma / rnal 'byor ma / sum pa lo tsa ba / chos rje sa skya paṇḍi ta / 'phags pa / zhang dkon mchog dpal / bla ma pu ṇya shrī/ bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan la'o //*

This is an undated and incomplete instruction on the *Mkha' 'gro ma'i rdo rje tshig bzhi* written at the behest of a certain 'Phags pa. The line of transmission: *Tārā - *Yogeśvarī - Sum pa Lo tsā ba - Sa skya Paṇḍita - 'Phags pa - Zhang Dkon mchog dpal (1250-1317) - Āla ma Puṇyaśrī [= Bsod nams dpal] - Bla ma dam pa.

9. *Tshogs bdag dmar po'i mchod bstod shloka sum bcu rtsa bdun pa; 416a-21a; incomplete: missing fols. 418-420 [1, 244-248]*

Incipit: *bla ma dam pa'i zhabs [416b] la phyag 'tshal lo // āḥ gā hūṃ/*
 Colophon: *nor bdag rnam la gsol ba gdab pa'i tshigs[s]u bcad pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // // ces pa la sogs pa tshigs[s]u bcad pa sde tshan bdun po 'di ni / dbus su rnam bcu dbang ldan dang / shar du 'khor lo rtsibs drag gi dbus su dhūḥ rtsibs la oṃ a ra pa tsa na bkod pa'i 'jam dpal ye shes 'khor lo dang / lhor rin po che 'bar ba'i nor bu steng ma la oṃ // 'og ma gnyis la āḥ da hūṃ bris pa'i rdo rje rnam pa gsum dang / nub tu pad ma 'dab ma drug gi dbus su hrīḥ 'dab ma la oṃ ma ni pad me hūṃ / bris pa dang / byang du sna tshogs rdo rje'i lte bar a / phyogs bzhir rwa dbus ma'i sboms bzhi la mo gha sid dha bris pa rnam gter gyi bum pa las skyes pa'i pad ma dang / zla ba'i gdan la sogs ji ltar mdzes pa'i bkod pas spras pa'i 'og tu / dge legs su bya ba'i tshigs[s]u bcad pa rnam so sor bri zhing / gsol 'dab kyi tshig gnyis po sku so sor bris pa'i thad du bri bar bya ba 'di ni / sne gdong rtse'i gtsug lag khang chen po so ma rnam[s]u bkra shis dge legs 'phel bar bya ba'i phyir / dge ba'i bshes gnyen yar glungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyis myur bar bskul ba'i rten byas te / btsun pa bsod nams kyis dpal bsam yas lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang du sbyar ba dge legs[s]u gyur cig /*

Written at the behest of Yar glungs [= lung] Seng ge rgyal mtshan (1332-1400)¹¹⁰ in Bsam yas at an unspecified time, this

¹¹⁰ The dates are taken from his short biography that comprises the first part of the *Yar klungs khu dbon gyi rnam par thar pa srang srong dga' byed*, fols 1-3b. He is the *khu*, "uncle," of the *dbon*, "nephew," *Spyan snga Bsod nams rgyal mtshan* (1360-1433) whose life story extends from fol. 3b to 6a of this *dbu med* manuscript in six folios. The biography was written by Nam mkha' bsod nams. I should like to thank

work is the first of several anent the red-colored Tshogs bdag (*Gaṇapati). The thirty-seven quatrains were to be inscribed on statues of the monastery at Sne'u gdong rtse that was founded by Ta'i si tu in 1353.

10. *Nor bdag la gsol gdab stag brtse ba'i spyil por mdzad pa; 421a-b [1, 248-249]*

Incipit: *om svasti / rgyal ba'i phrin las dpag yas gsher ba'i khams [421b] las 'khrungs //...*

Colophon: *gdan sa dpal gyi pha mo gru'i stag brtse'i ba'i spyil por ming 'dogs pa nor bdag la gsol gdab tu mdzad pa'o //*

A reverential petition to Nor bdag (*Kubera) written in the hermitage of Stag rtse at Phag mo gru Gdan sa mthil.

11. *Nor lha'i gsol gdab brag kha rtser mdzad pa; 421b [1, 249]*

Incipit: *om svasti / phun tshogs 'byor pa'i dkyil 'khor rab tu rgyas //...*

Colophon: *.../ ces pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pas bkra shis par gyur cig / brag kha rtse dang /*

A reverential petition to Nor lha (*Vasudeva) written in the hermitage of Brag kha rtse.

12. *Nor lha'i gsol gdab 'di'ang jo bo'i sar mdzad; 421b-422a [1, 249-250]*

Incipit: *rgyal ba kun gyi mkhyen pa'i dpal 'dzin cing //...*

Colophon: *.../ ces pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // gnas chung na yod pa dang gnyis / yar glungs kyi jo bo'i sar mdzad pa'o //*

A reverential petition to Nor lha written at the residence of Yar lung Jo bo.

13. *Nor lha'i gsol gdab; 422a [1, 250]*

Incipit: *o[m] svasti / phun tshogs 'dod dgu ma lus 'byor pa'i gter //...*

K. Schaeffer for sharing this manuscript with me. A work written in response to Seng ge rgyal mtshan is found in Bla ma dam pa's *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2, 97-98.

Colophon: .../ ces pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // 'di yar glungs mdo mkhar du nor lha phyag bris yod par mdzad pa'o //

A reverential petition to Nor lha written in Mdo mkhar in Yar lung.

14. *Bsam yas gso nam mdzad dus bgyis pa'i tshigs bcad shlo ka bzhi*; 422a [1, 250-251]

Incipit: om svasti / yon tan rin chen mang po'i gter //...

Colophon: shu bhanj // bkra shi so // 'di bsam yas gsos nam chen mo'i dus mdzad nas dbu rtse chen mo'i bar sgo'i rgyan gyi 'phul la yod pa'o //

The last line reads: *rin chen bsam grub zhes byas bgyis //*, which suggests that it was written by someone called Rin chen bsam grub. These four quatrains were written on the occasion of one of his restoration projects of Bsam yas.

15. *Dag [Dwags]por bka' bsdams pa gcig la gnang pa dang / dpal ldan ye shes kyis zhus lan dang gcer mthong thug phrad gsum mo*; 422a-423a [1, 251-253]

Incipit: dka' spyad rgyas kyang shin du rnyed dka' zhing //...

Colophon: ces pa'i yi ge mi 'khyar ba'i rten mtshon par chab gser zho phyed mchis shing sgrub pa'i bar chad thams cad zhi nas chos kyis rgyal po'i go 'phang thob par gyur cig / dge'o // bkra shis par gyur cig / a single dang kyog graph / / dam pa skyes mchog rnam la phyag 'tshal lo // dpal te tse ba'i dgon par 'jam dpal smra ba'i seng ges / rje btsun dam pa rgya gar la gcer mthong thug phrad kyis gdams pa gnang pa // gang shar cer [gloss: gzung 'dzin gyi rnam rtog la rig pas brtags pas grol du song nas rig pa rjen par 'dug pa de chos sku yin pa[s]so //] gyis ltos // yin thog tu lhan gyis zhog [gloss: bzhag pas sems mi rtog pa la gnas so //] / zin [gloss: lta sgom gyi blo de] tsa na [gloss: yin thog tu lhan gyis gnas kyis] shig la bor [gloss: rtsis med du phyad kyis mthong] / de nyid la rtsal sbyongs [gloss: rtsis med kyis shes pa sangs rgyas kyis dgongs yin pa] / gang byung [gloss: bde sdug stod smad yin min thams cad] thog tu [gloss: khyer la nyams len bya'o //] khol / ces gsungs so // cer mthong thug phrad kyis gdams pa rdzogs [gloss: rdzong khar bzhugs dus mkhan po shes rdor [shes rab rdo rjer] dpe la bris //] so //

After the initial *dang kyog graph*, mention is made of "the monastery of Te tse ba" and that this piece was written in

Rdzong kha for the abbot Shes rab rdo rje. It also includes a reply to a Dpal ldan ye shes.

Fol. 424a is a new title page with marginal notation "Na," and in the upper center we have the indigenous catalogue number of *phyi la* 331.

16. *Chos rje bla ma dam pas ta dben pa'i zhu lan du mdzad*; 424a-427a [1, 253-259]

Incipit: *ta dben pa'i zhal snga nas gsung yig bskur ba legs par thengs shing /...*

Colophon: *...chags sdang dbang gis 'dor zhing dmod par ga la zhig // gcig zhus // shubham //*

This work deals with Kālacakra chronology in relation to the life of the historical Buddha. It is a reply to a query by a Ta dben pa. To be sure, *ta dben* reflects Chinese *da yuan*, that is, the "Great Yuan dynasty," and it is often used as a short-form for Chinese *dayuan guoshi*. He had apparently seen several problems with "the *Chos 'byung*" and queried Bla ma dam pa about these. The *Chos 'byung* refers to Bla ma dam pa's own history of the Kālacakra cycle that has recently surfaced.¹¹¹

Fol. 428a is a new title page with marginal notation "Na," and in the upper center we have the indigenous catalogue number of *phyi la* 231.

17. *Yar lungs sne gdong du gu shri chen po'i chos 'khor dus kyi bstan rtsis*; 428a-431b [2, 1-7]
Catalog no. *phyi la* 231

Incipit: *om svasti / shes bya'i mkha' la don gyi de nyid gzigs //...*

Colophon: *...tshul 'di yang sngar yang mkhas pa rnam kyis mi 'dra ba'i rnam gzhas mang du mdzad cing / ding sang yang chos dang zang zing gi dga' ston rgya chen po 'di lta bu'i dus su sngar byung gi tshul dang mthun par rnam gzhas byed pa'i rigs[s]o // zhes lung rigs 'dzin pa rnam kyis / gu shri ba'i spyen lar (sic) gsol ba las / de*

¹¹¹ See his *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos 'byung legs bshad sgron me*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 13, 1-173, which he completed in 1365. His *Sbyor ba yan lag drug gi ngo sprod sbas don gsal ba'i sgron me*, an undated study of the Kālacakra's hexapartite yoga, opens with a brief history of its development; see his *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 13, 174-451.

nyid kyi bkas bskul nas btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // gcig zhus //

This is a work on Buddhist chronology (*bstan rtsis*) written on the occasion of the 1373 council that 'Jam dbyangs Shākya rgyal mtshan convened in Sne'u gdong.¹¹²

18. *Dge ba'i bshes gnyen rgyal lon dpal gyi zhu lan*; 431b-433b [1, 259-263]

Incipit: *om svasti / dge ba'i gshes gnyen rgyal mtshan dpal gyi phrin yig lung thang gi phreng ba la dngul rdor dang bcas pa 'phrod pas spro /...*

Colophon: *.../ ces pa'i yi ge'i rten du dgas phreng legs pa brgya rtsa gcig bdog / kun ldan gyi lo dbyar zla ra ba'i tshes brgyad la dge legs[s] u gyur cig //*

This is a reply to a query by Rgyal mtshan dpal anent Madhyamaka philosophy. The text was written on the eighth day of the fifth lunar month of the *kun ldan* (**śārvarī*) year, that is, on June 23, 1360.

19. *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pas tha'i tse chen po'i lung gi lan du phul ba*; 433b-6b [1, 263-270]

Incipit: *gong ma mi'i dbang po sa'i bdag po rgyal po chen po'i drung du / zhu ba /*

Colophon: *drung chos kyi rin po che'i gsung rab[s] hāng tha'i tshe la mdzad pa yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyis zhus dag bgyis shing sbyin par bya ba'i chos so //*

This is a letter to and in reply to a statement of the great prince (*tha'i tse* < Ch. *taizi* 太子) Ayushiridara (1339–1378) that was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan.¹¹³

¹¹² For this event, see also *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 22b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 33]

¹¹³ For some six letters written by Rgyal ba Rin po che Grags pa brtson 'grus (1203–1267), alias Thog brdugs pa, to Hūlegū and Qubilai, see Jampa Samten and Dan Martin's outstanding "Letters to the Khans. Six Tibetan Epistles of Togdudgpa Addressed to the Mongol Rulers Hulegu and Khubilai, as well as to the Tibetan Lama Pagpa," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* [*Trails of the Tibetan Tradition. Papers for Elliot Sperling*, ed. R. Vitali et al.] 31 (2015), 297–332. See also, in general, D. Martin, "Letter Writing Manuals," in the entry for December 7, 2016, in his lovely tibetologic.blogspot.com

20. No title; 437a [1, 250-251]

Incipit: *yang dag lam la yang dag rjes gshegs pas // phul byung yon tan phul byung mchog brnyes te // ...*

Colophon: *...rgyal ba bdud las rgyal ba kun la 'dud // lo tsa ba byang chub rtse mo la /*

This is a series of quatrains written to Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo in Bsam yas; the text in 1, 250-251, only consists of one quatrain.

21. No title; 437a [1, 251]

Incipit: */ svasti / gang gi zhabs pad nyin byed gsar pa yi // 'od kyi rjes 'gros skye dgu 'i yan lag mchog //...*

Colophon: *...legs bshad bdud rtsi rtag par spro bar gsol // lo tsa ba dharmā shrī bha dra la /*

This is a letter written to Lo tsā ba Dharmashrībhadrā, that is, Chos kyi dpal bzang po (1316-1397).

22. No title; in a note: *Dpal ldan sa skya 'i dge ba 'i bshes gnyen rnam la mdzad pa*; 437a-b [1, 270-272]

Incipit: *om svasti / bla ma dang 'jam pa 'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo // dpal ldan yon tan srid na dpe zla ma mchis pa //...*

No colophon.

A work addressed to Sa skya monks.

23. No title; 437b-438a [1, 271-272]

Incipit: *gang gi srid pa 'i chags pa spangs kyang brtse bas 'gro ba 'i don la chags //...*

Colophon: [437b-438a] *...a wa dhū tī pa 'i dge slong dpal sa skyar gnas pas / sa 'i steng na 'gran zla dang bral ba 'i / 7 mi 'i dbang po yab yum sras dang bcas pa 'i mchod gnas / [438a] 'gro kun la phan bde stsol ba 'i dbang gi rgyal po / rnam par dag pa 'i phrin las / rin po che 'i gnyer du gyur pa / ta 'i tu 'i pho brang chen po na bzhugs pa 'i dge ba 'i bshes gnyen rnam pa 'i snyan du gsol ba 'o //*

This is a verse addressed to Tibetan clerics who were staying in Dadu, the Mongol winter capital.

24. No title; 438a [1, 272]

Incipit: / *dge bshes grags pa dpal la* / ...
No colophon.

Verse addressed to Grags pa dpal.

25. No title; 438a-439b [1, 272-276].

Incipit: / *'dren mchog bla ma'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo // lung rigs smra ba'i bshes gnyen bsam grub kyis* / ...
No colophon: *dge'o* /

This work deals effecting an enlightened attitude, monastic vows and transgressions in the context of Mahayana practice, in response to questions by layman Bsam grub.

26. No title; 439b-440b [1, 276-278]

Incipit: *om svasti / yon tan rin chen bye bas brgyan pa'i sku // legs bshad chos sgra rgyun du sgrogs pa'i gsung //...*
Colophon: *...ces pa'i yi ge mi 'khyar ba'i rten tsam / sa ga dpyid zla'i tshes bcwa lnga la bris pa dge legs[s]u gyur //*

This is a letter to Slob dpon Don grub rgyal mtshan, his maternal nephew (*dbon po*), that was written on the fifteenth day of the spring-month *sa ga* (**vaiśākha*) of an unspecified year.

27. No title; 440b [1, 278]

Incipit: *dge ba'i bshes gnyen rgyal ba dpal la springs pa // dad dang brtson 'grus thos pa gsum // ...*
No colophon.

A letter to a certain Rgyal ba dpal.

28. No title; 440b-441a [1, 278-279]

Incipit: *om svasti / bim pa ltar dmar 'dzum pa'i zhal snga nas // rnam mang mtshan dpe'i rgyan gyis mdzes pa'i skus //...*

Colophon: ...*zhes pa zhi ba'i lo tha skar gyi zla ba'i rgyal ba'i tshes la phul ba dge legs ches cher 'phel[l]o // drung chos kyi rjes / kar ma ba la gnang pa'i bka' shog yin // //*

This is a letter to Karma pa [= ?Karma pa IV Rol pa'i rdo rje] that is dated the third day of the month *tha skar* (**āśvina*) of the *zhi ba* (**saumya*) year, that is, October 4, 1369.

29. No title; 441a-441b [1, 279-280]

Incipit: *mkhyen pa dpag yas dri med chab kyi gter // tshad med brtse ba'i yid bzhin nor bu'i mdzod //...*
No colophon

This is a letter to an unnamed Kashmirian scholar with connections in the Mongol court.

30. No title; 441b-442a [1, 280-281]

Incipit: *om svasti / rang bzhin rnam dag rigs kyi chu gtsang las // legs 'khrungs mkhyen brtse'i 'dab ma stong dang ldan // ...*
Colophon: [442a] / *ces pa'i zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten du //*

This is a letter to emperor Toγon Temür with enclosed gifts.

31. No title; 442a-b [1, 281-283]

Incipit: *phun tshogs dge legs rin chen bzhi rang bzhin // ye shes rnam bzhi'i bang rim bzhi yis mdzes //...*
No colophon

This is a letter to crown prince (*hwang tha'i tshe* < Ch. *huang taizi* 皇太子) Ayushiridara on the occasion of Bla ma dam pa's own *Kālacakra* commentary. Mention is made of the earlier petition made by Duke (*gu'i gung*) Chos kyi rin chen (?-1402) and the Mongol imperial family's kindness towards a Bla ma Kun dga' rgyal po; see my forthcoming "Two Letters of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375) to the Mongol Heir-Apparent Ayushiridara (1339-1378) concerning *Kālacakra* Texts."

32. No title; 442b-443a [1, 283-284]

Incipit: *na mo manydzu nā thā ya / mkhyen rab rgya chen nam mkha'i go skabs bcom bzhin yangs //..*

Colophon: *phyis dpe zhig bsgrubs nas 'dul ba brtan pa cig la ci myur gyis phyag tu thengs par byed pa lags / zhu yig gzigs pa'i /*

This is yet another letter to crown prince Ayushiridhara in connection with Bla ma dam pa's Kālacakra commentary.

33. No title: 443a-444a [1, 284-286]

Incipit: */ om svasti / mar gad ltar gsal rab tu rgyas pa'i zhal //...*

Colophon: *gu shrī ba'i zhal snga nas lo gsar pa bkra shis par 'gyur ba'i smon lam...tshes bcu gcig la bris pa dge zhing bkra shis par gyur cig /*

A New Year's "card" in verse and prose for an unidentified National Preceptor.

34. No title; 444a-445a [1, 286-287]

Incipit: *khyed rnam pas da lta mi lus thob pa'i dus 'dir /...*
No colophon.

35. No title; 445a-446a [1, 287-289]

Incipit: *om svasti / dgos 'dod kun 'byung yon tan rin chen gter //..*

Colophon: *[445b-6a] ...bshes gnyen sgrub pa yon tan 'od zer gyis // bskul phyir bstun pa bsod [446a] nams kyi sbyar ba'i gter // dge bas bstan pa dri med rin chen gter // sgo 'byed rnam dag lung rigs lde mig gis // mtha' drug rgyas btab sgo lcags legs phyé nas // yang dag don gyi khang bzang 'jug gyur cig / //*

This is a work on taking on an enlightened attitude in Mahayana Buddhism as requested by the layman Sgrub pa Yon tan 'od zer.

36. No title; 446a-446b [1, 290-291]

Incipit: *om svasti / bde stong zung 'jug sku bzhi dpal //...*

Colophon: *...mkhyen rab dam pa dpal ldan seng ge zhes // yongs su grags pas bskul ba'i zhal ngo ru // gsang sngags smra ba bsod nams kyis smras so //*

A work on tantric theory and practice as requested by Dpal ldan seng ge.

37. No title; 446b-4477b [1, 291-293]

Incipit: *svasti pradzā bhyaḥ rgyal ba kun gyi yon tan rnams // gcig tu bsodus bzhin mkhyen pa yi // ...*

Colophon: *...brtan (sic) pa rgyal mtshan zhes bya bas // bskul phyir a wa dhū tī pa // bsod nams zhes byas phan pa'i blos //...*

A work on general Buddhist doctrine as requested by Bstan pa rgyal mtshan.

38. No title; 447b-448a [1, 293-294]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / dpag yas yon tan nor bu'i dpal gyis mdzes //...*

Colophon: *khyu mchog lo rta pa'i zla ba'i yar gyi tshes dga' ba dang po la chos grwa chen po dpal e chos 'byung ba'i gtsug lag khang du bris pa'i yi ge bkra shis / ...*

This is a New Year's "card" in verse allegedly written to Spyan snga Rin chen grags pa byang chub dpal bzang po (1356–1386) at E chos 'byung monastery on the first day of the horse-month of the *khyu mchog* (**vr̥ṣa*) year. The only *khyu mchog*, that is, the iron-serpent year that fell in Bla ma dam pa's life is 1341, so that he would seem to have written this card on January 18, 1341. But this presents us with a problem, for the Spyan snga's dates makes it impossible for this piece to have been composed in a *khyu mchog* year!

39. No title; 448a-b [1, 294-295]

Incipit: */ dri med blo gros dkyil 'khor rab tu rgyas //...*

Colophon: *...yi ge'i rten du zhwa sbrel cig bdog / tshes bcu bdun la dge /*

This is a letter to the layman Nyi ma that was written on the seventh day of an unknown month and year.

40. No title; 448b-449a [1, 295-297]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / / rgyal ba sgrib med mkhyen pa can //...*

Colophon: ...*yi ge'i rten du zhwa yug dmar po zung cig mchis // dpa' bo can gyi lo smin drug gi zla ba'i yar tshes lnga la bris pa dge legs[s]u gyur cig / śubham //*

Sublinear note: *dpon po kun dga' rdo rje la spring pa'i yi ge /*.

A letter to Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje that was written on the fifth day of the *smin drug* (**kārttika*) month of a *dpa' bo can* year, that is, on October 26, 1340.

41. *Phrin yig bdud rtsi'i thigs pa; 449a-451a [1, 297-301]*

Incipit: *om svasti // phrin yig bdud rtsi'i thigs pa zhes bya ba / rgyal ba sras dang bcas pa rnams la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo // dge legs phun tshogs yid 'ong nags kyi nang //...*

Colophon: ...*ces pa'i phrin yig ltos 'gro'i lo nag pa'i zla ba'i drag po'i tshes la legs par bsrings pa mig lam du gyur ba'i slad du / spos cung zad dang / ka ra nyung zad hūṃ la sbyar ba bdog / dge legs su gyur cig /*

This letter was written on the *drag po* day of the month *nag pa* (**caitra*) month of a *ltos 'gro* year. The term *drag po* refers to the second fortnight of a lunar month, and *ltos 'gro* is a synonym for *sbrul* ("snake"). Hence, it was written sometime between the sixteenth and the thirtieth day of the third lunar month of a snake-year. This title is almost identical to Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab's (?1059–?1109) famous open letter on Madhyamaka philosophy.¹¹⁴

42. *Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan la springs pa; 451a-b [1, 301-302]*

Incipit: / *'di dang phyi mar phan pa dam pa'i chos //...*

Colophon: ...*shlo ka gsum a wa dhū tī (sic) pas / sgrub brtson ngur smrig rgyal mtshan 'dzin la gdams // phag lo zla ba gnyis pa'i nyer brgyad la //*

An instruction written for a Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan on the twenty-eighth day of the second lunar month of a pig-year.

¹¹⁴ For the text of Rngog Lo tsā ba's work, see Kano Kazuo 加納和雄, "A Critical Edition of Rngog Blo ldan shes rab's *Spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* [in Japanese]," *Mikkyōbunka kenkyū jōkiyō* 20 (2007), 1-50, and for a study of this work his "An Annotated Translation of Rngog Blo ldan shes rab's *Spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* [in Japanese]," *Mikkyōbunka kenkyū jōkiyō* 22 (2009), 121-178.

43. No title; 451b-upper-452a [1, 302-303]

Incipit: *svasti pra dzā bhyaḥ dge legs chu gter che las 'ongs //...*

Colophon: [upper 452a] *...yi ge mi 'khyar ba'i rten tsam du / thugs dam mdo 'dzin la the tshe 'byar ba cig dang / bla bres legs pa bsod dbang gis the tshe 'di 'byar ba cig 'bul / byi ba lo zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes brgyad la /...*

A letter written to an unidentified person on the eighth day of the second month of a rat-year.

44. No title; upper-452a [1, 303]

Incipit: [upper 452a] / *'gro la brtse ba'i spyang yangs shing //...*

Colophon: [upper 452a] *khri dbang phyug dpal mgon lde la springs yig gi mchod brjod / dge'o //*

This is the opening verse of homage of a letter to Khri Dbang phyug dpal mgon lde, evidently a local western Tibetan ruler who, however, remains unidentified.

45. No title: upper-452a [1, 303-305]

Incipit: *na maḥ shrī gu ru we / rab rgyas thugs rje'i cha shas rdzogs //...*

Colophon: *...theg pa gsum dang rgyud sde bzhi'i // zab don snying po mdor bsod pa // dpal ldan a ba dhū tī (sic) pas // slob ma'i mchog la gdams pa lags //...mangalambhavantu /*

Sublinear note at *na: chos blo dpon pa la*, "for ?the official Chos [kyi] blo [gros]."

46. No title; 452a-b [1, 305-306]

Incipit: *na maḥ gu ru we / yon tan rin chen du ma'i gter gyur pa //...*

Colophon: *...phrin yig a ba dhū tī pas // dkar po'i phyogs kyi zla tshes sbyar ba yi // rten du phra ras dri med 'du 'bul lo //...*

Sublinear note at *na maḥ...: 'bri thung pa bla ma kun dga' rgyal mtshan la'o /*. This is a letter written to Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, a lama of 'Bri thung [gung], on the first fortnight of an unidentified month and year.

47. *Ta ta'i si tu la gnang ba'i ka* [read: *bka'*] *shog*; 452b-453a [1, 306-307]

Incipit: *slob dpon byang chub rgyal mtshan la bskur ba //...*

Colophon: *...phrin yig gzigs pa'i rten du phreng ba brgya rtsa gcig bdog / stag lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes bcwo brgyad la dge bar gyur cig /*

A letter written to the great (*ta* < Ch. *da* 大) *Ta'i si tu*¹¹⁵ on the eighteenth day of the third month of a tiger-year, that is, on April 14, 1362.

48. No title; 453a-b [1, 307-308]

Incipit: *dge slong bsod dbang la springs pa / yi ge bum chu ril bu dang bcas pa 'phrod / ...*

No colophon.

A letter written to the monk Bsod [nams] dbang [po/phyug].

49. No title; 453b-457b [1, 308-317]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo //...*

Colophon: *...de skad smra ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes bya a wa dhū tī pa // thub pa'i bstan la zol med gus pa can // dge sbyong tshul gnas dpal ldan sa skya pa'o // bsam yas chos 'khor gyi 'bul yig // // shubham /*

A letter of request ('*bul yig*) to the assembly at Bsam yas and a list of offerings written in 1374.

50. No title; 457b-461a [1, 318-324]

¹¹⁵ The same locution of *ta ta'i si tu* is also met with in the *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, New Delhi, 119, but not in the corresponding passages of the *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 471, and the *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 215. *Ta'i si tu* is first mentioned in the Lo tsā ba's *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 22b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 33], in an entry for the pig-year, 1347. In a letter written in his own hand, *Ta'i si tu* had requested him to intervene on his behalf with Sa skya's Governor General Rgyal ba bzang po, who had just "invited" him. The relations between these two men who played such major roles in the politics of Central Tibet still require study.

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo //...*

Colophon: *...gdan sa phag mo gru'i spyan snga rin po che grags pa shes rab pa'i gshegs rdzongs kyi 'bul yig / drung chos rje pas mdzad pa // // shubham /*

This is a letter of request written on the occasion of the passing of Spyan snga Grags pa shes rab (1310–1370) of Phag mo gru.¹¹⁶

51. No title [sublinear note: *Sa skya bka' gros la gnanng ba*]; 461a-b [1, 324-326]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / gang gis mkhyen pas shes bya kun gsal snang bas sna tshogs gzugs la bzhin //...*

Colophon: *...de skad smras pa a va dhū tī pa // bstan la gus pas bstan pa'i tshul 'chang ba // ring na gnas kyang nye ba'i yid can gyis // gsol la nongs pa gang de'ang bzod mdzad rigs // yi ge gzigs pa'i rten du gser zho do bdog // lug gi lo zla ba drug pa'i gnam gang la yang rtser bris pa'i yi ge shin du bkra shis par gyur cig / // shubham /*

This is a letter written in Yang rtse to the councilors (*bka' gros*) of Sa skya on the *gnam gang* (= thirtieth, new moon day) of the sixth month of a sheep year.

52. No title [supralinear note: *Bla ma bzhi thog pas gtso mdzad dge ba'i bshes gnyen dpon chen dang bcas pa la gnanng*]; 462a-b [1, 326-328]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / mkhyen pa kun ldan rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas mchog / sdug bsngal kun sel dam chos chos kyi mchog /...*

No colophon.

This is a letter written to monks of Sa skya headed by Lama Bzhi thog pa [= Kun dga' rin chen] and a Grand-Governor. This letter was written to congratulate Kun dga' rin chen for having been given an imperial edict (*'ja' sa*) and a jade seal of office for the abbacy of Sa skya's Bzhi thog residence, that is, of Sa skya as a whole, in 1365.

53. No title; 462b-463a [1, 328-329]

¹¹⁶ The first entry for him in *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 23a [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 33], is dated 1347.

Incipit: *na mo bud dha ya / gang gi mkhyen brtses zag med yon tan kun // gcig tu bsdu pas bya lam yangs pa bzhin //...*

Colophon: *...ces pa spre'u lo zla ba bzhi pa'i yar tshes lrgyad [read: brgyad] la bla ma mnyam med grags rgyal la'o //*

This is a letter written to Lama Mnyam med pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan on the eighth *yar*-day [= first half of the lunar month] of the fourth month of the monkey year.¹¹⁷

54. No title; 463a [1, 329]

yon tan rin chen kun gyis gang ba'i mdzod // 'chad rtsod rtsom pa'i rgyal mtshan ches gsal bas // don gnyis rnam par dag pa'i dpal yon can // phrin las bzang ldan gang de rgyal gyur cig / ces bla ma shar pa la'o //

A quatrain written to Lama Shar pa.

55. No title; 463a-b [1, 329-330]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / rnam dag khrims kyi yid bzhin nor bus 'byor // mkhyen brtse ting 'dzin dam pa'i rgyan gyis mdzes //...*

Colophon: *...gong gi kha skad 'dra la brtags nas zhu ba rim pas bskur ba lags / zhal ta gda' na'ang rim pa bzhin gnang ba zhu / spyan sngar gyi bzhin las ma mchis shing / de la gnod par gda' na bstan pa'i bya ba chen po'i bar chad du 'gyur bas zhu spobs mi nus lags / shes pa gzigs pa'i rten tsam du bzang ras kyi rten khebs gcig 'bul / nyer lnga la dge / mkhan chen byang rtse la'o //*

A letter addressed to Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo written on the twenty-fifth day of an unspecified month and year.

56. No title; 463b-464a [1, 330-331]

¹¹⁷ A very brief note on the life of this little-known Sa skya master can be found in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History 1: Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan as a Man of Reli-gion," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 37 (1994), 143-144. This can now be somewhat supplemented with what we gather from Gtsang Byams pa Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, *Sa skya mkhon (sic) gyi gdungs (sic) rab rin po che'i 'phreng ba*, 40b ff. and the *Mkhan rgyud (sic) rnam gsum byon tshul gyi rnam thar*, 15a. Like Bla ma dam pa, he played a very significant role in the ongoing negotiations between Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan and his competitors at Sa skya and elsewhere. In the manuscripts of Ta'i si tu's autobiography he is most commonly referred to as Bla ma Mnyam med pa.

Incipit: *dus gsum rgyal ba'i gdung tshab khyung po rnal 'byor pa'i // phrin las bsgrub mdzad sgrub pa'i rgyal mtshan mchog gi rtser //...*
 Colophon: *sa ga'i zla ba'i dga' ba'i tshes la phul ba dge legs mchog tu gyur cig / stag tshang pa bla ma khyung po la gnang ba'o //*

A letter "offered" to Lama Khyung po [? Tshul khrim mgon po] of Stag tshang on a *dga' ba* day of the month *sa ga* (**vaiśākha*) of an unspecified year.

57. No title [sublinear note: *Bde ba can pa rnam la gnang ba*]; 464a-b [1, 331-332]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / lung dang rigs pa'i sgra dbyangs rgyun mi 'chad par sgrog pa'i dga' ston /...*
 Colophon: *...snron gyi zla ba'i tshes bcu gcig la dge bar gyur cig...*

A letter to the residents of Bde ba can monastery dated the eleventh day of the month *snron* (**jyaiṣṭha*) of an unspecified year.

58. No title; 464b [1, 332]

Incipit: *phun tshogs yon tan kun gyi gter // mtha' yas dri ma 'khud pa'i chu //...*
 Colophon: *...ces dam pa dbon po la'o // // shubham /*

Undated verses to his maternal nephew.

59. No title; 464b-470b [2, 13-26].

Incipit: */ skabs 'dir / bstan pa'i rtsa lag dge 'dun 'dus pa rgya mtsho lta bu'i dbus su / skabs don gyi brda sprod chu klung gi sgra snyan du gsol bar zhu 'tshal /*
 No colophon.

An end note states: *bsam yas[s]u chos 'khor mdzad pa'i mos pa mdzad pa'o //*. This text is evidently a speech he gave on the occasion of one of his teaching stints at Bsam yas. A Bla ma Bdag nyid chen po ba and a Bla ma chen po Kun dga' blo gros are mentioned; these must be identified as Bdag nyid Bzang po dpal (1262-1323), alias Don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (**Amoghadhvajāsribhadra*), and *dishi* Kun dga' blo gros (1299–1327). His work is closely related to nos. 17 and 49.

60. No title; 470b-471b [2, 7-9]

Incipit: / *bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo // gang zag mchog la brten nas dge ba bsgrubs nas de mi zad cing spel ba'i phyir /...*
No colophon.

61. No title; 471b-473a [2, 9-13]

Incipit: / *skabs 'dir / skabs don brda sbyor ba'i lo rgyus tshig 'ga' gleng bar zhu 'tshal / phyag 'tshal ba dang / zhes sogs sbyar na'ang rung bas /...*
No colophon.

62. No title; 473b-474a [1, 332-334]

Incipit: [473b] *shes bya kun la gang zhig mkhyen pa'i spyang yangs shing // lus pa med pa'i 'gro la gcig tu brtse ba can //...*

Colophon: *rnam gnon lo yi thub zla 'jig rten tshes // gang la babs tshe mkhas pa'i bsti gnas mchog // sa skya'i gtsug lag khang nas phul ba ste / da dung 'bel pa'i bka' 'chid phreng du spro // [note: bla ma gzhon nu seng ge la'o /] / shubham //*

Text of a speech held at Sa skya on the 'jig rten [= third] day of the thub [= seventh] month of the rnam gnon (*vikrama) year, that is, on July 28, 1340. It was given to a Bla ma Gzhon nu seng ge.

63. *Lung chos kyi bshad gsar gyi mol ba yin / tshang ma'i gcig yod pa rtsang sbyang nas bri'o //; 474a-476a [2, 26-31]; nos. 63-65 are all closely related.*

Incipit: *skabs 'dir 'dus pa rgya mtsho'i dbus nas cung zad cig snyan gsan par zhu 'tshal // zhu skabs na /...*

Colophon: *...'bul ba'i yi ge la'ang gsan par zhu lags //*

64. No title; 476a-477b [2, 31-34]

Incipit: *skabs 'dir skabs don brda sprod pa'i tshig 'ga' snyan du 'bul bar zhu 'tshal / zhu skabs na /...*

Colophon: *...se lung sgang du lha'i rab gnas dang / dpon po rdor rje dpal bzangs kyis brtags gnyis bshad gsar dus dags por chos rjes mdzad pa'o//*

Mention is made of Se lung sgang and that Bla ma dam pa wrote it in Dwags po on the occasion of the official/nephew (*dpon/dbon po*) Rdo rje dpal bzang and his new *Hevajratantra* commentary.

65. No title; 477b-478b [2, 34-37]

Incipit: *khyed kyi dus las 'das pa'i don du // dkon mchog gi mchod pa /...*

Colophon: *gshin bsngo bsdus pa dbon po rdo rje dpal bzangs kyi don du dags por chos rje mdzad pa'o //*

Written in Dwags po for the official/nephew Rdo rje dpal bzang.

66. No title; 478b-480a [2, 37-40]

Incipit: *svasti / chos dbyings dag pa'i dpag bsam rkang 'thung // don kun gzigs pa'i lo 'dab rgyas shing //...*

No colophon.

67. *Thog mar gtor ma'i byin rlabs mdzad par zhu; 480a-b*

Incipit: *dge ba'i rtsa ba bla na med pa'i byang chub tu bsngo ba bgyid / bsngo ba 'grub pa'i dpang por /...*

Colophon: *mol ba dang bsngo ba drung chos kyi rje pas gnyal stod du mdzad pa'o //*

This speech and dedication of merit was composed in Gnyal stod.

68. *Ta dben kun legs pa phyags phyir yod pa'i don du; 480b-483b [2, 40-48]*

Incipit: *// phun tshogs yon tan mchog gi nor lha // mkhyen gsum yon tan 'byor pa'i tshogs la dbang bsgyur bas //...*

No colophon.

Written for the servants of Great Yuan (*ta dben* < Ch *dayuan* 大元) *dishi* Kun dga' legs pa (1358-1376).

69. No title; 484a [2, 48]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / phun tshogs mkhyen pa'i 'od zer rnam par gsal // tshad med thugs rje'i dkyil 'khor rab tu rgyas //...*
 Colophon: *gong ma la bskur ba'i mchod brjod //*

An expression of worship in verse that was sent to the emperor (*gong ma*).

70. No title; 484a [2, 48]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / gang zhig dge 'os mchod pa'i gzahir gyur cing / nyin byed 'od 'dra sku yi dpal 'bar bas //...*
 Colophon: *gong ma la //*

Another ephemeral verse for the emperor.

71. No title; 484a [2, 48]

Incipit: *gdong nas spro pa kun las rnam grol yang // skal bzhin gdul bya sna tshogs don mdzad pa //...*
 Colophon: *mkhan chen bu ston pa la //*

Two quatrains of homage for his master Bu ston.

72. No title; 484a [2, 48-49]

Incipit: [484a] *om svasti siddham / gang gis 'gro ba mi zad sdug bsngal rnam // kun du bsal slad 'khor ba spong bar mi mdzad la //...*
 Colophon: *bla chen tri shri kun rgyal la //*

A quatrain of homage for his half-brother *dishi* Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1310-1358).

73. No title; 484a [2, 49]

Incipit: *gang zhig dran pas sdug bsngal kun sel zhing // 'chi med de tshe yi dpal dang rnam grol gyi //...*
 Colophon: *tha hu la //*

A quatrain of homage to the empress dowager (*tha hu* < Ch. *taihou* 太后) [= ?Mailaiti].

74. No title; 484a-b [2, 49]

Incipit: *phun tshogs mtshan dpe'i dpal gyis rab mdzes shing // srid zhi'i rgud pa mtha' dag zhi mdzad de //...*
Colophon: *hong hu la //*

A verse for the empress (*hong hu* < Ch. *huanghou* 皇后) [= ?Gi].

75. No title; 484b [2, 49]

Incipit: *gur kum mdog can mchog tu gzungs bzang pa // gti mug mun pa'i tshogs kun 'joms mdzad la //...*
Colophon: *rgyal bu la //*

A quatrain for a prince (*rgyal bu*) [= ?Ayushiridara].

76. No title; 484b [2, 49]

Incipit: *gangs ri ltar dkar 'od zer dra bas rab mdzes la // thugs rje'i gyis 'gro ba'i gdung ba zhi mdzad cing //*
Colophon: *a khro la //*

A quatrain for a certain A khro. He is also mentioned below in no. 97.

77. No title; 484b [2, 49]

Incipit: *phrin las drag pos bdud rnams tshar gcod cing // thugs rje'i dbang gis 'gro rnams rjes bzung nas //...*
Colophon: *swon ji dbon po la //*

A verse for the Swon ji dbon po, a member of the ?Department of Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs (*swon ji dbon* < ?Ch. *xuanzhengyuan* 宣政院).

78. No title; 484b [49-50]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshalo // gang sku'i mdzes pas 'gro ba kun gyi yid 'phrog cing // tshangs pa'i dbyangs ldan 'dzin ma'i khyon kun gsal bar khyab //...*
Colophon: *lo tsa ba byang rtse er bskos pa'i 'bul yig mgo //*

A letter requesting that Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo be appointed abbot of Bo dong E monastery.

79. No title; 485a [2, 50-51]

Incipit: *om svasti / bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la phyag 'tshal lo // tshogs gnyis rab rdzogs bkra shis phun tshogs rnam rgyal rtser // yon tan rab rgyas bkra shis nor bu'i tog gis mdzes //...*
 Colophon: None

80. No title; 485a-486a [2, 51-53]

Incipit: *mkhyen gsum yon tan du ma'i dpal la dbang 'byor ba rtsa ba dang brgyud par bcas pa'i bla ma dam pa rnam dang /...*
 Colophon: *...ces 'di bsod nams mtshan can gsung / gtam bshad bsdus pa bsngo ba dang bcas pa'o //*

On the dedication of merit.

81. *Phrin yig nor bu'i phreng ba*; 486a [2, 53-56]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / phrin yig nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba / na mo lo kod ta ra sarba dznyā ya / rab mdzes bkod legs nor bu'i dra ba yis // rab spras yid 'ong khang bzang ches bkra ba //...*
 Colophon: *rgya ma rin po che bkra shis rgyal mtshan la mdzad /*

A letter to Rgya ma Rin po che Bkra shis rgyal mtshan

82. No title; 486a-b [2, 56-57]

Incipit: *rigs kyi dbang phyug rnam la phyag 'tshal lo // gang gsung 'jam pa'i dbyangs snyan 'di ni sgra snyan ma lags 'gro ba'i mun sel sgron ma ste //...*
 Colophon: *smo lam rdo rje la //*

A piece written for Smon lam rdo rje (1284-1347), the Tshal pa myriarch.¹¹⁸

83. *Dka' bzhi pa la springs pa*; 486b [2, 57-58]

Incipit: *dge zhing yun ring 'tsho ba dang //*
 Colophon: *'tshal pa la yin /*

¹¹⁸ *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 23a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 34], relates that he was present at the funerary ceremonies of the deceased Tshal pa myriarch, which is confirmed by *Dpal ldan bla ma dge sbyong chen po zhes pa tshal pa drung chen smon lam pa'i rnam thar*, 57a.

A quatrain written for Tshal pa Dka' / Bka' bzhi pa, a scholar learned in the four domains of Buddhist Studies: *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, *Pramāṇa*, *Vinaya*, and *Madhyamaka*.

84. *Slob dpon grags pa bshes gnyen la springs pa*; 486b [2, 58]

Incipit: *gang la rten na dge legs 'phel //*
 Colophon: *'tshal pa rin po che /*

A quatrain for Master Grags pa bshes gnyen who is affiliated with the Tshal pa.¹¹⁹

85. *Slob dpon shākya rdo rje la spring pa*; 486b [2, 58]

Incipit: *'di dang phyi mar phan pa ni //*
 Colophon: *phrin yig yid bzhin nor bu 'o // bkra shis bde legs ldan par shog / 'tshal pa //*

A quatrain for Master Shākya rdo rje who is affiliated with the Tshal pa.

86. No title; 486b-490b [2, 58-62]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / na mo gu ru ve / na mo ratna tra yā ya / dge legs chur 'byung yon tan dpag med 'dab stong rgyas // dpag med thugs rje 'i ge sar dpag med phyogs kun gsal //*
 Colophon: *bsam yas gso nam chen po 'i dus kyi 'bul yig go //*

This is a piece written on the occasion of the large-scale restoration work that was begun at Bsam yas in the monkey-year [1368] and lasted through to the hen-year [1369], whereby the Mongol emperor Toγon Temür was the main underwriter and sponsor, together with a number of Tibetan notables, lay as well as clerical. Consecrations and festivities were then conducted from the first month of the monkey-year to the next mouse-year [1372]. This duodenary cycle recapitulates another duodenary cycle during which, as we are told in the *Dbā' / Sba*

¹¹⁹ He is probably the same [Spyan snga] Grags pa bshes gnyen (1322-1381), the younger brother of Smon lam rdo rje, who ruled Tshal myriarchy from *circa* 1351-1356, and who was abbot of the family's monastery Tshal Yang dgon from 1354/7-1381; see Sørensen and Hazod [in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo], *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung thang*, vol. 2, 636.

bzhed texts and elsewhere, Bsam yas was constructed and consecrated.¹²⁰

87. No title; 490b-491a [2, 62-63]

Incipit: *na mo lo ke shwa rā ya / gang gi zhab sen dmar ba'i 'od zer gyis //*

Colophon: *zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i nyer lnga la dge bar gyur cig / //*

A supralinear note to *lo* of the invocation to Lokeśvara (*Jig rten dbang phyug) states: *dge bshes yon tan rin chen la gdams pa*, meaning "Instruction for Dge bshes Yon tan rin chen." It was written on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth lunar month of an unknown year.

88. No title; 491a [2, 63]

Incipit: *phun tshogs dri med sku yi cha las ni // nyin byed 'od zer bye ba phrag brgya yis // lus can blo yi pad tshal rab rgyas nas // sku gnyis ze'u 'bru'i rtsi yis gtam par mdzod //*

Colophon: *dge bshes tshul rgyal la //*

A quatrain for Dge bshes Tshul khrims rgyal [po/mtshan].

89. No title; 491a [2, 63]

Incipit: *gang mtshan skad cig cig la dran tsam gyis // sgrib pa gnyis zhi zhi gnas las 'das nas // gang gis chos kun kun du mngon sum dang // ji bzhin rab mkhyen mkhyen pa mnga' la 'dud //*

Colophon: *snar thang pa la //*

A quatrain in a chime (*zung ldan, yamaka*) poetic figure that is based on phonology (*sgra rgyan, śabdālamkāra*) for someone associated with Snar thang monastery.

90. No title; 491a [2, 63]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / 'jam pa'i dpal gyis mkhyen pa'i phul // spyan ras gzigs kyi brtse ba'i gter //...*

Colophon: *gong ma la //*

¹²⁰ See the discussion in Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 376, 601-6.

Three quatrains for the Mongol emperor.

91. No title; 491a [2, 63-64]

Incipit: *om na mo shrī gu ra ve / na ma skā rā yai / phun tshogs rgyal
ba kun gyi phrin las las // lha mo'i tshul gyis gdul bya rjes bzung
phyir // 'gro la lha mo tshul gyis mchog stsol ba'i // srid gsum sgrol
mdzad de yis skyong gyur cig /*
Colophon: *hong tha'i tshe //*

A quatrain for the crown prince Ayushiridara.

92. No title; 491a [2, 64]

Incipit: *namaḥ shrī gu ra ve / gang gi grags pa 'dzin ma'i mthar son
zhing // rgya che mkhyen pa'i gting mtha' dpag yas las // phrin las
chu gter lta bur mi zad pa // skyabs mchog bla ma'i tshogs kyis skyong
gyur cig /*
Colophon: *dge shes blo ldan bzang po dmar khams pa la // //*

A quatrain for Dge bshes Blo ldan bzang po of Dmar [?read: Smar] khams.

93. No title; 491a [2, 64]

Incipit: *'jam pa'i ngang tshul 'jam dbyangs 'gro ba'i dpal //*
Colophon: *dge bshes byams pa dpal la /*

A quatrain for Dge bshes Byams pa dpal.

94. No title; 491b [2, 64]

Incipit: *phun tshogs yon tan bdun la dbang 'byor zhing //*
Colophon: *ta'i si tu byang rgyal la // //*

Two quatrains for Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan.

95. No title; 491b [2, 64]

Incipit: *gang zhig phun tshogs shar gyi ri yi rtser // ji lta ji snyed
gzigs pa'i dkyil 'khor rgyas // dri med thugs rje'i 'od kyis dra ba can
// rgyal ba 'gro ba'i mgon pos dge legs mdzod //*

Colophon: ...ces gong ma'i drung du'o //

A quatrain for the emperor.

96. No title; 491b [2, 64-65]

Incipit: *tshad med bzhi'i rin chen las grub cing // phrin las rnam bzhi'i bang rim mdzes pa can //...*

No colophon.

Two quatrains.

97. Dge bshes dkon mchog seng ge la spring ba; 491b [2, 65]

Incipit: *dkon mchog thugs rjes rjes snyegs byas // cho dben 'jig rten pha rol son //...*

Colophon: *nyan po ba'i dge bshes dkon seng la mdzad pa'o // shub ham //*

A two quatrain-letter to Dge bshes Dkon mchog seng ge. Master A khro is mentioned therein; see above no. 76.

98. *Shel gyi tho shu'i dam phud kyi tshigs bcad chos rjes mdzad pa*; 492a-b [2, 65-67]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la gus par phyag 'tshal lo // rgyal ba kun gyi thugs rje gcig bsdus pa // dpag yas yon tan kun la dbang 'byor zhing //...*

Colophon: *shing pho stag gi lo zla ba dang po'i tshes bcu gsum la bris pa phyogs dus thams cad du bkra shis dang dge legs phun sum tshogs par gyur cig / spyan snga grags byang pa / thel shod sbrel ba'i dus su / thu shu spel kha'i dam phud 'bul ba'i tshigs bcad / drung chos kyi rje pas mdzad pa // yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan pas dag par bgyis pa'o //*

These verses in Spyan snga Grags pa byang chub are dated the thirteenth day of the first month of the wood-male-tiger year, that is, January 25, 1374. It was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan.

99. No title; 492b-493a [2, 67]

Incipit: *rmi lam brtag pa'i sngon 'gror / om mu rtsi li svāhā / om mo hā ni svā hā / om tan ti le svā hā / zhes ci mang du bgrangs la /...*

Colophon: *chos kyi rje pa la / lha sras dam pa jo bo brag kha bas brag khar zhus nas mdzad pa yin la / yar lungs pa seng rgyal gyis gus pas blangs te bris pa dge'o //*

On the preliminaries of dream analysis. Jo bo Brag kha ba, an individual of royal descent (*lha sras*, **devaputra*), requested this of Chos kyi rje [= Bla ma dam pa] in Brag kha, and it was received and written down by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan.

100. No title; 493a-b [2, 67-68]

Incipit: *na mo gu ru / char bcad pa'i man ngag la / rdzas dang sngags gnyis //...*

Colophon: *'jam dbyangs gu shrī chen po // dbyar gtsang la byon dus / chos kyi rje pa la zhus nas zhal dpod mdzad nas bris pa'i man ngag yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan [493b] gyis zhus shing zhu dag bgyis pa'o //*

An instruction on how to stop rain. The fire-male-horse year, roughly 1366, is mentioned, as is the occasion of 'Jam dbyangs Gu shrī Shākya rgyal mtshan being en route to Gtsang during the summer. The editor of this little work was Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan. Another work edited by Yar lung pa is found in Bla ma dam pa's *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), 99-101.

101. No title; 493b-496a [2, 68-74]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang mgon po 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus par phyag 'tshal lo // bkra shis phun tshogs dge legs rgya mtsho'i dpal las 'khrungs // ji lta ji snyed ji bzhin gzig pa'i rba rlabs g.yo //...*

Colophon: *chu mo glang gi lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bcu la / / yar lungs sne gdong du chos kyi 'khor lo'i dbu btsugs nas / nyi shu gcig gi nyin legs par grub pa bgyis pa'i du[s] su chos rjes mdzad pa'i 'bul yig gi dbu zhabs yin //*

This important tract was completed on the twenty-first day of the fourth month of the water-female-ox year, that is, on May 1, 1373, on the occasion of a religious council (*chos 'khor*) held at Sne gdong that was begun eleven days earlier.

102. No title; 496a-497a [2, 74-75]

Incipit: *svasti / da lo'i dbyar gnas kyi skabs[s]u / bstan pa rin po che'i rtsa lag / rnam par dag cing dge ba'i thugs can /...*

Colophon: *shing mo yos kyi lo yar lungs[s]u jo dan tshogs pa sde bzhi dbyar gnas la bteq pa'i dus tshogs pa la chos rje'i sku rim mdzad dus / mol ba'i dgos don / chos rje nyid kyi mdzad pa'o //*

An address given to the Jo dan tshogs pa sde bzhi¹²¹ in Yar lung during the summer recess of 1375. This may have been his last public act.

103. No title; 497a-b [2, 75-77]

Incipit: *bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo // thog mar maṅdal 'bul du bcug la / de nas slob dpon gyis thun mong gi bsrung 'khor brjod de /...*

Colophon: *brda tshig rgyud kyi phyag len bskul ba po'i don du btsun pa bsod nams kyi sbyar ba'o //*

• Marginal gloss: *bla ma gzhon rgyal ba*

This work was written at the behest of a Bla ma Gzhon nu rgyal ba who wished to practice the *Brda tshig rgyud*.

104. No title; 497b [2, 77]

Incipit: *svasti / bla ma bsgoms la gsol ba gdab // rgyun du 'chi ba dran par bya //...*

No colophon: *shubham /*

How to meditate on the lama.

105. No title; 497b-498a [2, 77-78]

Incipit: *tho rangs dang por skyabs 'gro sems bskyed bya / de nas bla ma bsgoms la gsol ba gdab //...*

Colophon: *'di gnyis dags por chos kyi rje bzhugs dus / sgom chen pa gnyis kyi zhus nas mdzad pa'o //*

¹²¹ For these communities, see J. Heimbels, "The Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi: An Investigation into the History of the Four Monastic Communities in Śākyaśrībhadrā's Vinaya Tradition," *Nepalica-Tibetica. Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Band 1, ed. F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2013), 188-241.

A follow-up of no. 104; both texts had been requested by two meditators while Bla ma dam pa was staying in Dwags po.

106. No title; 498a-502a [2, 78-86]

Incipit: *om svasti / ^a bsam gyis mi khyab tshogs bsags pas // bsam gyis mi khyab sangs rgyas te // bsam gyis mi khyab sprul pa yis // bsam gyis mi khyab don mdzad 'dud //...*

Colophon: *...ces pa'i yi ge mi 'khyer ba'i rten du ther gon ma dkar po cig bdog / bya'i lo zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i nyer lnga la skyi shod kyi sa char bris pa dge legs 'phel bar gyur cig /*

^a Marginal gloss: *chos rje'i gsung rab las dge bshes rin rgyal gyi dri lan bzhugs /*

A reply to queries by a Dge bshes Rin [chen] rgyal [mtshan/po/ba] that were primarily focused on the question of Buddha-nature. It was written on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of a hen-year, while he stayed in the Skyi[d] shod area.

107. No title; 502a-b [2, 86-88]

Incipit: *^a rgyal ba kun gyi phrin las kun // nyid kyi gcig tu bsdu bzhin nyid // mchog gsum rtsa ba bla med mchog // rab dad bsam pas bdag kyang dad //*

Colophon: *bde ba can gyi gdan sa ba // bla ma 'jam rin gyi dri lan // chos kyi rje rin po che'i gsung rab / yar lung pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyi yi dam du bya zhing spel bar bya ba zhus dag go // ^b*

^a Marginal note: *chos rje'i gsung rab las bla ma 'jam rin gyi dri lan[n]o /*

^b Marginal note: *bla ma 'jam rin gyi dri lan gzhan gcig yod pa'ang btsal nas 'di bzhug go //*

A reply to a query by 'Jam dbyangs rin chen, the abbot of Bde ba can monastery; the text was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan. Marginal note ^a states that the other reply to a query by the same person should be placed here after it has been acquired.

108. *Chos rje'i gsung rab las* : *Rgyal ba kun bzang la gdams pa*; 502b-503a [2, 88]

Incipit: *slob dpon kun dga' bzang po la springs pa / khyod khams bzang zhing bstan pa'i bya ba la brtson pa'i thad nas nged la yi ge rten gser srang phyed dang bcas pa bskur ba 'phrod pas spro /...*

Colophon: *da lan yi ge'i rten du zhwa sbrel zung cig yod // glang lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes gcig la bris / chos kyi rin po che'i gsung rab las // yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyi yi dam du bya ba'i chos bsam gling yang dben du bris shing dag par bgyis pa dge'o //*

This instruction for Master Kun dga' bzang po was written on the first day of the fourth month of an ox-year. It was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan as a meditative exercise in Bsam [gtan] gling yang dben.

109. *Chos rje'i gsung rab thor bu ba*; 503a-b [2, 89-90]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la gus par phyag 'tshal[l]o // gang zhig srid zhi'i dpal 'byor chus gter gyis rgyas g.yo med dbyar skyes rigs 'khrigs shing // srid gsum gdug pa'i nyes tshogs gdung bzhi mdzad sngon med chu bsil legs bkos pas //...*

Colophon: *...ma gcig pa'i gshegs rdzongs sgrub dus kyi'o //*

A brief work written on the occasion of his mother's passing.

110. *Spyan snga grags byang pa'i zhu lan*; 503b-504b [2, 90-91]

Incipit: *bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la gus par phyag 'tshal lo // rang bzhin rnam dag rab yangs dpag bsam nam mkha'i khams // rnam dag ye shes nyi gzhon gang gis blo bur dri ma'i sprin tshogs bral //...*

Colophon: *ma gcig pa'i cho ga'i dus kyi'o //*

A reply to a query by Spyian snga Grags pa byang chub written during the [?funerary] rituals held for his deceased mother.

111. No title; 504b [2, 91-92]

A reply to a query by Spyian snga Grags pa byang chub of Gdan sa thel.

112. No title; 504b-505b [2, 92-93]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bstan pa rin po che'i rtsa lag skye dgu'i dren pa dam pa /...*

Colophon: *yi ge gzigs pa'i rten du bdag cag gyi gyon zhwa cig bsod / sa ga zla ba'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes bcu la chos rdzong nas dge bar gyur cig / //*

A letter issued from Chos rdzong on the tenth day of the spring-*sa ga* (**vaiśākha*) month of an unknown year.

113. No title; 505b [2, 93-94]

Incipit: *rab dkar dge ba'i yid kyis rab bskyod de // bstan dang bstan 'dzin rnams la lhag dad cing //...*

Colophon: *tshe bcu bzhi la bris //*

A prayer for Bde ba can (Tuṣita) that was written on the fourteenth day of an unspecified month in an unspecified year.

114. No title; 505b-506a [2, 94-95]

Incipit: *gang zhig mkhyen rabs nam mkha'i khyon ltar dpag yas shing // brtse ba'i thugs rje chu bo'i rgyun ltar zad mi mnga' //...*

Colophon: *dpang lo tsa ba yer bzhug[s]su gsol ba'i 'bul yig go //*

A letter requesting Dpang Lo tsā ba to reside in Bo dong E monastery.

115. No title; 506a [2, 95]

Incipit: *gang zhig dge legs du ma'i dpal las rab grub cing //*

Colophon: *...ces pas bla ma don yod rgyal mtshan pa'i nang rten 'jams dbyangs rab gnas kyi'o //*

A short piece that was written on the occasion of consecrating the 'Jam dbyangs "inner" reliquary (*nang rten*) of his elder brother Don yod rgyal mtshan.

116. No title; 506a-507a [2, 95-96]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / btsun pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos // dkar phibs la gtogs pa'i dge bshes //...*

Colophon: *spre'u lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes brgyad la chos 'khor chen por bris pa'i yi ge dge zhing bkra shis par gyur cig /*

An open letter written on the eighth day of the fourth month of a monkey year to the population at large for the promotion of vegetarianism using two citations from the eighth chapter of the *Lankāvatārasūtra*.¹²²

117. No title; 507a [2, 96-97]

Incipit: *de legs chen po rnam s ky'i nor bu rin chen rin chen tang med pa ni // 'gro ba kun la ci 'dod sbyin pa'i gnas su gyur pa nyid //...*

Colophon: *...ces pa ma gcig pa'i nang rten bzhugs pa'i gtsug lag khang rab gnas dus ky'i'o //*

Written on the occasion of consecrating the chapel where his mother's "inner" reliquary resided.

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¹²² *Bka' 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]*, ed. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jig lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 49 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2008), 386, 387 [= D.T. Suzuki, tr., *The Lankavatara Sutra, A Mahayana Text* (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1978), 220 (2), (9-12)]

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Tibet in Old Turkic Texts

Erhan Aydın
(Inönü University, Turkey)

Introduction

ld Turkic inscriptions written with runic letters do not only provide information about the Turkish tribes, but also about the Turkish peoples and states that occupied the same and neighboring lands. Naturally, these peoples can learn about their own names or other information about themselves from texts written in other languages as well. The vast number of studies on samples of the names of tribe or people in old Turkic inscriptions such as *büikli* for Korea or a state or the people in that region, *buqaraq uluř* for the Bukhara state of people, *apar* (or *par*) for Avars or the Persians, and *purum* for the Roman Empire demonstrates that the debate on these names still continue. And perhaps, the debate will continue for a long time.

The name Tibet is concurrently the name of the people and the state in old Turkic inscriptions. In the present article, the name Tibet and the only Tibetan word witnessed in these Turkic texts, *böliin* are discussed, and the relationships between the Turkish tribes inhabiting the Yenisei region and Tibet are addressed.

1. Tibet in Old Turkic Texts

1-1. Tibet in Old Turkic Inscriptions

The name Tibet was witnessed as *töpöt* in old Turkic inscriptions written in Turkic runic letters. It is known that the word can be read as *töpüt* and *tüpiüt* due to the fact that the letter that depicts rounded vowels was flexible and could reflect both sounds. The word was witnessed in Köl Tegin and Bilge Kagan inscriptions and two Yenisei inscriptions. The locations where the word was witnessed in these inscriptions are as follows: KT S 3; KT E 4; KT N 12; BK N 3; BK E 5; Altın-Köl II (E 29), 7; Eerbek II (E 149), 6.

KT S 3: *bergärü toquz ärsinkä tägi sülädim töpötkä kiçig tägmädim* “I have traveled up to Tokuz Ersin in the south, little is left to reach Tibet” (Aydın, 2017: p. 47).

KT E 4: *tawyač töpöt par purum qırqız üç qurıqan* “China, Tibet, Iran, Byzantine, Kyrgyz, Three Kurikans” (Aydın, 2017: p. 52).

KT N 12: *töpöt qayanta bölün kälti* “Bölün came from Tibetan khan.” (Aydın, 2017: p. 68).

BK N 2-3: *bergäriü t[oaquz] (3) ärsinkä tägi sülädim töpötkä kiçig tägmädim* “I have traveled up to Dokuz Ersin (3) in the south, little is left to reach Tibet.” (Aydın, 2017: p. 75).

BK E 5: *[t]awyač töpöt par purum qırqız üç qurıqan* “China, Tibet, Iran, Byzantine, Kyrgyz, Three Kurikans” (Aydın, 2017: p. 81).

Altın-Köl II (E 29), 7: *är ärdäm üçün töpöt qanqa yalawač bardım kälmädim* “I went to Tibet as an ambassador for masculine heroism, but I did not return (back).” (Aydın, 2015: p. 85).

Eerbek II (E 149), 6.: *töpöt üpädä? birkä tükändim ä* “I died in Tibet? country?” (Aydın, 2015: p. 177).

As observed above, except for the sample in the sixth line of Eerbek II (E 149), all witnessed examples were written as TWPWT (𐰇𐰆𐰖𐰗). In Eerbek II inscription, only the second W vowel was omitted (𐰇𐰆𐰖). In the last and 6th line of the Eerbek II inscription, the first word in the sentence *töpöt üpädä? birkä tükändim ä*, was read as *töp töpädä* by Kormushin. We considered that the first word could be *töpöt* (Tibet) and reflected the phrase as such in our study on Yenisey Inscriptions.¹ However, when compared to the spelling of other uses of the word *töpöt*, it can be observed that the vowel in the last syllable was omitted.

1-2. Tibet in Old Uyghur Texts

This ethnic name, which was also witnessed in the Old Uyghur texts, was read by researchers in two different forms as *töpüt* and *tüpüt*.²

1-3. Tibet in Karakhanid Texts

The written language that followed the Old Turkic language period was Karkhanid Turkish. In this period, it is necessary to list the works of Mahmud Kashgarî (*Divân Lugât-at-Türk*), Yusuf Has Hacib

¹ Aydın, 2015: p. 177.

² *Tüpüt* (EUTS, p. 169); *Tüpütçä* (Kara-Zieme, 1977: p. 58); *tüpüt tilintin uyyur tilingä ävirtim*: Altun Yaruq 30 / 8-9: (Kaya, 1994: p. 72 and p. 749); *töpüt til-intin uyyur tilingä ävirtim* (Kasai, 2008: p. 87 and p. 207). Furthermore, compare Zieme, 2012: p. 462.

(*Kutadgu Bilig*) and Edib Ahmed (*Atebetü'l-Hakâyık*). In the following section, information about Tibet, which was mentioned in these works, will be provided.

Dīvān Lūḡāt at-Turk: tübüüt: A large tribe (*jül... kaḡır*) in the lands of the Turks. Among them is found the musk-deer whose navel or musk-bag is cut out. They are the descendants of Tābit. He was a man from Yemen who committed a crime, then took fright and fled by sea to Şīn. He found those regions to his liking and settled there. His children multiplied to such an extent that they took over 1500 parasangs from the lands (*arādī*) of the Turks. They are bordered on the East by Şīn, on the West by Qişmīr, on the North by Uighur, and on the South by the Indian Sea. In their language, one still finds some Arabic words, such as: 'UMA' uma "Mother" (umm) and; 'ABA' aba "Father (ab)".³ In *Kutadgu Bilig* and *Atebetü'l-Hakâyık*, there was no mention or information about Tibet.

2. The Name Tibet and Tibetan Words in Old Turkic Inscriptions

It is generally accepted that the name Tibet is derived from the word *bod* in Tibetan written resources;⁴ however this view is not supported by many scholars. The word *bod* was written as *Fan* (蕃) in Tang dynasty period Chinese. Furthermore, the name Tibet was observed in the form of *Tubo* (吐蕃) during the Tang Dynasty. L. Bazin and J. Hamilton⁵ read Tibet as **Töpät*, which can be explained in Turkish and this form was also witnessed in tri-lingual Karabalgasun inscription. The name *töpöt* was not witnessed in the recent publications of Karabalgasun I inscription.⁶ In Clauson, this name does not appear as a header; however it was understood that it was read as *tüpiüt*.⁷ Ramstedt⁸ quotes it as *tüü-d* in Kalmyks language and designs its old form as *tübiüd* or *tübed*.⁹

H. W. Bailey¹⁰ stated that the name of Tibet was in the forms of *twp'wt* in Sogdian, *twpyt* in Middle Persian, *tubbat* in Arabic and

³ Dankoff-Kelly, 1982: p. 179. Furthermore, compare Ercilasun-Akkoyunlu 2015: 152.

⁴ Scharlipp, 1995: p. 48.

⁵ 1991: pp. 11-17.

⁶ Compare to Aydın, 2018: pp. 66-70.

⁷ ED, p. 420a-b and p. 611a.

⁸ 1935: p. 417.

⁹ See also Radloff, 1895: p. 131; VEWT, p. 506; DTS, p. 598.

¹⁰ 1940: pp. 604-605.

Persian, *twpty-* in Syriac, *bhoṭa* in Skr., and *ttāgutta* in Khotan texts was taken from a foreign language form such as **toyut* or **togut*. However, it could not be **tagut*. Bailey attempts to combine it with *taṇut*, i.e., the name Tangut, which is also witnessed in the old Turkic inscriptions. He stated that the *tāha'tta* and *tāha'tta* forms in Khotan can be compared to Skr. *bhoṭa* and proposed that **toyat* or **toχat* forms could be **töböt* in Turkic while the abovementioned **toyut* form could have developed such as **towut* < **tobot*.

J. Hamilton¹¹ was not convinced that the origin of the name *tibät* was the *töpät* form with a Turkic or Altaic origin and indicated that he certainly did not share the Bailey's proposal of the *töböt* form. He suggested that the word *Ttāgutta* should be *toṅra* (Chinese: Tangxiang 黨項, or T'ang-kou = Tanggu 唐古), not *töböt*/*töpöt*. An interesting etymological proposal for the name Tibetan is *töpü+t*: *töpü* 'mountain peak' + *+t*: plural suffix in Turkic. Such a name could have been used to indicate that Tibet is a mountainous region.¹² However, the fact that the word *töpö*/*töpü* means "hill" rather than "mountain" would cast a shadow on the said assumption.¹³

On the other hand, R. Dor¹⁴ attempted to derive the name Tibet from the **töpä+n* / *töpä+t* form, indicating that the name was transferred to Persian and Arabic languages through Sogdian. The word *töpät* meant "all the summits that form Tibet" owing to the plural suffix *+t* included in the word according to the author.

A Tibetan word was witnessed in old Turkic inscriptions written with Turkic runic alphabet: *böliin*. The word included in KT N 12 was written as (𐰪𐰺𐰽𐰸). The omission of the vowel in the second syllable makes the word to be read as *böliin*/*bölön* or *bölän*. It is known that most researchers read the word as *böliin*. Scharlipp¹⁵ preferred to read it as *bölän*. It is known that the Tibetan origin of the word is *blon*. This is a high title and can be interpreted as 'senior official representing Tibet'. In fact, it is understood that the visitor in the text was representing the Tibetan Khan: *töpöt kayanta böliin kälti* "the *böliin* of Tibetan Khan arrived".¹⁶

¹¹ 1977: pp. 519-520.

¹² Scharlipp, 1995: p. 48.

¹³ Aydın, 2016: pp. 149-151. On the name Tibet, also see Eren, 2005: pp. 182-183; Chirkova, 2007: p. 410; Aydın, 2015: p. 86 and p. 177.

¹⁴ 2014: pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ 1995: p. 50.

¹⁶ Aydın, 2017: p. 68. About the word *blon*, see Aydın, 2008: p. 101.

The word was given in the form of *blon* and as a verb in H. A. Jäschke's dictionary:¹⁷ "to give advice, to counsel", "to make arrangements", "v. to follow". The *blón-po* structure was defined as "officer, minister". In Sarat Chandra Das Tibetan-English dictionary,¹⁸ it was mentioned as *blon* and was explained as "advice, counsel". In *blon-hdebs-pa* and *hbebs-pa* examples, it was explained as "to give advice, to counsel; to give religious instructions" and it was stated that it could also mean "to make arrangements". Thus, it can be concluded that the person who was present at Kōl Tegin's funeral was a counselor of the Tibetan Khan.

3. *The Relations between Ancient Turks and Tibet*

Apart from the fact that the word *böliin* used in old Turkic inscriptions was a Tibetan word, the main issue of interest here is the relations between ancient Turkic people and Tibet. The Arab invasion of the inner regions of Central Asia and their victory over the Chinese in the war of Talas in 751 also increased their impact on the Silk Road as well. Thus, it can be argued that Arab and Tibetan traders were more prominent when compared to their Chinese opponents in trade. It can be stated that Arab and Tibetan merchants were superior to their Chinese counterparts. It was stated that caravans that included 20-24 camels brought imprinted fabric from the lands of the caliphate to Minusinsk basin three times a year.¹⁹

It is obvious that the relationships between Tibet (with the mention of the dispatching of an ambassador in Yenisei inscriptions) and the Turkic tribes in the Yenisei region are more important than the location of Tibet mentioned in the inscriptions erected by the Second Turkic Khanate in Mongolia and the two Yenisei inscriptions. L. Bazin,²⁰ based on the phrase *är ärdäm üčün töpöt qanqa yalawač bardım kälmädim* "I went to Tibet as an ambassador for masculine heroism, but I did not return (back)" on the 7th line of Altın-Köl II (E 29) inscription, mentioned that the inscription could have been erected between 840 and 848 with respect to the relations between Kyrgyz and Tibetan states. Thus, it is possible to argue that the Yenisei, that is, the Turkic tribes in the southern Siberia, had both political and economic relations with Tibet based on the fact that the protagonist of the inscription went to the Tibetan Khan as an

¹⁷ 1985: p. 385.

¹⁸ 1902: p. 905.

¹⁹ Gumilëv, 2002: p. 464.

²⁰ 1991: pp. 95-96.

ambassador. However, he did not come back and probably died in Tibet.

4. Conclusion

One of the topics discussed in the present article was the name *Tibät* in the old Turkic inscriptions written with Turkic runic alphabet and the the only Tibetan word witnessed in these inscriptions, namely *bölün*. It was concluded that the individual who arrived with the title of *bölün* was the adviser or counselor of the Tibetan ruler. Another issue addressed in this article is the fact that the Tibetan word can be explained by Turkish rules. Apart from the name *Tibät* and the only Tibetan word, *bölün*, another important issue that the present article addressed was the framework of the relations between old Turkic tribes and Tibet. In particular, concerning the Yenisei region inscriptions, this can be considered as an evidence for the fact that the most important reason for the visit of the ambassador to Tibet was the strong relations between the Turkic tribe inhabiting the Yenisei region and the Tibetan state.

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“What Does Babu Say?”, a Pinch of Artistic Approach to News Reporting in *The Tibet Mirror* (1949-1963)

Natalia Moskaleva
(Saint Petersburg State University)

he *Tibet Mirror*,¹ as one of the earliest Tibetan periodicals and, as a matter of fact, the first one to be issued by an editor of Tibetan origin, used to play a noteworthy role in the dissemination of news and various practical information in the Tibetan language all the way from its beginning in 1925 up to the early 1960s. Born in the Himalayan mountainous region of India, but belonging to the Tibetan descent² and maintaining his lifelong interest in Tibet, Dorje Tharchin Babu,³ the chief editor of *The Tibet Mirror*, grew up into a rather peculiar and ambitious person of the time who among other things managed to launch his own newspaper. Although *The Tibet Mirror* was issued in Kalimpong, India, the significance of Tharchin's work as a pioneer of Tibetan journalism and a key mastermind of his newspaper could be estimated through a question “What does Babu say?” (*bha bug ga re zer gyi!*) common in Tibet in the first half of the 20th century.⁴

A brief browsing through *The Tibet Mirror* issues gives an impression that the newspaper editor most certainly was not trying to keep silent about his political opinion, which was a markedly anti-

¹ Also known as *Yul phyogs so so'i gсар 'gyur me long* in Tibetan or *Melong* for short. Further in the paper references to the publications from *The Tibet Mirror* will be made using the *Melong* name. E.g.: *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.2.

² Prior to 1650 upper Kinnaur district of the present-day Himachal Pradesh, where Dorje Tharchin was born, used to be part of Western Tibet and for hundreds of years primarily Buddhist Tibetans inhabited this territory. Fader H. L. Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin. Vol. I. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2002. P.7; Sawerthal A. The Melong. An Example of the Formation of a Tibetan Language Press. M.Phil. Thesis, University of Vienna, 2011. P.68.

³ *rdo rje mthar phyin sba bu*. “Babu” is a South Asian title used to signify respect towards men.

⁴ Erhard F. X. Tibetan Mass Media: A Preliminary Survey of Tibetan Language Newspapers // *The Illuminating Mirror. Contributions to Tibetan Studies*. Vol.12. Ed. Czaja O. and Hazod G. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015. P.160.

communist stance. At first glance, Dorje Tharchin’s intolerance towards Chinese communists can strike an eye in the form of numerous political cartoons.⁵ While a thorough examination of *The Tibet Mirror* materials introduces a reader to the whole world of Tharchin’s artistic images and allusions all fit through his anti-communist or, at times, rather pro-Tibetan perception sieve. Ever since the late 1940s, Dorje Tharchin used *The Tibet Mirror* to warn his readers against “the imminent danger of Chinese invasion” approaching Tibet and to conduct information attacks against his Chinese communist adversaries.⁶ *The Tibet Mirror* articles on China and Tibet of that period are abundant with artistic expressions, hyperboles, harsh metaphors and similes.

Present paper aims to discuss Dorje Tharchin’s elaborate ways of expressing news on Tibet and China and his personal political views in *The Tibet Mirror* in a form of specific political discourse. The research is based on the analysis of a selection of discourse-charged, figurative examples from *The Tibet Mirror* issues dated 1949-1963. This particular time period was chosen owing to the official establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949 and 1963 being the year, when the last issue of *The Tibet Mirror* was published.

1. A Little More about Babu

Before going into the analysis of *The Tibet Mirror* materials some important details of Dorje Tharchin’s biography should be underlined first.

Dorje Tharchin’s personal identity is an interesting topic itself.⁷ What were his life incentives in reality and what was actually on his mind will, probably, stay a big mystery. Perhaps, in terms of cultural background Tharchin could be called a ‘borderliner’.⁸ He resembled

⁵ For more information on political cartoons in *The Tibet Mirror* see Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. // *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*. Ed. Vitali R. Katmandu: Vajra Books, 2012. P.183-212.

⁶ Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. P.186.

⁷ For a full biography of Dorje Tharchin see Fader H. L. *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin*. Vol. I. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2002; Vol. II. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2004; Vol. III. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2009.

⁸ The term ‘borderliner’ is commonly used in psychiatry referring to people with the borderline personality disorder, which is characterized by unstable relationships, emotions and sense of self. However, in case of present paper a ‘borderliner’ is the person living on the borderline in terms of geography, culture and ethnic identity.

neither a bulk of traditionally thinking Tibetans of his time nor an Indian commoner. Despite the fact that Tharchin was born in India, at a very young age converted to Christianity and brought up with the help of missionaries, he identified himself as Tibetan⁹ and built his whole career around his Tibetan origin. Tharchin's religious views also differed from the absolute majority of his Tibetan and Indian contemporaries. Although Tharchin knew and published quite a bit about Buddhism, he was remembered as a "profoundly sophisticated Christian".¹⁰ Tharchin even started *The Tibet Mirror* with the missionaries' help, but at the same time the content of his newspaper and apparently the substantial number of publications on Buddhism¹¹ there became a trigger for Tharchin's serious arguments with the superiors in charge of the mission. *The Tibet Mirror* was not seen proselytizing enough and after a while Tharchin, having resigned from his post in the mission, continued printing the newspaper on his own.¹²

While Tharchin's heart was known to be "with Tibet",¹³ he was claimed to be a loyal British and later Indian subject.¹⁴ Tharchin did not seem like being out of place in India. He was a solid figure with his own interests and his own ways and means, knowing many people and even having some connections in the government. It is said that over time Tharchin established himself as "one of the leading men of Kalimpong".¹⁵ In fact, not only in Kalimpong – Tharchin and

⁹ For example, see *Melong* Vol.20 No.7, October 1, 1952. P.8. Tharchin writes: "We, the tsampa eaters, chuba wearers, dice players, raw and dried meat eaters, followers of Tibetan Buddhism, Tibetan language speakers, the people from Ngari Korsum, U-Tsang Ruzhi, Dokham Gangdrug, the thirteen trikors of Tibet, we must make the effort to end the [Chinese] occupation. ... For this everyone must put in effort. This request is made by the publisher". The English translation is borrowed from McGranahan C. *Arrested Histories: Between Empire and Exile in 20th Century Tibet*. PhD Thesis. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 2001. P.248.

¹⁰ Norbu D. Introduction. // Fader H.L. *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin*. Vol. I. P.XI.

¹¹ For more information on the Christian vs. Buddhist content in *The Tibet Mirror* see Engelhardt I. *Tharchin's Tibet Mirror: A Christian Oriented Newspaper? // Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*. No.6. Beijing: Science Press, 2013. P.129-155.

¹² Engelhardt I. *Tharchin's Tibet Mirror: A Christian Oriented Newspaper?* P.148-151.

¹³ Norbu D. *Pioneer and Patriot*. An Extract from an Interview with Rev. G. Tharchin. // *Lungta*, No. 11 (Winter 1998). P.12.

¹⁴ Sawerthal A. P.74.

¹⁵ Berry S. *Monks, Spies, and Soldiers of Fortune. The Japanese in Tibet*. London: Athlone Press, 1995. P.265. Op. cit. Sawerthal A. P.73.

his newspaper were relatively well known among the Tibetans in general. Tharchin succeeded in building “a strong connection to the Tibetan community” and “was trusted by them”.¹⁶ He had a certain authority among Tibetans: up to the point when there were some of his Tibetan contemporaries claiming that the little they knew about Westerners, they learned from Tharchin.¹⁷

Prior to 1959, Tibetans usually travelled to India via the Nathu La pass that was taking them straight to Kalimpong.¹⁸ Upon arrival their first stop was Tharchin’s office, “the information centre for the Tibetan-speaking world”.¹⁹ Tharchin’s premises served as gathering spots for many Tibetans who came to discuss politics, world news and events in Tibet.²⁰ According to H. Fader, Tharchin “became a magnet for those Tibetans who wished to speak privately what was there on their mind”.²¹ Later on Kalimpong also stood on the way of Tibetans going into exile from China, thus, placing Tharchin right in the middle of the information hub, where he was able to get first-hand news updates from the remote Tibetan Plateau.

Tharchin was described as “a respected and cosmopolitan figure”.²² The state of Tharchin’s cosmopolitanism could be possibly judged based on his Christian moral standing and his long life in the transculturally embracing Kalimpong. However, as far as Tharchin’s political life is concerned, he definitely was not trying to stay away from politics and, despite his Indian citizenship, often expressed in a way nationalist feelings about Tibet. Moreover, at some point Tharchin’s house and office in Kalimpong were even turned into a meeting place of a few young Tibetan nationalistic reformers.²³

Tharchin was a “one-man newspaper”, who worked as a publisher, an editor and a leading journalist at the same time.²⁴ Issuing of *The Tibet Mirror* was never really profitable. The newspaper had a very limited and irregular external support, but Tharchin was strongly determined to continue his work. The newspaper was virtually his lifelong fruit of labour and it, probably, acquired all the more bigger meaning for Tharchin when he started using *The Tibet Mirror* as a tool of open anti-communist propaganda. On the pages of his newspaper

¹⁶ McGranahan C. P.244.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* P.243.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* P.197-198.

²¹ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.340.

²² McGranahan C. P.244.

²³ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.111.

²⁴ McGranahan C. P.250.

Tharchin spoke up for the independence of Tibet and tried to cheer up the patriotic spirit of his Tibetan contemporaries.

Alongside with being an information hub of Tibetan news, Kalimpong was known as “a den of spies”.²⁵ Last but surely not least what must be taken into consideration is that Tharchin was one of them. The editor of *The Tibet Mirror* served as a British Intelligence Officer and subsequently continued his services for the Indian government.²⁶ *The Tibet Mirror* and Tharchin’s printing office provided a perfect cover for his intelligence activities.²⁷ Tharchin travelled to Lhasa several times, with the trip in 1940 being a “breakthrough” in his networking.²⁸ Over the years Tharchin managed to set up a net of personal informants reporting to him on whatever interesting piece of information or intelligence they got.²⁹ Having heard something relevant, Tharchin passed on the acquired information and reports on the people who stayed in his house to the intelligence services.³⁰ Furthermore, there is evidence found that prior to publishing some articles in *The Tibet Mirror* Tharchin consulted with the Political Officer of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet in order to see if he could publish certain materials, for example, supporting his claim of the independence of Tibet.³¹

Thus, one could see that Tharchin’s figure in Kalimpong was rather momentous and of interest for Tibetans, British and Indians alike, but it was also controversial. Tharchin must have been obviously influenced by the British government in India, therefore, his initial intention to issue his own newspaper and the consequent relentless anti-communist critique in the form of numerous materials of completely different genres in *The Tibet Mirror* look ambiguous. On the one hand, Tharchin could have been, indeed, sincerely patriotic about his Tibetan origin and feeling concerned about Tibetans whose traditional way of life was subjected to substantial changes under the PRC’s reform program. On the other hand, Tharchin’s political views might have been affected or partially shaped by the British anti-communist propaganda. Besides, it is not clear to which extent British and Indian officials could have censored Tharchin’s publications, but

²⁵ *Ibid.* P.189.

²⁶ Sawerthal A. P.73.

²⁷ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.347.

²⁸ Sawerthal A. P.72.

²⁹ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.343.

³⁰ Sawerthal A. P.74.

³¹ Tharchin’s personal letters. // Sikkim, Political Officer, 1947-1963; Tharchin Collection; series #2, box #3, folder #5; C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University.

this is something else that is to be kept in mind while reading *The Tibet Mirror*. At the same time, the very fact that Tharchin had an opportunity to get first-hand news from Tibet from his live informants via mail or in person gives a big credit to *The Tibet Mirror*, hence, making it a valuable alternative source of information on the history of Tibet under the newly established communist power there.

2. *Anti-Chinese? Anti-communist? Pro-Tibetan?*
Discourse as Babu’s Way to Stand Up

What was Dorje Tharchin’s message in *The Tibet Mirror*? Tharchin is reasonably called “one of the strongest voices for Tibet in the face of the Chinese communist invasion”.³² In his publications Tharchin stressed the cultural difference of Chinese and Tibetans, warned Tibetans against the ‘communist threat’, suggested rethinking of Tibetan history, called for Tibet’s independence and urged Tibetans to stand up for it.

The Tibet Mirror’s anti-communist bias certainly could not have avoided attracting the attention of the Chinese communist authorities. According to Tharchin, Chinese communists tried to approach him suggesting financial support to *The Tibet Mirror* in exchange for shifting the focus of his newspaper to the progress made by the Chinese in Tibet.³³ One could figure that Tharchin, unsurprisingly, declined their offer. Later the Chinese communist government banned *The Tibet Mirror’s* distribution on its territory and issued a protest note to the Indian government against the editor’s reactionary mood and propaganda publications hostile to the Chinese government and Chinese people, however, somehow after getting only a warning from the Indian government Tharchin was able to carry on the anti-communist rhetoric in his newspaper.³⁴

This being said, Tharchin rejected any accusations of being anti-Chinese. *The Tibet Mirror’s* editor admitted expressing anti-communist ideas, but claimed cherishing no hatred towards the Chinese in general. Besides, as far as Tharchin’s publications are concerned, in the opposition the Chinese Communist Party vs. the Kuomintang Party he was into the pro-Kuomintang side and even called

³² McGranahan C. P.250.

³³ Norbu D. Pioneer and Patriot. An Extract from an Interview with Rev. G. Tharchin. P.12.

³⁴ Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. P.203-204; Tharchin’s personal letters from the Tharchin Collection at Columbia University.

the Kuomintang government the “true” or “real” Chinese government (*rgya nag gi gzhung ngo ma*).³⁵ In *The Tibet Mirror* issue Vol.21 No.5 dated August 1953 Tharchin explains his position in the following way:

I do not dislike Chinese people. I like Chinese people a lot. Whatever is said, earlier for many thousands years throughout the world they were led by intelligence, braveness, happiness, prosperity and progress with great faith and respect to the pure religion. Besides, [Chinese] teachers and students, parents, sons and grandsons, friends and [their] wives led by the esteemed emperor and [his] ministers were genuinely well skilled in honouring their serving position. ... Whatever world situation happened I did not spoil [it] by exaggeration and had to publish only what was pertaining to truth. There is no need to write about the disliking of the Chinese in the news. For what reason? Chinese people and our ancestors were not such enemies because of the killings. If only for the purpose of writing that since the Chinese destroyed and discarded their own honourable ancestors, emperor's old traditions and the fine religious and secular system, for 40 years their minds and hearts followed after and were handed over to the flourishing atheist communist system, [now] the fine ancient religious and secular customs symbolizing the peace in the world are completely gone. Apart from disliking the communist followers, I absolutely do not dislike Chinese people. Newspapers of the whole world, not to mention the recent newspapers from Formosa, do not agree on the situation. But, as you all know well, even within the Chinese people in the same country and of the same nationality many hundreds of million people deeply dislike [having] their hearts rot in the labour system of the evil communist ideology. ... Comparing to the present oppression by the communist followers even here in Tibet, the true Chinese government never pressed down Tibet with such oppression. Even if [it] needed to press down [Tibet], did not do [so]. Therefore, I only like Chinese people and do not dislike them. Nevertheless, I always dislike any communist followers. I will be praying that soon all Chinese people will achieve peace and happiness by obtaining the real liberation from the communist oppression shortly.

*nga rang rgya mi la mi dga' ba med/nga rang rgya mi la ha cang dga' po
yod/ gang la zer na/ khong tsho ni mi lo stong phrag du ma'i sngon nas
'dzam gling yongs su shes rig dpa' stobs bde skyid mnga' thang yar rgyas
kyis mtshon dam pa'i chos lugs la dad gus che ba ma zad bkur 'os gong*

³⁵ For example, see *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.2 or *Melong* Vol.21 No.5, August 1953. P.7.

*ma dang blon pos mtshon dge rgan dge phrug /pha ma bu tsha grogs bza' zla bcas par sri zhu'i go bab kyi bsti stangs la mkhas pa ya rabs gong ma'i khrims srol blang dor la shin tu nas brtsis 'gangs che bas mdor na 'dzam gling nang du ya rabs dam pa'i dpe bzang ston mkhan zhid red/ ... spyir gsar 'gyur zhes pa 'di'i nang 'dzam gling gnas lugs gang grub sgro bskur gyis mi bslad par bden pa'i rjes 'brel kho nar bkod dgos pa yin/ ngos nas gsar 'gyur nang rgya mi la mi dga' ba'i gnas lugs bris dgos don med/ ci phyir zhe nal/ rgya mi dang nga'i pha mes brgyud pai rgyu srog 'phrogs skor gyi dgra bo lta bu ni ma yin/ 'on kyang rgya mis rang gi pha mes ya rabs gong ma'i sngar srol lam lugs bzang po'i chos srid rnams bshigs 'dor gyis lo 40 nang dar ba'i chos min dmar po'i las lugs kyi rjes sub lo snying 'brang gtad kyis 'dzam gling yongs la zhi bde mtshon gna' srol chos srid bzang po gtad nas med pa brtsam pa'i phyir nal/ dmar lugs brgyud 'dzin rnams la mi dga' ba las rgya mi la mi dga' ni nam yang med/ deng skabs por mo sa'i gsar shog par zhogs 'dzam gling yongs kyi gsar 'gyur nang lugs der mi mos lags pa byed par mi tshad/ yul gcig rigs gcig gi rgya mi nang khul du'ang mi grangs dung phyur mang pos lta ngan dmar po'i las lugs la snying rul gting nas mi dga' ba ji yod mkhyen gsal ltar red/ ... da lta bod 'dir yang dmar lugs rjes 'brang pas btsan dbang du btang ba las/ rgya gzhung ngo mas bod la nam yang 'di lta'i btsan dbang du gnod yod pa ma red/ gnod dgos kyang yod pa ma red/ der ba rten nga rang rgya mi la dga' b alas/ mi dga' ba med de 'on kyang/ dmar lugs brgyud 'dzin ji 'dra'ng rung der ni nam yang mi dga'/ ring min rgya mi tshang ma dmar lugs btsan dbang 'og nas bcing bkrol dngos thob kyis zhi bde myur du thob pa'i don du smon 'dun zhu gi yod/.*³⁶

Tharchin tried to provide a good reason to believe that he, indeed, did not dislike the Chinese and his enmity focused solely on Chinese communists. As a proof, in the beginning of the above-mentioned article Tharchin uses the honorific form of the Tibetan word “they” (*khong tsho*) referring to the Chinese. Besides, Tharchin emphasizes that earlier Chinese people were “led by intelligence, braveness, happiness, prosperity and progress with great faith and respect to the pure religion” (*shes rig dpa' stobs bde skyid mnga' thang yar rgyas kyis mtshon dam pa'i chos lugs la dad gus che ba*). However, everything changed.

Political discourse often builds on the virtual opposition of Self and Other or ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ and this short example from *The Tibet Mirror* provides a good example of ‘their’ description. Who are these Others and what is wrong with ‘them’? ‘They’ are the Chinese communists, who “destroyed” their own ancestors, emperor’s old traditions and the fine religious and secular system (*rgya mis rang gi pha mes ya rabs gong ma'i sngar srol lam lugs bzang po'i chos srid rnams bshigs*

³⁶ *Melong* Vol.21 No.5. August 1953. P.7.

'dor). They gave "their minds and hearts" to communism (*dmar po'i las lugs kyi rjes su blo snying 'brang gtad*). "Their hearts rot in the labour system of the evil communist ideology" (*lta ngan dmar po'i las lugs la snying rul gting*). How do they look? Do 'they' not seem completely alien to 'us', i.e. the religious and traditional Tibetans? Not only that, actually. Because of 'them' "the fine ancient religious and secular customs symbolizing the peace in the world are completely gone" (*'dzam gling yongs la zhi bde mtshon gna' srol chos srid bzang po gtan nas med*). Hence, do not these Others appear to sound dangerous to the whole peaceful and righteous world?

Talking about the discourse itself, *The Tibet Mirror* did not aim at a type of proficient discourse which we would think of now if we use a term 'discourse'. In *The Tibet Mirror* those were merely elements of the political discourse or rather Tharchin's passionate attempts to raise the question of Tibet's independence on the pages of his periodical. Therefore, it is not so easy to use the modern discourse theory for analysis of *The Tibet Mirror's* publications, but still it is worth doing an overall review of the particularly vibrant 'genre' constituents of Tharchin's discourse and it is possible to do a basic linguistic analysis of the articles, for the purpose of which P. Chilton's³⁷ and some Russian authors' (e.g. M. Brandes,³⁸ V. Chernyavskaya and E. Molodichenko³⁹) discourse analysis methodology is going to be employed.

3. *Awakening the Imagination: Babu's Linguistic Choices for Delivering the Message*

Setting off 'them' against 'us' in *The Tibet Mirror* is peculiar for the artistic or creative way Tharchin did it in terms of figurative language, innovative news 'genres' and specific discourse strategies. A lot of Tharchin's articles that could be classified discourse-charged are abundant with epithets, similes, metaphors, allusions and other figures of speech. All these means, however, could have been a conscious choice of the editor or it might as well have been a matter of Tharchin's personal charisma and his elaborate way of expressing

³⁷ Chilton P. *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

³⁸ Brandes M.P. *Text Stylistics. Theoretical Course: Textbook*. Moscow: Progress-Tradition and Infra-M, 2004.

³⁹ Chernyavskaya V. E., Molodichenko E. N. *History in Political Discourse: Linguistic Construction of Us and Them*. Moscow: Lenand, 2014.

himself. Given that some of the materials in *The Tibet Mirror* must have been copied after a source of information, most likely an Indian or a British newspaper, they still had been translated and ‘enriched’ by Tharchin himself. Present paper will attempt to focus on the materials appearing to belong to Tharchin’s own style of writing. The analysis will start with some of the examples of Tharchin’s figurative way of rendering information on Tibet and communist China in terms of language and then will continue with some other interesting findings in terms of so to say editor’s ‘genres’.

Browsing through *The Tibet Mirror* materials on Tibet or China, one can get an impression that Tharchin was certainly fond of rather poetical news descriptions and frequently made use of epithets. In his newspaper Tharchin reports on the “powerful uprisings that were voluntarily started by the brave khampas⁴⁰ in Tibet” (*bod du khams rigs dpa’ ngar rnams kyis rgya dmar la rang rang dang len gyis ngo rgol shugs chen byed pa de dag*),⁴¹ Chinese communists doing “terrifying bad deeds the retribution for which will be high” (*mi bzod pa’i bya ngan ‘tshab che brjod kyis mi lang ba*)⁴² and using “evil strategy” (*byus ngan*) against khampas that caused “deaths of a countless number of people” because of the “violent oppression” (*mi dmangs grangs med la mnar gcod drag pos srog skyon du btang*).⁴³ *The Tibet Mirror* reads the reports on the “endless torturing” of Tibetans by the Chinese with “harsh laws” (*rgya mis btsan khirms drag pos mnar gcod mi bzad pa*),⁴⁴ Chinese communists publishing “unpleasant for ears false news” (*rna bar mi ‘gro ba’i gсар ‘gyur brdzun ma*) about the Dalai Lama,⁴⁵ the “tough fighting” (*‘thab ‘zing shugs chen*) between the Chinese communists and the Tibetan army in Lhasa in 1959,⁴⁶ the exposing of the monastic community of three main Tibetan monasteries⁴⁷ to “unthinkable tortures under arrest” (*do dam thog mnar gcod brjod kyis mi lang ba btang*)⁴⁸ and Tibetans uttering “powerful prayers” (*smon lam btsan po*)⁴⁹ in order to be saved from Chinese communists.

Similes constitute another quite popular essential of Tharchin’s ar-

⁴⁰ *khams pa*. Khampa are the native people of Kham, the eastern Tibetan region.

⁴¹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.6.

⁴² *Ibid.* P.12.

⁴³ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* P.6-7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* P.4-5.

⁴⁶ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.5.

⁴⁷ The three great Gelug monasteries, also known as the three great monastic seats of Tibet: Drepung (*‘bras spungs*), Sera (*se ra*) and Ganden (*dga’ ldan*).

⁴⁸ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* P.4-5.

ticles on Tibet and China. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol. 25 No.9-10 dated February-March 1959 Tharchin shares his hope that “clever and brave [Tibetans] will soon be able to gain a clean and fine victory such as a sun without clouds” (*mgo grung khog mdzangs kyis ring min nyi ma sprin bral ltar bkra shis bde legs kyi rgyal kha gtsang bzhes*),⁵⁰ thus creating a more vivid image of the Tibetan guerrilla movement. Pages of *The Tibet Mirror* featured stories about uprisings of Tibetan khampas that were spreading everywhere “as a summer flood” (*dbyar gyi chu log ltar rgya khyab tu bsnon bzhin pa red*),⁵¹ the Tibetan guerrilla soldiers who “abandoned their fields, property, families, friends, food and homes as if they casted a stone of the Changthang plateau” (*sa zhing rgyu nor pha ma bu phrug grogs za thang sogs byang thang gi sa rdo ltar dor*) and “like wild animals relied on the mountains and forests as a place of residence” (*gcan gzan ri dwags bzhin du sdod gnas ri brag nags tshal sogs la brten*),⁵² who ensnared the Chinese communist troops “as a cat in a trap” (*byi la rgyar btsud pa ltar*)⁵³ and surrounded them “as a wall” or literally “as the iron mountains” (*lcags ri ltar mtha' bskor*).⁵⁴

Apart from that, Tharchin wrote that news from Tibet brought him various thoughts “similar to a photograph which makes one’s mind terrified” (*sems nang 'jigs sngangs can gyi par dang dra ba'i 'char sgo sna tshogs thon*),⁵⁵ that the Chinese government fired bombs “as hail from the sky” (*mkha' nas ser ba ltar 'phangs*)⁵⁶ or that the Chinese communist soldiers were gathering in the vicinity of Lhasa “as piling pills” (*rgya dmar gyi dmag rnam ril bu spungs pa ltar tshogs*).⁵⁷ As for the Dalai Lama, he “rode away from the stern wall [iron mountains] of oppression of the Chinese Communist Party” (*rgya dmar gung phran gyi btsan dbang lcags ri btsan po'i nang nas 'chings thon*),⁵⁸ while the situation in the Tashi Lhunpo monastery because of the Chinese communists after being comfortable at first was getting more and more “terrible” or, literally, “as if a hat made from the wet skin dries up” (*bkras lhun du'ang rgya dmar gyi ko rlon zha mo phal cher skam bzhin*).⁵⁹

⁵⁰ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁵² *Ibid.* P.12.

⁵³ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* P.12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁵⁶ *Melong* Vol.18 No.1, October 1, 1949. P.3.

⁵⁷ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.5 and P.7.

⁵⁸ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁵⁹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.4.

British linguist P. Chilton contends that “meaning is not always expressed in explicit form, nor indeed it is always possible to do so”.⁶⁰ Figures of speech could be instrumental for constructing emphatic meanings, designing an effect of persuasion and inducing an emotional response.⁶¹ One must admit that figurative descriptions comparing to strictly factual reports present a more efficient way to evoke human feelings, inspire visual thinking and stimulate mental representations. Therefore, Tharchin’s ample usage of figures of speech in *The Tibet Mirror* could have been more understandable than employing formal language for the Tibetan readers with a relatively limited experience in reading secular newspaper texts back at the time (or, what could have also happened in case of *The Tibet Mirror*, listening to these texts read aloud by other literate Tibetans).⁶²

Tharchin did not only employ similes, *The Tibet Mirror* publications featured some interesting metaphorical examples as well. In terms of discourse, metaphors could be considered an intentional way to change the perception of discourse recipients and impose a certain metaphorical image on them.⁶³ Metaphorical descriptions work by unconscious “mapping well-understood source domains of experience onto more schematic ones”.⁶⁴ These mappings are used for arguing about target domains that are being ill understood, unclear or controversial and in order to derive “inferences, which would be otherwise not conceptually available or vague”.⁶⁵

One of the most noteworthy examples of a metaphor from the analysed issues of *The Tibet Mirror* is “the Communist Party epidemic” (*gung phran tang gi rims nad*). In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.11 dated April 1959 Tharchin writes:

Now, in order to set free from the epidemic caused by the Communist Party that spread among all Tibetan people, all monks and layman, grown ups and young people are sacrificing their lives and are searching and will be [further] searching for the means to end that epidemic. Now, if the countries enjoying [their] independence do not help curing the epidemic, which is flourishing in

⁶⁰ Chilton P. P.61.

⁶¹ Brandes M. P.367.

⁶² See *Melong* Vol.25 No.2, June 1958 P.1 for a picture depicting a group of several Tibetans reading the newspaper (probably aloud) and surrounded by others. For English translation of the article below this picture see Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. P.205.

⁶³ Chernyavskaya V., Molodichenko E. P.54.

⁶⁴ Chilton P. P.51-52.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* P.52.

Tibet, this epidemic will certainly spread even in your countries.

*da lta bod kyi mi rigs tshang mar gung phran tang gis rims nad khyab pa
de las sgrol thubs su ser skya mi dmangs che 'bring tshang mas rang srog
blos btang ste rims nad med thabs byas dang byed mus su yod pa red/ da
lta bod du dar khyab che ba'i rims nad 'joms thabs su rang dbang la dga'
ba'i rgyal khyab rnam kyis grogs ram gyi sman thabs ma gnang na rims
nad 'di ni khyed tsho'i rgyal khab tu'ang rim gyis dar khyab yong nges
gtan red//.⁶⁶*

Employing the source domain of an epidemic Tharchin creates a mental representation of a rapidly spreading infectious disease among a large number of people that implicitly comes side by side with a feeling of danger and with an intention to get away and escape an exposure to the infection. Tharchin maps the 'epidemic' frame onto the 'communism' frame, therefore, creating the same inferences for the Communist Party.

This example could be also analysed in terms of the modern political discourse strategy called "modelling the alternative future".⁶⁷ Tharchin suggests a hypothetical scenario that is going to happen depending on the steps taken or not. The last sentence in this short article clearly sounds as a warning or even a threat to all foreign readers of *The Tibet Mirror* and indirectly suggests immediate action against the Communist Party, being more specific in case of Tibet, the Chinese Communist Party.

Another thing that should not be spared the attention in this article is the expression "the countries enjoying [their] independence" (*rang dbang la dga' ba'i rgyal khab*). Tharchin had repeatedly used this rather poetic expression in several other newspaper materials on Tibet's independence.

It is interesting that the same page of the same issue of *The Tibet Mirror* (Vol.25 No.11) features an article where Tharchin employs a metaphor of a sick person (*nad pa*) referring to Tibet. The article entitled "Kuomintang's Help to Tibet" (*ko min tang gis bod la grogs ram/*) reads:

If it is true that, as it is now published in different newspapers, the Kuomintang government will provide big help to Tibet and recognize its full independence, it will probably be helpful if alongside

⁶⁶ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁶⁷ Modelling the alternative future is a political discourse strategy that addresses a discourse recipient with an alternative version of the future depending on the certain steps taken or not. Chernyavskaya V., Molodichenko E. P.108.

with the recognition of Tibet’s independence by the United Nations, there will be troops sent to the Chinese central regions. If it does not happen, what is the use of helping in words only? Similarly, although all enjoying [their] independence do a lot of talking about helping Tibet, if, in fact, [they] do not help, what is the use of the help in words only? If a sick person, who is still alive, is not treated with medicine, what is the use of regrets after he dies?

deng skabs gsar bsgyur khag tu bkod gsal/ ko min tang gzhung gis bod la grogs ram chen po byed rgyu yin/ bod rang dbang rang btsan gtsang ma yin pa khas len byed kyi yin zhes gsal ba ltar bden na ‘dzam gling rgyal spyir da lta nas bod rang btsan yin pa’i khas len khyab bsgrags dang bcas ‘phral du rgya’i sa gnas lte bar dpung ‘jug byas na phan grogs yong srid/ de ltar min na kha tsam gyis phan rogs ci la phan/ de mtshungs ‘dzam gling rang dbang la dga’ ba tshang mas kyang bod kyi ched du grogs ram kyi bka’ mol mang po brjod mus kyang / don dam du grogs ram ma byas na kha tsam gyis rogs ram ci la phan/ nad pa ma ‘chi gong sman thabs ma byas na shi ba’i rjes su ‘gyod pas ci la phan//.⁶⁸

The inferences generated of this metaphorical mapping are that of a weak Tibet, which is still alive, but on the brink of dying. The reader should be bound to understand that Tibet deserves attention and real physical help from other independent countries. Tharchin uses parallelism in the form of epistrophe “what is the use of...” (*ci la phan*) to structure the three successive sentences of the article and turns it into a rhetorical question with an implying directive of the necessity of the world’s immediate action for Tibet.

Among other rather metaphorical descriptions one can find a reference to the Tibetan guerrilla soldiers as “the Tibetan volunteer heroes” (*bod rigs dang blang dpa’ bo rnam*) who did not literally kill, but “stopped the enemies’ pulse” (*dgra bo’i snying rtsa bcad*).⁶⁹

Tharchin did not confine himself to the ‘medical’ metaphors, one can also discover metaphorical mappings based on a natural phenomenon. For instance, *The Tibet Mirror* editor writes that if the Dalai Lama loses the religious and secular power, when “the wind of protests is whirling around Tibet” (*bod du phan tshun ngo rgol rlung dmar ‘tshubs*), it is going to be very dangerous to strive for any activities on behalf of religion in Tibet and “everybody’s mind will stay in great terror” (*tshang ma’i sems ngor ‘jigs sngangs chen por gnas*).⁷⁰ Or, for example, in *The Tibet Mirror* No.1 Vol.26 Tharchin says that some Tibetans “barely escaped from raining bullets” (*me mdel char babs pa’i ‘og*

⁶⁸ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁶⁹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* P.6.

nas thar tsam byung) of the Chinese communists.⁷¹ The similar inferences created in both cases could be that of something strong, spontaneous and that it is out of control of an ordinary man. Besides, such figurative additions to a news report bring some emotional strain to the narrative.

Another source domain used by Tharchin in his publications is fire. He says that “the burning fire of civil war started between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party” (*ko gung gnyis kyi dbar nang 'khrug gi me 'bar bar 'go tshugs*)⁷² or that “the fire of the Tibetan uprising against communist China spread everywhere in Tibet” (*bod du rgya dmar la ngo rgol gyi dmag me rgya khyab tu mched bzhin pa red*).⁷³ Besides, intensive firing by the Chinese communist army caused turning walls of the Jokhang temple⁷⁴ into “a cave of ashes” (*mdel shugs ha cang che bas rtsig pa thal phug tu btang*) and adding a simile: later, despite the fact that it was already dark, “the whole world became lit with such a bright light as if the sun rose” (*rgya mis glog rdzas me mdel zhig 'phangs pas sa gzhi tshang ma nyi ma shar ba altar gsal*).⁷⁵

Sometimes Tharchin's narratives in *The Tibet Mirror* contain obvious exaggerations that appear in the form of hyperboles. For instance, Tharchin writes about the Panchen Lama's father that not only the Chinese communists “tortured him in unimaginable ways, [but] he was frightened almost to death” (*khong la brjod mi thub pa'i mnar spyod byas pas mi tshad ha lam bkrongs rgyu'i 'jigs res bskul 'dug*).⁷⁶ Or, for example, he says that since “the Tibetan indigenous population, religion and politics became completely destroyed and degenerated, there is not a even a name left of Tibet and Tibetan people” (*bod kyi rtsa ba'i mi rigs chos srid dang bcas pa rtsa rlags 'chal 'chol gang min du song stabs bod yul dang bod mi'i ming tsam lhag lus med par gyur*).⁷⁷

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.26 No.1 dated June 1959 Tharchin published a long news report based on the story of a Drepung⁷⁸ monk who had just managed to escape from Tibet after the uprising in Lhasa. One of the hyperboles used there is unending sadness: “our [local monks'] great sadness because of [the thought that] we will never

⁷¹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.4.

⁷² *Melong* Vol.19 No.6, September 1, 1951. P.6.

⁷³ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.6.

⁷⁴ *jo khang*. A temple in Lhasa considered as one of the most sacred and important by Tibetans.

⁷⁵ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.4.

⁷⁶ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.4.

⁷⁷ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.7.

⁷⁸ *'bras spungs*. The largest monastery of the three great Gelug monasteries in Tibet.

escape from here [the monastery taken by Chinese communists] is not ending day and night (*nga tsho ni 'di nas mi thar ba'i sems sdug chen pos nyin mtshan mi 'khyol ba zhig 'dug*).⁷⁹

Among other noteworthy figurative examples in that article was parallelism. Tharchin provides a description of a torture of the manager of a monastery, who was heavily beaten by other monks “instigated to do evil” (*ngan slob mang po byas*) by the Chinese communists, after which the manager’s “whole body and head were turned red with blood” (*mgo lus tshang ma khrag gis dmar por btang*), whereas a few sentences further the abbot’s steward was beaten as well and his “whole body and head were covered with blood” too (*mgo lus tshang ma khrag gis khyab song*).⁸⁰

Tharchin’s linguistic choices in *The Tibet Mirror* could be also discussed from the point of pragmatics. Going through the publications on Tibet and China one can come across Tharchin’s usage of presuppositions. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.18 No.1 dated October 1, 1949 Tharchin talks about “the crimes of the communist labour system” (*dmar po'i las lugs kyi nyes skyon rnams*): if [one] could have considered well the crimes of the communist labour system and if the army and people [turned] again pro-Chinese [Kuomintang] government, the communist government would not be able to last long” (*dmar po'i las lugs kyi nyes skyon rnams legs par rtogs thub pa zhig gnan na slar dpung dmag dang mi ser rnams rgya gzhung phyogs gtogs byas na dmar gzhung yun ring gnas thub kyi ma red*).⁸¹ This presupposition suggests that there are crimes of the communist regime, but what crimes exactly Tharchin meant was left for a reader to envision on his or her own.

Or, for example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.9-10, while describing the start of the Tibetan uprising in Lhasa in 1959 and the reaction of the Chinese communist authorities, Tharchin says: “If communist China is a country that has culture and knowledge, it is impossible [that it] imposes such inappropriate oppression as there is now on the small religious countries such as Tibet” (*rgya dmar de dag shes rigs slob sbyong ldan pa'i rgyal khab gcig yin nal chos byed rgyal khab chung ngu bod 'dra bar de lta bu'i btsan gnon mi 'tshams pa byed mi srid*).⁸² In terms of discourse this sentence suggests the entailment that Chinese communists did not have culture and knowledge, otherwise they would not be doing what they were doing. Communist China is once

⁷⁹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* P.5.

⁸¹ *Melong* Vol.18 No.1, October 1, 1949. P.3.

⁸² *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

again portrayed as the aggressor, whereas Tibet is pictured as the victim.

The following sentence from the same publication reads: "Anyway, after the Tibetan government conducts peace negotiations with Chinese people, will not the Chinese, having listened and understood, peacefully go to their own place of residence (*gang ltar bod gzhung sogs nas rgya mi dang zhi mthun bka' mol gnang nas der rgya mis nyan shes thog zhi 'dzam rang gnas su gnas mi yong ngam/*)?"⁸³ In this sentence Tharchin constructs not only a presupposition asserting that Chinese people have their own place of residence, but also an entailment suggesting that, probably, Tibet is not a place for the Chinese.

Distancing Self from Other is frequently achieved by describing morally or legally 'wrong' doings by the Other.⁸⁴ One can find numerous examples of these means in *The Tibet Mirror*. For instance, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.9-10 Tharchin says that "alongside with taking possession and bullying Chinese communists killed and captured as many Tibetan lay people, monks, lamas and tulkus as they could, [resorting] only to coercion that disregards religion, karmic consequences and even any moral laws" (*rgya dmar gyis bdag bzung dbang gnon dang 'brel chos dang las 'bras sogs mi chos khrims lung gang la'ang mi ltos pa'i btsan shed kho nas bod rigs ser skya bla sprul khag bcas par bsad bzung gang thub*).⁸⁵ Besides, "the Chinese communist troops built fortifications with machine guns on the roofs of different Buddhist temples, which went without consent of Tibetans and against local customs" (*nang mi so so'i chos khang thod du bod mi'i blo mos yul srol dang 'gal ba'i mi sin gan sogs bzhas sa'i 'dzing rags bzos*).⁸⁶

The description of the Other disregarding the religious and cultural traditions of the Self could have hardly been done better than in the above-mentioned examples. Among other examples of Tharchin's distancing of the Other one can find the following publication from *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.26 No.1:

In seven years the leaders of the Communist Party slaughtered 20 million people, [while] 25 million people starved to death at work in China. Do the countries enjoying [their] independence know about the above-mentioned [facts]? Even if they know, but leave it [as it is] without worrying [about it], there is no certainty that soon this will not happen in your countries. Having thought of that, if [you] do not take measures to stand up against the communist re-

⁸³ *Ibid.* P.12.

⁸⁴ Chilton P. P.60.

⁸⁵ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* P.7.

gime right now and just leave it in peace, then [you] will seriously regret about that [later]. [But] at that time it will be too late.

rgya nag tu gung phran tang gi 'go khrid pa rnam kyis lo ngo bdun nang mi grangs 2000000 tham par dmar bsad btang / mi grangs 2500000 tham par ngal rtsol byed skabs ltogs rid kyis lnga lam du gyur pa red/ gong gsal gnas tshul de dag rang dbang la dga' ba'i rgyal khabs rnam kyis mkhyen gyi yod dam/ mkhyen gyi yod rung snang dag ma gnang bar bzhag na ring min khyed rang tsho'i rgyal khab tu'ang de ltar mi 'byung ba'i nges pa med/ der bsam nas da lta nyid nas thabs shes kyis dmar lugs la ngo rgol ma byas zhi mthun kho na'i ngang du bzhag na rjes su 'gyod pa drag po skyed yong de dus phyis drag pa red do//.⁸⁷

Apart from bringing out in the open the details on the extent of the Chinese communists' wrong doings, this short article gives another example of Tharchin's strategy of modelling alternative future and sending a warning 'message' to the world. Moreover, it is interesting to compare this article with a publication from the same newspaper issue, where Tharchin writes that Tibetan "heroic soldiers killed many thousands of Chinese communists" (*dpa' dmag rnam kyis rgya dmar stong phrag du ma lnga lam du btang*).⁸⁸ Nonetheless, this killing obviously does not define them as such killers as Chinese communists.

All in all, as far as the language of *The Tibet Mirror* is concerned, news on Tibet or China alike drew a relatively gloomy picture of the Chinese communist "bandits" (*gung bran jag dmag*)⁸⁹ violating the traditional life and religious beliefs of Tibetan "heroes" (*dpa' bo rnam*)⁹⁰ or "defenders of the faith" (*bstan srung dmag*)⁹¹ or "army of gods" (*lha dmag*),⁹² whose fighting back was a righteous 'protesting' against the communist "oppression" (*btsan dbang*)⁹³ and "humiliation" (*dma' 'bebs*).⁹⁴ Tibet was "a small religious country" (*chos byed rgyal khab chung ngu*).⁹⁵ Tibetans were weak comparing to Chinese communists (*stobs che chung thug*).⁹⁶ Chinese were "enemies of the

⁸⁷ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* P.Suppl.1.

⁸⁹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.3.

⁹⁰ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* P.12.

⁹² *Ibid.* P.7.

⁹³ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* P.3.

⁹⁵ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* P.5.

faith" (*bstan dgra*).⁹⁷ Communist China was doing "massacre" (*dmar gsod*).⁹⁸ There are many more examples of Tharchin's linguistic means and strategies to render his anti-communist ideas, but this paper will go on to the next part and talk about the not less creative 'genres' found in *The Tibet Mirror*.

4. Bringing on Babu's Charisma and Creativity in Terms of 'Genres'

Tharchin used many ways to convey his ideas about the Chinese communists' "crimes", their 'unfair' politics in Tibet and Tibetans' need to 'wake up'. Apart from the above-mentioned purely linguistic means, the editor of *The Tibet Mirror* also employed quite innovative 'genres' for a newspaper, the most extraordinary and artistic of which seem to be:

1. Didactic stories, *gtam dpe* (sayings, proverbs) and *legs bshad* (aphorisms).
2. Prophecies.
3. Songs and poems.

Current paper does not aim to present the study of all these categories in depth, but instead gives an overview of the selected examples of Tharchin's figurative methods used to render his ideas and news on Tibet and China in *The Tibet Mirror* issues from 1949-1963, which could be interpreted in terms of his anti-communist or pro-Tibetan discourse.

4-1. Didactic stories, *gtam dpe*, *legs bshad*

This is a very diverse 'genre', among the examples of which one can explore sayings, proverbs, riddles, allegories and parables covering completely different topics and problems. Tharchin regularly published *gtam dpe* and *legs bshad* columns in *The Tibet Mirror*. Some *gtam dpe* were only two-three sentences long, however, some were turned into bigger didactic or allegorical stories.

Not all *gtam dpe* in *The Tibet Mirror* have a more or less clear message. A lot of publications could not be identified as discourse-charged solely based on their literary meaning and, thus, could be classified so only considering the material's location on the newspa-

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁹⁸ *Melong* Vol.24 No.12, April 15, 1958. P.2.

per page, following after certain news on Tibet or China, for instance. Some *gtam dpe* sayings or stories are supplied with an explanation in the end giving an idea of the actual meaning Tharchin wanted to share with his readers, while some are finished with a mysterious question or comment at the end, such as “What is the meaning of that saying?” (*ces pa'i gtam dpe'i go don ga re red*) or “I ask everybody to think over what is the meaning of this saying” (*gtam dpe 'di'i don ga re red tshang mas dgongs bzhes yod pa zhu*). Besides, all of these figurative sayings and stories should be interpreted in close association with the date of the publication and the historical background that was known at the time. That being said, the interpretations provided further in this paper carry a speculative character and cannot qualify for the one and only option of interpretation.

One of the discourse-charged examples of *gtam dpe* is the saying published in *The Tibet Mirror* No.9 Vol.18 dated August 1, 1950 right after the news on some unrest in eastern Tibet:

If the food lost its taste, [there] is no difference [whether] a bowl is big or small. If a man lost his fierce and courageous [spirit], there are neither too few, nor too many soldiers.

*zas la nang bcud med gyur na/ phor pa che ma che khyad med/ mi la dpa' rgod med gyur na/ dmag mi mang dang ma mang med/*⁹⁹

What is the historical background of this material? As early as 1949 the atmosphere of fear spread in Lhasa.¹⁰⁰ Some aristocratic Tibetan families started to move their families and valuables to India. The first military contact between the Chinese and Tibetan armies was made in July 1950.¹⁰¹ The anticipation of the further advancement of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to Tibet was clearly in the air by August 1950, while it was just as clear that the Tibetan army forces would not be able to stand long against the People's Liberation Army. Therefore, the above-mentioned *gtam dpe* by Tharchin, perhaps, could be interpreted as a creative reproach or an attempt to cheer up the fighting spirit of Tibetans.

Tharchin was rather fond of *gtam dpe* and regularly used it to express his opinion and ideas on something, give an advice or send a message to his readers. For instance, in the *gtam dpe* in *The Tibet Mir-*

⁹⁹ *Melong* Vol.18 No.9, August 1, 1950. P.2.

¹⁰⁰ Shakya Ts. *The Dragon in the Land of Snows. A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947.* New York: Penguin Compass, 2000. P.10.

¹⁰¹ Goldstein M. *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. P.679.

ror No.5 Vol.19 dated August 1, 1951 Tharchin stresses the importance of the analysis done prior to any step taken in haste:

[One] will not catch up with a rabbit that was frightened by a splash of water. Whatever [is] done, always analyse [it] well [first].

*ri bong cal bsgrags rjes su 'brangs mi bya/ /bya ba gang la'ang rtag dpyad
legs par bya/ /.*¹⁰²

On the one hand, this didactic saying of a rather general character suggests a universal advice for anyone. On the other hand, this *gtam dpe* was published in August 1951, when the pro-Tibetan discourse formation was already actualized in *The Tibet Mirror* issues. Besides, it was placed in the newspaper after news on China and Tibetan business news. In the broadest sense in terms of Tibetan history one could interpret this material as a reference, for example, to the Tibetan government's decision to send their delegates to Beijing and the Tibetan-Chinese negotiations, which soon ended up with the 17-Point Agreement being signed between Tibet and the PRC in May 1951. Signing of the Agreement, an official document legitimizing the place of Tibet within the PRC, surely did not make Tharchin happy.

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.19 No.8 dated November 1, 1951 in the Tibetan news column (*bod kyi gnas tshul/*) right after a news report on a Tibetan soldier's wife being killed by a daughter of another Tibetan soldier one can read another edifying *gtam dpe*. Tharchin writes:

As it was in the [above-mentioned] example, [when one] is not able to break out externally, internal fights [happen]. I beg you all to remember that if a family got into a fight, not only [one's] inner strength certainly lessens, the strength of outsiders gets bigger. Because there is a reason to be embarrassed in front of outsiders, if one is able to set as much cordiality and solidarity in the family as one can, people will admire your happiness. Other than that people will surely come to criticize your troubles.

*phyi 'dzings ma thub nang 'dzings ces pa'i dpe ltar nang tshang 'khrug
'dzings byas na nang stobs ji zhan phyi stobs ji cher 'gyur nges pa'i mi
tshad phyi mir skyengs pa'i rgyu zhig yin gshis nang tshang mthun lam
gcig sgril gang thub gnang na rang skyid mis smon de min rang sdug mis
smad kyi gnas su gyur nges par tshang mas dgongs 'jags 'tshal/.*¹⁰³

By November 1, 1951 the Dalai Lama had formally approved of the

¹⁰² *Melong* Vol.19 No.5, August 1, 1951. P.8.

¹⁰³ *Melong* Vol.19 No.8, November 1, 1951. P.3.

17-Point Agreement and the soldiers of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army marched into Lhasa.¹⁰⁴ Predictably, the reaction of Tibetans there was controversial. This *gtam dpe* is another example of a didactic advice for Tibetans. Tharchin writes: “[When one] is not able to break out externally, internal fights [happen]” (*phyi ‘dzings ma thub nang ‘dzings*). By saying this *The Tibet Mirror’s* editor could have probably intended to imply that Tibetans were not able to express an open protest against any changes coming with the Chinese presence in Tibet, thus, their pent up frustration was causing arguments among themselves, while “the strength of outsiders” (i.e. the Others or the Chinese communist authorities in Tibet) was increasing and the Others were getting a reason to criticize Tibetans.

A bit strange and abrupt *gtam dpe* from *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.22 No.5 dated September 1, 1954 reads the following:

No England, no strategy. No America, no wealth. No France, no ornaments. No Germany, no intelligence. What is the meaning of that saying?

*dbyin med byus med// a med rgyu med// pha med mdzes rgyan med// ‘jar med shes rig med// ces pa’i gtam dpe’i go don ga re red!*¹⁰⁵

As a matter of fact, more than 70 years later for a non-Tibetan reader it is really hard to tell what the meaning of this *gtam dpe* was indeed. Tharchin published this *gtam dpe* after the news on the massive flood damage in Tibet, but it does not seem to have any connection to that. However, in the next article after this *gtam dpe* under the title “Defending South East Asia” (*shar lho e she’i srung skyobs*) Tharchin described the discussions held by the United States, Britain and France on the ways to protect the South East Asia and to “build a dam against the red flood” (*dmar po’i chu rud la chu rags rgyag*) in that region.¹⁰⁶ Thus, this *gtam dpe* was most likely related to that news piece. It is not clear what Tharchin meant by French ornaments. As for Britain and the United States of America, the statements sound more reasonable. Perhaps, in terms of the anti-communist discourse, this *gtam dpe* also carried an implication aimed at Tibetan readers and their striving against the metaphorical “red flood” in Tibet.

Another type of didactic sayings from the *gtam dpe* column in *The Tibet Mirror* No.4-5 Vol.26 dated September-October 1959 testifies to

¹⁰⁴ Shakya Ts. P.92; Goldstein M. P.812.

¹⁰⁵ *Melong* Vol.22 No.5, September 1, 1954. P.6.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* P.7.

the fact that within the same genre Tharchin employed rather different stories in terms of style:

When the end of a rabid dog's life is near, [it] bites everything. When the end of communism is near, [communists get] busy liberating other places. Attaching fruits to the driftwood, a barren woman giving birth to a son and the communist power getting more widespread are the three signs of destroying oneself in the end.

*khyi smyon tshe zad nye ba'i dus/ / gas a ga la rmugs par byed/ / gung
bran tshe zad nye ba'i dus/ / gzhan sa rang dbang byed la brel/ / chu
shing 'bras bu btags pa dang / / mo gsham la ni bu skyes dang / / gung
bran stobs shugs rgyas pa gsum/ / tha mar rang nyid rlags rtags yin/ /*¹⁰⁷

Tharchin uses parallelism and oxymoron combinations (e.g. “a barren woman giving birth to a son”) for constructing the idea of nonsense of the further communist power dissemination and modelling the future of a near end of the communist regime. The explanation of the *gtam dpe* is provided in the additional commentary further on the page: “According to what has been said, if [you] take a look at the map at page 7, [you] will understand. Lately, because of the desire to exercise power over a little more of the territory of Outer Mongolia and many bordering [territories] with India, Pakistan and Burma, the communist state has behaved and is still behaving improperly. If [you] look at that, is it not like in the above-mentioned saying?”¹⁰⁸ Once again Tharchin is distancing the Chinese communists or the Other by saying that they are acting “improperly” (*tshul min byas dang byed mus*).

If one goes a page back, there is indeed a map with a description at the bottom: “A sign for other areas that had been brazenly asserted as belonging to communist China” (*rgya dmar gyis gzhan sa ham pas dbang 'dod kyi rtags*).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *Melong* Vol.26 No.4-5, September-October, 1959. P.8.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* P.8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* P.7.

raised at the United Nations several times. After a relatively successful discussion of the Tibetan issue at the UN resulted with a resolution on the human rights violation in Tibet in October 1959, the Tibetans continued to look for another opportunity to promote a more promising resolution on the political status of Tibet.¹¹² In the summer of 1960, Thailand and Malaya suggested adding the discussion of the Tibetan question to the agenda of the 15th Session of the United Nations' General Assembly, but their motion did not get enough support from other member states of the UN.¹¹³ Using an allusion to a story about Chandrakirti's father Tharchin probably proposed that the Tibetan officials in exile had high expectations from this endeavour with the UN discussion and were already imagining a certain outcome of the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the UN, however, in reality they neither got a more effective resolution on Tibet nor anything at all.

Sometimes a *gtam dpe* took the form of an open appeal for action, for instance, in *The Tibet Mirror* No.12 Vol.27 dated December 1962 Tharchin writes:

There is nothing like happiness from [one's] freedom and suffering of being under the power of other. According to this, in order [to achieve] independence, [one] needs not only to sacrifice [his/her] possessions, but [to sacrifice] even [his/her] life. Apart from asking [you] all to serve to [your] government, furthermore do more than that.

*rang dbang lta bu'i bde ba dang // gzhan dbang lta bu'i sdug bsngal med//
ces pa ltar rang dbang gi ched du rgyu dngos ma zad rang srog kyang
blos gtong dgos so/ /tshang mas gzhung la zhabs 'degs zhu bzhin pa las
da dung lhag par zhu bar mdzed cig /.*¹¹⁴

This *gtam dpe* gives another example of Tharchin's employment of hyperboles: "there is nothing like happiness from [one's] freedom" and there is nothing like "suffering of being under the power of other". Besides, in terms of discourse, this example is noteworthy because of its open request and the instruction on what was to be done. Tharchin's appeal to Tibetans to sacrifice their lives for the independ-

Commentaries by John Myrdhin Reynolds. Ithaca, New York, USA: Snow Lion Publications, 1996. P.112.

¹¹² Garri I. R. Buddhism and Politics in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the PRC (Second Half of the 20th Century – the Beginning of the 21st Century). Ulan-Ude: BSC SB RAS, 2009. P.112-114.

¹¹³ Shakya Ts. P.233-234.

¹¹⁴ *Melong* Vol.27 No.12, December 1962. P.10.

ence of Tibet was repeatedly reiterated on the pages of *The Tibet Mirror* throughout the 1950s – 1960s. Apart from the *gtam dpe* column, one can find examples of this appeal in the form a letter from a learned person, a song or a poem.

The genre of the short didactic saying was also represented by aphorisms or maxims (*legs shad*). The Buddhist-related *legs shad* from *The Tibet Mirror* issue No.11 Vol.24 dated March 1, 1958 seems rather complicated for a non-Buddhist reader, but is still worth mentioning:

On the tip of the horn of impure emanation I did not see the land [where] everyone was tranquil. If [one] seeks the pure ideology on the basis of compassion, [he/she] becomes the source of a land, where all sentient beings have immutable happy lives and inexhaustible perfect results, and gets a fine peaceful harvest.

*ma dag 'phrul pa'i rwa rtse'i steng / /rang gzhan bder gnas zhing sa ngas
ma mthong / /lta spyod rnam dag snying rje'i gzhir bsten nal 'gro kun tshe
rabs mi 'gyur bde ba'i zhing / /yang dag 'bras bu mi zad 'byung gzhir gnas/
/zhi bde'i ston 'bras bzang po lon par gyur/.¹¹⁵*

This short *legs bshad* was published not far from the articles on the gloomy life of people after the ‘liberation’ entitled “Independence to High-Rank and Common People” (*mi ser drag zhan dmangs la rang dbang/*)¹¹⁶ and “On Scarce Food and Clothing” (*lto gos dkon po'i skor/*).¹¹⁷ These materials were most likely covertly describing the situation in Tibet after the liberation by the People’s Liberation Army. Therefore, the potential implication of the above-mentioned maxim could have been that present Tibet filled with people’s sufferings was not governed on the basis of “pure ideology” (*lta spyod rnam dag*), but, on the contrary, was doomed by the ‘evil’ ideology spread there by Chinese communists.

Sometimes Tharchin was livening up the ordinary news reports by incorporating more well-known Tibetan proverbs and sayings. For instance, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol. 26 No.1 dated June 1959 under the title “Rabbit Goes Back to Its Den” or, what can be also translated as, “Bride/Groom Returns Home after a Failed Marriage” (*ri bong tshang log/*) Tharchin publishes the following information:

Although the real Chinese government resides in Taiwan now, soon [they] will get back all their China’s territory. Therefore, there

¹¹⁵ *Melong* Vol.24 No.11, March 1, 1958. P.4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* P.3.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* P.3-4.

are being done vast preparations to liberate soon those people, who are connected to the rabbits returning back to their den and who are going through hell on earth. ...

As it is known now from the Kuomintang newspapers, when they return to China as rabbits to [their] dens, not only [they] will grant independence according to the wishes of many Tibetans, but the Tibetan government, which went abroad now, will [also] definitely return as a rabbit to [its] den.

rgya nag gi gzhung ngo ma deng skabs da'i wan du bzhugs rung ring min rang ljongs rgya'i sa tshang ma phyir len gyis ring¹¹⁸ bong tshang log bcas de ga'i mi dmangs rnams dmyal ba mi yul du myong bzhin pa rnams la ring min bcings bkrol gnang rgyu'i sto gon chen po gnang mus su 'dug cing /

deng ko min tang gi gsar shog khag tu gsar spel ltar na/ khong tsho rgya nag tu ri bong tshang log byung mtshams bod mi mang rnams kyi 'dod mos bzhin du rang dbang sprod rgyu/ ma zad deng skabs bod gzhung phyi rgyal du phebs pa rnams kyang ri bong tshang log nges par du yong nges zhes pa'i hun/.¹¹⁹

This article was published in June 1959, just a few months after the major Tibetan uprising in Lhasa in March 1959 and the immigration of the Dalai Lama and a number of Tibetans abroad. Tharchin forecasted the future return of “the real Chinese government” (*rgya nag gi gzhung ngo ma*) to China and the return of the Tibetan government to Tibet “after a failed marriage” (*ri bong tshang log*). In terms of discourse, by calling the Kuomintang government “the real Chinese government” Tharchin created an inference that the Chinese communist government was not ‘real’, i.e. rightful. Besides, *The Tibet Mirror* editor claimed that Tibet would be granted independence “according to the wishes of many Tibetans” (*bod mi mang rnams kyi 'dod mos bzhin du rang dbang sprod*), the people who were “going through hell on earth” (*rnams dmyal ba mi yul du myong*). By mapping the metaphorical domain of hell on the life of people Tharchin constructed an image of unbearable sufferings that permeated people’s life in the PRC.

Among other artistic ways of Tharchin’s employment of Tibetan *gtam dpe* is, for instance, a material with a Tibetan proverb “What could not be done to an elder brother, could be done to his dog” (*jo la ma thub khyi la thub*), to which Tharchin gives a new meaning “What could not be done to a man, could be done to his photo” (*mi la ma thub 'dra par la thub*). The article from *The Tibet Mirror* issue Vol.26

¹¹⁸ Apparently this must be a typo and there should have been *ri bong* instead.

¹¹⁹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P. Suppl.2.

No.1 describes the Chinese communists that drew a big portrait of a respected Tibetan gentleman surrounded by other men with firearms and knives, while his wife and children were sadly crying over him.¹²⁰ This news, thus, made Tharchin coin the above-mentioned new proverb.

Apart from the short *gtam dpe* materials, Tharchin also published longer allegorical stories (*gtam* and *lo rgyus*), which are more elaborated and harder to interpret. One of the examples of a longer figurative story or *gtam* on the state of affairs in Tibet could be found in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.19 No.8 dated November 1, 1951 under the title “A Story about an Eloquent Parrot” (*smra mkhas ne tso’i gtam/*):

During the era of degeneration there are many things that are missing. Political power without a king. Ministers without a king. Subjects without a king. Citizens without a king. Children without parents. Dharma without lamas. Disciples without teachers. End without a beginning. Servants without chiefs and so on. Out of many other items missing [I] articulated here ten.

*snyigs ma’i dus su med pa rnam pa mang po yod/ rgyal po med pa’i rgyal srid/ rgyal po med pa’i blon po/ rgyal po med pa’i mnga’ zhabs/ rgyal po med pa’i mi ser/ pha ma med pa’i phru gul bla ma med pa’i dam chos/ slob dpon med pa’i slob ma/ mgo med pa’i mjug gul/ dpon po med pa’i g.yog po la sogs med pa’i rnam grangs mang po’i nang nas ‘dir bcu tham pa bshad pa yin no//.*¹²¹

The story is constructed based on the syntactic parallelism. Tharchin placed it right after a song entitled the “New Song on People’s Liberation” (*mi dmangs bcings bkrol gyi glu gzhas gsar pa*), which ironically distorts the promises of Chinese communists to improve the life of Tibetans after the liberation.¹²² It is not plain to see what was Tharchin’s idea behind the parrot’s story, who is the parrot and why would he say that. The one thing, which is more or less clear about this example, is that Tharchin implied that “the era of degeneration” was at that very moment. As it was mentioned earlier, the biggest highlight of that time period in Tibetan history was signing of the 17-Point Agreement between the Tibetan government and the Chinese communist authorities in May 1951 and its subsequent official recog-

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* P.Suppl.3.

¹²¹ *Melong* Vol.19 No.8, November 1, 1951. P.4.

¹²² For an English translation of the song see Moskaleva N. Sketches of Contemporary Tibetan History in *The Tibet Mirror* (1949-1963). // *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* No.37. Ancient Currents, New Traditions: Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists. Paris, 2016. P.259.

dition by the Dalai Lama in October 1951.¹²³ The 17-Point Agreement legalized the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet and provided the Chinese communist authorities with mechanisms for the gradual transformation of the traditional Tibetan social and economic system.¹²⁴ As for the “king”, the Dalai Lama was only 15, when it was decided that he was to assume the full political power in Tibet in November 1950.¹²⁵ Maybe, what Tharchin meant by this *gtam* was that in the long-term perspective signing of the 17-Point Agreement was undermining the power of the traditional Tibetan government and leading to the so to say ‘disorder’, comparing to what Tibet used to be. Perhaps, the parrot’s *gtam* had a considerably more obvious meaning for the readers of *The Tibet Mirror* back in 1951.

The second example of a longer allegorical story might seem even more complicated. It is a material from *The Tibet Mirror* issue Vol.24 No.11 dated March 1958:

For the purpose of concealing in a metaphor from communist China. Now because the leaves of the red radish could not flourish on the ground, which root do they depend on? Three red insects were eating the root of the radish. If those red insects had not been exterminated, the leaves of the radish would have never been able to develop. Who are those three red insects? Are the three red insects not the three great monastic seats? What is the red radish under the ground? Is it not the communist power? What are the leaves? Does it not seem that they are the Tibetan people? Now owing to the three great monastic seats and the Dalai Lama’s kindness the communist China’s policy of oppression in Tibet could not expand further, [one] needs to listen to that. Anyway, please investigate [that] again.

*rgya dmar nas dpe bkab don du/ da lta la phug dmar po'i lo ma rnams sa
steng du legs rgyas ma thub pas de'i rkyen rtsa gang la thug ser na/ la
phug gi rtsa bar 'bu dmar po gsum gyis zos bzhin pa red/ 'bu dmar de
tsho rtsa med ma btang na/ la phug gi lo mar 'phel rgyas nam yang
byung mi thub ces brjod 'dug na/ 'bu dmar gsum gang red/ 'bu dmar
gsum ni gdan sa chen po rnam gsum la brjod pa min nam/ sa 'og gi la
phug dmar po de gang red ser na/ gung phran stobs shugs la brjod pa min
nam/ lo ma gang red zer na/ bod kyi mi dmangs yin tshod min nam/ da
lta gdan sa chen po rnam gsum dang / gong sa mchog gi bka' drin las bod
la rgya dmar gyi btsan gnon srid jus rgya cher dar rgyas byung ma thub*

¹²³ Goldstein M. P.812.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* P.772.

¹²⁵ Garri I. P.42.

pas der go dgos par snang / gang ltar yang rtogs zhib 'tshal/ /.¹²⁶

This story exemplifies a rather intricate image construction: the red radish is the communist power, the radish leaves are the Tibetan people and the three red insects that ate the roots of the radish are the three great Tibetan monasteries. Despite the fact that Tharchin tries to disambiguate the allegorical meaning of this story, it is still not easy to tumble to his ideas and takes time to think over what he wrote there about the radish and the bugs. By leaves of the red radish that were not able to develop Tharchin probably meant the Tibetan communists, while the overall meaning of the story was that owing to the Dalai Lama and the great Tibetan monasteries the Chinese communist authorities did not succeed in growing their communist ‘off-springs’ among the Tibetan population. Although, considering this interpretation made, it does not make much sense why the insects (i.e. the three great Tibetan monasteries) are red. Either it is simply to support the overall red colour of the allegorical picture drawn and red does not correspond to being communist in that particular case of insects, or, possibly, there is a whole different layer of meaning behind the story.

This material was published in March 1958, by that time there had already started an open confrontation between the Chinese communist authorities and the Tibetan population in eastern Tibet, which was not subjected to the articles of the 17-Point Agreement postponing the reforms. The violent suppression of the anti-reform protests in eastern Tibet, surely, concerned the Dalai Lama and by 1957 the Chinese communist authorities took a more cautious approach promising that reforms in central Tibet would be further postponed for another five to ten years.¹²⁷ By the beginning of 1958, thousands of khampas, the Tibetan population from eastern Tibet, fled to central Tibet, however, bound by the conditions of the 17-Point Agreement the Chinese communist authorities there did not take any action against them.¹²⁸ Thus, one could say in a way because of the Dalai Lama’s courtesy, “the communist China’s policy of oppression in Tibet could not expand further” (*rgy dmar gyi btsan gnon srid jus rgya cher dar rgyas byung ma thub*). Maybe, the red radish story was an allusion to these facts.

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.8 dated January 1959 under the title “A Story about a Frog and a Crab” (*sbal pa dang sdig srin gnyis kyi*

¹²⁶ *Melong* Vol.24 No.11, March 1, 1958. P.2.

¹²⁷ Shakya Ts. P.152, P.156.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* P.163, 166.

gtam/) Tharchin published an allegory with no direct hints on who was who there. The story reads:

Earlier in some area there was a lake where a frog and a crab lived. When one day in the fear of inundation a lot of fish tadpoles came to the lake in that area, the frog and the crab thought that those creatures were of a different ethnic group and [said] that there was a need to drive them out. The fish tadpoles learnt about that discussion. In reality they [the frog and the crab] did not need to fight with the fish tadpoles. The frog and the crab were induced to disunity. One day the frog and the fish almost came out of the water and while [they] were fighting ashore, a fisherman came and carried away the crab and the frog. When [they] were caught in a net and carried, the anger they felt during the fighting disappeared, they hugged each other and felt regret about [their] fighting. Whatever came to their minds, they could not drive anything back, they were cut off from their beloved life. Therefore, that lake became like a homeland to the fish tadpoles. (I ask everybody to think over what is the meaning of this maxim).

sngon lung pa zhig la sbal ba dang / sdig srin zhe gcig gnas pa'i mtsho gcig yod pa red/ nyin gcig lung pa der chu rud kyi 'jigs pa byung nas nya lcong mang po mtsho de'i nang du slebs skabs sbal sdig gnyis kyi bsam par rigs su ma gcig pa'i srog chags de tsho phyir 'bud byed dgos 'dug snyam ste gros byas pa nya lcong gis gcig shes te kho tshos nya lcong la dngos su 'khrugs 'dzing ma dgos par sbal sdig dbar dben sbyor byas te nyin gcig sbal sdig phal cher chu nang nas thon te skam sar 'khrug 'dzeng byed bzhin du yod pa der nya pa zhig 'byor ba dang skabs 'khel sdog srin dang / sbal pa rnams nya pas 'dzin bzung byas te dra ba zhig nang bcug nas 'khyer 'gro skabs khong rnams 'khrug 'dzing skabs kyi khong khro de dang bral te gcig gis gcig la 'tham te 'khrug 'dzing byas pa te la 'gyod pa bskyed de ci drag snyam pa byung yang gang gis kyang bzlog tu med par khong rnams gces pa'i srog dang bral ba red/ der brten mtsho de nya lcong rnams kyi pha yul lta bur gyur pa red/ (gtam dpe 'di'i don ga re red tshang mas dgongs bzhes yod pa zhu//).¹²⁹

The allegorical story was published in January 1959. As it was mentioned earlier, by that time thousands of khampas, facing the pressure from the People's Liberation Army and seeking for safety, had crossed the border with central Tibet, the territory that was still exempted from the socialist reform program by the terms of the 17-Point Agreement.¹³⁰ However, the Lhasa Tibetans either stayed indifferent or resented the increasing number of khampas in the Tibetan

¹²⁹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.8, January 1959. P.6.

¹³⁰ Shakya Ts. P.163.

capital.¹³¹ Therefore, probably, the implication of Tharchin’s allegory should be that the arrival of Chinese communists to Tibet and the existing disagreement between Tibetans was to lead to the same outcome: eventually Tibet got occupied by the Chinese, while Tibetans had to leave their homeland and have nothing else to do except for feeling regret about their fights in the past. The *gtam* finishes with an open appeal by Tharchin: “I ask everybody to think over what is the meaning of this maxim”.

Figurative allegorical stories regularly appeared in *The Tibet Mirror*. Among other interesting examples is the story published in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.27 No.12 dated December 1962 under the title “Owl’s Six Lies” (*‘ug pa’i rdzun gtam drug/*):

1. Earlier a man asked an owl a question: why is your head flat? The answer was: the head became flat because I asked for a lot of religious authority.
2. [The man] asked again: why is it that your ears became deaf? The answer was: because I have never heard even a syllable of religion.
3. [The man] asked again: why is it that your eyes are jaundiced? The answer was: because I usually drink only melted butter.
4. [The man] asked again: why is it that there are cracks in the cuticle of all of your claws? The answer was: because I have not seen fat with [my own] eyes.
5. [The man] asked again: why is it that your eyes can see very clearly at night? The answer was: this is the result of me making great benefits all the time.
6. [The man] asked again: how is it that you do not go outside during a day? The answer was: because I bring harm to all, there is not a place where I get out during daytime.

1 sngon mi zhig gis ‘ug pa la dris pa/ khyod kyi mgo leb leb ‘dug pa ci yin/ lan du ngas chos dang dbang mang po zhus pa mgo leb leb red song zer/ 2 yang dris pa khyod kyi rna ba ‘on pa red ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas chos kyi sgra tshig gcig kyang thos ma myong bas yin zer/ 3 yang dris pa khyod kyi mig ser po ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas dus rgyun du mar khu kho na ‘thung bas yin zer/ 4 yang dris pa khyod kyi sder mo kun la sen shags ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas zhag rtsi mig gis mthong ma myong bas yin zer/ 5 yang dris pa/ khyod kyi mig des mtshan mo shin tu gsal po mthong gi ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas kun la phan pa rgya chen po byas pa’i ‘bras bu yin zer/ 6 yang dris pa/ khyod nyin mo phyi la thon gyi mi ‘dug pa gang ying/ lan du ngas thams cad la gnod pa bskyal pa’i rkyen gyis nyin mo nga phyi la thon sa med ces lab pa red/ .¹³²

¹³¹ van Schaik S. *Tibet: a History*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011. P.227.

¹³² *Melong* Vol.27 No.12, December 1962. P.10-11.

The same story continues with an extra explanation:

The above-mentioned lies of the owl and the lies of communist China now are the same. All news that communist China reports on the radio are only lies. If [you] do not listen to them at all, it will be good. Although [if you] listen, [you] need to know that all being said [by them] that they did this and that good was [actually] bad. For example, in Tibet for those Tibetans, who were not deceived with conversations, they started using bulling by phonograph. They say on the radio: "Earlier I have drunk nothing except for black tea similar to water. [The fact] that nowadays I drink butter tea similar to soup is the gratitude to Mao Zedong". [One] needs to understand that the meaning of this is that, if earlier [Tibetans] drank butter tea similar to soup, now because of the Mao Zedong's oppression instead of tea [they] do not drink even boiled water. It is well-known to the whole world that, although communist China certainly invaded the border [territories] of the religious and peaceful Indian country, turning [it] into the Tibetan alphabet [they], similar to the owl's lies, say that because India attacked Tibetan territories, they did not do [anything] violent. However, nobody trusts this. You, friends, never become fooled with lies like this. If [you] get fooled, later [you] will regret.

*gong gsal 'ug pa'i rdzun gtam dang deng sang rgya dmar gyi rdzun gtam
gcig pa red/ rgya dmar gyis rlung 'phrin nang bshad pa'i gsar 'gyur
tshang ma rdzun gtam kho na red/ de la rtsa nas ma nyan na yag po red/
nyan rung / khos yag po 'di dang 'di byas pa yin brjod pa thsang ma sdug
po yin par mkyen dgos/ dper na bod du bod mir skad cha brdzus ma bzos
pa dbang yod kyis skad par du lab tu bcug nas/ ngas sngar ja thang chu
'dra po ma gtogs 'thungs ma myong / deng sang mar ja thug pa 'dra po
'thung gi yod pa de ma'o tshe ltungs kyi bkrin yin zhes rlung 'phrin du
shod kyi 'dug pa de'i don ni sngar mar ja thug pa 'dra po 'thung rgyu yod
kyang da na ma'o tshe ltungs kyi btsan dbang gyis ja'i tshab la chu khol
ma tsam yang 'thung rgyu med par go dgos// 'dzam gling yongs kyis shes
gsal ltar/ rgya dmar gyis rgya gar chos ldan zhi bde'i rgyal khab kyi sa
mtshams su btsan 'dzul byas nges gtan yin rung / 'ug pa'i rdzun gtam
dang mtshungs pa rgya gar gyis bod kyi sa khongs su btsan rgol byas
stabs drag las mi byed ka mad du gyur ces shod kyi 'dug rung sus kyang
yid rton byed kyi yod pa ma red/ de 'dra'i rdzun gtam la nam yang dbu
ma 'khor bar mdzod cig grogs po rnam pa tsho/ dbu 'khor na rjes su 'gyod
pa skyed yong ngo //.¹³³*

Fortunately, this allegorical story was accompanied by the explanation, therefore, there is no need to guess who was compared to the

¹³³ *Ibid.*

owl. However, Tharchin’s choice of an owl for an allegorical reference, the questions itself and the owl’s answers sound quite unusual for a modern non-Tibetan reader. Tharchin’s anti-communist rhetoric in the second part of this material is obvious: “all news that communist China reports on the radio are only lies” (*rgya dmar gyis rlung ‘phrin nang bshad pa’i gsar ‘gyur tshang ma rdzun gtam kho na red*), “it is well-known to the whole world” (*‘dzam gling yongs kyis shes gsal ltar*) that “communist China certainly invaded the border [territories] of the religious and peaceful Indian country” (*rgya dmar gyis rgya gar chos ldan zhi bde’i rgyal khab kyi sa mtshams su btsan ‘dzul byas nges gtan yin*) and, if anybody believes the Chinese communists, “later [you] will regret” (*rjes su ‘gyod pa skyed yong*). By saying “it is well-known to the whole world” Tharchin is making a bold generalization about others’ opinion, thus, gaining weight to his statement that the PRC “invaded the border [territories] of the religious and peaceful Indian country”.

If one thinks of the historical background of the “Owl’s Six Lies”, it was published in December 1962, the next month after there was declared a unilateral ceasefire in the Sino-Indian border conflict (October-November, 1962). Tharchin presents the story of this conflict as “the religious and peaceful Indian country” being “invaded” by communist China. Tsering Shakya, a Tibetan scholar, claimed that after the Dalai Lama’s flight to India the Chinese-Indian confrontation seemed inevitable.¹³⁴ Furthermore, Ts. Shakya wrote: “Throughout the early 1960s, the Chinese deployed large numbers of PLA troops” along the Chinese-Indian border “only to find that the border regions were still inadequately guarded”, while the Indian government “had established twenty-four new posts” along the same border by 1962 and “Indian attempts to push back the PLA were naturally seen by the Chinese as an act of provocation and aggression”.¹³⁵ Thus, the Chinese-Indian conflict could be hardly described in such ‘black and white’ terms picking the one who was to blame as Tharchin tried to depict it in his story.

Last but not least one should not spare the attention to “A Story about a Stupid Carpenter and Trees” (*shing mkhan blun po zhig dang shing sdong gi lo rgyus/*) published in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.28 No.1 dated January 1963:

Once there was a stupid carpenter in a village on the territory of China. He had many children and was poor. Very tall trees with

¹³⁴ Shakya Ts. P.277.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* P.285.

branches and leaves full of flowers and fruits grew in abundance near his house. [He] was making a living by selling those flowers and fruits. Moreover, when the sun was burning, [the trees] provided a shade and, when the wind was blowing, [they] protected against the wind. One day the stupid old father thought: "Apart from covering my house from the sunlight and protecting it against the wind, the trees are doing only harm and bring no other benefits for life. Therefore, it will be of great use to cut these trees and burn them in the fire [place] during winter". His children gathered [together], uprooted the trees and were proud [of themselves]. Then, when [they] threw the wet trees in the fire, a lot of smoke was coming [from it], so the old father told the children to finish [the burning process]. [He] said: "Even if to burn these useless trees in the fire, the food and the house are becoming black in my own eyes, thus, whatever you do with them, they are useless and are really [our] enemies". They all agreed and destroyed the logs by throwing them in the water. After that, having also lost their means of livelihood, he and his family suffered a lot.

sngon tsi na'i yul du grong gseb cig na shing mkhan blun po zhag yod pa red/ kho'i nang la zla¹³⁶ mi bu phrug sogs mang la dbul zhing 'phongs pa zhis yod pa red/ kho'i khang pa'i 'gram na shing¹³⁷ sdong ha cang che la yal 'bad rgyas shing me tog dang 'bras bus gang pa zhis yod cing / de'i me tog dang 'bras bu sogs btson nas lto gos 'tshol gyi yod pa red/ gzhan yang nyi mas 'tshig dus bsil grib byin pa dang / rlung po rgyag dus rlung rten sogs des byed kyi yod pa red/ nyin gcig pha rgan blun po de'i bsam pa la shing sdong 'das nga'i khang par nyi 'od 'gribs pa dang rlung po bkag pa sogs gnod kho na bskyel ba las 'tsho phan la de tsam mi phan pas/ de las shing¹³⁸ sdong 'di bcad nas dgun kha me la bud na phan che snyam nas kho'i bu phrug rnams 'dus nas shing sdong 'di rtsa bkog btang nas nga rgyal chen po byas pa red/ de nas shing sdong rlon pa me la bud tshu du ba mang po thon pas/ yang pha rgan des bu phrug tshar smras pa/ shing sdong phan med 'di me la bud na'ang kho bo'i mig la zan pa dang khang pa yang nag po bzo gin 'dug pas/ 'di ni gang byas kyang mkho med nga tsho'i dgra rang red ces brjod nas/ kho tsho tshang ma mnyam du mthun nas shing dum rnams chu la bskyer nas med par bzos pa red/ de rjes kho pha ma bu phrug tsho'i 'tsho rten yang rlags nas sdug bsngal mang po myang dgos byung ba red/¹³⁹

The allegorical story tells a reader about a carpenter who made a wrong decision and brought his whole life down to ashes alongside

¹³⁶ The syllable *zla* is not clearly printed and is reconstructed by the author of the paper.

¹³⁷ The syllable *shing* is written as *shang* which must have been a typo.

¹³⁸ The syllable *shing* is written as *shang* which must have been a typo.

¹³⁹ *Melong* Vol.28 No.1, January 1963. P.4.

with his family members’ lives. Once again Tharchin, fortunately, provides a reader with a second paragraph that explains the story’s meaning and the basis for his comparison:

As in that example, Chinese communists destroyed their old traditional religion, culture, power and wealth. Moreover, although due to the Great Leap Forward socialism progress showed the unprecedented well-being existence, in reality [Chinese communists are] as that stupid carpenter, instead of doing good to the development of their own region and the fundamental rights of their citizens, [they] brought only harm by destruction. At present, because of the hunger and poverty of people residing in Mainland China, not only there are many deaths, but also, if to look at the actual situation, year by year the state economy, the well-being and the freedom are deteriorating and do not show even a slight progress. [The Chinese communists’] political power will not be able to stay strong for a long time. If we compare the earlier and the present situation in Tibet, it is like a day and a night, like being full with food and being hungry, like paradise and hell. Soon he will do the work of destroying even himself.

*dpe de bzhin rgya dmar gung bran nas kyang / rang gi rgyal khab kyi
sngar srol bzang po'i chos dang shes rig mnga' thang dpal 'byor rnam
rtsa rlags btang nas/ da dung spyi tshogs ring lugs kyi yar rgyas mdun
mchong chen pos sngar na ma grags pa'i bde skyid yod tshul bstan rung /
don dam shing mkhan blun po de nang bzhin rang gi lung par yar rgyas
dang mi ser gyi thob dbang bde rtsa bcas par phan pa'i tshab tu gnod
gyur gtor rlags kho na btang nas da lta rgya nag skam sa chen por gnas
pa'i mi dmangs rnam kyi 'tsho ba tha zhan pas ltogs pas shi skyon byung
ba mang ba ma zad/ lo re nas lo le rgyal khab kyi dpal 'byor/ bde skyid/
rang dbang tshang ma ji nyams ji rgud du 'gro ba las yar rgyas spu tsam
med pa'i gnas thsul bden 'brel la bltas na kho'i srid dbang yun ring sra
brtan thub kyi ma red/ bod la cha bzhag na sngon dang da lta'i gnas tshul
gnyis ni nyin mo dang mtshan mol 'grangs ba dang ltogs pa/ lha yul
dang dmyal khams mtshungs par btang ba red/ ring min kho rang yang
phung pa'i las ka kho rang gis byed kyi yod pa red//.¹⁴⁰*

One could only wonder why Tharchin did not provide a short explanation for each of his figurative pieces in *The Tibet Mirror*. It would have been so useful now. Tharchin presented a rather sullen picture of the life in the PRC and the ‘evil’ Chinese communists there or the Other. “Year by year the state economy, the well-being and the freedom are deteriorating and do not show even a slight progress” (*lo re nas lo le rgyal khab kyi dpal 'byor/ bde skyid/ rang dbang tshang ma ji*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

nyams ji rgud du 'gro ba las yar rgyas spu tsam med), while the Other "instead of doing good ... only brought harm by destruction" (*phan pa'i tshab tu gnod gyur gtor rlags kho na btang*). Apart from this, Tharchin is again using the strategy of modelling the future by playing the role of a prophet predicting that "[the Chinese communists'] political power will not be able to stay strong for a long time" (*kho'i srid dbang yun ring sra brtan thub kyi ma red*) and that "soon he will do the work of destroying even himself" (*ring min kho rang yang phung pa'i las ka kho rang gis byed kyi yod pa red*). It is interesting that Tharchin wrote "he". Who was "he" exactly? Was he Mao Zedong? While describing the changes in Tibet, Tharchin uses an antithesis to draw a sharp line between the old and the present Tibet: "it is like a day and a night, like being full with food and being hungry, like paradise and hell" (*nyin mo dang mtshan mol 'grangs ba dang ltogs pal lha yul dang dmyal khams mtshungs par btang ba red*).

One should also notice that in the allegorical part of the story Tharchin wrote that a carpenter lived in China, but at the same time instead of a traditional Tibetan expression "*rgya nag*" standing for "China" or "*rgya dmar*" standing for "communist China" he employed a different term "*tsi na*", which most obviously resembles the English word "China".

4-2. Prophecies

Tharchin did not limit himself to the allegorical stories and proverbs. As another creative example of his innovative way to conduct the anti-communist discourse in *The Tibet Mirror* one can explore the prophecy 'genre'. For instance, a material entitled "An Old Mongol Makes a Prophecy" (*sog po mi rgan zhig gis lung bstan bshad 'dug/*) from *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.20 No.9 dated December 1, 1952:

Approximately 40 years ago several prophecies were made. "The Chinese will cause a lot of suffering in Outer Mongolia. In order to do that communist Russia will oppress Outer Mongolia. Communism will gradually spread throughout all China. Then there will come the time, when the religious Tibetan country will be also coercively seized by communism. However, for example, in the religious Tibetan land it will be for a short time. Because it is like solar and lunar eclipses and because from then on the communist power will be certainly getting weaker and weaker, in particular starting from the year of the dragon. In the year of the snake the great war will begin throughout the whole world and forces of the followers of the communist enemies of Buddha's teaching will be completely destroyed. In the year, when they collapse, the truce will come about. In the year of the monkey, according to the good old traditions, a

new ruler will be appointed in every country and the sun of happiness will rise throughout the whole world”, – the prophecy said. Many [things] from [it] have come true. Will not the rest come true as well? The prophecy recently made in Japan and the Mongolian prophecy are approximately the same.

deng nas ha lam lo ngo bzhi bcu tham pa'i sngon du lung bstan kha shas bshad 'dug pa 'di lta ste/ rgya mis phyi sog la sdug po gtong ba dang / de'i rkyen gyis u dmar gyis phyi sog btsan dbang byed pa dang / rim pas rgya nag yongs su dmar po'i lam lugs dar ba dang / de nas bod chos ldan gyi ljongs su yang btsan dbang gyis dmar pos 'dzin thabs byed pa zhig gi dus bsleb yong / 'on kyang bod chos ldan gyi zhing du bslebs pa de ni yud tсам dper na/ nyi zla gzas 'dzin pa ltar yin gshis/ de nas bzung dmar po'i dbang thang je zhan je zhan du 'gyur nges gshis/ khyad par du 'brug gi lo nas 'go brtsams te sbrul gyi lor 'dzam gling yongs su dmag chen lang nas bstan dgra dmar lugs kyi rjes 'brang pa'i stobs shugs rtsa med du gtong ba dang / lug gi lor 'dzam gling du dmag thag chod cing / sprel gyi lor 'dzam gling rgyal khag so sor sngar srol bzang po'i lam lugs ltar rang rang ljongs su rgyal po gsar bskos bgyis te 'dzam gling yongs su bde skyid kyi nyi ma 'char ba zhig yong gi red ches lung bstan bshad 'dug pa las mang po bsgrubs 'dug cing da dung yang bsgrub mi yong ngam/ da lam ri gling du bshad pa'i lung bstan dang sog yul gyi lung bstan ha lam gcig pa 'dra po 'dug go/.¹⁴¹

This prophecy was published in *The Tibet Mirror* issue dated December 1, 1952. It was written that the prophecy had been made about 40 years ago, i.e. around 1912. Tharchin's attempt to bring up the content of that prophecy once again in 1952, probably, signifies that he thought it was still well timed for the present moment. According to the traditional Tibetan calendar, December 1, 1952 was still the year of the dragon, but soon to be succeeded by the year of the snake. The year of the monkey was coming in 1956. Therefore, the possible meaning behind this prophecy publication is that in 1953 “the great war” (*dmag chen*) against the communist forces was supposed to start, while by 1956 the communists would be completely defeated and there would be a new world order. At the time of the publication there was an ongoing war in Korea and, perhaps, Tharchin hoped that it would enlarge its scope and the anti-communist struggle would engross the entire world.

Besides an attempt to model the future (e.g. “the communist power will be certainly getting weaker and weaker”, “the great war will begin throughout the whole world”, “forces of the followers of the communist enemies of Buddha's teaching will be completely de-

¹⁴¹ *Melong* Vol.20 No.9, December 1, 1952. P.5.

stroyed"), this prophecy employs the discourse strategy of a precedent extrapolation,¹⁴² which is based on the assumption that if some things from the prophecy came true, "will not the rest come true as well?"

In terms of figurative means, the prophecy is noteworthy for the metaphor "the sun of happiness will rise throughout the whole world" (*'dzam gling yongs su bde skyid kyi nyi ma 'char ba zhig yong gi red*) that is mapping the happiness from the victory over communists to the sun rising and bringing the light, which is illuminating the whole world. Among other means one should not omit the simile comparing the spreading of communist power to something temporary just "like solar and lunar eclipses" (*nyi zla gzas 'dzin pa ltar*) and epithets "the religious Tibetan land" (*bod chos ldan gyi zhing*) and "the good old traditions" (*sngar srol bzang po'i lam lugs*) that were being endangered by the "communist enemies of Buddha's teaching" (*bstan dgra dmar lugs kyi rjes'brang pa*).

Another interesting prophecy entitled "Oracle" was published in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.28 No.3 dated February-March 1963 both in Tibetan and in English. The English version of the prophecy reads the following:

I pay my respects, as to the Crown, to Munindra (i.e. the Buddha). The karma-result of all the beings in the world, including the long-suffering people in the middle of the Himalayas, is indeed wonderful! My Padmapani's (i.e. the Dalai Lama's) light (i.e. compassion) has spread all over the world and the effect of the truth will soon be clearly revealed. The main thing is that all the monks and laymen should meditate on the oath (of unity) as being on the top of their head (i.e. should earnestly bear it in mind). They must abandon their separate parties and create one strong (united) party. The position of the East Red Pig (i.e. Mao Tse Tung) will not last long, but will vanish like a rainbow. Then a change will take place, and the Pig's harvest will be devoured by the Dog. The angry Tiger of the South is lying on the border. After a time the great storm of delusion will come, so don't believe it. The Snake and the Frog of the West will advance and withdraw in various ways. They don't see that they themselves will be ruined. The Cobra of the North is stretching out two tongues. It is somewhat dangerous to all beings. The sufferings of our Chintamani of the Himalayas (i.e. the Dalai Lama) will become clear like the sun.¹⁴³

¹⁴² The precedent extrapolation is a political discourse strategy that builds on the implication that a fact A from the past will inevitably cause a certain fact B in the hypothetical future. Chernyavskaya V., Molodichenko E. P.112.

¹⁴³ *Melong* Vol.28 No.3, February-March, 1963. P.4.

This prophecy was not written by Tharchin himself, the stated author is somebody named Tashi. However, the English translation and the disambiguation of Tashi’s acting characters (Munindra, Padmapani, the Pig) should have been done by Tharchin. It is clear from the text that Tibetans are the “long-suffering people in the middle of the Himalayas”, whose karmic result is “indeed wonderful”. It is also clear who is called the Pig. However, it is hard to say who was the Dog, the Cobra of the North, the Tiger of the South, the Snake or the Frog of the West. It is also a mystery what kind of “Pig’s harvest” was going to be devoured by the Dog and what are the “two tongues” that “the Cobra of the North is stretching out”.

This prophecy is also noteworthy for some examples of the figurative language. The metaphorical naming of the Dalai Lama as “the Chintamani of the Himalayas”, which compares him to the Buddhist wish fulfilling jewel. The similes: the position of Mao Zedong, which “will not last long, but will vanish like a rainbow” and the sufferings of the Dalai Lama that “will become clear like the sun”.

4-3. Songs and Poems

Provocative rebellious songs and poems constitute another figurative venue of Tharchin’s anti-communist discourse. Most of the songs are composed based on the syntactic parallelism. Some of the songs are clear in their meaning, whereas the message of some is entirely figurative and not so obvious. In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.19 No.5 dated August 1, 1951 Tharchin publishes a new song from Lhasa:

Beijing government threw the nine-eyed sling braided with soft wool. [It] went into the Lhasa government. The Lhasa government Kashag [was] sycophantic. Peaceful and white it is numb on the outside. Guided by fierceness and red inside. Numb in the power [they have]. Guided by the power [they] do not have. Whether [it] is peaceful and white or fierce and red, look at the wheel turning!

*'jam po'i bal gyis sles pa'i/ 'ur rdo chu mig dgu sgril/ 'pe cing gzhung nas rgyab pas//lha ldan gzhung la babs song / 'lha ldan gzhung gi bka' shag /rdo la ngo 'dzin gnang dang / 'zhi dkar phyi la spid nas/ 'drag dmar nang la khrid byung / 'yod pa'i dbang gis spid nas/ 'med pa'i dbang gis khrid byung //zhi dkar drag dmar yod med/ 'khor lo 'khor la gzigs dang / 'zhes pa'i gzhas gsar pa deng lha sar len gyi yod pa'i gnas tshul thos//.*¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ *Melong* Vol.19 No.5, August 1, 1951. P.5.

Although the song, probably, ironically refers to the policy of cooperation with Tibetan officials adopted by the Chinese communist authorities after signing of the 17-Point Agreement, it is still not clear why there was used the metaphorical “nine-eyed sling” and what was it exactly? Could that have been the metaphorical intrigues of the Chinese communist authorities in Tibet?

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.20 No.2-3 dated May-June 1952 Tharchin suggests to have a look at the song he heard, however, in the end he asks to investigate if it was true:

Although the liberation reached Tibet, the pride was not broken down. Although Panchen Lama came to Tibet, [he was] not asked to give blessings. Having left yellow mushrooms on the meadow, [one] does not want to eat white mushrooms. Having put aside both religious and secular power, it is not time to ask for the liberation. Stand up! Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans,¹⁴⁵ it is necessary to sacrifice your lives and freedom and to make a wall out of your bodies! Brothers of the six clans, do not be faint hearted. In order to protect your own homeland, it is necessary to strike unanimously. Even if [you] die, [it is] for the cause of religious teaching. Even if [you] are defeated, [it is] for the cause of religious teaching. Whether dead or defeated, [you] do not want to be under the [power of] others. It is time to perform a miracle. It is time to show the wits of a learned person. It is time to show the courage of young people. Do not forget. Do not forget. Tibetans. The history of the Water-Bird year. Tibetan brothers. A year. A year. A year. Defeated. Defeated. Defeated. The army of misleading spirits. Win. Win. Win. Joyfully win.

*bcings bkrol bod la bslebs kyang / / lta ba chag gi ma red/ /paN chen bod
la phebs kyang // phyag dbang zhu gi ma red/ /ser sha spang la bzhas nas/
/dkar sha za 'dod mi 'dug /chos srid gnyis ldan bzhas nas/ /bcings bkrol
zhu long mi 'dug /longs shog longs shog longs shog / gdungs drug gi
spun zla rnams/ /rang srog rang btsan 'ben btsugs/ /rang lus lcags ri
rgyag dgos/ /gdungs drug gi spun rigs tsho/ /snying stobs chung chung
ma byed/ /rang tsho'i pha yul srung ched/ /gcig mthun 'debs lang byed
dgos/ /'chi yang bstan pa'i don red/ /'pham yang bstan pa'i don red/ /'chi
'pham ga la thug kyang / /gzhan gyi 'og la ma 'dod/ /grub pa'i grub rtags
ston ran/ /mkhas pa'i blo rcal ston ran/ /gzhon pa'i dpa' rtsal ston ran/
/ma brjed ma brjed bod rigs/ /chu bya lo yi rgyal rabs/ /bod rigs kyi spun
zla rnams/ /rgyal lo rgyal lo rgyal lo/ /'pham 'pham 'pham log 'dren*

¹⁴⁵ The six original Tibetan clans. According to the myths, there were four or six ancestral Tibetan clans from which the indigenous Tibetan clans later derived. Kapstein M. T. *The Tibetans*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. P.34-35.

*dpung / rgyal rgyal rgyal dga' ldan rgyal.*¹⁴⁶

The most mysterious part of the song is about the yellow and white mushrooms: “Having left yellow mushrooms on the meadow, [one] does not want to eat white mushrooms” (*ser sha spang la bzhang nas / dkar sha za 'dod mi 'dug*). It is hard to perceive the metaphor of these mushrooms. As for the rest, there is once again the appeal to Tibetans to stand up for Tibet and the Buddhist teaching, to be brave, to “strike unanimously” (*gcig mthun 'debs lang byed dgos*) and to sacrifice their life in order to protect their homeland (*rang tsho'i pha yul srung ched*). The Water-Bird year mentioned in the song could refer to the year that started on December 28, 1932 and ended on December 18, 1933. In the previous Water-Monkey year the 13th Dalai Lama made an important political testament warning Tibetans about the dangers awaiting them in the future if they did not listen to him and the 13th Dalai Lama died in the Water-Bird year.¹⁴⁷ However, there is no obvious connection between those facts and the song in general, therefore, it is not clear why the song called not to forget that year.

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.23 No.10 dated October 5, 1956 Tharchin publishes a similar song entitled the “Song of Freedom” (*rang dbang gi glu/*) and written by “a learned person” (*mkhyen ldan zhig nas*):

Stand up! People of their own homes and their own desires, having firmly bunched the iron fists, raise [them] up to the sky. Being able to stand the abuse of the Chinese communist power, now are not likely to bear [any more] suffering. Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans, stand up with [your] flesh and blood for the happiness of independence! Stand up! People that do not want to be servants of the foreigners, waive happily from beneath the national flags as it was earlier. Fat-footed corvee labour [system] now seems to have no limit. Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans, stand up with [your] flesh and blood for the happiness of independence! Stand up! People [that have] the status of animals, unite by the unshakable flesh and blood oath. Servants of the foreigners, which do not have time to escape, now are not likely to do [it]. Stand up! Stand up! The six clans XXX stand up! Stand up! The tsampa eaters, people of ten million bloods, unite your minds. Having experienced the immense massacre of bullying by now. Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans, stand up with [your] flesh and blood for the happiness of independence!

yar lo longs shog rang khyim rang 'dod kyi mi rnam/ /chig sgril dam pos

¹⁴⁶ *Melong* Vol.20 No.2-3, May-June 1952. P.8.

¹⁴⁷ Goldstein M. P.141-142.

lcags kyi khu tshur gnam la 'phyar/ /krung btsan dmar po'i brnyas bzod da ni khur tshod med// longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi spun zla tsho/ /rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog/ yar la longs shog phyi g.yog mi 'dod pa'i mi rnams/ /rgyal dar dga' ba g.yas 'khyil 'og nas sngon la 'gro / tshil rkang gi 'u lag da ni rgyugs tshod med// longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi spun zla tsho/ /rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog/ yar longs shog dud 'gro'i go gnas kyi mi rnams/ /sha dang khrag gi rdo rje'i dam tshig chig tu sgril/ /thar dus med pa'i phyi g.yog da ni rgyag tshod med/ /longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi XXX longs shog /yar longs shog tsam pa za mkhan gyi mi rnams/ /bye ba khrag gi mi rnams blo sems chig tu sgril/ /thub tshod btang ba'i dmar bsad da ni myong tshod med do/ /longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi spun zla tsho/ /rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog /.¹⁴⁸

There are a lot of different materials in *The Tibet Mirror* published with a title “from a learned person”. The “Song of Freedom” is sharper in its expressions than the songs mentioned earlier, but it is devoted to the same appeal to stand up for Tibet. The calling for Tibetans to stand up “with flesh and blood for the happiness of independence” (*rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog*) is repeated three times within the same song. The instruction given in the song is straightforward: “having firmly bunched the iron fists, raise [them] up to the sky” (*chig sgril dam pos lcags kyi khu tshur gnam la 'phyar*), “as it was earlier waive happily from beneath the national flags” (*rgyal dar dga' ba g.yas 'khyil 'og nas sngon la 'gro*), “unite by the unshakable flesh and blood oath” (*sha dang khrag gi rdo rje'i dam tshig chig tu sgril*), “unite your minds” (*blo sems chig tu sgril*) and “stand up with [your] flesh and blood” (*sha dang khrag gis longs shog*).

The theme of the need for Tibetan “brothers” (*spun zla tsho*) to stand up was reiterated in the majority of songs published in *The Tibet Mirror*. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.24 No.11 dated March 1, 1958 in the “Song about the Joy of Tibetan Independence” (*bod rang dbang la dga' ba'i glu gzhas*) Tharchin once again publishes a call for “brothers from the Tibetan region” (*bod ljongs kyi spun zla rnams*) to “stand up united by the strong desire” (*gdungs shugs gcig bsgril gyis longs shog*) and to “stand up with flesh and blood for the joy of independence” (*rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog*).¹⁴⁹

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol. 28 No. 3 dated February-March 1963 under the title “CURRENT SONG” in English with an addition in parentheses “Published in January issue is Reprinted again here below with

¹⁴⁸ *Melong* Vol.23 No.10, October 5, 1956. P.4.

¹⁴⁹ *Melong* Vol.24 No.11, March 1, 1958. P.1.

its English translation” Tharchin places a song in Tibetan followed by an English translation after it. The English translation reads the following:

Like the summer flood that roars
 Came the plundering Chinese in great force
 On this peace-loving Indian soil,
 Suddenly they made an aggression,
 The Chinese themselves proposed disarmament,
 And they themselves have in the end withdrawn.
 At first, like a mad tiger came the Red Chinese,
 Wandering about in the jungles of NEFA.¹⁵⁰
 Secondly, like a thieving dog
 Hiding his tail between his legs he fled.
 Thinking a lump of red-hot iron was flesh
 He got angry and wanted to gobble it up.
 But alas! He burnt his mouth, tongue and throat
 And had to leave it just as it was
 Above the mud-covered firepit.
 With great pride he slapped his thighs,
 Yet how much could he show his strength?
 Now, no more alive, he shall be finished.
 This is our India, the peace-loving country,
 With all other states one in purity.
 Oh now, our countrymen, with courage
 Defend your soil, and come with staves.
 Many other friendly countries
 Contributing arms and weapons
 One after another came.
 Having ‘proved’ their baseless claim to the border
 They created trouble about the order,
 Wanting to be the master of India –
 Is it going mad, that Red China?
 Though the jackal boasts of having grown red fur
 Yet it should not despise the sleeping lion.
 Well, now it will be not long
 Before your life is doomed.
 Hail! to the leader, our Prime Minister,
 Under his skill, with wisdom and bravery
 Rejoice, for a day will surely rise
 When the Red Chinese will be nicely fried.
 India, our peace-loving country,

¹⁵⁰ The North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA), formerly known as the North-East Frontier Tracts, was one of the political divisions in British India and later the Republic of India within the State of Assam. Since 1972 it was part of the Arunachal Pradesh state.

Shall always remain in peace and freedom
 With all other friendly nations.
 May glorious victory be to INDIA.¹⁵¹

The song sounds really harsh and vitriolic towards the PRC (e.g. the PRC is called a “mad tiger” and a “thieving dog” that is “no more alive” and “shall be finished”; “Is it going mad, that Red China?”; “a day will surely rise when the Red Chinese will be nicely fried”). But one should keep in mind that this song was first published in *The Tibet Mirror* in January 1963, while, as it was mentioned earlier, the Sino-Indian border conflict had just ended in November 1962. Thus, the hostility must have probably been still very thick in the air.

Apart from the rebel-spirited songs, Tharchin also published other poetical pieces aimed at either humiliating Chinese communists or bringing up the national spirit of Tibetans in his newspaper. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.26 No.1 dated June 1959 under the title “World’s Liberation” (*dzam gling bcing dkrol*) Tharchin publishes the following article:

According to one newspaper, ever since the establishment of the Communist Party rule in Beijing [the Chinese communists] in China dug into all coffins of [their] ancestors, emperors and local chieftains of the oath time and took out from there precious things and priceless goods from the earlier time of the good era. Nowadays [these things] are sent to make houses, strong manufacture machinery, military equipment, etc. [Chinese communists] will soon make efforts to liberate the whole world. These are the news heard.

Having taken out the real corpses, [they] plunder the surviving [ones].

[They] cut [their] own throats and get weapons.

[They] say the world needs to be liberated.

Having intoxicated with arrogant pride, [they go] mad.

*gsar 'gyur zhig nang gsal/ pe cin du gung bran tang gis dbang bsgyur
 bgyis pa nas bzung / rgya nag tu mna' bo'i dus kyi pha mes rnam dang
 gong ma dang dpon khag gi dur sgam ji yod rnam bsngogs shig gis de'i
 nang sngar bskal pa bzang po'i dus kyi dngos rigs rtsa chen rin thang
 bral ba'i dngos rdzas blugs yod pa rnam bton nas/ deng khang khyim
 dang bzo 'phrul 'khor lo shugs chen dang / dmag chas sogs bzo sgrub bya
 rgyu'i 'gro song du btang ste ring min 'dzam gling yongs la bcing dkrol
 gtong thabs la 'bad kyi yod pa red ces gsal 'dug pa'i gnas tshul//
 ro dngos bton nas gson dngos bcom/*

¹⁵¹ *Melong* Vol.28 No.3, February-March 1963. P.4-5.

*rang ske gcod byed mtshon cha sgrub/ /
 'dzam gling bcing dkrol gtong dgos zer/ /
 nga rgyal dregs pas bzi zhing smyo/ /.*¹⁵²

It is interesting that Tharchin does not indicate the exact source of the information he published, therefore, leaving a chance that this poem could have been written by *The Tibet Mirror* editor himself. As in most of the previous examples Chinese communists are once again portrayed as the evil Other crossing the line and engaging in the morally wrong doings.

For another peculiar example of a poem one can take a look at *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.28 No.1 dated January 1963. Tharchin publishes there a didactic poem about the good and the evil referring to communist China and Tibet. The poem is based on the syntactic parallelism and is quite simple in style:

The ultimate [form] of righteousness becomes the victorious.
 The ultimate [form] of lying becomes a defeat.
 The result of good deeds turns into tranquillity.
 The result of nonvirtuous deeds turns into suffering.
 The good finally becomes the victorious.
 The evil finally becomes destruction.
 Even if a learned person is defeated, in the end [he/she] will win.
 Even if a stupid person wins, in the end he will be defeated.
 Even if Communist China wins, in the end it will be defeated.
 Even if religious work is defeated, in the end it will win.

*bden pa'i mthar thug rgyal bar 'gyur//
 brdzun gyi mthar thug pham par 'gyur//
 dge ba'i 'bras bub de bar 'gyur//
 mi dge'i 'bras bu sdug bsngal 'gyur//
 bzang po mtha' mar rgyal bar 'gyur//
 ngan pa mtha' mar phung bar 'gyur//
 mkhas pa pham yang mtha' mar rgyal//
 blun po rgyal yang mtha' mar pham//
 rgya dmar rgyal yang mtha' mar pham//
 dkar phyogs pham yang mtha' mar rgyal//.*¹⁵³

The poem ends with an appeal: “I ask all to serve well to [your] government!” (*tshang mas gzhung gi zhabs 'degs legs par zhus shig /*).¹⁵⁴

Talking about poems and the anti-communist rhetoric in *The Tibet*

¹⁵² *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.5.

¹⁵³ *Melong* Vol.28 No.1, January 1963. P.4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Mirror one should not forget mentioning the acrostics. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.24 No.12 dated April 1958 Tharchin publishes an acrostic entitled "From a Learned Person" (*mkyen ldan zhig nas*), which is divided into two parts. The first part of the acrostic is written in reverse alphabetical order and starts with *a*, the last letter of Tibetan alphabet:

a Oh! Communist chiefs,
ha Do not frightfully bully!
sa This Tibetan capital on the earth
sha [Stop] selling [it] because [you] do not love [it]
la And buying and calculating some [things] stop, okay!
ra Like putting goats and sheep in the slaughterhouse,
ya How pitiful is this strange massacre!
'a Besides using relationships to carelessly do evil,
za Did not know how to cause difficulties to get a bribe.
zha Those blind male and female [ones] from the highest stratum of the aristocracy
wa Are running in zigzags like foxes after communist China.
dza Reckless behaviour filled the world to the brim,
tsha While seeing hot and cold sufferings,
tza As a partridge insist.
ma Having malevolently gently deceived,
ba Spread out a cobweb on all, upper and lower.
pha Besides separating families apart,
pa Fathers get imprisoned by sons and grandsons,
na When [they] rise in age, [they] are put into deep holes.
da [You] still make a lot of discussions,
tha In the end [you] do only massacre.
ta Tathāgata's religious teaching
nya As if a fish is taken out on the plain.
ja Owing to tea, beer and money Buddhism is lost.
cha Spreading out newspapers without a style,
ca [You] do only idle talking at [your] own wish.
nga "Except for myself there is nobody else", –
ga [You] broadcast everywhere.
kha Not a single action squared with [your] words,
ka [You] learners of the alphabet and writing.

a a tsis gung phran dpon 'go tsho/ /
ha ha las thub tshod ma gtong zhig/ /
sa sa steng bod kyi rgyal sa 'di/ /
sha sha tsha med pas 'tshong rgyu dang / /
la la las nyo rtsis zhog cig ang / /
ra ra lug bshas rar tshud pa ltar/ /
ya ya mtshan dmar gsod ya re nga / /
'a 'a 'ur ngan byas ngo 'khyer thog /
za za sems byas pa ma shes pa'i/ /

zha zha ra mi drag pho mo 'gas/ /
 wa wa ltar rgya dmar rjes su rgyugs/ /
 dza dza lang spyod pas 'dzam gling bkang / /
 tsha tsha grang sdug bsngal mthong bzhin du/ /
 tsa tsa ko ra ltar u tshugs byed/ /
 ma ma rung khog bcug 'jam bslus kyis//
 ba ba thag stod smad kun la bkram/ /
 pha pha ma bu phrug kha 'phral thog /
 pa pa pha btson 'jug bu tshas btang / /
 na na so rgas na dong du bcug/ /
 da da dung skad cha mang po 'dri/ /
 tha tha ma dmar gsod kho na byed/ /
 ta ta thA ga ta'i bstan pa la/ /
 nya nya mo thang la bton pa ltar/ /
 ja ja chang dngul gyis rgyal bstan brlag /
 cha cha lugs med pa'i tshags par bkram//
 ca ca co rang 'dod sha stag bshad/ /
 nga nga rang ma gtogs med do zhes/ /
 ga ga sa ga la rgyang sgrags btang / /
 kha kha don gcig kyang ma mtshungs pa/ /
 ka ka kha yi ge slob khag byas/ /.¹⁵⁵

The second part of the acrostic continues in the right alphabetical order starting with *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, etc. and ending with the line starting with letter *a*. The acrostic does not seem to sound as smooth as an ordinary poem or song, which is probably the result of the necessity to find a certain rhyme and meaning depending on the first letter, which starts each following line. However, one could only applaud the ability of the 'learned' author to render his anti-Communist feelings and ideas throughout such a long and demanding poem. It is not known who was the mysterious "learned person" that contributed to *The Tibet Mirror* with anti-communist materials, but there is a possibility that it could have been Tharchin himself.

Conclusion

These were some of the peculiar examples of Tharchin's news reporting and self-expression in *The Tibet Mirror*. To sum up, while browsing through *The Tibet Mirror* publications on Tibet and China from 1949-1963 one can find numerous figurative means of expression not only in terms of language (metaphors, hyperboles, oxymorons, similes), but also in terms of 'genres' (songs, poems, prophecies, sayings and maxims). Tharchin's style of writing arouses a number of ques-

¹⁵⁵ *Melong* Vol.24 No.12, April 15, 1958. P.2.

tions, which, however, could hardly have a concrete answer.

First of all, why would Tharchin go into trouble creating such elaborated unusual publications instead of ordinary news reports? An artistic touch to rendering information in *The Tibet Mirror* has a multidimensional perspective. Allegories are useful for putting forward the author's political or moral point of view. Tharchin's publications stand for something larger in meaning than what they literary stand for. Tharchin's publications create certain images. Tharchin's figurative approach was an efficient way to affect the information perception, awaken the readers' imagination and provoke the desired emotional response. Most images created by Tharchin were vivid and vibrant. Not only Tibetans practically any reader could relate and develop some sympathy to the pictures drawn in *The Tibet Mirror* by the editor. Besides, black and white categories of good and evil, happiness and grief, truth and false often used by Tharchin for rendering news in *The Tibet Mirror* employed less formal language and were more intelligible for an ordinary reader, who could later repeat an allegorical story or an ironical song to others.

Secondly, what images did Tharchin construct after all? Tharchin was passionately trying to stir up the Tibetan social thought by depicting the alleged morally and legally wrong doings by Chinese communists against common people in the form of songs, poems and regular news reports with creative twists. *The Tibet Mirror* editor strived to create the impressive solid images of the Chinese communist aggressors, once independent and to be independent in the future Tibet and the somewhat homogeneous Tibetan population spread across the Tibetan Plateau, but united by traditional Tibetan culture, Buddhism and the desire to stand up for the independence of Tibet.

Thirdly, it is not clear to which extent Tharchin was inspired by the British newspapers and other sources of information and whether his extraordinary news rendering creativity was a matter of a voluntary choice or a necessary measure adopted to bypass the censorship.

Nevertheless, despite some ambiguous aspects of Tharchin's personality and his side activities, Kalimpong's geographical location and Tharchin's working mode involving regular communication with live informants certainly add value to *The Tibet Mirror* as an additional source on modern Tibetan history.

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Review of *Social Regulation. Case Studies from Tibetan History*. Edited by Saul Mullard and Jeannine Bischoff. (Brill Tibetan Studies Library.41) Leiden: Brill 2017. X, 257pp., 109,00€.

Franz Xaver Erhard

(Leipzig University)

Interest in Tibet and her society for most of the time was and largely still is limited to the religious, usually Buddhist, and the political domain. No wonder then, the social history of Tibet, compared to classical fields of Tibetological research such as political and religious history, or philosophy, is a gravely unexplored field. In past decades, the gradual opening of the People's Republic of China and Tibet to international visitors sparked a rise of ethnographical and anthropological fieldwork in Tibetan areas of China, bearing tremendously interesting results. Nevertheless, while this research helped greatly to understand Tibetan societies and ordinary Tibetan's life in the 20th and 21st centuries, these studies can tell but little about the social history of Tibet under the rule of the Ganden Phodrang (dGa'ldan pho brang) government (mid-17th—mid-20th centuries). As Ken-saku Okawa points out, due to a lack of access to original sources, the study of social history of pre-1950 Tibet could only be reconstructed by "substitutive ethnography" (197n1). However, in recent years more and more archival sources gradually became available and made the historical study of Tibetan social history more feasible and comprehensive.

The Franco-German research project "Social History of Tibetan Societies, 17th—20th Centuries"—some results are presented in the volume under discussion here—has considerably stimulated research over the past years. The first volume, *Tibetans Who Escaped the Historians Net*,¹ perhaps opened the field by identifying the agents of Tibetan social history. The second volume *Social Regulation. Case Studies from*

¹ Charles Ramble, Peter Schwieger and Alice Travers, eds., *Tibetans Who Escaped the Historians Net: Studies in the Social History of Tibetan Societies* (Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2013).

Tibetan History now turns the focus away from the agents, highlighting their social relationships and especially the modes and means that govern these relations.

The volume presents altogether nine case studies each concerned with archival materials, i.e. different types of legalistic documents such as treaties, law codes, constitutions, contracts, taxation manuals or title deeds. Other sources informative on the topic of social history and social regulation such as biographies and memoirs were intentionally not considered for the volume.² Moreover, the volume presents case studies from Central Tibet, Sikkim and Nepal, but excludes the vast pastoral regions of Amdo and, with the exception of Peter Schwieger's contribution on rGyal thang (Chapter 5), also Khams. The case studies are supplemented by a thorough introduction by the editors Jeannine Bischoff and Saul Mullard as well as Fernanda Pirie's (Chapter 10) essay on Tibetan morality and legalism, which provides a necessary discussion of the underlying Tibetan concepts of political rule and social regulation.

Each case study takes the reader to a specific social domain and addresses different social relations and their regulations. The presented case studies, all interesting, valuable and full of detailed information by themselves, help to create a mosaic representation of highly multifaceted, heterogeneous and decentralized Tibetan societies.

The description and analysis of the legal documents allows for a rough functional division into three categories. First, the documents set forth the rules and regulations in a literal sense. Second, the documents' function transcends this literal reading and aims at an idealistic establishment, constitution and stabilization of a social group. Third, the documents regulate legal but also social and moral relations between social groups or individuals.

In Tibetan societies, there are some indications of general moral and social rules as set out in the various law codes (*zhäl lce*) addressing all Tibetans. Nevertheless, rules for ordinary people could easily be ignored or broken by members of elite communities who were more or less separated from the life of common villagers and families. Such violation occurred occasionally or perhaps even frequently and thus may have prompted the formulation of particular rules for specific social groups. One such example are Tibetan monastic communities. Berthe Jansen (Chapter 3) introduces monastic guidelines (*bca' yig*) as

² Such sources, however, were the specialized topic of the workshop "Social Status as Reflected in Tibetan Fictional Narrative Literature, Biography and Memoirs" (<http://www.tibetanhistory.net/tibstat-conferences/social-status-as-reflected-in-tibetan-fictional-narrative-literature-biographies-and-memoirs/>) organized in May 30—31, 2017 within the follow-up research project *Social Status in the Tibetan World*.

a window into the Tibetan monastery as a social group. By describing *bca' yig* in great detail as a literary genre, Jansen successfully presents them as a pragmatic and versatile means to set up the rules of monastic behaviour and demonstrates "the efforts made by the authors to regulate the monastic community and to negotiate its position within society" (76). In a similar fashion, Alice Travers (Chapter 4) focusses on another much understudied social group, the Tibetan army. She presents the *lcags stag dmag khrims*, a military law code from 1950, the first of its kind in Tibet. The code is seen as a prerequisite for the revival of the Tibetan army that had fallen in decay over the past decades. Hence, it appears, that the code answers a number of shortcomings in conduct and organisation of the army and at the same time attempts to formulate a Tibetan military ideal.

As Fernanda Pirie points out, the *zhal lce* seem to mostly have mere ceremonial importance, while the rules governing day-to-day social relations most often took the form of "private agreements" (241). Perhaps the most common form of such agreements are obligation contracts (*gan rgya*) as studied by Jeannine Bischoff (Chapter 6). Her presentation of contractual relations between *mi ser*, Tibetan serfs, and their estate lords reveals much about the living conditions of ordinary Tibetans, but also about the ethical principles invoked in the contracts that often lacked the necessary backing of an executive power. The documents show that social relations were based on the estate lord's benevolence for his subjects, which had to be reciprocated by gratitude. A breach of this ethical principle was to be punished.

Kensaku Okawa (Chapter 8) focusses on the important genre of *gtan tshigs* or land tenure documents. He shows how the rights of family and monastic estates balanced the government's power. The validity of the documents, however, was often questioned by competitors which led to frequent reconfirmations of documents often in very short periods. Hence, Okawa points out that *gtan tshigs* appear as documents of horizontal conflict regulation, for instance in land disputes between estates.

Kalsang Norbu Gurung (Chapter 9) introduces the *Iron-Tiger Land Settlement* (*lcags stag zhib gzhung*), an 1830 document recording arable fields for tax purposes, which exists in various copies of different length and detail. While the census improved and stabilised the dGa' ldan pho brang government's income, it functioned at the same time as a counterbalance to estate holder's interests, as it protected people from unjust taxation.

As already indicated by Okawa's study of *gtan tshigs*, besides the foremost purpose of a document, there may also be secondary objectives such documents are meant to achieve. One case is certainly Saul

Mullard's (Chapter 1) reading of the 1876 *Fifteen-clause Domestic Settlement* (*nang 'dum*), a document that regulates Nepalese immigration into Sikkim. As Mullard convincingly demonstrates, the Nepalese are made a scapegoat for two homemade problems in Sikkim, namely emigration of larger parts of Sikkimese commoners due to bad living conditions mostly into British territories, and political and economic conflict and competition between the larger and lesser aristocratic estates. The document glosses over these problems by inventing a new national identity, founded on the three ethnic communities of Sikkim (Lepcha, Limbu, Lhopo). Charles Ramble and Nyima Drandul (Chapter 2) present another interesting case, an unusual *gan rgya*. Much different from the documents presented by Bischoff, this *gan rgya* pretends to be a contract for social reform. Its main aim seems to have been the simplification and modernization of village ceremonies and the burden they bear on individual families. However, none of the reforms have been implemented and thus the true intention for writing up and signing such a document must lie with other developments, perhaps with, as Ramble suggests, the modernistic and rationalistic impact of the Maoist-inspired "Back to the Village National Campaign" as it was promoted in the 1960s in Nepal. The brief contribution underscores the fact that the existence of a document does not necessarily mean its implementation as social practice or that this was the actual intention of the document.

On first sight, Yuri Komatsubara's study (Chapter 7) falls a bit out of place as it presents the Chinese version of the important peace treaty of 1792 between the Gorkha kingdom of Nepal and the dGa' ldan pho brang government for the first time in English translation. The treaty is an important document for the history of Tibetan international relations in 18th century. The document, as it turns out, is preoccupied with the well-being of the inhabitants of the border region as well as safeguarding their trade relations.

Peter Schwieger (Chapter 5) looks at the traces of shifts in political power, which have influenced the practice and wording of documents in the Tibetan border area of rGyal thang (Chin. Zhongdian) or Shangrila. The documents clearly reflect the shift of power from the Qoshot Mongols to the Qing emperor as the new overlord after 1727. However, while the Qoshots seem to have more frequently intervened in local jurisdiction and legislation, the Qing court largely confirms the legislation of the dGa' ldan pho brang government.

The volume is generally well edited and of high quality. The reader will be especially grateful for the transcriptions and occasional translations (especially of the Tibet-Gorkha-treaty) in some of the studies, which make the difficult material more accessible. The occasional inclusion of images of documents (48, 63, 96–98, 171, 174), even though

unfortunately only in black and white, give an idea of the materiality of the texts. Given the high price of the book, a few of the contributions would have profited from thorough copy editing, as it becomes obvious in a few inconsistencies such as “Zhwa dmar ba” (183) versus “Zhwa dmar pa” (e.g. 184); also “*blong*” (204) for “*blon*”, or “mostly likely” (219) instead of “most likely”.


While the heterogeneity of the presented materials is certainly a main strength of the volume, it is also one of its problematic aspects. Even though Fernanda Pirie (Chapter 10) gives a conspectus of the disparate chapters and sources of the volume and puts them into the context and perspective of Tibetan legalism, and despite the editor’s thorough introduction to Tibetan social history, it remains difficult to come to a greater, encompassing overall picture of Tibetan social history. It remains a bit vague how representative the case studies are. Nevertheless, what becomes clear from the material and analysis presented, is that Tibetan societies and the interaction of different social groups and statuses were less guided by the great law codes such as the *zhal lce*, as Pirie convincingly argues, but regulated “in the form of private agreements,” in which “an arrangement between particular people, rather than generally applicable rules” were set out (241).

The volume will prove extremely helpful for any historical, philological or literary study of the dGa’ ldan pho brang era as it provides us with intriguing details on the social life in traditional Tibetan societies that form the context of political as much as of religious history. Moreover, the volume presents an image of Tibet that is a welcome corrective to the long established and still widely accepted view of Tibet as a unified nation with a homogenous society.



Akester, Matthew, *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*, Chicago (Serindia Publications), 2016. 824 pp. ISBN 978-1-932476-60-6.

Per Kværne
(University of Oslo)

amyang Khyentsé Wangpo (1820–1892) is widely recognized as one of the most important intellectual and spiritual masters in Tibet in the nineteenth century. It is therefore not without relevance to point to Matthew Akester's earlier book containing a carefully annotated translation of the biography of this great Tibetan scholar, composed by the latter's disciple, friend and colleague, the not less renowned scholar Jamgön Kongtrul (1813–99): *The Life of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo by Jamgön Kongtrul*, New Delhi (Shechen Publications), 2012.

A native of Dergé, Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo was at the centre of the *ris med* 'eclectic' or 'non-partisan' movement which reached its apex in Eastern Tibet in the nineteenth century. Among the strongest motives for travelling extensively in Central Tibet was his interest in different religious traditions, and although such pious peregrinations were common then – as they remain today – writing a handbook for other pilgrims (as opposed to catalogues and inventories of specific monasteries) was new. His *Guide* (*dBus gtsang gnas rten rag rim gyi mtshan byang mdor bsdus dad pa'i sa bon*),¹ compiled on the basis of travels in Central Tibet in the 1840's, would therefore seem to be the first of its kind; it gained wide popularity and is still in print in Tibet.

Apart from a few earlier references (Ferrari 1958, p. xx), Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's *Guide* first came to the notice of Western scholars in 1958 with the posthumous publication in the *Serie Orientale Roma* of Alfonsa Ferrari's annotated translation.² Unfortunately Ferrari (1918–1954) did not live to see the publication of her work, which was completed and edited by Luciano Petech in collaboration with Hugh Richardson, the latter also supplying a considerable number of photos of the places dealt with in the *Guide*. At the time of its

¹ This is the title found in the Dergé edition. Different editions have different titles, cf. p. 17 and note 26.

² Ferrari, Alfonsa, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Rome (IsMEO), 1958. Serie Orientale Roma XVI.

publication, Ferrari's work was a uniquely informative and richly annotated source of information concerning the monasteries and temples of Central Tibet, which has retained its usefulness until today.

Matthew Akester's work, which largely replaces the Italian study from 1958, is impressive. For once, the term "awesome", in current usage usually emptied of its meaning, is not out of place. It is, with respect to comprehensiveness combined with breadth and variety of its sources, among the most ambitious works this reviewer has seen in Tibetan studies for a great many years. Briefly stated, it contains a translation of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's *Guide*, a short and concise text, comprising only 18 fols. in the original rDzong-gsar edition (p. 15), reproduced in Akester's work (pp. 702-710). Following the *Guide*, Akester divides this text into sections, each section dealing with a district in Central Tibet. The individual monastery or temple mentioned in the relevant section is then presented in great detail – in fact, each entry, in all about 200, is a virtual storehouse of information. Akester makes use of multiple historical sources, primary as well as secondary, to outline the history of each location through the centuries: its foundation, expansion or decline, famous (and less famous) monks and lamas associated with it, and, not least, its fate during the disastrous period of the pre-1960's and the subsequent Cultural Revolution. He then describes the process of reconstruction, generally from the 1980's onwards, and the current state of the monastery or temple. Abundant notes contain a wealth of supplementary information concerning lamas and textual sources, including references to Jamyang Khyentsé's biography, and much else. There are indexes of place-names and personal names, with transliterated spellings.

A major source of information is the *Moon Crystal Necklace* (*Gangs ljong dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do*) a "pilgrimage diary of ...Urgyen Chökyi Gyatso of Ka-tok (1880–1925), a far more ambitious work (280 folia)...compiled from notes made by the author during his 1918-20 tour of Ü-Tsang" (p. 17). This work, which has so far not been translated into English, is to a large extent a commentary to Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's *Guide*.

The illustrations are exceptionally numerous and well chosen. They include photos of thangkas and statues of important lamas, as well as wall paintings and actual portrait photos, many of which have not been published before, at least in Western publications. The author systematically presents pre-1959 photos of the temples and monasteries wherever available, making the book the most comprehensive photographic documentation of its kind up to now. Some of the photos taken by the late Hugh Richardson have been

published previously in other publications, but many others will be new to almost all readers, not least the many photos taken by the Gyalyum Kunsang Dechen Tsono Namgyel (1906–1987) during her pilgrimage in Central Tibet in 1935-36. With more than 200 sites described, the book gives a unique and deeply disturbing insight into the scale of the destruction that took place in Tibet after 1960, both before and during the Cultural Revolution, simply by juxtaposing the "before" and "after". The extent of reconstruction, especially in the 1980's and 1990's, is also amazing, especially taking into account that most of the funding was provided by Tibetans locally, in the form of donations and voluntary labour.

A highly commendable feature of the present work is the fact that in the 1990's the author visited a great many of the sites mentioned in the *Guide*, resulting not only in numerous photos, but also in the collection of oral information which contributes to the unique usefulness of this book.

Reviewing a work of such complexity, it is not possible to provide a brief presentation of even a selection of the entries. The possible sources of pictorial material might of course be expanded, but wherever choice is possible, the author seems to have made a judicious choice. It might nevertheless be useful to point out to interested readers two works containing illustrations which supplement Akester's presentation of the holy sites of Lhasa:

- Vaniš, Josef, Vladimir Sis, Josef Kolmaš, Per Kvaerne, *Recalling Tibet*, Oslo/Prague (The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture/ Práh Press), 1997 (containing numerous photos not published in Sis and Vaniš, *On the road through Tibet*, London (Spring Books), 1957.
- Larsen, Knud and Amund Sinding-Larsen, *The Lhasa Atlas. Traditional Tibetan Architecture and Townscape*, London (Serindia Publications), 2001.

The book is provided with maps that "attempt to depict central Tibet as it was in the middle of the nineteenth century, at the time of Khyentsé Rinpoche's travels, using a traditional Tibetan format with which he would have been familiar (p. 9)". While the resulting maps contribute to recreating the mid-19th century atmosphere in Tibet, Akester's book would have benefited – and this is the only element which I feel is lacking in this volume – from a detailed conventional map, pinpointing the exact location of each site.

Akester's work is the result of decades of travelling and reading, dedication and careful scholarship. It is a unique and extraordinary

book, a virtually inexhaustible mine of information and a pleasure to read (the speed recommended by this reviewer is one entry a day). Whether one's primary interest is the religious, political or cultural history of Central Tibet, this work is fundamental, and due to the circumstances of its origin, is not likely to be superseded.

