

Maintenance of the Bonpo Monastic Community in Contemporary Tibetan Society: With Special Reference to Performance of ‘*Cham* in Amdo Shar-khog

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1. Introduction

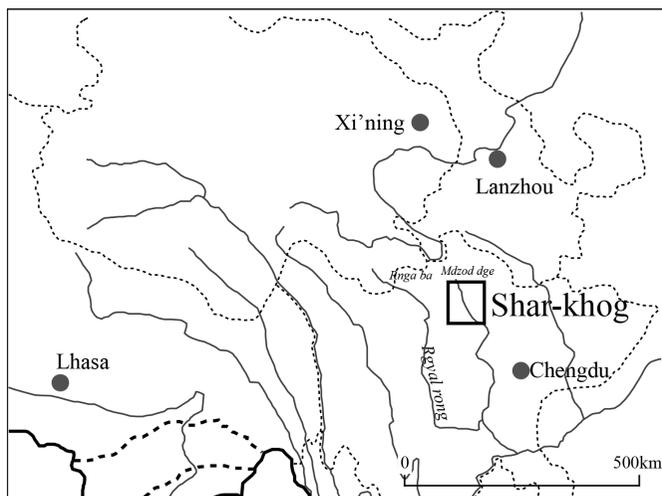
This paper examines the social aspect of Tibetan Bon religion in contemporary Tibetan society on the eastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau.¹⁾ Bon (Bön) has been generally regarded as a religion with an origin that predated the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in the seventh century. Academic studies of Bon have rapidly developed since the mid-20th century and reveal that Bon is not simply a “primitive religion,” as believed by some early Western scholars, but rather a rich tradition that supports Tibetan basic culture. Kværne (2000: 7) pointed out that the study of Bon in the West has attempted to clarify the relationship among the following forms: (1) early, pre-Buddhist Bon and present Bon, (2) present Bon as a religious school and Tibetan Buddhism, (3) Bon in either sense of the word and as a popular, non-monastic religion. In this context, present Bon, or Yungdrung Bon (*g.yung drung bon*), refers to the systematized religion with a monastic system and doctrine that developed after the 11th century because of its close interactions with Buddhism. When the term “Bon” is used in this paper, it refers to this tradition.²⁾

Materials analyzed in this paper were gathered through anthropological field research in the Shar-khog (*shar khog*) District over the course of 18 months from 2006 to 2013. Specific research on the annual ritual of the monastery was conducted from 2007 to 2009. Shar-khog is in the northern part of Songpan (*Zung chu* or *Zing chu*) County in the Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, in a mountainous area of Sichuan Province. The population of Songpan County was 76,233, which includes 33,598 Tibetans in 2015 (Aba zhou difanzhi bianweihui 2016: 341). Villages in Shar-khog are situated in the wide valley of the Minjiang River and mostly consist of Tibetan residents called Sharba (*shar ba*).

This area is historically a borderland between the residences of the Han people and Tibetans. Several villages formed federations called *sho khag*, which were governed by local lords, or *‘go ba*. Each federation had its own monasteries and worshipped the holy mountains. These monasteries and the lives of the monks depend on contributions from laypeople. Historically, the laypeople made their living as middlemen of trade who transported tea from Yunnan Province to the northern nomadic area.

Since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, however, the main occupation of the Shar-khog laity has shifted to the cultivation of barley and the gathering and selling of medicinal herbs. The latter, in particular, is one of the key activities through which laypeople earn their income. Some households keep cattle and sheep to graze in the pastures on the high plateau, but these have decreased in recent years.

In addition to these traditional ways of living, village residents have taken up jobs associated with tourism to sustain not only themselves but monastic activities as well. This trend has been promoted by the development of the Jiuzhaigou and Huanglong natural reserves, which were registered as UNESCO World Natural Heritage areas in 1992. In particular, tourism development in Huanglong, which is located to the east of Shar-khog and situated under the holy mountain *Shar dung ri*, has provided new opportunities for the people. The local people work in restaurants and hotels, as well as in tourism centers, as guides or maintenance staff in the national reserve, or at the Jiuzhai Huanglong airport, which opened in 2003.



Map: Location of Shar-khog

The majority of the population in Shar-khog are Bonpos. The worship of the holy mountains and monastic life have been the core of the region's religious activity. There are 12 Bon monasteries in Shar-khog, including one nunnery (Tsering Thar 2003: 605–642), and two holy mountains, *Shar dung ri* and *Byang bya dur*, which are well-known pilgrimage sites.

The *sKyang tshang* monastery (hereinafter the “S monastery”), which is the main subject of this paper, was established in 1268 by *bSod nams bzang po*, who descended from the *sGur skyang* lineage in *mDzod dge* (Tsering Thar 2003: 615). Its religious tradition has been constructed through interregional connection of monasteries in eastern and central Tibet.³⁾ The monastery consists of communal ritual spaces, such as the assembly hall (*'du khang* or *tshogs khang*⁴⁾), as well as an institution for monastic education where novice monks live and study together. In 2009, 94 monks lived in the monastery,⁵⁾ including roughly 40 novices. As was the case with other religious institutions in China during the late 1950s to the 1970s, the monastery's religious activity was interrupted temporarily and was gradually reconstructed since the 1980s.⁶⁾

This paper focuses on the maintenance of communal rituals at the S monastery. Several annual rituals performed at the monastery reflect the relationship between the monastery and its lay community. The monastery is surrounded by three villages (*sde ba*) that formed a federation governed by a *'go ba* prior to the 1950s and still have a very close relationship with the monastery. For example, most of the monks at the monastery are from these villages, and laypeople make regular donations to the monastery, especially during large festivals and when monks perform daily rituals at individual households. An examination of the rituals also shed light on how monks cooperate to manage complicated ritual processes. By describing the structure and processes of rituals, including the performance of *'cham*, this paper aims to clarify one social aspect of the Bonpo monastic community in contemporary contexts.

2. Annual Rituals of the Monastery

Duchen (*dus chen*) is the day when almost all monks at the S monastery gather for a large-scale ritual. It is held at the same time every year on specific dates, and *dge bskos*, who is in charge of discipline, prepares a seat order list with the names of all members of the monastery and puts it in the front of the assembly hall. All monks are obligated to participate in Duchen, and monks under the age of 60 who are absent from the ritual

Table I: Annual Rituals of *sKyang tshang* Monastery in Early 1950s and 2009

| No. | early 1950s | | 2009 | |
|-----|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| | Date (Tibetan calendar) | Name and contents | Date (Lunar calendar) | Name and contents |
| 1 | 1/4-1/5 | <i>mnyam med dus chen</i> | 1/4-1/5 | <i>mnyam med dus chen</i> |
| 2 | 1/6 | Ritual at <i>la btsas</i> | 1/6 | Ritual at <i>la btsas</i> |
| 3 | 1/20-1/29 | intensive training for ' <i>cham</i> and <i>mtshan nyid</i> | | |
| 4 | 2/1-2/16 | <i>sKyang tshang ma tri</i> | 2/1-2/16 | <i>sKyang tshang ma tri</i> |
| 5 | | | 2/14 | <i>blo bzang rgya mtsho'i dus chen</i> |
| 6 | 3/28-3/29 | <i>Ma rgyud</i> | 3/28-3/29 | <i>Ma rgyud</i> |
| 7 | 4/1-4/5 | <i>dbyar srung</i> | 4/1-4/2 | <i>dbyar srung</i> |
| 8 | Not fixed (one week) | <i>dgon khag</i> (Assembly of monasteries in Shar-khog) | one week in the 5th month | <i>dgon khag</i> (Assembly of monasteries in Shar-khog) |
| 9 | | | 6/2 (Western calendar) | Teaching by the lupon for laypeople |
| 10 | | | 7/6 | <i>smra dbang bstan blo dus chen</i> |
| 11 | 11/7-11/8 | <i>skyabs mgon dus chen</i> | 11/7 | <i>skyabs mgon dus chen</i> |
| 12 | 11/28-11/29 | <i>A sngags rtogs ldan dus chen</i> | 11/28 | <i>A sngags rtogs ldan dus chen</i> |
| 13 | Not fixed (in Winter) | <i>sngon 'gro</i> | 12/1-12/21 (Western calendar) | <i>sngon 'gro</i> |
| 14 | 12/29-12/30 | <i>dgu gtor</i> | 12/29-12/30 | <i>dgu gtor</i> |

have to pay a penalty. Because most of the S monastery monks do not live together but make their livelihood by conducting personal rituals at households in the community, the annual rituals are the few opportunities when the monastic community as a unit becomes visible to all villagers.

Table I summarizes annual rituals held at the monastery in the 1950s and in 2009. The former is derived from interviews with elder monks who served as novices at that time. In the 1950s, rituals were held according to the Tibetan calendar, and since the 1980s, the dates for the rituals have

been designated using the lunar calendar (agriculture calendar), which is a common practice in China. The length of the assembly term was shorter in 2009 than in the 1950s. Monks were obliged to participate for 41 days in a year but only 29 in 2009. Additionally, three events were added since the 1980s; two are memorial rituals for former abbots, and the other is a teaching by lopon (*slob dpon*, “chief teacher”) for lay people. Also, *sngon 'gro*, a collective religious practice as a part of Dzogchen, conducted by the lopon has been expanded.⁷⁾

The two principal purposes of Duchen are to commemorate influential figures of the monastery and to pray for peace and prosperity for the monastery and the lay community. For the former, five rituals are devoted to each of the two figures, both of whom had a close relationship with the monastery in its history. The first, “*mnyam med*” *Shes rab rgyal mtshan* (1356–1415) from the *rGyal rong* District, commemorated in ritual No. 1, is widely known as a founder of the Menri (*sMan ri*) monastery in the Tsang District of central Tibet, where the Bonpo monastic community and education has been systematically developed. The second figure, commemorated in ritual No. 11, is *Zla ba rgyal mtshan* (1796–1862) from Shar-khog, who established the Yungdrungling (*g.Yung drung gling*) monastery also in Tsang as a center of dialectics study. Both these figures are credited with developing the common framework of today’s Bon religion, and on Duchen the participants in the rituals are reminded of the monastery’s connection with the traditions of the Bon religion. Additionally, *A sngags bstan pa tshul khrims* (1847–1932, No. 12), who in 1916 moved the monastery to its present location, and *bsTan 'dzin blo gros rgya mtsho* (1889–1976, No. 10) who spearheaded monastic education in the 1950s, are respected as essential figures in the establishment of the present monastery. Two *sku gdung*, two-meter high stupas containing their remains, are enshrined in the assembly hall. Lastly, the rituals also commemorate *Blo bzang rgyam tsho* (1928–1991, No. 5), who led the reconstruction of the monastery in the 1980s.

While all rituals serve the latter purpose, of praying for peace and prosperity for both the religious and secular community in the region, *sKyang tshang ma tri* (No. 4, hereafter “*Ma tri* duchen”) deserves particular discussion here. Held in the second month in the lunar calendar, this ritual has the longest duration and consists of complicated processes. Large-scale communal rituals such as this are also an opportunity to collect donations from laypeople. An elder monk born in the 1930s recalled that there were few donations in the 1950s, and it would have been good

if 10 donations were made even at the time of *Ma tri* duchen. However, in 2008, at least 53 of the 109 households in the *sKyang tshang* Village donated more than 50000 RMB in total during this ritual. This change reflects the rapid economic growth since the late 1990s in this area. Donations are used not only for the management of the ritual but are distributed to participating monks. According to the financial report of the monastery, the *Ma tri* duchen donations paid to monks from April 2006 to March 2007 was 62,643 RMB in total, or approximately 667 RMB per monk in simple calculation. It is evident that income from participating in rituals alone is insufficient to support each monk's livelihood. Therefore, each monk maintains a close relationship with his family and receives donations from private rituals held in households in the village.

3. Structure of “*Ma tri* Duchén”

3.1 Overview of the Ritual

Ma tri Duchén is held every year in the second month in the lunar calendar. The ritual is called *ma zhi qing* (麻支慶) in Chinese, or “monastery festival” (miao hui 廟會). It is a complex religious event in which various rituals are held and ‘*cham*, ritual dance, is performed as the climax of the event. The present lupon of the S monastery considers the origin of *Ma tri* duchen to be from the Tshang District, introduced by the 11th abbot *rGyal sgo rtogs ldan phun tshogs ‘od zer* around the 18th century. After an interruption for about 20 years, the monastery's religious activities resumed in 1984, and *Ma tri* duchen was the first communal ritual to be revived, before the reconstruction of the assembly hall was completed. This demonstrates the crucial place of *Ma tri* duchen in the community, uniting the monks and the laypeople.

Ma tri duchen mainly consists of rather esoteric rituals, in which monks make offerings to powerful deities and obtain their power of purification. Though the process of the ritual is not open to persons besides well-trained specialists, its effect is clearly shown for all participants, including laypeople—a form of a pill (*ril bu*) of Tibetan medicine is distributed at the end of the ritual, and during ‘*cham* deities manifest themselves through dancers' bodies. According to the monks, this ritual is performed to remove *sdig pa* (evil deeds) from people and to encourage them to practice *dge ba* (virtue). Furthermore, it purifies the entire religious space, including the monastery and the villages. Farmers said that it is only after

this ritual can they begin to sow wheat.

The 15-day duration of the ritual is divided into two periods. During the first period, from the first to the seventh day, the monks separate themselves into two groups, one consisting of elder monks and the other of younger monks who live and study together as novices. In the second period, from the eighth to the fifteenth day, they gather in the assembly hall and, in the last two days of the event, perform *'cham* in front of the laypeople.

Rituals held in the first period feature deities *dBal gsas rngam pa* and *Phur ba*. Both of them are from *gSas mkhar mchog lnga* (five deities of *gSas* fortress), a group of important wrathful deities of the Bon religion. The first, *dBal gsas*, has a blue body with 18 arms that hold weapons to destroy disorder. The name of this deity means “ferocious deity with loud voice,” and, true to its name, it has extremely strong power and ferocious nature (Kværne 1995: 77). The second deity, *Phur ba*, is depicted in its lower body, which has a shape of *phur bu*, wedge-shaped dagger with three blades. Rituals for this deity aim to subdue enemies (Karmay 1975: 199). Borrowing powers of these deities, *Ma tri* *duchen* is intended to eliminate obstacles to the activities of the monastery and the village. In the afternoon of the seventh day, *mdos*, a wooden frame about one meter high and decorated by papercutting and strings, is carried out of the assembly hall.⁸⁾ Evil spirits and bad elements are thought to gather around it and follow it to the outskirts of the village, where it—along with the evil spirits—is destroyed, thereby achieving the purpose of the ritual.

In the second half of the period, almost all of the monks gather in the assembly hall and begin prayers of *Ma tri*. *Ma tri* corresponds to a typical mantra of Bon, “*ōṃ ma tri mu ye sa le 'du*,” and is the namesake of this 15-day event. Monks make a mandala called *Ma tri rin chen sgron ma'i dkyil 'khor*⁹⁾ with colored sand. Then, with various offerings, it is enshrined in *gsas khang*, a small shrine placed inside the hall. Tibetan character “A,” which represents *gShen rab mi bo*, and “ma,” which represents *Byams ma*, are drawn in the center of the mandala. Monks contemplate the image of various deities and continue chanting the mantra.

While the chanting and prayers are underway, the power of the deities become channeled (*byin rlabs*) into the round, five-millimeter-long pills. As mentioned before, those pills are also called *ma tri* and are distributed on the last day of the ritual. They are made of various dried medical herbs, which are kept in a repository that dates before the 1950s and is replenished every year. Half of the pills are colored red, which represent

Byams ma, and the rest are blue, which represents *gShen rab mi bo*, corresponding to the mandala. The villagers say, “When you encounter a really serious situation, it is effective if you believe its effect, if you have *sangs rgyas* (buddha) in your mind.” While they are used in Western medicine for usual ailments, in these pills the villagers perceive special meaning and embodied religious power.

3.2 Visualization of Purification through the ‘*Cham*

Deities are thought to manifest themselves in ‘*cham* dancers. ‘*cham* is a mask dance that has been inherited in each sect of Tibetan Buddhism and the Bon. It is said that the dance was originally a ritual dance performed by priests before the spread of Buddhism, as a means to receive supernatural power for various purposes. Since then, several deities and ideas from Buddhism have been incorporated with Tibetan elements to form the style of ‘*cham* (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976: 1–2, 65). ‘*Cham* performed in Bonpo monasteries do not follow the ancient style but instead demonstrates both Buddhist and non-Buddhist elements (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976: 9–11). Also, each ‘*cham* program contains original elements of a given monastery, and thus no two ‘*cham* are completely the same (Kimura 2007: 10).

‘*Cham* is usually performed in an open space in front of the assembly hall. A circle or square line is drawn according to the type of deity being celebrated or commemorated. Dancers appear from the hall and step along this line, in a clockwise direction in Buddhism and counter-clockwise direction in Bon, then disappear again from the hall. When it is performed, other monks form a band and play *dung chen* (long trumpets that are 2–3 m in length), *rgya gling* (hand-held small trumpets), *dung dkar* (white conch shell), and *rnga chen* (big drum). The director of the dance is called ‘*cham dpon* and has both knowledge to understand ‘*chag yig*, the ‘*cham* manual, and masterful dance skills.

In the S monastery, ‘*cham* is performed for two days during *Ma tri duchen*, on the 14th and 15th days, in front of a public audience. At the end of the performance, the audience rush to the dancers and put *kha btags* (silk fabric for offering) on them and worship the deities embodied in the dancers. It is thought that people can directly see and touch deities, whom only expert monks can see usually, outside of special rituals. In response to these gestures, the deities display powerful purification acts in various forms. For example, *nya bo*, a doll approximately 60 cm

high and made of tsampa (roasted flour of barley), is brought from the assembly hall and destroyed by dancers performing *Srid rgyal dus drug* (deity *Srid pa rgyal mo* of six periods of time). Performers cut the doll and put the pieces in skull-made cups (*thod pa* or *ka pa la*); then, holding the cups and *phur bu*, they dance for purification. *Nya bo* is a symbol of everything bad for the monastery—not any specific evil spirits but every vice. It is widely believed that those who do not pursue virtue will receive punishment at this time. Then, at the end of the 15th day, as on the 7th day, a *mdos* is brought from the assembly hall and destroyed. All dancers and monks participating in the ritual form a line and parade to the outskirts of the village, with a large number of laypeople following behind. When the *mdos* is wrecked, the villagers set off firecrackers, and excitement fills the ritual place. When the crowd returns to the monastery, *ma tri*, special pills, are provided for every participant.

Thus, purification is significant in the structure of *Ma tri* duchen, both for purifying and eliminating evil elements for the monastery and the village. Though most of the ritual process is held in the hall and hidden from the laypeople, its effect is publicly displayed in the climax of the program. People comprehend and accept the purpose of the ritual through immediate experience.

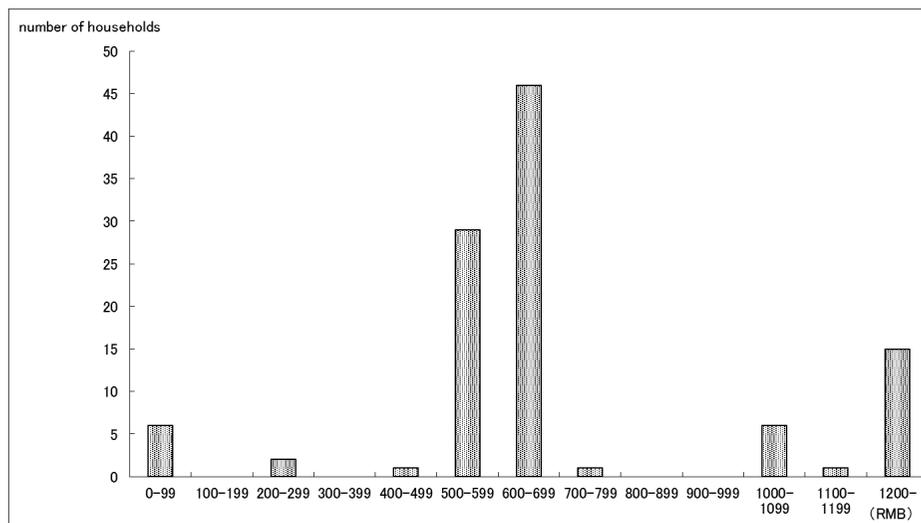
3.3 Economic Support for the Ritual

Ma tri duchen attracts more donation than any other annual ritual at the S monastery. Donations, in the form of cash or meals, are made per household and is recorded by the management committee of the monastery. Donors who offer more than 1000 RMB in cash are called *khri chen* (large throne) and those who provide less than 1000 RMB in cash are called *khri chung* (small throne). Donors also provide special sheets for observers of *'cham*. After the ritual, the monastery presents a *dbu gdugs* (holy umbrella) for *khri chen* and *rgyal mtshan* (victory banners) for *khri chung*. Both of them are later displayed in *mchod khang* (chapel) in each household.¹⁰⁾

The 2007 *Ma tri* duchen generated donations totaling 53,425 RMB from 98 households, which accounted for about 80.5% of the monastery's total income of that year. In 2008, the amount of donation increased to 71,580 RMB from 107 households, or an average household contribution of 690 RMB. This, the villagers indicated, represents half of the average monthly income for a typical *sKyang tshang* village family. Compared to

the 1950s, not only has the amount of donation increased enormously but donors also are coming from more different areas. Traditionally, donation has been made from three villages around the monastery, which correspond to the former territory of *'go ba*. However, since the 1950s, people from outside this area, such as those from *gZi tsha dge dgu* (九寨溝縣), have also made significant amount of offerings because the S monastery monks recently started to conduct personal rituals there, where there are fewer Bonpo monks than there are in Shar-khog. Additionally, those who are from Shar-khog but are currently living and working in large cities like Chengdu come back to observe the ritual and make donations.

Graph I shows the frequency of distribution of donations from 107 households in 2008. Households that offered less than 500 RMB often donate both cash and items such as butter, and those that donated more than 500 RMB donate only in cash. Of the 107 households, 75 (70%) donated in the range of 500 RMB to 700 RMB, while 22 households offered more than 1000 RMB. These 22 households are called *khri chen*, and half of them are from *sKyang tshang* Village. Most of the donation are directly handed to the monks. Donors can enter the assembly hall after registration and hand small change to monks one by one. Non-cash offerings are collected at the building of administrative committee on the 30th day of the first month. Most of the offerings are butter and tsampa, and they are used for making meal offerings for the ritual. Meal offerings for monks are called *moja*. Formerly, villagers brought all ingredients for the *moja*,



Graph I: Amount of donation by lay household to *Ma tri duchen* in 2008

but increasingly they give monks the cash to purchase the meals for the period of the ritual. For the 2008 *Ma tri* duchen, 2220 RMB was offered from 18 people, which adequately covered lunch and another light meal for the monks for the 15-day event.

This economic aspect demonstrates how the ritual is supported by the close relationship between the monastery and the lay community. The amount of donation has increased along with recent economic growth, and the lay community has also expanded to beyond the three villages that traditionally participated. Most of the donations do not remain as property of the monastery but are directly distributed to individual monks. However, the ritual enhances the sense of the monastic community as a whole when the laity participates in and co-experiences the structure and effect of the ritual.

4 Formation of Ritual Space by Cooperation of Monks

4.1 Various Roles in Managing the Ritual

In this part, we turn to focus on the monastery as a community of monks. As we have seen before, most of the monks live separately and away from the monastery, and there are few opportunities for all of them to gather together. However, large-scale rituals such as the *Ma tri* duchen cannot be managed without effective cooperation among the monks. And the monks together form and manage the ritual space by reviewing the process of the ritual and making necessary preparations for this communal event.

The preparation of *Ma tri* duchen starts from the fifth day of the lunar new year. On this day, an assembly of administration committee of the monastery is held to decide the 'cham dancers. Following this assembling, monks appointed as dancers begin practicing under the supervision of 'cham dpon, an experienced monk of 'cham. In 2009, the practice began from the 24th day of the lunar new year and lasted for one week.

While the 'cham dancers rehearse, five other monks who serve as the managers of the ritual start their work. Their role is to accept donation and purchase any required materials. They are not involved in the ritual itself and stay in the monastery's administrative office. Sometimes they receive villagers who come to make donation, and sometimes they drive to the Songpan town to purchase materials. Additionally, on the first floor of the same administrative building, elder monks use sewing machines to

repair costumes for *'cham* and make *dbu gdugs* and *rgyal mtshan* for donors. When they finish their work, young monks come to attach them to eaves of the assembly hall. Then, by the beginning of the first ritual period, the assembly hall is decorated for a colorful appearance.

On the 30th of the first lunar month, the day before the *Ma tri* duchen commences, other monks gather at the monastery to prepare offerings to be used in the ritual. Using tsampa, butter, and *chang* (liquor made from barley), they make *gtor ma* and *tshogs*. *Gtor ma* is a conical-shaped offering that is generally about 15 cm in height, but its size and shape are strictly prescribed depending on the deities to whom it is offered. Some of them are colored red by dye called *'bri mog*¹¹⁾ and they are said to represent blood offering. They are placed in the altar, and as the ritual advances they are taken out little by little to the outside of the hall and thrown in the air, so that the monastery and the village would be rid of evil spirits and demons. *Tshogs* is a spherical offering 10 cm across, offered to the deities and distributed to the participants and laypeople after the ritual. It is believed that *tshogs* has a special power for curing disease, and those who receive it are counted very fortunate. Like *ma tri* pills, it serves to connect people directly to the effect of the ritual.

In 2009, 11 monks were in charge of making these offerings. Seven of them were elder monks over the age of 60, and they instructed younger monks how to make them. Two teenage monks had a role of kneading tsampa with butter and oil in a large basin, which requires physical strength. After finishing kneading, they shaped it like clay objects and engraved them using wooden patterns. Then, a large piece of wooden plate was prepared and purified by sweeping it with juniper branch and water. Offerings were put in order on this plate. After preparation, administrative monks swept up the assembly hall. Thus, the entire ritual space was set up with the cooperation of participating monks.

The monks continue with their cooperation during the ritual itself as well. During the period of the ritual, monks are required to wear proper garbs and stay on the site of the monastery, where they are involved in the ritual from early morning to sunset. Each monk shares in various roles to accomplish the complicated process of the ritual. From the first to the seventh day, the rituals take place in mainly three places; first, the ritual of *dBal gsas* involves 40 monks; second, the ritual of *Phur ba* involves 36 monks; and lastly, the ritual of *Bon skyong* involves 10 monks. The ritual of *Bon skyong* (guardian of Bon) for the purpose of protecting the whole ritual space is conducted in *sgrub khang*, which is thought to be the most sacred

place in the monastery, and outsiders' entrance into which is strictly prohibited. Additionally, a ritual called "*Phur ba'i srung zlogs*" is conducted by two monks from the sixth to the seventh day in the small room next to *sgrub khang* in order to support the ritual of *Phur ba*.

Dge bskos, a monk in charge of discipline at the monastery, arranges monks for ritual places. According to him, experienced monks need to be properly assigned to each ritual. Those who have completed three years of retreat of *sgrub grwa* are given especially important roles because they are regarded as specialists of ritual, understanding its procedure and being skillful in contemplating deities. There are 15 such monks, and they are separately appointed to each place. Above all, *Phur ba'i srung zlogs* cannot be conducted without the experience of *sgrub grwa*.

While experienced monks provide proper management of rituals, young monks also play an important role in maintaining the ritual space. Four young monks around 20 years old stay in the kitchen of the monastery, serving tea and meals to each ritual site. They also assist with behind-the-scenes preparation and cleaning up as the ritual progresses. Other young monks are appointed to wait in front of the hall. Covering their mouths with white cloth, they throw away *gtor ma* at designated times, and they sprinkle water on seated monks with peacock's feather to inform them of a pause of the ritual. The seated monks can stand up from their seats only after water is sprinkled. Thus, young monks play an essential role for the maintenance of the ritual. However, some novice monks are only allowed to enter the monastery; they stay in the assembly hall and sit near the abbot. They are introduced to elder monks and the laypeople to be recognized as members of the monastic community. Their parents usually donate *bing* (餅), round-shaped flat bread, which is distributed to all monks in the monastery.

4.2 Preparation for the Main Ritual

On the seventh day, preparation for the second ritual period starts. While young monks sweep up and decorate every room of the monastery, other selected monks gather in the assembly hall to make a mandala called *Ma tri rin chen sgron ma'i skyil 'khor*. In advance of this, on the 29th of the first month of the lunar calendar, the abbot digs up a designated place behind the monastery to obtain white sand to be used for making mandala. The sand is purified by monks' chanting of scriptures and sprinkle of medical herb water. Then it is ground into powder and colored red, blue,

green, yellow, or white.

The mandala is prepared by four monks. A monk in his 50s who has learned mandala making from elder masters since the 1980s led the work. Others were young monks in their 20s. Among them, young monk whose name was Tsewang served as an assistant of the leader in 2009. Though he had no educational degree nor experience of retreat, he was skillful in precise hand work. He was also a skillful *'cham* dancer and serves as a *'cham dpon*.

Making sand mandala is a meticulous process in which colored sand has to be arranged exactly same as a prescribed order and motif. Using five kinds of colored sand, which corresponds to *chen po lnga* (five great elements), the monks draw flames and various symbols that make up the mandala. During the work, monks refer to the same mandala drawn on the picture from time to time to check the order of the color. However, it is impossible to make completely same shapes as the picture using sand, since details of the mandala are made from their memory and technique. Younger monks learn how to draw by watching seniors and are directly involved in only easier parts of the task.

After finishing the preparation in the afternoon, *mdos* and large *gtor ma* are brought from the assembly hall by young monks around 17:00. The abbot and elder monks form a line and proceed from the hall. Then the abbot holds a ladle filled with medicine water, which was offered on the altar, and gives it to the lay people who have gathered there. They receive the water and sprinkle it on the head and use it to rinse out their mouth. While they slowly march to the outskirts of the village, young monks are ready to wreck the *mdos*. These details show that the ritual space is formed and maintained by close collaboration of the monks. While some seem to be acting separately from the rest of the monastic community, all actions hang together to accomplish the purpose of the ritual.

By the eighth day of the second lunar month, all equipment for the climax of *Ma tri* duchen is set up. From this day forward, monks are requested to be in full dress, and those who wear down jacket for the cold until then change into red garb. They also wear a vest (*stod 'gag*) with blue neckband, which represents Bon. After the end of the ritual in the monastery on the previous day, young monks shave their each other's head, suggesting the solemnity of the ritual from this day forward.

In the early morning of the eighth day, a ritual called *Tho bzhi* is carried out. Monks attach amulets on the cardinal point of the site of the monastery. All monks gather in front of the assembly hall. Then the abbot

arrives from the left side and the lopon enters from right side. This is a formal way to perform a communal ritual at the monastery. Then four dancers, representing guardian deities for the four directions, appear. They wear masks of *'brug* (dragon) for west, *seng ge* (lion) for east, *dom* (bear) for south, and *phag* (pig) for north. Led by the dancers, all monks except those staying in administrative office go around the monastery in a counterclockwise direction, and then they put amulets with juniper branch and *kha btags* to the corners of pilgrimage road around the monastery. It is believed that the site of the monastery is set apart by this ritual as a sacred space and kept purified, thus formally defining the ritual.

From this day, almost all of the monks who attend the ritual perform at the assembly hall. The seat arrangement made by *dge bskos* contains the names of all the monks who belong to the monastery. There is a desk and seats for two *dge bskos* beside the door, who check attendance and whether monks conduct rituals properly. In the carpeted hall, there are eight rows of seats for the monks, and ritual texts are attached to small tables. In the front row at the center are the seats for the abbot and lopon. Two *dbu mdzad*, who are in charge of beating a drum and leading the monks' chant, are seated in the next row. The pattern of the carpet instructs the monks where to take their seat according to the seat arrangement. In the afternoon of the eighth day, two *dge bskos* pace around the hall slowly and recite two texts: "*Srid pa bsgos kyi chags shing*" and "*rGyal ba mnyam med kyi bca' yig.*"¹²⁾ Both texts concern the discipline of the monastery, and by reciting the text, *dge bskos* shows the members of the monastery that the disciplinarians have the authority and ability to dispense penalties to offenders.

From the eighth day to the 13th day, the ritual is conducted solemnly and monks concentrate on making *ma tri* pills and chanting the mantra. Few monks remain at *sgrub khang* and other buildings to pray for protection of assembly hall for the achievement of the ritual. These roles are played by elder monks who have experiences and skills, just as in the first period. While most monks stay inside the assembly hall, young monks who maintain the place busy themselves with miscellaneous tasks. Additionally, *'cham dpon* leave the ritual place to prepare masks and costumes for the dance. As the ritual progresses, the number of laypeople in the ritual place increases, including those who have returned home from other areas. Then, *Ma tri* duchen comes to its climax in the last two days.

5. Maintenance and Succession of ‘Cham

5.1 ‘Cham of *sKyang tshang* Monastery

On the 14th and 15th day, ‘*cham* is performed in open space in front of the assembly hall. A large audience, including donors, gather to watch it. The program of S monastery’s ‘*cham* is summarized in Table II. The monastery’s programs are largely the same as those of the 1950s since the revival of the ritual in 1984, with some influence from the new Menri monastery at Doranji, which was established in 1960s. The influence is associated with *Lung rtogs bstan pa’i nyi ma* (1929–2017), the 33rd abbot of Menri, who grew up at *sKyang tshang* and transmitted what he learned there when ‘*cham* was reconstructed in the monastery in India. Although the two monasteries share several common programs, S monastery has unique programs such as *sPre’i ‘cham*, which reflects the monastery’s own background.

Table II: Program of the ‘Cham in *sKyang tshang* Monastery

| Date (Lunar calendar) | Title of the dance | Number of Dancers |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 2/14 | <i>dKar ‘cham</i> | 2 |
| | <i>rNam brgyad</i> | 8 |
| | <i>gZe ma dgu</i> | 9 |
| | <i>Ma rgyud</i> | 8 |
| 2/15 | <i>Ge ‘cham</i> | 1 |
| | <i>rNam brgyad</i> | 8 |
| | <i>Ma rgyud</i> | 8 |
| | <i>A tsa ra</i> | 8 |
| | <i>sPre’i</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Seng ge / Seng rdzi</i> | 2/4 |
| | <i>Srid rgyal dus drug</i> | 6 |
| | <i>Dur khrod</i> | 4 |
| | <i>Shwa ‘cham</i> | 2 |
| | <i>gShen rab dgu ‘cham</i> | 9 |
| | <i>Grag seng</i> | 1 |

Here we examine the composition and meaning of each program. In the morning of the 14th day, all monks come out from the assembly hall and circle the building in a counterclockwise direction. Then, *dKar 'cham* (*a li ga li*) by two dancers as the first performance appears. They hold sticks called *phyag shing*, which is a belonging of *gShen rab mi bo* and has an effect to purify the dance field, to invite deities to appear. *Rnam brgyad* is composed of eight dancers holding *da ma ru*, a small two-faced drum used for rituals. They represent female nymphs living in the world of deities. These two programs are performed by younger monks without wearing masks.

Gze ma dgu, which means “nine sisters of *gze ma*,” is composed of nine dancers wearing masks of sacred animal: *'brug* (blue dragon), *sbrul* (green snake), *khyung* (garuda), *seng* (white lion), *dred* (black bear), *spyang* (wolf), *stag* (tiger), *lcang kha* (crow with red bill), and *chu sprin* (literary means “rain crowd,” a kind of brute animal living in the water). According to Karmay (1998: 195–196), this program is closely related with the origin myth of the Bon religion. Goddess *Chu lcam rgyal mo*, another name of guardian deity *Srid pa'i rgyal mo*, once laid 27 eggs, in which firstly nine female deities have body of human and head of animals. They become guardian deities of Bon, and this program is said to represent this tale. In contemporary Menri monastery in India, the number of performers increases to 27, who are called “*gZe gyad spar gsum*,” which represent all deities born from the eggs.

Ma rgyud consists of eight dancers without masks, who wear black hats with metal decorations. The faces of the dancers are hidden by the broad brim of the hats. In appearance, it resembles *Zhwa nag*, black hat dance widely performed in *'cham* of Tibetan Buddhism. However, it represents deities appearing in an original ritual peculiar to Bon. *Byang bya dur*, the holy mountain located in Shar-khog, is considered to be one of the sacred places in the ritual cycle of *Ma rgyud*. Therefore, this program also has a close relationship with local religious landscapes.

Ge 'cham is performed as the first program of the 15th day. Though it resembles *Ma rgyud*, it is performed by the most experienced and skilled dancer alone. This program is said to have the most powerful effect, in moves and gestures that symbolize the elimination of forces of various wrathful deities and the purification of the whole world.

After *Ge 'cham*, the atmosphere changes from a serious to a rather relaxed mood. *A tsa ra* is performed by eight dances wearing masks with humorous expression. It represents ascetics from India and is performed

with comical gestures.

Spre'i 'cham, or monkey 'cham, is performed by two performers and has become a distinguishing feature of the ritual dance of the monastery. It is an acrobatic performance in which two dancers dressed as monkeys slide down a rope attached to the roof of the assembly hall. It is said that the monkey is actually a guardian deity (*srung ma*) called *Shel khyab can*, which is also a guardian of Yungdrungling. According to the present lupon, when *Shes rab blo ldan* (b. 1882, fifth abbot of Yungdrungling) visited S monastery,¹³ he saw a vision of this deity in the form of a monkey at the *sgrub khang* of S monastery, and so he recommended that people perform this as part of the ritual dance. Performers wearing a costume made of fur and monkey mask act like monkeys, sliding down to the ground from the roof of the assembly hall. Laypeople gather at the ritual site and await the arrival of the dancers, holding *kha btags* that wraps cash inside it. Performers attract audiences with acrobatic moves such as hanging upside down from the rope using their feet, in which position they receive onlookers' offerings. Other monks come out from the hall to watch it, and the place is abuzz with tangible enthusiasm.

The following program is *Seng ge* (lion), performed by two dancers carrying the head and body of a lion costume, accompanied by four *seng rdzi*, lion tamers. The style is common in Tibet and is also performed in new year's festivities. In some places they also play yak and tiger dance in this style. The mouth of the lion can be opened and closed, and people make children bit by it for the fortune. *Seng ge* goes around the place very slowly, taking almost 30 minutes, and receives many *kha btags* on its body. After this program, 'cham gradually reaches its climax.

Srid rgyal dus drug, "Srid pa rgyal mo of six periods of time," represents six different forms of guardian deity *Srid pa rgyal mo* and is performed by six dancers wearing heavy masks. As mentioned before, *nya bo*, a doll made by tsampa, is carried out from the hall and the process of casting out the evil and purifying is displayed for the audience.

Dur khrod, "the master of grave," is also a program that leaves a strong impression on the audience. Wearing a mask imitating a skull and a white costume on which skeleton is painted, four dancers move in such a way that terrify the audience as dancing skeletons would. They shake their bodies, sometimes bending hands and knees in an unnatural direction, jumping around, and suddenly approaching audience to surprise them. The effect of imitating the dead for the audience, monks and laypeople alike, is to provoke them to consider the importance of being reborn in a

good afterlife without fear. Despite its terrifying aspects, *Dur khrod* and its intended effects are accepted as an essential process of the *duchen*.

Shwa 'cham, “deer ‘cham,” is performed by two dancers wearing masks of deer with long antlers. The deer is said to represent *btsan* (spirits) who keep a watchful eye on humans in the guise of deer in order to admonish them for taking lives. Then, *gShen rab dgu 'cham*, “‘cham of nine *gShen rab*,” is performed by nine dancers. It is a common program among Bonpo monasteries because it is said to have originated from the vision of *Shes rab rgyal mtshan* during a meditation, in which he saw nine guardian deities dancing around the mandala (Karmay 1998: 198).

During the performance of *gShen rab dgu 'cham*, a young monk costumed as *Grag seng* (*Grag pa seng ge*) appears. He holds small *rgyal mtshan* in one hand and wears monk’s garb. Unlike other figures, *Grag seng* does not dance and only receives *kha btags* from laypeople. It has a peculiar background, as the figure represents someone who was originally a Buddhist monk and later became the protector of Bon.¹⁴ In S monastery, the 16th abbot *A sngags bstan pa tshul khrims* started to enshrine this deity and it is said that it brought the monastery prosperity through miracles. It is performed without a mask because the deity was originally a human, people explained.

Then, *gShen rab dgu 'cham*, *Grag seng*, and *Ge 'cham* gather and leave the monastery for the outskirts of the village. A long procession of monks is followed by a large crowd of laypeople. They wreck down the *mdos* and throw away large *gtor ma*, in an act that symbolizes the purging of all evil elements from the monastery and villages. Thus ‘cham is concluded, by the collaboration of monks who act as dancers and conductors of the ritual, and those who maintain the ritual space through careful preparation.

5.2 Continuation of ‘Cham Seen from Succession of Each Program

The number of dancers required for 14 different programs performed over two days total 66. Actually, in 2009, those were performed by 21 monks. All monks who served as dancer were less than 30 years old. This is not only because the performance requires physical dexterity and stamina, such as the movement of turning around while wearing heavy costumes, but also because ‘cham is regarded as an essential process of religious training for young monks.

In 2009, Tsewang and Drimed, two monks around 30 years old, served as ‘cham *dpon*, who are in charge of the whole performance. Tse-

wang explained that a monk should perform all of the program and that he can “graduate” from ‘*cham* when he finally performed *Ge ‘cham*. According to elder monks, dancers should perform one program at least for two years (or at least three years in the 1950s). If one follows this advice seriously, it takes more than 20 years to perform all programs, because the monks usually do not perform all of them or perform a program only once. However, those who are especially talented play more roles than other monks. Tsewang performed 12 programs in total, except *dKar ‘cham* and *sPre’i ‘cham*, in his 11-year career, finally performing *Ge ‘cham* in 2008 and 2009 before retiring from ‘*cham*. He said, “Because I was not so good at study, so I started to learn ‘*cham*. I visited elder lama who is skillful of dances.” As mentioned above, he also exhibited his dexterity in making sand mandala for the ritual. Drimed, another ‘*cham dpon*, performed 13 programs, all except *sPre’i ‘cham*, in his 12-year career, and he retired after performing *Ge ‘cham* in 2010 and 2011. He was not living in the village usually but was living in a large city, Chengdu. However, he was regarded as a skilled dancer and he returns to his hometown for the performance.

Thus, performing ‘*cham* is another milestone in religious training in addition to textual study or contemplative practice for young monks. Monks who are good at study are not always good dancers: for example, the monk who has a degree of *dge shes* has performed only two programs in seven years, and he stopped performing because he is not good at dancing. There were several monks who have never performed ‘*cham*. Although Tsewang and Drimed did not so much demonstrate their abilities in study, their achievement as ‘*cham* dancers contributed to their religious training and earned them a position in the monastic community. Thus, dancers are appointed according to their ability, and it does not correspond to other status required in the monastic community.

Various programs are more suitable for young monks, while others require the skills of more seasoned monks. Table III shows the allocation of the programs in 2009 by age. The 21 monks can be separated roughly into two groups. The first is nine monks who performed *gZe ma dgu*, most of whom are in their 20s (initials written in bold style). The other is eight monks who performed *rNam brgyad*, and most of them are teenagers (initials written in italic style). Those programs which are thought to be a manifestation of important deities, *Ma rgyud*, *Srid rgyal dus drug*, *Shwa ‘cham*, *gShen rab dgu ‘cham*, and *Ge ‘cham*, were performed by members of this group. On the other hand, *rNam brgyad*, *dKar ‘cham*, and *Seng rdzi* were performed by the younger group because these programs did not

Table III: 'Cham Performers in 2009

| Date (Lunar calendar) | Title of the dance | Name of performers in 2009 (initial) |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 2/14 | <i>dKar 'cham</i> | <i>SP, GL</i> |
| | <i>rNam brgyad</i> | <i>SP, GL, RS, NM, LJ, YY, AJ, DT</i> |
| | <i>gZe ma dgu</i> | JM, SG, GT, RC, DJ, GS, DH, GZ, GD |
| | <i>Ma rgyud</i> | JM, SG, GT, RC, DJ, GS, DH, GZ |
| 2/15 | <i>Ge 'cham</i> | JM |
| | <i>rNam brgyad</i> | <i>SP, GL, RS, NM, LJ, YY, AJ, DT</i> |
| | <i>Ma rgyud</i> | JM, SG, GT, RC, DJ, GS, DH, GZ, GD |
| | <i>A tsa ra</i> | DJ, GS, GD, SP, RS, NG, RJ, AZ |
| | <i>sPre'i</i> | GS, GD |
| | <i>Seng ge / Seng rdzi</i> | <i>GG, RS / LJ, YY, NM, GL</i> |
| | <i>Srid rgyal dus drug</i> | JM, SG, GT, RC, GS, GZ |
| | <i>Dur khrod</i> | GS, GD, GZ, RS |
| | <i>Shwa 'cham</i> | JM, SG |
| | <i>gShen rab dgu 'cham</i> | JM, SG, GT, RC, DJ, GS, DH, GZ, GD |
| | <i>Grag seng</i> | <i>SP</i> |

contain as many continuous turns and difficult steps, and were thus easier to perform. Additionally, some programs should be performed by those of shorter stature. Thus, these groups were formed by dancers' age and experience. Additionally, according to Tsewang, some programs require a specific character of dancers. Taking all these factors into consideration, the 14 programs can be divided into groups below in accordance with their features:

- (1) Programs performed by novices and young monks
dKar 'cham, rNam brgyad, Seng rdzi
- (2) Programs performed by experienced monks
gZe ma dgu, Ma rgyud, Srid rgyal dus drug, Shwa 'cham, gShen rab dgu 'cham, Ge 'cham
- (3) Programs that contain special movements
A tsa ra, sPre'i 'cham, Dur khrod
- (4) Programs that require special physical character

Table V: Career of Performance, Monk Gendun (b. 1988)

| | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
|--------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>dKar 'cham</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>rNam brgyad</i> | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | | |
| <i>gZe ma dgu</i> | | | | | | ○ |
| <i>Ge 'cham</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Ma rgyud</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>A tsa ra</i> | | | | | ○ | ○ |
| <i>sPre'i 'cham</i> | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| <i>Seng ge</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Seng rdzi</i> | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | | |
| <i>Srid rgyal dus drug</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Dur khrod</i> | | | | | ○ | ○ |
| <i>Shwa 'cham</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>gShen rab dgu 'cham</i> | | | | | | ○ |
| <i>Grag seng</i> | | | | | | |

cally are appointed to these programs. Specifically, *sPre'i 'cham* requires acrobatic moves such as sliding down a rope and only very few monks can perform it. Even some *'cham dpon* with rich experience have not performed it. Table V shows the career of a monk Gendun, who performed *sPre'i 'cham* for six years from the first year of his career in *'cham*. Additionally, he often offered convincing *Dur khrod* performance. He was known as having comical character and agility, for which the elder monks appointed him to these programs.

Lastly, category 4 requires different conditions. The performers of *Seng ge* have to move dynamically and need to have considerable height and a well-built body. Sometimes monks who have not performed other programs, like GG in Table III are appointed only because they have physical strength. They are well instructed by former performers and inherit the dance. *Grag seng*, the last program, is required to be performed by a prepubescent boy, so that teenage monks are chosen. It can be performed by the same monk for only one time and there are limited number of monks who have performed it. Thus, *'cham* is passed down through

monks taking each part of the performance according to their age, physical characteristics, and skills.

6. Concluding Remarks

This paper examined the maintenance of a monastic community in contemporary Tibetan society by analyzing an annual ritual. While it described the structure and process of the ritual of Bon, it also focused on how monks collaborate to manage and pass down the tradition of the ritual.

The purposes of eliminating obstacles and purifying the community are achieved by the esoteric ritual held in the assembly hall. Monks who have extensive experience of religious training and certain status in the monastery bear the bulk of the responsibilities for the ritual. However, the complicated ritual cannot be achieved without monks who support the ritual in the backstage. Also, the lay community supports the ritual with donations and offerings, and, together with the monks, they share in the effect and excitement of the ritual.

The performers of *'cham* do not always have a high status in the monastery: some of them live outside the monastery and others sit in the back row in the assembly hall. However, they all collaborate together, taking different programs according to their skills and physical characteristics, to maintain the ritual dance peculiar to the monastery. Along with the monks conducting the ritual in the hall, the *'cham* performers form an inseparable connection to maintain the *Ma tri* duchen. By fulfilling each role, monks achieve a sense of belonging to the monastery and are thus united in the cooperation for the large festival. This process is essential for stable management of the monastic community in contemporary society.

Notes

- 1) This paper was originally presented at the 13th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in 2013. And it is revised by adding the English translation of chapter 5 of Konishi (2015).
- 2) Mimaki (2014: ix–xiii) briefly reviews and summarizes recent arguments around the relationship between “pre-buddhist Bon” and “present Bon”.
- 3) For details about interregional relationship around this monastery, see Konishi (2014a).
- 4) The assembly hall of the monastery was reconstructed in early 1980s and renewed in 2017. Then they started to use the word *gsas khang*, which is commonly used among Bonpo monasteries.

- 5) This does not mean that monks are living communal life all the time. Most of them are usually living outside the monastery and gather at the time of rituals. See Konishi (2009). Name of each monk alive is fictitious.
- 6) In former studies, the author discusses the reconstruction of monastic education (Konishi 2009) and the role of influential lama in succeeding religious tradition (Konishi 2014b).
- 7) See Konishi (2014b) for details.
- 8) Ramble (2000) describes the detail of *mdos* ritual performed in Mustang, Nepal.
- 9) A picture of this mandala is recorded in SER12 as No. 30 (II-8).
- 10) For the relationship between donation and social prestige, see Schrempf (2000).
- 11) *Onosuma echioides*.
- 12) Correspond to the text written by *Shes rab rgyal mtshan* (1356–1415), compiled by *Bsod nams blo gros* (b. 1784). *Bkra shis sman ri'i bca' yig gser gyi thig shing*. The text is recorded in SER24 as No. 190-71.
- 13) *Bstan 'dzin blo gros rgya mtsho* (1889–1975), who was the 17th abbot of the monastery, fully acquired the textual tradition from Yungdrungling. After spending 14 years at the monastery and being awarded the degree of drung ram pa, he returned to Shar-khog in 1923 with *Shes rab blo ldan*. According to the present lupon of S monastery, *Shes rab blo ldan* visited Shar-khog in order to gather donations for maintenance of Yungdrungling. Because he was originally from *snang gzhig* monastery at *rnga ba*, he is said to be familiar with the southern Amdo area including Shar-khog and had a great influence on S monastery during his three-year stay. For example, he gave 250 disciplines to *Shes rab bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan* (1910–1955), who was from the family of *'go ba* and already appointed as the successor of *A sngags bstan pa tshul khrims* (KTGB, 147).
- 14) *Grags pa seng ge* was originally named *Chos grags rgya mtsho* (1784–1835), the 10th *zhwa mar pa* of Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism. Because of the trouble with Tibetan government, he received confiscation of properties and prohibition of reincarnation, and consequently became an evil spirit after the death. *Shes rab dgong rgyal* (1784–1835), the abbot of Menri monastery tamed the spirit and make it one of the protectors of the monastery (Karmay 1975: 200).

Abbreviations

KTGB Tshul khrim dpal 'byor (b. 1968). Dpal gshen bstan skyang tshang dgon phun tshogs dar rgyas gling gi byung ba cung zad brjod pa ko ki la'i sgra dbyangs. In *A sngags tshe ring bkra shis* ed. *gNas chen shar phyogs dung ri dang dgon sde du ma'i dkar chag mthong ba don ldan shes bya ba bzhugs so* (東方海螺聖山-雪寶頂). Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006. pp. 131–162.

- KTGK Blo bzang rgya mtsho (1928–1993). Lung rig snyan grags and Khro bo rgyal mtshan. dPal gshen bstan phun tshogs dar rgyas gling gi dkar chag mu tig tshom phreng zhes bya ba zhugs so. In *Zing chu rdzong dgon pa so sogs dkar chag*. Mimeograph, 1993. pp. 68–91.
- SER 12 Tenzin Namdak, Yasuhiko Nagano, Musashi Tachikawa (eds.). Mandalas of the Bon Religion: Bon Studies 1, *Senri Ethnological Reports* No. 12, 2000.
- SER 24 Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano (eds.). A Catalogue of the New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts: Bon Studies 4, *Senri Ethnological Reports* No. 24, 2001.

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