

# A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon

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During my stay of six months as a research member in the Toyo Bunko, amongst other work I was requested to give a series of lectures, the title of which "A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon" was supplied to me. As can be seen from the title and what appears in the following pages these were in no way specialised lectures. I chose the topics keeping along the lines of the historical developments of the religion, although certain subjects I would have liked to have covered, for example, Bon in relation to Tibetan Buddhism and funeral rituals have not been included.

It has been a great pleasure to work at the Toyo Bunko and I would like to express my sincere thanks to my colleagues who made my stay as pleasant as possible.

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### 1. 'Ol-mo lung-ring

Today we shall begin with the provenance of the Bon religion, and in the following months we will trace its historical development, doctrines, practice and rituals. These introductory lectures will of necessity give only a broad outline, for the historical origins and development of Bon are as complicated as its doctrines.

Bonpo tradition maintains that the ultimate source of Bon is the land

of 'Ol-mo lung-ring, said to be a part of sTag-gzig (Tazig). This so-called sTag-gzig is identified by scholars as Persia. The question as to whether 'Ol-mo lung-ring means anything in Tibetan cannot readily be answered. The traditional explanation is as follows: 'Ol signifies unborn, *mo*—undiminishing, *lung*—the words of gShen-rab, and *ring*—the everlasting compassion of gShen-rab.<sup>1)</sup> From a glance at this we may deduce that it is a rather late and arbitrary explanation. It would appear to mean literally 'Long Valley of 'Ol-mo'. Similar place-names in Tibet itself, such as Bon-mo lung-ring do not seem to bear any relation to the 'Ol-mo lung-ring of sTag-gzig. Nevertheless, they may have contributed to the confusion surrounding its whereabouts.

Does 'Ol-mo lung-ring form a part of this world or is it an imaginary holy land like Sukhāvati? The answer to both questions according to Bonpo tradition is in the affirmative. It forms a part of this world, because it is situated in sTag-gzig in the west, and yet it is imperishable, for when ultimately this world is consumed by fire, it will raise itself up into the sky and unite with another Bonpo holy land in the heavens, called Srid-pa ye-sangs.<sup>2)</sup> The idea of an indestructable but still material world is not peculiar to Bon. In Buddhism Vajrasana likewise rises into the sky when this world perishes. To Bonpo believers it matters little whether it be a part of this world or not. So much so that up to 1959 people used to set out on pilgrimage to 'Ol-mo lung-ring, but I have never heard of anyone coming back. One might imagine that they ended up on the Soviet frontiers!

Perhaps it would be useful here to take up a traditional account of the land of 'Ol-mo lung-ring in order to demonstrate precisely how the Bonpo conceived of its existence and its relation to the world in which we live. First of all it is stated that 'Ol-mo lung-ring occupies one third of this world and is situated vaguely in the west. It is described as taking the form of an eight-petalled flower with the sky correspondingly in the shape of a wheel with eight spokes. The land is dominated by Mount gYung-drung dgu-brtsegs—literally 'pile of nine swastikas'. Both the swastika and number nine are of great significance in Bon. Swastika, corresponding to vajra in Buddhism, is the symbol of indestructability. In ancient inscriptions the word *gyung-drung* is often used as an adverb with the particle *du*, *gyung-drung-du*, meaning 'always' or 'permanently'. It also forms a part of the epithet of Bon, '*phrul-ngag gyung-drung Bon*—'the magic word, everlasting Bon'. However, *gyung-drung* as an epithet of Bon never seems to have been used before the 10th century A.D. although the exact period when it came into use is not yet known. Number nine is connected with the earth, the heavens and the doctrines amongst other things in Bon. The earth is believed to have nine layers from the crust on downwards (*sa rim-pa dgu*). The heavens originally had nine stages (*gnam rim-pa dgu*), but later expanded to thirteen, another auspicious number in Bon. The doctrines of Bon are also classified

into nine different ways (*theg-pa rim-pa dgu*). To go back to Mount g'Yung-drung dgu-brtsegs, its nine stages are said to represent the nine ways of Bon. One strange thing about this mountain is that its peak is in the form of a crystal monolith referring originally no doubt to its snowy or glacial summit. Later on conspicuous importance was attached to this crystal monolith. Four rivers flow from the base of the mountain in the four directions. In the east the river Nara flows from the mouth of a lion-shaped rock (*Seng-ge kha-'babs*); in the north the river Pakshu flows from the mouth of a horse (*rTa-mchog kha-'babs*); in the west the river Kyim-shang flows from the mouth of a peacock (*rMa-bya kha-'babs*); and in the south the river Sin-dhu flows from the mouth of an elephant (*Glang-chen kha-'babs*). Hundreds of temples, cities and parks are said to be in the vicinity of the mountain, but only eight centres stand out as worthy of note. To the east of the mountain is a temple called Sham-po lha-rtse; to the south the palace Bar-po so-brgyad, the birth-place of gShen-rab; to the west is the palace of Khri-smon rgyal-bzhad, where gShen-rab's wife Hos-bza' rgyal-bzhad-ma lives and where three of his children, gTo-bu, dPyad-bu and Ne'u-chen were born; in the north is the palace of Khong-ma ne'u-chung where another of gShen-rab's wives dPo-bza' thang-mo lives, and three more of his children, Lung'dren, rGyud'dren and Ne'u-chung were born. Mount g'Yung-drung dgu-brtsegs and these four centres constitute the inner region (*nang-gling*) of 'Ol-mo lung-ring. After this there is the intermediate region (*bar-gling*) consisting of twelve cities, four of which are situated at the cardinal points. The city in the west is called rGya-lag 'od-ma where Kong-tse 'phrul-gyi rgyal-po lives. We shall come back to this important figure later. After this we come to outer regions of the land (*mtha'-gling*). These three regions are said to be divided by rivers and lakes, and the whole land is skirted by an ocean known as Mu-khyud bdal-ba'i rgya-mtsho—the Spreading Ocean of Enclosure. It was in this ocean to the west of 'Ol-mo lung-ring that Kong-tse 'phrul-gyi rgyal-po built his miraculous temple. Tradition tells us that he was a Chinese king and a follower of gShen-rab mi-bo. The temple became a very important place, because it was there that the chief disciples of gShen-rab mi-bo gathered together all of gShen-rab's teachings, wrote them down, and deposited them. The ocean surrounding 'Ol-mo lung-ring is in turn enclosed by a circle of snowy mountains called dBal-so gangs-kyi ra-ba—Wall of Sharp Snowy Mountains. This is similar to the name sometimes used for Tibet by Tibetans: Gangs-ri'i ra-bas bskor-ba'i zhing-khams—Land Ringed by a Wall of Snowy Mountains.

Access to 'Ol-mo lung-ring is said to be via the 'arrow path' (*mda'-lam*). This path was created by gShen-rab on a visit to Tibet by shooting an arrow from inside the ring. The arrow pierced the mountain wall making a great tunnel. The place where the arrow struck is not mentioned though, and passing through this tunnel is not an easy matter. There are many gorges and wild beasts on the way and moreover it is dark and takes nine days to

get through. For the believer there is no word suggesting how far it would be if one made the journey from say Central Tibet, nor is there any kind of guide book, like the *Shambhala'i lam-yig* of the third Pan-chen Lama dPal-ldan ye-shes (b. 1737).

What is given here is only a fraction of the elaborate descriptions found in many works by Bonpo writers from the 11th century onwards. Nevertheless we have the essentials necessary for a consideration of the position of this extraordinary land. The impact of science is great even on the minds of ardent believers who would otherwise have never questioned the words of their prophets. The Bonpo are no exception. The particular problem they face is the geographical identification of 'Ol-mo lung-ring in accordance with their scriptures. The double reality of 'Ol-mo lung-ring, in this world and yet beyond it makes the problem more enigmatic. The question to ask here is in what century the Bon-po began to assert that 'Ol-mo lung-ring was situated in so-called sTag-gzig, yet existing within Zhang-zhung, and why they did this. So far there is no factual evidence from recovered manuscripts or inscriptions that indicate the existence of the name or even the notion of such a land before the 10th century A.D. On the other hand, no archaeological excavations or systematic collection of manuscripts has ever yet taken place in Tibet. The period from the disastrous collapse of the Tibetan kingdom following the assassination of the King Glang Darma up to the beginning of the 10th century cover the darkest years in Tibetan history, when next to nothing is known. What little evidence there is shows that during this period Tibet was in a state of both religious and political confusion. However, at the beginning of the 10th century as Buddhism began to take hold on Tibetan soil once more, feverish activity in the importation and translation of new Buddhist teachings from India took place. This probably inspired the Bonpos to review their own position. They too began to think that their religion could not have originated in an ordinary place. sTag-gzig (Persia) whose civilisation Tibetans highly admired from the 7th century onwards was taken to be the country that contained 'Ol-mo lung-ring, the birthplace of gShen-rab.

At any rate, judging from the scriptural descriptions of the mountains and rivers in 'Ol-mo lung-ring, in the light of modern geographical knowledge, the snowy mountain Ti-se (Kailas) with the rivers that flow from its base may very well be one and the same as Mount g'Yung-drung dgu-brtsegs. Firstly, because Ti-se was the most important centre of Zhang-zhung which is according to some traditions the source of Bon. In all probability it was there that Bon, or beliefs similar to Bon originated. Secondly there are important Bonpo texts written in both the language of Zhang-zhung and in Tibetan, and while some scholars consider Zhang-zhung to be an artificial language, created by the Bonpo, the existence of a large number of Zhang-zhung words in modern Ladhaki and Kunawari, in the old western Tibetan

region, deserves attention.<sup>3)</sup>

This identification of 'Ol-mo lung-ring as the region of Mount Ti-se is supported in the *rTsa-rgyud nyi-zer sgron-me*, an important work of the 14th century, where it is clearly stated that China is in the east; India in the south; O-rgyan in the west and Li (Khotan) in the north.<sup>4)</sup> However there is evident confusion when 'Ol-mo lung-ring itself is described, because rGya-lag 'od-ma-gling is placed in the west although it is the native country of Kong-tse 'phrul-gyi rgyal-po whose prototype is Confucius.<sup>5)</sup>

However to counteract the obvious contradiction that the Ti-se region is not 'Ol-mo lung-ring as described in texts such as *gZer-mig*, tradition holds that Ti-se and its vicinity only 'represent' 'Ol-mo lung-ring in Zhang-zhung.

Of course there is nothing surprising in the unwillingness on the part of believers to come to terms with facts. Ti-se and its vicinity is considered to be the holy land of Bon, yet this region is too ordinary to be the birth-place of gShen-rab since one can visit the place. This tangibility is unsatisfactory to the mind of the believer who prefers a mystical, unknown land that only exists on a spiritual level.

It may be worthwhile to turn our attention for a moment to the recent discussion concerning 'Ol-mo lung-ring in *Tibetan Review*.<sup>6)</sup> In 1964 the Bonpo scholar Tenzin Namdak published a small booklet of Bonpo chronology together with a vocabulary of the Zhang-zhung language with Tibetan equivalents.<sup>7)</sup> In this book he included a traditional representation of 'Ol-mo lung-ring based upon his readings of descriptions in texts. This map was first taken up by E. Hetenyi and later by B. Koznetsov of the Soviet Union, both described it as an ancient Tibetan map. The schematic representation, according to them, showed some resemblance to the geography of the Middle East and Persia under the Empire of Cyrus the Great, that is in the era before Christ. They believe that certain names of places and palaces are transcriptions of words of Persian origin, one of these being the equivalent of Jerusalem, on the far west of the map. These observations certainly fit in with the Bonpo tradition and I only hope that they continue their research in this direction as it would be immensely important.

## 2. gShen-rab mi-bo

gShen-rab mi-bo is the founder of the Bon religion. He occupies a position very similar to that of Śākyamuni in Buddhism, but in contrast to the Lord Buddha, we have no available sources with which to establish his historicity, his dates, his racial origin, his activities, and the authenticity of the enormous number of books either attributed directly to him or believed to be his word. The latter, the Bonpo say, were written down after his death in much the same way as the Buddhist scriptures were assembled. It is only from later sources in which fact and legend are woven together that we can

get any idea about his life. No pre-10th century materials are so far available that might throw light on activities such as his visit to Tibet and his relationship with the demon Khyab-pa lag-ring who is said to have lived in Kongpo in southern Tibet.

Here I shall give a brief account of gShen-rab in accordance with the Bonpo tradition. In the heaven Srid-pa ye-sangs, there were three brothers, Dag-pa, gSal-ba and Shes-pa. All three were studying Bon under 'Bum-khri glog-gi lce-can, a Bonpo sage. After completing their studies they all went to the god gShen-lha 'od-dkar to ask him what they could do about the misery of living beings. gShen-lha 'od-dkar told them that they could each work in three successive ages as the Guide. When Dag-pa finished his duty in the Age Past, gSal-ba the second brother became gShen-rab as Guide of the Age Present. Meanwhile Shes-pa is still waiting to take up his task in the Age That Has Yet to Come. gShen-lha 'od-dkar promised gShen-rab that he would be his supervisor, whereas Srid-pa Sangs-po 'bum-khri agreed to assist him by keeping the world in order. We shall come back to these gods in another lecture.<sup>8)</sup>

These three are the Bonpo Triad known as lHa, gShen and Srid-pa. gShen-lha 'od-dkar and Srid-pa Sangs-po 'bum-khri assist gShen-rab in his task. gShen-rab then was born in 'Ol-mo lung-ring as a prince. From quite early on in his childhood, he began to preach Bon. Throughout his life the demon Khyab-pa lag-ring was his rival. Their relationship is similar to that of Śākyamuni and Devadatta. It is thought to be more than fortunate that there was such a demon who could provoke gShen-rab's reaction which otherwise would hardly have manifested themselves so strongly. Perhaps one of the most interesting parts of his life is the visit that he is said to have made to Tibet, not because he wanted to preach Bon, but because his seven horses had been stolen by Khyab-pa lag-ring. None the less, he wanted to make this an occasion to preach Bon in Tibet, but he found that the Tibetans were not yet ready to receive his teachings in full. He therefore prophesied that in future all his teachings would spread to Tibet from 'Ol-mo lung-ring when the time was ripe.

gShen-rab tried to overcome the demon by transforming himself into terrifying divinities, but the more ferocious he became the less effective it was, in the end Khyab-pa lag-ring surrendered only after gShen-rab had retreated into peace in a cave. He died at the age of eighty two.

The whole life of gShen-rab is conceived within the framework of twelve acts. Scholars have been quick enough to compare this with the life of Śākyamuni, in the same way as the latter's life is comparable to that of Zoroaster. Moreover, in the three hagiographical versions of gShen-rab's life, Buddhist influence is continuously apparent.

(1) The earliest known account of gShen-rab's life would appear to be the *mDo-'dus*.<sup>9)</sup> This work is supposed to be translation from the language

of Zhang-zhung, but is classified as *gter-ma*—‘rediscovered text’. The date of its discovery goes back to the 10th century according to Bonpo chronology.<sup>10)</sup> However, the existence of this work anywhere outside Tibet has unfortunately not yet been reported. This is the shortest version in only one volume of twenty-one chapters.

(2) The second version is the *gZer-mig* in two volumes with eighteen chapters.<sup>11)</sup> Its contents are already known to scholars, but the question of its date is still under study. It is also classified as *gter-ma*. Whether *gter-ma* means a text that has actually been found or merely a new work by an author who claims to have discovered it is another topic that we shall discuss in a further lecture.<sup>12)</sup> At any rate *gZer-mig* is considered to be the most important work among the scriptures. In an article shortly to be published,<sup>13)</sup> I arrived at the point where the date of its composition (or rediscovery if that is preferable) or at least some parts of it could be pushed back to the 11th century A.D., because extensive quotations from it can be found in a work written in the 11th century.

(3) The third version of gShen-rab’s biography is known as *gZi-brjid* and is in twelve volumes.<sup>14)</sup> Professor Snellgrove was the first European scholar to note this work, and with the collaboration of the Bonpo scholar Tenzin Namdak, he published *The Nine Ways of Bon*,<sup>15)</sup> a translation of a few excerpts from *gZi-brjid* concerning essentially the Bon doctrines. Apart from this publication, *gZi-brjid*, that is the major part of it remains unknown to the Tibetological world. According to the Bonpo classification of the scriptures, *gZi-brjid* belongs to the category of Oral Transmission (*snyan-brgyud*). That is to say that a sage or a divinity dictates a text to an adept who writes it down. *gZi-brjid* is said to have been dictated to Blo-Idan snying-po in the 14th century. It is therefore the latest version. Whether it was orally transmitted or not, it is certainly an extended version of *gZer-mig*, yet it contains extensive materials of ancient origin, on a wide range of subjects—ideas, customs, interesting stories about birds and beasts and so on that are not found in *gZer-mig*. It is a kind of epic story rather than a devotional religious biography.

As suggested above, *gZer-mig* goes back to the 11th century and *mDo’-dus* is probably 10th century or even earlier. In these works we do not find the real Bonpo atmosphere, but rather Bonpo materials fitted into a general framework of Indian Buddhist ideology, for example, the idea of karma—hence cause and effect, rebirth, the essentially miserable nature of life and the method of escape from it and thus enlightenment. At the same time, however, one quickly senses that much of the substance of the materials used in the composition may certainly be called Bonpo. In these works, gShen-rab mi-bo is represented as a superhuman being whose only purpose in taking birth in this world is to preach Bon and guide all living beings to a better world. The glorification of this sage is taken as far as it could possibly go

into fantasy.

Do we have information at all on him before the 10th century A.D.? Yes, but very little at present. In the Dunhuang manuscripts his name is mentioned at least five times as a type of 'priest'.<sup>16)</sup> Although he is not presented here as an important figure, he at least seems to be an indispensable 'priest' who has the capacity of communicating between the living and the dead. We therefore might assume that such a person did exist and was of Tibetan origin, living probably earlier than the 7th century A.D. Bonpo chronology dates him even earlier than the Buddha, and the fact that the Dunhuang manuscript accounts already have developed the flavour of legend indicates that he lived much earlier than the execution of the manuscripts which date to the latter half of the 9th century or the early part of the 10th century A.D. The later Bon tradition therefore has in its claim of gShen-rab as its founder, some direct connection with the tradition that was prevalent in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. The identification of gShen-rab with Lo'u-kyun (Laozi) made by Thu'u bkvan Chos-kyi nyi-ma (1737-1802) cannot be taken as a serious suggestion.<sup>17)</sup>

The glorification of this humble 'priest', gShen-rab mi-bo, may be compared with the historical Śākyamuni and his deification as the Buddha in the Mahāyānic tradition. Although there is nothing that can be genuinely considered as gShen-rab's word, in spite of the enormous Bonpo canon, the majority of which is attributed to him, to ask if gShen-rab wrote anything at all is much the same as asking whether Śākyamuni actually wrote anything.

The doctrines that gShen-rab is believed to have taught are divided into two main systems. Firstly, there is the system of the so-called *sGo-bzhi mdzod-lnga* i.e. the Four Portals (or ways) and One Treasury, five in all. They are as follows:

1. *Chab-dkar*—White Water.
2. *Chab-nag*—Black Water.
3. *'Phan-yul*—the Country of 'Phan.
4. *dPon-gsas*—the Guide.
5. *mTho-thog*—the Summit.

Now *Chab-dkar* signifies the esoteric teaching, mainly spells; *Chab-nag* consists of narratives and rituals; *'Phan-yul* embraces all the exoteric teachings, for example, monastic discipline; *dPon-gsas* presents the direct and special precepts for psycho-spiritual exercises such as the system of rDzogs-chen meditation; finally *mTho-thog*, the Treasury is described as *spyi-rgyugs* which means literally that it generally runs into all the other four portals. Amongst these there is some direct correspondence with Buddhist classifications, *Chab-dkar* corresponds to the Buddhist tantras, and *'Phan-yul* to the sūtras. The background history of the peculiar usage of this term *'Phan-yul* has not yet been established. It is probably connected with the valley called 'Phan-po situated in Central Tibet.



The other system of classification is the *Theg-pa dgu*, variously translated as the Nine Ways or Vehicles. There are three versions of these: the version of the Southern treasure (*lHo-gter*), the Northern treasure (*Byang-gter*) and the Central treasure (*dBus-gter*). These nine are further divided into three categories:

1. The first four are the Ways of Cause (*rgyu'i theg-pa*).
2. The second four are the Ways of Result (*'bras-bu'i theg-pa*).
3. The ninth is the system of rDzogs-chen meditation.

The *Nine Ways of Bon* published by D. L. Snellgrove is the version of the Southern treasure. The other versions have not yet been studied. The relationship between the two systematic classifications is more complicated than actually appears at first sight. The first system, in my opinion, is probably earlier than the second, but the latter presents a more comprehensive organisation of the various stages and developments of Bon. It is however not only Bonpos who have organised their doctrines into nine categories, but also the rNying-ma-pa. I believe that one must have imitated the other. The question of which came first is not a simple matter that can be thrashed out in a few words. On one hand, the classification of the Buddhist teachings into nine *theg-pa* by the rNying-ma-pa has not always been welcomed by the other orthodox Buddhist sects whose fear is largely founded in the idea that Bonpo systems and beliefs have penetrated those of the rNying-ma-pa and are therefore unacceptable. However, on the other hand, a work entitled *lTa-ba'i rim-pa bshad-pa*<sup>18)</sup> is attributed to the famous lo-tsā-ba sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs who lived towards the end of the 8th century A.D. This work contains a short exposition of what the rNying-ma-pa call the nine *theg-pa*, while not specifically identifying the nine *theg-pa* as such. If this work is genuine, then of course this would prove the dependence of the Bonpo system on that of the rNying-ma-pa. In the opinion of Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364) however the work under discussion is not genuine. He therefore thought that the question should be examined further. He said: '*di-dpyad*—examine this.'<sup>19)</sup>

Finally a few words about the importance of research on gShen-rab's life at present and in the future. In fact no-one is seriously engaged in this field apart from Dr. Per Kvaerne who is making a detailed study of eleven thangkās kept in Musée Guimet in Paris. These thangkās depict the life of gShen-rab in great detail, they are also of very fine quality. They follow very faithfully the *gZi-brjid* version. And for lexicographers, if work on the Tibetan language is to be complete and useful for all purposes, the vast vocabulary and terminology contained in gShen-rab's hagiographies must be incorporated into present or future dictionaries.

### 3. The Persecution of Bon in the 8th century A.D. and subsequent developments.

Traditionally Bonpo historians maintain that Bon was first introduced into Tibet by gShen-rab himself when he made a visit to Land of Snows. They also say that the disciples of Mu-cho ldem-drug, the apostle of gShen-rab, brought his teachings to Zhang-zhung where translations of religious texts were made into the language of Zhang-zhung and then into Tibetan.

Tradition maintains that Zhang-zhung was made up of three different regions: sGo-ba, the outer; Phug-pa, the inner; and Bar-ba, the middle. The outer is what we might call Western Tibet, from Gilgit in the west to Dang-sra khyung-rdzong in the east, next to lake gNam-mtsho, and from Khotan in the north to Chu-mig brgyad-cu rtsa-gnyis in the south. The inner region is said to be sTag-gzig (Tazig), and the middle rGya-mkhar bar-chod, a place not yet identified. While we do not know whether Zhang-zhung covered such an enormous area, we do know that it covered the whole of Western Tibet and was an independent kingdom. The capital was Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar to the west of Mount Ti-se, and in the 7th century there was a king called Lig-myi-rhya. One of his wives, Sad-ma-gad, was a sister of a Tibetan king. The country was probably annexed to Tibet by King Srong-btsan sgam-po in the 7th century A.D. although according to Pelliot tibétain (PT) 1287 and Bonpo history, it was annexed by King Khri-srong lde-btsan and therefore in the 8th century A.D.

The considerable confusion surrounding the date of the conquest of Zhang-zhung and the assassination of Lig-myi-rhya is no small matter. A fundamental revision of Tibetan history with regard to this annexation may be required. The earliest source which we can consult is PT 1287, but this manuscript undoubtedly underwent rearrangement before it was hidden in c. 1035 A.D. It consists of a long scroll containing historical accounts of Tibetan kings starting from Dri-gum btsan-po. It is now referred to as the Chronicle. Each of the accounts is clearly separated from the others by paragraphic spaces. After the account of King Khri-srong lde-btsan (b. 742), there immediately follows a paragraph on the fall of Zhang-zhung. It is this particular account, in connection with the reign of Khri-srong lde-btsan, that interests us most. In the edition and French translation of this manuscript, this is treated as an event that took place under the reign of Khri-srong lde-btsan (paragraph VIII), simply because the new paragraph on Zhang-zhung begins: *rgyal po 'di'i ring la . . .* (in the time of this king . . .).<sup>20</sup> The phrase 'this king' naturally would be taken to refer to the preceding named king who is Khri-srong lde-btsan. In this edition, the manuscript is designated as having ten paragraphs. However, in writing his *Deb-ther dkar-po*, dGe'dun chos-'phel (1905-1951), the modern Tibetan historian, reversed the order by putting the event under the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po without however

making any comment on his important change.<sup>21)</sup> He used some sort of photographically reproduced copies of the Dunhuang manuscripts for his history and was writing it in the early 1940's. He is therefore the first to notice the discrepancy. His treatment of the events at first appeared to me to be contrary to what the manuscript purports. However, we now know that the manuscript itself was rearranged, by being cut up and stuck together in a different order. This has been found by comparison with the Chinese text inscribed on the reverse of the scroll. The portion containing the account of the fall of Zhang-zhung was originally a continuation of the account of the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po (paragraph VI).<sup>22)</sup> Therefore dGe'dun chos'phel was right in his treatment of the materials.

However, the existence of a Bonpo history which contains a story parallel to that found in the rearranged manuscript is evidence that late Bonpo sources had access to this different version, which suggests that it was already widespread in the 9th century A.D. The Bonpo version, published in India, is entitled *Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud-kyi bon ma nub-pa'i gtan-tshigs*—The Reason Why the Bon of Oral Transmission of Zhang-zhung was not abolished.<sup>23)</sup> Its author is not known, but the text is reputed to be very ancient and is the only one extant. On the other hand in PT 1288, referred to as the Annals and PT 1286, there are short references to Zhang-zhung during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po, but here the name of the king of Zhang-zhung is not Lig-myi-rhya as one would expect, but Lig-snya-shur, and moreover neither the name of the Tibetan king nor his sister is given in both manuscripts.<sup>24)</sup> We, therefore, must be cautious in leaning too heavily on arguments which assign the downfall of Zhang-zhung to the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po. The question can only be decided in the light of a totally independent source through which the version contained in PT 1287 and the Bonpo history can be checked. In the opinion of Mme Macdonald this is provided by the manuscript PT 1047 which she considers to contain contemporary information in connection with the episode of Zhang-zhung's fall during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po.<sup>25)</sup> The manuscript is about divination normally found in the Bonpo tradition.

As Zhang-zhung was annexed she gradually became Tibetanised, but at the same time contributed much towards the development of Tibetan culture in the early period, as she was situated just next door and was open to influences coming from Tazig (Iran), Bru-sha (Gilgit), Li (Khotan) and other Central Asian countries. Her own culture and language were integrated into those of Tibet and presumably her religion at the same time. The central deity that was worshiped by the people of Zhang-zhung was sKu-bla Ge-khod whose residence was Mount Ti-se. The most reputed Bonpo teacher, Dran-pa nam-mkha' is believed to have been born in Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar in the 8th century. We have already discussed the language of Zhang-zhung in a previous lecture.<sup>26)</sup> Until recently Tibetan scholars were geographically

misled by the dGe-lugs-pa historians in identifying Gu-ge as Zhang-zhung. Gu-ge was only a part of, or a small state attached to Zhang-zhung.

It was probably during the 6th and 7th centuries that a belief came to be associated with the kings and their surroundings. The Tibetan kings were believed to be the descendants of the Lord of Phyva, Yab-bla gdags-drug. The divine nature of the kings and their gods who are mostly gods of the mountains, probably originally formed the nucleus of this belief. Together with this there were priests who performed various rituals and conducted solemn ceremonies on special occasions, such as enthronement and the signing of treaties. These priests were known as gShen or Bonpo and the rituals they executed were known as Bon. The belief in the divine nature of the kings and the rituals constituted the essential part of the religion. The existence of a large number of varied funeral rituals, the hierarchy of priests and their belief in the divine nature of the kings and in some kind of afterlife clearly suggest that the religion was more complex than we actually realise.

Perhaps in the 7th century Bon was already adopting foreign elements. The Iranian influence in Bonpo cosmogony is well-known. Moreover, towards the end of the 7th century Tibet was one of the strongest Asian powers, contesting for domination over Central Asia where Buddhism was flourishing. As certain territories came under Tibetan rule, Tibetans in control in these places would obviously have come into direct contact with Buddhism, whereas in the court of Srong-btsan sgam-po Buddhism remained little more than a refined novelty. Bon therefore was exposed directly to Buddhist influence and through it Bon was most attracted by the Indian theories of karma and rebirth, which it absorbed without acknowledging the source. Bon was still in an embryonic stage, blending three main elements: the worship of the divine nature of the kings and their associated gods; Iranian ideas on the formation of the world; sophisticated Indian theories such as karma and rebirth.

By the beginning of the 8th century Bon found itself in a position powerful enough to oppose the oncoming of the official introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. King Khri-srong lde-btsan was an ardent Buddhist whereas his chief wife, Tshe-spong-za dMar-rgyal was a Bonpo. She was the only one of his several wives to bear him sons. The religious differences between them became so great that she poisoned one of her sons who was becoming too enthusiastic about Buddhism. Bonpo tradition also maintains that she had her husband killed by means of magic. Whatever happened, the circumstances in which the king died are a complete mystery. On her side there were many influential ministers. One of these was Ngan sTag-ra klu-gong whose services to his king and country were so esteemed that a specially inscribed stone pillar was erected in his name in c. 760 A.D. This inscribed pillar still stands in front of the Potala. According to *sBa-bzhed*, however, a certain Ngan sTag-ra klu-gong was banished to the north because of his opposition to Bud-

dhism, and there is also someone of the same name who erected a black stūpa in Bon style in bSam-yas. Either we have to say that there were two different persons with the same name or the *sBa-bzhed* version is a later fabrication, because he who was banished could hardly be one and the same as he whose services were so highly honoured. The thirst of the aristocrats for political power was often disguised by religious disputation. One rival faction of the noble houses even managed to ban Buddhism temporarily while King Khri-srong lde-btsan was a minor.

After the establishment of bSam-yas, Buddhism triumphed, but it was more of a political success than a purely religious one. The struggle of Bon continued, however. Ancient beliefs were so deeply ingrained in the Tibetan spirit, and the mass were still following Bon. However, Bon is said to have been persecuted and its priests banished from Central Tibet, those who did not wish to leave agreeing to take up Buddhist practices. As some of the Bonpo priests left they hid their books in many places in order to save them from destruction. The much venerated Bonpo sage Dran-pa nam-mkha' was one of those who conceded to take up Buddhism. In this way, tradition maintains, they could save Bon from complete eradication. Almost every Bonpo historical work and some of those of the Buddhists, *sBa-bzhed* and *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston* for example, give accounts of an officially organised persecution of Bon in the 8th century A.D. but we do not have any contemporary account of this event although PT 239 shows that a certain conflict existed between the two faiths. Apart from this we have no independent source to check. We have to rely almost entirely on later texts to get a glimpse into this much confused issue.

Bonpo historians agree that the persecution took place in the year of the ox, when Khri-srong lde-btsan was 45 years of age. I therefore have suggested in my translation of the *Legs-bshad-mdzod* that the official abolition of Bon took place in 785 A.D.<sup>27)</sup> Many Bonpos probably left for the frontier regions. It is known that the Nakhi Bonpo maintain that their ancestors came from Central Tibet when Bon was persecuted. At this time religious texts were quite probably hidden. There is a great difference between the Bonpo and the rNying-ma-pa in the idea of hiding books. Padmasambhava and his disciples are said to have hidden most of their religious texts because their followers were not yet sufficiently spiritually mature to understand them. On the other hand, the Bonpo maintain that they had no choice but to hide their teachings, because of the danger of destruction by the persecutors. Whatever the case may be, in later centuries both schools claimed to have rediscovered large numbers of religious texts, both in connection with a period of hiding in the 8th century.

From 785 until 1017 A.D. we know practically nothing about Bon, although this period must have been extremely important for the subsequent religious development of the Bonpo as well as that of the rNying-ma-pa. It

was with the rediscovery of texts by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996–1035) in 1017 A.D. that the so-called 'later propagation of Bon' began. He is one of the most important figures in the later development of Bon, and was the first to claim to have found a large number of texts. These *gter-ma* went to form a large nucleus of the Bonpo canon.

With him, Bon emerged as a fully organised religion, more or less a form of Buddhism, but without loosing its own characteristic practices and doctrines which Buddhism had tried to eliminate in Tibet from the outset. The attitude of the Bonpo towards Buddhism was now of reconciliation. The Buddha Śākyamuni was an emanation of gShen-rab and one of the six divinities who guide sentient beings from the six kinds of existences. What Bon was trying to do now was to embrace all the beliefs and practices that were available in Tibet, no matter where they came from. If there was a religion in Tibet that embraced all the religions of Tibet this was Bon. It would therefore represent Tibetan lamaism in its complete sense.

gShen-chen Klu-dga' was born in the family of gShen who claimed direct descentance from Kong-tsha dbang-ldan, a son of gShen-rab Mi-bo. The seat of the family was in gTsang. When he was young his back was injured, causing it to become deformed. He was therefore known as gShen-sgur—Crooked gShen. With the rediscovery of the religious texts he soon gathered many disciples together around him. Of these three became important for the subsequent four centuries of Bon development. Bru-chen Nam-mkha' gryung-drung, one of these three disciples, was born in the family of Bru. His ancestors migrated from Gilgit (Bru-sha) to Tibet. gShen-chen Klu-dga' ordered him to establish the studies of *mDzod-phug*<sup>28)</sup> and *Gab-pa*,<sup>29)</sup> both of which texts belonged to gShen-chen's rediscoveries. Consequently this disciple founded the monastery of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha in 1072, which became the great seat of learning for the Bonpo until it was destroyed by a flood in 1386. mKhas-pa dByar-mo thang-ba (b. 1144) and 'A-zha Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1198–1263) are the most renowned abbots of this monastery. Many of the abbots came from the Bru family, who considered itself patron of the monastery. However, when the monastery was destroyed, the family too declined and its line was finally extinguished altogether in the 19th century after the births of two Panchen Lamas in the family. When Blo-bzang ye-shes (1663–1737), the second Panchen Lama was born, the whole family, as was customary, accompanied him to bKra-shis lhun-po, leaving no-one at the family seat. The local people feared that this might bring about the disappearance of the Bru line, and subsequently managed to save the situation by asking the bKra-shis lhun-po authorities to send back one member of the family. However in the 19th century the fifth Panchen Lama, bsTan-pa'i dbang-phyug (b. 1854) was born again in this family. This time when the whole family went with him to bKra-shis lhun-po no-one bothered about maintaining the line of Bru-tshang. It abruptly came to an end. The family house

and land became the property of the Bla-brang of bKra-shis lhun-po. The biographers of these two Pan-chen Lamas have taken great care to conceal the religion of the family of Bru. Whilst they praised effusively the high nobility of the clan in which the lamas were born, they deemed it unnecessary to mention openly their family's religion as this might have undermined their holiness in the eyes of dGe-lugs-pa adherents.

Another prominent disciple of gShen-rab Klu-dga' was Zhu-yas Legs-po, to whom the teacher assigned the task of upholding the teachings of rDzogs-chen meditation. He was born in the family of Zhu, whose descendants are still to be found among the Tibetan refugees in India. He founded the monastery of sKyid-mkhar ri-zhing in the 11th century. It became an important centre for rDzogs-chen philosophy and practice. Still another important disciple was sPa-ston dPal-mchog. He was to look after the tantric teachings. He belonged to the much esteemed family of sPa, and initiated the setting up of a hermitage which later developed into a centre of tantric learning.<sup>30)</sup> In addition to these three families of Bru, Zhu, and sPa who produced these disciples, there was yet another called rMe'u. While no-one from this family seems to have met gShen-chen, in the 11th century rMe'u mKhas-pa dPal-chen (b. 1052) founded the monastery of bZang-ri, another centre for philosophical studies. Thus three were altogether four Bonpo centres all situated in g'Tsang. While the monasteries of Bru and rMe'u were concerned mainly with scholasticism, the other two pursued spiritual progress and contemplation. In this period Bonpo students used to roam around not only visiting their own monasteries, but also staying in those of the Buddhists, such as Sa-skya, sNar-thang and gSang-phu. We often come across stories in the biographies of Buddhist scholars where they met Bonpo monks in debating arenas and defeated them through philosophical disputation. One particular example is Bu-ston who vanquished several Bonpo in gSang-phu while he was studying there.<sup>31)</sup>

Sustenance for these large centres mainly depended on gifts offered by nomads living in the north. Most of the nomadic population of Tibet remained ardent followers of Bon throughout Tibetan history. They supplied necessities for the monasteries. The monasteries sent out missions for this purpose and these missions travelled to and fro transporting the gifts, which usually consisted of animal produce. The monks later bartered these gifts against barley and other grains, and necessities not provided by the nomads.

During these centuries Bonpo enjoyed a good deal of quiet religious life. They did so as long as they kept away from the religious and political squabbles of the Buddhist sects. Towards the end of the 14th century, however, all the above mentioned centres began to fall into decadence and with the disappearance of the monastery of Bru in 1386, a new era began in Bonpo history. It came along with the Bonpo teacher mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-

mtshan (1356–1415) a native of rGya-rong, who founded the monastery of sMan-ri in 1405. This was to be the most important Bonpo centre until 1959, and although it remained quite mediocre in comparison to the earlier period of Bon development, it survived until the last day of Tibetan religious freedom. In 1834 another monastery was founded in gTsang by Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan (b. 1796). It was called gYung-drung-gling and as one of the largest Bonpo monasteries boasted two hundred monks. A little later another monastery called mKhar-sna was also established near sMan-ri. There were in all three important Bonpo centres in Central Tibet.

Compared to the quiet life of the early period from 1017 to 1386, this later stage turned out to be severe and difficult. Movements were checked by the dGe-lugs-pa theocratic government after they came to power, and under the fifth Dalai Lama, Bonpo once more suffered from persecution along with the Jo-nang-pa sect. Several Bonpo monasteries, particularly in Khyung-po, were converted into dGe-lugs-pa ones, and the most severe developments took place in Beri in Khams, where the Tibetan Buddhist ruler unfortunately used his Mongol soldiers to subdue his religious opponents.<sup>32)</sup> However, the Bonpo were somehow spared the fate that befell the Jo-nang-pa who were totally banished from Central Tibet. This persecution continued throughout the period of new theocratic rule, in one place or another. rGya-rong which had always been a Bonpo stronghold successfully resisted Manchu encroachment for several years. The Emperor Qianlong feeling helpless asked his spiritual instructor, the dGe-lugs-pa incarnation lCang-skye Rol-ba'i rdo-rje (1717–1786) to use his magic powers against the uncompromising Bonpo. The lama lost no time to take this good opportunity to vanquish the heretics by using the Chinese army. The army set out in about 1775. Although they failed to achieve their objective which was to extract the people of rGya-rong from the Bon belief, they did manage to destroy the famous Bonpo monastery gYung-drung lha-sding. Later a dGe-lugs-pa monastery called dGa'ldan was established in the same place. The emperor issued a sort of edict prohibiting the practice of the Bon religion.<sup>33)</sup>

Despite these difficulties and discouragements, the Bonpo kept up their tradition. New developments began especially in the philosophy of rDzogs-chen in the latter half of the 19th century. This was started in Khams by the Bonpo teacher, Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1858–1935). He was one of those who initiated the Ris-med movement (Universalism).<sup>34)</sup> With his writings, which consist of about eighteen volumes, Bonpo tradition was not simply continuing, but was developing in a similar way to that of the rNying-ma-pa at the same period, the impetus probably coming from the rNying-ma-pa side. This development finally brought about the founding of the new monastery of Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar near Mount Ti-se (Kailas) in 1936 by Ka-rgya Khyung-sprul 'Jigs-med nam-mkha'i rdo-rje (b. 1897). It was this lama who for the first time produced a lithographic edition of the collected



works of Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan in Delhi in 1950.

#### 4. The Bonpo Canon

The Bonpo Canon largely consists of two types of works: the rediscovered texts and texts of the oral transmission. First of all, the rediscovered texts or *gter-ma*: these are by no means unique to the Bonpo tradition. rNying-ma-pa literature also abounds in them. However, the proclivity of both Bonpo and rNying-ma-pa for these rediscovered texts and their claim that they are authentic works gave rise to much bickering on the part of the orthodox sects, for early on Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182–1251) expressed doubt about their authenticity. A little later 'Bri-gung dPal-'dzin directly charged the rNying-ma-pa with falsification. In spite of this rNying-ma-pa scholars went on compiling the great collection of the *rNying-ma'i rgyud-'bum* which was not included in the Buddhist Kanjur due to the problem of authenticity. Moreover, the rNying-ma-pa refuted the charges vigorously and, the polemic literature (*rtsod-yig* or *dgag-yig*) they produced is considerable. Now it is not only the Tibetan orthodox Buddhists, but also Western scholars who have joined in the choir calling *gter-ma* apocryphal. Bonpo, on the other hand, were much less concerned with what was said about *gter-ma* by the orthodox Buddhists. Large numbers of rediscoverers (*gter-ston*) have followed one after the other from the 10th century A.D. until very recently.

The earliest date of rediscovery is 913 A.D. according to Bonpo chronology, but the codification of Bonpo texts took place when gShen-chen klu-dga' (996–1035) discovered a large number of texts in 1017 A.D. His discovery makes up the main part of the Bonpo Canon. By the 14th century A.D. many rediscoveries had been made in various places so that different names came into use for each discovery. These were either connected with the name of the rediscoverer or the name of the place where the books were found. The texts rediscovered by dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal (b. 1175) are known by the name of dPon-gsas-ma, and those found in bSam-yas ca-ti are called Ca-ti-ma. More common names are connected with the cardinal points, such as *dBus-gter*—Central treasure; *lHo-gter*—Southern treasure; and *Byang-gter*—Northern treasure which only vaguely indicate where the texts originated.

The religious texts found this way are not necessarily all apocryphal. Many of the Bonpo *gter-ston* were in fact simple ordinary people, and Bonpo historians do not normally pretend that these *gter-ston* displayed any kind of miraculous power in order to find the texts. It is said that in the 10th century three errant Nepalese wanderers found Bonpo texts in bSam-yas by accident, and as they were not interested in them, exchanged them for food. In the same century three hunters came across Bonpo texts when they were digging in the ground for some stones. In the 12th century a shepherd simply

walked in a cave which to his surprise was full of books. Likewise, pilgrims and travellers often found texts in old temples, stūpas and statues. There have been several *gter-ston* who belonged to both the Bonpo and rNying-ma-pa traditions and there are also many instances of a Bonpo *gter-ston* finding a Buddhist text in which case he simply handed it over to a rNying-ma-pa and vice-versa. Had Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot been Tibetan and found their manuscripts in Tibet they would no doubt have been awarded with the title of *gter-ston*. However, this, of course, does not mean that all *gter-ma* are authentic. I am simply affirming the real possibility of finding old manuscripts. On the other hand, since only a few native Tibetan works can definitely be assigned to the 8th century, and this applies to all schools of Tibetan Buddhism, the assumption arises that many of the *gter-ston* who found old manuscripts, whether whole or in parts, used them as a basis and then rewrote or extended the originals. One good example of this is *gZer-mig*. Drang-rje btsun-pa gser-mig who is said to have rediscovered this important text has used materials that have parallel versions in Dunhuang manuscripts.<sup>35)</sup>

Although the rNying-ma-pa have several categories of *gter-ma*, the Bonpo have only one kind. To this they added *snyan-rgyud* orally transmitted texts. This particular tradition goes back to Gyer-mi nyi-'od who was also a *gter-ston*. He lived in the 12th century. The method involved in producing the orally transmitted texts differs completely from that of the *gter-ma*. The recipient is normally considered to have a close spiritual connection with a teacher who is believed to have lived several centuries earlier. Gyer-mi nyi-'od claimed to be a spiritual son of Dran-pa nam-mkha'. It was he who appeared in visions of Gyer-mi nyi-'od and dictated texts while the recipient wrote down what he heard. Now the reason given for this technique is that the teacher who lived in the 8th century A.D. concealed texts in his mind during the persecution of Bon—i.e. he memorized the texts before they were destroyed. When the right time comes to reveal the memorized teachings he recites them to a person whom he recognizes as his own spiritual son. This idea more or less corresponds to the *dgongs-gter* (mental-treasure) of the rNying-ma-pa although their method differs from that of the Bonpo. While *gter-ston* found manuscripts on which they based their works, the recipients of the oral transmission never claimed to have found anything like the *gter-ma*. Nonetheless, it would be quite impossible for them to produce such bulky volumes without any basis. This enigmatic problem can be brought to light by examining the contents of *gZi-brjid*. We have already spoken of this work as the longest version of gShen-rab's life. It belongs to the category of oral transmission. The recipient of this work was Khyung-po Blo-ltan snying-po (b. 1360) and in many ways he is the key figure in the development of oral transmission although he was preceded by Gyer-mi nyi-'od, the first recipient of such a work. These bulky volumes are enlargements of an already existing

work. In addition, there is another type of oral transmission. This I would call the genuine oral transmission. *gZi-brjid* belongs to the first type, because it is in the main an extended version of *gZer-mig*. *Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud* belongs to the second type, that is the genuine oral transmission, because a long list of historical persons through whom the oral preceptual teachings were transmitted is given. We shall be able to dwell on this when we examine rDzogs-chen philosophy.<sup>36)</sup>

By the beginning of the 15th century the Bonpo had put out numerous works of both the *gter-ma* and *snyan-rgyud* traditions. The exact date of the final assembly of the Canon is not known, but it has been suggested that this must have taken place prior to 1450.<sup>37)</sup> In spite of many other works by important authors special emphasis has been laid upon the *gter-ma* and *snyan-rgyud* which meant that the scope of the assembled canon represented probably only two thirds of the total output of Bonpo works extant at the time. Like the Buddhists the assembly of the Canon was conducted in a very selective way.

Already in the works of Me-ston Shes-rab 'od-zer (1058–1132) we find discussions on the subject of *bKa'*—the Word of gShen-rab and *bKa'-brten*—the works that depend on the *bKa'*. We have already mentioned the discovery by gShen-chen Klu-dga' which in itself was large enough to make the major part of the scriptures, and if such a collection had already been made there is nothing surprising in it, because the activity of assembling translated religious works was a well established phenomenon in Tibet from the 8th century onwards. For instance, three different *dkar-chag* of Buddhist works existed by 815 A.D. The *lDan-dkar dkar-chag*<sup>38)</sup> is still available. Although the use of the term *bKa'* for the words of gShen-rab is an imitation of Buddhist usage, the term *bKa'-brten* to designate the works by teachers other than gShen-rab is different from the Buddhist term *bsTan-bcos* (śāstra).

Although the first systematic collection and codification of the Buddhist *Kanjur* and *Tenjur* took place in the early 13th century in the monastery of sNar-thang under the initiative of bCom-ldan rig-ral, the systematic collection and actual editing of the Bonpo Canon took place only in the middle of the 18th century in rGya-rong. It was Kun-grol grags-pa (b. 1700), a well known Bonpo scholar who made an inventory of the Canon. He was tutor to Nam-mkha' rab-brtan, the King of Khro-bcu principality. The king began to make blocks of the scriptures, but towards the end of the 18th century a certain number of them were burned. However by the 1850's the carving of the blocks of the *Kanjur* was completed. Xylographic editions of the scriptures reproduced from the Khro-bcu blocks made their way into the monasteries in Amdo and in Central Tibet in such places as sMan-ri and gYung-drung-gling, but they never seem to have reached anywhere outside Tibet. Manuscript editions of the Canon are said to exist at least in twenty-eight Bonpo monasteries mostly situated in Hor and Khyung-po, but it is unneces-

sary to go through the long list of the monasteries here. We shall be content with what two Western travellers report. In 1922 J. F. Rock, the American scholar saw a manuscript set of the Bonpo Canon in a temple in the district of Tso-so in the extreme South-Eastern region of Tibet. G. Roerich, the Russian Tibetologist, came across another set of manuscripts in the monastery of Sharugon, this time in North-Eastern Tibet in 1928. He further reports that in this monastery manuscripts of the Bonpo *Kanjur* consisted of 140 volumes and the *Tenjur* 160.<sup>39)</sup>

Outside Tibet we do not have any copies of inventories of the Bonpo Canon, like the one made by Kun-grol grags-pa, though no doubt several of them existed. However, with the coming of Tibetan refugees to India in 1959, the Bonpo monk-scholar Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin brought on his back amongst other works a very detailed catalogue of the Bonpo Canon. This was later published in volume 37 in Śatapiṭaka series by Lokesh Chandra in 1965. This *dkar-chag* was made by the famous 22nd abbot of sMan-ri monastery, Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin (b. 1813). The exact date of this *dkar-chag* is not known, but at any rate, it cannot be before 1836. Dr. Per Kvaerne, the Norwegian Indologist and Tibetologist, has recently made a thorough study of this *dkar-chag* and published the work in the Indo-Iranian Journal.<sup>40)</sup> This extremely useful work will be indispensable for any future research in Bonology. According to the *dkar-chag* there are 113 volumes of the *bKa'-gyur* and 293 of the *bKa'-brten*.

Let us now turn our attention to the structural problem of the Canon. We have already spoken about the Bonpo classification of the doctrines of gShen-rab: the four Portals and the Treasury as the fifth. But in the *mDo-dus* gShen-rab is said to have ordered his disciples to classify his words into four divisions. The *dkar-chag* of Nyi-man bstan-'dzin strictly adheres to this system:

- (1) *mDo* vols. 1 to 46 consist of texts dealing in the main with monastic discipline, cosmogony, hagiographical literature and prayers.
- (2) *'Bum* vols. 47 to 66 consist mainly of Bonpo Prajñāpāramitā literature.
- (3) *rGyud* vols. 67 to 107 contain mainly Bonpo esoterical teachings.
- (4) *mDzod* vols. 108 to 113 comprise Bonpo rDzogs-chen philosophy.

The *'Bum* division is nothing but a complete borrowing of the Buddhist Prajñāpāramitā whilst the *mDo* and *rGyud* divisions respectively correspond to the Buddhist terms sūtra and tantra. The *mDzod* does not have any connection with Abhidharmakośa as one might expect, but has a certain affiliation to the rDzogs-chen of the rNying-ma-pa.

The *bKa'-brten* part of the Canon which has 293 volumes deals with the rituals and their narratives, commentaries of all kinds, and works connected with the arts, logic, medicine and poetry.

### 5. The Origin of the World

In the Bon religion the world is said to have ultimately emerged from several eggs, but there is no unified account. There are as many variations as texts. Even within one work the accounts differ from chapter to chapter. This may be very frustrating for those who seek an established pattern and wish to present a complete Bonpo theory of the universe. The number of eggs is sometimes two and at other times five or even nine and the process of hatching eggs varies from one version to the other as do the number of beings who emerge from them. The Bonpo rituals normally begin with a narrative of how the world or gods or demons came into existence and these narratives are different almost every time even with texts about the same god or demon. However, we may establish a general schema within these scattered and diverse accounts by basing ourselves on the *Srid-pa'i mdzod-phug*.<sup>41)</sup> It is in the main a work of cosmogony, but also contains what we might call metaphysics. It has seventeen chapters. The first six are about the origin of world and the remaining nine chapters are devoted to metaphysics.

The work is considered to be *bKa'*, the word of gShen-rab, and therefore, is placed in the Bonpo Canon, and is said to have been translated into Tibetan from the language of Zhang-zhung by the Zhang-zhung master sTong-rgyung mthu-chen and the Tibetan Bonpo Sha-ri dbu-chen in Bye-ma-la ggyung-drung chu-mig brgyad-cu rtsa-gnyis. This place is described as situated on the frontier of Zhang-zhung and Tibet (*bod-dang zhang-zhung gi ru-mtshams*). Whatever its origin, the text is bilingual and in verse. It was included in the rediscovery made in 1017 by gShen-chen Klu-dga' whom we have already met in a previous lecture.<sup>42)</sup> Amongst the many commentaries on this text *bDen-pa bon-gyi mdzod-sgo sgra'grel 'phrul-gyi lde-mig* is considered to be the most important. It is attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' (8th century A.D.), but was rediscovered by rMa-ston Jo-lcam later in the 12th century. These two works were published in one volume under the title '*mdzod phug*: basic verses and commentary' by Tenzin Namdak in India in 1966. Here I shall give a résumé of the passage concerned with the origin of the world according to the commentary (p. 205):

"In the beginning of the beginning there was the Lord Nam-mkha'-stong-ldan phyod-sum who possessed the leas of the five causes. From him the father Khri-rgyal khug-pa collected them to his body and uttered softly 'ha' from which sprang wind. As the wind circled fast in the form of a wheel of light there came fire, and as the wind blew hard the hotter the fire became. Dew was produced from the heat of the fire and the coolness of the wind. On the drops of dew atoms clustered. These in turn were stirred by the wind which travelled about in space causing the accumulation of particles to grow to the size of mountains. The

world was in this way created by the father Khri-rgyal khug-pa (alias mNgon-rdzogs rgyal-po). From the essence of the five causes an egg of light and egg of darkness were produced. The egg of light was cubic and as big as a yak. The egg of darkness was in the shape of a pyramid and the size of an ox. The father broke the egg of light with a wheel of light. From the clashing of the wheel and the egg sparks of light scattered into space producing the gods of 'Thor-gsas (the scattered gods) and rays of light shone downwards producing the gods of mDa'-gsas (the arrow gods). From the heart of the egg emerged Srid-pa sangs-po 'bum-khri, a white man with turquoise hair. He was the king of the world of existence. bsKal-pa med-'bum nag-po (who stands in opposition to father Khri-rgyal khug-pa) caused the egg of darkness to burst in the realm of darkness. Black light went up producing ignorance and fog. Black rays went down producing torpor and madness. From the heart of the egg sprang a man of black light. He was called Mun-pa zer-ldan nag-po and was the king of the world of non-existence. These two are the fathers of gods and demons.

From the five causes dew and rain were produced and these became the oceans. As the wind blew and moved the waters of the oceans a bubble the size of a tent sprang up onto the surface containing a blue egg of light. When it burst by itself a turquoise blue woman appeared. Sangs-po 'bum-khri gave her the name of Chu-lcam rgyal-mo. They coupled without bowing their heads and without touching noses and produced wild animals, beasts, and birds. They united bending their heads and touching noses and nine brothers and nine sisters were born to them."

It is not necessary here to go through all the names of the brothers and sisters. We shall only consider the important role they play in forming the original structure of the world and its environment. The father, Sangs-po 'bum-khri, assigns each of his children to a particular role. The nine brothers cause nine female partners to appear as their wives while the nine sisters create nine male partners as their husbands. The first three of the nine brothers are more important than the others. They are usually referred to as *Phyva-srid-skos-gsum*. Srid-rje 'brang-dkar's duty is to ensure the continuation of the world. He has nine sons called the nine gods of heaven (*gnam*) and nine daughters called the nine goddesses of heaven. The nine gods of heaven are the primary ancestors of the clan of dMu. These nine gods are also called gNam-gyi then-dgu. gShen-rab is considered to be a descendant of this clan. sKos-rje drang-dkar is ordered to assign beings and things with their functions and their opposites, for example medicine for illness, but also demons for men. He produced eight sons known as the eight gods of the earth and eight daughters, the eight goddesses of the earth. Phyva-rje ring-

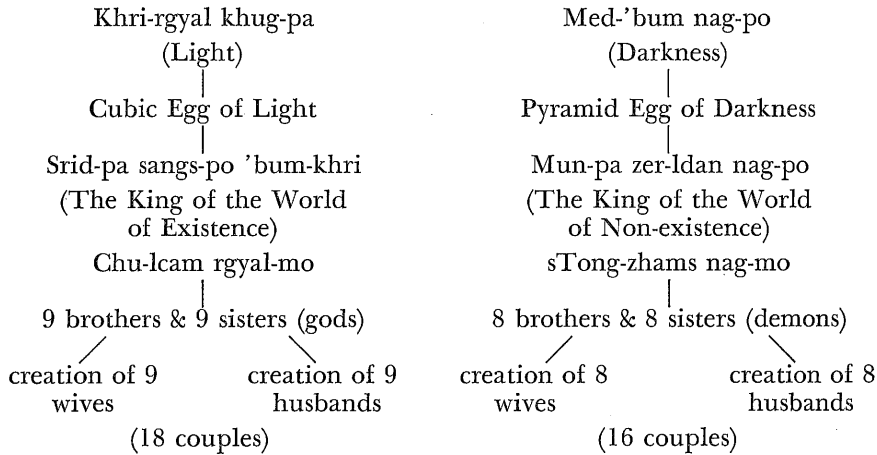
dkar (alias Phyva-rje skye'dzin) is to look after the lives of living beings. He has eight children, four sons and four daughters. The second son is Phyva-rje yab-bla bdal-drug, the progenitor of the Tibetan kings. Sangs-po 'bum-khri's fourth son, gNyan-rum gnam-dkar is the original ancestor of the mountain gods. The remaining brothers in their turn are ancestors of various beings. Whilst these brothers are called the Nine Males of the World (*Srid-pa pho-dgu*), their sisters are known as the Nine Females of the World. The first of these sisters is gNam-phyi gung-rgyal. She occupies a very important place in the Bonpo pantheon, which we shall discuss in a later lecture.<sup>43)</sup> The second sister, gNam-smān dkar-mo is again an interesting figure. She has become a Bonpo guardian of the esoteric teachings. She also plays an important role in the Gesar epic as the aunt of Gesar. It was from the third sister Mi-mkhan ma-mo, and her husband rDzi-ba dung-phyur that man descended. The couple had eight offspring who are the original progenitors of man. The fifth sister, Shed-za na-ma is the goddess of life. She has twelve offspring, amongst which we find Pho-lha mi-rdzi, Ma-lha bu-rdzi, Zhang-lha drin-chen and sGra-bla dar-ma.<sup>44)</sup> When Srog-lha nyams-chen is added to these four, the group is known as 'Go-yi lha-lnga. Srog-lha is a son of the seventh sister. Each individual has these gods by nature. Srog-lha resides on the head, Pho-lha mi-rdzi on the right-hand shoulder, Ma-lha bu-rdzi on the left-hand shoulder, sGra-bla in front of the head and Zhang-lha at the back of the head. The seventh sister, Phyva-tshe rgyal-mo (Queen of Wealth), is the mother of the gods of horses, yaks, sheep, goats, and the door, and of the goddesses of cows and the hearth.

Like the brothers, all the sisters have special duties assigned to them by their father. The parents and the eighteen offspring constitute the original ancestors of the host of Bonpo gods. Most of the gods in Bon and Tibetan lamaism whose origin is not Indian can be traced back to this genealogy.

Mun-pa zer-ldan, the demon, created sTong-zhams nag-mo out of his own shadow and she was born in the middle of a moonless night. So she is called the Queen of Darkness. From their union eight brothers and eight sisters were born. They are called lHa-srin. lHa-srin here is to be understood as lha-ma-srin, i.e. beings who are not quite gods nor demons. The eight brothers, too, create their own female partners and the eight sisters their male partners. Many more demons were born from these sixteen couples. These represent the Bonpo demonological world.

Here is a diagram of how the original genealogy appears:

Nam-mkha' stong-ldan phyod-sum-rje  
(space)



The idea of the eggs as the primeval source of gods and demons is quite unique to Bon in Tibet. We do not find any such conception in Buddhist cosmogony. While the influence of Zoroasterianism is perhaps apparent in the Bonpo dualistic structure of the world, the idea of the eggs seems to have a different origin. In Zoroasterianism Ahura Mazda was originally the creator of the whole world including the demons, but later there were different sectarian developments in this religion. Some maintained that the primeval principle was Time, but according to others it was space which created the gods including Ahura Mazda and the demons. In the Bonpo theory, there is no indication of Time, but Space plays an important role in the coming into existence of the world, its personification being Nam-mkha' stong-ldan phyod-sum-rje. He is invisible and passive. In later Bonpo tradition he is stylised as Bon-sku which corresponds to Chos-sku (Dharmakāya). Khri-rgyal khug-pa, also called mNgon-rdzogs rgyal-po—the king who possesses clarity, is one and the same as gShen-lha 'od-dkar. He is therefore visible and active. He is stylised as Longs-sku (Sambhogakāya). He is the primary mover, but he himself was moved by a strong wish, because he perceived that Med-'bum nag-po, the Black, Hundred-thousand Non-existence, intended to create a world full of misery so he acted promptly by collecting the lees of the five causes from the Lord Nam-mkha' stong-ldan phyod-sum. With the lees he created the world, but not the 'beings' which were born to Srid-pa sangs-po 'bum-khri. To these two figures, Khri-rgyal khug-pa and Sangs-po 'bum-khri, gShen-rab Mi-bo is added as the guide of living beings, thus forming the Bonpo Triad which we have had occasion to mention.<sup>45)</sup> When we say that Khri-rgyal khug-pa created the world, it is not the same as the creation of the God of Christianity or Islam where God creates the world out of nothing. The idea of omnipotence does not exist in the Bonpo tradition. It is not a myth of creation, but rather of procreation. For example, each of the sons of Sangs-po 'bum-khri creates independently a female partner. The god-



desses simply appear as a result of their desire. The Tibetan verb for this is '*sprul-ba*' which in Buddhist texts is normally translated by 'incarnate' or 'emanate'. Here '*sprul-ba*' has the connotation of causing to appear.

There are four heavens in the Bonpo tradition. They are known as *gNas-rigs chen-po bzhi*—the Four Great Residences. The first one is called Srid-pa gung-sangs. It is a place where the gods gather together and discuss who is going to descend and be the guide or ruler on the earth. The second is Srid-pa ye-sangs, residence of Srid-pa sangs-po 'bum-khri. The third is Bar-lha 'od-gsal where the gods purify themselves before descending to or when they return from the world. The fourth is the highest heaven and is called mGon-btsun-phyva.<sup>46)</sup> It is the heaven of Khri-rgyal khug-pa. In this heaven there is a city known as sNar-ma glegs-bzhi where the god Phyva-rje ring-dkar (alias Phyva-rje sgam-po) rules. It is in this place that the gods receive their education and study the Bon of Srid-pa stong-rtsis—the calculation of the one thousand worlds. The three boys whom we met in a previous lecture studied Bon in this place. Phyva-rje yab-bla bdal-drug, the primary ancestor of the Tibetan kings is considered to be residing in this city.

Med-'bum nag-po, the demon, lives in the North in a region called Byang-phyogs mun zer-ldan-gyi khams, situated to the north of the heavens. The four heavens and the dwelling place of the demons in the north again echo ideas in the Persian religion. This idea of the demons living in the north is also reflected in the Ge-sar epic. Even if Khri-rgyal khug-pa corresponds to Ahura Mazda, it is rather difficult to see how other Bon deities, Sangs-po 'bum-khri, for example, correspond to any of the other deities in Zoroasterianism. This religion itself has gone through tremendous change. The number of gods and demons and their functions are almost totally different from those in Bon. I do not pretend to know the ancient Persian religion well enough to make a thorough comparative study, but what is certain is the Iranian influence of duality. The duality of light and darkness, white and black, good and evil, gods and demons, the world of existence and non-existence, creation and destruction forms one of the fundamental tenets of the Bonpo doctrines. Any ritual or ceremony the Bonpo perform for the benefit of others or oneself is viewed from this angle of dualism. Gods should triumph over demons and good over evil.

The position of man is rather precarious. Although he is closely connected with gods by birth he should neither offend the gods nor the demons, but should the demons bully man he can seek aid from the gods who must at any cost triumph over their adversaries. As he is descended from the gods man naturally seeks protection from them, but in the same way as man is connected with the gods, there is no complete separation between gods and demons except that they represent opposing forces. Man is born with these two forces within him. He is therefore contested by them. These two forces

are called *lhan-cig skyes-pa'i lha dang bdud*—gods and demons that were born together with oneself. Man is governed by these two forces. His actions are determined by these external forces rather than by internal ones and previous actions. When Buddhism became the dominant belief, the idea of gods and demons that were born with oneself gradually merged with the idea of karma. Still later, this idea converged with the concept of innate intelligence and ignorance (*lhan-cig skyes-pa'i rig-pa dang ma-rig-pa*) in *rDzogs-chen* philosophy.

The Bonpo must have received these influences quite early on. Probably when Zhang-zhung was still an independent state. Although the Buddhist teachings in *mDzod-phug* outweigh the Bon beliefs, the bilingual and archaic composition on the cosmological origin of the world is no doubt very ancient. The work represents a typical synthesis of Bon and Buddhism.

## 6. The Bonpo Pantheon

The Bonpo Pantheon is a vast assembly of gods whose origins may be variously traced to Zhang-zhung, India, China, probably Persia, and Tibet itself. However, while no organised collection has been made of the entire range, what the Bonpo do have are collections of comparatively small groups of divinities. I shall first indicate quite briefly the various groups of deities and the forms their representations take, before going on to talk about the history of some of the important ones.

There are many different sets of deities belonging to particular rituals. There are also hagiographical representations of the lives of Bonpo sages. These are normally found in the form of *thangkas*. Another means of representation is on miniature cards called *Tsa-ka-li*. These are used in rituals and are normally in sets of a particular cycle of deities. The largest set of woodblocks that I have seen is the representation of gShen-rab's life comprising sixty woodblocks made in Khro-bcu principality in rGya-rong. In the same place there existed the woodblocks of the twelve divinities known as *Cho-ga bcu-gnyis kyi lha*—The Divinities of the Twelve Rituals. The commonest of all Bonpo deities belong to the group of four known as the *bDer-gshegs-gtso-bzhi*—The Four Principal Deities. *bDer-gshegs* is of course a Buddhist term (*sugata*). These four are usually depicted in *thangkas* and frescos, and a set of *thangkas* could be found in almost every temple. Images, *thangkas*, and wall-paintings of individual Bonpo deities could be found everywhere in Bonpo communities, in the same way as with religious works of art of all sects all over Tibet.

In examining the origins and roles played by the gods of the Bonpo pantheon it is important to grasp that there is a systematised structure to which they all, with one or two exceptions, relate, this being the original

genealogy of the Bonpo gods as exemplified in *mDzod-phug*. To illustrate this we shall take the Four Principal Deities, and some other important ones as examples. The four are:

1. Sa-trig er-sangs
2. gShen-lha 'od-dkar
3. Sangs-po 'bum-khri
4. gShen-rab mi-bo

The latter three constitute the Bonpo Triad which was mentioned in an earlier lecture.<sup>47)</sup> gShen-lha 'od-dkar is one and the same as Khri-rgyal khug-pa, the primaeval god, whilst Sangs-po 'bum-khri is the primary father of gods and other beings, in the mythology of the creation. However, in the Triad, gShen-lha has the function of the Teacher, whereas Sangs-po is companion to gShen-rab and gShen-rab himself is the guide or saviour of this world. As for the first of the four, Sa-trig er-sangs, this is another name for Chu-lcam rgyal-mo, the primary mother of beings. Her function as member of the four is as the Great Mother of all deities, (*yum-chen*) which corresponds to Prajñā in Buddhism, the Mother of all the Buddhas. Chu-lcam rgyal-mo fitted easily into this complementary role. Sa-trig er-sangs is said to be a Zhang-zhung name meaning Shes-rab byams-ma—Wisdom, the Loving Mother. It has been suggested that Byams-ma was made up by the Bonpo on the model of Byams-pa (Maitreya).<sup>48)</sup> This may be so, but if the word *byams-pa* already existed in the Tibetan language, then *byams-ma* may well have been current too, before the Bonpo came to call her by this name. The Four Principal Deities are described as *Zhi-ba'i lha*—the tranquil deities, and they are the chief ones mentioned in *gZer-mig*.<sup>49)</sup>

As for the terrifying divinities, there are five main ones, known as *gSas-mkhar mchog-nga*—The Five Excellent Ones of the gSas Citadel. The first three of these are:

1. dBal-gsas rngam-pa
2. lHa-rgod thog-pa
3. gTso-mchog mkha'-'gying

These are known as the Triple Tantric Divinities of the Bonpo pantheon. The first and the third are only different aspects of the second. lHa-rgod thog-pa is consort of gNam-phyi gung-rgyal, the first of the nine sisters. She is also consort of the other two, but in each case she has a different name. The exegetical literature of these deities is abundant, but the texts most worth mentioning are *Khro-bo rgyud-drug* and *dBal-gsas ting-mur g'yu-rtse'i rgyud*.<sup>50)</sup> These have been published in India very recently. Although these divinities iconographically resemble those of the Buddhist pantheon, their origin is not Indian at all, but go back to the original Bonpo genealogy. None of the exegeses and liturgical texts of these divinities seem to date back beyond the 10th century A.D.

The fourth divinity of the gSas Citadel is Ge-khod. He was originally a mountain god residing on Ti-se. His origin is therefore in Zhang-zhung. His name is occasionally preceded by sKu-bla which is also an epithet of other mountain gods. According to a myth, he descended from the heavens on to Mount Ti-se in the form of a fearful yak and then disappeared into the mountain.<sup>51)</sup> This god gradually rose to the status of *yi-dam*, tutelary divinity in the Bonpo pantheon. Since then he has been a terrifying divinity with multiple heads and arms embracing his consort in *yab-yum*. A fantastic name is conferred on him: Ge-khod bdud-'dul gsang-ba drag-chen—Ge-khod, the Subduer of demons, the Great Ferocious One of the Secrets. As he has three hundred and sixty subordinate divinities, Professor Tucci found that Ge-khod has some connection with the astrological gods.<sup>52)</sup> Ge-khod also has connection with the divination gods in *Zhang-zhung ju-thig* where the 360 gods are represented by the 360 knots of the thirty-six strings (*mdud-lha* 360). There are five treatises known as *bDud-'dul ge-khod-kyi rgyud-lnga*,<sup>53)</sup> but unfortunately the existence of these so far has not been reported anywhere outside Tibet.

The fifth divinity of the gSas Citadel is Phur-pa (kila). This divinity is not only worshiped by the Bonpo but also by the rNying-ma-pa and the Sa-skyapa. Its origin is probably Indian, but this has been a controversial subject ever since the 11th century among Buddhists in Tibet. The central point of the controversy is the authenticity of the Indian origin of Phur-pa. According to the rNying-ma-pa tradition the cult was first introduced into Tibet by Padmasambhava. This assertion was rejected first by the prince-monk lo-tsva-ba Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od in his edict issued in 1032 A.D. In his opinion the cult was invented purely by the Tibetans and therefore cannot have the same effective value as a work of Indian origin. Other critics followed him until Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita came across a Sanskrit manuscript of *rDo-rje phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu*<sup>54)</sup> in Shangs sreg-shing in g'Tsang. He made a translation of it and, as a result of this, the critics of Phur-pa were silenced. The text is supposed to be only part (*dum-bu*) of a large tantra which never reached Tibet, even if it really existed in India. As late as the 19th century Kong-sprul Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1813–99) wrote a commentary on this tantra and it is the only commentary that is known so far.<sup>55)</sup> A history of Phur-pa by Sog-zlog-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (alias Nam-mkhar spyod-pa, 1552–1624), a rNying-ma-pa polemic writer, is entitled *dPal rdo-rje phur-pa'i lo-rgyus ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho'i rba-rlabs*.<sup>56)</sup> There is also a short history of the *Phur-pa rgyud-lugs* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1729–1798). Its title is *Chos-'byung ngo-mtshar snang-byed*.<sup>57)</sup>

Many systems of the cult of Phur-pa have been developed according to different traditions among the Buddhists, such as the system of the king, the system of the queen etc. The one followed by the Sa-skyapa school is called Phur-pa 'khon-lugs or Sa-skya'i yang-phur. The chief deity of this system is

rDo-rje gzhon-nu (Vajrakumāra). He does not take the form of *phur-bu* (kīla), but has a human body with extra heads and arms and he holds a *phur-bu* in the principal pair of hands. The usual form of *phur-bu* itself is a dagger with human head and arms, the lower part of the body being a triple-edged dagger. This was originally conceived of as a tantric implement in India and then gradually found its way into Buddhist tantras such as *Guhyasamāja*<sup>58)</sup> and *Vajramāla*.<sup>59)</sup> In these tantras *phur-pa* is still primarily an implement. It is to be made of various material wood, iron and even human bone. However, the interesting question is when this implement was developed into a deity. Pho-brang Zhi-ba'od criticized the tantras such as *Phur-pa myang'das chen-po'i rgyud*. In this tantra the implement *phur-bu* is treated as a deity. It is therefore clear that the cult of Phur-pa goes back to a date earlier than the 11th century.

The rNying-ma-pa tradition which maintains that the cult of Phur-pa was brought to Nepal and then to Tibet by Padmasambhava is supported by Pelliot tibétain 44. In this manuscript *phur-bu* the implement is held in the hands of Vajrakumāra, but it is also described as a maṇḍala-like dwelling where various divinities reside. While the chief deity is Vajrakumāra in certain systems of the rNying-ma-pa and the Sa-skyapa, in other rNying-ma-pa systems and those of the Bonpo, *phur-bu* the implement itself has become the central deity, Phur-pa. There was a distinction between the term *phur-bu* which seems to mean the implement and *phur-pa* the deity, but the words were used so freely that the resulting confusion reached to an extent where no difference is made in later texts.

The mythical justification of the Phur-pa cycle of the Bonpo is as follows. At a certain time in the past there was a king who had twin sons. One called sTag-la me'bar who was good and the other Dha-sha ghri-ba who was bad. The latter began to do everything against his parents so that sTag-la me'bar was obliged to take their side and fight against his own brother. However, his brother being too powerful, sTag-la felt helpless. At that moment the great mother Byams-ma appeared to him and told him that unless he invoked the Phur-pa deities he would never be able to subdue his brother. As a result of his invocation sTag-la was able to subdue the brother. This story seems to have some connection with the Rāmāyaṇa, but while Dha-sha ghri-ba is undoubtedly a transliteration of Daśagrīva (*mgrin-bcu*), nothing suggests that sTag-la me'bar can be identified with Rāma (*dGa'-byed*). Whatever the case may be, the exegetical literature and the liturgical texts of the Phur-pa cycle produced by the Bonpo are no less numerically than those of the rNying-ma-pa. The central theme of the liturgical texts of Phur-pa is to bring one's own opponent into submission.

The date of the introduction of this Buddhist magic rite into the Bonpo tradition goes back to the 11th century when the Bonpo *gter-ston* Khu-tsha zla'od (b. 1024) who is also a rNying-ma-pa *gter-ston* claimed that he redis-

covered the Nine Tantras of Phur-pa in sPa-gro (Paro) in Bhutan.<sup>60)</sup> The brand that is sometimes given to the Bonpo is that they are addicted to magic practices. To speak with fairness and with knowledge of both sides they are no more addicted to such practices than their fellow Buddhists. Evidence of this is provided by the complete borrowing of the magic rites of Phur-pa from the Buddhists.

Besides the *yi-dam* there are many religious guardians. These are called *bKa'-skyong*—the Protectors of the Word. The ones who are invoked by the majority of the Bonpo are the three Ma, bDud and bTsan. Ma stands for Ma-mchog srid-pa'i rgyal-mo—the Excellent Mother, the Queen of the World. According to Bonpo tradition she is one and the same as Chu-lcam rgyal-mo who took the form of a religious guardian, but at the same time she is analogous to dPal-ldan lha-mo (Śrīdevī), the Buddhist version of the Indian goddess Durgādevī. However, until detailed comparative research has been made we cannot know with certainty the origin of this goddess. At any rate, gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996–1035) was the first to introduce the cult of the goddess as a religious protector into Bonpo tradition.

bDud stands for dDu-bdud 'byams-pa khrag-mgo. This figure is very obscure. He is a demon and therefore should belong to the original genealogy, but he is difficult to be identified with any of the demons there. The liturgical text vaguely indicates that he came from Mi-nyag and the country of Nag-pa ldong. The origin of this guardian is therefore very uncertain at present. The liturgical text dates back to the 12th century.

bTsan stands for bTsan-rgyal Yang-ni-ver. bTsan are normally spirits of the rocks. The legend behind Yang-ni-ver is very complicated. In the legend he is associated with Li, but it is not certain whether this Li has any connection with Khotan.<sup>61)</sup> The liturgical texts go back to the 12th century.

The most recent one among the *bKa'-skyong* is Grags-pa seng-ge. The intriguing history of this protector is perhaps worth going into in some detail. The 10th Zhva-dmar-pa of the Karmapa, Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1742–1792) got into trouble with the Tibetan Government, because he was involved in the Gorkha invasion of Tibet in 1792. So the government confiscated all his property including the residence, Yangs-pa-can, which is a few miles to the north of mTshur-phu, the seat of the Zhva-nag-pa. They dismantled the institution of the incarnation line by banning recognition of any future incarnated lamas of the Zhva-dmar-pa. When Chos-grags rgya-mtsho died his spirit was supposed to have become the chief of malignant spirits in Tibet. So the abbot of sMan-ri monastery, Shes-rab dgongs-rgyal (1784–1835) summoned him along with other spirits and made him take an oath to become a Bonpo religious protector in sMan-ri. In the invocation text especially composed by the abbot in praise of this protector he evoked the story of gShen-chung go-bo to make the necessary link between himself and this protector for the Bonpo. gShen-chung go-bo was a son of the Demon Khyab-pa lag-

ring, but was born to one of gShen-rab's wives. The wife did not know when the demon had come to her in the disguise of gShen-rab. Although gShen-chung go-bo was the son of demon he was looked after by a disciple of gShen-rab, gYung-drung gtsug-gshen rgyal-ba and became very learned. Later he took nine births of the Zhva-dmar-pa line and when he took birth as the 10th his former teacher the disciple of gShen-rab became the abbot of sMan-ri. The abbot therefore had no difficulty in summoning the spirit and making him a protector. He called the protector Grags-pa seng-ge, the name of the first Zhva-dmar-pa incarnation (1283–1349). The protector therefore takes the form of a Buddhist monk holding a banner and wishing jewel and mounted on a horse.

Deifying the spirits of well known people and making them into religious protectors was quite a common phenomenon in Tibet. The abbot of sMan-ri was not the first to initiate such a practice. The making of the spirit of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan into a dGe-lugs-pa religious protector known as rDo-rje Shugs-ldan took place before the abbot was born. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was 3rd in the incarnation line of Pan-chen bSod-nams grags-pa (1478–1554), one of the greatest authorities of the dGe-lugs-pa order. The seat of this line was in 'Bras-spungs and was known as gZims-khang gong-ma (The Upper chamber) whereas the seat of the incarnation line of the Grand Abbot of 'Bras-spungs, the future Dalai lamas, was gZims-khang 'og-ma (The Lower chamber). When the Grand Abbot of 'Bras-spungs, Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1589–1617), the 4th Dalai Lama, died, two boys were put forward as candidates for the incarnation. One was Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and the other the boy who actually became the 5th Dalai Lama. However, there were opposing factions. Many disputed that Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was the real incarnation. This quarrel did not settle for a considerable time. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan eventually emerged as the 3rd incarnation of Pan-chen bSod-nams grags-pa. As there were many Tibetans and Mongols who believed that he was the real incarnation of the Dalai Lama, to them he was now the embodiment of both the great scholar and the 4th Dalai. This was quite a serious threat to the position of the 5th Dalai Lama who however eventually succeeded in eliminating this rival within his own monastery and religious sect. However, the circumstances of the death of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan are not clearly recorded. Further to justify his death, there is the story that long before in a previous birth he had made a vow to become a religious protector of the teachings of Tsongkhapa. Because of this vow he had to die in order to become the protector Shugs-ldan in the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries. This protector also takes the form of a Buddhist monk like the Bonpo protective deity, Grags-pa seng-ge.<sup>62)</sup>

When I was in 'Bras-spungs from 1956 to 59 I noticed that the cult of Shugs-ldan was very popular particularly in the college of Blo-gsal-gling, but the names gZims-khang gong-ma and 'og-ma were no longer used. gZims-

khang 'og-ma was known as dGa'-ldan pho-brang, a title given when the 5th Dalai Lama became political leader of Tibet. The name gZims-khang gong-ma seems to have disappeared together with its occupant in the 17th century.

## 7. The Bonpo Rituals

The rituals in Bon religion are immensely rich in quantity and variety. Apart from some funeral rituals found among the Dunhuang manuscripts no research has so far been made in this field. Yet rituals are extremely important for understanding the working of the human mind in ancient times.

All rituals are grouped in the first four of the Nine Ways (*theg-pa*):

1. *Phyva-gshen theg-pa*—the Way of gShen of Prediction
2. *sNang-gshen theg-pa*—the Way of gShen of Visual world
3. *Srid-gshen theg-pa*—the Way of gShen of Existence
4. *'Phrul-gshen theg-pa*—the Way of gShen of Illusion

The first *theg-pa* is further divided into four categories:

1. *mo*—divination
2. *rtsis*—astrology
3. *gto*—rites
4. *dpyad*—diagnoses

It is the *gto* that we are concerned with here. This normally consists of two parts: the narrative followed by the rite. The narrative is a mythical account of a certain event that took place at the beginning of the world. It is narrated in order to recreate the atmosphere of the story. In the narrative the priest asserts that he is a follower of his forefathers, and therefore has the same effectiveness in calling on the gods or in exorcising the demons. The narratives usually have a connection with the original genealogy. This is also a means to justify the action that the priest takes in the process of the ritual.

There are many everyday rituals, but the most common ones are: rituals for marriage, ensuring the continuation of posterity, prolonging life, increasing wealth, summoning good fortune, averting misfortune, bringing in a good harvest and for the dead. Four simultaneous stages are involved in the procedure for executing a ritual, 1. divination, 2. astrology, 3. ritual, 4. diagnoses: for example, if someone is ill, one first goes to a diviner (*mo-ba*) who consults his divination manual to see whether the patient is afflicted by any malignant spirits (*gdon*), if so, according to the result of his divination he advises the kind of ritual to be performed in order to pacify the spirit. After this an astrologer (*rtsis-pa*) examines whether the patient's birth star and other planets are in order and whether his favourable and adverse elements that are connected with his birth star have come into conflict. The astrologer then recommends a date on which the ritual should take place. Whilst the



consultation with the diviner and astrologer is in process the patient is referred to a physician who diagnoses (*dpyad*) his illness. This four-fold method is extended to cover all the everyday problems of ordinary people. This type of method is considered to be one of the essential practices of the Bon religion. The *gto* is probably quite effective at least on the psychological side whereas the *dpyad* deals purely with the physical side of the patient.

All rituals begin with purification which consists of three parts. 1. The removal of the poison (*dug-phyung*), 2. purification through the sprinkling of waters, and 3. purification by fumigation.

Let us deal first with the removal of the poison. This is usually affiliated to the mythological origin of the world. As we have seen there are two forces, gods and demons. The gods' side is called Ye and the demons' Ngam. These words are taken from the names of Ye-rje smon-pa (alias Khri-rgyal khug-pa) and Ngam-rje rtsol-po (alias Med-'bum nag-po). There is a frontier between the two forces called *Srid-pa ye-ngam gnyis-kyi so-mtshams*—the frontier between the worlds of Ye and Ngam. The poison comes from Ngam. Here I shall translate a passage which describes the origin of the poison.

'He! This poison, where did it come from?

It came into existence from the land of Ngam,

The bile of the Lord of Ngam, rTsol-po,

Burst in the land of Ngam,

There an ocean of poison flew in circles,

The Man of Ngam, the Black One (Ngam-mi nag-po) took care of it,

From this ocean of Nagm poison grew fast,

So the seed of poison came into existence from Ngam,

From this seed nine kinds of poisonous seeds appeared.'<sup>63)</sup>

The text then enumerates several kinds of poisons: growing from the earth, black aconite (*bong-nga nag-po*), from stones *mkhar-sgong* a sort of pyrites, from trees *glang-ma* a kind of willow, from shrubs *thang-phrom* and many others. The text does not give any explanation why the seed of poison should ultimately have come from the bile of Ngam-rje rtsol-po. At any rate, some of these supposed poisons are prepared before the ritual begins. When the priests begin to chant, the poisonous substances are burned in a small ladle which is carried to all parts of the house and then thrown away. The idea is that if any of the poisons lurk in vicinity the purification cannot be very effective.

Purification of pollution: The first pollution occurred when Ye and Ngam were at war. The story goes like this: there was a tree which was neither a fruit-tree nor a plant. It grew on the frontier between Ye and Ngam. The leaves of the tree were made of silk, the fruits of gold, the juice was nectar, the bark was of cloth, the thorns were weapons and the flowers were strange to look at. Nobody noticed it. But one day, Phyva'u g'yang-dkar climbed up on to the peak of the Mount of existence Del-dkar riding on a sheep (*gyang-*

mo) and carrying a divine arrow fitted with white feathers in his hand. He examined the tree again and again and finally realised that it was a sign of imminent war between Ye and Ngam, and that the war would in effect be a struggle between existence and non-existence. However, he perceived that Ye would eventually be victorious. So he pronounced the result of his investigation on the summit of the world. When the war began, the army of Ye camped on the peak of Mount Del-dkar and the army of Ngam camped at the base of Mount Sol-ri (the charcoal mountain). sKos-rje drang-dkar went to the no-man's land between Ye and Ngam (*mtsham tshigs-pa gsum-gyi bar-ma*) and tried to mediate in the debate between the delegates of existence and non-existence. However, nothing could be settled through arguing. Then two sheep were led up to the meditator. One was lHa-tsha ga-ba bang-mig (White faced spotted one, nephew of the gods) who was a descendant of the father rKang'-gros lug-lug and a goddess. The other sheep, Srin-tsha khyu-sre rgal-nag (Black backed grey one, nephew of the demons) was a son of the same father and a demoness. Both sheep were turned round nine times and then let go. lHa-tsha went to the peak of Del-dkar and Srin-tsha went to the base of Sol-ri. So the gods were victorious and they said loudly *lHa-rgyal-lo*—the gods are triumphant! Here the idea is that should lHa-tsha and Srin-tsha have made their way to the wrong destinations the gods would have been defeated, but everything went according to the system of the world (*srid-pa'i lugs*).

Ngam made many kinds of weapons. The sparks from the smithy's forge hit the darkness of Ngam. The vapour of the darkness of Ngam became clouds. A rain storm soaked the Lord of Ye, sMon-pa, who did not even have a hat. So he made one of wool from the mane of Lha-ba bal-chen, the god of sheep. The Lord of Ngam, rTsol-po shot an arrow from the darkness aiming into the eyes of the Lord of Ye. It did not strike his eyes but instead got stuck in his hat. This arrow was then taken as an auspicious implement. A piece of white silk and a silver mirror were attached to it and it came to represent the 360 gods in the divination of *Zhang-zhung ju-thig*.

When the Ye were helpless, the Lord of Ye invoked the god Ye-mkhyen sgra-bla offering him a right fore-leg of mutton. The army of Ye-mkhyen sgra-bla took Ngam-mi nag-po prisoner and his wife dMar-mo as a slave. Ngam-mi nag-po is the keeper of the poisonous ocean.<sup>64)</sup>

These are just a few examples of various minor incidents that took place between Ye and Ngam. One of the most serious incidents is Ge-khod's slaying his own mother who was a she-demon married to a god. She had abandoned her husband and child Ge-khod and returned to the land of demons, Ngam. This action of Ge-khod caused great pollution in the world of Ye. This pollution (*sme*) and the poison that grew out of the poisonous ocean made it necessary to execute the rite of purification (*dag-pa*). In purifying the pollution certain medicinal plants and other substances were needed and

these were provided by the goddess gNam-phyi gung-rgyal who lives in the Milky Way and also in gNam-mtsho phyug-mo (the rich lake of gNam). Here I shall translate the passage describing how the goddess supplies the medicine:

'Above the peak of the world where the three worlds gather,  
The mother of ambrosia, gNam-phyi gung-rgyal,  
Holding a vase full of ambrosia,  
Wearing a shawl of ambrosia,  
On her head masses of ambrosia clouds gather,  
From her mouth ambrosia rains,  
Spreading ambrosia all over the world,  
She lives on the essence of ambrosia,  
She drinks the juice of ambrosia, . . .  
In order to heal the sickness of beings,  
And to bring the god (Ge-khod) and the owner of the god (man) together,  
She sprinkled a mouthful of ambrosial spittle down on the earth,  
Praying "May this be medicinal ambrosia",

There came into existence the substances of Tshan:  
Camphor, the medicine of snows,  
Sea-foam, the medicine of water,  
Yellow saffron, the medicine of meadows,  
White *cong-zhi*, the medicine of stone,  
Brown bitumen, the medicine of rocks, . . .  
The medicine of the snows of Ti-se,  
The water of the lake of Ma-pang,  
Were mixed to make the medicinal ambrosia (*Tshan*),  
Which was poured into a silver ladle,  
But the Tshan had no tongue,  
Nor had it a horse.

The pure bird of the gods,  
Surrounded by medicine,  
Gong-mo, the white grouse, the medicinal bird,  
Has feathers with red patterns,  
Wears a shawl of gTsos,  
Its blue neck is patterned round with the colour of slate,  
A golden chisel for a beak,  
It wears a pair of copper shoes,  
Sings sweet sounds of Pi-vang,  
Flies about the peaks of mountains,  
Lives on the mountain side, in meadows, on the snows,  
Fishes in the pools of ambrosia, . . .<sup>65)</sup>  
In this story we see that the spittle of the goddess becomes both medicine

and water, the mixture of which is called Tshan. This is considered to be the antidote to the poison Ngam. The word *bdud-rtsi* which I have translated by ambrosia is normally used to translate *amṛita* (not dead) in Buddhist texts, but I do not think there is any etymological connection between the two words. *bdud-rtsi* etymologically seems to be derived from the notion of the poison which grew in the land of the demons. As an antidote to this, the goddess produced medicinal substances, thus the demon's crop. *bdud-rtsi* here has no connotations of alchemy. The function of the white grouse is to spread the Tshan. In the ritual a feather of this bird is used to sprinkle the Tshan, but if this is not available a branch of juniper is used instead. It is believed that the Tshan cleansed the pollution created when Ye and Ngam were at war. So does it today if one has contracted any pollution or illness. The particular kinds of pollution enumerated in the text are many, but some are considered to be more serious than the others: eating horse meat; touching naked human corpses with bare hands; mixing one's sweat with that of a woman from Ngam; sleeping with a woman who has murdered someone; and wearing clothes belonging to a man who has killed another. These are to be purified on the physical side, and spiritually one must purify one's mind, that is: one's doubts about the Lha-rgod (Ge-khod).

In the purification by fumigation the narrative is identical to the previous section on the Tshan, but the goddess gNam-phyi gung-rgyal recites a different prayer: 'May the purifying trees of Lha-rgod grow' and then sprinkles a mouth full of spittle from heaven to the earth. There grew the white *a-krong* fern, the crop of the snows; *srol-lo* (sedum), the crop of the mountains; *a-ba*, the crop of the rocks; the white forehead *spra-ba* (vegetable tinder), the crop of the meadows; the fragrant *spos-ma*, the crop of the mountain side; the golden leaved *mkhan-pa* fern, the crop of the cliffs; the turquoise leaved juniper, the crop of the sunny side; and the white *ba-lu* rhododendrons, the crop of the dark side of the mountain.<sup>66)</sup>

In practice many of these fresh plants are gathered together and then burned either in a little ladle with a long handle (*skyogs*) or if it is outside the house a special small raised platform is built for the purpose. As many of the plants are difficult to get in certain regions only juniper and *mkhan-pa* are actually burned. These two are sometimes referred to as *gyu-lo* and *gser-lo* (turquoise leaves and golden leaves). The juniper tree is still preferred to *mkhan-pa*. It is the Bonpo sacred tree and is very often called *lha-shing shug-pa gyu-lo*—the tree of the gods, turquoise leaved juniper. It is also one of the four everlasting symbols of Bon. The smoke of the plants, particularly that of juniper, is believed to have the effect of purifying any pollution that one has contracted. There are two different terms for pollution *sme* and *gnol*. *sMe* is to be purified (*dag-pa*) through the Tshan whereas *gnol* is to be purified by fumigation (*bsang-ba*). The fragrance of the burned juniper of the purification rite is also a popular offering made to the moun-

tain gods, but the word *bsang* used for offering is the same as in the purification rite, *bsang-ba* meaning to purify. The offering of *bsang* is very much developed in later centuries in Bon. The text *rNgan-bsang chen-mo* is a good example for this.<sup>67)</sup> Incidentally this text is also very useful for geographical studies of Tibet, for a large number of mountain gods are invoked mentioning the locations of the mountains.

The tree which grew on the frontier between Ye and Ngam immediately brings to mind the *dpag-bsam shing* (kalpa-vṛikṣa) contested by devas and asuras in Hindu mythology, but here it is only an omen. The ocean of poison has distant echos of the ocean of milk from which ambrosia came. gNam-phyi gung-rgyal's sprinkling her ambrosial spittle and the growing of medicine resembles the scattering of the grain by Avalokiteśvara from which six kinds of grain grew in Tibet. The white grouse and the use of its feathers remind one of the peacock in the Indian mythology where it has the capacity of destroying poisons. Its feathers are used to sprinkle the purificatory water in Buddhist ceremonies in Tibet. The use of peacock's feathers was adopted by the Bonpo in later centuries.

## 8. Marriage Ritual

The customs of marriage differ from one region to another in Tibet. They have never been studied and Tibetans themselves have hardly written anything on this subject. Consequently very little is known about it. As marriage is such a mundane affair Buddhism has no fundamental doctrine for this human institution.

However, the Tibetan Buddhists devised sporadic ceremonial rituals along the lines of the Bonpo ritual when their lay devotee requested them. These have by no means a uniform character, but a good example for this is *Bag-ma-la dge-ba'i las-phran bdun-gyi cho-ga bkra-shis dpal-skyed*<sup>68)</sup> written by Kong-sprul Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1813–99) as late as the 19th century. He himself being originally a Bonpo knew very well about the Bonpo marriage rituals. He wrote this on the occasion of the marriage of the prince of Derge to a daughter of mDo-mkhar-ba in dBus. What he has done in this little work is to organise the ritual into seven parts within the framework of the Bonpo rituals incorporating Buddhist divinities and some pieces of Indian mythology. We shall come back to this after dealing with the Bonpo ritual.

No temple or public building was needed for the marriage ceremony nor was there any customary registration. Only occasionally a marriage contract was drawn up and sealed by the two houses and a copy kept in each house. I shall not discuss here the social aspects of marriage as these vary considerably from place to place. Before the actual marriage another ritual called *Glang-chen sna-bsgyur* is performed when the bride approaches the house of the bride-groom. However, I cannot go into the details of this ritual as I

have no access to this text at present.

There are several versions of the Bonpo marriage ritual. Only one of them is available. It is entitled *Ming-sring dpal-bgos dang lha'dogs*. The authorship is not mentioned and it is in two parts: *Ming-sring dpal-bgos* (the dividing of the wealth between the brother and the sister) and *lHa'dogs* (entrusting to the gods). The first part is a mythical account of the first marriage of man to a goddess. Here I shall give a summary of the account.

"The goddess is called Srid-lcam 'phrul-mo-che. She is a daughter of the god Zom-'brang (alias Sangs-po 'bum-khri) and his wife Gung-btsun-ma (alias Chu-lcam rgyal-mo). Her brother is called lHa-sras ljon-pa (alias Srid-rje 'brang-dkar). The man is called Ling-dkar, the Lord of rGya. As the goddess is very beautiful everybody, gods and man want to marry her. Ling-dkar asks the Lord of the gods if he can marry his daughter. The Lord of the gods says to him: 'My daughter Srid-lcam 'phrul-mo-che will go from the gods to the gods. She is not made for black-headed man. The rising and setting of the sun and moon takes place in the realm of the sky. Have you ever seen them fall down on to the plain? We are the gods of the heavens. You are a black-headed earth-worm!' Ling-dkar replies: 'I want to take a wife of good origin. I am of the race of man of the spacious earth, the head of the line from whom man will multiply. If man and gods come together, man will worship the gods and the gods will protect man, the one will be kind to the other. Although the sun and moon shine in the sky their rays come to the earth. The warm vapour exudes from the earth and goes up into the sky as clouds. This is an example of what we are to each other. I ask you to give me your daughter'. This and other speeches convince the Lord of the gods who gives his consent in the end. He demands as a bride-price various things such as gold, turquoise, garments and an arrow, and animals like, 'bri, horses and sheep. These are to be brought to the land of the gods by the seven gNye'u (kinsmen of the groom) who ride on white horses. Before the goddess departs she and brother play dice for their share in the inheritance from their parents. This is presided over by the priest, lHa-bon thod-dkar. She wants to have half, but being a girl she ultimately gets only one third. The brother plays the dice in the following manner: 'I play the dice of the Pho-lha from the right. I play the dice of sGra-bla from the left. I play the dice of the Srog-lha in front. I play the dice of the Yul-lha behind. I play one dice of being heir to my father'. He wins a large share. Now the sister's turn comes. She scatters seven grains of blue barley to the sky and says: 'If I have a god, he protect me today. Ma-lha, play the heavenly dice. sGra-bla gnyan-po be witness'. She plays the dice which comes up single.

When she leaves the father gives her an arrow as a parting gift

whereas the mother gives her a spindle and the brother a turquoise. On departure she makes salutations to the gods, the priest, her parents and brother. Then attaching a roll of white silk to the right hand side of the lap of the bride the seven gNye'u lead her away to the land of man. At the same time, the priest lHa-bon thod-dkar performs the ritual of *gyang-'gugs* at the house of the Lord of God."<sup>69)</sup>

The brother invokes four gods: Pho-lha, sGra-bla, Srog-lha leaving out Ma-lha and Zhang-lha, but adds Yul-lha who normally does not come into the five gods of the head. This seems to suggest that Ma-lha and Zhang-lha are to be invoked by the sister, but instead of Zhang-lha she calls sGra-bla and Ma-lha.<sup>70)</sup> There is certainly a confusion as to which gods she should call. Generally each person has by nature the five gods of the head, but here the sister seems to have the right to invoke only two of the gods. I have only one edition of the text and therefore am in no position to make any textual comparisons.

The ritual of *gyang-'gugs* (the summoning of the essence of fortune) is considered to be important, because if the bride or *mag-pa* (male bride) leaves the house for good, the *gyang* of the family might also depart. This is thought to be unlucky for the family. On the other hand, a similar ritual is executed at the house of the groom. This is naturally thought to be auspicious, because the bride comes with her wealth and the prospect of continuing the posterity of the family. *gyang* is translatable by the essence of fortune. The word applies to an abstract notion rather than to any tangible thing. It is the notion of symbolic wealth. It is used with many other words like *rgya-gar chos-gyang* (the *gyang* of the religion from India), *stag-gzig nor-gyang* (the *gyang* of the wealth of sTag-gzig), or simply *rta-gyang* (the *gyang* of the horse) and *'bri-gyang* (the *gyang* of the 'bri). It is quite a common practice in Amdo that if someone wants to sell his horse he pulls some of the hair from the mane of the horse and attaches it to the door of the enclosure where his horses are kept. This is a symbolic gesture for retaining the *gyang* of the horse, even though it may be sold at a good price. If a good horse is lost or dies, it is described as *gyang shor-ba* (the escape of the *gyang*). Therefore, the ritual of *gyang-'gugs* must take place. The word *gyang* very often occurs with *phyva* in which case *phyva* has the connotation of life.

*gyang* is closely connected with sheep. It usually occurs as an epithet of sheep (*gyang-mo lug*). Here the Chinese word for sheep 羊 (*yang*) seems to have become an epithet of the Tibetan *lug*. However, in the Bonpo legend of the sheep, sheep is the symbol of the *gyang* because of its usefulness for human life. The first sheep came into existence from a wish of Srid-pa Yesmon rgyal-po who wanted to have something that would supply the essential needs of man. This first sheep is called Lug lha-ba bal-chen and at the same time, it is the god of sheep.

The second part of the marriage ritual, *lHa'dogs* is the actual marriage ritual. A thread made of wool called *dmu-thag* (the dMu-cord) is attached to the cenciput of the groom, a blue thread *gyang-thag* (the *gyan* cord) is attached to the cenciput of the bride. The groom holds an arrow and makes offerings of *chang* and *gtor-ma* to the five gods of the head. The bride holds a spindle and makes offerings of curd and *phye-mar* (mixture of *rtsam-pa* and butter). The priest presents the groom with a piece of gold (in the form of a ring or ear ring). This is called *bla-gser* (the soul-gold) and the bride with a turquoise *bla-g'yu* (the soul-turquoise). The couple is seated on a white felt carpet on which a swastika of barley grains is laid. The priest then begins the ritual chanting together with the couple.

This part of the ritual contains a short account of the original genealogy of the world followed by a story about the original source of the arrow, the spindle and material of the *dmu-thag* and *gyang-thag*. This ritual, which one might call the marriage ritual, serves also as the ritual of the *gyang-gugs*. The arrow is the symbol of man whereas the spindle is that of woman. These symbols never seem to have been noted by writers on Tibetan culture. The *dmu-thag* is originally connected with the early Tibetan kings. It was in the form of light and when a king died his body dissolved gradually into light from the feet upwards. This light then joined with the *dmu-thag* which dissolved into the heaven of dMu. The ancestral origin of the Tibetan kings is sometimes dMu and sometimes Phyva. *dmu-thag* I believe is closely connected with this ancestral origin. In Pelliot tibétain 126.2 a messenger of Phyva goes to the heaven of dMu asking for a dMu king to rule over black-headed man.

The story of the origin of the arrow, the spindle, the *dmu-thag* and *gyang-thag* is as follows:

"... Up there in the valley there a father Phyva-gang gyang-grags and a mother Srid-pa'i gdong-bzang-ma. From their union three heavenly eggs came into existence. From the bursting of the golden egg a golden arrow with turquoise tail feathers appeared. This is the arrow of life, fish-eye of the groom. From the bursting of the turquoise egg a turquoise arrow with golden tail feathers appeared. This is the glorious arrow of the bride. From the bursting of the conch white egg a gold spindle came into existence. From the light rays of the sky and the vapour of the ocean a white clump of Bon came into existence. This was drawn out and spun by the wind. It was wound around a tree. The name that was given to this yarn was *dmu-thag* and *gyang-thag*. . . ."

The ritual then ends with the following words:

"... The *bla-gser* of the groom and the *bla-g'yu* of the bride,  
At first when these two were born, they were born separately,  
Secondly they matured separately,  
Thirdly they were united as one.



Let us entrust them to the gods,  
 Let us attach them to the gods.  
 The groom's *dmu-thag* and the bride's *g'yang-thag*,  
 At first when these two were born, they were born separately,  
 Secondly they matured separately,  
 Thirdly they were united as one.  
 Let us entrust them to the gods,  
 Let us attach them to the gods.  
 The life arrow fish-eye of the groom,  
 The golden spindle with a turquoise leaf of the bride,  
 At first when these two were born, they were born separately,  
 Secondly they matured separately,  
 Thirdly they were united as one.  
 Let us entrust them to the gods,  
 Let us attach them to the gods. . . ."  
 "The life of the male depends on the arrow,  
 The life of the female depends on the spindle,  
 We entrust them to the gods.  
 Let the arrow and the spindle not be separated.  
 Let us entrust the *dmu-thag* and (*g'yang-thag*) to the gods,  
 Let them not be cut.  
 We two the man and woman,  
 Have become like the lake and the goddess of the lake.  
 Let man and gods not be separated.  
 Like the sun and moon residing in the sky,  
 Let man and gods not be separated.  
 Like the snow lion living majestically in the snow mountains,  
 Let man and gods not be separated.  
 Like the tiger living in the forest,  
 Let man and gods not be separated. . . .  
 May the gold pillar of life of the man not fall down.  
 May the turquoise beam of life of the woman not be broken. . . ."71)

Apart from being a weapon the arrow plays an important role as the symbol of man in legends as well as in actual cultural life. In the marriage ritual there are three kinds of arrows. 1. *lHa-mda' sgro-dkar*, the divine arrow with white tail feathers which is the *rten* (support) of the five gods of the head. This is part of the bride-price brought by the seven *gnye'u*. 2. *Tshe-mda' nya-mig*, the life arrow, fish-eye(?) is the groom's arrow, the symbol of man. 3. *dPal-mda'*, the glorious arrow, is given as a parting gift to the goddess by her father. The function of the third arrow for the bride is not clear in the ritual, but in some regions in Tibet an arrow is attached to the collar of the bride when she sets out from her home to the bride-groom's house. Therefore the use of this arrow varies as much as the marriage cus-

toms themselves. At any rate, in Amdo or at least at Bonpo homes every male member of a family possessed an arrow which is about two feet long and carefully decorated with five pieces of silk of different colours, a silver mirror and a turquoise. An arrow is brought by the maternal uncle when a son is born. This was kept in the family chapel. This practice is quite in accordance with the marriage ritual text where it is mentioned that when the wife gives birth to a son an arrow must be planted on the pillow and if a girl is born it should be a spindle. However, the custom of placing the spindle seems to have disappeared or at least in Amdo.

Another custom was that every year each man had to plant an arrow (*mda'-rgod*) in the cairn (*la-btsas*) situated on the shoulder of a mountain near by. This planting of arrows is accompanied by a great feast and the offering of juniper *bsang* to the yul-lha to whom the arrow is entrusted. The arrow people plant into the la-btsas can be from ten to fifteen feet long. In the place of tail feathers three wooden painted slats in the shape of feathers are attached to the tail of the shaft. On this arrow the silk of five different colours is not attached, but instead one finds a *rlung-rta*,<sup>72)</sup> the symbol of fortune. It is a piece of cloth printed with prayers from the *g'yang'-gugs* rituals. The colour of one's own *rlung-rta* is in accordance with the element in one's horoscope so that the *rlung-rta* of each person is one of five colours.

The most detailed and vividly poetical description of the arrow rendered in oratorical style is Kong-sprul's *mDo-khams sde-dge'i rgyal-khab-tu bod-blon mdo-mkhar-ba'i btsun-mo byon-skabs mda'-dar 'dzugs-pa'i 'bel-gtam*.<sup>73)</sup> The arrow is therefore particularly important for opening up the marriage relationship. The expression in Tibetan for this is *gnyen-lam mda'-yis phye-ba*—the way of the marriage relationship is to be opened by the arrow. Another related expression is *gnyen-lam dar-gyis sbrel-ba*—the way of the marriage relationship is to be connected by silk. This is in accordance with the legend where the goddess is led away by attaching a roll of silk to her lap. A legend has it that the minister mGar sTong-btsan yul-zung took an arrow when he went to China to ask for the Chinese princess for the wife of Srong-btsan sgam-po. The emperor presented him with three hundred girls of the same age and told him to select his daughter from amongst them. Whereupon the minister offered the arrow to the princess. However, an arrow is also demanded by the dMu when the messengers of the Phyva asked them for a king in Pelliot tibétain 126.2. Therefore, the opening up of relationships through an arrow may not necessarily be confined to marriage.

Kong-sprul's work on the marriage ritual is divided into seven main parts and a prayer making eight in all:

1. *sna'-dre bskrad-pa*—the exorcising of spirits who come ahead of the bride.
2. *mnol-grib bkru-ba*—the purification of the bride's pollution which might pollute the god of the hearth.

3. *gdan bting-ba*—the spreading of the carpet for the bride.
4. *dkar-gsum-gyi ngo gso-ba*—the offering of the three white foods to the bride.
5. *ming 'dogs-pa*—giving a new name to the bride.
6. *lha-la 'dogs-pa*—invoking the gods for protection.
7. *gyang 'gugs-pa*—the summoning of the *gyang*.
8. *mtha'-rten bkra-shis brjod-pa*—the prayers.

Parts 1, 2, 5, and 8 are not in *Ming-sring dpal-bgos dang lha-'dogs*. On the other hand, Kong-sprul Rinpoche does not give any part of the myth contained in the first section of the Bonpo ritual. No doubt he had consulted many old Bonpo marriage rituals as he states (f. la): *yig-rnying phalcher grong-sngags mi-mkhas-pas bcos-pas tshul-dang mthun-pa mi-srang-bas*—since most of the old manuscripts (of the ritual) are altered by the village tantrists who are not too learned, there is no (marriage ritual—*bag-ma len-pa'i cho-ga*) which is comprehensive. His work is well organized and scholarly but has therefore inevitably become overlaid with religious worship, and has lost the archaic and secular charm which is present in *Ming-sring dpal-bgos dang lha-'dogs*.

## 9. rDzogs-chen

rDzogs-chen (Great Achievement) is an important part of Tibetan Buddhism. A parallel teaching is also found in the Bonpo tradition. This philosophical teaching is classified as the highest way or *Bla-med-kyi theg-pa* among the nine *Theg-pa* of the Bonpo. In the system of the rNying-ma-pa it is known as Ati yoga or *rTsol-sgrub dang bral-ba'i theg-pa*—the Way of Spontaneity.

According to the rNying-ma-pa tradition it was the great Tibetan monk Vairocana who brought this teaching to Tibet from India in the 8th century A.D. The biography of this monk called *Vairo 'dra-'bag* sheds some light on the problem of his meeting the masters in India and his introduction of the teaching into Tibet although the biography itself dates back only to the 14th century. One of the most eminent masters he met in India was Śrīsiṃha of whom we know nothing except that according to Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa Dri-med 'od-zer (1308–63) he was born in China and travelled to India where he settled. Nevertheless, the rDzogs-chen Vairocana brought is an essentially esoteric teaching and he introduced it into Tibet at a time when the minds of Tibetans were wavering between the two systems of Buddhism as represented by Śāntarakṣita from India and by Hva-shang Mahāyāna from China.

The Buddhism Mahāyāna was professing had an essentially exoterical character leaning mainly on sūtras such as Prajñāpāramitā and Laṅkāvatāra whereas the teaching brought by Vairocana was in the mainstream of the tantric tradition involving the transmission of *abhiṣeka*, but before it became

established Vairocana was himself expelled from Central Tibet and not long after this the Buddhist persecution took place.

When Buddhism began to reappear at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. the word rDzogs-chen already covered not only the teachings of Vairocana and Vimalamitra, but also many others which gave rise to the criticisms made by King lHa Bla-ma ye-shes-'od and the prince-monk lo-tsā-ba Pho-brang zhi-ba-'od. From this time rDzogs-chen remained an ever-controversial subject. On the one hand, it is considered to be a teaching exceeding all other means and therefore the best and most effective in bringing about the realization of Buddhahood in this present life. On the other hand, for the orthodox Buddhists it is nothing but the remnants of doctrines once brought to Tibet by Hva-shang Mahāyāna, which were proved to be false and banned.

'Gos lo-tsā-ba Khug-pa lhas-btsas began to refute rDzogs-chen by raising the question of its authentic origin. He asserted that such a teaching did not exist in India. A little later, in his famous *sDom-gsum rab-dbye*<sup>74)</sup> Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) brought in the question of the existence of a Chinese system of rDzogs-chen (*rgya-nag lugs-kyi rdzogs-chen la*). Although he made no direct reference to the rDzogs-chen of the rNying-ma-pa he nevertheless caused an even more severe kind of criticism of rDzogs-chen to spark off. This came from 'Bri-gung dpal-'dzin (14th century). For whom even the word rDzogs-chen did not exist in any work of Indian origin and hence was completely unauthentic.

Most of the rNying-ma-pa polemic writers refute their critics by pointing out that rDzogs-chen was brought to Tibet by Vairocana and Vimalamitra. However, Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa admits that the teaching of Hva-shang Mahāyāna was a high form of rDzogs-chen, although people who were contemporary with him did not understand it.<sup>75)</sup> This is an allusion to Kama-lāśīla. It would therefore be too involved to follow up all the arguments here. At any rate, because of the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts we are in better position than scholars like Mi-pham rgya-mtsho (1846–1912) to make comparisons between the texts of rDzogs-chen and the early texts on the subject of Dhyāna (*bsam-gtan*) though he might have had access to some early works such as *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*<sup>76)</sup> by gNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (9th century A.D.). The orthodox Buddhists attack the adepts of rDzogs-chen by saying that the doctrine contains the germ of Hva-shang Mahāyāna who taught the meditation of *ci-yang yid-la mi-byed-pa* which may be translated as 'not to think of anything'. This particular meditation may have derived from an extreme form of *avikalpajñāna* (*rnam-par mi-rtogs-pa'i ye-shes*) which is a fundamental tenet of the Dhyāna teaching. Through the meditation of *avikalpa* the adepts of Dhyāna tradition hold that they ultimately reach to the level of the Tathāgata-dhyāna (*de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i bsam-gtan*).<sup>77)</sup> For the orthodox Buddhists the practice of *ci-yang yid-la mi-byed-pa* is nothing but an obstacle to attaining Pratyavekṣanājñāna (*so-sor rtogs-pa'i ye-shes*).

This sort of philosophical argument persisted throughout the centuries in Tibet. In this connection, Mi-pham rgya-mtsho laments about having no access to what Hva-shang Mahāyāna really wrote. He writes in his *gZhan-gyis brtsad-pa'i lan mdor-bsdus-pa rigs-lam rab-gsal de-nyid snang-byed*: . . . *sngon-gyi rgya-nag dge-slong-gis ci-yang yid-la mi-byed-pa'i rgyab-brten-du mdo-sde brgyad-cu khungs-su byas-zhes grags-pa'i gtam-rgyun tsam-las/ mdo-sde'i lung gang drangs-ba-dang/ de'i don ji-ltar gtan-la phab-pa'i yig-cha gang yang deng-sang mi-s nang-bas/*—Apart from the oral information in which it is said that in ancient times the Chinese bhikṣu used eight sūtras as the source to support his view of the meditation of 'not to think of anything', no texts exist nowadays revealing what passages of sūtras were quoted and how they were explained.<sup>78)</sup>

However, even though in rDzogs-chen there may be parallel ideas and practices to those of the Chan, rDzogs-chen must be considered as of Indo-Tibetan origin whilst the tradition of Chan in Tibet may be studied as an independent tradition. This is clearly shown in the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron*.

In the Bonpo tradition the word rDzogs-chen covers quite loosely three different systems of meditation. They are known as *A-rdzogs-snyan-gsum*, i.e. *A-khrid*, *rDzogs-chen* and *Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud*. *A-khrid* was promulgated by the great hermit, dGongs-mdzod (1030–1096). His system is divided into eighty periods called *A-khrid thun-mtshams brgyad-cu-pa*. Each period lasting one or two weeks. After completing this course the adept is qualified and given the title *rTogs-ldan*. However, the system of eighty periods was reduced to thirty by 'A-zha Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1198–1263) and a little later this was further reduced to fifteen by Bru rGyal-ba g'gyung-drung (1242–1296). Since then the system has been known as *Bru'i a-khrid thun-mtshams bco-lnga-pa*—the Fifteen period-A-khrid of Bru. This system of *A-khrid* meditation has been thoroughly studied by Dr. P. Kvaerne and was published in the Kailash series.<sup>79)</sup>

The 2nd, the system of *rDzogs-chen*, was introduced by the *gter-ston* bZhod-ston dNgos-grub grags-pa when he rediscovered a group of texts called *rDzogs-chen yang-rtse klong-chen*<sup>80)</sup> in 1088 A.D. This system of the Bonpo corresponds to the Buddhist tradition of *sems-sde*. It is therefore directly connected with the rDzogs-chen of the rNying-ma-pa.

*Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud*, the 3rd, is considered to be the most important of all the systems of meditation among the Bonpo. It is reputed to go back to the Zhang-zhung master Gyer-spungs sNang-bzher lod-po in the 8th century A.D. A biographical outline of each adept in a long line from this master up to the author sPa bsTan-rgyal bzang-po himself (15th century) is given in his *Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud-kyi brgyud-pa'i bla-ma'i rnam-thar*.<sup>81)</sup>

One of the distinctive theories that *Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud* formulates is the five lights of five different colours and the *kun-gzhi*—the primordial intelligence as the begetter of the state of Ignorance and that of Enlightenment.

## NOTES

- 1) *gZer-mig*, vol. Ka. Chap. 7, f. 120b, (Delhi, 1965). K 6 in *The Canon of the Tibetan Bonpos* (The Canon) by P. Kvaerne, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, volume XVI-no. 1, 2 (1974).
- 2) See p. 195.
- 3) E. Haarh, "The Zhang-zhung Language", *Acta Jutlandica* XL: 1 (=Humanities Series 47) (Aarhus/ Copenhagen, 1968). R.A. Stein, "La Langue Žaṅ-ṣuṅ du Bon organisé", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* LVIII (Paris, 1971) 231-54.
- 4) f. 22a, b. A rediscovered text of Bra-bo rGyal-ba grags-pa (14th century) (Delhi, 1966).
- 5) Cf. R. A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, (*Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* XV), (Paris, 1959), pp. 29-30. S. G. Karmay, *A gZer-mig version of the interview between Confucius and Phyva Keñ-tse lan-med*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Part III (1975).
- 6) Delhi, Jan.-Feb. 1973, p. 14; Dec. 1973, back page.
- 7) *sGra-yi don-sdeb snang-gsal sgron-me* by Zhu Nyi-ma grags-pa, (Delhi, 1965). This text is edited and translated by E. Haarh, see note 3.
- 8) See p. 194.
- 9) *The Canon*, K 7.
- 10) P. Kvaerne, "Chronological Table of the Bon po: The bstan-ris of Ņi-ma bstan-'jin", *Acta Orientalia* XXXIII (Copenhagen, 1971), pp. 225-6, pp. 256-8.
- 11) *The Canon*, K 6.
- 12) See pp. 187-189.
- 13) See note 5. Also see A.M. Blondeau, "Le Lha-'dre bka'-than", *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, (Paris, 1971), pp. 33-48.
- 14) *The Canon*, K 5.
- 15) *London Oriental Series*, vol. 18 (London, 1967).
- 16) Pelliot tibétain (PT): 1068, 2/1134/1194/1289. The numbers of the Dunhuang manuscripts are those given by Mlle Lalou in her *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1931 (vol. I), 1950 (vol. II), 1961 (vol. III). F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk-literature from North-Eastern Tibet*, (Berlin, 1957), Chapter I, text A, p. 16. In the above manuscripts and in Thomas the orthography gShen-rabs myi-bo invariably occurs. For a discussion of the meaning of this name, see R. A. Stein, *Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang*, *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, (Paris, 1971), p. 539, n. 7 and p. 540, n. 11.
- 17) *Grub-mtha' shel-gyi me-long*, section Tha: *Ma-hā tsi-na'i yul-du rig-byed-dang bon-gyi grub-mtha' byung-ṣhul*, xylographic edition, dGon-lung, f. 15a.
- 18) *Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, Ōtani, vol. 144, No. 5843.
- 19) *Chos-'byung*, f. 198b (ed. Derge).
- 20) J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, (Paris, 1940), p. 115.
- 21) *Bod chen-po srid-lugs-dang 'brel-ba'i rgyal-rabs deb-ther dkar-po*, (ed. lHa-sa), f. 29a.
- 22) J. Bacot, etc. *op. cit.* p. 111.
- 23) History and Doctrine of Bonpo Niṣpanna-yoga, *Śatapiṭaka Series*, vol. 73, (New Delhi, 1968), Section Pa, pp. 259-267.
- 24) J. Bacot, etc. *op. cit.* p. 13 and p. 80. Cf. also A. Macdonald, *Une lecture des Pelliot tibétains 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047 et 1290*, *Études tibétaines*. . . , pp. 255-271.
- 25) A. Macdonald, *op. cit.* p. 272 et seq.
- 26) See p. 89.
- 27) S. G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon*, *London Oriental Series*, vol. 26, (London, 1969), p. 94, n. 2.

- 28) See p. 191.
- 29) *The Canon*, K 109.
- 30) For a short account of gShen-chen Klu-dga's life and his disciples, see S. G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings*, pp. 126–140. Also see E. G. Smith's introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, *Śatapiṭaka Series*, vol. 80, (New Delhi, 1970), p. 6, n. 13.
- 31) D. S. Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rim po che*, *Serie Orientale Roma*, XXXIV, (Rome, 1966), p. 73.
- 32) sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Vaidurya ser-po*, *Śatapiṭaka Series*, vol. 12, (New Delhi, 1960), Part 2, p. 307 and p. 375. Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma, *Grub-mtha' shel-gyi me-long*, section Ta, f. 8a.
- 33) Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma, *op. cit.* section Ta, f. 8a. Brag-dgon zhabs-drung bsTan-pa rab-rgyas, *Deb-ther rgya-mtsho* (=Amdo chos-'byung), section: *Kha-gya tsho-drug nas rgyal-mo tsha-ba rong-gi bar-gyi dgon sgrub-sde phal che-ba'i dkar-chag tho-tsam bkod-pa*, (ed. bKra-shis-'khyil), f. 265b. Here the name of the monastery is given as bsTan-'phel-gling. Also see E. G. Smith, Introduction to the first volume of the *gSung-'bum* of Thu'u bkvan Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma, *Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series*, vol. 1, (Delhi, 1969), p. 10.
- 34) E. G. Smith's introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, *Śatapiṭaka Series*, vol. 80, p. 35, n. 67. For a short account of his life, see P. Kvaerne's Review of S. G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings*, *Acta Orientalia*, XXXV (1973), pp. 276–278.
- 35) S. G. Karmay, *A gZer-mig version of the interview . . .* (see note 5).
- 36) See p. 215.
- 37) *The Canon*, p. 39.
- 38) *Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, *Ōtani*, vol. 145, No. 5851.
- 39) *The Canon*, p. 19.
- 40) See note 1.
- 41) *The Canon*, K 2.
- 42) p. 184.
- 43) See p. 196 *et seq.*
- 44) See note 70.
- 45) See p. 176.
- 46) Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1859–1935), *sDe-snod rin-po che'i mdzod yid-bzhin 'byung-ba'i gter*, vol. 1, (Delhi, 1972), p. 194.
- 47) See p. 194.
- 48) D. L. Snellgrove and H. E. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, (London, 1968), p. 109.
- 49) *gZer-mig*, vol. Ka, Chap. 9, f. 173 *et seq.*
- 50) *The Canon*, K 72 and K 75.
- 51) Grub-dbang bsTan-'dzin rin-chen (b. 1801), *'Dzam-gling gangs-rgyal ti-se'i dkar-chag tshang-dbyangs yid-'phrog*, (f. 547–549). Text No. 5 in the volume of *mDzod-phug rtsa-ba-dang spyi-don-dang gangs-ri ti-se'i dkar-chag*. Published by Tashi Dorji (Delhi, 1973).
- 52) *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. II (Rome, 1949), p. 724.
- 53) *The Canon*, K 89.
- 54) *Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, *Ōtani*, vol. 3, No. 70.
- 55) Its title is: *dPal rdo-rje phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu'i 'grel-ba snying-po bsdsus-pa dpal-chen dgyes-pa'i zhal-lung*. There is a dPal-spungs edition.
- 56) *Ngagyur nyingmay sungrab series*, vol. 15, Text b. (Gangtog, 1969).
- 57) *ibid.*, vol. 34, (Gangtog, 1971).
- 58) *Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, *Ōtani*, vol. 3, No. 81, Chap. 14, f. 131b.
- 59) *ibid.*, vol. 3, No. 82, Chap. 53, f. 216a.
- 60) *The Canon*, K 86.

- 61) Cf. R. A. Stein, *Les tribus* . . . , p. 24.
- 62) sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Vaidurya ser-po*, Part 1, p. 72. Also bTsunpa Ma-ti, rGyal-ba'i bstan-srung chen-po rdo-rje shugs-ldan rtsal-gyi byung-tshul mdo-tsam brjod-pa pad-dkar chun-po, ed. 'Bras go-bo-khang, f. 19a *et seq.*
- 63) *Ge-khod gsang-ba drag-chen-gyi sgrub-skor*, published by Tenzin Namdak, (Delhi, 1973), Text No. 3, f. 65.
- 64) *gZi-brjid* (The Canon K 5), vol. Cha. Chap. 28 (*sTon-pas khab-kyi dpal-' bar bzhes-pa'i mdo*) (Delhi, 1965), f. 70b-73a.
- 65) See note 63, Text No. 5, f. 74.
- 66) See note 63, Text No. 5, f. 78.
- 67) *Bon shyon sgrub thabs bskan' gsol bcas*, vol. II, Text No. 32. Published by Tsultrim Tashi, (Delhi, 1972).
- 68) dPal-spungs edition, vol. Ta, folios 1-10.
- 69) *gTo-phran*, published by Khedup Gyatsho (Delhi, 1973 Text No. 17, f. 419-446.
- 70) *sgra-bla*. This orthography occurs quite persistently in Bonpo works. The other form *dgra-lha* occurs more often in Buddhist texts. But Kong-sprul Rin-po-che made things more curious by writing in his work (see note 68) *dgra-bla* (f. 4a, 6b, 8a).
- 71) *gTo-phran* (see note 69), Text No. 17, f. 447-454.
- 72) The normal spelling is *klung*.
- 73) dPal-spungs edition, vol. Ta, f. 1-6.
- 74) *Sa-skyapa'i bka'-'bum*, (Tokyo, (1968-70), vol. 5, no. 24, pp. 309-20.
- 75) *gNas-lugs-mdzod*, ed. Gangtog, f. 32b.
- 76) *sManrtis shesrig spendzod series*, vol. 74, (Leh, 1974).
- 77) *Laṅkāvatāra-mahāyānasūtra* (Ōtani, vol. 29, No. 775, f. 179b). Dunhuang manuscript in India Office Library, Stein, Ch. 2a, A (709), f. 43a, b. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, series I, (London, 1927), p. 81 *et seq.*
- 78) *Ngagyur nyingmay sungrab series*, vol. 5 (Gangtog, 1969). Cf. also Y. Imaeda, *Documents de Touen-houang concernant le concile du Tibet*, *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCLXIII (1975), pp. 136-41. S. G. Karmay, *A discussion on the doctrinal position of rDzogs-chen from the 10th to 13th centuries*, *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCLXIII (1975), pp. 153-4.
- 79) "Bonpo studies: The A-khri system of Meditation", *Kailash*, I, (Kathmandu, 1973).
- 80) *The Canon*, T. 255.
- 81) *Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud* (see note 23), section Ka.