R. E. EMMEKICK

SOME TIBETAN MEDICAL TANKAS
GERMAN TRANSLITERATION OF TIBETAN

h as in 'onions'
ɪ as in 'ring'
c as in 'church'
c̆ as in 'cats'
čh as in 'cats' home'
čh as in 'church hall'
j̆ as in 'jungle'
j̆ as in 'lads'
z̆ as in 'rose' but often as in 'sun'
z̆ as in 'leisure' but often as in 'shade'
š as in 'shade'
SOME TIBETAN MEDICAL TANKAS

R. E. Emmerick

On 3 August 1983 Professor D. Schür (Bonn) and I went on an official visit to the Sman-ris-khan in Lhasa. The present building is situated on the edge of the old city centre just a stone's throw away from the Jc-khan. Although it was completed only

1 This paper is a revised version of that entitled "Preliminary remarks on the medical tankas in the Sman-ris-khan in Lhasa", which formed the basis of a lecture held on 18 September 1982 in Budapest, Hungary, on the occasion of the Biennially Cosma-de-Kérs Symposium. I am grateful to Miss Marianne Wider for drawing my attention to Christophe Masoli's book, Le médecine tibétaine. Zara Fleming also provided me with new material, which has been incorporated here with due acknowledgement. On the occasion of the XXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies that took place in Hamburg from 27-30 August 1998 Professor Cai Jingfeng, Director of the China Institute for the History of Medicine and Medical Literature in Peking, kindly presented me with a copy of his important article on Tibetan medical tankas, which was previously unknown to me. I am grateful to Yuan Qing for assisting me with the translation of his article. To Dr. Elisabeth Fuchsh I am grateful for drawing my attention to the publication Bold-kyi thun-po.

This paper was originally written before the publication in facsimile of a complete set of the medical tankas in Lhasa, but due to adverse circumstances publication was delayed for several years. I have however tried to take account of relevant material that has been published in the meantime.

In his foreword to the English edition of the facsimile volume dated July 1997 Cai Jingfeng refers to a lecture I held concerning the medical tankas at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London on 18 April 1986. Cai Jingfeng was not present on that occasion and assumed that that lecture was limited to a discussion of the tankas seen by Schür and myself. It was however rather a summary of what had up till then come to light concerning the Tibetan medical tankas. I concluded then, that the whole series has meanwhile been made available in the form of such excellent photographs. It is my fervent hope that those few Chinese scholars who appreciate Tibetan cultural wealth, before it is too late, do much more to preserve for posterity whatever has been left after the rampages of their countries.

2 The visit was made possible by the generous support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

56
in 1978 it was already in 1983 inadequate for the growing demand for medical treatment. We saw in another part of Lhasa the construction work in progress on a much larger new hospital designed to accommodate 150 to 200 beds. For this project the Chinese government claimed to have budgeted six million yuan.

In accordance with its name and with Tibetan tradition, the Sman-ris-khan even today includes a department of astronomy, one of whose main functions is to prepare for publication each year the current Tibetan calendar, of which circulation in 1983 was 180,000. The hospital has a library of medical and astronomical works, and books on those subjects are actually printed, published, and sold in the hospital. We were no doubt among the best customers they had ever had. At any rate they had considerable difficulty in handling the large sum of money we had to pay.

The director of the hospital, Byams-pa lhphrin-las, informed us that the hospital possesses a complete set of the seventy-nine medical scrolls illustrating the Rgyud-btsi. As pointed out by Cai Jingfeng and Zhao Pusihan the tankas illustrate the Rgyud-btsi as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rgyud-btsi</th>
<th>Number of tankas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Book 1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sixteen such tankas were on display in the library and we were allowed to photograph them. A somewhat rickety ladder was produced, and Schuh made use of it to photograph the tankas from suitable positions. Our request to see more of the tankas was firmly refused despite the agreement made with the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft that resulted in our visit. The number of tankas on display seems to be slowly increasing. When Massin visited the Sman-ris-khan in May 1980 he has able to see and
photograph only twelve tankas, and he appears to have been led to believe that this was the complete set.

A survey of all the medical tankas in Tibet was made by two Chinese scholars, Cai Jingfeng and Zhao Pusun, who published an important article on the subject in 1980. According to them there were at that time 103 medical tankas in Tibetan hospitals. These they classify as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of tankas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>before AD 1617</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1617-1688</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688-1875</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all the medical tankas known to exist in 1980 were accordingly made during or after the time of Sme-srid sabs-rgyas rgya-mchos (AD 1653-1705), the famous commentator on the Rgyud-btsi. There appears to be no longer any means of determining how many tankas may have existed before the Chinese began their devastation of Tibetan culture. Complete sets of the 79 tankas illustrating the Rgyud-btsi are said to be found in the Sman-rgis-khan and in the Nor-lha glin-kha. Jingfeng and Zhao do not indicate however how many of these are old. It is known that a number of medical tankas were made in the present century: Vai-Le expressly mentions the production of three complete sets for teaching purposes in the years 1918, 1923 and 1935. Schuh and I saw work in progress during an unofficial visit to the Sman-rgis-khan. This may account for the quite different information provided by Vai-Le in the most recent facsimile edition of the tankas. According to him there are 130 tankas in the Tibetan hospital and 164 in the Commission for Cultural Relics, but many are duplicates and only two complete sets can be made. Close comparison of the facsimile volume with the photographs taken by Schuh reveals that none of the tankas on display in the hospital when we were there was used for the facsimile volume. The editors of the facsimile volume give no
indication of the source or age of the tankas reproduced, and it may accordingly still be useful to survey here the data concerning the medical tankas as a whole.

L. A. Waddell³ visited Lhasa in 1904 and brought back four copies he had had made of a medical tanka. One of these is now kept in the library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine at MS Tib. 119⁴. Another of the copies is supposed to have been deposited in the India Office Library, but my inquiries concerning its whereabouts have as yet produced no results. A study of the tanka based on one of the copies was published by E. H. Walsh in J.R.A.S. 1910, 1215-1245. Zara Fleming kindly informs me (letter of 1/10/1986) that Walsh's copy is now in the Royal Scottish Museum under the inventory number 1950.258. It is clear from some of Walsh's remarks (e.g. p. 1234 ad 15.) that the copies were not absolutely identical. However, the tanka he described is identical with the corresponding one seen on our visit (here referred to as "Lhasa ES 3"), which is in turn essentially the same as 'Bildrolle III' published by I. Veith.

On 20 July 1983 Schuh and I were taken to visit the Yonghegong, a large Lamaist temple in Peking, where we were received by two monks who showed us around. The temple was made famous in the west by F. D. Lessing's work, Jing-ho-kung. An iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking, vol. 1, Stockholm 1942. We were able to see but not photograph some of the medical tankas in the fourth hall that Lessing had in 1947 had copied in their original size 75 cm x 58 cm. The copies are now in a Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Photographs of the copies were published by I. Veith, Medizin in Tibet, Leverkusen 1960, and according to F. Meyer (p. 97), by P. Huard at a later date in Paris.

Before Lessing, B. Laufer appears to have acquired copies of four of them. K. Sudhoff published illustrations of two of the

4 See Body and Mind in Tibetan Medicine, an Exhibition at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London 1986, 25.
figures from Peking 3 and 5. Laufer's copies were in the Field Museum in Chicago according to Sudhoff7.

For convenience I shall refer to the tankas published by Veith as the 'Peking' tankas. The tankas seen by Schah and myself will be referred to as the 'Lhasa ES' tankas, these published by Massin as the 'Lhasa M' tankas, and those seen by Zara Fleming as the 'Lhasa F' tankas. The sixteen Lhasa ES tankas do not correspond to the twelve Peking tankas. In fact, only four of the tankas correspond, four of the so-called anatomical charts. The first seven of the Peking tankas belong to this category. Of those the first six are known to me also from excellent photographs of copies sent to me by R. H. Poelmeyer (Leiden). According to Poelmeyer the photographs are of tankas painted by Che-rin dba-sh-phyug at Leh in 1981 under the supervision of Hgyur-med nam-rgyal of the Tibetan Medical Research Institute at Leh.

These can be called 'Leh 1-6'. Poelmeyer subsequently (23/1/85) informed me that Hgyur-med nam-rgyal conceived the paintings after studying Veith's book.

It may be of interest to observe that most of the plates in Recherch Rinpoche, *Tibetan medicine*, London 1973, pages 105-131 are evidently based on a source similar to that of the seven Peking tankas.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, no collection of the 79 medical diagrams is extant outside Lhasa Ude and Lhasa. C. Clippes, who was at the time in-charge of Tibetan studies in the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project informed me (letter of 11/4/85) that only three anatomical charts have turned up in Nepal. Two of these may well have an origin similar to that of the Leh diagrams.

A complete collection of the medical diagrams is preserved in the Ethnographical Museum of Lhasa Ude. The following information was made available about it by Lyudia Kuzmannova in her article 'A medical thesaurus from the roof of the world' on p. 20 of *The Unesco Courier* July 1979: The commentaries

contained in the Vaidyarinambo were illustrated by the Atlas of Iodo-Tibetan Medicine. This consisted of seventy-seven stylized colour plates containing a total of over ten thousand individual illustrations.'

'Compiled at the monastery of Serkog-Mants in northeastern Tibet, the Atlas was acquired by a Buryat doctor who had gone there to study medicine; it is now preserved in the Ethnographical Museum of Ulan Ude in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Buryat.'

Further information concerning the material is Ulan Ude is made known by El'bert Bazaron in Ocherki tibetskoy mediciny, Ulan Ude 1984. I learned of this work merely by chance from a booksellers' catalogue and was not able to examine it until 11 September 1986. Information concerning the Atlas is to be found on pp. 34 and 40-41. There we are informed that the plates are 81.5 x 66.5 cm and that plate 62 is missing. The book contains also ten unnumbered plates, which I shall refer to according to their sequence as Bazaron 1-10. Bazaron's reproductions are in colour but of extremely poor quality so that the captions cannot be read. Only in one case (Bazaron 5) is the Tibetan inscription at the foot published, but it is so blurred that it is not possible to read it. However, it evidently conforms to the usual formulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate No.</th>
<th>Other sources</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lhasa M 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lhasa ES 13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lhasa ES 15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lhasa ES 14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Unesco Courier p. 24</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lhasa M 6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Peking 12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three of the above items (4, 5, 10) were made known for the first time by Bazaron in this publication, but the photographs are of such poor quality that nothing can be read and that the Tibetan descriptions were not published. Bazaron's own descriptions were most inadequate. Thus, Bazaron 4 concerning pulse diagnostics is described by him as follows: "Evil spirits — supernatural powers, inflicting diseases on people. They are depicted in the guise of demons that are the causes of acute incurable and mental diseases. Illustrations from the Atlas of Tibetan medicine (from chapter 4)."  

Of the twelve tankas seen by Massin only three were on display in the library when Schuh and I visited it. Caroline Blunden and Zara Fleming visited the library after us in November 1984 and were able to photograph twelve tankas, of which eight are the same as those seen by Schuh and myself. Of the remaining four, three are the same as those seen by Massin and the fourth is known from the Peking copies.

Unfortunately the reproductions published by Massin are of extremely poor quality. He expresses apologies for the bad quality of three of them, but even the others are so poor that their inscriptions cannot be read and plate 19 is even printed the wrong way round ("seitenverkehrt" as one says in German). However, it is possible to read the inscription below tanka 9 on plate 25 and part of that below tanka 6 on plate 16.

Massin's tankas were of particular interest because two of massin's tankas had not previously been published elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Massin tankas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plate</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Translated from the Russian original
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Massin</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Other sources</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51= Meyer p. 165</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anatomie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14= Lhasa ES F 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Physiologie tantrique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25= Bazarov 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Produits médicinaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>Végétaux et minéraux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36= Peking 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Les instruments chirurgicaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27= Peking 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Matière médicale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lhasa F</td>
<td>Plantes médicinales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29= Lhasa F</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plantes médicinales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26= Unesco Courier p. 22 = Lhasa F</td>
<td>Produits médicaux</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plantes médicinales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* Plates 1, 16 and 25 are colour reproductions.)*

As far as quality of reproduction is concerned, the nine plates reproducing medical tankas in *Bod-kyi than-ga* [Tibetan tankas], The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, Peking 1985, leave nothing to be desired. This publication was of interest in providing us with the inscription on the tanka depicting medical instruments so that its *bris-chag* number was now known and also in making known two further medical tankas that had not hitherto been published (*bris-chag* 33 and *bris-chag* 37). Apart from the four anatomical tankas that are in the Peking collection, four more of the sixteen Lhasa tankas were already known from published sources. Lhasa ES F 13 is similar to a tanka published as the cover page of *The Unesco Courier* July 1979 and again as Bazarov 2 and = *Bod-kyi than-ga* 130. Lhasa ES 14 corresponds to Bazarov 6 and Lhasa ES 15 = Bazarov 3. Lhasa ES 16 is similar to the tanka reproduced as plate 95 on p. 124 of Ngapo Ngawang Jigme et al., *Tibet*, New York 1981 and again in *Bod-kyi than-ga* 131.

63
The sixteen Lhasa ES tankas can be classified thematically as follows:

10. Famous Physicians
11-13. Anatomical
14. Trees of medicine
15. Similes concerning the body
16. Daily and seasonal conduct
17. Embryology.

All sixteen tankas bear inscriptions at the foot and all are legible except that below [10]. In many cases the inscriptions begin: _sman-blas-hi dge-stor rgyun rgyud-bshi gsal-byed bsal-sar shon-po_. ‘From the Blue Beryl that sheds light on the Four Tantras, the adornment of the reflexions of the Lord of Medicine’, that is, the tanka illustrates the well-known Vaidurya shon-po, a commentary on the Rgyud-bsti by Sde-sa’ad sain-rgyas rgya-mchog (AD 1653-1705). The following eleven Lhasa ES tankas have inscriptions beginning in that way: [1 2 4 5 7 11 12 13 14 15 16]. Half of the Peking tankas also have inscriptions beginning with this form (u) [12 6 7 9 12]. In this way begin also Lhasa M 4 and the tanka published on p. 24 of The Unesco Courier, July 1979. The four Lhasa F materia medica tankas all begin with the above formula. In the case of the facsimile volume the formula is found on all tankas except the second of paired tankas. It is coarse not found on LT 80.

The well-known tanka depicting numerous medical instruments also bears an inscription beginning with the formula mentioned. The Peking copy [*Peking 8*] bears no inscription and the large format black and white reproduction published in New Delhi in 1971 by Lokesh Chandra also bears no inscription, but the corresponding Lhasa tanka made known by Massin’s photograph does carry an inscription although it is unfortunately illegible. This tanka was not on display in the library when Schah and I visited it. The expected inscription is however found on the reproduction on p. 138 of *Bod-kyi tham-ga*. 

64
All the tankas whose inscriptions begin with the formula sman-bhādi dgegs-rgyun rgyal-bzhis gsal-byed ba'i-dus srtom-po-las are numbered towards the end of the inscription. However, in the case of one of the Lhasa F material medica tankas the number is not visible on the available photograph. In three instances the tankas are assigned two consecutive numbers. In each of these cases the tanka show the front view of the human figure and are to be combined with an unnumbered tanka showing the back view. Thus, all the Lhasa ES tankas apart from [10] belong to a single series based on the Vaidūrya srtom-po.

Sometimes rough copies many times removed from the original come to light. One such copy that was recently acquired on the market in Hungary was published in an article by G. Sondhi, “Preliminary investigation of a Tibetan medical chart,” pp. 313-319 in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies commemorating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Csoma de Korsos, ed. L. Ligezi, Budapest 1984. It illustrates V ed. 3185 on the treatment of the upper and lower parts of the trunk. It was drawn on a piece of white silk and bears an extensive inscription that Sonihi was unable to translate. It can now be successfully identified as bris-cha 51.

The items made known prior to the first complete publication are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bris-cha</th>
<th>= Lhasa M = Bazaron 1.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bris-cha 2 = Lhasa ES F 11.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bris-cha 3</td>
<td>= Lhasa ES F 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bris-cha 4 = Lhasa ES F 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(= The Unesco Courier cover page;)
= Bod-kyi than-ga 130.

| bris-cha 5 = Lhasa 158 16 = Lhasa M 2 = Tibet p. 124 = Bod-kyi than-ga 131. |
| bris-cha 6 = Lhasa ES 5. |
| bris-cha 7 = Lhasa ES 6. |
| bris-cha 8 = Lhasa ES 14 = Bazaron 6. |
| bris-cha 9 = Lhasa ES 2 = Peking 2 = Leh 2. |

65
bris-cha 12 = Lhasa ES 3 = Peking 3 = Leh 3.
bris-cha 13 = Lhasa ES 1 = Peking 1 = Bod-kyi thain-ga 133 = Leh 1.
bris-cha 14 = Lhasa ES F 7 = Lhasa M 5.
bris-cha 17 = Lhasa ES 8 = Lhasa M 3.
bris-cha 22 = Lhasa ES 15 = Bazaron 3.
bris-cha 23 = Peking 12 = Bazaron 9.
bris-cha 24 = Lhasa M 19 = The Unesco Courier pp. 22-23 = Peking 11.
bris-cha 25 = Lhasa M 5 = Bazaron 8.
= Bod-kyi thain-ga 136.
bris-cha 26 = Lhasa F 2 = Lhasa M 11.
= Meyer fig. 35. p. 165 = The Unesco Courier p. 22.
bris-cha 27 = Lhasa F 3 = Lhasa M 9.
= The Unesco Courier p. 24 = Peking 9.
bris-cha 28 = Lhasa M 12 = Bod-kyi thain-ga 135.
bris-cha 29 = Lhasa F 4 = Lhasa M 16.
bris-cha 30 = The Unesco Courier p. 23 (two sections).
bris-cha 31 = Lhasa F 1 = Peking 10.
bris-cha 33 = Bod-kyi thain-ga 137.
bris-cha 34 = Lhasa M 7.
bris-cha 37 = Bod-kyi thain-ga 132.
bris-cha 40 = Peking 7.
bris-cha 49 = Peking 5 = Leh 5.
bris-cha 50 = Peking 4 = Leh 4.
bris-cha 51 = Lhasa M 4 = Meyer p. 165 = Şentlal p. 313.
bris-cha 75 = Bod-kyi thain-ga 134.
bris-cha 80 = Lhasa ES 10.
Note that the 'tanka reproduced on p. 22 of The Unesco Courier is said on p. 20 to be 'plate 24 from the Atlas', but the reproduction does not include the inscription at the bottom.

Seven tankas are paired: LT 6/79/10.11/12 (6/17 40/41 49/50) 74/75. Only the paired tankas contain inscriptions referring specifically to the fact that front or back views of the figures are illustrated. The formulas are as follows: 'khor-byan klong legs dan den thams-cad mdun gon-ma dan spod (lgos)' 'The way of reading the labels and all their meanings must be combined with the (illustration of the) front (view of the figure)' and 'khor-byan klong legs dan den thams-cad rgyud rjes-ma dan spod (lgos)' 'The way of reading the labels and all their meanings must be combined with the (illustration of the) back view (view of the figure).'

These formulas have been appended to the inscriptions usually in red ink. However, the formula is in black ink on LT 49 and appears to have been forgotten in the case of LT 12 and 74 although it is possible that it is merely not visible on the otherwise excellent photographs. In the case of LT 12 it is found on the corresponding Lhasa ES 3 added below in red dbu-med. The formula is written in this way in the facsimile volume only in the case of LT 75. mdun gon-ma in this formula occurs on tankas depicting what we would term the back view (e.g. Lhasa ES 3, 6, 8, 9) and rgyud rjes-ma on those depicting what we would term the front view (e.g. Lhasa ES 2, 4, 5).

The paired tankas were intended to be hung side by side and for that reason the lines of their inscriptions must be read across from one tanka to the other. This was not realised by the editors of the facsimile volume at the time of the Tibetan-Chinese edition but was to some extent corrected in the Tibetan-English edition. It should be noted however that in the case of the Tibetan-English edition the editors have added material not present on the tankas. Thus after the formula sman-bhavi dge-srung rgyud khris gsal-ba yed bai-dur rjon-po-las / the tanka continues with sbla-bshi bzi-pa-thi

? This formula was wrongly transcribed and mistranscribed by E. H. C. Walsh in 1943, 1949, 1952 despite the assistance of Lhim-chin Champa Thun-te from the Chugs-po-ni Monastery (p. 1216).

It is clear that not only did the editors of the facsimile volumes not at first realise how the paired tankas were to be read but also some of the copyists themselves were unaware of the problem. In the case of LT 12 for example the three lines of the text of the inscription are continuous although the text begins in the middle of the inscription and ends in the middle of a sentence. The whole of the third line is in fact duplicated within the third line of LT 11.

Moreover, examination of the paired tankas makes it clear that the set of tankas reproduced in the facsimile volume is not an original set but made up from different sets. In some cases this means that inscriptions on the paired tankas cannot in fact be read line by line from one tanka to another. In order to reconstruct the correct wording of the inscriptions it is accordingly necessary to compare several versions. Thus according to the Tibetan-English edition the inscription belonging to LT 11/12 contains a sentence that reads bka' ma-las gyes-pa bshis-po-las kher-lha re dan phring las-brgya res skor-bahi chul sgo lha-si rnam-ses chogs drug bskyed-pahi rcia yid bsam-ma sogs-kyi bkod-pa zur-du bhrul-bahi rcia srog rcia nag-po dbu-ma dan hders-pahi madan dan skar-po rgyab-tu gnas-pahi chul /. This is reconstructed from LT 12 (line 1) dbu-ma-las gyes-pa bshis-po-las kher-lha re dan phring las-brgya res skor-bahi chul sgo lha-si rnam-ses chogs drug bskyed-pahi rcia and LT 11 (line 2) rgo gsum bskyed-pahi rcia yid bsam-ma sogs-kyi bkod-pa zur-du bhrul-bahi rcia srog rcia nag-po dbu-ma dan hders-pahi madan dan skar-po rgyab-tu gnas-pahi chul /. The rgo gsum at the beginning of line 2 was presumably ignored by the editors as duplicating the rgo gsum at the end of LT 11 (line 1). However, Lhasa ES 3 (line 1) reads dbu-ma-las gyes-pa bshis-po-las kher-lha re dan phring las-brgya res skor-bahi chul / sgo lha-si rnam-ses chogs drug bskyed-pahi rcia yid bsam-ma sogs-kyi mchel-'jan / etc Peking 3, which contains a continuous two-line inscription, has exactly the same reading continuing from line one to line two. Lhasa ES 4 (line 2) continues with yid bsam-ma sogs-kyi bkod-pa zur-du bhrul-bahi rcia srog rcia nag-
po dbu-med dahi ldres-pa'i mchod dan dsar-po rgyab-tu gnas-pa'i chad i. Much confusion has been created (but can be dissipated only by patient collation.

Contents on the Lhasa ES tankas

**LHASA ES 1**

This tanka is explicitly based on V ad 274 and is numbered bris-cha 13. Although the Lhasa ES, LT, and Peking tankas are clearly intended to be the same, there are evident differences of detail. Thus, there are slight variants in the inscriptions below them. The Lhasa ES and LT tankas have the three labels near each of the three figures in *dbu-med* whereas the corresponding labels on the Peking tanka are in *dbu-can* as they are on the Bod-kyi thar-tho plate and on Leh I. The Lhasa ES and LT and Bod-kyi kyi-tho-ga tankas have more numbers on it than the other two. Only the Lhasa ES and Bod-kyi kyi-tho-ga tankas have the label klu-ba (abbreviated for gi-ba 'minor (lobe of the lung)'. four times beside the lungs of the figures. The LT tanka is not sufficiently clear, but it appears to have the label only twice. There are also slight differences in the drawing of the figures. Thus, only on the Lhasa ES and LT tankas is the big toe of the left foot of the figure on the right at a marked angle from the other toes.

Lhasa ES 1 illustrates the rći, variously translated 'vein', 'channel', etc. The twenty-four principal rći divide into 360 minor rći, which in turn divide into 700 minor rći. The 360 minor rći are shown in black and the 700 minor rći in red. The top left figure shows the connection of the minor rći, with the outer skin (phyi se lpad gi), the figure on the right the connection of the minor rći, with the bones and narrow in the intermediate layer of the body (bar ras skyan), and the figure below the connection of the minor rći with the internal organs (jni don snod).

**LHASA ES 2**

This tanka is explicitly based on V ad 274 and is numbered bris-cha 9+0. The reverse is Lhasa ES 9. Here again the inscription at the bottom is in both cases in *dbu-can*, but the labels
on the Lhasa ES and LT tankas only are in dBu-med. Note the presence of a grid over the upper part of the main figure. However, Leh 2 does not have the grid. Here there are quite a few variants in the inscriptions. The formula found on paired tankas (kha-byan klong lugs dbon don thams-cad rgyab rjes-ma dan sproad dgegs) is not found on the Peking tanka.

The text of the inscription concerns the bones and the hair pores. The labels under the arms refer to the 3,500,000 hair pores on each arm.

Another variant of this tanka is kept in the National Library of Ulan Bator. It was described in detail by K. Linge, 'Eine anatomische Tafel zur lamaistischen Heilkunde', *Annals of the Nagstek Museum*, 3, Prague 1964, 65-84.

**LHASA ES 3**

This tanka is the reverse of Lhasa ES 4 as pointed out above. It is the unnumbered tanka of a pair. The formula kha-byan klong lugs dbon don thams-cad rgyan rjes-ma dan sproad was evidently forgotten at first in the case of the Lhasa tanka and was subsequently added small below in dBu-med. Note that only the Lhasa ES and LT tankas have the grid. Meyer does not give the source of his photograph, but it is evidently based on a source different from Lhasa ES 3, Peking 3, and Leh 3. Only the Lhasa and LT tankas have some of the labels in dBu-med.

The main figure shows the rcia, in connection with the spine, the limbs, and one on each of the feet. The figure on the left shows the rcia, in connection with the internal organs (don-ndod nas brell). The figure on the right shows the connection of the rcia, with the heart represented here as a wheel (chör-kyi lekhor-lo).

The label at the foot of the main figure reads: rkin-pa'i mthul-gyi bstag bsdus mthul-lgyong ggis, which was wrongly translated by Walsh P. 1240 as 'the two wheels resembling a coil of rope on the soles of the feet'. mthul-lgyong does not mean 'wheel' but is the name of an artery. It is explained by Djean-hdas, Gso-ba
LHASA ES 4

Lhasa ES 4 is explicitly based on V ad 274 and numbered bris-cha 11+12. Here again only the Lhasa ES and LT tankas have a grid over the central figure. Meyer’s fig. 27 p. 119 appears to be identical with Peking 6. The minor items are distributed alike on Lhasa ES 4 and LT 11, but differently on Peking 6 and Leb 6. Only the Lhasa ES and LT tankas are labelled in dtru-med.

Like its reverse, Lhasa ES 3, Lhasa ES 4 illustrates the rca. The free wheels (bshar-la, Sanskrit cakra), so conspicuous on the central figure, are not specifically mentioned by the labels or the inscription. They are described in the V ad 272. The relevant passage is translated by Meyer p. 113.

LHASA ES 5

This tanka bears the numbers bris-cha 6+7. It is paired with Lhasa ES 6. Specific reference is made to the V. Lhasa ES 5 and 6 are also concerned with the rca. The labels bear the names of blood-letting rca (gar-rga) listed in 4T20, to which reference is made in the inscription below Lhasa ES 6. The labelling is entirely in dtru-cnz. Lhasa ES 5 and 6 resemble LT 6 and 7 most closely. The differences between these ES tankas and the LT counterparts are much slighter than in the case of any of the other tankas.

LHASA ES 6: see on Lhasa 5.
LHASA ES 7

Lhasa ES 7 is numbered bris-cha 14. It is explicitly based on V ad 274. All labels are in duu-med. The tanka illustrates the three “life veins” (chikha rnik).

LHASA ES 8

This tanka (bris-cha 17) is the unnumbered reverse of bris-cha 16. According to the inscription the tanka illustrates theग्राद (gradd) ‘vital spots’ since several verses of 214 concern them and are quoted and the colours used to represent them are specified. The labels on my photographs are hardly legible but there are noticeably few of them. They are mostly in duu-med but a few are in duu-can. The labels just below the ears appear to read: phdrag 9e9i chuk-bu, the name given to two of the fourteen rgyas gsas ‘vital spots of (the sinews and) fibres’ in V 177-4.

LHASA ES 9

This tanka (bris-cha 19) is the unnumbered reverse of bris-cha 9. The inscription quotes several verses of 214 concerning the number of various terms, bones, joints, etc., in the body. The labels, all in duu-med as on LT 10, agree with these. Note the labels under the arms: leg yon (g-yas)-la rgyas-pa don-lhe ‘75 fibres in the left (eighty arm) as in V 149.3-4. Below the label under the left arm we find: khu-dbyins-la rgyas-pa sa-b-dbyang ‘300 fibres in the hidden (parts of) the body’ as in V 149.4. To the right of the neck we read: rgyas-pa nam-chon ldi yar-la sam-bgyur ‘500 fibres in this upper part of the base of the neck (= Sanskrit nadiha-jatana).’ Beside the legs occurs: thyon g-yon (g-yas)-la rgyas don-lhe ‘75 fibres in the left (right) leg. Thus the total number of rgyas is 900 as stated in 274.23 and as analysed in V 149.

LHASA ES 10

This tanka does not belong to the traditional series. According to Byams-pa rgyal-los and Van-Le it was drawn under the auspices of the 14th director of the Sman-rigs-khan and depicts twelve famous physicians surrounding the central figure of Na-
This tanka, numbered bris-chu 2 and labelled in dbu-med, is explicitly based on V ad I'T3. It is the first of the three well-known trees of medicine. They have been studied in detail in E. Finkh, Grundlagen tibetischer Heilkunde, Band 1, Uelzen 1975 (= Foundations of Tibetan medicine, London 1978) and Band 2, Uelzen 1985 (= Foundations of Tibetan medicine, London 1985). Her trees were taken from the work of the nineteenth century Mongol physician Hjam-dpal rdo-rje published in facsimile by Lokesh Chandra, *An illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian materia medica of Ayurveda of Jam-dpal-rdo-rje of Mongolia*, New Delhi 1971 (16-17, 20-21, 26-27). The three trees are also found in Meyer’s book (figs. 21-2) on pp. 106-108. Meyer does not indicate the source of his plates, but they are probably photographs the author made of diagrams in use in Nepal.

Lhasa ES 11 is labelled gnas-lugs nad-gzhi réa-ba ‘the root of the arrangement (of the parts of the body and) of the bases of disease’ and refers to I'T3 gnas-lugs nad-gzhi leha ‘the chapter on the arrangement (of the parts of the body and) of the bases of disease’. The root divides into two trunks, the left being that of the healthy organism, the right that of the diseased organism. The left trunk has three, the right nine branches. The left trunk has twenty-five leaves and two flowers, the right trunk sixty-three leaves.

The Lhasa tree tankas are more elaborate than the other tree diagrams mentioned. Note the amusing battle scene at the base of the tree. The supporters of the healthy and diseased organisms are depicted as firing arrows at each other.

LHASA ES 12

This tanka, numbered bris-chu 3 and labelled in dbu-med, is explicitly based on V ad I’T4. This tanka depicts nos-ljün raggs-kyi réa-ba ‘the root of diagnostic signs’, which divides into three
trunks, the trunk of observation (bla-bahi sdon-po), the trunk of palpation (reg-pahi sdon-po), and the trunk of questioning (dri-bahi sdon-po). The trunk of observation divides into two branches and six leaves, that of palpation into three branches and three leaves, and that of questioning into three branches and twenty-nine leaves. Only Meyer’s tree has flowers. They are not mentioned in the text.

**LHASA ES 13**

This tanka, numbered bris-cha 4 and labelled in byu-med, is explicitly based on V ad 175. gna-byed-thabs-kyi ro-sba ‘the root of the methods’ divides into four trunks, the trunk of food (zas-kyi sdon-po), the trunk of behaviour (spyod-lam-gyi sdon-po), the trunk of medicines (smon-gyi sdon-po), and the trunk of therapy (dpal-kyi sdon-po). The trunk of food has six branches and thirty-five leaves, that of behaviour three branches and six leaves, that of medicines fifteen branches and fifty leaves, and that of therapy three branches and seven leaves.

Note at the bottom right the picture of Vidyāgūṇa (rig-pahi ye-las), the seer (dran-lrin) who emanated from the heart (thugs-sprul) of the Medicine Buddha and related the Kgyud-bza.

A similar tree tanka was reproduced without an accompanying inscription in The Unesco Courier, July 1979, cover page. Its labels are in byu-moe. The tanka is reproduced also in Bataaron 2. A similar tree tanka is reproduced in Bod-kyi than-ga 130.

**LHASA ES 14**

This tanka, numbered bris-cha 8 and labelled in byu-moe, is explicitly based on V ad 273 and the first part of 274. The two parts are clearly indicated. Part 1 begins at the left of the first column below the physicians and is headed: biad-rgyud leha gua-pahi ltha-rdo-rje ‘the similes of the third chapter of the Explanatory Tantra’. Part 2 begins at the right of the third column above the inscription at the bottom and is headed: biad-rgyud leha bci-pa gnas-longs-kyi sdon-chad sogs ‘the quantities, etc.,
of the arrangement (of the body as given in) the fourth chapter of the Explanatory Tantra'.

It is interesting that the chapter on the similes for the body (2T3) is thought worth illustrating. This chapter is not translated in Yeshe Donden and Jampa Kelsang, The ambrosia heart Tantra, vol. 1, Dharamsala 1977. They remark on p. 56 'since this chapter is not of great importance, it will not be translated here'. The chapter has been translated in part by Meyer p. 116.

The section on the similes begins with the first item of 2T3: dpus-rus rigs gsum, referring to 2T3.2. dpus-rus gsum ni rig-pa'i bskyen-gi lhara 'The two thigh bones resemble the foundation wall of a building'. The next item is labelled rgyal-chugs gser-gyi don-rig, which refers to 2T3.3: rgyal-chigs gser-gyi don-rig brya-gs-pa lhara 'The vertebrae are like a pile of gold coins'.

The section on the quantities begins with the first item of 2T4. The label is identical with 2T4.6: rgyu-gi ldan-ched dgyan-phug gnas 'The quantity of wind (in a normal person is enough to make) the urinary bladder full'.

**LHASA ES 15**

This tanka, numbered pris-cha 22 and labelled in dbu-med, is explicitly based on V ad 2T13-15. Chapter 13 begins at the top left of the first column, chapter 14 in the middle of column 8, and chapter 15 near the end of the second last column. The beginnings are labelled with reference to the chapter concerned. Chapter 13 is about the proper way to behave each day, chapter 14 about the way to behave according to the season, and chapter 15 about the way to behave appropriate to a particular occasion. Among the ways to behave are shown in column 4 massaging (dril-phyis) and bathing (dbya-gs-par-phyed-pa). Ways not to behave in column 6 are sleeping by day (rin-la spyed-pa) and sleeping with someone other than one's wife (ran-phyis chen-ma las gsum-du spyed-pa). In the third column from below we see depicted the well-known cool and fragrant house for avoiding the summer heat (bsil-khan dri bshin bsten-pa) labelled as 2T14.47. Chapter 15 is concerned mainly with the recommendation that
one should not suppress the natural urges. It begins with a man suppressing hunger (bkra'is bkag) and ends with one suppressing semen (khu-ba bkag-pa).

LHASA ES 16

This tanka, numbered bris-cha 5, is explicitly based on V ad 272. Its labels like those on LT 5 are all in dbu-med except in the top left square. This tanka is similar to one of which a photograph was published by Ngapo Ngawang Jigme et al., Tibet, New York 1981, plate 95 on p. 124. In fact the two are almost identical. However, there are slight differences in the spacing and positioning of the labelling. Yet a third variant is represented by Bod-khyi thun-ge 131, on which all the labelling is in dbu-can.

As far as I can see, the tanka reproduced by Ngapo Ngawang Jigme is identical to LT 5. Note that only Lhasa ES 16 depicts a table supporting the bowl in the bottom left corner.

In the first two columns nine kinds of defects of the blood and semen that prevent conception are illustrated. They run from kha to nha. The week to week development of the embryo begins in the middle of the fourth column and proceeds as far as yo in the third column from below, which is labelled twenty-seventh to thirtieth week and is followed by ri, thirty-first to thirty-fifth week. The first item (ba) at the beginning of the second last column is not numbered but bears the label mgon-par mi-dgah skyo-bahi lha i-dum bhyin, which is from 272.124 'being evidently not contented (with its dark abode). Here arises (in it) the feeling of revulsion.' This is said in 272.123 to apply from the thirty-sixth week on. The final two items are based on 272.125-126:

so-bdan-pa-la log-pa'i lha-ses bhyin
so bbyad mgos mkhyug log-stie mdu-nas bhyin

In the thirty-seventh (week) the feeling of revolt grows. (In) the thirty-eighth (week, the child) turns upside down (and) is expelled from the womb. Here the formulation is slightly different:

so-bdan-pa-la log-pa'i lha-ses bbyinis
bdan-phrag so-bbyad-pa mgos-mkhyug log-chut.

76
The last column illustrates the last two verses of 2T2. The paragraph is to be surrounded by experienced people, the navel is cut, and the mother must be given nutritious food to restore her (byakm myon-gi). Brkkr byakm-ne ba-ku gea-pathi chu and chas kyi gea-bahi chul.

Not mentioned in the Egyud-bu are the three stages of development represented by the fish (bahi gnas-skabs) shown after the ninth week (V 132.2), the tortoise (mar-shal-kyi skabs) shown after the seventeenth week (V 135.2), and the pig (phug-pahi skabs) shown after the thirty-fifth week (V 135.2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Èmêlge k inlòm, Omól i i bótëcsik méliwà, Ladar Lde 1984.

Buam-ba 'Phrin-las (byams-pa bshri-las) and Wang Lei (van le). Rod-las gsa-rig nyid-kyi mi-nam don-ba chu na-mchab molka-las don-ya, Bod-gi loz mi-diamo og-bshrom. Lde (V 96. See next item.


The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, Rod-las chen-pa (Tibetan tanka), Peking 1985.

Cai Jingfeng and Zhao Runkuan. ‘Zang yi cai ke guan de chetsu jiechao (Preliminary survey of the Tibetan medical coloured tanka)’, Rongma zhong yi zusu (Rongma Journal of Chinese medicine), Nanjing 1980, 47-49.

C. Mazin, La Médecine tibétaine, Paris 1952.


77
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lhasa F</td>
<td>Ten tankas painted by Che-rin dbum-phug at Lhasa in 1981.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td>refers to the Tibetan-Chinese and the Tibetan-English facsimile editions published by Byam-Mo. The number following LT is the tanka number established on the basis of the inscriptions on the tanka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>= Tanka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>= Vajrayana.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The four books of the Rigyud-btsi are referred to as I, II, III, IV.)

(The edicts referred to as: *Bai Dur gsum pa*, ed. T. Y. Tshogyang, vols 1-4, Lhasa, 1973 = Universities of Tibet Special vols 51-54.)