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Please address all inquiries concerning membership or subscriptions to the Tibet Society, Inc., P.O. Box 1968, Bloomington, IN 47402, USA.

Manuscripts for publication, books for review, and all correspondence regarding editorial matters should be sent to The Editor, The Journal of the Tibet Society, 157 Goodbody Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405, USA.
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Articles

DER URSPRUNG DER SPRACHE VON ZHANG-ZHUNG

Siegbert Hummel

In einigen Arbeiten zur Erschliessung der Sprache von Zhang-Zhung habe ich die Affassung vertreten, dass zumindest die kulturtragende Oberschicht der Bevölkerung der einstigen vom Küke-noor über die Byang-thang bis zum heutigen Westtibet reichenden Konföderation mit den Tibetern stammverwandt ist. Dieses müsste sich dann auch noch in der Sprache erkennen lassen, die, von einer Oberschicht getragen, die klassische Sprache der Bon-Religion geworden ist.  

Ich gebe hier eine nur erst vorläufige Auslese von Zhang-Zhung-Worten, deren Entsprechung im Alchinesischen, in den Sprachen von Si-Hia und Mi-nyag, der Lo-Lo, Mo-So und Ch’iang weitgehend übereinstimmt. Beziehungen der Sprache von Zhang-Zhung zu einem [ural-]altaiischen Substrat sind erkennbar. So findet sich beispielsweise:

(1) die seltsame Bildung von Zahlworten wieder im Sumerischen, Ägyptischen und Altkanarischen (Hummel 1988, Anm. 11),

(2) das Präfix a- wie im Sumerischen -a, -e als Nominalpartikel⁸; vgl. im Altkanarischen das Präfix a- als Artikel und demonstrativ,

(3) das Präfix ta- wahrscheinlich als bestimmter Artikel wie altkanarisch -ta, -tu, -to (bestimmter Artikel, demonstrativ, Nominalpartikel, mongolisch -ta als -lta, -mta) (Nominalpartikel -l, -m mit -ta), etruskisch -ta (bestimmter Artikel, Nominalpartikel). Präfixe können unter Beibehaltung der Bedeutung zu Suffixen gewandelt werden, so kanarisch -ta zu -ta-,

(4) das Präfix ti- dient wahrscheinlich zur Substantivierung wie ti- im Altkanarischen, neben -ta- und -ta- . . . -te (Nominalbildung),

(5) das Suffix -to (s. Tabelle) als Nominalpartikel hat seine Parallele im Altkanarischen und im Baskischen (-te),

(6) die Genetivpartikel ni (s. Tabelle), etruskisch in, altkanarisch -n, -en, im Mongolischen -in (Beziehung zum Personalpronomen 3.Pers., vgl. sumerisch -ne, -ni, arab. -in wie im Etruskischen auch dativisch und ablativisch, altägyptisch -n). Hierzu Hummel, 1988, Anm. 2,

(7) zur Dativ-Terminativ-Partikel la sumerisch -ra, -re, -ri, bask. -ra (kanar. zur Bildung des Possessivums, z.B. i = du, ire = dein); la auch adlativ. im Etruskischen und Altkanarischen (-ra), tibetisch -ru,

(8) zu ta- als Collectiv (s. Tabelle) vgl. sumerisch -da (alle = gu, sum. = gu).


Diese neue Religion wird als gYung-drung-Bon bezeichnet, wobei in der Sprache von Zhang-Zhung gYung mit *mu* identisch ist, *drung* (= *sangs*, tib. = *gsal*) aber "klar", "hell" bedeutet (Hummel, 1974-75, l.c.).

Was Si-Hia angeht, so gehört die Bevölkerung dieses um 1032 nördlich des Küke-noor endgültig konstituierten Königreiches, die Tang-Hsiang bzw. T‘o-Pa, mit dem mongolischen Namen Tangg‘ut, zur tibetischen Familie und ihre Sprache zum Tibeto-Birmanischen mit einer reichen Literatur und seit dem Jahre 1037 auch mit einer eigenen Schrift, die sich an die chinesische anlehnt. Aber schon 1227 wird nach
Eroberung der Hauptstadt Ning-Hia durch Tschingis Khan der Staat ausgelöscht.\textsuperscript{10}


Merkwürdig ist schliesslich einer Notiz im bKa’-gdamspas-chos-bu-chos (Stein, 1959), loc. sit., S. 29) von einem legendären

Die Kultur, insbesondere die Religion von Zhang-Zhung zeigt sich jedenfalls in ihrem Charakter durchaus von Vorstellungen bestimmt, wie sie auch andere im Raum um Si-Hia, Mi-nyag und in deren Nachbarschaft beheimatete Stämme, die sehr alt und als solche fester Bestand sind, z. Tl. zu spezifisch, wie beispielsweise 
\textit{mu} (tib.: nam-mkha’), als dass sie etwa erst durch eine sich von Westtibet nach dem Nordosten ausbreitende Bevölkerung aufgenommen worden sein können. Wenn man bereit ist, den Ursprung der Zhang-Zhung-Konföderation in Osttibet zu lokalisieren, dann sollte man den Grundstock der Sprache als ihr Substrat ebenfalls dort suchen.\textsuperscript{16} So wie z.B. das Altkanarische durch Einschichtung des Protoiberischen sowie des späteren Berberischen in einem
mediterranen Beziehungsgefüge seinen Platz erhalten hat, aber
dennoch zu den uralaltaïschen Altsprachen gehört, so lässt sich
auch die Sprache von Zhang-Zhung nicht als eine westtibetische
deklarieren. Auch hier handelt es sich um spätere
Einschichtung, in diesem Falle aus dem Raum des indischen
Himālaya.17

ANMERKUNGEN

1. S. Hummel, Materialien zu einem Wörterbuch der Žañ-
Žuñ-Sprache (in: Monumenta Serica, XXXI, 1974-75, S.488 ff.;
der Na-Khi für die Erforschung der tibetischen Kultur (in:
Monumenta Serica, XIX, 1960, S. 307 ff.). Id., Die Schrift der Na-

Die Konföderation soll aus achtzehn kleinen Königreichen
bestanden haben (G. Tucci, "Himalayan Cīna," in: Études
(Zhang-Zhung = Reduplikation mit Vokalvariation,
Intensivierung der Bedeutung; vgl. M. Hahn, Lehrbuch der
tibetischen Schriftsprache, Hamburg 1971, S. 174) halte ich für
gleichbedeutend mit Mu, rMu, dMu (= tib.: mkaza’), das auch als
Bezeichnung des Gebietes von Zhang-Zhung belegt ist. Zhang
scheint dem chinesischen Shang ( roi ), tib. shang (= hoch) zu
dentsprechen. Für Zhang-Zhung findet sich gelegentlich auch die
tibetische Schreibung Shang-Shung (vgl. L. Petech, "Glosse agli
Annali di Tun-Huang," in: Revista degli Studi Orientali, XLII, S.
241 f.). Zu Zhang-Zhung auch E. Haarh, The Yar-Lun Dynasty,
København, 1969 (Register). Zu Zhang als Rangbezeichnung =
Shang (chin.) Hugh E. Richardson, "Names and Titles in early

2. B. Karlgren, Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-

3. Die Wortbedeutung stimmt in den verschiedenen
Sprachen mit der im Zhang-Zhung überein, sofern nicht
Abweichungen besonders vermerkt sind. Die Tabelle erhebt
keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit. Auf die vielen
dialektischen Varianten, bes. bei den Lo-Lo, kann hier nicht
ingegangen werden. Zu Zhang-Zhung vgl. E. Haarh, The
1). R. A. Stein, "La Langue Žañ-Žuñ du Bon organisé" (in:
Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient, LVIII, Paris, 1971,
S. 231 ff.).


S. HUMMEL


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<td>rta</td>
<td>rie,xre, ring[-lo]</td>
<td>(tib.-burm.: [s-rang])</td>
<td>Mo-So: hrang Ch'iang: ru Hor-pa: rhi Miao: h[rjeng]</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Interessant sind auch einige Partikel:**

- **-gu (terminativ)**
  - tu, du, ru, su
  - 'k’ö
  - ci (Genitiv. Anwendung wie im Chines. Die Genitivpart. ni gehört dagegen in ein uraltales Substrat wie das Präfix ti- (substantivierend)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ce,-se,-ze (diminuativ)</th>
<th>bu, 'u [gu, nu, ngu, ru, lu]</th>
<th>tzu (heutiges Chin.)</th>
<th>zo</th>
<th>²zo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta- (collectiv)</td>
<td>gcig-tu, thams-cad u.a.</td>
<td>t'a (heut.Chin.)</td>
<td>ta[-ho]</td>
<td>²dta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to (Nominalpartikel)</td>
<td>pa, ba, po</td>
<td>t'ou (heut.Chin.)</td>
<td>du</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsa,-tsu,-tse,-ze,-se (Zustand)</td>
<td>pa, nyid, ldan, can, bcas-pa</td>
<td>chih (heut.Chin.) der Fall sein</td>
<td>dzo</td>
<td>²dzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za (lokativ, neben na verwendet; na wie im Tibet.)</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>tsai (heut.Chin.)</td>
<td>dzö[-bo]</td>
<td>²zä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya (so-sein, Präsens-u. Perfekt-Partizip); mit Verben</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>yeh (heut.Chin.) Wirklichkeit der Aussage</td>
<td>ya Mo-So: ya (so-sein, Präs.- u.Perf.-Partizip) Na-Khi: ²wùa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lo (Bildung v. Eigenschaften aus Verben)</td>
<td>(Hilfsver., Partiz., Gerund)</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>²lo</td>
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SA-SKYA PANDITA’S LETTER TO THE TIBETANS: A LATE AND DUBIOUS ADDITION TO HIS COLLECTED WORKS

David P. Jackson

In the Derge printed edition of Sa-skya Pandita’s collected works there exists a short letter that purports to have been written by Sa-skya Pandita (Sa-paṅ) (1182–1251) in about 1247, after he reached the Mongol camp in Liang-chou and had an interview with the Mongol prince Köden. It bears the title Bu slob rnams la spīng ba and, if authentic, is one of the earliest sources on Tibetan-Mongolian political and religious relations. Till now it has been accepted as authentic and used as a basic source by scholars. It was translated in full and studied by G. Tucci in his monumental Tibetan Painted Scrolls,1 and was summarized by T. W. D. Shakabpa in his Tibet: A Political History.2 It has also been described or mentioned by several others.3 There are, however, some important reasons to doubt its authenticity, one being that it is absent from some of the early lists of Sa-paṅ’s collected works and only enters Tibetan historiography from about the first half of the 16th century.

The earliest evidence for the existence of this letter is its mention in the record of teachings received (gsan yig) of Ngorchen Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497–1557). In that work, which is entitled Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma rnams las dam pa’i chos thos pa’i chos thos pa’i tshul gsal bar bshad pa’i yi ge thub bstanrgyas pa’i nyin byed, the letter is cited by the title Bu slob rnams la spīngs pa. It is the sixty-third work in that list.4 The letter is also listed in the gsan yig of the Gong-dkar bla-ma ’Phrin-las-ram-nrgyal (fl. c. 1700), a work entitled Thob yig bum pa bzang po. There the letter is cited by the different title Chos rje Sa skya Panditas bod ’bangs spyi la gdoms pa, and the text is said to
have been four folios long in the manuscript upon which this gsan yig list was based. In the latter list it was the fifty-second work, the last work in volume dza.  

As for the actual text of the letter, the first place it is known to have turned up is in the Sa skya gdung rabs chen mo of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597–1659), a work that he completed in 1629. It is found added to the long biography of Sa-paṅ, which A-mes-zhabs took almost verbatim from the commentary by Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub (1456–1532) on Sa-paṅ's Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo. The inclusion of this letter, however, was one of the few instances where A-mes-zhabs departed from Glo-bo mkhan-chen's account and added some new material from elsewhere, two other important additions being the letter of summons from Köden to Sa-skya Paṇḍita and the list of Sa-paṅ's writings.

The second place the letter turned up in was the edition of Sa-paṅ's collected works by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (1700-1769), Sa-paṅ's works forming the fourth main part of the 1736 Derge edition of the Sa skya bka' 'bum. The letter therefore is listed in the index compiled by Zhu-chen (ascribed to the Ngog mkhan-po Bkra-shis-lhun-grub, 1672–1739), as well as in the almost identical list of Sa-paṅ's works recorded in Zhu-chen's record of teachings received (gsan yig). In both index and gsan yig, the title is marked with the numerals 9 and 24, thus apparently showing that he found the same work listed in the gsan yigs of Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497–1557) and Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs (1649–1705), who were respectively the 9th (i.e. 10th ) and 24th (i.e. 25th) abbots of Ngog. As mentioned above, the work indeed is listed in the record of teachings received of Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub. However, Zhu-chen noted in both the index and gsan yig that the letter is not actually listed in Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs's gsan yig, the Gsan yig dbang gi rgyal po. Instead, according to Zhu-chen, one finds there the title Bod yul la sngags pa. This is the title of a work which appears in the Derge edition before the letter (being no. 69 in the Tōyō Bunko reprint edition) and which, according to its colophon, was written when Sa-paṅ was in his nineteenth year (1200). Zhu-chen decided that this title (which appeared twice in the gsan yig he was using?) must refer to the letter, since "there was no other [similar work?] besides this." He also notes that the letter itself had the title Bod 'bangs spyi la gdams pa in the manuscript available to him. One hopes that the actual gsan yig of Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs will become available so
that one can verify the presence or absence of the letter or of any similarly entitled work in its list. But until it does, it is open to doubt whether it lists this work, since Zhu-chen qualifies his citation from the gsan yig of Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs in the above way.

The third and last known appearance of Sa-pan's letter is its quotation in the recent Hor chos 'byung by Blo-bzang-rta-mgrin (1867–1937), as mentioned by D. Schuh.\textsuperscript{15}

Besides its mention in the gsan yigs of Dkon-mchog-lhung-grub and Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-nam-rgyal, and the Sa skya bka' 'bum index and gsan yig of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen, this letter is not cited in any other list of Sa-pan's works available to me. It is absent from that in the gsan yig of Ngog-chen Kun-dga'-bsang-po (1382–1456)\textsuperscript{16} and also from that of the fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1617–1682).\textsuperscript{17} It is likewise missing from the lists of Sa-pan's works found within the biography of Sa-pan in the Mkhas 'jug rnam bshad composed in 1527 by Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhung-grub,\textsuperscript{18} in the long biography of Sa-pan by Rin-spung-pa Ngag-dbang-'jigs-med-grags-pa (composed in 1579),\textsuperscript{19} and in the Sa skya gdung rabs chen mo of A-mes-zhabs Ngags-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams.\textsuperscript{20} As mentioned above, however, A-mes-zhabs did present the letter itself in extenso in that genealogical history.

The absence of the letter from those lists is sufficient to show that it was probably a later addition to Sa-pan's oeuvre. It surfaced as early as the early-16th century, the time when Dkon-mchog-lhung-grub received the lung for Sa-pan's works. It is curious that Rin-spungs-pa did not list it, for he had access to many works, and he also was quite free in including a number of probably apocryphal letters and treatises among the works he listed. The letter was also not included by Glo-bo mkhan-chen in the biography of Sa-pan placed at the beginning of his commentary on the Mkhas 'jug which he completed in 1527. In this biography Glo-bo mkhan-chen did quote several of Sa-pan's other letters, as well as some four letters ascribed to Sa-pan's student Bi-ji Rin-chen-grags which he says were recovered from Kham in the time of Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424–1478; abbot of Ngog 1465–1478).\textsuperscript{21}

All of this may not decisively disprove the letter's authenticity, but it does cast doubt on it. There are, moreover, some other dubious features of the letter. Stylistically it is quite unlike anything else I have read in Sa-pan's works. In general,
the letter is colloquial in tone and not at all elegant. I do not recall, for instance, seeing the \( e \) interrogative particle ever used by Sa-paṅ elsewhere.\(^{22}\) The letter, if authentic, was admittedly written in very unusual circumstances and its contents are somewhat unique among Sa-paṅ's writings. When I first read the letter some years ago, even without doubting its authenticity I noted its strange style and wondered whether Sa-paṅ had not received some official "help" in writing it, such as from a bilingual scribe at the court. It was ostensibly meant to be an official statement and, if authentic, it presumably was the product of close consultations with the Mongols. Another possibility that occurred to me was that it had survived in some Mongolian or Chinese collection of edicts and correspondence, and later had been translated back into Tibetan, thus giving it a strange flavor. Indeed, the work it reminded me of most was the putative letter of summons sent by the Mongol prince Köden to Sa-paṅ, a letter which likewise first surfaced as a complete work within the same section of A-mes-zhab's \textit{Sa skya gdung rabs chen mo}.\(^{23}\)

One should not overlook the strong probability that these two letters are closely connected. The letter of summons attributed to Köden has already been investigated by D. Schuh, who has shown it to be not only corruptly transmitted but also, on formal grounds, probably a forgery.\(^{25}\) Therefore there is all the more reason to doubt the authenticity of the related letter ascribed to Sa-paṅ. In this connection one should also take note of the fact that Köden's letter was known to Paṅ-chen Bsod-nams-grags-pa (1478–1554), who quoted part of its beginning in his \textit{New Red Annals} (composed in 1538).\(^{24}\) As seen above, this is also about the period in which the letter ascribed to Sa-paṅ is first known to have been cited in a \textit{gsan yig}.\(^{26}\)

In any case, it is not yet possible to determine the authenticity of these materials in a decisive way. Moreover, if the letter is a forgery, one should be able to attribute a motive for it. I must leave that, as well as the detailed examination of its contents and style, to scholars who are specialized in the study of Tibetan political history and Tibeto-Mongolian relations. I do think, however, that all scholars who use this letter should henceforth do so with caution, since it is probably a later accretion to Sa-paṅ's collected works, and its ultimate origins are still by no means clear.
NOTES

4. Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub, *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos thos pa'i tshul gsal bar bshad pa'i yi ge thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyin byed (dbu-med MS, 159 ff)*, p. 120b. For the full list see Appendix N of D. Jackson, *Sa-skya Pandita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate: The Entrance Gate for the Wise, Section III*, forthcoming in *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, vol. 17.
5. Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal, *Thob yig bum pa bzang po (dbu-med MS, 244 ff)*, fascicle da, p. 4b. For the complete list of Sa-pan’s works from this source, see Appendix M of the study cited in the previous note.
6. A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga’-bsod-nams, 'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung (New Delhi: Tashi Dorje, 1975). The letter occurs near the end of Sa-pan’s biography, which extends from pp. 93.6–170.6. See pp. 156.4–162.1 (78b.4–81b.1).
7. Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, *Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed (New Delhi: N. Topgye, 1979).* The biography of Sa-pan is found on pp. 94.4–154.5 (=77b.4–77b.5).
10. [Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen], *Dpal Sa skya'i rje btsun gong ma Inga'i gsung rab rin po che'i par gyi sgo 'phar 'byed pa'i dkar chag 'phrul gyi lde mig, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum* (Tokyo: Töyö Bunko, 1969), vol. 7, p. 329.4.2 (ba 449b.2).


12. Ibid., and [Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen], *Dpal sa skya'i rje btsun gong ma Inga'i gsung rab rin po che'i par gyi sgo 'phar 'byed pa'i dkar chag 'phrul gyi lde mig, p. 329.4.2 (449b.2): gsan yig dbang gi rgyal por bod yul la bsngags pa zhes byung ba 'di min pa gzhan mi 'dug pas yig skyon yin nam snyam/ bod 'bangs spyi la gdams pa zhes dpe dangos la 'dug/*.

13. Sa-skya Pandita, *Bod yul la bsngags pa, Sa-skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Töyö Bunko, 1968), pp. 395.3.2–396.1.2 (=na 202a.2–203a.2). The colophon reads: *bdag nyid chen po grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi zhabs kyi rdul la reg pas blo gros gtsang ba'i 'khon jo sras kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis lo bcu dgu lon pa'i tshe/ dpal sa skya'i aben gnas yon tan rin po che'i 'byung gnas su nye bar sbyar ba'ol/*.


18. Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, *Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa*, pp. 40.1–43.3 (=20b.1–22a.3).


21. Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, *Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa*, pp. 30a.3–32a.4; 32a.4–33b.4; 33b.4–34a.4; and 39a.3–42a.6. These are the minor works listed in the index to the Tōyō Bunko reprint, vol. 5, nos. 97, 99, and 32.

22. Sa-skya Pañḍita, *Bu slob rnam la spring ba*, pp. 401.3.5 (na 114b.5): *de ngas mi shes pa e yin, and khyed kyis lha chos* [line 6] *kyis bskyangs na shākya mu ne'i bstan pa yang phyi'i rgya msho'i mtha' tshun chad khyab par mi 'gro ba e yin gsungs sorial*. And on p. 401.4.2 (115a.2): *nga bzang por e gtong gnam shes gsungs sorial*. All three of the above sentences are from supposed direct quotes of Köden's words. Cf. Köden's letter of invitation, D. Schuh, *Erlassen und Schreiben*, pp. 32f, line 13: *khyod kyil chos go ba'i dam bca' dang e 'gal* and lines 16–17: (sens can) *mang po la gnod pa byas na (khyod) mi skrag pa e yin*.


Acknowledgement: I would like to thank Mr. Y. Fukuda for help in obtaining some of the sources used in this article, and Prof. D. Seyfort Ruegg for several useful comments.
THE TANTRA “A VESSEL OF BDUD RTSI,” A BON TEXT

Michael Walter

Creation myths and myths of divine origins are an important feature in the oldest layer of Tibetan religion known to us.\textsuperscript{1} That they are equally important in Bon material\textsuperscript{2} should be taken into account in speculations on the origin and development of that religion.

The following text shows, among other things, that divine origins for sacramental and medicinal materials have been fully integrated into Bon sādhana. Whether these myths are of Bon, Chos, older Tibetan, or a general Indo-Tibetan origin is sometimes very difficult to determine. Studies of such myths and cosmologies may, however, contribute to our understanding of relations between Bon and Chos at an early period in their development as traditions in Tibet.\textsuperscript{3} The similar Indian penchant for supplying divine origins, seen in individual cases of influence or borrowing in Tibetan materials, can only have complemented the wealth of native Tibetan examples.

The remarkable organization of the text at hand, the \textit{Bbud rtsi bum pa’i rgyud}, renders unnecessary a good deal of introductory interpretation. Only a few words need be said about its provenance, orientation and format.

The \textit{Bbud rtsi bum pa’i rgyud} is the last of three texts in a row dealing with \textit{g’yu’ bran bdud rtsi}\textsuperscript{4} found in volume three of \textit{Bka’ gyur rgyud sde’i skor. Collected tantras of Bon}, published at Dolanji in 1972. It is divided into twelve sections, and from, among other things, the opening and closing, it is clear that it is a “Mother Tantra”.\textsuperscript{5}

Because of its format, this handwritten text cannot be legibly reproduced in this journal; it has been romanized here in its entirety, with most \textit{bsdus yig} dissolved. Exceptional \textit{bsdus yig} and improved readings are supplied in brackets in the Tibetan text.
TITLE

The so-called "Tantra of the Bdud rtsi Vessel"

[Note in the text the equivalence of bdud rtsi with ra sa ya na. This occurs sometimes in Bon and Chos ritual texts, especially those dealing with ritual substances and medicines (sman sgrub and Vajrārtha literature). This links the sacramental use of medicinal substances to their practical application; their divine origins increase their value in both contexts. Rasāyana in the Indo-Tibetan tantric context bestows siddhis such as long life, just as in Ayurveda it is a restorative; the difference only is in the manner of its creation. 6

Ma ha be as a presumed equivalent of bum pa eludes me; da do ci is the Žan-Žuň equivalent of žes bya ba. ]

TEACHER, ETC. 7

Homage to the teacher Gšen-god White-light, the divine power of the basic tutelary deity; 8 These words were heard by me at one time:
In the expansive space of the Mother, a palace perfectly pure, eternal and of great joy [i.e., 'Og-min] are these goddesses, surrounded by other goddesses; they all reside there together, enjoying the attainment (don) of whatever they wish for:
The Great Mother Thugs-rje Byams-ma; 9
She-who-holds-the-basis-of-all-existence, Originator (ma)-who-makes-to-come-into-being-all-external-and-internal phenomena, Kun-tu-bzaň-mo; 10
She-who-possesses-a-complexion-making-bright; 13 the Great Mother Goddess of Earth; the Goddess of Wind; the Goddess of Fire; the Goddess of Water; 14
Further, the Goddess of Knowledge; the Goddess of Sound; The Goddess of Aroma; the Goddess of Taste; the Goddess of Touch and,
Flower-one; Dance-knowing-one; Precious-thing-one; Iron-hook-one; Noose-one; Little-bell-one; Iron-chain-one; 16
Further, the Goddess of Medicine Possessing-aroma-one; the gathering of Aroma-producing ones; the gathering of Shower-
ing-of-water-ones; Protectress-of-bdud-rtsi, 
et cetera.\textsuperscript{17}
At that time, Very Bright, Goddess of Knowledge and most excellent of the retinue, to insure that the continuing gathering of merit (rgyu tshogs)\textsuperscript{18} would be made perfect for future sentient beings, he kneeled with clasped hands before the Mother. The strength of her blessing\textsuperscript{19} was that future sentient beings would be accomplished in the means (thabs) to do that.

[This Tantra belongs to the Rdzogs-chen tradition, stressing that light is the nature of Buddha-mind, and thus of all mind in its natural state, and that all phenomena are productions of that; thus, Gšen-god White-light is pure Bon-ness, the universal thought of all enlightenment.\textsuperscript{20} Byams-ma is the ground of enlightened being; Kun-tu-bzañ-mo represents the universal mind, bringing everything in the six realms of being into existence (srid pa). The elements themselves, yogically conceived here as goddesses in their mandalas, proceed directly from Gšen-god’s spiritual heart (thugs). See the notes indicated for brief discussions of the other groups of goddesses. The sorts of life- and health-giving rituals which this tantra and other Bon and Chos texts support are widespread and have several times been described.\textsuperscript{21}]

CHAPTER TWO
THE ORIGIN OF BDUD RTSI

[Then Byams-ma sang this song:]
When the g’yu ‘brañ bdud rtsi medicine is finished, each root has eight shoots (yan lag); each shoot has a thousand virtuous powers; each virtuous power has ten thousand virtuous results:\textsuperscript{22}
the four Māras, Kleśa and the others,\textsuperscript{23} are removed right down to their very roots, and, possessing the five great eternal wisdoms,\textsuperscript{24} the highest spiritual results are attained. Because of this, one who knows how (sgrub pa po) [to create this medicine], accompanied by a virgin boy and girl,\textsuperscript{25}
will, at a moist part of the summer\textsuperscript{26}
when flowers and fruit are mature,
collect medicinal substances (\textit{sman}), saps (\textit{bcud}),
fruits,
leaves,\textsuperscript{27} flowers, shoots together with their roots,
rinds and barks (\textit{sun pags}), stalks,
various aromatics and delicious (\textit{miar}) things,
and various juices and liquids.
Nothing collected should have a moldy or spoiled
flavor.
To turn sentients away from vain speculation (\textit{rtog pa})
the sacred substance which will free from \textit{rgyu} and
\textit{bras},
the sacred substance of the holy lama,
the sacred substance of the two, Mother & Father,
the five sacred substances and the eight roots,
the thousand branches, etc., should be gathered.\textsuperscript{28}

\section*{CHAPTER THREE}

\textbf{THE ORIGIN OF A RU RA}

Here's the story teaching the proof (of the divine origin)
of the \textit{bdud rtsi} A ru ra:
Long ago, the great tree Cu-dar was born,
spreading forth from the ocean of existence.
That tree possesses one hundred virtuous powers.
When Brgya-byin-bu\textsuperscript{29} drank the sap,
which is a \textit{bdud rtsi} in the top of the tree,
seven drops fell to earth.
Spreading throughout the atmosphere (\textit{bar snai}),
they were scattered by the wind
and grew all over the earth.
Its name is A ru ra,
and it occurs in seven varieties:
Rnam-par-rgyal, \textit{'Phel-byed},
Bswor-byed, Nag-po, \textit{'Bigs-byed},
Bdud-rtsi and Skyes-bu.\textsuperscript{30}
Rnam-rgyal is the color of precious gold.
When tossed into the water, it goes right to the
bottom.
It is the king of A ru ras,
a perfectly auspicious substance.
It is supremely useful against all illness
and (for controlling) wind, bile and phlegm
together.
It is a substance which will cause self-originated
eternal wisdom
to be perfected.31
Phel-byed is very pale,32 yellow and angular (zur).
It improves the efficiency of other materials
(rdzas).
Bso-byed is gold in color, compact and hard;
it clears up diseases of the wind and draws out
the color of other medicines.
Nag-po has a color like raw sugar (bu ram);
it is good in honey33 and causes the
 dre of drunkenness to leave.34
Jigs-med is very pale red and remains round.
It can even dry up gdon.35
It causes thirst, has little flesh on it, and is
the color of bone.
It kindles the heat in bdud rtsi36
and is good for diarrhea (bshal).
These seven are materials (rdzas) which will
perfect bdud rtsi.
Let them be gathered by a virgin boy and girl,
then dried on a fragrant bed, such as willow
leaves.
Having been blessed by a Thabs-mkhas-rgyal-po,37
they fulfill the vows of the Sugatas of the
past, present and future.
The highest spiritual results (brs bu) are
thus achieved;
likewise, ordinary powers as well as those beyond
speaking or thinking about are realized.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STORIES OF SKYU RU RA, STAR BU AND GRAPES,
MEANS FOR MAKING RASAYANA38

Long ago, in the first kalpa,39
a fire crystal (me sel) and a water crystal
(chu sel) came forth from the bcud
which had been churned into the
great ocean of existence.
Thus are the light and dark of day and night
made,
and (their) heat and cold distributed evenly.
These two turned into the sun and the moon.
The sun’s daughter, Ma-yari-tse,
and the moon’s daughter, A-yari-tse,
were released into the intermediate-space sky
(bar snani mkha’)
the liquid which flowed from (the sun and moon)
dripped to the earth.40
Not remaining in poor (nian) or polluted
soil,
that medicine born from the sun’s fluid
is ripening into skyu ru ra,
especially in pure earth, on mountain peaks,
glacial caves, slate peaks,
and the pure earth of forests and river valleys.
The medicines which were born from the moon’s
fluid
are star bu and grapes.
These are material which will perfect
g’yu’ bran bau d i.
They have the right flavor, aroma and fruit
to conquer wind, bile and phlegm all together,
as well as fever, glo gcon and phlegm.41
Indeed, one’s voice comes to be like the god
Brahma’s,
possessing a pleasant and melodious speech.
Likewise, having fulfilled (the vows of) the
Padma family,
one has powerful discriminative wisdom.42
One comes to possess power and splendor.
Likewise, in addition to ordinary powers,
by having innumerable other sorts of powers
one can get anything one wishes for.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STORY OF ŇE ŚIŃ PA AND RA MÑE BA

Now there should be explained the proof in the
story of Ňe śiṅ pa and ra mñe ba.43
Long ago, in a good bskal pa,  
when the juice of the excellent food bdud rtsi  
had overflowed the great ocean of existence,  
the gods and asuras fought for that bcud.  
The gods being victorious, bdud rtsi was  
their.
Khyab-'jug-chen-po Sgra-gcan-'dzin (i.e., Rāhula)\textsuperscript{44}  
drank that bdud rtsi 'i bcud of the gods  
and then fled to the sky around Mount Meru.  
Five-headed Brahmā became angry about this  
and flung a discus of flaming, meteoric iron  
at Rāhu’s neck.
Two drops of his blood fell towards earth  
and were spread by the wind-element through-  
out the atmosphere (bar snañ).  
Everywhere on earth where it reaches maturity  
it becomes two things good for sentient.  
Ńe śīn pa and ra mñe ba  
grow into many branches and roots  
in areas where river sand is found.  
Because they possess potent color, aroma,  
and flavor  
they are protected by a goddess of medicine  
(Sman-gyi-lha-mo).  
A realized one who knows the method,  
with a virgin boy and girl  
from among the most pleasing of them,  
will arrange these ingredients on a table  
covered with silk or cotton.  
While still fresh (?ser phul), shining and  
moist  
they should be dried so there is no rot or  
mold on them.
Then, throw away the skin and powder the rest.  
This is a material which will perfect bdud  
rtsi.
It is perfect for long life and good health.  
The liquid from the pulverized material  
(btags śīn bdunis pa)  
should be mixed with either sugar, butter,  
or scalded (skol) milk.  
One drink\textsuperscript{45} each during the day, at night, and  
in the middle of each of these:  
one should divide the day regularly (thun  
\textit{du bcad}) and administer it then.
There will be unlimited spiritual benefits through the stream of the three times (past, present, and future) for each portion made and consumed. Blessed with long life and free of illness, your happiness will be forever perfect. Even the gods and \textit{apsaras} \footnote{46} will delight in your fair complexion.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHAPTER TEACHING THE STORY OF THE FOUR \textit{Kha- 'bar} AND \textit{Lug Mig}

The story of the four Kha- 'bar: \footnote{47} In the past, during the first kalpa, \textit{Gsan-ba- 'dus-pa} \footnote{48} was practicing \textit{sevasādhana} in the Bon tradition in the cave \textit{G'yu-luṅ-śel}. \footnote{49} At that time, he cast a spell which caused the attempted hindrance of his meditation by the four \textit{Rag-ša} Kha- 'bar to return to them; their four tongues were cut off and fell to earth. Khyab- 'jug scattered them as far as he could, using the wind. Those which grew widespread upon the earth became four fair young virgins (\textit{na chuni bkrag ldan}).

When the tongue was cut from Lha-mo Kha- 'bar it became the flower of the \textit{udumbara}. \footnote{50}
When the tongue was cut from Srin-mo Kha- 'bar it became the flower \textit{gser gyi mdun zu can}. \footnote{51}
When the tongue was cut from Gnod-sbyin Kha- 'bar it became the flower \textit{rma lo khril khril}. \footnote{52}
When the tongue was cut from Yi-dwags Kha- 'bar it became the flower of \textit{bse ba smug po}. \footnote{53}
These four fair flowers which grow on mountain heights, in pure soil, and in forests, are blessed by the Goddess of Flowers (\textit{Me-tog-lha-mo}) (to be) a material which will perfect \textit{bdud rtsi}. As treasures which yield the blessings of \textit{siddhi} \footnote{54}
they (also) possess inconceivable ordinary spiritual powers. Likewise, *bdud rtsi lug mig pa* 55 [has the following story]:
When the gods and asuras were fighting over (the *bdud rtsi* which came from) the ocean of *bdud rtsi bcud*,
Brahmā’s eye-ball fell out. 56 Viṣṇu scattered it in the sky with the wind, and when unhappiness and illness were rife in the lands of gods and men,
Gto-rgyal Ye-mkhyen [direct predecessor of Gšen-rab] saw this and transformed *lug mig* into *bdud rtsi* by his blessing.
It clears up fevers completely, and is a material which will perfect *g’yu brani bdud rtsi*.
(Through it) one achieves *siddhis* for ordinary powers, the conquest of desire, and (even) the highest spiritual powers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CHAPTER TEACHING THE STORY OF PITCH AND ALABASTER

Now the story of pitch and alabaster should be taught as proof [of their divine origin]: Long ago, at the very beginning of existence, the menses of five goddesses flowed (zags). Through the compassionate blessing (*thugs rje’i byin rlabs*) of Gšen-rab, five precious thing came from that flow: They dripped to become mercury and the white of crystal (*šel brag*);
they streamed out as *g’ya’ chab* 57 and the blue of turquoise;
they were born as pitch and the red of *bse brag*; 58
they sprang forth as *gser chu* 59 and the yellow of gold ore;
they appeared as *khro chu* 60 and the black
or iron ore.
These are materials which will perfect g`yu 
\textit{brai bdud rtsi}.\textsuperscript{61}
It is a treasure from which anything one might 
wish for comes;
in this liquid which transforms the five 
poisons into the five wisdoms\textsuperscript{62}
is the basis (rgyu) from which come \textit{siddhis} 
and blessings.
It has the ordinary virtuous power of freeing 
one from poverty;
its highest power is the attainment of anything 
one wishes for.
Similar is the story of alabaster:\textsuperscript{63}
Long ago, in the first \textit{kalpa},
when the Lha`i-bu\textsuperscript{64} had drunk from the ocean 
of \textit{bdud rtsi bcud},
their bodies were filled with the bliss of 
\textit{bodhicitta}.
The result (bras bu) of that experience was 
that their seed fell (sa bon lug).
It was scattered through the sky by the all-
pervading wind;
it now covers rock ledges the world over.
From copulation, a Lha`i-bu came forth;
this is the pure white coni ze.
It is found on rocks, and on the overhangs of 
white rock, like icicles.
Potent in its good color and shape,
the enjoyment (lois spyod) of 
sexual pleasure (chags sms bde ba) is increased.
Thus, when a wise person has extracted its 
essence (bcud),\textsuperscript{65}
he will achieve (the position of) One-who-holds-
power-over-life.\textsuperscript{66}
His hair is totally protected from wrinkles 
(gner ma),
and he will be as beautiful as a Lha`i-bu,
the body appearing youthful (gzon dar la bab pa) 
and attractive (yid du `o\text{"}{\textcircled{7}}) to all.
The (immediate) enjoyment of his spiritual merit 
(bsod nams) will be increased.
Alabaster is a material which will perfect g`yu 
\textit{brai bdud rtsi}.
As a source of innumerable spiritual powers
there will appear various benefits ('bras bu) in its use.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE STORY OF THAL KA RDO RJE, RAK TA MU LA & RAM BU

What are called ša ri ram 67 are the bones of Gsaṅ-ba-ñaṅ-riṅs 68 who passed into nirvana after having renounced all hope in this world forever. These bones of his fell to earth, were widely scattered by the wind-element, and grew up on the earth-element on its plains. A child of beautiful light appeared from this; it is the fruit of rgya bres dkar po 69 and is called thal ka rdo rje. 70 It clears up illnesses of the bone and suppresses sexual desire (chags pa). Just as it is, it possesses a hundred powers. Likewise are the stories of rak ta mu la and ram bu 71: Long ago, the Goddess of Medicine, the Goddess of Juice (rtsi), the Goddess of the Tree, the Goddess of the Forest and the Goddess of Incense, and above all Rma-luni Thaṅ-bzaṅ 72 had their menses during the full moon. What fell to earth and grew extensively there became rak ta mu la and ram bu. Their immeasurable virtues clear up diseases of the blood. Their auspiciousness shows itself ('char) to be perfect: their color, aroma and taste are perfect. They subdue illnesses which cause suffering through thirst and hunger. One's happiness will be complete.
These are materials which will perfect g'yu 'braṇ bdud rtsi.
Their juice brings out luster, brightness, and color.
The Mothers have spoken of (bṛgyas) the enjoyment of their virtues.
The skillful one who possesses the non-dual means will pick them from places with pure soil, gather the pickings together and dry them so they are without mold or rot. They will have the luster, aroma and flavor of bdud rtsi.

CHAPTER NINE

THE STORY OF THE OFFERING OF BDUD RTSI

Here's the story of the offering of bdud rtsi:
Long ago, at the time when Gṣaṇ-ba-'dus-pa was perfecting g'yu braṇ bdud rtsi from Bar-snaṇ G'yun -druṇ-'od-mkhar,
The Goddess of the Trees, 'Od-'chaṇ-ma, offered the bdud rtsi of all trees (to him).
The Goddess of the Forest, Tsan-dan-ma, offered the bdud rtsi of all forests.
'Thin-lun Lha-mo ‘Od-'bar-ma offered the bdud rtsi of all water.
The Goddess of the Vessel, Bcud-ldan-ma, offered the bdud rtsi of all bcud.
The Goddess of Medicine, Dri-ldan-ma, offered the bdud rtsi of universal effectiveness (spyi mthun las).
The Goddess of Juice (rtsi), 'Od-'bar-ma, offered the bdud rtsi made with the three kinds of camphor.
The Great Gṣen Tshaṇs-pa Gṣug-phud offered the bdud rtsi of nāgakesara. He-le Khyab-pa-phya also offered the bdud rtsi of red mulberry. The Goddess Nor-gyi-rgyun-ma
offered the *bdud rtsi* of the five-fold precious ones.\(^{78}\)
Sre’u-yi-po-ha-la
offered the *bdud rtsi* of the fruit of trees (*siṅ thog*) and honey.
The Goddess of Earth, Britan-ma,
offered the *bdud rtsi* of beer made with the juice (*bcud*) of pressed sesame seed.
Rgyal-bu Dges-la-dad-mchog
offered the *bdud rtsi* of various sorts of juices (*bcud*) of pressed seed.
The Goddess of Juice (*rtsi*), Bcud-ldan-ma,
offered the *bdud rtsi* of the liquid from *rtsi* mchog mar.\(^{79}\)
Dräume Gzon-nu-bzani-po
offered the *bdud rtsi* of the eight roots.\(^{80}\)
Tshaṅs-pa Lha’i-bu also
offered the *bdud rtsi* of the three sorts of *zo śa*.\(^{81}\)
The King of Nāgas, Ananta (Mtha’-yas),
offered the *bdud rtsi* of all sorts of Nāga medicines.
Gzon-nu Dbañ-po-thobs also
offered the *bdud rtsi* of all juices (*rtsi*).
Tshaṅs-pa’i-bu-mo Stobs-ldan-ma
offered the *bdud rtsi* of medicines from rock, etc.

By the blessings of offerings such as these all the outer, inner and secret materials (*rdzas*) are perfected as *g’yu- brani bdud rtsi* medicines,
emanating rays of light of the five wisdoms possessing the five wished-for benefits.\(^{82}\)
Immortal, thoroughly pure,
having achieved the highest as well as ordinary *siddhis*,
a great rain of *siddhis* and blessings will fall [from one with these medicines].
The giver (*bul bdag*) (of these medicines),
enlightened to an inconceivable degree,
will be an inexhaustible source for going to all sentients with his power of compassion (*thugs rje*).\(^{83}\)
CHAPTER TEN

ON THE GATHERING OF THESE MATERIALS

These are the further materials which will perfect
\textit{bdud rtsi}:
\begin{itemize}
  \item The King and Minister of Medicines;
  \item The King and Minister of Aromas;
  \item The King and Minister of Incense;
  \item All material (\textit{rdzas}) such as these should
        be collected,\textsuperscript{84}
  \item Bird’s perch and lion’s throne, \textit{Hasādeva} and \textit{a-ru-ra}, \textsuperscript{31}
  \item Making five with *\textit{kṛtatāɾṇika}; \textsuperscript{85}
  \item cardamom, \textit{śu ādag},
  \item white aconite, \textit{li ga dur},
        and pomegrante: these five; \textsuperscript{86}
  \item \textit{jātiphalā}, camphor,
  \item gypsum, sandal, and cloves: these five; \textsuperscript{87}
  \item cinnamon, cardamom, \textit{ga bra},
  \item \textit{li ga dur} \textsuperscript{90} and \textit{ge sar}; these five; \textsuperscript{88}
  \item musk, sandal, \textit{turūṣka},
  \item Indian and Tibetan incense: these five; \textsuperscript{89}
  \item Rock, marsh and cuckoo incense,
  \item Rhododendron leaf, and
  \item jujube leaf;\textsuperscript{90} these five
\end{itemize}
should all be collected, leaving out none.
\textit{Rasāyana}, the foremost medicine,
crystal, mother of pearl, and black salt
all should be mixed with the eight roots. \textsuperscript{91}
\begin{itemize}
  \item A \textit{bras}, grapes and bread-fruit (\textit{panasa}),
  \item \textit{dge rgyas} and aloe:
\end{itemize}
these also should be mixed with the eight roots. \textsuperscript{92}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Tree fruit (\textit{sin thog}), grapes, cardamom,
  \item \textit{dan ēa}, and aloe: these five \textsuperscript{93}
\end{itemize}
also should be mixed with the eight roots.
\textsuperscript{78} cinnamon,
a \textit{bras}, grapes and \textit{ru rta}: these five \textsuperscript{94}
as well should be mixed with the eight roots.
The five peppers, five seeds, five precious
things;
the five butters, five waters, five gums (\textit{thani}}
the five senses and the five inner “playfulnesses” (rol): 95
these also should be mixed with the five sacred substances (dam rdzas). 29
Material (rdzas) of the not-be-done-without thirteen
and the twenty-five raktas
should also be mixed with the five sacred substances. 96
One who pursues his vows with diligence and possesses the outer and inner sacred substances and the eight roots with their shoots (yan lag) 97
will collect all these materials (rdzas) together in their entirety.

[Using the] sky-method, 98 with its countless spiritual powers,
waves of an ocean of inexhaustible blessing [sweep over one].
One will be possessed of the most excellent of [wishing-] jewels
and will achieve whatever he wants.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CHAPTER ON DISTINGUISHING MEDICINES BY THEIR FAMILIES 103 AND THEIR PERFECTION

The five-fold bdud rtsi of sacred materials (dam rdzas)
are the seeds (bijas) for the five families of Sugatas.
In order to turn sentient beings from vain specula-
tion (rtog pa)
about inner cause and effect, which is eternally pure,
through the agency of the pure five great external ones, 99
(these dam rdzas) are explained to be bases for the perfection of bdud rtsi. 100

The sacred materials of the middle are the
rin chen:
Gold-colored, precious dri chen;
The dri chen of the holy lama;
The dri chen which frees from cause and effect;
The dri chen of the pig, which conquers vain speculation;
The dri chen of the pigeon;
Aloe and turuṣka; ⁹³
Nutmeg, ṣu dag ⁹⁰ and sandalwood incense;
A ru ra, ³¹ honey;
Gold and gser chu rgya ’phabs; ⁶¹
Various sorts of flesh from wild animals:
Collect these medicines which preserve dri chen.

The sacred materials in the east are the byani chub sans:
The byani sans of the holy lama;
The byani sans of a first-time youth; ¹⁰¹
The byani sans which frees from cause and effect;
Thal ka rdo rje, Cannabis sativa;
Shell, bone and black salt;
Crystal, pearl and alabaster;
Camphor, gypsum and relics of bone (ṣa ri ram); ⁶⁹
Ru rta, ⁹⁸ ṣu dag ⁹⁰ and skyu ru ra; ³⁹
Rdo rgyus, ’dam bu root; ¹⁰²
White sandalwood and sugar;
Salt peter, skyu ru ra;
Medicine from rock (rdo sman), milk, etc.:
Collect these medicines which preserve byani sans.

The sacred materials in the north are the dri chu:
The dri chu which comes from the Mother;
The dri chu which frees from cause and effect;
White alabaster, water from pitch (brag žun chu);
Rusty water, glacier water and well water;
Ocean foam; chu srin lder; ¹⁰³
Mercury; lesser cardamom; cardamom;
Ba ru ra, doni kha,
Pha du ra and ṣiṅ thog pa; ¹⁰⁴
White Ice ‘bigs, dug mo niuris; ¹⁰⁵
Ra müe ba and ņe śin pa; 44

Nāgakesara78 and grapes;
Tig ta, g`yu lo, ziñ bu, etc.:106
Collect these medicines which preserve ḍri chu.

[The sacred substances] pertaining to the
    padmarakta family in the west:
The rakta which comes from the Mother;
The rakta which frees from [cause and] effect;
Star bu39 and grapes;
Jātiphala 91 and saffron;
Rakta and mūla; 107
Red mulberry; 79
Purple sandalwood and cloves;
Vermillion, pomegranate and saffron;
The filament of gser gyi me tog; 108
Various sorts of blood, rtsos khrag and
    'tshal bzanś; 109
Bird's perch and lion's throne, 89 etc.
Collect these medicines which preserve rakta.

The most important of the mam sa sacred sub-
    stances of the south:
The ša chen which frees from [cause and]
    effect;
The flesh of (creatures that) fly, swim,
and crawl on the earth;
[The flesh of] the duck and the cat;
Tsi tra ka110 and cardamom;
Saffron, vermillion (ʔli tri)
    and tsi tra; 111
Rock salt, dried ginger and 'jam 'bras; 112
Na le śam, black pepper; 113
ŚīniВидео ŋa, sugar; 114
Na le śam and lotus tip (padma rtse).
Collect these medicines which preserve mam sa.

As to the medicine which is composed of the root,
    the eight branches and the thousand powers
through the virtuous power of these five sacred
    substances:
(With) a single drop (of g`yu 'brañ bdud rtsi )
which has concentrated in it all the essences
(bcud) of the vast hundred-thousand roots
one is pure and immortal,
possessed of the five eternal wisdoms of the five bodies,
released to be a king of teachings (luni) about non-avoidance\textsuperscript{115}
and achieves as a result of this the highest enlightenment.

COLOPHON

At this the retinue also, filled with merriment, was joyful.\textsuperscript{116} Praising the Great Mother in their worship of her, they were settled in their respective states (gnas).
Then that Great Mother also came to dissolve into the sphere of the unimaginable vastness of her womb.\textsuperscript{117}

FOOTNOTES


3. The \textit{Bdud rtsi bum pa'i rgyud}, the \textit{Bdud rtsi bam po brgyad pa} (a Chos Bka'-gyur text), and some \textit{sman sgrub} texts in the \textit{Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo} share concepts, sacred materials, and divine powers. Their relationship is being studied by me and will be reported on separately, so here very few references to Chos ritual or belief will be made. Those familiar with \textit{sman sgrub} and \textit{tshes sgrub} practices will see several obvious parallels in this text.

4. Etymologically, \textit{g'yu 'bran bdud rtsi} is obscure. Assuming it to be an adjectival compound, let us begin with \textit{bdud rtsi}. In KARMAY/GENERAL, p. 206, the author states that, "\textit{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.” Internalized to a tantric system and used within it, this view is supported several times in our materials; GSER LO: 394.4 speaks of phyi'i dgra bgegs nani gi bdud rnams, and GSER LO describes how these demons evolve in the same manner as the elements and their goddesses (who manifest naturally and are not to be avoided; they are for one’s benefit). These inner bdud include the eight tshogs, which are, according to SNELLGROVE/NINE, p. 306, the ‘eight perceptive groups’: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, ‘defected [sic] mind’ and ‘universal consciousness’ (kun gzi). Then, to make sadhana possible, Thañ-ma Me-sgron, etc., are the Eight Great Gsen powers, and realized as the eight sensory spheres as another set of goddesses (GER LO 400.8-401: nam mkha’ chu dani rlu dag dani / me dani sa ste byun lha yan / ma spanis lhun grub ran don du / Gsal-byed ma dani Rlan-byed ma / Drod-bebs ma dani Mdars-ladan ma / Sa’i-lha-mo lha ru grub / de bzin rnam ses tshogs brgyad dani / ‘khurul pa la swogs ran gi bdud / tshogs brgyad bdud brgyad ran don du / Thañ-ma Me-sgron la swogs te / Ye-gsen-chen-po brgyad du grub / de bzin rnam ses yul brgyad grub / ma spanis lhun grub ran don du / Rig-pa’i-lha-mo la swogs te / Ye-sans Lha-mo brgyad du grub . . . .

‘Brañ’ is of ancient usage and means, inter alia, “to produce, give birth to” (STEIN/RECIIT, p. 542). G’yu is said to be equivalent to Žañ-žuni ti(ni), “water; heaven; silver; blue; wife” (Siegbert Hummel, “Materialen zu einem Wörterbuch der Žañ-žuni-Sprache I”, Monumenta Serica XXXI/1974-75, p. 498 & 501). Thus, one could think of this phrase connoting “a bdud rtsi producing water” or “a bdud rtsi produced in (the sky or) heaven”. One accords with the popular motif of goddesses raining down medicinal substances (KARMAY/GENERAL, p. 205; also the stories here; see also GSER LO: 396.8-397.2: ye nas ma skyes Bon gyi dbiins / bla med ‘bras bu sans rgyas swa [i.e. so] / de bzin phyi nani snod bcud kun / bdud rtsi’i rgyu ru ma gyur med / mkha’ la phyo dani sa la gnas / ‘og na rgyu zini gnas pa kun / g’yu brañ bdud rtsi’i rani bzin yin); the other helps explain why this sadhana system is called nam mkha’i tshul; cf. fn. 98. (This interpretation ignores the fact that g’yu brañ appears to be a Tibetan term, not Žañ-žuni; it is, however, found in both the opening Žañ-žuni and Tibetan titles of some texts, which is unusual.) Functionally, g’yu brañ bdud rtsi is “concentrated (i.e., consecrated) chang” (SNELLGROVE/NINE, p. 309). It is also called bru bcud g’yu brañ yu ti’i chan (‘CHI MED: 427.2), and is the liquid medium into which the other sacred ingredients are added (the total sometimes called g’yu brañ sman, as ‘CHI MED: 428.1)
5. The only study of Bon Mother Tantra is Dan Martin’s *Human Body Good Thought (Mi lus bsam legs) and the revelation of the secret Bonpo Mother Tantras*, an (as yet) unpublished M.A. thesis, Indiana University, 1986. As noted there (p. 138), Thugs-rje Byams-ma is the ‘Great Mother’ because she is the origin of all enlightened beings, roughly equivalent to the Chos deity Prajñāpāramitā (who also occasionally carries the epithet Yum-chen-mo); see also fn. 11 below on her forms. Of course, our text is a Mother Tantra because she reveals its contents, and this to an audience of goddesses. However, as different interpretations within the Chos community have shown (cf. the synopsis by Mkhas-grub Rje in his *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric systems*, Delhi, 1978, p. 252 ff), the division ‘Mother’ and ‘Father’ Tantra pays attention also to meditative forms, stages of sādhana, etc. The Bon division I follow here is based on the *A khrid thun mtshams bco lha dan cha lag bcas* as studied by Per Kvaerne (“Bonpo studies: The A khrid system of meditation, II”, *Kailash* I/1973, p. 287), wherein ‘Mother Tantra’ would focus on the phenomenal aspects of meditation, and ‘Father’ on ritual actions (*mdzad spyod*). No doubt, criteria for other divisions will appear.


7. Five criteria define a Tantric revelation, which (especially in Rdzogs chen) is really the primordially pure and enlightened mind (here, Gšen-god White-light) revealing itself for the benefit of the unenlightened: The place of revelation (‘Og-min); the revealer (Thugs-rje Byams-ma); the one revealed to (the Goddess of Knowledge, Very Bright); the subject matter (nature and composition of *g’yu ‘braṅ bdud rtsi*); the occasion (the eternal present of the state of the enlightened mind (*dus gcig na*). (On this tableau see the excellent discussion by Herbert Guenther, “Tantra and revelation”, in *Tibetan Buddhism in Western perspective*, Emeryville, California, 1977, p. 206f in particular.)

8. *Yi dam rtsa ba’i lha*: Gšen-god White-light is the enlightening force in Bon and thus the only “teacher”. Since all *yi dam* emanate from him, *rtsa ba* here may mean *basic* or *central* in all three persons: ‘my/your/his or her deity central to practice’.

9. *Yum gyi mkha’ dbyiṅs* is the totality of Bon realms, *bon sku* (what I call here ‘Bon presence’), what is *chos sku* in Chos (Guenther, op cit., p. 221; q.v. here also for Akaniṣṭha (‘Og-min) as the “place” of *dharmaṅkāya* in Rdzogs-chen). On the physical ritual level, *Yum gyi mkha’ dbyiṅs* is the name of the vessel in which *ril bu* (medicinal pills) are mixed (William Stablein, “A medical-cultural system among the Tibetan and Newar
Buddhists," Kailash 1/1973, p. 199). Likewise, the pho brani (palace) represents the totality of offerings to the goddesses (‘CHI MED: 424.6-5.1) as their places of residence. ‘Og-min gi gnas is added as a superscript note to Yum-gyi-mkha’-dbyinś.

10. Many of these goddesses are enumerated in GSER LO, ‘CHI MED and LDE MIG.

11. Literature on Byams-ma is extensive; volume three of Bka’ ‘gyur rgyud sde’i skor. Collected Tantras of Bon (Dolanji, 1972), for example, is dedicated to sādhana materials on her. We read there (p. 474) about her basic mandala: in the center is (Śes-rab) Kun-gsal Byams-ma-chen-mo, “the Mother who creates enlightened ones of the three times and who is from the vortex (dkyil ‘khor) of the highest rgyal ba,” i.e., Gšen-rab. In the east, from Mnön-rtogs-žinś, is Yum-chen Thabs-chen Bder-sgrol-ma; in the north, from Rnam-dag-žinś-khams, is Yum-chen Nam-mkha’-i-mdzod-‘dzin-ma; in the west, from Bkod-pa’i-žinś-khams, is Yum-chen Thugs-rje Byams-ma; in the south, from Dge-rgyas-žinś-khams, is Yum-chen Sna-tshogs-kun-grags-ma. There are also Byams-mas at the intermediate directions. They are known collectively as the “The Eight Great Enlightened-ones Producers” (Sanis-rgyas bskyed byed Byams-ma-chen-mo brgyad) of the secret level of the mandala. Thugs-rje’s color is red, which is significant in view of the importance of menstrual, etc. blood in the myths here and in the materials for g’yu ‘brani dedicated to the western direction (see Ch. 11 below).

12. She seems for all practical purposes equivalent to Kun-tubzañ-mo in the Chos Rdzogs-chen tradition, the “mother” (ma here, not yum ) of all phenomenal existence. There being no true ‘external’ or ‘internal’, she is the reality of Void behind all phenomena. From her arises also the Bon Kun-tu-bzañ-po, from whom emanates the five tathāgatas.

13. Also known as Gsal-byed or Mdañs-ldan-ma, the goddess of the element space (nam mkha’), on which see the next note.

14. According to the Zi rgyud, five rays proceed from the spirit (thugs) of Gšen-god White-light; the uncreated basis of the five elements is from these (‘od las ’byun lna’i gzi ma chags). In his commentary, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan explains that, when the vortices (dkyil ‘khor) of these elements developed, a god and a goddess evolved from each. They are, in order of their coming into being:

Kun-snañ-khyab-pa and Nam-mkha’-lha-mo Gsal-byed Gdos-bral; Dge-lha Gar-phug and Rluñ-gi-lha-mo Kun-skyon-sgrol-ma; Bye-brag-dños-med and Me’i-lha-mo Kun-smin-gsal-ma; Dga’-ba-don-grub
and Chu’i-lha-mo Kun-gso-sdud-ma; Gsal-ba-rañ-byuñ and Sa-yi-lha-mo Kun-bskyed-brtan-ma.

The five male deities are the lords of the five families whose materials are itemized in Ch. 11, below, and who are briefly schematized in fn. 24. The union of each of these is the constant and eternal emanation (’phro ’du) of spatial expansiveness (dbyiṅs) and eternal wisdom (ye śes). Unobstructed spiritual powers (yon tan) relating to body, speech and mind result from this:

Nam-mkha’i-lha-mo has power over light (and bringing concepts to consciousness [gsal ba] and creating spatial separateness (go ’byed);
Rluñ-gi-lha-mo over raising up and mobility (’degs and g’yob ba) (g’yob ba as movement is a rupture of the stasis of the primordial mind, causing mental activity [see translation in fn. 28] to arise);
Me’i-lha-mo over brightness, warming and maturation (gsal ba, drod ’bebs, smin pa);
Chu’i-lha-mo over healing all things, making moist, and washing and cleansing (kun gso, rlan bskyed, ’khru sbyan);
Sa’i-lha-mo over supporting, creating and nourishing everywhere (kun rten, kun bskyed, kun ’tsho).

How these values for each deity function in tshe sgrub rituals and Bon cosmology in general is worth a separate study; I am here presenting some raw data for consideration.
The quote from the Zi rgyud and Tshul-khrim’s commentary are found on p. 258-9 of G’yun-druñ-bstan-’dzin, Rgya rigs Gnam Bon Rji’u-gar gyi gdun rabs (Dolanjii, Tshultrim Tashi, 1985).
15. Mandalas exist on the “outer”, “inner”, and “secret” levels. The first is the physical mandala; the “inner” the transformation of the body into a Buddha-field by viewing the body as the universe; the “secret” mandala centers on the development of the enlightenment (bodhi) mind. As mandalas are constructed for the purpose of accumulating merit, and one does this by offering, it follows that the outer mandala requires outer (external) offerings, the inner the offering of the macrocosmic body, and the secret the offering of the mind. The goddesses of Mind, etc., here thus stand for both our own senses and those of the other participants. So, the smells, tastes, etc. of the offerings must please us, the lama, and the invited goddesses. The actual transubstantiation of the offerings into bdud rtsi sman ra sa ya
na, with the accompanying presence of the goddesses of the offerings, takes place at that time (CHI MED: 458-460).
As the name of the Goddess of the Mind, Rab-tu-gsal-ba (Very Bright), indicates, her mind is spiritually purified enough to receive and understand Thugs-rje Byams-ma’s revelation, although, ultimately, we must realize that her mind is only a vehicle for Yum-chen-mo’s revelation.
16. These goddesses are divinations of the materials and implements used in the ritual. For directions on their use, see GSAN SNAGS: 61ff. Most are pictured in SNELLGROVE/NINE, pp. 277-82.
17. Dri-Idan-ma appears on the level of the five secret sacred substances (gsani ba’i dam rdzas lnya)(GSER LO: 387).
The Dri-bhebs-ma and Char-bhebs-ma groups perhaps represent dakhinś who carry the moisture and aroma of the offerings from the goddesses in their spheres (dbyinś; cf. GSER LO: 438-39) to the sādihaka. Bdud-rtsi-skyon-ma is as yet an unknown figure to me.
18. Nearly all terms in Tantra are polyvalent; these are especially so. Tshogs here may refer to the collectivity of the offerings, the deities, the human participants, or all together. It probably also includes the tshogs brgyad (cf. fn. 4). Rgyu is similarly manifold: A sort of underlying universal basis or cause (again, cf. fn. 4), an individualized physical state (as in rgyu bzi phun po), a Bon term for bodily qualities; cf. SNELLGROVE/NINE, p. 294), and a group of material things (e.g. offerings). For example: sin tu no mtshar sman gyi rgyu / tsan dani spos dani drik zim sini / me tog lo ma bras bu dani . . . (rgyu as material ingredient: GSER LO: 386.5); ye sés lnya rdzogs grub pa’i rdzas / rgyu lnya sem [i.e. sems can] kun sgrol phyir / dug na sel ba’i bdud rtsi te / (rgyu as five phuri po; cf. GSER LO: 391.3).
19. nus mthu byin rlabs: a blessing (byin rlabs) which transmits knowledge directly into the mind of the receiver (cf. fn. 15). I assume this is analogous to the Rñin-ma-pa view of dgonś rgyud wherein disciples who are not identical with the Teacher (Yumchen-mo) become “inseparable in mind”. On this, see Tulkur Thondup, The Tantric tradition of the Nyingmapa (Marion, MA, Budhayana, 1984), p. 5.
20. However, in the ‘Mother Tantra’ view, it is only through Byams-ma’s position as manifestor that the purification of a sentient’s psycho-physical constituents is possible: Dbyinś-kyi-yum-chen Šes-rab Byams-ma’i thugs kha na / ye sés bdud rtsi’i chu bo dkar la dwans pa rgyun chad med par babs pas / phud žal rgya mtsho dani mños pa dkar ltem gyis kheris par bsam la / Bswo omi ba bā de na ra sa ya na g’yu ’bran bdud rtsi Om hūm bswo tha (p. 355 of the Byams-ma snags lugs la ne bar
mkho ba’i sog chun, a text in vol. 1 of the Kun-gsal Byams-machen-mo sgrub thabs compiled by Ni-ma-bstan’-dzin-dban-rgyal (Delhi, s.n., 1966): “Because a fluid (dwañs/rasa) has been unendingly descending in a white river of the bdud rtsi of eternal wisdom from the spiritual heart of šes-rab Byams-ma, the Great Mother of the Realms [in which the Sugatas reside], you should consider it to have filled to overflowing the offering cups [in the mandala; phud žal = žal bu. After the materials have been blessed by the descent of the goddesses, they are poured into žal bu as offerings to the guru, etc.] equal in volume to an ocean [while reciting the mantra].

21. E.g., in L. Austine Waddell, Tibetan Buddhism (New York, Dover, 1972), pp. 444-48; Stablein (cf. fn. 10); and, closest to the present ritual complex, a brief schema in René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and demons of Tibet (Graz, Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975), pp. 425-27.

22. The “medicine tree” motif is incredibly widespread, utilized in Tantric and non-Tantric, medicinal and normative Buddhist literatures. We will no doubt find it just as widespread in Bon literatures and lore. Bon and Chos consider their teachings antidotes to “poisons” (past deeds, ignorance, etc.). This “medicine tree” is also used for plotting medicines, doctors, etiologies, etc. A few examples: YESHI DONDEN/HEALTH, “trees of medicine” in index; Stablein, op cit. in fn. 9, pp. 194 and 198; Tulku Thondup, Hidden Teachings of Tibet (London, Wisdom Publications, 1986), p. 18: “Vajrayana followers are like those who, instead of wasting their energy and potential avoiding or destroying the poisonous tree [of emotional defilements—mlw], skillfully transform it into a medicine tree and then use it.”

23. On these see Alex Wayman, “Studies in Yama and Māra”, Indo-Iranian Journal III/1959, pp. 44–73 and pp. 112–31. These Māras must be defeated to achieve power over life.

24. These are: Stoni ŋid, me loň, mñam nid, sor rtogs and bya grub ye šes.
Each fits one of the following families whose lords are mentioned in fn. 14 in a scheme like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>element</th>
<th>direction</th>
<th>lord (dbu)</th>
<th>goddess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>space E</td>
<td>Kun-snañ-khyab-pa</td>
<td>Gsal-byed Gdos-bral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth S</td>
<td>Gsäl-bal-ran-byuñ</td>
<td>Kun-bskyed-brtan-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>air C</td>
<td>Dge-lha Gar-phyug</td>
<td>Kun-skoryi-sgrols-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire W</td>
<td>Bye-brag-dnos-med</td>
<td>Kun-smin-gsal-ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water N</td>
<td>Dga’-ba-don-grub</td>
<td>Kun-gso-sdud-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
25. This reading is based on infra, 442.5.

26. *sos ka ser ka*; the translation here assumes that *ser ka* has something to do with being moist.

27. The term here, *lo ‘dab*, refers specifically to leaves which fall seasonally from trees, shrubs, etc.

28. On the various categories of *dam rdzas*:

1) The *rgyu ‘bras bsgral ba’i dam rdzas* is the ultimate. It is the five eternal wisdoms mixed in the ‘single drop’ (*thig le gcig*) praised at the end of Chapter 11. This drop represents the genuine, balanced state of Bon presence (*Bon sku*): *rani byun Bon sku bde chen ‘di / ma bcos byed pa med pa’i phyir / ni bo gz’an du phyin rgyu med / rgyu dani ‘bras bu cir sna’i ba / ma bkag Bon ‘nid rgyan du sar / rani byun rani sar Bon ‘nid don / ma nor ma bcos pa / Bon sku gnis med rtog las ‘das / mi g’yo bde chen lhun la rdzogs / sin tu mi rig rtini mi phon / bdud rtsi de ‘nid thig le’i mchog* (GSER LO: 370.3-371.1), “This great joy, the self-originated Bon presence, has no basis (*rgyu*) for its essential nature (*no bo*) to pass to another (state), since, being natural (*ma bcos*), it is not creating. Cause and effect (*rgyu ‘bras*), however they appear, arise only as ornaments on flowing Bon-ness. The significance of this self-originated and self-appearing Bon-ness is that it is genuine and natural. Bon presence, not a duality, surpasses vain speculation and its great joy, unmoving, is perfect as is. It is far beyond understanding, and its depth (read *gtiñ*) is not to be targeted (by the mind). That *bdud rtsi* is the highest drop (i.e., teaching).

So, once the impulses which obscure our mind come to rest, it will attain a state of natural quietude (*mi g’yo ba*). This allows the defilements which it has accumulated to be cleared away; rituals such as *bdud rtsi sman* are an aid to that. Intellectual discursiveness, which I call here “vain speculation”, is to be avoided because it is due to the subliminal influences (*bag chags*) embedded in consciousness which is proceeding through samsara (GSER LO: 400.5). The excellent, enlightening drop (*thig le*) of the teachings represents the totality of Bon presence (*Bon sku*) (SNELLGROVE/NINE, p. 228f.) which will cleanse all this.
2) The *bla ma dam pa’i dam rdzas* are described in Chapter 11, below. Since one’s lama is identical in function to Gṣen-god White-light, the transmission of the eternal *bodhicitta* proceeds through him. Each of his *dam rdzas* corresponds to a family of Sugatas.

3) The *Yab yum gnis kyi dam rdzas* probably refers specifically to the secret-level *dam rdzas* in guru yoga rituals such as outlined in LDE-MIG and described at length in GSER LO.

4) The *dam rdzas lria* are the seeds of the five families of Sugatas: *dam rdzas rnam pa lria/ bdar gséggs dbu lria’i sa bon de/ thams cad lhun grub rigz lria dam tshigs lria’i dnos* (GSER LO: 391.3). These are both the offerings and accompanying bijas.

29. Brgya-byin-bu is Skt. Indrapūtra. Although many names in these stories are Indian, they are usually left in Tibetan. This story is the first of several using a *cliché* of Indian mythology: The rapacious behavior of a god, etc., is responsible for the loss or spilling of *amṛta*, the elixir of immortality, originally the property of the gods. This motif is widespread in Hindu and Buddhist materials. Cf. G’YU-THOG, p. 965 and JAM-DPAL, p. 82, for similar stories of their scattering.

30. The number of *a ru ras* varies, and in this story so do their names. G’YU-THOG, p. 694f, lists five, seven or eight varieties. Read *skem po* for *skyes bu* and *gso’tsho byed* for *bso byed* and we are left only with *nag po*. JAM-DPAL, p. 83, notes a sort called *a ru nag chün*, also called *’biggs byed* or *kun dga’*; its fruit is illustrated there; this is probably *nag po*. According to Dr. Pema Dorje (TIBETAN MEDICINE II/1981, p. 20f.), all eight are varieties of Terminalia Chebulla Retz. N.B. I do not consider this an article on Indo-Tibetan material medica. I will give the vernacular name only when certain of the equivalence. Likewise, for the most part I will not give several alternative identifications unless it seems relevant. Identification of most Tibetan *materia medica* is problematic.


32. *Yid* and *yid tsam* occur in the text for *yud* and *yud* (*tsam*), which as an adverb means “briefly; for an instant”; as an adjective, it should mean “to a small extent; barely; slightly”.

33. *sbrañ risir bzan*.

34. *’Dre* are a sort of evil spirit. G’YU-THOG, p. 695, notes that *’jigs med* is commended for its ability to control the *smyo ‘dre*. 
35. Gdon are another set of malicious spirits. In both G’YU-THOG and JAM-DPAL ‘jigs med is praised for its power over gdon; why it is able to “dry them up” is not yet known to me.

36. I assume this is the bdud rtsi which is one form of a ru ra.

37. Thabs-mkhas-rgyal-po is most probably meant as an epithet, rather than the name of the individual; the blessing Yum-chen-mo gave Yid-kyi-lha-mo was that there would be those who know how (thabs mkhas) to create these medicines.

38. Skyu-ru-ra is identified by Dr. Yeshi Donden (TIBETAN MEDICINE I/1980, p. 50) with amla, Emblica officinalis. Star bu is usually equated with amlavetasa, Hippophae rhamnoideae or buckthorn, a shrub growing especially in southwestern Tibet.

39. To fit the meter, one dan po should be deleted from the Tibetan.

40. zags pa’i khu ba sa la thigs. Zags is the perfect of ‘dzag, to drip, leak out; in almost all contexts here it refers to menstrual flow (cf. khrag ‘dzag pa in the dictionaries). Dan Martin, in his thesis (op. cit. fn. 5), p. 132, notes the explicit reproductive symbolism in Yum-chen-mo materials. The dominance of the color red here, menses, and blood in general accord not only with Thugs-rje Byams-ma’s color in the west (cf. fn. 11 and 24) but also with Tantric and Tibetan medical theory. Note that the male deities mentioned (e.g., Lha’i-bu in Chapter 7) are ejaculating their sa bon, sperm, part of the white bodhicitta; cf. G’YU-THOG, p. 374.

41. Glo gcon are lung diseases in general (G’YU-THOG, p. 95). The terms “wind”, “bile” and “phlegm” are used for groups of constituents in the body, necessary to life yet easily upset (which results in illness). Since they come with us into this life powered by desire, hatred and obscuration, they are prone to give us trouble and thus are called ŋes pa or ‘faults’. Since their roots lie in ignorance stemming from embroilment in samsara, the eternal wisdom (ye ŋes) bestowed through these rituals will serve to sever these roots; cf. YESHI DONDEN/HEALTH, Ch. 4 & 6.

42. ‘Discriminating wisdom’ belongs to the Padmarakta family; cf. fn. 25 and SNELLGROVE/NINE, p. 179.

43. Ňe śiṅ pa, Skt. upavṛksa, has not been consistently identified. Ra mñe is Polygonatum cirrhifolium (YESHI DONDEN/HEALTH, p. 237).

44. *Mahāviśṇu Rāhula (Khyab-’jug-chen-po Sgra-gcan-’dzin) is from ancient times connected with the creation of medicines connected with his decapitation; see, e.g., the creation of garlic in note 6, p. 11 and the text there in A.F.R. Hoernle’s edition of the
Bower Manuscript (Calcutta, Superintendent of Govt. Printing, 1893), and a story by Nāgārjuna on the creation of a ru ra in the same manner in JAM-DPAL, p. 82.

For Khyab-'jug-chen-po Rāhula as a servant of Sman-bla, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (op. cit.; see fn. 21), p. 79.

45. The use of žal skyems, the honorific, emphasizes the ritual use. A thun is a dose; thun du bcad would be measuring or apportioning the dose.

46. Lha dan lha'ī bu mo; the latter could also render devakanyā, particularly fetching supernatural beings. These and the Lha'ī-bu below are metaphors for the transformation of physical (sexual) craving into spiritually beneficial power; cf. fn. 64.

47. Kha-'bar (-ma) is Skt. Jvālamūkhī, goddess of cholera, among other things. A group of four is unknown to me, although the different titles suggest they are four manifestations of the same being (adapted to tantric mandala?). On Rākṣasī (Srin-mo) Kha-la-me-'bar, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (op. cit.; see fn. 21), pp. 287 and 469.


49. An ancient meditation cave, mentioned in the Gzi-brjid (SNELGROVE/NINE, p. 194).

50. Udumbara is the Ficus glomarata.

51. I could find no information about this plant.

52. No information was available on this plant, either. As with me tog gser gyi mdoṅ ḷu can, 'the flower with a melted face of gold', rna lo khril khril is probably an epithet ('the creeper with leaves good for wounds').

53. Bse ba smug po is probably a deep, purple-red wild rose, if we read se ba. See the illustration on P. 107 of JAM-DPAL.

54. dnyos grub. Several siddhis have to do with lengthening life and the ability to transmute base matter into gold. Both ideas are conveyed by the names for this, (rasa) rasāyanasiddhi, showing their interrelationship.

55. Lug mig is well-known in Tibetan medicine but is not yet identified. It is described as an "alpine flower"; there is also lug mig nag po, which may be the flower meant here, identified as Aster alpinus, Alpine aster (TIBETAN MEDICINE IV/1981, p. 64). Described in G'YU-THOG (p. 424) and JAM-DPAL 9p. 174), it is clear that one name for it, rgyal ba'i spyan (can), reflects an appearance which would give rise to such stories. Several are
recounted in these sources, but Tshaṅs-pa/Brahmā is not mentioned.

56. There is a pun here on lug, sheep, and lug, to fall down. No doubt the name originally described the plant as like a sheep’s eye (mig).

57. This is honorific for g`ya’ chu, water flowing from a mountain with rust deposits (RGYA BOD TSHIG MDZOD CHEN MO, p. 2616).

58. Bse brag is as yet unidentified; probably it is a sort of brag žun.

59. Gser chu is water with gold flakes suspended in it, or water from a river with gold deposits. Gser chu rgya ’phabs (read phibs) is molten gold used in gilding.

60. Kho ro chu is either liquid bronze or iron; here it is obviously iron. This does not usually designate a naturally-occurring substance.

61. Brag žun and coni ze have more metaphysical significance than most natural materials in the Tibetan world. The former is called “red bodhicitta”, for example, and the latter “white bodhicitta”. Myths about them in JAM-DPAL, pp. 46 and 74, relate them to material here: Alabaster is the condensed essence of existence, the light of darkness(!) (mtshan mo’i ’od / srid bcvud bsdus pa / byaṅ sems dkar po), while pitch is the placental blood of the goddess U-ma (byaṅ sems dmar po / U-ma’i mnial khrag). See also fn. 64 here. In Tibetan medicine, there are five varieties of each: Alabasters are divided by familial terms (pho, etc.), pitches by metals (gold, silver, copper, iron, lead—not the scheme here, which uses colors of the families of Bon Sugatas). For descriptions of them, cf. Yeshi Donden’s translation of the Bṇud rtsi sḥiṅ po yan lag bṛgyad pa (TIBETAN MEDICINE VI/1983, p. 7).

62. See the schema in fn. 24.

63. Spelled coni ze or coni zi; its white color accords with the male emission from which it came.

64. Skt. Devaputra, but closer to home is Lha’i-bu’i-bdud (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit. in fn. 21, p. 523), Devaputramāra of the set of four Māras (op. cit.; see fn. 23). In a related story, Lha’i-bu Yid-bzin-nor-bu made love to U-ma; some of their combined red and white bodhicitta fell onto a neuter rock, and became both alabaster and pitch (JAM-DPAL, p. 46). For another set of stories, see under Lha’i-bu khams in G’YU-THOG; this is another name for coni ze. Das also, under byaṅ sems dkar, has coni ze as a young devaputra possessing bodhicitta (byaṅ sems ldan pa’i lha bu gṣon nu), which he takes to be soapstone.
(Whatever the case, it is clear that we are dealing with ten different minerals here, not varieties of two.)

65. G’YU-THOG, p. 144, mentions that the male cori ze, called dkar po gans thigs, is good to use for bccd len preparations.

66. In addition to denoting a level of accomplishment in the Rñin-ma tradition (Tshe-dbañ Rig’dzin being the third) (BOD RGYA TSHIG MDZOD CHEN MO, p. 2685), it has long been applied to the highest level of achievement in siddhi, as in the case of the immediate disciples of Padmasambhava.

67. Sa ri ram, Skt šariram, refers usually to the bones, etc., of deceased holy ones; it is also a secret name (gab mini) for yunis dkar (white mustard) and thal ka rdo rje (cf. Chapter 8) (G’YU-THOG, p. 613).

68. He is one of the eight supernatural Žu Gšen, according to Samten Karmay in Per Kvaerne’s “The canon of the Tibetan Bonpos”, Indo-Iranian Journal XVI/1974, p. 54. The others are Yid-kyi-khye’u-chuñ, Gto-bo ’Bum-sanš, Gsals-ba’od-ldan, Med-khams Ston-pa-rje, Tshañs-pa Gtsug-phud, Gtsug Gšen Rgyal-ba and Klu-mo Ma-ma-te.

69. According to JAM-DPAL, p. 145, rgya gres is the male form of gres ma, also known as dres ma, a flowering grass. Although a white variety is not mentioned, this identification is likely.

70. Spelled either tha skar rdo rje or thal ka rdo rje. Identified (TIBETAN MEDICINE VII/1984, p. 24) as Cassia lora Linn., “foetid cassia”.

71. I have no information on rag ta or rak ta mu la; Skt. *raktamūla. Ram bu is another name for na ram (JAM-DPAL, p. 196). According to G’YU-THOG, p. 216, it’s another name for tham ram or thar ggod, Plantago major or Plantain.

72. Rma-lun Thañ-bzañ is not found in the sources consulted.

73. Gñis med thabs is the power of one who has united his own presence (sku) with the eternal wisdoms, and thus has achieved release and can bring others to the end of suffering: sku dan ye šes gñis med Bon gyi sku / . . . rnon rmonš ’khor ba’i bcniñs pa’i nad / gñis med bdud rtsi sman gyis sains (GER: 374.6-7). Cf. fn. 22, Tulku Thondups’ quote, and fn. 28.

74. She, like Dri-ldan-ma, functions on the level of the secret sacred substances (cf. fn. 17).

75. “Three sorts of camphor” is another collective term for different aromatics (G’YU-THOG, p. 72f).

76. Tshañs-pa Gtsug-phud is another of the eight Žu Gšen (cf. fn. 68). Nāgakesara is probably Mesua ferrea Linn., a tree with white blossoms that grows in the eastern Himalaya (Pharmacographia indica, by William Dymock; London, Kegan Paul, 1890, v. 1, p. 170ff).
77. I have found no data on He-le Khyab-pa-phya, or on these others who also offer bdud rtsi: Sre’u-yi-po-ha-la, Rgyal-bu Dge-la-dad-mchog, Draṅ-sroṅ Gzön-nu-bzan-po, and Gzön-nu Dbaṅ-po-stobs. One may read srin śiṅ sna dmar or sri’u śiṅ sna dmar. Both sri’u nag and srin nag are mulberry; literally, “mulberry, red sort”.

78. Nor-gyi-rgyun-ma/Vasundhara is a dispenser of wealth. The rin chen lna are discussed in G’YU-THOG, p. 572f.

79. Rtsi mchog mar may be rtsi bcud sman mar in G’YU-THOG, p. 478; it is a compound of four roots with five bcud.

80. Rtsa ba bṛgyad are the same as, or analgous to, the eight basic substances listed by Stablein (op. cit.; see fn. 9), p. 198n.

81. This is a well-known triumvirate (GYU-THOG, p. 522f).

82. ’Dod pa’i yol tan lna are perhaps the states accompanying the five eternal wisdoms: great loving kindness, great eternal wisdom, great peace, great giving and great expansiveness (cf. SNELLGROVE/NINE, p. 172ff).

83. The spirit of compassion (thugs rje) which moved Gšen-god White-light to begin and sustain existence becomes a mode of being for the siddha as well, as it was also to his lama, who passed it to him.

84. Assigning gender (pho, mo, ma ŋiṅ) relation (bu, bu mo) and rank (rgyal po, btsun mo, blon po, dmaris, etc.) to simples and compounds is common in Tibetan medicinal and Tantric nomenclature. Assignment of rank may refer to a medicine being best, second, etc. at curing one or more illnesses. It may indicate the first, second, third, etc. most preferable (available) ingredient. Sometimes rank depends on quantitative dominance in a compound. Judging by materials in the Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, these groups may also be specifically defined for certain ritual cycles. In view of these points, it seems best to gather more data from Bon sources before attempting to identify these materials. Standard Tibetan medical works, however, do describe several materials in terms used in this passage.

85. Bya khri is probably the bya kri in G’YU-THOG, p. 369 and 72, a corruption of Skt. vyāghrī. According to JAM-DPAL, p. 116, it is the same as kāṇḍa ka ri. I have no information on sēn khri (Skt. “siṁhāsana”), hasadeva or kri ta kar ni ka.

86. Šu dag is identified as Acorus calamus, sweet flag (TIBETAN MEDICINE VII/1984, p. 22). Li ga dur is “the ga dur from Li” (G’YU-THOG, p. 597). Read se ‘bru for bse ‘bru.

87. Jātiḥphala should be nutmeg, Tibetan skye ldan, the latter a term little, if ever, used. The usual term is simply dza ti (G’YU-THOG, p. 509). Cu gaṅ, here gypsum, may also be bamboo manna
from the female plant. Occasionally it is also considered to be chalk.

88. **Sug smel**, Skt. *sūkṣmaśila*, Elettaria cardamomum, is now rendered "lesser cardamom" (MATERIA MEDICA I/1980, p. 50). **Kakkola** is the larger-leaved cardamom. **Ge sar** is either (1) the anthers of flowers in general, or (2) one of the "ge sar three" (G’YU-THOG, p. 79f).

89. **Turuṣṭa** is either an incense from India, of indeterminate composition, or a substance also known as **spos dkar** (’JAM-DPAL, p. 126). **Rgya spos** is either of two plants described in ’JAM-DPAL, p. 166 and 192; Das's identification "a Chinese incense stick" is most likely not applicable here. **Bod spos** might mean anything here, and **Bod** may have been a mistaken writing for the homophone **spos** anyway.

90. **Brag spos**, **span spos** and **khu byug spos**: the first is also known as **blon po re ral**, **ra sa ya na and gzag mjug** (’JAM-DPAL, p. 142); the second is described in ’JAM-DPAL, p. 166; the third may be incense made of **khu byug** grass (’JAM-DPAL, p. 197 and G’YU-THOG, p. 482). These three, along with **rgya spos** and **gro spos**, make up the "five incenses" called for in Byams-ma rituals (p. 8 of Kun-gsal Byams-ma-chen-mo sgrub thabs, op. cit. ; fn. 20).

91. Not surprisingly, several substances carry this alternative name; see, e.g., G’YU-THOG, p. 558 and the fn. above.

92. A **bras** is both a tree and its fruit (G’YU-THOG, p. 690), said to be **amrapalam**, the tamarind tree. **Dge rgyas** is probably to be corrected to **dge ’dun skyes**, another name for **ri só** (’JAM-DPAL, p. 150). On the eight roots, cf. fn. 80.

93. **Dan da** or **dan da rog po**, a tree and its fruit (G’YU-THOG, 229).

94. **Ru rta** is Saussurea Lappa (TIBETAN MEDICINE VII/1984, p. 22).

95. The **tsha ba lña**, five peppers, are enumerated in G’YU-THOG, p. 485. The **’bru lña**, five seeds, are **nas**, **bras**, **gro**, **so ba**, and **smo snan** (p. 8 of Kun-gsal Byams-ma-chen-mo sgrub thabs, op. cit. fn. 21). On the **rin chen lña**, five precious things, cf. fn. 78. The **mar lña**, five butters have not yet been located by me. The **chu lña** are the five waters; GSER LO: 387 lists various **bød rtsi chu**, "whose virtues are beyond words". Perhaps they are the first five of these. The **tham chu lña**, five gums have not yet been located by me. The **nañ rol lña**, five inner playfullnesses, may refer to such processes by which "the five eternal wisdoms" playfully combine with the Bon presence through **muðrās**, resulting in the five poisons "playfully exchanging with the five eternal wisdoms, etc." (GSER LO: 395). These groups represent
offerings of dam rdzas made on the inner, outer and secret levels.

96. The thirteen-not-to-be-done-without and the twenty-five raktas are not identified.

97. On the eight roots, cf. fn. 80; the "inner" and "outer" dam rdzas are the actual (physical) offerings and the offerings of the sense, etc. respectively.

98. Nam mkha' i tshul refers to the element from which the families of the Sugatas, etc. are manifested. It also plays on the identity of the ba ga'i klo'n (cf. fn. 117) with Voidness as the origin of all manifestation. The hollow of the ba ga thus equals nam mkha' as a point of origin. See fn. 4 for how this might relate to g'yu 'bra'n.

99. The five great ones of the outer world (phyi rol) are the realms of the senses; on the internal cause and effect, which is eternally pure, see fn. 28; also see fn. 28 for rtog pa.

100. See fn. 24 for orientations to color, etc. in this chapter; see fn. 28 for the sorts of dam rdzas.

101. G'zon nu da'n po: the first ejaculation of a young boy?

102. Rdo rgyus is described in 'JAM-DPAL, p. 51 and G'YU-THOG, p. 271f. Dam bu is probably abbreviated here for dam bu ka ra, sugar cane.

103. "Ocean foam" (rgya mtsho' i lbu ba) are really water-rounded rocks ('JAM-DPAL, p. 61). Chu sri'n sder is described in Das as "a medicinal herb useful for leprosy" (G'YU-THOG, p. 109 and 'JAM-DPAL, p. 172).

104. Ba ru ra seems to lack a firm identity, despite its importance in Tibetan medicine; cf. TIBETAN MEDICINE I/1980, p. 50. Do'n kha (read don gra) would be red ginger (G'YU-THOG, p. 239). Pha du ra is also spelled pa du ra (GSER LO: 396.4) and pa to la (G'YU-THOG, p. 310 and 'JAM-DPAL, p. 208). Does sini thog pa refer to a particular fruit?

105. Lce dpog dkar po, if read lce 'bigis dkar po (cf. Das), would be a particularly white sal ammoniac. Dug mo 'nuris is Pycnostelma lateriforum (TIBETAN MEDICINE I/1980, p. 51) or Hollarrhena anti-dysenterica W. (ibid., p. 23).

106. Tig ta is a name for several trees and plants; cf. Das. G'yu lo is particularly sacred to the Bon-po, but is revered by all Tibetans as juniper (KARMAY/GENERAL, p. 206). I have no data on zini bu.

107. Rakta and mula could both mean any sort of blood or root, or they may be abbreviations.

108. Gser gyi me tog is Hemerocallis minor (TIBETAN MEDICINE VI/1983, glossary) or Magnolia champaka (Das).
109. GSER LO: 396 reads brtsos khraṣ khris pa mtshal bzanis; reading btsos and mkhris pa we get “died blood; bile; good quality cinnabar”. With these emendations, our text reads: “Various sorts of blood; died blood; good cinnabar”.

110. Citraka is Plumbago zeylanica, Ceylonese leadwort (TIBETAN MEDICINE I/1980, p. 50).

111. Perhaps read li śi, cloves, for li khri, as per GSER LO: 396.4. Is tsi tra an accidental repetition of tsi tra ka?

112. Jam ‘bras is Skt. karaṇja, Pongamia innata Merr. (Das).

113. Na le śam is Mesua roxburghii, or Piper nigrum Linn., just as is pho ba ris; in some lists they are considered synonyms, as in JAM-DPAL, p. 88.

114. Snaṅ zo śa is one of the three zo śa; cf. fn. 81.

115. The teaching of non-avoidance (ma span) of participation in the ritual at all levels, and of not avoiding passions so as to allow their transformations into wisdoms, is emphasized in the Gzi brj̱id (SNELLGROVE/NINE, p. 172ff) and GSER LO (cf. fn. 4, quote).

116. The sexual connotation of dga’ dgu here signifies that, being “informed” of the significance of the events, the audience (on all levels) will now realize this teaching in union with their respective consorts. Thus will the elements of existence and the ritual and the inner experiences of the participants be complete.

117. Ba ga’i kloṅ as the medium of this teaching continues and concludes the unity of the red and white bodhicittas, which on the personal level of sentient is as responsible for conception as it is on the universal.
ABBREVIATIONS FOR FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

BOD RGYA TSHIG
MDZOD CHEN MO

'BCHI MED

'CHI MED
'Chi med bdud rtsi sman gyi sgrub thabs, in Rgyal kun spyi gzugs Blachen Dran-pa gsal ba'i sgrub pa'i khrir gzhun, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 421–54.

GSAN SNA GS

Gsani snags Ma rgyud kun gyi lag len bde bar ston pa Blo dman nial 'tsho'i snani byed, Delhi, s.n., 1966.

GSER LO


G'YU-THOG

Bod Gains-can-pa'i dpal ldan Rgyud-bzi sogs kyi brda dan dka' gnad ... G'yu-thog dgos rgyan, compiled by Dba'n-dus, Ch'eng-tu, Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-kha'i, 1982.

'JAM-DPAL

Gso byed bdud rts'i 'khrul med nos 'dzin ... mdzes mishar mig rgyan, by 'Jam-dpal-rdo-rje. Published as An illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian materia medica of Ayurveda, New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971.

KARMAY/GENERAL


LDE MIG

G'yu 'brani bdud rtsi sman gyi lde mig, same volume as 'CHI MED, above pp. 455–70.

SNE LLGROVE/NINE

STEIN/RECIT

TIBETAN MEDICINE
a journal published from 1980 on in Dharamsala by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

YESHI DONDEN/HEALTH
Yeshi Donden, Health and Balance: an Introduction to Tibetan Medicine, Ithaca, NY, Snow Lion, 1986.
443.7–445.1 གྱི་སོགས་དང་པོས་ [གང་] སྦྱེ་མཚན་ [མཚན་] རྗེན་པོ་[སྒྲོ། །ཇི་རེ་]ན་ [དབྱངས་] སྐྱེ་བ་ [སྒྲབ་] མ་པ་ འཁྲེལ་ [དབེན་] གླིང་ [གྱི་] བོད་ [བོད་] རྟོག་ [ཀུན་] བཀྲ་ འཁྲེལ་ [དབྱངས་] སྐྱེ་བ་ [སྒྲབ་] མ་པ་ འཁྲེལ་ [དབེན་] གླིང་ [གྱི་] བོད་ [བོད་] རྟོག་ [ཀུན་] བཀྲ་ འཁྲེལ་ [དབེན་] གླིང་ [གྱི་] བོད་ [བོད་] རྟོག་ [ཀུན་] བཀྲ་
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བོད་ཡིག་

449.6–450.7  བོད་ཡིག་

M. WALTER 69
བོད་ལོག་ཀྱི་གསུམ་བཞིན་དུ་བསར་[ཐབས་] སི་དུས་མོ་གསུང་བཤིས་[ཐབས་] ཁྱན་བ་བུ་རུང་བུ་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར་བའི་དབྱིས་ཀྱི་[ཐབས་] དུས་སོ་བུ་རུང་བུ་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར་བའི་དབྱིས་ཀྱི་[ཐབས་]

དཔོན་ལས་གཙུགས་པའི་[ཐབས་] དཔོན་ལས་གཙུགས་པའི་[ཐབས་] སེང་[ཐབས་] འོ་[ཐབས་] སེང་[ཐབས་] འོ་[ཐབས་] སེང་[ཐབས་]
བོད་ཡིག་གི་ལྷ་ནས་བཟོད་དམིགས་པའི་སྣང་སྣོད་ཞིག་ལ་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་དབྱིས་ཀྱིས་ཞིག་ཞིག་དང་

དཔལ་ཆོ་དཀར་བཐོད་ནི་卓་ལྡན་ཁྲེད་ཟེར་འཛིན་པ་སྤྱད་པའི་སྲིད་པ་མི་ེད་པའི་དབུ་སྤྱོད་དང་

452.6 ཨེ་ཐན་པའི་ཆུས་ཐོན་ཟང་ཐོན་པ་དུ་གི་དུས་

དཔལ་ཆོ་དཀར་བཐོད་ནི་卓་ལྡན་ཁྲེད་ཟེར་འཛིན་པ་སྤྱད་པའི་སྲིད་པ་མི་ེད་པའི་དབུ་སྤྱོད་དང་

དཔལ་ཆོ་དཀར་བཐོད་ནི་卓་ལྡན་ཁྲེད་ཟེར་འཛིན་པ་སྤྱད་པའི་སྲིད་པ་མི་ེད་པའི་དབུ་སྤྱོད་དང་

དཔལ་ཆོ་དཀར་བཐོད་ནི་卓་ལྡན་ཁྲེད་ཟེར་འཛིན་པ་སྤྱད་པའི་སྲིད་པ་མི་ེད་པའི་དབུ་སྤྱོད་དང་
Brief Communications


Amy Heller

Etant devenue élève de Mme Ariane Macdonald en 1977, il m'a été indispensable de lire ses travaux antérieurs, notamment son article sur l'histoire et les pratiques religieuses de l'époque royale. Cet article est extrêmement dense, d'une grande envergure, et ne comporte pas d'index. Je m'y suis perdue plus d'une fois. A la troisième lecture, en 1982, au retour du colloque du IATS à New York, j'ai établi une sorte de dkar chag, afin de pouvoir m'y repérer plus facilement à l'avenir. Cet index reflète, évidemment, mes préoccupations tibétologiques d'alors et ne saurait en aucun cas être exhaustif. J'ai simplement noté les sujets qui m'intéressaient et la page où ils ont fait l'objet de discussion, ainsi que les pages où commence la discussion de chaque manuscrit de Tun Huang. Au cours des années suivantes, plusieurs collègues m'ont demandé de leur prêter cette liste et l'ont trouvé utile. Avec la parution récente de la série "Tibetica Antiqua" de Monsieur Stein, et surtout de son article "Tibetica Antiqua III A propos du mot gsug-lag et de la religion indigène" (BEFEO, LXXIV, 1985, pp. 83–133), le débat s'ouvre pleinement. La relecture de l'article de Mme Macdonald s'imposera pour certains, afin de confronter les analyses divergentes de Monsieur Stein et Mme Macdonald. Dans l'espoir que cela puisse faciliter la lecture du plus grand nombre de nos collègues, voici donc, un dkar chag ad-hoc.

Quelques-unes des références particulièrement utiles (cf. aussi, bibliographie de l'article):


Chos 'jug pa'i sgo - 1er chos 'byung / Bsod nams rtse mo Kha byang Bon po Bib. Nat. 493 2e moitié 14e siècle.

La pagination pour l'article est la suivante:


207. (et Tribus, p. 58). Jeu de dés pour diviser le royaume d'origine.

208, n. 82. Srog phrag g.yas byas.


214. Passim P. T. 1038.


219. Bon — en tant que religion organisée — ne paraît pas antérieure au Xe siècle.


254. Sacrifice de 100 chevaux sur la tombe du ministre Dbas (PT 1287, lignes 264–274).

257. Bogaslovskii, le fief revient au btsan po en cas de déshérence. Ici, n. 261, c’est plutôt que la terre était cédée à titre héritaire au groupe familial.

271. Passim—discussion de P. T. 1047, texte de divination, daterait du règne de Rong btsan sgam po.

275. Attestation de divinité qui s’incarne dans un médium (ici, pour expliquer comment effectuer divination par planches).

276. Le dieu guerrier dgra bla. Les oracles ne paraissent pas être attribués à un médium en transe.

281. Divination, textes d’influences chinoises, indiennes non-bouddhiques et PT 1045 (divination par le cri du corbeau).

291. Analyse textuel de PT 1047, daterait de 640–643.

292. Sens pour gsas—technique magico-religieuse (Bon) et les exécutants—hommes et femmes—de ces techniques.

296. P. T. 1051.

297. Inscription de Rkong po.
   1er édit—sous Khri srng lde btsan (755/56-ca. 797).
   2e édit—sous Khri lde srng btsan (Mu tig btsan po 799–804).
   Sku bla: divinité montagne. Sku lha = sku bla dans ce contexte.
301. *Sku bla* (lha) *skye lha* et les *'go ba'i lha lnga*—relation tardive et ancienne. Liste alternative des *'go ba'i lha lnga*.

303. Définition *sku bla*  
A) divinités montagnes.  
B) ancêtres et supports du principe vital des rois (*srog ou bla*). C’est pourquoi rites d’enterrement royaux ds. des “montagnes” (mot qui désigne la tombe).


309. Résultats: le prestige de la personne royale, sa santé, la stabilité du royaume et du gouvernement, l’absence de maladies pour les hommes et le bétail, l’abondance de la nourriture (discussion retourne à la Chronique).

314. Un rouge et un noir barrent le chemin de Padmasambhava (*?prototype de srung ma dmar nag*).

317. Passim P. T. 1290.

335. La littérature Bon po s’appuie sur la tradition déjà en vigueur au IXe siècle.

335. Passim P. T. 1038, analyse parallèle avec la Chronique et al.

336. Roi—descendant d’un dieu *phyva*, doué de *'phrul* et *byin*.

337. Définition *'phrul*—pouvoirs surhumains.

339. Définition *byin*—la source de la force guerrière des rois, une splendeur, ou “éclat” divin.

340. *Gtsug*.
347. L’édit de Bsam yas contient la promesse solennelle de Khri srong lde btsan de faire adopter la religion bouddhique et l’engagement de la faire pratiquer par ses descendants—édit religieux, pas de portée politique. Ce n’est pas (encore) la religion officielle du Tibet.

350. Gtsug, la loi du ciel et de la terre (=l’order divin).

353. Gtsug, ordre de l’univers.


361. Offrande de gtor ma I. O. 733 (=Thomas, AFL, III, 1. 45–51).

366. Post-mortem-paradis (pays de joie) en attendant la résurrection.

367. Gtsug, vision totale du monde, de l’espace et du temps qui commandait l’attitude de ses adeptes face à la vie et à la mort.


370. Égalité fondée sur une distribution égale des ressources.

370. N. 609, cérémonie de nourriture post-mortem bouddhiste, à relier avec cha bsur? (Panglung Rinpoche, 1982 1ATS seminar) ’Phrul gyi bhik shu—M. Stein annonce un article sur ce texte célèbre.


376. N. 620, Srong btsan sgam po—législateur attesté par sources tibétaines et chinoises.


383. Confucianisme a été la première grande religion connue au Tibet.

385. N. 656, Bouddhisme introduit de Chine; cf. 648 A. D., Srông btsan sgam po envoya un corps d’armée pour venir au secours d’un pèlerin chinois en Inde.

387. Justification des conquêtes militaires, le droit des btsan po à soumettre les 4 orients.

REJOINER TO JEFFREY HOPKINS

Alex Wayman

Jeffrey Hopkins certainly has written a spirited reply (Journal of the Tibet Society, Volume 5, 1985 [though appearing in 1988] to my review that came in Volume 3, 1983 issue of this Journal, devoted to his portion of translation from the Sngags rim chen mo under the title The Yoga of Tibet. Since he refers to a previous review of a book of mine, the last two sections of the Lam rim chen mo, reported as by Geshe Sopa, referring to my reply, with the further reply by the Geshe that appeared in Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, 3, 1980, Hopkins evidently thinks that my review of his book was a kind of "tit for tat". Hopkins makes a purblind remark (reply, p. 80) that I did not consult with Tibetan scholars on my own work. My reply is that no one in this world accomplishes tasks by himself. However, when one takes a long time to accomplish something, the group that was involved is not as obvious as when one does something quickly with the help of competent advisors; and I do applaud Hopkins for consulting with learned lamas in his work. Therefore, a few remarks are in order about book reviews in general or particular.

Nowadays it is difficult for journals to get competent reviews of books. Those who especially know subjects often do not want to get involved, either to praise an unworthy book, or to sharply criticize a book deserving of it. The book reviewing is usually left to persons who when faced with a work beyond their own feasible abilities merely make a few surly remarks, or simply list the table of contents. Therefore, when a journal does manage to get a review by someone who supposedly knows the topic, it is a kind of plus. It must have seemed so to readers of that JJABS, 3, 1980, because surely Geshe Sopa knows the topic, and should write an 'accurate' (Hopkin's word) review. The trouble with the review was that the English was unexpectedly good for a Tibetan learned in his own traditions and so undoubtedly able to write a fine review if he could suitably express himself. When in my
reply I made a remark about the standard of English, the then editors of that Journal cut out my remark, thereby becoming a party to a partial deception; but I am not at liberty to mention who was the most deceived. It does not matter to me if mistakes are rightly or wrongly attributed to a translation of mine, because to occupy oneself with this great Tibetan literature in the Golden Age of mastery of these topics is sufficient reward for having worked at it with whatever intelligence and endeavor we possess. If a reviewer is out to discredit a work—as Hopkins thinks I was trying to do with his book—well, then, why not agree that the reviewer has done the book's author a favor—as Tsong-kha-pa himself points out in the kṣānti portion of the Bodhisattva section of the Lam rim chen mo? Then, it would be asked of me: Why weren't you satisfied with Geshe Sopa's review? The answer, and relevant to mention, is simple: That review was the kind where the reviewer (whoever it really was) finds one mistake—and it really was such—then makes allegations of other things done wrong and without giving an example, takes some passage and shows how the reviewer would rather have translated it, using words that the reviewer likes to use; for example, speaking generally, where one person uses the expression "shared with" someone else prefers "in common with"—using up much space with these preferred renditions and then, the reviewer tries to give the impression to the reader that this space devoted to preferred renderings—although not justified as superior—has somehow pointed out that the book under review is full of mistakes. But such reviews are frequent; there is no spiritual superiority in writing like that. Indeed, it takes some sophistication to write such a review; and so when one came under the authorship, as stated, of Geshe Sopa, I responded in a manner that Hopkins calls 'acerbic'. But I was not responding to the Geshe, but to the unknown author(s).

So, if Hopkins believes I am trying to do the same to his book, showing non-appreciation and misrepresentation, he would follow the course he did, which is to metaphorically tip his hat to me for finding the one mistake, and then to complain that the rest of my review was given over to allegations that are either unsupported by valid research, or simply wrong. But my attitude seems to have eluded Hopkins, and perhaps it is my own fault not to have clarified the fact that for me the original text is what is important, the translator's book being probably inferior to the original. When I was criticizing Hopkins' renderings it was because I honestly felt by reason of what I happen to know of this subject, that he was misleading the reader, not doing justice to Tsong-kha-pa's original text, and making out-and-out
misrenderings of Tibetan verses. And it also seems to me, reading his reply to me, that he cannot find enough English words to express his scorn, for either I am "mostly wrong", have "disregarded" (what should have been regarded), am "misunderstanding", have "surmises" (albeit incorrect), "a dismal display of his (i.e. my) own ability either to read Tibetan grammar or to appreciate the basic points being made,"and so on. If Hopkins is right in all these charges, I should go hang my head in shame. But my answer to all of these tirades is that the reader now can see why, if a reviewer is able to evaluate a work such as Hopkins', he would do better to tell the journal to get someone else to review it, since if he tells the truth about the book, this is what he can expect in return. But is this just a way of trying to squeeze out of an uncomfortable corner? No, but to treat all of Hopkins's points would be unfair to the journal because of the inordinate space required, and would take more time and writing than I find the topic merits. And besides, a few examples if properly supported should show my position sufficiently.

(1) About the translation of the Sanskrit term aksara by yi ge. I had criticized Hopkins for not noticing that the Tibetan translators had in the Vairocanabhisambodhi-tantra, Chap. V, mis-rendered the Skt. term aksara by yi ge in a place where it meant mi 'gyur ba, inferentially that Tsong-kha-pa had noticed this, and deliberately quoted other passages that got the situation right. First, we must correct Hopkins about the translators of Buddhaguhya's great commentary on the Vairocana-tantra. He says (reply, p. 76) that the same translators who translated the Tantra translated Buddhaguhya's great commentary. False! Neither the catalogue of the Peking Kanjur-Tanjur nor P. Cordier's catalogue of the Tanjur at the Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 291, mentions the translators of the great commentary. Those translators of the Tantra translated Buddhaguhya's Pinḍārtha; and in fact did it a generation after Buddhaguhya's great commentary was translated into Tibetan, possible under Buddhaguhya's own direction. If there was an earlier translation of the Tantra in the Kanjur, it is no longer extant. The evidence of the Derge edition is of no use, because this edition omits the old ('unedited') version of the great commentary and only has the later revision which changes the order of the chapters of the commentary to agree with the present Kanjur Tantra. Thus, Hopkins' attempt to defend his position citing commentary along with the Tantra as though the same translators were involved, is beside the point. And Hopkins cites the commentary in the revised form by Gzhon-nu-dpal, which is
almost the same, but has las for the la in the “unrevised” form of the text, in fact, in the commentary on the chapter “Samādhi of the Gods”. For the Tibetan see Hopkins (reply, Tib. p. 88, line 5). Furthermore, Hopkins omits perhaps the most important statement (reply, Tib. p. 88, line 6, omission indicated by three dots) which is in the “unrevised” edition, PTT, Vol. 77, p. 210–4–1: ’/di skad du gsungs [Gzhon-nu-dpal, erroneously: ‘di ltar] /de bzhin gshegs pa rnams byung yang rung ma byung yang rung chos rnams kyi chos nyid (de ni) ye nas gnas pa ’di lta ste / sngags kyi chos nyid do zhes pa’i phyir ro/ (“Whether Tathāgatas arise or do not arise, that true nature of the dharma remains immemorially, because it is the true nature of the mantras”). And because the reading is la rather than las, Hopkins erroneously translates (reply, p. 76, in the Commentary): “do not change from the nature of indicating the release of conventional and ultimate deities”. Thus, one should translate the Tibetan: “Among them, the ‘sound’ is the syllables of the mantra; thereby is shown the release of the conventional and ultimate deities. It is immutable because not changing from self-existence (svabhāva).” The citation about the Tathāgatas is from the Vairocana-tantra, Chap. II. Hopkins had charged that I was making criticisms without having done the proper research. We see here that it is he who has not done the proper research.

It would take much more space to tell what all this is about. But briefly speaking, it is the bodhicitta which is termed aksara, when among the two kinds of bodhicitta (Thought of Enlightenment) as are explained by Kamalaśīla in the first two of his Bhāvanākrama, namely, the paramartha kind of bodhicitta, as occurs in the first pages of the Āṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. In this Tantra the absolute kind of bodhicitta is imagined as a moon-disk in the heart. On this is placed a syllable, but this syllable is not referred to as immutable. The passage about the Tathāgatas means, according to Buddhaguhya’s commentary on Chapter II of the Tantra, that mantra power is independent of them, but they know how to use it. So even in the Tibetan passage which Hopkins cites (reply, Tib. p. 88, top line) we can see that the Tibetan translators ran into trouble in rendering the Sanskrit. So instead of what Hopkins thought the passage was saying (reply, p. 76), it really goes like this: “Aksara is the letter (tshig) that does not change from self-existence. And that aksara is also of two kinds: sound and the bodhicitta.” Sound is the aksara because aksara means ‘syllable’: Bodhicitta is the aksara when it is a-kṣara (incessant). So I shall repeat what I pointed out in my review of Hopkins’ book, that the translators of the Tantra, Chap. V had put yi ge in a place where mi ‘gyur was
indicated. If Hopkins wants to set aside my conclusion, let him improve his own research and his own understanding of the topic. Hurling insults at the reviewer won’t help.

(2) Translation of a verse (Hopkins’ reply, p. 74). Admitting an ambiguity, Hopkins still could not accept my ‘improvement’ that in the phrase brtul zhugs bzang po khyod, brtul zhugs bzang po is vocative; so Hopkins decides he was right to translate it as ‘nominative’ (sic.), but he actually translates it as being in the accusative case. Let me admit at the outset that I do not claim a superiority over Hopkins in reading these verses, especially if he gets the advice of knowledgeable lamas. Indeed, these verses have difficulty for almost everybody; and so it was common practice in Tibet when studying any of the concentrated verse texts like the Abhidharmakosā to read it together with the commentary. Learned Tibetans were very aware of such problems because the canon has two translations of Candrakīrti’s Madhyamakāvatāra, and two translations of Dignāga’s Pramāṇasamuccaya, in both cases showing considerable divergences in the Tibetan renderings. Tsong-kha-pa’s biography mentions that at one point he studied with a lama-translator. Tsong-kha-pa himself exhibits a remarkable talent at verses, and would accordingly applaud my practice of getting the original Sanskrit whenever possible to use along with the Tibetan. In an article published in Japan for a Kōbō-daishi anniversary I myself edited in Sanskrit a number of verses from the Vairocana-tantra. Admittedly, however, the verse in question above is not among those for which the Sanskrit has been found. The reason the verse must be translated in the way I suggested, to wit, with the vocative, is that so translated it agrees with Tsong-kha-pa’s code of Vajrayāna morality, namely, that unless the Bodhisattva vow is already in the person, the Mantra vow cannot be born. The verse shows this. The tantric pledges (samaya) can be given to this disciple because he is already ‘vowed’, i.e. has the Bodhisattva vow. Hence, my translation of the two verses, Chap. Two, 238–239:

From this day on you must not abandon the
Illustrious Dharma and the Mind of Enlightenment,
even for your life. You must not have envy, or do
harm to sentient beings. O well avowed one, these
pledges are given to you by the Buddha. In the same
way as you would guard your life, so you must guard
these.[a]

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that any learned lama,
especially one of the Dge-lugs-pa order, who respects Tsong-kha-
pa’s insistence on this priority of the Bodhisattva vow to the
Mantra vow, must agree with me that this is the way to translate the verse in question.

(3) The Tibetan expression _slar sduṅ pa_. Hopkins scorns my suggestion that in the given context, this expression means ‘repetition’, and keeps on insisting that it means ‘withdrawal’. As to the grammatical point, Hopkins cites Si-tu, the famous Tibetan grammarian on _slar bsdu ba'i sgra_ to show it means a conclusive particle. Of course, the expression does mean that, because according to the old Tibetan grammar _sduṅ pa_ means to tie on, to augment (cf. Johannes Schubert, _Tibetische Nationalgrammatik_, 1928, p. 12); and _slar bsdu ba_ can certainly be employed that way. But Hopkins himself does not believe the relevance of the grammatical usage in the tantric context, since he claims it means ‘withdrawal’.

Unfortunately for his case, neither the Tibetan dictionary _Ming tshig gsal ba_ by Geshe Choskyi-grags-pa, nor the more recent three-volume Tibetan dictionary _Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo_ recognizes the meaning ‘withdrawal’. The first of these dictionaries exhibits Si-tu’s _rdoṅs tshig_ with such examples as _go ngo, do no, _and so on. Some of these are reiteration, for example, _baṅ go, bzang ngo_. This same dictionary has a separate entry _slar bsdu_ noted to mean _zla sduṅ_, which seems to mean the very ‘mantra reiteration’ that I have claimed. The three-volume dictionary has further evidence of reiteration under _slar bsdu_. Thus, beside such augments as the _da-drag_ (“heavy _d_ of old Tibetan”) and conclusive particles like _go_, it illustrates the added expression that acts as a gloss, e.g. _skyō skyō sems pa skyo 'o; rmongs rmongs blo sems rmongs so_. In the example, _'dar 'dar lus sems 'dar ro_, the intended meaning is “shudders, i.e. shudders in body and mind”. In contrast, when in the tantras it is wished to express “withdrawal”, there is the Sanskrit term _pratyāhara_, translated into Tibetan _sor sduṅ_ (abbrev. of _so sor sduṅ pa_), where the _sduṅ pa_ is employed but not the _slar_. This term is employed because “withdrawal” is respective (_so _sor_), namely, from each sensory and other orifice. Thus, I was not off-base in insisting that the usage of the term _slar sduṅ pa_ has a grammatical reference, suggesting “reiteration”, since the augment even in the classical examples was a kind of repetition. In the grammar this type of repetition was placed at the end, but the Tantra generalizes to allow the repetition without restriction to location. In the light of the foregoing evidence, I repeat my conclusion that in the context of discussion, I was right that in the particular passage of contention, reiteration of the mantra is what is meant: this was declared necessary for restraining the mind. It is good that Hopkins found that passage of
Buddhaguhya about slar sdu pha. I agree with him that here Buddhaguhya is using the term equivalently to the sor sdu of other Tantras. Hopkins is therefore justified in saying the term can be used that way, but not justified in claiming that in the contended passage, such a meaning applies. Even more, because even in the passage of Buddhaguhya he cites, it is possible to interpret the passage as intending a double meaning, to wit, "mantra repetition" and "withdrawal". That is to say, the meaning "mantra repetition" is basic; the author wants it also to mean "withdrawal".

(4) About "yoga of signs" and "signless yoga". Hopkins (reply, pp. 82, ff) is much in disagreement with me on the "four members" and on signless yoga, etc. It seems useless to expatiate on such matters, using up much space. If Hopkins' way of expounding the subject makes sense to the reader, then by all means believe him! If my way of putting forth the topic makes sense to anybody, then let him read further in my writings on the topic. Hopkins (reply, pp. 85–86) claims that a reference to this matter in the work which F.D. Lessing and I put out many years ago, Mkhás grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras, p. 207, exhibits a text corruption. Hopkins may well be right, but certainly has not done what is necessary in text critique for solving a problem. In fact, the basic passage about the two kinds of yoga is extant in Sanskrit, and is a citation from the Vairocana-tantra in the commentary on the Guhyasamājatantra called Pradīpoddyotana. From the Bihar MS of this commentary, long ago I edited a portion including this citation; and it is in my book Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra. Tsong-kha-pa has a wonderful Mchan 'grel (annotation commentary) on the Pradīpoddyotana in its Tibetan version, and so has discussed the passage in its place of citation. Therefore, if one wishes to pursue the topic in depth, even from the standpoint of text critique, more is needed to be done than Hopkins evidences in support of his contentions.

As to anything else in Hopkins' reply, I shall add no further comment. Reading his way of replying is not a pleasant occupation; and I do not say this—as a reader might think—simply because he disagrees with me. It is rather—and I would prefer it not to be the case—that a somewhat remarkable conclusion can be drawn about the attitude that prompted Hopkins' manner of reply. He so fights over every little word, makes such a big deal over every passage, as though protecting the Magenot line. One has to wonder if in the end it is Tsong-kha-pa's text that he is fighting for: is it not the case that for him his translation is more important than the text being translated?
[a]

ཀྲིད་པོ་སྤྱེད་པ་མ་དེ་དུ་ཤེས།

ཀྲུང་གོའི་ཁུངས་དར་ནམས་བཤད།

སྤྱི་གྲིང་བསམ་དེ་བྱེད་ཅིག་གཅིག།

ིབ་སུ་བདེན་པར་མི་བཤད།

ིབ་གྲིང་བསམ་སྤྱོད་ཅིག་ཅིག་།

ལེགས་ཁོ་ནག་འདི་འཐད་བཤད།

དབང་ཆུང་བཤེས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱིན་ཐོབ།

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Book Reviews


In 1975 Karl Jettmar published a monumental study in the series "Die Religionen der Menschheit" (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart) entitled *Die Religionen des Hindukusch* ("The Religions of the Hindukush"). The first part of this volume contained a study of the religious traditions of Kafiristan, while the subsequent parts dealt with the Shina and the Burushaski-speaking peoples, as well as the Kalashas and the Kho (Chitral).

The present volume is a thoroughly revised translation of the first part of *Die Religionen des Hindukusch*. It also contains a completely new chapter on "The Comparative and Historical Context of Kafir Religions", in which the author discusses the important reviews of the German version of his book by Gérard Fussman. Recent publications by Georg Buddrus, A. L. Grjunberg, and others are also taken into account. The result is a study of the religious traditions and beliefs of the people of Kafiristan which is as complete as it is ever likely to be, as the Kafiri tribes were forcibly converted to Islam at the end of the nineteenth century; by the middle of this century, only a certain amount of mythological accounts were still remembered by a few elderly individuals.

There are short outlines of South Kafiri religious systems by Schuyler Jones and Max Klimburg, as well as a useful "Etymological Glossary of Kafiri Religious Vocabulary" prepared by Peter Parkes, and, finally, a number of interesting photos from the Prasun Valley and from Waigal by Max Klimburg, showing pillars with sculptures of various deities.

With the exception of various mythological themes also found in the Gesar epic as recorded among the Burushos (pp. 56, 61) and in Ladakh (p. 61), the religion of the Kafiris hardly has any connection with that of the Tibetan world. It is, nevertheless, interesting to gain insight into religious beliefs and practices of a mountain people of Asia living in a natural environment not unlike that found in parts of Tibet. Above all, the volume serves to introduce two forthcoming volumes (which together with the
present volume will form the complete, revised translation of
the German version) in which other peoples, e.g. those of
Chitral are dealt with; peoples whose historical contacts with
Tibet are well known and whose religions have many traits in
common with the popular religion of regions such as Ladakh.
Professor Jettmar is the undisputed expert on the religions of
this remote part of Asia; his account is authoritative and
carefully documented, and yet continuously opens up vast vistas
of Central Asian religious and cultural history. It may be safely
assumed that this study will not be replaced as a standard work
of reference.

Per Kvaerne
Oslo

Anne Klein, Knowledge and Liberation: Tibetan Epistemology in
Support of Transformative Religious Experience, Ithaca, NY:

With the almost exclusive emphasis of studies of Tibetan
philosophy upon the Cittamātrin and Mādhyamika schools of
philosophical tenets, Anne Klein’s excellent discussion of
Sautrāntika thought from the perspective of the Dge-lugs-pa is a
welcome addition to the growing corpus of Western exegetical
studies of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. Her title, Knowledge
and Liberation, does not reveal this important fact, however,
and the volume would have been better titled, “Sautrāntika
Epistemology.”
The Sautrāntika formulate many of the essential
epistemological issues of Buddhism—direct perception,
conceptual thought, affirming negatives, non-affirming
negatives, naming, etc.—working largely within the context of
Dharmakīrti’s work, and these formulations occupy many of the
initial years of philosophical study in the Tibetan philosophical
training colleges. Klein’s presentation will help students of
Tibetan Buddhism in the West to appreciate the diversity of
philosophical tenets that have influenced Tibetan religious
thought and practice.
Klein’s work provides one more piece of evidence against the
notion that the Tibetans were not intellectually creative. Her
study draws extensively from Phur-bu-lcog’s Collected Topics
(Bsdus grva), Lcari-skya’s Presentation of Tenets (Grub mtha’i
rnam bzhag), Bstan-dar Lha-ram-pa’s Presentation of Generally
and Specifically Characterized Phenomena (Rang mtshan spyi
mtshan gyi rnam gzhag), 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa’s Great Exposition of Tenets (Grub mtha’ chen mo’), along with relevant contributions from Mkhas-grub, Rgyal-tshab, Sa-skya Pandita, the 15th century Sa-skya scholar Stag-tshaṅ, and a variety of Dge-lugs-pa debate manuals and college textbooks, giving the reader some sense of the Dge-lugs-pa philosophical enterprise. The debate with Stag-tshan, who took issue with the Dge-lugs-pa formulation of the two truths, is especially interesting, only Klein relies upon the Dge-lugs-pa reduction of Stag-tshaṅ and not upon a Sa-skya-pa presentation and defense. A more extended treatment of some of the major philosophical debates between Dge-lugs and Sa-skya scholars of the 15th and 16th centuries is much needed.

The fundamental question underlying these epistemological investigations is how does consciousness, how do words and thought, ascertain external objects; or, in other words, what is the process of knowledge and expression. The Sautrāntika investigate direct perception, conceptual thought, and how the two are intertwined, i.e., how thought makes possible a conceptual identification of what is perceived in direct perception. For example, the identity of ‘sameness’ of an object which extends from the past to the future is a construction of conceptual thought; a flowing river, for example, is conceived only by thought, for direct perception never perceives the same parts of the stream twice. Thought develops a generic image (“flowing river”) and superimposes this meaning-genericity upon the object, thereby providing an identification to direct perception. This generic image and the object become mixed; however, thought does not naturally recognize that this is the case. Although the generic image seems to be one with its referent object, in fact it is not, and thought loses sight of this; hence, thought is obscured from fully knowing reality. “Thought cannot perceive specifically characterized phenomena in a manner that accords with the object’s actual way of abiding” (p. 128); only direct perception can do so. So each is in some sense dependent upon the other.

Direct perception is hampered by a lack of ascertainment—of noticing what appears to it—and thought, despite being obstructed with respect to a clear and vivid appearance of impermanent things, is the instrument whereby one can cultivate ascertainment of what appears unnoticed to direct perception. (p. 211)
How does direct perception directly know an object? By its aspects (rnam pa), is the answer the Sautrāntikas give: an object casts its aspects toward consciousness, and the perceiving consciousness takes on the aspect of the object. But are these aspects subjective or objective phenomena? The Sautrāntikas reply that aspects are both subjective and objective, but they never satisfactorily clarify which one is at work at which moments:

a presentation of aspected direct perception involves a number of difficulties, especially that of identifying exactly what the apprehension aspect is and detailing whether or not the directly perceiving consciousness knows its object by means of a subjective apprehension aspect. (p. 114)

Klein dissolves the issue, a move which is both a merit and a frustration, in terms of a metadiscourse she provides concerning the pedagogical values of the various views she summarizes. The shortcomings in the philosophical arguments of the Sautrāntikas Following Reasoning and the Sautrāntikas Following Scripture have heuristic value for students, leading them naturally to the perspectives of the higher schools of philosophical tenets. This is a merit, in that it draws from the actual methods of Tibetan philosophical training, but it is a frustration in that the issue is never fully resolved.

Further, does conceptual thought apprehend only the generic image, as many commentators on Indian Buddhism have held, or does it also apprehend the object itself? Since Sautrāntikas do not subscribe to a selflessness of phenomena (phenomena are selfless for them only in the sense of their not being capable of being used by substantially existent persons), how do they maintain the integrity of the object being apprehended by conceptual thought? They argue that thought is not dealing with something merely imputed by thought (and the "merely" is critical here) but is "explicitly realizing" (dngos rtog) a specifically characterized phenomena. This "realizing" (rtog pa) performs a great deal of work for the Sautrāntika investigation of conceptual thought (this matter is not made any easier by the fact that Klein has translated rtog pa as "thought" and as its subsidiary "realization"). Thought does not realize an object directly, but it does realize it explicitly by way of an image. That an actual object is obtainable in dependence upon such a consciousness is proof that some contact has been made with a real object.
Den-dar-hla-ram-ba explains that the thought apprehending pot does not explicitly apprehend pot; it explicitly apprehends the meaning-generality. Yet it is necessary to assert that thought explicitly realizes pot since, as stated above, a specifically characterized pot is undeniably obtainable in dependence upon such a consciousness. (p. 196)

The Sāṃkhya and other realists assert that meaning-generalities dwell in the things themselves, that there is a substantially existing nature which pervades all similar objects (e.g. tree). Buddhists contest that if the same partless meaning-generality pervaded two separate instances, those instances must be identical; hence, the nature of cedar would have to exist in an oak. Rather, Buddhists assert that thought apprehends only meaning-generalities, which then by imputation pervade its instances. This is like having it both ways:

thought does actually get at impermanent phenomena even though, technically, these cannot be appearing objects of thought . . . the term ‘pot’ has two explicit objects. These two are the meaning-generality of pot and pot. However, it is still not the specifically characterized pot that is an explicit object of expression, but pot’s self-isolate [rang ldog]. (p. 196)

Despite this proliferation in terms, one is left querying just where the point of contact between conceptual thought and the object rest.

Some suggestion is provided in an able discussion of the Dge-lugs-pa elaboration of the Indian Buddhist concept of exclusion (apoha, sel ba). Countering the Brahmanical conception that words refer to something positive, Dignāga maintained that a word merely serves to distinguish a phenomenon from other things. Dignāga, however, persisted to claim that the referential meaning of a sentence composed of words is positive. In terms of semiotics, this is like saying that the signifier is a negative phenomenon while the signified is a positive phenomenon. the Dge-lugs-pa, building upon Sāntarakṣita, reformulated the latter to assert that the image by which an object is known is both positive and negative. It is negative in that it excludes images generated by other words; hence, objects (and self-isolates, one can suppose) are realized through a process of exclusion, or in Sa-skyā Pandita's words, “Exclusion is the mind’s mode of operation.”
There is much to recommend this volume. If there is a flaw, it is that the text is occasionally repetitive. Chapters repeat identical or similar treatment of topics (e.g. affirming negatives, or the Sautrāntikas Following Reasoning interpretation of the two truths). The technical regimen is painful enough to endure (in Klein’s words, “sometimes dry debate”) without having to endure unnecessary repetition. In Tibetan poetics and pedagogy, however, repetition is a virtue, not a vice, so much of Klein’s difficulty lies with the indigenous form; nevertheless, such form may well deter the educated but nonspecialist reader. As we face the happy appearance of a growing number of competent studies of Tibetan philosophy and epistemology, it would serve us well to consider who the audience for these studies will be. The material is too technical to interest greatly the general public, and even many practitioners of Buddhism are reluctant to undertake such intellectual rigors. This leaves academics generally, and students of Buddhism more specifically. If we are not to reserve these studies to a community of specialists, some means of providing a Western academic audience with easier access to these investigations must be found.

The real task is to identify the fundamental telos of Tibetan philosophical inquiry, so that the arguments are not isolated philosophical vignettes. Klein’s study is a contribution to this effort, as she takes up a variety of epistemological interests without losing sight of their underlying function within Tibetan Buddhism. Finally, Klein’s dependence upon a wide variety of Tibetan texts and study manuals is an example of the synthetic interpretive work Western scholars need to perform. As more interpreters begin to study, compare, and include these textbooks in their presentations, the actual praxis of Tibetan philosophical reflection will begin to emerge.

Kenneth Lieberman
Eugene


Tibetanists owe thanks to the two compilers, Yoshiro Imaeda and Hallvard Kuløy, who prepared this monumental bibliography. Special thanks are also due to the publisher. The book contains 11,822 entries, far surpassing any known
predecessor. It is arranged alphabetically by author, and under the authors, by date. It is surely the last major bibliography in this field to be produced without a computer.

All the many titles from the Japanese literature appear both in Japanese and English. Those in most western languages have been left in the original form, with occasional translations from the Hungarian.

Most earlier western language bibliographies on Tibetan studies have been wholly supplanted. Bruce Walker's, produced only in typescript, but widely distributed and even bound for the NY Public Library, in its final form in 1974, contained 825 items, alphabetized by author. It was restricted to items in English. The Office of Tibet in New York, at about the same period, also issued a typescript bibliography with 677 entries. It was broken down into 35 topics, each alphabetized by author.

One of the best of the earlier bibliographies was prepared and published in 1971 by Sibadas Chaudhuri, the librarian of the Asiatic Society. This work contains about 2430 items. It has not lost its value, despite the new and far larger bibliography, since it contains Russian, Indian and even some western material not elsewhere referenced. While Chaudhuri's bibliographical work is noted in the Kuløy/Imaeda volume\(^1\), the 1971 volume is not. The one significant gap in the new book is its weakness in Russian literature, except where such work has been translated into other European languages.

Another bibliography still of value was produced by Julie G. Marshall. It is titled Britain and Tibet 1765–1947, and gives 2,847 entries\(^2\). It is broken down by period, topic and area and contains both an author and title index for items published anonymously. Its value is hugely increased by annotations. These indicate topics covered more clearly than titles alone. Annotations are much to be desired in all bibliographies, but unfortunately are relatively rare.

There are enormous numbers of bibliographical publications. If one incautiously asks the New York Public Library for just the subject "bibliographies" it notes, as of this day of writing, 23,568 publications. That is only a small part of its collection, since the computer does not yet include what is in the old hard bound index volumes. Some of the older bibliographies of value for Tibetanists are not in the NYPL collection. Notably that of Chin-chih Hs'ü\(^3\).

In print and purchasable bibliographies also are amazingly numerous. Dawson Book Service, for example, has regularly been publishing their Bibliography sale catalogues with almost 2,000 items. Their recent catalogue 25 had 1,912 numbered and 15
unnecessary items, several multivolume, all for current sale. It should be noted that none of the bibliographies commented on in this review are in that particular Dawson catalogue. But many in it do contain material of interest to Tibetologists.

Contributing to the astonishing numbers are the specialist bibliographies which often contain hard-to-find information. These are the bibliographies, for example, on art, botany, Buddhism, geography, mountaineering, numismatics, philately, and the neighboring countries, such as China, Nepal and India. Depending upon one’s special interest, such bibliographies are worth consulting.

The best, currently, for mountaineering, and covering Tibetanist material, is the masterful Catalogue of the Himalayan Literature, edited by Yoshimi Yakushi, and published by Hakusuisha, Tokyo, 1984. It lists almost 5,000 items, counting addenda and miscellaneous sections. The wholly Japanese publications, 856 of them, are also catalogued in English translation. The annotations are concise and informative.

There is a much smaller bibliography for the stamps and coins of Tibet. Undoubtedly there are other specialist bibliographies, like this one, published privately and in small editions.

While there are many Buddhist bibliographies, that of Shinsho Hanayama, published by Hokuseido, Tokyo 1961, is still one of the more useful for Tibetanists. It is indexed by subject, with, for example, 121 references to Jataka tales, 48 to Lhasa, 34 to the Dalai Lama, 29 to the Kanjur. While most of the material clearly on Tibet is found in the Kulöy/Imaeda bibliography, tangential material is not.

An excellent Bibliographie du Népal, by Luce Boulnois and Henriette Millot, was published in 1969 by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. It is a good example of a neighboring country bibliography with much material pertinent for Tibetologists. It comprises 4,515 items, with frequent annotations. They are listed under 18 major headings, with over 40 subtopics. There are complete indexes by subject, author, and for anonymous items, by title.

Deciding on a perfect procedure for what to include or omit presents insoluble difficulties. One could readily prepare a fascinating bibliography merely with items unlikely to be included in a typical bibliographical book on Tibetology.

This reviewer’s paper on the first tsha tsha published in Europe, illustrates a good example of the problem. Out of 34 items there referenced, 28 are not in any of the cited bibliographies. The proportion of missing items is even greater in the bibliography of another paper by the reviewer, on the
location of Tibet, delivered at the 1985 Munich Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. The references to maps and books containing them, since they are only tangential to any one location, tend to be listed only in geographical bibliographies. This despite their interest for Tibetanists who consider the historical view. In early material, prior to or just after 1624 and the travels of Andrade, not only the mention of Tibet but also its absence or aliases have significance.

It probably is not possible to make a truly complete bibliography, even of items which are right on target. There are so many minor publishers, so many small editions, that even significant items escape notice. The work in preparing and printing such books has to be a labor of love, since it surely supplies little other recompense. The present bibliography is so far ahead of anything else now available that it is almost carping to consider the shortcomings.

In addition to those odd missing items, one can also find a few which probably do not belong. For example, 06559, Charles Marvein, Reconnoitring Central Asia, never once mentions Tibet, Buddhism or Lamaists. Even the map in that book stops at 75 longitude, just short of the Tibetan border.

It would, one day, be very helpful if a bibliography of this type gave location of at least rarer items. Where can one find copies of early publications? The reviewer has tried unsuccessfully to find 08222, Rehmann, Beschreibung einer thibetanischen Handapotheke, St. Petersbourg, 1811. It seems to elude even our Russian colleagues. It was referred to in Bretschneider’s Botanici Sinicum.6

When books which are clearly not just tangential are missing from this tremendous bibliography, it seems clear that they must be rare. Such items are not necessarily among the oldest. Edouard Foucaux’s publication of a Tibetan text plus translation of Le Tresor des Belles Paroles, choix de sentences par le Lama Saska Pandita, Paris, 1858, is joined by Flora Beal Shelton’s Sunshine and Shadows on the Tibetan Border, Cincinnatti, 1912. One delightful, far from rare book, unfortunately missing, is that of Twan Yang,7 who was the houseboy of Johan van Manen.

As with all bibliographies, names present problems. In one of the few numismatic references, Terrien de la Couperie can be found under Couperie8 and under Terrien de la Couperie.9 Russian names always present problems, especially when already transcribed by the French or Germans. So one must not be too quickly discouraged when looking up a Russian author. Overall, the listings are excellent.
This bibliography is a must for all centers of serious Tibetan Studies.

1. 01689.
8. 01936, 01937.
9. 10093.

Brahma Norwick
New York


My first and most superficial reaction to this book was mixed. I glanced at the glossaries and saw that the word ‘mandala’ was listed as a Jungian, rather than a Buddhist term. There is something oddly correct in this; most first impressions of what a mandala is will have been filtered through Jung or his shadows, this reviewer not excepted.

At one time, I looked on Jung as a scientist of the mind, one who was able to make as his object the most personal and obdurately subjective aspects of the human being. His universalism was especially appealing. Since then, taking Blake’s “every minute particular is holy” as a motto, I have preferred to dwell on distinctiveness, finding human unity not in an
underground psychic unity such as Jung's collective unconscious, but in a sense of the essential interrelatedness and interdependence of human beings with all their identities forged and sustained by their differences. My current teleological hopes are less that people will settle their differences through discovery of a mental substrate which binds them to commonality; I only wish they would generously-mindedly communicate. If there is a mental substrate, it would be in their similar sense of embodiment and in the range of emotions and thoughts they might choose to share with others, not in that world of shadowy archetypes which Jung (in my opinion, quite) questionably tended to differentiate into distinct racial memories, giving it a basis in heredity, and hence, it would follow, genetics.

My first reaction told me it was wrong or irrelevant to compare the psychology of Jung with the Buddhism of Tibet as if they were on equal footing when, to some degree, the former both was inspired by and used the latter for its own ends. What sense in comparison, when the comparers, quite often as it seems also in the present case, set out to study Tibetan Buddhism after being inspired to do so by the Jungians? What could psychic integration and individuation process have to do with a Buddhism in which all that is integrated falls apart? [du-byas thams-cad mi rtag-pa] Laying aside facile identifications with the 'store-house consciousness' (kun-gzhi'i rnam-shes, which is, after all conscious), what meaning could a collective unconscious hold for a system of thought that rejects the validity of any constant substrate? Can unconscious collectivities reincarnate?

These initial judgements were partly laid to rest along the way. All these issues are raised and addressed in a way that is thought-provoking, even when not always entirely persuasive. I had expected the conclusion to be biased, as such 'comparisons' usually are, toward synthesis, but the synthesis is amply balanced by analysis; some differences are respected. A third factor is even made to play a mediating role—alchemy. Jung the enthusiastic student of alchemy was not the alter ego of Jung the psychic scientist. They were the same person, even when they were not the same persona. Unlike Buddhism, Jung followed alchemy according to his own understanding of its psychic dimensions; he felt consciously in debt to this tradition. Buddhism, on the other hand, supplied at best a useful confirmation of ideas already formulated through his alchemical studies as well as his psychiatric practice and personal introspection (his more general education as a proudly western and modern person doesn't go without saying).
The synthesis that emerges at the end of the book is a surprising one in that it is not really a synthesis. I don’t wish to give away the conclusion entirely, but the creative insight of the polarity of Padma and Self is credited to inspiration from the collective unconscious to the author. It is a duality of near unity, each term of the symbolic dialectic standing for one of the two systems that were compared in the book. This gives an extremely touching and very Jungian ending to the enterprise, but the rough-skinned skeptic in me, as partly described in my above-revealed predispositions, wants to think differently.

To my way of thinking, creative insights derive not from a concealed symbol stockpile, but from the tension formed when one carries two apparently incompatible sets of ideas around for some period of time. One has an emotional response to the emotional tensions between bodies of intellectual ideas which compels intellectual transformation. This emotional component in the intellectual equation is a mystery mainly to the intellectual, one who makes a life career out of denying emotions their power to change one’s mind. Hence, according to me, the intellectual looks too far when looking to a deep and mysterious place for the roots of creativity. The intellectual may make the unconscious into a convenient foil for warding off unwanted intrusions of the emotions, as well as for denying those ‘intrusions’ when they do occur.

This discussion of the power of the emotions to motivate, transform and rearrange the intellectual aspects of the human mind is, I believe, extremely relevant to my contention that Jung used, and did not follow or even understand the basics of Tibetan Buddhism.1 In my opinion it is a pity, especially, that the scholarly approaches to understanding the mandala (including Moacanin’s, pp. 69–71) have so far, with few exceptions, been filtered through Jung. Forgetting Jung would seem to be the best way to start afresh. Ideally, we should lay the ‘universality’ aside and look at the specifics of the mandala as something with both background and substance within Tibetan religion and thought, not within a Jungian nexus, and above all, not as an archetype dislodged from a collective unconscious, a concept for which Buddhism in itself has no special need. This is a program for the future, not for now.

My own peculiar non-Jungian view of the mandala has developed over several years and is based partly on my reading of Tibetan texts which integrate mandalas within a variety of disparate contexts, and partly on my own predispositions. I cannot hope to fully document or convey all the reasons for this alternative view in a short space. Here I can only cite some of my
previous work, both published and unpublished, and limit myself to some of the results of this reassessment. First, a word of caution:

According to both Jung and Tibetan Buddhism, the mandala is a mysterious and inexplicable thing. To pretend to explain it outside its context is wrong. For both systems its context is within a therapeutic and/or transformative process, where it plays a definite and definitive role. The interpreter must have the humility to acknowledge that any interpretation outside that context will most probably be not only half-true or wrong, but what is more important, wrongly taken. Also, mandalas appear in so many different literary contexts that generalizations on their basis will be dangerous, while the primary context is initiatic, not literary. Should we stop here? Anyone who cannot conceive how myth and literary or artistic imagery could embody and convey a serious theory of knowledge should most definitely put this piece away.

Although an example appears on the cover, the mandala is hardly the focus of Moacanin’s book (see pp. 69–71). Still, I would like to use the remainder of this review to demonstrate the relevance of some issues it raises for her comparative enterprise.

What is a mandala? First and most generally it is a home, a palace. The palace shows up in the Buddha’s cynically reinterpreted Hindu story of the origins of things contained in the *Brahma Jāla* and *Aggaṇṇa* Suttas (both from among the Long Discourses of the Pali Buddhist canon). At the new formation of the present great aeon, a palace appears in space, while into it a being of the Clear Light realm descends due to his karma. He is lonely and wishes others could join him there in his new home. When other beings do make their appearance, the first god Brahma believes (wrongly) that they were brought into being by his wish, when in actuality, he as well as they were brought there from a prior status due to karma. The other beings are convinced by Brahma’s belief that they were brought into existence by his wish. All this wishful (emotive) thinking was a fundamental mistake.

The palace is rather explicitly identified with the objective realm of knowable objects in its most primitive condition, while Brahma and his subsequent cult members are the duped knowers of that objective-realm-as-palace. The palace is also an external web/trap (Sanskrit, *jāla*) which arose in interdependence with the subjective web of wishful thinking (‘false consciousness’ to borrow and stretch a Marxist term). The remainder of the story, which explains the beginnings of society, shifts back and forth between external environmental
developments (or devolution) and internal mental developments, showing their interdependence at every step of the way.

This interdependent origination, which would become the Realm of Dharmas of Mahāyāna dialectic, is a statement about origins (not the origin, since there is no first cause; there is at best a force-field of causations). There is no ontology as known to the Christian world, since there is no creator whose existence might need to be established through an ontological proof. There is no essentialism, since the existential emphasis here, if there were one, would be on relations between things, not in the substantiality or material existence of the things themselves, and not on what they might be ‘at core’. This is not mysticism. If it is mystifying, it is because of the difficulties of a knowing subject such as ourselves in contemplating such a basic question as, ‘What is the relationship between the set of my knowing faculties and the set of objects it knows?’

This is foundational question of epistemology, a point of departure for a theory of knowledge. Epistemologies that assert a unified, noncontingent knower will likely assert a unified, noncontingent origin for knowable objects (ex.: God, matter), while epistemologies such as the Buddhist ones which assert a diversified, mutually contingent set of factors that make knowing a possible event for us will be liable to posit diversified and mutually contingent origins for knowables. In the first case, knower and knowables will exist in a fundamentally separated way; they will be given separate origins, and ontological problems of things-on-their-own will acquire a special necessity. In the second case, ontology is not such a necessity, because knower and knowables co-originate and co-operate even if we might temporarily consider them separately as two sets of also co-originating and co-operating principles, or consider them as a single system operating through time. In the first case, the existence of a homogenous knowing self such as Jung’s makes sense; in the second, such an entity will scarcely endure, is not needed, and in fact is denied any existence to call its own.

Although I will obviously not be announcing visitations from anything like a collective unconsciousness, I would like to replace Moacanin’s “Self and Padma” (although these could perhaps do as well) with alternative organizing symbols for these two systems of knowing—the tree and the circle (=circular array). I would prefer that the following dichotomy be taken along the lines of Yin-Yang, rather than absolutely opposed, oppositions.
The tree (stemma, dendrogram) is predominantly a timist vision, while the circular array will make better sense to the spacist. The tree form, I argue, is the ideal form for tracing differentiations through time from a single origin. Concepts of individuality and selfhood are given background and necessity, starting from the individuality of the first cause and persisting through time to find expression in the individuality of the tiniest twig in the temporal tree. This individuality is rather paradoxically given background through time, but given expression in space, since it is the distantiation of the twig from other twigs at any particular moment that defines its uniqueness. Yet spatial perspectives are denied, somehow, along the way; unities are found in the past, or through the reactivizing of the past. Evolutionism, creationism, historicism, romanticism, modernism, classical philology, genealogy (strange bedfellows all) and other such unilinear approaches to the knowing of particular things as they exist at a present moment are tree-type ways to knowledge, as well as ways to order knowledge.

The circular array is ideal for the spacist way to knowledge in a *mutatis mutandis*, very similar way. The world of knowables is conceived as an arrangement, a field or sphere, of co-determining elements in space, which, paradoxically again, contains within its force-field the tensions which make temporal transformations possible. It is, for the spacist, both a classification system and an explanation for classifications (just as the tree is for the timist). The classifications are co-classifications; no single classification can exist in its own right. If a single classification could be isolated from the full range of classifications, it would cease to be a classification. My best examples for this approach to knowing are Buddhism, functionalism and structuralism, but also some aspects of physics as well as Jung’s synchronicity. Linguistics, after a long Babylonian captivity among the trees, seems to be moving in the circle direction with the emergence of areal linguistics and ‘typology’.

Although both these ways to and/or theories of knowledge result in classifications, they do not yield classifications of the same type. The tree produces nomothetic classifications on the basis of ancestry or lineage. Every difference, no matter how minor, may result in a new (sub-) classification. The circle yields polythetic classifications on the basis of overall family resemblances; similar clusters of traits or qualities, or a preponderance of particular qualities, take precedence over minor or superficial differences. Following the tree system, we could say that the screwdriver is like the knife, and they belong
to the same class because the screwdriver evolved from the knife (let’s say) and they both share a single origin with other single-pronged instruments (even though, in themselves, they would constitute two distinct subclasses within the class of single-pronged instruments). According to the circle system, the knife and the scissors are one class due to the deciding quality of sharpness, while the screwdriver belongs to a diametrically opposed category which we could call the class of dull objects. Dullness and sharpness constitute a single field of possibilities. Dull scissors and sharpened screwdriver? No problem for the circle—the screwdriver, being sharpened, belongs to the same class with knives, while the dull scissors belong to the opposing class of dull objects. No problem for the tree either—the sharpness or dullness of an object does not affect its ancestry, and hence its place in the framework of the tree (although a few new twigs may take the place of a single one). Wouldn’t one of these types of classifications be more useful for certain purposes? It has been suggested, for instance, that the circle-type (polythetic) classification is a necessary one in human sciences.¹

Unlike Durkheim and Mauss, and one interpreter of the mandala who followed their lead,² I do not believe that circular array classifications originated in the spatial organization of tribes, neither do I believe that there is anything especially ‘primitive’ (in terms of time or cultural ‘evolution’) about the circle mode. The circle mode is used by we (post-) moderns, and probably even more so than in the time of Durkheim, or even in the time of Jung for that matter. The basis would therefore seem to be prior to social classifications, perhaps embedded in the human mind. Lévi-Strauss thought so, although his structures are also pre-conscious (embedded in an unconscious) and therefore prior to knowledge, a conclusion which I do not believe to be necessary.

I also do not believe that the circle, any more than the tree, belongs to the unconscious. Rather it belongs to the conscious mind for which it has done and continues to do an admirable job of organizing the things we empirically know in the waking world. I think that these are models for ways in which the mind does organize knowledge, rather than being primarily models of how it should do this. I am aware, however, that this tree-versus-circle business is itself an expression of what I have been discussing. I have been building up a classificatory device here which corresponds closely to the circle-type classification system. It works, if it works at all, by setting up two opposites in tension with each other, the beginnings of the circle. Couldn’t I have shown that the tree and circle both originated in a single
primordial act of knowing? In other words, couldn’t I have approached the knowing of these two ways of knowing within the framework of the tree? My first impulse is to reply in the negative, but let us hold off on this question a bit longer and turn our attention for a minute to the mandala in Tibet.

I would not in any way suggest that the mandala is exclusively a classificatory device, only that it is, among other things, a circle classification system. The body as well as the universe of knowables are mediated by a single structure, the palace. Within the palace are, typically, five types (rigs) embodied in five Tathāgatas, Buddhas seated on thrones, the central of which is the Type Lord (Rigs Bdag). [It may be interesting for future studies to speculate on the etymological similarities of the terms Type Lord and Archetype. At present I am not at all certain what to make of this.] I hope it will be understood that when I speak of the mandala structure, I do not say what a mandala is. Just as a house frame is not a house (and a house is not a home), the structure of the mandala is not a mandala, any more than the grammatical structure of a sentence is itself a sentence.

The structure of the mandala underlies also the traditional typologies of Indian and Greek medicines as well as physics. The four elements are arranged in a way that is determined by a matrix of independently varying qualities which I will call volatility and humidity.

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                 volatility
                  /    \
                   |    |
                  /    \
                 fixedness

aridity
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With a bit of reflection, one may already predict where each of the four (five) elements will be located in the ‘field’. In the following chart, the elements water, earth, fire and air are labeled by their qualitative aspects, respectively, cohesion (‘byar-ba), solidity (sra-ba), radiation (snang-ba) and motility (g.yo-ba or bskyod-pa). The fifth element, space, is or course in the middle, since this is a diagram laid out in space, rather than time, and it reflects synchronic interrelationships between the elements.
There is no first element such as that for which the early Greek speculators sought.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{MOTILITY} & \quad \text{humidity} \\
\text{volatility} & \quad \text{RADIATION} \quad \text{SPACE} \quad \text{COHESION} \\
aridity & \quad \text{fixedness} \\
\text{SOLIDITY} & 
\end{align*}
\]

It takes little imagination to see how this unified force-field of the phenomenal world (as it may be qualitatively understood) could correspond to a force-field of human emotion, as in the following chart, which may be superimposed on the preceding one:

\[
\begin{align*}
greed/envy & \\
\text{attraction} & - \text{ignorance} - \text{aversion} \\
\text{pride/slander} & 
\end{align*}
\]

There are many other correspondences, including the transformations of these five passions (the five 'poisons') into Foundational Knowledges (Ye-shes): aversion into the Mirroring Foundational Knowledge, pride/slander into the Equality Foundational Knowledge, attraction into the Particularized Understanding Foundational Knowledge, greed/slander into the Accomplishment Foundational Knowledge, and ignorance into the Foundational Knowledge of
the Realm of All Knowables. It is not the place here to go into the complexities of mandalas, but clearly such transformations take us far beyond ego-centered consciousness to an expansive, even a totalizing or universal sort of knowing consciousness, and not, as Jung or Freud would have it, to any unknowing or pre-ego-consciousness realm of instinct, rejected knowledges or unconsciousness. This points to an open, generous-minded attitude toward the realm of knowables (which includes human knowables), and definitely to neither infantile self-absorption nor mature introspection, even.

These mandalas may be understood as cross-sections of various cosmological, as well as personal psychological, transformations, which brings us back to a very basic question about our two classification systems. Are they really two separate systems, or only two ‘typical’ preferences (among even further possibilities, such as the ladder or spiral) for different human beings who may be utilizing them for different ends? The question is too large and problematic. Relativity theory has told us that time and space do impinge on each other’s domains. The image of the tree cannot be understood as purely an image of time. The tree itself has dimensions; it occupies space. There are spatial tensions between each of the differentiated ‘twigs’. The tree alone cannot account for the differentiations that it embodies. Likewise, the circle alone cannot embody the temporal developments and differentiations that the dynamic of its force-field presumes.

Perhaps the tree and the circle are, after all, only partial versions of a tree cum circle that could in large part embody human knowledge in both time and space. If we were to climb aboard a mental airplane and fly above the tree, we might look down to see a circular array, while a side view of a set of circles might show us some stages of development in the tree.

There were two trees in the midst of the realm of knowables named by Adam, the tree of life and the tree of knowing good from bad. My suspicion is that the second tree was no tree, but a circle, and that in fact both trees were the same tree. It was only the ones who ate from this one tree that made them different. As humans, we are, after all, responsible for these things we think we know, and I heartily recommend this book to anyone in a mood to wonder how this could be so. Others may well find themselves, as I did, put in that mood.
NOTES

1. For a thoughtful discussion of some of Jung's misunderstandings of Tibetan Buddhism, see David R. Komito, "Jungian Psychology and Tibetan Buddhism" in The Tibet Journal, vol. 8, 1983, no. 4, winter, pp. 36–49 [missing from Moacanin's bibliography].

2. Dan Martin, Illusion Web—Locating the Guhyagarbha Tantra in Buddhist Intellectual History contained in Christopher I. Beckwith (ed.), Silver on Lapis (The Tibet Society, Bloomington 1987, pp. 175–220); "Human Body Good Thought (Mi Lus Bsam Legs) and the Revelation of the Secret Bonpo Mother Tantras" (unpublished thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington 1985); The Rooting of our Uniqueness—Passionate Cosmogony and Sociogenesis in Tibetan Literature with Reference to Giambattista Vico and Mary Douglas (unpublished, 1985); Anthropology on the Boundary and the Boundary in Anthropology (Human Studies 1990, forthcoming). These are listed in the order in which they were written.


5. This is the thesis of Komito's critique referred to in note 1, above.

6. There is a danger in typological exercises of the sort we have been engaging in here, and that is that differences will be canonized as constitutive of absolute (truly existent) classifications which might then go on to 'determine' other things. This is a danger especially for the timist, who will be more likely to impute onto the knowledge of the circle the same background, necessity or substance as his tree-gained knowledge (and I think this goes far toward explaining Jung's misapprehension of the 'nature' of the mandala). The roots of the problem extend deeply into problems of human knowing, and one would need to go much deeper than the hows to get to the whys.

I suggest for the sake of argument that naively timist approaches to spastic ways of knowledge have given growth to such ideologically (and strategically) important contrasts as that which asserts that the Buddhist (Hindu, Taoist, Confucian, etc.) east is passive and deindividuated while the Judaeo-Christian
west is actively individualistic. My heuristic aim in enunciating this type of dialectic all over again with the tree-circle problem is not to sustain it, but to locate a point at which it either commences construction or collapses altogether. Self-congratulatory posturing of the knowing subject confident of being on the right side of the dialectic will never lead to any lasting peace or understanding. The timist is faced with the problem of spacial interdependence just as the spacist is confronted with (and does in fact deal with) the problem of temporal differentiation/individuation. I must stress again that I am not engaging in any “the east is spacist and the west is timist” sort of equation, although it is explicit in my arguments that tree thinkers are bound to take it so.

To illustrate possible implications of this for understanding Tibetan Buddhist culture with a single example, one might consider the usual scholarly approach to the iconographic identity of the deities. These deities almost invariably have a “position” in the mandala (i.e., they belong to a ‘type’), and the classificational distinction between circle and tree knowledge has, I believe, a crucial importance when seeking to discover their identity, as well as the nature of that identity. The usual approach, exemplified in the classic works on Tibetan and Mahāyāna iconography by Antoinette K. Gordon and Alice Getty, presumes a tree approach, treating the deities like so many botanical specimens. I have found from my personal communications with some Tibetans, that they find this classificatory presumption by foreign scholars, and the errors resulting from it, either bewildering or amusing. All the multiple names and aspects of the same deity shading in and out of each other is perhaps just as confusing to the tree-ists who fail to recognize that the deities, as with the classification system used for them, together constitute a forcefield of possibilities which can only with much violence be forced into the segmental modes of individuation and egoic identities growing on their mental trees.


It may also be interesting in this connection to look at some fifteenth-century alchemical illustrations of the tree of Aristotle, since these often incorporate circles. Some of these alchemical

Dan Martin

Bloomington
The Tibet Society

MINUTES

Annual Membership Meeting of
The Tibet Society
March 22, 1986

Chicago Hilton Inn Hotel, Chicago, Illinois

The meeting was called to order at 8:00 p.m. by Christopher Beckwith. Eighteen members were in attendance. Michael Walter was appointed secretary for the meeting. A ballot committee was appointed to count ballots from the Board of Directors’ election, which was done during the meeting. Thubten J. Norbu, Geshe Sopa, and Eva Dargyay were elected to compose the new Board.

Professor Beckwith, as editor of the Journal, stated that the latest issue was nearing completion, and that sufficient material for a summer issue, which would be our current issue (1985), had been gathered. He announced that the Society will publish papers delivered at the conference held in Bloomington in the summer of 1984, Beginning a Third Century of Tibetan Studies: A Conference honoring the Birth of Céoma de Körös in 1784. Further, Professor Beckwith announced his resignation as editor of the Journal, effective as of the 1984 issue. He thanked those who had helped him edit the Journal, and passed editorship over to Elliot Sperling, Dan Martin, and Michael Walter.

Minutes from the last meeting were accepted by those in attendance by a voice vote.

In the Treasurer’s report, Dr. Grupper announced that the balance on hand as of December, 1985, was $17,735.90. He sketched out expenses and balances, as reported in the Society’s proposed annual financial report. That financial report was accepted as is by the membership attending the meeting.

Professor Beckwith acknowledged a generous contribution by the MacArthur Foundation to the Society ($5,000), which will be used to publish future issues of the Journal.

Professor Norbu reported that paying memberships now numbered from 270 to 300, and that 1,000 newsletters were sent to subscribers. He noted that this membership was international and included institutional as well as individual memberships.
Hannah Robinson and Michael Walter then reported on a proposed Union Catalog for Tibetan-language materials in North America, which would include full analysis of each bibliographic volume. If funded, the project would result in a work of many volumes, covering commercially-published items as well as manuscripts and blockprints held in public and private libraries. The advantage to students of Tibetan language and culture would be comprehensive and efficient data on all such material, including subject analysis and availability for reproduction or borrowing.

Professor Beckwith then called for questions on old and new business. There was one: Is anything being done to increase membership? Beckwith reported that, yes, there is; various measures had been tried, but membership had remained nearly constant. The advantage of a differential in individual as opposed to institutional membership costs were discussed, but it was concluded that loss of numbers in one category might more than compensate for an increase in the other, so for the time being the proposal was considered unacceptable.

The meeting was adjourned at 8:30 p.m.

Michael Walter
Secretary pro tempore

The Tibet Society, Inc.

FINANCIAL REPORT

January – December, 1986

Balance (Dec. 31, 1985) ........................................ $ 8,131.03
Investment checking interest .................................. 232.23
Certificates of deposit interest ............................... 566.72
Membership .................................................. 4,207.32
Donations .................................................... 580.00
TOTAL ................................................... $13,717.30

EXPENSES:
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Balance in Checking (December 31, 1986) .................$ 2,101.91

Savings ....................................................................$ 8,000.00
The Journal of the Tibet Society is a scholarly periodical devoted to all areas of research on Tibet and regions influenced by Tibetan culture, including the arts, astronomy, geography, history, linguistics, medicine, philosophy, religion, the social sciences, and other subjects. Publication in the Journal is open to scholars of all countries. The languages of the Journal are English, French, German, and Tibetan. The editor welcomes the submission of articles, brief communications, and books for review, which deal with Tibet or the Tibetan cultural realm.

Tibetan may be transliterated by contributors in accordance with any of the standard scientific transliteration systems generally accepted. The following rules must be observed, however:

1) Absolute consistency must be maintained, except when quoting previous writers' works, in which case the system found in the quoted original must be retained in the quotation.

2) If any capitalization is necessary, only the first letter of any word may be capitalized, e.g., Dpal-ladan, and not dpal-ladan, the exception being that in words beginning (in transliteration) with a non-alphabetic diacritical mark—such as the apostrophe—the following letter is to be capitalized, e.g., 'Jam-dpal.

3) The type font currently available to us includes the following diacritical marks and special letters: ' " ' . ŋ ę ç. (A complete Greek font is also available.) It is therefore desirable for all transliteration, whatever the system, to restrict itself accordingly.

Transcription of other commonly used languages with non-Latin scripts is to be done according to the following systems:

Arabic: ' b t th j ŋ kh d dh r z s sh s d ŋ gh f q k l m n h w y.

The article should always be transcribed al- (or Al-), and diphthongs should employ w and y (instead of u and i) as second elements.

Chinese: The Wade-Giles system.


Mongol: The system found in N. Poppe, Grammar of Written Mongolian, Wiesbaden, 1954.

Russian: a b v g d e zh z i y k l m n o p r s t u f kh ts ch sh chh 'i' ê yu ya.

Sanskrit: The system adopted by the 10th International Congress of Orientalists (Geneva, 1894).

Manuscripts should be typed on white bond paper, double-spaced, with wide margins on all sides. Notes must also be typed double-spaced, consecutively numbered, on a separate page or pages at the end of the manuscripts (not at the bottom of the page). Please submit a neat, finished manuscript. The original copy should be submitted. Authors must retain at least one copy of their manuscript. It is necessary that all errors be corrected on the galleys, which should be returned immediately.

All quoted passages of Tibetan more than a few words in length must be noted in the article text with a number (such as a line-reference to the original source) in square brackets—e.g., [:8.1:1]—and then written or typed out in a Tibetan print-style script (ñbu-can) on a separate page or pages. These passages will be printed in Tibetan at the end of the article. In other words, the original Tibetan of long quoted passages will not appear in translation in the body or notes of an article, but will appear in Tibetan script alone, at the end of the article. For examples, please see the articles H. Uebach and A. Wayman in Volume I. The same method is to be followed for citations of Chinese words or Japanese words containing ideograms, which unless very well known should generally be provided. For example, please see the article by J. Kolmaš in Volume I. For certain kinds of studies, this procedure may not be feasible, in which case exceptions might be made.