

The Search for Soul In Poetry

Janet Gyatso and Pema Bhum

This paper will explore the history and reception of the Tibetan idea of 'soul' (srog) as a special category to analyse poetry. It is cited by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his commentary to Kavyadarsa, where he attributes it to Zur mkhar ba Blo gros rgyal po, the great medical theorist of the 16th century. Other scholars rejected the idea as necessary to articulate, and accused Zur mkhar ba of excessive immersion in medical practice and confusion of medical issues with poetics. The paper will try to track down the history of this idea, mentioning also seemingly similar ideas in several other statements on the poetics and the Kavyadarsa from various Buddhist countries in South Asia.

Automatic Parallel Text Alignment for Tibetan, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Pāli texts

Paul G. Hackett

In crafting both the translation of a text and the construction of lexical resources, parallel texts in multiple languages serve a critical role in the disambiguation of terms and concepts. This paper reports on the results of the application of techniques for parallel text alignment to Buddhist canonical materials in TSCP(E) languages — Tibetan, Sanskrit, Chinese, Pāli (and English). The specific techniques for aligning structurally different languages and the resources developed and deployed in service of this task are also discussed. In particular, the application to English translations is highlighted for its role in enabling both lexical data-mining and translation evaluation. The resources developed and deployed, their use and access through the unified catalog of the Buddhist Canons Research Database (BCRD), and other potential applications are discussed.

Tibetan Art goes West – A further Contribution to the Transmission of Traditional Tibetan Buddhist Art to Europe in the 21st Century

Elisabeth Haderer

Since the destruction of Tibetan culture in the mid-20th century, the last master artists of the various Tibetan Buddhist art traditions such as the more than 400 year-old Karma Gardri (tib. karma sgar bris) painting school have been seeking to transmit their knowledge and craftsmanship also to Western artists so that their skills would not get lost in the future. German thangka painter Bruni Feist-Kramer (b. 1937) and Dutch artist Marian van der Horst-Lem (b. 1936) have been trained by two of the last Tibetan Karma Gardri master painters, Gega Lama (1931-1996) and Sherab Palden Beru (b. 1915). Nowadays, the two contemporary Tibetan artists Denzong Norbu (b. 1937) and Dawa Lhadipa (b. 1962) teach Western Buddhist artists the principles and methods of this renowned tradition. German sculptress Petra Förster (b. 1964) and her team of international artists of the Buddhist Institute of Tibetan Art (BINTA) in Braunschweig/Germany have specialized in the art of building traditional Tibetan Buddhist clay sculptures. The purpose of my paper is to explore some crucial questions in connection with the transmission of Tibetan Buddhist art to the West since the end of the 20th/beginning of the 21st centuries. To which written, artistic and oral sources do Western Buddhist artists relate in their work? Can one already speak of an independent Western or European Buddhist art? What are the differences between modern Tibetan and Western Buddhist art? Which role do female artists play in the production of contemporary Tibetan Buddhist art?

Conceived in the Pure Land: The Soteriology of Vision in Tibetan Pure Land Orientations

Georgios Halkias

Buddha Amitabha enjoys a long and intricate history of worship comprising a variety of esoteric and exoteric texts and unique contemplative practices that span from the earliest transmissions of Buddhism in imperial Tibet till our present times. While vision and visualization play a central role in Indic Mahayana texts and Pure Land scriptures in particular, the tantric use of the senses in later Mahayana is not restricted to visual reconstruction of the enlightened state as a desirable destination (a pure land resembling a heavenly realm) but entails the psychophysical means to purify ordinary perception and transcend habitual vision. The common and less common employment of “vision” (passive) and “visualization” (active) in Tibetan Pure Land orientations is inextricably tied with the soteriological *raison d’être* of Buddhist training and with an understanding correlative to the perception of the polysemic term ‘pure land’ in sutra and tantra texts of the Indo-Tibetan variety. In this presentation, I will provide an overview of the variety of “Pure Land” texts in the Kangyur and Tengyur, describe their dominant themes, and explore the tantric employment of the senses, especially vision, in post-canonical Tibetan literature of the *bde-smon* genre.

The Secrets of Iron Wood Mountain: A Sacred Guide to sBas yul n Arunachal Pradesh

Amelia Hall

Many Buddhist populations in the Eastern Himalayan borderlands believe that Buddhism was transmitted to the area in the eighth century CE, brought by the Indian Buddhist master Padmasambhava. Whilst no evidence has been found to substantiate these early claims, there are some fascinating texts and historic sites in Arunachal Pradesh which suggest an influx of Tibetan Buddhism into the region beginning in the fourteenth century CE. This talk will present an introduction to the remote settlement of Mechuka in the remote North Eastern part of the state and examines a translation of a short (27 folios) text titled sBas yul gyi dkar chags 'khrul med bshugs so (The unmistakable account of the hidden land). This gnas yig describes the hidden land of sBas lcags shing ri (Secret Iron Wood Mountain) understood in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition as part of a group of hidden lands or inner sacred places which also includes Sikkim and Pemako. The text is in the form of a dialogue between Yeshe Tsogyal and Padmasambhava and describes the characteristics of the mountain, its sacred properties as well as the location and details of treasures (gter ma) concealed there. This is a very rare document which forms part of a collection of texts held by the Tibetan Buddhist Memba of Mechuka. This presentation examines the document as part of a larger project to document the history of the migration of Tibetan Buddhism into this borderland region.

Local Innovations in Dairy Processing Based on the Rediscovery of Traditional Values

Izumi Hoshi

Dairy products are essential foodstuffs for pastoralists in Tibet, and their consumption along with dairy processing have traditionally formed part of the pastoral lifestyle. However, the migration of pastoralists in the Amdo region of Tibet to cities has been progressing since the 2000s under the Ecological Migration and the Relocation Programs, and the number of pastoralists engaged in raising stock has declined dramatically. As a result of this decline in the grasslands' population and the chronic labor shortage, pastoralists are no longer devoted to dairy processing. Thus, in the area of butter production, the traditional wooden churns have disappeared and have been replaced by electric cream separators. Further, dairy products produced by these means are now transported to the cities and sold by retailers. According to a study that we conducted in the Amdo region over a period of two years, in conjunction with this major change, an awareness of issues such as the following has become widespread among former pastoralists who are now city dwellers: (1) fresh, tasty butter cannot be obtained; (2) buttermilk, a lactic acid drink with high nutritional value, is unobtainable because milk fat can now be completely separated by cream separators. The first opinion is mainly heard among women, who were responsible for butter making, while the second is mainly heard among the elderly, who are sensitive to health issues. Such awareness arises for the first time when the traditional way of life is lost, and could be described as a rediscovery of traditional values by former pastoralists living in cities. Amid the growing awareness of such issues, the emergence of traders among former pastoralists who exhibit an inborn craftsmanship and entrepreneurism to develop tools that facilitate the production of butter and its by-product, buttermilk, is noteworthy. We would like to introduce two examples, to date, from our study. The first is a trader who uses the wood from an area adjacent to the city, which is comparatively abundant with forests, to make churns and sell them in the city in wholesale lots. This trader produces mainly small-sized, traditional churns, which apparently sell well among city dwellers as well as pastoralists who have elderly people in their households, enabling people to make fresh butter and buttermilk when needed. The second is a trader who has developed an electric wooden churn, applying the principle of the washing machine. Although washing machines have been used in butter making in the past, what is innovative about this product is the development of a tub, rotating agitator and timer, optimized for butter making by busy city dwellers. The larger tub is just right for storing

the milk and allowing it to settle until the commencement of butter making. Further, the shape and method of rotation for the rotating agitator is ideal for butter making, while the timer is designed so that the butter rises to the surface only an hour after it is first set. In addition to selling well, primarily among dairy product manufacturers and dealers in towns that are engaged in full-scale butter production, there are also city dwellers who buy the electric churn for household use. The fact that the rotation has been designed so that buttermilk can be produced is particularly important: it is now possible to both obtain fresh buttermilk and make soft, delicious cheese with a rich fat content using the buttermilk. The churn has gained a reputation, mainly in urban areas, making it a hit product, with sales of several hundred units per year. As described previously, pastoralists who have migrated to the city were no longer able to inherit traditional dairy processing technology; however, they have rediscovered traditional values while living in the city and created new products as a result. These products could be termed innovations, invented by former pastoralists for former pastoralists. Although small, this kind of local innovation that definitely creates “a good quality of life” should receive more attention in the future.

The Sakya school's descriptions and their relationship with Mi nyag (Xi-xia)

Saya Hamanaka

This research sheds light on the historical documents that describes about Xi-xia (西夏) , written by the Sakya school. Xi-xia, Tangut state or in Tibetan, mi nyag, was a Buddhist state that flourished from the 10thC B.C. to 13thC B.C., is considered to be an important component of Tibetan Buddhism. Xi-xia is often referred to in various Tibetan documents , even after its collapse. Former researches revealed the relationship between the king of Xi-xia and the Tibetan monks based on documents written by the Karma-Kagyü school, Drikung-Kagyü school, and the Barom-Kagyü school. (R.A.Stein, "Mi nyag et Si hia", Elliot Sperling "Lamato the King of Hsia"). However, by analyzing some texts written by Sa skya Pandita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, who has worked elaborately before the collapse of Xi-xia, this research endeavors to reveal the understanding of Xi-xia from the perspective of Sa skya Pandita who has not received much attention. Sa skya Pandita's texts were not used to study the relationship between Xi-xia and Tibet in the past. Hence, this research has been successful in deriving a fresh and important result in comparison to the previous method of study. This research has revealed two of the following: Firstly, "*Mi nyag gi rgyal khams su gnang ba'i yi ge*" (recorded on SKB), written on the "*Sa skya pa'i bka' bum*" (SKB) was referenced in particular. This was not done in the past until now. Then, this text was compared with "*Bu slob rnam la spring ba*" (recorded on SKB) , a text written after Xi-xia became the supreme lama (mchod gnas) of the Mongolian king, Ko-dan. As a result, the fact that the king of Xi-xia was giving economic assistance to the Sa skya Pandita was revealed. Also the depiction of the king of Xi-xia and the Mongolian king, Ko-dan was done in a similar manner by the Sa skya Pandita. Secondly, the relationship between Sa skya Pandita and the process of establishing "*mi nyag gi rgyal rabs*" described in the chronicle "*deb ther dmar po*" is indicated in this research. First, the close relationship between Sa skya Pandita and the person who provided information of "*mi nyag gi rgyal rabs*" is revealed. Mongolian king, Ko-dan is also depicted as a transmigration of the king of Xi-xia in "*mi nyag gi rgyal rabs*". This description matches with the description of the works of Sa skya Pandita and the work of Go ram bsod nams seng ge "*Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad rgyal ba'i gsung rab kyi dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so*" (recoded on SKB)

Hence, "*mi nyag gi rgyal rabs*" on "*deb ther dmar po*" was heavily influenced by the Sakya school's perspective towards Xi-xia. Hence, the following could be seen as a conclusion.

The relationship between the tibetan monks and the king of Xi-xia written by the Kagyu school was seen also in the texts of Sakya school. Sa skya Pandita, who was working elaborately in Tibet knew the relationship between the king of Xi-xia and the tibetan monks.

After the collapse of Xi-xia in 1227, Sa skya Pandita became the supreme lama(mchod gnas) for the Mongolian king, Ko-dan. Sa skya Pandita was overlapping the image of the former king of Xi-xia with the Mongolian King, Ko-dan. This way of perceiving the two kings in a similar manner was acknowledge by the rest of the Sakya school. Indeed the Kagyu school has left more historical documents that describes the relationship of the Xi-xia king with the tibetan monks. Moreover, “*deb ther dmar po*” was compiled by the monks of the Kagyu school. However, the historical documents of the Kagyu school does not show the perspective of seeing the king of Xi-xia and Mongolian king, Ko-dan consecutively. In other words, the perspective of the Xi-xia shared by the Sakya school has become the roots of the royal line of the Xi-xia, described in “*deb ther dmar po*”. In conclusion, this research advances the study of the relationship between Xi-xia and the tibetan monks, and is hence very important. Through this research, Sa skya Pandita of the Sakya school comes to light as the key person who influenced descriptions of Xi-xia in the succeeding Tibetan documents.

An Early rNying ma text on the Doctrinal History of the Kalacakra

Urban Hammar

I have earlier studied the early history of the Tantric teaching of Kalacakra from different texts by Bu-ston, Dol-po-pa and others. Based on the information from Dan Martin (blogspot August 13 2011) I have now received from TBRC another interesting text probably from the 16th/17th century by the rNying ma lama gZhan phan dbang po'i sde entitled dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i spyi bshad mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan. It is published from the dPal brtsegs editorial house in Lhasa: dPal brtsegs Bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang under the title Bod-kyi lo-rgyus rnam-thar phyogs bsgrigs (“Collection of Tibetan Histories and Biographies”), mTsho-mngon dpe-skrun-khang (Xining 2011) in Vol.19 (Dza), pp.459-573. On Tibetan Bookstore from Hamburg (tibetanbookstore.org) there is published a table of content of vol.19 of Bod-kyi lo-rgyus rnam-thar phyogs bsgrigs glegs bam Dza (19) pa'i dkar chag. In this dKar-chag can be found the table of content where the subchapter entitled Dus 'khor Bod du ji ltar dar tshul gyi skabs (The subchapter on how the Kalacakra has spread in Tibet), p.548 – 574. I will present the content of this

subchapter and compare it to the other texts mentioned above. According to TBRC he was associated with *medecin (gso-ba rig-pa)* and the *Rgyud bzhi* lineages. This text is the first written by a *rNying ma lama* that I have studied. Therefore it contains some special entries. The comparison of the different lineages can clarify the usage of the Kalacakra Tantra in these early centuries after its introduction to Tibet in the 11th century.

Tibetan Concordance Construction Through Brute-Force Pattern Matching

Christopher Handy

Tibetan texts present a number of unique challenges for computer analysis. Since Tibetan texts do not normally have spacing between adjacent words, tokenization can be problematic, as it is not always clear where one word ends and another begins. There is also potential for confusion at the level of individual characters in a digital text. Tibetan characters are normally represented in digital texts either as roman characters or as Tibetan unicode characters. Using roman characters allows for standard computer string-processing functions to be applied to Tibetan texts. A single Tibetan character, however, is often represented by a sequence of multiple roman characters, which can lead to erroneous conclusions about Tibetan texts when using standard string-processing functions. I present a novel solution to the above problems by analyzing Tibetan texts as sequences of syllables, rather than focusing on individual characters. Using the computer programming language C, I have developed a custom engine for Tibetan corpus analysis that operates on a simple pattern-matching principle to obtain accurate information about a text or corpus. My application reads in a text or corpus of texts composed either in roman or Tibetan unicode characters, and then divides each text by its syllables. These syllables are then grouped into sequences called n-grams, where 'n' represents the total number of syllables in a given sequence. The n-gram sequences can be as small as one syllable, or as large as the memory of the computer permits. The application then counts every instance of each individual n-gram and creates a set of concordance files based on n-gram frequency. The result of these manipulations of the texts is a set of frequency tables depicting the most common syllable phrases within a text and across a corpus of texts. For example, frequent appearance of the 4-gram sequence *byang chub sems dpa* ("bodhisattva") in a text could be indicative of a Mahāyāna Buddhist text, whereas frequent appearance of the 2-gram sequence *'dul ba* ("vinaya") in a text could be an indication that the text focuses on monastic law. Using this brute-force method of collecting n-grams based on frequency of

their appearance in the text alleviates the problems of searching for word and character boundaries, because extraneous information from case endings, scribal errors and other anomalies that could trip up an ordinary parsing engine are removed by the simple fact that of being statistically insignificant. A second advantage of my method is that it is not limited to the processing of whole words, so that partial words with differing case endings, compound words, and common phrases can be logged by the system as representative of a text style or corpus. It is even possible to create n-gram sequences of the n-grams themselves, meaning that we can compile larger units comprising n-grams of various sizes. So, for example, if the sequences khyim bdag drag shul can bum pa mi rtag ba yin (“Ugra, pots are impermanent”) and khyim bdag drag shul can khor lo mi rtag ba yin (“Ugra, wheels are impermanent”) each appear a significant number of times in a text, the application will register a match on both the 5-gram khyim bdag drag shul can (“Ugra”) and the 4-gram mi rtag ba yin (“are impermanent”) despite the nonmatching section of these two strings. This combined 5-gram + 4-gram can then be treated as a 2-gram of two smaller n-grams. Finally, it is worth pointing out that this n-gram method need not be restricted to Tibetan at all. The engine I have described here was initially developed to analyze the literary genres of different Sanskrit Buddhist texts, and then extended to work with Tibetan texts by a simple modification to the rules for separating individual syllables. The same engine also works on Chinese texts, Japanese texts, and texts in various other languages. It does not have any concern for the meaning of a text, and is therefore unbiased when it comes to determining patterns constituting language and literary genre. By using K-nearest neighbor, Bayesian analysis, and other statistical procedures, it is possible to use the above data to define even more useful information about the multiple relationships between texts and within a text. These data can also be useful in developing machine translation engines and other applications.

Life liberation, animal ethics, and moral theatre in the contemporary Sino-Tibetan religious encounter

Catherine Hardie

No single place has assumed greater agency in shaping the twenty-first century Sino-Tibetan religious encounter than Larung Gar (or the 'Larung Five Sciences Buddhist Academy') in Serta, Western Sichuan, the largest religious institution and community on the Tibetan Plateau, and the heart of a Sino-Tibetan Buddhist mandala whose influence reverberates across Eastern Tibet, inland China, and abroad. The Larung movement has worked across mutually resonant religious modalities to render Tibetan Buddhism legible, accessible and compelling to an overwhelmingly urban, educated target audience of Chinese followers. I argue the Larung movement has evolved as a set of practices, discourses and socialities – the building blocks of a standardized repertoire of doing authentic Tibetan Buddhism 'Larung style.' This paper focuses on the ritual of releasing lives, or 'life liberation' (Ch: fangsheng; Tib: tsetar; sroglu), as an important socially oriented practice that Larung followers are encouraged to cultivate. Life liberation was strongly promoted by Larung founder, Khenpo Jigme Phunstok, and as a popular religious practice in both Tibet and China it is a clear instance of an elective affinity – skilful means - that has assisted the contemporary religious encounter. My ethnographic focus for this paper is the '100 Days of Life Liberation' held annually every Autumn in Chengdu for the past decade by Larung Khenpo Tsultrim Lodrö. This is a significant event in the annual calendar of urban Chinese lay followers associated with the Larung movement, particularly in the Chengdu area. During the one hundred days, in addition to releasing millions of loaches into the waters of lakes on the outskirts of Chengdu, Chinese followers also participate in the 'liberation' of truckloads of livestock (transported for sale from Tibetan areas) at cattle markets on the city's edge. These yaks and sheep are then transported back to nomadic areas in Eastern Tibet where dedicated communities of local herders, supportive of the controversial 'anti-slaughter movement' promoted by Larung Gar across Kham, have volunteered to look after them until they die naturally. It can thus be seen that life liberation not only spans spatially and cultural divergent human constituencies, but also services a range of religious and ethnic programs. Life liberation and the question of the human-animal religious interface provides an especially rich vantage point from which to examine the intersection of the Larung movement, and Tibetan Buddhist practices in China more generally, with discourses and paradigms of Buddhist modernity that have been influential in the development of 20th and 21st century Buddhist ethics in both China and in the West. Of key relevance is the insistence within 'socially engaged Buddhism' that Buddhist leaders

and followers bring their religious tradition – practically and discursively – to bear directly on the concrete challenges of globalised society around them. Whereas Taiwan’s large Buddhist movements, such as as Ciji and Foguangshan, have followed in the tradition of ‘humanistic Buddhism’ by advocating action that principally benefits human beings, the animal realm has evolved as a major aspect of the ethical concerns of Larung Gar, both among rural Tibetan and urban Chinese constituencies. As James Laidlaw notes, when notions of rebirth and karma are treated seriously, life which is ‘ethically significant’ may indeed extend beyond the immediate biological lifespan (2014, 105). At the same time, it is clear the animal realm can serve as a ‘moral theatre’ (Vallely, 2001) in which struggles over complex entanglements of the social, religious, and political find themselves played out. The extent to which this religious intervention maps with secular visions of activism sheds much light on both the cross-pollinations and disjunctions between religious and secular ethical values within the contemporary Larung movement. Larung life liberation practices and the social debate to which they are exposed reveals a historically-specific dialectic between religious and secular epistemologies and their attendant programs of ethical responsibility in the shaping of a modern, socially-engaged mode of religious practice and activism in and between contemporary Eastern Tibet and China.

Pha Dampa Sangye and the Alphabet Goddess

Sarah E. Harding

The source texts for the tradition of Zhi byed (“Pacification”), founded by the Indian siddha Dampa Sangye, have so far not been sufficiently researched. Some have only recently surfaced in a newly printed collection from Dingri monastery and the library of Trulshik Rinpoche. I propose to make a study based on my translations of some of these texts. These are, in particular, the source “tantra,” called Ālikāli Inconceivable Secret Great River Tantra, which may be apocryphal and attributable to Dampa Sangye himself, some notes on it from Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, and the long-missing Six Pieces (Brul tsho drug), which constitutes a crucial link for the teaching traditions of both Zhi byed and gCod. My focus will be on the tradition’s utilization of the Sanskrit alphabet as a basis for praxis, and the possible connection with similar practices in early Buddhist and Śaivist tantra. The transmission ritual for this lineage was recently conferred in Nepal by Sangye Nyenpa Rinpoche, revealing that the initiation basically consists of a series of alphabet recitations; backward, forwards, and so forth. Thus I will also draw on the 130-page initiation text as well as the lama’s oral commentary at the ritual. There is a long Indian tradition of venerating the Sanskrit alphabet as the basis of the “language of the gods,” which is directly connected to the practical use of mantras, the hallmark of tantra. This has been personified by the alphabet goddess Mātrkā (among others), the source of all mantras. Though normative in India, I intend to explore how Dampa Sangye brought these practices into Tibet and how they persist.

Property Rights of multi-cultural Heritages: Emergent forms of Commercialization and property right issues in Tibetan Medicine

Harilal Madhavan

This paper looks at the issues of intellectual property rights in Tibetan medicine (Sowa-rigpa). It is a specific challenge of ownership as the Tibetan medical system is spread over multiple countries and merged into multiple cultures like China-Tibet, Tibetan Exile region and Ladakh in India, Mongolia, Bhutan, Buddhist regions of Russia and some parts of Nepal. Tibetan medicine is at different stages of commercialization in these different countries. In India, the manufacturing and its distribution is mostly controlled by Men-Tsee-Khang and some private players while in Ladakh, it's still a home based production system. In China and Mongolia, the financial capital has largely entered the production process and hence have more competitive production system with many firms with advanced production and marketing strategies. This brings in larger issues of property rights within this medicine in different cultural, political and economic context. Two major strategies emerging during the commercialization of these medicines, one, larger drive for patenting for more and more Tibetan medical formulas and process from big industrial entities in China and two, quest for treating this as a cultural property and hence protection in the form of Intangible Cultural Heritage . Both have the common disadvantage that, it may alienate the knowledge from the real knowledge holders as its' cultural roots have spread across different nations and hence segmented markets and sub-optimal sharing of benefits. We delineate the trend by analysing some major patents in Tibetan medicine using the source of Google patents to map the nature, structure and initiators. The analysis also supplement with some preliminary analysis of information from the Tibetan medical practitioners collected through semi-structured and open interviews during the field work from Ladakh and Dharamsala in India and Ulaanbaatar in Mongolia. As a new entrant into the AYUSH group, sowa-rigpa's complex issues are beginning to be discussed in the Indian political context. Towards the end of the article, we look at the documentation strategies of knowledge holders and disclosure mechanisms of similar nature, and attempt to bring out the possibilities of a customized solution in terms of knowledge ownership. In this context, the article revisits the disclosure of Origin negotiations in the WIPO intergovernmental committees on Intellectual property and Genetic Resources. To date, there is no agreement as to the form of an ideal disclosure of origin requirement, the necessity of such a regime, its form, objectives, and whether it should be adopted within the framework of WTO, CBD or WIPO. Even in the case of Sowa-rigpa, various practical problems may arise in the implementation of a disclosure of origin requirement like

how will national regimes be brought into compliance on prior informed consent and ABS on mutually agreed terms.

Neon Signs and Imitation Toothbrushes: Commodities, Representation, and Place in the Lhasa-Kalimpong Trade

Tina Harris

On 6 October, 1955, the Kalimpong-based Himalayan Times reported that the town had installed its very first neon signs, and that one of the brightly glowing signs — for “Raj Musk Soap” — was in the Tibetan language. Kalimpong, known for being a cosmopolitan hub of Himalayan cross-border trade in the 20th century, was famed for commodities making their way from Tibet on mule caravans, and travelling on to India, Europe, and North America, or vice versa. This paper argues that a closer examination of changes in the representations and geographical origins of commodities traded between Lhasa and Kalimpong is a useful base from which to investigate larger scale geopolitical shifts and the restructuring of inequalities in the Himalayas. A Tibetan neon sign and a toothbrush brand highly coveted by the Chinese in Tibet in 1950s are but two examples of certain commodities from very specific locations in the Himalayas that characterized rapidly transforming notions of modernity, politics, and class for local inhabitants during turbulent geopolitical times. Taking commodities advertised as ‘Tibetan’ or ‘Himalayan’ from the Himalayan Times and Melong newspapers, alongside traders’ oral histories in two distinct time periods — in the 1950s and the 2000s — the paper demonstrates that the fluctuating availability of certain commodities due to geopolitical shifts is inextricably tied to the changing representations of Himalayan places over the last six decades.

Burial in the landscape: remarks on the topographical setting of the grave mounds in early Central Tibet

Guntram Hazod

This landscape-archaeology contribution summarises some aspects of the “Tibetan tumulus tradition”, the name of a research project that has been conducted at the Austrian Academy of Sciences for several years now (www.oeaw.ac.at/tibetantumulustradition). Based on the hundreds of burial mound fields that can be registered today in the areas of Central Tibet, the paper first provides some principal classifications of types of graves and grave fields – also in conjunction to chronologically determine the various phases of the Tibetan tumulus tradition (c.4th – 10th cent. CE). It highlights some architectural specifics of the (elite) monuments and their ritual environment and finally deals with questions of the topographical setting. Here the settlement pattern, the spatial relationship between the burial mound sites and the living environment in a narrower sense, and not least the question of what possible concept can be assumed behind the orientation of the graves, lead us to key elements of the pre-Buddhist cultural lore that are still little known to the research.

On “the two-finger simile” in the Tarkajvālā

Huanhuan He

The study of the confrontation of the Indian Buddhist schools of thought with such other Indian philosophical traditions as Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, and Vedānta, has had a long history. But many details still need to be worked out. The question to what extent and by means of what sources the Buddhist-Madhyamaka intellectual Bhāviveka (or Bhavya, ca. 490/500-ca. 570) was familiar with these other traditions is important not only for this scholar’s intellectual biography, but is also relevant for this much larger issue. Needless to say, Bhāviveka’s encounter with these other traditions has a direct bearing on the way his oeuvre should be studied and understood. It is true that a fair number of in-depth discussions of issues relating to this particular topic have already been published. There is more to be done and, indeed, one builds on the results obtained by one’s precursors. My essay is certainly no exception. The present essay offers an analysis of what we may call “the two-finger simile”, which Bhāviveka discusses in the Vaiśeṣikatattvaviniścaya chapter of the Tarkajvālā, in which he introduces and criticizes the theories of the Vaiśeṣika, which is only extant in a Tibetan translation. Going through the early Vaiśeṣika literature, I noticed that two-finger similes only occur in Candrānanda’s Vṛtti, and that they do so in a very clear and straightforward manner. As I will point out, what is a mystery and somewhat perplexing is the fact that the references to this simile in the Tarkajvālā are not at all immediately intelligible. This will be addressed in my essay, in which I will also offer an interpretation and propose a solution to the issues at hand.

**Research on Educational Efficiency of Tibetan Classes (Schools) in Inland Areas —
— Based on the Perspective of the First Graduates**

Nengkun He

Abstract: Studies on educational efficiency of Tibetan classes in inland areas can be conducted from various perspectives. The first graduate's attitudes and comments on the policy can more directly and objectively reflect its efficiency. The thesis is based on the ABC theory of attitude and gives a proper reform of the theory. It also applies Anthropological methodology to the study of the attitudes of the first graduates who began to study under the policy 30 years ago, the result shows that the efficiency of the policy is positive and remarkable – students' attitudes toward the policy are: on the cognitive level, it is agreeable yet needed to be perfected; on the emotional level, it is sincere and memorable; on the actional level, they are supportive of the learning of their children in inland areas. In the meantime, there remain some problems during the conducting of the policy, such as not paying much attention to Tibetan students' characteristic as an ethnic group, low proportion of their ethnic culture in the educational programs, etc. Abandon the utilitarian view on educational achievement and lead it back to the original standard of personal development and each student in Tibetan classes can achieve healthy development.

Tibetan artists and Tibetan identity: who's who and since when?

Amy Heller

This presentation explores the terrain of Tibetan art by reflection on what defines Tibetan art in contemporary society, and how the definition of Tibetan art fluctuated over time. Ca 1000 - 1100 AD, Kashmiri artists were invited to create Buddhist art in mNga' ris skor gsum, sometimes collaborating with Tibetan artists and scribes. Their work changed to a form of Tibetan art specific to mNga' ris skor gsum. After brief examination of what helped to define past Tibetan art, the focus will be three contemporary artists, aesthetics of their work and how their art reflects aspects of Tibetan identity today. Sonam Dolma Brauen's work comprises painting, installations and video, relating her experiences, in particular "My Father's Death" and "Lost Childhood". Gonkar Gyatso's "Untamed Encounter" is constituted by a series of life-size statues of Shakyamuni, based on a three-dimensional laser scan of a 30 cm fourteenth-century Nepalese sculpture, which he transferred to a three-dimensional printer to make a mould in which the sculpture was cast in resin, then enhanced by pigment and stickers. This innovative work transcends the scale and the geographic origins of the original model, simultaneously introducing subtle humour to the noble moment of the Buddha's Enlightenment. Gade's "Ice Buddha" is a small Buddha sculpted in ice made from the waters of the Kyi chu was subsequently replaced in the original waters of the Kyichu where it melted and dissolved, in a formless realm. The work "Ice Buddha" subsists as a series of photographs and video by Gade and J. Sagster.

Paper production and trade along the Kali Gandaki Valley: A story learned from the fiber analyses of Tibetan archival documents from Mustang, Nepal

Agnieszka Helman-Wazny

Documentary materials found in the remaining archives of the Himalayan villages of Mustang are an extremely valuable source of knowledge about local paper and book production as they provide information essential to tracing a history, clarifying, among other things, the materials and technology applied, but also pragmatic, social and economic factors involved in making paper. Apart from their textual content these local archives are evidence in their own material sphere. The documents translated earlier by Charles Ramble are locally produced and mostly dated to the year within the last two centuries. The typology of paper I created on the basis of these documents is very helpful for identifying local material resources. The variations of production methods, raw materials used, and treatment of paper surfaces reveal links between groups of objects with the same distinguishable features. The fact that these documents are fixed in time and can be mapped for their location makes them valuable and reliable references for comparative study of any yet to be discovered papers. This presentation will discuss the distinctive features of Tibetan papermaking technology and properties of Tibetan and Nepali paper also adapted by local communities in Mustang, Nepal. The research questions under discussion include: possible places where Mustang paper was produced, areas where raw materials were collected, where papermakers learned their skills, and paper trade along the Kali Gandaki Valley which has long been one of the main trade routes between the Indian Plains and the Tibetan Plateau. The talk will be illustrated with examples from both extant papermaking workshops in Nepal and Tibet as well as the results of the fiber analyses of paper identified in handwritten documents from Mustang.

Moving images from the Gesar heartland: the emergence of a specifically Khampa cinema?

Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy

When addressing the remarkable Tibetan turn to movie-making in the PRC over the last ten years, observers have devoted most of their attention to the professional cinema from Amdo, emphasizing its claims to represent Tibetan culture in Tibetan terms, distinct from both Chinese and Western imaginings. Aside from these greatly successful films stemming from highly educated intellectuals, young Tibetans from all walks of life have also taken to the camera, circulating their short movies (wei dianying, brnyan thung) through various Chinese websites. Yet, the full-length films that have emerged in Kham can hardly be compared to either Amdo professional cinema or home movies. The most striking example is probably the five films produced since 2011 by a family-based group of 'brog-pas living in rDzogs-chen, sDe-dge county, northwest Sichuan: Self-interest (Ngos-zin, 2011), The statue of Kham (mDo-khams ston-pa'i sku-'dra, 2012), Pleasant advice (Lam-'gro'i slob-gso, 2012), The barley fortress of Denma ('Dan-ma'i nas-rdzong, 2014) and For you (Khyed kyi ched du, 2015). In this paper, I shall first consider possible reasons for the burgeoning of movies in that particular locale within Kham. Besides being a reputed Nyingma monastery and college, rDzogs-chen is also the birth place of the 'cham dance of Gesar at the beginning of the 20th C., which has arguably left a significant mark in the cultural production of the region. It is no surprise that one of the rDzogs-chen movies is also the first fiction movie inspired by the Gesar epic in Tibet (2014). I will then move onto the articulation of a specific Khampa identity on screen. With limited means (little education, cheap technology and living in a settlement with no electricity until 2014), the film makers passionately aim to represent local stories and issues in their own terms and dialect, accepting yet distancing themselves from both the hegemonic visual language of official television and the high-profile contemplative cinema of Amdo. More than costume or visual aspects of Khampa aesthetics (however present in the sixth movie in the making), they first chose to emphasize local dialect, then moved to dubbing in standard Kham and Amdo dialects. But the common thread to all their movies is the will to tell local stories. Searching for identity through image, language and stories, this nascent cinema has many things to tell.

Switching Hats: Understanding Shākya mchog ldan's Allegiance to Mahāmudrā

David Higgins

An important but largely overlooked chapter in the career of Shākya mchog ldan concerns his growing affiliation with the Karma Bka' brgyud Mahāmudrā tradition during the last half of his life. This productive encounter found its culmination in a late trilogy of writings dedicated to articulating and defending Dwags po Bka' brgyud systems of exegesis (bshad lugs) and practice (sgrub lugs) against various detractors. Although his interest in harmonizing Sa skya and Dwags po Bka' brgyud traditions is certainly evident in parts of the trilogy (especially the third work), as noted by Seyfort Ruegg (1989) and David Jackson (1994), other sections reveal a more openly critical style of engagement in which he explicitly repudiates the criticisms of Sa paṅ, especially as they were reframed by so-called "latter-day acolytes of the Sa skya tradition" (sa skya pa'i rjes 'brang phyi ma). Here, the question immediately arises: Why did a renowned Sa skya scholar and teacher choose to openly defend the validity, and even superiority, of a tradition against criticism by the supreme religious and scholastic authority of his own tradition, Sa skya Paṅḍita, and virtually all of the latter's successors? It could hardly have surprised Shākya mchog ldan that this shift of allegiance would earn him a reputation as a controversial figure, even an apostate, by his own Sa skya school and lead to the general condemnation or neglect of his writings. This paper identifies and explores a set of interrelated doctrinal and historical factors which help to account for Shākya mchog ldan's deepening liaison with Mahāmudrā traditions and teachings in his later years.

Further exceptions to Dempsey's law

Nathan Hill

In a previous paper I explain four Tibetan verbs forms that violate Dempsey's law as analogical creations, replacing inherited -i- before velars with the vocalism -e- typical of the present stem (Hill 2014). Here I offer similar explanations for the verbs reg 'touch', ḥbren 'follow', ḥphren 'rosary', ḥdreg 'shave', and rdeg 'strike', through an investigation of Old Tibetan documents and the Bkaḥ ḥgyur.

Unrest in Tibet: explaining regional variations in the scale of protest and conflict

Benjamin Hillman

In the recent wave of unrest that erupted on the Tibet plateau in 2008 protest and conflict was widespread, but some Tibetan areas reported a much high number of protests and suffered more extreme violence than other Tibetan areas. Some Tibetan areas experienced little or no unrest. This paper examines the reasons for the regional variation in unrest, arguing that a critical factor is local leadership—both of monasteries and local governments. Findings are based on extensive fieldwork and interviews in Kham and Amdo (Yunnan, Sichuan and Qinghai Provinces).

Flexibility of milk processing system by Amdo Tibetan pastoralists

Masahiro Hirata

The recent lifestyle of Amdo Tibetan pastoralists has been drastically changing due to effects of the politics of the Chinese government and technology innovation. In this presentation, through a case study of milk culture, I would like to discuss the flexibility (transition and adaptation) of milk processing techniques in the current situation and the values retained in the society of Amdo Tibetan pastoralist during the last 4 decades. Cream separators were introduced by the Chinese government in the 1980s in the Amdo area, and subsequently all pastoral households adopted it for milk processing. Nowadays, two milk processing techniques ('cream separating series' and 'fermented milk processing series') are used in the Amdo area. In the technique of cream separating series, non-sterilized raw milk is firstly divided into cream and skim milk by the cream separator. Cream is used for butter (*mar*) processing. Buttermilk is processed to dry unmatured cheese (*tc^hara*) by adding the coagulant sour milk. The technique of cream separating series is practiced almost daily in pastoral households. This technique produces butter and cheese important for their diet and becomes the main milk processing method for today's Amdo Tibetan pastoralists. Butter and cheese are mixed with roast barley flour (*tsampa*) every day as their main food. In the technique of fermented milk processing series, only sour milk (*co*) is processed from sterilized raw milk. The sour milk is also a vital foodstuff for their daily diet. People consume it especially before resting because they feel that it helps provide a deep sleep. Before the advent of cream separators in the 1980s, the technique of fermented milk processing series played important roles in their milk processing system to produce butter and cheese. Non-sterilized raw milk was firstly fermented, and then naturally fermented sour milk was churned for butter processing by a tub and plunging dasher or with a hide bag. Buttermilk was processed to dry unmatured cheese through heat denaturation and draining. Sour milk was also processed from sterilized raw milk by the same technique that they continue to use today. The technique of cream separating series was mainly conducted in winter. Non-sterilized raw milk was left to stand overnight, and then cream on the surface was skimmed off with a spoon. Since the amount of butter processed from cream was small, the cream separating series was not the main milk processing technique by Amdo Tibetan pastoralists until the 1980s. Moreover, the technique of 'coagulating-additives using series' was also adopted, in which sour milk was used as the coagulant to process dry unmatured cheese. The reason for the spread

of cream separators into Amdo society is that it lightened the workload of females. They are extremely busy from early morning to late evening, with such duties as twice daily milking of animals, milk processing, drying of animal feces for fuel, tidying the camping place and tents, cooking and cleaning up, continuous burning of animal feces almost throughout the day, drawing water from a local stream, and so on. Although traditional butter processing by the churning of naturally fermented sour milk took almost a whole day, cream separators reduced this to only 10 minutes. The introduction of the cream separator clearly lightened the female workload, making its use extremely attractive to the females of pastoral households. A new technology innovation came from outside and was adopted through the willingness of local peoples, not compulsory actions or directives from outside powers. Although various compulsory policies of the Chinese government and technology innovation have changed the milk processing technique and the lifestyle of Amdo Tibetan pastoralists, the large dependence on the milk products will continue to flourish in this pastoral society for those who coexist with animal livestock. The society largely depends on milk products, which is the subsistence of pastoralism.

On Padmasambhava's "names" (mtshan) and the synthesis of Rdo rje gro lod

Daniel Hirshberg

In his seminal twelfth-century hagiography by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, Padmasambhava receives various titles and epithets in accordance with key moments in his life. Having first been discovered on the pistil of a lotus, once adopted and anointed as the heir of King Indrabodhi, he receives the royal title of Rgyal po Padma rdo rje. Later he becomes a monk and so receives the ordination name Śākya seng ge, thereby signifying an unbroken and authentic lineal descent from Śākyamuni Buddha. Upon entering the esoteric Buddhist path, he receives the empowerment name Blo ldan mchog sred. And for his logical and theurgical defeat of the tīrthakas at Bodh Gaya, the grateful Buddhist paṇḍitas praise him as Seng ge sgra sgrog, the "lion's roar" that proclaims the supremacy of Buddhism over competing sects. Each of Padmasambhava's names is therefore received in a customary, traditional and quite expected context. Nyang ral does not intimate any sense of a structured (never mind closed) rubric and instead presents Padmasambhava receiving his titles and epithets at appropriate moments along the chronology of his hagiography. In claiming to be Nyang ral's reincarnation, Gu ru Chos dbang (1212–70) picks up where his preincarnation left off in the elaboration of Padmasambhava, and it is within the recollections of his dreams that we find what very well may be the earliest occurrence of the now ubiquitous rubric, *Gu ru mtshan brgyad*, and the now normative "eight names" subsumed beneath it. A sequence thus informally introduced by Nyang ral as signposts along a narrative progression soon becomes formalized and fixed—a closed rubric—as a means of distinguishing and structuring Gu ru Chos dbang's oneiric content. It is within these dream accounts that we are first introduced to what became one of Padmasambhava's most renowned and revered aspects, Rdo rje gro lod. Among the normative *mtshan brgyad* of Padmasambhava, Rdo rje gro lod becomes second only to Padma 'byung gnas himself in both hagiography and liturgy. This is due to the symbiotic relationship between these genres, which is quite prevalent in Padmasambhava literature especially. While some later *Padma bka' thang* embed supplications if not liturgies to each of the eight, Rdo rje gro lod becomes independent of Padmasambhava's hagiographies as a distinct *yi dam* and esteemed focus of deity yoga. Padma 'byung gnas in his potent yet mostly pacifistic and mustachioed eight-year-old form remains the preeminent and most popular aspect for countless exoteric rituals and supplications, and many esoteric cycles indeed focus on this emanation as well. And yet among all the other *mtshan brgyad*, only Rdo rje gro lod emerges both as a fierce epicenter of esoteric soteriology as

well as the protagonist of independent hagiographies, whereby he acquires an autonomy that is unique among Padmasambhava's seven other "names."

My paper explores how Rdo rje gro lod emerged both nominally and iconographically as the coalescence and synthesis of several distinct elements. On the one hand, his roots seem to be in the crosspollination of Himalayan religions where Stag la/lha me 'bar, the "blazing tiger god," is mentioned both as a local divinity and as a "translation" of Slop dpon Padma in early Bon literature. On the other, the assimilation of the one-hundred pacifistic and fierce deities from the *Guhyagarbha tantra* led to their distillation as single deities in early Buddhist treasure literature. Foremost among these is Nyang ral's discovery and promotion of *Gu ru drag po* among his primary treasure cycles. This is a fierce aspect of Padmasambhava for which few of Nyang ral's texts remain extant, but his iconography is preserved in later *thang ka* that purport to accurately represent Nyang ral's textual descriptions. Nyang ral does mention that Padmasambhava received the name Rdo rje drag po rtsal from the ḍākinīs of Uḍḍiyāna in *Zangs gling ma*, but no additional information beyond the narrative context is provided. I have also acquired the pdf of a unique manuscript from Mongolia that includes several of Chos dbang's treasures on *Gu ru drag po*, and his dreams offer several inchoate contributions to his iconography as well. In sum, despite evidence of early correlations between Padmasambhava and an indigenous tiger god ensconced in flame, the normative liturgical and iconographical depictions of him as a fierce red *yi dam* atop a pregnant tigress required several additional centuries of coalescence and conflation. Given that the *Gu ru mtshan brgyad* are among the most renowned elements of Padmasambhava, which belies the nearly total dearth of research on them, this paper makes a significant contribution to Padmasambhava's apotheosis in the Tibetan imaginaire.

A Tibetan Heart with a Chinese Mouth: Tsering Woese's Notes on Tibet

Kamila Hladíková

The Sinophone Tibetan writer Tsering Woese (tshe ring 'od zer, Ch. Weise, born 1966) has during the last decade gained considerable attention worldwide as a unique voice of Tibetan intelligentsia within the PRC. She is now known as Tibetan activist, blogger and dissident who lives with her husband, prominent Chinese intellectual Wang Lixiong, under constant surveillance in Beijing. She drew much international attention during the 2008 Tibetan protests, when she was an important source of information for Western journalists who were not allowed to stay in Tibet. Since then, her blogs about contemporary Tibet have been translated into English and published online, occasionally also in the print Western media, and a book of her and her husband's blogs and essays appeared in English in 2014. She has been awarded several prizes abroad, and often is heard through the Radio Free Asia or the Voice of Tibet. However, not much is known about Woese, the poet, before the year 2008. In my paper I will focus on the earlier stage of her career, when she worked in Lhasa as an editor for the Sinophone literary journal *Xizang wenxue* (Literature from Tibet). In 2003 Huacheng chubanshe, a liberal publishing house from Canton, published Tsering Woese's essays collection called *Xizang biji* (Notes on Tibet). Shortly after the publication, the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China found "serious political mistakes" in the book, the book was banned and its author was ordered to go through several critical sessions, during which she was supposed to admit her "mistakes" and to "correct" her thoughts. She refused to do that, left her official position in the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles as well as her editing job and moved to Beijing, where she has been supported by her husband Wang Lixiong. This was the beginning of her online activism, which made her famous in the exile Tibetan circles and the related Western journalism and academia. My Czech translation of Tsering Woese's book *Notes on Tibet* was published in September 2015 as the first full translation of the Taiwan edition of the book called *Ming wei Xizang de shi* (A Poem Called Tibet, 2006) into Western languages. In my paper I will introduce the book, comparing its both Chinese editions (PRC and Taiwan), and analyze its content from a literary point of view, focusing on its genre, literary style and the problems of identity. My questions stem from the fact that the author is ethnically Tibetan (with a quarter of Han Chinese blood) who was educated in Chinese and through education was sinicized, so that she had to search for her Tibetan roots in her adult age, along with learning Lhasa Tibetan and practicing Buddhism also by the means of her writing. The title of her book, *Notes on*

Tibet, refers to a traditional Chinese literary genre *biji*, which literally translates as “brush notes” or “notebook”, and includes usually highly subjective writings that were not subject to strict formal rules, mixing personal contemplations on various themes, short narrative texts, such as stories and anecdotes, and quotations from a wide range of literature from mythology through historiography, literary and art criticism to travelogues. The *biji* originated from the ancient genre of *xiaoshuo* (“petty talks”), which later developed into the major genres of Chinese narrative fiction, like short story and novel. Paradoxically, Tsering Woeser has used this typically Chinese literary genre and her brilliant literary Chinese with numerous references to traditional and modern Chinese literature for a subjective expression of her affiliation to the Tibetan identity, and in particular to Tibetan Buddhism. Her book is roughly divided into three parts (Tibetan places, people of Tibet, Tibetan impressions), in which she writes about Tibetan past and present, from a strictly subjective point of view and with religion as the omnipresent leitmotif of the whole book. As I want to argue, it was this book, or the particular essays written during the late 1990s and the early 2000s, which helped her to become Tibetan, both symbolically and in the proper sense. Her essays map a subjective spiritual journey into Tibet, a process of learning about Tibetan history, culture and religious practice in the everyday life. The questions of identity, hybridity, and search for personal roots are thus the key themes that resonate throughout the book.

Sign Language Ideologies from Lhasa to Beijing and Beyond

Theresia Hofer

This paper explores the local, regional, national and international spheres of language ideologies regarding the Tibetan Sign Language (TSL) in the PRC. Based on fieldwork and the study of relevant literature, policy and NGO documents, it looks at the relations and communications between actors in of these spheres in order to provide a more complex and comprehensive picture of the promises and perils of sign language for deaf people in the Chinese Tibetosphere. I will show a complex web of diverging and converging sign language ideologies located in time and space, which will be firmly placed and explored against broader socio-political, economic and cultural change in the region.

The Sacred Space and Powerful Place of Minya Konka Mountain

Hongxing Yangzom

In the context Tibetan culture, mountain is not only a geographical landscape, but also play a vital role in ethnic identity. To large extent, mountains become a supernatural anthropomorphic mountain spirit because of its physical life and spirituality. The villager who want to safety, wealth and fertility must perform daily individual support and periodic collective sacrifice. In this two-way relationship between villagers and mountain spirits, the latter one is a local interpretation of the influence of acculturation, which regarded as a transition between the sacred and the secular. Therefore, from the landscape to the mindscape, mountain as the center of the village, monastery and other surrounding natural landscape is constructed as a whole. It becomes a distinguishable boundary of community. Here, my example is Minya Konka(མི་ཉག་གངས་དཀར།). I describe deities system and its pilgrimage behavior of Minya Konka from three aspects, which are sacred mountains and mountain spirits, shrines and saints, and pilgrimage and pray. In this paper, Minya Konka refer in particular to the group of Konka Mountain's main peak which locate in the intersection of KangDing prefecture, LuDing prefecture and JiuLong prefecture . I.Sacred mountains and mountain In this part, I use four texts which to explain Minya Konka's status in Buddhism , the relationship between the numina of Minya district and the mountain spirits of Minya Konka, the roughly image of mountain spirits and its friendship with other surrounding mountain spirits. In these texts, there are three concepts associated with the mountain. Namely gns-ri(གནས་རི), yul-lha(ཡུལ་ལྷ) and gzhi-bdg(གཞི་བདག). As a anthropomorphic deity, mountain spirits is regarded as the early secular partner in Tibetan families or individuals. Ordinarily, gzhi-bdg(གཞི་བདག) means protector or master of mountain, while yul-lha(ཡུལ་ལྷ) refer to family or hometown, so it means local numina. With the spread of Tibetan Buddhism, the past native Tibetan concept that mountains and mountain spirits is a was separated, beyond the scope of "gzhi-bdg(གཞི་བདག)". Mountain is not only a habitation of mountain spirits ,but also a sacred Buddhist place, pure vision and mandala. Although mountain spirit is still the mountain's master or protector, it has already belonged to Buddhist divine system, and come to be the sacred space from the spirits' habitation. In this sense, Minya Konka exist such a trine divine system, that is the place for disseminating dharma of chakrasamvara, the local numina shing-bya-cn(ཤིང་བྱ་ཅན) and the native mountain spirit rdo-rj e-blo-gros(རྩེ་རྩེ་བམོ་གཙོས་). Visible, from gzhi-bdg(གཞི་བདག) to gns-ri(གནས་རི), Minya Konka experienced transformation from secular religion identity to Tibetan Buddhism identity, and become

the historical memory in Minya region even the whole Tibet. II. shrines and saints Minya Konka's shrines and saints including the holy sunlight, milk river, the thatched cottage, Gongkhar Temple, Gongkhar Rinpoche, etc. These texts reflect that the sacred mountain system of Minya Konka reflects the association between the imagination and reality, and the corresponding relationship between cognitive structure and social structure. III. pilgrimage Route and pray "Turn the mountain" can be seen as an ascetic practice which maintain and reinforce the sanctity of order. Particularly, in the year of the Ox, pilgrimage have the greatest merit. In general, there are two route to circle. Nevertheless, whether it is large circle or small circle, they both are based on the cosmological order of Tibetan Buddhism. It is an imaginary structure of concentric circles with the center of sacred mountain. As Levi-Strauss refer to, "the sacred and the secular have been converted by opening two circles and flipping its direction." If pilgrimage is a rite of passage, pilgrims need to break liminality and come back to secular life through ascetic experience and practice of turning mountains.

In this process, people also need to do Sangs (བསམ) and throw rlung-rta (རླང་རྟ་) . Gongkhar Temple Puja (spring and winter) is also an important part of the ritual. As the extension of exemplary center of sacred mountain, monasteries initiative to build relations with folk belief and actively participate in sacrifice ritual of mountain spirits. To some extent, it reflects significant influence of Tibetan Buddhism in multicultural belief system.

V. Conclusion

Ritual is a way of symbol and expression. When the Tibetan cultural habitats slowly disappearing and the local interpretation gradually weakening, the meaning of pilgrimage will be changed. So, it is not so much as a conclusion, but rather as a worry. With more and more various countries' climbers successfully climbing on the top of Minya Konka and the increasingly frequent intervention of travel, the constraining force of traditional taboos are falling. Doubtless, travel build a more open community, but it also increases the risk of collapsing system. When there is no sacred space, is whether or not sill to pursue local economic interests, rather than maintain the historical memory and cultural aspirations of the Tibetan?

Transnational Kinship Network: History of the Ruling rGya Family at the Ra-lung Seat between the 15th and 16th Centuries

Per Sörensen and Hou Haoran

During the unruly 16th century in Tibet, the Bar 'Brug-pa sect began its most intense and contentious phase of missionary activity in the "Southern Land" (lho mon), the future kingdom of Bhutan. The 14th Rwa-lung throne-holder Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal (1465-1540) travelled numerous times to „Bhutan“ and established more than eighteen new Bar 'Brug-pa foundations in Paro, Thimphu and Punakha. The monastic institutions and their subjected estates continued to flourish and remained affiliated with the mother-seat Rvalung via the management of his two sons, the 15th Ralung Throneholder Ngag-dbang grags-pa (1517-1554) and the 16th throneholder Mi-pham chos-rgyal (1543- 1604). The expansion of the Ralung seat in "Bhutan" was a response to the uprising of the newly established "rGyal-dbang 'Brug-chen" reincarnation lineage within the Bar 'Brug-pa sect, which had seized a large amount of patronage customarily enjoyed by the ruling family rGya at Ralung. In this period, the kin network of the rGya clan underlying the monastic structure played a significant role in legitimating the sect's official missions in "Bhutan", serving as a faithful channel to transfer to their homeseat the offerings and properties which the Ralung incumbents accumulated to their home seat, and paved the way for the later exiled Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1594-1651) when establishing a centralized Bhutan in 1625/26. By examining the biographies of Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal and his two sons, the study intends to highlight the rGya clan and lineage as an example of how such families played the socio-economic and political role played in the complex religious and political situation of Medieval Tibet and the Himalayan Regions.

House Name System, Endogamy and Transition to Direct Ruling: The Historical process of Being a part of State

Dongwen Hu

According to anthropologists' research, kinship systems are rudimentary form of political systems in the societies that lack centralized authority and administrative machine. However, with the establishment of the state, kinship systems are always adapted to state political system. As Marx Webb suggests the lineage was totally broke up by the Roman Empire, but the lineage became the minimum administrative unit in Chinese Empire era. Morris Freedman, the famous anthropologist, thought the reason why this phenomenon existed is the government power was not strong enough in southeast China. But the latest anthropological and historical studies correct Morris Freedman's idea. They combined the flexible form of lineage with the lijia system, a kind of local management system in Ming and Qing period. In the meantime, they used Confucian rituals and those gods worshiped officially as their local religion, which means local people accepted the Confucian orthodoxy national ideology. In southwest China, where plenty of ethnic groups live in, the strategy of keeping original social organization and local culture was used by Ming and Qing government, which is known as tusi system. The transformation from local chieftain system to bureaucratic system, named gaitu guiliu, has the same function of lijia syetem, which means using distribution of land and taxpaying to give people an legal identity. This legal identity indicates equal status between individuals, and they all belong to emperor's subjects. However, the situation in rGyal-rong society in Jinchuan county Sichan province is different. Since Shunzhi period Qing Dynasty, rGayl-rong chieftains, named Jinchuan tusi, have ruled Jinchuan. Like most part of Tibetan society, Jinchuan rGaly-rong society was hierarchy in that time. But in the late Qianlong ear, Jinchuan rGyalrong Society saw indirect rules replaced by direct rules. Qing government officials established the tunbing system in this area. Precisely, after the second Jinchuan war, the Jinchuan tusi was killed by Qing officers, and the new order of local society were built by new land ownership and taxpaying. rGayl-rong people survived after the second Jinchuan war were divided into several villages. One officer, named shoubei or qianzong, governed three or four villages. And they belong to bureaucratic system. Each rGayl-rong family only had five acres of land, accordingly, paid a fixed amount of tax in the form of wheat, peas and the other grains. At the same time, one male in the family had to be soldier and fight for the Qing Empire. Therefore, Qianlong Emperor meant to establish the equal status among people through this transformation from indirect rules to direct rules. However, everything went to the opposite side. shoubei and qianzong had rights to make rGayl-rong people

who governed by them to work as labor service. Two different classes were built by labor service. And individuals who broke their rules became slaves for their whole life. Consequently, hierarchy including three classes appeared in the villages governed by shoubei and qianzong. House name system is a special factor in rGayl-rong society. Each house name includes a house, family members live in, as well as a certain amount of land. Individual used the name of the houses he/she lived in as his/her surname. Because the relation between house name and land, five acres of land distributed by state became the belongings of a house name and planted by people who live in the house. On the other words, the distribution of land combined with rGaly-rong people's original land system. So, people who had house name compose the middle class in Jinchuan rGaly-rong society. This middle class is called ordinary individual class, deshang in rGaly-rong language. Owing to their endogamy, this Hierarchy was reproduced. In conclusion, because of rGyarong people's kinship, and house name system and endogamy, the local society kept the original hierarchy, the same situation as Jinchuan ruled by local chieftain. And the equal status of subjects did not emerge until 1950s. The argument in this paper is the traditional rGaylrong authority and the state authority coexisted in local society from late Qing Qianlong ages to 1950s. On the other side, because of the Tibet Buddhism, the historical process of being a part of state of rGyalrong society is different from the other region of China borderland.

The Conflict of Tradition and Modernization Creates the Development and Reform Values of Tibetan Thangkar Painting Culture

Wenjuan Huang

The conflict of tradition and modernization in Tibetan Thangkar painting culture has been seen ever since the word “modernization” came up. Yet Tibetan Thangkhar painters have never decided to choose which, and perhaps they will never. In this paper, the authors conduct interviews of 70 Tibetan Thangkar painters, who are in differences on ages, education backgrounds, social environments, economic states, religious faith, personal interests and so forth. The authors analyze what and how the tradition-modernization conflict on Tibetan Thangkhar painting culture happens and how Tibetan Thangkhar painters take their different initiatives to cope with the conflict throughout the process of drastically modernization of Tibetan society. In particular, the opening-up of Tibet has been a fundamental change, leading to a series of changes in values and rapid social change. Thangkhar painters simply have not enough time to think about change. Even in today’s rapidly developing and multi-cultural society in Tibet, compatible between tradition and modernization on Tibetan Thangkhar painting culture occurs everywhere in all aspects. Tradition and modernization are not on the opposite side of a river, instead they wind their way together to the development of civilization, and the seemingly incompatibility is probably just a wave from the surface. When Thangkhar painters want to convey the same opinion, or achieve the same target, they choose to work it out in different way, newer or older, and then the collision appears. The two groups may be in a severe contrast externally, but deep inside they are genetically alike, or they are compatible. As matter of fact, principle of conflict of tradition and modernization is a value conflict on Tibetan Thangkar paintings. The value of anomie is the inevitable consequence of social reform because reform is a comprehensive reform and the upgrade of Thangkhar painting culture. Nevertheless, the important task is to work out sound strategies to shorten such an anomie phase and finally realize culture development.

Slungs, Slungs-ma, Sha-slungs. Notes on the cultural history of an obscure ritual structure.

Toni Huber

The rather obscure Tibetan terms slungs, slungs-ma and sha-slungs all relate to a type of equally obscure ritual structure that has not been discussed before. These structures are first used in pre-11th century funeral rites in direct connection to domestic animals. They appear again in ca. 12th century secular rites related exclusively to wild animals and birds and deities who are considered as 'owners of the game'. There is still much we do not understand about these first two contexts. Finally, we find the same structure still used today in parts of the eastern Himalayas in rites concerning wild animals and birds and addressed to deities who are also considered as 'owners of the game'. The interesting part of this succession is the recontextualization of the older slungs from funeral rites into the later sha-slungs associated with game animals and their owner spirits. There is evidence that the case of slungs, slungs-ma and sha-slungs is one instance of a wider pattern of post-11th century reworking of older rite techniques, myths, ritual terminology and concepts which yielded different rites concerned with vitality and new life, rather than those concerned with death and the dead.

Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka: a fleeting episode in the history of Tibetan

Madhyamaka

Pascale Hugon

This paper investigates the origins and the justification for the adoption by certain Tibetan Mādhyamika scholars of a position on the level of relative reality akin to the Vaibhāṣika philosophical system. While Yogācāra-Madhyamaka and Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka are well-known subdivisions of Madhyamaka, Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka is not commonly mentioned in classical Tibetan doxographies. As I have discussed elsewhere, the famous philosopher Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169) and some of his followers supported this view and actively refuted other options. But this position was soon abandoned in the later tradition, maybe due to the problem, for Tibetan Mādhyamikas who also adopted the epistemological system of Dharmakīrti, of the ostensible incompatibility of the latter with the Vaibhāṣika view. My paper traces the source of this doxographical distinction based on the newly recovered dBu ma'i de kho na nyid gtan la dbab pa of the twelfth-century scholar rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags, who had been Phya pa's teacher. The discussion of this issue by rGya dmar ba (himself a partisan of Vaibhāṣika-Madhyamaka), supplemented by the numerous notes written on the manuscript by a quite informed reader, offers a fascinating picture of intra-Tibetan debates revolving around the question of which philosophical system (if any) was to be adopted on the level of relative reality, debates that involved a number of eleventh and twelfth-century scholars whose works on the topic are not extant.

Financial gain and religious practice among Reb gong Ngakmas

Tiina Hyytiäinen

This paper is based on my fieldwork on A mdo Tibetan women in a remote farming and semi-pastoralist village located in the Reb gong area. The village women live like most female rural Tibetan householders: farming, herding and raising their children. For extra income, they collect caterpillar fungus from the nearby mountains. Unlike average Tibetan laywomen, however, they observe daily and periodic commitments to tantric Buddhist ritual and meditation practices amidst their family life as Ngakmas (sngags ma), lay female tantric practitioners. Most unusually, compared with the majority of A mdo women, they are literate and capable of studying basic Buddhist texts and reciting extensive ritual texts in order to perform local village rituals. Importantly, the village women also observe at least two of the five Buddhist lay precepts given by their A lags, the local supervising teacher. The most salient of these vows includes an injunction against killing. Most of their sources of livelihood, however, result in the killing of insects at least. In this paper, based on my interviews and observations, I examine the relationship between the women's sources of livelihood and religious practice in the village. Firstly, I discuss the relationship between economic exchange, intra-group cooperation and Buddhist ethics in the village. Secondly, I analyse the ethical compromises that these women need to negotiate in order to maintain their respective goals of financial gain and religious practice.

Rethinking the mirror metaphor

Gidi Ifergan

The metaphor of the mirror, in the hands of Longchenpa (kLong chen rab 'byams pa, 1308–1364), one of Tibet's greatest thinkers, discloses a “place” or a “content domain” that hosts, explicitly and implicitly, several tensions and frictions between philosophical perspectives and their respective spiritual practices, where their forces at work shape a religio-political state of affairs. Approaching the mirror as “content domain” would necessitate considering Perelman's assertion that our relation to a metaphor depends on our relation to the idea it is compared with—that is, if we agree with the idea expressed by the metaphor, we will tend to adopt the metaphor, thus making it an integral part of speech. In the opposite case, we will tend to invalidate the metaphor and might perceive it to be manipulative. As Hillis notes, in Tibet metaphors are particularly used as a component of rhetoric, acting to persuade in the following circumstances: in the hands of parties interested in offering their own distinctive visions of the past; in interpreting the visions of the present and determining what course of action to take in the future; and as a style used efficiently by a writer in order to draw the readers into his argument or agenda. This paper explores the various possible ideas and meanings that the mirror metaphor can represent within the context of Longchenpa's teachings, in order to understand the manner by which it was employed to affirm or reject a philosophical perspective, its consequences, and its implications. Such an exploration also considers that the mirror metaphor can bring the listener or reader closer to “distant” meaning and understanding of a certain framework of thought. Such an approach to the study of the mirror metaphor constitutes a balanced critical approach, enabling it to reveal its different meanings and implications. Longchenpa speaks of appearances arising in the mind like reflections in a mirror, and at the same he says that the mind is intrinsically free from partialities, like the surface of the mirror, being the essence of discriminative awareness that transcends all conceptualization and elaboration (Longchenpa in Thondup, 1989:48). The nature of mind as identified with the inherent capacity of the mirror to reflect implies an inherent “reflexive awareness” (*rang gi rig pa*). But Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamaka thinkers such as Candrakīrti also employ the mirror metaphor in order to clarify the concept of emptiness, emphasizing that all things are insubstantial reflections and in some way are mere fictions, a doctrine that clearly critiques all ultimate inherently existent entities. This critique seems to be at odds with Longchenpa's notion of the nature of mind possessing an inherent “reflexive awareness.” It is intriguing because Longchenpa himself considered “the methods of

evaluating reality that are used in the system of natural great perfection...are largely in accord with syllogistic Prāsaṅgika approach..." (Longchenpa in Chagdud and Barron, 2001:163) and saw himself as a Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika. Furthermore, notions such as polishing or cleaning grime and dust off a mirror represent removing one's *vasanas*, which distort one's perceptions, and such as the *a priori* stainless condition of the mirror imply the two paths to spiritual practice. One path argues that Buddha mind is achieved through a gradual meditation process consisting of a means to an end, enabling a gradual progression of understanding over time and in stages — the gradual approach. The other path argues that the realization of Buddha's awakened mind is immediate, direct, and effortless, in the sense that nothing can be done that can produce such realization, since it was always there to start with. The latter is the simultaneous path of pristine Dzogchen. Those two approaches to realization represented by the mirror metaphor have religio-political implications. Longchenpa uses terms unique to Dzogchen such as "lucidity," "naturalness," and "spontaneity" or "primordially" as a force of resistance against the Indic discourses of the gradual path adopted by the new (*sarma*) schools and their political establishments. He converted it into a self-definition of Dzogchen, giving a voice to Padmasambhava's teachings and maintaining the Nyingmapa's status as the old and authentic tradition, albeit in decline in the Tibetan consciousness of his time. Such exploration demonstrates the various tensions and frictions associated with the mirror metaphor, enabling understanding and clarity in the sense that a fixed idea regarding the mirror and its meanings and implications can be avoided. It can compel one to ask what underlies the mirror's capacity to reflect the reflexive awareness that can lead inevitably to an empty answer. Still, the mirror remains a serviceable metaphor for utilitarian concerns, and at the same time it can bring the reader closer to "distant" meaning and understanding of a certain framework of thought.

Historical roles of the monastic network of the eastern part of Amdo in the 17th century

Yoko Ikejiri

This paper aims to clarify the historical roles of the monastic network of the eastern part of Amdo, especially around Thang-ring monastery in the 17th century. Thang-ring monastery is a monastery of the Gelug school founded by dGe 'dun rin chen (1571-1642) who took on the duties of the 37th dGa'-ldan khri-pa in the early 17th century. Since dGon-lung, sKu-'bum, and Bla-brang monastery were well known as important monasteries of the Gelug school in the eastern part of Amdo, Thang-ring monastery did not draw much attention in the previous studies. However, some historical documents written in the 17th century show that the monks who took an active part in the Qing Court were closely connected with Thang-ring monastery. Moreover, it was found that the 2nd lCang-skye reincarnation, who was positioned as the highest Lama of the Qing Court since the end of the Kang-xi era, also had a close relationship with Thang-ring monastery. Thus, it is believed that the monastic network around Thang-ring monastery played an important role in the establishment of the relationship between Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Amdo and the Qing dynasty. In this paper I will examine the details of this monastic network which has hitherto escaped scholarly attention, and portray a new historical image of the eastern part of Amdo.

Japanese Mass Media's Role in Disseminating Information on Tibetan Issues and Culture

Takashi Irimoto

The relationship between Tibet and Japan can be traced back to the Meiji Period when the Meiji government was geopolitically aligned with Tibet. The Shinshu Otani branch (Higashi Honganji) of Jodo Shinshu (Shin Buddhism) also took an interest in Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism as part of their efforts to disseminate Shin Buddhist teachings in China. In the late Meiji period, two monks of Higashi Honganji were dispatched to China in order to get into Tibet. Moreover, as is discernible through the infiltration into Tibet when it was closed off to outsiders by Ekai Kawaguchi, a monk of the Obaku branch of Zen Buddhism, the search for new Buddhist sutras was also one of their major motives during the Meiji period. Later on, in 1908, Kozui Otani, the 22nd head priest of Higashi Honganji, sent his brother on his behalf to Wutai Shan in China to meet the 13th Dalai Lama. Because of this long history of the Japan-Tibet relationship, Tibetan refugees have been allowed to settle in Japan since the exodus of the 14th Dalai Lama from Tibet to India in 1959. From 1965 to 1968, five Tibetan refugee boys were able to receive support for higher education in Japan and eleven refugee girls received support to study at a nursery school. Moreover, dozens of young Tibetans were accepted into the capacity building program by the Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement - International (OISCA). Since the 1980s, the number of Tibetans living in Japan has been increasing: some students were sent to Japan by the Chinese government and others received scholarship from an NPO and/or a Buddhist monastery (Narita-san Shinshoji) in Japan. Today an estimated 220 Tibetans live in Japan: 100 from Tibet and the rest from other areas. They are dispersed in different areas of Japan, although many live near Tokyo. During the Tibetan rehabilitation process in Japan, two institutions were established to promote better understanding of Tibetan issues and culture: the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia, founded in 1976, and the Tibetan Culture Center, founded in 1977. Although the former is an official institution of the Central Tibetan Government in Dharamsala and the latter was established by one of the first Tibetan refugee children to begin studying in Japan, both have contributed greatly to promote better understanding of Tibetan issues and culture among the Japanese. How has the Japanese mass media helped disseminate better understanding of Tibetan issues and culture among the Japanese populace? This presentation aims to examine the role of the Japanese mass media in publicizing information on Tibet and Tibetan issues after the Second World War. The source material for analysis was collected from the databases of three national newspapers: Asahi Shinbun's Kikuzo II

Visual for Libraries, Mainichi Shinbun's Maisaku, and Yomiuri Shinbun's Yomidasu Rekishikan, which includes all articles and news written since its foundation. In each database, the word "Tibet" was searched in all articles from 1945 to 2014. In total, 4717 hits were found on the Kikuzo II database, 3469 on Maisaku, and 4731 on Yomidasu. The followings are suggested as the result of the analysis of the 12,917 articles on Tibet. First, although each newspaper has a slightly different political stance (the Asahi and Mainichi are rather liberal, while the Yomiuri is conservative), each has strategically and similarly devoted spaces to articles on Tibetan issues and culture. Second, although the space given to each article varies greatly, each newspaper has devoted much space to landmark occurrences in the history of modern Tibet: the Chinese invasion and exodus of the Dalai Lama from Tibet during the 1950s; the anti-Chinese demonstration in Lhasa and the Dalai Lama's acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989; the dispute on the reincarnation of Panchen Rinpoche during the late 1990s; and the largest anti-Chinese movement before the Beijing Olympics

The Role of the Dalai Lama in Peacekeeping in Ladakh

Takashi Irimoto

The metaphor of the mirror, in the hands of Longchenpa (kLong chen rab 'byams pa, 1308–1364), one of Tibet's greatest thinkers, discloses a “place” or a “content domain” that hosts, explicitly and implicitly, several tensions and frictions between philosophical perspectives and their respective spiritual practices, where their forces at work shape a religio-political state of affairs. Approaching the mirror as “content domain” would necessitate considering Perelman's assertion that our relation to a metaphor depends on our relation to the idea it is compared with—that is, if we agree with the idea expressed by the metaphor, we will tend to adopt the metaphor, thus making it an integral part of speech. In the opposite case, we will tend to invalidate the metaphor and might perceive it to be manipulative. As Hillis notes, in Tibet metaphors are particularly used as a component of rhetoric, acting to persuade in the following circumstances: in the hands of parties interested in offering their own distinctive visions of the past; in interpreting the visions of the present and determining what course of action to take in the future; and as a style used efficiently by a writer in order to draw the readers into his argument or agenda. This paper explores the various possible ideas and meanings that the mirror metaphor can represent within the context of Longchenpa's teachings, in order to understand the manner by which it was employed to affirm or reject a philosophical perspective, its consequences, and its implications. Such an exploration also considers that the mirror metaphor can bring the listener or reader closer to “distant” meaning and understanding of a certain framework of thought. Such an approach to the study of the mirror metaphor constitutes a balanced critical approach, enabling it to reveal its different meanings and implications. Longchenpa speaks of appearances arising in the mind like reflections in a mirror, and at the same he says that the mind is intrinsically free from partialities, like the surface of the mirror, being the essence of discriminative awareness that transcends all conceptualization and elaboration (Longchenpa in Thondup, 1989:48). The nature of mind as identified with the inherent capacity of the mirror to reflect implies an inherent “reflexive awareness” (*rang gi rig pa*). But Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamaka thinkers such as Candrakīrti also employ the mirror metaphor in order to clarify the concept of emptiness, emphasizing that all things are insubstantial reflections and in some way are mere fictions, a doctrine that clearly critiques all ultimate inherently existent entities. This critique seems to be at odds with Longchenpa's notion of the nature of mind possessing an inherent “reflexive awareness.” It is intriguing because Longchenpa himself considered “the methods of

evaluating reality that are used in the system of natural great perfection...are largely in accord with syllogistic Prāsaṅgika approach..." (Longchenpa in Chagdud and Barron, 2001:163) and saw himself as a Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika. Furthermore, notions such as polishing or cleaning grime and dust off a mirror represent removing one's *vasanas*, which distort one's perceptions, and such as the *a priori* stainless condition of the mirror imply the two paths to spiritual practice. One path argues that Buddha mind is achieved through a gradual meditation process consisting of a means to an end, enabling a gradual progression of understanding over time and in stages — the gradual approach. The other path argues that the realization of Buddha's awakened mind is immediate, direct, and effortless, in the sense that nothing can be done that can produce such realization, since it was always there to start with. The latter is the simultaneous path of pristine Dzogchen. Those two approaches to realization represented by the mirror metaphor have religio-political implications. Longchenpa uses terms unique to Dzogchen such as "lucidity," "naturalness," and "spontaneity" or "primordially" as a force of resistance against the Indic discourses of the gradual path adopted by the new (*sarma*) schools and their political establishments. He converted it into a self-definition of Dzogchen, giving a voice to Padmasambhava's teachings and maintaining the Nyingmapa's status as the old and authentic tradition, albeit in decline in the Tibetan consciousness of his time. Such exploration demonstrates the various tensions and frictions associated with the mirror metaphor, enabling understanding and clarity in the sense that a fixed idea regarding the mirror and its meanings and implications can be avoided. It can compel one to ask what underlies the mirror's capacity to reflect the reflexive awareness that can lead inevitably to an empty answer. Still, the mirror remains a serviceable metaphor for utilitarian concerns, and at the same time it can bring the reader closer to "distant" meaning and understanding of a certain framework of thought.

Roads and railways on the Tibetan plateau: Moving beyond the political geography of the state

Lilian Iselin

Railway construction on the Tibetan plateau is a relatively new phenomenon. It is oftentimes discussed either in terms of economic opportunities and heightened mobility that leads to development or as accelerated resource exploitation and labour migration that leads to marginalization of the local population and destruction of the environment. Based on fieldwork conducted in 2012 and 2015 predominantly in southern Amdo, this paper explores the materiality of roads and railways and how they facilitate the mobility of some and hinder the movements of others. By examining infrastructure development in the region, I seek to analyse the role of roads and especially railways in terms of local mobility practices and ask how the infrastructure is embedded locally. By putting emphasis on transportation infrastructure as both enabling and limiting mobilities, I argue that they are important factors in enforcing and accelerating urbanization and that urbanization is, thus, entangled with the rural. Urbanization in rural environments calls into question understandings of rural and urban as distinct and spatially ordered categories of centre and periphery. The paper contributes to an urban epistemology that draws attention to the ways in which constellations of urban relationships are produced through diverse relationships between people and places across time and space.

A systematic practical method of the translation of old Tibetan indigenous ritual texts

Ishikawa Iwao

Old Tibetan indigenous ritual texts, which are one genre of old Tibetan documents mainly discovered from the Dunhuang cave library in the beginning of the 20th century, can give us valuable information not only about Tibetan religious history, especially the transformation of elements of indigenous religions, but also about primitive religious mind hidden in deep layers in human memory. Therefore, the texts have attracted many eyes of researchers since the discovery of them. However, in spite of the importance of them, many researchers tend not to translate them. The main reason is certainly that in this genre are more rich in unknown words and metaphors for modern people than in the others of old Tibetan documents. I would like to find a systematic practical method to break now research situation about them. Researchers hesitate about translating old Tibetan indigenous ritual texts being afraid of the big possibility of doing mistranslation. However, I think that at the first one needs to translate all the representative texts accepting the inclusion of mistranslations. Of course the result of translating in the first research stage should not be opened to the public but can be a base to lead us to more appropriate translation in the second research stage. In the second research stage, one has to correct the base translations referring to samples of words or metaphors found by computer search in some collection of electronic texts of old Tibetan documents like Old Tibetan Document Online (OTDO), which includes the texts of this genre somewhat known in academic world. Such proofreading for the rough translations in advance, even if they include many mistranslations, is more effective for making valid translation than only direct checking the texts with samples. However, in spite of performing such elaborate working, he cannot avoid multiple possible translations in many cases, because the appearances of words or metaphors special to this genre in our electronic sources are not so rich enough to decide their meanings in various contexts. He has to take an expected interpretation as his translation text and append his notes to it, in which the others are shown, like recently published B. Zeisler's translation of Gri-gum bTsan-po Legend in 2011. Even after finishing the second research stage, I cannot deny that impossibility of translation would still remain in some parts of old Tibetan indigenous ritual texts owing to too few hints on what to mean. Therefore, in the third research stage, one has to consult with ethnographic reports concerning religious traditions in Tibetan and Himalayan area to remove obstacles in translating. Nowadays such many reports have explosively emerged, and some researchers have to some extent got success on interpretations of the ritual texts by referring to them. As the

ritual texts are basically narratives or chants used for the rituals without the explanatory descriptions of ritual performances, they cannot project all the reality of rituals. If he has fine insight to the continuity and change of ritual performances for long time, for an example as shown in P. Kværne's study in 1985, the reference to ethnographic reports may bring him the merit of supplementing his vision of the rituals which he can glimpse in reading the ritual texts. But he must not positively use such reports in the former stages. They are not direct evidences concerning ancient Tibetan world but can be nothing except helps of supposition, thus suggestion from the context of them is not decisive for his work at all. In the final forth research stage, one may still find not translated parts. He has to put blanks for them in his translation text, and append his notes to it about why he cannot translate them and his prospect of resolving problems. I believe that through this series of processs we can make most reliable translations of old Tibetan indigenous ritual texts in now situation.

The Bka' gdams chos 'byung Genre and Newly Published Ye shes rtse mo's Kadam History

Maho Iuchi

Bka' gdams chos 'byung is a genre of Tibetan historical and biographical literature on the origin of doctrine of Bka' gdams school. In 2015, the Bka' gdams rin po che'i bstan 'dzin rnam ky'i byung khungs paN chen ye shes rtse mos mdzad pa (The origin of the holders of the precious teachings of Bka' gdams written by PaN chen Ye shes rtse mo) written by PaN chen Ye shes rtse mo (1433-?), who is the fourth abbot of Bkra shis lhun po monastery, was published by the Ser gtsug publisher. Ser gtsug Publisher is an adjoining publisher of Se ra monastery, one of biggest Dge lugs school monastery in Lhasa. Until the recent publication, the existence of this text was only known via the MHTL (no. 10849), but the text itself had been unavailable for a long time. The great scholar of the twentieth century, Dung dkar rin po che (1927-1997) also mentions on the text as a Bka' gdams chos 'byung in his work. The text published by the Ser gtsug Publisher is an inputted edition and fifty-one pages book style. It is not included the facsimile of the manuscript. Therefore, we do not know the condition of the manuscript itself. Also there is no information in the preface of the book where the manuscript belongs. However, the text was not included in the 'Bras spungs Catalogue published by the Dpal brtsegs Institute in 2004, which is a catalogue of the rare collection of 'Bras spung monastery, Lhasa. So, we can assume that the manuscript is from the other collection, such as Potala palace and Nor bu gling kha, not from the collection of 'Bras spung monastery. In this paper, I will give an overview of the Bka' gdams chos 'byung genre and show the specific description of Ye shes rtse mo's Kadam History by comparing between the Ye shes rtse mo's history and the other texts of the genre.

Dbung mtha': Center and periphery of the Old Tibetan Empire

Kazushi Iwao

The history of the Old Tibetan Empire is closely related to its policies on the non-Tibetan ethnic groups. As the empire expanded beyond the Tibetan Plateau, it embraced various ethnic groups such as Sobyi, Bailan, Zhang-zhung, A-zha, Chinese, Khotanese, and Nanzhao, thus becoming a vast and multiracial empire. As many previous studies have revealed that the Empire added new units, including khrom (military government) and khams (principality), in order to rule the various ethnic groups and vast new territories. Along with these new units, the author recently noticed that the term dbung (dbus) mtha', which scholars had previously understood as a generic term that means center and peripheries, is actually an administrative term that acquired territorially distinctive meaning across the Empire. The distinction between the two areas functioned not only as an administrative division but also as a criterion of the order of official rank and commodity prices. This study aims to analyze the usage of the term dbung mtha' that is used in old Tibetan manuscripts and clarify its distinct meanings across territories in the Old Tibetan Empire. The author will first introduce the basic ethnic policies of the Tibetan empire and then investigate the concept of dbung mtha' and the extent of each area. Finally, the author will explain when and why the concept of dbung mtha' was introduced into the Tibetan empire.

A Comparative Study and Transcultural Analysis on Old Tibetan Divination texts.

Ai Nishida Iwata

Among the Old Tibetan manuscripts from the Dunhuang cave and other sites along the Silk Road in East Turkestan, we can find a certain amount of divination texts. According to my preliminary survey, more than sixty manuscripts are positively classified as the texts relating to divination or prognostication. They are, moreover, subdivided into more than six genres depending on such methods as using dice, coins, animal's bone, voice of crow, dream and astronomy. In spite that pioneering studies for these Old Tibetan divination texts were conducted as early as 1920's, most of the texts still remains untouched due to the frequency of unknown words and puzzling passages. In order to define the meanings of these unknown words and grasp the contexts, it is necessary to investigate divination texts as exhaustively as possible. Furthermore, respective genres of divination texts were written according to rigid formulae, as well as Old Tibetan letters and contracts. Knowing these formulae and collecting parallel sentences and stereotyped expressions help us to understand fragmentary documents and reconstruct omitting parts of the texts. Thus it must be worth attempting to bring out the formulae and elicit the process of formation of Old Tibetan divination texts by comparing with those in other languages such as Chinese, Uighur and Sanskrit. In this presentation, through the analysis of formulae, I will suggest an overall view of three genres of Old Tibetan divination texts: namely dice divination, coin divination and prognostication from the voice of crow while demonstrating the following points: (1) prominent characteristics for respective divination genres; (2) process of formation of Old Tibetan divination texts and their correlation with those in other languages.

Assimilating the Great Seal: The Dge lugs pa-ization of the Dge ldan bka' brgyud Tradition of Mahāmudrā

Roger Jackson

Tsong kha pa is said by Dge lugs tradition to have secretly transmitted a Mahāmudrā meditation practice, which was not publicized until around 1600, when the first Panchen Lama, Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570–1662) composed root-verses and an auto-commentary on what he called the “Dge ldan bka' brgyud” tradition of Mahāmudrā. The question whether the “bka' brgyud” in the name of the practice refers to the Tibetan Buddhist order or simply means “oral transmission,” has been much debated. What is indisputable, is that the Panchen drew liberally on Bka' brgyud sources in his texts—and that his only disciple to write on Mahāmudrā, Shar Skal ldan rgyam mtsho (1607–77), did likewise. After Chos rgyan and Skal ldan rgya mtsho, nearly a century passed when little was written about Mahāmudrā in Dge lugs circles. The tradition was resumed (or revived) in the eighteenth century by Dka' chen Ye shes rgyal mtshan (1713–93), and when it was, its articulation seemed different in some ways from that of the earlier teaching, most notably in the absence from it of many of the Bka' brgyud pa features included by Chos rgyan and Skal ldan rgya mtsho and its closer conformity with Dge lugs pa sources and orthodoxies. This paper will investigate the degree to which such a transformation may (or may not) have occurred, and if so, the reasons for it and its implications for understanding Dge lugs relations with the Bka' brgyud (and other orders), then and now.

A Garland of White Lotuses: Oral History and Women's History in Contemporary Tibet

Sarah Jacoby

Biographical narratives play an important part in forming “a morality of exemplars” in Asian Buddhist societies (Humphrey 1996), especially in the present Tibetan context when “re-enacting historical exemplars” can provide a bridge between pre- and post-incorporation into the PRC (Diemberger 2010). This paper seeks to examine the gendered connotations of this multidirectional biographical process of remembering the Tibetan past and re-envisioning its future through the lenses of life narratives by and about Tibetan women. Part of a collaborative research project with Padma 'tsho (Southwest University for Nationalities, Chengdu), this paper will focus on the fifteen-volume series published by nuns at Bla rung sgar in Gser rta in 2013 titled A Garland of White Lotuses: the Biographies of the Great Female Masters of India and Tibet ('Phags bod kyi skyes chen ma dag gi rnam par thar ba pad ma dkar po'i phreng ba, Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang). The aims of this research are to examine the contents of these volumes, to interview the nuns at Bla rung sgar about how and why they put together this massive compilation of Indian and Tibetan female Buddhist exemplars, and to consider the significance of oral history and women's history in eastern Tibet today.

Oral, Religious and Cultural Traditions from Purang and Guge Related to lo chen Rin chen bzang po

Christian Jahoda

This paper presents new evidence on oral, religious and cultural traditions related to the Great Translator (lo chen) Rin chen bzang po from two places in historical Western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum). The visual, oral and literary sources that are discussed were documented at 'Khor chags (Purang district) and at Kyu wang (Rad nis village, Tsamda district) together with or by the late Guge Tsering Gyalpo in whose memory this research on one of the most influential religious figures of historical Western Tibet is presented. According to texts and oral traditions the deity rDo rje chen mo was installed as protrectress (srung ma) of 'Khor chags/Kho char monastery by the Great Translator at the time of its foundation. The focus of the first part of the paper is on the cult of rDo rje chen mo as it was and to some degree still is practised at 'Khor chags (for example, at the time of the Nam mthong festival) in the form of ritual performances in village and monastic contexts. Information on certain rituals or aspects of ritual performances that were discontinued some time ago is contained in local oral traditions that were recorded in 2007 and 2010. In 2013, a stone stela known as "Translator's mchod rten" was documented by Guge Tsering Gyalpo at Kyu wang in the Rong chung area (Tsamda district), the place where the Great Translator was born according to his biography. Besides this remarkable stela which has engravings of a figural representation and of a mchod rten on each of the four sides and which is at the centre of annual propitiation rituals, there are additional sites in the Kyu wang - Rad nis area related by oral tradition to incidents in the Great Translator's life that are also known from the translator's biography (notably also in Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's manuscript copy), for example, the release of a water-snake.

dKon mchog gsum! The Place of Oath-taking, Vow-keeping, and Promise-breaking in Tibetan Secular and Religious Literature

Berthe Jansen

Within Tibetan societies there appears to be a rather clear distinction between an oath (mna') and a vow (sdom pa). The former is often associated with the secular realm – featuring in contract law and weddings, etc. – whereas the latter is firmly placed within the religious domain. In both cases, however, a certain promise is made in the presence of entities seen to be higher than oneself, most commonly the Three Jewels (rten gsum). Upon closer examination, we observe that vows and oaths are taken and sworn not simply by calling on the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha as witnesses, for multi-levelled entities seem to play a part in the processes of making, keeping, and breaking these promises. This paper compares the ways in which oaths on the one hand and vows on the other are conceived of according to Tibetan sources. For this purpose, unambiguously religious texts (such as sdom gsum literature, sdom pa bog chog, etc.), legal literature (gan rgya, khrims yig, etc.), and the more ambivalent genre of monastic guidelines (bca' yig) are consulted. On the basis of these sources, it is then argued that oaths and vows both display aspects associated with the secular and the religious realms. The various roles of the entities, other than the Three Jewels, involved in these processes of promise-making are also further discussed.

A Sociological Analysis of Tibetan Preschool Education Issues in Tibetan Society

བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལྟོ་སྐོར་གསལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ལྷན་དུ་མཉམ་སྦྲེལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟོ་སྐོར་གསལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་

Gya lo

Despite education being the force of social change, and relating to both macro and micro social structuration in Tibetan society, applying sociological theory in international Tibetan studies and in Tibetan education research is relatively rare. Particularly, the timely sensitivity of the Tibetan preschool education problem is an intact field at this point, and it is urgently needed to take serious action to prevent the unexpected social changes before occurred. Much research on Tibetan preschool education issues features little or weak social theorization. Recently, China has been implementing the state preschool education policy in terms of permeating preschool in villages across all regions. However, Tibetan villagers, educators, parents, teachers and communities have been facing a great challenge and problems in several ways: 1) the lack of culturally relevant teaching materials; 2) the lack of well trained teachers, 3) the lack of mother-tongue supported policy, and 4) the lack of systematic knowledge development for preschool education. In addition, these challenges and problems are accumulated from both internal and external factors, as it has the lack of young parents' culturally relevant knowledge, and the dilution of the Tibetan social-cultural environment. Thus, with the recent implementation of preschool education policy increasing Tibetan children's attendance, then the Tibetan preschool education becomes a sociological focal point as well as a political concern. This paper aims to examine how Tibetan preschool education has been increasingly facing a serious problem influenced by these four forms of lacking. Particularly, concerning the preschool teaching material development, this paper argues local knowledge as the primary foundation of preschool curriculum. The paper also attempts to take this opportunity to have a dialogue with international perspectives on the questions of what and how to turn Tibetan preschool education into cultural relevance. Especially, the question of: what aspects of local culture should be retained? Why? b) How do we record the village knowledge? c) What are the criteria of selecting the village knowledge? How local knowledge values in the cultural identity, and how to respond to the issue of local knowledge disappearing. At the same time, there is a gap between village stakeholders' emphasis (importance of geographical knowledge of village, folk culture and oral literature, traditional drama knowledge, customary knowledge) and interest of preschool children learning. This gap reflects several questions of how do we sustain Tibetan national identity? How to reconcile the tradition and modernity? How to maintain Tibetan characteristic culture. Practically,

Tibetan intellectuals need to ascertain these questions before take action to design preschool curriculum. This paper argues that consistently providing the local knowledge system for children to enjoy at home and at the preschool classroom is a significant point. Educators need to produce diverse tools and visual programs to satisfy the different needs of children's enjoyment based on relevant local knowledge, for instance, visualizing the local knowledge. This study is not only based on these results of several meetings: 1) A village meeting on what kind of knowledge to retain; 2) An academic meeting on mother-tongue based preschool education (theoretical feasibility, stakeholders' mandate and feasibility of policy), and 3) A personal investigation of a child who shifts their language use from mother-tongue to second language before beginning school by watching children's TV programs, but also based on a field research in one Tibetan village, along with interviews of male & female village parents, grandparents, teachers, and students, the school principal and the village head. In addition, interviews were conducted with Tibetan university researchers, and research data were also traced from previous interviews to supplement this paper. Interview data were examined for a critical analysis of preschool teaching materials and its policies and practices are carried out in the modernizing process of Tibetan social structuration. Furthermore, analytical method for data analysis is to find the common opinions on preschool teaching materials and challenges, to exemplify conceptual work, and to identify evidences to justify my argument. This study finds an urgent need for a systematic knowledge development of Tibetan preschool education towards establishing an ideal model that ensures Tibetan children would receive sufficient mother-tongue proficiency and culture at the primary stage for all Tibetan children who will be able to actively and equally participate in their cultural practices and in social development as agents as capable of agency, rather than simply as disempowered agents. The significance of this paper to the international Tibetan studies is to share a result of the innovative application of sociological approaches to the Tibetan preschool education in a complex social context of undergoing a problematic social modernization process.

Ju Lineage / འཇུ་ཁྱིའི་ཐུས་ལ་དབུ་དྲུང་བ།

Tenzin Choephel Ju

During my studies on (Ancient Monpa people and their lineage) I developed a strong interest in doing research on lineages. Since I am a descendant of Ju lineage myself, I have focused on this topic deeply over the last few years, and as a result, I have carried out very thorough research on it. During my research, I have not come across any paper that include the subject of Ju lineage; thus, I believe that no one researched this topic. The only mention about the Ju lineage I have found was in the former Tibetan Prime Minister Ju Chen Thupten's autobiography. However, he merely cited "The Dragon Roar of Ju Genealogy" without any deeper analysis. In my paper, I concentrate on the following key points: Source of the Ju lineage and its development The current Ju Generation How Tibetan and Mongolian people merged Since the Ju lineage started developing in the 12th and 13th centuries, no information concerning the lineage can be found in any history book dated prior to the 12th century. In the book "The Dragon Roar of Ju Genealogy" it is said that the Ju people are descendants of the Genghis Khan's second son, Chagatai. Upon close investigation, I have found out that the information given in the above mentioned book was correct. However, the book claims that Genghis Khan's ancestors are descendants of Tri Gum's son called Nya Thri, and since the Ju lineage comes from Genghis Khan's son, it is believed that both have the same roots. In my opinion, I disagree that Genghis Khan is Nya Thri's descendant. Even though I have found nine books that support this idea, they were published long time after Genghis Khan's death - in the 16th and 17th centuries. Also, they were mainly written from the Buddhist point of view and are therefore biased. Giving these two reasons, they cannot be considered as a dependable source. Furthermore, many old Mongolian history books disagree, too, for instance "Secret History of the Mongols". A part of Chagatai's descendants and their kings called "The Black Spear Holders", resided in "Mang Ra" Fort. I have compared Mang Ra Kings and Chagatai Kanate dynasty and found some similarities between them. Based on these findings, I have made explanations and summarized the information in tables. During the reign of the 4th and 10th kings of The Black Spear Holders, there was a civil war in Mongolia which forced the Ju people to flee and settle down in Pari in Amdo region. I focused on explaining this migration process and how the name Ju was given. The translation of the word "Ju" means to "hold on to". Actually, the oral tradition passed from generation to generation says that Nya Thri held on to a rope hanging from Tibet, and that is how he came to Mongolia, and from where the lineage got its name. Since no proof exists to support this tradition, I investigated

this subject as well. My findings show that since there are places, mountains, and rivers called “Ju” in Pari, the name of the lineage must therefore come from one of these. Also, during the reign of the 11th and 12th kings of The Black Spear Holders, there was a war between Mongolia and Tibet. Hence, the Ju people had to leave Pari, and they spread to various places in the Amdo and Kham regions, e.g. mGo Log, Brag mGo, rDza Chu Kha, etc . From these places, I have collected as many stories concerning the Ju lineage as I could which are commonly passed through oral tradition.

འཇུ་བཟུན་འཛོན་ཚོས་འཕེལ་ཕྱན་གྱིས་མོན་པའི་ཕུས་ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱུད་རིམ་ཤོད།
རིགས་ཕུས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུར་སློབ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕེལ་ཞིང་ལྷག་པར་རང་ཉིད་འཇུའི་ཕུས་སྤྱི་བར་བཏོན།
འདས་པའི་ལོ་ཤས་རིང་འཇུའི་ཕུས་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་དོ་སྣང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ཏེ་ད་ཆ་ཆེད་ཚོམ་འཐུས་སློབ་ཚད་བ་ཞིག་གྲུབ་ཀྱང་།
དེ་ཚོན་འཇུའི་ཕུས་རྒྱུད་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཆེད་ཚོམ་གྲེལ་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡེ་ནས་མ་མཐོང་བས།
ཕུས་འདིར་དབྱུང་བ་གཏོང་མཁན་ཞིག་ད་ཕན་བྱུང་མེད་པ་འདྲ། །འཇུའི་ཕུས་མཛོད་གཡུ་འབྲུག་བཞད་སྒྲ།
༼ལ་ཁུངས་བཙལ་ཏེ་བཀའ་བྱུང་འཇུ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་བཟུན་མཚོག་གི་སྐྱེ་ཚེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཤེང་དང་པོར་འཇུའི་ཕུས་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་མདོར་ཙམ་གསལ་

The Buddha-vita at Dung dkar, Western Tibet. Paper in Memoriam Prof. Tsering Gyalbo

Christiane A. Kalantari

The paper presents new research on early Buddhist art in Western Tibet (Ngari, TAR). It is based on previous unpublished detailed documentation of Dung dkar by late Prof. Tsering Gyalbo (1961-2015, Tibetan Academy of Sciences, Lhasa; WIKO-Fellow Berlin). It was analysed together with him by the author in a multidisciplinary team in Vienna under the leadership of Mag. Dr. Jahoda, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Social Anthropology. My aim is to present an overview of the magnificent Dung kar murals featuring the Life of the Buddha (ca. end of 12th C.). Although the narrative is represented in a unique detailed way displaying stunning artistic virtuosity, the murals are virtually unknown among researchers and their iconography was hardly been understood. The talk will shed light on the style and the chronology of these paintings and their function within the overall interior decoration. Recently inscriptions transliterated and translated by Kurt Tropper provide important information for the identification of their iconographic content and allow for the first time a joint view of different disciplines on this subject. A focus will be on the analysis of the specific choice of episodes from the vita, the narrative structure of the compositions, and questions of style. The talk will then present a comparative analysis of different concepts of life-stories in terms of composition in a broader regional context. Focus will be laid on comparable narratives to be depicted in earlier structures such as at Tabo and in the little studied Zhag cave (Pedongpo). These new insights may contribute to the establishment of a chronology and the understanding of the dynamics within early artistic schools in Western Tibet.

Owners of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet

Kazuo Kano

Hardly any Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures remain in India today, even though such manuscripts have been discovered in surrounding regions. Tibet in particular is one of the richest treasuries of precious Sanskrit manuscripts from as early as the 8th century. In order to clarify the history of the reception and transmission of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, one needed task is to identify previous owners of the manuscripts. The manuscripts that were brought by individuals must for the most part have originally been part of private collections before being integrated into monastery libraries. The present paper is a case study undertaken with this assumption. The issue in question can be cleared up by investigating examples dealing with other Sanskrit manuscript owners, whose names sometimes appear in Tibetan remarks written on Sanskrit manuscripts in Norbulingka and the Potala.

Roundtable: Towards a Manual of Tibetan Manuscript Studies

Convener: Matthew Kapstein

Following upon a successful workshop organized at the 2013 IATS Seminar and a subsequent series of meetings and conferences, the international project "Towards a Manual of Tibetan Manuscript Studies" proposes to hold its final meeting as a roundtable at the 2016 IATS in Bergen. As about 15 contributors are anticipated, it is hoped that one full day, or several sessions spread over two or three days, can be accommodated. Aspects of Tibetan Manuscript Studies (including early printed books) considered in the project include codicology, paleography, and diplomatics, as well as book illustration, the history of the Tibetan book in China and Mongolia, issues of description and cataloguing, and the applications of digital technologies in the study of old Tibetan books. The final results of the project will be published in a volume slated to appear in the Cornell University Press's series on manuscript studies.

Vidyadhara Dandaron – holder of historic knowledge

Maret Kark

Buryatian lama and scholar Bidya Dandaron (1914-1974) was a representative of a unique lineage of Buddhist knowledge. On the threshold of the communist era, his guru Lobsang Sandan Tsydenov (1850-1922) founded the Theocratic State in Buryatia and appointed Bidya Dandaron its throneholder. In 1921 Bidya was consecrated head of the Theocratic State with full responsibility of a Dharmaraja. The establishment of the short-lived Buddhist state and appointment of young Dandaron its heir cannot be easily explicated. One of the tasks of a throneholder was to maintain the Buddhist lineage he was embodying for the future students. Predetermined by the communist policy in 1930s an heir to a theocratic state was to be exterminated by NKVD. Dandaron was arrested in 1937 and sentenced to death. Instead, he spent 20 years in Soviet prison where he wrote several treatises on Buddhism, GULAG prison system, etc, which were unfortunately lost in the attempt of taking them out of jail. In his later life, it became evident that false authors had published his works. Many historical figures were imprisoned together with Bidya Dandaron to be liquidated as representatives of reactionist upper classes. Many of them trusted important messages to him to be passed on to their relations. Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian nationalist independence movement, who later died in prison, was aware that his person had been replaced by a political substitute and he asked Dandaron to clear the facts for the future generations. Dandaron lived at the pivotal time in history when the ancient ground of knowledge was deliberately destroyed and replaced by artificially constructed ideological system. New ideology was built on the dualistic view dividing reality into material bases and cultural superstructure. Religion was uncritically replaced by science stepping on the dual ground without considering the facts that contradicted the artificially created reality. Binary worldview has now been generally accepted by modern societies as scientifically proven historical truth. Most modernist theories have been built on this new foundation. Dandaron invented a new term 'collective karma' to describe this state of human reality generated by modernist thinking. Dandaron's superior wisdom intrigued the GPU and KGB ideologists. In 1970s, they began to devise a plan how to use his semiotic knowledge for their own advantage. In 1980s, extensive project was generated for utilizing secret funds preserved in the closed archives of KGB. These contained materials confiscated from the repressed authors. Communist ideologists decided to utilize these documents for developing modernist worldview under their leadership. Works unknown to the public were to be published under false

names according to political requirements. It is noble task of future scholars to find out how many of these fake authors have succeeded to win the Nobel Prize and other eminent international awards. In 2007, I initiated a research project on Dandaron at Tallinn University, Estonia. Professor Donald Lopez from University of Michigan supervised it. In 2009 rector of Tallinn University, Rein Raud cancelled the project under the pretext of confidentiality, after which professor Lopez immediately quitted the project without a word of protest or explanation. The unexpected situation arisen in Tibetan studies and IATS seems to prove the thesis that the GPU/KGB staffs in post-Soviet countries and their corresponding US institutions have signed among others a secret protocol approving political forgery of historical documents. It also raises the question about the aims of Tibetan studies if the terms of research have been predetermined by political conventions.

The earliest description of the lake Mapang and the four rivers in Zhangzhung

Samten Gyaltzen Karmay

One of the oldest Bon texts belonging to the 11th century mentions a place in Zhangzhung as being the headwaters of the 4 rivers (chu bo bzhi 'dus kyi 'go), but the names of the rivers are not given. The names of these four transboundary rivers are found in both Indian and Tibetan sources and are already extensively studied in a recent article by our colleague Katsumi Mimaki. The present study will focus on a Dunhuang Tibetan document which is much older than the ones that are so far studied. This Dunhuang document is therefore the oldest Tibetan text that discusses the quality of the freshwater of the lake Mapang and as the headwater of the four rivers. It also curiously states that only two of the four rivers empty their waters into the ocean and at the same time it describes the four rivers flowing downstream into the directions of four different countries. In other words, it presents Mount Tise and lake Mapang Yutsho as being the centre of the world. This notion of centrality of the world is already reflected in early Tibetan inscriptions in which Tibet is being surrounded by four great countries. The local deities associated with Mount Tise and its vicinity will also be discussed in relation to the Bon tradition which regards Zhangzhung as its geographical source.

**The Luminous Lady: The Mahāmudrā of Definitive Meaning in the Kālacakra
according to Yu mo Mi bskyod Rdo rje's Phyag rgya chen po gsal sgron**

Casey Kemp

While the Mahāmudrā tradition is generally understood to be a cohesive system of teachings and practices maintained by primarily the Bka' brgyud and Dge' lugs Tibetan schools, distinguishing between tantric and non-tantric Mahāmudrā methods has been a point of doctrinal debate from at least the 13th century and continues to be an object of investigation for modern scholarship. While mahāmudrā is a pervasive term used throughout the major Buddhist tantric traditions, non-tantric interpretations have been met with skepticism as to whether they possess authentic Indian roots. According to the Mahāmudrā tradition, non-tantric Mahāmudrā teachings have their philosophical basis in the Ratnagotravibhāga and other tathāgatagarbha literature, while their experiential tradition of receiving direct pointing-out instructions to the nature of mind by a guru has its roots in the Indian dohā tradition of Saraha (b. ca. 8th century) and Tīlopa (988-1069). But are the doctrinal views as to the nature of reality and Buddhahood easily distinguishable between such tantric and non-tantric treatises? During the formative period of Tibetan lineage traditions, particularly during the 11th and 12th centuries, commentarial texts to popular tantras became a prevalent means to assert foundational philosophical views through referencing Indian authoritative literature regarding the nature of reality, the mind, and buddha nature, and thus relating these views to a particular practice lineage tradition. Such tantric commentaries can also provide insights into the philosophical discourse influencing the development of the Mahāmudrā tradition in Tibet during this time. A primary example of such an early Tibetan treatise is Yu mo Mi bskyod rDo rje's (b. early 11th century) only surviving work, The Four Cycles of Illuminating Lamps (Gsal sgron skor bzhi), which largely focuses on the philosophical significance of the tantric mahāmudrā consort. Yu mo was a famous early Tibetan proponent of the Kālacakra tradition as transmitted by the Kashmiri paṇḍita Somanātha and is considered by the Jo nang lineage to be the primary source for their tantric gzhan stong view. His Four Cycles of Illuminating Lamps is an early Tibetan collection of teachings on the six branch yogas (sbyor ba yan lag drug) system of Kālacakra. According to this practice tradition, the tantric mahāmudrā consort is superior to both the physical consort (karmamudrā) or the imagined consort (jñānamudrā), in that she spontaneously appears to the practitioner and her incorporeal form is the true appearance of emptiness which enables full liberation. The mahāmudrā consort is identified by Yu mo as the Kālacakra consort Viśvamātā and Prajñāpāramitā, and she is both bliss and emptiness in union. She is non-dual, representing the unity

between outer and inner experiences, as well as subject and object, and is essentially luminosity. Christopher Hatchell's *Naked Seeing* (2014) has provided a translation of *Stong nyid gsal sgron* and has highlighted the visionary experiences of emptiness as described by Yu mo. Through providing an analysis of Yu mo's *Phyag rgya chen po gsal sgron*, this paper will examine how he explains the true meaning of mahāmudrā. Rather than focusing on any specific tantric techniques, Yu mo attempts to draw a philosophical connection with Madhyamaka by quoting abundantly Kālacakra tantric literature alongside works by Nāgārjuna such as his *Suhṛllekha* and *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. Interestingly, within this treatise Yu mo also quotes such works as Saraha's *Dohakoṣagīti* and the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, seminal treatises of the Mahāmudrā tradition. This paper will investigate the extent of Yu mo's syncretic philosophical position of the meaning of mahāmudrā from a tantric perspective, and how this may relate to later non-tantric Mahāmudrā strategies for defining the non-dual and luminous mahāmudrā of ultimate reality.

Following Footsteps of Master's Anthology: analysis of trans-ethnic dissemination of Collected Works by Sumpa Yéshé Penjor

Hanung Kim

The Amdo monk-scholar Sumpa Yéshé Penjor (Sum pa Ye shes dpal 'byor, 1704-1788) has been well known to Western Tibetologists from the mid nineteenth century especially for his historical works such as Dpag bsam ljon bzang and Mtsho sngon gyi lo rgyus. It seems that this interest in Yéshé Penjor's works was mainly driven by the dominant status of the discipline of history in Western scholarship of the time, but it is also true that enthusiasm for him has somewhat died down as the scope of Tibetology has been transformed throughout the evolution of Tibetan studies. Now Sumpa Yéshé Penjor's scholarly contributions are often illuminated in rather superficial issues than where he worked most brilliantly. However, should we merely go after the trend of Western scholarship in gauging the level of significance of a Tibetan scholar and his works? Also, was the interest in Sumpa Yéshé Penjor's works solely Western scholarship's product? In my paper I will argue that a similar interest in Yéshé Penjor's works had existed as a pan-ethnic phenomenon around Inner Asia since the forming of Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works, and it was this pan-ethnic enthusiasm that made it possible for his works to be known to broader audience beyond Inner Asia. In order to corroborate the phenomenon, my study will focus on trans-ethnic dissemination of Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works (Tib. gsung 'bum). The first part of my study will focus on the original production site of Sumpa Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works. It might look easy to pinpoint the site, but it turns out to be a highly complicated issue, which tells us something about reception of Yéshé Penjor's works. Although his works have been known for a long time, the original production site of Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works has not been verified yet. In 1943 a Japanese scholar Nagao Gajin and his expedition team visited Wusuto Zhao near Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, and witnessed existence of woodblocks of Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works there. This made Nagao concluded that most likely Sumpa Yéshé Penjor passed away in this monastery and production of his Collected Works was carried out there. However, a Russian scholar Boris Vladimirovič Semičov once claimed that the original was published in Labrang monastery in Amdo, based on notes from the Buryat collection of Yéshé Penjor's works. Furthermore, according to a note from one recent study on Gesar, E. Gene Smith believed that the original of Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works was produced in Dolonor, Northern China. To make a situation more complex, currently in Beijing area there exist three affirmed but waiting-to-be-examined editions of his gsung 'bum: the first one is allegedly produced in

Yéshé Penjor's main seat, Dgon lung monastery in Amdo; the second is purportedly from Wusuto Zhao mentioned above; the third is allegedly printed in an Imperial Temple in Beijing. Given that his *gsung 'bum* is a large-scale work with more than 4000 folios, there is a very low possibility that several different editions have ever been produced. So, what can all these different opinions of its origin tell us about dissemination of Yéshé Penjor's collected works? The second part will deal with respective preservation history of Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works from library to library, with a focus on from where and since when they have collected his works. Now the following locations are known to keep Sumpa Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works: 3 in Beijing; 1 in Hohhot; 1 in Gannan, Gansu; 1 in Xining, Qinghai; 1 in Lhasa, Tibet; 1 in Ulan Bator, Mongolia; 1 in St. Petersburg, Russia; 1 in Delhi, India; 1 in Kyoto, Japan. Other than one preserved in India (which was given to Raghu Vira by Zhou Enlai upon former's research tour to China in 1956), histories of other collections need to be addressed for they all have something to do with its dissemination around Inner Asia. This part of my study involves investigation of cataloging records of these institutes and several interviews with people who have ever participated in cataloging works for Tibetan collections there. Synthesized information of history of preservation will show how Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works traveled around the settings of Inner Asia. At International Seminar of Young Tibetologists held at Universität Leipzig in last September, I presented a paper on a macro perspective on *gsung 'bum* production in history of Tibetan literature. I hope this micro work on Sumpa Yéshé Penjor's Collected Works will contribute to understanding of another important side of *gsung 'bum* history, dissemination and consumption of Tibetan literary works.

Representing Iconic Architecture in Tibet: 'Monumental Lhasa' at the Rubin Museum of Art

Natasha N. Kimmet

This paper will discuss the exhibition 'Monumental Lhasa: Representing Iconic Architecture in Tibet, 19th – 20th Centuries' to be mounted at the Rubin Museum of Art from September 16, 2016 to January 9, 2017. The exhibition offers an exploration of the relationship between architecture, painting, photography, and representation as seen through a unique body of images of Lhasa. This paper will introduce the three main exhibition themes, along with discussion of representative objects, and will address some of the issues of representing and exhibiting Tibetan architecture in a museum setting. Architecture constitutes the 3D space that people see and inhabit on a daily basis and, as such, is deeply connected to the impression and experience of places. Iconic monuments, in particular, are emblematic of specific places. Most people do not know these places through direct experience but through images or representations created by others that are disseminated via post cards, the internet, art museums, etc. In the museum context, almost by necessity architecture is not introduced to audiences through experience of the original architectural structure but through these transmittable, reproducible representations. The Rubin Museum exhibition aims to show how iconic architecture embodies the idea or experience of a place, and how images of architecture that are portable and reproducible attempt (in their different ways) to replicate this original architectural experience. The exhibition explores how people see and represent architecture in paintings and photographs, while more specifically introducing visitors to the unique character of Tibetan architecture through rare visual representations of central Tibet's most iconic monuments. The exhibition will illustrate how and why Tibet's monumental architecture was depicted in paintings and photographs produced by Tibetans and Westerners in Lhasa during the 19th to 20th centuries. It also highlights how cultural exchanges and interactions between different modes of representation impacted the image-making practices of Tibetans and Westerners in Lhasa.

“Like A Dancer Wearing the Mask of a Holy Being”: Critiquing the Trülku Tradition in Frontier Géluk Scholasticism During the Imperial-Socialist Transition

Matthew King

This paper explores a long-running polemic against the trülku system by frontier Géluk scholastics concerned about the nature, authority, and presence of “enlightened beings” in monastic and political affairs during the Qing. I begin with the 1931 Golden Book (Tib. *gser gyi deb ther*; Mon. *altan dewter*), the last Buddhist history written in Khalkha Mongolia decades after the Qing collapse and on the eve of brutal state violence. I show how its author, Luwsandamdin (1967-1937), uses the full weight of his received scholastic tradition to explain the retreat of the chos srid zung ‘brel in the face of revolutionary tides. Working backwards, I compare Luwsandamdin’s post-imperial diatribe to those of earlier Géluk scholars from the Qing period (many hailing from the Tibeto-Mongol borderlands), such as Stag phu rin po che, Klong rdol rdo rje chang, Rwa bla sprul sku, and especially, Rje gung thang pa. I show that while the trülku tradition had indeed become inseparable from Géluk-centric, chos srid zung ‘brel-based administration and diplomacy during the Qing period, there was hardly consensus about the legitimacy of its terms, even amongst Géluk scholars. I show how these imperial-era counter-traditions became especially valuable resources for post-imperial Géluk leaders tasked with reconciling the Qing collapse and providing direction for their institutions at a time when “living buddhas” had become criminals and the Manchu throne sat empty. The first section of the exhibition introduces Lhasa and shows how the capital was constructed or conceived in paintings and photographs that focus on its main monuments. These monuments, as most commonly found in monument paintings, include sites in Lhasa (the Jokhang, Ramoche, Potala Palace, Lukhang, Western stupa gateway, Chakpori, and Turquoise Bridge), the three main Gelukpa monastic institutions (gdan sa gsum) surrounding Lhasa (Ganden, Drepung, and Sera), and the more distant monasteries of Samye and Tashilhunpo. Here, the exhibition asks: How did Tibetans see and represent their capital? How did Westerners represent Lhasa in similar and different ways? In the second section, the exhibition examines the visual and functional relationship between a unique mode of painted representation of Lhasa and aerial photographs of the townscape. These images clearly illustrate a shift from earlier Tibetan architecture paintings because the artists used an aerial perspective with a single viewpoint to paint each building in a section of the Lhasa townscape, rather than exclusively emphasizing the main monuments. The paintings, thus, no longer function as schematic representations of Lhasa or pilgrimage maps but act more like topographic

maps of the town. In the third section, the exhibition looks at hybrid image-making practices in which Western patrons commission Tibetan architecture representations by local artists. While these images focus on the same monuments as the images seen before, differences in the mode and manner of representation are clearly linked to the personal and official political motives of the patrons. Finally, the paper will address the endeavor to represent representations of Tibetan architecture in the context of a 21st century western museum. Rather than presenting Tibetan architecture through measured drawings and 3D models, the exhibition turns to local and historical depictions of architecture that convey culturally specific architectural experiences. How were these monuments actually experienced, and how was this architectural experience replicated by artists and patrons in paintings and photographs? Further, how were these 2D reproductions of the actual monuments perceived and experienced? How do these architectural representations communicate with different audiences? And what do they communicate? The exhibition, thus, becomes a critical space for viewing and engaging with Tibetan architecture by displaying images that are themselves displays of architecture. It (re)produces culturally specific knowledge about the monuments that – through complex historical circumstances – have come to signify Tibet as a people and place. The replication of key iconic Tibetan monuments within these images – and the exhibition – serves to enhance their iconicity and embodiment of Lhasa and Tibet more broadly. The paper draws on the author's research for this exhibition supported by the Rubin Museum, including the study of paintings and photographs widely dispersed in private and institutional collections and archives.

The Image of Padmasambhava in the Dudjom Tersar Lineage

Lyudmila Klasanova

The great 8th century Indian Buddhist master, Padmasambhava (padma 'byng gnas) undoubtedly is one of the most significant figures in Tibetan culture. Known as the Precious Teacher (gu ru rin po che), he personifies the principle of "Guru" (bla ma), which is the essence of Vajrayana Buddhism. According to Tibetan beliefs, his enlightened nature reveals as Eight Manifestations (gu ru mtshan brgyad), which symbolize his ability to appear according to different needs of people. These eight main forms are assumed by Padmasambhava at different moments of his life and express the principles that unveil the nature of the mind. The first manifestation, related to his birth, is called Guru Tsokye Dorje (gu ru mtsho skyes rdo rje), which means "Lake-born Vajra." This peaceful form of Padmasambhava, holding a vajra at his heart, is connected with the turning the Wheel of Dharma for the dakinis (mkha' 'gro ma) on the island of Danakosha lake. In the Dudjom Tersar lineage of Tibetan Nyingma School, Guru Tsokye Dorje appears as the secret aspect of Guru, who is one of the Three Roots (rtsa ba gsum). Dudjom Tersar is one of the most widespread cycles of "hidden treasures" or terma (gter ma) in the Nyingma tradition. It combines termas revealed by Dudjom Lingpa (1835-1904) and his immediate reincarnation, Dudjom Rinpoche (1904-1987). The first, from the four major cycles of Dudjom Rinpoche, is related to Guru Tsokye Dorje. It is a mind terma (dgongs gter), called "Tsokye Thuktik" (mtsho skyes thugs thig las) or the "Heart Essence of the lake Born." Revealed by Dudjom Rinpoche in 1929, this terma aims to help practitioners to attain the state of Padmasambhava. The paper will explore the iconography of Guru Tsokye Dorje in thangka paintings created according to the Dudjom Tersar tradition. Tibetan iconography, one of the most remarkable examples of Buddhist art, has a tremendously sacred meaning. It is full of images of enlightened beings, which – as iconographic symbols – express different aspects of Buddhist teachings. The reality expressed in a thangka is inseparable from human nature; that is why its comprehension depends mainly on the awakening of the mind. These artifacts, as instruments, aim to reveal the real nature of the mind. This is their sacred meaning – to lead the ordinary mind to the state of supreme enlightenment. At the beginning, there will be a brief analysis of the thangka of Dudjom Tersar Refuge Tree. It depicts the so-called "Merit Field" (tshogs zhing) that is visualized in the "Preliminary Practices" (sngon 'gro) of the Dudjom Tersar. This type of composition is a pictorial representation of the Three Jewels (dkon mchog gsum) and the Three Roots, considered the source of the accumulation of merit (bsod nams).

After that, the image of Guru Tsokye Dorje, surrounded by Mandarava (8th century) and Yeshe Tsogyal (757-817) will be explored. Mandarava, the Indian wife of Padmasambhava is revered as the reincarnation of Wite Tara and dakini Vajravarahi's body. Yeshe Tsogyal, the Tibetan wife of the Precious Teacher is revered as the reincarnation of the Green Tara and the dakini Vajravarahi's speech. The main focus of the paper is the image of Padmasambhava as Guru Tsokye Dorje in three types of thangka, made according to the "Tsokye Thuktik" terma of Dudjom Tersar Lineage. In the first type of thangka, the central figure of Guru Tsokye Dorje in union with Mandarava is surrounded by six additional images. The three images on the top are 1) the 38th king of Tibet, Trisong Detsen (742-797), 2) Chime Sogthig, related to the long-life practice of Buddha Amitayus and 3) one of the twenty-five principal students of Guru Rinpoche, Nubchen Sangye Yeshe (9th century). The three images on the bottom depict different forms of Padmasambhava, namely the healing form Orgyen Menla, the wrathful form Dorje Drolo, and the wealth form Orgyen Norlha. The central figure of Guru Tsokye Dorje in the second type of thangka is surrounded by four additional images: Chime Sogthig; wrathful deity Vajrakilaya; protectress of the Dzogchen teachings, Ekadzati; Yeshe Tsogyal. The figure of Guru Tsokye Dorje in the third type of thangka is surrounded only by Vajrakilaya and Yeshe Tsogyal. The paper aims to explore the sacred meaning and symbolism of the image of Padmasambhava as Guru Tsokye Dorje within the iconography and ritual of the Dudjom Tersar lineage, one of the most widespread living traditions of Tibetan Nyingma School.

Tibet as Empty Vessel: A Look at Essentialisms in the Construction of National Identities

Paul Christiaan Klieger

The panel convened at this meeting of the IATS continues the dialogue of what political entity is this thing we call Tibet. Much of the discussion has revolved around the conundrum of whether Tibet was a state in the early 20th century and before. The discourse is, of course, the basis by which the political dialogue between Tibet and China is articulated. These arguments have underscored the need to more thoroughly understand the processes by which a people position themselves vis-à-vis perceived others. The highest strata of inclusiveness is still the nation-state, although transnationalism is becoming increasingly significant. The transformation between nation-state ideology to transnational existence is tracing the future of Tibet. Much of nationalism is fueled by ideology. These belief systems are by their self-generating nature essentialistic, including and excluding people as a natural order of things. They are, however, entirely synthetic. Ironically, the process by which the modern Chinese state has incorporated Tibet (and many other regions) into a Han-dominant nation-state, “from time immemorial” is the same as Tibet has done in claiming its separateness. Tibet has a long history of retrocribing authority on the basis of “discovered” texts (the tertön tradition), and upon “ancient” prophecy that justifies the present. The apparently consistent rule of Avalokiteśvara from the creation of the Tibetan people to the 14th Dalai Lama is a prominent example of this reasoning. Although born of different ideologies, the processes by which Tibet is claimed are identical. The real question is not which ideology is true, but the limits to which any state may impose its views upon the other without stimulating indigenous nationalism.

The Tucci Tibetan expeditions (1926–1948): shaping the image of Tibet in the early 20th century.

Deborah Klimburg-Salter

The Tucci Tibetan expeditions (1926-1948): Shaping the image of Tibet in the early 20th century Giuseppe Tucci 1894-1984 is an iconic figure in the field of Tibetan studies. Tucci's almost 400 publications, many illustrated with photos taken during his 12 expeditions (8 to Tibet and 4 to Nepal) as well as paintings he collected at that time, shaped the image of Tibet in the early part of the 20th century. Tucci was trained as a philologist (Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan) at a time when Tibetan primary sources were extremely scarce in Europe. For this reason he documented and collected manuscripts, primarily Tibetan, but also Sanskrit. However, equally important – he documented and collected paintings – which he considered to have very different but equal importance as primary historical witnesses to Tibetan culture. But the largest collection Tucci left to posterity is the photo documentation generated during these expeditions. The Tucci Photographic Archive in the MNAO (National Museum of Oriental Art) – houses over 10,000 images produced during the first half of the 20th century , at a time when the materials and photographic processes were both expensive and difficult to control. When he began his expeditions across the Tibetan cultural sphere in 1926, documentary photography was hardly known. As the technical possibilities expanded, the subjects and uses of this photo -documentation changed also. The Tucci expeditions have left us a rich legacy of visual documentation. Using Tucci's own publications we will consider the quite different ways in which he used painting (portable and monumental) and the photographic image as historical sources. We will also consider the role these visual images played in shaping our understanding of Tibet during the formative period in the history of Tibetan studies.

Lama, Lineage and Likeness: Some Remarks on a Set of Portrait Statues from Mustang

Hans-Werner Klohe

This paper will highlight a set of 16 bronze statues from the 15th century which have only recently been documented in Namgyal monastery of Mustang – the former kingdom of Lo, today a district in Northwestern Nepal – and discuss its iconographic components, stylistic features and historical context. The statues represent a lineage of lamas of the tantric tradition known as Lamdre, the main teaching cycle in the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism and its Ngor subschool. In my presentation I will identify individual teachers and determine their succession within the lineage. I will examine some of the iconographic similarities and differences in the depiction of specific teachers – in some cases with recognisable physiognomic characteristics, and in other cases with generalised or even contradicting features. This will be demonstrated by juxtaposing different images of the same teacher in various sets, including other newly documented statues in Namgyal monastery, which also need to be studied and contextualised, as well as individual examples from two well-known and roughly contemporaneous sets in Central Tibet: Gyantse and Mindroling. This is followed by remarks on style, taking into account the execution of garments, textiles, lotus pedestals and other decorative details. I will also briefly outline the close relationship between the powerful rulers of Mustang and eminent Buddhist masters of Sakya and Ngor monasteries in Central Tibet. Furthermore, the issue of dating the statue set will be addressed. It can be assumed that it was commissioned by a disciple of the last lama depicted, who may have been alive or recently deceased at the time of commission. This will be complemented by a discussion of the possible identity of the donor, whose name is provided by inscription. This brief overview of the statue set shall serve as a case study to exemplarily show the entanglement of individual likeness with typologisation in Tibetan lineage portraits. The objective is to shed some light on the interplay between the identification of the lineage as a collective group and the role of the single teacher as part of that group, which constitutes the topic of my doctoral dissertation in progress. I argue that individual representation at times is closely interlinked with standardised facial types, iconographic attributes, costume, and inscriptions. This research is largely based on portrait statues preserved in Mustang, including five almost complete sets comprising around 120 statues. That material provides us with a rare chance to compare the visual depiction of specific teachers in different sets among each other and set them in relation to other examples from the Himalayan region. This applies

particularly to the analysis of statues and sets bearing inscriptions. They may help to identify teachers in statues without such inscriptions, and could also be a valuable key to establish the succession of teachers in uninscribed sets.

Tibetan Medicine as Intangible Heritage? The Emerging Sowa Rigpa Industry and UNESCO

Stephan Kloos

In 2013, Tibetan medical experts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region, Qinghai, and Sichuan formed a committee to prepare an application to gain UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage status for Tibetan medicine. Initially envisioned as a single-nation application with the aim of preserving and promoting Tibetan medicine, this plan soon raised concerns among exile Tibetan and Himalayan medical professionals and some international scholars. Although united by a general distrust about “China’s” intentions, responses ranged from indifference to calls for a more inclusive multinational application; from an outright rejection of the notion of intangibility to plans for a similar, rival application by India. This paper will trace the still-ongoing and open-ended process of gaining UNESCO’s recognition for Tibetan medicine, and analyze the intentions and interests behind such claims and their opposition. Placing this process in the context of an emerging and lucrative Sowa Rigpa industry, it will argue that Tibetan medicine’s potential “safeguarding” by UNESCO brings to light a growing international struggle over its ownership and control. Paradoxically, claims for Tibetan medicine’s status as “intangible cultural heritage” thus coincide with its simultaneous transformation from a long disregarded or even persecuted part of Tibetan culture to a very tangible economic resource whose identity and ownership are increasingly contested.

A study of the relationship between Tibet, Nepal, and the Qing dynasty in 1789

Yuri Komatsubara

This study presents the relationship between Tibet, Nepal, and the Qing dynasty through the perspective of the peace treaty of the first Tibet-Gorkha war of 1789. In 1788, the Gorkha kingdom of Nepal attacked the Gtsang-District of Tibet and the first Tibet-Gorkha war broke out. The next year, Tibet concluded a peace treaty with Gorkha and the war ended. Nevertheless, Gorkha invaded Tibet again in 1791, so the Qing sent a large troop to defend Tibet and a major battle, known as the second Tibet-Gorkha war (1791-1792), broke out. The first Tibet-Gorkha war was not only a preliminary skirmish to the second, but it also provided an opportunity for the Qing to change its political policies regarding Tibet. Although previous studies have pointed out the existence of a peace treaty between Tibet and Gorkha in 1789, the text of the peace treaty for this war was unknown for a long time and only a few details about the treaty itself were available, such as the reasons for the Gorkha attack, reparations, and the coin economy. It was also said that no single authoritative text existed on the 1789 peace treaty and that this treaty actually consisted of a number of letters exchanged between the signatories. However, after much research, I finally found the original texts of the 1789 peace treaty at the First Historical Archives of China. These texts are of two types: in one, Tibetan sentences are written first followed by Nepali sentences, and in the other, the reverse is true. The Tibetan government maintained the former while Gorkha kept the latter, and both texts were sent to Emperor Qianlong during the second Tibet-Gorkha war. I had already found the text of the treaty translated into Chinese before I found the original texts and reported it at the last IATS conference at Ulaanbaatar. This time, comparing these texts of the peace treaty of the first Tibet-Gorkha war of 1789, I consider the relationship between Tibet, Nepal, and Qing at that time. In this study, I will make the following three points: First, I introduce how I found the original text at the First Historical Archives of China. I had difficulty finding these original texts because of certain problems regarding document classification at the First Historical Archives of China. At the same time, I will show the new possibility of using the Archive's documents. Second, I compare the content of both original texts as above. Comparing the Tibetan sentences in the text, I found that the contents are mostly similar, but there are some differences, especially at the part of the signatures and stamps of the Tibetan and Gorkha participants at the meeting for the 1789 peace treaty. At the same time that I found the original texts, I also found some letters in which individual articles about the economic aspects of the treaty are discussed. I compare these letters with the full text of

the 1789 treaty, and analyze the process of making the text of the 1789 treaty. Third, as mentioned above, I also found the text of the treaty translated into Chinese before I obtained the original texts. Comparing the Tibetan text with the Chinese text, most of the contents are similar, but there are some differences in the details, especially pertaining to objects of Tibetan Buddhism. It seems that these differences arose from the problems of translating, so I point out the characteristics when the Tibetan original text was translated in Chinese. From these analyses, I make the point that Gorkha was really superior to Tibet when they concluded the 1789 treaty. It is also clear that Tibet and Gorkha made this treaty without the Qing's initiative. Nevertheless, it is not the case that Tibet and Gorkha ignored the Qing completely. They had in fact recognized the authority of Qing, which stood behind Tibet when they concluded the treaty.

Living as Bonpo monks in Amdo Sharkhog: Discipline, Livelihood, and Monastic Community on Social Changes

Kengo Konishi

This paper clarifies the historical and current situation of Bonpo community in Amdo Sharkhog, dealing mainly with the monks' way of living. While the ascetic community with discipline has developed at some huge monasteries such as Menri monastery in Tsang, life of each Bonpo monk cannot be simply grasped as supermundane one. In this paper, based on the field research in Sharkhog since 2006 and analysis of influential lamas' biography, I will discuss the diversity of their living and its significance for the management of monastic community and lay society. First, the "traditional" way of monk's living before 1950s is examined by analyzing the autobiography of Bonpo scholar Hor ba bstan 'dzin blo gros rgya mtsho (1889–1975) from Sharkhog and related texts. His life reveals the aspect of monks' life that they frequently pass between monastic and lay society for managing their community, while connecting with trans-regional network of Tibetans. Then, several life-stories of monks living in contemporary Sharkhog are examined. Primarily, what determines their life as monks is the monastic discipline; therefore, elder monks who were once forced to quit monastic life in 1960s still often express regret for their "not being good monks". On the other hand, lives of younger monks show considerable varieties. They are not always celibate figures but important agents who interact with lay society in order to sustain the monastic community. Thus such way of living as Bonpo monks has been inherited, adjusting the socio-economic changes around the area.

From Text to Space: The Iconographic Programme of the Nyingmapa Stupa of Hunder as a Case Study for Visual Methods of Presentation

Gerald Kozicz

The mandala is a fundamental method to bring structure to Buddhist philosophy and also to represent the Doctrine through art and architecture. However, the parameters of the physical environment and functional demands often created difficulties for the transfer of the ideal of a five-fold order described in the text into actual architectural space. A method developed to cope with constraints was the implementation of elevated cult chambers into stupas. These stupas, commonly referred to as Kakani Chörten (Ka ka ni mchod rten), preserve insight into the modes through which philosophical ideas took shape through material culture. This method was permanently adapted to new doctrinal developments and socio-cultural changes. The comparative study of such stupas is therefore revealing for the modes of perception and the related methods of presentation within a certain period, region and/or a certain Buddhist order. The paper will discuss a stupa of the Nyingmapa near the former Zimskhang of Hunder (Ladakh). This stupa is exclusively dedicated to the Khi-khro mandala. The four walls are covered with depictions of the 'peaceful' (zhi) and 'wrathful' (khro) deities of this mandala. The paper will focus on the specific geometric features of the mandala structure based on a complete virtual model of the chamber with all the deities in spatial context. This will include a discussion of the interaction of the architectural form of the stupa and the spatial order of the iconographic content. Two more chambers dedicated to the same cycle and recently documented by Diana Lange, provide material for a comparative study in order to identify the characteristics of the visual language as well as the related socio-religious background.

The Seven Texts on Siddhi (Grub pa ste bdun): A Corpus of Indian Mahāmudrā Works and its Application in Defense of Kagyü Mahāmudrā

Adam Krug

The Seven Texts on Siddhi is a group of Indian works composed between approximately the eighth and eleventh centuries. All seven authors of these texts were mahāsiddhas who are considered to have been instrumental in both revealing and clarifying the Buddhist tantras. Following their transmission to Tibet in the eleventh century, these seven works were recognized as a unified corpus on the theory and practice of mahāmudrā. The available colophon data suggest that all seven works were initially transmitted independently, and the work that went into translating them was divided among at least three different pairings of Tibetan Lotsāwas and Indian Paṇḍitas who were active in the eleventh century. Less than one century after they were translated, a single work attributed to Gampopa Sonam Rinchen (1079-1153), his Dialogues with Düsüm Khyenpa (Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan), included what may be the earliest reference to The Seven Texts on Siddhi as unified corpus. Butön (1290- 1364) later mentioned The Seven Texts on Siddhi as a collection of mahāmudrā works in his record of received teachings (Jackson, 2009). Gö Lotsāwa (1392-1481) later identified The Seven Texts on Siddhi in his Blue Annals (Deb ther sngon po, 1476) as a corpus of works that was known to the Indian Paṇḍita Vajrapāṇi (11th century) and transmitted to his Tibetan disciples along with several other works that that would also be recognized as corpora of Indian mahāmudrā texts. The Seventh Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso's (1454-1506) inclusion of these texts in his three-volume collection of Indian Mahāmudrā Works (Phyag chen rgya gzhung) (Jackson, 2009; Mathes 2011) brought the Tibetan process of re-framing of these works as a unified corpus to completion. The compilation of these volumes signaled the point at which The Seven Texts on Siddhi were fully incorporated into the Tibetan scholastic discourse in defense of the Kagyü approach to mahāmudrā. This paper provides an introduction to The Seven Texts on Siddhi and their significance in the Kagyü tradition as a corpus of Indian mahāmudrā works. It argues that the Seventh Karmapa's Indian Mahāmudrā Works created a 'practical canon' (Stanley, 2009) of Indian texts intended to verify the authenticity of Gampopa's mahāmudrā instructions by highlighting authoritative Indian sources that supported Gampopa's view and unique method of mahāmudrā instruction. The Seventh Karmapa's work bore fruit with the next generation of Kagyü scholars, particularly in the works of Dakpo Tashi Namgyal (1511-1587), who relied upon many of the texts in this collection in his defense of Kagyü mahāmudrā. After providing some historical background on the Tibetan identification of these texts as a corpus of Indian mahāmudrā works, this paper

directly examines Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's use of *The Seven Texts on Siddhi* in his refutation of Sakya Paṇḍita's (1182-1251) critique of the Kagyü mahāmudrā systems. In his *Clear Moonlight* (Zla ba'i 'od gser), Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explicitly references *The Seven Texts on Siddhi* to support the Kagyü argument for the continuity of ground, path, and fruition mahāmudrā. He then directly attacks Sakya Paṇḍita's system of mahāmudrā by drawing upon one of these seven works, Indrabhūti's *The Siddhi of Gnosis* (Ye shes grub pa). Here Dakpo Tashi Namgyal uses Indrabhūti's chapter on the "Refutation of the Proponents of Great Bliss" (Bde ba chen po smra ba dgag pa) to argue that the sensation of bliss that results from the manipulation of the seminal drops during subtle body yoga is something dependently originated and thus, by definition, impermanent. The arguments that Dakpo Tashi Namgyal makes based on *The Seven Texts on Siddhi* draw from a limited range of verses in the texts themselves. This introduces the possibility that his use of *The Seven Texts on Siddhi* in defense of Kagyü mahāmudrā was successful only at the expense of the broader contexts in which these statements were originally made. This paper concludes with a discussion of the degree to which Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's appeals to scriptural authority via *The Seven Texts on Siddhi* may be justified and, at times, called into question in light of a close reading of these verses in their original contexts.

'International experts creating beautiful high plateau women' – Doing and consuming beauty in contemporary Lhasa, TAR

Anne Kukuczka

'International experts creating beautiful high plateau women' reads an advertisement of Lhasa's first and only professional cosmetic surgery clinic, which opened in 2012. This specific slogan was highly visible throughout the urban cityscape for several months in 2015 in buses and taxis, on billboards and promotional signs lit up at night. In Lhasa, beauty is increasingly available as a commodity, ready to be consumed by those with financial resources, available leisure time and an interest in new ways of modifying their bodies. In fact, the city has experienced an unprecedented growth of beauty and body related businesses and services over the past 15 years. These developments are linked to the emergence of a particular leisure culture and new cultures of consumption within broader state-driven processes of economic growth, urbanization, modernization and development that have intensified in Lhasa since the early 2000s. The conceptualization of the body as a socio-cultural and historical phenomenon, a site for resistance as well as the performance of gender (Koo & Reischer 2004), reveals manifold levels of meanings and possible interpretations of body practices. Within the discipline of social and cultural anthropology, research on body and beauty ideals, practices and services has received significant attention and fieldwork has been carried out in a variety of ethnographic settings across Asia (e.g. Nepal, Vietnam, China, India). However, no in-depth ethnographic study has been conducted so far in Tibetan societies with a particular focus on everyday body and beauty practices. In this regard, the paper attempts to make a contribution to fill this gap. Since a growing beauty industry mainly targets women and their bodily appearance, my attention is drawn to Tibetan women in working age and, hence, to gendered body and beauty practices. The paper explores how and why urban Tibetan women in Lhasa engage in new techniques for modifying their bodies. I argue that the body can take on crucial roles in crafting desired and modern Tibetan selves in Lhasa. Moreover, I aim to show how research on beauty and the body can serve as an entry point into understanding the aspirations, fears and desires of Lhasa's female urban residents. In examining Tibetan women's everyday body and beauty practices, as well as their interpretations for doing so, I attempt to discuss broader socio-economic and socio-cultural transformation processes from an actor-centered perspective. One major observable shift in Lhasa is that women increasingly 'do' and 'consume' beauty outside their private homes, in places that provide specialized services such as: high and low-end nail studios, cosmetic products stores, beauty parlours, shopping malls, Spas and gyms. These are sites where urban women engage in

'body work' (Gimlin 2007): The work on their bodies performed by themselves or others. The beautiful body is turned into a personal project to be worked on. In addition, new means of communication, first and foremost the mobile text and voice messaging communication service WeChat, provide exciting venues for the visual presentation of desired selves. This directly affects women's perception of their own and other women's bodies. As a result, new forms of 'body work', which arguably until recently have been non-existent in Tibet, not only promote new body and beauty ideals, but are closely linked to new lifestyle, leisure and consumption choices as well. Fieldwork for this paper was conducted in Lhasa between October 2014 and August 2015 (after exploratory research in 2011/12). I applied a combination of anthropological research methods. These include: a) a survey about body and beauty related businesses around *bar skor*; b) participant observation and informal conversations at and about selected sites where the body and its modification are at center stage; c) writing a field diary; d) 11 semi-structured interviews with Tibetan women aged 23 to 35, and e) collecting advertisement and promotional materials. The paper will show that, while in Tibet as elsewhere, the body's adornment has existed for centuries, practices, services and ascribed values change over time and are directly entangled with broader political, economic and social developments. Moreover, the presentation will highlight that urban female Tibetan residents of Lhasa are agents actively engaging in processes of socio-cultural change through their choices and meaningful interpretations of body and beauty practices. For this reason, the examination of their choices can lead to a more nuanced understanding of complexities and ambivalences they encounter when negotiating multiple and at times ambiguous desires and interests. Ultimately, this research endeavors to make a contribution to a growing body of ethnographic research within Modern Tibetan Studies in general and the project of moving towards an understanding of women's everyday lives in contemporary Tibet (cf. Aziz 1987) in particular.

A Study through Biographies and Chronicles on Tsangpa Gyare (1161-1211) the Founder of the Drukpa Kagyu School

Seiji Kumagai

In Bhutan there are two major Buddhist schools: Nyingma (rNying ma) and Drukpa Kagyu ('Brug pa bka' brgyud). Although Nyingma is wide more spread and has been vastly researched since it is the oldest one among the four chief Buddhist schools in the Tibetan cultural area, Drukpa Kagyu still remains insufficiently researched despite having had ruled Bhutan. Fortunately, Western researchers such as Michael Aris and Yoshiro Imaeda have provided us with a general outline of Drukpa Kagyu history, however, some of its details still remain unclear. Due to difficulties of accessing many of his works, the nature and thoughts of Tsangpa Gyare (gTsang-pa rgya-ras Ye-she rdo-rje, 1161-1211), the founder of the Drukpa Kagyu, have remained a mystery. Information about its founder is necessary to objectively understand the Drukpa Kagyu school. Thus, this paper aims to reexamine Tsangpa Gyare's nature and thoughts. The methodology is as follows: (1) to summarize his historical descriptions in chronicles and his biographies. (2) to analyze all of his collected works and reconstruct his nature and thoughts which are not mentioned in chronicles and his biographies.

Buddhist Brotherhood: Inheritance System of Sakya Tradition and Political Structure in Amdo during 15th-17th Centuries

Ling-Wei Kung

After the Mongolian Prince Köden met with Sakya Pandita in Liangzhou in 1247, the Mongol Yuan started to authorize Tibetan clans to manage their people in Amdo. Then after Phagpa built a patron-priest relation with Kublai Khan in 1251, the Sakyapa started to become the dominant power in Amdo. After the Ming army overthrew the Yuan dynasty and expelled Mongolians from northern China in 1368, the Chinese emperors continued to commission local Tibetan leaders to maintain social order in Amdo. Moreover, the Ming emperors also invited Tibetan monks from Amdo to preside over imperial ceremonies in Nanjing and Beijing. Unlike anti-Mongolian discourses in Chinese historiography, in the local society of eastern Amdo, the Ming court still recognized the privileges of powerful Tibetan clans previously supported by Mongolians. Meanwhile, the Ming dynasty gave Chinese surnames to Tibetan local leaders as the symbol of imperial authorities. These powerful Tibetan clans were therefore known as the Hou family in Minzhou, the Yang family in Taozhou, and the Han family in Hezhou. In addition to local politics, these families also managed religious affairs in eastern Amdo. For instance, Penden Trashi (1377-1452, Dpal ldan bkra shis), the best-known Tibetan monk in Minzhou, was a descendant of the Hou family. According to the newfound biography of Penden Trashi, his elder uncles served as the local officers of the Mongol Yuan, and his three younger uncles were all famous monks. According to Penden Trashi's Biography and The Genealogy of the Hou Family, it is obvious that the inheritance system practiced by the Hou family was derived from the Sakya tradition. It should be noticed that although the Yuan dynasty had already collapsed in the late fourteenth century, the inheritance system of Sakyapa was still strongly supported by the Ming government and extensively practiced by influential families in Amdo during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. That is to say, even though the power of Gelugpa swiftly expanded in eastern Amdo since the late fourteenth century, the inheritance system of the Sakya tradition has not been abolished until the rise of Muslim in the late seventeenth century. From the late thirteenth to seventeenth centuries, Sakyapa's inheritance system not only profoundly shaped socio-economic institutions in Amdo, but also deeply influenced Sino-Tibetan relations. By using Tibetan and Chinese materials, the present study intends to reexamine the local history of Amdo during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries from the perspectives of lineage and kinship. How did Sakyapa's inheritance system influence the local society of Amdo? What kinds of roles did Tibetan genealogical institutions play in Amdo between China

and Central Tibet? How can we redefine the characteristics of the Tibetan communities in Amdo? Is it possible to reflect on the notion of “tribe,” and further find new ideas, such as “kinship society,” to rediscover the nature of the local society in Amdo? In this work, I attempt to answer the questions above by discussing the development of the monasteries originally related to the Sakya in Amdo. In addition to the well-known monasteries like Co ne dgon chen, I want to pay much attention to intact cases, such as Chos sde dgon in Minzhou, Han kya zi in Hezhou and Bis mdo dgon chen in Xunhua. By examining monastic history and analyzing big data, this work points out the inheritance system of clans and the monasteries in Amdo were profoundly influenced by the Sakya tradition. Even though many monasteries converted to the Gelukpa after the fifteenth century, they still followed the Sakya tradition in terms of lineage and kinship. Furthermore, this paper also emphasizes the importance of the special inheritance system in Amdo, which not only changed Amdo’s local politics but also transformed the frontier policies of the Ming and Qing.

Charismatic Khenpos Renouncing Meat Commodity Chains: Anti-modern Fundamentalism, or Chinese Capitalism Read Acutely?

Gabriel Lafitte

The slaughter renunciation movement sweeping eastern Tibet has been interpreted outside Tibet as anti-modern, anti-business, anti-development, even as fundamentalist. The exhortations by charismatic khenpos urging pastoralists, individually and collectively, to withhold animals from market and slaughter has also been depicted by some intellectuals in Tibet as a coercive and reactionary movement that denies pastoralists one of their few opportunities for generating cash income. This paper presents an alternative explanation of this popular movement. The starting point is the life experience of the khenpos, who may live in remote areas yet have travelled widely, witnessed neoliberal market economies, and have among their followers many Han businessmen and women who brief the khenpos on how state capitalism with Chinese characteristics actually operates. The khenpos understand China's indifference to strengthening the indigenous pastoral economy, adding value to dairy and wool production, or capitalising on Tibet's comparative advantages. They see Tibet being positioned as a raw materials supplier of producer goods, as captive mines for distant smelters and factories, thus positioned in global commodity chains as price takers, in a system stacked against them. It is for these reasons that the khenpos urge those devoted to them to refrain from entering a market economy whose terms of trade are tilted against the primary producers, who even lack access to urban stockyards to maintain livestock in saleable condition. Thus the slaughter renunciation movement is not anti-business, nor is Tibetan tradition, with its entrepreneurial spirit, anti-business. The khenpos, while taking care in public to emphasize the Buddhist ethics of commoditised slaughter, are actually providing a targeted critique of commodity chain modernity with Chinese characteristics, as a game Tibetans cannot win and are best not entering. The khenpos, looking ahead to the consequences of current policies, foresee a Tibetan Plateau in which human and livestock populations are concentrated in urban and peri-urban enclaves, leaving most pasture land unused and redesignated as a long term provider of distant environmental services. They foresee extensive land use replaced by unsustainable intensive land use, in an economy of primitive accumulation favouring immigrants, while most Tibetans will be unemployed and considered to be of low human quality (suzhi), forever on the lowest rungs of the commodity flow ladder.

Yang ston chen po: bridging the myth and the history of the Yan ngal clan

Nima Woser Choekhortshang

The family of Yang ston (lit. teacher of Ya ngal clan) is an important family lineage of Bonpo origin currently based in Dolpo district of Nepal. This family is known for the following three major events: 1) the family is claimed to have originated from the royal priest (Tib. sku gshen) of the first mythical king of Tibet Nyatri Tsenpo, 2) an ancestor of this family is believed to have played a very important role in inscribing and preserving a Dzogchen teaching known as 'Aural Transmission of Zhangzhung' (zhang zhung snyan brgyud) and 3) the members of this family have led the Bonpo communities for many generations in Dolpo since the 13th century. This paper focuses on analysing the main activities in the life of the great Yang ston Sherab Gyaltsen who lived around 11th century. I will compare different accounts of Yang ston family, including the Genealogy of the Ya ngal clan (rGyal gshen ya ngal gyi gdung rabs), and I will particularly highlight how the life account of the great Yang ston Sherab Gyaltsen has inspired and caused transformation of an ordinary family name "Ya ngal" into "Yang ston". The great Yang ston was the most exceptional one amongst the members of Yan ngal clan and he was also the most crucial figure to link the mythical account of Yan gal clan to many historical figures and places. Therefore, I will look critically on the date of this great Yang ston and try to sift the historical records out from the mythical account. I believe this study will shed a light for better understanding of the origin of this family lineage and how it spread to the land of Dolpo from Mustang and Tibet.

Post-national aspirations of Tibetans in South Asia – issues and challenges

Jigme Yeshe Lama

This paper will look into the responses of modern day states in the Indian subcontinent – especially India, Nepal and Bhutan to the emergence of post national Tibetan spaces after 1959. The exile of the Dalai Lama with tens of thousands of Tibetans in 1959 led to the subsequent emergence of a vibrant diasporic community in the Indian subcontinent. With around 130,000 Tibetans present in India, Nepal and Bhutan in a number of settlement camps, the responses of these host nations and the local community towards these Tibetan spaces becomes highly important. The paper will elaborate the varied policies followed by these states towards the Tibetans and especially towards the political expressions of the exiled population seen in the adoption of responses by them to democratic elections organised by the Tibetans. While the cultural, educational, religious and to a certain extent economic spheres of the Tibetans have been accommodated in varying degrees, the political aspirations of the Tibetans in exile is seen to be somewhat curtailed. This is however not uniform in all the South Asian states and will be elaborated in the paper. However a dominating discourse attached to Tibetans in exile in South Asia is one of security and strategy, with the creation and deployment of the Tibet card and Tibetans being scrutinised by local authorities. The paper will also delve into the socio cultural and historical interactions of exiled Tibetans residing in the Himalayan areas of the subcontinent, with a focus on the Eastern Himalayan areas of Sikkim and Darjeeling, whose local populace share strong affinity to Tibetan culture especially Tibetan Buddhism. There is the presence of cultural syncretism in these areas which affects the local state's responses to the Tibetan post national aspirations – which is seen with the recent declaration from the Government of Sikkim announcing 6th July as a restricted public holiday in the state. Hence, the paper proposes to look into the negotiations present between the political aspirations of the Tibetans and the host state/communities in South Asia.

**An unrecognized pioneer of Tibetan Studies: the man who engaged a lama to draw
and describe Tibet in the late 1850s**

Diana Lange

In the early 1990s Michael Aris noted that the British Library's Wise Collection "may represent the most ambitious pictorial survey of Tibetan topography and culture ever attempted by a local artist." The artist's ambition is reflected in a set of drawings that are probably the most comprehensive set of large-scale visual representations of mid-nineteenth century Tibet and the Western Himalayan kingdoms of Ladakh and Zangskar. The circumstances of the Wise Collection's origin are unrecorded and the story of the collection is quite similar to a mosaic or puzzle that becomes accessible piece by piece. In the British Library there is no information available about who commissioned these drawings, what purpose they served or how they eventually came to Great Britain. There is only a typewritten note that provides the information that the drawings appear to be by a Tibetan artist, probably a lama, who had contact with Europeans and that the drawings appear to have been commissioned by the writer of the accompanying explanatory texts. It can be said with confidence that the collection was named after Thomas Alexander Wise (1802-1889), a Scottish polymath and collector who served in the Indian Medical Service in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century. After years of research I recently found one of the most important parts of the whole "Wise puzzle" – the name of the Englishman who commissioned the drawings: Moreover I found more drawings most probably made by the same lama – showing methods of disposing of the deaths at Lhasa. In my paper I will introduce the "new" drawings and emphasize their potential as historical evidence. Moreover I will introduce the unrecognized pioneer of Tibetan Studie who engaged a monk to create a pictorial account of Tibetan Culture: Mr. Hay, former assistant commissioner in Kulu.

Descent and Houses in Reb-gong: Group Formation and Rules of Recruitment Among Eastern Tibetan Tsho-ba

Reinier Langelaar

In this paper I will address the makeup of the social groups known as tsho-ba in Tibetan, in the Reb-gong region of eastern Qinghai. The presented material combines new ethnographic data (gathered in and around 'Gar-rtse village in Chu-khog Township in 2013) with regional written sources. The ensuing discussion will serve as a launchpad to argue against the strictly descent-based socio-typologies often encountered in the literature to describe these units and their subgroups ("clan", "group of patrilineal descent"). As an alternative, I will offer an interpretation that allows us to better incorporate the flexible and performative aspects of group membership, deriving theoretical inspiration from studies centering around Lévi-Strauss' concept of the house society. After offering some introductory remarks, I shall first illustrate how membership in tsho-ba and their subgroups is regulated, and that this process is too flexible to be reconcilable with any unilineal model. For instance, marriage entails a group switch for the in-marrying partner, and any offspring of uxori-local couples consequently belongs to the mother's, rather than the father's, natal group. Similarly, pre- and extramarital children who lack a pater are simply absorbed into the mother's unit as well. Another instance is provided by the practice of adoption, which routinely disregards the group membership of the heir-to-be. All of the above practices are, besides unexceptional, attested in local historical sources, too, and therefore do not seem to constitute any recent development. The rules governing membership regulation thus demonstrate that the presumed causal connection between patrilineal descent and group membership is merely one of correlation. In actual practice, it is the household of residence, rather than descent, that is the operative vector in assigning group membership. If we consider in addition the absence of group exogamy and the (at least present) lack of apical ancestors, it becomes clear that we must reject the literature's depiction of these groups as "clans" along with this socio-typology's inherent emphasis on patrilineal descent. By highlighting various other aspects of these units, I then proceed to read them as more multidimensional, loosely defined Lévi-Straussian Houses. House society studies have repeatedly found that groups styled "lineages" by ethnographers are in fact locally referred to as "houses". In Reb-gong, too, the house looms rather large in the way groups are conceptualized. Virtually all tsho-ba subgroups carry household-style names, and so do various tsho-ba. The origins and retention of such proper names reflect the existence of central, apical households: group monikers mostly derive from

individual homes, from where they stick to a larger set of houses that branch off within its orbit. This is also evident in the existence of the title of *rva-rgan*, which adheres to, and sustains social memory of, a subgroup's founding household. I will demonstrate that the etymology of generic terms in use for *tsho-ba* subunits also reflects the centrality of the house, rather than of ancestry. There are, in addition to the central household, other sites, items, and traditions that could also serve as material and immaterial axes around which *tsho-ba* and their subgroups could rally. These include shared sacred sites such as *la-btsas*; ritual implements and heirlooms; ceremonial roles and traditions; offices; and even village-internal group hierarchies. Both historical and ethnographic evidence, furthermore, bear out that the perceived key advantage of these units lies in their effective functioning as local support networks. Lacking solidarity, group makeup can and will be changed. This clearly illustrates that group unity is rooted more in social action than in genealogy.

Accordingly, the descriptive and explanatory power of patridescent-based typologies, which are still rather widely invoked, is very limited. We are therefore in need of more constructivist theoretical approaches that allow for the appreciation of the performative aspects of group membership and formation. I conclude with a brief survey of the secondary literature on kinship and social organization on the wider Eastern Plateau and suggest a similar reorientation away from the "clan" is likely to be fruitful in other regions, too.

The architecture of the Medical College on Chakpori, Lhasa. Upgraded plans based on new research.

Knud Larsen

At the Vancouver Seminar Knud Larsen presented a paper called: "An architectural reconstruction of the Chakpori Medical College, Lhasa". The reconstruction was based on old photographs from Western archives. The additional information about the internal structure of the building, which Professor Minyag Chokyi Gyaltzen hoped to gather from local oral sources, never materialized and the result was therefore not totally satisfactory. The drawings showed the basic outer layout and structure of the buildings and looked very similar to the old photos, but the correct measures were difficult to establish and the resulting plans were not as convincing as one could wish. The reason why these plans may be important is that Lhasa's plan to move the TV production, which is now located in a building near Potala, is getting closer to realization. The construction of a new TV centre near the new university campus has started and all TV production is supposed to be transferred there soon. To recapitulate from the former paper this means that the huge TV transmitting mast on the top of Chakpori, visible all over Lhasa, most probably will be out of use and removed. The possibility to rebuild the Medical College is thus open and this would be welcomed by the entire Tibetan community in Lhasa as well as by Chinese high ranking officials. The symbolic importance of this would be extremely powerful. New information, which also comprises interviews with Tibetan doctors who worked at the college, gathered from the book: "Der Tschagpori in Lhasa" and photographs by Ernst Schäfer have enabled an understanding of the inner structure of the college, which was earlier not possible. The new plans will therefore constitute a sufficient basis for a realistic physical rebuilding of the college. Additional related information was gathered through Knud Larsen's recent meeting in Chengdu with the very Chinese military officer who headed the battalion who attacked and destroyed the Medical College during the uprising in 1959.