

Chapter1 Kun grol grags pa and the New Bon tradition in Gyalrong

| | |
|-------|---|
| メタデータ | 言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: Karmay, Samten G. メールアドレス: 所属: |
| URL | https://doi.org/10.15021/00001627 |

Chapter 1 Kun grol grags pa and the New Bon tradition in Gyalrong

One of the most influential figures in the movement of the New Bon tradition in Gyalrong in the eighteenth century was undoubtedly Kun grol grags pa (b.1700, hereafter Kun grol) [Pl. 10]. In this, his mentor was Sangs rgyas gling pa (1705-1735), a mystic and *gter ston* from Tsha ba rong in Kham. I have already devoted an article to the travels of Sangs rgyas gling pa to Gyalrong¹ and the initiative he took in what one calls the 'opening up' (*gnas sgo phye pa*) of Mount dMu rdo as a sacred place (*gnas ri*).

It was Sangs rgyas gling pa who ultimately urged Kun grol to work with him on the revival of the Bon tradition in Gyalrong. Sangs rgyas gling pa's approach to religion was marked by the relatively recent trend in the Bon tradition called Bon gsar ma, the New Bon. At the base of this tradition lay a triad of the three sages as its patriarchs: Dran pa nam mkha' and his twin sons: gYung drung mthong grol and Tshe dbang rig 'dzin who were believed to have been born to mKha' 'gro 'Od ldan 'bar ma as twins. The elder son gYung drung mthong grol is believed to be identical with Padmasambhava. The three sages are often referred to as the 'Three Deathless Ones, the father and his twin sons' (*'chi med yab sras gsum*). Among the Bonpo this 'new' tradition goes back to rMa ston Srid 'dzin of the twelfth century (*STNN*) and led to a movement that emphasized the importance of embracing Tibet's two faiths, Bon and Buddhism as essentially the same, but via different lineages.

The tradition also traces back its roots in time to Vairocana, an eighth century Tibetan Buddhist monk, who was believed to have obtained Bon teachings from Dran pa nam mkha' and practised the two religions together. He is therefore considered as a non-partisan figure.² Although it is hard to prove historically whether Dran pa nam mkha' and Padmasambhava lived in the eighth century, the existence of Vairocana at the time is never questioned and in later centuries a number of rNying ma pa masters claimed to be his re-embodiments, particularly those who advocated the ambivalent nature of Bon and Buddhism in Tibet, for example rDo rje gling pa *alias* gYung drung gling pa.³

Vairocana is particularly revered in Gyalrong, because it is believed that he was exiled there from Central Tibet in the eighth century. Consequently a number of caves, particularly around Mount dMu rdo are ascribed to him as dwelling places. The stupas mostly in ruins that are scattered in Gyalrong are considered as having been built with his blessing. Sangs rgyas gling pa, too, considered himself as a re-embodiment of Vairocana. It was because of this motivation that he hastened to travel to Gyalrong and designate Mount dMu rdo as a sacred place since he believed that the mountain was at one time a dwelling place of the sage Dran pa nam mkha'. This in turn led to the recognition of Kun grol as a re-embodiment of the sage. What is the importance of the idea is that it constituted a driving force behind the activities of the master and his

disciple in Gyalrong. In other words, it is important to understand this factor in order to see why these Tibetan religious men were so keen on working in such a place as Gyalrong and with a people considered as uncouth and difficult to deal with, their language being different from Tibetan, but the two lamas had the sense of a mission that needed to be carried out at all costs and the ultimate object of this mission was to revive the Bon tradition in its 'new' outlook in Gyalrong.

Kun grol at first naturally followed the old tradition of Bon, but from the moment he met his master his attitude was changed and in fact the New Bon Tradition suited him well for his mission in Gyalrong as an ideological counter to Tibetan Buddhist movements, especially the dGe lugs pa, which, supported by the Manchu was inexorably making its progress in the region. Kun grol could show to the local people that his approach to Bon religion was different and that he had been entrusted to preach it there by his master. He never fails to emphasise this point when he has to persuade the local rulers, particularly over important projects, such as the engraving of the printing blocks for the Bon Canon. In this Kun grol was always very diplomatic in stating that it was the wishes of his master that he was working for when, in fact, he himself was as much interested in reviving the Bon tradition in the place.

The master-disciple relationship between Sangs rgyas gling pa and Kun grol was complex. It was based on strange and contradictory ideas, but the two respected one another for the stand each one had taken in a very broad sense, it would seem. Sangs rgyas gling pa appears to be leaning more towards rNying ma pa with the idea of himself being a re-embodiment of Vairocana than Kun grol who tended to be, on the contrary, much more orthodox regarding the Bon tradition than his master. Their relation is illustrated by the following ideas. Sangs rgyas gling pa recognized Kun grol as being a re-embodiment of one of the twenty-five 'heroic beings' (*sems dpa'*) of the rNying ma pa tradition, but Sangs rgyas gling pa never specified which one of the twenty-five men he meant. It is possible that he wanted to leave it deliberately vague. All the same, it was understood that he meant the sage Dran pa nam mkha', who in the rNying ma pa tradition, is presented as one of the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava whereas in the Bon tradition, as we have seen, Dran pa nam mkha' is the father of Padmasambhava and Kun grol strongly holds the view of the father and son relation rather than that of master and disciple. Dran pa nam mkha' in the rNying ma pa tradition is usually depicted wearing a blue garment with a wild yak beside him [Pl.11]. As a sign of his spiritual accomplishment, he is described as being able to approach the wild animal by taking it by its horn. When Sangs rgyas gling pa recognised Kun grol formally in a ceremony as a textual rediscoverer (*gter ston*), he offered Kun grol a red hat of the rNying ma pa tradition together with a prophetic eulogy.⁴ It is not very clear whether Kun grol accepted the complimentary eulogy with enthusiasm. The recognition of him as a *gter ston* by his master had a serious

implication. It eventually led Kun grol to enlist feminine partners in the enterprise of excavating hidden texts as we shall see.

In the nineteenth century the rNying ma pa school became aware of the significance of the Bon Triad. If it was not the source of inspiration behind their 'non-sectarian' (*ris med*) movement, it was certainly considered as an essential element in forging the new trend of their school. It was 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang po (1820-1892) who took up the subject and devoted an important work to it.⁵ Here was plainly an open advocate, for the first time, on the side of the rNying ma pa of entry into a relationship with the New Bon Tradition. It is to be noted that 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse signs his work with his Bonpo name: Mi shig g-yung drung 'byung gnas. His disciple Kong sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho (1813-1899)⁶ in turn took on the relay by including five Bon texts into his monumental collection of Buddhist ritual texts of *gter ma* origin, the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.⁷ The Bon texts are concerned with the practice what is known as *yab sras bcud dril*, the 'union of the father and sons'.⁸ They are precisely devotional works dealing with the Bon Triad and are of *gter ma* origin by rDo rje gling pa.⁹ To reaffirm this innovation further Kong sprul wrote his history of Buddhism and Bon in Tibet.¹⁰ In this work he not only tried to enhance the rapprochement between the two traditions, but also specifically refers to the four Bonpo masters describing them as 'recent manifestations of Padmasambhava' (*phyis byon sprul sku rnam bzhi*). The four were Blo ldan snying po (b.1360), Mi shig rdo rje (b.1650),¹¹ Sangs rgyas gling pa and Kun grol grags pa. He further stated that the teachings of these four masters embody a 'genuine path to salvation' (*thar lam yod nges can*).¹² This was perhaps intended to forestall the disapproval that might be expressed by the members of his own school for the inclusion of the Bon texts into the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Kong sprul was indeed subjected to strong criticism by the more conservative elements of his school and the controversy provoked the writing of lengthy refutations.¹³ Both 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul, these two rNying ma pa masters, played the leading role in what is known as the impartial (*ris med*) movement in the nineteenth century in eastern Tibet.¹⁴ However, Kong sprul's assertion of the doctrine of the 'genuine path' did not go down well with the Bonpo either. Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan (1859-1934) in his *Legs bshad mdzod* has rejected the doctrine altogether on the ground that it invalidates by implication the old Bon tradition.¹⁵ Nevertheless, a little later Shar rdza's strong attitude to Kong sprul's doctrine seems to have softened. Commenting on one of Kun grol's works he stated that Kun grol was indeed acknowledged by Kong sprul and as such it was of great significance for the Bonpo.¹⁶

When Sangs rgyas gling pa and Kun grol arrived in Gyalrong in 1733, they already had a royal connection in the person of the monk-prince gSang sngags grags pa *alias* Ye shes snying po of the royal house of the dGe bshes tsa principality. This was an

important connection, because it was through this house that Sangs rgyas gling pa made contacts with other principalities such as Khro skyabs and Chu chen. However, Sangs rgyas gling pa's stay in Gyalrong was too short to have any real effect. As soon as he finished designating Mount dMu rdo as a sacred place, he departed for Mount Glang po ri (Ch.Omei shan)¹⁷ in Sichuan, China from where he later returned to Khyung po. Not long after his return to home he died and he was only 30. His visit to Gyalrong was the germ for the growing enthusiasm for the New Bon tradition.

The autobiography of Kun grol

Both Sangs rgyas gling pa and gSang sngags grags pa urged Kun grol to write his own biography and it was gSang sngags grags pa on whose suggestion the autobiography was divided into three sections: the outer, the inner and the secret. The first contains a collection of didactic songs, letters that the author received and his replies to them and mostly what is known as *mgur*, mystic songs. The second section is of some interest for his personal history. However, it stops short at the 4th month in 1737 in which year he was 38. The last section is devoted to a collection of *mgur*, but more esoteric than the ones in the first section.

The manuscript copy of the autobiography originally came from the hermitage Ri rtse drug in Khyung po,¹⁸ Khams, eastern Tibet. It was reproduced and published in Kathmandu by Triten Norbutse Monastery¹⁹ in 1990. The cover title is given as: *Rig 'dzin kun grol grags pa'i rnam thar gsung pod* and this is presumably the general title of the three sections in the manuscript. It has a short preface in English and a table of contents.

The first section is entitled (pp.1-378):

*g.yung drung gling pa nam mkha'i ngang tshul can/
phyi yi rnam thar ngo mtshar 'bum ldan 'phro/(NgTsh)
ma 'dres 'byed la gsal ba'i gzugs brnyan ston/
thabs shes zung 'brel nyi zla 'khor lo'i rgya/*

The second section (pp.379-659);

*kun grol grags pa nying 'khrul sna tshogs pa/
chu nyer ji bzin 'dzad med rdzun gyi 'phreng/
nang gi rnam thar nyi ma 'bum 'od 'di/(NyBZ)
skal ldan la ston mtshon pa'i lde mig rgya/*

The third section (pp.661-829):

*gsang bdag 'ja' tshon snying po'i gsang ba'i gtam/
gzhan la sgrogs na bzhad gad ya ga'i rgyu/*

*gsang ba'i rnam thar dakki rag ta'i mtsho/
log lta can la u ya snying gi rgya/*

The summary of the second section (NyBZ)

Kun grol was born in 1700 to sMon rgyal lHa phyug and sTag za Tshe ring mtsho mo, both from Dred shod in Khams (present day Derge County). The father meets the mother while he is still a monk. He eventually leaves the monastery and together with the woman he sets out on pilgrimage to Central Tibet. When they reach rGyas rog in Khyung po, Kun grol is born there. The child is called lHa kho. They continue their journey passing through Kong po where they stay for some time. However, the mother returns to her home from Kong po while the father keeps the child with him. The child is looked after by Rin chen mtsho mo, a nun. Till the age of three, Kun grol never speaks a word and it is distressing for his father to have a child, who seems to be dumb, but at the age of four, the child suddenly claims that he has seen a yogin outside their home, but there is nobody outside their house. His father is pleased by the fact the child could speak after all, but not impressed by the story that he has seen a yogin.

At the age of five, he receives the name Nam mkha' tshe ring, but is simply called Nam mkha'. His people in Dre shod wish him to come home.

At the age of six, he returns to Dre shod presumably with the nun. On the way, he meets the lama Shel zhig Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan who gives him the name gYung drung bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan. In Dre shod he finds his mother is married to a man called dPon skya bSod nams tshe ring who lives in the house of the sMon rgyal family, but the man has had already another wife. Consequently he suffers a lot from his step-father and the quarrels between his mother and the woman in the house. At the age of eight, he has a bad fall in the road hitting his forehead on a rock, ever since which he bears a big scar. At the age of nine he begins to learn how to read and write from an uncle who resides in the family's monastery called gYung drung gling and follows local priests in performing rituals. At the age of ten, a serious quarrel breaks out between his mother and the first wife of the man. Consequently it is decided that a house be built in the compound of the lower monastery, i.e. gYung drung gling, for the mother and child, but this is rejected by A sPobs lama who claims that the lower monastery belongs to him and the upper monastery belongs indeed to the sMon rgyal family. After a long deliberation, the case is finally settled by a court in favour of Kun grol. He then has a house built for his mother there. When he is twelve, his mother, and gYung drung rgyal mtshan, another uncle begin to discuss the desirability of marriage for Kun grol and the names of three girls are proposed, but Kun grol rejects the proposal.

At the age of fifteen, his mother is seriously ill and his two step-sisters are too young to help him, but the mother finally recovers from her illness. He begins to ponder whether he should carry on the affairs of the sMon rgyal house or to be a monk,

or a hermit, or a tantrist. At the age of sixteen, he finally settles in the monastery gYung drung gling [Pl.12] where one of his uncles gYung drung phun tshogs is its head. Here for the first time in his life he meets a lama from Gyalrong by the name Yid bzhin rgyal ba of the dGe bshes tsa principality. He takes the *dge bsnyen* vow from him and receives the name Nam mkha' ye shes. When he is eighteen, his mother passes away and he continues staying in the monastery.

In 1718, when he is nineteen, Yid bzhin rgyal ba dies and he is invited to go to Gyalrong to participate in the funeral ritual of the lama. During this time he meets another lama from Gyalrong called gYung drung bstan 'dzin. He returns and stays in the monastery gYung drung gling in Dre shod.

In 1724, at the age of twenty-five, he sets out to go by himself to Central Tibet on pilgrimage. When he arrives in Lhasa, the city is under great tension and fear because a great Mongol army is expected to arrive. He quickly leaves Lhasa in order to make visits to bZang ri in gTsang where he meets Lama bSod nams dar rgyas of the rMe'u tshang family. He then continues his journey and arrives at bKra shis sMan ri Monastery (Survey No.1). He is ordained in the presence of Rin chen 'od zer, the 16th abbot of sMan ri and receives the name Nam mkha' ye shes rgyal ba 'od zer. He then takes the route from the monastery down in the same valley to visit the Bru family and meets the lama Nam mkha' g-yung drung of Bru. He then sets out to go to rTa nag dung phor, an old place known for its being a *gter gnas*, a place from where texts are said to have been excavated. Next, he travels and visits the family gShen in Dar lding where he meets the lama lHun grub dpal 'byor of gShen. Then by way of the monastery of bKra shis lhun po, he heads towards sKyri mkhar ri zhing, the seat of the Zhu family where he meets the lama bSTan 'dzin rin chen gtsug phud of Zhu. From this place he returns to Lhasa in order to visit sacred places in Lhokha. In bSam yas, he prays to Padmasambhava and feels he has a vision of the Indian yogin. He continues the pilgrimage in Yar lung and then heads towards Kong po through the Dwags po region. He reaches the valley of Kong po from where he sees the sacred mountain Bon ri and is much pleased since he knows the place from his childhood and this is on the New Year's day in 1725.

It had taken him the whole year to go round the sites of the pilgrimage since he started the journey from Dre shod. While in Kong po, he meets various people and he hears about Sangs rgyas gling pa. He wishes to go and see him in Khyung po, but as a fight between the people of Kong po and sPu bo areas has broken out, he is forced to abandon the idea. Instead, he returns home in Dre shod in Khams. He is much frustrated at not being able to see the master and longs for an occasion to do so (pp. 383-439).

In 1726, at the age of 27, Kun grol travels to bKra shis smin gol gling Monastery in Nyag rong²⁰ [Pl. 13] in order to see the lama gYung drung bstan 'dzin and the latter's nephew Ye shes snying po, both members of the royal house of the dGe bshes tsa

principality in Gyalrong. bKra shis smin grol gling was founded by gYung drung bstan 'dzin in 1689. The lama bestows teachings on Kun grol and entrusts the Bon tradition in general to him. He returns to Dre shod and resumes his activities in gYung drung gling Monastery.

In 1727-1728, Kun grol continues staying in his monastery and recounts a long visionary experience. No particular event is recorded for the period.

In 1729 aged 30, he travels to Rong pa tsa where he gives teachings to about three hundred people. When he returns to his monastery he receives the news from Ye shes snying po to say that the latter's uncle gYung drung bstan 'dzin has died. Kun grol immediately departs for bKra shis smin grol gling in Nyag rong in order to participate in the funeral rite. A question arises whether or not one should expect a reincarnation of the master gYung drung bstan 'dzin and Kun grol thinks that he may be reborn again in Gyalrong.

In 1730, Sangs rgyas gling pa arrives at bKra shis smin grol gling from Kong po and sends a message to Kun grol to say that he should come to the monastery. Kun grol immediately sets out on the journey. He and Ye shes snying po *alias* gSang sngags grags pa receive teachings from Sangs rgyas gling pa. They ask Sangs rgyas gling pa if the lama gYung drung bstan 'dzin would be reborn. Sangs rgyas gling pa simply replies that he hopes so. Kun grol returns to Dre shod stopping in many places on the way (pp. 441-470).

In 1731, at the age of 32, he was invited by bsTan 'dzin nor bu, king of dGe bshes tsa, Sangs rgyas gling pa and gSangs sngags grags pa to join them for the ceremony of the opening of Mount dMu rdo in Gyalrong²¹ [Pl. 14-17]. Kun grol with his attendants begin their journey and arrive at the palace bSam grub seng ge rdzong in dGe bshes tsa²². The next day, Kun grol receives a message from Sangs rgyas gling pa who is at the foot of Mount dMu rdo that if Kun grol gives a ritual empowerment to the king and queen of dGe bshes tsa, gYung drung bstan 'dzin may be reborn again in the dGe bshes tsa royal family which was his own family. Then Kun grol with his attendants join Sangs rgyas gling pa to trace the path around Mt dMu rdo.

The fourth month, they encounter a problem with the king of the bTsan la principality who it seems objected to the tracing of the path probably through his territory. Kun grol writes a letter (inserted in the first section (pp. 314-318), explaining the importance for the Bonpo of designating the mountain as a sacred place and claims that it was a dwelling place of the sage Dran pa nam mkha'. He further points out that it is a good opportunity for the king to establish a relationship with the master Sangs rgyas gling pa who is no ordinary man of religion and who has specially traveled to Gyalrong in order to sanctify the mountain. He warns of the unfavourable consequences that may befall Gyalrong and its people should the king disagree with them. The local ruler agreed in writing (pp. 479-80).

On the 1st of the 5th month Sangs rgyas gling pa performs an empowerment ceremony for Kun grol and his attendants. Kun grol receives a red hat from his master as a gift together with a eulogy embedded with prophecy and for the first time, he receives the name Kun grol grags pa. The text of the eulogy is found at the end of the biography (pp. 831-836).

On the 13th of the 5th month, both the master and his disciple arrive at the palace of Rab brtan (Rab brtan pho brang) called Ka rnye Dung mkhar rdzong²³ in the Chu chen principality where they are welcomed by a large gathering of people who fired their matchlocks (*me mda'*) in the air in salute.

On the 3rd of the 6th month, they arrive at Li ver,²⁴ capital of Chu chen where they camp. On this occasion Kun grol is asked to compose a prayer by the king (the name of the king is not mentioned, but it should be Nam mkha' rgyal po). Kun grol accordingly writes the prayer which is included in the autobiography (pp. 486-488). In the prayer he expresses his faith in his spiritual master and states that his master took the trouble to come a long way to Gyalrong from Khyung po for the sake of preaching to the people of Gyalrong. He confides in them about their new relation and expresses that in his opinion the main point of being a king is to give support for the religion and that it is good that the relationship of priest and patron was now well established between his master and the king.

After the visit to the king of Chu chen the two lamas and their attendants are invited by a local chief called sTag la 'bum. They stay at the chief's place called 'Gran bral gYung drung rdzong.

On the 7th day of the 7th month, the two lamas are invited by bsTan 'dzin nor bu, the king of dGe shes tsa.

At the beginning of the 8th month, the two lamas and their retinue are invited by bSod nams nor bu (*alias* Kun dga' nor bu), the king of Khro skyabs. They stay in the palace Drug zur rNam rgyal 'brug mo rdzong. On this occasion, Sangs rgyas gling pa gives advice to Kun grol that the latter should go to Dre shod padma rtsegs, a place in Dre shod, Khams so that Kun grol may rediscover texts there. Sangs rgyas gling pa himself wishes to go to Ke'u seng ge rdzong where he wanted to perform the Tshes bcu ceremony on the 10th of the 8th month (pp. 480-491).

On the 10th of the 9th month, Kun grol leaves Khro skyabs for Khams. He passes through the monastery bKra shis smin grol gling. On the 10th of the 10th month he arrives in Dre shod in Khams. He resumes his activities at gYung drung gling. After a while he travels to rDza khog where he meets dMu rgyal lHun grub rgya mtsho (*alias* lHun rgub dpal 'byor), a lama of the gShen family in gTsang.

In 1732, at the age of 33, Kun grol enters into retreat in gYung drung gling. After a few weeks, he is interrupted by Dar han tha'i ji, a descendant of the king of Be ri. This person is ill and although Buddhist rituals are performed his illness continues. Kun grol

is therefore asked to perform a Bon ritual. He accepts the request and goes to gSas mkhar pho brang [Pl. 18] in Be ri where he performs a ritual. The king of Be ri recovers from his illness. Kun grol introduces Tshe dbang dar rgyas, the son of the king, to Bon, and writes a prayer. It is intended to remind the king that his family defended the Bon religion in early time. In the same prayer Kun grol boasts of having five great benefactors which seems to be an allusion to his connection with the kings in Gyalrong. The text of the prayer is inserted into the autobiography (pp. 513-516).

After this visit to Be ri, Kun grol returns to his monastery and resumes his retreat. In the 7th month, he leaves again for rDza khog, because a lama of the gShen family, gYung drung bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, has arrived there. Kun grol receives teachings from him. For the wellbeing of the lama, manuscript copies in gold and silver of the *gZi brjid* are made. The lama then leaves for Derge and Kun grol continues travelling around in 'Bu pa, A khod and Khram bzang, all located in the Dre shod region. He then returns to his monastery gYung drung gling.

In the 10th month, he invites Sangs rgyas gling pa from Khyung po and gSang sngags grags pa from Nyag rong to gYung drung gling in Dre shod. About a hundred people both Bonpo and Buddhist gather together to exchange religious instructions and Kun grol makes many gifts to Sangs rgyas gling pa and gSang sngags grags pa and other men of religion. After the gathering, both Sangs rgyas gling pa and Kun grol, accompanied by the *gter ston* Hum ral bDud 'dul bstan gnyis gling pa, go up to the mountain Padma brtsegs pa and there Sangs rgyas gling pa discovers a text as *gter ma*. The next day, Sangs rgyas gling pa makes more discoveries of texts on Mount Pha wang bon mo in the presence of Kun grol (pp. 506-525). After all this the gathering is dispersed and Kun grol returns to his monastery. He resumes his normal activity which is to enter into retreat, but is constantly disturbed to give initiations and perform rituals as well as help people who are sick. Amongst the people, there are the local chiefs, such as the king of Be ri.

Later Kun grol is again interrupted in his retreat. He is invited by the king of dGe bshes tsa to travel to Gyalrong to give advice on the design of the mural paintings of a temple as well as perform rituals for the long life of Chi med grub pa'i dbang po (incarnation of gYung drung bstan 'dzin, born in the royal family as predicted by Sangs rgyas gling pa [Pl. 19a, 19b]). He arrives at gYung drung dpal, the monastery of the tulku and from there Kun grol goes to sByi bSam 'grub seng ge rdzong, the palace of the king. (pp. 506-546).

In 1734, at the age of 35, Kun grol travels to the abode of 'Gran rgyal rNam rgyal, whose wife has died and performs the funeral ritual. After this Kun grol returns to sByi bSam 'grub seng ge rdzong from where he goes to lHun grub dpag gling (lHun grub dpag bsam ljon pa'i gling),²⁵ the main monastery of the dGe bshes tsa royal family. Kun grol states that the design of the mural paintings of a new temple is already completed

by Sangs rgyas gling pa and gSang sngags grags pa. He has only to check the details of the painting. A consecration ritual is then performed headed by Sangs rgyas gling pa together with Kun grol and gSang sngags grags pa. Sangs rgyas gling pa gives the name lHun grub dpag gling to the monastery²⁶ and bKra shis 'od 'bar to the new temple. About 300 hundred monks and other men of religion gather together on this occasion. After this Kun grol travels back to his own place in Khams. However, about two months later Sangs rgyas gling pa announces his return to Khyung po from Nyag rong and Kun grol again travels to Nyag rong in order to see him off. He arrives at the monastery bKra shis smin grol gling. Sangs rgyas gling pa once again urges his two prominent disciples Kun grol grags pa and gSang sngags grags pa to work for the living beings and for the doctrine of Bon. He particularly urges Kun grol to promote the doctrine in Gyalrong which is described as the right place since there are important benefactors of the religion, but also a country which is inhabited by people whose language is different from Tibetan and who are savage and uncouth. The master leaves his two main disciples for the last time.

Kun grol himself leaves for sByi bSam grub seng ge rdzong, the palace of bsTan 'dzin nor bu, King of dGes bshes tsa, but he is immediately invited again by the king of Khro skyabs. He is welcomed by a procession and stays at the palace called Mu khri stag mo rdzong. He stays there visiting sacred places such as Ka ke'u seng ge yang rdzong and the cave Seng gdung phug. He receives a letter from Sangs rgyas gling pa who is on his way to Khyung po reminding him again the need to work hard in order to establish firmly the New Bon tradition in Gyalrong. It is on this occasion that the king of Khro skyabs asks him to stay in Gyalrong permanently. The king promises that he would sponsor the building of temples and monasteries and whatever other necessary establishments. Kun grol writes in verse a long reply to the king's request (pp. 570-576), but the idea of staying in Gyalrong permanently does not seem to appeal to him. During this time, there is a family problem between the king, on one hand and his queen Tshe dbang lha mo and their daughter princess mKha' 'gro Karma spos can, on the other. The two women had already caused a problem that upset Sangs rgyas gling pa, but the exact nature of the problem is not specified. After the mediation of Kun grol the mother and daughter are finally given pieces of land so that the two women can have independent revenues. Kun grol then leaves for sByi bSam 'grub seng ge rdzong in dGe bshes tsa and also visits other local chiefs. But the problem of mKha' 'gro Karma spos can comes up again. She wishes to live with Kun grol, but the king pretends not to know about her feelings. Consequently things do not go well at the court and the princess and her mother are unhappy at the way in which Kun grol, too, has ignored the princess. Kun grol then writes a poem giving various gifts to console the mother and her daughter and apologize for his behaviour. He states that he is a monk and it is not right for him to take a woman at that time although he hopes in the future that the princess herself would

be a qualified partner (pp. 583-587). After his tour in Khro skyabs, Kun grol returns to lHun grub dpag gling in dGe bshes tsa (pp. 547-587).

In 1735, at the age of 36, while Kun grol stays in the monastery lHun grub dpag gling, he presides over an elaborate ritual for the wellbeing of 'Chi med grub dbang (b.1735), the reincarnation of gYung drung bstan 'dzin, as well as initiating the building of a stupa within compound of the monastery. He again performs various rituals at the palace of the king for the longevity of 'Chi med grub dbang. He writes a long eulogy to the king with whom he has formed a close relationship as a patron and a priest. As a souvenir, amongst other things, he gives the king a cloak of sMon rgyal gYung drung phun tshogs, his paternal uncle and which he has often used (pp. 608-614). He then departs for Dre shod in Khams and the king and his people give him an emotional farewell accompanying him for a long way. He passes by bKra shis smin grol gling where he is welcomed by his colleague gSang sngags grags pa and they exchange teachings. Kun grol finally arrives at his own monastery of gYung drung gling and resumes his activities as a lama for the local people of Dre shod. He teaches the *rDzogs chen Yang rtse klong chen*²⁷ in bSam gtan gling²⁸ and dispenses other teachings at rDza sTeng chen rNam rgyal gling²⁹ (pp. 589-634).

In 1736, at the age of 37, Kun grol withdraws into retreat. In the 3rd month he performs rituals with about a hundred monks and invites the tulku of sMon rgyal gYung drung phun tshogs, his paternal uncle (the tulku's name is not given). In the sixth month he again leaves for Gyalrong. He has two purposes this time for going there. One is to mediate between the principalities of dGe bshes tsa and Khro skyabs, who are his closest benefactors, and have been involved in a dispute. The other object is to go to the sacred Mount dMu rdo. When Kun grol arrives in Gyalrong he immediately goes and see bSod nams nor bu, *alias* Kun dga' nor bu the king of Khro skyabs. He counsels the king. (The tension between the two kings presumably subsides, but the story is not followed up). The king of Khro skyabs provides provisions for him to make the visit to the sacred mountain. On this occasion Kun grol reveals a sacred text entitled *mKha' 'gro dgongs 'dus* as a *gter ma* (Katen No. 043-6). In the 8th month he goes to the cave Ke'u Nyi ma rang shar where he re-arranges the newly found text. He then goes to the monastery of mTshon to Ngo mtshar nor bu gling (Survey No.188)³⁰ where he performs the preliminary consecration of a new temple which is being built. In the 9th month of the year he receives news from gSang sngags grags pa to say that a great deal of trouble has been caused to Ri rtse drug in Khyung po (Survey No. 55) by the Buddhists in the area. Ri rtse dug is the seat of Sangs rgyas gling pa. (However, here page 644 in the edition is missing and hence the rest of the story). He makes a visit to the palace of bSod nams nor bu, king of Khro skyabs and works for the wellbeing of the king. He then returns to sByi bSam 'grub seng ge rdzong, palace of bsTan 'dzin nor bu, king of dGe bshes tsa.

In 1737, at the age of 38, Kun grol performs various rituals for the king of dGe bshes tsa and visits several holy caves. He then goes to lHun grub dpag gling where he conducts more rituals lasting many days till the end of the 3rd month. On the first day of the 4th month, he is urged to go to Mu khri stag mo rdzong in Khro skyabs where the queen is ill. After performing rituals he returns to lHun grub dpag gling Monastery in dGe bshes tsa (pp. 634-656).

In the same month still staying lHun grub dpag gling, Kun grol writes an open letter which he describes as a 'Letter from Heaven' (*gnam yig*) to all rulers in Gyalrong (pp. 657-659). Its content sounds more like a prophecy than a letter, but there he also admonishes the local rulers of Gyalrong of whom there are six, but their names are not given. Kun grol urges them to leave aside their petty differences, their jealousy and to unite among themselves in promoting the Bon religion (pp. 656-659).

Here from the 5th month in 1737 the autobiography in the printed edition ends abruptly. During the 5th month he was still staying in lHun grub dpag gling Monastery in dGe bshes tsa and there is no mention whether he returned to Dre shod from Gyalrong. The fact that the autobiography has ended suddenly suggests that the author did not stop writing. Something amiss had happened. Either the account of his life from the 5th month of 1737 onwards was missing in the original manuscript copy of Kun grol himself or the manuscript copy, from which the present copy was made, was not complete, but these do not seem to be the reason why the published manuscript is incomplete, because one of the last short texts in the first section is dated 1735 (p. 375) and the last text in the third section is also dated 4th month in 1737 (pp. 807, 826).

Whatever the case may be, there is no account of the most important part of his life historically speaking when he supervised the project of engraving the printing blocks of the Bon Canon in Khro skyabs. This is all the more unfortunate since the whole project was carried out under his supervision and it was he who persuaded the king of Khro skyabs to sponsor the project which began in 1758.

The autobiography which I have summarized is more or less an autobiography since it recounts his real life, but the 2/3 of the section is devoted to the account of his visionary experience and often his dreams are similar in content and style to those of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) (Karmay 1988). Interesting as the accounts of visionary experience are and indeed important perhaps for a psychological analysis of the author, I have ignored these accounts in the present work. In their author's view, it is obviously his visionary accounts that are more important than the relation of his own everyday life. We recall that already at the age of four, he began to experience of having visions when he announced that he saw a yogin outside his home. This biographical treatment is to be regretted because otherwise the author, being the historian he was, had kept a precise chronological order in his account. The work is punctuated year by year and in some

parts the accounts are given month by month.

In making my summary of the autobiography, I have therefore picked up only the random parts of the work which I consider as historical, for example, when he visited places, met people, and supervised constructions of temples and stupas and designed their mural paintings or held the position of editorship for engraving the woodblocks.

Comments on the autobiography

There are a certain number of elements that Kun grol himself has not mentioned in the autobiography, but we learn these from other sources, particularly from the colophons of his writings. These colophons, which invariably state where and when such a work was composed, constitute an invaluable source for his later life since the writing of the 'autobiography' seems to have been discontinued from 1737.

From the above sketchy summary of the autobiography we can nevertheless have an idea of the person till the age of 38 and the way he lived in the traditional Tibetan society in the eighteenth century that has now totally changed since the 1950s.

I have not come across any written account of the sMon rgyal house itself. Although Kun grol made no remarks about its origins, his family was well known and is connected in one way or another with a number of men of religion. The family's line still continues in the person of sMon rgyal lHa sras [Pl. 20] who published an edition of the Kanjur part of the Bon Canon in the 1990s. The seat of the family is situated to the west of the rDza chu river in the district of Shar rdza, part of rDza khog in the present day Derge County. In the early days the whole region was known as Dre shod and also Hor khog whose centre was Hor dKar mdzes, now the County seat of Karze Tibet Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan.

There are two religious establishments situated in the place where the sMon rgyal family lives and are connected with the family. They are known as the upper monastery (*dgon gong ma*) and the lower monastery (*dgon 'og ma*). It is the lower monastery to which Kun grol refers variously as gYung drung gling, A khod Dar rgyas gling, Shar rdza A khod Dar rgyas gling and dGa' ldan dar rgyas gling (Survey No.136). It was in this monastery where he lived most of the time and where he was often in retreat writing his books. Kun grol uses various names in the colophons of his writings. Here are some of the names he has used and signed his texts with: Rig 'dzin Kun grol grags pa, sMon rgyal Kun grol grags pa, sMon rgyal Nam mkha' ye shes (this last personal name is often given in its Zhang zhung equivalent: Mu la ha ra), Nam mkha' ngang tshul, Rig 'dzin gYung drung gling pa, 'Ja' tshon snying po, Gang shar rang grol, Gar gyi dbang phyug and Las 'phro gling pa.

Kun grol traveled to Gyalrong, at least four times up to 1737. It took a minimum of ten days on horse back from rDza khog to Gyalrong if traveled expressly, but otherwise it took two or even three weeks depending on how busy he was 'en route'. Often, either

on his way to Gyalrong or on his return journey, he was invited by the local people to stop in a particular place for various reasons. After 1737, he continued making visits to Gyalrong.

As mentioned in the summary, his connection with the local rulers in Gyalrong was established first through gYe shes snying po *alias* gSang sngags grags pa, a prince-monk of the dGe bshes tsa principality and then gradually with other local rulers, notably first with the kings of Khro skyabs and then later Chu chen. While it can be gleaned from his account about his relationship with the kings of dGe bshes tsa and Khro skyabs, there is very little information concerning his dealings with the king of Chu chen yet this was by no means unimportant as we can see from the inscription (Chapter 5). However, his relationship with other local rulers especially with that of bTsan la was troublesome. Although the king was of Bon obedience in a way at this time he opposed Sangs rgyas gling pa and Kun grol when they wanted to trace the path for circumambulation around Mount dMu rdo. As we have seen the problem was solved only when Kun grol wrote a letter³¹ couched in a mild but clear warning of unfavourable consequences if the local ruler persisted in his opposition to the Lamas. In this Kun grol was very diplomatic, a skill he exhibited on several occasions, in being able to persuade the Gyalrong laymen. His method was always to deliver a eulogy of Sangs rgyas gling pa, his spiritual master, rather ostentatiously as an invincible guru, and whose mission in Gyalrong was only to bring happiness to its people through his new Bon teachings. It was therefore in the interest of everybody including himself to fulfill the wishes of the master.

The incidence brings to mind a problem that a king of bTsan la had already faced in the fifteenth century. In a polemic work it is stated that the king of bTsan la was the subject of intense coercion in an effort to convert him by the Buddhists,³² but does not state who these Buddhists were. They were probably the dGe lugs pa. The work is written in order to argue against the conversion. It is attributed to a Rong ston Chos rje which is simply a title. His real name is Rong ston Shes bya kun rig *alias* Rong ston Shakya rgyal mtshan (1367-1449), the famous Sa skya pa writer and critique of Tsong kha pa's views. Rong ston was originally from bTsan la. The fact that he was at first an adept of the Bon religion is attested by a strongly worded criticism of him formulated by mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang (1385-1438) as follows: "However, the one who was born in (rGyal) Rong and particularly dislikes the doctrine of the Buddha, the one who bears the banner of victory of the doctrine of gShen rab."³³ It is somewhat surprising that a great master like mKhas grub rje went to such an extent to mock the belief of Rong ston's upbringing. Far from detesting Buddhism Rong ston was one of the greatest masters of the Sa skya pa school just as mKhas grub rje himself was at first. This consideration might suggest that the royal house of bTsan la was no longer entirely Bonpo and therefore was not too convinced by what Sangs rgyas gling pa and Kun grol

were trying to do in the eighteenth century.

However, Kun grol's relationship with the king of Khro skyabs was on the whole good since on both sides there was a genuine feeling of priest-patron relationship. Both men later embarked on a highly ambitious project for engraving the printing blocks for the Bon Canon. At the same time, there were incidents that often rendered their relations difficult. As stated in the autobiography, in 1736 on the occasion of the visit by Sangs rgyas gling pa accompanied by Kun grol to the palace of the king, the queen Tshe dbang lha mo and the princess Karma spos can caused Sangs rgyas gling pa to become distressed. However, the precise nature of the problem is not explained. On a later occasion, there was a problem between the king, on one hand and the queen and daughter on the other. Kun grol had to intervene and the dispute was settled. The king agreed to give the two women some plots of land which he inherited from his father so that the two women could have independent revenues. After a while, the two women again became unhappy this time with Kun grol himself. However, Kun grol wrote a letter in which he expressed his regret for being too cold a person and explained that he was a monk and as such he expected to be respected for what he was. He gave gifts to both women. However, it seems that even after the letter and gifts the question was not resolved in a satisfactory manner that Kun grol hoped it would.³⁴

In 1737 while Kun grol was staying in lHun grub dpag gling Monastery one night he had received a prophecy in one of his visions that indicated that if he cooperated with Karma spos can and not only her, but another woman called Padma mkha' 'gro, great achievement would be promoted. The next day, Kun grol invited the two ladies to a ceremony. However, the first one was not allowed to leave her home in Khro skyabs presumably by her parents and the second refused to come to Gyalrong from Dre shod by saying she was unable to travel. Kun grol was deeply upset and reproaches himself for taking his own visionary indication too seriously. However, in 1736 Kun grol already revealed hidden texts as *gter* from Mount dMu rdo with the assistance of Karma spos can *alias* Karma g-yung drung bde ba'i sman mchog.³⁵ All this seems to indicate that Kun grol had finally accepted Karma spos can as his female partner for the revelation of hidden texts (*gter grogs*) from 1736 onwards when he was in Gyalrong. However, as the autobiography is incomplete after 1737, there is no way of telling how he led his life with Karma spos can. In 1738, he rediscovered a text that had only seventy-two lines from Mount dMu rdo and later he expanded it with the assistance of Padma mkha' 'gro in dGa' ldan dar rgyas gling, i.e. his monastery in Dre shod.³⁶ He therefore worked with Padma mkha' 'gro during his stays in Dre shod.³⁷ All this was in part due to the pressure of Sangs rgyas gling pa who urged him to embark on the revelation of hidden texts.

After 1738 the most important enterprise was yet to be taken in cooperation with the king of Khro skyabs and that of Chu chen. He stopped going to Gyalrong from 1746

to 1749 owing to the First Manchu military campaign which took place during that period. After the conflict, he resumed making visits to the region. He was there in 1751 as he compiled the detailed catalogue of the Bon Kanjur in the palace of the Rab brtan king. He was active in Gyalrong till around 1765 though this does not mean he stayed there during all this period. In 1766, at the age of 67, he wrote a most elaborated colophon entitled *Srid pa'i sgon me* for the printing blocks of the *Khams chen* and he did this in Shar rdza A khod Dar rgyas gling, his own monastery usually referred to as gYung drung gling. In the colophon of the *dkar chag* just mentioned he complained about his old age and begged learned readers in the future to forgive him if he had committed any errors in writing it. Did he die in 1766?³⁸ This is uncertain, because there are two works signed by a sMon rgyal Mu la and dated 1779 and another one signed by a Nam mkha' bstan 'dzin dbang gi rgyal po and also dated 1779.³⁹ Both works are classified as *snyan rgyud*, 'Oral Tradition'. However, Kun grol normally never claimed that he received any texts orally. The first name looks like one of Kun grol's names, but the second one so far is not attested anywhere. It is therefore doubtful that they were written by Kun grol.

The works of Kun grol

The texts authored by Kun grol are too numerous all to be given here. It does not seem that his works have ever been collected together systematically. However, a number of them is included in the recent collection of *Katen* (*bka' brten*) texts.⁴⁰ They are concerned with such subjects as geographical description of sacred places, poetry, grammar, history, catalogue and rituals of all kind. The last category is mostly of *gter ma* origin. The following is a list of his major writings that are relevant to our subject of the present book:

1. *Zab dang rgya che g-yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur gyi dkar chag nyi ma 'bum gyi 'od zer* written in 1751.⁴¹ (Published by Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang under the title of *gYung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyu dkar chag*, Beijing 1993). This catalogue was fully used by Dan Martin *et al* (2003) in the compilation of the catalogue of the Bon Kanjur.

According to Martin (2003: 8, n.29, 15) Kun grol wrote another catalogue which in his opinion 'is the earliest one that has been published...', but the catalogue to which he refers is not by Kun grol.⁴² It was compiled by Ye shes snying po in 1740 and he gives his name in the colophon as Prajñāshala (p.369). It is a catalogue of the collection of the Bon canonical texts kept in bKra shis smin grol gling in Nyag rong. The monastery was founded in 1689 by gYung drung bstan 'dzin, already mentioned above. After the death of the founder, it was maintained by his nephew Ye shes snying po. He was also called gSang sngags grags pa and he was a colleague of Kun grol.⁴³

2. *Sangs rgyas bstan pa spyi'i 'byung khungs yid bzhin nor bu 'dod pa 'jo ba'i gter mdzod*.⁴⁴ This is a general historical work on both Bon and Buddhism in Tibet. There are 3 possible dates for this work. In the colophon it is stated: *rnga chen zhes pa me khyi lor!* Now if it is *rnga chen*, it should be 1742 and if *me khyi* 1766. The author also states that he wrote the work after forty-nine years counting from the year in which his master Sangs rgyas gling pa was born, that is 1705, but this brings us to 1753. So there are three contradictory statements. The colophon states that the work was written in A khod Dar rgyas gling, that is his own monastery in Dre shod and he was certainly there in 1766. On p. 355, Kun grol gives a rough list of his own works including the catalogue of the Kanjur which he made in 1751. If we follow this logic 1742 is not possible. There are then only two possibilities: 1753 or 1766.
3. *mNyam med brgya ba'i mgon po rnam mkhyen rgyal ba gshen rab kyi mdzad pa bcu gnyis kyi rnam bshad khams gsum las rnam par rgyal ba'i nyi 'od*, written in 1756 in Rab brtan rgyal khab, i.e. the principality of Chu chen at the behest of the king Mu la ver ro (Nam mkha' rgyal po) and his nephew and Drung mu mu la vang ya, Nang so of Khro chung.
4. *Par gyi dkar chag srid pa'i sgron me*. This is what is normally known as *par byang*, a short colophon for a xylographic edition, but in the present case Kun grol took the trouble to write a long *par byang* which is added at the end of the last volume of the *Khams chen* editions of Khro skyabs and Chu chen. It is written in 1766 in Shar rdza A khod Dar rgyas gling.

¹ Karmay 1998a: No. 25.

² Karmay 1988a: 35-37.

³ Karmay 2000.

⁴ The text of the eulogy is found at the end of the volume of biographies of Kun grol, pp. 831-836.

⁵ *GB* in *RT* Vol. Ti, pp. 229-245 (Karmay 1972: xxxii, n. 4; Blondeau 1985; Martin 2001: 136-140).

⁶ He is also called Blo gros mtha' yas among other names. His Bonpo name was 'Chi med bstan gnyis g-yung drung gling pa.

⁷ *RT* Vol. Ti, pp. 247-322. Cf. Blondeau 1988: 55; Martin 2001: 136-140.

⁸ The concept of this devotional practice is traced back to rMa ston Srid 'dzin, b. 1092 *STNN*. Cf. Karmay 1972: xxxiii; Blondeau 1988: 124, 132, 142; Martin 2001: 138-140).

⁹ On this master, see Karmay 2000.

¹⁰ *Ris med chos 'byung*.

¹¹ Also known as Shel shig gYung drung tshe dbang rgyal po (Karmay 1972: 184) and Padma g-yung drung.

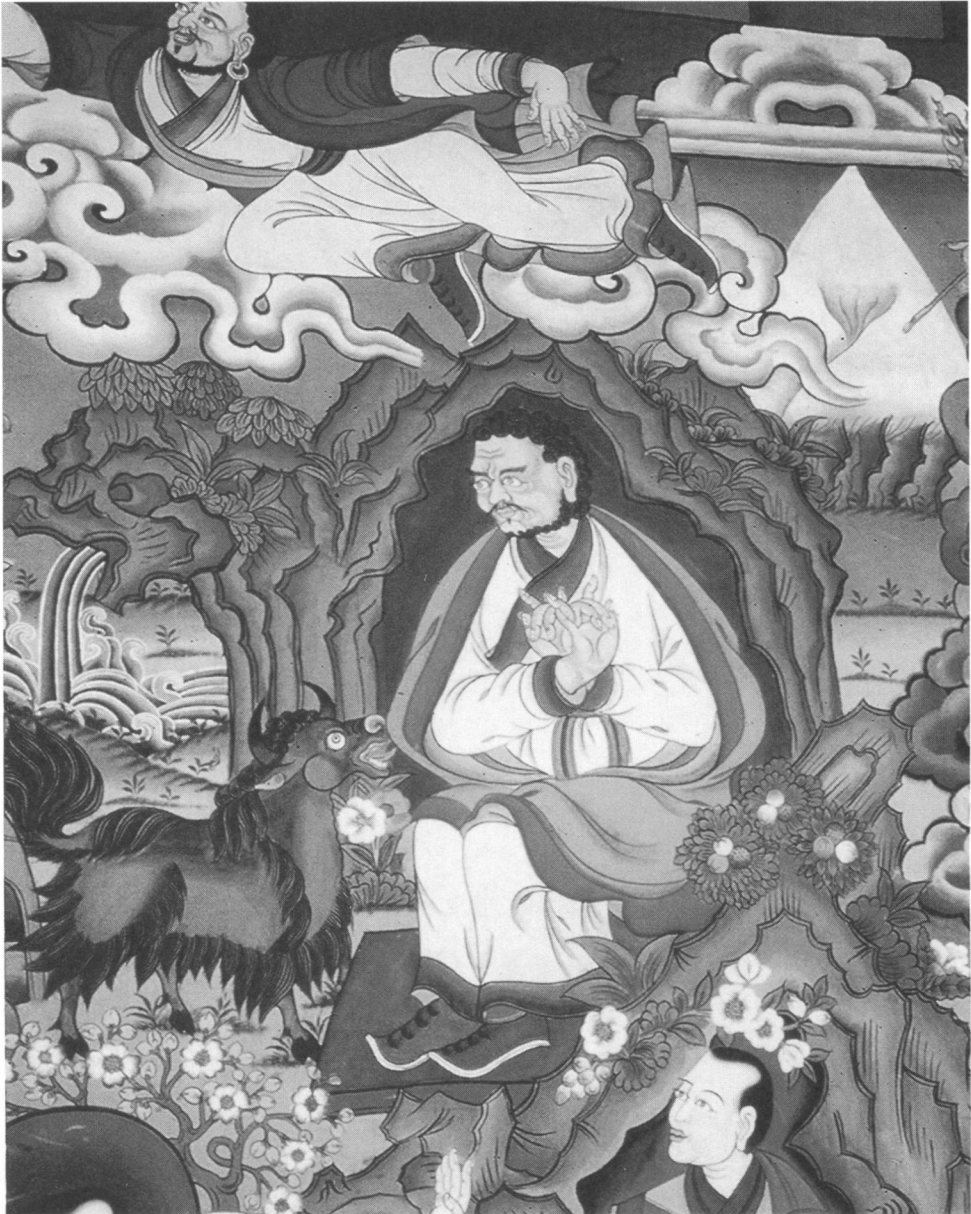
¹² *Ris med chos 'byung*, fol. 15a.

¹³ For example, *Rin chen gter mdzod kyi dgag pa* by bsTan 'dzin grags pa (TBRC Resource Code: W18288) and *Bon Rin chen bstan gter mdzod kyi dgag pa* by the same author (TBRC

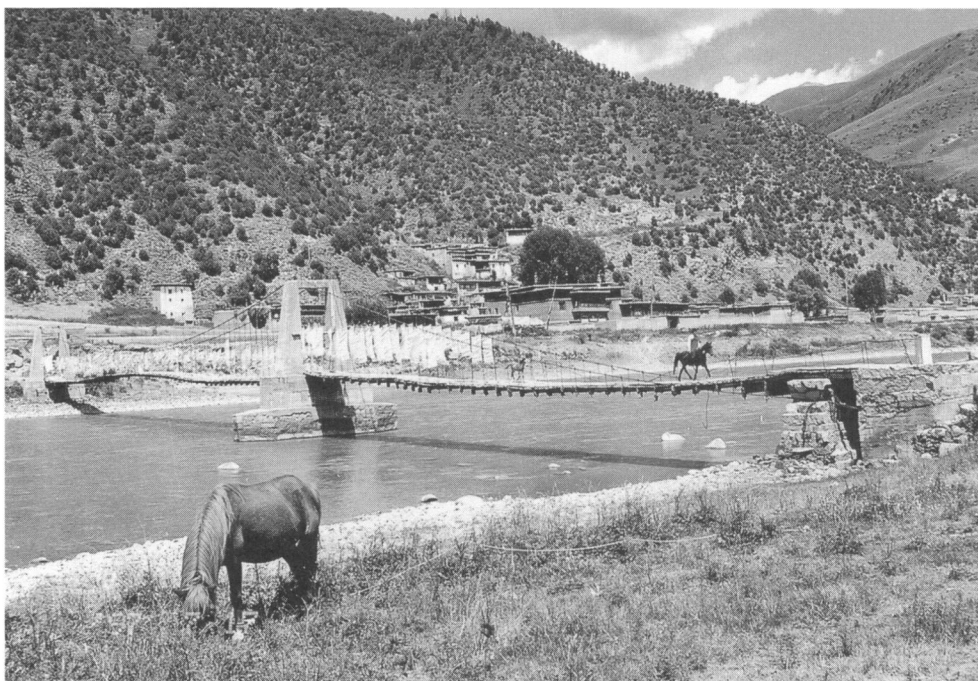
- Resource Code: W18291). For further discussion on the controversy, see Blondeau 1988; Martin 2001:136-140.
- ¹⁴ Smith 1970.
- ¹⁵ Karmay 1972: 185-87.
- ¹⁶ *Katen* 158-4.
- ¹⁷ Also known as Glang chen 'gying ri and associated with the cycle of Tshe dbang bod yul ma of the Bon tradition..
- ¹⁸ Survey No. 55.
- ¹⁹ Survey No. 230.
- ²⁰ Survey No. 160. This monastery is also called gZhung ring dgon and is now situated within the area of Brag 'gro County in Sichuan.
- ²¹ Karmay 1998a: No. 25.
- ²² The exact route of Kun grol's travel to Gyalrong from Dre shod in Kham is not mentioned, but it was probably through Hor dKar mdzes, rTa'u and then mGar thar in Nyag rong that he reached dGe bshes tsa by way of Rong brag in Gyalrong.
- ²³ This is probably the same as bKwa' rngom 'Gyur med pho brang. The word bKwa' rngom is transcribed in Chinese as Karyan (Mansier 1990: 129).
- ²⁴ Chinese: Luowuwei (Mansier 1990: 129).
- ²⁵ The exact location of this monastery remains unknown.
- ²⁶ Nothing is known about this monastery.
- ²⁷ Cf. Karmay 1977: No. 55.
- ²⁸ Survey No. 137.
- ²⁹ Survey No. 139.
- ³⁰ The name of this place is also spelled as mTsho mtho and mTsham tho.
- ³¹ *NgTsh* pp. 313-318.
- ³² *BT* f. 2a. For a detailed discussion on the contents of this text see Martin 2001: 126-130.
- ³³ 'on kyang rong skyes shakya yi/ bstan la sdang ba'i yid ldan zhing/ gshen rab gzhung lugs rgyal mtshan 'dzin/ (*KhY* f. 7a3)
- ³⁴ *NyBZ* pp. 584-587.
- ³⁵ *Katen* 043-4, 14, 32, 38, 52.
- ³⁶ *Katen* 046-57.
- ³⁷ See, *rTsa rlung mkha' 'gro gsang mdzod* by Kun grol (Dolanji, Himachal Pradesh, 1974), pp. 37 and 320.
- ³⁸ A series of six reincarnations of Kun grol is given in Survey (2003: No.136), but most of them remain without dates.
- ³⁹ *Katen* 043-34; 043-49.
- ⁴⁰ Karmay, Nagano 2001.
- ⁴¹ For references, see Bibliography under Kun grol grags pa.
- ⁴² This is about *MG*, the second text in the volume published by Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang under the title of *gYung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyu dkar chag*, Beijing 1993, pp. 259-370.
- ⁴³ *MG* pp. 319, 369.
- ⁴⁴ *Katen* 270-3.



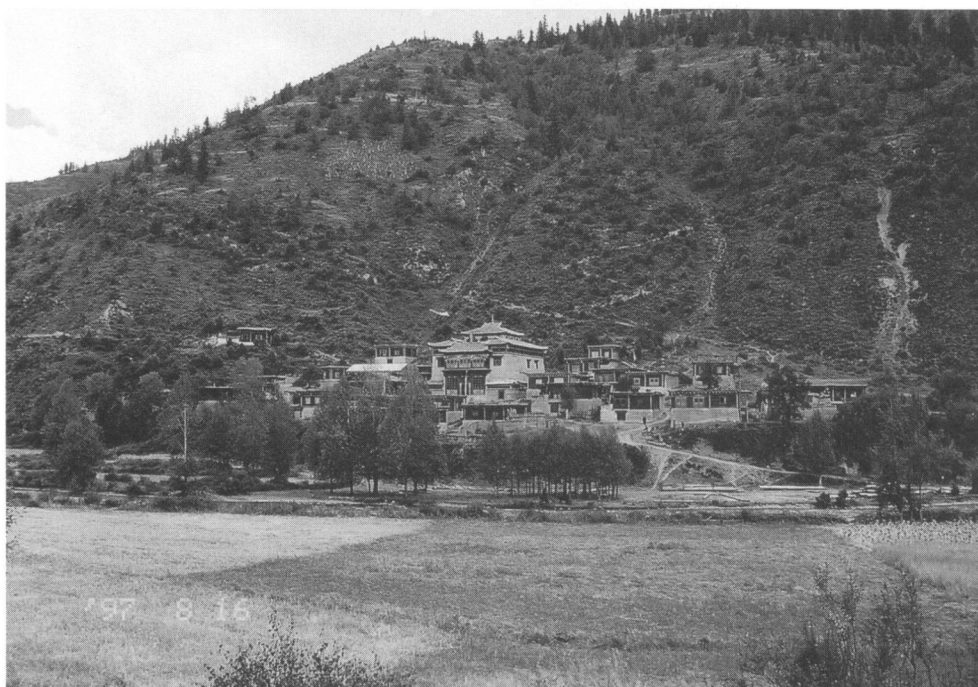
Pl. 10 sMon rgyal Kun grol grags pa, editor-in-chief of the Bon Kanjur, see Chapter 6, B 11



Pl. 11 Dran pa nam mkha', mural painting, 20th century, Shing mkhar, Bhutan, F. Pommaret 1998



Pl. 12 Monastery of the sMon rgyal family, Tsering Thar 1997



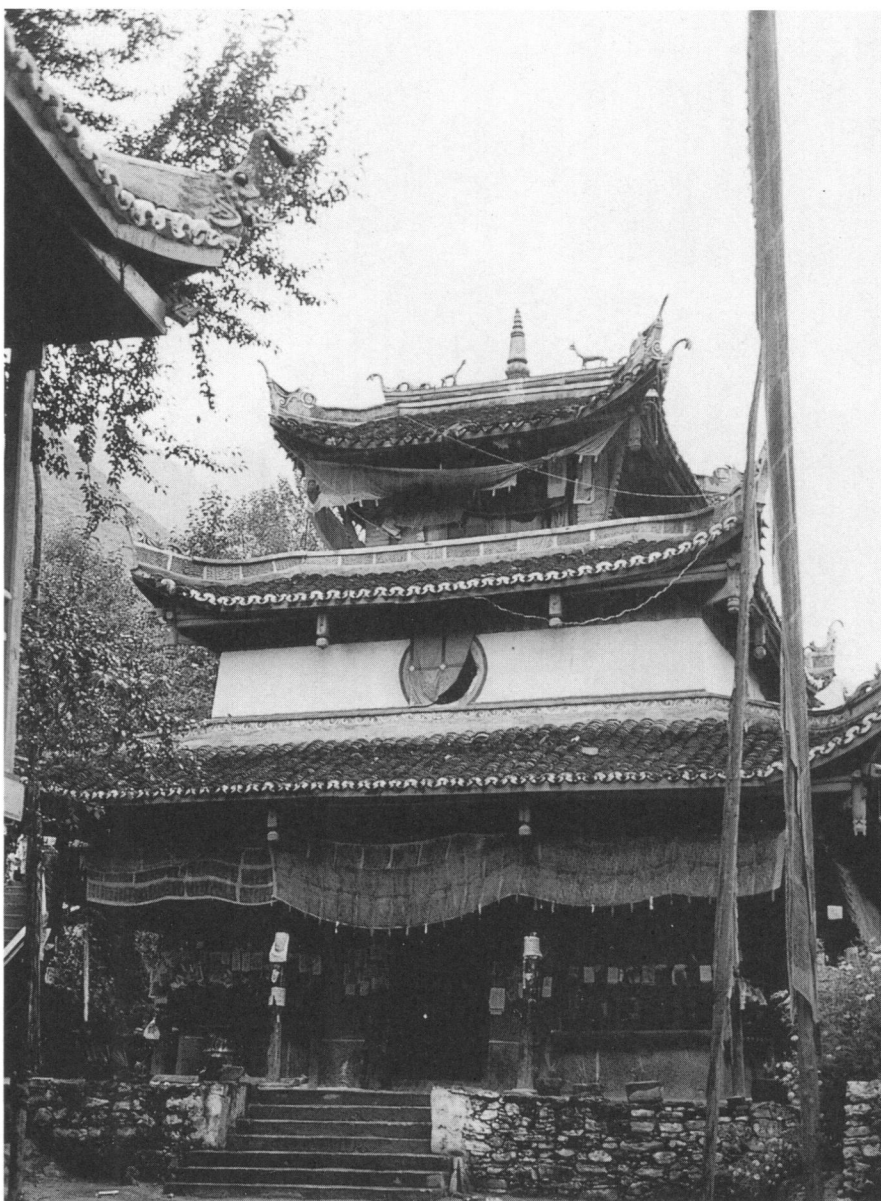
Pl. 13 bKra shis smin grol gling Monastery, Tsering Thar 1997



Pl. 14 Mt. dMu rdo, SGK 1997



Pl. 15 Mural painting representing Mt. dMu rdo, Ngo mtshar nor bu gling Monastery, SGK 1997



Pl. 16 dMu rdo lha khang at the foot of Mt. dMu rdo, SGK 1997



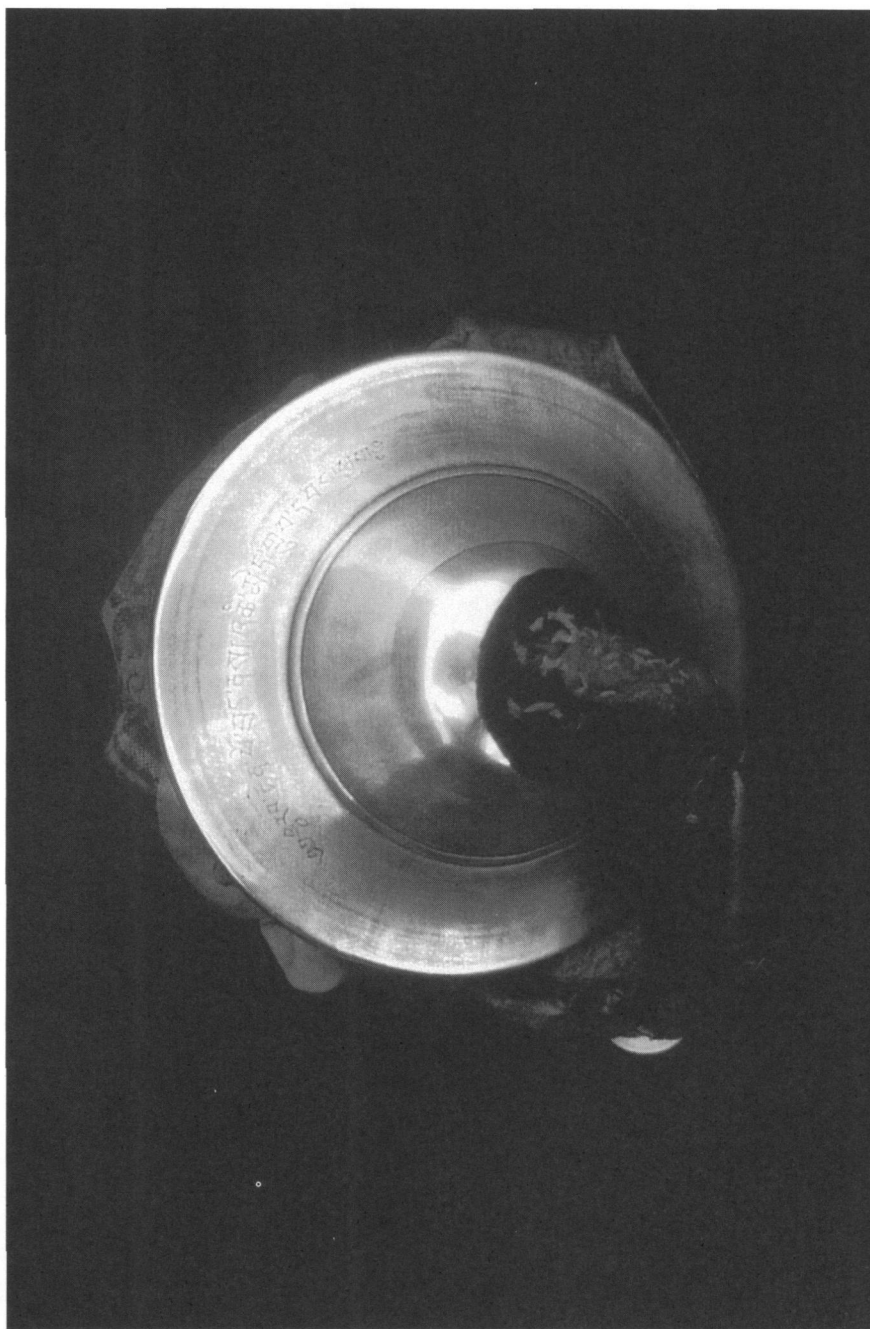
Pl. 17 Clay image of the local deity dMu rdo lHa gnyan, dMu rdo lHa khang, SGK 1997



Pl. 18 Ruins of gSas mkhar pho brang, palace of Be ri kings, SGK 1997



Pl. 19a The *si/ snyan* bell once belonged to 'Chi med grub dbang



Pl. 19b The same *sri sriyan* bell (Pl. 19a) that bears the following inscription at the back: *rab rten (brtan) pho brang nas/ 'chi med grub dbang phyag/* "the flat bell of 'Chi med grub dbang, from the palace of Rab brtan (in Chu chen)", sKyang tshang Monastery, Shar khog, SGK 1985



Pl. 20 sMon rgyal lHa sras, Lhasa, SGK 1995

