



Kent Academic Repository

Cantwell, Catherine Mary (1989) *An ethnographic account of the religious practice in a Tibetan Buddhist refugee monastery in northern India*. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent.

Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/85958/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.85958>

This document version

UNSPECIFIED

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

UNSPECIFIED

Additional information

This thesis has been digitised by EThOS, the British Library digitisation service, for purposes of preservation and dissemination. It was uploaded to KAR on 09 February 2021 in order to hold its content and record within University of Kent systems. It is available Open Access using a Creative Commons Attribution, Non-commercial, No Derivatives (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>) licence so that the thesis and its author, can benefit from opportunities for increased readership and citation. This was done in line with University of Kent policies (<https://www.kent.ac.uk/is/strategy/docs/Kent%20Open%20Access%20policy.pdf>). If y...

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal*, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT
OF THE RELIGIOUS PRACTICE
IN A TIBETAN BUDDHIST
REFUGEE MONASTERY
IN NORTHERN INDIA

Catherine Mary Cantwell

;

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of Kent, September 1989.

ABSTRACT

Chapter 1 introduces the social and political context of present day Tibet, the exodus of refugees and their organisation in exile. It reviews the works of previous anthropologists on Tibetan refugees and Tibetan Buddhist ritual and comments on some general characteristics of the rNying-ma-pa in exile. It outlines the approach taken to the ethnography, emphasising the importance of understanding the historical and religious heritage, and it considers the limitations of the research.

Chapter 2 describes the background of the Rewalsar community: the village and its amenities, the religious significance of Rewalsar, Buddhist pilgrimage and the resident Tibetan community. It includes sections on the Tibetans living in the hermitage and the village, and on the rNying-ma-pa and 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa monasteries.

Chapter 3 presents the daily life of the monks at the rNying-ma-pa monastery: their routines and their regular communal practice. After considering theoretical and methodological problems, it outlines the textual recitations from bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's "Chos-spyod", the daily practices of rDo-rje Gro-lod and the Dharma protectors.

Chapter 4 is a detailed description of the monthly tenth day "Bla-sgrub" practice, including textual translation. It has three main sections: the Preparations, the Main Practice and the afternoon practice which includes a "Tshogs" offering.

Chapter 5 is an account of the first month practice session, based on the "Bla-sgrub" practice. It describes the preparations and the practice session itself, culminating in the tenth day ritual dances ("Chams"), and concluded with a "sByin-sreg" (Burnt Offerings Practice).

Chapter 6 considers some theoretical issues: the relationship between "text" and "practice"; sacrificial themes in Tibetan ritual and the possibility of cross cultural comparison; rituals and their social contexts; and the effects of literacy. Finally, it comments on Tibetan ethnicity and rNying-ma-pa identity, and a Postscript discusses recent developments in Rewalsar.

SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My enormous debt to my academic teachers and the Tibetan monks with whom I worked will be clear from the text. Here, I would like to acknowledge the helpful comments of Robert Mayer and Martin Boord, both of SOAS, University of London, who read through the entire manuscript in the final stages of its preparation. It has not been possible for me to note every instance in which their suggestions have been incorporated into the thesis.

I must also mention the assistance of my supervisor, Dr. Jerry Eades, who not only gave advice on the academic content of the thesis, but who worked hard in its production, helping to solve problems with the computer.

ABBREVIATION

The supplementary paper, "The Ritual which Expels all Negativities",
is referred to as REN throughout.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

Sanskrit terms are given in the normally accepted Anglo-American transcription. Tibetan is transliterated according to the system given in D.L.Snellgrove, 1957, pp.299-300.

Pronunciation rules can be found in Snellgrove and Richardson, 1980, pp.291-292.

For %, read ཨ. ཨ is the mark used to indicate a *gter-ma* (see Glossary) and is used throughout such texts instead of the usual Tibetan punctuation mark which is a vertical line.

NOTE ON CURRENCY

At the time of my fieldwork, the exchange rate was 15-17 rupees per pound sterling.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Circumstances of the Chinese Invasion of Tibet and the Flight of Refugees	
1.2 The Organisation of the Exiled Community in India	
1.2.1 The Settlement Schemes	
1.3 Tibetan Identity: In Exile and in Tibet	
1.4 Previous Anthropological Research on Tibetan Refugees	
1.5 The Analysis of Tibetan Buddhist Ritual	
1.5.1 "Modal Currents" and the rNying-ma-pa tradition in exile	
1.6 The Presentation of the Rewalsar Ethnography	
Notes to Chapter 1	
CHAPTER 2 REWALSAR: SETTING AND COMMUNITY	48
2.1 The Religious Significance of Rewalsar as a Place of Pilgrimage	
2.1.1 Hindu	
2.1.2 Sikh	
2.1.3 Buddhist	
2.1.3.2 Buddhist pilgrims	
2.1.4 Comment	
2.2 Rewalsar's Resident Tibetan Community	
2.2.1 The Mountain Hermitage: "Ri-khrod"	
2.2.1.1 Background	
2.2.1.2 General Make-up of the Tibetan Community	
2.2.1.3 Conditions in the "Ri-khrod"	
2.2.1.4 Financial Circumstances of the Tibetans in the Ri-khrod	
2.2.1.5 Structure of the Community	
2.2.1.6 Community Activities	
2.2.2 Lay people and Independent monks, nuns and sngags-pa living in Rewalsar village	
2.2.3 The rNying-ma-pa Monastery ("dgon-pa")	
2.2.3.1 Background	
2.2.3.2 Layout and contents of the Monastery buildings	
2.2.3.3 Finance and Administration	
2.2.3.4 Monastic Organisation	

- 2.2.3.5 The Monks
- 2.2.4 The 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa Monastery
 - 2.2.4.1 Background
- 2.2.3.2 The Monastery in 1981 to 1983
- 2.2.5 Comment on Rewalsar's Tibetan Community
- Notes to Chapter 2

CHAPTER 3 THE rNYING-MA-PA MONASTERY: DAILY LIFE

107

- 3.1 Theoretical and Methodological Considerations
- 3.2 The Morning Communal Practice
 - 3.2.1 Selections from "Chos-spyod"
 - 3.2.1.1 The "Seven Limbs"
 - 3.2.1.2 Supplications
 - 3.2.2 The Daily Ritual Practice of rDo-rje Gro-lod
 - 3.2.2.1 The Foundations
 - 3.2.2.2 The Main Practice
- 3.3 The Afternoon Communal Practice
 - 3.3.1 "Srog-sgrub"
 - 3.3.2 "gSol-kha"
- 3.4 The Daily Routine of the Monks
- 3.5 Concluding Remarks
- Notes to Chapter 3

CHAPTER 4 THE RITUAL WHICH DEVELOPS THE REALISATION OF THE BLA-MA: THE MONTHLY TENTH DAY PRACTICE

160

- 4.1 The "Bla-sgrub" Supplication
- 4.2 Preparations
 - 4.2.2 Making the Boundaries
 - 4.2.3 Refuge, Bodhicitta and the Accumulations
- 4.3 The Main Practice
 - 4.3.1 Generating the Deity
 - 4.3.2 The Invitation
 - 4.3.3 The Enthronement and Prostrations
 - 4.3.4 The Offerings
 - 4.3.4.1 The Outer Offerings
 - 4.3.4.2 The Inner Offerings
 - 4.3.4.3 The Secret Offerings
 - 4.3.4.4 The Medicine Offering
 - 4.3.4.5 The Rakta Offering

- 4.3.4.6 The "Balim" Offering
- 4.3.5 The Praises
- 4.3.6 The Essence Recitation of the Practice
- 4.4 The Afternoon "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" Practice
- 4.4.1 The "Tshogs" Offering
 - 4.4.1.1 Consecrating the "Tshogs"
 - 4.4.1.2 Fulfilling the deity's wishes
 - 4.4.1.3 The Offerings set aside
 - 4.4.1.4 Distribution of the Tshogs
 - 4.4.1.5 The Excess Offering
- 4.4.2 "Enjoining the deity (to remember) the vow"
- 4.4.3 The Protectors' gTor-mas
 - 4.4.3.1 The "Promise" gTor-ma
 - 4.4.3.2 The Established Ancient Protectresses' gTor-ma
 - 4.4.3.3 The Hayagrīva Dance
- 4.4.4 Taking the Siddhi
- 4.4.5 The Dissolution of the Maṇḍala
- 4.4.6 Completing the Ritual
- 4.5 Concluding remarks
- Notes to Chapter 4

**CHAPTER 5 THE RITUAL WHICH DEVELOPS
THE REALISATION OF THE BLA-MA:
THE FIRST MONTH PRACTICE SESSION**

223

- 5.1 Preparations for the Practice Session
 - 5.1.1 Offering to the Earth Mistress
 - 5.1.2 Holding the Earth
 - 5.1.3 The Purification of the Earth
 - 5.1.4 The Protection of the Earth
 - 5.1.5 Making the Boundary
 - 5.1.5.1 Offerings to the Four Great Kings
 - 5.1.5.2 Making the Attachment to Purify the Door
 - 5.1.5.3 The "Secret" Method of "Making the Boundary"
 - 5.1.6 Making the Maṇḍala
 - 5.1.6.1 "Arranging the Receptacle"
- 5.2 The First Month Practice Session of "Bla-sgrub Las-byang"
 - 5.2.1 The "Guru mTshan-brgyad 'Chams" at Rewalsar
 - 5.2.2 Preparations for the Tenth Day 'Chams
 - 5.2.3 The Tenth Day 'Chams
 - 5.2.3.1 The "Jokers"
 - 5.2.3.2 The Black Hat 'Chams

5.2.3.3	The Ging 'Chams	
5.2.3.4	The Guru mTshan-brgyad 'Chams	
5.2.3.5	The Tenth Day 'Chams: The Spectator's Viewpoint	
5.2.4	After the 'Chams	
5.2.5	The Dissolution of the Maṇḍala	
5.2.6	Finishing the Practice Session	
5.2.7	The "sByin-sreg": Burnt Offerings Practice	
5.3	Concluding Remarks	
	Notes to Chapter 5	

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

299

6.1	Text and Practice; Theology and Ritual	
6.2	Sacrificial Themes in Tibetan Rituals	
6.3	Rituals and their Social Context	
6.3.1	Geertz and Interpretive theory	
6.3.2	Political Legitimation and unchanging rituals: Thoughts on Maurice Bloch	
6.4	The Effects of Literacy on the Organisation of Tibetan Buddhism	
6.5	Tibetan Ethnicity and rNying-ma-pa Identity	
	Notes to Chapter 6	

POSTSCRIPT: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN REWALSAR

317

BIBLIOGRAPHY

321

Bibliography of Tibetan Works

A2.1.4.1 Preamble

A2.1.4.2 The Role of the Monasteries in the Political Economy

A2.2 Part Two: The rNying-ma-pa Lineages and Teachings, and Vajrayāna Ritual in Tibet

A2.2.1 Historical Review of the rNying-ma-pa

A2.2.1.1 rNying-ma-pa Monasteries from the Seventeenth Century

A2.2.1.2 Later rNying-ma-pa Bla-mas

A2.2.2 Overview of the rNying-ma Teachings

A2.2.2.1 The Nine "Yānas"

A2.2.2.2 The Three Roots

A2.2.3 Vajrayāna Ritual in Tibet: the example of 'Chams - Ritual Dance

A2.2.3.1 The Tradition of 'Chams

A2.2.3.2 The Setting of 'Chams

A2.2.3.3 The Dances

A2.2.3.4 The Costumes and Masks

A2.2.3.5 The Guru mTshan-brgyad 'Chams

A2.2.4 Conclusion

Notes to Appendix 2

APPENDIX 3 TRANSLATIONS OF PRACTICES INCLUDED IN THE DAILY MORNING SESSIONS AT THE REWALSAR rNYING-MA-PA MONASTERY

(A) Sections from: "The Stages of the Practice of the Dharma which are the Vehicle of the Path of Complete Liberation" ("Chos-spyod kyi rim-pa rnam-pa grol-ba'i lam gyi shing-rta"), compiled by bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rDo-rje.

(B) "The Supplication to the Guru which Removes all Hindrances and swiftly fulfils all wishes" ("Guru gsol-'debs bar-chad kun sel bsam don myur 'grub")

Notes to Appendix 3

APPENDIX 4 TIBETAN TEXTS

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

(A) Technical Terms in Sanskrit and English

(B) Technical Terms in Tibetan

THE RITUAL WHICH EXPELS ALL NEGATIVITIES

REN.1 Preparations

REN.2 The First Two Days of the Ritual Practice

REN.2.1 "The Protection" and "The Killing"

REN.2.2 The "Tshogs" offering, up to the "third portion"

REN.2.3 The "Main Practice"

REN.2.3.1 "Enjoining the deity (to remember) the vow"

REN.2.3.2 The "gSer-skyems" offering

- REN.2.3.3 "The Request for (them) to bear witness"
- REN.2.3.4 "Generating that which is to be envisaged"
- REN.2.3.5 "Sending forth the messengers"
- REN.2.3.6 Attacking and consuming the linga
- REN.2.3.7 "Fulfilling Wishes"
- REN.2.3.8 "The Excess Offering"
- REN.2.3.9 The Expelling
- REN.2.3.10 The Final Sections
- REN.3 "Casting the gTor-ma": The Twenty-ninth day Ritual
- REN.3.1 The Practice in the Temple
- REN.3.2 The Black Hat 'Chams
- REN.3.2.1 "The Actual Casting Out"
- REN.3.2.2 The Return to the Temple
- REN.3.3 The "Summoning Life" Practice
- REN.3.4 "Taking the Siddhi"
- REN.3.5 "Requesting Patience"
- REN.3.6 Dissolving the Maṇḍala
- REN.3.7 "Prayer of Aspiration" and "Wishes for Auspicious Qualities"
- Notes to "The Ritual which Expels all Negativities"

PHOTOGRAPHS

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out among Tibetan refugees in Himachal Pradesh, between October 1981 and January 1983. The setting was a small monastery, of the rNying-ma-pa tradition, in the guest house of which I lived for the entire period, except for a brief visits to Dharamsala, Tashi Jong Tibetan handicraft settlement (in District Kangra) and Delhi. The monastery is situated in an Indian village which has grown up around a traditional pilgrimage site, sacred to Hindus, Buddhists and Sikhs. Since the exodus of refugees from Tibet - the main influx arriving in India in 1959 and 1960 - about 140 Tibetans have settled in the village and surrounding area. The small Tibetan temple, which had been maintained by Buddhist villagers, long settled in India, has become a thriving rNying-ma-pa monastery, where monks perform rituals composed or compiled by the late exiled "Head" of the rNying-ma-pa, bDud-'joms Rin-po-che [1].

The themes addressed by the thesis are twofold. On one hand, there is the question of understanding the reconstruction of religious practices by refugees, in an alien environment. Secondly, there is the question of the interpretation of complex rituals which involve the use of detailed texts and commentaries, and are the heritage of a long historical and literary tradition, and steeped in Buddhist philosophical assumptions. The themes interpenetrate, since it is precisely because the Buddhist religion has been so central in Tibetan history, both in the development of social and political institutions, and on the level of people's everyday experience of reality, their worldview and symbolic thinking and action, that Tibetan refugee identity is inseparable from religious affiliation. Moreover, the contrast between Tibetan Buddhist values and those of the Chinese Confucian and Communist ideologies, has been an important element in the political struggle between invaders and

invaded in Tibet. The Chinese Government's attempts to overcome Tibetan resistance involved the suppression of Buddhism, including not only the destruction of monastic centres of power, but of local temples, shrines and texts, the execution of innumerable respected Buddhist teachers, the imprisonment or forcible marriage of monks and nuns, and, especially during the "Cultural Revolution", the banning of private religious devotions and teachings. It is hardly surprising that Tibetan "ethnicity" is frequently articulated in religious terms, and that the refugees exhibit a sense of urgency in their attempts to preserve their Buddhist traditions.

1.1 CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CHINESE INVASION OF TIBET AND THE FLIGHT OF REFUGEES.

Tibet was sparsely populated [2], with high mountain ranges separating the few villages of one valley from the next, and making communications difficult. Many areas would be entirely cut off during the winter. Cultivation was possible in the well-watered fertile river valleys, characteristic of the Central Tibetan (southern) regions of dBus and gTsang, and the Eastern region of Khams: these held the main centres of population, although large cities did not exist [3]. In most areas, agriculture was mixed with animal husbandry; in the western region of mNga'-ris bskor-gsum, many people were transhumant and some wholly nomadic, while a good deal of the high land in the north-east (A-mdo) was suitable only for grazing [4]. Much of the expanse of the "Northern plains" (Byang-thang) was so barren as to be virtually uninhabited, except for scattered groups of nomads and many wild animal species. Although a central State structure existed, there was considerable local autonomy and economic self-sufficiency at the district level [5]. The degree of control exercised by the State varied according to a district's proximity to the centre, and the comparative strength or weakness of the State at any particular point in time [6]. Local districts might have their own traditions and dialects, and people frequently had a strong sense of local identity, to some extent offset by the continual movement of travellers and the almost universal adherence to "*Chos*" (Tib.): the Buddhist "Dharma" (Skt.) or teaching.

In 1949, Chinese troops occupied Khams in the east - the area through which the border ran, which was inhabited by independent-minded Tibetans with their own local kings and chiefs, who had historically alternated between having to profess allegiance to Tibet or China. The trend had been for the Chinese to push the boundary further towards Central Tibet, so that by the mid twentieth century, most of the region was outside political Tibet. Ethnically Tibetan, the people shared their language, culture and religion with the Central Tibetans. Many spent months or even years on trading and pilgrimage expeditions around Tibet, and monks might travel for training to Central Tibetan monasteries. In the late 1940s, there were moves to unite Tibet, but before any agreement could be made with the Lhasa Government, the Chinese Communists invaded and, in 1950, they crossed the border with political Tibet. In October, the small Tibetan army was defeated, and Chamdo (Chab-mdo), the Tibetan Government's capital in Khams, was taken. With the Chinese threatening to "liberate" the whole of Tibet, the Tibetan Government attempted to alert the outside world, appealing to the U.N., but the Indian Government, anxious to appease China, suppressed the appeal and underplayed the Chinese threat to Tibet. In September 1951, Chinese soldiers entered Lhasa, and in 1952, they were deployed along the frontiers with Bhutan and Assam.

During the 1950s, the Chinese succeeded in consolidating their control by exploiting regional differences and particularly the suspicions which existed between the old Central Tibetan authorities and the leaders in Khams and A-mdo (North-eastern Tibet). Eastern Tibetans were the first to suffer from the massive military presence in their lands; monastic property was confiscated, people were compelled to pay higher taxes than ever before and to work constructing military roads, children were taken to China for indoctrination, and those who complained were arrested and disappeared. Local uprisings from 1952 erupted into full-scale revolt by 1956. The Chinese responded with intimidation and massacres. Religious teachers and local leaders were subjected to public executions involving torture, which included crucifixion, burning to death and burial alive. Frequently, under threat of

torture and death, people were forced to humiliate and beat to death their teachers or their relatives. Air attacks, on monasteries, villages, and nomadic settlements, made use of high explosive bombs, napalm and gas. By the late 1950s, there were thousands of Eastern Tibetan refugees and resistance fighters in Central Tibet.

In Central Tibet, the Chinese had attempted indirect rule, using the Lhasa Government - and the Panchen Lama, whose status was elevated in order to create further divisions - to introduce "reforms". Gradually, the situation deteriorated, particularly because of the pressure on food due to the large Chinese presence and the influx of refugees, and because of accounts of atrocities brought by Eastern Tibetans. The Resistance, already strong in parts of the East, took over areas in Central Tibet, and in March 1959, there was an uprising in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama, and about eighty thousand refugees, escaped to India (or to Nepal or Bhutan), leaving the Chinese in Central Tibet to practise the policies they had used in the East. Thousands were killed or sent to labour camps; monasteries were bombed, and any remaining traces of Tibetan culture, religion, and national identity, were attacked during the "Cultural Revolution" from the mid 1960s. Maps were redrawn to absorb Eastern Tibet within other Chinese provinces. Despite the increasing difficulties in escape, given the efficiency of surveillance, more refugees reached India during the 1960s and '70s, bringing the total count to about one hundred thousand.

Many refugees escaped carrying little other than religious paintings and texts strapped to their backs. In spite of the cultural devastation within Tibet, much material was salvaged by the exiles who, as we shall see, have put great efforts into preserving their traditions.

1.2. THE ORGANISATION OF THE EXILED COMMUNITY IN INDIA.

After his escape from Tibet, the Dalai Lama set up a "Government-in-Exile" which was recognised by all the refugees. Although many Khams-pas and A-mdo-bas were distrustful of the old Lhasa regime, it was clear that Tibetan unity was essential if the Chinese were to be successfully opposed and Tibet restored as an independent nation. Moreover, regional differences began to become less significant in a context where all were reduced to

the same refugee status: in the settlements, while regional affiliation persisted to some extent [7], there was a more radical equalising of social status. The Tibetan word for Tibet, *Bod*, which had not previously included Khams or A-mdo, began to be transformed into an all-encompassing term, which is said to cover the three "regions" of dBus-gTsang, Khams and A-mdo.

In 1960, the Dalai Lama established the seat of the Government-in-Exile in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh. In 1963, he published a Draft Constitution for Tibet (to be changed or ratified by the Tibetan people on Tibet's Independence), which introduced democratic elections (influenced mainly by the Indian model), and made the Dalai Lama a presidential figure. While the Dalai Lama was making it clear that he was prepared to relinquish his personal authority, if the Tibetans should wish him to do so, the exiles have resisted any such suggestion, and have insisted upon the continued role of the Dalai Lama as that of "the temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet" - a "summarizing symbol", as Margaret Nowak [8] so aptly describes it. In part, the institution serves to emphasise continuity with the past, and the importance of the Tibetan political concept of "*Chos-srid zung-'brel*": "*religion and politics combined*". Also, the individual personality and actions of the present (fourteenth) Dalai Lama have been important in reinforcing the refugees' loyalty and devotion to him. He has worked for the welfare of all the exiles, and helped to create unity through giving consideration to all groups and promoting non-sectarianism: he has even received and transmitted teachings of non-dGe-lugs-pa traditions himself. Moreover, he has become established as a prominent figure in world affairs, speaking and writing on world peace, and the importance of religious values in political activity. He also has a large number of non-Tibetan religious followers. Loyalty to the Dalai Lama has certainly been a significant element in legitimising the Government-in-Exile, and bonding the refugee community together [9].

The Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies is the highest elected legislative body of the Administration-in-Exile. Its members represent the three provincial regions and the

five major religious sects. However, between 1982 and 1988, full elections were not held. Changes made, mainly through pressures from the Tibetan Youth Congress, meant that rather than electing regional representatives from one's area of origin, all electors could vote for candidates from all three regions. This innovation was fiercely opposed by many Khams-pas and A-mdo-bas, who form a minority in exile, and who were concerned that their regional deputies might no longer represent their interests since they would be answerable to the Tibetan community as a whole. From 1982, the Dalai Lama selected the regional deputies from a list of candidates nominated in local elections. This solution gave rise to little controversy [10], but the Dalai Lama was not satisfied with it, and finally instructed the Assembly to organise elections, which took place in 1988, under the original system in which electors can only vote for candidates from their own region. The Assembly legislates and exercises a check on the Cabinet of Ministers (*"bKa'-shag"*) which is the decision-making executive body, appointed by the Dalai Lama. Each Minister has responsibility for one of the administrative departments. The main departments are the Council of Religious and Cultural Affairs, the Office of Home Affairs, the Council for Tibetan Education, the Office of Service and Management, the Finance Office, the Security Office, the Information and Publicity Office, and (from 1981) the Department of Health. The National Working Committee is the highest policy making body. Composed of the Deputies, the Ministers and representatives from the departments, it discusses important issues on which the Cabinet cannot make a decision, and the elected deputies then vote. The Committee also scrutinizes the individual office budgets.

The Government-in-Exile maintains offices, under the supervision of the Cabinet, in the U.S.A., Europe, Japan, Nepal, and a Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in New Delhi [11].

The new administrative system certainly represents a considerable break with the old Government and bureaucracy in Tibet. It is staffed largely by Tibetans who have received education in India, and claims to be, "a progressive alternative to the Chinese rule in Tibet"

[12]. Nonetheless, the themes of the supremacy of the Dalai Lama and the importance of religion have remained.

1.2.1. The Settlement Schemes

In 1959, two large transit camps were established for the arriving refugees, at Misamara near Tezpur, and at Buxa Duar in West Bengal. From them, some refugees were dispersed to do road work in the mountainous areas. Long-term rehabilitation was problematic; the Indian Government was disturbed by the thought of large numbers of Tibetan exiles - possibly harbouring Resistance fighters - in the Himalayan region at a time when relations with China were anyway fraught. Many Tibetans were concerned that they should be resettled en masse in the mountainous environment which would be easier for them to adapt to, but land was limited. Others - including the Dalai Lama - thought that location was of secondary importance, and that the primary aim of preserving Tibetan identity and culture was still conceivable in large settlements in a radically different setting. The Indian Government was sympathetic to the aspiration of cultural continuity and was prepared to work with the Government-in-Exile to find a mutually acceptable solution. Areas of unused land were sought in South India, and the first agricultural settlement was created near Mysore (Karnataka). At the end of 1960, 666 refugees arrived to begin the attempt at forest clearance; the settlement was eventually expected to rehabilitate three thousand Tibetans. Indian Government and international relief funds assisted the settlers in the early years, although many died owing to the difficulties of the work, the climate and the diet, coupled with mental depression resulting from the upheaval [13]. Although most of the earliest settlers had been cultivators, the majority of the refugees had no previous farming experience, and agriculture in Tibet was in any case very different. Despite this, in the longer term, the settlement proved successful. Goldstein has argued [14] that the success of this and other settlements in the region - by 1975 [15], there were about 10,000 Tibetans in the area - has been related to the retention of certain traditional patterns of organisation which had adaptive value in the new context. The Indian Government allowed the Tibetans

considerable autonomy; so that the settlements had ready-made, efficient organisation from the outset. The hierarchical structure, manifesting continuity with the past, was widely accepted, even (at least formally) by Eastern Tibetans, since although it lacked any official status or power, the Government-in-Exile controlled relief funds and provided employment. At the same time, since individuals were allocated their own plots of land, a pattern of competitive individualism which Goldstein compares to that of certain types of Tibetan peasant farmers, was established. Co-operative Societies were founded to co-ordinate transportation and trade, and they purchased tractors and lorries for communal use. These Co-operative Societies, initially formed by the settlers for trading purposes, have come to play a central role in settlement organisation. Each settlement's Co-operative Society is not only involved in agriculture, but provides services and provisions (for example, in the form of flour mills, shops, "canteens", and medical centres), and employment (such as in the settlement's carpet factory) [16].

Settlements in other areas, also established on marginal land, made it possible for most of the refugees to be rehabilitated by the 1980s (see diagram, Portfolio, p.15). Farming was not always possible, or successful, and some have become handicraft settlements, manufacturing Tibetan carpets and other traditional handicrafts. Some of the smaller settlements have been founded by minority groups anxious to preserve their distinctiveness - for example, the Khampagar ("*Khams-pa sgar*": Khams-pa encampment) Craft Community at Tashi Jong (Paprola, Kangra, H.P.) is based around the reconstructed monastery of Khamtrul Rinpoche (Khams-sprul Rin-po-che), and aims to maintain the continuity of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-rgyud-pa lineages. Similarly, the Bon-pos, followers of the indigenous Tibetan religious tradition, have established their centre at Dolanji, near Solan (H.P.). Some Tibetans have succeeded in making a living outside official settlement schemes, frequently by trading.

Economically, most settlements continue to face serious problems. Settlements in Arunachal Pradesh [17], sited in inaccessible areas where the climate is harsh and the soil

infertile, have had particular difficulties, aggravated by inadequate funding. Elsewhere, settlements are becoming overcrowded, especially since concern with ethnic survival has meant that the Government-in-Exile has discouraged birth control. Nutrition and health are not good, large numbers suffer from T.B. and other illnesses related to poor living conditions, and there is little security for the elderly and sick. Nonetheless, population growth has not created such severe problems as might have been predicted, since non-agricultural sources of employment have expanded [18]. I cannot comment on the long-term effects of the severe drought in Southern India in 1987. According to Government-in-exile figures [19], 6499 acres of maize were ruined, and 15,090 refugee farmers were severely affected.

The settlements have been highly successful in preserving Tibetan values and culture, and in creating Tibetan "ethnicity". Commenting on the low incidence of mental or emotional disorders and of crime in the settlement in which he stayed in 1966 and 1967, Goldstein discusses [20] the Tibetans' pride in their religion and traditions. Tibetan is spoken in the settlements, children learn the language, literature, history and religion, monasteries and temples have been built and rituals take place frequently.

Appropriate schooling for children was considered essential by the Government-in-Exile, and the establishment of Tibetan schools was made a priority. After discussions with Nehru in 1961, a committee was set up by the Ministry of Education, and finance, administrative help and teachers were provided for Tibetan schools [21]. On one hand, the Tibetans were concerned that their cultural heritage should be transmitted to the next generations, but they also wished to ensure that Tibetan exiles could become economically self-sufficient and respected in Indian society, and that their new administrative apparatus could be maintained by Tibetans who were capable of effectively communicating the Tibetan cause in the modern world. Thus, Tibetan children receive a "modern" education, with English as the main medium of instruction, and they come into contact with western philosophies and political ideologies. Buddhist values, and Tibetan culture and national identity are also transmitted, and despite the abruptness of the change from traditional Tibetan scholarship,

young refugees have mostly found intellectual integrity, expanding key ideological concepts to accommodate new experience and circumstances [22].

1.3. TIBETAN IDENTITY: IN EXILE AND IN TIBET.

In contrast to the settlers in India, approximately one thousand Tibetans who were rehabilitated in Switzerland [23] have had great difficulties in adapting. Although many refugees in Switzerland have been economically successful, and are able to financially help relatives and other Tibetans in India, according to Anna Elisabeth Ott-Marti [24], Swiss ethnocentrism and the high visibility of Tibetans as "Asians" in Europe, coupled with the enormous gap between the cultural backgrounds of Tibetans and Swiss, has led to problems. Tibetans are expected to assimilate, and yet may still face discrimination. Ott-Marti describes how young Tibetans have to live in two worlds. To retain some sense of their identity and to avoid the feeling of uprootedness and guilt, they must conform to Tibetan norms at home and with other Tibetans. At school or at work, they must conform to Swiss values and norms.

On the other hand, in the settlements in India, Tibetans are not expected to entirely integrate themselves into Indian society. Moreover, although there is a considerable difference between Indian Hindu and the Tibetan Buddhist culture and social organisation, India is the birth-place of the Buddhist religion, and Buddhist religious practice is generally respected. Refugees who failed to adjust to settlement life might opt for years of "pilgrimages" (funded by trading, portering, or begging as religious devotees) just as was traditional in Tibet, and might finally settle in one of the Buddhist holy places - as some of my informants in Rewalsar. For the Tibetans, the thought that their exodus has meant that the Dharma is being re-established in India, centuries after it was destroyed by the Islamic invasions, has great symbolic power. That Avalokiteśvara - in the form of the Dalai Lama - has "returned" and the teachings are being re-planted in the country of Bodhagaya - the Buddhist centre of the universe - gives hope that soon the sun of the Dharma will once more illuminate their "Land of Snows". A further dimension to the newly emerging

"myths" concerning the continuity of the Buddhist tradition after its eclipse in Tibet, is provided by the recent spread of the Dharma throughout the world. Unlike many refugee peoples whose traditions are only respected by members of their own communities, the Tibetan exodus has coincided with a great increase of interest in Buddhism on the part of westerners. Although brought up in the societies responsible for the world's dominant ideologies of materialism and positivist science, many westerners are turning to Tibetan bla-mas for instruction. This has boosted the Tibetans' conviction of the supremacy of the Buddhist teachings, a conviction which had been shaken by the success of the "Red Chinese" in Tibet. Moreover, it has also helped to make the economic base of the religious reconstruction secure. Western Buddhists have provided finance for the building or upkeep of some refugee monasteries and temples, the sponsorship of monks and nuns, and other projects initiated by Tibetan bla-mas. Some are involved in helping the refugee community in other ways, such as through the sponsorship of Tibetan childrens' education.

These developments have also served to encourage the Tibetans in Tibet. The policy of "liberalisation" meant that some limited religious activity - especially the re-building of major monasteries and permission for the elderly to go on pilgrimage - has been allowed [25]. Refugees have been able to visit families in Tibet, and some Tibetans in Tibet have been able to visit refugee settlements. Tibetans have therefore witnessed the success of the exiles in preserving their traditions, and although religion in Tibet is still tightly controlled by the authorities, and it seems that further persecutions are taking place in the fraught political climate of 1989, the fact that the Chinese Government was forced to back down in its attempt to completely suppress Buddhism, was considered a triumph. One reason for the relaxation was the propaganda value of the apparent "religious freedom" and the presence of old Tibetans at major religious centres, living "relics" of a bygone age. A related consideration was economic; liberalisations would be likely to diffuse support for the Resistance and thus, indirectly help the economic exploitation of Tibet in general. Specifically, tourists could be attracted by the sights of re-furbished temples and "antique" Buddhist pil-

grims. The Government has been carrying out a large-scale programme of colonisation of Tibet by Chinese citizens; tourism is one of the major industries in which the settlers are employed. From the Tibetan viewpoint, however, although the settlement programme has caused serious problems for Tibetans [26], it is clear that the Chinese authorities have, to some extent, conceded defeat in their attempts to eradicate religion, and that westerners do not have the same disdain for Buddhism as the Chinese Communists. Western Buddhist pilgrims are usually warmly received by Tibetans in Tibet. Tibetan religious and cultural identity, already strong prior to 1959, has been renewed and revived in today's political context. The concomitant aspiration for Independence and the return of the exiles to Tibet remains unshaken, as evidenced by the much publicised demonstrations in the Lhasa area in October 1987, March 1988 and 1989.

1.4. PREVIOUS ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON TIBETAN REFUGEES.

Melvyn C. Goldstein has already been mentioned. His work in South India concentrated primarily on refugees from one area in Central Tibet (gTsang), and it yielded an interesting "reconstruction" study of the pre-1959 political system [27], giving a detailed account of social and political organisation at the local as well as the national level [28]. He was also able to make observations on the refugee settlement [29], and owing to his specific interest in Tibetan social structure, he was qualified to make comparisons between the old and the new organisation [30]. Beatrice Miller has also written on Tibetan refugee adaptation in India [31]; she argues that some values and perceptions held by Tibetan refugees have contributed to their high degree of adaptability to the new circumstances. Her early work [32], which I have used in my discussion of rNying-ma-pa monastic organisation (Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1.1), was based on fieldwork with Tibetans in the Darjeeling area, and in Sikkim, between 1953 and 1955.

Another "reconstruction" study is Barbara Nimri Aziz's "Tibetan Frontier Families" (1978) concerning the people of Ding-ri on the Tibet - Nepal border. Aziz did fieldwork with a group representing about twenty per cent of the population, who had escaped to the

Solu-Khumbu area. These refugees did not have the same readjustment problems as most; they already had links with the Buddhist Sherpas in the area and their new environment - social and ecological - was hardly different to Ding-ri. Aziz was therefore able to draw upon her fieldwork experience to illustrate points about Ding-ri social organisation, while she concentrates on rendering an account of the modern history and social and economic development of Ding-ri before 1959. Her chapters on religious organisation are especially relevant for this work. Peripheral to Central Tibet, the focus of religious activity was small rNying-ma-pa and bKa'-rgyud-pa monasteries, nunneries and hermitages, the status and size of which depended largely on the reputation and personal following of the incumbent bla-ma of the time. Minor rituals were performed locally by *ser-khyim*, "religious householders", small communities of peasants who had some specialism in religious techniques such as textual recitations, and who served surrounding villages. Nonetheless, in the wider political context of the Tibetan polity, this structure was modified by the presence of three Government dGe-lugs-pa monasteries which levied monk and produce tax from villages leased to them. The most important, and the closest to Ding-ri, had originated as a small hermitage, but was built up in the early eighteenth century by the Central Government which was expanding its effective authority (p.237). After the Gorkha invasion of the mid-nineteenth century, when monks successfully defended the fortress-like monastery, the Government increased its subsidies and extended the monk levy. Even more interestingly, a rNying-ma-pa monastery (Dza-rong) which was established in 1902 and expanded rapidly due to the energy and reputation of the bla-ma, such that it secured the patronage of nearly all the rural population, came to be Government subsidised. Concerned with border security, the Government was not prepared to allow the monastery to decline on the bla-ma's retirement, and insisted that a successor should be appointed (p.211). The appointed *sprul-sku* proved able, and the centre thrived: in the 1950s, there were about five hundred monks and nuns attached to Dza-rong, living in thirteen communities.

In her case studies of religious practitioners, Aziz demonstrates the individualistic and

dynamic nature of much of Tibetan religious activity: individuals may make choices about which religious community they join, in accordance with personal preference for the teaching style of one or another bla-ma, rather than paying heed to sectarian allegiances (p.242). Having become a monk or nun, a person may still lead an individual lifestyle (p.243-245), perhaps travelling on pilgrimages, or staying with relatives, and even within monasteries or hermitages, individual differences are accommodated.

In contrast, Margaret Nowak's work [33] was with young people who have been brought up in India, attended Tibetan schools, and who for the most part accept the new "official" ideology of Tibetan unity. Nowak examines the problems of these young people in their attempts to "retrieve" the "meaning" of their traditions and identity, when on one hand they have been instilled with a keen sense of nationalism and religious values, while on the other, they receive modern education and after leaving school, are faced with the prospects of having to make a livelihood in India, and having to come to terms with the isolation of the Tibetans in the world and the ineffectualness of their political struggle. She compares the situation of stateless refugees with the "liminal" condition in "rites de passage", as described by Van Gennep and Victor Turner. Although there are differences, most notably the fact that statelessness is not a structured phase, and there is no guarantee that "reintegration" will occur (1984, p.45 - 46), the experience of ambiguity and the resultant proliferation of symbols and metaphors is analogous (1984, p.4). She discusses the central importance of the "traditional" symbol of the Dalai Lama for the exiles (see back, 1.2), who subsumes all aspects of Tibetan values and identity, which are transmitted to children in the new Tibetan schools. The conflict between this learnt set of values and the later experience of young Tibetans provides inspiration for the emerging symbolic complex of "Rangzen" ("*rang-btsan*": "*self-power*" - "Independence"). "Independence" has become not only the political goal for the Tibetan nation, but also the ideal strategy for Tibetans as individuals and as a community, and evokes ideas of mental and religious freedom, as well as economic and political autonomy. The "Independence" ideal is dramatized in the new

secular ritual of the Tibetan Uprising Day, celebrated each March 10th. It consists of a reenactment of the key elements of the events of the 1959 Lhasa uprising (1984: 34 - 35), which led to the Dalai Lama's flight, his repudiation of the Seventeen Point Agreement and the formation of the Government-in-Exile. The ritual generates empathy with the national cause; tradition and modernity are brought together in the attempt to make sense of and to structure thoughts and feelings, as well as to communicate modern Tibetan aspirations to the outside world.

As we shall see, Nowak's study of the young generation provides an interesting contrast to the Rewalsar Tibetans, most of whom are representative of the older age group, and who had either slipped through the net of resettlement programmes or "dropped out" of a settlement at a later date. The environment of Rewalsar is closer to that of Tibet than South India; the lifestyle of a monk, nun, hermit or trader has traditional value. These refugees too must adjust to life in India, must speak enough Hindi to communicate with villagers and must cope with the difficulties of statelessness, but they have not had to learn English, undergo modern education or have their religious values seriously challenged by modern philosophical or political ideologies. The Tibetan Uprising Day ritual, so important in nearly all places where Tibetans live, was not performed in Rewalsar in 1982. At the time, it had not occurred to me as surprising that recognition was not given to the date: the first month practice session at the rNying-ma-pa monastery was still in progress. We were all working with the Tibetan calendar, in which the date was the sixteenth day of the first month, and in which "March 10th" does not exist.

We might speculate that with the younger generation gradually replacing their elders, some features of the Rewalsar community might change. Regional identity, for example, may well diminish. Whether the nature of the community will change radically, however, is another question. Rewalsar, set apart from the mainstream of refugee life and offering only limited economic rewards - bare subsistence from the monastery, financial dependence on a western sponsor or pilgrims, or a profitable business for only a short annual sea-

son (see Ch.2) - has its appeal in its religious significance. Older refugees "retiring" from agricultural work, and young people with strong religious commitment, coupled with inadequate opportunities for further education, are likely to continue to be the main "recruits". The more sophisticated young Tibetans, with a good command of English and knowledge of western ideologies, who might succeed in obtaining higher education or white collar work, would not be likely to choose to settle in Rewalsar.

A study of Tibetan refugees in Nepal has been made by Claes Corlin [34]. Corlin worked with refugees from sKyid-rong, south-west Tibet, settled in the district of Rasuwa, northern Nepal. Like Aziz's Tibetans, the sKyid-rong Tibetans had lived close to the Nepalese border, and their exile had not implied movement to a radically different ecological setting. One significant difference from the group studied by Aziz is that whereas the Ding-ri people found refuge with Sherpas, the sKyid-rong Tibetans moved into an area inhabited by Tamang people. Although, according to their own traditions, the Tamang originated in Tibet, they consider themselves Buddhist and speak a Tibetan dialect, there are cultural differences: for example, they are prepared to kill animals and rely on the service of *Bon-po* [35] exorcists. In the early years of their exile, the Tibetans were scattered and had to adjust to Tamang society, living in harsh economic conditions, without the legal right to own land. Later, after establishing contact with the Government-in-Exile, the refugees were settled in four purposely built villages, a project which was financed by the United Nations. Corlin highlights the cultural changes which exile has implied: a tendency to accept some Tamang customs such as *Bon-po* rituals (in contrast to the Rewalsar Tibetans whose cultural heritage is perhaps too distant from Indian Hindu ritual to make such an acceptance of local customs possible), a breakdown of the traditional extended family household structure, a new reliance on household handicraft production for sale, and an increase in economic co-operation at the village level. Integration into the wider Tibetan exile community is bringing a change of "identity" from a primary orientation to the district sub-culture, to the Tibetan Buddhist culture as a whole, represented by the

Dalai Lama. In part, this reflects the necessity of a small group of refugees who have lost their traditional social institutions, to find some new means of identification (p.152); in part, it reflects conscious Government-in-Exile policy: for example, children in Rasuwa are taught the Lhasa, not the sKyid-rong Tibetan dialect (p.125). Despite the changes necessitated by exile in Nepal, Corlin demonstrates that to a large extent, traditional patterns of social and political organization have persisted, all be it in new forms which are legitimised by the approval of the Dalai Lama (p.144). The refugees' sense of national Tibetan and Buddhist identity has been enhanced, and the exiles act with reference to a utopia which Corlin terms, "the nation in your mind": a constantly changing combination of features from historical Tibet and refugee society which forms the model for an ideal future Tibet.

While Corlin's major contribution is his detailed case study and comparison of traditional sKyid-rong and Rasuwa society, and his central focus on identity, he also provides useful information on the structure of the Tibetan refugee community in Nepal as a whole (p.138 ff.).

Tibetans settled in Europe and America provide a contrast to the refugee settlements in the Indian sub-continent. Ott-Martí's work on refugees in Switzerland has already been mentioned (see back, Section 1.3). Donald Messerschmidt [36] made a study of a group of Tibetans who were brought to the U.S.A. in the 1960s to work as loggers for a wood products company. In the process of adapting to their new social and economic environment, the loggers formed a "Tibetan Association", the role and structure of which combined features from traditional mutual aid associations, village assemblies and monastic administration, with "democratic" American models. The Association's Committee and its "leader" were able to help the settlers adjust by mediating within the group and acting as "brokers" with the Company and other outsiders. In time, the Association served primarily to organise social and cultural events, and eventually, in 1971, the community dissolved, with individuals or families settling independently elsewhere in the U.S.A. Most kept up some con-

tact with other Tibetans, but economically and residentially, they became integrated into American society.

Like Goldstein, Lawrence Epstein conducted research with refugees in Karnataka [37]; he did fieldwork in Hubli, and in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, in 1969-1970. His main interest was in the various oppositions in Tibetan religious thought and practice: between Absolute and relative Truth, primary and secondary causation, *karma* and inauspicious circumstances, bla-mas and monks as against oracles and diviners, and the corresponding differences in the emphasis of their ritual activity. He sees the dualities as being integrated or "transformed" through two types of religious approach: *neutralization* in which the Vajrayāna teaching of the identity of the "poisons" (the negativities of ordinary experience) and the primordial awarenesses (the manifestations of Enlightenment) is stressed, and *triadization* in which religious mediators bridge the gap between the oppositions. He gives an interesting account of the role of oracles, demioracles and diviners in settlement life. It is clear that although they have some importance in religious life, this has declined in the refugee context. The general decrease in reliance on non-monk religious specialists seems to be partly related to the disappearance of certain rituals concerning local deities which seem less applicable in a new environment, with different social relations, and also to the influence of rationalism engendered by resettlement in India - an example might be the exposure to new agricultural techniques which do not presuppose the importance of non-material forces for successful farming (Ch.4). Another reason for the eclipse of some rites associated with Tibetan folklore (which were, in fact, long integrated into the Buddhist system) is the pressure of the Government-in-Exile (Ch.1), concerned with the wider image of Tibetans and eager to play down any aspect which does not appear (to Indians or westerners) to fit with Buddhism. Nonetheless, Government-in-Exile propaganda is probably not the major factor; Tibetans in Rewalsar who had little to do with the Government-in-Exile, and many of whom were of the older generation, were not particularly interested in such rituals. In exile, the over-riding concern is the preservation of the

Buddhist teachings which can overcome the wheel of Saṃsāra.

Epstein also comments on the policies of the Government-in-Exile regarding Tibetan unity and the strategies of the non-dominant groups (Ch.1). While the Government was promoting non-sectarianism, it was supporting the dGe-lugs-pa more than other schools, and the doctrine of the oneness of the three regions was felt to imply discrimination against the Eastern Tibetans. Epstein found that the Khams-pas in response, tended to form tight-knit groups and turned to their traditional leaders to mediate in disputes, circumventing the Government-in-Exile appointed Camp Leader. Monasteries might become focal points of regional and sectarian identity; this was especially so in one camp which was predominantly Eastern Tibetan, where the rNying-ma-pa monastery became a centre for the Khams-pa. Epstein mentions a wider alliance of sixteen Eastern Tibetan refugee camps in North India which, under the auspices of the Karmapa, ensured that the interests of Eastern Tibetans were not ignored by the Government-in-Exile [38].

1.5. THE ANALYSIS OF TIBETAN BUDDHIST RITUAL.

Lawrence Epstein's thesis was clearly inspired by structuralism: his approach does shed light on some of the general characteristics of Tibetan Buddhist thought (see above, 1.4). In this thesis, I have made use of structuralist insights where they seemed appropriate [39], but I would argue that a simple structuralist model is inadequate for analysing the intricacies of complete Tibetan rituals, such as those I describe. My own perspective is outlined below (see Section 1.6). First, I consider here the work of two anthropologists who have lived with Sherpas and attempted to interpret Sherpa religious thought and ritual [40].

Sherry Ortner follows Geertz [41] in analysing religious systems as "models of" and "models for" the societies in question [42]. She acknowledges that such symbolic "models" must deal with the natural environment and existential and psychological problems, and that any system is the result of complex historical processes. However, in practice, her own "model of" the realities faced by the Sherpas is solely in terms of their social structure.

Thus, she assumes that "religion... solves problems of meaning... generated in large part... by the social order", but in doing so, "engenders paradox" and creates other problems (1978, p.152). This provides her with an all-encompassing framework: she examines the ritual imagery for social analogies which might suggest social problems, and having identified such problems (often so general that they could apply to a large number of societies: for instance, problems in parent - child social relationships, problems of social hierarchy and economic inequality), she manipulates the symbolism in order to make her explanation appear consistent [43]. She does not consider alternative interpretations which do not fit with her perspective. She insists that her analysis rests on the "restructuring of meaning" present in the ritual symbolism, regardless of what the participants actually experience (p.5): thus, comments by informants which might disprove her results can be disregarded. Yet her presentation of the ritual material is inadequate; it is based on her observations, supplemented by informants' short explanations. She does not systematically treat the Sherpa Buddhist rituals in the context of the Tibetan rNying-ma heritage of which they are part, she makes no attempt to understand the ritual texts that are used, nor does she even record the Tibetan terms for the types of ritual activity or the titles of the texts. She is not therefore able to draw upon other studies of Tibetan ritual to make sense of her material, and her own contribution is of very limited comparative value. Moreover, her unwillingness to fully consider the wider cultural and historical background of the rituals must bring her simplistic assumptions regarding the relationship between rituals and the social order into question. If a standard ritual has a specific "meaning" relating to the Sherpa social world, how are we to interpret the use of that same ritual by Tibetans in a variety of social contexts? Ortner argues that Sherpa offering rituals, entailing "divine debasement" (p.168) and the humanization of the disengaged monastic community and the Buddhist ethic (p.167), express lay peoples' interests and social values. Yet, although Ortner's account is not detailed, the structure and content of these rituals are clearly in line with "main-stream" Tibetan Buddhist practices, performed in Rewalsar by rNying-ma-pa monks. Her

contentions derive almost entirely from speculations about the lay-out of the altar, while ignoring exegesis on the lay-out (which is in fact standard), and the content of the recited texts [44].

Her historical material is sparse and misleading. For example, contrasting Sherpa with Tibetan Buddhism, she over emphasises the historical role of the Tibetan "theocratic state" in supporting monks and monasteries (p.160) and suggests that celibate monasticism was "created" in Tibet in the late fourteenth century (p.30), contrary to the well-known fact that all the schools preserved vinaya lineages deriving from Indian Buddhist monks.

When dealing with religious and philosophical concepts which are grounded in the Buddhist heritage, it is not sufficient to explain them in terms of a few superficial comments which people might make to an anthropologist with little background in the religious tradition. To suggest, for example, that Sherpas see the Three Jewels (*dkon-mchog*) as a "divinity... with parental connotations" (p.40) is absurd, and rests on Ortner's supposition that comments by Sherpas amount to a treatment of the Three Jewels comparable to (presumably a Christian) approach to a "god". The suggestion apparently "draws sustenance from being confused with... the 'Three Bodies' scheme" (p.173, nb.9). Far from being "confused", Ortner's informants were probably attempting to explain the Mahāyāna teaching that from an inner understanding, the Three Jewels and the Three Kāyas can be identified. This does not justify Ortner's reflection that, "Just who or what Konjok is, to the Sherpa mind, seems very hazy..." (p.176, nb.31).

In comparing the Sherpas with the Thais [45], Ortner claims that unlike Thai Buddhists, Sherpas retain whatever merit they accrue (p.159). Had Ortner read any of the ritual texts, she would have known that nearly all practices end (and some also begin) with a dedication of merit. In a study of Buddhist ritual, there is no option but to tackle Buddhist philosophy and texts.

Like Ortner, Robert Paul orders his material by imposing his own theoretical framework: his description of the Sherpa festival, "Dumje" [46] (probably, according to Paul,

Tibetan *sgrub-mchod* or *'brum-mchod*) is presented without reference to the texts used, let alone the historical teaching lineage from which it stems. Paul claims to follow Frazer [47], arguing that the purpose of ritual is the procuring of life, health and prosperity. In the Sherpa case, the cultural force opposing human desires for food and children is Buddhist morality. Instead of seeing religion as an integrated system for approaching life [48], inspired by Freud, Paul sees religious values as something imposed from outside, which hinder rather than help with living. Ritual, on the other hand, is not part of this given background: it is a way of trying to negate the effect of morality, through overcoming guilt about sexuality and reproduction, and concern about agricultural fertility. This "guilt" is not demonstrated; its presence is assumed at the outset. In interpreting the "Dumje" ritual, Paul characterises the Vajrayāna deity, rDo-rje gZhon-nu, as the punitive oedipal father, ignoring Buddhist assumptions about the nature of Vajrayāna deities and the specific connotations of the rDo-rje gZhon-nu imagery. He imposes a western model of a "god" as a substantial independent being and fearful father figure, onto a Buddhist deity with quite different qualities [49].

However, like Ortner, Paul can disregard objections to his theory, since his "evidence" consists of unconscious associations which cannot be disproved to exist. Sperber has criticised the Freudian approach to symbolism because it does not discuss the relationship between the "symbol" and the interpretation, assuming one to simply represent the other [50]. Moreover, although there may be "oedipal" or "pre-oedipal" associations in ritual symbolism, there is no justification for taking them as *the* meaning regardless of other interpretations: "The association with semen links Dorze ritual life (already linked to economic life) with organic life, and enriches the symbolic value of butter, while not by itself defining it." [51]. The attempt by some Freudian theorists to assert the primacy of their favoured sets of interpretations rests on the argument that while conscious associations are "metaphorical", only the unconscious "primary ideas of life" can be symbolised [52]. As Sperber remarks (p.43), this raises the problem of conscious sexual symbolism. Paul

imposes oedipal commentaries where they do not exist, but where they do, he assumes interpretation to be unnecessary [53]. Vajrayāna Buddhism is replete with implicit and explicit sexual symbolism, which is not to be taken at its face value.

Paul treats the "Dumje" ritual in isolation as a Solu village rite. His later book [54] is more ambitious: here, he attempts to present the whole spectrum of Tibetan cultural traditions - religious myth and ritual, history and folklore - as a series of oedipal and pre-oedipal scenarios. As with the "Dumje" ritual, the two Sherpa rituals discussed in Chapter Five are dealt with without systematic treatment of the structure of the Buddhist ideas present, and with only passing references to the texts used. Sections on Sherpa cosmology and religious roles include western philosophical notions, presented as the Sherpas' own [55]. There are many instances of misrepresentation of Tibetan Buddhist practice. One example is his characterisation of the "foundation" practices (*sngon-'gro*) of Vajrayāna as, "one hundred thousand repetitions of four fairly mechanical rituals" (p.33), although he appears to be misinformed regarding their main sections [56], let alone the meditation instructions which are necessary before the *sngon-'gro* can be performed.

Paul insists on applying a fourfold oedipal structural scheme - requiring a king (father), usurper, avenger and innocent heir - to the material he discusses. Practically any group of figures can be forced into such a structure, although he has to design his own typology of Sherpa gods so as to order them into the appropriate classes (p.74 ff.). Yet the notion that wrathful deities (and shamans) "usurp" the Buddha Amitābha (or reincarnate bla-mas) only appears reasonable when a few qualities are abstracted from their imagery and roles. The logical pattern of the oedipal schema is also applied to the Sherpa ideal model for a family with three sons, such that the second, who becomes a monk, is thus punished for the rebellion of all the sons (p.25). Yet most Tibetan Buddhists see the monkhood as an attractive alternative to lay life, and monks are given status and respect. The idea that religious practice is a kind of penance is a recurring theme in the book: a retreat is described as a "symbolic defeat, death or castration" (p.35). This seems to me to express

more about Paul's cultural background and personal commitment to Freud, than it does about the Sherpas. Similarly, Paul is "convinced" that representations of a central figure flanked by two smaller ones are phallic (p.59), and he suggests that the sword (of wisdom) held aloft in Mañjuśrī's hand expresses the threat of castration, while the book on the lotus held in his left hand implies acceptance of voluntary self-castration (p.65). Approaching iconography in this way, it becomes difficult to imagine imagery which could not be similarly interpreted.

This is not to say that "oedipal" or "pre-oedipal" images are never used in Tibetan symbolism. Perhaps more than Avalokiteśvara - Paul's chosen example of pre-oedipal imagery - the iconography and meditation practice of Vajrasattva [57] makes use of maternal associations. Pure white in colour, white ambrosia (*amṛta*) comes forth from Vajrasattva, filling the practitioner's body, purifying all defilements, and then he dissolves into light, and the practitioner is completely identified with the radiant Vajra nature. Yet, like the Dorze association of semen with butter (see above), the similarity between a mother's milk and Vajrasattva's *amṛta* enriches but does not define the symbolism. As Sperber points out in his consideration of the relationship between a pistol and a penis (1975: 46), such an association involves contrast. Unlike breast milk, the *amṛta* enters at the crown of the head, and flows down through the *cakras*, and pervades the body. Finally, identification is made, not through the unity of two substantial forms - mother and child - but through the dissolution of form into insubstantial light and the realisation of non-duality. The child becomes satiated and full; the practitioner transcends both satisfaction and dissatisfaction and becomes "empty".

To assume, like Paul, that maternal imagery indicates that, "the ideal goal of ascetic meditation is to achieve... an identification of self with the breast" (p.137) is to take a reductionist position. Similarly, although there may be some association between gShin-rje and the "bad mother" (p.140 ff.), this is not sufficient to warrant an equation of the Wheel of Life and the "bad mother". For Paul, "The fundamental pessimism about the world of

Samsāra is... related to deep-seated anxieties relating to separation from the breast" (p.144). Such an opinion cannot have arisen from the material: while claiming to be an *etic* analysis, Paul's work can be seen as a projection of his *emic* system upon another [58].

A further point is that while it may be that men's interests and exploits are more prominent than women's in Tibetan literature, women's potentials are not entirely neglected. Yet in the scenarios elaborated by Robert Paul, the only important actors are men, striving for their oedipal victories, while women can only be mothers (to sons), and are only significant in so far as they aid or betray the aims of their menfolk. If Paul is making universal claims regarding the centrality of basic psychological tensions in mythology, it is puzzling that women's psychological tensions can be dismissed. If only men's problems are important enough to be expressed in myths, why should women ever be emotionally inspired by myths or moved to remember and repeat them?

In the concluding chapter, Paul attempts to defend his approach by asserting that the evidence, rather than his assumptions, justify his conclusions. Yet his structural scheme is simplistic enough to accommodate any data, and the various elements can be re-ordered to fit the particular circumstances. Polanyi [59] has illustrated how certain interpretative frameworks - such as that of Freud - have such internal consistency that once the implicit assumptions are accepted, it can be difficult to reason outside them, and the system becomes circular. The "coherence" of which Paul boasts (p.300) is a feature which Polanyi describes as a "criterion of stability" (Polanyi, 1958: p.459): it can "stabilize" both true and false views of the world.

Paul claims that his analysis need not contradict other explanations which are on "the level of history and event" (p.303), but in so far as he reserves the "level of structure" for his own interpretation, he is asserting the primacy of his own schema. Yet, as Geoffrey Samuel has pointed out [60], the objective status he gives to his set of symbols cannot be justified: it is one of a possibly infinite number of alternative sets which could have been used.

Moreover, Paul's theory is not at some higher level of abstraction than, for example, Buddhist interpretations might be. In commenting on Fortes' discussion of West African religion, Robin Horton [61] has argued that it is useful to draw analogies between African religious systems and Freudian psychology, but to propose to interpret the religious systems *through* psychoanalytic theory is less valid: it misses the point that African and western theory is on the same level.

In contrast to the work of Ortner and Paul, Geoffrey Samuel's contribution [62] has had a major influence on this study. Samuel did research with Tibetan refugees in India in 1971 - 1972, mostly in towns rather than settlements. He concentrated on an analysis of religion; he was interested in the whole spectrum of religious ideas and practices and emphasised the importance of understanding Tibetan rituals in their specifically Buddhist context, rather than simply referring to Buddhist texts if the anthropologist thinks them relevant [63]. Even rituals directed towards local deities (which as I have already mentioned, 1.4, and Samuel also records [p.43], have declined in importance in the refugee context), are integrated into the Buddhist system, make use of Vajrayāna methods, and are frequently performed by bla-mas [64] and monks. Samuel's Ph.D thesis gives an outline of Tibetan Buddhist thinking and practice, and the place of indigenous notions and rites. He gives particular prominence to a discussion of the religious and social significance of the bla-ma [65]. In his chapters of analysis [66], he compares the Tibetan tradition with those of Thailand, Burma and Bali, and draws up a scheme of a hierarchy of human specialists and non-human forces, which arises from the Tibetan material [67]. He shows the bla-ma to represent a convergence of all religious roles, with the ability to control both the Vajrayāna and lesser deities and forces, and to protect others. Through the teaching of *skill-in-means* ("*upāya*"), the bla-ma represents the "means" adopted by the Enlightened Mind to demonstrate Liberation; *upāya* also supplies the justification for the bla-ma's central political and social role.

1.5.1. "Modal Currents" and the rNying-ma-pa tradition in exile.

Samuel's later work [68] includes an extensive review of the available ethnography on the Tibetan speaking peoples and a detailed history of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism.

In this study, he aims to present an overall theoretical framework for the analysis of different cultures which is not based on the positivist approach taken by most social scientists. He argues (Chapter 1) that in the field of theoretical physics, positivism is outmoded, but that some other branches of science and social science have continued to cling to it, for the lack of an alternative approach by which data can be interpreted in a coherent and systematic way. This problem has been compounded by the trend towards increasing specialisation in all the fields of scientific and social scientific knowledge, such that experts in one area have developed concept-frames for dealing with the problems of particular concern to them, without any reference to developments elsewhere. Communication between the academic disciplines is impeded by the different and sometimes opposing assumptions which are at the basis of each. Within anthropology, radically different accounts of one people can be produced by researchers using different theoretical frameworks, and the problem of integrating their insights is not helped by claims for one approach or the other to be the more "objective" and "scientific", or the pretence of a more pure presentation of "facts". Samuel argues that since "facts" involve implicit or explicit assumptions, it is better to try to be aware of the kinds of assumptions one is making, and the moral implications of those assumptions. Positivism makes assumptions of dichotomies between subject and object, mind and body, fact and value, which have hindered the understanding of non-dichotomizing thinking. His book is an attempt to develop an approach which avoids the dualistic assumptions of positivism, and which can also be applied sufficiently generally as to encompass a wide range of the existing theoretical frameworks, as well as the data they seek to explain.

Samuel terms his approach, "The Relational Framework", aiming to elucidate the connections between the different types of human thinking, used both by the theorist and the

different peoples studied. He suggests that thinking can be classified as *rational* or *analogical*. *Rational thought* consists of logical thought within a given "concept-frame" which involves a system of axioms, and assumptions regarding the relationship between the system and "reality". It assumes that there is an objectively correct way of understanding which is a question of analysis within the given concept-frame (Chapter 3, p.2), such as a positivist theory, or the law of *karma*. Thus, *rational thought* is not limited to means-ends motivated behaviour, but implies logically ordered belief-systems, as well as thinking in the sciences and social sciences. *Analogical thought* connects different "concept-frames", and operates in terms of analogies, making sense of experience as it arises, integrating it with familiar symbolic patterns which can be modified or reinterpreted as the occasion demands. "The Relational Framework" uses the notions of *modal state* and *modal current* to demonstrate the use of these types of thought. *Modal states* are the states or attitudes of mind and body adopted by each individual in their social context. Each individual has a "repertoire" of such states which tend to recur; cultural material acts to create or stabilize particular types of modal states. Seen diachronically, these states, which change over time, are called, *modal currents*. Rational thought is confined within a single modal state (which includes not only the structure of assumptions, but also physical and psychological conditions). Analogical thought is concerned with developing relationships, and a balanced harmony between different modal states. The two are not unconnected: rational thought operates within a framework of images and concepts, constructed through analogical thinking (Chapter 3, p.19), and innovations in the dominant modal state which defines rationality may stem from the analogical ability to shift between modal states and experiment with new patterns.

Samuel's discussion of the two types of thought is similar to the distinction between *rational* and *symbolic* thinking often made by anthropologists, inspired by Levy-Bruhl's [69] suggestion of a contrast between *mystical* or *pre-logical*, and *logical mentality*. It can also be seen to correspond to Southwold's notions of *instrumental* and *sapiental* sys-

tems of thought [70]. Samuel's treatment of the two modes in terms of *modal currents* enables the historical relations between the two in a particular society, to be traced. He argues (Chapter 2) that while both types of thought occur universally [71], there is a tendency for one or the other to be the dominant mode. *Rationalized societies* are typically those with developed political hierarchies where behaviour is controlled through "rationally" constructed laws and religious injunctions, involving positive and negative sanctions. *Shamanic societies* - by which Samuel means those where analogical thinking is dominant - are associated with stateless political structures or those with only minimal hierarchy. Social control is ensured through shared sets of modal states which stress the harmony of natural order, such that people find the socially appropriate behaviour the most desirable. Where conflict occurs, religious specialists (termed "shamans" by Samuel) "mediate" between the opponents to help them construct a shared modal state and thus resolve their difficulties.

In the case of Tibet, the historical and regional fluctuations in the degree of centralized political control (see back, 1.1) are related to the development of Buddhism: those areas where political hierarchy made little impression, remained, or became, *shamanic* (see above) in their practice of Buddhism, while the more politically centralized areas tended to adopt *rational* forms of Buddhism, but the political hierarchy was never strong enough to fully suppress the "shamanic" element. Owing to the fluctuations, compromises had to be made, the two most influential in modern times being the *dGe-lugs-pa* synthesis in which monasticism and a "rational" gradation of the Path was emphasised, and related to the expansion of political centralization, and the nineteenth century *Ris-med*, the non-*dGe-lugs-pa* religious movement which stressed the supremacy of meditation and direct experience, and which was to some extent provoked by the threat to non-*dGe-lugs-pa* lineages posed by *dGe-lugs-pa* dominance. Samuel discusses these syntheses as "modal currents" with political, religious, and intellectual aspects, without suggesting the primacy of any of the aspects, which he argues, cannot be separated out [72].

Samuel claims that the synthesis of the academic tradition and "shamanic vision" asso-

ciated with the rNying-ma-pa revival and the *Ris-med* movement is characteristic of modern Tibetan Buddhism outside the dGe-lugs-pa (Samuel, *ibid.*, Chapter 9, p.32). This study of rNying-ma-pa ritual in the refugee context can be seen as a detailed examination of this particular synthesis, integrating my two themes of ritual analysis and the reconstruction of cultural traditions in exile.

As we shall see, from the seventeenth century when the rNying-ma school developed major monastic centres, the rNying-ma-pa teachings have been elaborated and systematized, although academic expertise has consistently been defined by, and subordinated to direct understanding through meditation, and the practice of the three Inner Tantras [73] is paramount.

Long before the Chinese invasion of 1949 - 1950, meditation masters in Eastern Tibet and on the "periphery" of the central Tibetan State, were gathering together the teachings and texts of diverse teaching lineages and transmitting new syntheses of the existing traditions. In the twentieth century, many *gter-ma* [74] - previously "hidden" precious "treasure" texts - have been "discovered". This dynamism has continued, and if anything been enhanced, by the upheaval of exile. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, the Head of the Rewalsar rNying-ma-pa monastery, was a prolific scholar and *gter-ston* - revealer of *gter-ma* - and the practices performed at Rewalsar are all taken from his collections. This is not to say that rNying-ma-pa religious practice has been - or is being - transformed in any fundamental way: its constant preoccupation with Realisation engendered through the path of the three Inner Tantras has been kept alive by re-presentations appropriate to newly emerging "modal states". In general, new ritual texts, such as those composed by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, retain the basic structure of previous practices of the lineage, and may incorporate whole sections of previous texts. The monastic training involves memorisation of vast amounts of ritual texts. Thus, when a bla-ma composes a *gter-ma*, spontaneously reciting a new liturgy, the new work is likely to structurally resemble other texts of the same category; for example, meditation practice texts (Skt. *sādhana*) are all similar in structure,

as are supplications. Equally, in terms of the actual content (and this is often explicitly noted within the text), verses or longer passages from previous texts are inserted. Indeed, bDud-'joms Rin-po-che claims that his "*Bla-sgrub*" practice (which we will examine in Ch.4) brings together a whole number of former "*Bla-sgrub*" practices. I have not had the opportunity to study and compare these different texts, but such a detailed analysis of past and contemporary works might be a fruitful direction for future research on the processes of continuity and change in Tibetan religion. Here, it is only necessary to make the point that while the salvaging of already existing texts is an important aspect of the attempt to preserve the Tibetan Buddhist heritage, given the memorising techniques used in traditional monasteries, and the productivity of many modern meditation masters such as bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, the loss of much written material has not been an unmitigated disaster. It is also worth mentioning here that the refugees - with the help of sympathetic outsiders - have succeeded in reprinting an impressive quantity of textual material in exile [75].

Ordinary practitioners do not make innovations: texts are always followed precisely in practice, and the extent of possible variation - whether a long or a summarized version is performed - is usually laid down in the text itself or in commentaries upon it. At the same time, oral transmission and demonstration has a central place: no practice is valid without a personal connection with a bla-ma, and each individual may have unique meditation experiences, which are privately discussed and assessed by the bla-ma. In Rewalsar, the methods for performance of the ritual dances (*'chams*) were transmitted primarily through demonstration and example. Yet this does not imply that such methods are continually subject to modification; "oral" traditions are capable of remarkable continuity. Many of the dance steps - such as those of the eight aspects of Guru Padma (see on, Chapter 5) - are standardized wherever the dance is performed [76].

1.6. THE PRESENTATION OF THE REWALSAR ETHNOGRAPHY.

My aim was to make a full and detailed study of a few rituals, selected either for their importance in the monks' regular practice (such as the daily rituals considered in Chapter 3), or because their performance constitutes major recurring ritual celebrations (such as the tenth day practice and its annual elaborated version including ritual dances, discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). My primary concern was to produce an "emic" analysis of the rituals considered - an interpretation of Tibetan ritual practice in terms which would be understandable to the monks themselves. My account can be seen within a wider theoretical framework, such as Samuel's "Relational Framework" for the purposes of comparison - say, with the religious practices of other Tibetans or with strategies employed by other exiled groups - but it is not defined by such a framework. This does not imply that my analysis was based solely on participant observation and informants' comments. On the contrary, I have criticised Ortner (above, 1.5) for neglecting the wider historical and cultural context of the rituals she discusses. When dealing with people who possess a long historical and literary religious tradition, this cannot be ignored even if the ethnography is not based on recognised "experts" in the culture. The monks with whom I worked were individuals who do not have any great status or standing in the refugee community, living outside the "official" settlement schemes. Their monastery is small and does not have any resident high bla-mas; the initial reaction of a group of the monks when, after my arrival, I explained my intention to remain for fifteen months and study their religious practice, was incredulity. Surely if I was interested in rNying-ma-pa practice, I would not trouble myself with their small monastery; there would be much more to learn at the large rNying-ma-pa establishment at Dehra Dun which had become a centre for rNying-ma study and practice [77]. Yet, despite their insistence that I would find the best representatives of their tradition elsewhere, their practice was most definitely rooted in the mainstream of the rNying-ma-pa lineages: they followed the texts of their "Root Guru" with precision, and were familiar with Buddhist Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna teachings.

Thus, I took it to be inappropriate to consider that anything less than a good background knowledge of Buddhist concepts and practices, and their interpretation in the rNying-ma school, could shed light on my informants' statements. Buddhist assumptions about the nature of "gods" or "deities", the "self" or the "soul", for example, are quite different from Christian assumptions. To assume that the western notions are applicable, simply because they may seem more readily understandable to a western anthropologist, and one's "unsophisticated" informants may find difficulty in verbalising or explaining the relatively tacit knowledge into which they have been socialised, is a highly questionable procedure. Quite possibly, my work is flawed by the opposite extreme. Where in doubt about the sense of a ritual activity or of an informant's comments, I have tended to interpret it in the light of Buddhist thinking and values. It may be that this method is also dubious: I may have projected ideas which make sense to me as a Buddhist scholar, onto my object of study. How can I be sure that the monks understood the teaching of "Śūnyatā" ("Emptiness") in the same way that I understood it? Some level of uncertainty is inevitable in the situation where the ethnographer and people studied come from completely different cultural backgrounds, the period of the study is short, and the ethnographer is not even fluent in the language. If I have been inclined to assume familiarity with Buddhist ways of thinking (when they may or may not have been present), since the monks had been brought up in a Tibetan Buddhist environment, this is partly as a reaction to the opposite approach, and partly because I find this the more morally defensible position. On one hand, I find the arrogance which claims that only intellectual elites can fully appreciate complex doctrines, objectionable [78]. Secondly, it seems preferable to me to use an existing Buddhist framework for any analysis, which, even if not consciously used by the actors, would be far more readily understandable to them than an external analytical framework [79]. To see the ritual practices in the context of the total Tibetan Buddhist worldview has the advantage of making it unnecessary to resort to explanations involving western philosophical assumptions, such as the dualities between "self" and "other", "material" and "spiritual levels of reality",

and so on, which have no place in Buddhist religious thinking.

My commitment to Buddhism has undoubtedly influenced my presentation of the material. It may well have made me less ready to consider any kind of reductionist position, and perhaps, to miss features which a critical "outsider" might have perceived. On the other hand, it meant that I was able to participate fully in the rituals, and was treated with less suspicion than a non-Buddhist would have been. The well-known Tibetologist, E. Gene Smith, has written [80] of the increasing tendency for research on Tibetan Buddhism to have an important "experiential" component, and of the value of such personal experience in reaching an understanding of technical terms which relate to meditative states.

In so far as my bias in favour of Buddhist elaborations has operated, it has mainly influenced supplementary explanations, rather than acting as "blinkers" on the material itself. I have attempted to give full ethnographic descriptions of my chosen rituals, making use of photography and the recording of ritual recitations in the process of gathering and writing up my field notes. I translated each of the ritual texts used, and also some commentaries, with the help of a few of the monks. My debt is particularly great in this regard, to Bla-ma Blo-gros, who systematically worked through nearly all the texts with me. Since he was not actually in the monastery, he had more time, and was enthusiastic that I should learn and fully understand the significance of these "deep and profound" rituals. To some extent, he became for me a parallel to Victor Turner's Ndembu informant, Mushona. He enjoyed the intellectual stimulation of teaching a Buddhist outsider who would raise questions which would force him to examine his own understanding, and improve his ability to explain the concepts, imagery or ritual action. Occasionally, he would meditate on a particular point overnight, or consult other texts, returning next day with new insights. With further discussion, we might discover more implications, perhaps regarding other sections of the text. I am aware that my work with Bla-ma Blo-gros lays me open to the same kinds of criticisms which Sperber (1975: p.19) has made of Turner: I have relied on a rather unusual informant who delighted in exegesis to a greater extent than his fellow Tibetan

refugees in Rewalsar. Nonetheless, in the literate Tibetan religious tradition, exegesis is well developed, and to a large extent, explicit in commentaries and teachings given by scholarly monks or meditative bla-mas. Although unusual in Rewalsar, Bla-ma Blo-gros is not a particularly unusual Tibetan scholar; indeed, the *mkhan-po* of the monastery, who only visited briefly to give teachings to the monks, had a wider knowledge of rNying-ma-pa philosophy and practice than Bla-ma Blo-gros, whose early academic training was in Sa-skyapa monastic colleges in sDe-dge Khams. I do not believe that Tibetan Buddhist rituals can be understood without considering the Buddhist interpretations. While I accept that theory and philosophy cannot have any real meaning or continuity apart from practice, and that "theory" is transmitted largely through "practice" - hence my interest in ritual - the problem with overemphasising the role of practice is that such a perspective can tend towards behaviouralism. Martin Southwold's otherwise erudite account of Sri Lankan Theravada Buddhism [81] is marred by a few instances of this kind. For Southwold, offering rituals are based on a natural human expression (p.169-170), and elaborations and explanations are simply "rationalisations". My point is not that rites do not have behavioural bases, but that their intellectual content cannot be discarded as of secondary importance. Far from "rationalising", the mental processes involved in Buddhist rituals can re-structure and transform the symbolic experience. A superficially similar rite can be quite different in its mental impact; this is the essence of the Buddhist transformation of indigenous Tibetan rituals, and few would argue that this did not represent a major change in cultural orientation.

To return to Sperber's critique of Turner (1975, Chapter 2), this is not to say that the interpretations constitute the "meaning" of the ritual symbolism. The interpretations are rather an important aspect of the ritual symbolism, helping the practitioner to discard "rational" thought, so that the indescribable nature of the mind is illuminated. To examine the "analogical" relationships between the sets of symbols and their interpretations, and the characteristics which make them capable of fulfilling their stated purposes, are legitimate

academic pursuits. My hope is that to some limited extent, my chapters of ritual description and explanation make a contribution to such an analysis. In so far as I fail, I have attempted to present the empirical data in detail, and in such a way that future researchers might be able to draw out ideas and conclusions which I missed. This attempt at descriptive precision has not been entirely successful. While I am fairly sure of the ethnographic details of the daily and monthly practices described in Chapters 3 and 4, the annual ritual practice session (Chapter 5), which I only observed once, *before* I had studied the associated texts, is bound to be less accurate, and there are likely to be some mistakes and omissions which future research might correct. The quality of my ethnography would also have been improved by comparisons with the same types of rituals performed in other monasteries, and an analysis of similarities and differences in texts dealing with the same classes of rituals, but of different cycles of practice. A more detailed study of the "*'chams*" (ritual dances) which I observed at Tashi Jong might have shed light on aspects of the Rewalsar *'chams* not considered, and helped in understanding the nature of *'chams* as a whole, while a study of "bla-sgrub" texts other than the bDud-'joms "bla-sgrub" might have underlined the essential structure of such practices. Not being a musician, an analysis of the music and chanting which is central to all the rituals was out of the question [82]; I have only recorded which instruments were played at specific points, and other such general information. The same is true for the dance movements: I was capable of making general descriptions and classifications of the types of movements, but could not record each step. Perhaps my inadequacies may suggest directions for possible further research.

Another failing of the present work was my lack of competence in the language; I had problems with colloquial Tibetan, particularly during the first few months of my fieldwork, and when speaking with individuals of different regional origins. I never became entirely fluent. Moreover, problems of understanding and communication went further than language difficulties; I was unable to fully communicate my intentions and purposes to people whose academic tradition is quite different to that of the west. This resulted in a certain

ambivalence towards me and my work. The monks could appreciate, and were pleased at my attendance during the practices, at my translation and study of the texts, and at my somewhat eccentric method of learning how the practices are done, by writing all my observations down and making diagrams of *gtor-mas* (ritual sculptures), the layout of the temple or offerings table, and so on. Yet if it was clear that I was not intending to personally perform the practices in England, or if I tried to explain that I was going to write a thesis for my university, there were some suspicions about what I was really up to! Did I propose to make money writing a book, or would I distort the inner teachings by writing an account of the superficial aspects of their Dharma practice, when I was deficient in meditation practice myself? For a people aware of the greatness of their culture's religious heritage, and the comparative insignificance of themselves as individuals in relation to it, what possible motive could I have for collecting information on their life-stories or economic circumstances? I think that most of the monks trusted my genuineness, but this does not mean that they were not at least a little puzzled as to how I was intending to use the information I was collecting. I hope that were "my monks" able to see and understand this end-product in its context, they would not feel that I have misrepresented the "precious teachings" or broken the trust that they were willing to place in a slightly odd foreign scholar.

1.7. SUMMARY.

This thesis aims to present a case study of some contemporary rNying-ma-pa monks and their religious practice in exile. Chapter 2 describes the setting of the ethnography: the village of Rewalsar and the make-up and circumstances of the Tibetan community there, with particular reference to the rNying-ma-pa monastery and its monks. In Chapter 3, the daily life of the monks is discussed, and the communal religious practices, performed every morning and afternoon, are examined. Chapter 4 is a detailed account of the monthly tenth day practice, based on a meditation on the Guru as Padma, and Chapter 5 is a description of the annual first month practice session, based on the tenth day practice, and incorporating a public *'chams* ritual dance. The concluding Chapter 6 summarizes my contribution

and considers its importance for the theoretical issues which it raises. There are four Appendices: Appendix 1 presents a review of Indian Buddhist concepts and the schools associated with different interpretations, as an introduction to Buddhist assumptions which were adopted in Tibet. In Appendix 2, the historical background of Buddhism in Tibet and the development of the rNying-ma tradition is outlined. Appendix 3 is a translation of the texts of the daily morning practices performed in the rNying-ma-pa monastery at Rewalsar. Appendix 4 is a copy of the relevant sections of the Tibetan texts discussed in the earlier chapters. Finally, a Glossary of technical terms is divided into two sections: Section A gives the sense of Sanskrit and English Buddhist terms, as they are used in this work, and Section B lists the Tibetan terms used.

Case studies of the social, economic and religious organisation of refugee settlements (Goldstein, Epstein, Corlin), useful work on Tibetan refugee culture and identity (Nowak, Corlin), and on Tibetan Buddhist religion and society (Samuel and others [83]) have been completed. My contribution is less theoretical and general than ethnographic and specific. While Samuel has focused on the ideology of the Tibetan Buddhist schools and the macro level of Tibetan history and society as a whole, I have examined the rituals of one small group of exiled monks, using the methods of participant observation and detailed textual exegesis. The social situation and problems of identity faced by this small community has some unique features. Rewalsar Tibetans do not live in an official Tibetan settlement with Government-in-Exile involvement in their organisation. Settled at a traditional pilgrimage site in the himalayan foothills, with the opportunity to dedicate their lives to Buddhist practice, they have avoided some of the modernising influences of a completely new environment and social structure. Yet, they must still adjust to the political status of exile. Based in an Indian village, they must integrate more directly into Indian society and they may lack the social support experienced by Tibetans in official settlements.

The Rewalsar rNying-ma-pa monastery is economically administered by local Tibetan Buddhists, not refugees. Yet the monks are participating in the wider preservation of main-

stream rNying-ma teachings, performing ritual meditations of the three Inner Tantra classes, under the guidance of bDud-'joms Rin-po-che. Religious innovations are dependent on his insight and instruction. Also, like many past rNying-ma-pa establishments, their community is small, the *slob-dpon* (*master*: see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.4) is a respected but not authoritarian figure; and there is scope for individual practice and study. Accepting the status of the Dalai Lama - who is a practitioner of rNying-ma as well as other schools' teachings - and the authority of the Government-in-Exile, living away from the centres of refugee organization and decision-making, the monks have little involvement with or active interest in the administration.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

- [1] bDud-'joms Rin-po-che died in France, in January, 1987.
- [2] Giuseppe Tucci (1967: p.19) estimates population to have averaged less than two per square mile, although considers that densities were greater in the past.
- [3] Lhasa itself had only 40-50,000 people (Tucci, 1967, p.23).
- [4] A good anthropological study of A-mdo pastoralists is Robert B. Ekvall, 1968. Ekvall makes the point that the main ecological factor defining areas of pasture land is altitude: high "altitude zone" pastoralism begins at the upper limits of agriculture and ends near the upper limits of vegetation (p.5).
- [5] See Claes Corlin, 1975, p.12 and p.20.
- [6] As Samuel points out (1984: Ch.4, p.3), the area under centralised authority had expanded and contracted in waves for centuries.
- [7] This is especially true of the older generation: young Tibetan refugees usually see themselves as "Tibetans" and often have strong opinions about the negative effects of divisive regionalism - see M. N. Nowak, 1984.
- [8] M. Nowak, 1984; see particularly pp.24-30.
- [9] See Nowak, *ibid.*, p.143. Lawrence Epstein, 1977, records Eastern Tibetans as attributing the strongest factor to keeping peace at Hubli (a settlement in Karnataka), to the Dalai Lama's presence (Ch.1). Without him, rifts with the Central Tibetans and the bureaucracy might have become serious.
- [10] See Nowak, 1984, *ibid.*, Appendix, pp.177-179.
- [11] For more information, see "Tibetans in Exile, 1959-1980", 1981.
- [12] *Ibid.*, xiv.
- [13] A good account of this period can be found in John Avedon, 1985, p.113 ff.
- [14] M. C. Goldstein, 1975.

[15] See Lynn Pulman, 1983, for more recent figures and a breakdown of the figures by settlement.

[16] A discussion of the formal structure and the scope of activities of the Co-operative Societies can be found in Lynn Pulman, 1983, p.138 ff. Pulman, who visited the settlements in 1981, reviews the available literature on the refugees in Karnataka, and presents her own findings. She argues (p.138-139) that Goldstein underestimated the role of the Co-operative Society.

[17] See John S. Conway, 1975, p.78.

[18] L. Pulman (ibid.) notes that in 1981, refugees did not reject birth control, and moreover, that the tradition of putting a son in a monastery had re-emerged. She also lists the alternative work that settlers have found (p.161-162).

[19] "Tibetan Review", October 1987, p.25. The settlements affected worst were one in Gurupura, Hunsar Taluk, and two in Bylakuppe, Periyapathna Taluk, Mysore District, Karnataka.

[20] Goldstein ibid.

[21] See Nowak, 1984, Ch.2.

[22] This is analysed in detail by M. Nowak, 1984, ibid.

[23] About five hundred have settled elsewhere in Europe (including approximately sixty in the U.K.), about five hundred in Canada, and two hundred and fifty in the U.S.A.

[24] Anna Elisabeth Ott-Marti, 1976.

[25] This "liberalisation" does not extend to religious activity for which permission has not been obtained. A series on mass arrests for religious/political activities was explained to the Tibetans by the Chinese authorities in these terms: "We gave you liberalisation, but you do not know how to use it." ("Tibetan Review", July 1986, p.4). More recently, private devotions with possible political implications are again under suspicion: in Gyantse, school children have apparently been forbidden to worship at temples or monasteries, and recitation

of the prayer for the swift reincarnation of the Panchen Lama composed by the Dalai Lama (and presumably swiftly circulated in secret from refugee sources!) has been banned with severe penalties promised for offenders ("Tibetan Review", August 1989).

[26] See Jamyang Norbu, 1986, p.7 ff.

[27] M. C. Goldstein, 1968.

[28] Goldstein has also published a number of articles based on his research: see Bibliography. Since the time of Goldstein's study, another similar rural reconstruction study has been done: Eva K. Dargyay, 1982, based on interviews with Tibetan refugees in India and Switzerland. The work has much in common with Goldstein's: the "county" (*brgya-tsho*) of three villages under consideration was in the same area as Goldstein's village - the Gyantse (*rGyal-rtse*) district of gTsang. There are further parallels: Dargyay's "county" was made up of a "governmental tax-payers" village, a monastic and a noble estate; Goldstein's case study was of a government village, near to which there was a monastic and a noble estate, the noble estate being divided into an upper and lower settlement with seemingly similar characteristics to Dargyay's village of nobility subjects (Goldstein, p.112 ff.; Dargyay, p.66 ff.). Yet surprisingly, although Dargyay refers to three articles by Goldstein, containing some data from his work, she makes no reference to his full case study presented in his Ph.D thesis. It is, therefore, difficult to assess whether minor differences between the two accounts (such as Goldstein's assertion - p.80 - that the "monk-tax" was imposed on his villagers, and the small householders (*dud-chung*) were especially unable to avoid the obligation to provide one out of two sons, in contrast to Dargyay's statement - p.76-77 - that only the wealthier families were theoretically expected to provide a son, if they had at least three sons, but that the regulation had become obsolete) result from differences in local organisation, or from discrepancies in different informants' memories. It may be that the differences have more to do with the researchers' methods. Lawrence Epstein (1984: 778-9) claims that Dargyay's research was in fact on the same "county" as Goldstein's, and he characterises her failure to cite Goldstein, along with other examples of poor or partial

research as stemming from a "cavalier attitude". He further criticises her for her misuse of standard anthropological concepts and for her misunderstanding of the Tibetan terms with which she was dealing.

[29] Goldstein, 1975, *ibid.*

[30] In contrast, a book by an Indian researcher (T.C. Palakshappa, 1978) which purports to discuss patterns of adaptation, is flawed by the author's apparent ignorance of traditional Tibetan culture (see Lynn Pulman, 1983, *ibid.*, p.121-122, for a critique of this work).

[31] B.Miller, 1978.

[32] B.Miller, 1958.

[33] M.Nowak, 1978; 1984.

[34] C.Corlin, 1975.

[35] Although some Tibetans may equate the *Bon-po* of the Tibetan border areas with the representatives of the Tibetan *Bon-po* indigenous religious tradition, the two should not be confused. They may share some aspects of their religious heritage, but the Tibetan *Bon-po* tradition has developed alongside the Buddhist schools, and has influenced and been influenced by Buddhist approaches to teaching and organisation.

[36] Donald Messerschmidt, 1976.

[37] Lawrence Epstein, 1977.

[38] During my fieldwork, a Khams-pa monk told me of this alliance: he claimed that on one occasion, it had been necessary for the representatives of the group to threaten to withdraw their allegiance to the Government-in-Exile. Little information on this, however, seems to have been printed, and no Government-in-Exile source that I have seen mentions it.

[39] See, for example, the section on the *Jokers*, (Ch.5, Section 5.2.3.1).

[40] Sherry B. Ortner, 1978. Robert A. Paul, 1976; 1979; 1982.

[41] C. Geertz, 1966.

[42] Ortner, 1978: p.7 ff.

[43] To give a short example of the method, in considering exorcism rituals, Ortner wonders what features of Sherpa social structure are seen, like "demons", as "predatory" (p.101). She then "discovers" that "demons" symbolise the poor, "gods" symbolise the rich, and the rituals are concerned with hierarchy and inequality. However, the "logic" of the argument results in a curious conclusion: a "demonic" tiger effigy which is chopped up at the culmination of an exorcism ritual, turns out to embody the rich and influential (p.122)! Having shown that the young men who are the main ritual actors, represent ordinary people of middle or low status, and that their costume suggests ambiguity and the reversal of norms, it follows that they must be destroying their social superiors. On the sole grounds that a human figure straddles the "tiger" - and gods are often iconographically shown with wild animals - the identity between effigy and "gods" is established and the inexorable conclusion is that the people, "are symbolically chopping up their gods and their monks and the highest members of their community" (p.123).

[44] Ortner suggests that the displayed medicine and *rakta* ("blood") offerings do not really represent offerings (p.147), but in fact, there almost certainly would have been a section for offering them in the textual recitation.

[45] Charles Ramble (1980), criticises Ortner for her exaggerated contrast between Thai and Sherpa Buddhism. Ortner attempts to show that the individualistic tendencies in Buddhism are retained by the Sherpas since Sherpa social structure also exhibits such tendencies, whereas Thai Buddhism is more communal. Ramble argues that Ortner ignores the individualistic aspects of Thai Buddhism, overestimating the interaction of Thai monks and lay people, while in the Sherpa case, she underplays the importance of *bla-mas* and the interdependence of the monastic and lay communities (p. 112-114).

[46] Paul, 1979, *ibid*.

[47] 1979, *ibid.*, p. 297-298.

[48] Geoffrey Samuel (1978, Part Two), criticises Paul's early work on the Sherpas for his neglecting to consider the place of religion in the Sherpas' daily life, for instance, by treating the monkhood and other religious roles simply as reflections of psychological problems.

[49] More shall be said concerning Vajrayāna deities later in this thesis.

[50] Sperber, 1975, pp.45-47.

[51] Sperber, *ibid.*, p. 41.

[52] Ernest Jones, 1967, "The Theory of Symbolism", in "Papers on Psycho-analysis", Boston: Beacon Press; quoted in Sperber, *ibid.*, p.42.

[53] Paul tells us that the explicit oedipal symbolism in the "Candamahārosanatantra", "requires no comment" (1982, p. 36).

[54] 1982, *ibid.*

[55] For instance, we learn that the "Absolute" can be seen as "pure subjectivity", an "'inside' essence", while the conditioned is the "outside" realm of the "objective" world (p.66).

[56] In a note (p. 308, nb.19), Paul lists the sections without precision (eg. "verbal formulae"), adding that in other parts of Tibet, there may be five sections: in fact, the number varies only according to classification.

[57] *Vajrasattva* is the pure Vajra nature, the indestructibility of Enlightenment: see Glossary.

[58] This point is made by John Crook, 1982.

[59] Michael Polanyi, 1970.

[60] G. Samuel, 1984, *ibid.*, "Conclusion", p. 16.

[61] Robin Horton, 1983, p. 79-80.

[62] G.Samuel, 1975; 1984.

[63] 1975, *ibid.*, Chapter 1.

[64] Tibetan "bla-ma" is commonly transcribed, as it is pronounced, as "lama". In this thesis, I have consistently used the Tibetan spelling, except in cases where the transcription has become the standard English name for an individual - eg. The Dalai Lama.

[65] 1975, *ibid.*, Chapters 6-8.

[66] 1975, *ibid.*, Chapters 9-11.

[67] See also Geoffrey Samuel, 1978, Part One and Part Two.

[68] 1984, *ibid.*

[69] 1926.

[70] Martin Southwold, *ibid.*, Chapter 13: "Instrumentalism and Sapientalism", p. 181 ff.

[71] Southwold suggests that *instrumentalism* is associated with the left hemisphere of the cerebral cortex, while *sapientalism* is associated with the right hemisphere - *ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

[72] In my opinion, this approach has greater validity than the position he seems to take in some of his other work. For example, in an article on the political and religious role of the "bla-ma" in Tibet (1982), in which Samuel compares the Tibetan political and religious system with those of the Berbers and Arabs of Morocco, the Bedouin of Libya and the Pathans of North-west Pakistan, he implies (p. 215) that there is a causal relationship between certain political and religious features of the societies in question.

[73] The Inner Tantras are the three "highest" levels of Vajrayāna practice: the Mahāyoga tantra, Anuyoga tantra and Ati-yoga tantra. In all three, even the idea of "transmutation" of the emotional poisons is no longer present: the practitioner completely identifies with Enlightenment, without, in any subtle way, attempting to change its manifestation as it spontaneously arises. For more detail on the three categories, see under each section in the Glossary.

[74] See Glossary.

[75] See Snellgrove & Richardson, 1980, p.275 ff.

[76] There are some '*chams-yig*', "chams texts", which describe the movements of particular ritual dances: see Rene de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1976. I do not know if there is such a text for the "eight aspects" dance: if so, they did not have a copy in Rewalsar.

[77] In fact, I was keen to limit my research material to manageable proportions, which seemed more possible in a small monastery where "shortened" or slightly less elaborate versions of rituals are more likely to be opted for. I would also have found the weather in Dehra Dun a trial, remembering the difficulty I had with the heat when I stayed there for a month in March 1979.

[78] Martin Southwold, 1983, particularly Chapter 1 and Chapter 14, argues that ordinary people may have a practical understanding, and fulfil the "spirit" of the tradition at least as (and possibly even more) effectively than intellectual and economic elites.

[79] To quote Martin Southwold, 1983:

"It is proper, even necessary, to think of a culture, and indeed an historical civilisation, as having a large enough distinctive character, identity and organic unity to warrant our using one element of it to assist in our understanding of another, although no direct causal connection is demonstrable or even conceivable.... in principle an explanation which shows actual Buddhists to be authentic Buddhists and intelligent people is to be preferred to one which too hastily assumes them to be ignorant, disloyal, or foolish" (p.82).

[80] E. Gene Smith, 1985, p.x-xi.

[81] Martin Southwold, 1983.

[82] A study of Sa-skya-pa ritual music is available: Ricardo D. Canzio, 1979.

[83] In Appendix 2, I draw on some of the voluminous work of Tibetologists in this field (eg. Giuseppe Tucci, 1980; Snellgrove and Richardson, 1968).

CHAPTER 2 REWALSAR: SETTING AND COMMUNITY

Rewalsar is a village which has grown up beside a lake of religious and historical significance to Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs. It is situated in Himachal Pradesh, twenty-four kilometres south-west of Mandi, the district capital (which has a population of about 20,000 people), and can be reached by a winding mountain road built in the 1950s. The bus journey from Mandi takes one and a half hours. At 31°-38'N. latitude; 76°-50'E. longitude, and at an altitude of 4,200 feet, Rewalsar is a shelf surrounded on three sides by Himalayan foothills ranging between five and six thousand feet high (see Photo no.1). The land drops steeply away on the further side with narrow terraced fields reaching to valleys one thousand to two thousand feet below. The climate varies from light snowfall and freezing conditions in January, to hot dry weather reaching about 120° F. in May-June, followed by heavy rainfall, 100 % humidity and slightly cooler temperatures during the monsoon in July to September. Agriculture in the vicinity, on the terraced fields below and above the village, comprises rice cultivation in the monsoons, and a winter/spring crop of wheat, maize and some barley (which is sold to the Tibetans). Domestic animals include buffalo, cows, goats and hens. There has been substantial deafforestation in the area, with many of the steeper slopes largely denuded of soil, bare rock and boulders protruding between thin layers of grass-covered soil. However, there have been major reafforestation efforts, particularly on the highest slopes, where there are fast-growing conifers which have been planted by the Forestry Commission. There is a Forestry Commission residence on the opposite side of the lake to the main village, and a tree nursery. In the village itself, is a Forest Rest House for the use of Forestry Commission employees. The trees are protected; villagers are allowed to collect brush-wood but not to cut down trees. Wood has

become very expensive, although collected firewood is still the second major cooking fuel, after paraffin. There is a small timberyard with an electric saw providing wood for furniture and building.

The village has a population of about eight or nine hundred Indian people [1]. In 1982, there were 1018 people on the electoral register. This figure includes the eight nearby small villages, and hamlets in the surrounding area which are served by the post office and shops in Rewalsar. Most of the local people have long ancestry in the area. The inhabitants of the village itself are mostly of the "trader" caste, who originally settled there because of the pilgrimage trade. Rewalsar has become the local centre for shops; it is a pilgrimage place and also a major stopping place on the bus route between Mandi and Hamipur. Thus, there are thirteen tea-stall-cum-restaurants in the village, of which the largest ones are situated by the bus stand. Some of them also incorporate the sale of vegetables, fruit, milk, curd, bread and eggs, which they also need for their restaurant trade. The vegetables and fruit must be purchased from Mandi and brought up to the village on the bus. Vegetables and fruit are generally not grown in or near the village. There are eleven general stores selling provisions, paraffin lamps, stoves, and so on. There is a "roasting" shop for roasting grains to be ground into flour. A chemist sells a small range of medicines, some household goods such as cotton wool, torches and batteries, and also paraffin for cooking stoves and lamps, although Indian Oil deliveries are not regular or frequent, and there are long periods when paraffin is not available in Rewalsar, and must be bought in Mandi, by those who can afford the bus fare. One shop specialises in the sale of alcoholic drinks. A Government fair price shop sells some poor quality basic food-stuffs such as rice, lentils, sugar, etc. at subsidised prices to holders of ration cards which permanent residents can apply for. There is one bread shop which bakes white bread and cakes; it is often closed for weeks at a time when specially refined white flour used for baking is unavailable in Mandi. Most people make "chapatis" with locally ground flour in preference, although bread rolls are supplied to restaurants for their customers. There is one butcher's shop where goats, sheep and buffaloes are some-

times slaughtered. Five material shops sell a variety of different coloured, mainly thin cotton materials, from which most of the Indians make clothes. There is a fluctuating number of sewing shops, according to demand and the needs of agriculture; about seven at any one time. There is one shoe shop which sells poor quality plastic shoes (better quality shoes are available in Mandi), and one shoe repair shop; one hardware shop; one newspaper shop which also sells slate tiles for roofs; one metalworking shop and two watch shops (which sell and mend watches). There are also two shops which sell and repair radios and electrical goods; the village does have an erratic electricity supply, mostly used for lighting, and for the three electric mills to grind flour. Radios, etc., are usually used with batteries, providing access to Government-controlled All-India Radio. Three barbers provide men with the service of cutting and shaving hair, and there is one school shop which sells stationery, pens and ink, etc., mainly frequented by school-children. Many shopkeepers own land. Earnings from shops are, at least theoretically, if not in practice, taxable. Income from land through rent or agriculture remains untaxed.

There has been a police post in the village for a few years. Previous to this, police came from Mandi in the event of major disputes and crime. The local council - the Panchayat - has the role of organising the sweeping of the village and ensuring that it is kept clean, and it has responsibility for local welfare, controlling epidemics, and running village festivals. It has five members who are elected once every five years. Members are elected on the basis of individual merit and standing in the community, not political party affiliation. The Tibetan residents, who live in the village and on the nearby hill, have no vote as refugees without Indian citizenship.

The village has one primary and one secondary school. In 1982, the secondary school had five hundred and forty-five pupils aged eleven to sixteen, and twenty-five teachers, and the primary school had four hundred children in the six to eleven age group, and ten teachers. Children from the area surrounding Rewalsar walk to the school. Some of the Tibetan children attend school.

The village has a Government veterinary surgeon and assistant whose main task is curing sick cattle and goats. They work in conjunction with the Government animal hospital in Mandi who send assistance if major surgery is required. The veterinary surgeon also visits the surrounding villages.

There are no qualified practitioners of western medicine in Rewalsar. Three men claim to be "doctors" and may have purchased qualifications in order to obtain the social status of the medical profession. The nearest medical facilities are in Mandi, including a general hospital. Many of the Tibetans prefer to consult a Tibetan traditional doctor, either in Dharamsala, or in the event of such a doctor visiting Rewalsar.

2.1. THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF REWALSAR AS A PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE

2.1.1. Hindu [2]

For the Hindus, Rewalsar is associated with Śiva (the Supreme Lord for many Hindus), who manifests in the islands which float around the lake. Hindu pilgrims pay homage to Śiva and Shesh Nag, the snake god associated with him, adorning the islands with coloured flags, and offering food to the "sacred" fish in the lake. On the bank of the lake close to the bazaar, there are steps (*ghat*) which have been constructed so that devotees can take their ritual wash, and nearby, is the Śiva temple (see Photo no.19) with a construction of Śiva's bull, Nandin, outside. This is the village's main Hindu temple, where rituals are held on festive occasions. There are several other temples and shrines in and around Rewalsar. Many pilgrims make offerings to the goddess Naina Devi at a temple dedicated to her, on the peak of the hills overlooking Rewalsar (beyond the Buddhist hermitage). The ruins of a temple thought to be the oldest in the area are situated two hundred feet up on the hill beside the lake, and they too, are popular with the Hindu pilgrims. Doh, the oldest village in the area, is also situated on the side of the hill. It is a Brahmin village, inhabited by the descendants of the priests who looked after this religious place before the

bazaar grew up beside the lake. They still look after some old sacred Sanskrit manuscripts.

2.1.2. Sikh

The present name for the lake and village - Rewalsar - seems to have been derived from the name of a ruler of Mandi, *Reval*, who features in the Sikh religious texts. The Sikh tradition accepts the previous sacredness of the lake, but puts particular emphasis on the visit of the great Sikh guru, Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), who held a huge meeting there, uniting the local hill rulers. There is a Sikh temple - *Gurudwara* - which was built in the early part of this century at the place above the lake where Guru Gobind Singh addressed the assembly of rulers (see Photo no.27). This temple is visited by the Sikh pilgrims, many of whom stay overnight in the guest-rooms, free food being provided. Every morning and evening, Sikh prayers are recited there.

2.1.3. Buddhist

Above the door of the present rNying-ma-pa temple in Rewalsar are the words: "Zahor mtsho padma can; O-rgyan heruka'i pho-brang" - "Zahor, possessing the Lotus Lake; Palace of the heruka of O-rgyan". The *heruka of O-rgyan* [3], Padma, or Padmākara, is the great Vajrayāna guru who is associated with the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet, and is particularly important in the rNying-ma lineages (see Appendix 2, Section A2.1.1 and A2.2.1), as the embodiment of the three Jewels and the three Roots. He manifested in the world in the Land of O-rgyan (pronounced, Ur-gyen) - the land of Realisation where the great Siddhas live, which is sometimes equated with north-west India or the Swat valley, but which is far more important in its inner significance as the completely pure "land" of the natural mind, the source or the ground of Buddhahood. There are a number of *rNam-thar* - Padma's "Complete Liberation" texts - both *bka'-ma* (orally transmitted) and *gter-ma* (re-discovered "treasure" - see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1) traditions [4]. Some versions described him as having a birth from the womb and not the "miraculous" birth outlined below, but the "miraculous" birth versions, and particu-

larly the *rNam-thar* of O-rgyan Gling-pa (c.1323-1369) - the *Padma bka'-thang shel-brag-ma* - became the most popular and widely accepted, and the later *rNying-ma* have emphasised them. According to these accounts, an embodiment of all the Buddhas appeared in the form of *Padmākara* (Skt.; Tib., *Padma 'Byung-gnas, The Lotus Born*), out of Compassion for those born in the *Kaliyuga* (the Age of Degeneration, when the *kleśas* are difficult to control). Specifically [5], in the wondrous land of O-rgyan, in the middle of the enormous circular clear blue perfect lake of *Dhanakośa*, a huge lotus appeared, upon which a beautiful child of apparently eight years of age, was seated. Named, *mTsho kyi rDo-rje* - Vajra of the Lake - he was made the Prince of O-rgyan by King *Indrabhūti* who had no son. Throughout the "Complete Liberation" stories, this special manifestation of the Enlightened Mind takes on different forms in order to give different teachings and he is called by different names on these various occasions. More will be said of these "aspects" later. The general name used to refer to all these forms is either simply, *Padma*, meaning "Lotus", or *Padmākara* [6], "The Lotus-Born" or "Lotus Arisen". It is important to understand that this "Lotus-Born" is not simply - or even primarily - the name of an historical teacher; it is an expression for the realisation of Enlightenment arising spontaneously as a living presence from the complete openness of the lotus of Compassion which blossoms in the lake of the clear natural mind. At the same time, the association of *Padmākara* with the historical guru provides a human connection between Buddhahood and the ordinary person, through the lineage of great teachers from the eighth century.

The imagery of Padma arising from the lotus is the central theme in both meditations on Guru Rinpoche - the 'Precious Guru', a commonly used name for Padma - as the embodiment of one's Root Guru, and in the 'Complete Liberation' stories. In the '*Padma bka'-thang shel-brag ma*', there are five main occasions in the descriptions of Padma's Complete Liberation where he manifests on a lotus. First, before the description of the arising of the single *Nirmāṇakāya* form, he manifests as five children, the five '*Thod-phreng-rstal*', who are said to be manifestations of *Avalokiteśvara*, *Sambhogakāya* aspect of *Amitābha*. Each is

one of the five colours associated with the five primordial awarenesses and their names and their positions on the lotus reflect the Buddha-family: blue Vajra Thod-phreng-rtsal is in the centre; white Buddha Thod-phreng-rtsal is to the east; yellow Ratna Thod-phreng-rtsal to the south; red Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal to the west; and green Karma Thod-phreng-rtsal to the north. They are also invited to the palace of a Dharma king who had no sons (Chapter 2). Second, there is his 'birth' in the Dhanakośa lake, as described above [7]. The third concerns Rewalsar. The King and Queen of Zahor - a kingdom now equated with the district of Mandi - gave birth to a remarkable daughter who possessed all the auspicious marks of a *ḍākinī* and who was named *Mandāravā*. When she was aged thirteen, she had many aristocratic suitors but she announced that she wished to renounce worldly affairs and to practice the Dharma. The King would not agree to this, but the princess escaped from the palace and went into solitary meditation. As she refused to change her mind, the King arranged for the teacher, *Śāntakariṣita*, to receive her vows as a nun, so that honour was restored. Later Padma came to give teaching to *Mandāravā* and her retinue of maids who had also become nuns. One morning, however, an oxherd overheard Padma and he spread the rumour that *Mandāravā* was being defiled by a vagabond ascetic. The King was furious and ordered men of lower rank to seize Padma and to throw *Mandāravā* into a pit of thorns for twenty-five years. Padma was taken to a deserted place (the place now known as Rewalsar) where vine shoots and palm leaves were heaped up, and covered with sesame oil and sandalwood; he was put in the middle and the huge pile was lit. The fire blazed and the officials returned home, but then there was an earthquake, and roaring noises as deities assembled and *ḍākinīs* caused rain and cleared away the wood. After several days, clouds of smoke were still rising, so the King went to investigate. He saw that the pyre had been transformed into a lake which was surrounded by ditches filled with fires, their flames burning upside down. In the centre of the lake, there arose a lotus upon which sat a child of eight. The sky was filled with shining light and girls resembling the princess were singing praises. The child then told the King about the folly of attempting to burn alive a Buddha

of the three times. The King's ministers cried; the King prostrated himself, admitted his fault, and offered his throne to Padma. Padma reassured the King that the body of a Buddha cannot be hurt by fire, and accepted the throne in order to teach the Dharma. The king apologised to Mandāravā who returned to the palace. She praised Padma and requested him to teach, and he gave teachings to all the people of Zahor, and remained in the area for 'two hundred years'. Mandāravā became one of Padma's chief consorts.

A further episode, mentioned in chapter 45 (ff 201) repeats the theme of transformation of fire. Here Padma is made responsible for the transformation of the famous Buddhist Emperor Aśoka from a violent monarch to a Dharma-King.

The fifth major occasion when Padma manifests upon a lotus is when he and Mandāravā travel to the kingdom of O-rgyan (chapters 49-50). Previously, Padma had been prince, but after some time he had renounced the Kingdom to dedicate himself to the Dharma, and he had created the appearance of being a murderer and been banished. After Padma was sighted with Mandāravā, this time they were burnt together. After twenty-one days, smoke was still rising, so the King and his court went to the place, and they saw the sesame oil fuel spread out like a lake. In the middle, a lotus arose from a mound of charcoal and the entwined couple were dancing on the lotus, while the local goddesses praised all the wondrous aspects of Padma. The king and his retinue were amazed and invited Padma to the palace, where he gave teaching and many people in O-rgyan attained Realisation. Mandāravā erected heruka temples in O-rgyan and became a queen of *ḍākinī*s, who could assume whatever form she wished.

This is not the place to analyze these stories. My renditions have in any case been very brief summaries. However, certain points stand out. The first two episodes concern the spontaneous manifestation of the pure original Enlightened Mind; the first, it seems, on Sambhogakāya level, and the second, as the *Nirmāṇakāya*. Yet, this pure original mind is not fully understood by those in *Saṃsāra* (here the people of O-rgyan) even though they meet it. Since he has miraculous qualities, he is installed as a prince; he is to become a

worldly ruler in the palace of Saṃsāra. However, like Śākyamuni, he renounces the power and delights of Saṃsāra. Eventually he travels to Zahor. This time, instead of there being an attempt to distort the Enlightened Mind, by making it a 'Prince', it is thought to be a threat to the honour of the kingdom. Thus, the King tries to destroy it. Here, there is a parallel in the experience of a Buddhist practitioner; when teaching in the Dharma has been received, and begins to have its effect, there is often a reaction. The forces of the kleśas which have been the background to one's previous experience are threatened, and sometimes they cause an avoidance or destruction of any insight which has arisen. Mandāravā, the one who has allowed her wisdom to grow, is covered up in a pit, and is obstructed from complete realisation. Meanwhile, Padma is burnt in the fires of desires, aversions and delusions. But in fact in the true nature of things, it is impossible to damage the pure original mind. Moreover, in the special Vajrayāna teaching, the kleśas are not avoided since they are in reality themselves the primordial awarenesses. Through the power of Padma - the Vajrayāna embodiment of Enlightenment - the fires of the kleśas are overturned and become the fires of primordial awareness, which surround the flowering of realisation in the lake of the pure mind. Once the 'King' - the self which rules in Saṃsāra - recognizes its delusion and surrenders to Enlightenment, then the female dākinī inspiration and wisdom can be released and allowed to develop, and the King and palace of Saṃsāra can be transformed into the Buddha and the Dharmadhātu (*Dharma-sphere*). This theme is again emphasised in the story of Emperor Aśoka.

By the fifth episode, Mandāravā has become Padma's consort: she has begun to unify her "feminine" qualities, insight into the wisdom of Emptiness, with the "male" qualities of the dynamic expression of the spontaneously arisen Buddha Mind, represented by Padma. Returning to O-rgyan, the "place" which is the source of the display of Buddha-Nature, still the inhabitants live in the Ignorance of Saṃsāra, having "banished" the Buddha. Eventually, the Vajrayāna transmutation takes place with the "oil" and "charcoal" of Saṃsāra remaining and the form of the manifestation of Enlightenment being

one which emphasises the creative play of the non-duality of wisdom and energy, as the true nature of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa. Thus, Padma can now enter the Palace of Saṃsāra since it is seen in its true light, and the people of O-rgyan can attain realisation. Mandāravā is now fully Enlightened and becomes a "Queen" of dākinīs.

2.1.3.2. Buddhist Pilgrims

Thus, the arising of "mtsho padma" - "the lotus lake" - was one of a series of occasions in which Padma demonstrates Buddha-Nature by arising from a lotus. It is, in particular, associated with transmutation occurring on the Path while the "self" - Ignorance grasping at duality - is very strong and the wisdom of Śūnyatā is buried. Since the lake at Rewalsar is equated with the lake in Padma's "Complete Liberation" stories, it is felt to embody these qualities of transmutation in the Enlightened Mind, and to be an excellent place for practice. It is very powerful in its imagery for all followers of the Vajrayāna. Before the invasion of Tibet by China, many Tibetans from Tibet came on pilgrimage on foot. Nowadays, the majority of pilgrims are from the border areas of India with Tibet: the Tibetan speaking people of Kinnaur, Lahul [8], Spiti and Ladakh. Some travel from Bhutan, and some from the border areas of Nepal. In addition, large numbers of pilgrims are Tibetan refugees who live in settlements in India. Now that Rewalsar - and the border areas - are on bus routes, the journey can be swift, although there are still some who walk from as far as Zangskar and Ladakh. Many pilgrims combine a pilgrimage of the "four places" which are important for all Buddhists (Lumbini, where the Buddha was born; Bodhgaya, where he attained Enlightenment; Sarnath, where he gave the first teaching; and Kusinagara, where he passed into Parinirvāṇa) with a visit to "mtsho padma". The main pilgrimage season is the winter when farming is impossible in the freezing conditions of the border areas. The Buddhist inhabitants of "Gar-zha", "Spi-ti", and "Khu-nu", are not isolated from the modern world; the Indian army has to keep large forces along the border with Chinese occupied Tibet, and some local people are soldiers. Hindi and some English are taught in schools, and some of the young people go to colleges of further education (for

example, in Mandi) and take jobs in administration, engineering, and so on. At the same time, they preserve their Buddhist heritage. Roads from Manali go up to Lahul and Spiti. In "Gar-zha" - Lahul - some of the people are Buddhists and some Hindus. There are several "*dgon-pa*"s (monasteries) and the Buddhists support a large number of monks. They have a reputation among Tibetans for being good Buddhists and they have pilgrimage places where Padma, Mi-la ras-pa, and Indian Siddhas went. I have heard Tibetans call the area, "mkha'-'gro-gling" - "a land of *ḍākinī*s". On one hand, this name is used because of the religious significance of places there; also, the Gar-zha women are well-known for their interest in the Dharma, and for their independence and power. The number of Gar-zha women who come on pilgrimage to mTsho Padma greatly outnumbers the men. In the winter, men may go to Manali to trade, selling potatoes, while groups of women go on pilgrimage. They may take their children, and money from their husbands and other relatives, to make offerings of butter lamps, and so on, on their relatives' behalf. The middle of April is the beginning of the agricultural season; potatoes are the main crop, while the traditional Tibetan barley, and buckwheat are also grown. They cultivate some "*ru-rta*" - a spicy root used for medicine [9]. It can be matured, dried and then sold. Their domesticated animals include "*mdzo*", a cross between a male "*gYag*" (yak) and a cow, which are used in ploughing, and mules.

Spiti is at a slightly higher altitude, and not far from Lahul, and is situated by the Sulej river. At an average height of about 8,000 feet, barley, potatoes, radishes and apricots can be grown, and sheep are kept. In parts of upper Kinnaur, the hills are very steep and terraced fields cannot be easily made. In the lower areas, below 8,000 feet, there are apple orchards, and many Hindus live in these parts. Some of the Buddhists of this region have Hindi names; Thub-bstan bzang-po, for example, also had a Hindi name, as well as his Tibetan Buddhist one (see on, 2.2.3.5.1) [10]. The Buddhists of Khu-nu, according to my Tibetan informants, do not support many monks, but do have numerous small "*dgon-pas*" run by married bla-mas.

Perhaps two thousand pilgrims from all these areas visit mTsho Padma in the winter months, between October and March. Each group or individual stays usually for only a few days, and there is rarely any problem with accommodation, most staying in the rNying-ma-pa monastery guest-house. Once a year, in the first Tibetan month, and particularly on the ninth and tenth days of the lunar calendar (in February or early March), there are literally hundreds of people who time their pilgrimage to coincide with the "*chams*" ritual dances. For the rest of the season, there are no "attractions" other than the place itself. Most pilgrims visit the two Buddhist temples and make offerings there. Some may sponsor prayers or rituals for relatives who are sick or who have died. They do "*skor-ra*" - circumambulation - around the lake (see Photo no.15). The circumambulation of stūpas, religious teachers and objects, with the right shoulder towards the symbol of Enlightenment, was a common practice in early Indian Buddhism, as a way of expressing respect and paying homage. The Tibetans have preserved this ritual act and, while walking around the lake, the pilgrims also recite mantras and turn their so-called "prayer wheels". The Tibetan name for them is "*ma-ṅi 'khor-lo*", "ma-ṅi wheel", "ma-ṅi" being the abbreviation for the popular mantra of Avalokiteśvara, Sambhogakāya embodiment of Compassion. The wheels contain written mantras, which are set forth in being revolved, at the same time as mantras are recited. This expresses the intention of the person to offer more mantras than they can say, and the number of mantras said is felt to be increased in accordance with this wish. "Turning the wheel" of mantras is, of course, related to the general Buddhist imagery of "Turning the wheel of the Dharma", the method for overcoming the bonds of the wheel of Saṃsāra [11].

In recent times, the Himachal Pradesh Tourism Department has built a cemented pathway beside an attractive low stone wall which encloses the lake. The pilgrims use this path for their circumambulations, and some of them do full-length prostrations as they go.

The pilgrims who have longer than an overnight stay usually walk up to the Buddhist "mountain hermitage" on the hill overlooking the lake. This walk takes about one and a

half hours. There are a number of caves and rocks which have some religious association, such as an imprint of the foot of Padma in rock, and so forth. In particular, there are two special caves, one in which Padma meditated and an adjoining cave in which Mandāravā meditated, before Padma was overheard by the herdsman (see back, Section 2.1.3). An authoritative Tibetan bla-ma told me that the Padma cave is even more important than the lake and is in fact, the most powerful Vajrayāna place in India. The caves are not mentioned in connection with the oxherd story in the "Padma bKa'-thang shel-brag-ma", where it is clearly stated that a "palace" ("pho-brang") was erected nearby the King's residence for Mandāravā and her five hundred maids who also entered the Dharma, and that the Guru visited them there (Ch.39 and 40). Moreover, it then recounts (Ch.41) that after Padma was discovered, he was taken to a deserted place where three valleys meet ("lung-pa'i sum-mdo thang-stong zhig tu bzhag"), there being no suggestion that the "palace" was in the same vicinity. However, other versions give an alternative account. The bla-ma in charge of the hermitage, Lama Wangdur (Bla-ma dBang-rdor) recounted the story of the Guru and princess meditating in the caves prior to their capture, and the "Garcham" booklet, published by the Khampa-Gar monastery at Tashi Jong, has them meditating in the "Marataka" cave (pg.4). This account is based on the version by the scholar, Tāranātha (born 1575), who composed it from Indian sources which had been passed down through the continuous transmission of "instructions" ("bka'-ma" as opposed to "gter-ma" transmission - see 2.1.3 above). According to this account, before their discovery, the couple meditated in the cave and realised the wisdom of Immortality, at which they were empowered by Amitāyus, the long-life Buddha. Uniting with Amitāyus, their bodies assumed Vajra-Nature. This version may be said to be in a logical sequence, occurring before Padma publically demonstrates his "immortality". On the other hand, the "Shel-brag-ma" does indeed discuss the couple meditating to attain the stage of power over life ("Tshe yi rig-'dzin") and receiving Amitāyus' empowerment and immortality in the "Māra tika" cave (Ch.44) at a much later stage - during the reign of the next King. How-

ever, this cave is usually equated by Tibetans with a Padma cave in Nepal [12]. It may be that the Rewalsar and Nepalese caves share some of their symbolic significance. In any case, Tibetan pilgrims seem to have had a long tradition of visiting these caves as well as the lake, and impressive images of Padma and Mandāravā have been put in them. Hindu pilgrims also know them as, "the caves of the Great Practitioner and the Queen", and many pay their respects there before continuing on to the Naina Devi temple. The bla-ma around whom the mountain hermitage has grown up (see on, Section 2.2.1.1), originally went there to do retreat after he had left Tibet. He used to live in the entrance to the caves, and now has a room built close-by. The Buddhist pilgrims all visit him to receive his blessing. Many bring offerings, and some take advantage of the opportunity of their pilgrimage to request teaching from him.

2.1.4. Comment

I have briefly discussed the Hindu and Sikh significance of Rewalsar as a pilgrimage place, and the Buddhist significance at greater length, since it is the focus of my study. It can be readily seen that the three are very different, and seem to relate to different "historical" periods. Perhaps for this reason, there are no arguments between followers of the different religions regarding the lake's significance. Equally, however, there is little discussion: most pilgrims, or for that matter, residents of Rewalsar, are not interested in the other stories, and simply see the lake within the terms of reference of their own tradition. Nonetheless, an Indian schoolteacher has written a book about Rewalsar, discussing all three sets of ideas in an attempt to show that Rewalsar represents a "confluence" of the three religions such that any differences are overcome in an experience of the inner truth of all the teachings [13]. Certainly, it is true that, for example, many Hindu and Sikh pilgrims pay their respects in the Buddhist temples. Whether such an action represents a recognition of the truth of Buddhist teachings, however, is another question! Saral Rastogi's account of the Buddhist significance of Rewalsar is itself incorrect and misleading throughout. Perhaps it is safer to simply say that neither the Hindus, Buddhists or Sikhs

feel threatened by each other's religious practice at Rewalsar, and are content to do their own ritual, side-by-side, without interference [14].

2.2. REWALSAR'S RESIDENT TIBETAN COMMUNITY.

There are about one hundred and forty Tibetans resident in the village and the Buddhist mountain hermitage at Rewalsar. They fall roughly into the following groups:

- (1) Those living in the mountain hermitage.
- (2) Lay people and independent monks, nuns and "*sngags-pa*" ("mantra practitioners", who take Vajrayāna vows and wear special robes, but who do not follow the monk's discipline or remain celibate) who live in the village.
- (3) Monks of the rNying-ma-pa monastery.
- (4) Monks of the 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery,

2.2.1. The Mountain Hermitage: "Ri-khrod"

2.2.1.1. Background

"Ri", in Tibetan, means a mountain or a hill. "Ri-khrod" is the term commonly used for any hermitage situated in mountain caves. The majority of those who devoted their lives to the Dharma, in Tibet, would go into monasteries, or in the case of, for example, elderly women, they may simply take robes, remain at home, and be supported by their families. There was always a minority, however, who would choose to do meditation in solitude. Most would have previously had a monastic training, or at least have received meditation instruction, and would decide to go into retreat on the advice of their bla-ma. Often, an individual bla-ma who had chosen a secluded life in a cave, would become well-known for his meditation realisation; people would visit him to make offerings of food and to receive teachings, and gradually, meditation students might gather around him, and live in nearby caves. The "ri-khrod" in Rewalsar was begun in a similar way to this. Lama Wangdur (Bla-ma dBang-rdo), from the Dzigar Rinpoche monastery in sDe-dge, Khams, who

had received meditation instruction from a famous master of rDzogs-chen (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1.1) in Tibet, came to mTsho Padma after leaving Tibet in 1959. Other than two Ladakhi monks who were looking after the Buddhist temple (now the rNying-ma-pa monastery), there were no Tibetan Buddhist residents in the area. Originally, the bla-ma had arrived with another monk, who only stayed for a matter of weeks. For about a year, Lama Wangdur lived on his own in the cave which forms the entrance to the caves of Guru Padma and Mandāravā. Presumably, the local Indians and perhaps any pilgrims who came, brought him food. Then Don-grub, who had known Lama Wangdur in sDe-dge Khams, arrived. His wife and children had remained in Tibet, and he decided to become a monk in exile. He did not want to live in retreat, but became the bla-ma's helper, fetching water, cooking, and so on. In about 1962, a few more Tibetans arrived. Most were from sDe-dge Khams, and came because they had either known, or known about, the bla-ma in Tibet. They did not all have monastic backgrounds. Two were the bla-ma's mother's brothers, both of whom had been previously married, and became monks in India. One had been a member of the resistance forces in Tibet. Finding themselves refugees, they decided to spend their time in a way which was highly valued in their culture, so they came to mTsho Padma to learn about and practice the Dharma. Gradually, the community grew, individuals arriving and staying for various reasons. lHa-mkhas, from Nang-chen Khams, who had been a monk in Tibet, came with a group to do a retreat, and then decided to stay in order to continue his meditation practice. Three nuns from Gangs-ri ("snow mountain" = Mount Kailash, the famous pilgrimage place for Buddhists and Hindus in Western Tibet, near the border with India) escaped across the border of Tibet in 1966 after they had been prevented from continuing their religious practice, and they arrived in mTsho Padma in 1967. In 1982-3, there were about twenty-five Tibetans, and a fluctuating number - about five at any one time - of Europeans, Americans and Australians, who lived there.

2.2.1.2. General Make-up of the Tibetan Community

All the Tibetan members of the "ri-khrod" either take monk's or nun's robes, or else

are "sngags-pa". Not all those in robes have necessarily taken the full monk's or nun's vows. They may simply don robes to symbolise that they are devoting their life to the Dharma, and take celibacy vows for however long they stay in robes. In 1982, there were two married "sngags-pa" who lived with their wives, and two "sngags-pa" who were living alone. There were no single "sngags-ma" (female "sngags-pa"). All the single women shave their heads and don nun's robes if they join the "ri-khrod". One mother and daughter lived together as nuns (there was another mother and daughter pair, but the daughter - aged fifteen - died in 1982). There was one brother and sister, both in their fifties, who lived in separate caves but ate together. Other than these examples, people were living individually. In the early days of the "ri-khrod", the majority were from sDe-dge Khams, the same area as the bla-ma, but the community later became more mixed in its composition.

2.2.1.3. Conditions in the "Ri-khrod"

"Caves", which are sometimes little more than large overhanging rocks, are made habitable by filling in cracks and building on walls, doors, windows and some roofing (see Photo no.2). Most building materials are obtained from Rewalsar village. The bla-ma had a cow and calf, so he had a milk supply and made Tibetan cheese, "chur-ra", a hard cheese which can be stored. Others obtained milk and grains (wheat and barley) from the Indians who live in the small village on the hill adjacent to the "ri-khrod", about fifteen minutes walk away. Women from this village will deliver milk, and could be employed to fetch water. Water could also be collected when it rains, or carried up from the spring situated about half-way down the hill to Rewalsar village. Fresh vegetables, fruit, tea and other goods, must be bought in Rewalsar village. This includes paraffin for lamps, and also for stoves, although most of the Tibetans had wood fires and collected brush-wood. Since I left Rewalsar, I had information that the village on the hill adjacent to the "ri-khrod" and the "ri-khrod" itself had been supplied with some electricity for lighting, and piped water, although the supply of these may well, as in Rewalsar itself, be a little erratic.

2.2.1.4. Financial Circumstances of the Tibetans in the "Ri-khrod"

Until the mid-1970s, the Tibetans in the "ri-khrod" supported themselves by making occasional begging trips to the nearby villages for grain. Together with offerings from pilgrims, this just about sufficed for a meagre staple diet of "tsam-pa" - roasted barley flour, usually mixed with Tibetan style butter tea. Then, western Buddhist pilgrims began to visit Rewalsar, and some have stayed and done retreats in the "ri-khrod", for periods varying from weeks to years. Some of these western Buddhists have organised sponsorship for individual Tibetans, and by 1982, most Tibetans in the "ri-khrod" had western sponsors. Those who do not, may receive some help from any family members they may have in the Tibetan settlements in India, or else they must continue to rely on begging trips. All those living in the "ri-khrod" benefit from offerings made by pilgrims (see below, 2.2.1.5).

Conditions, then, could be said not to be so harsh as they might have been in a typical "ri-khrod" in Tibet. Some of those who have joined the Rewalsar "ri-khrod" would probably not have considered joining a "ri-khrod" in Tibet. Some are unsuited to reclusive contemplation, and, had they decided to devote their lives to the Dharma in Tibet, they would probably have done so at home or in a monastery. Nonetheless, in exile, such a "ri-khrod" has provided them with an opportunity to live inexpensively and to develop their understanding of the Dharma, socialising and doing practice with each other, alongside keener meditation practitioners.

2.2.1.5. Structure of the Community

There is no formal structure of authority. The community has grown up around Lama Wangdur and his influence is very important. When he is in mTsho Padma (he is not always present; some years ago, for example, he was away for several months, visiting relatives in Tibet), he is the one who receives money sent by western Buddhists for the "ri-khrod" in general, or offerings given by visiting pilgrims, if they do not want to walk to all the caves putting money under the doors. The bla-ma then ensures that the donations are distributed fairly. If he is not present, then such matters can become chaotic. Some of the older members of the "ri-khrod" may take over the responsibility for organising the community

"tshogs" (see on, 2.2.1.6.1) and distributing money, but this is only accepted as a temporary measure. If the bla-ma left, then so would many others, and the community might break up unless another bla-ma of equal meditation realisation was to take his place. Not all the people in the "ri-khrod" are students of Lama Wangdur. They are all either followers of bKa'-rgyud-pa or rNying-ma-pa teaching lineages; they have various "root bla-mas" and do a wide range of different practices. Nonetheless, many would have received empowerments and teaching together from high bla-mas visiting Rewalsar, and probably all have received some teaching from Lama Wangdur. When new people arrive, they will normally go and see the bla-ma out of respect and to receive his blessing; they might also have to arrange their cave through him - if all the caves are occupied, those who are leaving or going away for a period usually notify the bla-ma, and he reallocates the caves. But, he has no "rights" over the hillside, and he does not suggest that anyone is unsuitable to stay, or that anyone should leave. Social disapproval from Tibetans in Rewalsar village may put pressure on some individuals to leave the "ri-khrod", if, for example, they have broken vows of celibacy.

2.2.1.6. Community Activities

Most of the time, individuals do their own practices in their caves. Some people individually arrange to do some practices together. For example, one "sngags-pa" couple who live in a large cave, do a "tshogs" offering (see Ch.3, Section 3.3) in their cave with a number of others on every twenty-fifth day of the Tibetan calendar month, the day which is auspicious for the ḍākinī principle. The "sngags-pa" also often does other practices, and even retreats, with one of the nuns. His wife usually does the cooking on these occasions. She does not read, so cannot chant texts with them, although she has orally received advanced meditation teaching from Lama Wangdur. Besides such individually organised joint practices, there are monthly tenth day "tshogs" offerings and a yearly session of fasting and group practice.

2.2.1.6.1 The monthly "tshogs" offerings.

On the auspicious tenth day, the day of Guru Padma (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.3.5), there is a "tshogs" offering practice which everyone in the "ri-khrod" (except one or two western Buddhists) attends. A Guru Padma "bla-sgrub" practice (see Ch.4, for a study of another "bla-sgrub") is done. All those who can read, join in the chanting, and those who cannot read, simply recite the mantra. After the main practice has been completed, extra prayers are usually recited for individuals who have requested them. If someone's sponsor has been ill or if a pilgrim requests prayers for a sick relative, they are done at this time. Occasionally, a pilgrim may commission a complete "tshogs" offering, in which case this will be done after the usual "bla-sgrub" practice, and the practice will last all day except for a brief lunch break. During the course of a month, the bla-ma keeps an account of the names of all the pilgrims who have requested prayers and the amounts they have donated. Then, the following tenth day, these names are read out; the total amount of money is calculated, what has been spent on the food and tea etc. is deducted, and the rest is divided up equally between all those present.

2.2.1.6.2. The first month "smyung-gnas": fast and practice session.

After the tenth day '*chams*' at the rNying-ma-pa monastery in the first month, a practice session is held in the "ri-khrod". The first month is considered to be very auspicious - a time when merits are multiplied [15] and as many as seventy people, some from Rewalsar village, some from further afield, attend each year. Most are lay people, some of whom bring their children who may play quietly outside. The practice is associated with Avalokiteśvara (Tib."sryan-ras-gzigs"), the Buddha Sambhogakāya manifestation of Compassion, and it is considered to have great purificatory power. It lasts for three, five or seven days. It begins with a day when some food is eaten, followed by a day of fasting, and continues with alternating days of eating and fasting. The first three days count as one session; if five days are done, this is two sessions, and seven days is three sessions. According to the tradition of the practice, Avalokiteśvara promised that anyone who attends eight sessions, minimally keeping the fast and reciting the "maṇi" mantra with devotion, will attain

rebirth in his Buddha-field. So, the practice attracts people who do not have the opportunity to do regular practice, or who feel that they have done unwholesome actions, but who have faith in the Dharma and who aspire to practise it. On the first day, the eight upasaka vows (of a lay Buddhist) are given before dawn; at about dawn, Lama Wangdur usually gives a teaching on the benefits of attending, and then the practice begins. Cheese, tsam-pa and butter tea are normally provided as food on the eating days. Two nuns of the "ri-khrod" community regularly do any cooking necessary, sometimes with the help of volunteers.

Money is needed to finance the food consumed, and all the offerings and "tshogs" offerings. Also, cash handouts are made to all those participating; this will usually total about twenty rupees each. Sponsorship is calculated on an amount per "session": a session meaning one individual attending one session. Lama Wangdur himself usually sponsors at least one hundred sessions, from personal donations made to him, particularly in the form of Christmas and New Year presents from western Buddhists and visiting Tibetans. On top of this, many individuals write and offer to sponsor a given number of sessions, and pilgrims who have visited during the winter months also sponsor "smyung-gnas" sessions.

The yearly sessions of group practice, free food and cash handouts are obviously of great benefit to the unsponsored Tibetans in the "ri-khrod" - and those from Rewalsar village who manage to attend.

2.2.2. Lay people and Independent monks, nuns and sngags-pa living in Rewalsar village.

I have already discussed the situation and facilities of the village. There are about sixty Tibetans living independently in rented rooms, or in "caves" around the village. As refugees, they own no land or property. Some were previously given land or work in the Tibetan settlements in India, but did not stay. Others simply ended up in Rewalsar, and settled down. By far the majority of them are older people (over the age of forty-five - in the Tibetan refugee context, people much over this age are considered to be "old"), who either did not adapt well to life in the South Indian settlements, in an environment and

agricultural situation so different to Tibet, or they avoided settlement in the first place. Many were from nomadic or semi-nomadic backgrounds, and a frequent comment about their lives in Tibet is that they did not have to work, or that there was very little work. Caring for gYag (yaks), mdzo, and other animals, making tents, trading expeditions, and so on, do not seem to have been considered "work"! In any case, many are now too old, or too disabled (there are a number with long-standing disabling illnesses) to be settled in agricultural settlements.

A few of those living in Rewalsar village had originally lived in the "ri-khrod". lHa-mo, aged about forty-three in 1982, had left Tibet with her mother in 1959. A few years later, her mother died in Nepal and she was left on her own, since none of her other relatives had escaped. She came from a nomadic area in Central Tibet (dBus province), situated fifteen days walk from Lhasa (four or five days on horseback), where they made periodic trips to trade milk, butter, cheese and meat for barley. After lHa-mo's mother had died in about 1966, she became a nun in the Rewalsar "ri-khrod". She was unsuited to solitary cave-life and eventually, after some thirteen years (!), she moved to the village. She then became pregnant, and in 1982 had a two-year old daughter.

A-tsi and A-ni bSam-gtan moved into the village when they got married and had a child. A-tsi is one of Lama Wangdur's uncles from the nomadic area of sDe-dge Khams; bSam-gtan, age forty-six [16], is from western Tibet (mNga'-ris stod), also of nomadic background. She lived in Manali for many years with her husband who was a respected rNying-ma-pa bla-ma. She received teaching from him, and she moved to the "ri-khrod" when he died in the early 1970s. A-tsi and bSam-gtan lived in a village house, but still spent most of their time doing religious practice. bSam-gtan is called, "A-ni", a term usually applied to nuns, but which can be used for any female Dharma practitioner. They intended to return to the "ri-khrod" when their daughter, who they wanted to make a nun, was a few years older.

Other people originally came to mTsho Padma to do religious practice, but did not

move into the "ri-khrod". A-ni bDe-mdzod who is from 'Go-log in A-mdo [17], who was in her late sixties, settled down in the 1960s in a cave just above the village. dGe-bshes dBang-rgyal, from a himalayan area in South-east Tibet, near Assam, the only monk of the dGe-lugs-pa tradition living in Rewalsar, rented a room in the village. He had been educated as a monk in dGa'-ldan monastery - one of the famous three dGe-lugs-pa monasteries near Lhasa. He had learnt the special methods of debate and disputation which are the speciality of the dGe-lugs-pa, and obtained the respected dGe-bshes "degree". He spent some years in one of the Tibetan settlements in Karnataka (Mysore), and moved to Rewalsar in about 1975.

Padma, aged about fifty, had been orphaned as a child in Central Tibet, and had become a nun at the bKra-shis lHun-po monastery, the famous seat of the Panchen Lama at gZhi-ka-rtse, in gTsang. She married a bla-ma from A-mdo in India and had lived with him in Rewalsar until his death in the late 1970s. She rented a house in the village and had a son about twelve years old.

Bla-ma Blo-gros, age sixty, came to Rewalsar with his son mKhyen-rab bZang-po, in about 1972. Bla-ma Blo-gros had been a monk for many years in Tibet; having run away from his adopted parents at the age of twelve and entered the monastery of sDe-dge dGon-chen, he had later studied at two of the Sa-skya-pa monastic colleges in sDe-dge Khams. He had met his root guru, the "ris-med" (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1.2) bla-ma, 'Jam-dbyang mKhyen-brtse Rin-po-che, at this time, and from him he received teachings of the Klong-chen sNying-thig tradition (Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1.2). He married in Nepal after leaving Tibet, but his wife died suddenly when their first child was still very young. He became a monk again, and lived in various places in Northern India, combining religious practice (including a nine-year mantra retreat), with looking after his son, whom he educated. In about 1972, they came to Rewalsar having heard that Khu-nu dGe-bshes Rin-po-che, a great bla-ma of the Klong-chen sNying-thig teaching lineage, was giving teaching there. They then stayed; mKhyen-rab bZang-po was a monk at the rNying-ma-pa monastery for a few years (later, he studied traditional "thang-ka" painting at the

Government-in-exile school in Mussoorie), and Bla-ma Blo-gros continued to live in a cave just above the village.

Bla-ma Kun-bzang, an advanced meditation practitioner, is a respected rNying-ma-pa sngags-pa who lived with his wife in a house in the village. They had been based in Rewalsar where they met each other, for many years, although they spent several months away each year in Dharamsala, and other places in Himachal Pradesh where Tibetans live. When present, Bla-ma Kun-bzang usually attended "tshogs" offering practices in the rNying-ma-pa monastery, and he was the bla-ma who took the part of the central figure of Padmākara in the tenth day 'chams.

Even those who did not specifically come to Rewalsar to do religious practice, tend to give the religious associations as a primary reason for staying there. A frequent comment was simply that Rewalsar is a very important place [18]. All the Tibetans living there spend a good deal of time doing circumambulation of the lake and mantra recitation. For an exiled people, the value of residing in a place which has such strong religious and cultural significance, should not be underestimated.

The main economic reason for the Tibetans to have come and stayed in Rewalsar is in order to benefit from the influx of pilgrims, either through trading or through begging for those who are old or disabled. Perhaps the most enterprising and successful Tibetans were the married couple who ran the Tibetan restaurant (see Photo no.7), and also a Tibetan beer room. During the period of the first month tenth day 'chams, there may be some rival Tibetan food stalls, but for the early years of the 1980s, this restaurant was the only one to operate throughout the pilgrimage season (although only the beer room opened in the summer). It provided an alternative to the Indian restaurants in terms of food and conversation for all the Buddhist pilgrims, from the border areas, refugee settlements, Tibet itself [19], and European countries. 'Jam-dbyangs Tshe-ring, in his mid-forties, had been a dancer supported by a wealthy sponsor in sDe-dge Khams. When the sponsor and his servants were arrested by the Chinese in the mid-1950s (they were all later tortured to death), 'Jam-

dbyangs Tshe-ring managed to escape and joined the resistance forces in the Lhasa area. He fled to Sikkim in 1959, and did road-work for some time. He met his wife, Tshe-ring lHa-mo, who was from Central Tibet, about fifty years old in 1982, at that time. Eventually, they rented some farmland above Simla, and supported themselves and their children (they had three sons), by growing potatoes. They came to Rewalsar when the Dalai Lama visited in 1980, and started to rent the restaurant then. Since it was successful, they remained, although they would still return to Simla to plant and harvest their potato plot. Their eldest two sons had entered Si-tu Rin-po-che's [20] monastery near Bir; the youngest lived with them at Rewalsar.

Other Tibetans who benefit from the pilgrimage trade are those who run stalls in the bazaar, selling trinkets, Tibetan refugee handicrafts, and Buddhist items, such as rosaries, butter lamps, offering bowls, and so on (see Photo no.25). There were two stalls, and one small shop of this type. Usually, it is the woman who is mostly employed as the salesperson, while the husband acquires the items to sell. Such work is not as profitable as similar shops and stalls in Dharamsala, which has become much more of a tourist resort, but these traders have settled happily in Rewalsar. For example, one of the women running a stall was originally married to a Tibetan who had become a trader in India long before the exodus of refugees. When they separated and she married their servant, he took robes and went into the "ri-khrod". Then he became a monk in the rNying-ma-pa monastery, and is still there now (see on, 2.2.3.5). The couple continued to help him financially, and spent a lot of time with him. There was also a stall run by a Bon-po sngags-pa (see Photo no.16). Besides trinkets, he has some knowledge of Tibetan medicine and sold Tibetan medicines, herbs, and some Tibetan texts, particularly texts concerning medicine. His stall, however, was seasonal; he moved to Dharamsala, Manali or the Tashi Jong handicraft settlement when there was more likely to be business there. Equally, other travelling traders based in Dharamsala or Manali, come to Rewalsar for the first month tenth day period.

One skilled stone carver made a living by carving mantras, and in some cases, long

extracts from sūtras, on stones (see Photo no.9). He had a working place on the circumambulation route, close to the heaps of mantra stones which pilgrims have offered. Offering these stones is an activity which creates merit and bla-mas may sometimes suggest offering them along with having a religious practice done, say, for a sick relative. Pilgrims frequently commission such stones to be carved.

Like those in the "ri-khrod", a few of the religious practitioners in the village have found western Buddhist sponsors [21]. Others may have some support from families living in settlements, or from other sources. A-ni bDe-mdzod received a small amount of money from a well-known 'Go-log bla-ma. But, when, as in her case, there was not enough to sustain even a very basic diet, the situation may become serious. Money can be obtained through reciting texts for people, but there is very little of this work available in Rewalsar, since the community is so small and many of the lay people are anyway poor themselves. Four of the nuns had become loosely associated with the rNying-ma-pa monastery. They attended "tshogs" offering practices on the auspicious days (as did Bla-ma Kun-bzang when he was in Rewalsar; and one sngags-pa and one monk from the "ri-khrod" also sometimes attended on the fifteenth and twenty-fifth days), so that they benefitted from any "tshogs" and cash handouts there may be. One such nun is A-ni dPal-mo, aged 55, from the area of Ru-thog, on the west of "Byang-thang", the vast northern plains of Tibet, which was sparsely populated with nomads, conditions being too harsh for agriculture. She had left Tibet with other members of her family. They had walked to Ladakh with their animals, which included goats and sheep. Nearly all the animals died in snow drifts in Ladakh. She then left her relatives to do pilgrimage in India. She was already a nun, and keen to receive Dharma teaching. She met bDud-'joms Rin-po-che at Kalimpong and began rNying-ma-pa practice as a result (she had previously been ordained by a bKa'-rgyud-pa bla-ma). For many years she continued to travel: doing pilgrimages, receiving teaching, and supporting herself by doing coolie work in the Manali area each summer. She visited mTsho Padma several times and eventually settled there when she became too old for coolie work in about

1980. She lived in a small room in the bazaar, very close to the rNying-ma-pa monastery, and she regularly attended the "tshogs" offering practices. She also did odd jobs; while Bla-ma dKon-mchog was alive, he employed her a good deal to do his odd jobs and cooking. I have heard that since I left Rewalsar, the rNying-ma-pa monks arranged some sponsorship for A-ni dPal-mo and the other three nuns by writing to a number of Bla-ma dKon-mchog's western Buddhist contacts.

A few of the older Tibetan residents, particularly those who make no pretensions to be Dharma students and who are illiterate, have little chance of gaining any sponsorship [22], so must rely solely on begging. bKra-shis sGrol-ma, for instance, aged fifty-five in 1982, had suffered seriously from arthritis for many years. She and her husband 'Jam-dbyangs, aged sixty-one, rented a room in the bazaar, having lived in Rewalsar for seven years. Neither of them were physically able to work or even to travel very far. 'Jam-dbyangs had T.B. and was generally in poor health; he, like some of the poorer inhabitants of the "ri-khrod", made occasional begging trips to the nearby villages, while bKra-shis sGrol-ma spent most of her time sitting in the courtyard in front of the rNying-ma temple. This is a good location for meeting, talking to and begging from pilgrims (see Photo no.4), and most of the poor Tibetans spend some of their time there, often to rest and talk after a number of "skor-ra" (see back, Section 2.1.3.2). They sometimes do odd jobs for the monastery, such as cleaning and polishing the offering bowls and butter lamps (see Photo no.20). On "tshogs" offering days, all those gathered in the courtyard receive a portion of the "tshogs", so usually, about a dozen of the poorer Tibetans sit in the courtyard, talking, while the monks and nuns are in the temple performing the practice. They receive their share of the "tshogs" after the offering has been made, when there is a break in the ritual before the final sections of the practice. bKra-shis sGrol-ma; lHa-mo, who had to beg as well as doing odd jobs, to support herself and her child (see above); Padma and her son (see above); and A-ni mDe-mdzod attended regularly. A few of the poorer Indians also usually came, shortly before the "tshogs" is to be distributed.

The individual Tibetans who live independently in Rewalsar have little say in local affairs, since they do not have any wealth or status, nor any community organisation to represent them. The poorer Tibetans, particularly, may express feelings of powerlessness in relation to the Indian community. On the other hand, many of them, especially the monks and nuns, are thankful for the opportunity to live in such a special place, and for the freedom to practise the Dharma, and to preserve their language and culture.

2.2.3. The rNying-ma-pa Monastery ("dgon-pa")

2.2.3.1. *Background*

For many years, Tibetan Buddhists maintained a small Buddhist temple by the lake in Rewalsar [23]. In the years before the exodus of refugees from Tibet, just two Ladakhi dGe-lugs-pa monks acted as caretakers, looking after the temple. When the monks started to become old, some Tibetan Buddhists from a farming community situated in two neighbouring villages on the route to Manali (from Rewalsar), offered to take over the administration of the temple. Originally from the Tibetan speaking hill regions: Lahul, Spiti, Kinnaur and Tibet itself, they had settled in India. They rebuilt and improved parts of the temple, and constructed other buildings, and have since been responsible for their upkeep. A 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa bla-ma from Ladakh, along with a number of 'Bri-khung-pa monks (including Tshul-dbang - see on Section 2.2.4.2) came for a short period of about a year in the early 1960s. After they had left, the lay people who had organised the building and repairs of the temple, decided to request bDud-'joms Rin-po-che to send some monks to stay there permanently. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che had been staying in Kalimpong after leaving Tibet, and large numbers of rNying-ma-pas - and other Tibetans - had gathered around him, so he was able to send eight refugee monks from his monastery in Kong-po, southern Tibet. Since this time - about 1963 - the monastery remained under the guidance of bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, who lived in Kathmandu, Nepal, and later in France, until his death in 1987.

2.2.3.2. *Layout and contents of the Monastery buildings*

The monastery (see Photo no.10) remains fairly small, partly restricted by the limited area of land it occupies between the lake and the circumambulation route which leads into the bazaar beyond the monk's house. (See PLAN OF MONASTERY, Portfolio, p.1) The temple building ("lha-khang") itself is structured along traditional lines, with three storeys (see Photo no.5). The main shrine, with the central image of Padmākara (see Photo no.12), and the assembly room, is on the ground floor. This level symbolises the Nirmāṇakāya manifestation of the Enlightened Mind - the "form" of the Buddha. The main doorway has a porch with frescos of the Protectors of the Four Directions ("The Four Great Kings") and the "Wheel of Life". Around the temple is a circumambulation route with "ma-ṅi wheels" inserted into the walls of the temple. It is usual to do circumambulation around the temple, turning the wheels and reciting mantras before entering for practice, and after leaving. The first floor contains the main collection of texts, including the bKa'-'gyur [24]. This level is felt to express the Sambhogakāya manifestation of Enlightenment - the Buddha's "speech" or communicative power. Above this floor is the roof, and in the centre, a shrine with a large painting of "bDe-ba-can" (= Skt. "Sukhāvati", Amitābha's Buddha-field) across the top of the main wall. It also contains other texts, images, and a golden stūpa (see Photo no.23). This level symbolises the Dharmakāya - the Buddha's "mind", beyond manifestation.

While there are many differences in terms of the size, style, materials used and design of Tibetan Buddhist temples of different periods, the underlying principle is the same. Just as at the first Tibetan monastery at bSam-yas (see Appendix 2, Section A2.1.1.1), the structure of the temple is designed to symbolise the "maṇḍala", or at least, the central "Immeasurable Palace" of the deity of the maṇḍala. In some of the rituals - as we shall see in Chapter 5 - the maṇḍala is symbolically constructed in the temple, and the whole temple is "revealed" in its essential nature - the "Palace".

To the left-hand side of the temple, above the level of the main assembly hall, is the

"mGon-khang" - the Protector's shrine. All Tibetan Buddhist monasteries have one shrine-room dedicated to their "Dharmapālas" (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.2), "protectors", or to their guardian deities. In this case, the main image in the shrine-room, and the main practice performed there is that of "*rDo-rje Gro-lod*" (see Photo no.24), who is the "yi-dam" (Appendix 2, A2.2.2.2) of the monastery and its protector, although as a "yi-dam", he is not of the specific "dharmapāla" class.

The old shrine-room, marked on the Plan beneath the "mGon-khang", contains some images. It is not used for practice, but the "caretaker" monk, or one of his helpers, takes pilgrims there in the course of conducting them around the monastery. He unlocks the door so that they can pay their respects; a butter lamp is kept burning in front of the shrine.

Each "ma-ñi wheel" house contains a large ma-ñi wheel, as well as a small shrine with images, pictures, and butter lamps. They are used, sometimes for hours at a single stretch, by both individual monks and pilgrims. The butter lamp house contains many butter lamps which can be offered by pilgrims on behalf of sick or deceased relatives or friends (see on 2.2.3.3.3). During parts of the pilgrimage season, particularly in the first month period, all the lamps may be lit continuously, and the whole building appears to be alight.

The monk's house (see Photo no.6) is made up of rooms, more or less of equal size, for the individual monks, and each room has a small adjoining kitchen at the rear. The monks provide their own furniture, cooking utensils and stoves. One room is used as a "guest room" when the guest house starts to become crowded.

The guest house has single and double rooms with one or two beds, and a cupboard and table, for the benefit of the wealthier pilgrims. These are situated on the ground and first floors, while there are two large dormitories for parties of pilgrims on the second floor. There is a special room on the first floor which is well decorated, carpeted, and furnished. It also contains some precious images and is reserved for the visits of the highest bla-mas, such as bDud-'joms Rin-po-che or the Dalai Lama. On special occasions, when communal meals are held, the bla-mas, senior monks and important guests may eat together in this

room. The "Secretary" (see below) also has a room on the first floor of the guest house. The veranda on the ground floor of the guest house, which faces the courtyard, is regularly used by the monks as the place where they make "tshogs" and "gtor-mas" (see on, Ch.3, Section 3.4).

The cook's house may, very occasionally, be used as a canteen for communal meals. It was, for example, used in this way, after the funeral of Bla-ma dKon-mchog, in autumn 1982.

The monastery, including the monk's house and the lower two floors of the guest house, has electric lighting, which is, however, subject to frequent power cuts (often two or more hours a day). Monks and pilgrims do their washing at, and fetch their water from the water pump. Some of the nearby residents of Rewalsar also use this facility, paying the monastery a small monthly fee. There is also a wash-room with a tap and shower, and a toilet, on the first floor of the guest house. If rainfall has been scanty, and particularly during the summer dry season, there are long water cuts, and water must be fetched from a spring below the village, or elsewhere.

2.2.3.3. Finance and Administration

2.2.3.3.1. The Secretary and Committee

The control over the monastery "gZhung", the central fund and possessions such as the collections of texts, temple furnishings, donated items (eg. clothes) which are to be sold, and so on, is in the hands of a committee, appointed by the Buddhist villagers who have improved the buildings, organised fund-raising for texts and in other ways helped the monastery. Their "Committee" consists of twelve members and one "Secretary". The members - all lay-men - are not appointed for any particular period; they may be replaced if they are not considered to be suitable, or they may leave of their own accord, but most members serve for a long period. I was told that there had been little change in membership for nine years. The Secretary is usually appointed for a period of three years, although the Secretary in office when I was there had been kept on for five years, and was expected to

stay for a further two, since there was a consensus amongst the lay community and the monks, that he fulfilled his duties well. The main role of the Secretary and Committee is to keep the accounts and to organise any repair work necessary in the monastery. The Committee members do not normally visit the monastery more than twice a year. They attend an annual meeting, held during the period of the first month, tenth day rituals. At this meeting, also attended by the monastery bla-ma, and the Secretary, they look over the accounts and discuss matters such as the purchase of texts, or whether any work is needed on the buildings. Later in the year, meetings may be called for particular reasons. In the autumn of 1982, the Committee called a meeting to complete the accounts of Bla-ma dKon-mchog's affairs [25], and to organise some repairs. When a meeting is called, any member who cannot attend must pay a fine of one hundred rupees to the other committee members.

The Secretary is responsible for keeping the books throughout the year. He visited about once a month, occasionally accompanied by his wife and child, and he sometimes stayed for a few days at a time, particularly during the winter period. He received an income from the monastery's funds for his work. This allowance is rather more than each individual monk's income, even though, like the committee members, he also had fields in his own village, but it had to cover all his travelling expenses to and from Rewalsar on the buses, sometimes accompanied by his family.

One effect of the monastery having a Secretary and Committee who live outside the village, is that any bargaining for materials which need to be obtained locally, or bargaining over the wages of workmen who may occasionally be needed, or any argument over the quality of their work, need not be conducted by the monks themselves. The caretaker monk, who was already involved with employing local workmen if a plumbing or electrical job needed immediate attention, commented that having the Committee to deal with the money meant that conflicts and disputes which might otherwise arise between the monks and the local Indians, are minimised.

2.2.3.3.2. Fund for religious practices

A separate fund is kept by the monks themselves, from donations made by pilgrims for prayers and rituals which they wish to sponsor for sick relatives. Large donations are sometimes given for the death rites to be done for the benefit of the consciousness of a recently deceased relative. In 1981-83, the money was looked after by one of the older monks who had no other special role. He kept an account of the money received, and as in the "ri-khrod" (see back, 2.2.1.6.1), he distributed it after the religious practice, dividing it equally amongst all those who took part. This type of money, known as "*dkor*", traditionally must not be touched by those not directly involved in the rituals, since it is given specifically for the purposes of practice to be performed, and for anyone else to use it would count as "stealing from the Sangha", which is against the basic Buddhist precepts. The cook and the butter lamp steward who play their part in the rituals are also entitled to their share of the "*dkor*".

2.2.3.3.3. The Monastery's sources of income.

(1) *Butter lamps offered* Pilgrims offer butter lamps, or rather, have butter lamps lit for them, creating merit, usually for the benefit of sick or deceased relatives. The standard amount given for sponsoring these lamps was thirty-eight rupees for one hundred butter lamps. During the pilgrimage season, as many as three thousand may be offered in the space of a few days, so income from this can be quite considerable.

(2) *Rent for accommodation in the guest house* Single rooms with bedding in the guest house cost five rupees per night, and double rooms, ten rupees. Two rupees was charged for dormitory accommodation, although it was free of charge for the people from the villages who re-built and who repair the monastery.

(3) *"The Guru Rin-po-che Maṇḍala"* An offering maṇḍala to Padma, also commonly known as "Guru Rin-po-che", the "Precious Guru", is set up in front of the main shrine in the temple. Here, the term "maṇḍala" refers to an offering of the whole universe to the Enlightened Mind, and this offering practice is important in many Tibetan Buddhist rituals,

designed as it is to overcome all egocentric grasping and possessiveness. The Tibetans retain the Sanskrit word, "maṇḍala", shortening it to "maṇḍal" in order to distinguish this sense of the word from the "maṇḍala" of Enlightenment which they translate into Tibetan as "dkyil-'khor". The maṇḍala offering can be represented by offering piles of rice and other objects such as jewels, and is usually made in a special "maṇḍala" construction, to represent the various "continents" and lesser lands of the universe, with "Mount Meru" at the centre, and with the adornments of the sun and moon, and so on. Pilgrims can contribute to the maṇḍala of this kind which is set up in the temple by adding offerings of money to the piles of rice, when they come to pay their respects.

(4) *Income of monastery shop* The monastery has a small shop on the ground floor of the guest house, opening out onto the courtyard. This is looked after by the caretaker monk and opened by him on request. The shop sells religious offering scarves and incense, the book about Rewalsar written in English (see back, 2.1.4), and a few other religious items. Most money can be made on selling offering scarves since many pilgrims buy them (one rupee each for cotton, and ten rupees for silk scarves), and then offer them in the temple, placing them before the central image of Padma. Eventually, they can be re-used. Offering scarves are also bought to be offered to the "Island Guru" (see photo no. 26), the largest floating island in the lake which the Tibetans say embodies the presence of Padma, and to be offered in the Padma caves in the "ri-khrod".

(5) *Donations from western Buddhists* As with the "ri-khrod", donations from western Buddhists are usually made by western Buddhists who are either visiting on pilgrimage, or who have previously visited and who keep in contact by letter. Sometimes, donations may be sent for a specific purpose, such as when the third ma-ṇi wheel house was built several years ago. The monastery received some large donations from an organisation run by the students of a well-known rNying-ma-pa bla-ma in the U.S.A. in the late 1970s. This money was mostly used for the purchase of texts; some was given out to the monks.

(6) *Fund-raising* The Secretary and Committee members may occasionally decide to

raise more money for special expenses. For example, in 1982, the Secretary spent some time touring the Buddhist hill areas to collect enough money to purchase a copy of the "bsTan-'gyur" [26], which was being sold at a discount price by Tibetan refugees in Delhi.

(7) *Mantra flags* Pilgrims make donations for mantra flags which they ask the monastery to print, and to erect at Rewalsar (see Ch.5, Section 5.2.4). The caretaker monk is responsible for the orders of flags and for printing them.

2.2.3.3.4. Outgoings from the central monastery funds.

(1) In 1982, all the monks, except for the caretaker monk, received an income from the monastery funds of seventy rupees per month. The caretaker monk, who has a much heavier load of work, and who frequently has to eat in the restaurants because he does not have time to cook, received one hundred and fifty rupees a month. The monks in the monastery's retreat, and the nun who was the retreat's helper, received one hundred rupees per month.

(2) A Tibetan lay-man is employed as "the cook" of the monastery. His duties, for which he was paid eighty rupees a month, are to make and to pour out the Tibetan style butter tea for the monks during the religious practices [27]. Another Tibetan lay-man is employed as the steward of the butter-lamp house. He fills up the lamps with butter and takes care of the house. His wife also helps, particularly with cleaning up the used lamps. Like many of the other Rewalsar Tibetans, the couple who were doing this work when I was there, were old by refugee standards.

(3) The Secretary also receives an allowance (see back, 2.2.3.3.1).

(4) Butter and wicks must be bought for the butter lamps in the temple and in the butter lamp house.

(5) Food to be consumed in the temple: Some money is spent on tea and butter, although any extra food such as barley flour which is occasionally given out, and the food for "tshogs" offering days, as well as materials needed for offering gtor-mas, etc., would usually

be donated by pilgrims or its cost would be sponsored.

(6) The second largest single expense after the allowances for the monks and other "employees" is the monastery's electricity bill for the electric lighting throughout the monastery. The other regular bill, insignificant in amount compared with electricity, is the bill for the water supplies to the pump and the guest house.

(7) General maintainance costs: Replacement bulbs and strip light tubes; any materials needed for repair work, and the wages of local Indian workmen employed to do any specialist work, is funded from the central monastery kitty.

(8) Extra expenses: Texts, new temple furnishings, etc., may be purchased when extra money has been raised or donated. Before the three year retreat which some of the monks in the monastery were doing while I was there, a house was bought in Rewalsar (for 30,000 rupees) for the purpose of retreats.

2.2.3.4. *Monastic Organisation*

Whereas the finance and administration is in the hands of the lay Secretary and Committee, and is run quite differently to monasteries in Tibet which were normally administered by monks, the structure of the monastic organisation is based on traditional lines. The Head of the monastery, in charge of the religious practice performed there, is the monastery's "*sprul-sku*" (see Appendix 2, Section A2.1.2.2). In the larger monasteries in Tibet, many *sprul-skus* might have been resident, with the "highest" as the head of the monastery. Smaller "daughter" monasteries (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1.1) might not have had any resident *sprul-sku*, or "lineage-bearing" *bla-ma*, but if not, would take their guidance from the *bla-ma* of their "mother" monastery. This is the case in Rewalsar, where the Head *bla-ma* was *bDud-'joms Rin-po-che*.

The most senior position after the Head *bla-ma* is that of the "*mkhan-po*". This is frequently translated as "Abbot" [28], but although a "*mkhan-po*" may also play this role in some monasteries, his main importance is, as John Driver says, to be in charge of academic studies [29]. Only one who is recognised as having advanced theoretical knowledge and

understanding of the Buddhist teaching receives the title of "mkhan-po", and the role of the mkhan-po is to teach the monks the theoretical basis of their Dharma practice. There was no resident mkhan-po in the Rewalsar monastery while I was in the field. The mkhan-po, who was originally from the sMin-grol-gling monastery, lived in Mandi; he was also the tutor to a young sprul-sku who was based in Mandi, and he spent some time teaching in a larger rNying-ma-pa monastery in Manali. He regularly visited the Rewalsar monastery twice a year: once for the first month tenth day rituals, and again in the summer, when he usually stayed for several days to give more detailed teaching to the monks.

The next most senior position is that of the "*rDo-rje slob-dpon*", the "*Vajra Master*", who is in charge of the Vajrayāna rituals performed. He is usually referred to simply as the monastery's "bla-ma", and he guides the daily practices. This is the role which approximates closest to the idea of an "Abbot". Appointed by the Head bla-ma, he is in charge of the daily schedule of the monastic life, and is responsible for organising the practices which the Head bla-ma advises him that the monks should do. Also, those who aspire to become monks in the monastery must make their request to him, and he makes the decision whether to accept them or not. The "*rDo-rje slob-dpon*" or bla-ma may sometimes also be a mkhan-po; indeed, since leaving the field, I heard that the new bla-ma, appointed by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che in 1983, was a mkhan-po.

The roles of the other monks are not classified in a strictly hierarchical fashion in the Rewalsar monastery. The "*dbu-mdzad*", the "*Head Monk*", is the most senior monk; his role is to lead the chanting in the temple rituals. He plays the cymbals, and keeps the time in the chanting by tapping the cymbals. In the absence of the bla-ma, he stands in for the ritual role of the rdo-rje slob-dpon. While he may be generally respected, he does not have any formal authority over the other monks. The monks all meet together annually to discuss the allocation of monastic roles. Most positions are allocated to individual monks for a three year period, and then rotated. There is not any special order in which a monk works through the various jobs, although new young monks may tend to be given the more menial

tasks such as "caretaker's assistant" which involves cleaning the temple and courtyard, while other jobs require more experience. The position of "dbu-mdzad" is not rotated; the Head Monk will retain his role unless he retires, although a monk who has had many years of experience in the monastery may become a "trainee" dbu-mdzad, and eventually become a "second dbu-mdzad", standing in for the first dbu-mdzad, and replacing him if he retires. Besides the dbu-mdzad, the other roles are not hierarchically ranked; how much respect an individual monk may command depends on his own qualities and experience.

2.2.3.5. The Monks

In 1982, including the monastery's bla-ma (who died in September), there were ten monks living in the rNying-ma-pa monastery. A further five monks, and one sngags-pa, were in the second year of a three year retreat organised by the monastery, and were staying in the retreat house in another part of Rewalsar. Tshul-khrims rNam-dag, the monk who had been dbu-mdzad of the monastery for nine years, had gone into a separate retreat of his own, in a cave in the village area. He came out of retreat to attend some of the main rituals, such as the first month practice session and the summer practice session. During the first month he fully played the role of dbu-mdzad, but later in the year, he took a different seat in the temple: a seat which was raised slightly higher than the ordinary monks' seats, in the row opposite to where the rdo-rje slob-dpon and dbu-mdzad sit. Having decided to "retire" from his position, the second dbu-mdzad, who had been doing the dbu-mdzad's job, both beside the first dbu-mdzad, and in his absence, for about one year, took his place. The retired dbu-mdzad was well respected in the whole Tibetan community for his level of meditation understanding and his ability to avoid involvement in arguments or conflict. The Committee, however, had stopped funding him, since he had chosen to go into his own retreat, and was therefore no longer playing a part in the monastery. He had come from mNga'-ris, western Tibet, as many of the other monks in the monastery. Aged forty-five, he had previously been married (his wife had died), and his adult children were all living in exile. After entering his retreat, one of his sons, a teacher in Dharamsala, began sup-

porting him.

2.2.3.5.1. The Ten Monks living in the Monastery.

(1)The Bla-ma (rDo-rje slob-dpon)

Until his death in September 1982, dGe-slong [30] dKon-mchog, officially called "Lama Konchok" in English, was the monastery's bla-ma. From a nomadic community in Nags-shod, an area in Central Tibet, north-east of Lhasa, he became a monk on his parents' suggestion at the age of twenty-two - his family was large, and he had four brothers and three sisters. Supported by his family, he entered a monastery of the bKa'-rgyud-pa tradition [31]. Five years later, he met bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, and became a rNying-ma-pa. He went to bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's monastery in Kong-po, where, along with his younger brother who had also become a monk, he did a four year retreat. After he had escaped to India in late 1959, he went to Kalimpong where bDud-'joms Rin-po-che was residing, and remained there to receive the empowerments which bDud-'joms Rin-po-che was transmitting to huge numbers of Tibetan refugees. He and his brother were two of the eight monks chosen by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che to go to Rewalsar in about 1963. dGe-slong dKon-mchog at that time became the monastery's dbu-mdzad, a position he remained in for six years. After his first three years in Rewalsar, he went to the Tibetan settlement in Orissa, to do the three year, three months retreat [32] in a small hermitage there, living in a small hut, together with a monk who has since become a respected bla-ma in Orissa. dGe-slong dKon-mchog's brother had died of T.B. soon after they had first arrived in Rewalsar. The original bla-ma of the monastery, mKhan-po Rab-rgyas, decided to move to Dehra Dun, where a number of rNying-ma-pa bla-mas were settling down (in the Tibetan settlement at Clement Town), about five years after they had arrived in mTsho Padma. Then, dKon-mchog was appointed as the bla-ma when he returned from Orissa, in about 1969. He was fifty-nine years old when he died of a heart attack in September 1982. For some months after this, the monastery had no bla-ma and the dbu-mdzad stood in for the rdo-rje slob-dpon in the religious practices in the temple. In early 1983, bDud-'joms

Rin-po-che appointed a new bla-ma, who had not previously been in the monastery, and he took over in February.

(2) The dBu-mdzad: "Head Monk", Padma sKal-bzang

The monk who became dbu-mdzad after Tshul-khrims rNam-dag had retired had come from Kong-po, in Central Tibet. The land in this area of Tibet was quite productive and a variety of different grains could be grown there. By the time Padma sKal-bzang was twenty-five, he had settled down as a married farmer. He then went to a bla-ma who predicted that he would have a short life unless he dedicated himself to the Dharma. This gave him the incentive to become a monk; his wife re-married and he entered bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's monastery which was near his home. He first met dGe-slong dKon-mchog at this time. After he had escaped to India, he was settled in a refugee camp in Ladakh, where he did building work. Within a matter of months, work became more scarce, so he lived by begging and reading texts for people in their houses. After three years in Ladakh, he heard that bDud-'joms Rin-po-che was going to Rewalsar to give some empowerments [33], so he decided to travel there. Then he became a monk in the monastery, and stayed for a few years. During this period, he did the Caretaker's job. However, he did not get on well with mKhan-po Rab-rgyas, and he eventually left, once again becoming a layman. For five years, he worked picking fruit in the Kulu-Manali area in summer, and studying Tibetan medicine with a Tibetan doctor who was living in Rewalsar in the winter. However, he found that he was not a good student, being too old to learn quickly. In the meantime, dGe-slong dKon-mchog had become the bla-ma of the monastery, and bDud-'joms Rin-po-che had asked a bla-ma living in Ladakh to visit Rewalsar to teach the monks the 'chams dancing. He decided to return to the monastery and learn 'chams, so he became a monk again, although he continued to travel a good deal, staying in various places in Himachal Pradesh or going on pilgrimages. He did not settle down permanently in Rewalsar until the late 1970s. Even since that time, he was spending up to three of the summer months away because he could not adjust to the hot weather. He stayed with Tibetans from

the Kong-po area who live in Simla or Manali, and he spent his time there reading texts in peoples' houses and practising medicine (in straightforward cases). He was about fifty-five in 1982.

(3) Ngag-dbang Byams-pa

In late 1982, Ngag-dbang Byams-pa began to learn the dbu-mdzad's job, sitting next to Padma sKal-bzang and playing a second pair of cymbals in the temple rituals. Age forty-two, he had held the *mchod-dpon's* ("Master of Offerings") position for four years. The mchod-dpon is responsible for ensuring that all the correct preparations for rituals are carried out: all the necessary offerings such as offering gtor-mas (see Glossary) must be made, and he arranges them on the offerings table in the temple. He - or his assistant - must then offer the various substances at the appropriate place in the practice, and divide up the "tshogs" food in "tshogs" offering practices, and so on. Ngag-dbang Byams-pa was the mchod-dpon throughout the course of the twelfth and first month rituals which I studied. From a nomadic background in Mi-gsar in the area of mNga'-ris stod (western Tibet), he became a monk at the age of nine; he had been orphaned, and the sprul-sku of a nearby monastery (the mdun-chu dgon-pa?) took him into his monastery. It was a small dGe-lugs-pa monastery, with about twenty monks, and he was happy there. When he was about nineteen years old, in 1959, he went on pilgrimage to India with two other monks, unsure of whether they would return because of the Chinese occupation. In the event, having visited some of the Buddhist holy places - Sarnath, Bodhgaya, mTsho Padma - and met and received teachings and empowerments from some of the high bla-mas - bDud-'joms Rin-po-che at Kalimpong, the Dalai Lama at Dharamsala, Khamtrul (Khams-sprul) Rin-po-che at Palampur - he planned his next pilgrimage for Gangs Rin-po-che, just inside the Tibetan border. This short period in Tibet convinced him that life under the Chinese rule would be intolerable, and he managed - this time with difficulty - to escape back to India. He went to Uttar Pradesh where about a thousand refugees who came from the same area as him in Tibet, were staying. For about two years, he benefitted from an aid project

administered by the Indian Government, which gave him the opportunity to devote his time to his religious practice. He had become a rNying-ma-pa, since he had met some rNying-ma-pa teachers and had decided that he wished to follow the more direct and fast path of the rNying-ma Inner Tantras. He spent many years doing intensive meditation practice, including the Klong-chen sNying-thig (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1.2) "foundation practices" ("sngon-'gro", see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1) and a mantra retreat, and travelling on pilgrimages on which he met and received empowerments from the high bla-mas. He took the "Rin-chen gTer-mdzod" (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1.2) empowerments from bDud-'joms Rin-po-che at Rewalsar in 1974, but he did not stay on at the monastery at that time. A few months later he returned, and moved into a cave in the "ri-khrod" to do a three year mantra and meditation retreat. He then spent four months taking instruction and practising under the guidance of a bla-ma in Manali, after which he returned to the "ri-khrod". About a month later - in 1978 - Bla-ma dKon-mchog invited him to join the monastery. He became the mchod-dpon a few months later.

Ngag-dbang Byams-pa has some surviving relatives in exile. Two of his brothers, who had moved into relatives' homes when their parents died, had escaped to India, and both have been settled in agricultural settlements in South India; one in Orissa, and one in Kollegal Taluk, Karnataka. At various times, Ngag-dbang Byams-pa has received financial help from this latter brother, although he has seen very little of either of his brothers in India, since they have been settled so far apart. Ngag-dbang Byams-pa is also sometimes referred to as dGe-slong Byams-pa [34].

(4) Mes-mes [35] Tshe-ldan

Aged seventy-four, Mes-mes Tshe-ldan was originally from a sparsely populated agricultural area of Central Tibet; the nearest large settlement of people was at mTshur-phu, the monastic seat of the Ka-rma-pa. He had come to India on pilgrimage with his mother when he was in his early twenties. His mother died, and he decided that it was too far to return to Tibet on his own, so he stayed. At first he simply begged, but gradually, he

acquired things to sell and he became a trader. He married a Tibetan woman, and they became quite successful in trading. They took a servant, and when, in the late 1960s, they separated, his wife married the servant and continued the trading business (see back, 2.2.2), while he took robes and moved into a cave. Shortly afterwards, dGe-slong dKon-mchog, who had become the bla-ma of the monastery, invited him to join the monks, as there was a shortage of monks at this time.

For about three years, while I was in the field, Mes-mes Tshe-ldan had been the "*dn-gul-gnyer*": the monk who looks after and distributes the "dkor" money (see back, 2.2.3.3.2). In the temple rituals, Mes-mes Tshe-ldan sat alongside the dbu-mdzad, and played the large pole drum.

(5) En Chung (bSod-nams Chos-'phel)

In 1982, En Chung had already been the "*gNyer-ba*", the "caretaker", for the usual three year period. The gnyer-ba's job is very demanding; he is responsible for keeping the temple and the monastery area clean and tidy, and he keeps the keys of the temple, the shrine-rooms and the shop, and is the monk who has most contact with pilgrims and with the Indian community. He allocates rooms in the guest house and collects the money for them in the absence of the Secretary, and he shows pilgrims around the monastery. He cleans up rooms when pilgrims have left, with the help of an old mentally ill Indian beggar who was rejected by his family, and who had been given a tiny room in the monastery guest house [36].

The caretaker's work involves ensuring that the plumbing and electric lights are in working order in the guest house and temple, and employing local workmen when necessary. He may also have to order and buy food, such as bread rolls from the local baker, for the monastery's "tshogs" practices. En Chung was looking forward to giving up this job, but since the monks felt that no-one suitable was available to replace him, he was persuaded to remain in the position for a further two years - until the monks in retreat had returned to ordinary monastic life. Forty-five years old in 1982, with a strong authoritative character,

and an ability to control unruly pilgrims and to bargain with Indian workmen, En Chung also had a flair for languages. He could speak Hindi well, and could also understand many of the different dialects spoken by the various pilgrims: Ladakhi, Bhutanese, and the dialects of Spiti and Lahul. He agreed to continue as the caretaker only on the condition that he received more help, and would therefore be able to attend more of the practices in the temple. Thus, from mid 1982, the two young monks, bSod-nams and rGya-mtsho, began to act as his assistants.

En Chung had come from a primarily pastoralist background (his relatives were settled and had some fields, but grew very little barley and had to exchange dairy produce for more) in mNga'-ris stod, western Tibet. He had become a dGe-lugs-pa monk in Tibet and had spent some time in the large dGe-lugs-pa monasteries near Lhasa. He had not, however, got on well there, and he had left. He had travelled to Kong-po, and entered bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's monastery; the third monk still at Rewalsar who had been in bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's monastery in Tibet. He had also entered the Rewalsar monastery soon after it came under bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's guidance, and had been based there since this time.

En Chung has a few surviving relatives living in exile; a brother and his family live in Dharamsala, a sister and her family in Simla, and some other relatives are settled in the settlement in Switzerland. His brother and sister in India had given him some of the furnishings for his room, such as a Tibetan rug and a chest of drawers.

(6) Chos-'phel

Chos-'phel, like En Chung, was from a mixed herding and farming background in mNga'-ris. His family had been quite well-off, with ample barley fields, sheep and gYag (yaks), and he had been married. He did not have children. When the Chinese invaded and were beginning to act destructively, and he heard that the Dalai Lama had fled to India, he decided to follow, leaving his wife with his relatives. In India, he was settled in the Tibetan settlement in Orissa. He lived in a household of five people who worked together in fields

they had been allocated as a group. However, he was very unhappy; he missed his wife and family, and he found it difficult to adjust to the climatic conditions of hot weather and scanty rainfall. Moreover, although they had enough food, it was not, of course, the kind of food he was used to. During this period, he met and was impressed by a rNying-ma-pa bla-ma who was living in the settlement, and then, he met dGe-slong dKon-mchog who had come to do retreat, and who was living in a hut close to Chos-'phel's house. dGe-slong dKon-mchog invited Chos-'phel to join the monks in Rewalsar, and although he had never thought about becoming a monk in Tibet, he had not been happy as a layman in exile, and decided to take the "dge-slong" vows and move to Rewalsar.

For his first three years at Rewalsar, Chos-'phel did the job of looking after the butter lamp house. Then he became the caretaker, and after this, he did the mchod-dpon's work for about a year. Having given up the position, he had not taken any special role since. He was sixty-six years old in 1982. He sat in the second row in the temple rituals, and played the long horn.

(7) Thub-bstan bZang-po

The monk who sat beside Chos-'phel in the temple and played the second long horn was one of the two monks in the monastery who was not a Tibetan refugee. Thub-bstan came from Kinnaur and was aged forty-nine in 1982. His family had apple orchards and kept horses, and when he was a child, he had accompanied them on trading expeditions to Tibet, and to Kalimpong. They had also been on a number of pilgrimages in India; he had been to Rewalsar many times as a boy. When he was about thirteen, he had been a monk for a year in a rNying-ma-pa monastery in Tibet, and since this time, he had done rNying-ma practice. He met bDud-'joms Rin-po-che at Rewalsar when he came in the early 1960s, and felt a great connection with him, and also with Rewalsar, of which he had his childhood memories. He was wealthy in Kinnaur, but his father, mother, and brother all died within a short time of each other; he felt that he no longer had any reason to stay. In 1973, he left his orchards to his elder sister's son, and did not return as he did not feel close to his sur-

viving relatives. He came to Rewalsar after leaving, but he was restless and did not want to settle anywhere; he did pilgrimages for a number of years, travelling throughout India. Eventually, in 1980, he returned to Rewalsar, and asked Bla-ma dKon-mchog if he could stay. Being occupied in the monastery, and practising the Dharma, he became much more stable.

(8) bSod-nams Tshul-khrims

The youngest monk, bSod-nams, aged fourteen in 1982, was born in the Tibetan settlement in Orissa. His parents were from mNga'-ris; his father is Ngag-dbang Byams-pa's brother. He has five brothers and sisters; one brother works for the Tibetan Government-in-exile in Ladakh, one was a student in Varanasi but returned to his parents due to recurring illness, in 1984. The other children remained in Orissa, one having become a monk there. Before about 1984, his parents were employed in agriculture and his father was one of the settlement officials. The decision to become a monk was his own, and his parents supported it. There were two main reasons: firstly, he was aware that his parents were finding it difficult to continue supporting him at school due to their old age and ill health, and so he wanted to make himself independent. Secondly, he had learnt a little about the Dharma, and knew that worldly achievements do not have lasting or ultimate value, so he decided to devote his life to the Dharma. He came to Rewalsar because his father's brother was already in the monastery, and was able, on his behalf, to ask Bla-ma dKon-mchog if he could join the monastery. Also, since the Rewalsar monastery provides each monk with an allowance, he would be able to be independent. He arrived in December 1981. For the first year, he shared his uncle's room, until he was allocated his own room as one became vacant. He soon began to assist Ngag-dbang Byams-pa with the mchod-dpon's work. He learnt quickly, and in mid 1982, he became the caretaker's assistant since En Chung needed help. In 1984, he became the mchod-dpon.

(9) rGya-mtsho

Aged eighteen, rGya-mtsho joined the monastery in April 1982. Born in a Tibetan speaking area in Nepal, near the border with Tibet, his family had practised some farming and herding, but had left when he was about seven years old. His parents had had five children, which was more than they could support, so they had moved, staying in the Kulu-Manali area in winter, and Kinnaur in the summer. The whole family do coolie work; rGya-mtsho himself had been a coolie, until he was about fifteen years old, when he entered A-po Rin-po-che's rNying-ma-pa monastery in Manali. For about two and a half years, he was able to study there, learning to read and write the Tibetan script, and starting to study the Dharma. He did not, at this time, take part in many of the rituals as he needed to concentrate on basic study. He would have liked to remain there, but it was difficult for his parents to continue to support him. He moved home for a short time, and then his family met Bla-ma Kun-bzang (see back, 2.2.2) who was travelling through their area. They invited him to stay with them, and as a result of a conversation with him, he spoke with Bla-ma dKon-mchog, giving his recommendation to take rGya-mtsho as a monk. Thus, rGya-mtsho was accepted into the Rewalsar monastery. rGya-mtsho, like bSod-nams, began by helping with the mchod-dpon's, and then with the caretaker's work. Perhaps because he did not have bSod-nams' education and school experience, he had less confidence in taking on the responsibility of any of the monastery jobs other than as an assistant. He saw himself as a beginner, and felt he needed to study much more before he took on any special role.

(10) Padma Chos-'phel

Padma Chos-'phel became a monk in Rewalsar in May 1982, shortly after rGya-mtsho had arrived. Aged fifty-six, he was from a pastoralist background in mNga'-ris, and had been settled in the early 1960s in the Orissa settlement. He had done farm work there since this time; he had married and had three children, one of whom is a trader, one a monk, and the other was at college. His wife died in 1980, and since he was also finding the agricultural work in Orissa hard, he wrote to Bla-ma dKon-mchog to ask if he could enter the

monastery. He then left before he had received a reply, but having arrived in Rewalsar, Bla-ma dKon-mchog let him join the monks. In the autumn, he became the acting mchod-dpon, since Ngag-dbang Byams-pa was training in the dbu-mdzad's job, and the two young monks were occupied helping En Chung. He was not, however, very proficient at the job, and being older, he found it hard to learn. He gave up the position when the retreat was over.

2.2.3.5.2. The Seven "Practitioners" in the Monastery's Retreat.

There were five monks, one sngags-pa, and one attendant nun involved in the retreat. Of these, only two (numbers 2 & 3 below) were regular monks in the monastery previous to the retreat. Some came specifically to do retreat, and may even have joined the next three year retreat which the monastery ran.

(1) Bla-ma dBang-rgyal

A bKa'-rgyud-pa bla-ma who had received rNying-ma teachings, Bla-ma dBang-rgyal was in charge of the retreat. He came from the Orissa settlement for the retreat; Bla-ma dKon-mchog had met him in Orissa when he stayed there, and they had become friends. He accepted Bla-ma dKon-mchog's invitation to take charge of the retreat, and was intending to return to Orissa when it finished.

(2) Padma Thabs-mkhas

From the area near Gangs-ri - Mount Kailash in western Tibet, close to the Indian border - Padma Thabs-mkhas had become a wealthy trader in exile. He decided to become a monk when his wife died, and entered the Rewalsar monastery at about the time when Bla-ma dKon-mchog became the bla-ma. He was the mchod-dpon for several years. For some while before the retreat, he sat beside Mes-mes Tshe-ldan in the temple and played a second pole drum. As far as I know, he will have remained in the monastery after the retreat.

(3) bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal

Born in 1955 in Khung-po gTing-chen, a western area of Khams, eastern Tibet, he left with his parents in 1959. His father worked for the Tibetan Government-in-exile in Mussoorie, and bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal attended the Central Tibetan School there for ten years (1963-1973). His mother died of TB in Mussoorie. rNam-rgyal learnt some English at school, and when he left, his father wrote to Bla-ma dKcn-mchog to request that he might be allowed to enter the monastery, and that he would be able to help with reading and writing letters in English. bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal had been a monk at Rewalsar since this time, and used to write all Bla-ma dKon-mchog's letters to western Buddhist correspondents for him. He spent some periods away travelling, including a three month stay in Nepal in 1978, when he received some empowerments from bDud-'joms Rin-po-che. His retired father moved to Rewalsar as a layman. He received a small pension from the Tibetan Government-in-exile, until his death in mid 1983. rNam-rgyal was intending to remain in the monastery after the retreat, although he was hoping to spend some more time in Nepal, perhaps to do retreat in one of the special places associated with Padma.

(4) Tshe-sgrub rDo-rje

From the Gangs-ri area in western Tibet, Tshe-sgrub spent many years in exile as a wandering pilgrim monk, travelling to where the high bla-mas were teaching or residing. Eventually, he settled in a cave in the "ri-khrod". Later, he spent two years as a monk in the rNying-ma-pa monastery, and then left and returned to the "ri-khrod". Then, when the retreat was being planned, he spoke to Bla-ma dKon-mchog and asked if he could take part. It was expected that he would return to the "ri-khrod" after the retreat.

(5) dKon-mchog dPal-bzang

From South Tibet, near the Indian border, dKon-mchog dPal-bzang (aged fifty-five in 1982/3) had become a monk in a rNying-ma-pa monastery at the age of eleven. After coming to India, he spent many years in the Tibetan refugee settlement in Ladakh. Eventually, he left and went to Nepal, where he did a retreat, and some other religious practice. He met Bla-ma dKon-mchog, who made occasional visits to Nepal to see bDud-'joms Rin-po-che,

and Bla-ma dKon-mchog asked him if he would like to join the Rewalsar retreat. He was intending to return to Nepal after the retreat.

(6) Bla-ma Rig-'dzin rDo-rje

The one sngags-pa taking part in the retreat, Bla-ma Rig-'dzin, aged about forty, was from Re-khe Khams, an area to the south of sDe-dge and north of sMar-Khams. He had met his root guru, Ka-thog Siddhi Rin-po-che, in Tibet, and had entered and studied at his monastery. When he came to India, he was able to meet bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, who also became his root guru. As a sngags-pa, he married a woman who was also a religious practitioner. They did a retreat together in Sikkim, after which, in the early 1960s, they went to Rewalsar and took the teachings and empowerments which bDud-'joms Rin-po-che was giving at that time. They remained in Rewalsar for a few years, and then he became the bla-ma of a small monastery in northwest India. He stayed there for thirteen years, but his son died at the age of about seven, and after this, his wife also died. He then decided to do more intensive practice, so he wrote to Bla-ma dKon-mchog and arranged to join the retreat. The monastery did not fund Bla-ma Rig-'dzin. He started the retreat using his savings, and a western sponsor was later found for him. He remained at Rewalsar after the retreat, and usually attended the monastery's "tshogs" practices.

(7) A-ni Chos-nyid

A nun from the "ri-khrod" - a cousin of Tshe-sgrub rDo-rje - was asked to act as the retreat helper, doing the shopping and cooking, delivering and posting letters for the monks [37]. Since she was so involved in the retreat, she was classified as one of the "retreat practitioners" ("sgrub-mtshams-pa"), and received the same allowance as the meditators. She had the use of rooms at the front of the retreat house, and provided a link between the retreat and the outside world, since she passed on any important messages, as well as organising the shopping, and so on. From herding people in the Gangs-ri area, she had become a nun when she was young. She had escaped from Tibet, along with one monk and two old nuns, during the period of the "Cultural Revolution", when they were forcibly

prevented from practising the Dharma. After a short stay in Kalimpong where she met bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, she and the old nuns had come to Rewalsar, and she had remained in the "ri-khrod" since then. She agreed to be the retreat attendant when Bla-ma dKon-mchog asked her, since they could not find any other suitable person to do it, although she was not enthusiastic about the work, and she intended to return straight to her cave when the retreat was over. She was thirty-seven years old in 1982.

2.2.3.5.3. Other Monks closely associated with the monastery.

dKon-mchog Chos-'phel

Aged about eighty years old, dKon-mchog Chos-'phel had been based in Rewalsar for some thirty-five years. He had been married, and still had a daughter (aged forty-five) living in Simla, with whom he spent the summer months. For some time each winter, he would live in Rewalsar, and attend the monastery's practices. He was involved in the 1982 first month rituals.

Blo-bzang

Blo-bzang was an independent monk in the community, and had a cave, but as well as attending the "tshogs" offering practices, he had been quite involved in the monastery life. Until a room was needed for bSod-nams, Blo-bzang had been given a room in the monks' house where he had been staying for some time. Bla-ma dKon-mchog had chosen him to help deal with his financial affairs on his death, on behalf of the monastery. He had a brother in the settlement in Switzerland who was sponsoring him.

2.2.4. The 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa Monastery.

The 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery (see Photo no.17) provides a contrast to the rNying-ma-pa monastery in terms of its background and organisation. This is simply because, in the case of the rNying-ma-pa monastery, the buildings had been previously established and maintained by a group of lay Tibetan speaking people settled in India, who took advantage of the situation of the exodus of refugees to obtain some monks. The monks

share their commitment to bDud-'joms Rin-po-che and the rNying-ma lineage of teaching and practice, but they were not all connected with bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's monastery in Tibet. The only broad generalisation which can be made is that the majority of monks come from the region of mNga'-ris or from Central Tibet, and there are no Khams-pas (eastern Tibetans). By contrast, the 'Bri-khung-pa monastery has been formed as the result of an attempt by a particular community from Nang-chen Khams to reconstruct their monastery in exile. The majority of monks, or their families, were from this one specific area, although a number of young monks from Kinnaur have more recently joined the monastery.

2.2.4.1. Background

In the north-west of Nang-chen in Khams, Eastern Tibet, lHo-pa Rin-po-che was one of the local ruler's four bla-mas. His monastery, the lHo-lung dKar-dgon, situated in lHo-lung dKar, housed about four hundred monks and three sprul-sku : himself, dBon-sprul Rin-po-che and Thub-bstan sNying-po Rin-po-che. When the Chinese had invaded and occupied Tibet, the then lHo-pa Rin-po-che announced that his future work would be in India, and he passed away. A sizeable group of monks and lay-people from the district then decided to leave for India. When they arrived in Nepal, their party was four to five hundred people strong. After about three years living in Nepal, mostly begging, they moved to India and were employed in road work. They all saved a given amount from their wages for a monastery. Eventually, they raised enough money for a huge "tent monastery" which they erected in the area above Manali. They continued working, although some of them began to spend the winters in Rewalsar, in a large house which they rented. Then the "Himalaya Buddhiste Society" gave them a monastery above Manali, and they were based there for several years, although some of the group would go to Rewalsar, and some to the Tibetan settlement in Bir for the winters. Some group members, mostly lay, now live in the Bir settlement. In 1972, they decided to move the monastery from the Manali region, and they bought some land and a house in Rewalsar. The site chosen was on a high bank above

the circumambulation route, overlooking the lake. The house was large enough for the monks - or would-be monks, since they had been employed up to this time - and they then only needed a temple! They set off in groups of two or three, some travelling to the various settlements and places in India and Nepal where the Tibetans were living, and some to the himalayan areas populated by Tibetan speaking people. They collected enough in donations to build the temple.

2.2.4.2. The Monastery in 1981 to 1983.

Of the original three sprul-skus of lHo-lung dKar-dgon, one, dBon-sprul, had been a young man during the period of the monastery's reconstruction. Married with children by the time of my fieldwork, his family had their residence in the house, and until recently, he was the highest bla-ma. The reincarnation of lHo-pa Rin-po-che was discovered in exile, and moved into the monastery in 1982, aged seven years old. He was "enthroned" in early 1983 by the head 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa bla-ma; an occasion attended by all the high 'Bri-khung-pa bla-mas in exile. The monastery's dbu-mdzad had been appointed as his tutor. The third sprul-sku, Thub-bstan sNying-po Rin-po-che, died in prison in Tibet; his reincarnation had not yet been discovered when I was last in contact with the dbu-mdzad.

Since about 1976, the group of monks have not had to work. There are about thirty monks, most from lHo-lung dKar, or from families of the lHo-lung dKar group, with the addition of a few boys from Kinnaur. As in traditional Tibetan monasteries, the monks run the administration. They receive some donations from the lay-people in the Bir settlement, some from other Tibetan refugee groups, and some from pilgrims. The monastery provides rooms and food for all the monks but any extra expenses must be paid for by the individual monks, some of whom receive some financial help from their families or from western Buddhist sponsors. They may also receive some money as "dkor" (see back, 2.2.3.3.2).

Since many of the monks are young (under age sixteen), classes are run at the monastery, teaching Hindi and English when there is an available teacher, as well as the more traditional Dharma teaching. Initially, a well-qualified mkhan-po had been in charge

of the Buddhist instruction, but he was invited to the U.S.A. where he has since set up a large 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa centre (in Washington). His role is now played by a rather less knowledgeable monk, although he is doubtless qualified enough to give basic instruction to the young monks. The dbu-mdzad, who has become lHo-pa Rin-po-che's tutor, also helps with the Dharma instruction, teaching the children to read, recite, and commit texts to memory. He is also the young monks' disciplinarian, responsible for keeping them in order [38].

2.2.5. Comment on Rewalsar's Tibetan Community.

The Tibetans in Rewalsar are not organised as they would be in a settlement, working, at least to some extent co-operatively, and they are not bound together as a "community" - they have no community organisation, or elected officials or spokesmen [39]. Moreover, many are financially reliant on sponsors - even some of the rNying-ma-pa monks secured or attempted to secure income for medicines or other extra expenses from sponsors. Since sponsorship is a relationship usually involving only the individual Tibetan and sponsor, and occasionally the help of an intermediary, the level of sponsorship may not be publically known, and this may engender distrust and suspicions between Tibetans. Competition for sponsors, or between traders for business, adds to an atmosphere of competitiveness and jealousies, where income from outsiders is concerned. However, at the same time, the Tibetans share their common identity as refugees, landless and lacking any influence in local decisions. Also the enormous cultural gap between the Indians and Tibetans gives the Tibetans a sense of pride and superiority over the Indian people. If an individual Tibetan is in severe difficulties, such as in the case of a poor person with a serious illness, someone may organise a collection of money for medicine. Those who live in the "ri-khrod", or in one of the monasteries, have the support of their religious community. Moreover, the rNying-ma-pa monastery, which, as the oldest, is the most popular with the pilgrims, does provide a place for the poorer lay people to gather, talk and to beg. Also, the independent Dharma practitioners can attend the temple religious practices.



The two monasteries operate independently of each other, although monks from one monastery may be involved in the other's event under special circumstances. For example, some of the 'Bri-khung-pa monks took part in the rNying-ma-pa monastery's tenth day 'chams in 1982, since they had a shortage of monks. Then, in September 1982, dBon-sprul Rin-po-che sat with Bla-ma dKon-mchog when he was dying, and continued to do practice in the room after his death. dBon-sprul Rin-po-che, along with a number of his monks, organised Bla-ma dKon-mchog's cremation rites, and monks from both monasteries performed these together. The following rites after death to be performed over a forty-nine day period, were performed by the rNying-ma-pa monks in their temple, although dBon-dprul Rin-po-che was also involved in these [40].

Thus, although life for refugees outside an official settlement entails financial insecurity - a sponsor may stop sending money; the monasteries will not support a monk in the case of a serious illness - and individualism is encouraged by this, there is still a strong sense of Tibetan "ethnicity". In the Rewalsar environment, Tibetan *religious* identity is especially strong, and any sectarianism is negligible. Religious commitment and practice provides an "anchor" and hope for these stateless people, many of whom are old and/or living in severe hardship. It also, perhaps, helps to unify a disparate collection of individuals, and to overcome the diversive effects of the system of sponsorship which has evolved. Joint participation in religious activities, from small groups performing "skor-ba" together, to religious events involving a large proportion of the Tibetan community (such as the first month practice session and 'chams at the rNying-ma-pa monastery, or the "smyung-gnas" in the mountain hermitage) are common.

Given the centrality of religious practice in the Rewalsar setting, and its social significance in unifying the Tibetan refugee community, I now turn to the daily lives of the rNying-ma-pa monks.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

- [1] For the figures of permanent Tibetan residents, see Section 2.2.
- [2] More information on the Hindu and Sikh "myths" can be found in Saral Rastogi, 1981.
- [3] "Heruka": an embodiment of the "male", dynamic and compassionate qualities of Buddhahood. See also Glossary.
- [4] See A.M. Blondeau, 1980, pg.45.
- [5] The following is based partly on the "Shel-brag-ma" and also on the concise version in the "Zab-pa skor bdun las o-rgyan rnam-thar dpag-bsam ljong-shing" of Orgyen Chokgyur Lingpa, translated by K. Dowman, 1973.
- [6] Tib., "Padma 'Byung-gnas".
- [7] For the detailed 'Shel-brag-ma' version, text, chapters 12-20.
- [8] The native Tibetan name for Kinnaur is "Khu-nu", and the name for Lahul is "Garzha", although the name "Lahul" seems to have been derived from Tibetan, "lHo-yul" (Prince Peter, 1963).
- [9] According to Asboe, 1937, it is *Inula helenium*.
- [10] For more on this area, see Marco Pallis, 1948.
- [11] See Lama Anagarika Govinda, 1966, pp.22-23.
- [12] See, for example, Namkhai Norbu, 1986, plate 28 and pg.126.
- [13] Saral Rastogi, 1981. See particularly, pp.98-99 for the main argument.
- [14] This may no longer be entirely true. After Mrs. Gandhi's death, I understand that there were Hindu attacks on the Sikh temple, and intimidation of Sikh members of the community.
- [15] This also applies to the fourth Tibetan month; occasionally, a second "smyung-gnas" is held at this time as well.
- [16] The ages refer to 1982/1983.

[17] The people of 'Go-log were a nomadic group in A-mdo, North-eastern Tibet, who were famed for their independent fighting spirit. They have been almost completely wiped out by the Chinese Communists in Tibet. (Phuntsog Wangyal, 1982 - see pg.14.)

[18] "gNas rtsa chen-po red".

[19] For several years, as part of the "liberalisation" programme, the Chinese authorities in Tibet allowed a limited number of Tibetans considered to be trustworthy (and who left close relatives, usually young children, as hostages in Tibet), to make visits to India to see relatives in exile.

[20] One of the foremost Ka-rma bKa'-rgyud bla-mas, from sDe-dge Khams. Food is provided for monks in his monastery near Bir.

[21] For example, dGe-bshes dBang-rgyal; Bla-ma Blo-gros. A-tsi and bSam-gtan had some sponsorship and some help from A-tsi's son by his previous marriage.

[22] Western Buddhists tend to sponsor those who at least claim to be serious Dharma practitioners. The situation is different in the settlements where there are organised sponsorship schemes, for the education of children etc., but since Rewalsar has no community organisation, sponsorships are usually organised individually with western Buddhist pilgrims who wish to correspond with a Tibetan "Dharma friend" when they return to their own countries.

[23] O.C.Handa, 1988, notes (p.68; 110-111) that there was probably an ancient temple at Rewalsar, but that the present building dates from the late nineteenth century.

[24] The Buddha's "Instructions": the Sūtras, Tantras, and other texts revealed by the "Buddha" which are contained in the Tibetan Buddhist "Canon".

[25] When a monk dies, his money and possessions become the property of the monastery. Money will normally be used on the funeral expenses and given as offerings to bla-mas, or for sponsoring rituals. Bla-ma dKon-mchog's more expensive possessions, such as gold offering bowls and butter lamps, were also given to his Root Guru, bDud-'joms Rin-po-

che.

[26] The collections of Indian Buddhist literature which consists of commentaries on the Sūtras and on other works which are contained in the "bKa'-'gyur". (See 2.2.3.2)

[27] For several months while I was in Rewalsar, this post was vacant and the cook's work was divided between the butter-lamp house steward and other lay Tibetans. This was because after the New Year, the man who had done the job for three years had decided to return to the South Indian settlement where he had fields which would provide a better livelihood than the monastery's eighty rupees a month. The monastery had problems in finding a replacement.

[28] The Jaschke and Das dictionaries both have "professor" or "abbot"; whereas I think that "abbot" is misleading, "professor" gives the correct sense.

[29] J.Driver, 196 .

[30] dGe-slong (Tib.) = "bhikṣu" (Skt.), a fully ordained Buddhist monk.

[31] The monastery's name was, "dGon-sar Chos-'khor-gling".

[32] Special retreat after which a practitioner may be considered to be qualified to teach as a "bla-ma".

[33] bDud-'joms Rin-po-che visited the monastery soon after he had been asked to become its sprul-sku; he also came again in about 1974 and gave a series of important rNying-ma empowerments then.

[34] I heard that Ngag-dbang Byams-pa took over the gnyer-ba's job in 1984.

[35] "Mes-mes" = "Mes-po"? "Mes-po" means "grandfather", while "mes-mes" is a title used for elderly monks.

[36] He was living on the few rupees he earned by sweeping the guest house, disposing of rubbish and acting as coolie to pilgrims.

[37] In some retreats, including this one, letters may be sent to and received from people outside.

[38] Tshul-dbang, the dbu-mdzad, gave me most information on the monastery. By 1982, he was in his thirties; he had left Tibet with his parents who had a long family association with the lHo-lung dKar monastery. His father, like many of his forbears, had been a monk there before his marriage.

[39] Rewalsar Tibetans *do* provide a contrast with those living in settlements, but this point should not be overstated: Margaret Nowak (1984, p.124-125) notes that even in settlements, most initiatives are individualistic.

[40] The rituals performed for both the cremation and the longer after death rites, were, like all the other practices performed at the rNying-ma-pa monastery, from texts written by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che.

CHAPTER 3 THE rNYING-MA-PA MONASTERY: DAILY LIFE

For the monks, the day is structured around four "sessions" of religious practice: an early session; a morning; an afternoon; and an evening session. The morning and afternoon sessions are done communally in the temple; the early and evening sessions are done individually in each monk's own room. What practice is done individually is dependent on what personal instruction a monk has received. Generally, since bDud-'joms Rin-po-che is their root bla-ma, they do practices which have been written by him and for which they have received any necessary empowerments [1] from him. They may have received the ritual authorization to practise a particular text [2], and explanatory instructions from bDud-'joms or another bla-ma. Monks who, before entering the monastery, had already received practices from other - usually - rNying-ma-pa bla-mas, will do these other practices during these individual sessions. The norm is for monks to perform a "sngon-'gro" - "foundation" practice (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1), containing the elements which form the basis for Vajrayāna practice: the Refuge, bodhisattva vow, maṇḍala offerings, Vajrasattva purification, and Guru Yoga, in the early session, and their own personal "yi-dam" practice (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.2) in the evenings. Those monks who have not yet received meditation instruction are not expected to do these two sessions of practice, although they may have plenty to do instead. During my period of fieldwork, bSod-nams was occupied in the early mornings, sweeping in and around the temple, and preparing the offering bowls; activities which, as he pointed out to me, may have the disadvantage of being hard work, but are very good for focusing the mind on the presence of the three Jewels in ones life, and are a great aid to the practice of Dharma. rGya-mtsho was persevering with his studies in the early mornings, copying out prayers and so on.

Some extra practice is done on behalf of all the members of the monastery, by the bla-ma or one of the senior monks [3]. At about six o'clock in the morning, after the bla-ma has performed his own foundation practice, and perhaps drunk some tea, he makes a "bsangs" offering to the monastery's local protectors in the "mGon-khang" (see Ch.2, Section 2.2.3.2). "bSangs" offerings are made by the fumigation of incense and aromatic herbs such as juniper. Literally, "bsangs" can mean "incense", and it is also the perfect tense of "sangs", "to cleanse". The offering of "bsangs" is, predictably, a purificatory ritual, purifying the place, and pacifying any potentially harmful forces, who are thereby transformed into protective forces. After this, he does the daily meditation practice (*rGyun-khyer*) of rDo-rje Gro-lod, the monastery's yi-dam and protector. rDo-rje Gro-lod is one of the principal wrathful emanations of Padmākara. According to the "Padma bka'-thang shel-brag-ma" (Ch.33), Padma dwelt in a fearful cemetery known as "Erection of Worlds" ("Loka brtsegs"), situated in Khotan, which was inhabited by harmful beasts, ghosts, etc., for five years, during which he taught "dākinīs" the Dharma (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.2 and Glossary). He then received the name "rDo-rje Gro-lod" [4]. There are further significances to the form rDo-rje Gro-lod. In particular, he is associated with the occasion when Padma meditated in the cave of "sTag-tshang" ("Tiger's Den") in Bhutan [5]. He took this really wrathful manifestation in order to subdue all the classes of earth and local deities, and all the negative forces. Having subdued them, he gave them teaching so that they could work for Liberation, and he made them protectors, entrusting them with "gter-mas" to be revealed only to the appropriate "gter-ston" (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1). Thus, we can see that rDo-rje Gro-lod, although not himself of the dharmapāla class, as the wrathful yi-dam who subdues the negative forces, can play the important role of the monastery's Protector.

Later in the day, after the afternoon session in the temple (usually at about six p.m.), the bla-ma returns to the mGon-khang to do the evening practice which is a supplication to rDo-rje Gro-lod.

While the bla-ma is in the mGon-khang before the communal practice in the mornings, the mchod-dpon must be in the temple arranging the offerings on the offerings table and ensuring that any necessary preparations for the ritual practices have been carried out. Then, he strikes the gong in the temple courtyard to announce that it is time for the morning session. The monks leave their rooms, circumambulate the temple, and do three prostrations as they enter the porchway of the temple. They take their seats and the practice begins. All the communal practices begin in this way. The morning session usually begins between seven to eight a.m., depending on whether it is summer or winter; and the afternoon session begins between about two and three p.m. The length of the practices vary considerably: on some days, the practices may only last for about two hours each, while on special, "tshogs" offering days, they may take about four hours each. During the first month practice session period, the morning practice may begin on some days as early as three a.m., and there may be almost continuous practice throughout the day.

3.1. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the following sections, I present a descriptive outline of the daily communal practices, based on my regular observation while in the field, my translations of the texts recited, and discussion with the monks. As I indicated above (Ch.1, Section 1.6), there are a number of problems with this method.

Theorists using external analytical frameworks to "interpret" rituals frequently make, at least implicit, assumptions about the mental processes of the actors. Few attempt to investigate how such cognitive processes might work [6]. My argument is that whether or not it might be possible to uncover sub-conscious psychological structures which might explain the specific form of the imagery or of the ritual behaviour, it is of fundamental importance to understand the conscious intellectual content of the rituals. The Tibetan Buddhist ritual practice texts and commentaries, and detailed oral exegesis can illuminate this. Moreover, such texts and explanations, together with a thorough examination of the wider religious tradition, can provide an indigenous Buddhist model of the psyche and the

processes whereby it can be revealed in its "natural" Enlightened state. In this "ethnographic" work, I have used this Buddhist model, readily comprehensible to my informants, as the framework for my presentation of the practices.

Such an approach relies on a correct understanding and interpretation of the Buddhist material. It is therefore necessary, at this stage, to make explicit the problems which such a task entails, and how I have attempted to resolve these problems.

With regard to my textual translations, there are a number of key terms - as listed in the "Glossary" - with special meanings: where I have translated them, I have invariably used one English translation throughout, and for their precise implications, the "Glossary" can be referred to. Yet many other words occur with different meanings in various contexts. In such cases, I have attempted to communicate the sense of the word or phrase rather than rigidly adhering to consistency at the cost of sacrificing clarity in the English. I was guided in my struggle to understand and translate by a few of the monks, and especially by Bla-ma Blo-gros (see Ch.1, Section 1.6), who encouraged me to ensure that the meaning was clear. Indeed, on occasion, when I was searching for appropriate English, he insisted that I should record the sense - and even the implications - of a particular sentence or verse, rather than attempt a literal translation. Thus, interpretation is already present in the translations themselves, in two senses. First, some culturally specific notions and imagery may have been explained to me in a way which I, as a foreign Buddhist, could understand. Second, my translations, in part, reflect the understanding of the monks with whom I worked. This is not to suggest that there is any likelihood that the monks were, in effect, re-interpreting historically established texts which had lost relevance for them. Most of the texts are modern renditions of the old lineages of teachings, and the monks' explanations almost never seemed out of line with Buddhist thinking in general or rNying-ma-pa usage in particular. Yet, uncertainty remains in two respects. Firstly, since I was not in the position to check all my informants' explanations against those of the authors or of important bla-mas of the tradition, it is possible that in places, my translations might suggest

divergences with the "mainstream" tradition. Any such areas of divergence, if they could be identified by future research, would, of course, be of considerable interest. However, the possibility of identification is made difficult by the second, more serious problem of translation - that of my own competence - which raises three questions. How far have I, in fact, understood either the meaning of the texts, or my informants' explanations, and how successful is my attempt to translate my understanding into the English language? I shall deal with these in turn.

One advantage of translating practice texts, and particularly the "Ritual Practice" ("*Las-byang*") texts of Vajrayāna deities is that not only are the textual activities recited and performed in contemporary monasteries, but they follow a fairly standard structure such that familiarity with one such practice text can help in comprehending another. I am fairly confident that my studies have given me competence in dealing with such material. Where a phrase or verse is knowingly obscure to me, I have noted this.

Given my background in Buddhist studies and my increasing ability to contend with the texts, there were few obvious problems in understanding informants' explanations. This does not preclude the more subtle philosophical problem of whether my informants and I understood exactly the same things by the Buddhist concepts we were using, I having been trained in western Buddhist studies, they having been trained by their upbringing in a Buddhist culture, their practice and their studies as monks (see Ch.1, Section 1.6). This difficulty in understanding does not only apply to textual exegesis: it is as relevant to my discussion of the intellectual content of the ritual activities. The actual experience of the monks as they recite and follow the various textual recitations is, except to an Omniscient One, unknowable, and many years of immersion in a Tibetan Buddhist community might be necessary for certainty regarding the exact connotations which standard Buddhist notions have for the monks. Of necessity, I have had to assume that our understanding of such notions is not widely divergent. To some extent, the fact that actual experience cannot be known is not an impediment to describing the meditations. These descriptions,

whether or not they conform to the reality of any particular monk's experience, represent at least the "ideal" way of relating to the ritual. Even if a poor practitioner may, in fact, be daydreaming on any particular occasion, he or she is still largely conditioned by the "ideal" practice described in the texts, and recitation of this practice may also be effective at a non-intellectual level. Where I include glosses such as, "here, the monks meditate on..." or, "the monks should think...", it must be remembered that I am referring to the *instructions* to which the practice is expected to conform, not necessarily the actual experience of all individuals present.

The problem of one's choice of language is a challenge faced by any translator. Tibetan Buddhist literature poses special difficulties: as the Fourteenth Dalai Lama points out [7], contemporary English is still deficient in words appropriate for rendering Tibetan religious conceptions. Numerous translators are attempting to overcome these difficulties, for example, by using ordinary English words in special senses, or by developing new English technical terms. Yet, there is much disagreement, even over the translation of common standard Buddhist terms, and no State is in the position to impose conformity, unlike the situation in the early ninth century in Tibet, when Tibetan translations from Sanskrit were standardized. Since the west also has its own elaborate religious vocabulary, where parallel English terms are resorted to - "consecration", for instance, for "*byin-rlabs*" - they might carry unfortunate Christian overtones. In general, I have avoided using Christian terminology; thus, for example "*sdig-pa*" is rendered as "*negativity*" rather than "*sin*". The Tibetan - or Sanskrit where this is already widely known - is retained for a number of key terms, which are elaborated upon in the Glossary, and I have tried to keep the body of English translation as simple, clear and precise as possible. I hope to have made the Tibetan meanings accessible; I do not, however, make any claims to have devised definitive translations for any of the textual material dealt with here.

3.2. THE MORNING COMMUNAL PRACTICE

3.2.1 Selections from "Chos-spyod"

All the communal practices are of texts written or compiled by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che. Every day, practice begins with some sections from "*Chos-spyod*" - "The Practice of the Dharma" - a text containing many basic practices and supplications. Although the text was compiled by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, much of it is his selections from well-known Mahāyāna and rNying-ma-pa works. I have included a complete translation of the sections which are done each morning in Appendix 3. Here, I will comment on the significance of these sections. The practice begins with "Going for" or "Taking Refuge". This is the act of commitment to the Buddhist path which is common to all schools of Buddhism (see Appendix 1, Section A.1.2.4). Having recognised that the condition of Saṃsāra is fundamentally unsatisfactory, providing no true "Refuge", however much one may cling to temporary phenomena, one goes for Refuge to the state of Liberation. In the Tibetan tradition, the first Refuge is the bla-ma (Skt."Guru"), who embodies the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. As a realised Vajrayāna practitioner who displays the Enlightened Mind, he is the Buddha. His teaching is the spontaneous expression of this realised state, which is the Dharma, and as the spiritual friend who has received transmission from previous teachers and who is able to transmit the support and inspiration of the whole tradition, he is the Saṅgha. Thus, the practice begins with Going for Refuge to the Root and Lineage Bla-mas who embody the three Jewels. The imagery which also occurs at the beginning of the practice, of going for Refuge, "with all sentient beings" is common in Tibetan Buddhist practices. As a Mahāyāna tradition, a "Hīnayāna" or individual motivation of taking Refuge to escape from Saṃsāra, is not encouraged. The imagery throughout is of working for Enlightenment for the benefit of others. It is often suggested that one should visualise parents and friends to one's side, other beings surrounding, but in particular, enemies in front, so that one cannot forget that the practice is for their benefit. Also included in this Refuge is the special Vajrayāna Refuge of the three Roots (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.2).

Going for Refuge is followed by "Generating Bodhicitta"; developing the Enlightened attitude of complete empathy with all beings and finally with all phenomena. This is the reaffirmation of the bodhisattva vow (see Appendix 1, Section A.2) which is the specifically Mahāyāna commitment. The "Four Immeasurables" are connected with the bodhisattva vow, and are also recited. The first is "love" or "loving kindness", wishing that all beings may be happy. The second is "Compassion", wishing that all beings may be liberated from Saṃsāra. The third is "joy", rejoicing in the bliss of liberation experienced by others. The fourth is "equanimity", the state of sameness without attachment, aversion or indifference, which is a prerequisite for developing true empathy with beings.

The next section of the practice is "Consecrating the Ground". Having reaffirmed the commitment, the whole environment is purified to create the appropriate setting for practice. In this text, the "Consecration" is a meditation on the true nature of the environment, on its natural purity as a Buddha-field (see Appendix 1, Section A.5). It is followed by "Consecrating the Offerings". The material offerings which have been laid out on the offerings table in the temple and the mental offerings which can be imagined, are also consecrated through meditating on their true nature. The offerings are all sense objects; on a "worldly" level, these are the very components which reinforce the deluded perspective of Saṃsāra, and are to be pacified in the "Hīnayāna" teaching. On the Mahāyāna level, they are seen to be empty ("Śūnyā"), and their purification consists in seeing them from this perspective. Thus, they become reflections of the realised state of mind, wonderful attributes of the Buddha-fields, and lacking any solidity, they increase to fill the whole of space.

The "Victorious Ones" (the Buddhas) and their retinues are then invited. Having established one's mind in the environment of the Buddha-field and its attributes, Enlightenment itself is called upon to manifest. The idea is that through the previous meditation, the coarser veils obscuring the arising of Enlightenment may be removed, and the Nirmāṇakāya may then arise. In calling forth the Buddhas, the keynote is to develop the feeling of the presence of Enlightenment. As a physical and visual focus, it is useful to

have or to imagine an image in which the Buddhas manifest. Thus, the text requests (Appendix 3, Section A), "please come to this offering-place, to the nicely-made image which is your reflection". In this case, the monks can use the central image in the temple as their focus, or they may imagine an appropriate image.

The following sections on the "Purification House" and on the "Purification" are to reinforce the meditations which have been done. Since the practitioners are not yet enlightened, their meditation is likely to be hindered by discursive thoughts, and their image of the Buddha may not be clear. Thus, one imagines "bathing" the image, to purify one's perception, at the same time as recognising that from the ultimate perspective, there is no need for any purification:

"Although defilements and obscurations have no power in the... body, speech and mind of the Victorious Ones;... We perform the Purification with this pure water." (Appendix 3, Section A)

These beginning sections of the practice are concluded with "Requesting them to Remain", in which the presence of Enlightenment is made firm.

3.2.1.1 The "Seven Limbs"

The morning practice then continues with the "Seven Limbs", either in an abbreviated or a long form. The abbreviated form is usually used on days such as the tenth day of the month, when the main practice is to be lengthy, while the long form is done on the normal days when there is only a short practice to follow. When the long form is done, the abbreviated verses are included as a summary at the end of each particular "limb".

The "Seven Limbs" are a standard structuring of practice dating back to Indian Buddhist Mahāyāna, and they lay the foundation of the bodhisattva path. The first "limb" is that of "Prostrations". Prostrations are a common form of practice in all the Buddhist traditions, since they develop the basic commitment associated with the Refuge - the surrender of oneself to the path - and devotion to the Enlightened Mind. Devotion is very important at all levels, as it inspires further and sustained practice. Complete confidence in and devotion to the Guru are essential in the Vajrayāna (see Appendix 1, Section A.5). Here,

the prostrations are not done physically by all the monks; rather, they meditate on the act of prostrating. While the abbreviated verses consist of prostrations in accordance with the general Mahāyāna commitment to "all the Sugatas" (Buddhas), the long form enumerates the specific emanations of Enlightenment of particular importance to the rNying-ma-pa. It begins with prostrations to the bla-ma and the Refuges, and continues with prostrations to the primordial ground of realization, known to the rNying-ma-pa as "Samantabhadra" (Skt.; Tib., "Kun tu bzang-po"), and the ultimate "Mind transmission" of Enlightenment (see under, "Transmission" in Glossary). This is followed by prostrations to various Buddhas, and then (Appendix 3, Section A), to Vajrasattva, the "Vajra being" or pure Vajra Nature, visualized in the form of a deity, meditation upon whom is a prerequisite for advanced Vajrayāna practice. Here, Vajrasattva is in "yab-yum" form, a form uniting the "male" aspect of skill-in-means with the "female" aspect of wisdom and emptiness. Then, there are prostrations to the full expression of the Vajra Nature as the Vajrayāna "maṇḍala", containing the central Enlightened form and a retinue of manifestations, and then to particular yi-dams popular in rNying-ma practice. Prostrations are next made specifically to the female aspect, and then to the Mahāyāna texts. After this, the text focuses on "the eight great bodhisattvas", prominent bodhisattvas of the Buddha's retinue in the Mahāyāna Sūtras, and other advanced bodhisattvas. The famous masters of the Hīnayāna teaching are also listed, grouped in the usual Mahāyāna manner as "Śrāvakas" and "Pratyekabuddhas" (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1), and after this, the Buddha Śākyamuni, displaying Enlightenment through the important symbolic deeds of his life story, is prostrated to. There is then a lengthy passage of prostrations to the masters of the rNying-ma lineages, beginning with dGa'-rab rDo-rje, and the great Indian Buddhist teachers and continuing with the early teachers in Tibet (Śāntarakṣita, Padmākara, etc.), and those who followed them. Then, some of the later great Tibetan meditation masters are listed, and there is a section on the principal bla-mas of the "gter-ma" transmissions. The text continues with various bla-mas associated with both "bka'-ma" ("oral") and gter-ma transmissions, and

with the teachings of the different "yānas". When these sections on prostrations to all the great rNying-ma-pa teachers have been done, there are some verses on the principal teaching lineages of the other traditions in Tibetan Buddhism. There are probably two reasons for this inclusion: firstly, to overcome any tendency to sectarianism, and secondly, because the cross-fertilization of teachings through the schools means that many of the teachings especially associated with other schools may also be practised by rNying-ma-pa bla-mas.

The limb of Prostrations ends with further verses to the ḍākinīs and dharmapālas as the inspiratory and protective forces of the path, and then the general verses in the abbreviated limb of Prostrations are inserted.

The second limb is "Offerings". Here, a section from the "Bodhicaryāvatāra", a popular Mahāyāna practice manual written by Śāntideva (see Appendix 1, Section A.4) is used. Offerings of oneself and all one's possessions and imagined possessions are symbolically made, in order to overcome attachment to one's own welfare, and to reinforce the sense of surrendering one's whole destiny to Enlightenment. Here again, the verses are simply recited by the monks, followed by the abbreviated offerings (Insertion no.2, Appendix 3, Section A). After this, a more specifically Vajrayāna "maṇḍala" offering (see Ch.2, Section 2.2.3.3.3, (3)) is made. The purpose of the maṇḍala offering is the same as that of the general Mahāyāna offering; to overcome egocentric attachment. Here, the imagery is of the "maṇḍala" of the universe, according to the ancient Indian classification, Mount Meru surrounded by the four major and eight minor continents, and so forth (see Appendix 3, note 49). As we have seen, this "maṇḍal" is distinguished from the "maṇḍala" (Tib."dkyil-'khor") of the yi-dam upon which one meditates in order to transform all the components of experience. Nonetheless, the basic structure of the offering maṇḍala, based on the Indian model, corresponds with the ordering of meditation maṇḍalas, which are, after all, designed to integrate outer and sensory experiences with their true nature as the five primordial awarenesses, and thus to transform them. In the case of meditation maṇḍalas, ordinary experience is integrated in the "maṇḍala" of Enlightenment, while in the case of

offering maṇḍalas, the "maṇḍala" of ordinary experience is absorbed into Enlightenment and transformed. Through the power of the initial mantra (Appendix 3, text p.23, line 6), "the earth", or the substantial appearance of the ground of the universe, is revealed as the "golden ground" of Buddha-Nature, with the characteristics of "purity" (= emptiness) and "power", the energy of manifestation. The seed syllable of the Vajra energy - HŪM - is at the centre, and the entire universe, in its transformed state, complete with wondrous adornments, emanates from this. Having transformed the world, it is offered; even the Enlightened "view" itself should not be "grasped". An abridged maṇḍala offering with the same theme is then done as a summary.

The third limb is, "Resolving not to repeat negative actions". This act of confession in the presence of the Buddhas, and here, in the presence of the bla-ma, and the Vajrayāna lineage holders as well, is considered to be an important requisite for Mahāyāna practice. Since it is the power of the mind which produces wholesome and unwholesome actions, to recognise previous negative acts and to sincerely aspire not to repeat them is said to have a great purificatory effect [9].

The next four "limbs" are all done in the abridged form (Appendix 3, Section A, Insertion no.4). The fourth is, "Rejoicing in the merits of others", a practice to undermine competitiveness and envy, by developing the attitude of joy in the happiness of others. The fifth is, "Requesting the Buddhas to turn the wheel of the Dharma". Simply because a Buddha appears in the world, it does not necessarily follow that he will give teaching since potential students may lack the aspiration to practise Dharma. Mahāyāna Buddhists, therefore, emphasise the importance of persistently aspiring for oneself and others to receive teaching. This "limb" is closely associated with the sixth - "Requesting them not to enter Nirvāṇa". Although in the Mahāyāna teaching, it is clear that Buddhas do not really enter Parinirvāṇa, and are not truly "extinguished" [10], yet they may appear to do so in order to teach impermanence and to inspire apathetic practitioners. Thus, it is considered crucial that the good fortune of the presence of the Buddhas should be recognised, and the request

should be made that they remain to liberate sentient beings. The final "limb" is "The Dedication of Merits"; the final act in all Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna practices. The idea of the transference of merits is common to all the Buddhist schools. In Mahāyāna, all practice is done with the intention of benefitting others, and any positive effects of generating the aspiration for Enlightenment, making offerings, and so on, are mentally transferred to others. As well as directly benefitting others, this practice in fact helps to cultivate generosity in the practitioner.

After the seven preliminary "limbs", the text continues (Appendix 3, text, p.27, line 2 ff.) with, "The Actual Ritual" of Generating Bodhicitta. This is a longer and more complete version of the bodhisattva vow, using the well-known verses from the "Bodhicaryāvatāra".

3.2.1.2 Supplications

This recitation completes the basic practice which is done every morning in the temple, although on most days when there is not a long practice to follow, the monks continue the text with "Supplications" to all the great teachers of the lineages of the "Three Commitments". The first supplication (Appendix 3, text p. 29, line 3 ff.) is to the main teachers who received and transmitted the "Vinaya" - the precepts of the Buddhist monk, the collected nucleus of which is the "Pratimokṣa". The Vinaya which was preserved in Tibet was that of the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition. The supplication does not serve simply to remind the monks of their Vinaya; not all the monks are in any case fully ordained "dGe-slong". In a wider sense, the Pratimokṣa represents all the basic "Hīnayāna" precepts and the aspiration to follow the Dharma, and is of prime importance as the basis for advanced practice. Many of the teachers of the lineage also feature later in the other lineages, emphasising that there is no conflict between the Hīnayāna discipline and the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna practice.

The second supplication (Appendix 3, text p.32, line 3 ff.) is to the main teachers of the bodhisattva vow, and this is divided into two lineages, one associated with the Mādhyamika, and one with the Cittamātra tradition. In relation to the bodhisattva vow, the teachings are not fundamentally different, but simply involve a different line of teachers,

and many practitioners receive the bodhisattva vow on separate occasions, according to both traditions.

The third supplication (Appendix 3, text p.34, line 5 ff.) is to the lineages of the Vajrayāna masters. This is divided into three sections, corresponding to the three Inner Tantras of the rNying-ma-pa (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1.1). Since some of the great teachers were masters of all three, some duplication occurs in the three lines.

These supplications serve to remind the monks of the richness of the tradition to which they are connected, and emphasise the importance of the various teaching lineages.

The next stage of the daily practice, is the recitation (three or seven times) of the "Seven Syllable Supplication" ("Tshig bdun gsol-'debs"), the most important of all supplications to Padmākara, and one which is regularly recited by all his followers. This supplication has seven lines, each of seven syllables, with the addition of the seed-syllable, HUM, at the beginning, and seven mantra syllables at the end to give it a mantra form. A rough translation, with ten syllables in each line, is as follows:

"HUM% In the North-west of the land of O-rgyan;%
Upon the heart of a lotus flower;%
Bearer of the Supreme Wondrous Siddhi;%
Famed as Padmākara, the Lotus-Born;%
Many ḍākinīs form your retinue;%
Since I practise following after you;%
Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna [11] here;%
GURU PADMA SIDDHI HUM.%"

It is clear that this supplication constitutes a summary of the central symbolism associated with Padma. Supplications are supposed to describe the characteristics of the aspect of Enlightenment being supplicated, and to inspire devotion and wisdom [12]. Having proclaimed the wondrous manifestation of Padmākara, the practitioner identifies with him, requesting his "adhiṣṭhāna" as empowerment.

After this supplication, some other longer supplications, usually to Padmākara, may be done, such as the example given in Appendix 3 (Section B). On the tenth day, a long series of supplications to him - most of which are in "Chos-spyod" - are done. On most days, just one will be done.

3.2.2 The Daily Ritual Practice of rDo-rje Gro-lod

The next stage of the morning practice is the daily supplication (see Appendix 3, Section C) and Ritual Practice of rDo-rje Gro-lod (see TABLE 1), the monastery's yi-dam. This is not done on the tenth day, because the main practice of the tenth day is a general Ritual Practice of Padmākara, which includes all his aspects, and therefore, the specific Gro-lod practice is not felt to be necessary as well. It is, however, done on all the other mornings. The daily supplication, simply known as "gsol-'debs" - "supplication" - is one short section (just one side of a Tibetan page long) of the collected texts of "The Powerful and Wrathful Subduer of Māra, rDo-rje Gro-lod" ("bdud-'dul dbang drag rdo-rje gro-lod"), by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che. As with most other supplications, the monks recite it quickly, with the dbu-mdzad keeping the time by leading the chanting and tapping out the beat. This supplication takes no more than about one minute, and is a preliminary to the Ritual Practice. The first verse is a supplication to the Dharmakāya, Amitābha, and to Thod-phreng-rtsal, who is usually a primordial or Sambhogakāya manifestation of Padma (see Ch.2, Section 2.1.3). The next verse supplicates mKhar-chen bZa', Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal, consort of Padma, and the bla-mas who understand and transmit the secret teaching. The third verse supplicates Gro-lod as the "heruka" (see Glossary), whose activity is, in fact, Buddha-activity, the dance of the primordial awarenesses, but whose manifestation is fierce, destroying whatever cannot be subdued. This means the completely negative forces of the three poisons. This is made explicit in the fourth and final verse, which is an aspiration for the "victory" of Gro-lod's realization in oneself and others. The two words used to describe rDo-rje Gro-lod, "*dbang*" and "*drag*", are the third and fourth "karmas" or "Enlightened activities" (see Glossary under, "Karma", 2). "dBang" is the power of subduing, by which phenomena are brought under control, and "drag" is "wrathful" destruction. It is the "Māras" (see Glossary), the general classes of negativity which obstruct Enlightenment, and in the case of Gro-lod, the specific classes of the "*rgyal-po*" and the "*bsen-mo*", which are destroyed. The "rgyal-po", "king" negativities, are the "male" negative

forces of superiority, pride and the desire to dominate. Often associated with intelligence, distorted through attachment to worldly power, this type of negative force may particularly afflict those who are involved in Dharma practice, and who may have made some progress but who are then inflated with pride or sectarian superiority. Tibetans say that monks who have broken vows are prone to be reborn as rgyal-po, and to cause trouble in the Saṅgha. The "bsen-mo", "seductive" forces, are a class of "female" negativities. They seem to be a lower form of the forces of Māmo [13], the female principle, which is in its true nature, "prajñā", wisdom, but through Ignorance, is mistaken as outer phenomena, and is grasped at. Being enticed by "Māmo" in this way, and thus being caught up in emotional attachments, is said to be the negative influence of the forces of the "māmos". The "bsen-mo" are an even more distorted form of this female principle, causing people to die through their attachments, and so on. These two sets of negativities may manifest either inwardly as "forces" or outwardly as "beings". Ultimately, since the individual mind is illusory, and dualistic distinctions of "subject" and "object" are not valid, the two types of appearances are not separate, and there is no question of a "higher" or "lower" understanding. In either case, these negativities are refractions of the three poisons; the "rgyal-po" are the expression of aversion, the "bsen-mo" the expression of attachment, and both are imbued with the "māras" of delusion. Their destruction results in Liberation, the freed self-arising awareness arising as Gro-lod, the Padma Blood-drinker [14].

3.2.2.1 *The Foundations*

3.2.2.1.1. Refuge, Bodhicitta and the Accumulations

After the supplication, the monks immediately begin the "*Las-byang*" - the "Ritual Practice" - with "Going for Refuge". This is the first section of the "Actual Ritual" in the text, the full title of which is, "bdud-'dul dbang drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi las-byang dngos-grub 'dod-'jo": "The Ritual Practice of the Subduer of Māra, the powerful and wrathful rDo-rje Gro-lod, which yields siddhis like a cow with never-ending milk". Before the "Actual Ritual", the text begins with a mantra of homage to the Guru in his

wrathful form, and a sentence summarising the role of Gro-lod as the King of the Wrathful Ones whose power is the antidote which subdues all negative beings, and proclaiming that this practice will bring the practitioner to the essence of his innumerable sādhanas. The preparations necessary for the practice are then briefly outlined. All the items which symbolise the "samaya" connection - the bond between the practitioner and the yi-dam (see Glossary) - such as an image of Gro-lod, the rdo-rje slob-dpon's bell and vajra, etc., and everything needed for the outer and inner offerings, should be obtained and correctly arranged. The "samaya" items are always kept in the temple, and the mchod-dpon is responsible for ensuring that all the offering utensils and offerings are previously prepared and arranged. Thus, the monks begin the practice with "Going for Refuge". They recite using the same fast chanting as for the supplications:

The following is recited once:

p.1b, line 3 "May all the Refuge Places [15]
 throughout the ten directions (arise)
 in the form of the wheel of the maṇḍala
 of the blood-drinking wrathful Padma.
line 4 VAJRA SAMĀ JAḤ"
 Saying this, meditate on him arising in the
 sky in front.

The main verse is then recited three times:

line 4 "NAMO % [16]
 To the Masters, the root and lineage bla-mas,%
 To the deities, the yi-dams who grant Siddhi, %
pg.2, line 1 To the dākinīs who remove all the hindrances,%
 To the three Roots, We go for Refuge." %

This is followed, still with the fast chanting, with the section on "Generating Bodhicitta", again recited three times:

line 2 "We generate bodhicitta for the benefit of all beings.%
 Having accomplished the practice of the Powerful and Wrathful
 Padma,%
 May all influences leading away from the Dharma,
 the *dgra* and the *bgegs*,
 be killed and liberated,%
 thus protecting the benefit of beings.
 We generate bodhicitta!%"

In this verse, the *dgra*, the "hostile forces", comprise both the outer negative forces which result in the destruction of the Buddha's teaching or harm to the bla-ma, and the inner

forces within the practitioner's own mind which distort and destroy the teaching which has been received. The bgegs are the "obstacles" which obstruct progress, particularly progress in meditation practice. They are the forces which divert and distract the mind from ones manifest Buddhahood. I have translated the verb, "sgral" as "to kill and liberate". It is a word which has the two connotations, and is used in wrathful practices to refer to the action whereby a negative force is destroyed, and the consciousness of the being which had been deluded by the negativity is freed from its chains, and thereby liberated in the Dharmadhātu. Thus, the action appears to be itself negative, to involve killing, which in the Buddhist context, is the most fundamental unwholesome activity, and indeed, its symbolic power derives from its seeming transgression of the first precept. In fact, the action, "protects the benefit of beings", and has the bodhicitta as its motivation. In this Vajrayāna practice, the forces of destruction, which in their true nature are the expression of the energy of the primordial awarenesses, are the very forces which transform and thus overcome aggression and attachment, and in this way, consciousness is liberated, becoming pure awareness. This theory is understood by the monks - although they do not feel that they have fully "realised" it yet (that is the purpose of the regular practice), and while the new and less well-informed monks may not have had it fully explained to them, and admit that they do not understand it properly, they are well aware that the motivation behind the wrathful action must be Compassion and the result is the liberation of all beings. They also know that that which is to be destroyed is the mental forces which obstruct their own practice.

The section on "Generating bodhicitta" is followed by a section on "The Accumulations" which is recited once using the same fast chant. The "accumulations" refer to the accumulation of merit and primordial awareness and are often associated with the maṇḍala offering. The act of offering creates merits; doing this with the "threefold purity" - understanding that the subject, object and act of offering are "empty" - is the accumulation of primordial awareness. Here, they involve a seven limb practice, a Vajrayāna version of the

Mahāyāna practice. The text begins with "Prostrations":

Pg.2, line 3 "HOḤ Multitudes of deities of the blazing [17]
Powerful and Wrathful One, please come;
With your rākṣasa dance,
Be present on the throne made
of the bound-up bodies of arrogant ones;
line 4 We prostrate to you."

The "arrogant ones" ("dregs-pa") refers to the general class of negative forces which Padmākara subdues and controls. In this case, they are the "rgyal-po" and "bsen-mo" (see back, p.121), symbolised by one male and one female human figure, both of whom are tied up, and above which the Wrathful One dances in the manner of a "rākṣasa". Rākṣasas were fierce beings to whose land Padmākara apparently went on leaving Tibet. Once they were subdued, the "land of rākṣasas" became the kingdom of Padmākara and multitudes of them form his retinue, becoming, in fact, his emanations. They manifest in a completely wrathful way, and in the classification of yi-dams, while some are peaceful, and some are "semi-wrathful", those who, like Gro-lod, are completely wrathful in their expression, are said to be "like rākṣasas".

The text continues with the second limb:

line 4 "We make the offering which kills and liberates the three poisons".

This offering is the meditation offering of the three poisons arising in turn as a seed or dot (Skt."bindu") in the Dharmadhātu. In this field of Enlightenment, they are spontaneously transformed and liberated, becoming the wonderful adornments of their environment (Śūnyatā), and thus, they are "offered". Here, it is unlikely that the monks could do this meditation in full, but as they recite the sentence, they should feel that they are making such an offering of the three poisons which are thus overcome. Then they continue with the other limbs:

line 4 "We recognise and resolve not to repeat all our confusions, which have been the degenerations and breakages (of our samaya commitments). We rejoice in the liberation of the influences which lead from the Dharma.

P.2b, line 1 We enjoin (the Gro-lod deities) to turn the wheel of the wrathful Dharma teaching. We supplicate them to accomplish their Enlightened activities. We make the complete dedication of merit to all sentient beings. Please perfect the karma of destruction [18]!"

Then the sub-section, "The bGegs gtor-ma", begins. A "gtor-ma", here referring to a shaped structure representing a food offering, is made to the "bgegs". All "bgegs-gtor" are similar in design, consisting of a small red cone-shaped gtor-ma, made of barley flour, butter, water and red dye, decorated with little balls, said to be shaped like "finger tips", made of extra dough mixture and put at the front of the base, and a sausage of dough mixture squeezed and shaped between the hands, also put around the base, known as "chang-bu" [21]. Being red, the colour of blood, the offering is a wrathful one, representing the "flesh" and "blood" of the three poisons. The offering has two parts. First is what is essentially a pacifying ritual, by which the forces of the "bgegs" are "pacified", through dissolving them in Śūnyatā; second is a wrathful action, by which any "bgegs" which was not pacified, is overcome by the force of the energies of primordial awareness. First, the monks recite, "RAM YAM KHAM; OM AH HUM HOH SARVA BHUTA AKARṢAYA JAḤ"

The text adds some explanation which is not recited:

Pg.2b, line 3 "With RAM YAM KHAM it is completely purified;
 With OM AH HUM HOH the adhiṣṭhāna is granted;
 With SARVA BHUTA AKARṢAYA JAḤ
 the "guests" are summoned."

RAM (ॠ) is the red seed-syllable of fire. YAM (ॡ) is the green seed-syllable of wind. KHAM (ॢ) is the white seed-syllable of water. The monks, who have been meditating on themselves as rDo-rje Gro-lod, should imagine a huge gtor-ma in the sky in front. From their hearts, they should feel the seed-syllables coming forth, penetrating the gtor-ma. With RAM, the gtor-ma is burnt up and consumed; with YAM, the pieces are scattered; and with KHAM, the remains are cleansed. Thus, all ones "defilements" of grasping the appearance of the gtor-ma as though it were substantial, are purified. The whole appearance in front dissolves into its pure and natural state of Śūnyatā. Arising from this basic state, the gtor-ma is "consecrated" with OM, the seed-syllable of the Dharmakāya; AH, the seed-syllable of the Sambhogakāya; and HUM, seed-syllable of the Nirmāṇakāya. As this is recited and meditated upon, the mchod-dpon anoints the small red gtor-ma with water, and takes it from the offerings table, putting it down on a tripod near the temple doorway.

Standing in the doorway himself, in front of the gtor-ma on the floor, he faces the shrine. Meanwhile, the monks recite the summoning mantra. The mudrā of summoning can be done here, although it is not usually done by the Rewalsar monks. They immediately recite, "SARVA VIGHNAN BALIMTA KHAHI", Sanskrit words which could be translated as: "All bgegs - Eat the gtor-ma!", three times, and then two monks start playing the long horns, and the dbu-mdzad plays the cymbals. These instruments are joined by the trumpets and the drums. The music, which is the first to be played in the morning practice, lasts for about one and a half minutes, and adds to the impact of the mantras which have been recited. The text continues with "The Order" ("bka'-bsgo-ba"). Through offering the bgegs the gtor-ma of the three poisons, transformed in Emptiness realisation, most of them are "satiated" and pacified in Śūnyatā. This is sealed by the "Order" for them to depart; that is, to dissolve into Emptiness. In the second part of "The Order", the stubborn obstacles which have not dissolved are warned, and then destroyed, by the transformed forces of the three poisons as the energies of Primordial awareness. The monks chant very slowly in deep voices, and the monk who plays the pole drum beats the drum once on every second syllable:

Pg.2b, line 4 "HUM Listen, multitudes of 'byung-po [22]
 and influences leading from the Dharma;%
 You do not have the right to see the "secret action"[23];%
line 5 You hindrances to the practice of Enlightenment;%
 Gather here and satisfy yourselves with this gtor-ma!;% "

At this point, the cymbals are crashed, and then the horns and trumpets play for a few seconds. The recitation is continued with a slightly faster chant, although it is still slow in comparison with the earlier chanting, and the drum is beaten slightly faster, again on every second syllable:

Pg.2b, line 5 "(Now), You may go to your own dwelling places;%
 But if you ignore this command;%
line 6 Multitudes of blazing wrathful emanations (of Gro-lod) %
 will most certainly smash you to dust! %
 Rather than this, begone now! % "

With this last line, music is played again; the cymbals, horns, trumpets, now also including thigh-bone trumpets, and drums are played simultaneously for about half a minute. The

mchod-dpon takes up the gtor-ma and throws it outside. The text says, "Having said this, expel them with the wrathful mantra and wrathful music." The mantra is the special mantra used to attack the bgegs. The mchod-dpon returns and he walks right around the temple swinging an incense thurible filled with burning saffron and incense, finally leaving it in the doorway during the following part of the ritual. As the music stops, the section, "Making the Boundary" ("mtshams bcad-pa") begins. The obstacles expelled, the meditation place is protected from the penetration of any other negative influences by the creation of a Vajra "protection maṇḍala" ("srung-'khor"). This is a meditation on the pure indestructible power of Vajra nature symbolised as a maṇḍala surrounded by an impenetrable Vajra "pavilion" or "tent", made of crossed vajras, which arise from the mingling of the lights of the primordial awarenesses. It is because the tent entirely lacks any substantiality which could be attacked or penetrated, that it is indestructible. The monks begin reciting this section with a slow, almost slurring chant in which some of the syllables are mingled together, lengthened, and some repeated. It is done in a deep tone, and as one of the young monks told me, it is very difficult and requires considerable practice - if not training of the vocal cords - to be done well. The drum is beaten slowly to keep the beat.

Pg.3, line 1 "HUM% I am the emanation of the Powerful and Wrathful One!%
 From my body, speech and mind, light radiates.%"

As the monks meditate on the primordial awareness lights radiating from their head, throat and heart centres, the dbu-mdzad crashes the cymbals, and they continue:

line 1 "Above and below, the light transforms into the
 Vajra Pavilion;%
 With sheets of fire which is the blazing of primordial
 awareness;%"

The pavilion is completely enclosed by the blazing fire of primordial awareness which it emanates (as are the images of wrathful yi-dams). Again, at this point, the cymbals are crashed, and then, the recitation is continued with the same chant as that used for the second part of "The Order" (see above, 3.2.2.1.2, text p.2b, line 5-6), a comparatively fast chant with a regular drum beat on every second syllable:

Pg.3, line 2 "Completely penetrating every surrounding
 direction,%
 Male and female wrathful ones fill the earth and the sky;%"

line 3 The outer vessel of the universe and the beings within it, become
 the Immeasurable Palace and all the deities;%
 No-one can escape!%
 HUM HUM VAJRA KRODHA TIKṢNA VAJRA
 RAKṢA RAKṢA HUM PHAT%"

The male and female wrathful ones are small emanations coming forth from the central figure of Gro-lod. The whole environment is transformed through the meditation, becoming the "*Immeasurable Palace*" of rDo-rje Gro-lod, while all beings become the deities of the maṇḍala. This is the foundation for the practice.

3.2.2.1.3 Consecration of the Maṇḍala and Offerings

The maṇḍala which has been meditated on is then consecrated by the presence of the deity in the next section: "The Descent of the Adhiṣṭhāna" ("Byin dbab-pa"). The text begins this section (p.3, line 3) with a note to invite the adhiṣṭhāna with incense and music. Incense sticks are burnt in front of the shrine, and the horns, trumpets, cymbals and drums are played. Then the text is recited, again with the same chant and drum beat as that used for the second part of "The Order" (see above 3.2.2.1.2; text p.2b, line 5-6).

Pg.3 line 3 "HUM In the South-west, in rNga-yab, is the Glorious Mountain [24];%
 And there, is the Palace of Lotus-light, within which,%
line 4 The form without birth or death is displayed. %
 Bearer of the Siddhi which subdues all beings;%
 Complete embodiment of the Sugatas, Gro-bo-lod;%
 Encircled by a retinue of dākas and dākinīs;%
 With jewel ornaments jangling, "si-li-li";%
line 5 And silk diadems fluttering, "pu-ru-ru".%
 Your golden diadems shake to and fro;%
 Your bone ornaments rattle, "khro-lo-lo";%
 Your musical instruments resound, "di-ri-ri"[25];
 Thigh-bone trumpets and skull-drums rattle, "khro-lo-lo".%
line 6 Please come to this Excellent Place!%
 Let your great adhiṣṭhāna descend onto this Maṇḍala!%
 Please confer the four Empowerments [26] onto me, the Excellent
 Practitioner;%
 Remove all obstacles, hindrances and
 influences leading from the Path;%
Pg.3b, line 1 Grant Excellent and ordinary Siddhis!
 OM AḤ HUM MAHA GURU PADMA
 THOD-PHRENG-rTSAL VAJRA SAMAYA
 JAḤ ABHIṢEKA HRĪM HRĪM JAḤ "

At this stage, all the instruments, including the thigh-bone trumpets, are played for about one minute. The mchod-dpon again walks around the temple swinging the thurible; the

incense clouds, on this occasion represent the adhiṣṭhāna descending onto the maṇḍala. Then, the monks recite "The Consecration of the Offering Substances", using the plain fast chant as used for supplications:

Pg.3b, line 1	"OM SVABHAVA VIŚUDDHA DHARMAḤ DHĀTU VIŚUDDHO' HAM"
line 2	With this they are purified [27]. Out of the very condition of Śūnyatā,% From AḤ, there arises a skull-cup vessel and within this,% From HUM clouds of outer and inner offerings arise.% Their essence is the 'amṛta' of primordial awareness;%
line 3	Their form is the medicine, rakta, gtor-ma, and all the offering substances;% Each type increases and spreads throughout the space of the sky!%"

This meditation begins with focusing the mind on the emptiness nature of all dharmas, out of which seed-syllables arise and transform into various substances. First, a white AḤ (ॐ) arises, and becomes a skull-cup vessel, visualised as filling a huge expanse in the sky. Within it, a blue HUM arises and is transformed into the offerings which are visualised as being so great that they spread out as far as one can imagine. This verse is followed by the mantras of the various offerings: flowers, incense, lights, perfume, food, music, as the "outer offerings"; amṛta, rakta and baliṃ (gtor-ma) as the "inner offerings". The mantras are repeated three times and accompanied by the appropriate mudrās – a series of hand gestures which represent the particular substances. The outer offering mantras are followed by the music of horns and trumpets, with the bell and ḍamaru (small hand drum) played by the slob-dpon, and after the repetition of the inner offering mantras, the cymbals, horns and trumpets are played for about one minute. This completes the build-up to the "Main Practice".

3.2.2.2 The Main Practice

3.2.2.2.1 Generating, Inviting and Enthroning the Deity

The Main Practice starts with "Generating the Deity" (p.3b, line 4). This fairly lengthy section is chanted to the steady chant with the drum beat on every second syllable, as used for the second part of "The Order" (see back, 3.2.2.1.2). The first lines describe the process whereby the Enlightened manifestation arises from the state of suchness (Skt. "tathatā")

which is free from projections, in order to liberate beings who have lost their understanding of the nature of things. The seed-syllable of rDo-rje Gro-lod thus arises, purifying appearances into the unobstructed Dharmadhātu, and from this state, a wondrous display of primordial awareness occurs, as seed-syllables which become the components of the foundations of the "Citadel of Skulls" ("thod-pa'i mkhar"), which is the palace of the deity, and which itself arises from its seed-syllable, BHRUM̐. Then, the Palace is described (text p.4, line 1-3). In keeping with the Vajrayāna symbolism of the transmutation of all the negative aspects of Saṃsāra into the "wrathful" energies of Enlightenment which destroy egocentricity, the description includes constructions and adornments made of human skulls, brains, skins, intestines, fresh human heads, and so on, the remains of the corpse of Rūdra, the personification of the ego (see Glossary). Within the vast Palace is the huge Thunderbolt Wheel (Tib. "gnam-lcags 'khor-lo") (p.4, line3), with eight sharp spokes, the wrathful Vajrayāna Dharmacakra [28]. Within the hub of the wheel - itself enormous - is the throne on which the seed-syllable of Gro-lod arises, and through the spontaneous transforming power of the Sambhogakāya, it becomes rDo-rje Gro-lod. The text describes the Wrathful One, his attributes, surrounding emanations and activities (p.4, line 4 - p.4b, line 5). Then it describes his retinue in the wider maṇḍala, for on the points of the spokes of the wheel, to the north, south, east and west, arise the seed-syllables of the four classes of primordial awareness ḍākinīs (p.4b, line 5), which transform into the appropriately coloured ḍākinīs of each family. Then, in the mid-way directions (north-east, north-west, south-east, south-west), arise the four classes of *Great King* (line 6). They are the particular "male" Vajra energies which inhabit Padma's retinue, and are of the class of "dākas". The text describes them (p.4b, line 6 - p.5, line 1); more will be said on them in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.3.3), since they appear in the tenth day 'chams. Beyond, at the four "doors" of the Palace - one in each major direction - are the four "*Great Kings*", who are protectors (see Ch.5, Section 5.1.5.1), and all around the Palace are further male and female emanations and "messengers" (lower classes of deities who obey Gro-lod's commands and carry out his work). When the

description is complete, the "*samayasattva*" - the visualised form of rDo-rje Gro-lod - invites the "*jñānasattva*" - the primordial awareness nature of the deity - which comes as Thod-phreng-rtsal, and dissolves into the form of rDo-rje Gro-lod (p.5, line 2-4). With this, the "Generation" is finished; the musical instruments are played, and the next section, "The Invitation" ("spyan-'dren-pa") begins. The text instructs: "Invite with a loud yearning voice" (p.5, line 4), and the monks chant using another very slow style of intonation. On each syllable, the dbu-mdzad rolls the cymbals and the pole-drum player strikes the drum. Their voices are low pitched, but some words are drawn out and raised to a higher tone, presumably to create the "yearning" effect.

Pg.5, line 4 "HUM% In the wrathful Palace of rākṣasas,%
 Arises Thod-phreng-rtsal, subduer of all the Arrogant Ones in
 the three worlds;%
line 5 He is transformed and appears in
 the form of the Padma Blood-drinker;%
 Please arise, please arise, out of the Dharmadhātu, arise!%"

On this last line, the cymbals are played louder, and finally crashed as the line is finished. Then, they are joined by the sound of the trumpets and horns. The rest of the verses of invitation are then recited rather faster, with the drum striking on each second syllable:

line 5 "Please arise from within the lake of the blood of the
 passions;%
 Please arise from the great heap of the piled-up skeletons of
 hatred;%
line 6 Please arise from the middle of the heap of
 human flesh of delusion;%
 Please arise from the midst of the blazing mass of the fire of
 pride;%
 Please arise from within the swirling dust-storm of
 jealousy:%"

Here, the Vajrayāna imagery is explicit. The five poisons, in their true nature, the five primordial awarenesses, are the environment in which the wrathful manifestation of Enlightenment is requested to arise. The text continues:

Pg.5b, line 1 "In order to subdue the dgra, bgegs and 'byung-po,
 we ask you to come;%
 In order to subdue the rākṣasa deities and the eight classes,
 we ask you to come;%
 In order to subdue the male and female
 'dam-sri' [29], we ask you to come;
 We request your own transforming power ("rtsal"),
 and your dākinīs, great ging, door protectors;%"

line 2 Along with the multitudes of
protectors bound by oath; we ask you to come!%
VAJRA GURU ŚRĪHERUKA PADMA KRODHA
SAPARIVARA VAJRA SAMAYA JAḤ JAḤ"

With the last line, and the mantra, the cymbals are crashed, and the horns and trumpets are played. The "Invitation" reinforces the feeling that the generated deity is actually present in the meditation place. As in the morning preliminary practice (see back, 3.2.1) it is followed by a section in which the deity is asked to remain or to be "enthroned" ("bzugsu gsol-ba"). The same steady chanting and beat is used for this "Enthronement":

Pg.5b, line 2 "HUM% In the midst of blazing fire, like that at the
end of an aeon;%
line 3 Upon the throne of the corpses of negative
beings, bound together;%
Is enthroned the Mahāguru, the powerful and wrathful
Thod-phreng-rtsal;%
Along with your retinue, we ask you to joyfully be
firmly established here!%
SAMAYA TIṢṬHA LHAN%"

3.2.2.2.2 Prostrations, Offerings and Praises

The "Invitation" is immediately followed by the section on "Prostrations", here done mentally while reciting the verse, continuing the same chant:

line 4 "HUM% The Powerful and Wrathful One is the wrathful form of
Padma Thod-phreng;%
The Subduer of all arrogant ones, rākṣasa
deities and those of the eight classes;%
You gloriously guide and liberate all beings without exception;%
We prostrate with devotion to you and your retinue.%
line 5 ATI PU HOḤ PRATIḤCHA HOḤ"

At this stage, the horns, cymbals, trumpets and drums are played for a few seconds, and then the section on "Offerings" begins. The text contains one concise offering, or a longer more detailed version. Here, the monks do the long offering, beginning with the "Outer Offerings". The verses of this are begun with another deep slow chant, with a drum beat on each syllable, and the last syllable of each set of seven (marked by the gter-ma sign, %) is drawn out as though it were three syllables. After the first two sets, the cymbals are crashed, and again after the next two.

Pg.6, line 2 "HUM % Flowers, incense, butter lamps and perfume,%
foods and music - the five offerings which delight the senses;%
All delightful offerings without any exception;%
We offer to the King of the Wrathful Ones, and his retinue.%"

After this initial verse, the chanting speed is again quickened to the steady chant with a drum beat on each second syllable:

- line 3 "Please grant your adhiṣṭhāna, empowerment and siddhis.%
We offer the water of self-arisen amṛta;%
The flowers of the senses, and the incense of melting human fat;%
The butter lamps of burning human stomach fat,
the perfume of blood;%
The food of human flesh and the music of skull-drums;%
- line 4 We offer all these to the King of the Wrathful Ones,
and his retinue.%
Please grant your adhiṣṭhāna, empowerment and siddhis.
OM VAJRA PUṢPE DHUPE ALOKE GANDHE NAIVEDYA
SABDA PUJA MEGHA
SAMUDRA SPHARAṆA SAMAYE HUM%"

These two sets of outer offerings are appropriately known as the "peaceful" and "wrathful" offerings. Details of the way these offerings are usually laid out on the offerings table are given in Chapter 4 (see on Ch.4, Section 4.3.4). Their purpose is to offer the positive and negative aspects of one's experience of the senses and their objects. The wrathful offerings are of the parts of the body of Rūdra (see back, 3.2.2.2.1). As the outer offerings mantra is said, the appropriate mudrās are made, and then the monks continue with the "Inner Offerings". The inner offerings are the offerings, firstly, of "medicine" ("*sman*"), which represents amṛta, the anti-death medicine and elixir of life, sometimes symbolised by semen. It is the offering of the forces of existence and of Saṃsāra. It is made with some "*dam-rdzas*" - "samaya substances" - medicines and herbs made into little pills and consecrated by a high bla-ma - put into some water in a special small skull-cup shaped offering bowl. A second such bowl is used for the offering of black tea, representing the offering of "*rakta*", the Sanskrit word for blood. On the level at which the "*sman*" represents semen, this symbolises female menstrual blood, and thus together, they express creativity. When the "*sman*" in itself represents the life giving potential, the "*blood*" is that of the forces of death and Nirvāṇa; the extinction of all the dharmas of conditioned existence. The two are the offerings of dualities: male and female, Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa [30], and so forth. The third of the inner offerings is that of "*balim*", the Sanskrit word translated by the Tibetans as "gtor-ma", but retained in Sanskrit for this offering. This is a

food offering of all that can be imagined, and in the trio with "sman" as semen and "rakta" as menstrual blood, the "balim" is the union of the two, the whole of creation. Where the "rakta" represents a destructive force, the balim becomes an offering of the heap of the corpses of existence. Ultimately, it is the offering of the source of everything - the ground of being ("*ālaya*") - and is the offering surpassing dualities; the offering of the identification of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa. These inner offerings, then, are the offerings of the more subtle forces of experience. The previous steady chant used for the outer offerings is continued, and the monks recite:

Pg.6, line 4 "HUM% This 'medicine' is the amṛta which is pure from the
line 5 very beginning;%
 the amṛta of a mixture of the thousand (varieties of) the
 eight main types of medicines;%
 This medicine which is
 primordial awareness, removing the five poisons;%
 We offer to the King of the Wrathful Ones and his retinue.%
 SARVA PAÑCA AMṚTA KHARAṂ KHAHI%"

Here, the rdo-rje slob-dpon and the mchod-dpon make the offering of "sman", while the monks continue to recite verses of offering, repeating, "SARVA PAÑCA AMṚTA KHARAṂ KHAHI" each time. The mchod-dpon takes the lid off the "sman" bowl on the offerings table, holds the bowl in his right hand and a ladle in his left, and dips in the ladle, taking out some "sman". At each recitation of the mantra, he allows the "sman" he has scooped out with the ladle to drop back into the bowl, and then he repeats the process, taking up some more. Meanwhile, the rdo-rje slob-dpon, holding his vajra and bell, takes up the "sman" offering bowl before him in his right hand, dips his left finger in the liquid, and holds a drop up between his ring finger and thumb above his upturned palm. Then he flicks off the liquid to the chant of the offering mantra. After this offering has been made, the verses of the "balim" are simply recited (with the same chant as before):

Pg.6, line 6 "HUM% Within the great gtor-ma vessel
 which is the phenomenal world,%
 is placed the gtor-ma of all beings in the Universe;%
 The universe and its beings are the complete and perfect
 balim;%
 We offer them to the King of the Wrathful Ones and
 his retinue.%
 MAHA BALIṂTA KHARAṂ KHAHI%"

This offering is meditated upon as it is recited, and then followed by the "rakta" offering. This is made by the mchod-dpon, who takes the lid off the rakta bowl on the offerings table, holding the ladle in the right hand; he first mixes it in an anticlockwise direction, and then scoops a ladle-full up and drops it back into the bowl as the mantra is said. This is only done once, and not repeated as with the "sman" offering. The verse reads:

Pg.6b, line 1 "HUM % The kleśas of Saṃsāra's six classes of beings are killed
and liberated;%
In the great bliss realisation of non-duality in
the Dharmadhātu;%
'Liberation through Union' creates a river of
mahārakta;%
We offer it to the King of the Wrathful Ones and his retinue.%
MAHA RAKTA KHARAM KHAHI%"

"Liberation through Union" (*"sbyor-sgrol"*) refers to a particular advanced meditation practice, the details of which should not be elaborated here, and may in any case, not be known to some of the Rewalsar monks. Basically, it is a method for "killing" the negative forces whose "blood" is offered as the "rakta".

The text then proceeds to the "Secret Offerings". This is the direct offering of one's most inner desires - attachments and aversions - the most subtle manifestations of the kleśas. The offerings are made directly, without imagery, but with the understanding of their true nature as the expression of the Enlightened Mind, and from the perspective of the Inner Tantras. Using the same rhythm and beat, the monks recite the verse, which in this case is not elaborate, so that those who have not received the necessary teaching will be able to simply develop the feeling of this higher meditation offering.

Pg.6b, line 2 "HUM % The material and the mentally projected outer and inner
offerings;%
The offerings of the 'Dance of the Mudrās' [31]
and of 'Liberation through Union';%
And all substances in
keeping with the incomparable Secret (offering);%
We offer to
the King of the Wrathful Ones and his retinue.%
line 3 OM AḤ SARVA MUDRA MAMA KI-RI KHARAM KHAHI%;
The flesh, blood, bones, internal organs [32] and bile,%
from the killing and liberation of all the dgra and bgegs;%
Attachment, hatred, delusion and%
Pride and jealousy - we offer these.%
line 4 Please grant the Siddhis of%

Your body, speech, mind, qualities and activities.%
SARVA ŚATRUN MARAYA%
MAMSA RAKTA CITTA KIMNIRITI KHAHI%"

Then, the monks play the horns, trumpets, cymbals and drum for about half a minute.

The next section is "The Praises" ("bstod-pa"). Again, this consists of an initial verse which the monks recite slowly in deep voices, with a drum beat on each syllable. After the first three sets of nine syllables (marked by %), the cymbals are briefly rolled, and the next set of nine syllables is sung very slowly, the tone rising and lowering to the musical accompaniment of the cymbals, while the drum is beaten once for each syllable. As the verse ends, the cymbals are crashed and the drum beaten, and then the monks recite the rest of the section using the slightly faster chant, with the drum beat on every second syllable. The first verse is as follows:

Pg.6b, line 4	"HUM% Out of the Dharmadhātu,
line 5	in the face of all those influences leading from the path, which are to be subdued;% Compassion manifests wrathfully as the awesome King of the Wrathful Ones.% He is really frightening; his presence is difficult to bear; blazing with immeasurable iridescent light rays.%
line 6	We praise the form of rDo-rje Gro-lod!%"

The remainder of the section of praises from page 6b, line 6 to page 7, line 3, praises the specific attributes and emanations of Gro-lod, and their activities. It ends, again with the music of the horns, trumpets, cymbals and drums.

3.2.2.2.3 The Mantra Recitation

If the monks did not have a short break to drink tea just before the "Main Practice" (see back, 3.2.2.2; text, p.3b, line 4), they may stop here, for the next section is the culmination, and the most important part of the practice, and it is particularly important that they should be able to be mindful during it. It is "The Mantra Recitation" ("dza-pra bzla-ba"). Before the mantra itself is recited, the monks chant the verses which outline the meditation which should accompany the recitation. They chant these quickly and without musical accompaniment. The outline describes the meditation of oneself and all beings transformed into Gro-lod and the maṇḍala, through the power of the seed-syllable, the

recitation of which constitutes the first mantra recitation. After the monks have spent some time performing this recitation and meditation, there follows another meditation outline, which they also recite quickly, before doing the "Root Mantra" - the main mantra of rDo-rje Gro-lod. This outline is meant to focus the mind on the mantra and its activities, describing it revolving around the seed-syllable in Gro-lod's heart, sending forth rays of light which perform the activities of overcoming negative forces and inviting the consecration of all the Enlightened Ones. This granted, one meditates on bringing the phenomenal world of appearances under control. The mantra, described as "the very essence of Gro-lod's 'life', or the "heart" of the practice (*"srog gi snying-po nyid"*), is then recited. This Vajrayāna meditation - the use of a mantra to activate identification with a particular manifestation of Enlightenment - is a common one, and the meditation on the light rays is based on the imagery used in the Sūtras with regard to the occasion of the conferment of Buddhahood upon a bodhisattva who has completed the ten "bhūmis", or bodhisattva stages [33]. In the Vajrayāna context, each meditation practice is performed as though one were being made a Buddha, which of course, from the ultimate point of view, one is. After the root mantra recitation, there follows one final verse of meditation upon Gro-lod's wrathful activities, and then the mantra is recited several more times, together with a special wrathful mantra. This completes the "Main Practice" of "Las-byang". There is also a "tshogs" offering in the text, which the monks perform during the afternoon practice on each twenty-ninth day of the Tibetan calendar, but it is at this stage that the daily Gro-lod "Las-byang" practice is finished.

What other practice is done in the morning session after this depends on the day of the Tibetan month, and will not concern us here, except to say that the most elaborate practices are held on the eighth, tenth, fifteenth, twenty-fifth, twenty-ninth and thirtieth days [34].

3.3. THE AFTERNOON COMMUNAL PRACTICE

There is a similar regular pattern to the afternoon practice, with variations according to the day of the month. Every day, the following practices are done:

(1) "Srog-sgrub". In full, the name of this text is, "bDud-'joms khrag-'thung padma'i srog-sgrub zab-mo" - "The deep practice for realising the 'life' of the Padma Blood-drinker, who overcomes the māras".

(2) "gSol-kha". The name of the text recited is, "rDo-rje'i chos-skyong-ba'i srung-ma rnam kyi las-byang 'phrin-las rnam-par rol-pa'i dga'-ston" - "The Dharma celebration manifesting as the Enlightened activity of the ritual practice of the protectors of the Vajra teaching".

(3) "sMon-lam": "Aspirations". This is a selection of prayers of aspiration, usually taken from "Chos-spyod". The precise selection varies for there are many "smon-lam"; one example of a frequently recited one is that on page 308 of "Chos-spyod", "The King of Aspirations" (translation, Appendix 3, Section A, Insertion no.1).

On the special days of the month listed above, "tshogs" offerings (Skt. "Gaṇacakra") are held in the afternoons after the recitation of "gsol-kha". One such "tshogs" offering practice will be examined in detail in Chapter 4. The following is a review of the daily practices.

3.3.1 "Srog-sgrub"

"The practice for realising 'life' is the second daily Gro-lod practice which all the monks perform in the temple. Here, the word, "life" ("srog"), which in an ordinary sense can mean the outer (physical) life, or the inner mental lifeforce, refers, in this specific Vajrayāna context, to the heart of the yi-dam, that which gives life to his manifestation. It is particularly associated with his seed-syllable and the Root mantra. The word was used in the morning practice (see back, 3.2.2.2.3) in this way. The "life" practice could be described as a summary of the most essential meditations of the daily Ritual Practice. Its emphasis throughout is on the higher level of understanding; its introductory verse (text, p.1b, line 1-3) talks of penetrating the essence of the instruction through realising the inseparability of oneself and the yi-dam, and naturally perfecting pure awareness, while still manifesting

in the phenomenal world, clearly meditating on its nature as the maṇḍala. This is followed by a "Refuge" and "Bodhicitta" verse (text, p.1b, line 3-4) in which one takes Refuge by recognising oneself clearly manifesting "as the unborn self-arising awareness" which is none other than "the great ultimate Blood-drinker" (line 3). As for the generation of bodhicitta, from this realisation, "in order to liberate beings from the deluded appearances of duality%", one enters the yi-dam practice. This is followed by two verses which could be said to correspond to the section in the Ritual Practice on "Expelling the bgegs" (see above, 3.2.2.1.3). From the ultimate level of this practice, there can be no question of "obstacles", and they cannot even arise. Therefore, they are "expelled". The verses read:

Pg.1b, line 4	"HUM % Through the command of the blazing King of the Wrathful Ones, (who unifies) pure awareness and emptiness,%
Pg.2, line 1	Confused appearances, discriminating thoughts, and the multitudes of obstacles, are instantaneously% perfected in the manifestation of sameness, the pure elemental state.%
line 2	Their dharmas are exhausted in Nirvāṇa, each one demolished in vast openness!%
line 3	HUM% In the vast openness of the Enlightened Mind, in the inseparability of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, % The Vajra pavilion of primordial awareness and great bliss, in equanimity,% pervades the heart of the sky of great emptiness. % There is not even the opportunity for the cause of influences which lead to the appearances of duality to arise!% DHARMADHATU RAKṢA AḤ"

This whole introductory section of the practice is simply recited, using a fast and musically unaccompanied chant. The slob-dpon rings his bell with, "DHARMADHATU RAKṢA AḤ", and the monks continue with the unaccompanied chant for the next verse, which is for consecrating the offerings. The "consecration" is of the "great all-pervasive purity", granted onto the "self-arisen universe of appearances". The offerings of objects delighting the senses, ornamented with the jewel of mind, become the inexhaustible offerings of Samantabhadra [35]. With the consecration of offerings mantra (p.2b, line 1), the musical instruments are played. The unaccompanied recitation is continued for the next section which is the meditation on the arising of the yi-dam. First his seed-syllable arises, in "co-

emergence" with self-arising pure awareness, and through the radiating light rays, and their merging together, the yi-dam and his "Cemetery Palace" ("Dur-khrod rol-pa'i pho-brang che" = the "Citadel of Skulls") arise (p.2b, line 2-4). The slob-dpon rings his bell at the end of line 2 and beginning of line 4, and then continues to ring it to keep the timing. The yi-dam and his retinue are described, in similar fashion to the Ritual Practice (p.2b, line 4 - p.3, line 4), and the "Invitation" takes place (line 4-5) through the lights radiating from the samayasattva's three places, so that the jñānasattva is invited from the "Excellent Place" of "own-being" ("rang-bzhin gnas-mchog", line 5). There is then a further verse of invitation to the Mahāguru and his retinue to manifest, and a request for him to remove hindrances and grant siddhi (p.3, line 5 - p.3b, line 1). With the mantra which completes this section, the monks play the trumpets and horns, and the slob-dpon plays the bell and ḍamaru. After the music, the monks return to an unaccompanied chant for a short verse which encompasses the "Enthronement" and the "Prostrations" (see back, Section 3.2.2.2.1 and 2). As previously, the emphasis is on the inner significances of the practice, with the prostrations directed to "the inseparable manifestation of the samaya-mudrā [36] of the skandhas, dhātus, the universe, beings, and% the complete Vajra realisation of primordial awareness%" (line 1-2). The slob-dpon rings his bell to the mantra at the end of the verse, and then a verse on "offerings" is recited:

Pg.3b, line 3	"HUM % As a wondrous display in the sky of the all-pervading elemental state,% Arise the complete clouds of outer, inner and secret offerings which delight the senses.% These extensive samaya substances of the Wrathful Cemetery;% Blood-drinker, accept them as the supreme enjoyable samaya!%
line 4	

With the offerings mantra, the trumpets, bell and ḍamaru are played and then joined by the horns.

After the offerings have thus been made, the monks begin the section on the mantra recitation. This begins with a verse of praise, at the end of which the slob-dpon rings his bell, and it continues, still in the unaccompanied chant, with the meditation on the seed-syllable arising in rDo-rje Gro-lod's heart, the "essence of his Life" ("srog gi snying-po").

The monks then recite the seed-syllable, as in the morning practice. After this, they recite a verse of meditation on the root mantra, which is chanted slightly slower and more tune-fully than the previous unaccompanied recitations. Parallel to the verses in the Ritual Practice, the revolving mantra's activities are described, with the emphasis here on the ultimate realisation of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa's "essence juice of clarity" ("khor-'das dvangs-bcud") merging into the seed-syllable. On this note, the Root mantra is recited, followed by the other mantras, as in the morning practice.

This completes the main section of "srog-sgrub".

3.3.2. "gSol-kha"

"gSol-kha" simply means, "supplication", but it is the specific term for supplications to Dharmapālas; a general supplication to bla-mas, Buddhas, etc., would be known as, "gsol-'debs". All Tibetan Buddhist monasteries include such supplications in their daily communal practice; I have already mentioned the significance of the "mgon-khang" in the monastery precincts (Ch.2, Section 2.2.3.2). The "protection" of Dharma practice is considered to be important at all stages, but particularly in the Vajrayāna. The principle involved here is that one has been under the influence of ignorance ("*avidyā*"), leading to the clinging to "self" which is the motivating cause for ordinary experience in Saṃsāra, for "beginningless time", and thus, there is likely to be considerable psychological resistance to the destruction of that Ignorance which Dharma practice entails. This psychological reaction against progress towards realisation - which usually manifests as "obstacles" ("*bgegs*") or "hostile forces" ("*dgra*") - frequently occurs in proportion to the advancement made. As a symbolic illustration of the force of such negative forces, even, or perhaps especially, at the higher levels of practice, all Buddhists know the story of how Māra and his armies unleashed all their forces and made a final assault on the Buddha Śākyamuni shortly before he realised Complete and Perfect Enlightenment. Now, whereas some of the basic practices may take numerous lifetimes to show effects, Vajrayāna may, in comparatively short periods, completely transform people who might have been previously rooted in delusion.

Under such circumstances, the established force of ego-grasping is likely to distort the practice. In order to overcome any such distortion, Vajrayāna practitioners are connected with one or more "dharmapālas" - wrathful, destructive forces, which are conjured up to protect the path and destroy anything, including the practitioner if necessary [37], which blocks Dharma realisation. Dharmapālas are of two types: (1) Those who have realised Enlightenment, that is, those which are in fact manifestations of Buddhahood. The Vajrayāna Refuge - to the three Roots - has as its third Refuge, the "*dākinī*", the female inspirational principle which includes the "dharmapālas" as a sub-category (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.2), since their wrathful protective activity is similar, although even more intense and forceful, to that of the *dākinī*. The maṇḍalas of yi-dams include Dharmapālas who typically "guard" the "doors" of the Immeasurable Palace. (2) Those who remain "worldly". This category refers to forces - and in the Tibetan Buddhist context, particularly to indigenous local deities - who may have had positive or negative effects in their "actions", but who, in either case, took oaths in the presence of Padma, or another great Vajra Master, to protect the Dharma in return for gtor-ma offerings. Thus, the former "good" deities may help the practitioner by providing him with riches, and so on, to help support his practice, while the former "bad" deities, who Padma had to "subdue", will use their weapons and powers to destroy any outer or inner obstacles to the practice.

As well as protecting individual practice, dharmapālas may protect communities of practitioners and their monasteries. At Rewalsar, the monks collectively do supplications to a number of the rNying-ma-pa dharmapālas, reciting supplications written and compiled by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che. Such "supplications" are a different kind of practice than that of a yi-dam or general meditation. They do not tend to involve meditations in which one identifies with the deity or the Enlightened Mind. They are not like supplications, say to Buddhas or bla-mas, in which one may aspire to the state of the realised being whom one is supplicating. Rather, they call forth the Dharmapāla concerned, describe him or her, and praise their qualities and activities, requesting their presence to protect the place of prac-

tice and the practitioners.

At Rewalsar, the supplications recited are included in the text, "The Dharma celebration manifesting as the Enlightened activity of the ritual practice of the protectors of the Vajra teaching" (Tibetan title, see above, 3.3). On the twenty-ninth day of each month - the day associated with the dharmapālas, when a long dharmapala practice is performed - most of this text is recited. A large section is recited in the morning, after the rDo-rje Gro-lod Las-byang practice; then, in the afternoon, practice begins with a continuation of this recitation. Finally, the rDo-rje Gro-lod Las-byang "tshogs" is performed. On the other days of the month, a shortened version of the long dharmapāla practice is done, consisting of a number of the shorter sections which make up the text.

First, the offerings and gtor-mas which have been laid out on the offerings table are purified, with a meditation on the seed-syllables RAM, YAM and KHAM (see back, 3.2.2.1.2), and then, an offering of the five "amṛtas" and the five "Lamps" (related to the set of six; see Ch.4, Section 4.4.1.4, note 64) arises out of the condition of emptiness ("Śūnyatā"). The substances melt together, and are consecrated by the syllables, OM, AH, HUM, which have themselves been empowered by the primordial awareness amṛta of all the Tathāgatas. The syllables melt into each other, and dissolving into the mixture, the offering becomes, "one taste". The verses on this meditation are recited without musical accompaniment.

The practice proper then starts with outer and inner offerings made to the bla-mas and yi-dams (text, pp.3b-4), followed by prostrations and praises (p. 4b) to the wrathful heruka (Gro-lod). The trumpets, horns, bell and ḍamaru accompany the mantras of the outer offerings (Photo no.28); the verses of Praises are recited to the ringing of the bell.

Then, all the dharmapālas are invited (text, p.94), reminded of their former promises made in the presence of Padma, and requested to come and protect the teaching. The musical instruments are played to invite them, and the text begins to be recited to the swift regular beat of the drum. They are again bound under oath (p.94b) by the practitioners, who

represent the Vajra Master. Then, the general outer offerings are made to them with the usual musical accompaniment, followed by the medicine, rakta and balim offerings (pp. 94b-95). The recitation continues (pp. 95-95b) in a fast unaccompanied chant, by listing various important dharmapālas and their qualities, and requesting them to accept the gtor-ma offering. A verse which is frequently repeated throughout the practice, known as "Entrusting (them) with the Enlightened Activities", is then inserted. The dharmapālas are instructed to protect the three Jewels, to subdue all forces harmful to the Dharma, to increase positive situations, and to perform all necessary Enlightened activities so that the siddhis are swiftly accomplished. Then, there is a section on "Praises" (pp. 95b-97) which consists of verses each praising one of the major dharmapālas; in the longer "gsol-kha" of the twenty-ninth day, there are also descriptions of the dharmapālas' retinues, and so on. These praises are recited to the swift drum-beat.

After completing this general section of the text, the monks continue with one of four longer supplications to specific dharmapālas; they do a supplication to Ekajāti (Tib. Ral-gcig-ma) on one day; to Shan-pa (the dark red Yakṣa called, "Butcher") the next day; to gZa' (Skt. Rāhu), the next, and to the general class of "dam-can" (those "bound by samaya" or oath) on the fourth day, and then they repeat the cycle. These dharmapālas are of particular importance to the rNying-ma-pa. Here, I shall take the example of the Ekajāti practice to illustrate the structure of the supplications. Ekajāti (Skt.), Ral-gcig-ma (Tib.), "She with one lock of hair", is a female dharmapāla who is considered to be of the category of those who have realised Enlightenment (see above). She is thought of as at once "ḍākinī" (inspirational) and "dharmapāla" (destructive); at once Prajñāpāramitā (see Glossary) in her true nature, and the "Queen of the Māmos" (see back, 3.2.2). In her supplication, her Immeasurable Palace, which is like that of the wrathful Vajrayāna yi-dams since she is an Enlightened manifestation, is described (text, p.41). Then she and her retinue are described in detail (pp. 41-42b) in a fast unaccompanied recitation, and there are sections on "Inviting" (pp. 42b-43), with the thigh-bone trumpets and other instruments played to proclaim

the Invitation, "Enthroning" (p. 43), "Prostrations" (pp. 43-43b), "Offerings" (pp. 43b-44), followed by the verse, "Entrusting (her) with Enlightened Activities" (see above). Then the section, "Praises" proclaims the significance of her various attributes and of those of her immediate retinue. Most of these recitations are done quickly to the steady beat of the drum.

Now that the same stage in the Ekajāti supplication as that in the general supplication, has been reached, the Ekajāti section is left for the time being, and the daily practice is returned to. A number of supplications to particular dharmapālas are now done: to the Cemetery Māmos (pp. 77-78b); to Pehar (pp. 88b-89, followed by a shorter more recently composed one which is inserted here); to the Great "gnod-sbyin" [38] (pp. 89-90b, followed by a short inserted supplication); to Drag-shul dBang-po (pp. 92b-93b); to the general class of the "Masters of the Treasures" - the "gTer-bdag" - (p. 5b); and to the general class of the "Masters and Mistresses of the Earth" (p. 6, followed by p. 5, line 2-6). Each supplication is done to the same fast recitation and drum beat, and follows the same structure: Inviting, Offering, Praising and then Entrusting with the activities of protecting. When the offerings are made to the Earth Masters and Mistresses - the "gZhi-bdag" - who are the local dharmapālas - deities of the local area in which the practice is performed - the "ba-ling" offering is made by the mchod-dpon, as the monks recite the appropriate verses (p.5), to a slightly slower chant with the drum beat. "*Ba-ling*", or "*balim*", the Sanskrit word translated into Tibetan as, "*gtor-ma*", is the third of the inner offerings, but here, the Sanskrit word is retained to distinguish it from a "gtor-ma" offering, in much the same way as the transliterated word, "maṇḍal", the offering maṇḍala, is distinguished from "dkyil-'khor", the deity's maṇḍala. This "ba-ling" offering is made in a special round dish containing a goblet [39] filled to the brim with black tea, grain, and pieces of roasted barley flour dough, partially coloured with red dye. Some of these pieces of dough are also put in the dish around the goblet. It is, specifically, these pieces of dough which are referred to as, "ba-ling"; there is usually a plate of them on the offerings table, from which the mchod-dpon

makes up the dish for the offering. The symbolism is essentially the same as that in "gtor-mas" offered to dharmapālas; it is an offering of the flesh (dough) and blood (black tea) of the poisons. The dharmapālas are invoked to come to destroy and consume all the practitioner's negativities and to protect the Dharma [40]. Although dharmapālas may manifest as outer beings, it is not simply a matter of an "outer" deity being pacified by substitute offerings; making the offering is an essential part of the practice since it is the means whereby the practitioner "gives up" his negativities, and allows them to be transformed into positive forces.

Some anthropologists [41] have categorised "offerings" in Buddhism into "non-reciprocal" offerings to the three Jewels, the purpose of which is to improve one's own virtues, and "reciprocal" offerings to deities who bestow protection in return. However, the contrast can be exaggerated and is entirely inappropriate in the non-dichotomizing Tibetan Buddhist system. Since any real or substantial separation between "self" and "other" is not accepted, "protectors" exist as much "within" as "without" - equally, the Buddhas manifest both outside and inside the mind. In either case, the significance of the "offering" is in its impact on the offerer's mind [42]. In "offerings" to protectors, "protection" is received since attachment to the three poisons is given up.

The mchod-dpon takes the "ba-ling" dish to the temple^{door}, and then goes outside and throws the contents of dish and goblet into the courtyard (Photo no.29). As he does so, the verses of dedication (p.5) are completed, and the trumpets, horns, cymbals and drum are played.

After the "ba-ling" offering, the particular one of the four rotated practices being performed is returned to, for the "Mantra Recitation" section. In the case of Ekajāti, she and her immediate retinue are meditated upon and their mantras quietly recited. This is the culmination of the practice, and is followed by the playing of trumpets, horns, cymbals, bell and drum.

Then two other daily practices are inserted; first, a short supplication to rDo-rje Legs-pa, chanted to the drum-beat, and concluded with the musical instruments, and then a short, "Consecration of the substances which fulfil (the practice of the dharmapālas)" ("bskang-rdzas byin gyis brlab-pa"). This includes not only the offerings, but also all the articles such as paintings and attributes of the deities, kept in the temple. They are consecrated through a meditation in which all the appropriate offerings, images, and attributes of the dharmapālas, arise out of the basic state of Śūnyāta. Thus, their true nature, as a wondrous display of primordial awareness, without any substantiality, is realised. This section is quietly recited without a regular rhythm, and after the appropriate mantras, the thigh-bone trumpets, horns, bell, cymbals and trumpets and drum, are played. They then return again to the Ekajāti practice, to the following section on fulfilling all her wishes (text, p. 45b): offering her and her retinue the appropriate "samaya substances" such as the food offerings, adornments, attributes and so on, which have been consecrated in the previous section. The text is recited to the regular swift drum-beat. The Ekajāti practice is completed with a final verse (p. 46b, line 2) requesting her to purify breakages in the practitioner's samaya, and to accomplish the four karmas and all the siddhis. These two sections - the general consecration and the particular "fulfilling wishes" section - serve the purpose of re-establishing the samaya connection between the deity and practitioner, which may have been defiled by the practitioner's "wrong views" in relating to the dharmapāla's form and attributes.

Another short daily practice, a supplication to the yakṣa, Shan-pa, is then done, and then, a second "ba-ling" offering is made. This offering is directed towards the set of the three most important rNying-ma-pa dharmapālas: Ekajāti, Rāhu, and rDo-rje Legs-pa, with their retinues. At the end of the verses requesting them to accept the gtor-ma offerings of samaya substances, and to protect the Vajra teaching, which are chanted very quickly to the drum-beat, the mchod-dpon takes a second dishful of "ba-ling" from the temple to throw outside, and the monks play the trumpets, horns, bell, cymbals and drum.

At this stage, the general dharmapāla practice which was begun at the beginning of the session (see above) is returned to, and a special offering to all the dharmapālas is made (text, pp. 98b-99). The text is recited to the drum-beat and as the monks meditate upon the offering, and play the trumpets, horns, cymbals, bell and ḍamaru, the mchod-dpon offers the daily red gSol-kha gtor-ma which, throughout the session is kept on the offerings table, on the middle of the shelf with the sman and rakta at either end [43]. Having inserted a stick of incense into it which he then lights, the mchod-dpon offers it in the same way as the ba-ling, holding it up in the temple doorway and throwing it outside (Photo no.30).

This "gSol-kha" gtor-ma, like the "ba-ling" offering, and other offerings to wrathful dharmapālas, is of the class of "red" gtor-mas, and represents an offering of the "flesh" and "blood" of the hostile forces. In the case of "Enlightened" dharmapālas, the offerings are accepted as primordial awareness amṛta, the true nature of the kleśas. In the case of the "worldly" dharmapālas, they had originally been harmful deities who ate the flesh of living beings; they caused illness or death to people, and some of them expected sacrificial offerings of animal flesh [44]. Padma and other Vajrayāna masters, in subduing these deities, made a "bond" (samaya) with them to the effect that in return for their help, Vajrayāna practitioners would supply them with their flesh and blood diet, in the form of the red gtor-ma. In both cases, the practitioner surrenders his negativities which are "consumed" and transformed to produce the energies of the wrathful protective activities so that any residual "hostile forces" ("*dgra*") may be overcome.

After another offering - this time an "offering of thanks" for the protection given by the dharmapālas and a request for them to have patience for faults in their practice of the text (p.99, lines 3-5), the monks proceed to the recitation of the dedication of merit (p.100), to the accompaniment of the drum-beat, and the aspirations for the auspicious presence of the three Roots and the dharmapālas (pp.100-100b), and the trumpets, horns, cymbals, bell and ḍamaru conclude the dharmapāla practice.

The afternoon practice then ends with various prayers of aspiration, usually selected

from "Chos-spyod" (see back, 3.3) or with a longer "tshogs" offering practice on the special days of the calendar.

3.4. THE DAILY ROUTINE OF THE MONKS.

Although each day is structured around the four sessions of practice, except on the auspicious days of the month, the monks have several hours each day to organise their own time. How they spend it varies according to their role in the monastery, and to their own personal preferences. Most spend a good deal of time doing "skor-ba": an opportunity for exercise, mantra practice, as well as for conversation. They usually do their circumambulations in twos or threes, and are sometimes joined by local lay Tibetans, monks from the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery, or visiting pilgrims. There is no rigid pattern of who does "skor-ba" with whom.

Usually, the monks eat individually in their own rooms; the monks' rooms each have a small kitchen at the back, with room for a table, parafin container and stove, tea churn, a few pots and pans, and stores of food. They collect water from the water pump in the courtyard (unless there are water cuts, when they must fetch it from a spring below the village). Most of the monks buy a large stock of barley flour when it is in season, so that they can easily make a quick meal of "rtsam-pa" - roasted barley flour - mixed with butter tea. Their monthly allowance is large enough for them also to buy some vegetables (particularly radishes and potatoes), meat, salt, butter, milk, sugar, and bananas and biscuits (for visitors, to eat with tea). Most prefer Tibetan style food - rtsam-pa, butter tea and meat stews, although a few eat some Indian style meals (curries and chapatis), and sometimes drink Indian style tea (with sugar), which is quicker to prepare than churned butter tea. They do not tend to spend much time in food preparation; they usually cook relatively elaborate meals - such as "mo-mos", Tibetan steamed meat dumplings - only if they have guests. A monk may occasionally entertain a visiting monk or pilgrim, and the bla-ma might provide a meal for a bla-ma of another monastery, or an important lay visitor [45]. The monks' normal routine is to drink tea before the morning practice session in the temple. Then, rtsam-

pa is sometimes provided with the tea served during the practice. They then eat one main meal at about mid-day, and another in the early evenings after the afternoon communal practice.

The caretaker and his assistant are the busiest monks, responsible not only for the cleanliness of the monastery, but also for the allocation of guest-rooms and dealings with pilgrims. The caretaker would frequently have to miss large sections of the communal practice, and it was in order that he could play a proper part in the temple rituals that he insisted on more assistance (see Ch.2, Section 2.2.3.5.1). His routine is particularly full and he often has to eat in the restaurants in the village as he does not have time to cook.

The mchod-dpon also has a demanding task since he must ensure that all the correct offerings are prepared, and arranged in the temple before each of the communal practices. All the available monks help in the preparation of the gtor-mas for the afternoon and morning sessions. The usual routine is for monks to do a few "skor-bas" after the morning communal practice, and then to gather together on the veranda of the guest-house (facing into the courtyard), to make the gtor-mas. On "tshogs" offering days, they also make the "tshogs" together (see Ch.4, Section 4.4.1). Then, the monks prepare their mid-day meal while the mchod-dpon arranges the offerings in the temple ready for the afternoon. When the afternoon session is over, most of the monks again do "skor-ba", and sometimes, if there is to be a special practice the following morning, they may have to again gather on the veranda to make "tshogs" (see Photo no.21). However, this is not usually necessary, as the important gtor-mas for the morning are usually made the previous morning. In the evenings, after their meal, the monks sometimes meet in each other's rooms, or read texts, before doing their final practice and going to bed.

Thus, the monks who do not have the more arduous tasks in the monastery, have some free time to use according to personal preference. For example, Chos-'phel, who had been happy to give up his former positions in the monastery as he was getting older (see Ch.2, Section 2.2.3.5.1) spent hours turning the ma-ñi wheel in the ma-ñi

wheel house by the temple, almost every day. He would begin at about five a.m. until shortly before the morning practice, and then return for other sessions during the daytime, chanting mantras, and sometimes reciting texts by heart as he turned the wheel (see Photo no.22). He also studied in his room; he possessed some of the explanatory texts written by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che which elucidate the essence teachings.

3.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Life in the rNying-ma-pa monastery could not be described as "ascetic" or rigidly disciplined. The monks' daily routine certainly entails much communal recitation and other monastic duties, and also private religious practice. With the exception of some of the caretaker's tasks, the monks considered such activities meritorious and enjoyable. Given the situation of many exiled Tibetans who must do agricultural work in South India, and the fact that unlike most Tibetan monasteries, the monastery itself provides the monks with a subsistence allowance, it might be hard to explain Robert Paul's notion of monasticism as a kind of penance (see Ch.1, Section 1.5) to these rNying-ma-pa monks.

The supplications and meditations performed in the temple are structured in accordance with the rNying-ma tradition, and the lineages of teachers from whom the practices stem are praised every day. At the same time, there is no expectation that each monk's practice will progress in the same way, and individual preferences are accommodated. In an environment of insecurity, the monastery provides a basic material security, a culturally valued occupation, and the mental security of an established "path" to follow. This "path", however, is not a clearly delineated route with recognisable signposts which everyone must pass. An individual's relationship with his Root Guru is, in the final analysis, more important than his place in the monastic organisation. Meditation understanding may occasionally be privately assessed by the Root Guru, but unlike scholastic knowledge - which receives little emphasis at Rewalsar - it cannot be "objectively" measured, and monastic roles are not allocated on the basis of it. Thus, within the structured monastic life, there is opportunity for individuals to develop their understanding as they may choose [46].

A small-scale monastery, away from political centres, lacking a rigid hierarchy, and emphasising the practice of the three Inner Tantras, is certainly in the mainstream of the relatively "shamanic modal currents" (as Samuel would phrase it) of the rNying-ma-pa. Nonetheless, although the tradition itself allows for variation and re-interpretation, and in the exile context, innovation in the presentation of teaching is already occurring, the Rewalsar monks will not be in the forefront of such changes. The "high" bla-mas, capable of receiving "gter-ma"s, and in greater contact with western Buddhists and Indian and western culture, will be the main innovators. The principal rNying-ma-pa refugee centres, with monks who have had modern educations, will be the first to be affected by new ideas. By comparison, the less modernized Rewalsar monks might be considered conservative traditionalists.

A point where I would differ from Samuel is in his characterisation of the modal states associated with "shamanic" techniques such as those meditations described here, as "*sociocentric*" [47]. While they are clearly designed to overcome egocentricity, "sociocentricity" cannot be assumed to take its place. Mahāyāna teachings on *emptiness* (*Śūnyāta*) emphasise the development of empathy with all phenomena, not simply with the social group, and finally, objectless empathy. Given what I have said about the Rewalsar community in general (see Ch.2) and life at the rNying-ma-pa monastery in particular (see above), I see little reason to suggest that the practices engender a sociocentric perspective in the monks.

The next chapter considers a major monthly ritual practice, of central importance in the calendar of the rNying-ma-pa monks.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

[1] Empowerment = "dBang-skur". This is the ritual transmission in Vajrayāna whereby the Guru/bla-ma, as the embodiment of a particular aspect of Enlightenment (yi-dam), confers the power to gain realisation through this yi-dam practice onto the student.

[2] Ritual authorization = the "*Lung*", literally, "word", in the sense of a permission or precept. "Lung" as a ritual authorization is where the permission to practise a particular text is conferred by the recitation of the entire text so that the student hears it. The person who gives the "lung" must have previously received it himself, although need not be fully realised in the practice.

[3] In the absence of Bla-ma dKon-mchog in early 1982, Padma sKal-bzang did this practice. Later in the year, when Bla-ma dKon-mchog was seriously ill, and after his death, Ngag-dbang Byams-pa took over this duty.

[4] The "Padma bka'-thang shel-brag-ma" has a list of a number of the gruesome cemeteries where Padma meditated, gave teaching to *ḍākinīs*, and received the names of his various manifestations. In all schools of Buddhism, cemeteries are good places for meditation, symbolising the world of Saṃsāra: suffering, decay and impermanence. In Vajrayāna, this world is transformed, becoming the place of the destruction of the grasping "self".

[5] Besides having heard this from a number of Tibetans, I also have an English translation (Ayang Rin-po-che and Karma Tsultim Khechog Palmo, 1969) of a short piece by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che on Padmākara's "rnam-thar", in which this story is given.

[6] A notable exception is Dan Sperber, 1985.

[7] See Glenn H. Mullin, 1986, p.13.

[8] "Byin-rlabs" (Tib.) = "adhiṣṭhāna" (Skt.); see Glossary under, "Adhiṣṭhāna".

[9] See, for example, Herbert Guenther, 1959, pp.120-121.

[10] See the "Lotus Sūtra" ("Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka"), Ch.XVI.

[11] See Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.2.

[12] Michael Hookham; typescript of teachings given at Buddhist Society, London, 1977-1978.

[13] In René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's discussion of a text concerning the "sde-brgyad" (1975, pp.394-396), the "eight classes" of negative forces of which "māmo" is one, he says that the mistress of the māmo is conjured up with māmos as her "escorts" and a million "bsen-mo fiends" as her "messengers".

[14] "Padma" here refers to the Padma Buddha family (see Glossary, under "Buddhas - Five"), not Padmākara. "Blood-drinker" ("khrag-'thung") is the Tibetan translation of "heruka" and is used of wrathful male yi-dams, such as Gro-lod.

[15] "Refuge Places": all forms of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

[16] "NAMO" is a Sanskrit word meaning homage or prostration.

[17] "Blazing" because he "blazes" with the fire of primordial awareness ("ye-shes") which surrounds him.

[18] "mNgon-spyod phrin-las" = "drag-po'i phrin-las", the fourth "wrathful" karma involving destruction.

[19] Stephan Beyer, 1978, p.102.

[20] At the end of a world-cycle or aeon ("kalpa") the universe is consumed by an incredible fire (see Glossary, under "Kalpa").

[21] For diagram of the "bgegs-gtor" used in the tenth day ritual, see Portfolio, p.8.

[22] "Byung-po" - "Bhūta" (Skt.), the elemental forces or general negative forces associated with the "dgra" and the "bgegs".

[23] "Secret action" refers to the Vajrayāna ritual.

[24] The Glorious Mountain refers to "Zangs mdog dpal ri", the "Copper-Coloured Mountain", Padmākara's Buddha-field.

[25] The sound of many instruments - conch shells, trumpets, cymbals, etc., all played at once.

[26] See Glossary.

[27] This is the Śūnyāta mantra; the substances are "purified" in the emptiness realisation.

[28] The Dharmacakra is the "Wheel of the Dharma": the teaching of the Dharma, which is "turned" by the Buddha. It is symbolised by an eight-spoked wheel - the Eightfold Noble Path.

[29] See Glossary.

[30] This interpretation of the significance of the "inner offerings" is drawn substantially from teachings given by Michael Hookham.

[31] Also refers to a specific meditation.

[32] In particular, this set comprises the spleen, intestines and kidneys.

[33] See, Richard Robinson, 1954, pp.57-59.

[34] These practices are as follows: On the 8th day, "Tshe-sgrub 'chi-med srog-thig"; on the 10th day, "Bla-sgrub gter-kha bdun-'dus"; on the 15th day, "bKa'-'dus chos kyi rgya-mtsho"; on the 25th day, "Khros-ma nag-mo"; on the 29th day, "Srung-ma'i bskang-phrin"; and on the 30th day, "Zhi-khro". The fifteenth day is the full-moon day and of significance to all Buddhists: the day when the Buddha Śākyamuni attained Enlightenment. The tenth and the twenty-fifth days are discussed in Appendix 2, Section A2.2.3.5 . The twenty-ninth day is associated with the dharmapālas, and is followed by the thirtieth which is the last day of the Tibetan month.

[35] There are two Samantabhadras. The bodhisattva Samantabhadra who features in the Sūtras, is famed for multiplying offerings endlessly. For the rNying-ma-pa, the Adi-Buddha, or the vast openness of the "ground" ("Alaya") of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, encompassing everything, is the Buddha Samantabhadra. In either case, "offerings of Samantabhadra" are by definition, inconceivable.

[36] "Samaya-mudrā" has the sense of, "the seal of the bond" between phenomena and realisation, which are unified in the deity's maṇḍala.

[37] That is, if the practitioner is leading others seriously astray, and breaking the Vajrayāna commitments.

[38] "gNod-sbyin" (Tib.) = "yakṣa" (Skt.); see Glossary.

[39] This goblet is called, "*phud-skong*": lit. "cup for offering set aside".

[40] In the classification of offering "gtor-mas", there are on one hand, "white" butter gtor-mas, or "thud" - butter and cheese - gtor-mas, representing the "dkar-gsum", the "three whites", curd, milk and butter. This category also includes the "three sweets" - sugar, honey and molasses. They symbolise offerings of "positive" qualities, and are opposed to the category of "red gtor-ma", of which the "baliṃ" offering is an example. The red gtor-mas symbolise offerings of "negative" qualities - the "hostile forces" ("*dgra*") and "obstacles" ("*bgegs*"), which, through the offering, dissolve into the Dharmadhātu, and finish the "karmic debt" of the practitioner's and others' negative actions which might have otherwise led to a hell rebirth.

[41] For example, M.Ames, 1966.

[42] Martin Southwold (1983: p.166 ff) criticises Gombrich's contention (1971: 7-9) that offerings necessarily imply the people "affectively" believe the Buddha to exist as a substantial outer being, and defends the Buddhists own non-theistic interpretation of the significance of offering rites.

[43] On "tshogs" offering days, it is flanked by the "*chad-mdo*" and "*brtan-ma bcu-gnyis*" gtor-mas (see Ch.4, Section 4.4.3.1 and 2).

[44] Blood sacrifices, like all other forms of killing, are against the first Buddhist precept, not to take life. Whereas killing for food is said to be motivated by attachment/greed, and killing in disputes to be motivated by aversion/hatred, killing in sacrificial rites is said to be motivated by delusion.

[45] While he was alive, the monastery's bla-ma employed a nun to prepare food on such occasions, or when he was unwell. When the monastery's "cook" was there, he was sometimes given this task.

[46] It should not be supposed that this is a feature peculiar to the rNying-ma-pa. In fact, Goldstein and Paljor Tsarong have argued that individualism is an inherent principle in Tibetan monasticism: "Monastic social organization isolates and atomizes monks so that they avoid the powerful and painful emotional attachments of love." (1985: p. 28).

[47] Geoffrey Samuel, 1987, Ch.12. This characterisation could be related to Samuel's tendency to assume the primacy of social and political structures over related religious and psychological characteristics. As I have argued (Ch.1, Section 1.5.1; nb.72), this tendency does not arise from the principles of his "relational framework", which are free from such bias.

CHAPTER 4 THE RITUAL WHICH DEVELOPS THE REALISATION

OF THE BLA-MA: THE MONTHLY TENTH DAY PRACTICE

The auspicious tenth day of the moon is associated with the male "heruka" principle in general and Guru Padma in particular (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.3.5). All rNying-mapas perform special Guru Padma rituals on each tenth day, and in the case of the Rewalsar monastery, the dances of Guru Padma's aspects are performed on the tenth day of the first month. The monthly tenth day practice, which is also performed in a more elaborate way during the first month practice session every second year (see Chapter 5), is based on a text entitled, "The Ritual practice for the Realisation of the 'heart' of the bla-ma, the celebration which yields siddhis like a cow with never-ending milk" [1]. The practice is called "*Bla-sgrub*" ("Realisation of the bla-ma"), for short. Just as the "ritual practice" ("Las-byang") of Gro-lod is the regular meditation practice on the deity (see Chapter 3), and is the basis for the practice of other rituals concerning Gro-lod [2], so this "ritual practice" (again the term, "Las-byang" is used), is the monastery's basic Padmākara practice. The morning practice begins in the usual manner (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2), rather earlier than on other days of the month. As normal, the morning practice begins with some general Mahāyāna meditations, taken from "Chos-spyod" (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1). Then, the Seven Syllable Supplication (Ch.3, Section 3.2.1.2) is followed by other supplications to Padmākara. In particular, there is a long "tenth day" supplication ("Chos-spyod", pp.122-128), which lists the various "aspects" of the Guru, including the principal "eight aspects", as well as many others, relating each manifestation to the particular activity associated with it and the occasion during Padma's life when he demonstrated it on a tenth day. (More on

Padma's aspects, Section 4.3.2).

4.1 THE "BLA-SGRUB" SUPPLICATION

After the "Chos-spyod" supplications, there is a supplication associated with the "Bla-sgrub" text itself. This, like the Commentary ("bsNyen-yig") on this "Bla-sgrub" [3], was composed by Bya-bral Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje Rin-po-che [4]. It is called, "brGyud-'debs" - "Supplication to the lineage" - its full title being "Guru'i thugs sgrub kun-'dus kyi brgyud-'debs byin-rlabs dbang gi bum-bzang", "The Good Vase [5] of powerful adhiṣṭhāna, the Supplication to the lineage of the complete embodiment of the heart realisation practice of the bla-ma". It begins with supplication to the bla-ma as the trikāya, to Kun tu bzang-po (Samantabhadra) as the Dharmakāya; to sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) as the Sambhogakāya; and to Padma 'Byung-gnas (Padmākara) as Nirmāṇakāya. The second verse is directed to the "Yum", Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal, as the ḍākinī of "Great Bliss", and to the other direct students of Padmākara. This is followed by a supplication to a particular set of seven "gter-ston" ("revealers of Treasure" - see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1) and their lineages of pupils: Guru Chos-dbang (Appendix 2, Section A2.2.1 and A2.2.3.5); O-rgyan rDo-rje Gling-pa; Ratna Gling-pa; Padma Gling-pa; Zhig-po Gling-pa; bDud-'dul Gling-pa; and finally, "the one who embodies the traditions of these lineages", bDud-'joms 'Gro-'dul Gling-pa. These teachers all gave teaching on practices which develop the realisation of the heart of the bla-ma, and the essence of their teachings was received by the present bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, the immediate re-incarnation of bDud-'joms Gling-pa, whose "Bla-sgrub" text is thus a "complete embodiment" of the previous traditions. The supplication continues, to all the root and lineage bla-mas, the Protectors of the maṇḍala, awakening the phenomenal world as the bla-ma. The next verse is directed to the three Roots: the Vidyādhara bla-mas who "rain down" their adhiṣṭhāna; the yi-dam deities of the maṇḍala who grant the Excellent Siddhi; and the ḍākinīs and dharmapālas who swiftly accomplish the Enlightened activities. Three verses of aspiration that the teaching set forth by those who have been supplicated may be understood, and realisation attained, are added.

The first verse aspires that, "purified [6] appearances may arise as the primordial awareness maṇḍala", through the "Generation stage" (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1.1 (ii)) practice on the level of relative Truth, given the background of receiving the teaching and empowerments and keeping pure samaya. The second verse aspires that the unchanging ultimate Truth of the "Perfection stage" practice may clearly manifest in meditation which exhausts the dharmas and surpasses the intellect, through understanding the spontaneously arisen fundamental nature of reality which is pure from the very beginning. The third verse aspires that all circumstances uncongenial to the path should be pacified, that those congenial should be attained, so that all beings may have happiness and benefit, and the auspicious qualities of the all-pervading Buddha-fields should be present. This supplication is recited by the monks at a swift pace, as is usual for supplications. It is designed to inspire devotion to the bla-ma and the practice, which are set in the context of the great meditation masters of the past and their teachings, so that from the outset, it is recognised that the practice represents the highest teachings.

4.2 PREPARATIONS

The first stage of the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" text consists of an introductory section: a praise of the Guru, Thod-phreng-rtsal, that is, Padmākara, and his teaching, and an explanation that this "Bla-sgrub" embodies the teachings of the seven gter-ston mentioned above (4.1). On page two, a short quotation from a prediction in a previous gter-ma, concerning this "Bla-sgrub", is included [7]. Then the structure of the text is outlined (see TABLE 2); it has three parts, "Preparations", the "Main Practice", and the "Following Activities".

There are five sections under "Preparations". The first (p.2, line 4) is "*Arranging the receptacle and the offerings*". This section summarises the details elaborated in the Commentary on setting up the maṇḍala with the image ("receptacle"), samaya objects and the "Blazing Jewel gTor-ma", and offerings (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.6). The whole maṇḍala construction is accordingly set up for the first month practice session but not for each tenth day; the principal elements - the image, gTor-ma and so on - are represented on

the main shrine, and the offerings (to be outlined below, 4.3.4), prepared on each ninth day of the month, are arranged on the offerings table by the mchod-dpon before the morning session begins.

4.2.2 Making the Boundaries

The second section is, "*Making the Boundaries*", which is again a shortened version of the ritual done for the first month session (Chapter 5, Section 5.1.5), and its purpose is, "to expel the obstacles" so that the meditation may be firm. The practitioners meditate on themselves as Hayagrīva and his consort, Vajravārāhī. In the "Bla-sgrub" practice, while Padmākara is the bla-ma, Hayagrīva, a wrathful form of Avalokiteśvara, is the yi-dam. A "myth" concerning Hayagrīva, recorded in the "Padma bKa'-thang-yig Shel-brag-ma", describes him as the enlightened expression of the Buddhas sent forth to subdue Rūdra. Hayagrīva and Vārāhī penetrated Rūdra's very body, and subduing him, they appropriated his form, costume, and attributes [8]. Meditating on these deities responsible for the "consecration" of Rūdra's parts as primordial awareness attributes, the monks begin the recitation for the "*bgegs gtor-ma*" offering. A bgegs gtor-ma offering has already been described (Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.1.2). Here again, the gtor-ma is very small (a few inches high), and provides a contrast to the larger more elaborate offering gtor-mas (see diagrams, Portfolio, p.6-8). Nonetheless, I was informed that although the gtor-ma is small and concentrated, in one's meditation it should be huge, encompassing vast amounts of the transmuted poisons. As in the Gro-lod "Las-byang" practice, the gtor-ma is meditated on as being burnt, scattered and purified with the syllables , "RAM YAM KHAM" (Ch.3, 3.2.2.1.2), and the mchod-dpon sprinkles some pure water from a vase onto the gtor-ma. The monks recite:

p.2b, line 2
line 3

"Out of the condition of emptiness, from BHRUM,
there arises a deep jewel vessel. Within its
great expanse, see the gtor-ma, which in colour,
smell and taste is all that could be desired."
With "OM AH HUM HOH" the adhiṣṭhāna is granted.

Here, as before (Chapter 3, 3.2.2.1.2), the gtor-ma is consecrated through the seed-syllables

of the three kāyas. The mchod-dpon takes the gtor-ma near to the temple doorway, sets it down on a tripod, and the "guests" are "summoned" with the appropriate mantra (p.2b, line 3). A mantra dedicating the gtor-ma to the bgegs is recited three times, and the mchod-dpon makes a mudrā of offering over the gtor-ma (Photo no.31). This section corresponds to the part of the Gro-lod bgegs gtor-ma offering which is essentially a "pacifying" ritual, in which the harmful forces dissolve through being satiated and pacified. It is concluded with a session of music; first, the slob-dpon rings the bell, and he is joined by the horns, trumpets, cymbals and drums. As before, this is the first music of the day. It is followed by the "wrathful" section of the ritual, in which the gtor-ma is transformed into a weapon, and cast to expel any obstacles which had not been pacified. A verse is slowly recited in a low tone, and with the drum beat on every second syllable:

p.2b, line 5	"HUM% Through the adhiṣṭhāna of the bla-mas;% the samādhi of the yi-dam deities;% and the power of the ḍākinīs;% You obstacles who work to hinder the Siddhi;%
line 6	Multitudes of Māras who lead away (from the Dharma);% You cannot be present here - Go elsewhere!%"

The bell, cymbals and drums are played and with the wrathful mantra used for expelling the "bgegs", the slob-dpon, still ringing the bell in his left hand and holding a vajra in his right hand, takes up some mustard seeds (known as, "powerful substances" - "thun-rdzas" - representing wrathful emanations of Hayagrīva [9]). He makes a mudrā of expelling, his right arm moving in a sweeping motion, and he throws the mustard seeds, while he recites the mantra, and the other monks play the trumpets, horns, cymbals and drums. Meanwhile, the mchod-dpon takes the gtor-ma outside and throws it into the courtyard. He returns swinging an incense thurible, and he walks around the whole temple with it (Photo no.32). He then leaves it, the incense still burning, near the doorway, and puts away the tripod. The slob-dpon continues to ring the bell and holds the vajra at his heart. The music then stops, and another verse is recited, with the drum beat, in the same slow, almost slurring chant, with the repetition and elongation of syllables, as is used for the meditation on the Protection Maṇḍala in the daily Gro-lod practice (Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.1.2):

p.2b, line 6	"HUM% I, wrathful in nature from the beginning;%
--------------	--

and then a maṇḍala offering is made. A maṇḍala consisting of heaps of rice to represent Mount Meru, the four continents, etc., is a permanent feature on the shrine (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.3.3 (3); Chapter 3, 3.2.1.1). While the monks meditate on the maṇḍala, they make the maṇḍala offering mudrā, holding a few grains of rice, and recite the verse:

p.3b, line 3 "My body and possessions, and%
All the merits I have accumulated in the three times;%
I increase them into the great clouds of offering of Samantabhadra;%
And I offer them to the Bla-ma, the
Victorious Ones and their sons and daughters.%
line 4 OM AḤ HUM GURU DEVA ḌAKINI RATNA MAṆḌALA
PŪJA MEGHA SAMUDRA SPHARAṆA SAMAYA SVAHA%"

As the mantra is said, the monks throw rice, the slob-dpon rings the bell, and is joined by the cymbals and the other musical instruments.

4.2.3 Consecration of the Maṇḍala and Offerings

The next section is, "*(Requesting) The Adhiṣṭhāna to descend*", which is the meditation to consecrate the place, and in particular, the maṇḍala of the Immeasurable Palace, represented in the first month by the maṇḍala construction (see Chapter 5), and during the other months, by the shrine at the front of the temple [11]. In the meditation, the whole temple should become the "Palace". Throughout this section, incense is burnt. Clouds of incense can symbolise purification in the sense of preventing any obstacles from arising (p.5). Here, they represent the descent of the adhiṣṭhāna; an empowering rather than purificatory activity, but in both cases, the incense is a manifestation of the power of the Three Roots. The verse is chanted to a regular rhythm, with the drum beaten on every second syllable:

p.3b, line 5 "HUM% From the "Palace" of the completely pure Dharmadhātu;%
In the unchanging (state) without birth or cessation,
free of all projections;%
The vow of Compassion is never inert.%
Assembly of bla-mas, yi-dams and ḍākinīs,%
line 6 By dint of your vow, direct your mind in your loving kindness,%
And from the unmanifest sphere, come to this place!%
Please be present in this Secret Maṇḍala;%
Empower us with the descent of your adhiṣṭhāna
p.4, line 1 and grant Siddhi.%"

The mantra of empowerment is then said, to the accompaniment of all the musical instru-

ments. The slob-dpon holds one corner of a red scarf [12] with green tasse/s attached, and waves it through the air, bringing it down from over his shoulder to beyond the table in front of him. With this, the monks meditate on the adhiṣṭhāna coming down into the maṇḍala. The music continues for a while, with the slob-dpon playing bell and ḍamaru. The fifth and final section of the "Preparations" is the "*Consecration of the offering substances*". After the Śūnyatā mantra to purify the offerings in emptiness, "OM AH HUM%" is said three times. The monks meditate on the offerings becoming vast in quantity. The set of the offerings of "medicine", "rakta" and "baliṃ" (Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2.2), are consecrated individually. First, a short verse on the "amṛta" is recited, in which the "essence juice" ("bcud") of the yab-yum deities of the five families is mentally envisaged in the skull-cup (offering bowl) of the Immeasurable Palace. As the deities unite together, they melt into "bodhicitta amṛta", expressing their own-being beyond the dualities of bondage or liberation. A mantra of consecration of the amṛta is recited seven times, while the mchod-dpon lifts the lid from the "medicine" offering container on the offerings table, and holding the ladle in his right hand, he turns it in three clockwise circles above the container. Simultaneously, the slob-dpon turns round the lid of the medicine container on his table in a clockwise direction. Then, the "baliṃ" is meditated upon as becoming a heap of offerings delighting the senses, and a mantra for consecrating it is recited three times. Finally, the "rakta" is envisaged as being transformed into "red bodhicitta", and as the appropriate mantra is recited three times, the mchod-dpon takes off the lid of the rakta bowl and turns the ladle above it three times in an anticlockwise direction. The slob-dpon also turns the lid of his rakta bowl in an anticlockwise circle. A further verse of meditation is recited in which,

p.4, line 6

"Clouds of outer, inner and secret offerings;%
Completely fill the whole phenomenal world.%"

The monks recite a general mantra covering all the offerings and as they recite the Sanskrit words for flowers, incense, lamp, etc., they make the appropriate mudrās. Then all the musical instruments are played.

4.3 THE MAIN PRACTICE

4.3.1 Generating the Deity

There are seven sections in the Main Practice. The first, "*Generating the Deity*", is listed in the "Commentary" as one of the three most important aspects. The key to the meditation is the "*three Samādhis*", which are

- (a) "The Samādhi of Tathatā", or of "Thusness", sometimes translated as "Suchness". This refers to the realisation of the ultimate emptiness nature of the deity, maṇḍala, and the whole of reality.
- (b) "The Samādhi which arises in Everything". This signifies the spontaneous arising of Compassion out of the Dharmadhātu.
- (c) "The Samādhi of the Cause". The "cause" is the seed-syllables from which the deities arise. The samādhi of "cause" occurs when the realisation of "Thusness" and Great Compassion are both present, so that the "cause" of the Nirmāṇakāya is manifested in accordance with the beings to be awakened.

Not all the monks had received teaching on the three Samādhis, and some recite the text, following the meditation as it is outlined, and then receive further teaching on it at a later date. In fact, the verses in the text are fairly self-explanatory. They are recited in the rhythmic chant with the drumbeat on every second syllable. The first verse refers to the first Samādhi:

p.4b, line 2 "OM% The unchanging Dharmakāya is Vajrasattva!%
Padma rGyal-po spoke these words:%
line 3 'From the beginning, there is no conceptualisation of dharmas;%
They are beyond verbalisation, the Great Perfection;%
The unchanging Dharmakāya surpasses the intellect;%
Meditate on the Samādhi of Tathatā.'%"

The second verse clearly concerns the second Samādhi:

line 3 "AḤ% Meditate that out of this very condition
which is beyond the intellect;%
line 4 Great loving Compassion,%
Pervades all sentient beings.%"

Then, the third verse generates the third Samādhi:

line 4 "HUM% Meditate that out of this very condition
 of Emptiness and Compassion,%
 In order to accomplish the limitless benefit of beings,%
line 5 Self-arising awareness (manifests) as a golden vajra [13]%"

The text then outlines the stages of the arising of the deity. The Immeasurable Palace arises, and the vajra, in the centre, is transformed into Hayagrīva, yab-yum, whose forms and attributes are described (p.4b, line 5 - p.5, line 4). Following this, there are two alternative sections which can be recited. They both begin,

p.5, line 4 "Above their heads [14], on a sun and moon,%
 In the heart of a lotus flower,%
 is the essential nature of the mind, Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal!%"

In many meditation practices, the bla-ma is envisaged above the head of the yi-dam, and in this practice, which is directed towards the bla-ma, a clear meditation of him is crucial. The text provides two alternative meditations: one of the bla-ma in the Nirmāṅakāya form, and one in Sambhogakāya form. The Nirmāṅakāya form has the usual appearance of Padmākara, holding a vajra and a skull-cup containing a long-life vase, with a khaṭvāṅga in the crook of his arm, and wearing his special "lotus" hat, a white shirt, a dark blue long-sleeved robe, Dharma robe (i.e. a monk's red robes), and a purple silk cloak (p.5, line 4-6). This is the meditation used by the Rewalsar monks [15]. In the four directions around the bla-ma arise the "Thod-phreng-rtsal"s of the four Buddha families [16], coloured according to their family [17]. Each of the four accomplishes one of the four Enlightened activities (karmas). Beyond them are the eight "Jewel Points" ("*Rin-chen zur-brgyad*"), consisting of the eight points of the compass, and above these "points", the "Eight Aspects" of the Guru clearly manifest (more on the "Eight Aspects" later). Having outlined the meditations on these emanations of Padma, the text elaborates on the retinue of the central figures of Hayagrīva yab-yum. In the four directions arise the ḍākinīs of the four families, coloured in accordance with their families. They are united with male consorts, and they have the same ornaments and costumes as the central figures. Beyond them, is an outer circle of yi-dam deities, vidyādhara, ḍākinīs and dharmapālas, who grant siddhi and remove hindrances. Goddesses sing, dance, play musical instruments, and hold up various offerings. The section ends by saying:

p.6, line 3 "They are generated like gathering rain clouds;%
 Although appearing as many, their nature is one.%"

The "Commentary" explains (p.8, line 3-4), that it is important to meditate on the many forms of the deities without merging them together, but the understanding should be that they are expressions of the bla-ma, Vajrasattva, and like reflections in the mirror, they are not actually substantial forms, but are empty and luminous. As "Generating the Deity" is completed, all the musical instruments are played.

4.3.2 The Invitation

The second section of the Main Practice, "*The Invitation*", commences with some very slow chanting of the first part of the first verse. Then, after ringing the bell, and playing the cymbals and drums, they return to the rhythmic chant with the drum-beat on every second syllable, from the line, "In the place of the Dhanakośa Lake" (see below), and they continue with this for all the verses of Invitation (up to text p.7b, line 5). It may seem superfluous to have a specific section on Inviting the presence of the bla-ma and deity when they have already been "generated". The idea is that it is the "Samayasattva" which can be generated, but one must then invite the "Jñānasattva" - the "primordial awareness being" - which is the Enlightened Mind, to be present in the meditation. "The Invitation" begins with focusing on the bla-ma and his aspects. First is a lengthened form of the "Seven Syllable Supplication" (Chapter 3, 3.2.1.2), and this is followed by invitations to each of the main aspects of Padma:

p.6, line 4 "HRI% In the first kalpa of yore,%
 In the north-west of the Land of O-rgyan;%
 In the place of the Dhanakośa Lake;%
line 5 Upon the heart of a lotus flower;%
 Bearer of the Supreme Wondrous Siddhi;%
 Famed as Padmākara, the Lotus-Born;%
 Many dākinīs form your retinue;%
line 6 Since I practise following after you;%
 Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%
 In the cemetery of the 'Cool Grove';%
 You attained the siddhi of the various Excellent qualities [18];%
 And were famed as Padmasambhava;%
p.6b, line 1 Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%
 In the Excellent Place [19] of rāga-rakta [20];%
 You attained the siddhi of Complete Understanding;%

- line 2 and were famed as Blo-Idan mChog-sred;%
Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%
In the cemetery of the 'Joyous Grove';%
You attained the siddhi of controlling the three worlds;%
And were famed as Padma rGyal-po;%
- line 3 Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%
In the cemetery of the place of So-sa;%
You attained the siddhi of subduing beings;%
And were famed as Nyi-ma 'Od-zer;%
Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%
In the centre of the land of the King of Zahor;%
- line 4 You attained the siddhi of wrathfully subduing Māra;%
And were famed as Śākya Seng-ge;%
Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%
In the city of Magadha;%
You attained the siddhi of subduing the Tīrthikas;%
- line 5 And were famed as Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs;%
Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%
Accomplishing the Lion's [21] resolution at 'The Tiger's Den';%
You attained the siddhi of annihilating pride;%
And were famed as rDo-rje Gro-lod;%
- line 6 Please come and grant your adhiṣṭhāna here!%"

Each "aspect" is thus invited individually, with reference to the place in which it was manifested, and the quality or power which was displayed there. The first verse is both an invitation to the central form of the bla-ma, and also to the first of the eight aspects. Since this aspect appears in the form of Vajradhara (rDo-rje 'Chang), he is normally referred to as O-rgyan rDo-rje 'Chang, thus distinguishing him from the central form of Padmākara (Padma 'Byung-gnas). However, he is sometimes also called Padmākara, as for example, in the "Padma bKa'-thang Shel-brag-ma" [22]. In the Invitation, and later in the "Praises", this "Bla-sgrub" text includes this aspect under the general supplication. When the tenth day 'chams is performed, and the first aspect, who appears as rDo-rje 'Chang, performs his dance, the Praise of Padma 'Byung-gnas is recited, and the dance is called the "Dance of Padma 'Byung-gnas" (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3.4). This identification could be because O-rgyan rDo-rje 'Chang is considered as an alternative expression of the same basic principle of the Enlightened Mind spontaneously arising from the "lotus" of Compassion. rDo-rje 'Chang is, in many of the teaching traditions [23], the Adi-Buddha figure, taking the role played by Samantabhadra in the rNying-ma-pa systems. This aspect, then, could be thought of as Padma as the primordial Buddha. A further interesting point is that in the

"Padma kKa'-thang Shel-brag-ma", although this aspect is referred to as Padma 'Byung-gnas in the list of eight, Chapters Thirty and Thirty-one contain stories in which Padma receives the "secret" name of the "incomparable rDo-rje 'Chang", and the stories are those associated with the aspect, O-rgyan rDo-rje 'Chang. It could be that it was later in the tradition that the form and stories of rDo-rje 'Chang became the accepted appearance and "myth" of this aspect in the set of eight. Be that as it may, the stories of the occasions on which Padma received the name, further emphasise the idea of this aspect as an expression of primordial Buddhahood. Padma visits the "Palace of the Akaniṣṭha Dharmadhātu" of the "Dharmakāya Buddha, Samantabhadra". Here,

"With his sense of sight, he saw the "face" of Dharma speech;
With his sense of hearing, he heard undistracted speech;
With his sense of mind, he grasped the words, and understood
their meaning. " ("Padma bKa'-thang Shel-brag-ma",
p.133, lines 3-4)

Meditating, then, on the ultimate Dharmakāya level, he receives the name, Incomparable rDo-rje 'Chang, "secret" since this level is so subtle, it cannot be perceived by ordinary beings. In Chapter Thirty-one (pp.138-140), he visits the completely pure Dharmadhātu, where, this time, the Nirmāṇakāya Buddha, Vajrasattva, is manifest. Here, he perfects the Mahāyoga teachings, and receives, "as before", the secret name, rDo-rje 'Chang (p.140). The second "aspect" is Padmasambhava. Literally, the name means, "Lotus-Born", and it is an alternative Sanskrit translation for Padma 'Byung-gnas, instead of Padmākara. In this thesis, however, I have consistently avoided the use of this name as a general name for Padma, since the Tibetans always - and only - use it for this particular aspect in the set. This form of Padma appears with the costume of a monk scholar and the red hat of an ācārya, seated in the vajra posture, and holding a skull-cup of amṛta. In the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang", it states that he received the name in the cemetery of the "Cool Grove". Chapter Twenty-two in the "Shel-brag-ma" concerns his five-year stay in this cemetery where he gave teachings to ḍākinīs. Nonetheless, it does not say that it was here that the name, Padmasambhava, was bestowed upon him; indeed, in Chapter Thirty-two, it describes the cemetery of Lang-ka brTsegs-pa in Zahor where he also stayed for five years,

and states that he received the name on this occasion (p.142-143). In other texts, such as bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's Tenth Day Supplication to Guru Rin-po-che [24], the aspect, Padmasambhava, is associated with the time when Padma firmly established the monastery of bSam-yas, "lighting the lamp of the Excellent Dharma" there, and "ripening and liberating", "the fortunate King and subjects" ("Chos-spyod", p.127). The association between a particular aspect and various stories is not, of course, contradictory, each occasion serving to reinforce the nature of that manifestation. Most of the aspects are connected both with a period of meditation and teaching in one of the great cemeteries, when ḍākinīs bestowed a name upon him, and a later event when he manifested the aspect for a specific purpose. In the case of Padmasambhava, the aspect seems to be essentially the manifestation of Padma as a human teacher, a monk and scholar. He is dressed as an ācārya, and it is he who establishes the Dharma in Tibet on the historic occasion of the founding of bSam-yas. The aspect, Blo-ldan mChog-sred (or "-srid"), meaning "Supreme Intellect in Existence", is also associated with different episodes. The verse in "Bla-sgrub" states that in the place known as "Passion and Blood", he demonstrated "Complete Understanding". The "Shel-brag-ma" has an account of an incident when Padma was staying in a cemetery called, "Expansive Great Bliss" (Chapter Thirty, p.136-138). A man who had murdered a Bon-po was sent with the corpse to the cemetery. Padma protected him, and offered to teach him, but the man did not recognise the value of Padma's help, and became resentful. Padma realised - through his "wrathful Compassion" - that the man should be allowed to experience the effects of his actions. He let the man leave the cemetery, and on his return, the man was eaten by wild animals. Hearing about this, many beings were "subdued", and they named Padma, "Blo-ldan mChog-srid". This name is sometimes also used as a secondary name to describe him on the occasion when he mastered the teachings under Ananda [25] (see also below, under Śākya Seng-ge). The emphasis of this aspect is on the perfection of intellect and understanding. He is usually shown in an elaborate costume, with royal adornments, and playing a ḍamaru. The next aspect is Padma rGyal-po - "Lotus King". This aspect is

associated with the story of when Padma became the Prince of O-rgyan, after King Indrabhūti had failed to have a son, and had discovered the child born from a lotus in the Dhanakośa Lake [26]. This period is analogous to events in the life of Śākyamuni; Padma is installed in the Palace, and marries an exceptional princess, Bhāsadhāra, and then he renounces his worldly position (see Chapter 2, Section 2.1.3). Like Śākyamuni, he has the opportunity to be a great worldly king, but instead becomes a "king" of the Dharma. The name, thus, takes on a different sense, as in this "Invitation", where it is used to refer to Padma's demonstration of the activity of "controlling" or "bringing the three worlds under his power". Padma rGyal-po wears the costume of a king. The aspect, Nyi-ma 'Od-zer, "Light rays of the Sun", is portrayed with a golden coloured body, wearing the skins and bone adornments characteristic of a yogi. He has the head adornment of five skulls, and he carries a khaṭvāṅga. The story concerning him in the "Padma bKa'-thang Shel-brag-ma" is of his stay in a cemetery in the land of Baiddha (Chapter Twenty-nine, pp.131-133). As in the other cemeteries where he stays, there are various flesh-eating and fearful creatures who inhabit its directions, while in the centre, there is a precious stūpa. He remains teaching the ḍākinīs for five years. This "Bla-sgrub" Invitation associates the aspect with the siddhi of "subduing beings". Another story, mentioned in the "Chos-spyod" supplication (p.126), throws some light on this particular form. When some Tīrthikas attempt to poison him, he transforms the poison into amṛta, so that far from harming him, as a result of consuming it, he blazes with iridescent light. The Tīrthikas then have faith, and become Buddhists. This aspect, then, is associated with "subduing" through the transmutation of the poisons. The next aspect, Śākya Seng-ge, "Lion of the Śākyas", is, as his name suggests, closely connected with the Enlightened manifestation embodied in the form of Śākyamuni. His appearance is that of a bhikṣu with begging bowl, and the uṣṇīṣa on his head, pictured exactly as the Tibetans portray Śākyamuni, except that he has the addition of a vajra in his right hand. Although the verses in the "Invitation" mention Padma's stay in the land of Zahor, during which time he gave many teachings, established the people in the Dharma

(after the Rewalsar incident), and also protected the land from invaders ("Shel-brag-ma", Ch. 42 and 43), the particular quality which is identified as Śākya Seng-ge is that of "wrathfully subduing Māra". The activity of subduing Māra is, of course, that associated with the attaining of Enlightenment by Śākyamuni. The story of Śākya Seng-ge which occurs both in supplications, and in the "Shel-brag-ma", is that he received the name when he received ordination and teachings from Ananda (the attendant and close disciple of the Buddha), and demonstrated victory over the Māras, as is done by all the Buddhas (p.121). The account of this is given in Chapter Twenty-six, and the subsequent chapters (27 and 28) also concern his receiving instructions and advice from Ananda. Thus, a direct lineage is symbolically established between the teachings of Śākyamuni and those of Padma, and further, an identification made between them. The final two aspects are the "completely wrathful" forms of Padma. They appear with fierce wrathful expressions, "like rākṣasas". The first is Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs - "Lion's roar". As with most of the other aspects, there is both a story of a stay in a particular cemetery when the name was bestowed upon him, and another story - to be found elsewhere in the "rnam-thar" - which is associated with this form. The cemetery, called "Spontaneously Erected", in Nepal, is described in Chapter Thirty-one (p.140-141), and possesses the usual elements of a central stūpa, and terrifying creatures residing in the various directions. He teaches the ḍākinīs there for five years, and,

"In the fortress of harmful forces,
he subdued the 'eight classes' of dam-sri;
He brought the three worlds under his power and established
his complete victory over them,
and he was famed by the name of Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs."
("Shel-brag-ma", p.141)

Moreover, in Chapter Thirty-three (pp.147-148), he visits another cemetery, called, "Lotus Erected", in O-rgyan, where he stays for a further five years. He gives teaching on "Liberation through Union" to the white ḍākinī, Śāntarakṣita, and becomes known by the "secret" name of Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs. Then, the occasion when Padma displayed the wrathful activity associated with this form is recounted in Chapter Fifty-one. In order to destroy the teaching of the Tīrthikas, he went to their "Land of Copper" and entered a debate with five

hundred of their teachers (p.218). Losing the argument, they challenged him to display his power. He went into a forest to perform his practice, and a ḍākinī, "Subduer of Māras", gave him a leather box and instructed him to, "tame them". Powerful forces came forth from the box, the ḍākinīs recited wrathful mantras for seven days so that thunderbolts descended, and a fire devoured the Tīrthikas. Those who were not killed, entered the Buddhist teaching. Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs, then, is the wrathful manifestation particularly directed at intellectual justifications for egocentric activity. Through the inspiratory powers of the ḍākinīs, Padma subdues the indulgent intellect, with the "thunderbolt" of the Vajrayāna which burns it up in the fire of primordial awareness. Seng-ge sgra-sgrogs is pictured surrounded by a mass of the flames of primordial awareness. Blue in colour, he wears all the wrathful adornments of a heruka. The aspect of rDo-rje Gro-lod, the monastery' yi-dam, has already been dealt with (Chapter 3). To briefly re-cap, Chapter Thirty-three of the "Shel-brag-ma" contains a story of Padma's stay in the cemetery of "Erection of Worlds" in Khotan (pp.149-150). The well-known story of Padma's stay in "sTag-tshang", the "Tiger's den" in Bhutan, is not given in detail in the "Shel-brag-ma" [27]. It is mentioned in the "Chos-spyod" supplication (p.127), and in others, and is the story which Tibetans readily think of in relation to Gro-lod. There, he subdued all the fierce local deities. The next verse of "The Invitation" (p.6b, line 6 - p.7, line 3) returns to the central figure of Padma, inviting him, as Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal, from the Buddha-field of the "Glorious Copper-Coloured Mountain", where he resides in the "Immeasurable Palace of Lotus-light" with his retinue. His adhiṣṭhāna is requested, and he is asked to confer the four Empowerments, to remove obstacles, and to grant siddhi. Finally (p.7, line 3 - p.7b, line 6), Hayagrīva, Vajravārāhī, the four ḍākinīs and four ging, all the male and female "courageous ones" ("*dpa'-bo*" / "*dpa'-mo*"), and the rest of their retinue, are invited, from their "Immeasurable Palace of Blazing Great Bliss". To help in developing the sense of their presence, the text lists the various deities in the retinue and their activities or the sounds made by their movements, for example:

p.7, line 5 "From the eight great cemeteries;%"

line 6 All the ḍākinīs and "courageous ones" without exception;%
Bearers of pure awareness and all the dharmapālas - Come!;%
The hair bound up on their heads tosses about;%
Their silk diadems flutter, 'pu-ru-ru';;%
The dancing songstresses agilely move about;%
Many cymbals jangle, 'si-li-li';;%
p.7b, line 1 Many ornaments shake, 'khro-lo-lo';;%
Much music resounds, 'di-ri-ri';;%
The male courageous ones dance around, 'khrabs-se-khrab';;%
The female courageous ones sing, 'kyu-ru-ru';;%
Multitudes of yi-dam deities (sweep through the air), 'ya-la-la';;%",

and so on. Having also requested them to grant adhiṣṭhāna, Empowerment, and siddhis, a mantra to Thod-phreng-rtsal, Hayagrīva yab-yum and the retinue, is recited, with the syllables and mudrās of invitation, "JAḤ HUṂ BAM HO%" (see Chapter 3, 3.2.2.1.1). The slob-dpon rings his bell and plays his ḍamaru, and the cymbals, drums, trumpets and horns are also played.

4.3.3 The Enthronement and Prostrations

The third section of the "Main Practice", "*The Enthronement*", is then recited without any musical accompaniment. This section, corresponding to that in the "seven limbs" on requesting the Buddhas to remain in Saṃsāra to teach the Dharma, is included in many meditation practices as a request for the specific Buddha involved to remain present in the maṇḍala for the duration of the practice (see Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2.1). The verse is as follows:

p.8, line 1 "HUṂ% The Jewel Palace is delightful!;%
This Immeasurable Cemetery has great majestic power;%
line 2 The four petalled lotus clearly manifests in radiance;%
The corpse throne arises effortlessly without discursive thought;%
The levels of the sun and moon clearly manifest in light;%
It is delightful in this place of enthronement!;%
Assembly of Gurus, devas, ḍākinīs - %
line 3 Rejoice! Be present here to grant adhiṣṭhāna!;%
Please show your face to your devoted child;%
Proclaim the inner meaning of your instructions;%
Open the door of the heart meditation;%
line 4 Please be enthroned here for the benefit of beings.%
GURU DEVA ḌAKINIṢAMAYA TISTHA LHAN%"

The fourth section is "*Prostrations*". The mudrā of respect is made as the verses are slowly sung; the Prostrations are done mentally here (each monk physically performs three prostrations on entering the temple at the beginning of each practice session).

p.8, line 5 "E MA HO% Unchanging perfected enlightened activities,

without birth or cessation,%
Liberate beings through self-arisen Compassion.%
To the one who rains down wish-fulfilling siddhis;%
line 6 To Thod-phreng-rtsal, I prostrate!%
The state free of all projections, Samantabhadrī, She of Great Bliss;%
She of Vajra medicine, the yum mTsho-rgyal;%
p.8, line 1 Upāya and prajñā unite in the non-duality of bliss and emptiness;%
To the non-dual yab-yum, I prostrate!%
All mental dharmas of action and actor are completely pure;%
Beings are subdued through self-arisen Compassion;%
To the great powerful Hayagrīva yab-yum;%
line 2 With devotion, in non-duality, I prostrate!%
Appearances are the yab; emptiness the yum;%
I prostrate to the ḍākinīs and giṅg!%
Everything manifests as the Dharmadhātu;%
line 3 I prostrate to the assembly of Dharma-protectors!%
ATI PU HO% PRATĪCCHA HO%"

With the mantra of prostration, the bell, cymbals, drum, trumpets and horns are played.

4.3.4 The Offerings

"*Making the Offerings*", the fifth section of the "Main Practice", then begins. The material offerings are prepared on the ninth day of the month, and the mchod-dpon is responsible for ensuring that they are correctly laid out on the offerings table, before the beginning of the morning communal practice (see Photo no.33). To the left is the baliṃ offering dish and goblet, for use in the "gSol-kha" practice (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). The front row of offerings on the table represent the "outer", peaceful offerings, i.e. water for drinking, water for washing, flowers, incense, a lamp, scented water, food and music. These were the offerings traditionally made on the arrival of an honoured guest in ancient India, and they represent the offering of one's outer positive qualities. They are made with the feeling of the presence of the deity as a "guest". They are laid out from left to right (see Portfolio, p.2). The "flowers" are represented by winged seeds of the "tsam-pa-ka" tree [28]. Variations on the "zhal-zas" food gtor-ma, are used in other practices; a different colour combination may be used according to the deity and practice. The food gtor-ma used in the first month session is the same design, but more elaborate (compare diagram in Portfolio, p.8). The rest of the set was laid out in the same way as for the other regular practices at Rewalsar. "Music" is not included; this is offered by playing the instruments during the tex-

tual recitation. Behind this set, the wrathful offerings are arranged in the opposite direction - from right to left. On the right are two offering bowls of water (as above), for the waters of amṛta; then a dough figure representing the "flowers" of the five senses (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.6.1 and diagram, Portfolio, p.8); in the centre, the incense of a "burning human corpse" is represented simply by three incense sticks, as above. The butter lamp of "human fat" and the perfume of "Vajra scented water" are also represented by an ordinary butter lamp and offering bowl of scented water. Finally, the food offering is represented by a "wrathful food gtor-ma" ("drag-po'i zhal-zas gtor-ma"). As in the case of the peaceful food gtor-ma, this is a less elaborate version of the gtor-ma used for the first month practice session (see diagram, Portfolio, p.3; compare Chapter 5, Section 5.1.6.1 and diagram, Portfolio, p.8). A two-tiered shelf construction is situated behind these two sets of offerings, against the case of the important gtor-mas which are kept for the whole year [29]. The ladles used for the medicine and rakta offerings are propped up against either side of the first shelf. The upper shelf has the two small skull-cup vessels, used for the medicine and rakta, at the two ends. The medicine ("sman") vessel contains water and "dam-rdzas" ("samaya substances" - pills of medicines, consecrated by a high bla-ma), and the rakta vessel contains black tea. The "sman" container is to the left (that is, to the right of the deity - the "Rin-chen zur-brgyad gTor-ma"), and the "rakta" container is to the right. Between these two skull-cups are placed the "chad-tho" gtor-ma (see on, Section 4.4.3.1) on the left, the usual daily "gSol-kha" gtor-ma in the centre (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2), and the "brtan-ma bcu-gnyis" on the right (see on, 4.4.3.2).

4.3.4.1 *The Outer Offerings*

The first four sets of seven syllables (each marked by %) of the verse for the *outer offerings* are recited slowly with a drum beat on each syllable. The seventh syllables are elongated, with an extra two drum beats, followed by the playing of the cymbals after the second and the fourth sets. The final two sets of the verse are then chanted a little faster, with the drum beat on the second syllable, and this chant and drum beat is continued for

the mantra recitation, during which the slob-dpon also plays his bell, and the mchod-dpon adds a little water to all the offering bowls of water on the shrine.

p.8b, line 3 "HRṬ To the bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākiniḥ,%
line 4 I make the outer offerings of substances (from) the god (realms);%
 Flowers, incense, butter lamps and perfume,%
 Foods and pleasant music;%
 I offer them to your eyes, noses, hearts and bodies;%
 mouths and ears [30].%
line 5 GURU DEVA ḌAKINIḤ PUṢPE DHUPE ALOKE
 GANDHE NAIVEDYE ŚABDA PUJA HO%"

4.3.4.2 The Inner Offerings

The verse for the *inner offerings*, also recited with the drum beat on every second syllable, follows immediately. The categories used for the offerings are different in the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" to the usual ordering. In the daily "Gro-lod Las-byang" practice (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.2.2), the "outer offerings" consist of both the "peaceful" and "wrathful" offerings; the "inner offering" is that of the medicine, rakta and balim, while the "secret offering" is of the subtlest manifestations of the kleśas, transmuted through the inner Vajrayāna practice. However, in the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang", the outer offerings only include the peaceful offerings, while the wrathful offerings are classified as "inner". The medicine, rakta and gtor-ma offerings are then given separately after the secret offerings. Possibly, the text is ordered in this way since the sections on the medicine, rakta and gtor-ma offerings are long, and they could be seen as a further elaboration on the "inner" and "secret" offerings [31]. The *"inner offerings"* are the usual "wrathful offering" qualities, represented by the parts of the corpse of Rūdra; here, they become the more inner expressions of egocentred behaviour.

p.8b, line 5 "HRṬH To the bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākiniḥ,%
 I make the inner offerings which are self-arisen;%
line 6 I offer the 'flowers' of the five senses;%
 I offer the smells of the 'incense' of a burning human corpse.%
 I offer the 'butter lamp' of lit up human fat;%
 I offer the 'perfume' of 'vajra scented water' [32];%
p.9, line 1 I offer the 'foods' of amṛta excrement [33];%
 I offer the sounds of thigh-bone trumpets and skull-drums;%
 I offer the three poisons to your body, speech and mind;%
line 2 I offer the five poisons as the five primordial awarenesses;%
 I offer the phenomenal world as the four mudrās [34].%
 May the offering dissolve in non-duality!%"

GURU DEVA ḌAKINI MAHA PAÑCA PUJA HOḤ"

As the monks chant the offering of, "the sounds of ...", the slob-dpon plays his ḍamaru and continues to do so for the next two sets of seven syllables.

4.3.4.3 The Secret Offerings

The same chant continues for the "secret offerings":

p.9, line 2 "HRṬḤ To the bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākinī,%
I offer the non-dual secret offerings.%
line 3 Out of the 'sky' and the 'secret' of the non-dual yab-yum union;%
The white and red bodhicitta (mixes) and the
Excellent Bliss (arises).%
line 4 I make the offering of the same taste of Bliss.%
Please accept it to 'seal' (the realisation in) the body!%
OM AḤ HUM GURU DEVA ḌAKINI BODHICITTA
GAṆA GUHYA PUJA HOḤ"

In this practice, the "secret offering", which in general terms is the direct offering of the fundamental energies of the kleśas as the primordial awarenesses, is a specific "offering" of the anuyoga meditation (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1.1) on the integration of the "male" ("secret") and "female" ("sky") aspects of realisation. Some of the monks would not have received anuyoga teachings, and clearly, the offering is a general description rather than a meditation practice. Nonetheless, the monks are familiar with the concepts of the uniting of "upāya" and "prajñā" which occurs throughout the teachings, and the offering can be made through respecting and appreciating the meaning of the practice.

4.3.4.4 The Medicine Offering

The "medicine offering" is then begun, the first verse of which is recited in the same chant as that used for the "inner" and "secret" offerings.

p.9, line 4 "HRṬḤ To the Bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākinī,%
line 5 I offer the medicine of amṛta.%
It is a mixture of the eight root types and the thousand
(varieties) of medicine.%
(Just as) the five Buddha families are manifest in the
five samayas [35],%
So these substances which accomplish perfection are the
five primordial awarenesses.%
line 6 In order to liberate all sentient beings of the five types [36],%
This amṛta removes the five poisons.%
This deathless secret amṛta,%
I offer to the bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākinī!%
GURU DEVA ḌAKINI SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA

KHARAM KHAHI%

Although not classified under the "inner offerings", the "medicine offering", representing amṛta, has the usual significance of the offering of the "male" life-force, etc. (see Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2.2). Further verses are recited, and each time the mantra is repeated, the offering is symbolically made by the mchod-dpon and slob-dpon. The mchod-dpon takes the lid off the "sman" vessel, and holding the offering bowl in his right hand and the ladle in his left, he scoops out some "medicine", holds it above the bowl in offering, and then pours from the ladle back into the vessel. Meanwhile, the slob-dpon holds his "sman" bowl in his right hand and dips the ring finger of his left hand into the liquid (Photo no.34). Taking his finger out, he holds the drop of "amṛta" up between his finger and thumb, and then flicks it off with his finger as the offering (Photo no.35). The first six sets of syllables are slowly sung, and then the remainder (from "To the face of O-rgyan...") are recited more quickly.

- p.9b, line 1 "To the face of the limitless appearances of the Dharmakāya,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of the great Compassionate Sambhogakāya,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
- line 2 To the face of Padmākara, the Nirmāṇakāya,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of Ye-sheṣ mTsho-rgyal, the dākinī,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of the sovereign Dharma King, and his line,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of Guru Chos kyi dBang-phyug,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of O-rgyan rDo-rje Gling-pa,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
- line 3 To the face of the 'King of Dharma', Ratna Gling-pa,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of the great gter-ston, Padma Gling-pa,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of the great master of ritual dance, Zhig-po Gling-pa,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of the 'blood-drinker', bDud-'dul rDo-rje (Gling-pa),
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the faces of the kind root and lineage bla-mas,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
- line 4 To the faces of the ocean of vidyādhara bla-mas,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the face of the yi-dam, Hayagrīva and Vajravārāhī yab-yum,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the faces of the dākinīs of the five families,
united with their yabs,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%

To the faces of the protectors, the māmos, mgon-po, dam-can,
and those who protect the gter-ma teachings,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%
To the faces of all those worthy of offerings,
SARVA PAÑCA AMṚṬA KHARAM KHAHI.%"

line 5

Thus, in making this offering, the practitioner's attention is focused not only on the specific Enlightened aspects which have been generated and invited, but also on the individual bla-mas of the "Bla-sgrub" lineage of practice.

4.3.4.5 The Rakta Offering

The verse for the "rakta offering" is then recited, in the chant with the drum beat on the second syllable, as for the "inner", "secret", and the first verse of the "medicine" offerings.

p.9b, line 5 HRĪ% To the bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākinī,%
I make the offering of rakta.%
This is the blood of the 'killing and
liberation' of all negative beings of the three worlds.%
line 6 Filling the bhāṇḍa of the sameness of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa,%
is the 'essence juice' ('bcud') of radiant primordial awareness.%
In order that Saṃsāra should be purified in the Dharmakāya,%
I make this offering of Great Bliss rakta,%
to the bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākinī!%
p.10, line 1 GURU DEVA ḌAKINIṀMAHA RAKTA KHARAM KHAHI%"

The rakta offering is also made by the mchod-dpon and slob-dpon as the verse is recited. The mchod-dpon takes the rakta skull-cup offering bowl from the offerings table and holding it in his left hand, and the ladle in his right, he first mixes it round three times in an anti-clockwise direction. Then, as the mantra is said, he scoops some up and pours it back into the bowl, in the same way as the "sman" offering was made. This offering is only done once, the mantra not being repeated again. The slob-dpon takes up his rakta bowl in his left hand and flicks a drop in offering with the finger of his right hand as the mantra is recited.

4.3.4.6 The "Balim" Offering

The "balim" or "gtor-ma offering" completes this three-fold offering. Its general significance is that it represents the source of everything, the "ground of being" (Skt. "ālaya"), in which dualities, such as that of the "conditioned" and the "unconditioned" states,

do not arise (see Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2). In this offering, the whole universe is unified in the "ālaya" gtor-ma, and offered (compare translation in Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2). In the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang", it constitutes the longest single section on "offerings", and the culmination of the offering practice. It is recited in the same chant with the drum beat on every second syllable, and it does not necessitate any further symbolic action other than the meditation. The first part (p.10, line 1-6), is a summary of the previous offerings: the Guru's presence is requested, the five offerings delighting the senses, the medicine and rakta, and masses of foods are offered with "one-pointed Samādhi". The Three Roots and the assembly of deities are all requested to accept the offering. Then the "joyous place" - the Immeasurable Palace - is offered. The second part (p.10, line 6 - p.11, line 5) is the gtor-ma offering proper. As in the "Gro-lod Las-byang" text, the universe and all beings are meditated upon as becoming the container and the gtor-ma. Then, in this practice, the gtor-ma's appearance is elaborated on; it arises as the "Rin-chen Zur-brgyad" gtor-ma. It is described as a "māmo" gtor-ma. It was explained to me that here, "māmo" refers not to "the māmos", the various troublesome female forces which were subdued by Padma, but to the female principle of "Māmo" (see Chapter 3, 3.2.2), the emptiness (Śūnyatā) of the Dharmadhātu state which is the "womb" from which the Buddhas arise, and from which, owing to Ignorance, all phenomena arise. Describing it as a "māmo" gtor-ma stresses that it arises in the basic ground ("ālaya"). It has the elements of Saṃsāra (the parts of Rūdra's body and so on), but these in their true nature are the deities of the maṇḍala. Following the offering of the environment of the Immeasurable Palace in the first part of the offering, the "gtor-ma" which represents "the heart" or "essence" of the deity, and of all beings, is now offered, as the final offering practice. After the general description of the gtor-ma, (see diagram, Portfolio, p.5), there is a list of many offering substances, both "wrathful" and "peaceful", all of which are unified in the gtor-ma. The text of the second part of the gtor-ma offering is as follows:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| p.10, line 6 | "HUM% In the gtor-ma vessel which is the
'vessel' of the phenomenal world,% |
| p.10b, line 1 | the sentient beings of existence are mixed together |

- as the gtor-ma.%
This splendid impressive glorious gtor-ma,%
is even higher than Mount Sumeru!%
- line 2 This mā mo gtor-ma is encircled by a lotus,%
more perfectly formed
than the four major and the lesser continents!%
It has lines drawn in white, and a red canopy,%
Shining more brightly
- line 3 than the seven (chains) of golden mountains!%
The turbulent 'argham' [37] of red rakta,%
is more extensive than the vastest ocean!%
The amṛta medicine for sprinkling on the gtor-ma,%
has a taste more delicious than the foods of the gods!%
- line 4 White 'juice' and red 'juice' [38], human flesh,
excrement,%
and urine; these five amṛtas are the substances
for anointing.%
The flesh of lion, elephant, horse, ox and the%
most excellent human flesh are the five flesh [39].%
- line 5 Mahā māṃsa etc., the thousand types of flesh [40];%
Mahā citta etc., the thousand types of hearts;%
Mahā rakta etc., the blood of the thousand types (of beings);%
The bountiful [41] and the five types of internal organs [42];%
- line 6 The five senses and the brains of many beings;%
Many types of fruits, flowers, grains and medicines;%
Various types of cooked foods - soups and porridges;%
Butters, cheeses, curds and milk;%
Honey, herbs, spices, asafoetida, cummin and%
- p.11, line 1 ginger, salts and many different spices;%
Wild hill garlic and valley garlic, various types
of mushrooms;%
All different types of foods and drinks;%
- line 2 Dharmas of form, sounds, smell, taste and touchables etc.,%
All types of offerings which delight the five senses;%
Having accumulated them all through unobstructed thought;%
- line 3 and consecrated them through the pure stream of
samādhi meditation;%
This great gTor-ma offering is transformed into amṛta!%
With this offering, rDo-rje Slob-dpon, be fulfilled;%
Assembly of yi-dam deities, be fulfilled;%
- line 4 Ḍākinīs of the four classes, be fulfilled;%
Male courageous ones, the four gings, be fulfilled;%
Protectors, those bound by oath, be fulfilled;%
All those worthy of offerings, be fulfilled!%
- line 5 GURU DEVA ḌAKINTMAHĀ BALIMTA KHAHI%"
- As the mantra is said, the slob-dpon rings the bell, and then the monks play the horns,
drums and cymbals, completing the "Offerings".

4.3.5 The Praises

The next section of "The Main Practice" is, "The Praises". This begins with a verse

which is chanted slowly. It has sets of nine syllables, and there is a drum beat on each syllable, with two beats on each of the last three syllables, which are elongated. After the third set of syllables, the cymbals are played, and then the fourth set is sung very slowly with the cymbals rolled on each syllable. As the last syllables are sung, the slob-dpon rings his bell and the cymbals are played for about half a minute. This introductory verse is as follows:

- p.11, line 6 "HUM HRĪḤ The uncontrived state, free of all
 projections, is the bla-ma, the Dharmakāya;%
 The Great Bliss Sambhogakāya is the bla-ma, Master of Dharma;%
p.11b, line 1 Born from the heart of a lotus, the bla-ma, Nirmāṇakāya;%
 I prostrate to and praise rDo-rje 'Chang, the Trikāya!%"

The whole of the rest of the section is then chanted in a steady rhythm with a drum beat on each second syllable. The next two verses are also in praise of the form of Padma:

- p.11b, line 1 "His body is the unchanging form of Samantabhadra;%
line 2 His speech is the unobstructed speech of pure
 awareness and sameness;%
 His mind is unmoving, beyond verbalisation or conceptualisation;%
 I praise Padma rGyal-po's body, speech and mind!%
 Amitābha is self-arisen for the benefit of beings;%
line 3 His form is ornamented with many auspicious marks
 and Buddha qualities;%
 He has complete mastery over the phenomenal world,%
 son of Padma rGyal-po;%
line 4 I prostrate to and praise Vajra Thod-phreng-rtsal!%"

There is then a long part (p.11b, line 4-12, line 5) which can be recited if the bla-ma is meditated on in the Nirmāṇakāya form [43], as is done at Rewalsar. Thus, this part is also chanted by the monks. The appearance of Vajra Thod-phreng-rtsal is described, in accordance with the "Generation" section, and the symbolic associations of his attributes are outlined - for example:

- p.11b, line 6 "(His robes) are tied with a belt of the unchanging Vajra essence;%
 His lotus hat with the sapphire blue (trim) of the
 completely perfected yāna,%
p.12, line 1 is ornamented with the sun and moon of upāya and prajñā,
 which remove the darkness of Ignorance.%
 His silk diadem of the five primordial awarenesses
 flutters (in the wind);%
 As the Protector of the ten bhūmis,
 his hair is divided into bunches;%"

and so on.

After this praise of the central form of the Nirmāṇakāya bla-ma, there is a verse in praise of the five Thod-phreng-rtals:

p.12, line 5 HRĪḤ Vajra Thod-phreng-rtsal performs the activity of pacifying;%
line 6 Ratna Thod-phreng-rtsal performs the activity of increasing;%
 Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal performs the activity of subduing;%
 Karma Thod-phreng-rtsal performs the activity of destroying;%
 Buddha Thod-phreng-rtsal spontaneously accomplishes all!%
p.12b, line 1 I prostrate to and praise the Lords who perfect
 these Enlightened activities.%"

Finally, there are two more parts in "The Praises": first, a praise of each of Padma's eight aspects (p.12b, line 1-4), and then a praise of Hayagrīva yab-yum, the "male courageous ones", ḍākinīs and protectors (p.12b, line 4-6). The praises are recited during the tenth day 'chams in the first month, and will be given in full later (Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3.4). The recitation ends with the playing of the bell, cymbals, trumpets, horns and drums.

4.3.6 The Essence Recitation of the Practice

The seventh, and most important section of the "Main Practice" is the "*Recitation*", that is, the mantra recitation, which is described as the "essence" or "heart" of the practice ("sgrub-pa'i snying-po bzla-ba"). In discussions with the more knowledgeable monks, such as the mchod-dpon, it was clear that this was regarded as the section they were most concerned should be understood. Long explanatory notes are also given in the "Commentary" (p.8, line 5 - p.12, line 4), which treats this as the second very important aspect of the "Main Practice". The section begins with a verse, recited quickly, re-iterating the nature of the phenomenal world as the Immeasurable Palace, appearing though lacking substantiality. A note of instruction adds that as this is recited, one should grasp the heart [44] of the meditation with devotion and one-pointedly think of the bla-ma - Padmākara - on the crown of one's head. Then, folding the palms of their hands together in the mudrā of respect, the monks sing a supplication, using the same tune as that used for "Going for Refuge" (4.2.2):

p.13, line 2 "Kye, kye, Precious Bla-ma,%
 Embodiment of all the Buddhas,%
 Unique Spiritual friend of all beings,%
line 3 I have no protector; seize me with Compassion!%
 Bla-ma Vajra Thod-phreng-rtsal,%
 Unique Spiritual friend in whom I place my hopes,%
 I have no-one in whom to place my hopes but you!%
 Please lead me from the swamp of duḥkha!%"

line 4 Lord Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal,%
 With my heart, I offer myself to you.%
 Since you know my happiness, miseries and all my hopes,%
 Please grant the incomparable Excellent Siddhis.%
 Bla-ma who performs the Enlightened Buddha activities,%
line 5 Grant adhiṣṭhāna to empower me!%
 Then, may I, as the Bla-ma, lead%
 limitless sentient beings without exception (to liberation)!%"

Still mentally doing supplication, the monks then recite the Vajra Guru mantra [45] for a short period. This is followed by the meditation on receiving the four Empowerments. The "Commentary" (p.9) explains [46] that meditating on the non-dual bla-ma and consort above one's head, light rays come forth from the seed-syllables at their four places [47]. From the white OM at their head centre, light rays descend into one's own forehead; the Vase Empowerment is obtained, defilements of the body are purified and the Siddhis of body attained. From the red AḤ and light rays at their throat centre, penetrating one's own throat, the Secret Empowerment is obtained, defilements of speech are purified and the Siddhis of speech attained. From the light rays which radiate from the blue HUM at their heart, to one's own heart, the Primordial Awareness Empowerment is obtained, defilements of mind are purified, and the Siddhis of mind attained. From the red HRIḤ at their navel, a beam of light of the five colours penetrates one's own navel centre. All defilements of grasping the three doors (of body, speech and mind) as though they were separate, are purified and the Fourth Empowerment of "simultaneous arising in inseparability" is attained. With this mediation, the monks sing the verse using the same tune as that for the supplication:

p.13, line 6 "From the four places of the Bla-ma yab-yum form,%
p.13b, line 1 Light rays come forth and dissolve into my four places.%
 Through their Vajra body, speech, mind and primordial awareness,%
 Adhiṣṭhāna is granted and the four Empowerments are attained.%"

The next part of the "Recitation" Practice is the "*Protection of the Meditation*", the third very important aspect of the "Main Practice". Here, the meditation is "protected" by recognising grasping itself as self-arising awareness, so that, "whatever kleśas are born, arise as friends" [48]. Previously, the bla-ma was meditated upon above one's head; now he is in one's heart. This constitutes the "Accomplishment" (*sgrub-pa*) of the practice. The

monks recite the appropriate lines using a simple recitation without musical accompaniment:

- p.13b, line 2 "Within the hollow upside-down heart citta [49],%
of oneself as the clearly manifesting Great Powerful One [50];%
on the centre of an eight-petalled lotus flower,%
is the Guru, Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal!%"
- line 3 He clearly manifests in a mass of iridescent light;%
and at the bla-ma's heart, in the midst of the five lights,%
in the middle of a five-pointed golden vajra,%
is the radiant seed-syllable, HRṬḤ, marked by the
mantra syllables [51].%
- line 4 From this, light-rays radiate to the ten directions,%
Making offerings which delight the body, speech and mind%
of the three Roots, the Victorious Ones and their children.%
(Then, the light-rays) purify all the defilements of beings,%
And all are established on the (same) level as the bla-ma.%
- line 5 All the adhiṣṭhāna and powers without exception,%
of the Sugatas, the three Roots and the dharmapālas,%
merge together with the form of the deity [52], his
mantra and attributes,%
and dissolve in the essential heart bla-ma.%
All degenerations and breakages (of samaya),
negativities and defilements are purified,%
- line 6 and the Excellent and ordinary Siddhis are obtained.%
This mantra of offering and praise [53] creates rejoicing!%
It thoroughly blazes with dazzling bright iridescent light.%
All appearances are the deity; all sounds the
mantra; all thoughts, his mind.%
- p.14, line 1 The nature of the bla-ma's and one's own mind is inseparable.%
Generating this transforming power with devotion,
I recite the mantra.%"

With this, the special Padmākara mantra of "Thod-phreng-rtsal" is recited while keeping firm the above meditation. The "Commentary" adds that one should meditate on emanations of Thod-phreng-rtsal arising in the sky and dissolving into the bla-ma in the heart (p.10, line 4). It also stresses the importance of retaining clear awareness of the mantra syllables, and understanding their radiant Dharmakāya nature (p.11, line 1).

There is a further explanatory passage in the "Commentary" concerning the activity of "Protecting the Meditation", which illuminates its significance. I have translated it in full:

"bsNyen-yig"

- p.11, line 5 The bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākinī,%
Do not exist apart from each other.%
From the very beginning, without any purification,
the Immeasurable Palace,%
unobstructed by Samsāra, clearly manifests on the Lotus.%
- line 6 The precious gem of all needs and desires,%

is the vast openness of the ālaya, the yum, Vārāhī.%
The activator of mind is the yab, Hayagrīva.%
Unborn, unceasing, they are the Dharmakāya,%
From the very beginning without any 'self' and
free from all projections.%
p.12, line 1 The bla-ma is self-arisen awareness, Samantabhadra;%
Completely pure Great Bliss is the yum, mTsho-rgyal!%
All thoughts are self-liberated, as the male Courageous Ones;%
Unchanging decisiveness is the dākinīs;%
In this way, they are spontaneously self-arisen!%
Endless wish-fulfilling self-arisen Siddhi%
line 2 is the very transforming power of the unborn Dharmakāya;%
Understanding the meaning of unborn Great Bliss,%
it simultaneously arises without ground or root!%
Without rejecting Saṃsāra, the faults of Saṃsāra are purified,%
And Padmākara is perfected within you.%
line 3 This unchanging (realisation) cannot be destroyed
by antagonistic forces;%
So, Vajrasattva is perfected within you.%
Through meditating in this way, Samantabhadra is realised [54].%"

After the mantra session, there is a further meditation and mantra for the "*Applying the activities*" ("Las-sbyor") practice. The verse is also simply recited as before:

p.14, line 2 The bla-ma melts into light and dissolves into myself;%
I am Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal!%
line 3 From the heart of this essence embodiment of all
the Three Roots,%
Limitless light rays radiate.%
They strike the assembly of the emanations (created
through his) transforming power, the four Thod-phreng-rtsal,%
and the dākinīs and giṅg.%
They fill the universe with emanations and
emanations of emanations.%
line 4 All Enlightened activities of the four types
without any exception,%
Are effortlessly and spontaneously accomplished!%"

The appropriate mantra for "Applying the activities" is recited, attached to the stem of the Thod-phreng-rtsal mantra. The monks meditate on themselves as the bla-ma, spontaneously accomplishing Enlightened activities.

The "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" morning practice is concluded, with the rdo-rje slob-dpon playing the bell and ḍamaru, and the other monks the cymbals, drums, trumpets and horns. The monks recite some further supplications from "Chos-spyod", and after a break, they continue for about an hour with more supplications, from "Chos-spyod" and other sources [55]. The morning practice ends with a short prayer of aspiration, which was said

to have been taught by Padma at bSam-yas [56].

4.4 THE AFTERNOON "BLA-SGRUB LAS-BYANG" PRACTICE

4.4.1 The "Tshogs" Offering

The afternoon session commences with the daily "gSol-kha" practice (Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). This is followed by a recitation of a short practice of "Recognising and resolving not to repeat past negativities", extracted from "Chos-spyod" (pp.234-238). This confession and purification practice is usually done at the beginning of "Tshogs" offerings as a foundation for the reaffirmation of the samaya, which, as we shall see, is the purpose of the "Tshogs" practice. The third main division of "Bla-sgrub Las-byang", "*The Following Activities*", "*rJes kyi Las*", which has seven sections, is then begun. The first section is the "Tshogs" offering. As I have noted, "Tshogs" offering practices are performed on all the major auspicious days of the moon (Chapter 3, Section 3.3), and the tenth day is associated with the "heruka" principle (Appendix 2, Section A2.2.3.5) and hence, "Tshogs" offerings are dedicated to Padma. The text begins with the instruction to arrange everything necessary for the "Tshogs" offering (p.14, line 6). This is done by the mchod-dpon before the commencement of the afternoon practice session. Large circular baskets are filled with foods for the "Tshogs" offering. One basket contains special "tshogs", cone shapes of a roasted barley flour, water and butter mixture, with rounded tops, decorated with edible red dye and butter knobs (see Portfolio, p.3). These are made by the monks. Enough of them are made for the participants and those in the community who are given plates of "Tshogs" foods, to receive one each with the other distributed offerings (see Photos no.21 and no.36). The other baskets contain fruits, bread rolls, biscuits, popcorn and sweets etc., which are purchased locally. Sponsors of the practice provide the cash necessary for this, and it is the job of the gnyer-ba (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.5.1) to place orders with local shopkeepers and to buy the food on the morning of the "Tshogs" day. Having collected the food together the mchod-dpon arranges the baskets on the surface to the left of the

offerings table. A small amount of meat is also included with the offering foods. Given the Buddhist emphasis on the first precept - of not taking life - it is a potent symbolic statement to insist on the inclusion of meat in Tshogs offering rituals. Moreover, the meat is said to represent human flesh. With the other offerings, it is meditated upon as being no different from "primordial awareness amṛta" (see below); thus dualistic notions are forcefully overcome.

The term, "Tshogs", is short for, "Tshogs kyi 'khor-lo (=Skt., "Gaṇacakra"), "Circle/Wheel of Multitudes" (of offerings and of those gathering to make the communal offerings). The tshogs substances, thought of as all phenomena, are to be offered to the Enlightened Mind, recognising their nature as, "primordial awareness amṛta". "Tshogs kyi 'khor-lo" can also refer to the circle - or maṇḍala - of the Assembly of deities, and the "tshogs" offering should reinforce the identification between the Enlightened assembly and the circle of practitioners. Most of the offered "tshogs" are distributed, and everyone present partakes of the transformed substances, thus sharing the "amṛta" of Realisation, and identifying with the Assembly. This practice is said to purify any degeneration in the practitioner's "samaya", just as the "samaya" between Guru and dharmapāla is reinforced through offerings of gtor-mas (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). Before the identification takes place, recognising previous degenerations and resolving not to repeat them, is an important aspect of "tshogs" offering practices.

On the main offerings table, as well as adding an extra dish of "ba-ling" pieces beside the baliṃ dish and goblet, for the "gSol-kha" baliṃ offering, the mchod-dpon places a large skull-cup shaped vessel, painted red (blood) within, next to the set of wrathful offerings. This is filled with "chang" (barley beer) mixed with "dam-rdzas", and is distributed as "amṛta" later (see below, 4.4.4). Also, on a small table to the left of the main shrine, he puts a tray of offerings, consisting of an offering bowl containing rice in which four "tsam-pa-ka" winged seeds ("flowers") are placed (see above, Section 4.3.4; note 28); an offering bowl of rice in which three incense sticks are stood up; a butter lamp; an offering bowl of

scented water; a peaceful "zhal-mas" gtor-ma, and a small pair of cymbals. These represent the offerings delighting the six senses (see the "Outer Offerings", 4.3.4.1). The zhal-zas gtor-ma is not always ornamented in exactly the same way. Its basic structure is rounded and it is the plain barley colour, but on one month which I observed, it was simply decorated with two "tsam-pa-ka" winged seeds (the tenth day of the third month), while the following month, it was decorated with white butter circles, with red blobs of butter in the middle, and a small green and white butter flower beneath.

4.4.1.1 Consecrating the "Tshogs"

The "Tshogs" offering begins with the consecration of the "tshogs" substances. A mantra of purification is recited as the slob-dpon rings his bell, and then the horns, trumpets, cymbals, and drums are also played. The verse is recited with a slow chant, with one drum beat on each syllable, and two beats on the last syllable in each set of seven.

- p.14, line 6 "HUM% From the heart of oneself as the deity,%
Syllables emanate in order to purify the
'circle of tshogs' ('Gaṇacakra' Skt.).%"
- p.14b, line 1 RAM% From RAM, fire arises, burning up all grasping
(at appearances) as though they were substantial.%
YAM% From YAM, wind arises, scattering latent tendencies.%
KHAM% From KHAM, water arises, washing away
all grasping at duality.%"

Here, the bell is again rung, and the cymbals and drums are played. As the verse is recited, the monks meditate on themselves as Hayagrīva, and the seed-syllables in his heart which emit light: a red RAM, a green YAM and a white KHAM. The light rays from these syllables penetrate and purify all the elements of the "tshogs" substances. Meanwhile, the mchod-dpon waves lighted incense sticks which he holds in his left hand (here, representing fire), and peacock feathers which he holds in his right hand (representing wind), over the "tshogs" substances. Then, he sprinkles them with barley beer taken from the skull-cup (see back), using the ladle usually used for the medicine and rakta offerings. After this purification, the next verse which grants the adhiṣṭhāna, is recited to a slightly faster chant with a drum beat on each syllable:

- p.14b, line 1 "HUM% From the heart of oneself as the deity,%
line 2 The syllables of consecration emanate.%"

HUM% With HUM, discursive thought is purified.%
AḤ% With AḤ, (the offering) is transformed into
primordial awareness amṛta.%
OM% With OM, these offerings delighting the senses
fill the phenomenal world.%
line 3 HRIḤ% With HRIḤ, the Assembly of deities rejoice at the sight!%
OM AḤ HUM HRIḤ"

With the set of syllables beginning "HRIḤ ...", the slob-dpon rings his bell, and he is then accompanied by the cymbals, trumpets, drums and horns. With these syllables of the Trikāya, and the Svabhāvikakāya (the quintessential unity of the three bodies), the "tshogs" are consecrated.

4.4.1.2 Fulfilling the deity's wishes

The next part of the "Tshogs" offering section is on "fulfilling the wishes" ("Thugs-dam skong-ba") of the deity. At this stage, the mchod-dpon distributes the offerings on the tray (see back, 4.4.1). Before the consecration of the "tshogs" substances, he lights the butter lamp, and now he hands the offerings, in their correct order, to the seated monks - the offering bowl of "flowers" to the first monk in the second row, the incense, butter lamp and scented water to the second, third and fourth monks respectively, the gtor-ma to the monk sitting next to the dbu-mdzad in the first row, and finally, the cymbals to the dbu-mdzad [57].

The monks hold up the particular offering they have been handed, to make the offering which "fulfils" or "satisfies the body" of the deity - i.e. the Nirmāṇakāya. This offering is made with the "general" offerings on the offerings table, and the "particular" offerings which have been given out (text, p.14b, line 3-4). The text also instructs that a 'chams ritual dance may be done around the maṇḍala (which is set up in Rewalsar in the first month). This is a further offering of the physical level which is transformed in meditation into Nirmāṇakāya. The monks do not usually perform this 'chams. There are then two further parts of the offering; that which "satisfies the speech" (the Sambhogakāya), and that which "satisfies the mind" (the Dharmakāya). The monks continue to hold up the offerings as the offering to satisfy the speech is sung. Half-way through this verse (on the

third set of nine syllables), the dbu-mdzad brings together the small cymbals making one clear resounding ring. The monks slowly chant the mantra at the end of the verse six times, with the dbu-mdzad ringing the cymbals, and the slob-dpon playing the ḍamaru. In offering to satisfy the deity's speech, the monks should recognise and resolve not to repeat their past negativities:

p.14b, line 4 "HUM% In this Excellent Secret Cemetery Maṇḍala,%
line 5 Having arranged the Secret Maṇḍala in accordance
 with the inner teaching ('gzhung'),%
 We have attractively spread out the binding
 (samaya) substances of the practice [58],
 in accordance with the inner teaching.%
 Bla-ma, yi-dam, ḍākini, may your wishes be
 fulfilled in this bond;%
line 6 and may you restore the samaya vows of we yogis.%
 GURU DEVA ḌAKINIRULU RULU HUM BHYO HUM%"

As the verse which "satisfies the mind" of the deity is recited in a slightly faster unaccompanied chant, the mchod-dpon collects up the offerings onto the tray again. In this verse, the "offering" is made through the "View" ("lta-ba").

p.14b, line 6 "Out of the expansive vast openness
 of the uncontrived Ground ("ālaya"),%
 (appears) self-arising awareness and clarity, Samantabhadra,%
p.15, line 1 And (she who is) unborn from the very beginning, Samantabhadrī.%
 In the Great Bliss of their inseparability,%
 the fulfillment (of the deity), the act and the
 object of confession,%
line 2 are the completely pure Dharmakāya, free of all projections!%
 In the Dharmakāya, there is no duality.%
 Understanding this non-duality satisfies the deity's mind.%
 Understanding like this is the Excellent confession
 which creates fulfillment.%"

With the last set of nine syllables, the slob-dpon rings the bell, and he is joined by the trumpets, cymbals, horns and drums. There is then another part summarising the offering which "fulfils wishes". The first six sets of seven syllables are recited to a slow chant with one drum beat on each syllable and an extra three beats on the last syllable of each set. After the first two and the next two sets of syllables, the cymbals are played, and after the sixth set, both the bell and the cymbals are played. Then the recitation continues at a faster pace with a drum beat on each second syllable. With the ninth set of syllables (see below), thigh-bone trumpets and the ḍamaru are played, through to the fourteenth set of syllables.

The mantra is recited once, to the same beat.

p.15, line 3	HUM% I have arranged the great gTor-ma of samaya substances,% So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs [59], I offer (it).% I have stirred the amṛta medicine offering,% So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs, I offer (it).%
line 4	I have filled the bhāṇḍa with rakta,% So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs, I offer (it).% I have spread out the Excellent Cemetery substances,% So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs, I offer (them).% I have proclaimed the sounds of thigh-bone trumpets and skull-drums,%
line 5	So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs, I offer (them).% I have set light to the butter lamp of human fat,% So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs, I offer (it).% I have sent forth the smoking embers of burning human flesh,% So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs, I offer (them).% I have heaped up all the excellent tasting offerings delighting the senses,% So adhering to the māmos and ḍākinīs, I offer (them).%
line 6	Fulfil your wishes with these binding (substances), and restore the bond of our strict samaya vows.% GURU DEVA ḌAKINI MAHA PAÑCA MĀHA BALIMTAḥ MAHA RAKTA KHAHI%"

A final verse, recited to the same beat, concludes the offerings to fulfil the wishes of the deity, which together comprise the preliminary section, or foundation, of the "Tshogs" offering.

p.15, line 6	"HOH All these offerings which are ornamented with samaya substances,%
p.15b, line 1	are correctly offered in the condition of the sameness of non-duality.% So having accepted them in a way which is free from (the dualistic thinking of) 'accepting' or 'rejecting',% Please dissolve them, and consume them with great rejoicing!%"

With this, the cymbals are crashed, and the trumpets, bell, horn and drums are played.

4.4.1.3 The Offerings set aside

The next part of the "Tshogs" offering is the "*Offerings set aside*" which are the first of the "Tshogs" offerings proper. All "Tshogs" practices of any length include such an offering. Before the general offering of "tshogs" to the whole assembly, one "tshogs", which has been "set aside", is cut up and its "three portions" are offered here. The "first portion" consists of the top half of the "tshogs", previously cut horizontally across. After the consecration of the "tshogs" substances, the mchod-dpon, who had earlier put it on a plate with

a selection of the other "tshogs" foods and inserted incense sticks onto the "tshogs" piece and other foods, lights the incense (Photo no.37). Here, as the verse for offering the "first portion" is about to begin, he takes the plate from the shelf on the offerings table, and holding it up in his right hand, and the ladle with barley beer amṛta in his left hand, he stands before the shrine. The monks recite the verse in a slow chant with one drum beat on each syllable, and two beats on the last syllable in each set of seven.

p.15, line 2 "HUM% To the Sugatas, the Victorious Ones;%
The great essence of all the Buddhas,%
line 3 the Bla-ma, yi-dam and ḍākinī,%
I make this offering of tshogs foods.%
Please grant the Siddhi of your body, speech and mind!%
GURU DEVA ḌAKINI GAṆACAKRA PUJA KHAHI%"

With the last set of seven syllables ("Please grant ..."), the trumpets and bell are played, joined by the horns, cymbals and drums, for the duration of the mantra recitation. As the music is played, the mchod-dpon returns the plate back onto the offerings table. The first portion, offered to the Three Roots, is the offering of all one's "upper", one's outer, positive characteristics. The offering transforms physical defilements and is associated with Nirmāṇakāya realisation. This principle is demonstrated even more clearly in the special Khros-ma Nag-mo "Tshogs" offering performed by the Rewalsar monks on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month [60]. The "offerings set aside" were made with portions of a "bam-ro" - a dough effigy of a "corpse". The corpse is that of the "feminine" aspects of egocentricity, the "bdud-mo" (female māras). In the ritual, centred around the ḍākinī, Khros-ma Nag-mo, all these aspects are offered and transformed in the awareness of the emptiness nature which is the "feminine" principle of Enlightenment. The "first portion" was made with the head of the "bam-ro", which the mchod-dpon sliced off and added to a plate of tshogs foods, as in this ritual. The head can be seen as the "face" and the uppermost expression of the "bdud-mo", and the head centre is also the "body" centre and is the seat of Nirmāṇakāya realisation.

The second - "middle" - portion of the "tshogs" is offered in confession, in "Resolving not to repeat negativities". This element of the "Tshogs" offering practice has already been

mentioned as a central feature of the ritual (see back, 4.4.1), and a confession constitutes the preliminary section which "satisfies the speech" of the deity (see back, 4.4.1.2). Again, the offering is a reaffirmation of samaya commitments, and is directed at overcoming defilements of speech, opening the way for Sambhogakāya realisation. The verse is recited slightly faster than that for the "first portion" offering, with the drum beat on every second syllable, and on the last set of seven syllables, the bell, cymbals, and drum are played, continuing through the mantra recitation.

p.15b, line 4 "HUM% From the distant past, until now,%
Through Ignorance, with body, speech and mind,%
I have violated my root and branch samaya vows.%
line 5 Offering 'tshogs' which delights the senses, I
resolve not to repeat this activity.%
VAJRA SAMAYA ŚUDDHE AḤ%"

The "third portion" is the offering of "Liberating Killing" ("bsgral bstab"). I have dealt with this concept, and a detailed ritual based on it elsewhere (REN). In the expelling Ritual, a liṅga becomes the "third portion" in the "Tshogs" offering practice (REN.2.3). Here, a small triangular piece of "tshogs" is cut out of the "tshogs" set aside, and put on a saucer. In the case of the twenty-fifth day ritual, the triangular third portion was cut out of the "heart" of the "bam-ro". This association between the third portion and the "heart" of the ego, again suggests a parallel with the preliminary practice - with the offering which "satisfies the mind", through understanding the non-dual Dharmakāya. The heart centre is the centre of the "mind" and the Dharmakāya realisation. The offering of "Liberating Killing" offers and transforms the defilements of mind, the inner negativities ("obstacles" and "hostile forces"), the energy or "consciousness" of which is "liberated" in the Dharmadhātu.

The mchod-dpon takes the saucer with the triangular piece of "tshogs" to the slob-dpon, places it on his table, and then stands nearby, holding the ladle with "amṛta" in it. Having made the mudrā of summoning, the slob-dpon holds the corner of the black cloth with red tassles attached in his right hand, and brings the cloth down from his shoulder to the saucer of "tshogs" three times as the monks chant. Presumably, this action also represents the summoning of the negative forces which are meditated upon as entering the

"tshogs" piece. A separate page of text is inserted here, which can be used in other rituals for summoning hostile forces into a linga. Known as *"The Recitation of the Power of the Truths"* ("dDen-stobs brjod") - that is, the "Truths" of the teaching - it corresponds to the "Summoning the Consciousness" section of the Gro-lod "sMad-las" text (REN.2.3.4). It is recited quickly, and as the mantra with which they dissolve into the linga is said, the thigh-bone trumpets, horns, bell, cymbals and drums are played. The text is as follows:

"NAMO! The true instructions of the vidyādhara, the
excellent glorious Root and lineage bla-mas;
The true instructions of the Buddha;
The true instructions of the Dharma;
The true instructions of the Saṅgha;
The truth of the secret mantras; the vidyādhara mantras,
the dhāraṇī mantras, the 'essence' teachings, the mudrās and
the samādhis;
The truth of the undecieving teaching of the cause and the
the fruit of the Dharmatā which, though empty from the
very beginning, possesses dharmas;
Relying on the power of these Great Truths - I mentally
envisage the general hostile forces of the teaching and of
sentient beings;
All the special hostile forces afflicting we vidyādhara -
practitioners and sponsors;
those hostile forces of former times which (caused us) to
murder;
Future hostile forces which will arise in the mind;
Present hostile forces, hatred which causes violence today;
Hostile forces with or without form, along with all the
multitudes of harmful forces and obstacles;
Throughout the three worlds, wherever they may be staying
or wherever they may run off to,
In this very instant, they are summoned into this receptacle!
NṚI TRI VAJRA ANKUṢA YA JAḤ JAḤ HUṀ BAṀ HOḤ"

Then, the slob-dpon takes up a black phur-bu with a red ribbon attached to it [61], and rolls it between his hands as the verse for offering the third portion in "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" is now recited. The text instructs that having meditated on the hostile forces and obstacles dissolving into the piece of "tshogs" food, one should take a phur-bu which clearly manifests as the "Yakṣa krodha" (the wrathful form of the Enlightened One) and strike the "tshogs". The slob-dpon gestures the point of the phur-bu towards the "tshogs" three times, and finally, stabs it as the mantra is said. The verse is recited slowly with the drum beat on each syllable and an extra beat on the last syllable in each set of seven. As

the verse ends, the dbu-mdzad plays the cymbals, and then, with the mantra, he is joined by the horn, thigh-bone trumpets, and drums. After the slob-dpon has struck the "tshogs", he rings his bell. The verse is as follows:

p.15b, line 6 "HUM% Great Excellent Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal!%
Out of the very nature of his ferocious wrathfulness,%
Arise many yakṣas in tongues of fire, twinkling like stars;%
p.16, line 1 These messengers who perform the Enlightened activities
fill the three sets of thousands of realms.%
In their right hands, they roll vajra phur-pas;%
In their left hands, they hold iron hooks and nooses.%
The time for the liberation of hostile forces and
obstacles has come!%
line 2 Smash them to dust!%
VAJRA GURU PADMA THOD-PHRENG-rTSAŁ%
NRI TRI ŚATRUN
dGRA bGEGS 'BYUNG-PO MARAYA HUṂ PHAṬ%"

The text adds that as they are killed and liberated, one should meditate on their "life-force" ("tshe") and "purification" ("khrus") [62]. The "life-force" - that is, the energies which impel the manifestation of the hostile forces and obstacles - are meditated upon as dissolving into oneself in the seed-syllable of the hostile forces. Thus, the karma of the hostile forces is brought to an end. Meanwhile, their "consciousness", the mind awareness freed from grasping, is liberated in the Dharmadhātu as the seed-syllable "ĀḤ". This is what the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" text means by the term, "purification". The following verse is then the actual offering of the remains or "corpse" of the third portion. It is recited with the drum beat on every second syllable:

p.16, line 3 "HUṂ% Bla-ma, yi-dam, dākinī, please be present here!%
I offer you the food of the hostile forces and
obstacles of the complete liberation of the three worlds!%
They are dissolved in the neck of the huge wrathful Hom-khung!%
line 4 Please accept the offering in the condition of
the sameness of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa.%
GURU DEVA ḌAKINI% dGRA bGEGS KYI ŚA KHRAG RUS-PA
LA KHA KHA KHAHI KHAHI% [63]
line 5 BHINDHAYA BHINDHAYA HUṂ PHAṬ%"

As the mantra is completed, the bell, cymbals, horns, trumpets and drums are played. The text adds that the "flesh and blood" is transformed into amṛta and thus offered. The mchod-dpon takes the saucer and anoints the "tshogs" piece with the "amṛta" in his ladle, and returns it to the offerings table.

4.4.1.4 Distribution of the Tshogs

Then, as the mchod-dpon begins to divide the "tshogs" and foods up onto plates to distribute to everyone present, a short general "Tshogs" offering text is inserted. This is recited quickly numerous times. It is, in fact, quite common for a short concise "Tshogs" text to be used in this way in the course of a lengthy offering practice; a short text - perhaps only a verse - is recited many times while the mchod-dpon divides up the "tshogs" foods. The text reads:

"**ĀḤ RAM YAM KHAM% OM Ā HUM%**
In the bhāṇḍa of the Dharmadhātu, I arrange the gtor-ma
of the pure awareness tshogs.%
From the rainbow light bindus of the 'six lamps' [64],
arise many types of the offerings which delight the senses.%
I offer these wondrous inconceivable samaya substances,%
To the self-arising pure awareness Assembly
of the deities of the Three Roots.%
I make the offering in the sameness of non-duality.%
In the Great Bindu [65], I resolve not to repeat my one-sided
discursive thoughts.%
The hostile forces and obstacles of 'subject' and 'object'
are liberated in the unborn Dharmadhātu.%
The Enlightened activities of the awakening of deceptive
appearances in the original ground are accomplished!%
From the four spontaneously arising appearances of Nirvāṇa's
primordial awareness,%
Bodhi arises as the 'Youthful Vase Body' [66], pure from the
very beginning!%"

The text begins with a consecration of the offerings through the consecration syllables. Then, the "tshogs" offering substances arise in the vessel ("bhāṇḍa") of the Dharmadhātu; in meditation, "bindus" of light arise in the "vessel" and transform into multitudes of various coloured "tshogs" foods. These are offered to the pure awareness Assembly, in the realisation of non-duality. The ultimate level "confession" in which negativities are dissolved in emptiness is made, and there is a meditation on the resultant realisation of Enlightenment.

After a long recitation of this text, the mchod-dpon approaches the slob-dpon, carrying one large plate of "tshogs" food, with a lighted incense stick inserted into the dough "tshogs", in his right hand, and the skull-cup vessel of "amṛta" in his left hand. He offers the slob-dpon, as the bla-ma, this first plate of "tshogs", crossing over his arms so that the slob-dpon can accept the plate with his right hand and the "amṛta" in his left. The "Bla-

sgrub Las-byang" text is returned to for the appropriate recitation of this offering. With the first verse, the mchod-dpon invites the slob-dpon to eat:

p.16, line 5 "HO% Look! See this beautiful offering of excellent dharmas;%
line 6 Hesitation regarding it is inappropriate!%
 Brahmins and butchers, dogs and pigs;%
 Meditating that their very nature is one - eat (this food)!%"

With the second verse, the slob-dpon accepts the "tshogs" food:

p.16, line 6 The priceless dharmas arise in excellence;%
p.16b, line 1 The defilements of the passions are completely purified;%
 Abandoning all (dualistic thought) of 'subject' and 'object',%
 In the elemental nature, I will eat!%"

The text adds that with this clear reflection, these "inner burnt offerings" should be distributed and eaten. The slob-dpon makes a mudrā of accepting the food and takes the plate, and a ladleful of "amṛṭa". Then the mchod-dpon takes the skull-cup to each of the monks and other participants and gives them all a ladleful of "amṛṭa". Everyone drinks from the palm of their hand. The plates of "tshogs" food are then distributed and the first part of the afternoon practice is concluded with more supplications to Padmākara (from "Chos-spyod", pp.114-120). Meanwhile, the mchod-dpon takes a remaining plate with some "tshogs" foods on it around the hall. This plate has a piece of dough "tshogs" which is the remainder of the "tshogs" which had the "three portions" cut from it. As the mchod-dpon takes the plate along the rows of monks, each person adds a small amount of food from their plate to this "Excess Offering". The mchod-dpon then replaces the plate on the offerings table.

There is a break for about fifteen minutes, during which most of the monks take their share of "tshogs" food back to their rooms, and return the plates to the mchod-dpon. The mchod-dpon and the gnyer-ba take the large wicker baskets, still containing bread rolls, dough "tshogs", and other foods, out into the courtyard, for distribution to anyone else in the community who wants a share. In practice, this means the poor Tibetan lay-people (monks and nuns who participated in the ritual would already have received their share), and a few of the poorer members of the Indian population (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2).

4.4.1.5 *The Excess Offering*

The second half of the practice begins with the "Excess Offering", which is made to the general class of local dharmapālas. No "Tshogs" is complete without the "Excess", since the dharmapālas are entitled to the remains, and thus, it is still categorised as part of the "Tshogs" offering. As we have seen, the offering and partaking of the "tshogs" foods represents a transmutation of one's own egocentric qualities, and is designed to re-establish and strengthen the "bond" with the realised mind, and thus, the commitment to the Path. Similarly, the protectors who are projections of the prevalent negative forces shared by the community, are transformed through sharing the "tshogs" and being united with the Enlightened Assembly. Thus, their "samaya" bond is reinforced and the energies of these potentially harmful forces become the "activities of Enlightenment".

The mchod-dpon anoints the plate of "excess tshogs" with the "amṛṭa", as the monks say the mantra of consecration, "OM AḤ HUM PAŅCA AMṚṬA HUM HA HO HRIḤ". The text instructs that the practitioners should, "see how the samaya excess offering fills the sky with endless heaps of offerings delighting the senses" (p.16b, line 3). Then, the "messengers" ("pho-nya"), to whom the offering is made, are invited with an invitation mantra followed by the music of the cymbals, drums, trumpets, bell and horns. The mchod-dpon takes the plate of "excess", having lit a stick of incense which he had inserted into the piece of dough "tshogs", and places it on a tripod near the temple doorway.

The offering verse begins with a slow chant accompanied by a drum beat on each syllable. After the first two sets of seven syllables, the cymbals are played and after the next two, the bell, cymbals, and drum are played. The rest of the verse is recited more quickly, with a drum beat on each second syllable.

p.16b, line 4	"HUM% First, the offerings set aside must be offered;% The Bla-ma and yi-dam are the masters [67] of the offerings set aside.% Secondly, the 'tshogs' must be offered;% The assembly of mānos and dākinīs enjoy the 'tshogs'.% line 5 Lastly, the 'excess' must be offered;% The servants and those who obey the command enjoy the 'excess'.% Assemblies of dbang-phyug-ma [68], rākṣasis, dākinīs;% 'Bar-ma [69], ging, the Lang-ka [70], and all the messengers;% The 'eight classes' of the hundred thousand (arrogant ones);
---------------	--

line 6 Come to this place; accept the gtor-ma of the 'excess'.%
 In accordance with the Glorious (Guru's) commands
 of former times,%
 Perform the activities of Enlightenment with which
 you have been entrusted!%
 OM UCCHIṢṬA VAJRA ATI TRA SAMAYA
 KHAHI KHĀHI HUṀ HRI%
p.17, line 1 BHYO BHYO%"

As the last line and mantra of offering are recited, the monks play the cymbals, drum, trumpets, bell and ḍamaru, and horns. The mchod-dpon makes a mudrā of offering over the plate of "excess" (Photo no.38), and then he picks it up and takes it outside the temple.

It is interesting that during the main "Tshogs" offering, the Three Roots were offered both the "offerings set aside" and the general "tshogs". In this verse, however, the Bla-ma and yi-dam are stated to be the particular recipients of the "offerings set aside", while the ḍākinī is particularly associated with the "tshogs". In the case of the concise "tshogs" offering text given here, bDud-'joms Rin-po-che adds a postscript in which he says that he wrote the text after having completed a ritual of offerings to the assembly of ḍākinīs, and that he was inspired by a ḍākinī in his dream. The verse here gives the general structure of the "Tshogs" offering to illustrate the role of the "Excess Offering". It would not seem to imply that there is a general rule whereby the bla-ma and yi-dam *alone* are the recipients of the "offerings set aside" or that the "tshogs" is solely offered to the ḍākinī. Certainly, this would not apply either to this text or to other "Tshogs" practices (such as the Gro-lod Las-byang "Tshogs"). Rather, the statement suggests that the bla-ma (of whom the yi-dam is an embodiment) is the central figure in the "offerings set aside", while the general "tshogs" offering is especially associated with the ḍākinī inspirational aspect.

This may imply that while the "offerings set aside" are particularly important in reinforcing the samaya bond with the Awakened state - the bla-ma and yi-dam, or Buddha and Dharma - the general "tshogs" offering is important in reinforcing the bond between the practitioners: the ḍākinī is equated with the *Saṅgha* in identifications between the Three Roots and the Three Jewels (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.2).

The "Excess" completes the "Tshogs" offering section, and the Bla-sgrub Las-byang" text is left here to insert the culmination of the "gSol-kha" practice which was not performed previously: the special offering to all the dharmapālas made with the daily "gSol-kha" gtor-ma (Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2), which until this point, is kept on the offerings table, in the middle of the shelf where the medicine and rakta offerings are put. On each twenty-ninth day of the month, when the rDo-rje Gro-lod "Tshogs" practice is done, the gSol-kha gtor-ma is offered after the Gro-lod "Excess Offering" has been made. The logic to this ordering is fairly obvious; on "Tshogs" practice days, it is more appropriate that the main dharmapāla offering should be made after the "Tshogs" which has re-affirmed the "samaya" bond between deity, practitioner and protector.

4.4.2 "Enjoining the deity (to remember) the vow"

The second section of "The Following Activities", "*Enjoining the deity (to remember) the vow*" ("Thugs-dam bskul-ba") is then begun. This corresponds to the section in the Gro-lod "sMad-las" practice [71]. On the second occasion of its recitation during the "sMad-las" ritual [72], it was performed in the same context as it is here; that is, after the "Tshogs" offering. It can be seen as an elaboration of the theme of the "Tshogs" offering: following the reinforcement of the "samaya" between deity and practitioner, the "Enlightened Activities" resulting from this identification are now activated. The whole section is recited in the fairly swift chant with the drum beat on each second syllable. It has two parts, the second of which reiterates the theme of the first, but adds more imagery. In the first part (text p.17, line 1-6), the deities of the maṇḍala are listed, and requested not to delay, but to be present and grant adhiṣṭhāna, empowerment and siddhis. The second part is as follows:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| p.17, line 6 | "HUM HUM% In the South-western islands of rNga-yab,%
is the Immeasurable Palace of 'Lotus Light'.%" |
| p.17b, line 1 | This supreme Excellent place is delightful!%
This Excellent place cannot help but be delightful, for%
Lord Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal and%
the ḍākinī Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal are both there.%" |
| line 2 | Arisen in a birthless, deathless form,%
They teach the Excellent Dharma to the rākṣasas.%" |

Surrounded by a retinue of *dākinīs* of the four classes;%
Binding the four classes of *Ging-chen* in their
service;%
Sending out *rākṣasa* deities, those of the eight
classes, as their messengers;%
line 3 they subdue the red-faced *rākṣasas* using skill-in-means.%
Adorned with jewel head adornments,%
(the retinue's) bone ornaments shake, 'khro-lo-lo';%
Many cymbals jangle, 'si-li-li';%
line 4 Their many ornaments flutter, 'pu-ru-ru';%
Much music resounds, 'di-ri-ri';%
Dancing songstresses agilely move about.%
Since I practise following after you,%
Please come and grant your *adhiṣṭhāna* here.%
line 5 Rain down your *adhiṣṭhāna* into this Excellent place;%
Confer the four Empowerments onto me, the Excellent practitioner;%
Remove obstacles, hindrances and influences that
lead from the Dharma;%
Grant excellent and ordinary Siddhis!%
line 6 Please swiftly accomplish the Enlightened Activities,%
of pacifying, increasing, subduing and destroying.%
Liberate the ten heinous activities which are to
be killed and liberated;%
Protect the Buddha's teaching [73];%
Praise the Realisation of the Three Jewels;%
p.18, line 1 Curb the hostile forces within the yogis!%
Subdue deities, 'dre and human beings;%
Please remove the hindrances (arising from) the four elements;%
Pacify the discursive thinking (associated
with) the five poisons!%"

As the section ends, the *slob-dpon* plays his bell, and is then joined by the cymbals, trumpets, horns and drums.

4.4.3 The Protection *gTormas*

The third section of, "The Following Activities", is the offering of "*The Protection gtor-mas*" ("*gTor-ma bskyang-ba*"). This has the same general significance as the inserted "*gSol-kha gtor-ma*" offering. The particular types of *dharmapāla* offerings made here are, in fact, an integral part of other "Tshogs" practices at Rewalsar, and it is also usual for them to be done after a section on "Enjoining the deity (to remember) to vow", ensuring the continued presence and activity of the Enlightenment to which the Protectors are bound.

4.4.3.1 *The "Promise" gTor-ma*

There are three parts to the section. The first is offering the "*Promise*" *gtor-ma*

("Chad-tho"). This is a general offering to all the Protectors bound by the "promise" to follow the Dharma, and although spelt differently, is the same as the "Chad-mdo" offered to Gro-lod (REN.3).

Here, the offering has three verses relating to three different occasions on which the Protectors were bound by oath. The first refers to "the first kalpa" and the imagery of Hayagrīva arising in the Buddha-field of the Akaniṣṭha, in the Palace of Great Bliss, and subduing the māmos and dākinīs. Using the concept of distant time, the idea of an original, although thoroughly obscured and therefore forgotten, display of the Enlightened Mind, is expressed. Since the dākinīs - the inspirational forces mistaken for the attractions of Saṃsāra - are initially subdued, it is simply a matter of re-awakening this connection. The second verse refers to the "historical" period of Tibetan history when Padmākara and Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal subdued all the harmful forces. Here, the emphasis is on the practitioner's connection with the historical lineage of masters; the idea that the binding of harmful forces is possible because of the link between the practitioner and lineage begun by Padmākara. The final verse, which refers to the arising of Padma Thod-phreng-rtsal in the "Copper-coloured Mountain" - Padma's Buddha-field - during the "latest kalpa", seems to be directed towards the most immediate level of binding the harmful forces in the practitioner's mind in the present time, against the background of the whole practice in which the monks have identified with the timeless display of the maṇḍala of Padma and his retinue.

The three verses are not separated by any seed-syllable said at the beginning of each, as is usual. However, the first verse is chanted slowly and tunefully with a drum beat on each syllable, and concluded by the playing of all the instruments. Then, the next two verses are recited faster, with the drum beat on every second syllable. The text of the first verse is as follows:

p.18,line 2	"HUM BHYO% In the first kalpa, in the time beyond the ancient days,%
line 3	In the Excellent place of Akaniṣṭha, in the Palace of Great Bliss,%

- line 4 The Victorious One, the Great Glorious Padma Heruka,%
Neighed three times, and subdued the māmos.%
When they were bound under oath by promising three times,%
The ḍākinī, Vārāhī, etc., along with a hundred million ḍākinīs,%
displayed their individual pure forms [74],%
and were granted siddhis as those who possess samaya.%
- line 5 They were bound by the promise to accept the
gtor-ma of the command,%
They were bound by the promise to accomplish the
activities of Enlightenment entrusted to them.%
Not evading the samaya bond accepted in this former time;%
Accept this gtor-ma ornamented with flesh and blood.%
- line 6 I enjoin your stream of consciousness (to remember) the vow;%
Perform the activities of Enlightenment entrusted to you!%"

Before the recitation, the mchod-dpon takes the "Chad-tho" gtor-ma (see diagram, Portfolio, p.3) from the medicine and rakta shelf on the offerings table, anoints it with "amṛṭa" and lights an incense stick he inserts in the gtor-ma. As the first verse is slowly chanted, he takes the gtor-ma, and facing the shrine, holds it up near the temple doorway. The monks continue with the other verses:

- p.18, line 6 After this, in the middle kalpa,%
In the 'Ārya-pa' [75] temple at the Red Rock in bSam-yas,%
The great Slob-dpon Padmākara and%
- p.18b, line 1 The Great Yum of Prajñā, mTsho-rgyal of mKhar-chen;%
When they unfolded the maṇḍala of the completely%
perfected Great Powerful One ('dbang-chen');%
The five classes of ḍākinīs who abide in the cemeteries;%
The eight classes of 'dregs-pa' and the twelve
- line 2 Established Ancient Protectresses,%
displayed their individual pure forms,%
and were granted siddhis as those who possess samaya.%
They were bound by the promise to accept
the gtor-ma of the command;%
They were bound by the promise to accomplish the
activities of Enlightenment entrusted to them.%
- line 3 Not evading the samaya bond accepted in this former time;%
Accept this gtor-ma ornamented with flesh and blood.%
I enjoin your streams of consciousness (to remember) the vow;%
Perform the activities of Enlightenment entrusted to you!%
- line 4 After this, in the time of the latest kalpa,%
In the islands of rNga-yab, at the summit of the
Copper-coloured Mountain,%
The Great Slob-dpon Thod-phreng-rtsal, and%
Vidyādhara, Masters of Dharma and gter-ston;%
When they unfolded the maṇḍala of the Great Secret practice;%
'bse', 'lang-ka', ḍākinīs, attendant protectors,
liberating gings,%
oceans of those bound under oath, Dharmapālas and
treasure protectors,%
displayed their individual excellent pure forms,%",

and so on, as in previous verses. As the third verse is completed, the bell, horns, trumpets, cymbals and drum are played, and the mchod-dpon takes the gtor-ma outside, and throws it out into the courtyard.

4.4.3.2 *The Established Ancient Protectresses' gTor-ma*

The next part of the "The Protection gTor-mas" section is an offering to the *Established Ancient Protectresses*. This group of twelve indigenous Tibetan protectresses are singled out for their own gtor-ma offering in "tshogs" rituals, since they were among those subdued by Padmākara on his arrival from India and are considered to be particularly important. The mchod-dpon takes the "brtan-ma bcu-gnyis" gtor-ma (see diagram, Portfolio, p.3; compare with the more elaborate version for the first month practice, p.6) from the medicine and rakta shelf, anoints it with "amṛta" water, and as with the "chad-tho" gtor-ma, he holds it up by the temple doorway, facing the shrine (Photo no.39). The monks chant the first two sets of seven syllables of the offering verse very slowly with both the drum and cymbals as accompaniment. Then, they recite the rest of the verse faster with the drum beat on every second syllable.

p.19, line 1	"brTan-ma sKyong-mdzad-ma and your sister;% dPal-gnas-ma and Yang-dag Shes;% Khyung-btsun Kong-lha, gYu Bun-ma;% Me-tog Zla-'od, Byang rGyal-ma;%
line 2	gSer-thang Kun-bzang, Śāntiṃ dPal;% Glu-mo, gZi-'bar, etc.,% Twelve classes of brtan-ma - Accept the gtor-ma!% Expel all the harmful forces which are not conducive!%
line 3	OM AḤ HUṂ VAJRA AMṚṬA KHAHI% MAMA HRIM MAMA HRIM KHAHI KHAHI%"

As the mantra is said, the mchod-dpon goes outside to throw out the gtor-ma, and the monks play the trumpets, horns, bell, cymbals and drum.

4.4.3.3 *The Hayagrīva Dance*

The third part of "The Protection gTor-mas" section is "*The Hayagrīva Dance*" ("*rta-bro*"). This corresponds to "The Dance" ("*bro-brdung*") in the Gro-lod ritual (REN.3.2.2). In this "Dance", the practitioner/yi-dam (Hayagrīva), aided by the Established Ancient Protectresses, subdues all the hostile forces. The mchod-dpon returns into the temple with

the saucer on which the gtor-ma had stood. He places it upside down on the floor in front of the slob-dpon's table. The text instructs that one should summon the hostile forces and obstacles underneath the gtor-ma vessel, meditating that they are "subdued" or "buried" ("mnan-pa"). The "Commentary" adds that one meditates on the gtor-ma vessel clearly manifesting as Mount Meru, within which are buried all the hindrances and 'byung-po, while above, the universe and its beings manifest as the maṇḍala of Hayagrīva, performing the "dance" of subduing ("bsNyen-yig", p.17, lines 4-5).

The mchod-dpon takes a rdo-rje and he makes the sign of the crossed vajra by placing it one way, and then at right angles, on the upside down saucer (Photo no.40). This represents the Vajra activity of Hayagrīva's maṇḍala. The monks recite the verse in a low tone, slow majestic chant, with one drum beat on each syllable.

p.19, line 3	"HUM HRT%
line 4	Performing the Great yogic practice of Hayagrīva,% I meditate upon myself in the form of the Great One!% In the 'sphere of the sky' [76] of Samantabhadrī,% The five (skandhas) of the ten heinous actions which are to be killed and liberated, (are destroyed).% By performing the dance of the wrathful (manifestation of) the Three Roots,%
line 5	the kleśas of the five poisons are cut off at the root.% In the maṇḍala of (Hayagrīva's) body, speech and mind,% by performing the dance which overcomes the three poisons,% The Great Samaya of former times is fulfilled.% In the maṇḍala of the multitudes of māmos and dākinīs,%
line 6	by performing the dance of the wrathful Hayagrīva,% The ritual which fulfils the yoga is perfected.% In the maṇḍala of the dance of the Great Powerful One,% by performing the dance which overcomes the four Māras,%
p.19b, line 1	The ritual of liberating the three worlds is perfected.% In the maṇḍala of the multitudes of the retinue,% by performing the dance of killing and liberating those who evaded the Command,% The ritual of the final subduing/burying of RUDRA is perfected!%
line 2	OM VAJRA KRODHA HAYAGRIVA HULU HULU HUM PHAT%"

With the last set of seven syllables, the slob-dpon begins to ring his bell, and as the mantra is said, he is joined by the trumpets, horns and cymbals. The mchod-dpon picks up the saucer, into which the slob-dpon puts a few grains of rice, and he returns it to the front of the temple.

4.4.4 Taking the Siddhi

The fourth section of "The Following Activities" is "*Taking the Siddhi*". As in the Gro-lod "Las-byang" (REN.3.4), the siddhis are transmitted through the barley beer and molasses "amṛta". As the verse is recited, the mchod-dpon stands before the slob-dpon, holding up the skull-cup bowl and ladle. The text instructs that the practitioners should meditate upon the gtor-ma - i.e. the central "Bla-sgrub" gTor-ma, the "Rin-chen Zur-brgyad" - clearly manifesting as the deity, to whom offerings and praises are made. With the mantra, he is "enjoined (to remember) the vow" ("thugs-dam bskul": see back, 4.4.2). The verse for the "outer offerings"(see back, 4.3.4.1) is recited with a drum beat on each second syllable, and with the offering mantra, the slob-dpon rings his bell, and the trumpets, horns, cymbals and drums are played. They then move straight on to "The Praises" (see back, 4.3.5), the first verse of which is also recited, with the drum beat on each second syllable, and during the last set of nine syllables, the slob-dpon rings his bell, and is again joined by the cymbals, trumpets, horns and drums. Then, the monks slowly and tunefully chant the mantra of Thod-phreng-rtsal three times, and making the mudrā of respect, they then chant the lines for "Taking the Siddhi" in the same tuneful chant as that used for the "Going for Refuge" (4.2.2).

p.19b, line 2	"HUM% From the vast expanse of the 'sky' of the Excellent Bliss and the activities of Bliss,%
line 3	(arises) the Maṇḍala of the Victorious Ones and their children, who possess the vow.% (Their) uniting in sameness with the body, speech and mind% of the Vajra Guru Thod-phreng, is the Excellent Siddhi!%
line 4	(Through) the glorious spontaneous accomplishment of the four types of Enlightened Activities,% In the same way as the 'Good Vase' and 'Wish-fulfilling Jewel' [77],% Please instantaneously grant me (this Excellent Siddhi).%
line 5	Please grant the Siddhi of unchanging form;% Please grant the Siddhi of unobstructed speech;% Please grant the Siddhi of the undeluded mind;% Please grant the Siddhi of the fulfillment of Buddha qualities;% Please grant the Siddhi of the Enlightened Activities which subdue beings.%
line 6	Please grant the Siddhi of deathless 'life';% Please grant the Siddhi of inexhaustible wealth;% Please grant the ordinary siddhi of all my wishes [78];% Please grant the incomparable Excellent Siddhi!%"

At the end of the verse, the monks say the Thod-phreng-rtsal mantra once, with a mantra of receiving the Siddhis of body, speech and mind, joined to the end. The mchod-dpon ladles out some "amṛta" into the palm of the slob-dpon's hand, and after the slob-dpon has drunk, the rest of the assembly each receive a ladle-full. The text adds that the "jñānasattva" of the gtor-ma - the primordial awareness of the deity's mind - dissolves into oneself, and the "samayasattva" - the gtor-ma which has been envisaged as the deity - melts into amṛta which delights the senses. Some of the food from the gtor-ma can then be distributed as Siddhi. In the tenth day practice at Rewalsar, the barley beer "transmits" the Siddhi, and so the meditation is modified in so far as the "samayasattva" dissolves into the beer "amṛta".

4.4.5 The Dissolution of the Maṇḍala

The fifth section is *"The Merging (of the deity) into oneself"* ("Nyer bsdu bya-ba"). This corresponds to the "Dissolving the Maṇḍala" section in the Gro-lod ritual (REN.3.6). The ultimate nature of the maṇḍala as emptiness and clarity is recognised, so that the practice is in effect concluded with formless meditation. The recognition of the true nature of phenomena is, of course, the object of the meditations on the maṇḍala, which should never be in any way "solidified". The section also has the purpose of a concluding "confession" practice, involving a recognition of mistakes made in the course of the ritual, and a purification of such mistakes through awareness of the condition of non-duality. The text instructs the practitioners to meditate on the bla-ma arising above their heads as the "essence" ("ngo-bo") Vajrasattva, and to "request his patience with (your) faults", reciting his hundred syllable mantra (p.20, line 2). The slob-dpon rings his bell continually, and all the monks recite the mantra at their own pace. After saying the mantra a few times, they recite the verse, without any musical accompaniment.

p.20, line 2	"Essence of Bla-ma Vajra Thod-phreng-rtsal;%
line 3	With great rejoicing (at my purification), you dissolve into me!%
	I myself also (dissolve) into the condition of the uncontrived ālaya,%
	the mind free of all grasping.%
	This complete purity, free of all projections, is the Dharmakāya!%"

The text adds in explanation,

line 3 "Reciting this, the complete circle of the maṇḍala
line 4 merges into the bla-ma on top of your head, and
the bla-ma dissolves into yourself. This
non-duality, free of projections, is the
'Protection of the Meditation' ('dgongs-pa
bskyang'), which surpasses the intellect."

In the "Main Practice" sections, the concept of the "Protection of the Meditation" also occurred, referring to the final - or ultimate - meditation practice after the mantra recitation (see back, 4.3.6). Here again, the idea is that the meditative state is "Protected" or established in an unshakeable way by the awareness of the fundamental "Ground" of Enlightenment.

4.4.6 Completing the Ritual

The final sections are adornments of the practice rather than part of the meditation practice proper. Most practices are completed by "Making Aspiration" and "Wishes for Auspicious Qualities" (see REN.3.7), and verses for these are not always included in Sādhana practices, since there are many general verses of them (as in "Chos-spyod"), and it may be left to the practitioner to select them. Here, short sections are included in the text, although they may still be supplemented by further verses.

Section Six, "*Making the Aspiration*" ("*sMon-lam gDab-pa*"), is chanted by the monks slowly and without musical accompaniment, to the tune used for the verses on "Taking the Siddhi".

p.20, line 4 "E MA HOḤ I, for the benefit of all beings,%
line 5 From limitless distant kalpas,%
up until now, and (into the future) until the end [79],%
With my body, speech and mind,%
(directed) to the realised bla-mas, yi-dam deities,%
and the whole assembly of Buddhas, bodhisattvas and ḍākinīs,%
line 6 (I) will do meditation, sādhanā practice, make offerings and praises;%
(I) will read, write and keep (Dharma texts),
and work for Complete Perfection.%
Having then ripened the fruit,%
of the wholesome activities of View, Meditation and Action,%
p.21, line 1 May complete understanding of the Excellent
Primordial Awarenesses be attained!%
Moreover, I will fully perfect the meditation on the heart bla-ma,%
of the ten directions and the three times.%

line 2 May all my fathers and mothers of the three times,%
 All sentient beings of the six types who have
 guided me, all without exception,%
 Having followed (the practice), through the
 Excellent bla-ma,%
 May they understand the true meaning of the
 completely pure Vajra (state).%"

Finally, Section Seven, "*Wishes for Auspicious Qualities*" ("*bKra-shis*"), is performed. At the beginning of the verse, all the monks pick up a few rice grains, and throw them, scattering them around the temple. They put a few more grains on top of their heads, which gradually fall off during the recitation, and after the verse is completed, they throw yet more rice. I was told that ideally, flowers should be used rather than grains, but that grain could serve as a substitute. The imagery of rainfalls of flowers marking auspicious occasions dates back to Indian Buddhism. Just as in the section on "Making the Boundaries" (see back, 4.2.1), mustard seeds, representing "powerful substances" ("*thun-rdzas*") become wrathful emanations, so here, "peaceful substances" (flowers or white rice grains) are sent forth, symbolising the spreading of the "Auspicious Qualities" of Enlightenment to all beings. Whereas the imagery of the "powerful substances" is that the seeds are "weapons" or "bullets", the flowers or rice are said to "fall like rain". This imagery is frequently used for the granting of *adhiṣṭhāna*. The lines are recited to the same tune as the previous section, without as much elongation of syllables, since this verse has sets of nine, rather than seven syllables. At the end of every second set of nine syllables, the *slob-dpon* rings his bell. In the Tibetan, each second set of syllables ends with the words, "*bkra-shis shog%*": "Auspicious qualities - may they be present%". The bell, then, marks the presence or arising of the auspicious qualities. The verse is as follows:

p.20b, line 3 "HO% May the limitless auspicious qualities
 of the Dharmakāya, Amitābha;%
 May the auspicious qualities of his unchanging
 Vajra form be present!%
 May the auspicious qualities of the Sambhogakāya,
line 4 Maitreya who possesses Compassion;%
 May the auspicious qualities of the pure sound
 of unobstructed speech be present!%
 May the auspicious qualities of the Nirmāṇakāya,
 the Vidyādhara Thod-phreng-rtsa!;%
 May the auspicious qualities of increasing

- line 5 possession of the riches [80] of those to be subdued be present!%
 May the auspicious qualities of the Secret Yum,
 the ḍākinī mTsho-rgyal-ma;%
 May the auspicious qualities of uninterrupted Bliss
 and Emptiness be present!%
 May the auspicious qualities of the Dharma, the
 treasury of the incomparable Secret practice;%
line 6 May the auspicious qualities for the expansive
 spreading of the Secret Mantra teaching be present!%
 May the auspicious qualities of the rdo-rje slob-dpon
 and all the Vajra brothers and sisters;%
 May the auspicious qualities of their inseparable
 bond throughout the three times be present!%"

As they throw the rice, the slob-dpon again rings his bell, and is then joined by the trumpets, horns, cymbals and drums. With these, the slob-dpon also plays his ḍamaru, and as the monks stop playing the instruments, and only the trumpets continue for a while, the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" practice is concluded.

There are a number of further recitations which are done after "Bla-sgrub", all of which are recited quickly without musical accompaniment. First, there is a short rDo-rje Gro-lod text [81], and the Gro-lod mantra recitation, and then some selections from "Chos-spyod". These begin with, "The King of Aspirations in the most noble Excellent practice", which is a "sMon-lam" (see above), the first sections of which constitute a seven-fold Mahāyāna practice (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.1), and are translated in Appendix 3 (Section A). Here, the whole practice is recited ("Chos-spyod", pp.308-319). Then a "sMon-lam" particularly directed to Guru Rin-po-che, which was written by Padma Gling-pa, is recited ("Chos-spyod", pp.334-336), and after this, a "sMon-lam" to establish the Buddha-field of Sukhāvātī ("C-s", pp.336-340), and two "sMon-lam" for rebirth in "Zangs-mdog dpal-ri": "The Copper-Coloured Mountain" ("C-s", pp.340-348; 348- 350). A "sMon-lam" for liberation in the Buddha-fields of the Trikāya ("C-s", pp.350-354), and one for the extensive spread of the teaching of the Lotus-born Buddha ("C-s", pp.385-389) is recited. Finally, some extra "Wishes for Auspicious Qualities" are recited ("C-s", pp.402-405).

As these final sections of practice are recited, the "gnyer-ba" or one of his assistants

begins to clear up the temple, sweeping the floor, and emptying the offering bowls of water. When the recitation is finished, the monks circumambulate the lake as usual (Chapter 3, Section 3.4).

4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

By now, it will be clear that despite the monastery's size and the fact that there are no resident "high" bla-mas, the monks are competent in dealing with complex ritual practices. Since the Tibetan Buddhist tradition is highly literate, this probably holds good for Tibetan monasteries in general: texts are followed as precisely as conditions permit, and training in recitation and ritual is considered basic. Although the young monks received little formal meditation instruction, the older monks were fully aware of the meditations necessary for the correct performance of the practices, and were able to pass their understanding on in an informal way. Given the suppression of Buddhism in Tibet and the fact that the monks are attempting to keep their traditions alive in the context of an Indian village, they are especially concerned that there should be continuity, and that the practices are not misconstrued. Meditation on Padma is recognised as being of particular importance since it helps to reinforce the bond between the practitioners and the Root Guru, bDud-'joms Rin-poche, and to bring the practitioner into contact with the richness of the rNying-ma heritage. In the next chapter, the more elaborate performance of "Bla-sgrub" in the context of a practice session, and the ritual dances of the Guru's Eight Aspects, are outlined.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[1] In Tibetan, "bla-ma thugs kyi sgrub-pa'i las-byang dngos-grub 'dod-'jo'i dga'-ston".

[2] See REN.

[3] There are numerous "bla-sgrub" practices by other authors. At the ri-khrod, a different "bla-sgrub" is performed, and, as we shall see, the bDud-'joms bla-sgrub is based on previous texts.

[4] Like bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, a well-known present day high rNying-ma-pa bla-ma.

[5] "The Good Vase": a "treasure" or precious vase, from which one can take whatever is desired.

[6] That is, "purified" in *Sūnyatā*.

[7] Page 2, line 3, "spyir ni rang rang lugs bzhin la% khyad-par las-byang le brgyad shis%": "In general, it will accord with each of the traditions;% In particular, (it will follow) the 'las-byang le brgyad shis'%". "Traditions" refers to those of the "Bla-sgrub" gter-ma texts.

[8] "Padma bKa'-thang Shel-brag-ma", Chapter Five.

[9] For more on "thun-rdzas" as wrathful emanations, see REN.2.3.6 and REN.2.3.10.

[10] In "Chos-spyod", these sections constitute a, "Supplication to O-rgyan Rin-po-che to generate the receptacle": "O-rgyan Rin-po-che'i gsol-'debs spyi'i rten bskyed".

[11] The "Rin-chen Zur-brgyad" gTor-ma (see Portfolio, p.5) is kept in a glass fronted case, along with a yi-dam and ḍākinī gtor-ma, above the offerings table.

[12] The scarf is red since the Bla-ma and yi-dam are of the Padma Buddha family.

[13] The golden colour expresses the insubstantial display of "clarity" and "emptiness".

[14] The heads of Hayagrīva and Vajravārāhī.

[15] The alternative Sambhogakāya form is the dark blue Vajrasattva, with a vajra at his heart, the left hand holding a bell, and embracing his yum, mTsho-rgyal-ma (p.5, line 6 - p.5b, line 4).

[16] Although not mentioned in "Las-byang", the Commentary adds that the Thod-phreng-rtsal of the fifth family (presumably, the "Buddha" family), arises in front of the central figure ("bsNyen-yig", p.8, line 1-2).

[17] White in the east, golden in the south, red in the west and green in the north.

[18] "Yon-tan" = Skt. "Guṇa".

[19] "gNas-mchog": A special place of practice where the Enlightened presence is strong.

[20] "Rāga": "passion"; "rakta": "blood" (Skt.).

[21] "Lion" = Buddha.

[22] In Chapter Nineteen, the section on "prostrations" to the eight aspects includes this aspect as "Padma 'Byung-gnas" (p.89).

[23] Particularly in the bKa'-rgyud-pa and Sa-skyapa teachings.

[24] "Chos-spyod", pp.122-128; this is recited before "Bla-sgrub Las-byang".

[25] Supplication in "Chos-spyod", p.124.

[26] He receives the name in "Padma bKa'-thang Shel-brag-ma", Ch.18, p.84.

[27] Reference is made to his stay there in the "Praises" on p.214; and also on p.389, in a list of the places where the gter-mas were hidden: "He hid the nine circles of mind/heart ('thugs') treasures in the 'Lion's cave' at the 'Tiger's Den' ". Later in this list (p.390), "The Tiger's Den" again occurs as the place where, "he hid the oceans of the Two Teachings". There is a reference to "sTag-tshang" and rDo-rje Gro-lod in Michael Aris, 1980, p.142, and Plates 8 and 9.

[28] The "flower" to which the Tibetans currently attach the name "tsam-pa-ka" is, in fact, the seed of *Oroxylum indicum*, and is *not* the Sanskrit, Campaka (this identification is thanks to Mark Bennett of Wye College, University of London). Das (1970, p.998) gives "tsam-pa-ka" as *Michelia Champaka*, and James B. Robinson (1979) also equates Sanskrit Campaka and Tibetan Tsam-pa-ka, which was the name of one of the eighty-four Indian Siddhas. It may be that the Tibetans substituted *Oroxylum indicum* owing to difficulties in

obtaining Campaka in Tibet (substitutions of this kind are apparently not uncommon in Tibetan medical texts: see Fernand Meyer, 1983, p.45).

[29] The three principal gtor-mas are those for the Bla-ma, yi-dam and dākinī. The "Rinchen Zur brgyad" is the gtor-ma for the Bla-ma (see Ch.5, Section 5.1.6.1); the yi-dam gtor-ma is a rDo-rje Gro-lod gtor-ma.

[30] The six senses (including the heart/mind) are all offered to with a particular offering each. The butter lamp, delighting the heart/mind, represents illumination.

[31] In the offerings to Tārā described by Stephan Beyer (1978, pp.148-165), a similar ordering is used, without the incorporation of the "sman-rak" offerings as "inner".

[32] = "Vajra urine", one of the five amṛtas - see "Glossary", under "Amṛta".

[33] Also one of the five amṛtas.

[34] The Four Mudrās: see "Glossary", under, "Mudrā".

[35] According to the Beyer (1978, p.406), there are samaya vows for each of the five Buddha families; for example, that of Vairocana is to be faithful to the three Jewels and three disciplines, and that of Ratnasambhava is generosity ("dāna").

[36] "rGyud", here means "families" or "types".

[37] Sanskrit for "offering"; applied to the water offering.

[38] Bodhicitta and rakta.

[39] Many Vajrayāna practices include the offerings of the five amṛtas and five fleshes which, in their true natures, are the five primordial awarenesses. Since it is - on the level of relative reality - considered bad to eat flesh and drink blood, etc., the idea of the offering is to overcome discursive dualistic thinking of "good" and "bad". From the Enlightened perspective, "good" and "bad" things are in their true nature, the same. It will be noted that the food which is particularly prohibited - human flesh - occurs in both sets, and is repeated again beneath. Usually, "dog flesh", rather than "lion flesh", is in the list.

[40] "Mahā Māṃsa" (Sanskrit), literally, "great flesh", refers to human flesh. Similarly, "mahā citta", "great heart", refers to human hearts.

[41] "Ba-su-ta" (?) is probably Sanskrit, "Vasudhā", meaning "wealth-bearing", "generous" or "bountiful" (David Snellgrove, 1986, personal communication). It is not clear to me why it is used as a noun here, or what its exact connotations are, although it is presumably an epithet of one type of internal organ.

[42] These are: lungs, intestines, liver, spleen and kidneys.

[43] For the two alternative methods, see back, 4.3.1.

[44] Or "life" ("srog"): see Ch.3, Section 3.3.1.

[45] This is the usual mantra to Padmākara.

[46] A quotation from the text, "Thugs-sgrub thams-cad kyi rgyal-po bla-ma gsang-'dus", is used to enlarge upon the details of the meditation.

[47] They are inseparable; they do not have individual "places" and syllables.

[48] "bsNyen-yig", p.10, line 3: quotation from the text, "bdud-'dul dgongs-pa yongs-'dus".

[49] "Citta" (Skt.) = "heart". The shape of the "heart" is like an upside-down heart.

[50] Hayagrīva yab-yum.

[51] "Marked by", means, "encircled by".

[52] Padmākara.

[53] It makes offerings to the Victorious Ones, etc., as outlined above.

[54] Padmākara is Nirmāṇakāya; Vajrasattva, Sambhogakāya; and Samantabhadra, the Dharmakāya.

[55] From "Chos-spyod", is taken a series of supplications to O-rgyan Padma 'Byung-gnas and his retinue and lineage: pp.70-102; 130-150; 165-167; 114-120. Other supplications include another of bDud-'joms' texts: "Rigs-bdag bla-ma'i zhabs-brtan gsol-'debs drang-srong dgyes-pa'i dbyangs-snyan".

[56] "Chos-spyod", pp.383-385.

[57] The order was felt to be important, not so much that individual monks should receive particular offerings - except in the case of the dbu-mdzad, who should receive the cymbals to play during the recitation - but so as to conform with the standard ordering in the layout of offerings which begins with the flowers, incense, etc. I noticed that on one occasion, when the mchod-dpon's assistant began by giving the gtor-ma to the first monk in the second row, that the mchod-dpon felt it necessary to intervene so that the error was rectified.

[58] These are the distributed six offerings.

[59] That is, adhering in meditation to the inspirational forces arising from the female principle of "māmo".

[60] I have not made a detailed study of this practice; the comments made here are based exclusively on my observation of the ritual, the preparations for it, and on conversations I subsequently held with the mchod-dpon and his assistant.

[61] Presumably, the ribbon is red owing to the fact that the deity is of the Padma Buddha family. Black is the colour of the wrathful activity.

[62] This meditation is discussed in detail in REN.2.3.6, where it constitutes part of the "Nailing" section in the Gro-lod "sMad-las" practice.

[63] The mantra - partly in Tibetan - literally offers "the flesh, blood and bones of the hostile forces and obstacles".

[64] The "six lamps" ("sgron-drug") are a set of six meditation experiences which arise at an advanced stage of meditation on the fundamental nature of phenomena. These states are marked by the arising of "bindus" of Realisation.

[65] This is the complete emptiness and vastness of the Dharmadhātu.

[66] "Youthful" ("gzhon-nu") means that the experience is never aged or stale; it is always fresh and new. Enlightenment is experienced like a "Vase" or vessel - the environment or

ground in which primordial awareness arises.

[67] "bDag", "master", or "owner", meaning the one who has the right to the offering.

[68] Set of twenty-eight; see "Glossary".

[69] A group of eight female deities, each of which carries a skull-cup of blood. In the retinue of dPal-Idan lha-mo; see René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p.36.

[70] A group related to the rākṣasas. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p.308.

[71] See REN.2.3.1; REN.2.3.9; REN.3.1.

[72] REN.2.3.9.

[73] See "Glossary", under, "*dGra*", "hostile forces". There are three main categories of *dgra*; this, and the next two lines are directed at the three, in consecutive order.

[74] That is, their forms are purified or transformed through their relationship with Hayagrīva.

[75] Avalokiteśvara.

[76] The Dharmadhātu.

[77] Special "treasures": the "Vase" contains whatever you wish for and the "Jewel" fulfils all desires.

[78] The siddhis of wealth and wishes are "ordinary siddhis" which can be useful for those who already have a firm background of practice and commitment to the Path, but they should not be misused in indulgence!

[79] That is, until the end of Saṃsāra - until all beings realise Enlightenment.

[80] "*dPal-'byor*": all the "merits" and positive circumstances possessed by the hostile forces to be liberated.

[81] I am not sure which; it may comprise a few sections from "Las-byang", or "Srog-sgrub" (?), here simply recited.

CHAPTER 5 THE RITUAL WHICH DEVELOPS THE REALISATION

OF THE BLA-MA: THE FIRST MONTH PRACTICE SESSION

At the Rewalsar rNying-ma-pa monastery, there are two annual "sessions" of intensive practice: one during the summer and one during the winter period. In some senses, the two sessions are inversions of each other. The summer session, known as "*dbyar-gnas*" ("summer residence"), is a one and a half month period when the monks remain in the monastery. It corresponds to the traditional Buddhist three month "rains retreat" [1] - a time when the emphasis is on the monks' own contemplation and study - although, at least in Rewalsar, the monks do not actually go into retreat for the period. The session lasts from the fourteenth day of the sixth Tibetan month (roughly, early August), with a special practice on the fifteenth day, through to the end of the seventh month (mid-September). The main practice is a confession, and purification of all the general Buddhist vows, and the particular vows of a monk. In most Tibetan monasteries, a monthly recitation of the Pratimokṣa vows, and confession of transgressions, would have been done; the Rewalsar rNying-ma-pa monks do not do this, but they do ensure that the important annual practice is done. Before it begins, the monks have their robes laundered and pressed, presumably as a symbolic purification of their commitment. At the beginning of the period, the mkhan-po normally visits for a few days to give the monks teaching. In 1982, he only stayed for two days since he had made an arrangement to also teach at the rNying-ma-pa monastery in Manali. Having begun the session, the monks stayed in the monastery [2], attending the communal practices, and studying texts. At the end of each afternoon confession practice, both the rNying-ma-pa and the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery (who also perform the "*dbyar-*

gnas" practice), had sessions of horn-blowing in their temples, proclaiming the completion of the day's practice. At the end of the seventh month, as a celebration and as a break after the intensive practice, the monks had more free time for a couple of days, which they spent relaxing on the grass by the courtyard, chatting or playing card games. Then, to mark the end of the session, an evening communal meal was held in the guest-house, attended not only by the rNying-ma-pa monks, but also, local lay Tibetans, and monks from the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery. The bla-ma and the more important guests - such as the sprul-sku and dbu-mdzad of the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery - were served in the room reserved for the bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, while the other Tibetans sat in long rows along each side of the corridor.

The winter practice session in Rewalsar, far from being an occasion when the monks are practically in retreat, coincides with the main pilgrimage season. Pilgrims from the border areas come during the winter since it fits in with their agricultural cycle to do so (see Chapter 2, Section 2.1.3.2). They come in large numbers during the first month to attend part - or all - of the first month practice session, and to observe the tenth day 'chams.

At the end of the twelfth month, an "expelling" ritual ("zlog-pa") is performed, so that all the negativities of the old year can be overcome (see REN). Then, in 1982, on the thirtieth - the day following the "Casting the gTor-ma" (see REN.3) - a Vajrasattva ritual was performed, along with preparations for the New Year celebrations, which began the next day. Negative forces dispelled, a positive atmosphere pervaded the entire Tibetan community, who spent much time on New Year's day visiting each other with New Year's greetings, and eating the New Year delicacies.

On the third day of the New Year, celebrations continued with lay people singing and dancing in the courtyard in the morning, followed by a communal meal arranged by the monastery at midday. Like the annual seventh month celebration (see above), the meal was held in the guest-house - the largest building - with several "sittings" of Tibetans who sat

in long rows along each side of the corridor, while the room normally reserved for bDud-'joms Rin-po-che was used for Bla-ma dKon-mchog, the senior head monk, and selected guests, such as some monks and nuns from other Tibetan settlements.

Each day an increasing number of Buddhist pilgrims arrived, many of whom were planning to remain for the tenth day of the month. Meanwhile, the monks were starting to prepare for the practice session. In the evenings, since the twentieth day of the twelfth month, there had been 'chams practice (see on, 5.2.2). Then on the fourth day of the year, the monks began to make the appropriate gtor-mas.

In 1982, the "practice session" was to be on the "*Bla-sgrub*" text (see Chapter 4). The monastery alternated the practice each year, between one centred on sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) and the "*Bla-sgrub*" practice centred on Padmākara. In both cases, the 'chams of, "The Dance of the Guru's Eight Aspects" is performed at the height of the practice session, on the tenth day. In texts relating to Padma, it is frequently stated that the Enlightened manifestation of Padma arose through the bodhicitta of Amitābha (Dharmakāya form of the Padma Buddha family), which was displayed on Sambhogakāya level as Avalokiteśvara, from whose heart the Nirmāṇakāya, Padma, was emanated. Thus, Avalokiteśvara and Padma are seen as two levels of the same Buddha family, and an appearance of Padma's aspects would follow as logically from an Avalokiteśvara practice as from a specifically Padma practice. This need not, however, concern us further here, since it is the "*Bla-sgrub*" practice with which we shall be dealing.

5.1 PREPARATIONS FOR THE PRACTICE SESSION

The commentary ("*bsNyen-yig*") on "*Bla-sgrub*" begins by noting some of the prerequisites for a practice session on the text (p.2, line 2-3). First, one should have received empowerment and kept pure samaya. Then, the place of practice should either have received the Guru's adhiṣṭhāna, or should conform to the characteristics of an inspiring place for Vajrayāna practice. In the case of the Rewalsar monastery, the principal monks had received the empowerment from bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, and the Lotus Lake is

certainly considered to be a special place which has received Padma's adhiṣṭaṇa.

Then, as the foundation for the practice, offerings should be made, the temple should be cleaned, and the image and maṇḍala should be prepared (pp.3-4). These preparations were begun on the fourth and fifth days; the various gtor-mas necessary for the maṇḍala, and the construction to support them were made after the morning practices (more details, 5.1.6), and the ritual began on the morning of the fifth day.

5.1.1 Offering to the Earth Mistress

The first preparatory ritual, which establishes the place for the session, concerns the Earth Mistress and her retinue. In Buddhist teachings on the life of Śākyamuni, it was the Earth Mistress who affirmed the realisation of the Buddha, when, challenged by Māra as he was about to attain Enlightenment, he touched the earth as his witness. The earth shook three times and the Earth Mistress, Sthāvarā, appeared and praised the Buddha's attainment, at which Māra and his host dispersed in confusion [3]. Then, when the Buddha reached Sarnath, where he was to give the first teaching, the earth trembled and the earth deities implored him to turn the wheel of the Dharma [4]. Out of respect for the Earth Mistress and her retinue, the Tibetans make offerings to her before the start of a practice session, to request the use of the land as the support of the maṇḍala.

In the morning of the fifth day, the mchod-dpon and his assistants arranged the offerings for the ritual in the western area of the temple, where the maṇḍala was later to be constructed, in accordance with the Padma Buddha family's western direction. In the middle of a low table, a "Sa-lha gtor-ma" (see diagram, Portfolio, p.4), the main gtor-ma to be offered to the Earth Mistress and her retinue, was set on a tripod, beneath which an upside-down bronze dish was placed with five small heaps of rice, one in the centre and the others at the four directions. The usual set of peaceful offerings - water for drinking and washing, flowers, incense, butter lamp, perfume and food - were arranged in a clockwise circle around the tripod. To the left, the ba-ling dish and goblet, filled with tea, was placed. In front of the whole arrangement, was a "gZhi-bdag" gtor-ma - usually for the local

protective deities of the earth - with two more offering bowls of water each side, and an offering bowl containing two rdo-rjes.

The text for the Earth Mistress offering was taken from a "*sGrub-khog*" text - a text with a series of instructions for the rituals of "the inner practice" [5]. The recitation began with a meditation on the arising of Hayagrīva (pp.3b-4b). Hayagrīva, a wrathful yi-dam of the Padma family, is, as we have seen (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1), the yi-dam in the "Blasgrub Las-byang" practice. In this meditation, a "vase" of Enlightened activity, which is "inwardly" the Immeasurable Palace, clearly manifests from the condition of Śūnyatā. The vase is filled with an ocean of amṛta, upon which a lotus arises, with eight red petals in its centre [6]. Above this, Hayagrīva as the Heruka King, arises from his seed-syllable. Then, the jñānasattva is invited, and dissolves into oneself as the samayasattva, and the mantras and mudrās of the eight offerings are made. Hayagrīva is praised as the Padma heruka who subdues the 'byung-po, and this is followed by a meditation on the revolving mantra syllables in his heart, which cause a stream of amṛta to flow down into the vase. The slob-dpon takes up a thread stretching from the ritual vase in front of him and puts it in his breast pocket, and all the monks recite the mantra. Thus, the amṛta of the five primordial awarenesses is meditated upon as flowing from the heruka to the vase, and Hayagrīva is requested to perform the maṇḍala's Enlightened activities. Then Hayagrīva melts into light, which mixes with the water in the vase, so that all the drops of water/amṛta, become emanations of Hayagrīva, who protect (the maṇḍala) from hindrances.

Having established the meditation, the gtor-ma offerings were consecrated (p.4b, line 2). First, they are purified with the "Svabhāva" mantra and accompanying meditation on Śūnyatā, and from this state, a jewel vessel arises in meditation, within which multitudes of outer and inner offerings are heaped up. Then, the offerings are consecrated with "OM AḤ HUM%".

p.4b, line 5

"HUM HUM HRIḤ HRIḤ
Coming forth from the earth, is an earth goddess,
an Established Ancient One!
She is yellow in colour and adorned with jewel ornaments;

line 6 Her right hand is in the Excellent mudrā of giving [7].
In her left hand, she holds a vase of treasures.
With the upper half of her body arising from the earth,
She appears as the inseparable Samayasattva and Jñānasattva.
She is surrounded by innumerable multitudes of the
earth masters and mistresses as her retinue."

A distinction is made here - as is frequent in the case of Dharma protectors - between the earth goddess herself, who is seen in her true nature, as an Enlightened manifestation (Samayasattva/Jñānasattva), the purified nature of the element "earth", which is the "Ratna" primordial awareness, and her retinue, the "worldly" earth masters and mistresses. The earth goddess is not usually thought of as an Enlightened Buddha, but in the context of this ritual, she is seen as having a "primordial awareness" form [8]. The verses for offering were made as follows:

p.5, line 1 "HUM HRIH In accordance with your former promise;%
For the benefit of all sentient beings
throughout space;%
I, the yogi who bears the Vajra;%
line 2 Truthfully practising the bodhicitta;%
Make this offering - please accept it!;%
Those who ride upon the year of the horse,
every twelfth year;%
The nine deities who cling to
dissatisfaction;%
Multitudes of 'byung-po;%
line 3 Please accept this gtor-ma offering
as ransom for the earth.%
Please grant me this jewel earth.%
Owners of the element earth;%
Please move to another residence and%
Grant me the prosperity and auspicious
qualities of this earth.%
line 4 SARVA BHUTU PUJA GRIHAṆA KHAHI%"
(This mantra is said three times)
ŚĀNTIṀ KURU YE SVAHA%
In the former period of complete purity when the
Buddha Śākyamuni subdued the māras of the
emotional defilements and became a Buddha;%
line 5 He turned the Wheel of the Dharma of the Four Truths,
above the Jewel ground of the earth.%
You, the earth goddess, offered him the earth.%
line 6 Similarly, I, the bearer of the Vajra,
having perfected the two causal accumulations [9];
In order to purify the two obscurations [10];%
I, the Supreme Noble King of the Sky [11], am
requesting to build my palace in this place.%
p.5b, line 1 Mistress of this earth,
together with your retinue,

line 2 Please accept this offering
 as ransom for the earth.%
 Having ensured the safety of this place,
 and granted it prosperity and good qualities;
 Make it all that could be desired,
 a place of power and happiness.%"

The meditation is of the goddess bestowing the earth, and then dissolving back into the earth itself.

The "gZhi-bdag" gtor-ma (see diagram, Portfolio, p.4) was then offered to the "world protectors", who are also protectors of the earth. After a mantra of invitation, the gtor-ma was offered with an offering mantra, repeated three times. Then a verse was recited:

p.5b, line 4 "HUM% From the summit of the slate mountain
 of Gangs-ri,
 Adorned with beautiful groves
 and numerous springs;%
line 5 From the various places there,
 the lakes and pools;%
 Earth masters and mistresses, with your host
 of gods and nagas,%
 I invite you to this place; please direct
 your attention here!%
 In order to establish this square
 of 'Jam-bu-gling as a place of practice;%
 Earth masters and mistresses, together with
 your retinues, come to this place.%
line 6 Please accept this gtor-ma which
 has been consecrated for you.%
 I request you to grant this Jewel Treasure.%
 BHUMI PATI SAPARIVARA GACCHAḤ%"

With this, the monks should meditate on them accepting the offering, bestowing the earth, and leaving for their residences. The mchod-dpon took the "gser-skyems" offering in the ba-ling goblet and dish outside. In this case, the protectors associated with the earth are not based in the local area, but need to be invited from Gangs-ri to dedicate the land as a place of practice, and to bless it so that, "misfortunes are pacified and the earth is established in prosperity" (p.6, line 1). In both offerings, the basic concept is that the earth is a "Jewel Treasure" with the qualities of the Ratna Buddha family in its true nature, and that it should not be abused and exploited. People do not "own" this Jewel, and it is only as followers of the Buddha, to whom the earth was offered, that the practitioners may have the use of it, to establish the maṇḍala, the "Palace" of Hayagrīva. Through showing respect to

the masters and mistresses of the earth, and making offerings, they, in return, grant their blessing onto the place so that the foundation of practice is firm. A final offering was then made to all the earth masters and mistresses - a vase filled with grains, jewels and medicinal herbs, was meditated upon as a jewel stūpa, containing all that could be desired. This is offered as a "treasure", in order that the maṇḍala may be drawn, and it was later placed on the lower shelf of the maṇḍala construction when it was erected.

5.1.2 Holding the Earth.

After the earth has been offered, the next section of the ritual is to bring it under one's control, so that it can be transformed into the foundation of the maṇḍala. Before the afternoon practice, in front of the table with the gtor-mas and offerings to the earth masters and mistresses, eleven "*phur-khung*" had been placed on the floor. These "phur-khung" - "holes" or pots for phur-bus (ritual daggers) - were arranged so that there was one for each of the "ten directions" and a large one in the centre (see diagrams, Portfolio, p.3).

The rdo-rje slob-dpon was handed a red wooden phur-bu [12] with a red silk scarf tied around it (as a "head-adornment"). He stood before the phur-khung, and the monks began the meditation (p.6, line 5-6). From the seed-syllable at the heart of oneself as Hayagrīva, light radiates to the phur-bu, which is transformed into a manifestation of Hayagrīva, its upper part having the form of the wrathful Hayagrīva while its lower half is a phur-bu. Then, with the appropriate mantra recited seven times, the slob-dpon struck the ground with the phur-bu, finally leaving it inserted into the central phur-khung. Meanwhile, he meditated on light radiating from the phur-bu, Hayagrīva, penetrating the earth, and bringing the whole phenomenal world under control.

5.1.3 The Purification of the Earth

The earth was then "purified". The monks recited the verse of meditation (p.6b, line 2-4), beginning with the syllables, "RAM YAṀ KHAM", which emanate from one's heart, burning, scattering and cleansing all defilements and notions of substantiality, so that the

universe is purified in Śūnyatā. Then, from this state, it arises again, clearly manifesting in complete perfection as the Padma Akaniṣṭha Buddhafield. With the Svabhāva (Śūnyatā) mantra, the slob-dpon meditates on the five fingers of his right hand as a five-pointed rdo-rje, and after waving his hand in the air, he touched the earth. Thus, he ritually established the meditation of the earth in its pure Vajra nature.

5.1.4 The Protection of the Earth

In order to ensure that there is no possibility of any obstacles arising while constructing the maṇḍala, there is a meditation on "Protection" (p.6b, line 4-6). A *bgegs gtor-ma* was offered with the appropriate verse, as in the Bla-sgrub Las-byang practice (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1) and the "obstacles" were commanded with the wrathful mantra, and expelled from the temple. Then the "*sGrub-khog*" text adds a further meditation. Multitudes of "wrathful ones" of the ten directions - manifestations of Hayagrīva - emanate from his heart, and fill the earth. The slob-dpon rolls the phur-bu between his hands, and meditates on the wrathful ones, along with sparks of fire from the bottom half of the phur-bu which is of red-hot iron, emanating and penetrating throughout the earth.

5.1.5 Making the Boundary

The meditation on the "earth" completed, the next stage was the "Making the Boundary" ("mtshams-bcad"), the concept of which has already been discussed (Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.1.2). It concerns the setting up of the Vajra Protection Maṇḍala ("srung-'khor") so that all appearances are transformed into their true Vajra nature, which manifests as the Indestructible Protection Maṇḍala which cannot be penetrated by negative forces, and thus, it forms a "Boundary". Such a meditation is done with the "expelling the bgegs" section of the main "Bla-sgrub" text each day the practice is performed; this section is more elaborate since it is intended to establish the "boundary" for the whole duration of a retreat or in this case, a practice session, not simply for the sessions of ritual and meditation, but for the times of sleeping, eating and so on.

5.1.5.1 Offerings to the Four Great Kings

The "outer boundary" is made through establishing Protectors of the four directions, known as the "four Great Kings", to guard the four sides of the temple. First, a *bgags-tor-ma* was offered and the verse for making the boundaries, as given in *Bla-sgrub Las-byang* (see Chapter 4, 4.2.1), was recited, in order to provide the general basis for the following meditation of oneself as Hayagrīva, emanating wrathful ones who fill the sky, dispelling obstacles, and establishing the Vajra Pavilion.

Then, small images of the four Great Kings, and four "*tho*" - "boundary markers" [13] - were placed on ledges at each side of the temple. Each "*tho*" (see diagram, Portfolio, p.4) was made from a piece of wood, the front of which was marked by the seed-syllable appropriate to the particular Great King, while its back was inscribed with his mantra. They were propped up behind the images.

The monks, already dressed in their best robes, each donned an extra two saffron-coloured robes and a hat used only in special rituals, coloured red with a yellow flange and a red tassel at the back [14]. The *mchod-dpon's* hat was distinct - gold in colour with a yellow flange and a predominantly green tassel, while the *slob-dpon* wore the red hat of a "pandit" - a realised scholar. They walked to the eastern side of the temple, the *mchod-dpon* carrying a tray with the usual set of peaceful offerings to be set by the image and "*tho*". The offerings were purified with "RAM YAM KHAM", and consecrated with "OM AH HUM" repeated three times. Then, the "boundary marker", image and mantra were purified with the Svabhāva mantra and meditation on emptiness. With light rays radiating from the heart of oneself (as Hayagrīva), the Great King of the East, Yul 'Khor srung, was invited. With, "JAḤ HUM BAḤ HOḤ", he is meditated upon as dissolving into the image. The offerings were made, reciting his mantra followed by the usual mantra for the peaceful offerings, three times. Another verse was then chanted, requesting him to accept the *gtor-ma* and offerings, and in accordance with his former promise as a Protector, to remain and prevent any hindrances entering the place of practice. This procedure was then repeated at

the southern side of the temple, where the Great King, 'Phags-skyes-po, and his retinue, were invited, and established in his image and "tho". Similarly, the Great King, sPyan-mi-bzang, was established at the western side of the temple, and finally, rNam-thos-sras was invited to reside at the northern side of the temple.

These "four Great Kings" are associated with the imagery, traced back to India, of the gods of Mount Meru. The four Kings abide in the lower slopes of Mount Meru, in the four directions, and they protect all the gods at the summit of Meru from the onslaught of the "asuras" below. They are, then, powerful "world-protectors" ("loka-pāla"), and their protection is considered indispensable for any practice session or retreat, so they are invited to come from their Mount Meru homes, and to abide until the end of the session.

5.1.5.2 Making the Attachment to Purify the Door

Next, the special Protector, Yamāntaka, was called upon to protect the temple door. Yāma or Yamāntaka - here, both names are used - has an outer and an inner form. A drawing of the outer form of Yāma, dark blue in colour, holding a club and a hammer, was attached, together with a phur-bu of barberry wood inscribed with his mantra, to the outside of the temple door. Offerings were consecrated, and verses recited to invite Yāma ("sGrub-khog", p.11). He was meditated upon as arising from the condition of emptiness, and dissolving into the picture. His mantra was recited, offerings made, and Enlightened activities were requested as follows:

p.11, line 5 "HUM% Glorious Yamāntaka;%
 Lord of all karma messengers;%
line 6 In accordance with the instructions of the
 Bearer of the Vajra,%
 Together with your retinue of the eight classes;%
 Explain the Dharma of liberating the ripening
 negative karma activities;%
 Do not allow any negativity or obstacle harmful to
 the power of our practice to enter this place%."

Then, a picture of Yamāntaka, in the inner form of "Swirling in Amṛta" ("bDud-rtsi dkyil") [15], was attached with a barberry wood phur-bu inscribed with his mantra, to the inside of the door, and he was invited, his mantra recited, offerings made and a similar verse for requesting him to perform the Enlightened activities, was recited ("sGrub-khog", p.11b).

5.1.5.3 The "Secret" Method of "Making the Boundary"

The next process is referred to as "secret" since it pertains to the innermost experience of the Vajra nature which cannot be revealed to those who do not have the Samaya connection with the teaching. There are two parts to the section; first is, "*The Liberating Killing of 'Ma-traṃ'*", Ma-traṃ being a name for Rūdra [16]. A liṅga had been prepared, and placed before the slob-dpon. The practice began (p.12, line 1) with the recitation of the Hayagrīva mantra and the meditation of oneself as Hayagrīva. Then, there is a meditation on the Māra, Ma-traṃ Rūdra, with three heads, six arms and coloured whitish-grey like ashes. The text makes it clear that,

p.12, line 3 "It is not necessary to meditate on summoning
line 4 him and on him dissolving (into the liṅga)
 here from anywhere outside;
 you truly generate him arising as the three
 classes of RUDRA,
 which are the very face of your own three poisons."

Having made it explicitly clear that the negative forces invoked are ones own three poisons, the "Wrathful Mantra" was recited and the slob-dpon waved his phur-bu threateningly in the air. A further verse was then chanted (p.12, line 4-6), stating that Ma-traṃ has hindered practice and harmed the Buddha's teaching. Just as Hayagrīva had killed and liberated Rūdra, and consecrated his "insides" for the adornment of the "Cemetery Palace", so the meditator now announces,

line 6 "I kill and liberate you with the phur-bu
 of understanding no-self."

The three poisons are instantly "struck" when the emptiness of "self" is realised, and this is symbolically expressed by the slob-dpon striking the liṅga with the phur-bu, and then slicing up the parts of the "body" with a knife. These parts were later put on the shelf of the maṅḍala when it was constructed: the head was put at the south-west of the maṅḍala; the heart at the west; the left arm at the north-west; and the left leg at the north; the sexual organs at the north-east; the right leg at the east and the right arm at the south-east; with the lungs at the south. The meditation was completed with concentration on the syllable "BHRUM", the syllable of the Immeasurable Palace, being sent forth from one's heart and

dissolving into the parts of Rūdra's corpse, which are thus transformed into the maṇḍala of the "Immeasurable Cemetery Palace", with the "eight great cemeteries" (again, one at each direction), the Vajra enclosures and fires. Thus, the energies of the overturned emotional defilements are transformed into the protective attributes of the Protection Maṇḍala.

The second part to the section is, "*Stabbing with the Phur-bus*" ("sGrub-khog", p.12b, line 2), the ritual of which was performed by the monks on the afternoon of the fifth day. The temple was already prepared with the ten "phur-khung" at the ten directions (see above, 5.1.2), and the central "phur-khung" containing the phur-bu of Hayagrīva inserted during the meditation on "Holding the Earth". The mchod-dpon brought out a tray with ten more small red phur-bus on it, each with red paper attached as "head-bands". The text says that these phur-bus should be made from barberry wood, dyed with red sandalwood water. The phur-khung are the ten "E"s; that is, they represent the vast open "womb" of the Dharmadhātu, for which the seed-syllable is "E", and they are the "female" aspect of emptiness as it manifests in each direction. The slob-dpon, wearing the pandit's hat, was seated before the phur-khung, to the "eastern" side, wielding his bell and rdo-rje, while the mchod-dpon stood by with the tray. The Phur-pa mantra was said; much saffron incense was burnt, and the phur-bus were "purified of discursive thought" (line 4), as mustard seeds, representing wrathful ones, were thrown towards them, and they were dipped into the "rakta" bowl, also placed on the tray. There followed a meditation on the phur-bus, which each arise from emptiness as the seed-syllable (of the yi-dam, Phur-pa), and are transformed into ten wrathful ones, the lower parts of their bodies being blazing phur-bus. The jñānasattva was thus invited, dissolving into the samayasattva phur-bus, which were then "empowered" by a mantra. The meditation was reinforced by an emanation of Hayagrīva being sent forth from one's heart, and summoning the ten "Protectors of the directions" ("phyogs-skyong") - embodiments of negativities - they were placed in the ten "E"s. Then, the slob-dpon, "assuming the manner and posture of the blazing one" (Hayagrīva), hammered in the phur-bus, with the hammer in his right hand, the phur-bu

in his left. Bla-ma dKon-mchog walked around the phur-khung arrangement, taking each phur-bu in turn, wielding it to the appropriate mantra, and then "hammered" it in using a wooden stick with a rdo-rje attached to it. The ten mantras used were those associated with the ten wrathful ones, with the insertion in the middle of "gnod-byed 'byung-po" - so that each mantra invokes the appropriate wrathful one and explicitly overcomes the negative forces. First the phur-bu to the "above" was hammered in; then the eastern phur-bu, followed by those to the south, west and north, so that a clockwise circle was made. Then the phur-bu in the north-east was hammered in, followed by those to the north-west, south-west, south-east, and "below", completing an anticlockwise circle. Finally, there was a meditation on the pierced hearts of the obstacles transformed into clear light (p.13, line 6), and light rays arising from the phur-bus, pervading all directions and thickening like clouds to become the Protection Maṇḍala (p.13b, line 1). The slob-dpon rang his bell and all the monks played their instruments.

Having performed this ritual, the boundaries were protected so that people could not "come and go" ("bsNyen-yig" Commentary, p.6b, line 4). This does not mean that everyone has to stay in the temple itself, but simply, that the practitioners, having begun the session, should not interrupt their practice until the session is completed, and the Protection Maṇḍala dissolved (see on, 5.2.5). In the case of a strict retreat situation, the practitioners would neither leave the compound of practice huts, nor would they communicate with those outside who were not taking part in the retreat.

Such a ritual separation (and later re-integration) of those involved in the religious practice, and those outside it, is of course analogous to the processes of "preliminal", "liminal", and "postliminal" rites, described by Van Gennep in, "The Rites of Passage" (1960). This might seem surprising when it is remembered that the whole thrust of Vajrayāna practice is to break down the "boundaries" of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa. Indeed, the "Protection Maṇḍala" is supposed to encompass all phenomena which are transformed into the Immeasurable Palace, and the only "exclusion" is any obstacle or hindrance to that Realisa-

tion. Nonetheless, for unenlightened practitioners, a ritual separation involving meditation on the immediate environment as the maṇḍala, is considered "skillful means", helping to focus the mind and prevent worldly influences disturbing clear perception. When the Protection Maṇḍala is dissolved, and "ordinary life" is resumed, then it is important that it dissolves in meditation on Śūnyatā and that all appearances then arise as the maṇḍala, so that henceforth, one continually enters the "Path of Practice" in all situations, and "ordinary life" is therefore transformed.

5.1.6 Making the Maṇḍala

Detailed instructions are given in the "sGrub-khog" text of the methods for "sprinkling" the five amṛtas of primordial awareness onto the area where the maṇḍala is to be constructed, and "drawing the lines" which constitute the basis of the maṇḍala [17] ("sGrub-khog", p.13b, ff.). I observed none of this in Rewalsar, and indeed, the "bsNyen-yig" Commentary notes that it is not necessary to draw out the whole maṇḍala, so long as the fundamental structure is represented, such as with a drawing on a piece of material, or even heaps of rice on a dish, to symbolise the deities of the maṇḍala ("bsNyen-yig", p.3, line 3-4). The monks used a diagram of the Bla-sgrub "Protection Maṇḍala" for this purpose (see below).

5.1.6.1 "Arranging the Receptacle"

The crucial element to be placed in the middle of the maṇḍala, is an image of Padma, either in Sambhogakāya or Nirmāṇakāya form (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1), since the image is the "receptacle" of the Enlightened Mind, and the focus of the meditation. First, the monks brought in a large square wooden table with wooden shelving placed upon it, going up in three tiers from the table's edges. This construction had been prepared on the fourth day (Photo no.41), and was now brought into the temple and placed over the phur-bus and phur-khung. Coloured cloths had been draped over it; the shelving was covered with red cloth, and the sides of the table beneath were covered with different coloured horizontal stripes of material - blue, gold, red, and a thicker band of lime green cloth, above a

large piece of blue and gold material reaching to the ground. On the upper surface of the construction, above the shelves, the various "samaya substances" were placed, principally the "Protection Maṇḍala" drawing and the image. A previously consecrated image (i.e. one which had been purified and had the deity "established" in it), in a skull-cup container filled with rice, was placed on a tripod above the centre of the maṇḍala diagram, in the middle of the square surface. Various other objects were added, including a stūpa, a large initiation vase, a gtor-ma, and some texts, representing specific aspects of the awakened state [18]. Finally, a "canopy" should be put above the image ("bsNyen-yig", p.4, line 2), and the monks met this requirement with a further small table covered with material, and an umbrella canopy attached to the centre [19]. The material draped over this table was made up of the same sequence of coloured horizontal stripes and bands as the table below. It was then further decorated with silk and brocade adornments such as "phan" [20], which were hung from the material, and with "ral-gri" - "spears" - as wrathful adornments which had been fixed, their points up, in pots placed against the table. Four "rgyal-mtshan" were stood beside the four corners of the table, and four more were attached to the four corners on top of the table. Four further brocade ornaments were attached above the middle of each side of the table. Then, eight small flags were fixed on both sides of each of these ornaments. All these adornments are the adornments of the "Immeasurable Palace" - the residence of the deity in the centre of the maṇḍala - marking each of the directions around the Palace walls. Moreover, the four walls of the Palace are characterised by a sequence of "levels" of blazing primordial awareness, in the five colours - blue, white, yellow, red and green. With the exception of the colour white, which may have been represented under the light green band, these were the colours of the strips of material around the large and small tables. In the imagery of the Immeasurable Palace, part of the way down on the outside of the walls, there are tiers of ledges, carpeted in red, upon which offering goddesses abide, making "clouds of offerings". These are represented by the shelves covered with red cloth, which the monks then filled with gtor-mas and offerings. On the highest shelf on the

eastern side of the maṇḍala, the side facing the temple aisle and the first row of monks (including the slob-dpon, dbu-mdzad, etc.), the "Bla-sgrub" gTor-ma was placed. This gTor-ma is of central significance in the practice. In the symbolism of the construction, the image represents the deity, the whole construction symbolises the Immeasurable Palace, and the phur-khung, phur-bus and the earth beneath, the whole of the outer Protection Maṇḍala. Now, the gTor-ma itself also represents the maṇḍala, or at least its basis of the parts of Rūdra's body, symbolically built up one on top of another, corresponding as usual to the emotional defilements, and their transmuted Vajra manifestation as the five primordial awarenesses. Above, it displays the eight points of the maṇḍala, and in the center, arises the Immeasurable Palace, with the deity and his attributes (see diagram, Portfolio, p.5). This gTor-ma, the "*Rin-chen Zur-brgyad*" - "The Eight-pointed Jewel" - is particularly thought of as representing the "heart" or "essence", not only of the deity and of this practice, but of all sentient beings [21]. In the "Offerings" section of the text, it is offered as the gtor-ma representing the "ālaya", the "Ground" of existence and non-existence (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.4.6). The gTor-ma was placed in the central position on the maṇḍala construction for the duration of the ritual, after which it was moved into the case on the main shrine, which contains the three gTor-mas of the Three Roots [22]. There it would remain for the year as the gTor-ma of the bla-ma.

The detailed decorations necessary on the "Bla-sgrub" gtor-ma require a skilled monk. Bla-ma dKon-mchog had done most of the work on it himself, during the mornings of the fourth and fifth days, as well as supervising and helping the monks with the more intricate and elaborate parts of the other gtor-mas (see Photos no.s 45 and 46). The four levels of the base of the gTor-ma were wooden, and had been preserved and repainted from a previous year. The main body of the gTor-ma was made from the usual roasted barley flour and butter dough, and painted in the appropriate colours. All the designs then attached onto the gTor-ma were made from butter. In order to make the thin intricate lines, Bla-ma dKon-mchog used an instrument which worked on the same principle as icing nodules (see Photos

no.s 45 and 46, and diagram, Portfolio, p.7).

The monks placed all the other gtor-mas and offerings which had been prepared, onto the shelves. On the same level as the "Rin-chen Zur-brgyad", various Dharmapāla gtor-mas were placed. To the left and the right of the "Rin-chen Zur-brgyad", and on the other sides of the "Immeasurable Palace", there were large "*dam-can pho-rgyud*" and "*dam-can mo-rgyud*" gtor-mas (see diagram, Portfolio, p.6). These male and female deities, "bound by oath" or "samaya", are an indigenous Tibetan set of protectors, subdued by Padma [23]. Elaborate Chad-tho and brTan-ma bcu-gnyis gtor-mas flanked them on the shelves (see diagrams, Portfolio, p.6). At the two ends of the shelf on which the "Rin-chen Zur-brgyad" was placed, medicine and rakta bowls were added.

The second level of shelves were covered with "*bskang-gtor*": offering gtor-mas to fulfil all the wishes of the maṇḍala deities (diagram, Portfolio, p.6; Photos (4th day), no.s 42, 43 and 47).

The third level of shelves was filled with "*Zhal-zas*" gtor-mas: simple food offering gtor-mas. In the centre of each row of Zhal-zas gtor-mas was put a more elaborate gtor-ma. These were dedicated to the Buddhas of each particular direction: a white gtor-ma on the "eastern" side of the maṇḍala to Vajrasattva; the yellow gtor-ma in the "south", to Ratnasambhava, the red gtor-ma in the "west" to Amitābha, etc., while the other Zhal-zas gtor-mas were dedicated to all their retinues (see diagrams, Portfolio, p.7, Photo no. 44).

Finally, on the level beneath the Zhal-zas gtor-mas, the "peaceful" and "wrathful" offerings were laid out. The peaceful offerings were put on the left of each shelf, and consisted of, from left to right, two offering bowls of water (for drinking and washing); an offering bowl containing rice on which winged seeds of the "tsam-pa-ka" tree (Chapter 4, nb.28) were arranged, representing flowers; an offering bowl of rice in which three sticks of incense were arranged - one upright in the centre and the other two positioned at an angle on either side, crossing over each other by the central stick - representing the offering of incense. Next to this bowl was a large butter lamp, as the light offering; an

offering bowl of scented water, for perfume, and an elaborate zhal-zas gtor-ma for the food offering (see diagram, Portfolio, p.8). To the right of each shelf, the wrathful offerings were laid out from right to left: first, the water offerings, in offering bowls as for the peaceful offerings, representing the waters of "amṛta"; then, the offering of the "flowers" of the five senses. This was represented by a dough figure illustrating the five senses (see diagram, Portfolio, p.8), called, "the five senses" ("dbang-sna lnga"). Next in the row was another offering bowl with incense sticks, beside a second large butter lamp, and a second bowl of scented water. In this context, they represent the incense and butter lamp of Rūdra's burning fat; and the perfume of "Vajra urine" [24]. Finally, the food offering was the food of "amṛta dung" [25]. This was symbolised by an elaborate "drag-po'i zhal-zas gtor-ma", a "wrathful food offering gtor-ma" (see diagram, Portfolio, p.8, and Photo no.49 of completed maṇḍala).

An offering maṇḍala (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.3.3; Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.1), and other offerings needed for the ritual - such as a bgegs-gtor - were added to one side of the construction.

5.2 THE FIRST MONTH PRACTICE SESSION OF "BLA-SGRUB LAS-BYANG"

The preparations completed, from the sixth to the sixteenth days of the month, the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" was performed, as on each tenth day, but with lengthened mantra practice, so that the sessions were longer, and breaks for lunch shorter. All the monks in the monastery attended, including one from the retreat centre, who was asked by the slob-dpon to come out of retreat for the period of the practice (from the fourth day), so that he could help with teaching 'chams (see on, 5.2.2). There was only one other monk present on the fifth day, but by the morning of the sixth day, two more Rewalsar practitioners (a monk and a nun) joined in, along with a few pilgrim monks and nuns, and one local Tibetan lay-woman. In the afternoon, a group of pilgrims from one of the mountainous areas on the border with Tibet, a few more of the local Tibetan nuns and female practitioners, and some more lay people attended. Some of these people stayed for the whole practice

session, up to and including the sixteenth day. After the sixth day, more people arrived every day, the highest attendance being on the tenth day when the 'chams was performed. From the eleventh day, attendance began to drop as pilgrims left.

The whole area of the temple floor had to be used for seating during most of the period. A number of the monks, nuns and lay practitioners had copies of the text and could participate in the chanting. Most of those who otherwise do not attend the "Tshogs" practices at the temple, however, did not have texts. All of them brought their rosaries, and spent the time observing and listening to the practice, and reciting thousands of the Vajra Guru mantra. The atmosphere was very relaxed and informal, casual conversation being intermingled with mantra and meditation.

On the night of the fifth day, and on all the subsequent evenings of the practice session, the trumpets were played in the temple for periods lasting about ten minutes, at intervals of a few hours throughout the night. Tucci [26] mentions that it is usual in the Tibetan tradition to celebrate a, "*Festival of good omen*" ("bkra-shis dgu-rtsegs") between the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and the fifteenth day of the first. This festival primarily consists of continuous trumpet playing each night. Although the Rewalsar monastery does not have such a festival with this name, the regular nightly trumpet playing which does take place at this time of the year is related in its significance, namely, an auspicious beginning to the New Year. Here, the proclaiming of the musical instruments of the Dharma, as well as in itself constituting a symbolic dispersal of negative forces and the establishment of positive qualities, is integrated into the "Bla-sgrub" practice session. It is important that the practitioners should not only retain awareness during the periods of formal practice, but that they should, "sleep, and so on, in the state of clear light without discursive thought, and never be separated from the yoga of transforming all actions into the Path" ("Bla-sgrub bsNyen-yig", p.13, line 2-3). Thus, the periodic trumpet playing serves to remind those lacking sustained mindfulness and to re-establish their meditation.

On the sixth day, and on the other days of the practice session, the second part of the

morning practice, after the break, contained a very long recitation of the Vajra Guru mantra in which all participated. Then, during the afternoon "Tshogs", as I have mentioned, many of those attending continued the mantra practice, counting on their rosaries. Near the end of the day's practice, a young monk from the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery who had joined the rNying-ma-pa monastery for the practice session (he was to dance in the 'chams, see on 5.5.2), came round the temple to record the numbers of mantras which everyone had performed. These were recorded and added each day. In Tibetan Buddhist practice sessions and retreats, the completion of a large number of mantras is a necessary component, unless the "signs and marks" of "Realisation in the practice" arise before the set number are performed, in which case further recitation is superfluous. In a group practice, everyone's mantras are added together, so that each person present makes a contribution to the practice, whether or not they participate in the other ritual activities. At the end of the sixth day afternoon session, there was an addition to the practice (see sketch plan, Portfolio, p.4). On reflection [27], this appears to have been an elaboration of the usual section on, "*Taking the Siddhi*" (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.4). The mchod-dpon gave out the special hats used previously (see back, 5.1.5.1). The rNying-ma-pa monks, the young bKa'-rgyud-pa monk, the monk Blo-bzang (Chapter 2, 2.2.3.5.3) and the two pilgrim monks (one of whom had come to participate in the 'chams - see 5.2.2), all put on hats and stood up in their places. The mchod-dpon then placed a large pot of burning incense down near the maṇḍala construction and bringing out four brocade scarves with many-coloured silk tassels attached to each, he gave one to the slob-dpon, and one each to the monk, Blo-bzang and one of the pilgrim monks. The four of them, each in effect covering one corner of the maṇḍala, began to wave their scarves and tassels towards the maṇḍala, as the other monks played their instruments. Clearly, the principal monks performing the symbolic action of waving the tassels were the slob-dpon and mchod-dpon; the other two monks were chosen to "cover" the other corners since they were not involved in playing instruments. Then, the music stopped as the monks chanted a part of the "*Praises*" section of the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang":

that consisting of a praise of each of Padma's eight aspects (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5; full text of this, see on, 5.2.3.4). Then, with the four monks still waving the brocade and tassels, the other monks again played all their instruments and with a final crescendo of music, the mchod-dpon walked all the way around the maṇḍala construction waving the tassels, and collecting up the tassels held by the other three monks. Finally, all those present joined in singing the Thod-phreng-rtsal mantra together. Probably, this addition was a ritually more elaborate way of performing the introductory part of "Taking the Siddhi", since both a verse from "The Praises" and the singing of the Thod-phreng-rtsal mantra were done. The action of waving the brocade could be understood in this context; the central gTor-ma and maṇḍala construction are meditated upon as Guru Padma, and the maṇḍala of the Victorious Ones, and their presence and powers are enjoined with the praises and mantra. These moving tassels would thus represent the descent of their presence and Siddhis, in the form of the five primordial awareness lights (the colours of the tassels).

5.2.1 The "Guru mTshan-brgyad 'Chams" at Rewalsar [28]

The "Dance of the Guru's eight aspects" has remained a popular one for the exiles in India; one month after the 'chams in Rewalsar, a "Guru mtshan-brgyad 'chams", usually attended by a few of the Rewalsar monks, is performed by the 'Brug-pa bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery at the Tashi Jong handicraft settlement (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.3.5). When the rNying-ma-pa monks were first sent to Rewalsar, bDud-'joms Rin-po-che suggested that they should perform this 'chams on the tenth day of the first month, as part of the practice session. Since the monks had not been instructed in 'chams, this was not at first possible, but after several years [29], bDud-'joms Rin-po-che arranged for the visit of sTag-lung-rtse sprul Rin-po-che, a Tibetan bla-ma formerly of rDo-rje Brag monastery, who had become head of the Brag-thog monastery in Ladakh. This bla-ma stayed at the monastery for some while teaching the monks. Since then, the monks have organised practices each year to refresh their dancing, and to teach those who have not previously performed the 'chams. By 1982, only two of the monks actually dancing (not including the

musicians) had received teaching from sTag-lung-rtse sprul Rin-po-che.

5.2.2 Preparations for the Tenth Day 'Chams

Dance practices began during the twelfth Tibetan month. En Chung, the caretaker monk, began a practice group on the twentieth day of the twelfth month. En Chung, by no means a master of ritual dancing, had learnt the 'chams from sTag-lung-rtse sprul Rin-po-che and had performed it annually since. He was clearly talented at it. The monks were later meant to receive coaching from Tshul-khrims rNam-dag (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.5), the senior dbu-mdzad, who was to come out of his retreat for the twenty-ninth day ritual and the first month practice session. Tshul-khrims rNam-dag was not only good at dancing, but he was recognised as being an advanced meditation practitioner. Bla-ma dKon-mchog, who was away for six weeks (until the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month), visiting bDud-'joms Rin-po-che in Kathmandu for instruction, had left En Chung to start the monks practising. The first evening, just three monks participated, but on the subsequent evenings, there were five or six monks. The fairly regular group of six consisted of En Chung, Ngag-dbang Byams-pa (the mchod-dpon), Me me Tshe-ldan, bSod-nams, Thub-bstan, and a young monk from the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery who wanted to take part. Of these, the mchod-dpon and Me me Tshe-ldan had danced before, but were out of practice, while the other three had never previously participated in any 'chams. The practices took place in the monastery courtyard and lasted about one hour every evening. The two young monks learnt very quickly, though Thub-bstan, as an older person, found it much harder to pick up the steps, and later, he dropped out. On the tenth day, he joined the monks who were playing the musical instruments. For four evenings, the group practised the "Black Hat" ("Zhva-nag") dances, with En Chung demonstrating the steps, and the other monks copying him. The practices were good-humoured, with En Chung - or sometimes one of the other monks - making everyone laugh by imitating clumsiness and exaggerating mistakes made by someone in the group. Thus, he demonstrated how *not* to dance, as well as the correct method. On the first two evenings, the basic and simple steps of the

dances were taught, and by the fourth evening, the monks were able to practise the more complex variations on the basic steps. Then, for two evenings, there were no practices. In fact, there was some uncertainty as to whether there would be a 'chams at all on the tenth day! Tshul-khrims rNam-dag was suffering from back trouble and it became clear that he was not going to be able to teach. Since Padma sKal-bzang, the second bdu-mdzad (who was to perform the Black Hat dance on the twenty-ninth day) had also been unwell, and was resting to prepare himself for the "Zlog-pa" ritual, there was no-one available to teach the monks. Moreover, although the mTsho Padma 'chams is very small and involves few monks relative to larger monasteries (such as the Tashi Jong monastery), it was obvious that there would be a shortage of monks who could participate. Since the monastery is not large, a few monks in retreat meant that numbers of dancers were seriously reduced. En Chung decided to stop the practice group until Bla-ma dKon-mchog was consulted. On the twenty-fifth day of the month, Bla-ma dKon-mchog returned, and the following day, he decided that the 'chams should go ahead, even if there were less monks than would be ideal, and some of the "aspects" of Padma might not be able to dance. He solved the problem of the lack of a teacher [30] by asking one of the monks in retreat to come out for the practice session (until the eleventh day), to give the monks instruction in the last few days before the 'chams. On the evening of the twenty-sixth day, the usual group with the addition of another young bKa'-rgyud-pa monk who had expressed interest in the dancing, began the evening practices again.

On the third day of the first month, Bla-ma dKon-mchog presided over the evening practice, sitting at the side and timing the steps by playing the cymbals. The group consisted of the usual members, the extra bKa'-rgyud-pa monk, and dKon-mchog 'Od-zer. dKon-mchog 'Od-zer was a pilgrim monk who arrived on the Tibetan New Year's day. From farming people in mNga'-ris, he had entered a rNying-ma-pa monastery as a youth in Tibet. In exile, he had joined a very small rNying-ma-pa monastery in Kinnaur. He had visited Rewalsar to learn and participate in the 'chams three years previously, and he had

come for the first month practice session to take part in the dances again. He was then intending to visit relatives in other parts of Himachal Pradesh, before returning to his monastery. With the shortage of monks who could participate, he was clearly being made particularly welcome by the other monks. The monks went through the movements of all the four types of Black Hat dance (REN.3.2; also, see on, 5.2.3.2.2). Thub-bstan was attending, but he kept dropping out during the dance sequences. This was the last practice he went to. In the course of the practice, there was also some discussion as to who would dance which aspect of Padma. No final decisions were made on this.

On the fourth day, the monk bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal came out of retreat. He joined in with the preparations for the practice session, as well as fulfilling his role as 'chams teacher. rNam-rgyal (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.5.2) had learnt 'chams from Si-tu Rin-po-che, one of the foremost bKa'-rgyud-pa sprul-sku, in 1978. At that time, he had learnt the dance of Nyi-ma 'Od-zer (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2). Since then, he had participated in the dancing at Rewalsar, and had performed the dance of Śākya Seng-ge, after instruction from Padma sKal-bzang. He obviously had a flair for the dancing, and had picked up the other dances. On the evening of the fourth day, there was another practice under the supervision of Bla-ma dKon-mchog, this time with rNam-rgyal demonstrating the dances. As well as the usual group, a few other bKa'-rgyud-pa monks came, although none of them decided to persist with learning the dances in the short period available. The monks began by going through the Black Hat dances, and then rNam-rgyal showed them the basic steps for the dance of the "Ging" (see on, 5.2.3.3), and they practised these. Finally, he demonstrated some of the dances of aspects of Padma.

On the fifth day, due to heavy rain, the practice took place in the guest-house corridor. From this day, the group consisted of the same regulars: rNam-rgyal, En Chung, Ngag-dbang Byams-pa, Me me Tshe-ldan, bSod-nams, dKon-mchog 'Od-zer, and the two young bKa'-rgyud-pa monks. Again, they practised the Ging 'chams at length, and then went over the Black Hat dances.

Throughout the morning of the sixth day, when the other monks were performing the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" morning practice, bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal and dKon-mchog 'Od-zer were in the upper storey of the temple [31], mending the costumes for use in the 'chams. These costumes are stored from one year to the next in one of the small rooms in the upper storey, and when the practice session is beginning, they are checked, and any repairs necessary are done.

On the evening of the sixth day, again rain prevented the practice taking place in the courtyard, so it was held in the upper storey of the temple, where there was more room for manoeuvring than in the guest-house, and easy access to the pole drums used in the Ging 'chams. The drums were brought out for the first time. The monks also spent some time going over the "gSer-skyems" dance, which they had not previously practised as thoroughly as the other Black Hat dances. Although the dance does not involve a complex sequence of steps, it consists of whirling around, first on one leg and then on the other, at different speeds. To perfect the timing and balance required some practice. bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal also spent some while going through the steps of the dance of Nyi-ma 'Od-zer with bSod-nams and the young bKa'-rgyud-pa monk; he was trying to decide which of them would be most suited to perform the dance of Nyi-ma 'Od-zer, and which should perform the dance of Padma 'Byung-gnas (O-rgyan rDo-rje 'Chang - see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). This decision was not finally made until the eighth day, by which time both of them were familiar with both dances.

The practices continued on the next two evenings, and all the roles were allocated so that a full rehearsal of the dances could be held on the evening of the ninth day. By the fourth day, it was decided that bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal and En Chung had best perform the difficult dances of the wrathful aspects, rDo-rje Gro-lod and Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs respectively. There was a question mark over the dance of Padmasambhava, the performance of which had previously been perfected by the dbu-mdzad Tshul-khrims rNam-dag, and the dance was usually done by him. By the ninth day, he had recovered enough to

dance, so he simply came to the final rehearsal. dKon-mchog 'Od-zer was to perform the dance of Padma rGyal-po; bSod-nams, Padma 'Byung-gnas, while the young bKa'-rgyud-pa monk would do the dance of Nyi-ma 'Od-zer. There would be no dance of the other two aspects (Śākya Seng-ge and Blo-ldan mChog-sred); they would appear (two monks from the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery wearing the costumes) but they would not dance. A further two young bKa'-rgyud-pa monks were also called upon to take the parts of the consorts, Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal and Mandāravā. The central figure of Padma, or Guru Rin-po-che, was to be taken by Bla-ma Kun-bzang (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2). It is vital that the central figure of the Guru should be an advanced meditation practitioner who can maintain awareness of himself as the Guru Padma, since he is the central focus of the maṇḍala, and must be felt by observers to actually embody the presence of Padma. Bla-ma Kun-bzang had been especially requested to play this role by Bla-ma dKon-mchog on behalf of the monastery. He did not attend the rehearsal, which was meant as a final practice of the dances rather than a full performance of the manifestation of the Guru.

Throughout the ninth day, more pilgrims were arriving. Despite the number of people in Rewalsar, very few came to the evening rehearsal in the courtyard. This might have been partly because it was raining, and the new arrivals preferred to sit indoors where they could eat, drink barley beer and talk, but also because the purpose of watching 'chams is less to observe dancing than to receive the Guru's adhiṣṭhāna. For a spectator, there is little point in simply watching the dance practices. Some onlookers gathered under shelter in front of the temple, but most of them only stayed for a few minutes. The dancers prepared in the temple while the monks who were to play the musical instruments arranged their places on the guest-house veranda. The slob-dpon, Bla-ma dKon-mchog, had the texts ("Bla-sgrub Las-byang" and "Gro-lod sMad-las") in front of him; Padma sKal-bzang, with the cymbals, was to play the dbu-mdzad's role, and Chos-'phel and Thub-bstan had the horns to play as usual. Since Me me Tshe-ldan was to dance in the Black Hat 'chams, a monk called Tshe-ring, the brother-in-law of a well-known sngags-pa, sprul-sku Ye-shes

rDo-rje Rin-po-che of Dharamsala, who was visiting, was requested to play the pole drum. Led by bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal, the monks who were to perform the Black Hat dances, came out from the temple and began the dances moving in file in a clockwise circle around the courtyard. Those participating were rNam-rgyal, Tshul-khrims rNam-dag, Ngag-dbang Byams-pa, bSod-nams, the young bKa'-rgyud-pa monk, dKon-mchog 'Od-zer, Me me Tshe-ldan, the second bKa'-rgyud-pa monk, and En Chung taking up the rear. They all carried a phur-bu and bhāṇḍa, and were using a kha-btags tied at the back of the waist to keep their robes in place, but they were not wearing any of the rest of the costume. After rNam-rgyal had completed one full circuit of the courtyard performing the "Lam-sgron" dance (see on, 5.2.3.2.2), all the monks began the second dance, the "Drag-'chams". After another circle performing this dance, the monks stopped and the cymbals and drums were played. Then the "gSer-skyems" offering dance was done; here, without the actual offering goblets etc., but with the monks still simply carrying phur-bus and bhāṇḍas. The offering verses were recited by Bla-ma dKon-mchog, Padma sKal-bzang and Tshe-ring, in a slow chant. This dance ended with a crescendo of the music of cymbals and horns, and the fourth dance, "Log-'chams", began. Two circuits of the courtyard were made for this fast moving dance, and as the second circle was completed, rNam-rgyal, followed by the other monks, danced back into the temple, the beat and speed of the dance gradually being increased as each monk danced back inside.

Next, the dance of the Ging was practised, the participants being exactly the same as for the Black Hat dances with the exception of Tshul-khrims rNam-dag who did not take part. Eight monks are required for the Ging dance, so he was not needed to make up numbers, and since the dance is very boisterous, it would probably not have helped his back condition. The dancers came out of the temple in two groups of four, circling the courtyard in different directions, doing a fast running and clapping dance. In the dances the following day, the Ging play drums, so the clapping substitutes for the drum beats in the rehearsal. They then formed two rows facing each other, and whirling around, they

changed places and continued dancing and clapping in their two rows. Gradually, the rows formed into one circle, and danced around, first in one direction, and then in the other. Finally, they ran back into the temple in one line. The cymbals were played throughout the dance, this time by the visiting mkhan-po (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.4) who had just arrived, and who took over as the dbu-mdzad for the remaining dances. As the monks filed back into the temple, the cymbals were crashed, and then they were joined by the horns.

Then the dances of the Guru's aspects were performed. First, bSod-nams did the dance of Padma 'Byung-gnas; then Tshul-khrims rNam-dag performed the dance of Padmasambhava; and this was followed by the dance of Padma rGyal-po performed by dKon-mchog 'Od-zer and En Chung dancing in unison. Presumably, dKon-mchog 'Od-zer felt the need of En Chung's accompaniment for the practice of the complete dance, in case he forgot any steps, although, in fact, he danced without any hesitation. Next, the young bKa'-rygud-pa monk performed the dance of Nyi-ma 'Od-zer, and finally, bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal and En Chung did two separate dances together as the two wrathful aspects. As the dances were done, the monks on the veranda chanted the appropriate Praises to each aspect.

5.2.3 The Tenth Day 'Chams

On the tenth day, the morning practice in the temple began at 3.30 a.m. The practice consisted not only of the usual sections of "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" performed in the morning, but also the "Following Activities" sections, the "Tshogs" offering, and so on, usually done in the afternoon. Thus, before the 'chams, the whole "Las-byang" practice had been performed as a basis. It was completed at about 8.15 a.m. at which time the monks had a break. During this interval in the formal practice, many of the pilgrims came into the temple to do prostrations and to make offerings. En Chung, as the gnyer-ba, remained in the temple, distributing the kha-btags to pilgrims to offer to Guru Rin-po-che. The 'chams was supposed to begin at about 9 a.m., but since it was raining heavily, it was postponed. The monks, nuns and lay practitioners who were attending the practice session returned to the

temple and did more Vajra Guru mantra recitations. In spite of the rain, the pilgrims and other Rewalsar Tibetans were starting to gather around the courtyard. With several hundred people spectating, space was scarce in the small monastery complex, although most people found a suitable vantage point, with the upper corridor of the guest-house and the balcony of the monk's house lined with spectators, as well as the area around the courtyard. There were some Indian spectators, but not proportionally as many as there had been on the twelfth month twenty-ninth day ritual. This was probably because the "Expelling" ritual had taken place on an Indian public holiday, so that a number of visitors had come from Mandi for the day. Most of the audience were Buddhist hill people, including a large group from the villages which administer the financial affairs of the monastery [32], and Tibetan refugees. Some of the refugees were on pilgrimage from settlements in Southern India; some were traders based at Dharamsala who were combining business and pilgrimage. Most of the Rewalsar Tibetans, including those from the "ri-khrod" community, were present, and there were also about a dozen western Buddhists.

Shortly before 11 a.m. the rain seemed to be easing, and the costumes were brought down from the upper storey of the temple. Most of the costumes for all the dances were brought down at this stage, although initially, of course, only the Black Hat costumes were required. The symbolism of the Black Hat costume is dealt with below (5.2.3.2.1).

Although all the suits were identical in their component parts, there was some colour variation in the dominant colour of the brocade of the robes and in the adornments: e.g. the "hooded snakes" and the fan-like adornments of the "ging-mgo" were of different colours on some of the Black Hats [33]. The monks began to don their costumes over their robes, first tying white scarves around the waists of their robes, as they had for the ninth day rehearsal, to keep them in place. The practitioners who were neither dancing nor playing instruments, left the temple and found themselves places in the crowd. Chos-'phel, En Chung, and some lay people started to prepare the arena. On the side of the courtyard to the left of the temple, they laid out seating for the Guru's aspects: a table was covered with

a cloth, onto which a chair, with a mat on it, was placed. This chair was then covered with material, making a "throne" for the central figure of Padma. Two stools - for the Guru's consorts - were then placed either side of the table, and then two long benches were put to each side, for all the aspects. Rolled up Tibetan mats were put on these. Opposite, on the guest-house veranda, benches and low tables were put out for the slob-dpon, mkhan-po, and the monks playing the musical instruments.

5.2.3.1 The "Jokers"

While the monks were still preparing themselves, the 'chams began with the entrance of a "joker" ("*a-tsa-ra*"). Another young bKa'-rgyud-pa monk took this role. His costume consisted of a white face mask with a foolish grin, an off-white gown with red flame-like designs and a black border, hanging untidily over his dishevelled robes. A slightly dirty cloth hung from his head down his back (Photo no.50). As all the participants in the 'chams, he remained silent. He wandered around the courtyard, miming with clumsy gestures. He pretended to be fascinated and terrified by a dog which was sitting in the arena, approaching, and running away from it. He imitated people walking across the courtyard, and then went up to people in the crowd with his hands out, as though to beg. Meanwhile, an Indian sweeper swept the puddles of rainwater which had been collecting, off the dancing area. Bla-ma dKon-mchog came out from the temple and took up his place on the right-hand-side. A lay Tibetan man then came up to the joker with a stick and demonstrated how to sharpen it. The joker grabbed the stick and began hitting people with it. When the layman returned with a longer stick, the "*a-tsa-ra*" took that instead. Then he was joined by a second joker wearing the same costume, but with a contrasting mask: instead of a foolish grin, the face was covered with an exaggerated miserable expression. This second "*a-tsa-ra*", also a monk from the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery, had a long stick as well. Part of their role during the course of the 'chams is to ensure that people do not come out too far forward into the courtyard and obstruct the dancing, so they later used the sticks to threaten those who were encroaching on the dance arena, who then moved back. This was

particularly necessary during the breaks between dances when people began to push forward, forgetting the amount of space the dancers would need. As the second dbu-mdzad, Padma sKal-bzang, walked out to take his place in the Head Monk's seat beside Bla-ma dKon-mchog, the first joker crept up behind him and hit him on the head with his stick. By the time Padma sKal-bzang had slowly and good-naturely turned around, the joker had moved away. Laymen then came out and presented white scarves (kha-btags) to the jokers (as though they were bla-mas deserving respect), and accepting them, they tied them to the end of their sticks (an odd way to treat a ceremonial scarf). The first joker began to ridicule the second and they started a mock fight.

The jokers remained in the courtyard throughout the 'chams, doing little when the dances were performed, and then becoming the focus of attention between dances, when they continued their pranks, imitating the dancers or disputing with each other. Thus, they entertained the crowd, as well as keeping the dance area free of people.

The word, "a-tsa-ra", used for the jokers, is a corruption of the Sanskrit, "ācārya", a master of the teaching ("slob-dpon" in Tibetan). "Ācārya" or "slob-dpon" is, of course, used of Padma, and all the great meditation masters, as well as being used in a looser sense, to apply to the master of the monastic ritual, who preferably should be an advanced meditator, but who is nonetheless beneath the "sprul-sku" and the "mkhan-po" in the monastic ranking system. In both senses, "ācārya" implies an ideal or almost ideal Buddhist practitioner, who is competent in meditation and teaching. The term, "a-tsa-ra", on the other hand, is used, for example in the rNam-thar literature, to apply to supposed Indian tantric yogins, who used the excuse of their practice and status to do exactly as they pleased. Thus, it means a degenerate practitioner or someone who outwardly appears to be a tantric master, but is inwardly a fraud. Anthropological literature abounds in examples of ritual inversions of social norms, the allowing of socially forbidden actions, or status reversal, which, because performed in a joking or ludicrous way, in fact reinforces the accepted behaviour. The young monk - as a "joker" - hitting the Head Monk with a stick, could be seen as illus-

trating this. The main point in relation to the "a-tsa-ra" role is that in demonstrating the opposite of an ideal practitioner, he simply exaggerates the *actual* behaviour of practitioners who fall short of the ideal. In a previous year's 'chams, an observer informed me, the joker laughed at Guru Rin-po-che behind his back, and then froze in fear when the Guru turned around. This can be seen to demonstrate the way in which people may be eager to practice the Vajrayāna to enhance their own sense of importance (which amounts to slandering it), and they are then shocked when the practice actually begins to work. The joker's behaviour - imitating the Black Hat dancers (see on, 5.2.3.2.2), the Guru and the deities, but not, in fact, identifying with them - forces Buddhist observers to recognise their own distortions of the Path, not by directly confronting them but by making them laugh at themselves. To pretend to be a practitioner and to accept the support of others to do so (the "atsara's" mock "begging" could be seen to correspond to monks' "begging") further emphasises the point [34].

On a more inner level, Lawrence Epstein [35] suggests that an "a-tsa-ra" might be seen as truly representing an "ācārya". From an ultimate viewpoint, there should be no attachment to any particular behaviour or form of practice. The great realised Buddhist teachers - such as Padma himself - acted spontaneously in expressing the presence of Enlightenment, and often broke all the norms of how a teacher should act. In the rNam-thar of Yeshe mTsho-rgyal, chief consort of Padma, mTsho-rgyal is sent by the Guru to find a certain young man who has exceptional qualities and who she must make her consort to perfect the particular practice on which she has received instruction [36]. Known as "A-tsa-ra gSal-le" - "A-tsa-ra Clarity" - he is a servant and looked upon as being both of low status and a vagrant Indian yogi. Moreover, in this work, Padma 'Byung-gnas himself is maligned as being an "a-tsa-ra" [37]. Thus, the Tibetan "a-tsa-ra" can be seen to represent both a humorous portrayal of ordinary misguided practice and a serious portrayal of the Vajrayāna ideal [38]. The ambiguity is possible because in Buddhist thinking, an action cannot be judged in itself but only by the motivation and understanding behind it. In the

'chams here, the "a-tsa-ras" with their ludicrous behaviour, could be seen as manifestations of the Enlightened Mind, just as the formal dancers, but their manifestation would be that of the ultimate level of wisdom. Nonetheless, such an interpretation is only really applicable in this case in so far as the observer might be struck by this realisation in a meditative non-discriminatory state of mind engendered by watching the 'chams with faith. Unlike the use of the term "a-tsa-ra" in the mTsho-rgyal rNam-thar where it is explicit that it may be applied to true yogins, this level of interpretation was not suggested to me by any Tibetan at Rewalsar. Moreover, those who played the parts of the "a-tsa-ra" were clearly ordinary young monks whose meditation practice was not advanced. They were not trained as the formal 'chams dancers, and their improvisations were much more likely to have stemmed from the ordinary discursive mind rather than the spontaneous working of the Enlightened Mind!

The monks who were to be musically accompanying the 'chams positioned themselves as they had for the ninth day practice. Bla-ma dKon-mchog, as the slob-dpon, had his bell and ḍamaru before him, as well as the text, a vase with peacock feathers and a silver sman-rak vessel. Padma sKal-bzang had the cymbals, as previously, for the Black Hat dances, after which the mkhan-po took over. Tshe-ring, from Dharamsala, was seated before the pole drum, and Chos-'phel and Thub-bstan had the long horns. They sat in order with the mkhan-po first and Bla-ma dKon-mchog next, and so on. The ordering of seats was, in fact, the same as in the temple, except that they were positioned from right to left (from the observer's viewpoint), rather than from left to right as usual (Photo no.51).

5.2.3.2 The Black Hat 'Chams

5.2.3.2.1 The "Black Hat" ("Zhva nag") Costume

The costume is traditionally said to derive from that worn by the ancient Bon-po, although Nebesky-Wojkowitz argues that a comparison between it and the attire once worn by Bon Priests shows no striking similarity [39]. The important point is the association of the most sophisticated indigenous Tibetan powers with Vajrayāna ritual activity, which

encompasses and yet transforms those powers. In the story of dPal gyi rDo-rje (Appendix 2, Section A2.1.1.2), it is the Buddhist practitioner who, through wearing the black Bon-po garment, and performing the ritual dance, is able to obtain the opportunity for destroying the basis of the Bon control of Tibet. The costume consists, firstly, of a robe reaching to the ankles, with long wide sleeves ("phod-ka"), a small poncho-shaped brocade garment on top, and high boots. Also necessary is a long black apron, decorated with an embroidery of a three-eyed wrathful face and a border of skulls and vajras, expressing the presence of the Vajrayāna deity concerned, his wrathful activity, and the identification between the deity and Vajra Master who wears the costume [40]. The apron has five coloured tassels at the bottom; the five colours of the five Buddha families. The dancer has black spots on his cheeks, presumably identified with the spots of blood which decorate the wrathful herukas in Tibetan iconography. Beneath the hat is worn a "wig" ("skra-brdzus"); in the Rewalsar case, this was a black headband with long black tassels hanging from it. In this way, a monk, as a "mantra practitioner" ("sngags-pa"), symbolically displays the long hair of a yogi. The hat itself is attached onto the head with a strap under the chin. The hat's Buddhist significance is discussed by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his 'Chams-yig text [41]. He calls it the "hat of the world's common custom" and explains that its shape is a representation of the worldly realms. The main cupola is the central mountain (Meru), ornamented with the sun and moon, and threads of the five different colours mark out the eight major and the four minor continents. The silk trailer hanging from the back of the hat represents the "tree of paradise" in the god realm. The various shapes above the main cupola symbolise the elements (a triangle for fire, a square for earth etc.), in the same way as in the symbolism of the stūpa [42]. The elements also correspond to the five Buddhas and their families, and "water", "air", "fire" and "earth" also represent the four karmas. Thus, to interpret the symbolism, it is necessary to understand the Buddhist correlations between psychological and natural forces which are integrated in the path of meditation. The text says that its "secret meaning" is that the symbols of the hat "seal the 'sky'" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz has 'heaven').

"Nam-mkha" means sky or space, and corresponds to the element "space", represented in Tibetan imagery by a seed or flame in the cakra on the crown of the head. Through the integration of the psychic forces - the bringing together of clarity and emptiness into the central "channel", this "cakra" is activated as the flame of Enlightenment. "Space" becomes the "Dharmadhātu"; the primordial awareness of All-Encompassing Space arises. Thus, the hat both represents Saṃsāra, and the means, through meditation, of its transformation into the display of Enlightenment, and it is therefore an appropriate attribute of the Vajra Master. Another explanation of the hat is that it demonstrates the "three worlds" (see Glossary), only in reverse order: the formless world where only the sense of mind is present is the fur-trimmed brim; the world of form of some of the higher god realms is the crown; while the ornaments and decorations above are the world of the senses, as experienced by some gods, people, animals and so on [43]. Although not entirely corresponding to the Fifth Dalai Lama's exposition of the cupola of the hat as Mount Meru (which rises in the world of the senses up to the world of form), the general principle is the same, that all the elements of Saṃsāra are used in the Path, having been "overturned" or transformed.

The section on the hat in the Fifth Dalai Lama's text is concluded by the lines, translated by Nebesky-Wojkowitz as follows:

"The main portion of the hat has the colour of the black 'bung-ba' stone or the 'stang zil' stone, which remained unchanged from the beginning of time. For the complete fulfilment of the 'four actions' (las bzhi), strings of changing colours are wound around the top of the hat, And furthermore, all kinds of objects possessing spiritual powers should adorn the hat." (p.117)

Although the text previously mentions, "gdengs-ka", "the hooded snakes", as a necessary adornment, it does not discuss its symbolic significance, nor does it discuss the peacock's feathers or the "ging-mgo", which also adorned the hat. It may be that the design of the hat has changed since the Fifth Dalai Lama's time, or that these features were included amongst the "objects possessing spiritual powers". However, in discussing an alternative hat which can be used, "the eye of the peacock's feather, having the roundish shape of a jewel ..." is included, and, "behind it stand up either five or three snake heads made of silk" (*ibid.*,

pp.116-119). In terms of the explanation in the "Garcham" booklet, the peacock feathers which adorn the top of the hat, and are the most striking visual adornment of the present day hat (see diagram, Portfolio, p.12), would represent the world of the senses. Presumably, this peacock feather imagery is related to the Vajrayāna symbolism of the peacock's colourful tail being dependent on the defiled foods it consumes (see Appendix 1, Section A.5). The snakes - as deadly creatures - are an appropriate wrathful image, and also there could again be the implication of Vajrayāna transmutation of the kleśas, for the snake is used in Buddhist teaching to represent hatred and aversion [44]. The skull which is between the heads of the two snakes, has two fan-like adornments, as depicted on the heads of "ging", who are wrathful attendants of Padmākara (see on, 5.2.3.3). It is called a "ging-mgo" - "ging head" - although it contrasts with the usual drawings of Padmākara's ging, which are not shown as having skull-like heads. Thus, while on one hand, the head may be thought of as that of a ging, it also carries the further Vajrayāna significance of an adornment of a skull - the mastery over life and death, which arises when all attachment to "self" is destroyed.

5.2.3.2.2 The Dances

A procession of bKa'-rgyud-pa monks led the Black Hat dancers into the courtyard. First, the horns carried by these monks were played from the temple, and the rNying-ma-pa monks on the right began to play their instruments. Then the procession began, led by a monk carrying a white flag topped with burning incense (compare REN.3; REN.3.2). He was followed by two monks with horns, the ends of which were held up by a boy, and behind them, the dbu-mdzad and mchod-dpon of the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery, both playing trumpets. They all wore the extra golden coloured cloths over their best monastic robes, and the special hats used in the rituals mentioned before (5.1.5.1). The elements of this procession correspond to the slightly different description and illustrations given by Tucci [45] of items used on the occasion of great monastic ceremonies. Tucci notes that incense is carried ahead, not just on festive occasions, but also when a great bla-ma is

invited. Obviously, the contexts are not unrelated; in the 'chams, the procession leads on the Black Hat dancers and aspects of Padma - symbolically equivalent to great bla-mas. With all the instruments playing, the procession (Photo no.52) halted before the spectators in front of the butter lamp house. Bla-ma Kun-bzang, later to be the central figure of the Guru, came out of the temple, and sat to observe the Black Hat dances, on one of the benches to the left of the courtyard, which were to be used as seats for the aspects.

After a couple of minutes of the continuous playing of instruments, bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal in the full Black Hat costume, emerged from the temple, and began an introductory dance. The monks in the procession ahead stopped playing their instruments, and to the music of the horns, and the beat of the cymbals played by the dbu-mdzad, the four Black Hat dances began.

There are many types of Black Hat dance, but at Rewalsar, a sequence of four is performed on both the tenth day, and on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month (see REN.3.2). The first is called "Lam-sgron", "Lighting the Path".

The nine Black Hat monks filed out from the temple dancing, in the same order as they had danced on the previous evening's practice, except that dKon-mchog 'Od-zer danced in fourth rather than sixth place. The only significance to the order seemed to be that rNam-rgyal who had been teaching the dancers, followed by the respected dance teacher, Tshul-khrims rNam-dag, were leading, and the other experienced dancer, En Chung, was taking up the rear. Since the Black Hat dancers do not simply represent Vajrayāna masters, but are identified with the "khro-bo bcu" - "the ten wrathful ones" - of the Padma family (see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.3.5), ideally, there should be ten dancers, but there were not enough monks for this. One interesting point of comparison is that at the Black Hat dance of the wrathful yi-dam, rDo-rje Phur-pa, at Tashi Jong (on the ninth day of the second month), where the thirteen dancers represent deities of the Phur-pa maṇḍala, the lead dancer should dance well, but it is the second dancer in the sequence who is the Vajra Master and who should be a fully accomplished Master of the Phur-pa practice

[46]. At Rewalsar, the advanced meditation practitioner, Tshul-khrims rNam-dag, took second place, while the skilled dancer, rNam-rgyal, led.

As the dancers circled around the courtyard in a clockwise direction, the procession of monks carrying instruments walked ahead. The "Lam-sgron" dance might more appropriately be described as a graceful walk; with slow steps, the monks moved forward, and every few steps, they turned and made a "mudrā" with the phur-bu they held in their right hands, and bhāṇḍa they held in their left hands. They continued forward, and after the next few steps, turned in the opposite direction, made a mudrā, and so on (Photo no.53).

This dance demonstrates the "peaceful" ("zhi-ba") nature of the deity, and his performance of the "activity" ("karma") of "Pacifying" the emotional defilements.

The Black Hat Vajrayāna practitioners should be established in meditative equanimity, and their movements are slow and peaceful. The phur-bu and bhāṇḍa, carried throughout the Black Hat dances, correspond to the rdo-rje and bell, as symbols of "upāya" and "prajñā". The phur-bu is associated with the piercing quality of clarity ("*gsal-ba*"), while the bhāṇḍa represents the expanse of the Dharmadhātu. In uniting them, the monks demonstrate the destruction of Ignorance. The sexual imagery (the phur-bu displaying phallic potency and the bhāṇḍa, the "womb" from which springs all the Buddhas) is explicit in Tibetan thinking and adds to the forcefulness of the symbolism. The transmuted passions are, thus, employed to overcome the emotional defilements.

"Lam-sgron" led into the "Drag-'chams" - "The Ritual Dance of Wrath" - after one circuit of the courtyard had been made. Still to the instrumental accompaniments of horns and cymbals, the Black Hat dancers began this faster dance which involves hopping and whirling around (Photo no.54). This dance is a contrast to the first, displaying the transformation of the deity's peaceful nature into his wrathful aspect, with its "activity" of "Destroying", which is necessary to overcome persistent negativities.

Together, the two dances establish the presence of the Enlightened Mind.

The following "gSer-skyems" offering constitutes the foundation for the arising of Padma and his retinue. A "gSer-skyems" - "golden drink" offering - is an offering often made in the beginning stages of a ritual. Frequently made to dharmapālas, particularly local earth deities, it provides a basis for the ritual, by satisfying the local powers who in return, add their forces to the ritual activity. In this case, the "golden drink" offering is to the deities of the Padma maṇḍala - not, of course, as dharmapālas [47], but for the purpose of establishing the foundation for the ritual manifestation of Padma, by conferring their powers upon the practitioners. On an outer level, the dance can be considered to be a simple invitation to Padma to come to the place of the practice. The section of text recited for the offering is the same as that used in the Gro-lod Expelling ritual: Gro-lod sMad-las, p.3, line 5 - p.3b, line 3 (REN.2.3.2; REN.3.2). Although this may seem surprising in so far as rDo-rje Gro-lod is not the focus of the tenth day practice, the "gSer-skyems" section is directed generally to the "Vidyādharas, ... Root and lineage Bla-mas; Sugatas, and peaceful and wrathful deities of the maṇḍala ... powerful and wrathful deities of the Padma family". The offering is also made to the dharmapālas, so that the local forces and general classes of protectors also add their "enormous power" ("mthu-dpung") [48] to the practice. The "power" is generated in the dancers through their meditating on the "offering", which is a giving up of any remaining egocentricity to Enlightenment and its activities. The dancers stopped after the "Drag-'chams", while two bKa'-rgyud-pa monks came into the courtyard to act as assistant mchod-dpon (the usual mchod-dpon and his assistant were dancing). They each carried a tray, one of which had the goblets ("phud-skong") [49] and the other of which had a kettle of black tea and a dish of rice grains. They distributed goblets to all the Black Hat dancers in turn, who scooped up some rice from the dish, after which the monk with the kettle poured some black tea into the goblet. The grain and black tea represent the offerings delighting the senses, which are transformed into amṛta. The dancers held the goblets in their right hands and their phur-bus and bhāṇḍas together in their left hands.

The monks with the musical instruments recited the textual instruction to meditate on the offering becoming inexhaustible substances delighting the senses, followed by the syllables of consecration, "OM AH HUM". Then the dbu-mdzad began to play the cymbals, and he was joined by the horns and drum. The monks who had led the procession also played their instruments. The dance then began, to the musical accompaniment of the cymbals and the drum. The monks recited the verses of offering (REN.2.3.2), very slowly with a drum beat and the cymbals played on each or every second syllable. On the last line of each verse, the cymbals were crashed and joined by the horns and drums, which were played for about half a minute. The dance continued for a while with the cymbals and drum keeping the beat. To make the offering, the dancer holds the goblet in the right hand, and as he whirls around, the offering substances drop out in all directions. First each dancer performs fairly swift revolutions, on one leg and then on the other, and then the whirling movements gradually become slower for a while. Finally, they speed up, pause, and then begin again (Photo no.55). During the course of the dance, the goblets were refilled once, and then at the end, they were collected up, and the Black Hat dancers again took their phur-bus in their right hands for the final Black Hat dance.

The dancers proceeded quite rapidly around the courtyard for the fourth dance; the movements are not in any way boisterous, but most of the steps lead straight around the arena. The whole dance is performed to the beat of four, played on the cymbals, accompanied by the horns. The basic steps are three sideways steps to the left, with the right leg lifted to the left on the fourth count, and then after swirling around, three sideways steps to the right, with the left leg lifted to the right on the fourth count. They swirl around again and repeat the sideways steps to the left, and then do four hops forward to the same beat. Finally, they lift up and sway their arms together across the front of their bodies. With the fourth movement, they turn and begin the sequence again, with some minor variations each time (Photo no.56). As the dancers completed the circuit around the courtyard, one dancer returned to the temple after each sequence of movements. The music and the

speed of the movements gradually quickened as the last few dancers moved back to the temple. As the last dancer performed the final series of movements, the first joker made a gesture as though to shoo him away, and began to imitate him in a clumsy fashion. He continued to do this for a while after the dance had finished.

The significance of this fourth Black Hat dance, called, "Log-'chams", "Dance of Return", was explained to me as simply representing the "return" to the temple. Certainly, the dance is a return to the temple, or from the meditation perspective, a return to the Dharmadhātu sphere. An alternative or additional interpretation of the name as the dance of "turning around", implying reversal or inversion of Saṃsāra (see REN.3.2.2), is interesting to consider here, since from my observation of the steps (above), it is clear that the dance involves turning in one direction, dancing, and then turning around and dancing in the other direction. It would certainly make sense that this final Black Hat dance should demonstrate the Vajrayāna activity of "reversing" the worldly dances of the emotions. The first three dances establish the presence of Enlightenment and generate the power of its activities. The fourth dance, both completes the sequence of these foundation dances, and might also be preparatory in another sense, that is, in symbolically transforming experience, and in particular in the context of 'chams, perception. All the dances use the sense of perception to invert the normal working of the ordinary confused mind; whereas usually, sight is used to perceive objects of desire, hatred or indifference, here, it is used to engender an experience - if only a glimpse - of the display of the Enlightened Mind as the deities of the maṇḍala.

5.2.3.3 The Ging 'Chams

After the Black Hat dances, there was a break of about half an hour during which the dancers changed their costumes in the temple. As in the practice, all but Tshul-khrims rNam-dag also performed the dance of the eight Ging. I was informed that the dance could be performed with eight or sixteen dancers; again, although sixteen is the ideal number, it is usually performed with eight at Rewalsar, since they do not have a large number of

monks. Four [50] of the Ging are "*dpa'-bo*" - "Male Courageous Ones" or "*vīra*", roughly equivalent to "*dākas*" - and four are "*dpa'-mo*" - "Female Courageous Ones" or "*virā*", roughly equivalent to "*ḍākinīs*" - so that the group has both male and female members of Guru Rin-po-che's retinue. I was, however, told by one informant [51], that the two groups in which the Ging appear, do not represent the male/female division, but that between the "*sa-ging*" ("Ging of the earth") and the "*nam-ging*" ("Ging of the skies") [52]. Apparently, three years previously, when elaborate dances were done, this division had been symbolically expressed by the "*nam-ging*" dancing down from the top of the temple, and the "*sa-ging*" dancing from the other side of the courtyard. Perhaps the idea is that the ging are effective in their activities throughout the world, coming from the regions above and below and meeting together as they do in the dance. These two categories are not mentioned in the "*Bla-sgrub Las-byang*" text, where the information on the Ging only relates to the specific context of their place in the maṇḍala. In "*The Invitation*", they are simply referred to as the, "*Four Ging who subdue Māra*" (p.7, line 5), i.e. Ging of the four directions of the maṇḍala. The most important classification of the Ging is according to their positions in the maṇḍala [53]: two, one male and one female come from each of the major directions. This is expressed in the 'chams through the colours of the masks: two are blue (east), two are yellow (south), two red (west), and two green (north). As members of Padma's retinue, they are ultimately his manifestation, and an expression of his Enlightened activities. The Tibetans specifically refer to these Ging who appear in the maṇḍala and in the 'chams, as "*Ging-chen*", literally, "*Great Ging*", implying that they are projections of the Enlightened Mind, and distinguishing them from minor "ging" who are a group of worldly deities [54]. The role of the Ging in the 'chams, as those who "subdue Māra" [55], is to clear away any obstacles to clarity in the minds of the observers so that they will be receptive to the true nature of the manifestations of the Guru, when they arise. On an outer level, they are said to be the envoys of Padma, sent to convey his acceptance of the invitation made through the Black Hat dances, and to announce his imminent arrival.

The masks worn by the Ging are those of fierce deities - each with a wrathful expression, fangs, two huge round eyes and the third eye of primordial awareness on the forehead. Like the so-called "ging-mgo" ("head of ging") which ornament the Black Hat (see back, 5.2.3.2.1), and the highest ranking protective skeleton dancers - the "*dur bdag*", "Masters of the Cemetery" - who appear in other 'chams [56], they have fan-like adornments on either side of the head. These are rainbow-coloured: purple, red, yellow, green and blue. Above the mask is attached a triangular flag, coloured the same as the mask, except in the case of the two eastern Ging who have blue masks and white flags. Both blue and white can represent the eastern direction. Many Tibetan protective deities hold aloft flags or banners; this imagery may date back to pre-Buddhist deities of war, and in the Buddhist context, they become the flags of "victory" of the Dharma [57]. Each Ging carries a pole drum in the left hand, and a drumstick in the right. They have bare legs and feet, white cloths wrapped around their waists, on top of which mock tiger and leopard skins are attached (familiar adornments of wrathful Buddhist deities, and of yogins: the "male" Ging wear the "tiger skins" and the "females" wear the "leopard skins"). Also, adornments consisting of long thin strips of overlapping pieces of cloth, like the adornments attached to *damarus*, hang from around their waists. Above the waist, over sleeveless shirts, they wear golden and pink brocade like small ponchos. From the back of the top of the mask, a long head-dress is attached and hangs down the back. This is made up of long thin scarves, each of which is one of the five colours (red, yellow, green, blue, white). Over the upper part of the head-dress is also fixed a piece of green and yellow brocade cloth.

As in the rehearsal, the mkhan-po, a talented cymbal player, took over the cymbal playing for the "Ging 'Chams". Padma sKal-bzang, the second dbu-mdzad, who had performed the twelfth month 'chams, and who had acted as dbu-mdzad for the Black Hat dances, walked around the arena during the course of the Ging dance. He appeared to be overseeing the positions of the dancers. Although not involved in teaching the dancing on this occasion due to ill-health, he had previously done so, and in the "Ging 'Chams", his

role was presumably that of "*Chams-dpon*".

The dance followed the same pattern as that in the rehearsal (see back, 5.2.2), with the dancers rushing out in their two groups, beating their drums and running in different directions around the courtyard. This initial part of the dance is called, "*gsum-skor*", "three circumambulations", since both groups go around three times. The cymbals were played quickly and continuously throughout the whole dance, being joined by the horns only at the beginning and at the end as the dancers returned to the temple. A short praise to the Ging as the assembly of Courageous Ones and *ḍākinīs* surrounding the *yi-dam*, was recited from "*Bla-sgrub Las-byang*":

- p.12b, line 4 "HRIḤ The unobstructed appearance of the form
of Great Compassion [58];%
I prostrate to and praise
the powerful form of Hayagrīva!%
line 5 Vast openness of the unborn, unceasing,
completely pure Dharmadhātu;%
I prostrate to and praise the yum,
Vajravārāhī!%
Out of the sphere of the sky [59]
of their unborn non-duality,%
Manifestations arise to display
unobstructed Compassion.%
line 6 I prostrate to and praise the assembly
of male Courageous Ones and *ḍākinīs*!%
I prostrate to and praise the assembly
of protectors and those bound under oath!%"

As in the rehearsal, the Ging formed into two facing rows: the eastern and southern Ging lined up in front of the guest-house veranda and the northern and western Ging were opposite them. They danced around in these positions, whirling, hopping, bending over and kneeling (Photos, no.s 57, 58 and 59). They changed places, continued dancing and then became one circle, dancing around in first one and then the other direction. This circling is called, "*dgu-skor*", "nine circumambulations", since nine revolutions must be made. Finally, to the cymbals and horns, the dancers ran back in line, into the temple.

5.2.3.4 *The Guru mTshan-brgyad 'Chams*

After the Ging 'Chams, there was a break of about an hour and a half; the dancers were able to rest and eat, but most of the spectators remained in their places so as not to

lose them. They were entertained by the Jokers. The benches to the left for the Guru's aspects were further prepared, covered with colourful Tibetan mats.

At about 3 p.m., the procession to lead on the Guru and his aspects, began. This time, Me me Tshe-ldan, who had earlier participated in the dances, led the procession carrying the white flag with incense, wearing his best robes, a hat with a yellow flange, and the high Tibetan boots worn by the Black Hat dancers. He was followed by one of the independent Rewalsar monks and three bKa'-rgyud-pa monks, wearing the extra golden coloured cloths and hats with flanges, and holding up "rgyal-mtshan", "victory banners". These "rgyal-mtshan" are like the one adorning the pole in the centre of the monastery's courtyard, and are used in ceremonial processions to mark the coming of a high bla-ma, here, the eight aspects. As these monks began to walk around the courtyard, horns sounded from the temple, and the other bKa'-rgyud-pa monks with the two long horns emerged (Photo no.60), followed as before, by the dbu-mdzad and mchod-dpon of the bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery playing the trumpets. Simultaneously, the monks to the right played their horns. The central form of Padma and his consorts and aspects came out from the temple. As they did so, the mkhan-po began to play the cymbals, and Tshe-ring, the pole-drum. Many of the Tibetan and Buddhist hill people spectating put the palms of their hands together in respect as the aspects walked past, and others held their two hands together in front of them (Photo no.61). In the middle of the file of aspects was Bla-ma Kun-bzang as the Guru, flanked by his two principal consorts: Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal and Mandāravā. Two young bKa'-rgyud-pa monks were taking these parts. Immediately behind the Guru, who was wearing the usual costume of the central Nirmāṇakāya form of Padma (see Chapter 4, 4.3.1; Photo no.62), another bKa'-rgyud-pa monk, wearing a hat with a flange, was holding up a large ceremonial parasol (called, "gdugs"), over the Guru's head, again, a sign of respect reserved only for Buddhas and high bla-mas. In front of the Guru, Śākya Seng-ge, Padma rGyal-po and Padmasambhava walked in file, and behind him, O-rgyan rDo-rje 'Chang (or Padma 'Byung-gnas - see Chapter 4, 4.3.2), Blo-ldan mChog-sred and Nyi-ma 'Od-zer took up

the rear. They did one circumambulation of the courtyard, while the two wrathful aspects, rDo-rje Gro-lod and Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs, danced, whirling around the courtyard. Then, the procession halted, the monks with the "rgyal-mtshan" and instruments standing in a line in front of the spectators by the butter-lamp house, and the Guru and his aspects seated themselves on the chair and benches. The two consorts stood at either side of the Guru. Once the other aspects were seated, the two wrathful aspects completed their dances, and took their places at the ends of the benches. Usually, I was told, Śāntarakṣita and Khri-srong lDe-brtsan (see Appendix 2, Section A2.1.1.1) would also appear, as the other main characters who made the rNying-ma-pa lineages possible (Śāntarakṣita through scholarship and wisdom, the king through providing the opportunity). Owing to the shortage of monks, they were not represented [60].

Then, two more figures came from the temple, and walked up to the central figure of the Guru to pay their respects. They were Indra and Brahma, the great Hindu deities who in Buddhist thinking, became the kings of the worldly gods (Tibetan, "lha"): those who inhabit the pinnacle of Saṃsāra, but who are still governed by it, and are not liberated. As positive deities, they became peaceful protectors of the Dharma. Indra, master of the class of "lha", carries a lute, representing the enjoyments of the god realm. Brahma, the creator god, with the power to create and dissolve the universe, has four heads. Both have brocade costumes. On behalf of all the forces of Saṃsāra, which they govern, they paid homage to the Guru (Photo no.63). From the observer's point of view, the aspects were seated in the following order:

- (1) Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs
- (2) Nyi-ma 'Od-zer
- (3) Blo-ldan mChog-sred
- (4) Padma 'Byung-gnas
- (5) Mandāravā

- (6) The GURU
- (7) Ye-shes mTsho-rGyal
- (8) Padmasambhava
- (9) Padma rGyal-po
- (10) Śākya Seng-ge
- (11) rDo-rje Gro-lod

Then, the monks began the chant of the "Praises" to the Guru and his aspects. They recited slowly with a cymbal and drum beat on each second syllable. As a general praise to the Guru, the first three verses from the, "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" section of "Praises" (text, p.11, line 6 - p.11b, line 4; see Chapter 4, 4.3.5) were followed by the verse in praise of each of the five Thod-phreng-rtals (text, p.12, line 5 - p.12b, line 1). With this, the horns joined the cymbals in a crescendo of music.

The dance of Padma 'Byung-gnas then began, to the accompaniment of the cymbals. bSod-nams, dressed in the costume of the aspect usually called, O-rgyan rDo-rje 'Chang, and here, simply, Padma 'Byung-gnas, rose from his seat, and began a slow dance with some whirling around. In his right hand, he held a rdo-rje and in his left, a bell; as he danced, he crossed over and uncrossed his arms several times, presumably demonstrating the inseparability of wisdom (the bell) and means (rdo-rje) (Photo no.64). With the cymbals continuing as accompaniment, the two sets of seven syllables praising Padma 'Byung-gnas (Padmākara) were recited very slowly:

p.12b, line 1 "HRIḤ Free from attachment,
 undefiled by any fault;%
 I praise the form of Padmākara!%"

This dance is called, "*mTsho kyi bzhad-pa'i stangs-stabs*", "Expression of the blossoming from the lake", and it is associated with the "birth" of Padmākara from the lotus in the land of O-rgyan (see Chapter 2, Section 2.1.3). This clearly illustrates the significance of the aspect, Padma 'Byung-gnas, who arises in the form of O-rgyan rDo-rje 'Chang, as being that of the expression of his primordial Buddha Nature. This is further emphasised by his

dancing first in the sequence (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2).

Once Padma 'Byung-gnas was seated again, Tshul-khrims rNam-dag rose to perform the dance of Padmasambhava (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). Wearing saffron robes and the hat of a realised scholar, he carried a skull-cup in his left hand. Throughout the dance, his right hand was in the teaching mudrā (Photo no.65). This dance was also slow and graceful; he lifted one leg straight out, and turned, and then slowly moved his leg down, lifted the other leg, and so on. The dance is called, "*Yon-tan gyi rba-rlabs gYo-ba'i stangs-stabs*", "Expression of moving the waves of Buddha qualities", here implying the qualities of knowledge and wisdom which he passed on in his teachings. With the cymbals still playing, the monks recited his praise:

p.12b, line 1 "The One who has fully perfected
 all Buddha qualities;%
line 2 I praise the form of Padmasambhava!%"

The next dance ought to have been that of Blo-ldan mChog-sred, but he did not dance on this occasion. This aspect is associated with the perfection of the intellectual capacity, through inner understanding (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). In accordance with the usual iconography, he wore royal garments; his face white, he had red earrings and a crown with the five jewels of the Buddha families. His outer robe was white and red; he held a ḍamaru in his right hand and a vase of red flowers in his left. The dance he would normally have performed is called, "*rMongs-pa'i mun-pa sel-ba'i stangs-stabs*", "Expression of clearing away the darkness of delusion". As he did not dance, the monks simply recited his praise:

p.12b, line 2 "The One who is undeluded regarding
 everything to be understood;%
 I praise the form of Blo-ldan mChog-sred!%"

Then, dKon-mchog 'Od-zer performed the dance of Padma rGyal-po (Photo no.66). The most striking feature of this dance, which is also slow and graceful, is that he held up and played the ḍamaru in his right hand during the dance. In his left hand, he held a mirror. Proclaiming the drum of the Dharma is imagery frequently used of powerful teachers. In keeping with the concept of the Guru as "King" (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2), his dance is called, "*Khams gsum dbang-sdud kyi stangs-stabs*", "Expression of bringing the three worlds

under his power". Still to the music of the cymbals, the monks chanted the appropriate praise:

p.12b,line 2 "The One who has brought
 the three worlds under his power;%
 I praise the form of Padma rGyal-po!%"

dKon-mchog 'Od-zer returned to his seat and the young bKa'-rgyud-pa monk began the dance of Nyi-ma 'Od-zer (Photo no.67). This dance, although slow, as the dances of the previous peaceful aspects, involved his whirling around on one leg, and many movements of his arms. In his right hand, he brandished the khaṭvāṅga associated with this aspect (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). His dance is called, "*Gro-ba 'dul-ba'i stangs-stabs*", "Expression of subduing all beings". This is self-explanatory given the previous comments. The praise to him was recited:

p.12b, line 2 "The One who removes the darkness of delusion,
 subduer of all beings;%
line 3 I praise the form of Nyi-ma 'Od-zer!%"

Next, the dance of Śākya Seng-ge should have been performed, but as in the case of Blo-ldan mChog-sred, the monks simply recited his praise:

p.12b, line 3 "The One who subdues the four Māras
 which lead beings astray;%
 I praise the form of Śākya Seng-ge!%"

The dance he usually performs is known as, "*bDud-phung 'joms-pa'i stangs-stabs*", "Expression of overcoming the host of Māra". The aspect of Śākya Seng-ge wore monk's robes, carried a begging bowl and appeared as the Tibetans portray Śākyamuni, with the one addition of a vajra in his right hand. Again, the imagery here - that of overcoming the Māras - has been discussed above (Chapter 4, 4.3.2).

Finally, the two wrathful aspects danced. First, En Chung, as Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs, performed the dance called, "*Srid gsum gYo-ba'i stangs-stabs*", "Expression of shaking the three worlds". This is associated with his overturning the world-view of the five hundred Tīrthikas (philosophers who indulge in speculative thought, and who, in particular, develop theories of eternity or annihilation: see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). The dance was a complex one, faster than the dances of the peaceful aspects, with whirling and hopping from one foot to the other (Photo no.68). The praise is as follows:

p.12b, line 3 "The One who subdues
 the 'dam-sri' [61] Tīrthikas;%
 I praise the form of Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs!%"

As he completed his dance, a monk offered him a kha-btags.

Then, a layman, on behalf of the lay community, offered a kha-btags to the central figure of the Guru, and a monk offered one on behalf of the monastic community. The monk also offered a kha-btags to rDo-rje Gro-lod as he rose to dance. The offering of kha-btags to Gurus and Buddha images is made as an offering of respect and thanks for their presence. It is one of the most common Tibetan ritual expressions; people also offer scarves to special visitors when they arrive or leave, and guests may present their hosts with scarves. As we have seen, the "a-tsa-ras" were offered kha-btags as though they were gurus or important guests (5.2.3.1) and they made a mockery of this serious gesture by tying the scarves to the sticks they were using to hit people with. In the Tashi Jong 'Chams, once the Guru and his aspects took their seats, laymen offered scarves to the Guru, to the shrine, to the Head bla-ma, and then to the other bla-mas, monks and to all the aspects and other figures (Vairocana, Khri-srong lDe-brtsan, Śāntarakṣita).

The dance of rDo-rje Gro-lod is called, "*Dregs-pa rtsa gcod kyi stangs-stabs*", "Expression of uprooting the Arrogant Ones" [62]. As the monastery's yi-dam, the wrathful activities of rDo-rje Gro-lod have already been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Here, the particular emphasis of his manifestation is on the complete destruction of any remaining egotistical forces which obstruct Realisation. Like the dance of Seng-ge sGra-sgrogs, it is majestic, but involves more fast movements than the dances of the peaceful aspects (Photo no.69). The praise is as follows:

p.12b, line 4 "The One who annihilates the obstacles and
 hostile forces of pride ('dregs-pa');%
 I praise the form of rDo-rje Gro-lod!%"

rDo-rje Gro-lod returned to his seat, and the row of aspects remained still (Photo no.70). The monks on the right-hand side with the horns began to play their instruments, joining the cymbals which had been played almost continually through the dances. Then, the mkhan-po gave a ten minute talk about Guru Rin-po-che and his manifestations and

activities. After this, all the monks, both those on the right and those in the procession, started to play their instruments again. Then, Guru Rin-po-che rose, and the aspects followed suit. The monks in the procession turned and began to lead the Guru and his aspects around the courtyard again. As before, the wrathful aspects did not remain in file; they began to circumambulate the courtyard, whirling round and round. Having reached the temple porchway, the monks at the head of the procession lined up at right angles to it, playing their instruments. The aspects walked in past them, Padma 'Byung-gnas playing his bell. The two wrathful aspects, still dancing, went in last. After some final music, the procession of monks followed them into the temple.

The dancing completed, the mkhan-po gave some further teaching on Guru Rin-po-che. The spectators then began to disperse. I was told that normally, a further procession of the Guru and aspects is made around the lake. Perhaps because of the dampness of the ground in parts of the circumambulation route, this was not done. However, once they had changed out of their costumes, all the monks, wearing their best robes and the hats with flanges, and so on, did two circumambulations of the lake, playing their instruments as they went.

5.2.3.5 The Tenth Day 'Chams: The Spectator's Viewpoint

In terms of description, the above account has described what a spectator would see. When, however, I have given the meditation necessary for the dance, this has mainly been in relation to the practitioner who was dancing. The point of the dance is not simply the Enlightenment of the individual performing, but of all sentient beings, and the expressed aspiration of those practising is to perfect their meditation so that they can truly embody the Enlightened manifestations whose costumes they are wearing. I mentioned the importance of the central figure of the Guru being able to embody the Guru's presence in order to benefit the observers. Whether in practice, the dances constitute a "liberation through seeing" for the spectators is not an easy question to answer, but discussions on the significance of the dances with some of those who had watched, provided a consistent pic-

ture of the way the Tibetans view the dances. I was not able to discuss 'chams with the pilgrims from the border areas [63], and I had the longest conversations with some of the local Tibetan nuns and lay religious practitioners. It may be that Tibetans less familiar with Buddhist practice might have made different responses; nonetheless, Tibetans are brought up in a culture pervaded with Buddhist ritual, and on the whole, they do have a fairly developed understanding of much basic teaching, even if they are not very articulate in expressing it, or over-simplify for the benefit of non-Tibetans. The most common and immediate reply on being asked their reasons for watching the 'chams is that it is, *"byin-rlab chen-po"*: "great adhiṣṭhāna". Informants frequently emphasised that it is quite different from entertainment, such as cinema, since it has a very powerful, and beneficial effect on the mind. The idea of great adhiṣṭhāna here is not simply that the presence of the Guru arises briefly, during the 'chams, but that the mental impression created by seeing him is so great that it remains imprinted on one's mind. The significance of this is that when one dies, there is a good likelihood that having once seen him, one will be able to recognise his forms again, and to thus be reborn in Zangs-mdog dpal-ri. Most informants stressed that the "seeing" is not simply a passive process; as each of the aspects danced, they would think, "This is Padmākara himself", "This is Padmasambhava himself", and so on. They either said that they would then do a supplication to each aspect, or that they would develop the aspiration to see them again in Zangs-mdog dpal-ri. One of the nuns added that such an aspiration is particularly powerful if coupled with regret at one's previous negative actions, so that one thinks, "May my negative actions not lead me to the hell realms; may they be purified and may I gain birth in Zangs-mdog dpal-ri". A sincere aspiration like this may be difficult to make when one is caught up in worldly affairs of everyday life, so that the 'chams is very powerful in providing an opportunity to let go of one's normal attachments and to develop clear awareness. Another married female practitioner emphasised that although the 'chams is very powerful, it will not necessarily help if after observing it, one continues life as though it has no relevance. It is important to remind oneself of the presence of Guru Rin-

po-che and his aspects every day, and to do supplication, and create the aspiration to realise Buddhahood.

It is interesting to compare these comments with those made by the mkhan-po, with whom I also spoke. He said that as one spectates, one should perform the "bskyed-rim" ("Generation stage": see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.2.1.1) meditation of "*dag-srang*", "pure appearances". This means that everything which arises is "pure" or "empty" (*Śūnyā*) in its nature, but spontaneously appears as the display of the maṇḍala. One should not "grasp" the manifestations of the Guru as though they were substantial, but should see them as being clarity and emptiness ("*gsal-stong*"). Perfection of this meditation constitutes, "Liberation through seeing". Now, most of the "ordinary" informants did not mention such a meditation that, in itself, could be liberating, although one monk with years of experience as a meditation practitioner, spoke in one breath of both making supplication, and doing the clarity/emptiness meditation. Faith or devotion, and emptiness meditation are both aspects which are integrated into most Vajrayāna practices – such as the "*Bla-sgrub Las-byang*" – the devotion encouraging both the surrendering of the self and the energy for meditation, while insight into emptiness gives rise to further devotion to the teachings. The mkhan-po assumed that the practitioner would have devotion to the Guru and his aspects, while the other informants' comments were made in the context of Tibetan Buddhist assumptions concerning the nature of Zangs-mdog dpal-ri and its inhabitants. In particular, they are fully aware that the forms of the Guru, arising from the Dharmadhātu, are insubstantial, empty, and clear and luminous. The difference is that they tended to emphasise the "gradual" approach to the Path, of developing devotion to, and aspiration for Enlightenment. Although they recognised the aspects as none other than the very manifestations of the Buddha-Mind, yet, feeling far from Realisation, the glimpse served as an inspiration to aspire to a later rebirth in Zang-mdog dpal-ri. On the other hand, the mkhan-po was concentrating on the meditation of realising all appearances as they arise, to be Zangs-mdog dpal-ri. The difference is one of emphasis; Buddhist teachers who give teaching on the

three maṇḍalas [64], do not expect that their students will be Enlightened over night. The meditation will usually develop gradually, integrated with other practices which may emphasise the relative level. Obviously, each spectator will tend to view the 'chams from the perspective of their own main practice. In general, the Tibetans are aware of the Guru's actual presence as they watch, and feeling devotion as a result, they aspire to be born in his Buddha-field.

5.2.4 After the 'Chams

On the morning of the eleventh day, numerous "*rlung-rta*" were erected, both in the courtyard and around the lake. "*Rlung-rta*", literally, "wind-horse", are cloths on which mantras and sections of sūtras, etc., are printed, after which they are strung up. They usually have a picture of a horse, bearing the gems of the Three Jewels on its back, in the centre of the cloth. Like "*ma-ṇi wheels*", the idea is that the mantras are set forth through movement, in this case, the fluttering of the wind. It is considered auspicious to offer them, that is, to purchase and erect them or have them erected, particularly in a special place. Then, after one has left the place, the mantras that one has set forth there remain, floating on the wind. The monastery has printing blocks and prints these mantra flags to order; some pilgrims ask to print them themselves (Photos no.s 13 and 14). Many mantra flags were made for pilgrims in the first few days of the month, ready for the eleventh day, when they were put up, by both monks and lay people. Lay people also helped the monks to erect the new "*rgyal-mtshan*" in the centre of the monastery courtyard (Photo no.71). This annual symbolic renewal of the monastery's "banner of Victory" of the Buddha's teaching is timed to coincide with the continuing practice session, and to follow the renewal of everyone's sense of the Guru's presence on the tenth.

Most pilgrims, excepting those who had come to attend the practice session, left on the twelfth day. Meanwhile, the "*Bla-sgrub Las-byang*" practice continued every day in the temple.

5.2.5 The Dissolution of the Maṇḍala

The sixteenth day of the month was the last full day of the practice session. In the afternoon, after the "Taking the Siddhi", sections for the dissolution or the "merging together" of the maṇḍala, and for finishing the practice session, were performed. In the monthly practice, there is a section called, "The Merging (of the deity) into oneself" (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.5). Mistakes one may have made during the practice are purified, and the visualised maṇḍala merges into the Bla-ma above the head, who in turn dissolves into oneself. One then meditates on oneself dissolving into the Dharmakāya. Here, a slightly more elaborate version of this section is performed with respect to the maṇḍala constructed at the beginning of the practice section. First, offerings are made in thanks for the presence of the Bla-ma and the deities of the maṇḍala; then, patience is requested for one's mistakes; and finally, the verse for the dissolution of the maṇḍala is recited. Then, after meditation on the clear light of the Dharmadhātu, all appearances arise again, in their true nature as the maṇḍala and the deities. The "sGrub-khog" text instructs that one should then continually enter the "Path of Action" ("spyod-lam") - the Compassionate action of leading all beings (to Enlightenment) - with "View" (the ultimate view of the true nature of everything) and "Action" inseparably united.

5.2.6 Finishing the Practice Session

The maṇḍala of deities dissolved through meditation, the "boundaries" set up to protect the maṇḍala for the practice session can now, in effect, be dissolved. Having donned their special hats, the monks walked outside to the eastern side of the temple, where the image and "tho" of the Great King, Yul-'khor srung, had previously been established (see back, 5.1.5.1). A set of peaceful offerings, carried out by the mchod-dpon, were consecrated with, "OM AḤ HUM%" and offered with the usual offering mantras attached to the individual mantra of Yul-'khor srung. The offering was followed by a verse requesting the Great King to accept the offering as thanks for protecting the practice from hindrances, and to return to his abode, while continuing to grant Siddhi and remove hindrances until

the practitioners attain Enlightenment. They meditate on his dissolving and then, his image and "tho" were collected up. The monks then walked to the southern side of the temple, and made another set of offerings to the Great King, 'Phags-skyes-po. The same verse and meditation was done, substituting his name in place of that of Yul-'khor srung. His image and "tho" were collected, and then in the same way, at the western and northern sides of the temple, the images and "tho" of the Great Kings, sPyan-mi-bzang and rNam-thos-sras, were also gathered up.

Following this, the monks went to the temple door, where the drawings of the protector Yamāntaka had been attached (see back, 5.1.5.2). Here, both outer and inner offerings were made; the offering mantras were again added to the individual mantra of Yamāntaka and repeated three times. A verse from, "sGrub-khog" was then recited to him:

"HUM King of the Wrathful Ones,
'Swirling in Amṛta';
Yamāntaka, adversary of
the multitudes of obstacles;
In this wondrous and amazing place of practice;
You have protected the outer and inner doors.
For this great wondrous perfection
of Enlightened activities,
Please accept this gtor-ma offering of thanks!
Even after you have returned to the Dharmadhātu,
We request you to return again! VAJRA MU."

With this, meditating on his dissolving, the drawings and phur-bus were taken down from the door and the monks returned to their places in the temple.

The last stage of dissolving the boundaries is the dissolution of the "secret", or most subtle, boundary of the Protection Maṇḍala, the boundary of the indestructible Vajra nature which formed the foundation of the maṇḍala, with the ten wrathful ones, the emanations of Hayagrīva, who pierce and transform the obstacles (see back, 5.1.5.3). The slob-dpon stood before the maṇḍala construction, with the mchod-dpon's assistant holding a tray with a small bowl of milk and standing to his side. He made the mudrā of "a pair of tongs" with his two hands, the fingers and thumbs of his hands intertwined over each other, with the two middle fingers up, the tips touching like a closed pair of tongs. He went around the maṇḍala construction, stopping in front of each direction in turn, in the

opposite order to that used for hammering in the phur-bus (see 5.1.5.3). At each direction, he recited the mantra, "OM VAJRA KĪLAYA UTKALAYA SARVA KĪLAYA VAJRA DHA-ROD A JĪNA-PA-YA HUM HUM HUM PHAṬ SVAHA", and the mchod-dpon bent and took out the appropriate phur-bu from under the construction. The slob-dpon took the phur-bu with his "tongs" and then dipped its tip into the bowl of milk held by the assistant mchod-dpon, and recited, "OM RURU SAPHURU JVALA TIṢṬHA SIDDHI LOCANI SARVA ATHA SADHANI SVAHA". With this, the monks would meditate on each "wrathful one" dissolving into the Dharmadhātu. After each phur-bu was dipped in milk, the slob-dpon placed it down on the tray. All the phur-bus, including the central one, were removed in this way, and the "cavities" of the phur-khung of emptiness were refilled with grains (presumably representing the inseparability of emptiness and form). The session was completed with the sections on "Making the Aspiration" and "Wishes for Auspicious Qualities".

After this ritual, the practice session is in effect completed, although the monks did not actually take the maṇḍala construction down until the twenty-second day. Then, it was simply dismantled; there was no need for any elaborate ritual.

5.2.7 The "sByin-sreg": Burnt Offerings Practice

Nearly all retreats and practice sessions are concluded with a "burnt offerings" practice, and the Rewalsar monks performed this on the morning of the seventeenth day - the day after the maṇḍala dissolution ritual. The "Bla-sgrub" Commentary says that at the ending of the practice session, a "sByin-sreg" of Pacifying should be performed, using a ritual which is in accordance with the "family" - that is, the Padma family with which the "Bla-sgrub" practice is associated. Such a "sByin-sreg" constitutes a good "adornment" to the practice ("bsNyen-yig", p.19, line 3-4). At Rewalsar, they use the rDo-rje Gro-lod "sByin-sreg" ritual; Gro-lod since he is both of the correct family and is the monastery's yi-dam. The text, the full title of which is, "The Ritual of Burnt Offerings of the powerful and wrathful Subduer of Māra, rDo-rje Gro-lod, called, 'Manifestations of Enlightened

Activities" [65], is divided into three main sections: the rituals of "Pacifying", "Increasing" and "Subduing". These are the first three of the four karmas; there is no section for the fourth. On this occasion, in accordance with the instruction in the Commentary, only the ritual of "Pacifying" was performed.

All three rituals have the effect of, "swiftly causing the fruits of accomplishing Enlightened activities and of Siddhis to come forth" ("sByin-sreg", p.1b, line 1). They can be done by Vajrayāna practitioners as practices in themselves, for the purpose of performing the particular karma which may be needed. A "Pacifying sByin-sreg" may be performed at a cremation for the pacification of any negative forces which may obstruct the clarity for the consciousness of the dead person; a Vajrasattva "Pacifying sByin-sreg" was performed at Bla-ma dKon-mchog's cremation in September 1982. After a meditation practice session, the focus of which has been the development of the Enlightened View, the insight gained can be applied in accomplishing the four activities, which are aimed at the transformation of the defiled elements of ordinary worldly experience. Where the meditation has been on a peaceful expression of Enlightenment, then a "Pacifying" or "Increasing" ritual is most appropriate [66], while "Subduing" and "Destroying" rituals may follow meditations on wrathful forms. All the rituals deal with the emotional poisons (kleśas); in the Pacifying ritual, any hindrances preventing the swift accomplishment of the practitioner, are tranquillised and thus rendered powerless.

After the preparations of dedicating a gtor-ma to the "gZhi-bdag" (see back, 5.1.1), giving "The Order" ("bka'-bsgo-ba"; see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.1.2), and consecrating the earth, the first stage of the ritual is to prepare the hearth. For "Pacifying", a square shaped "support" is used and within this, the hearth itself should be circular. The monks, Bla-ma dKon-mchog, Tshul-khrims rNam-dag, Me me Tshe-Idan, bSod-nams, Chos-'phel, Thub-bstan and Ngag-dbang Byams-pa, along with one independent Rewalsar monk and one nun, gathered outside the monk's house for the ritual. Bla-ma dKon-mchog drew the lines for the basis of the hearth on a square white brick construction situated on the grass a

few feet in front of the monk's house (presumably, this construction was made in a previous year for this purpose). The design of the hearth was almost exactly the same as that used in the Tārā Pacifying ritual described by Beyer [67], its main elements being an eight petalled lotus in the middle of the circle, at the centre of which was a vajra, a ring of volcanos with fire coming forth, curling in a clockwise direction, a circular enclosure of a garland of vajras, and half-moons with half-vajras at each of the four corners of the outer square construction. The dominant colour was white [68]. The firewood, which should have been checked to ensure that it was free of thorns or insects, was then built up on the circular base. At the south-eastern corner of the construction, a small arrow with a red streamer attached to it was fixed into the earth; presumably, a "me-lha 'bod-pa'i mda'-dar": "silk arrow which invites the Fire Deity" [69].

The seating and tables needed for the monks were fetched from the temple and placed along the veranda of the monk's house. Meanwhile, the mchod-dpon and his assistants arranged the offerings on a table which was built up with four shelves and covered with silk cloths. This was put at right angles to the row of monks; and to the right of the slob-dpon. On the top shelf, there was one large plain white gtor-ma with the medicine and rakta offering bowls on either side, and on the next shelf was another plain white gtor-ma. These gtor-mas had circular bases, in keeping with the symbolism of everything preferably being white and circular ("sByin-sreg" text, p.2, line 3). On the third and bottom shelves, "offerings delighting the senses" - flowers, incense, butter lamps, scented water and food gtor-mas - were laid out. On the other side of the slob-dpon, the "substances for burning" - pointed sticks which had been anointed with scent and the two ends besmeared with butter and honey ("sByin-sreg", p.2, line 4), the melted butter, and all the different grains to be offered - were laid out on separate round plates on another table.

According to the text (p.2b, line 2), there should also have been a "me-yol" - "fire-curtain" - placed between the hearth and the slob-dpon's place. Beyer [70] describes one as a stone carved with pictures of streams, clouds and mountains and the syllable, "VAM" -

the seed of water - which acts as a protection from "fire poison". Its purpose is not given in our text; it simply states that it should be "marked by snow mountains and "BAM" (= "VAM"). It escaped my observation but it may have been small in size. In front of the slob-dpon, between his bell and vajra, the two offering ladles were laid face to face. One ladle was large; the main feature of its bowl was that it had a circle in the centre, with a square around it; and the second ladle had a small round bowl (compare Beyer's "Fig. 29", p.267). The instructions specifically concerning the slob-dpon's demeanour, say that he should wear white ornaments, keep his mind peaceful and pure, and sit cross-legged on a clean seat with ku-sha grass [71] (p.2b, line 3-4).

As the monks completed the preparations, a few lay people gathered and sat on the grass nearby to observe. Some were poor local Tibetans who often spent time in the courtyard area (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2), and the others were pilgrims who had remained for the last days of the practice session. The monks took their seats; on the far right, with a separate little table, the independent monk was seated - he did not play a major part in the ritual. On a bench behind the next table, from right to left, was the slob-dpon, Bla-ma dKon-mchog, Tshul-khrims rNam-dag as dbu-mdzad (the second bdu-mdzad, Padma sKal-bzang, was unwell), Me me Tshe-Idan and bSod-nams. bSod-nams was playing the pole drum, watched by Me me Tshe-Idan, the usual drum player. On the next bench, Chos-'phel and Thub-bstan were seated together, with the horns, and the nun was seated beside them. Ngag-dbang Byams-pa did not have a place, since as the mchod-dpon, he had to stand by the table of offerings, and have them ready when required.

The first stage of the ritual proper is the purification of the slob-dpon's vajra and bell. To establish them as appropriate ritual implements, their symbolism was meditated upon ("sByin-sreg", p.2b, line 4-6). Out of Śūnyatā, the vajra arises as the expression of upāya, in essence, the five primordial awarenesses; while the bell arises as the expression of prajñā, its ringing, the melodies of the Dharma. Together, they are the Enlightened Mind ("Bodhi-citta"). Mantras were recited to empower each, as the slob-dpon held the vajra at his heart

and rung the bell at his side, and another mantra was said as he symbolically expressed their inseparability, crossing over his arms.

Then the offering substances on the shelves were consecrated, using the lines of consecration of offerings from the "Gro-lod Las-byang" practice (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.1.3). This was followed by the consecration of the "substances for burning", the method for which almost exactly corresponds to Beyer's account [72]. The mchod-dpon sprinkled the plates of substances with amṛta, and took them in turn up to the slob-dpon. He, making the mudrā of the one-pointed vajra [72], touched each plate, and the monks recited, "OM SVAHA", to purify them. Then, the substances were consecrated through the individual mantras given by Beyer, accompanied by the meditation described in "sByin-sreg", (p.3, line 2-3). Out of Śūnyatā, the first syllables of the names of each of the substances arises, from which arise the own-being of the amṛta of primordial awareness, clearly manifesting in the form of each substance. Then, having circumambulated the hearth with a burning stick ("sByin-sreg", p.3, line 3-4), the slob-dpon lit the fire, reciting the appropriate mantra, and the mchod-dpon fanned it as the syllable, HUM, was repeated. It was kindled further with melted butter and another mantra (line 4). Then, bundles of "ku-sha" grass, considered a special substance of purity, were arranged around the hearth to purify any hindrance, and a verse praising its activity, similar to the one in Beyer's account (p.269), was recited. Next, the meditation on, "purifying the hearth", which preceded the arrangement of "ku-sha" grass in the sByin-sreg observed by Beyer (p.268), was performed. First, the hearth is meditated upon as arising from HUM, out of Śūnyatā (p.3, line 6). The recitation describes its "completely perfected" qualities and attributes (p.3, line 6 - p.3b, line 2), and the clear white fire of pacifying blazing within it. Then, in the centre of the fire, upon a lotus and moon-disk, from "RAM" (the seed-syllable of fire), arises the white Fire deity of Pacifying. "*Me-lha*" in Tibetan, literally means "fire deity", and although there may once have been an indigenous Tibetan fire deity, he was equated with the Indian fire deity, *Agni*, on the introduction of Buddhist Vajrayāna rituals, such as the "sByin-sreg"

("Homa") rituals. There are a number of different forms of the Fire deity, or Agni, in accordance with the ritual to be performed; in this text, for instance, there is a yellow Fire deity of Increasing and a red Fire deity of Subduing ("sByin-sreg", pp.7b, 9-9b). Here, the white Pacifying Fire deity appears with slightly different attributes to those listed by Beyer; charmingly smiling, he has two right hands, which hold a staff and a rosary, and two left hands, one of which holds a water pot and the other of which bestows Refuge ("sByin-sreg", p.3b, line 3-4). He wears jewel ornaments and a costume of a seer (Tib. "drang-srong" = Skt. "Ṛṣi"), and he is surrounded by a retinue of seers. The three seed-syllables mark his three places, and light rays radiating from the "HUM" in his heart, invite the primordial awareness deity (jñānasattva) and his retinue, who are meditated upon as abiding in the south-east (line 4-5). The monks recited a verse and mantra of invitation to the jñānasattva (p.3b, line 6 - p.4, line 1), followed, as in Beyer's description (p.268-9), by a mantra to expel any obstacles which may have been attracted by the invitation. Then, the two bowls of water - for drinking and for cooling the feet - were offered with the appropriate mantras, and with, "OM AGNI YE SAMAYA STVAṂ; JAḤ HUM BAṂ HOḤ", the monks meditated on the non-duality of the jñānasattva with the samayasattva [73]. After this, as in Beyer's account (p.269), there was a verse on "Prostrations" ("sByin-sreg", p.4, line 2-3), but then they proceeded straight to the offerings [74] with a verse of meditation on masses of offerings being offered and a request for the deity to accept and perform the activities of Pacifying. The eight offerings were then made with the usual mantras and mudrās (p.4, line 3-5). Then, the offerings of the "substances for burning" were performed. The monks meditated on the Fire deities smiling, and with slightly open mouths, the deities accept the offering in a stream of amṛta flowing from the burnt offerings which pass through the ladles on the surface of which is the syllable "RAM", emitting blazing light rays (p.4, line 5-6). The melted butter offering was made seven times, using the ladles and the mantra, "OM AGNE YE SVAHA". The mchod-dpon brought the bowl of melted butter from the table and poured some onto the ladles held by the slob-

dpon. The butter having passed from one ladle to the other, was poured out, and a Tibetan layman caught it in a large scoop beneath, and took it to throw into the fire. After a further mantra and verse requesting the pacification of all illnesses, negativities, defilements, unhelpful circumstances and hindrances not conducive to the Path, the various substances for burning were offered in order, seven times each. When they were to be offered, the grains and other solids were handed on their plates by the mchod-dpon to the slob-dpon. Taking such a plate, the slob-dpon scooped handfuls of the substances out and saying the mantra, he dropped them onto another plate beneath held by the layman who took them to the fire. The order for the substances to be burned was as follows: firewood, melted butter, sesamum, a curds mixture, rice, barley, unhusked barley, wheat, pulses, durva grass, kusha grass, white mustard seed, fruit. As each was offered, an appropriate mantra was recited; although the order is not the same in the list given by Beyer (pp.272-2), the mantras were as he recorded for each substance. As well as these mantras, another phrase was added to each mantra, ending with, "ŚANTIM KURU SVAHA". These phrases were calls for the pacification of hindrances in masses of merits, each phrase being elaborated a little differently ("sByin-sreg", p.4b, line 3 - p.5, line 2). After each plate was offered, as the layman threw the foods on the fire, the monks all played their instruments.

After these offerings, the monks recited a verse praising the Fire deity (p.5, line 3-4), followed by a section, "Requesting what is wished for" ("*Dod don gsol*"), which is given here:

p.5, line 4	"NAMO% King of awareness - You who perform all karmas; we offer the substances for burning to you, the deity. Please consecrate this very fire as the fire of primordial awareness -
line 5	We, the master and students, together with our circle of practitioners and sponsors, ask you to liberate (us) from the negative forces of gods, nagas, yakṣas, gandharvas, etc., and to prevent the arising of the hindrances of surprise
line 6	accidents and untimely death, etc. Please expel gossip, legal wrangles, enmity,

p.5b, line 1 stealing, sorcery and curses, vengeful thoughts
and all damaging forces etc., all types of
circumstances not conducive (to the Path).
Please pacify defilements of karmas, kleśas,
latent tendencies, and of that which
should be known etc.; all the
defilements and negativities of body, speech
and mind. ŚANTIM KURU SVAHA%"

After this, with the mantra "OM AḤ HŪM MUḤ", the monks meditated on the primordial awareness Fire deity dissolving and returning to his south-easterly abode. This completes the section of offerings to the "worldly Fire deities", for Agni and his retinue, although they have a "primordial awareness" expression (all beings, after all, sharing an ultimate primordial awareness nature), they are still considered to be limited to Saṃsāra. They may have developed a degree of realisation and have powers to accomplish the karmas, but they have not attained Buddhahood. The foundation of offerings and so forth, to the worldly Fire deities is deemed essential, for they are the support for the inner fire ritual which follows, involving "the Fire deity who has surpassed (Saṃsāra)". Agni and his retinue are the beings with control over the worldly element of fire and its manifestations, and like protectors, their help is secured in accomplishing the activities at which the ritual is aimed. Now, the visualised Fire deity becomes the environment in or from which the Fire deity who has surpassed, can arise. The verses for the "Generation" of the deity begin with the lines:

p.5b, line 3 "HŪM% (In) the sphere of the stomach
of the samaya Fire deity;%
(arises) space, wind, fire, and a lake of blood;%".

The second line here is taken from the "Gro-lod Las-byang" practice (text, p.4, line 1); it occurs after the introductory verses of the "Generating the Deity" section, which focus meditation on the unobstructed state of the Dharmadhātu in which rDo-rje Gro-lod's seed-syllable manifests. From this, the basic elements of experience arise out of their seed-syllables, to become the foundation of the Cemetery Palace (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.2.1). This is the context of the second lines above, and reciting this line, the monks turned to the "Gro-lod Las-byang" practice to continue the full recitation from there (text, p.4 - p.5, line 4). They also recited "The Invitation" which follows (p.5, line 4 - p.5b, line 2; Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2.1), and with the concluding mantra, they added the two water offerings,

as instructed by the "sByin-sreg" text (p.5b, line 4). Then, they performed the "Enthronement", "Prostrations" and "Offerings" sections, as in "Las-byang" (Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2.1 and 2). Here, when the offering verses had been recited, the mchod-dpon took the offerings laid out on the shelves, and as the appropriate mantra was said, he threw them on the fire. The large white gtor-ma on the top shelf, flanked by the medicine and rakta bowls, was offered as the "balim" or gtor-ma offering (Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2.2). After these offerings, they offered the substances for burning. These were made in the same way, and in the same order, as they had been made to Agni, with a different meditation, and the addition of rDo-rje Gro-lod's mantra. This time, the practitioners meditated on the deities of the Gro-lod maṇḍala, smiling, and with slightly open mouths, their tongues with the form of white vajras. Through these "tongues", they drew up the sparkling stream of amṛta from the burnt offerings, on the surface of the ladles, this time marked by "HUM" (Gro-lod's seed-syllable), which blazes with light ("sByin-sreg", p.5b, line 5-6).

After the standard list of grains, and so on, a few extra "substances for burning" were also offered, and then, "The Praises" section of "Las-byang" (Chapter 3, 3.2.2.2.2) was recited. The culmination of the ritual, corresponding to the previous section on, "Requesting what is wished for" (see above), with the addition of a meditation on the deity's response, was then performed. It began with a verse addressing rDo-rje Gro-lod:

"sByin-sreg"

p.6, line 2

"NAMO% (You are) the very essence
of the maṇḍala which is ornamented by
the inexhaustible forms, speech, mind,
good qualities and Enlightened activities
of all the Buddhas of the three times!
Great Excellent Blood-drinker,
powerful and wrathful rDo-rje Gro-lod rtsal,
together with your retinue of emanations,
the assembly of attendants and
ocean of those bound by oath -
(we) request your Enlightened activities!"

line 3

This was followed by repeating the whole previous section ("sByin-sreg", p.5, line 5 - p.5b, line 1), beginning with, "We, the master and students, together with ..." (see above). Having thus requested the deities to perform the karma of Pacifying, the text outlines a meditation

which was also recited by the monks ("sByin-sreg", p.6, line 4-5). From the hearts of the deities, Buddhas emanate, holding crystal vases filled with white amṛta. They pour the amṛta from their vases onto the practitioner as the deity, so that all negative forces are purified and pacified.

The ritual involving the Fire deity who has surpassed, was then completed with some more offerings, such as two white silk kha-btags, and a verse requesting patience for any omissions in the practice, along with a recitation of the hundred syllable mantra (mantra of Vajrasattva). Finally, with an extra verse, and the syllables "VAJRA MUḤ", the monks meditated on the jñānasattva dissolving into the Dharmadhātu, and the samayasattva of rDo-rje Gro-lod merging into themselves.

Beyer's account of the Tārā "sByin-sreg" largely corresponds with the above format [75], with Tārā as the Fire deity who has surpassed, although Beyer does not discuss a meditation on her maṇḍala of deities performing the pacifying cleansing. In the Gro-lod text, this section, later referred to as, "Entrusting the Activities" (p.10, line 4), is clearly significant as the meditation on the effect at which the ritual is aimed. There are corresponding meditations in the "Increasing" and "Subduing" practices; in the case of "Increasing", the Buddhas hold golden vases, and rain down amṛta and jewels which increase and spread life, merits, primordial awareness and all good qualities (p.8b, line 1-2). In the "Subduing" ritual, they hold ruby vases of red amṛta with which they bestow empowerment, and the practitioners receive the great powers and abilities to subdue the whole of existence (p.10, line 4-6). The "Subduing" ritual makes use of the imagery connected with the offering of desires - such as red lotuses, a garland of iron-hooks and so on - and having been offered to the Enlightened manifestation (i.e. having been transformed in the realisation of Enlightened qualities), the transmuted desires are released as the powers to magnetise and control the phenomenal world. This form of transmutation is associated with the Padma Buddha family; the deities draw the amṛta of the burnt substances up through their tongues which have the form of red lotuses. Similarly, the activity of

"Increasing" is associated with the Ratna Buddha family; the imagery makes use of the colour yellow and the shape of the square, associated with earthiness, solidity and the emotion of pride. The tongues of the deities have the form of jewels. This may shed some light on the "Pacifying" ritual, the imagery of which is clearly associated with the Vajra Buddha family. The quality of this family is the transmuted form of the emotion, anger; through offering one's anger, it is transformed into the clear sharp and precise intelligence of the "Mirror-like" primordial awareness, and the list of negative expressions of anger or aversion, as given above (text p.5, line 5 - p.5b, line 1), dissolve and are thus "pacified".

Finally, there is a further short section to this "Pacifying sByin-sreg" ritual known as the "*Following Activities*" ("rJes kyi bya-ba"). This is, in effect, to show gratitude to the worldly Fire deity who supported the ritual. Although the form of Gro-lod has dissolved, that of the samayasattva of Agni is still present (see above). The fire was kindled again with melted butter from the ladle, and with, "VAJRA SAMA JAḤ", the jñānasattva Agni was again invited, and with, "JAḤ HUḤ BAḤ HOḤ", he dissolved into the samayasattva. The series of substances for burning were offered to him again as before (see Photo no.72), and also the offerings delighting the senses were made with the appropriate mantras and mudrās. Then came a verse of "Praises":

p.6b, line 3	"Fire-deity who eats that which is to be burnt; King of Ṛṣis, Master of negative forces;
line 4	Along with the assembly of fire-deities of the south-east; We offer to you, we praise and prostrate to you!"

Then, the second smaller plain white gtor-ma on the second shelf of the offerings table (see above) was offered to him. As the monks recited the "A KARO" mantra [76], the mchod-dpon held up the gtor-ma and then threw it on the fire. The Fire-deity's activities were again requested, and the monks again requested patience with any omissions in the practice. To conclude, with "OM AGNA YE GACCHAḤ", the monks meditated on the jñānasattva Fire-deity returning to his own abode, and the samayasattva merging into themselves. In accordance with the instructions in the text (p.6b, line 6 - p.7, line 1), the fire was left to calm down by itself, and the practice was "adorned" with reciting the dedication of merit

and verses of auspicious wishes. The mchod-dpon, aided by the gnyer-ba, then cleaned the offering bowls and the tables and plates were cleared away (Photo no.73). Finally, the mchod-dpon put the "red arrow" on the fire. The first month practice session was over.

5.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The above descriptive account of the practice session has discussed the significance of the ritual symbolism from the viewpoint of a Buddhist participant. Other sections of the thesis - especially Chapters 1 and 2, and Appendix 1 and 2 - have provided the wider historical, political and sociological context for the religious practice. What has not been attempted is to interpret the specifics of the rituals through the generalities of the context, as though the rituals themselves express only the experience of the context, or a strategy for relating to the context. As we have seen, similar rituals to those described have been performed by Tibetans of different historical periods and different geographical locations. Moreover, the "Bla-sgrub" practice is one of a number of important practices at Rewalsar, and it would be absurd to suggest that "Bla-sgrub" expresses a particular aspect of the monks' situation without considering a range of other regular practices. Such an exercise would seem, to me, to be superfluous, when given the context, the explicit purposes of the rituals are perfectly understandable.

This is not to say that there is no value in theoretical frameworks which relate, in general terms, types of ritual practices with material circumstances: Samuel's "Relational Framework" does this and I have argued that it can be applied to the Rewalsar case. Moreover, it may be that some of the material presented here may be useful for comparative analysis, say, of religious offerings or ritual dances, and such an analysis might be able to highlight psychological universals or sociological variations. My intention in this thesis, however, has been to concentrate on the details of this specific ethnographic situation and to present them in the full context of their Buddhist meanings and Tibetan refugee circumstances. Some comments on the relevant theoretical issues will be made in Chapter 6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

[1] In some Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, the "dbyar-gnas" session does last for three months: see Giuseppe Tucci, 1980, p.136.

[2] All the monks except for Padma sKal-bzang, who was away for the entire period, remained at the monastery for the 6 week duration of the session.

[3] See Tarthang Tulku, 1977, p.17.

[4] Tarthang Tulku, Ibid., p.20.

[5] The full title of the text is: "'phags mchog nam-mkha'i rgyal-po'i sgrub-chen gyi khog dbub phan bde'i chu-gter", taken from the "dam-chos sprul-sku'i snying-thig".

[6] Red represents the Padma Buddha family, with which Hayagrīva and Padma are associated.

[7] As the female Buddha, Tārā, her hand is open and outstretched.

[8] Approaching worldly deities as though they were enlightened for the purposes of a specific ritual is common in the Vajrayāna. Tulku Thondup Rinpoche (1986: p.174) comments on this:

"Sometimes one perceives the spirits as enlightened deities, makes offerings and dedicates the merits... in essence it is an entirely Buddhist training... if we have respect, love and devotion to a being, perceiving him as a Buddha, we accumulate good karma as having devotion to a Buddha... So if we can perceive even an ordinary person as an enlightened being, we are being trained in the spiritual path."

In the offering to the Earth Mistress, it is important to develop the "view" of the purity of the environment in its own true nature, and the earth goddess represents this here.

[9] These are the "accumulations" of merit and primordial awareness.

[10] These are the "obscurations" of the kleśas and of primordial awareness.

[11] Name of Hayagrīva.

[12] Made of "*seng-ldeng*" wood: according to Sarat Chandra Das (1970, p.1275), it is "*Acacia catechu*", of which there are three species - red, yellow and white. Here, it is the

red wood which is used.

[13] "*Tho*" normally means a register, list, account, etc. "*Tho-rdo*", however, means a "stone boundary" (Das, *ibid.*, p.589), and this use of the word may be a shortened version of "*tho-tho*", which does mean a boundary demarcation.

[14] Sharpa Tulku and Michael Perrott comment that the ritual costume and head-dress worn by participants in the Consecration ritual they describe, serves to remind the monks of the "divine pride" (the confidence that one is the *yi-dam*) which should be maintained: see Sharpa Tulku and M. Perrott, Summer 1985, p.42.

[15] This wrathful form, in dark green swirling *amṛta*, wears the cemetery costume and holds a crossed vajra and a noose.

[16] "*Ma-traṃ*" means, "eater of mother".

[17] See Giuseppe Tucci, 1969, pp.38-39.

[18] The *mchod-dpon* informed me that the various objects should symbolise Padma as the *Trikāya*, e.g., texts as the Buddha's "speech" (*Sambhogakāya*), the *stūpa* as the Buddha's "mind" (*Dharmakāya*), etc.

[19] A "*gdugs*" is illustrated in Giuseppe Tucci, 1980, p.144.

[20] A "*phan*" is also illustrated in Tucci, 1980, p.122.

[21] Note that the heart centre ("*cakra*") has eight "spokes" of psychic energy channels ("*ñāḍī*") which converge to form the "wheel".

[22] This is on the left of the shrine, above the offerings table; see Ch.4, 4.3.4, nb.29.

[23] René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975, p.311), notes that the "*pho-rgyud*" were subdued at *gYu-'jin phug mo*, according to the "*Padma bka'-thang shel-brag-ma*".

[24] One of the five "*amṛtas*" (see "Glossary"). In "*Gro-lod Las-byang*", the wrathful perfume offering is of blood (Ch.3, 3.2.2.2.2).

[25] Also one of the five "*amṛtas*". The "*Gro-lod Las-byang*" gives this offering as human (i.e. *Rūdra*'s) flesh (Ch.3, 3.2.2.2.2).

[26] G. Tucci, 1980, p.150.

[27] At the time, I had assumed it to be an elaborate display of the preliminary section, "(Requesting) The Adhiṣṭhāna to descend" (Ch.4, 4.2.3), because of the use of incense and the waving of the brocade with tassles toward the maṇḍala. Only since returning from the field have I realised this assumption to be mistaken; for one thing, it would be unlikely for this section to be done at the end of the sixth day when the main practice has already been performed. Secondly, it would not fit with the section of "Praises", nor with the Thod-phreng-rtsal mantra chanting. However, I believe my original idea that this ritual action firmly establishes the presence of Padma for the duration of the practice session, to be correct. Sharpa Tulku and Michael Perrott describe a similar section which marks the climax of a consecration ritual; after verses of auspiciousness, accompanied by ringing the bell, the slob-dpon and monks, wearing ceremonial hats, rise, recite the mantra and "the Annunciation of the Power of Truth" and through meditation, they "seal the commitment beings with the wisdom beings". This consecrates the Maṇḍala. Sharpa Tulka and M. Perrott, 1985, pp.46-47.

[28] For general background on the dance, see Appendix 2, Section A2.2.3.5.

[29] The accounts I received were not entirely consistent, but it might have been about six or seven years after the monks arrived.

[30] He himself could not demonstrate the dances because of his injured hip (see REN.3).

[31] This is the first floor area; see Ch.2, Section 2.2.3.2.

[32] The Committee was to meet later; see Ch.2, Section 2.2.3.3.1.

[33] Unlike the Black Hat dancers at Tashi Jong, where the variation in the colours of the costume corresponded to the colours of the Buddha families of the directions ("Garcham", p.21), there did not seem to be a clear association of colour and position in the order of the dancers. There may have been some correlation between the colour of robes and the position: the predominant colour in the robes of the first three dancers was blue; in the case of

the fourth dancer, it was gold; red for the fifth and sixth dancers, and green for the eighth dancer (seventh and ninth dancers?). The poncho-shaped garments were all gold and red, except for the eighth dancer who wore a green and blue one, and the colour of the hooded snakes on the hats seems to have been random. The snake adornments on the hats of the first two dancers were green; on the third, blue; on the fourth, pink; on the fifth, yellow; on the sixth, green and yellow; on the seventh, red, and on the eighth, blue.

[34] This would constitute "wrong livelihood": gaining a living through false pretences.

[35] Lawrence Epstein, 1977.

[36] Keith Dowman, 1984, p.44 ff.

[37] Dowman, 1984, p.32.

[38] In the first case, it is the practitioner who constitutes the joke; in the second case, the Enlightened practitioner demonstrates that ultimately, the practice itself is a joke.

[39] Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1976, p.93.

[40] The third eye is the eye of primordial awareness - an attribute of the realised mind.

[41] See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1976, pp.114-117.

[42] See Lama Anagarika Govinda, 1976, pp.84-98, and 1969, pp.182-186.

[43] See "Garcham", pp.20-21.

[44] Wrathful herukas are sometimes depicted with five types of snakes, which are said to overcome aversion, as adornments, as well as the usual five bone ornaments.

[45] Tucci, 1980, pp.140-141.

[46] "Garcham", p.21.

[47] Although local deities who were subdued by Padmākara, and form the outer part of his retinue, are also included.

[48] "mThu": This word for "power" has the sense of a power of an inherent nature, an innate energy (see Sarat Chandra Das, 1970, p.600).

[49] The same type of goblet as that used for the "ba-ling" offering (Ch.3, Section 3.3.2).

[50] Eight in the case of sixteen dancers.

[51] bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal.

[52] This division was also used in the "Ging 'Chams" performed at the 'Brug-pa monastery in Hemis, Ladakh: see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1976, p.81.

[53] This was also mentioned by rNam-rgyal who said that one of each group (of "sa-" and "nam-ging") came from each direction.

[54] See also Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, pp.278-280, on the categories of great and minor ging; also interesting is his account (p.509) of the part played by eight rNying-ma-pas as masked "ging" in the Lhasa New Year celebrations.

[55] In his account of the "ging" at the Lhasa New Year celebrations (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *ibid.*), Nebesky-Wojkowitz says that their task was to drive away the "glud 'gong".

[56] Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1976, p.78. Four members of the class of "dur bdag" dance around the liṅga box in the Tashi Jong dances, on the eleventh day of the second month. The "Garcham" booklet comments (p.25) that the skeleton, having been stripped of the flesh of ignorance and the blood of attachment, points to purity and fearless wisdom.

[57] Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, lists some of the commoner forms of flags which are attributes of fierce deities (pp.15-16). He also suggests (p.278) that the class called "ging" were originally Bon deities.

[58] "Thugs-rje chen-po" = Avalokiteśvara.

[59] "Sphere of the sky": "mkha'-dbyings", implies the Dharmadhātu.

[60] They did appear, along with Vairocana, the great translator, in the Tashi Jong 'Chams. They sat in front of the Guru and his aspects.

[61] See entry in "Glossary", Section (B).

[62] "Dregs-pa" can mean "pride" or "Arrogant Ones"; see "Glossary".

[63] Most had left on the following morning or on the twelfth day; I also found their dialects very difficult to understand.

[64] The three maṇḍalas: (1) All appearances are Nirmāṇakāya (2) All sounds are Sambhogakāya (3) All thought is Dharmakāya.

[65] The Tibetan is, "bdud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi sbyin-sreg gi cho-ga phrin-las rnam-rol".

[66] According to Sharpa Tulku and Michael Perrott, "Pacifying sByin-sreg" are performed at a ritual's conclusion in order to pacify the effects of any excesses or omissions that may have been made: see Sharpa Tulku and Michael Perrott, 1985, pp.37; 47.

[67] Stephan Beyer, 1978, see Fig.28, p.266.

[68] The correspondences of Pacifying: circular/white hearth; Increasing: square/yellow hearth; Subduing: semi-circular/red hearth; Destroying: triangular/black hearth, are common to other "sByin-sreg" practices. The categories are also related to the cakras and elements, as usual in Vajrayāna symbolism.

[69] See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p.366, on this particular variety; for general note, see REN.3.3; note 67.

[70] Beyer, 1978, p.266.

[71] = Sanskrit, "kuśa": *Poa cynosuroides*, a grass with long pointed stalks, on which Śākyamuni is said to have sat.

[72] Beyer, 1978, p.267.

[73] See under, "Jñānasattva", in "Glossary". Here, of course, the samayasattva is the visualised form of Agni, in the fire.

[74] Beyer, 1978, has a section on reminding the deity of his vow (p.269).

[75] Beyer, 1978, pp.270-273.

[76] This mantra is also used in dissolving the maṇḍala in the Gro-lod "sMad-las" ritual (REN.3.6). According to Beyer (1978, p.274), who also mentions its use in relation to the

offering of a gtor-ma to Agni at the end of the "sByin-sreg", it is recited with the offering of "all worldly gtor-mas". He gives the full mantra on page 146.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I have presented an "emic" analysis of rituals performed at a small rNying-ma-pa monastery in India. My account gives detailed descriptions of the rituals, including textual translation and exegesis, and interprets the symbolism in the light of the complex Buddhist and rNying-ma historical tradition. It also attempts to put the specific performances of these rituals in their social, economic and political context, to outline the background and circumstances of the exiled community in general and the Rewalsar monastery in particular, and to demonstrate what this religious heritage means for the monks here.

In Chapter 1, I discuss the contemporary political situation of the Tibetans - the incorporation of Tibet into China, the flight of the refugees, the organisation of the Tibetans in exile - and the enhancement of Tibetan identity in the face of Chinese domination in Tibet. I summarise the contributions of previous anthropologists who have written on Tibetan refugees and Tibetan Buddhist ritual, and consider the problems involved in my approach to the Rewalsar material.

Chapter 2 provides the setting of the Rewalsar community. The location, the village and its facilities are briefly described, and the significance of Rewalsar as a pilgrimage place, with special emphasis on the Buddhist "myths" since these explain the attractions of Rewalsar for the Tibetans. I outline contemporary Buddhist pilgrimage to Rewalsar, and then describe the resident Tibetan community under four headings: the mountain hermitage, lay people and independent monks, nuns and "sngags-pa", the rNying-ma-pa monastery and the 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery. I give the fullest account of the rNying-ma-pa monastery which includes sections on its background, the monastery

buildings, its finance and administration, monastic organisation and case studies of all the monks in 1981-1983.

I describe the monks' daily life in Chapter 3. Of central importance in the monks' routine are the two sessions of communal religious practice which I discuss in detail. I introduce this section with further consideration of the theoretical and methodological problems in analysing such material and especially in the translation of the texts, and make explicit my methods for resolving these problems. Then I present the regular communal practices, which in the morning consist of sections from the compilation by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che called "Chos-spyod" - "The Practice of the Dharma", and the rDo-rje Gro-lod "Las-byang" - the "Ritual Practice" of the monastery's yi-dam, rDo-rje Gro-lod. The afternoon regular practice involves the "life" practice ("Srog-sgrub") of rDo-rje Gro-lod and supplications to the Dharma protectors ("gSol-kha").

In Chapter 4, I describe the monthly ritual performed on the tenth day of the lunar month, which is associated with Guru Padma. The practice is called the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" - the ritual which develops the "Realisation of the Bla-ma" - and I include textual translation, photographs and commentary on the ritual activities. The "Preparations" and "Main Practice" take place in the morning, while "The Following Activities", and in particular, the "Tshogs" ("Circle of Multitudes"), are performed in the afternoon.

Finally, Chapter 5 is concerned with the first month practice session, which, on alternate years, is based on the "Bla-sgrub Las-byang" which has already been outlined. I include description of the preparations such as the making of *gtor-mas*, offerings to the earth goddess, the setting up of the maṇḍala, and other ritual preparations. I comment on extra elaborations of the "Bla-sgrub" which are added during the period, and give full details of the ritual dances (*'chams*) which take place on the tenth day, as the climax of the practice session. I note how the practice session ends and discuss the "sByin-sreg" - Burnt Offerings practice - which is performed at its conclusion.

It will be clear that my main contribution is ethnographic rather than theoretical, and since I have not been developing a theoretical argument throughout the work, it cannot be evaluated purely on theoretical "conclusions" which spring from the material. Various "conclusions" to specific topics, such as the significance of *'chams* for the Rewalsar Tibetans, can be found in the body of the text, the strength of which is precisely in its detailed description and textual analysis, rather than in its salient points. My method has been to combine ethnographic detail on the monastery and the rituals with background knowledge of Tibetological studies and Buddhism, and with textual translation. The only previous similar work on Tibetan religion of which I am aware is Stephan Beyer's "The Cult of Tārā" [1]. This study, although extremely useful (I have, of course, made use of it in comparing the "sByin-sreg" which I observed with his account), is however, weak on the contemporary social and economic circumstances of the Tibetan community concerned, while the descriptions of the ritual activities are in places compressed, and there is little comment on their significance for the monks. My work has drawn upon the discipline of social anthropology, with its interest in the social and economic structure of a community and the effects that this may have on their presentation or interpretations of their belief system, and its method of participant observation and ethnographic reporting. It has also drawn upon Tibetology, with its interest in the historical developments in Tibetan culture and society and its analysis of Tibetan literary material, and upon religious - especially Buddhist - studies, with its interest in the religious and philosophical assumptions involved in religious activities. I hope that by bringing together these disciplines, my work makes a contribution to all three.

Having made the point that my work is primarily descriptive, I now consider its importance for the theoretical issues which it raises.

6.1 TEXT AND PRACTICE; THEOLOGY AND RITUAL

The relationship between "text" and "practice" has interested anthropologists since they began to study people with literate religious traditions, and it is often argued that

there are discrepancies between the two. C.J.Fuller [2] considered the problem in his study of the Adisaiva priests of a temple in Tamilnadu dedicated to the goddess Minaksi. The temple presents some parallel with the Rewalsar monastery in that, like the Rewalsar monks, the priests do not control their temple's administration and they lack political and economic power in the wider society. In their religious practice, however, there is a contrast between the Hindu priests and the Buddhist monks. The Minaksi priests have no inspiring or knowledgeable religious guide; Fuller argues that their ritual can be called "Āgamic" (p.142), but they are unfamiliar with the *Āgamas* and pressures from the administration, government and reformers to improve their training have left them demoralized. In Rewalsar, on the other hand, the monastery's administration does not question the competence of the monks in religious matters. The monks do not consider themselves the most ideal representatives of their tradition, yet they are proud to be involved in its preservation, confident of bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's guidance. My account of a few of their rituals, complete with translations and descriptions, demonstrates the exact nature of the relationship between the texts and the actual practice, and it will be clear that the two correspond closely. In the Tibetan Buddhist case, even in a small monastery with ordinary practitioners, there is no question of monks not knowing the texts or being incompetent in their performance.

A related issue is the relationship between rituals and theological assumptions in the context of a complex literate religious tradition with a long history. This problem is frequently ignored by analysts who attempt to interpret rituals through an external framework - whether it be psychoanalysis or social functionalism - but it is central to any understanding of the significance of the rituals for the participants. Whilst I accept that rituals may have behavioural bases (see Ch.1, section 1.6) and that rituals with the same structures or themes may persist in spite of changes in religious orientation (see on, section 6.2), the Buddhist and specifically rNying-ma worldview can illuminate the purposes of the rituals from the monks' perspective. Throughout my discussion of the texts and rituals, I have

included commentary on the Buddhist interpretation of them and have particularly emphasised the way in which they accomplish the aims of the three *Inner Tantras*. Those unfamiliar with the theological assumptions and historical processes underlying these interpretations can refer to Appendix 1 in which I outline the development of the ideas in Indian Buddhism which were transplanted in Tibet, and to Appendix 2 which discusses Buddhism in Tibet [3]. I have also included a Glossary of the key technical terms which occur throughout the study.

6.2 SACRIFICIAL THEMES IN TIBETAN RITUALS

In general terms, it is possible to compare Tibetan rituals with comparative data on the rituals of other societies, and some useful insights on the Tibetan material may arise from this. For example, certain aspects of "tshogs" offering rituals and many "gtor-ma" offerings made in the context of a variety of different practices may remind us of the anthropological literature on sacrifice. Animal sacrifices are, of course, ruled out in a Buddhist context, but it seems that the Sanskrit term "*bali*", transliterated into Tibetan as "ba-liṃ" or "ba-ling-ta", and translated as "gtor-ma", has connotations of animal sacrificial offerings [4]. Tibetan texts are explicit that "wrathful" *gtor-ma* offerings ("drag-po'i zhal-zas gtor-ma": see Ch.3, Section 3.2.2.2.2; Ch.4, Sections 4.3.4; 4.3.4.2) and "ba-liṃ" or gtor-ma offerings to Dharma protectors (see Ch.3, Section 3.3.2) are the "flesh and blood" of the five poisons. In "*Tshogs*" offering rituals (see Ch.4, Section 4.4.1), it is essential that some meat and alcohol be included in the offering substances, and the theme of communion with some divine power and between the participants, through the sharing of a sacrificial feast, is not unlike the Tibetan Buddhist notion of the reaffirmation of the *samaya* bond between the Vajrayāna deity and the community of practitioners through the sharing of "tshogs".

The forcefulness of a sacrificial *death* in symbolic thought to establish communication with other-worldly powers [5] or to demonstrate the destruction of a vitality which is linked with the concept of the release or removal of power [6] can be seen in the Tibetan

imagery. On one hand, the *tshogs* ritual, which has more in common with sacrifices involving a ritual communion meal which symbolizes and enhances the unity of the group concerned [7], involves a meat and alcohol offering (Ch.4, Section 4.4.1). This represents *human* flesh and blood, and through its consumption, dualistic notions are said to be overcome and the energies of the five poisons transmuted and released as the five wisdoms. Moreover, the "third portion" offering (Ch.4, Section 4.4.1.3) of "liberating killing" requires the Vajra Master to stab and "kill" the "heart" of negativity in the form of the portion of *tshogs* which becomes a *liṅga* embodying the "obstacles and hostile forces". Thus, consciousness is said to be liberated into the Dharmadhātu. On the other hand, *gtor-ma* offerings to dharmapālas resemble *scapegoat* type sacrifices in which the offering removes the community's unwanted qualities and there is no communal feast. Yet, despite the apparent differences between the *tshogs* offerings and the *ba-liṅ* offerings, the theme of transmutation and the release of power remains: the dharmapālas, bound by their *samaya* connection with the Vajrayāna practitioners, eat the "flesh and blood" of the negativities and in return, guarantee protection. In fact, Bourdillon's point [8] that the "Gift theory" of sacrifice cannot apply to a scapegoat sacrifice to remove evil or impurity, is not true of this example in which the offering is indeed a "gift" and a return is expected. Nonetheless, his other criticism of the model of gift-giving, based on the work of Audrey Hayley [9], does apply here. He argues that we must bear in mind the limitations of a "theistic" interpretation in a non-theistic context: certainly, the Tibetans do not see their deities - even dharmapālas - as entirely separate and removed beings outside.

The theme of sacrifice as a gift of oneself: an offering of the life of a domestic animal (or in the Tibetan case, even a symbolic human life!) which can be closely identified with man [10], is clearly reflected in the Tibetan rituals. The death of the *self* or *ego*, equated with the forces of the five poisons, is the explicit intent of the practices.

Beattie suggests a fourfold classification of sacrifices [11] based on whether they are concerned with Gods or spirits, or with more impersonal powers, and on whether they aim

to achieve closer contact or separation from the Gods or powers. The Tibetan rituals have most in common with his third category: sacrifices to acquire an increase of non-personalized *power*. They also contain elements of his type four: sacrifices to get rid of evil within oneself. This aspect is especially prominent in the *ba-liṃ* offerings but also present in the *Tshogs* ritual in which faults are confessed and exorcised through the offering. It is analogous to the Nuer sacrificial practice of transferring the evil in men's hearts into the animal and disposing of it by taking the animal's life [12].

Thus, although Buddhists classify animal sacrifices as taking life under the influence of delusion, they retain the symbolic themes associated with it in offering rituals [13]. It may be that these themes, which are widespread cross culturally and potentially potent universally [14], reflect human psychological patterns. Possibly, similar comparisons between other types of rituals and the Tibetan material could be made and would be interesting in their own right. Yet there is a limitation to the usefulness of such an approach if one's main concern is to understand particular rituals being studied. It can detract us from the peculiarly Vajrayāna use of the symbolism, which to the Tibetans is central, and since it highlights common themes which do not have socially relevant variations, it is also not likely to add to our understanding of the social context of the rituals.

6.3 RITUALS AND THEIR SOCIAL CONTEXT

6.3.1 Geertz and Interpretive theory

Religious practice takes place in a social context; it is made possible or even encouraged by particular social and economic or political conditions, and equally, it may have implications for those conditions. However, whether there is a direct connection between the environment in which rituals take place and their actual *content* is another matter.

Clifford Geertz has, however, attempted to illustrate how the content of rituals expresses aspects of their social context. His approach has been to see rituals as social com-

mentaries: not necessarily reflections of the social order but imaginative explorations of it. The larger "deeper" Balinese cockfights [15], involving the important men of the community and their social allies, are over status rather than material resources, and in displaying naked aggression, a comment is made on the realities of status rivalries. According to Geertz, a culture consists of an "ensemble" of such "textual" commentaries. The Balinese theatre state ritual [16] was a dramatization of the cultural obsession with social inequality. It generated a model of how the world should be structured and created that structure in its performance - the ability to stage the large-scale rituals defined an important lord. Thus, the ritual itself was paradigmatic of the social order.

It may be that an "interpretive theory" - as Geertz labels his perspective - could throw light on certain aspects of traditional Tibetan culture - non-religious social gatherings or the State religious festivals would provide social and political commentaries on Tibetan society. However, most Buddhist rituals (and certainly those described here) are not "about" the social structure or social problems, and if they had been, it would not have made sense to preserve them unchanged into the completely different social context of exile in India. The pitfalls of a Geertzian framework if one is attempting to interpret Buddhist rituals are well illustrated by Sherry Ortner's shallow study of Sherpa ritual, considered in Chapter 1 (Section 1.5).

At least in considering Tibetan rituals, the same criticisms could also be applied to other analyses which attempt to directly relate ritual material with particular social conditions. It may be appropriate to use a general model, such as Samuel's "Relational Framework" (see Ch.1, Section 1.5.1) to compare *types* of rituals and their associated social contexts - and in general terms, I have suggested that the Rewalsar rituals with their emphasis on the three Inner Tantras are an example of the rNying-ma synthesis of the academic tradition and "shamanic" vision (to use Samuel's term) - but specific rituals cannot be analysed *through* their social contexts.

6.3.2 Political Legitimation and unchanging rituals: Thoughts on Maurice Bloch

A rather different kind of relationship between ritual and context is envisaged by Maurice Bloch, whose theory stresses the structural continuity of rituals over time [17].

Bloch argues (Chapter 8) that in ritual, human creativity and life are sacrificed for the sake of a transcendental order and authority. Since "this world" is, however, necessary, it is given a place but only under the violent control of the ordered transcendental. Like Robert Paul's psychoanalytical theory of religion, the scheme is vague enough for it to be applied to almost any material, but unlike Paul's analysis, it does seem to be suggested by his Merina case-study and not to have been imposed upon it. The main objection to it is Bloch's suggestion (p.175) that it may be universally valid. This is an ethnocentric approach; it would be equally plausible for me to use a Buddhist perspective in analysing non-Buddhist rituals, but such an attempt would imply that the philosophical differences between religious traditions are of no real importance.

Bloch modifies the Marxist notion of "ideology" to explain the relationship between rituals and their political and economic contexts. He argues that since ritual knowledge is different from practical knowledge, creating a timeless order in which different events appear to be the same, rituals are largely immune from history. Their theme of order and authority can, nonetheless, be used by power holders to legitimate their control.

Although Bloch does not make this explicit, the most significant difference between his and a Marxist analysis is that he talks of dominant groups and not ruling classes when he discusses power holders. Even in the case most closely resembling a class domination - that of the Merina royalty's exploitation of the circumcision ritual - it could be argued (as Bloch does in Ch.2) that the Merina political economy was already largely integrated into the wider capitalist economic system. Thus, there is no simple equation between the Merina royalty and the "ruling class" in a Marxist sense. To some extent, the royal circumcision ritual, especially that under Queen Ranavalona I (Ch.2: 18-21; Ch.7: 127-129), was an expression of Merina religion and identity in opposition to that of the foreign powers. In

other cases, such as where local leaders are seen as the ritual's "elders" (p.191), it is even more clear that Bloch is not talking of ruling classes.

Even with this modification of the Marxist notion of "ideology", how valid is the contention that the political significance of ritual is in its symbolic celebration of authority? If one attempted to look at Tibetan rituals from this view-point, one could create an analogy between the role of Merina "elders" and that of Tibetan "bla-ma"s. Nearly all Tibetan rituals include long supplications to the "root and lineage bla-mas" and it is the bla-ma's transmission and guidance which are said to make realisation possible. Moreover, one could take up Bloch's argument about the reason for the universal appeal of ritual in spite of its legitimation of domination (p.169, 189, 193), since it seems to promise authority and victory for all. It could be said that while Buddhist rituals promise the possibility of Enlightenment for all, in practice, it is only high bla-mas who are recognised as successful and worthy of deference. In "traditional" Tibet, bla-mas and monasteries were of fundamental importance in the political economy and government was legitimated by its religious role. In very general terms, it is true that the various political authorities in Tibet were able to exploit the necessity for bla-mas as the central focus in rituals and indeed, in the whole religious system. Yet, besides the problems caused for the analysis by the fact that Tibet, as a complex literate society, had a partial separation of "church" and "state" in which the monastic authorities succeeded in dominating the secular powers rather than vice versa [18], Tibetan ritual texts are not as conveniently ambiguous about the identity of the bla-mas referred to as Merina rituals seem to be about "ancestors" and "elders". Tibetan texts are specific in their lists of "lineage bla-mas" and the all-important Root bla-ma or Guru (Skt.), who is seen to encompass all the bla-mas, is not necessarily at the apex of any political or monastic hierarchy. The various traditions had their own lineages and in the case of the rNying-ma-pa, who did not have political dominance, most bla-mas were purely religious figures. Further, in much of Tibet, the political role of the important bla-mas was not so much as authoritarian figures representing dominant groups, but more as mediators, given that the

political environment was one in which in practice, State control was limited [19]. It might be more apt to argue that in the Tibetan case, Buddhist monasticism and ritual provided a structure which enabled the society to cohere without strong central government. This was certainly recognised by the Manchu emperors who helped the dGe-lugs-pa to export the system: their State policy was to promote Tibetan Buddhism in order to demilitarize Mongolia. A 'Go-log bla-ma - from A-mdo where State control was practically non-existent - commented that it was "*samaya*", the bond between the Guru and student, between the practitioner and practice, and between the practitioners (which I have discussed at length in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1), which had held the society together. Moreover, I shall argue that in the exile context, rituals are less important for legitimising any authority than for asserting Tibetan and Buddhist identity (see on Section 6.5).

More fundamentally, to suggest that the central concern of rituals is the political authority of dominant groups - or for that matter, any other political purpose - would be to miss much of their religious and psychological aims. Tibetan Buddhist rituals may help to legitimise the authority of bla-mas, or to express the identity of Tibetans in general or the particular tradition to which the practitioners belong, but their central concern is not political: it is in the liberation of the mind. Perhaps the most interesting of Bloch's findings was that although the politico-economic context rapidly changed, the Merina circumcision ritual retained the same structure, its main elements hardly changed at all, and most changes were elaborations or summaries of the basic themes. Bloch relates this stability to the nature of ritual discourse (p.184-185), and suggests (p.194) that this feature may explain long-term cultural continuities. This aspect of Bloch's study fits well with the Tibetan material: the rituals I examined were mostly shortened versions of previous works, and their themes have continuity with practices dating back to the Vajrayāna tradition in India (I shall discuss the implications of the comparatively static nature of rituals for the Tibetan exiles below, Section 6.5). While the main themes of Merina ritual may be in the blessings of ancestors and the pre-eminence of elders in the legitimate order of things,

Tibetan ritual has other preoccupations, stemming from Buddhist priorities, which I have demonstrated throughout my account.

6.4 THE EFFECTS OF LITERACY ON THE ORGANISATION OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

The fact that Tibetan Buddhism is a literate tradition must be taken into consideration not only in an examination of the meaning of its rituals, but also in understanding its organisation.

Jack Goody [20] points out that literate religions have relatively more autonomy from other aspects of the social system (p.xvii) than do non-literate religions, such that they may come to influence rather than reflect the social system (p.21). Moreover, written religious traditions are associated with the growth of "Church" institutions such as endowed monasteries with a large degree of autonomy (p.172). In such circumstances, the "Church" has separate interests from the "State" and there may be a continuing power struggle between them. In the Tibetan case, it was the monastic institutions which dominated the State (p.33). For Tibetan scholars, these points may be obvious, but they do highlight the limitations of attempting analyses similar to Bloch or Geertz when approaching a complex literate religious system.

Goody also notes (p.9) that written religions are capable of more stability than oral traditions and that change often manifests as breakaway or reform movements, rather than continual re-interpretation. It is certainly true that the stability of Tibetan rituals is related to their dependence on texts, although Bloch's study shows that largely oral ritual traditions *can* be remarkably stable. The general picture of the Tibetan Buddhist schools with separate lineages of teachings, to some extent conforms with Goody's stereotypical literate society, although this must be modified by the Vajrayāna emphasis on the bla-ma's ability to embody the three Jewels and present the teaching uniquely. In the rNying-ma school, the potential of *gter-ma* transmissions to develop new practices which followers may adopt while neglecting others, must qualify the suggestion that a literate tradition is inherently

conservative [21], or that change would involve a radical rejection of previous texts or interpretations. Indeed, demands to reject the texts of other schools are not a prominent feature of Tibetan Buddhism in general. In Samuel's terminology, the "clerical" literate society envisaged by Goody is, here, tempered by the "shamanic" element which was never marginalized in Tibetan Buddhism.

However, Goody highlights (p.86) one implication of a stable literate tradition which is particularly pertinent to modern Tibet. He argues that the phenomenon of "*neocolonialism*" is associated with the inability of non-literate cultures to withstand religious and cultural colonisation. The major Asian societies, on the other hand, had the literate traditions which have given them a solid basis for cultural resistance. The argument clearly applies to Tibet: given the distinctness and sophistication of the Tibetan literate heritage, the Chinese, despite their military might, have been unsuccessful in their attempted cultural onslaught on Tibet, and it is no accident that the exiles have put such efforts into the preservation and continued practice of their texts. In the next section, I discuss the manifestation of this Tibetan cultural resistance.

6.5 TIBETAN ETHNICITY AND rNYING-MA-PA IDENTITY

Tibetan exiles in India have not assimilated to the wider society, and do not show signs of doing so. On the contrary, the religious reconstruction, of which my study is an example, has gained momentum in the last few years. Tibetan Buddhism has attracted western adherents - and sponsorship - which has provided further impetus to the building of monasteries. I shall outline the developments in Rewalsar below (see "Postcript"); here, it is worth noting that in Bodhnath, Kathmandu, which, like Rewalsar, is a pilgrimage place associated with Guru Padma, new temples and monasteries are erected every year. There are now several monasteries associated with different rNying-ma-pa bla-mas, and most of the other teaching lineages are also represented. The economic success of some Tibetan refugees, who channel surplus income into donations to bla-mas, the sponsorship of rituals and the building of monasteries, coupled with the involvement of western Buddhists, has

made this possible. Moreover, in Tibet itself, despite the restrictions on religious freedom and the Chinese control of religious institutions, Tibetans have been re-building their monasteries and attempting to re-create their religious life.

In a sense, then, Tibetans within and outside Tibet are engaged in the same activity of religious reconstruction. However, there are significant differences. In both cases - and throughout Tibetan history - monasteries are the focus of the cultural life of the society. In Tibet today, however, the monasteries play a more directly political role than they do in exile. Lay people look to the monks - especially those of the important monasteries in the Lhasa area - as the representatives not only of their cultural heritage but of their political aspirations for independence, and since it is easier to organise resistance activities within the monasteries, monks have played a key role in organising and leading demonstrations. On the other hand, the monasteries in Tibet lack the competent scholarship and religious expertise which can be found in India. Since many of the older generation of monk scholars either died in labour camps or escaped from Tibet, and religious education has been suppressed for thirty years, there is a chronic shortage of teachers in Tibetan monasteries. The refugee monks, however, have retained their religious knowledge. They hope for an eventual return to Tibet - even if this may be in the distant future - and are aware of the fact that they, and not their compatriots in Tibet, bear the principal responsibility for preserving their heritage for the benefit of future generations.

Thus, the political and social significance of Tibetan refugee religious practice has two main aspects. First, it is a way of expressing Tibetan ethnicity and retaining Buddhist cultural identity in the present circumstances of life in India. Besides the obvious point that Buddhism is central to Tibetan culture, there are features of Tibetan religion which make it particularly appropriate as the focus for Tibetan ethnicity. It was historically important in unifying different elements of the society in a context of poor communications owing to the terrain, regional diversity and the inability of the State to exercise effective control beyond a limited area of Central Tibet. Moreover, Buddhist practice provides ultimate value and

meaning to life in the impermanent, unstable situation engendered by statelessness in the modern world. Many Tibetans comment that they were unable to fully understand the Buddhist teaching on impermanence until the Chinese invasion. Throughout the upheavals of exile, Tibetans have been able to retain the Dharma as their one constant and reliable support.

Second, in the long-term, Tibetans hope to re-establish their full religious tradition in Tibet. Although this aim may not be imminent, and the repression of Tibetan nationalism by the Chinese continues, there are some grounds for optimism. The Chinese have had to back down in their suppression of Buddhism and there has recently been international sympathy for the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan cause. Tibetan Buddhism is expanding in the west; if it can be established so readily in industrialised foreign countries, and its "mother" monasteries can flourish in India, there is no reason to suppose that it cannot survive into the future and be re-planted in Tibet.

While the above points apply to the whole of Tibetan refugee religious practice, there is a further dimension to the practice in Rewalsar and perhaps to the rNying-ma-pa tradition in exile, a tradition which, while it continues to be widespread, is not politically powerful, even though it has representation in the Government-in-exile.

It is interesting to reflect upon the significance of the "yi-dam" of the Rewalsar monastery, rDo-rje Gro-lod, in the light of this powerlessness. As a "completely wrathful" form of Padma, Gro-lod is associated with the rNying-ma tradition, and with desperate circumstances, demanding a dramatic response. He could be said to express the determination not only of Tibetan Buddhists in general, but also of the rNying-ma-pa school in particular, to survive in the face of hostile circumstances. Indeed, I heard that when bDud-'joms Rin-po-che installed the Gro-lod image in the *mgon-khang* on his first visit to Rewalsar, he put it in the place of a dGe-lugs-pa image - that of the protector rDo-rje Shugs-ldan of the *rgyal-po* class, who has been associated with the attempted destruction of the rNying-ma teaching lineages - which he removed and threw into the lake. Gro-lod

is the main yi-dam used by the rNying-ma-pa in combatting such mystical (and physical) threats, and bDud-'joms Rin-po-che has established his practice, not only at Rewalsar and amongst Tibetans in India, but also in the west. Gro-lod's special characteristic of subduing and transforming adverse conditions is sometimes expressed by saying that the worse the conditions of Saṃsāra, the stronger Gro-lod becomes.

It may seem to be contradictory to argue that Buddhist practice unites the refugee community but it can also express sectarian aspirations. However, at least at Rewalsar, the imagery should not be associated with sectarian divisiveness, but rather with the maintenance of the unique rNying-ma-pa identity within the larger Tibetan Buddhist fold.

The holocaust of the Chinese disruption of the Tibetan social and political system, and the "Cultural Revolution", struck at the innermost identity of all Tibetan groups. Each tradition is preserving its own rituals which can help to reaffirm its own, and its wider Tibetan Buddhist identity. For the Rewalsar monks, the rDo-rje Gro-lod practice is central. Gro-lod has been an important yi-dam since the beginning of Tibetan Buddhist history, and of course, in mythology, he exists primordially. The rituals performed at Rewalsar are the inspired work of a modern-day master, but also their elements have continuity with earlier practices dating back to Indian Buddhism. In fact, everywhere, the rituals of yi-dams of the Three Inner Tantras are similar: even western converts are given simplified versions of the same types of practices. Such rituals, being relatively static, can provide the refugees with an anchor in their extreme circumstances. The particular imagery of Gro-lod, as a constant rNying-ma symbol for the real nature of the mind, which has the special quality of dramatic transformation of adverse conditions, adds forcefulness to this strategy of the reaffirmation of rNying-ma-pa identity.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

[1] Stephan Beyer, 1978.

[2] Christopher J. Fuller, 1984.

[3] This material has been relegated to appendices since it is well-known to scholars of Buddhist studies and Tibetology.

[4] See C.J.Fuller, 1988.

[5] M.Fortes, 1980, p.xvii.

[6] M.F.C.Bourdillon, 1980, p.22.

[7] Robertson Smith (1894) is, of course, associated with the theory of sacrifice as a social communion and in more recent times, Lienhardt's study of the Dinka (1961) emphasises this aspect.

[8] M.F.C.Bourdillon, *ibid.*, p.18.

[9] Audrey Hayley, 1980, p.107 ff.

[10] J.H.M.Beattie, 1980, p.30-31.

[11] J.H.M.Beattie, *ibid.*, p.37 ff.

[12] Evans-Pritchard (1956, p.281-2) stresses that the fundamental concept involved in Nuer sacrifice is that of substitution.

[13] Jack Goody (1986), discussing the implications of writing for the content of religion, points out that a move from sacrifice in a literal sense to a metaphorical one is common in the literate religious traditions.

[14] Certainly, Tibetans make universalistic claims regarding the effectiveness of *Tshogs* for practising Buddhists.

[15] Clifford Geertz, 1973.

[16] Clifford Geertz, 1980.

[17] Maurice Bloch, 1986.

[18] As J.Goody points out: see on, Section 6.4.

[19] See Geoffrey Samuel, 1982.

[20] J.Goody, 1986.

[21] Nonetheless, a new text will not be recognised as a *gter-ma* unless it fulfils certain criteria, and a radical departure from previous texts would undoubtedly be rejected.

POSTSCRIPT: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN REWALSAR

As far as I can tell [1], the situation in Rewalsar has changed in three principal ways since the time of my fieldwork. First, regarding the make-up of the rNying-ma-pa monastery, a few of the monks have died or left, and new monks have joined. The *slob-dpon's* position was again vacant for a period after the *mkhan-po* who had taken over in 1983, died in a bus accident during a visit to Tibet. Messages to bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, who was by then terminally ill in France, were not responded to, and eventually the Secretary and Committee asked Bla-ma Rig-'dzin to act as the *slob-dpon*, presumably until bDud-'joms' son and successor, gZhan-phan Zla-ba Rin-po-che, sent a replacement or confirmed the appointment. The monk, Chos-'phel, died swiftly and peacefully after a short illness, and Thub-bstan died from an electric shock while staying in the retreat house. bSod-nams, after some time as the *mchod-dpon*, became seriously ill with T.B., and had to leave the monastery. He returned to his family in Orissa to convalesce, and has remained there since. As far as I know, the other monks mentioned in Chapter 2 are still in the monastery, and there have been a few additions. bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal has been made a kind of monastic "Secretary", with the responsibility for dealing with English correspondence and interpreting when western visitors arrive. Ngag-dbang Byams-pa has had three years as the Caretaker Monk, while the former *gNyer-ba*, En Chung, has made a visit to relatives in Tibet. He returned, appalled at the conditions in which the Tibetans are still living.

Thus, besides the turnover of individual monks, the only new feature which affects monastic organisation is the creation of rNam-rgyal's post, and this is directly related to the second way in which there has been change in the community. The Himachal Pradesh State

Government had long aspired to develop the tourist potential of Rewalsar, and has finally begun to do so. The path around the lake has been made into a road; a small zoo has opened; an expensive hotel has been built, and a road to the mountain retreat centre. Many of the older and cheaper dwellings, in which the poorer lay Tibetans and Indians had lived, have been demolished, and new houses with electric lighting and washing facilities erected. Rents have soared, the price of food has increased sharply, and it has become much more difficult for Tibetans without dependable sponsorship to remain in Rewalsar. Bla-ma dBang-rdor of the retreat centre has secured rights to the caves and some of the land on the mountainside for the *ri-khrod* community, but it could be that the *ri-khrod* will cease to be an attractive option for those genuinely wishing to live reclusively. Not only has a motorable road been built, and a bus service put on; there are apparently plans for a hotel to be built, and possibly even a chair lift!

While some may have been able to exploit the increase in tourism - for example, a second Tibetan restaurant has apparently opened - it is clearly the poorer Tibetans who have been most severely affected by these changes. Even the rNying-ma-pa monastery's administration was not able to increase the monks' allowances in line with the rising food prices, and by 1987, when the drought throughout the whole of India resulted in more price increases, the allowance was no longer sufficient for a basic diet. Sponsorship from western Buddhists has therefore become a necessity [2], and bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal's ability to speak and write English has helped to secure some extra financial support for the monks.

The rNying-ma-pa Guest House has been rebuilt, with better amenities, presumably with the intention of attracting some pilgrims with more money and increasing the income from the rents.

The third major change to the Rewalsar community is that a third Tibetan monastery, under the guidance of the 'Brug-pa bla-ma, Dzigar Rinpoche, has been constructed. Its building had been planned during my fieldwork; a site had been cleared and foundations laid, but at that stage, construction was halted until funds could be raised. It was built in

1987 to 1988, and is very large, with four stories. I do not yet have any information on its monks.

Thus, inflation, which has been high in the whole of India, but especially so in Rewalsar, given its transformation from a village attracting pilgrims to a tourist resort, has made circumstances more difficult for the poorer Tibetans in Rewalsar. On the other hand, the rNying-ma-pa monastery - and possibly the other religious establishments - have been able to survive and improve their buildings through greater reliance on western Buddhist sponsorship. Tibetan Buddhism is still expanding at Rewalsar, with the addition of a new large monastery, and this expansion can be seen as a smaller scale example of the present acceleration of the monastic reconstruction which can be clearly evidenced in larger centres such as Bodhnath in Nepal [3].

NOTES TO POSTSCRIPT

[1] The following comments are based mainly on information from Bla-ma Blo-gros, who visited me in England for six months in 1987, and to a lesser extent on correspondence with other Rewalsar Tibetans. The dates of the various incidents were a little hazy, so they have been omitted here.

[2] Bla-ma dBang-rdor made an extended visit to the U.S.A. in 1988, and Bla-ma dBon-sprul Rin-po-che visited Germany. Both these visits probably involved a combination of teaching in Dharma centres with attempts to raise sponsorship.

[3] There may, however, be limits to this expansion in Nepal. I understand that since the disturbances in Tibet in early 1989, pressures from the Chinese Government have resulted in surveillance of the Tibetan monastic establishments in the Kathmandu valley, and one large monastery which attracted many western followers was closed down for a period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, M., 1966, "Ritual Presentations and the Structure of the Sinhalese Pantheon", in M.Nash, ed., 1966.

Andrugtsang, Gompo T., 1973, *Four Rivers, Six Ranges: Reminiscences of the Resistance movement in Tibet*, Information and Publicity Office of H.H. the Dalai Lama, Dharamsala, India.

Ardussi, John, 1972, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, the Sainly Tibetan Madman, unpublished master's thesis, University of Washington.

Aris, Michael, 1980, *Bhutan - the early history of a Himalayan Kingdom*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.

Aris, Michael & Aung San Suu Kyi (eds), 1980, *Tibetan Studies, in honour of Hugh Richardson*, Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan studies, Oxford, 1979, Aris & Phillips.

Asboe, Walter, 1937, "Agricultural Methods in Lahoul", in *Man*, Vol.37, No.90.

Avedon, John F., 1985, *In Exile from the Land of Snows*, Wisdom Publications.

Ayang Rin-po-che and Karma Tsultim Khechog Palmo, 1969, condensed English translation of "The Mind of all the Lamas" by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, Rumtek, Sikkim.

Aziz, Barbara Nimri, 1976, "Reincarnation Reconsidered", in J. Hitchcock & R. Jones.

Aziz, Barbara Nimri, 1978, *Tibetan Frontier Families*, Vikas Publishing House, Pvt., Ltd.

Aziz, B. N. and Kapstein, M. (eds), 1985, *Soundings in Tibetan Civilisation*, Manohar Publications, Delhi.

Banton, M. (ed.), 1966, *Anthropological Approaches to the study of Religion*, Tavistock, London.

Batchelor, Stephen, 1979, *A Guide to the Bodhisattva's way of life*, translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, by Śāntideva, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamsala, H.P., India.

Beattie, J.H.M., "On Understanding Sacrifice", in M.F.C. Bourdillon, 1980.

Berzin, Alexander, in conjunction with Sherpa Tulku and M.Kapstein, 1979, *The Four-themed Precious Garland: An Introduction to Dzog-ch'en*, by Long-ch'en Rab-jam-pa Dri-me Wo-zer, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, India.

Beyer, Stephan, 1978, *The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet*, University of California Press.

Bloch, Maurice, 1986, *From Blessing to Violence: History and ideology in the circumcision ritual of the Merina of Madagascar*, C.U.P.

Blondeau, A.M., 1980, "Analysis of the biographies of Padmasambhava according to Tibetan Tradition: Classification of Sources", in Michael Aris & Aung San Suu Kyi (eds).

Bourdillon, M.F.C. and M.Fortes (eds), 1980, *Sacrifice*, Academic Press for the R.A.I.

Canzio, Ricardo D., 1979, Sakyā Pandita's 'Treatise on Music' and its relevance to present-day Tibetan Liturgy, Ph.D thesis, London, S.O.A.S.

Carrasco, Pedro, 1959, *Land and Polity in Tibet*, University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Combe, G.A., 1926, *A Tibetan on Tibet*, Urwin Fisher, London.

Conway, John S., Spring 1975, "The Tibetan Community in Exile", in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol.48, no.1.

Conze, Edward, 1951, *Buddhism - its essence and development*, Bruno Cassirer, Oxford.

Conze, Edward, 1959, *Buddhist Scriptures*, Penguin.

Conze, Edward, 1960, *A Short History of Buddhism*, Chetana Ltd., Bombay.

Conze, Edward, 1967, *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, Bruno Cassirer, Oxford.

Conze, Edward, 1983, *Buddhist Thought in India: Three Phases of Buddhist Philosophy*, Allen & Unwin.

Corlin, Claes, 1975, *The Nation in Your Mind: Continuity and Change among Tibetan Refugees in Nepal*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Goteborg.

Crook, John, 1982, review of Robert Paul, *The Tibetan Symbolic World*, in *The Times Literary Supplement*.

Dargyay, Eva K., 1979, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.

Dargyay, Eva K., 1982, *Tibetan Village Communities*, Aris and Phillips Ltd.

Das, Sarat Chandra, 1970, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.

Desjardins, Arnaud, 1969, *The Message of the Tibetans* (trans. R.H.Ward & Vega Stewart), Stuart & Watkins, London.

Despres, L.A. (ed.), 1975, *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, Mouton, The Hague.

Douglas, K., & G. Bays, 1978, *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava*, Dharma

Publishing.

Douglas, Nik, & Meryl White, 1976, *Karmapa: The Black Hat Lama of Tibet*, Luzac & Co., Ltd., London.

Dowman, Keith, 1973, translation of the "Zab-pa skor bdun las o-rgyan rnam-thar dpag-bsam ljong-shing" of Orgyen Chokgyur Lingpa, in *The Legend of the Great Stupa*, Dharma Publishing.

Dowman, Keith, 1984, *Sky Dancer: The Secret Life and Songs of the Lady Yeshe Tsogyel*, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Driver, J.E.Stapleton, 196 , A preliminary survey of the Tantras of the Old School, unpublished thesis.

Dudjom Rinpoche, H.H., translated and edited by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein, forthcoming, *The History and Fundamentals of the Nyingma School*, Wisdom Publications.

Ekvall, Robert B., 1968, *Fields on the Hoof: Nexus of Tibetan Nomadic Pastoralism*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, N.Y.

Epstein, Lawrence, 1977, Causation in Tibetan Religion: Duality and its transformations, Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington.

Epstein, Lawrence, 1984, Review of Dargyay, 1982, in *Pacific Affairs*, 56(4): 778-9.

Evans-Pritchard, 1956, *Nuer Religion*, O.U.P.

Fischer, J.F., 1978, *Himalayan Anthropology - The Indo-Tibetan interface*, The Hague, Mouton.

Fortes, M., 1980, See Bourdillon, M.F.C. and M.Fortes (eds).

Fortes, M., 1983, *Oedipus and Job in West African Religion*, C.U.P.

Fremantle, Francesca, and Chogyam Trungpa, 1975, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead: The Great Liberation through Hearing in the Bardo*, Shambhala.

Fried, Morton, 1975, *The Notion of Tribe*, Cummings, Menlo Park, CA.

Fuller, Christopher J., 1984, *Servants of the Goddess: The priests of a South Indian Temple*, C.U.P.

Fuller, Christopher J., March 1988, "The Hindu Pantheon and the Legitimation of Hierarchy", in *MAN*, 23.

Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph von, 1979, *The Sherpas of Nepal: Buddhist Highlanders*, East-West Publications.

Garcham, undated, published by Khampa-Gar Monastery, District Kangra, H.P.

Geertz, Clifford, 1966, *Religion as a cultural system*, in M.Banton, ed.

Geertz, Clifford, 1973, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight", in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, Basic Books.

Geertz, Clifford, 1980, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-century Bali*, Princeton University Press.

Goldstein, M.C., 1964, "A study of the Idab Idob", in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol.IX, p.123-141.

Goldstein, M.C., 1968, An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan political system, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.

Goldstein, M.C., 1971 (a), "The balance between centralization and decentralization in the

traditional Tibetan political system", in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol.XV, p.170-182.

Goldstein, M.C., 1971 (b), "Serfdom and mobility: An examination of the institution of 'human lease' in traditional Tibetan society", in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.30, p.521-534.

Goldstein, M.C., 1971 (c), "Stratification, polyandry and family structure in Central Tibet", in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.27, p.64-74.

Goldstein, M.C., 1971 (d), "Taxation and the structure of a Tibetan village", in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol.XV, p.1-27.

Goldstein, M.C., 1973, "The circulation of estates in Tibet: Reincarnation, land and politics", in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.32, p.445-455.

Goldstein, M.C., 1975, "Ethnogenesis and Resource Competition among Tibetan refugees in South India", in L.A.Despres, ed., 1975.

Goldstein, M.C., 1977, *Modern Literary Tibetan*, New Delhi.

Goldstein, M.C., 1978, *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Goldstein, M.C., Winter 1986, "Reexamining Choice, Dependency and Command in the Tibetan Social System: 'Tax Appendages' and other Landless Serfs", *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.XI, No.4.

Goldstein, M.C. and Paljor Tsarong, Spring 1985, "Tibetan Buddhist Monasticism: social, psychological and cultural implications", in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.X, No.1.

Gombrich, Richard F. 1971, *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the rural highlands of Ceylon*, O.U.P.

- Goody, Jack, 1986, *The Logic of Writing and the Organisation of Society*, C.U.P.
- Govinda, Lama Anagarika, 1966, *The Way of the White Clouds: A Buddhist Pilgrim in Tibet*, Rider & Co.
- Govinda, Lama Anagarika, 1969, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, Rider & Co.
- Govinda, Lama Anagarika, 1976, *Psycho-cosmic symbolism of the Buddhist Stupa*, Dharma Publishing.
- Guenther, Herbert, 1959, translation of sGam-po-pa, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, Rider & Co.
- Guenther, Herbert, 1975, *Kindly Bent to Ease Us, Part One: Mind*, Dharma Publishing.
- Handa, O.C., 1988, *Buddhist Monasteries in Himachal Pradesh*, Sangam Books Ltd.
- Hayley, Audrey, 1980, "A Commensal relationship with God: The nature of offering in Assamese Vaishnavism", in M.F.C.Bourdillon and M.Fortes, 1980.
- Hitchcock, J. & R.Jones (eds), 1976, *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., Delhi.
- Hookham, Michael, undated, typescript of teachings given at Buddhist Society, London, 1977-1978.
- Horton, Robin, 1983, "Social Psychologies: African and Western", in M. Fortes, 1983.
- Humphrey, Caroline, 1983, *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm*, C.U.P.
- Jäschke, H.A., 1977, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Jones, Ernest, 1967, "The Theory of Symbolism", in *Papers on Psycho-analysis*, Boston,

Beacon Press.

Karmay, Samten Gyaltzen, 1988, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, Serindia Publications.

Levy-Bruhl, L., 1926, *How Natives Think*, Allen & Unwin.

Li An-che, 1948, "rNin-ma-pa, the Early Form of Lamaism", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p.142-63.

Lienhardt, Godfrey, 1961, *Divinity and Experience*, O.U.P.

Marwick, M., ed., 1970, *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, Penguin.

Matics, Marion L., 1970, *Entering the Path of Enlightenment*, translation of the "Bodhicaryāvatāra", by Śāntideva, Macmillan, London.

Messerschmidt, Donald, 1976, "Innovation in Adaptation: Tibetan Immigrants in the United States", in *Tibet Society Bulletin* (Bloomington, Indian Institute), Vol.10, pp.48-70.

Meyer, Fernand, 1983, *gSo-ba Rig-pa. Le Systeme Medical Tibetain*, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

Michael, Franz, 1987, "Tibetan Social System" in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.XII, No.3, Autumn 1987.

Miller, Beatrice D., 1958, *Lamas and Laymen: a historico-functional study of the secular integration of monastery and community*, Ph.D thesis, University of Washington.

Miller, Beatrice D., 1978, "Tibetan Culture and Personality: refugee responses to a culture-bound TAT", in J.F. Fischer, 1978.

Miller, Beatrice D., 1987, "A Response to Goldstein's 'Reexamining Choice, Dependency

and Command in the Tibetan Social System", in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.XII, No.2, Summer 1987.

Mullin, Glenn H., 1986, "An Interview with the Dalai Lama", in *Tibetan Review*, Vol.XXI, Sept.-Oct. 1986.

Murti, T.R.V., 1960, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of the Mādhyamika System*, Allen & Unwin.

Nalanda Translation Committee, under the direction of Chogyam Trungpa, 1982, *The Life of Marpa, the Translator*, Prajñā Press.

Nash, M. ed., 1966, *Anthropological Studies in Theravada Buddhism*, Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de, 1975, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*, Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de, 1976, *Tibetan Religious Dances: Tibetan text and annotated translation of the 'chams yig*, edited by C. von Furer-Haimendorf, Mouton, the Hague, Paris.

Norbu, Jamyang, 1986, "On the Brink", in *Tibetan Review*, Vol.XXI, September - October 1986.

Norbu, Namkhai, 1986, *The Crystal and the Way of Light*, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Norbu, Thubten Jigme, & Colin Turnbull, 1976, *Tibet: Its History, Religion and People*, Penguin.

Nowak, M., 1978, Liminal 'Self', Ambiguous 'Power'; The Genesis of the 'Rangzen' Meta-

phor among Tibetan youth in India, Ph.D thesis, University of Washington.

Nowak, M., 1984, *Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of Meaning*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Obeyesekere, Gananath, 1969, "The Ritual Drama of the Sanni Demons: Collective Representations of Disease in Ceylon", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11, pp.174-216.

Ortner, Sherry B., 1978, *The Sherpas through their Rituals*, C.U.P., New York, U.S.A.

Ott-Marti, Anna Elisabeth, 1976, "Problems of Tibetan Integration in Switzerland", in *Ethnologia Europaea*, Vol.IX, p.43-52.

Palakshappa, T.C., 1978, *Tibetans in India: A case study of Mundgod Tibetans*. Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

Pallis, Marco, 1948, *Peaks and Lamas*, Reader's Union, London.

Patterson, George N., 1960, *Tibet in Revolt*, Faber & Faber.

Paul, Robert A., 1976, "The Sherpa temple as a Model of the Psyche", in *American Ethnologist*, 3, p.131-146.

Paul, Robert A., 1979, "Dumje: Paradox and Resolution in Sherpa Ritual Symbolism", *American Ethnologist*, 6, p.274-304.

Paul, Robert A., 1982, *The Tibetan Symbolic World*, The University of Chicago Press.

Pedro, Carrasco, 1959, *Land and Polity in Tibet*, Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark, 1963, *A Study of Polyandry*, The Hague, Mouton.

Polanyi, Michael, 1970, "The stability of scientific theories against experience", in

M.Marwick, ed., 1970.

Pulman, Lynn, 1983, "Tibetans in Karnataka", in *Kailash*, Vol.X.

Rabsal, Lodro, June 1988, "Kagyü - Anatomy of Its Tradition", in *Tibetan Review*, p.14-18.

Ramble, Charles, 1980, "Recent Books on Tibet and the Buddhist Himalayas II", in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, p.107-117.

Rastogi, Saral, 1981, *Rewalsar; Confluence of Tri-dharma*, Vijaya Prakashan Mandir, Chahshor, Meerut-City, India.

Ray, Reginald, 1986, "Some Aspects of the Tulku Tradition in Tibet", in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.XI, No.4, Winter 1986.

Richardson, Hugh, 1958 and 1959, "The Karmapa Sect", in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1958, p.139-164; 1959, p.1-18.

Richardson, Hugh, 1984, *Tibet and its History*, Shambhala, Boulder and London.

Robinson, James B., 1979, *Buddha's Lions: The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*, Dharma Publishing.

Robinson, Richard, 1954, "On Entering the tenth bhūmi and becoming a Buddha", translated from the Avataṃsaka Sūtra, Ch.22, part 5, in *Chinese Buddhist Verse*, pp.57-59, J.Murray.

Robinson, Richard, 1970, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*, Dickenson, Belmont, CA.

Roerich, George N., 1976, *The Blue Annals*, Motilal Banarsidass.

Samuel, Geoffrey, 1975, *The Crystal Rosary: Insight and Method in an anthropological study of Tibetan Religion*, Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge.

Samuel, Geoffrey, 1978, "Religion in Tibetan Society - A New Approach" in *Kailash*, Vol.6, (a) "Part One: A Structural Model", pp.45-63; (b) "Part Two - The Sherpas of Nepal: A Case Study", pp.99-112.

Samuel, Geoffrey, 1982, "Tibet as a stateless society and some Islamic parallels", in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.XLI, No.2.

Samuel, Geoffrey, 1984, *Civilised Shamans: Tibetan Buddhism, Science and Anthropology*, manuscript.

Samuel, Geoffrey, 1987, *Redesigning Anthropology: Mind, Body, Culture and the Biological Interface*, manuscript.

Sharpa Tulku and M. Perrott, Summer 1985, "The Ritual of Consecration", in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.X, No.2.

Smith, E. Gene, 1985, "Preface", in B.N.Aziz and M.Kapstein (Eds), 1985.

Smith, Robertson W., 1894, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, Black, London.

Snellgrove, David L., 1957, *Buddhist Himālaya*. Cassirer, Oxford.

Snellgrove, David L., 1959, *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study*, Part I and II, O.U.P.

Snellgrove, David L., 1966, "For a Sociology of Tibetan speaking regions", in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol.XI, No.3, p.199-219.

Snellgrove, David L., 1987, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan successors*, 2 Volumes, Shambhala.

Snellgrove, David L., and Hugh Richardson, 1980, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, Prajñā Press, Boulder.

Southwold, Martin, 1983, *Buddhism in Life: The Anthropological Study of Religion and the Sinhalese practice of Buddhism*, Manchester University Press.

Sperber, Dan 1975, *Rethinking Symbolism*, C.U.P.

Sperber, Dan, 1985, *On Anthropological Knowledge*, C.U.P.

Stcherbatsky, Th., 1956, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta.

Streng, F.J., 1967, *Emptiness - a study in religious meaning*, Abingdon Press, New York.

Suzuki, D.T. (trans.), 1932, *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Suzuki, D.T., 1970, *Essays in Zen Buddhism - Third Series*, Rider & Co.

Tarthang Tulku, 1977, "A History of the Buddhist Dharma", in *Crystal Mirror*, Volume V, Dharma Publishing.

Thondup Rinpoche, Tulku 1986, *Hidden Teachings of Tibet: An Explanation of the Terma Tradition of the Nyingma School of Buddhism*, edited by Harold Talbott, Wisdom Publications, London.

Tibetan Review, New Delhi, India.

Tibetans in Exile, 1959-1980, 1981, The Information Office, Central Tibetan Secretariat, Dharamsala.

Trungpa, Chogyam, 1973, *Cutting through Spiritual Materialism*, Shambhala.

Trungpa, Chogyam, 1976, *The Myth of Freedom, and the Way of Meditation*, Shambhala.

Trungpa, Chogyam, 1977, *Born in Tibet*, Shambhala.

Tucci, Giuseppe, 1950, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome.

Tucci, Giuseppe, 1967, *Tibet: Land of Snows*, trans. J.E.Stapleton Driver, Paul Elek, Ltd.

Tucci, Giuseppe, 1969, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, trans. Alan Houghton Brodrick, Rider & Co.

Tucci, Giuseppe, 1980, *The Religions of Tibet*, trans. Geoffrey Samuel, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Turner, Victor, 1974, *The Ritual Process: Structure and antistructure*, Penguin.

Van Gennep, Arnold, 1960, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M.B.Vizedom and G.L.Caffee, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wangyal, Phuntsog, 1982, "Tibet: a Case of Eradication of Religion leading to Genocide"; reprinted in *Tibet News Review*, February 1983.

Warder, A.K., 1970, *Indian Buddhism*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.

Williams, Paul, 1989, "Introduction - some random reflections on the study of Tibetan Mādhyamaka", in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.XIV, Spring 1989: "Special Issue: Tibetan Contributions to the Mādhyamaka".

Woodward, F.L., 1974, *Some Sayings of the Buddha*, The Buddhist Society, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TIBETAN WORKS

* Relevant sections included in Appendix 4

** Text included in Appendix 4

Council for Religious Affairs of H.H. the Dalai Lama

"rGya-gar Bal-yul 'Bras 'brug khul du 1959 phan la chags-pa'i bod dgon ji yod dang De-nas bzung byes 'byor gyi ris-med dgon-pa gsar bzhengs ji yod dGon so-so'i nang dGe-'dun sNgags-pa bTsun-ma Ser-khyim sogs zhal grangs ji yod kyi re'u mig". Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamsala; printed at Imperial Printing Press, Dharamsala.

bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rDo-rje: Works or compilations by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che

"Chos-spyod kyi rim-pa rnam-par grol-ba'i lam gyi shing-rta";* Block by Saraswati Block Centre, Varanasi; Published by Ven. Dudjom Rinpoche, Kalimpong, India.

"Guru gsol-'debs bar-chad kun sel bsam-don myur 'grub".**

From collected texts on rDo-rje Gro-lod (printed in Manali, H.P., India)

(a) "sKong-ba".**

(b) "bDud-'joms khrag-'thung padma'i srog-sgrub zab-mo ithi".**

(c) "bDud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi sbyin-sreg gi cho-ga phrin-las rnam-rol".**

(d) "bDud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi smad-las rdo-rje'i thog-char".

(e) "bDud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi las-byang dngos-grub 'dod-'jo".**

(f) "Yang-gsang bdud-'dul gro-lod kyi gtor-ma'i dpeu-ris".

(g) "gSol-'debs".**

"rDo-rje'i chos-skyong-ba'i srung-ma rnams kyi las-byang 'phrin-las rnam-pa rol-pa'i dga'-ston".

"dPal rdo-rje phur-pa bdud-'joms gnam-lcags spu-gri'i smad-las dgra-bgegs sgrol-ba'i las rim khrag-'thung khros-pa'i dga'-ston"; from: "bdud-'joms 'jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje yi gsung-'bum dam-chos rin-chen nor-bu'i mdzod", "The Collected Works of H.H. BDud-'joms Rin-po-che", Vol.10.

"Bla-ma thugs kyi sgrub-pa'i las-byang dngos-grub 'dod-'jo'i dga'-ston".**

"sGrub-khog" text used for "Bla-sgrub" practice:

"Phags-mchog nam-mkha'i rgyal-po'i sgrub-chen gyi khog dbub phan bde'i chu-ger",
from the "Dam-chos sprul-sku'i snying-thig".

"Zab lam mkha'-'gro'i phrin-las dang 'brel-bar bla bslu'i cho-ga mdor-bsdus ring 'tsho'i
dpal ster".

Bya-bral Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje

"Thugs-sgrub gter-kha bdun-'dus dang 'brel-ba'i bsnyen-yig snying-por bsdus-pa bltas
gsal dri-med shel gyi me-long".**

"Guru'i thugs sgrub kun-'dus kyi brgyud-'debs byin-rlabs dbang gi bum-bzang".**

O-rgyan Gling-pa

"Padma bka'-thang shel-brag-ma": "O-rgyan guru padma 'byung-gnas kyi skyes-rabs
rnam-par thar-ba rgyas-bar bkod-pa padma bka'i thang yig".

