

## TIBETAN SONGS OF REALIZATION

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# TIBETAN SONGS OF REALIZATION

*Echoes from a Seventeenth-Century Scholar and  
Siddha in Amdo*

BY

VICTORIA SUJATA



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*Cover illustration:* A portrait of the 17th-century scholar and siddha, Skal ldan rgya mtsho, author of the songs.

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## CONTENTS

Author's Preface.....	ix
Notes on Contributors.....	xv

### PART ONE

#### WHAT SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S *MGUR* TELL ABOUT HIS SPIRITUAL QUESTS

Chapter One. The Rising Sun of the Teaching in Amdo.....	1
Chapter Two. Solitary Hermitages.....	24
Chapter Three. Connections with Mi la ras pa.....	45
Chos pa Rin po che's Relationship to Mi la ras pa.....	48
Skal ldan rgya mtsho's Relationship to Mi la ras pa.....	56
Chapter Four. Involvement with the Dga' Idan Oral Tradition of <i>Mahāmudrā</i> .....	60

### PART TWO

#### INTRODUCTION TO SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S *MGUR* 'BUM

Chapter Five. The Genre of <i>Mgur</i> and What it Meant to Skal ldan rgya mtsho.....	77
The Development of the Genre of <i>Mgur</i> up to Skal ldan rgya mtsho's Time.....	78
<i>Mgur</i> as a Means of Expression for Skal ldan rgya mtsho.....	85

PART THREE  
STYLES IN THE *MGUR 'BUM*

Chapter Six. Dialogues: <i>Mgur</i> in Conversation with Animals...	97
Chapter Seven. Metrics.....	112
Four Syllables per Line.....	117
Five Syllables per Line.....	118
Six Syllables per Line.....	121
Seven Syllables per Line.....	123
Eight Syllables per Line.....	127
Nine Syllables per Line.....	135
Ten Syllables per Line.....	136
Chapter Eight. Stanza Patterns.....	139
Stanzas of Four Lines.....	140
Stanzas of Five Lines.....	147
Stanzas of Three Lines.....	150
Stanzas of Two Lines.....	154
<i>Mgur</i> with Exceptionally Long Sentences.....	157
Chapter Nine. Poetic Figures I. Those Showing Influence from the <i>Kāvyaḍarśa</i> .....	162
<i>Yamaka</i> , “Phonemic Repetition”.....	166
<i>Niyama</i> , “Phonemic Restriction”.....	180
<i>Praheḷikā</i> , “Riddle”.....	182
Chapter Ten. Poetic Figures II. Indigenous Tibetan Poetic Figures.....	185
Similes.....	189
Metaphors.....	206
Parallelism and Antithesis.....	217
Continual Repetition of a Finite Verb.....	224
Sequences of Numbers.....	226

## CONTENTS

vii

Interjections.....	228
Conclusion.....	245
Coda The Tradition of Singing Skal ldan rgya mtsho's	
<i>Mgur</i> Today.....	247
The Musical Context.....	249
The Ritual Contexts.....	256
Skal ldan rgya mtsho's Lineage Today.....	258
Summary and Conclusions.....	260
Directions of Future Research.....	263

## APPENDICES

Appendix A. Selected <i>Mgur</i> Translated in Full.....	267
Indices.....	267
Tibetan Texts and Translations.....	268
Appendix B. Yab rje Skal ldan rgya mtsho's Life in Brief.....	370
Appendix C. Contents of the Accompanying CD of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's <i>Mgur</i> Sung Today.....	376
Appendix D. Extant Versions and Critical Edition of the <i>Mgur 'bum</i> .....	380
Appendix E. A Catalogue of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's <i>Gsung</i> ' <i>bum</i> ( <i>Collected Writings</i> ).....	384
Bibliography.....	427
Supplemental Biography: Sources for Historical Background.....	437
Discography.....	441
Index.....	443

## CD

## Tibetan Songs of Realization: A Continuing Tradition

from the Seventeenth Century.....	back cover
Mgur VII-7, Dge 'dun 'od zer and chorus.....	track 1
Mgur V-20, Rin chen byams and chorus.....	2
Mgur X-12, exc., Blo bzang and chorus.....	3
Mgur XIII-8, exc., Padma dbang can and chorus.....	4
Mgur VII-10a, Rin chen byams and chorus.....	5
Mgur VII-11, Dge 'dun 'od zer and chorus.....	6
Mgur XII-15, exc., Padma dbang can and chorus.....	7
Mgur III-7, exc., Sangs rgyas chos 'phel and chorus.....	8
Mgur II-2, exc., Sangs rgyas chos 'phel and chorus.....	9
Mgur V-8, Dge 'dun 'od zer and chorus.....	10
Mgur VII-6, Dge 'dun 'od zer and chorus.....	11
Mgur X-9, Rin chen byams and chorus.....	12



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

འཕགས་པ་ཀླ་སྒྲུབ་ནི་ཡབ་སྲས། །  
མཉམ་མེད་སློབ་བཟང་གི་བྲགས་པ། །  
སློབ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ནི་བྱུང་མཚན། །  
གསོལ་བ་སྟོང་ནས་རང་འདེབས་སོ། །  
བྲགས་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་རྟོང་ས་ཤིག །  
རང་སེམས་སྟོས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཁྲོད་པོ། །  
ཆོས་དབྱིངས་སུ་འཕུར་སྟེང་འདྲོད་ཀྱང་། །  
བདག་འཛིན་གྱི་ཉི་ཐག་ཁྲ་པོས། །  
དབང་མེད་དུ་འཁོར་བར་བཅིངས་སོ། །  
ཟབ་ལམ་གྱི་མཚན་ཆ་རྟོན་པོས། །  
བདག་འཛིན་འདི་ལྷུང་དུ་སྤོལ་ཅིག །  
བྲགས་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་རྟོང་ས་ཤིག །

Noble Nāgārjuna and sons,  
The unrivalled Blo bzang grags pa, [and]  
Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,  
I beseech [you] from [my] heart.  
Please guide [me] with the iron hook of compassion.

Although the eagle of my nonconceptual mind  
Longs to fly to the *dharmadhātu*,  
[It] has been helplessly bound to samsara  
By the multicolored net of egocentricity.

Please quickly cut this egocentricity  
With the sharp blade of the deep path.  
Please guide [me] with the iron hook of compassion.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, *Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho'i mgur 'bum* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994), 223. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, *Yab rje bla ma skal ldan rgya mtsho'i mgur 'bum*, in *Yab rje bla ma skal ldan rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho (Xining: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999),

This song was written by the great siddha, the one who performs divine plays by means of a dance, the great sovereign who is a scholar who also achieved spiritual realization, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. His biographer, Byang chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod nams (1636–1716), tells us that he was born in 1607 in Reb gong to a man of Rong bo, in conformity with a prophesy by a clairvoyant siddha, which said, “to you three famous sons will be born.”<sup>2</sup>

But while he did go on to achieve great fame around Reb gong, he is little known in the West. There is one reference to him by A. I. Vostrikov in *Tibetan Historical Literature*.<sup>3</sup> G. Smith published whatever writings of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho he received from the hands of refugees coming to India—*Bla ma'i rnam thar gyi rim pa 'jam dpal bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan* (*A Collection of Biographies of Eminent Gelukpa Masters*), published in 1970,<sup>4</sup> and *Gsung mgur*

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196. (I will henceforth refer to the author and texts in footnotes as Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, C and D, respectively.)

The abbreviations A, B, C, and D stand for respective extant editions of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum*, and are defined together in Appendix D. The notes for my critical edition of this passage are as follows: *rnyi* BD; *snyi* AC.

Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570-1662) was the first Pañ chen Lama. He gave Skäl Idan rgya mtsho full ordination. The deep significance that the Pañ chen Lama had for Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is emphasized by the many times Skäl Idan rgya mtsho mentions him in his *mgur*.

I have followed M. Ricard's example in translating *rgod* as eagle rather than vulture, because of the negative connotation of the vulture in the West.

<sup>2</sup> One of the other two sons is Chos pa Rin po che (1581-1659). As a principle guide and teacher of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, he will figure strongly in this book. The other son is Lama Dmar po, who is never mentioned again in the biography of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. See Byang chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod nams, *Rje skal Idan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal bo* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 3. (I will henceforth refer to this author and text in footnotes as Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*.)

<sup>3</sup> A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, trans. Harish Chandra Gupta, Soviet Indology Series, no. 4 (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past & Present, 1970), 171-72.

<sup>4</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, *Rong ston chos kyi rgyal po grub dbang skal Idan rgya mtsho'i gsung las, bla ma'i rnam thar gyi rim pa 'jam dpal bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan* (carved at Bde chen chos 'khor gling of Rong bo), in *The Secret Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho, being the text of Thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang chos grags dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa phul du byung ba'i mdzad pa bzang po'i gnam snyan lha'i tambu ra'i rgyud kyi sgra dbyangs*, by Dar rgyas No mon han Lhun grub dar rgyas, together with *A Collection of Biographies of Eminent Gelukpa Masters* by Rong po Grub chen Skäl Idan rgya mtsho (New Delhi: 1970), folios 245-474. (Henceforth referred to as Skäl Idan, *Bla ma'i rnam thar gyi rim pa*.)

(*Collected Songs of Spiritual Experience*) in 1977.<sup>5</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's writings are further mentioned in D. Martin's catalogue.<sup>6</sup> The very popular 1994 publication of *The Life of Shabkar* by M. Ricard brought details of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's life to the attention of the West, since Zhabs dkar, though born more than a century after Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's death, finds him an enormous source of inspiration. Zhabs dkar Tshogs drug rang grol (1781–1851) goes to places where Skäl Idan rgya mtsho had meditated, receives an oral transmission of his *Gsung mgur*, sings his songs, and hopes to also stay someday in mountain retreats.<sup>7</sup> As far as I know, from among all of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's writings, only four of his poems had been translated and published in a Western language prior to my thesis.<sup>8</sup> These were two fragments by M. Ricard as part of *The Life of Shabkar*,<sup>9</sup> and two full songs by Thupten Jinpa and J. Elsner in their anthology *Songs of Spiritual Experience*, which also contains a short biography of him.<sup>10</sup>

In the summers of 1993, 1996, 2000, 2001 and 2002, I lived in places around Reb gong where Skäl Idan rgya mtsho had lived, and had constant contact with people whose lives are imbued with Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's teachings and life story. In 1996, I obtained a wood-block print of his entire *Gsung 'bum* (*Collected Writings*) which, I believe, was the first to reach the West.

Studying his biography, I learned that on the one hand, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho had had an extensive, conservative Dge lugs pa education

<sup>5</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, *Gsung mgur*, carved at Thos bsam gling, Rong bo monastery, Reb gong, Amdo, in the *me pho byi* year 1756; copied and published under the title *Rnam 'dren bla ma skal Idan rgya mtsho'i gsung mgur. The Collected Songs of Spiritual Experience of Rong bo Grub chen Skäl Idan rgya mtsho* (New Delhi: A lags 'Jam dbyangs, 1977).

<sup>6</sup> Dan Martin, in collab. with Yael Bentor, *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serindia Publications, 1997), 111.

<sup>7</sup> Matthieu Ricard, ed., trans., *The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 15, 21–22 n. 4, 29, 71, 137, 146, 493, 502, 528, 529. (Henceforth referred to as Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar*.)

<sup>8</sup> Victoria Sujata, "A Commentary on the *Mgur 'bum* (*Collected Songs of Spiritual Realization*) of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, a Seventeenth Century Scholar and Siddha from Amdo" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar*, 29–30, 155.

<sup>10</sup> Thupten Jinpa & Jaś Elsner, comp., trans., *Songs of Spiritual Experience: Tibetan Buddhist Poems of Insight & Awakening* (Boston: Shambhala, 2000), 64–65, 77, 224.

at Dga' ldan Monastery outside Lhasa, and had founded and run the first religious college of that sect in Reb gong and wrote numerous scholarly texts. On the other hand, and very surprisingly, he later spent years in beautiful solitary places tucked away in the mountains as a hermit whose mode of expression was songs of spiritual realization, known as *mgur*.

Various scholars have already noted that the genre of *mgur* stands out from most other forms of Tibetan literature for its startlingly and unusually sincere descriptions of inner thoughts, feelings and experiential knowledge.<sup>11</sup> I have found this to be true of the collection of Skäl ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, which contains invaluable autobiographical material and information on his surroundings, and moreover is a treasure house of styles.

My objective is to use the *Mgur 'bum* to show Skäl ldan rgya mtsho's importance both as a distinctive figure in religious history and as an author. My approaches here are dual. First, I will use what Skäl ldan rgya mtsho tells us in his songs about his times and himself: his joy concerning the expansion of Buddhism into Amdo (in Eastern Tibet) and, though he was highly instrumental in Buddhism's rise there, his need to remove himself from all formal Buddhist institutions in order to pursue his personal quest for realization. Second, I will use examples from his songs to show Skäl ldan rgya mtsho as a songwriter of myriad styles, and I will hypothesize that influences from his opposing ways of life are reflected at different times in the formal structures of his songs.

Here is how my two major themes are woven into the four parts of my book. Following this preface, in Part One I will draw upon the autobiographical and biographical material in Skäl ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*. First I will show how he felt about selected topics such as his times in Amdo under Mongol dominance, how he viewed Central Tibet as the source of the teaching, and the spread of Buddhism from there to Amdo. Then I will present songs that show unique features of his religious quest. Autobiographical songs provide a wealth of detail about why he felt the need to leave privileged clerical positions to become a hermit, what he was looking for, and his struggle to

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Roger R. Jackson, "'Poetry' in Tibet: *Glu*, *mGur*, *sNyan ngag* and 'Songs of Experience'," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 377-86. (This will henceforth be referred to as Jackson, "'Poetry' in Tibet.")

wean those who were dependent on him so that he could live the life he wanted in solitary places. Songs about *Mi la ras pa* (ca. 1040-1123) give an unusually ecumenical view of seventeenth century Dge lugs pa practitioners, in this case Skal ldan rgya mtsho and his older brother/teacher, who dared to emulate his way of life and to have a deep reincarnational connection with the great eleventh century siddha, at a time of great tension between the Dge lugs pa school and the Karma pa sect. Furthermore, songs about *Mahāmudrā* reveal some of the tantric practices Skal ldan rgya mtsho and his brother entertained as siddhas.

In Part Two I will give a brief explanation of the genre of *mgur*. Then I will address the reasons Skal ldan rgya mtsho gives for singing some of the songs, who they are for, the general topics he sings about, where he is singing and other pertinent information from the *mgur* and their colophons, in order to understand his relationship to the genre.

In Part Three I will give an overview of the styles of formal structures in Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, including metrics, stanza patterns and poetic figures, illustrating points with examples from Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum*. I will show that Skal ldan rgya mtsho's dichotomous lifestyle played a large role in bringing a wide range of influences to his writing. Both his monastic upbringing and his sympathies with folk music are reflected in the wide range of his choices regarding metrics, stanza patterns, and poetic figures. I have classified the latter according to whether they hark back to the *Kāvyaḍarśa*—the circa sixth-century text of Indian poetics by Daṇḍin that became a must for those writing formal verse in the monasteries of Tibet from perhaps the turn of the fourteenth century onwards—or are most probably indigenously Tibetan.

Finally, in a coda to this book, I will describe the very alive tradition in which the songs are sung today—where they are sung, by whom and under what circumstances. Though there is no certainty about the melodies that Skal ldan rgya mtsho himself sang, oral tradition claims that the present style dates back to his direct disciple, Shes rab bkra shis (1647-1716). I will analyze aspects of the melodic and rhythmic style briefly and hypothesize that it is heavily influenced by folk music from the eastern side of the Tibetan plateau, and I will supplement this book with an accompanying CD of my recordings of the songs.

While a translation of the entire *Mgur 'bum* is beyond the scope of this book, songs which stand out as models for some of my most important points appear in full translation in Appendix A. My synopsis of the life of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, emphasizing his monastic education and commitments to religious institutions that preceded his years as a hermit, is in Appendix B, and I provide an index to the songs on my CD in Appendix C. Appendix D gives information on the printing history and extant versions of the *Mgur 'bum*, and my critical edition. My catalogue of the *Collected Writings* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho is in Appendix E.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

My thanks can never be expressed sufficiently to so many monks and lay people in the Reb gong region for the encouragement, hospitality and support they have shown me during the ten years in which I have developed this book. I would especially like to thank A khu Khri rgan tshang (brother of the seventh Skal ldan rgya mtsho) and A lags ma ni (nephew of the seventh Skal ldan rgya mtsho and cousin of the eighth Skal ldan rgya mtsho) for their encouragement; and the Bkra shis 'khyil scholar Dpal 'byor, who read the biography of Skal ldan rgya mtsho with me and who has been a great source of inspiration over the years. This book could not have been written without the consistent and excellent help of the Rong bo scholar, Blo bzang chos grags, with whom I worked during the summers of 2000 and 2001, who answered numerous questions over the entire spectrum of the book and proofread the Tibetan script. I also want to acknowledge the help of the late Rong bo scholar 'Jigs med theg mchog (principal teacher of the eighth Skal ldan rgya mtsho) in helping me obtain a woodblock print of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Collected Writings* in 1996 and in assisting my efforts towards making a catalogue of it in 2001.

I also owe much gratitude to Harvard professors Leonard van der Kuijp and Robert Gimello; Dan Martin; and E. Gene Smith, founder and director of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, who have offered numerous suggestions covering the entire book. K. E. Duffin of the Writing Center at Harvard read and edited most of it, and I can never repay her many hours of clarity, enthusiasm and brilliant suggestions. I would also like to thank the late Professor Michael Aris, my first Tibetan language, culture, and history teacher at Harvard, who fanned the embers of my fascination with Tibetology. Pierre Roubillard assisted me with the font, Tibetan on the Macintosh (Mar pa). Lewis Dalvin, of Tweeter, Etc., recommended the recording equipment; and William Countie, audio engineer of the Media Production Center at Harvard, worked with me tirelessly to produce exactly the CD that I wanted. David McAllester, ethnomusicologist, formerly of Wesleyan University, engaged me in

rigorously stimulating conversations about some of the musical portions of this book. Harvard Professor K. K. Shelemay, ethnomusicologist, offered valuable suggestions on portions of the coda. I accept responsibility for any remaining mistakes in this book.



PART ONE

WHAT SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S *MGUR*  
TELL ABOUT HIS SPIRITUAL QUESTS



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE RISING SUN OF THE TEACHING IN AMDO

Skal Idan rgya mtsho lived at a time of great transition in Amdo, an area a good couple of months' journey northeast of Lhasa. How did he perceive his homeland in relation to Central Tibet? What solutions did he pursue for his own spiritual development and that of his region? And what major transformation took place in Amdo during his and his disciples' lifetimes? I will use quotations from Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* as gateways into his views about Amdo and its problems, Central Tibet as the source of the teaching, and finally "the rising of the sun of the teaching" in Amdo.

The Ordos and Tümed Mongol tribes had entered the Amdo area in the late 1500s. Gushri Khan of the Qoshot tribe led an army to defeat the Čoytu tribe there in 1637, and used Amdo as a base from which to lead a successful attack in Central Tibet on the enemies of the Dge lugs pa school, ultimately installing the fifth Dalai Lama on the throne of Tibet in 1642.<sup>1</sup> In this regard, it is clear that Gushri Khan and the Qoshot were directly supportive of the rise to power of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's sect, the Dge lugs pa school, in Central Tibet. But after the Qoshot's big victory, many of their leaders continued to live in their pasturelands in the Amdo area, where they and leaders of other Mongol tribes dominated the Tibetans. What was it like to live under their supremacy?

In Skal Idan rgya mtsho's view, the major problem in Amdo was the presence of the Mongols. Skal Idan rgya mtsho's biography is a source for how he interacted with the two Mongol rulers.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is a dearth of reference to any specific Mongol ruler by Skal Idan rgya mtsho himself in his *Mgur 'bum*. Though Skal Idan rgya mtsho felt obliged to honor and serve the Mongol governor of his region, the *Ju nang*, while in his presence, it is noteworthy that he never

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on Qoshot Mongols and Gushri Khan, and on the role of the Qoshot and Gushri Khan in the enthroning of the fifth Dalai Lama, see my supplementary bibliography, "Sources for Historical Background."

<sup>2</sup> For a further discussion of the Tümed governor Qoloči, and the *Ju nang*, see Appendix B.

praises him or any other Mongol rulers in his songs (though praises to his lamas and others he admires are numerous), perhaps because he had no real praise for them. He also never criticizes any specific Mongol rulers in his *mgur*, in keeping with the Tibetan tradition of not voicing criticisms with names. The absence of any specific references to his Mongol rulers suggests part of the story. And we can gain more insight into how he felt about them directly from his *Mgur 'bum*, as he clearly feels the freedom to express in a general way his true feelings about Mongol rulers and their domination in his *mgur*. For example, from a song he sang to himself in the fall of 1662, *Mgur* XI-12,<sup>3</sup> we learn the following:

ཕན་བདེ་བའི་འབྲུང་གནས་སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད། །  
 ཉོར་མོག་པོས་འཛིན་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་འདིར། །  
 སྤྱིར་བོད་འབངས་མི་ལ་བདེ་སྤྱིད་དཀའ། །  
 སྤྱོས་སྤྱོ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་རང་དབང་མེད། །  
 གོས་མཛེས་མཛེས་གདན་ཆ་གང་ལེགས་དང་། །  
 ཉེ་གང་ལེགས་བཟའ་བརྟུང་གང་བཟང་བ། །  
 ཉོར་མོག་པོའི་དཔོན་པོའི་ལག་ན་ཡོད། །<sup>4</sup>

In this time in which the Buddha's teaching, the origin of benefit  
 and happiness,  
 Is being seized by the Mongols,  
 Generally it is hard for the Tibetan people to be happy.

In particular, the lamas don't have independence.

<sup>3</sup> An explanation of my method of identifying *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* is in order. In the two extant woodblock editions, versions A and B, the songs appear without interruption. However, in the recently published bound texts, versions C and D, the *mgur* have been divided into chapters. Although the division of *mgur* into chapters is merely a later innovation, for simplicity's sake I have decided to identify a *mgur* by its chapter in versions C and D, with the belief that any reader of this book is far more likely to have this version than either of the woodblock prints. Hence, I will use "Mgur II-6," for example, to designate the sixth *mgur* in the second chapter of either of the two publications of bound texts.

<sup>4</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 268-69/ 237.

The most beautiful clothes, the best cushions, and  
The best horses, [and] the best food and drink  
Are in the hands of the Mongols' masters.

The power of the Mongol lords is great, and causes more problems for the Tibetan practitioners than just being a drain on their resources, as Skäl Idan rgya mtsho points out in Mgur XI-10:

ཉོར་སྟག་པོའི་དཔོན་པོ་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བས། །  
ངེད་སྒྲིམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མགོ་བོ་འཁོར། །  
སྒྱུ་བྱང་བྱེད་འར་ལུ་ར་མ་ཐོང་ཙ་ན། །  
སེམས་ཚུལ་དང་འབྲིས་པ་དཀའ་མོར་འདུག།<sup>5</sup>

We meditators also waver  
Because of the great power of the Hor Sog po rulers.

When [we] look at [their] material goods [and] sloppy way of  
doing work,  
It is difficult [for us] to integrate mind with religion.

And even if the Mongols were willing to share their wealth, he wouldn't want it, as he states sarcastically in Mgur XI-11:

ཉོར་སྟག་པོའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ག་མོད་ཀྱང་། །  
ག་པོ་བས་མི་འཇུ་བ་འདོད་མེད། །  
ཉི་བཟང་པོ་སྟག་ཡུལ་མང་ན་ཡང་། །  
བཟང་དྲགས་<sup>6</sup>ན་རང་གིས་ཁ་མི་བྲུག།<sup>7</sup>

Although there is indeed meat in the area of Hor Sog po,  
Because [my] stomach does not digest meat, [I] don't want to  
eat it.

Although there are many good horses in Sog,  
If [they] are extremely good, I myself can't rein [them] in.

<sup>5</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 265/ 234.

<sup>6</sup> *drags* BCD; *drag* A.

<sup>7</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 266-67/ 235-36.

The wealth the Mongols have is also a hindrance to themselves, as Skäl Idan rgya mtsho points out in *Mgur* XI-12, again with satire:

དེ་ཐར་ལམ་སྒྲིབ་པའི་བར་ཆད་ཡིན། །  
 གོས་གདན་ཆ་ལེགས་ཀྱང་ཐ་མར་འཇོད། །  
 ཏྲ་བཟང་ཡང་གས་ཤིང་འཆི་བར་འགྱུར། །  
 ཟས་བདུང་བ་ཞིམ་ཡང་<sup>8</sup>གཅིན་སྒྲིག་གྱ། །  
 མི་མང་པོའི་ནང་དུ་བྱས་པ་འཕྲུལ། <sup>9</sup>

[But having the best clothes, cushions, horses, food and drink]  
 Is a hindrance to realizing the path to liberation.  
 Although clothes and cushions are good, in the end [they]  
     are spent.  
 Although horses are good, [they] age<sup>10</sup> and die.  
 Although food and drink is delicious, because of urine and  
     excrement  
 [Mental] defilements are increasing within many people.

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho sees the Mongol people in general as persistent troublemakers, as he expresses in this excerpt from *Mgur* VII-15:

མཚོ་ཁྲི་ཤོར་<sup>11</sup>རྒྱལ་མའི་ཆབ་ཅ་ན། །  
 ཏྲ་མོག་པོའི་ཡུལ་སྤེམ་མང་གནས་ཀྱང་། །  
 དུས་ཏྲ་ཏྲ་མི་དགེ་སྤྲོད་ལ་སྤྱོད། །  
 དགེ་གང་རྣམས་གྲེས་དང་བོད་སྤེམ་ནམས། <sup>12</sup>

Although near the waters of Lake Khri shor rgyal mo<sup>13</sup>  
 There are many communities of Mongols living,  
 [They] are always committing sins.

Make virtue as much as possible, Tibetan communities!

<sup>8</sup> yang D; kyang ABC.

<sup>9</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 268-69/ 237.

<sup>10</sup> I have interpreted the present tense, *rga*, here.

<sup>11</sup> *shor*, against all readings of ABCD, which are *gshog* AB; *shog* CD. This renders the spelling of the lake “*khri shor rgyal mo*,” a decision made in consultation with the Rong bo scholar, Blo bzang chos grags. This spelling is consistent with that of Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 157-58/ 140.

<sup>13</sup> This is Lake Kokonor.

Skal Idan rgya mtsho experiences lots of problems because of the Mongol dominance in Amdo. His hopes lie in the Tibetans being virtuous. But are they? How does he view the Tibetans in his hometown of Reb gong? Formerly, it was a very holy place, as he sings in *Mgur XI-1*:

ཕྱིན་ཨ་མ་དོའི་བསྐྱན་པ་ལྟ་དཔ་དུས། །  
 ཡུལ་རིབ་གོང་གི་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་གནས་བརྒྱད་ཅིས། །  
 མཚན་སྟན་པ་ཉི་ཟླ་ལྟ་བུར་གྲགས། །<sup>14</sup>

Previously in the time of Amdo's Early Diffusion of Buddhism,  
 The name "The Eight Places of the Siddhas of Reb gong"  
 Was as famous as the sun and moon.

Skal Idan rgya mtsho felt strongly about Reb gong's past, and spent time practicing the teachings and singing *mgur* in these eight holy places.<sup>15</sup> But now Reb gong is a place with plenty of problems as well, as he attests in *Mgur VI-1*:

རིབ་གོང་ཕྱོགས་ལ་སྤྲུག་བསྐྱེད་ལྟན་པ་འཕྲིབས། །

.....

མ་ཁྲུང་ཕྱོགས་དང་རིབ་གོང་ཡུལ་ལྗངས་ཀྱི། །  
 དམག་ཇག་འཕྲབ་ཅོད་ལ་སོགས་མཐོང་བའི་ཆེ། །  
 ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་འདི་ཆོའི་ད་ལྟའི་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱང་། །  
 རྒྱུ་དང་དབང་གིས་ནམ་འགྲིབ་མི་ཤེས་སྟུམ། །  
 གཙོ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་དམག་ལ་དགའ་བ་དང་། །  
 འབངས་རྣམས་ཆོས་མིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ཆེས་སྤྱི་<sup>16</sup>འཕྲུག །<sup>17</sup>

In the area of Reb gong, the darkness of suffering is condensing.

.....

<sup>14</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 250-51/ 221.

<sup>15</sup> This was after he returned from Dbus at the age of twenty-one. See Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 70.

<sup>16</sup> *kyi rjes su* CD; *la de rjes* AB.

<sup>17</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 122-23/ 109.

When [I] saw the fighting, robbery, brawls and so on  
 Of the area of Rma klung and the district of Reb gong,  
 [I] thought, ‘Also the present day’s happiness of those places  
 Is because of evil causes, [and I] don’t know when [they]  
 will decrease.’

The masters also rejoice in the fighting, and  
 The subjects pursue unvirtuous activities.

And in *Mgur* VII-7, translated in full in the appendix, he acknowledges that his own behavior in Reb gong is also very poor. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is himself “the robber” here, and the village rites he performs in the marketplace for money are “shameless deeds.”

རེབ་གོང་སྒྲོང་གྱི་ཇག་པ། །  
 འདི་ཕྱི་སྒོ་ཡིས་དོར་གྱི། །  
 ཁྲིལ་མེད་བྱ་བ་རྒྱུ་གིས། །  
 རང་གི་ཁྱོ་གོས་སྒྲུབ་པོ། <sup>18</sup>

As for the robber in upper Reb gong  
 Having rejected this and later [lives],  
 Through simply shameless deeds  
 You earn your own food and clothes.

All of this confusion around his homeland makes a sharp contrast with how he usually views Dbus. The following is an excerpt from *Mgur* XIII-5:

ས་ཨ་མདོའི་ཕྱོགས་ན་སྐྱེ་སེར་ཀུན། །  
 རྟོར་བྱང་བྱིང་འཆོལ་བས་མགོ་བོ་འཁོར། །  
 ཆོས་སྒྲུབ་མཁན་མང་ཡང་ཡུན་བསྐྱིད་ས་ནས། །  
 ཉམས་དྲོགས་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་སྒྲིན་པ་ཉུང་། །

<sup>18</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 144/ 128.



ལྷོད་ཉི་མ་དབུས་གཙང་ས་ཕྱོགས་སུ། །  
 ཚོས་སྒྲུབ་དང་བསྒྲུབས་འབྲས་སྒྲིན་པ་དང་། །  
 ཡུན་ཚེ་དང་སྟོམས་པའི་དམ་པས་གང་། །  
 ཡུལ་དེར་གནས་དམ་པ་དེ་རྣམས་ལ། །  
 མིག་ཡར་བཞུས་ཚོས་བྱས་ལམ་དུ་འགྲོ། །  
 སྒོར་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱིས། །  
 དུས་རྒྱུན་ཆགས་བྱིན་བཞུབས་དབུས་གཙང་གི། །  
 ས་དེ་ན་བདུད་ཀྱི་བར་ཆད་ཉུང་། །  
 སེམས་ཚོས་མཐུན་ཉམས་རྟོགས་སྦྱི་བར་སྤ། །  
 དུས་ད་ལྟ་མཁས་གྲུབ་དཔག་ཡས་བཞུགས། །  
 སྤྱིར་སངས་རྒྱས་བཞུན་པའི་ཉི་མ་གར། །<sup>19</sup>

In the area of Amdo, because all the monks and lay people  
 Seek wealth and goods, [they] waver.  
 Although there are lots of people who practice religion for an  
 extended period,  
 The ripenings of the fruits of experiential knowledge have  
 been scarce.

The sun [= the teaching] in the area of upper Dbus Gtsang is  
 resplendent  
 With the ripening of fruits through practicing and having practiced  
 religion, and  
 With the strictness of life and thought.

The inhabitants of Dbus Gtsang looked up to those holy ones who  
 dwelt in that region  
 [And they] practiced the teachings.  
 Previously, limitless Buddhas and bodhisattvas  
 Continually loved [and] blessed [Dbus Gtsang].

In Dbus Gtsang, the hindrances of the Evil One are few.  
 [When] mind and religion are in agreement, the birth of  
 experiential knowledge is easy.

<sup>19</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 337-38/ 299.

At this time, limitless scholars and practitioners dwell [there].

In general, the sun of the teaching of the Buddha shines.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho's description of his brother taking him to Dbus and then Dga' ldan, and then his return to Reb gong ten years later, gives an impression of the wonder he felt for that area and how much he missed it after going home. The following is an excerpt from Mgur II-3:

རྩེ་སྤོ་བཟང་བསྟན་ཆུན་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལས། །  
ལོ་གཞིན་ནུའི་དུས་ནས་རབ་དྲུ་བྱང་། །  
ས་ཁྱད་འཕགས་དབུས་ཀྱི་ཕྱགས་སུ་སྤང་། །  
  
གནས་ཁྱད་འཕགས་འབྲོག་རི་དགེ་ལུན་དུ། །  
སྐབས་ཁྱད་འཕགས་སློབ་བློ་ཆུ་མཚོའི་བྱང་། །  
ཁྲིམས་ཁྱད་འཕགས་རབ་བྱང་<sup>20</sup>སློམ་པ་སྤངས། །

.....

<sup>20</sup> In Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 6-7, his biographer relates that Skal ldan rgya mtsho received vows and his name from Blo gros rgya mtsho, who prophesized that Skal ldan rgya mtsho would later have many disciples:

ཆུལ་བ་གཉིས་པ་རྩེ་བཟང་གྲགས་པའི་དཔལ་གྱི་མི་འཛིགས་སེའི་ཁྲིམས་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་དྲིག་ལོ་  
ཆེན་པོ་སློབ་ཤིང་རབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱུལ་བའི་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་ལུང་གྲག་པ་སློབ་བློ་ཆུ་མཚོ་དང་མཇུག། དེར་ཁོང་གི་སྐྱེ་  
ཕྱགས་སུ་དགེ་ཆུལ་བསྐྱབས་ནས་སྐལ་ལྷན་ཆུ་མཚོ་ཞེས་མཆན་གསལ་དེ། ཁོང་གི་ཞལ་ནས་ཆོས་པ་རིན་  
པོ་ཆེ་ལ། ཁྱད་ཀྱི་དབོན་ཆུང་འདི་ལ་ངས་སྐལ་ལྷན་ཆུ་མཚོ་ཞེས་མིང་བདགས་ཡོད་པས་ཕྱིས་སུ་འདི་ལ་  
སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་སློབ་མ་མང་པོ་ཡོང་གསུངས་པས། ཆོས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་ལགས། དེ་འདྲ་བྱང་ན་ངའི་སྐྱིད་  
ཅང་ཞུས།

[Skal ldan rgya mtsho] met lord Stag lung brag pa Blo gros rgya mtsho (1546–1618), the incarnation of the empowering one, Rngog Lo chen po Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109). [Blo gros rgya mtsho] had been placed on the glorious, fearless lion throne of lord Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal, the second Buddha. There, in his place, [he] was ordained and was given the name Skal ldan rgya mtsho. [Blo gros rgya mtsho] said to Chos pa Rin po che, “Since I have given the name Skal ldan rgya mtsho to this half-brother of yours, later many fortunate disciples will come to him.” Because [he said that], Chos pa Rin po che replied, “Yes, to be sure! If it occurs like that, my happiness will be boundless.”

སྤྲུལ་རང་ཡུལ་སྤྱིབས་ཆེ་ཉིན་བཞིན་དུ། །  
 ས་དབྱས་གཙང་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་བློན་ན་ཡང་། །  
 ཐག་མཚལ་དུ་རིང་བས་བཟོད་མ་ནུས། །<sup>21</sup>

Because of the kindness of lord Blo bzang bstan rgyan,  
 At a young age [I] was ordained.  
 [We] went to the region of Dbus, the noble, special place.

At 'Brog ri Dga' Idan, the noble, special abode,  
 In front of Blo gros rgya mtsho, the noble, special place of refuge,  
 [I] took the vow of ordination, the noble, special law.

.....

When [I] arrived again at my homeland,  
 Although the situation of Dbus Gtsang went around and around in  
 [my] mind everyday,  
 Because [it] was very distant, [I] was not able to walk [back].

Skal Idan rgya mtsho had spent ten years studying in Dbus. In  
 Mgur III-12, he praises Dbus and Gsang phu monastery highly:

ཡ་གོ་ཞིག་དབྱས་གཙང་རུ་བཞིན། །  
 ལྷགས་བཤད་ཀྱི་ནོར་བུ་གང་འདོད་ཡོད། །  
 ཐག་རིང་གི་ལམ་ཡང་སྐར་ལྷགས་ནས། །  
 ལྷུང་བ་རུ་ལག་དུ་ལིན་པར་ཞུ། །  
 བྱད་པར་དུ་གསང་ཕྱའི་ཆོས་གྲག། །  
 མཁས་མང་<sup>22</sup>གི་མི་དོག་གང་འདོད་ཡོད། །<sup>23</sup>

In the four horns of upper<sup>24</sup> Dbus Gtsang,  
 Whatever treasures of good discourses desired are there.

<sup>21</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 23, 24/ 20, 21.

<sup>22</sup> *mang*, against all readings in ABCD: *ming*.

<sup>23</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 51/ 45-46.

<sup>24</sup> Upper here is meant in contrast to lower Tibetan regions, Amdo and Khams. The so-called four horns are geographic areas. See G. Uray, "The Four Horns of Tibet According to the Royal Annals," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 10 (1960): 31-57.

Having entered the boat of the wide long road,<sup>25</sup>  
[You] will quickly receive [them] in [your] hand.

Especially in the religious school of Gsang phu,  
The flowers of many scholars, whatever [one] desires, are there.

Yet seen from another side, even the situation in Dbus was not at all perfect and this feeds into his decision to stay home in Amdo. Mgur XI-24 points out big problems in three places—Dbus Gtsang and Mnga' ris, as well as Smad mdo khams (Amdo and Khams):

དུས་དེང་སང་དབུས་གཙང་རུ་བཞིན། །  
 ཚོས་སྒྲུལ་མཁའ་མི་འདམ་<sup>26</sup> བཤད་མཁའ་འདམ་<sup>27</sup> །  
 ཁོང་ཚོས་པ་མི་བསྟོད་ཟླ་པོ་བསྟོད། །  
 ས་དེ་ཡང་གནས་རྒྱལ་དེ་ལྟར་གདུ། །  
 སྟོད་མངའ་ཟིན་<sup>28</sup> སྒྲུལ་གསུམ་བྱ་བ་ན། །  
 ཚོས་སྒྲུལ་སྒྲིམས་གཙང་བའི་རབ་བྱུང་ལས། །  
 ཚང་བྱད་མེད་སྟོད་པའི་ཟླ་པོ་འདམ་<sup>29</sup> །  
 ས་དེ་ཡི་ཚོས་ཀྱང་ཏ་གོ་འདུག །  
 སྟོད་མའི་ཁམས་སྒྲང་གསུམ་བྱ་བ་ན། །  
 ཚོས་ཐོས་བསམ་སྒྲུལ་<sup>30</sup> གསུམ་བྱེད་མཁའ་ལས། །  
 ཁྲོམ་<sup>31</sup> སྟོང་ཚོག་བྱེད་པའི་རབ་བྱུང་འདེམ། །  
 ས་དེ་ཡང་གནས་རྒྱལ་མཐོང་ན་ཤེས། །

<sup>25</sup> The road from Amdo to Dbus.

<sup>26</sup> 'dam AB; 'dem CD.

<sup>27</sup> 'dam AB; 'dem CD.

<sup>28</sup> ris CD; ri AB.

<sup>29</sup> 'dam AB; 'dem CD.

<sup>30</sup> sgom, against all readings of ABCD: sgo.

<sup>31</sup> khrom CD; khram AB.

ཡར་དམ་པའི་ལྷ་ཚོས་བཟང་ངན་དེ། །  
 ས་བཟང་ངན་སྒོ་ནས་མི་འཇོག་གི། །  
 སེམས་དུལ་དང་མ་དུལ་སྒོ་ནས་འཇོག །<sup>32</sup>

These days in the four horns of Dbus Gtsang  
 [They] don't choose meditators, [they] choose expounders  
 [of religion].<sup>33</sup>

They don't praise religious practitioners. [They] praise  
 deceitful people.  
 That place also has a situation like that.

In so-called upper Mnga' ris skor gsum,  
 Having taken pure vows of religion  
 [They] chose the deceit of conduct involving beer and women.

Also [they] understand the local religion.

In so-called lower three ridges of Mdo khams,<sup>34</sup>  
 Rather than choosing to listen to the teachings, think about them  
 and meditate,  
 [Their] "renunciant vows" mean doing village rites<sup>35</sup> [in]  
 the marketplace.

If [you] look at the situation of that place too, [you] will  
 know [this].

Whether [one's practice of] the superior, holy divine religion  
 is good [or] bad  
 Is not regulated by [whether one lives in] a good or bad place.  
 It is set according to [one's own] disciplined or undisciplined mind.

<sup>32</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 288-89/ 255-56.

<sup>33</sup> The Dge lugs pas by now are largely focused on academic scholarship and disputation. Very few are primarily meditators. This is what Skal Idan rgya mtsho is criticizing here.

<sup>34</sup> The geographical designation Mdo khams sgang gsum refers to Mdo khams (previously called Smad khams), Mdo smad (previously called G.yer mo thang), and Tsong kha (Gyi thang). This is a general term for the area of the upper reaches of the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers.

<sup>35</sup> *Grong chog* are rituals monks perform away from the monastery, for which they receive food, offerings or fees.

Dbus can be idolized, but it has problems too, as the preceding excerpt expresses. All areas—Dbus Gtsang, Mnga' ris, Amdo and Khams—have problems. In Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's eyes, Dbus is the source of the spread of Buddhism in Amdo, but it is far away and is not a perfect place either. In the end, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho concludes, it is not where one lives but one's inner process that makes the difference. He also expresses this in *Mgur* V-9:

ལས་དགེ་སྤྱི་ལ་སྒང་དོར་མི་བྱེད་ན། །  
 ས་དབྱས་གཙང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཀྱང་དམ་ཚཱ་དགའ། །  
 ཚཱ་ཞི་<sup>36</sup> གྱུད་དང་ལེགས་པར་འབྲིས་ཅ་ན། །  
 ས་ཁམས་སུ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱང་ཚཱ་མི་དགའ། །<sup>37</sup>

If [you] don't abandon virtuous and sinful karma,  
 Even if [you] have gone to Dbus Gtsang, the holy religion  
 is difficult.

When [you] have integrated [your] mental disposition  
 with religion,  
 Even if [you] stayed in Khams,<sup>38</sup> religion would not be difficult.

Not only does Skäl Idan rgya mtsho decide that he does not have to go to Central Tibet in order to progress spiritually, but it turns out that the teaching and his teachers come to him. Some of them pass through, and others come to stay for long periods.<sup>39</sup> One of the most

<sup>36</sup> *zhe* ABC; *zhi* D.

<sup>37</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 101/ 91.

<sup>38</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho may have considered Khams even more remote from Dbus than Amdo.

<sup>39</sup> The following discussion is not meant to focus on the historical detail. Facts about the spread of Buddhism in Amdo in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* are scant, because of the very nature of *mgur*, but accounts of his feelings and impressions about Buddhism spreading in Amdo are rich, and it is those that I want to focus on here.

References to historical events can be found best in two short histories Skäl Idan rgya mtsho wrote on the spread of Buddhism in Amdo. At least three versions of his histories are still extant:

1) Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, No title (the subject matter is identified as *a mdo'i phyogs su bstan pa dar tshul gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus* in the colophon), in *Rong ston chos kyi rgyal po grub dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho'i gsung las bla ma'i rnam thar gyi rim pa 'jam dpal bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan*, by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho (carved at Bde chen chos 'khor gling of Rong bo: undated). Reproduced and published in *The Secret Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho, being the text of*

notable of those who settled in Amdo was Sde pa Chos rje Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho (1593–1638). He arrived in Amdo in 1618,<sup>40</sup> and remained there until his death.<sup>41</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho received many teachings from him, and wrote his biography.<sup>42</sup> In *Mgur V-20*, written sometime after Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho's death, Skal ldan rgya mtsho acknowledges the former's role in the spread of Buddhism in Amdo<sup>43</sup> and expresses his grief that his much cherished teacher has abandoned the world. This entire *mgur* is translated in my appendix, and the Tibetan text can be found there.

When the lama Bstan 'dzin blo bzang was living—Oh joy!

When [I] requested whatever empowerments, textual transmissions  
and ritual deeds [I wanted]—Oh, happiness!

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*Thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang chos grags dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa phul du byung ba'i mdzad pa bzang po'i gam snyan lha'i tambu ra'i rgyud kyi sgra dbyangs*, by Dar rgyas No mon han Lhun grub dar rgyas, together with *A Collection of Biographies of Eminent Gelukpa Masters* by Rong po Grub chen Skal ldan rgya mtsho (New Delhi: 1970), folios 455-474.

2) Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'dren byed*, in *Gsung 'bum*, by Skal ldan rgya mtsho (Reb gong: carved 1987), Ka-13. This will henceforth be referred to as Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987).

3) Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Rje skal ldan rgya mtsho'i gsung las mdo smad a mdo'i phyogs su bstan pa dar tshul gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 1, 341-55.

Further historical detail about the spread of Buddhism in Amdo can be found in the following sources: various biographies Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote, in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum*, Ka; Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*; and Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (b. 1801), *Mdo smad chos 'byung*.

<sup>40</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Rje skal ldan rgya mtsho'i gsung las mdo smad a mdo'i phyogs su bstan pa dar tshul gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), Ka-13, folio 3a.3. This date also agrees with the one given in the *TTC*.

<sup>41</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang bo'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i sgo 'byed*, in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), Ka-6; and in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 1, 180, 248.

<sup>42</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 14, 18, 24, 91, 120. The biography of Sde pa Chos rje Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho can be found in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), Ka-6.

<sup>43</sup> For a much more thorough explanation of the roles Sde pa Chos rje Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho played in the spread of Buddhism in Amdo, see his biography in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), Ka-6; and Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Rje skal ldan rgya mtsho'i gsung las mdo smad a mdo'i phyogs su bstan pa dar tshul gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), Ka-13, folio 3a.3.

When [I] saw that smile, like the light of the moon, [on your]  
face—Oh delight!

When [I] experienced that flow of speech greater than nectar—Oh,  
what peace!

Although the rising sun of the Mighty One's teachings of  
explanation and practice

In this barbarous area, Amdo,

Is the kindness of only you, protector,

What enters the heart of those who do not recall [your] kindness?

In this time, lama, of your having renounced this place and

Having gone to a pure, stainless [Buddha] field,

Although [I] have searched again and again for a lama [I can] focus  
on with the net of a single-pointed mind,

[I] have not found [another].

.....

In this time in which a spiritual friend who has even a mere portion  
[of what you have]

Is still more precious than the sun and the stars,

Although [I] live for the remainder of [my] life, what will [I] do?<sup>44</sup>

While Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho was alive, Amdo was a  
spiritually fertile place for Skäl Idan rgya mtsho.

One of the most notable of teachers who came through Amdo was  
none other than Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, the fifth Dalai  
Lama, who passed through on his way to China in 1652. The  
biography of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho says this about the Dalai Lama's  
visit:

དེ་ནས་ཤིང་ཉིང་གི་དགའ་ལོ་ཞི་བུ་བཞུགས་པ། དགའ་བ་ཞེས་ཆུ་ཕོ་འབྲུག་གི་ལོ་  
ལ་བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་མགོན་པོ་པད་དཀར་འཛིན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་དག་དབང་  
སྒོ་བཟང་གྱི་མཚན་པ་བཟང་པོ། རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ་མཚོ་ཁྲི་ཤིར་རྒྱལ་  
མོ་དང་ཁད་ཉི་བའི་བོ་རོ་རྒྱ་འགག་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་ས་ཆ་ཡངས་པར་ཕེབས་ནས་རྒྱུན་  
རིང་ཙམ་བཞུགས། དེ་ཕྱིགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ནས་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་གདུལ་བྱ་དཔག་དུ་མེད་  
པ་འདྲས་པ་ན་མས་ཀྱིས་ཟང་ཟེང་གི་འབྲུག་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོས་མཚན་ཅིང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་

<sup>44</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 117-18/ 105.



ཞལ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་ཚམ་པར་མཛད་པས། དེ་ནས་ཤིང་པ་ཡབ་  
སྲས་ཡང་རེབ་གོང་གི་སྐྱེ་སེར་མང་པོ་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དེར་བྱོན་ནས་ཟང་ཟེང་གི་འབྲུལ་  
བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོས་མཛད་ཅིང་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་གྱི་ཤིས་གནང་སོགས་བཀའ་ཚོས་མང་  
དྲུ་ཞུས།<sup>45</sup>

.....

ཀྱུལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ངག་དབང་སློབ་ཟུང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཞབས་  
དུང་ནས། ཐུགས་ཤིང་ཆེན་པོ་སོགས་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷ་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་ཤིས་གནང་དང་། ལུང་  
གི་སློར་འགའ་ཞིག་གསན།<sup>46</sup>

Then in the year 1652, called *dga' ba*, [when] this very lord reached the age of forty-six, the master Pad dkar 'dzin pa thams cad mkhyen pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang po was invited by the emperor of China, and traveled widely to places called Mtsho khri shor rgyal mo and Khad nye ba'i bo ro chu 'gag, and stayed a long time. By means of vast offerings of financial support by the assemblages of limitlessly fortunate disciples from all these areas, [he] gave teachings regarding offerings and everything, and [the disciples] were made content with the holy religion. So then this lord the lama and his disciple also went there together with many lay people [and] monks of Reb gong, and by means of vast offerings of financial support, requested many teachings that have to do with expounding religion, such as the offerings, and tantric rituals of Spyen ras gzigs, and so on.

.....

In the presence of Rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, [Skal Idan rgya mtsho] heard tantric rituals of several tutelary gods such as Thugs rje chen po and several cycles of textual transmissions.

In Skal Idan rgya mtsho's short biography of the fifth Dalai Lama, Mgrur XII-12, we can read a personal account of how he perceived

<sup>45</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 35-36.

<sup>46</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 16-17.

the Dalai Lama's visit. The following passage describes what he saw the local deities doing when the Dalai Lama passed through:

ཡུལ་གྱི་ནག་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཕེབས་ལམ་དུ། །  
 དཔལ་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་གཟེགས་ཤིང་། །  
 ལྷ་མ་ཆེན་སྒྲུལ་<sup>47</sup> ར་ལ་སོགས་པས། །  
 གཟུགས་དངོས་<sup>48</sup> བསྟན་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཚུལ་བཞིན་བསྟུབས། །  
 ལར་ལས་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲོམ་མ་མང་པོ་ལ། །  
 ཐག་རིང་པོ་ནས་ཞལ་གཟེགས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས། །  
 རྒྱལ་<sup>49</sup> སྤོང་བཅན་སྒྲུལ་པོར་ཞལ་བཞེས་ཤིང་། །  
 བློ་མས་ཆོས་བཞིན་སྐྱོང་བའི་བཀའ་གཉན་པས། །  
 རྒྱུད་མ་རུངས་པ་རྣམས་འཛིགས་ཤིང་སྒྲག། <sup>50</sup>

On the road going to China,  
 [Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho] saw the faces of the glorious  
 group of religious protectors and  
 Such [local] deities as Rma chen sbom ra<sup>51</sup>  
 Manifest [their] forms and carry out activities [on his behalf]  
 correctly.

Generally, the many disciples of good karma  
 Were blessed by [his] glance from afar.

[The deities of place] made promises to Srong btsan sgam po, and  
 Heard [his] order to preserve laws in accordance with religion.  
 So those with minds not conformed [to this] were frightened.

Skal Idan rgya mtsho attributes the taming of the local deities to the presence of the Dalai Lama, just as numerous Tibetan sources attributed the taming of the local deities around Bsam yas to

<sup>47</sup> sbom CD; bom B; pom A.

<sup>48</sup> dngos CD; ngos AB.

<sup>49</sup> rgyal AB; rgyal bo CD.

<sup>50</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 310-11/ 275.

<sup>51</sup> Rma chen sbom [or: spom] ra is the deity of place of the mountain range A mnyes rma chen. See Rock, *The Amnye Ma chhen Range and Adjacent Regions: A Monographic Study*; and Katia Buffetrille, "The Great Pilgrimage of A mnyes rma chen: Written Tradition, Living Realities," in *Maṇḍala and Landscape*, ed. A. W. MacDonald (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 1997).

Padmasambhava, before the first Tibetan monastery was constructed in Central Tibet. This indicates that Skal ldan rgya mtsho thought of Amdo as a spiritually backward area that was then transformed by the presence of the Dalai Lama into a place where Buddhism could take hold.

Some teachers living in Amdo or coming through Amdo were from Dbus, and others were native. Those whose homeland was Amdo frequently went to Dbus to study and then returned and established schools and/or had disciples. Dbus was the place that they tended to look up to as the source of discipline and other teachings, and through their efforts, new monasteries were established in Amdo. In *Mgur XII-2*, Skal ldan rgya mtsho sings of the discipline, already long established in Dbus Gtsang, which the practitioners in *Mdo smad* (Amdo) must learn:

དབུས་གཙང་གི་སྒྲུབ་ལྷོ་མེད་པ་རུ།  
 ཚད་ལྷན་གྱི་དམ་པས་བཅས་པའི་སྒྲིམས།  
 མདོ་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྒྲིམ་པ་གསར་བྱ་ལ།  
 འཕྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་སློབ་པ་འདི་གལ་རེ་ཆེ།<sup>52</sup>

As for the law which was established by reliable holy ones  
 In the old seminaries for tantric practice of Dbus Gtsang,  
 This, which is to be learned quickly, is greatly important  
 For the meditation beginners of *Mdo smad*.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho sings about the spread of *Dge lugs pa* and what it means to him personally in *Mgur XII-30*:

དེང་སང་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་འཛམ་གླིང་། །  
 བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མ་གར་ནས། །  
 སྒྱི་དགུ་རྒྱུས་ལ་ལེགས་ཚལས། །  
 ཡར་ངོའི་ཁྲི་ལྟར་<sup>53</sup> འཕེལ་འདུག །

<sup>52</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 293/ 259.

<sup>53</sup> *ltar ABC*; *bzang D*.

མྱོས་<sup>54</sup> ལྷ་གངས་ཅན་ཁྲོད་འདིར། །  
 རྒྱལ་བ་སློབ་བཟང་གྲགས་པའི། །  
 བསྟན་པ་ཆེས་ཆེར་དར་བས། །  
 མཁས་གྲུབ་དཔག་མེད་བྱུང་ངོ། །  
 ཡང་སློས་<sup>55</sup> ཨ་མདོའི་ཕྱོགས་འདིར། །  
 བཤད་སྒྲུབ་བསྟན་པ་དེང་སང་། །  
 ཉིན་བཞིན་ཆེས་ཆེར་རྒྱས་སོ། །  
 རྒྱལ་འདི་བསམས་ཉི་ཤུང་པ། །  
 ཉ་ཉ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ། །  
 བསྟན་པའི་སྤྲིང་པོ་རང་སེམས། །  
 ཆོས་དང་མཐུན་པར་བྱེད་པ། །  
 ཁྲོད་ཀྱིས་རེམ་རེམ་སྒྲུབས་ཤིག །<sup>56</sup>

These days [in] the southern Jambudvīpa-world  
 The sun of the teaching shines, and  
 Good accumulations<sup>57</sup> have increased in all sentient beings  
 Like the first fortnight's [waxing] moon.

In particular here amidst the snowy region,  
 Since the teaching of the Victorious One, Blo bzang grags pa,  
 Is spreading more and more,  
 Limitless scholars and practitioners have appeared.

Even more particularly, in this region, Amdo,  
 These days the teaching of explanations and practice  
 Has become more widespread by the day.

Having thought about this, [I] am happy.

Uh huh! Skäl dan rgya mtsho!  
 The essence of the teaching

<sup>54</sup> *sgos* BCD; *dgos* A.

<sup>55</sup> *sgos* BD; *dgos* AC.

<sup>56</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 330/ 292

<sup>57</sup> This refers to the accumulations of wisdom and merit.

Is making [your] own mind harmonize with religion.  
Practice great diligence!

Skal Idan rgya mtsho sings again about the spread of Buddhism in Amdo, and his delight in it, in *Mgur* XIII-26:

ད་ལྟ་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཨ་མདོ་ན། །  
སངས་རྒྱུ་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མ་གར། །  
བཤད་སྤྱོད་གྱི་སྤྱི་ནི་ཡར་ཡར་རྒྱས། །  
གནས་ཚུལ་འདི་བསམས་ན་ཉམས་རེ་སྟོ། །  
མདོ་ཁམས་གྱི་མེ་ཚོར་དད་པ་ཆེ། །  
དགེ་སྤྱི་གྱི་རྣམ་བཞག་གས་པ་མང་། །  
ཆོས་ལྟན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་བཟང་པོ་དེས། །  
རང་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་པ་བྱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་སྟེ། །<sup>58</sup>

Now in the northern region, Amdo,  
The sun of Buddha's teaching has risen.  
Communities of schools of explanation and practice have increased  
more and more.  
When [I] think<sup>59</sup> of this situation, [my] mind takes only delight.

The faith in the people of Mdo Khams is great.  
Many know [how] to distinguish virtue and sin.

Through good pious deeds,  
[I] give vast benefit to myself and others.

Some teachers recognized that there were many powerful places in Amdo. This is an excerpt from XI-10:

ཇི་དུས་གསུམ་མཁུན་དེའི་བཀའ་ལླང་ལས།  
སྤྱིར་ཨ་མདོར་གྲུབ་པའི་གནས་མང་ཞིང་།  
སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་མཚན་བཅས་ཡ་མཚན་གསུངས།<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 359/ 318.

<sup>59</sup> I am interpreting the verb as reflecting the present, according to context.

<sup>60</sup> *sgos* BCD; *dgos* A.

<sup>61</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 265/ 234.

According to the prophesy of the lord, the omniscient one of the three times [Rgyal sras Rin po che Blo bzang bstan 'dzin<sup>62</sup>],  
 “In general in Amdo there are many places [where one can obtain] spiritual powers, and  
 In particular, Ji kin Lake is wondrous,” [he] said.

Skal Idan rgya mtsho and Chos pa Rin po che surely think that one of the great benefits of being in Amdo is that there are so many quiet places of natural beauty where one can live and practice in solitude. And Amdo was of course the birthplace of the founder of the Dge lugs pa school, Tsong kha pa (1357–1419). In the following excerpt, the introduction to *Mgur XI-21*, Skal Idan rgya mtsho links Bkra shis 'khyil,<sup>63</sup> a hermitage he lived in for many years, to that spot spatially:

ཇི་རྒྱལ་བ་གཉིས་པ་འབྲངས་པའི་གནས།  
 ཤར་ཙེང་ཁའི་སྐྱེ་འབྲས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཐེའི།  
 རྩེགས་ལྷོ་ངོས་རེབ་གོང་ཡུལ་ལྗངས་ཀྱི།  
 གནས་དབེན་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབྱུང་བ་ན།  
 ཆོས་བསམ་གཏན་སྐབས་ཡིད་སྤོན་པའི།  
 ངེད་དགེ་སྤྱོད་བརྒྱུ་ཉེའི་རི་ཁྲོད་པས།  
 ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་དང་བའི་དད་པ་ཡིས།  
 ཆོག་སྙན་པའི་སྒྲུ་འདི་མཆོད་པར་འབུལ།<sup>64</sup>

In the hermitage Bkra shis 'khyil  
 Of the district of Reb gong,  
 South of the religious community of Sku 'bum in eastern  
 Tsong kha,  
 The place where the lord, Second Victorious One was born,  
 Because of [my] faith in pure body, speech and mind

<sup>62</sup> Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan 'dzin (b. 17<sup>th</sup> cent.) was a lama of Skal Idan rgya mtsho in Amdo, when the latter had just returned from Dbus at age twenty-one until at least through age fifty-nine.

<sup>63</sup> (Rong bo) Bkra shis 'khyil, distinguished from Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil, is a solitary hermitage that is a steep climb of about 4 hours hiking west of Reb gong. It is in a forest, and became one of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's favorite hermitages. For information on Skal Idan rgya mtsho's life and activities at Bkra shis 'khyil, see Appendix B.

<sup>64</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 283/ 250.

[And my] desire to practice states of contemplation of religion,  
I, the mountain hermit who is close to one hundred monks,  
Give this song of mellifluous words as an offering.

Amdo, the birthplace of Tsong kha pa and the site of the eight holy places of Reb gong and of numerous beautiful hermitages has the tradition and environment to once again be a place of rich spiritual growth. What actions does Skal ldan rgya mtsho take to ameliorate the problems there resulting from Mongol domination, corruption among the Tibetan communities and lack of teaching? He writes numerous books, gives numerous teachings to hundreds of disciples, and founds and takes care of two schools whose teachings and practices span the Mahāyāna spectrum. He himself is responsible for a great expansion of the Dge lugs pa school in the region. And his disciples go on to found numerous monasteries themselves over a vast region of Amdo.<sup>65</sup>

As far as dealings with the Mongols are concerned, Skal ldan rgya mtsho becomes the personal chaplain of the Tümed lord Qoloči shortly before 1652.<sup>66</sup> In the 1660s and 70s, Skal ldan rgya mtsho is the personal chaplain of the *Ju nang*, the Mongol lord of his region.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Ngag dbang lists about thirty disciples of Skal ldan rgya mtsho who founded some forty monasteries or schools in *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 95-98. Skal ldan rgya mtsho considered 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648-1722, who went on to found Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil monastery) one of his principle disciples. See 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen gyi gdan rabs rdzogs ldan gtam gyi rang sgra* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 189.

<sup>66</sup> Qoloči was obviously very pleased with the relationship, as he stated "Before, I did not take you as [my] lama, and [I] was pierced from a stirred-up heart, violating [what was right]." See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 37.

<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, this title was used by both Western and Eastern Mongols, and I have not been able to ascertain the tribe of this particular Mongol patron of Skal ldan rgya mtsho. However, the patron may well have been Qoshot, since that tribe was the principle one in power in Amdo at that time. In *The Annals of Kokonor*, whose second chapter deals with the Qoshot rulers in the area, Gushri Khan and his descendants, Sum pa Mkhan po records an incident towards the end of the seventeenth century of the Kangxi emperor of the Qing dynasty honoring a Qoshot with the title and gifts:

The Emperor conferred the title of *Ching wang* on Bkra shis pa thur, the youngest of Gu shri Khan, and in succession [conferred] such titles as *Jun wang*,..... on others, along with a large number of gifts.

Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor, *The Annals of Kokonor*, Hochin Yang, ed., trans., Uralic and Altaic Series 106 (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1969), 43.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho gives the *Ju nang* whatever teachings he requests, such as tantric rituals, prayers for his long life, and so on.<sup>68</sup> On the occasion of the *Ju nang*'s mother's death, more than one hundred of the *Ju nang*'s entourage receive their vows from Skal ldan rgya mtsho.<sup>69</sup> And the Mongol leader the *Ju nang*, "the great governor, patron of the teaching," patronizes him.<sup>70</sup> Even upon an occasion when Skal ldan rgya mtsho gives lavish gifts to the *Ju nang*, he actually requests that the *Ju nang* give gifts back to the monastic community.<sup>71</sup> And the *Ju nang* promises to do so. Not able to rid the area of Mongol domination, Skal ldan rgya mtsho makes the most of his relationship with the *Ju nang*, whether by receiving the *Ju nang*'s patronage for Rong bo monastery or by bringing about an increased commitment to Buddhism among the Mongols themselves.

Considering Skal ldan rgya mtsho's huge role in the spread of Dge lugs pa in the eastern part of the Tibetan world, it is obvious that he was highly modest in singing the following song, Mgur IX-5:

ཨ་ལ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ང་ནི།  
 དབུས་སུ་སློབ་གཉེར་གང་ལྟ་བུ་བཞུས་ནས།  
 ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྐྱན་པ་སྤེལ་བས།  
 ད་ལྟ་སྟན་པའི་གྲགས་པ་འབར་རོ།  
  
 ཨ་ལ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ང་ནི།  
 ད་ལྟ་རི་ཁྲོད་འགྲིམ་པའི་འཁོར་མང་། །  
 དེ་ཀྱན་ཁ་ལོ་ཚས་ལ་སྦྱར་དང་། །  
 མཉམ་ཞིག་རང་དང་གཞན་ལ་མན་རོ། །

.....

It may be that the K'ang hsi emperor had similarly honored the patron of Skal ldan rgya mtsho several decades earlier.

<sup>68</sup> This also occurred in 1676. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 104.

<sup>69</sup> This was in 1669. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 65.

<sup>70</sup> The occasions mentioned are in 1661 or 62 and in 1676. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 46, 104.

<sup>71</sup> This occurred in 1676. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 104.



ཨ་ལ་ལ་བྱུལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ང་ནི། །

ནོར་ཡང་མང་སྟེ་ཚོགས་སུ་བསྡེས་སོ། །

ཚོས་ཀྱང་གེས་ཏེ་མི་ལ་བཤད་དོ། །

ལོ་ཡང་ལོན་ཀྱང་བདེ་ཞིང་སྟིད་དོ། །

ཨ་ལ་ལ་བྱུལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ལགས་སོ། །<sup>72</sup>

A la la, as for me, an old monk who strolls around the country,  
Having done as much study as possible in Dbus,  
Because of increasing the teaching in the area of Khams,  
Now [my] fame is burning.

A la la, as for me an old monk who strolls around the country,  
Now the entourage which roves the mountain hermitages is large.  
Steer them all to religion!  
When will [I] benefit myself and others?

.....

A la la, as for me an old monk who strolls around the country,  
[My] wealth also is much. [I] have dedicated offerings.  
Buddhism also [I] know. [I] have explained it to people.  
Although [my] years are passing, [I] am well and happy.

A la la, [I] am an old monk who strolls around the country.

<sup>72</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 204-5/ 180-81.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SOLITARY HERMITAGES

At the age of twenty-one, in 1627, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho returned to Amdo after a ten-year study period at Dga' Idan monastery outside Lhasa.<sup>1</sup> Upon arrival in his homeland he already had the propensity to practice alone in solitary places,<sup>2</sup> but his older brother, Chos pa Rin po che, strongly urged him to found two schools.<sup>3</sup> These were Thos bsam gling at Rong bo monastery and Bka' gdams pho brang at Bkra shis 'khyil, which he established in 1630 and 1648, respectively. His older brother made strong requests that he continue to oversee and sustain these schools. This was evident even in Chos pa Rin po che's last words before death, found in Mgur XII-13:

མགོན་ཐུགས་རྩེ་ཆེ་མངའ་བུ་མ་མཚན།  
 ཕ་སངས་ཀྱིས་དག་ཞིང་ཕེབས་པའི་ཆེ།  
 མི་བདག་ལ་གསུང་གི་བྲ་མ་ལ།  
 ཆོས་བཤད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱོད་ས་ཤིག་གསུང་ས། །

.....

ཐུགས་མཉེས་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཐབས་དམ་པ།  
 ཆོས་བཤད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཟིན་པོ་ཆེ།  
 རང་གང་ལྟས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་འཛིན་ནི་སྟུམ། །<sup>4</sup>

When the protector, the supreme lama having great compassion,  
 The father, was going to the pure Buddha field,  
 In [his] last words to me [he] said,  
 “Do take care of the teachings of the religious college and the  
 seminary for tantric studies.”

.....

<sup>1</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 6, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 21-22, 29-31.

<sup>4</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 312/ 276.

[I] thought, 'For as long as I am able, I will take hold of the  
precious teachings  
Of the religious college and the seminary for tantric studies,  
The holy means for making [his] mind take delight.'

On the one hand, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho wanted to obey Chos pa Rin po che's last testament. On the other hand, he had strong inclinations to live the solitary life of a hermit, not least because of continual influence from Chos pa Rin po che's story of his own liberation. What did hermitages mean to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho and how did he resolve the tensions he felt between taking care of the schools and pursuing a life of solitude?

Chos pa Rin po che's life story contained a whole series of mixed messages for Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. Though Chos pa Rin po che spent five years doing pilgrimage and receiving teachings, most notably from the first Paṇ chen Lama,<sup>5</sup> in the main monasteries of the Lhasa region, upon returning to Reb gong in 1608, his focus turned to practice in solitary mountain retreats. At the time of his older brother's return, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho was only two. During the next nine years, it seems that Chos pa Rin po che spent a lot of time in hermitages and did not undertake religious activities other than applying himself diligently to his tutelary deity.<sup>6</sup> Though Chos pa Rin po che was already involved in this next stage of his life, he still had some conventional objectives for his younger brother, taught him to read and write, and ordained him.<sup>7</sup>

In 1617 Chos pa Rin po che temporarily interrupted his way of life to take Skäl Idan rgya mtsho to Dbus. There Chos pa Rin po che entrusted the monks of Dga' Idan with the care and extensive traditional education of his eleven-year old brother.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'dren byed*, in Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), vol. Ka-2, 2b.3-4a.6. This will henceforth be referred to as Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987).

<sup>6</sup> I have surmised this from the fact that there is very little written in the biography of Chos pa Rin po che for the years 1608–1616. See Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 4a.6-5a.1.

<sup>7</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 6; Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 5a.1-2.

After Skäl Idan rgya mtsho returned home to Amdo in 1627, his aim was essentially to do tantric practices in solitary places.<sup>9</sup> Chos pa Rin po che discouraged him from this and requested that he found a philosophical college at Rong bo monastery in Reb gong and later a seminary for tantric studies at Bkra shis 'khyil.<sup>10</sup> Despite the pressures Skäl Idan rgya mtsho felt in caring for the two schools, his biographer tells us that he was also able to spend time meditating in mountain retreats, where he “sang many *mgur* melodies which had to do with being cheerful in solitary places.”<sup>11</sup>

His movement from focusing on taking care of the schools to becoming a hermit is exhibited in *Mgur* VII-14. Here Skäl Idan rgya mtsho manages to link both ways of life to his veneration for his brother:

དུས་ད་ནས་ཐི་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་བར། །  
 ཚེས་བཤད་སྤྱོད་པར་རུང་སྤྱོད་ནས་ནི། །  
 བྱིད་མཉེས་པའི་ཐབས་ལ་འབད་པར་བྱ། །  
 བདག་རྩེ་འབྲོག་གི་ས་ཕྱོགས་མང་ཕྱིན་ཀྱང་། །  
 སེམས་ཚུལ་དང་འབྲེས་པ་དཀོན་པར་མཐོང་། །  
 ལར་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་བསམས་ཅ་ན། །  
 མགོན་ཁྱེད་ལ་དད་པ་ལྷག་པར་སྤྱེས། །

.....

ཁོར་ཟང་ཟེང་གི་རྟེན་བཀྱར་མི་འདོད་པར་ལ། །  
 དུས་སྤྱི་དུ་སྤྱོད་ལ་ཉག་གཞི་ལ་བའི། །  
 རྒྱལ་འདི་བསམས་མས་གུས་ཆེས་ཆེར་གཡོས། །<sup>13</sup>

From now on, for as long as [I] am able,  
 [I] will strive [to find] a way to please you  
 In the manner of whatever is suitable for the religious college and  
 the seminary for tantric studies.

<sup>9</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 21.

<sup>10</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 21-22, 29-31.

<sup>11</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 20.

<sup>12</sup> *par* ABC; *pa* D.

<sup>13</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 157/ 139.

Although I have gone to many places with valleys and pastureland,  
[I] have seen [how] rare [it is] for the mind to have integrated with  
religion.

Generally, when [I] thought about this again and again,  
[My] faith in you, Protector, increased.

.....

Not wanting to be paid the honor of wealth and things,  
[I] have thought of this manner of perpetually applying myself  
diligently to continual practice,  
[And I] have been greatly moved [in my] veneration [for you].

In Mgur VII-13, he reminds himself of the impermanence of the  
things for which he was responsible:

ཉོན་དང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་བ<sup>14</sup> །  
རང་བོའི་དགོན་དང་གྲྭ་ཚང་གཉིས། །  
གཏན་གྱི་དགོན་ཟེ་གྲྭ་ཚང་མིན། །<sup>15</sup>

Listen, the one of the ocean of good fortune,<sup>16</sup>  
Neither Rong bo monastery nor the seminary  
Is a perpetual monastic community or assemblage.

The impermanence of the monastery and community justifies further  
Skal Idan rgya mtsho's desire to let go of them and move on to a life  
of solitude. In Mgur XIII-17a he clearly associates continuing to  
oversee and sustain the school of explanation and the practice section  
with a lack of happiness:

བཤད་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་འཛིན་འདོད་ཀྱང་། །  
སེམས་ཉིད་འདི་མ་སྤུལ་གང་དགར་ཤོར། །<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *ba* BCD; *nga* A.

<sup>15</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 155/ 138.

<sup>16</sup> Skal Idan rgya mtsho adds the nominative particle *ba* to his name here, so I  
have translated it literally (*skal idan* = good fortune, *rgya mtsho* = ocean).

<sup>17</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 350/ 311.

Although [I] wanted to hold on to the teachings of the religious college and the seminary for tantric studies,  
[If I] had not tamed this mind itself, what would have broken out into happiness?

In Mgur VII-18, he speaks of going to hermitages in terms of following in Chos pa Rin po che's footsteps and not "wavering":

རྩེ་སྤོ་བཟང་ཚེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྤྲིད་ལ། །  
 དབང་འདོད་དགུར་བསྐྱར་བའི་འགྲོ་བའི་མགོན། །  
 ཕ་བསྐྱན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞབས་ལ་འདུད། །  
 ཉམས་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱས་པར་མཛོད། །  
 མགོན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་རྩེས་སུ་བཟུང་བ་ལས། །  
 དཔལ་ཐུབ་དབང་བསྐྱན་པའི་སློ་རུ་ཞུགས། །  
 གཞུང་ལྷགས་བཤད་མང་ལ་ཐོས་བསམ་བྱས། །  
 ཚེས་གང་ཤེས་སྤོ་གསལ་ཚེགས་རྣམས་ལ། །  
 སེམས་གཡོ་སྤྱོ་མེད་པར་ལྷགས་པར་བཤད། །  
 ད་མགོན་ཁྱོད་རྣམ་ཐར་རྩེས་ཞུགས་ནས། །  
 གནས་དབུག་པའི་དགའ་ཚལ་ཉམས་དགར་འགྲོ། །  
 མི་སྤྱོ་སེར་མང་པོ་ཐུན་ཆད་ངས། །  
 རོར་ཞབས་རྟོག་ཙམ་གྱི་ཆེད་དུ་བསྐྱུས། །  
 ད་མི་མགོ་རོར་ཕྱིར་མི་སྤོར་ཆེད། །  
 བདག་སྤུངས་ལྷན་རི་ཁྱོད་དགོན་པར་འགྲོ། <sup>18</sup>

[I] bow at the feet of Lord Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal [mtshan and]  
The father [Blo bzang] bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan,  
Protector of sentient beings who have transformed all desires  
in existence.  
Please make the qualities of [my] knowledge vast.

<sup>18</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 161/ 143.

Protector, on the basis of your having received [me as a disciple],  
[I] entered the door of the glorious Buddha's teaching.

[I] heard and thought about many good explanations of books.

[I] explained whatever teaching that [I] knew, without deception  
and well,  
To clear-minded groups.

Now, having followed your story of liberation,  
[I] am going to a delightful grove of a hermitage.

I formerly deceived many monks and lay people  
For the purpose of mere wealth and servants.

Now, in order that [I] not waver for the sake of wealth,  
I, Skal Idan, am going to a mountain hermitage.

In spite of his numerous responsibilities in taking care of his philosophical college, Thos bsam gling, at Rong bo and of his seminary for tantric studies at Bkra shis 'khyil, staying in solitary places remains a central theme for Skal Idan rgya mtsho. And in 1669, at the age of sixty-three, he lets go of his formal position at Thos bsam gling after caring for it for forty years,<sup>19</sup> and a year later makes Bkra shis 'khyil his principle hermitage for the rest of his life.<sup>20</sup>

Mgur XIII-14, a song with only four lines, states his pleasure in hermitages very simply:

<sup>19</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 66. Blo bzang chos grags, a direct disciple of Skal Idan rgya mtsho, was appointed lama to the philosophical school of Thos bsam gling at Rong bo ten years after Skal Idan rgya mtsho had founded it. See Skal Idan, *Mdo smad a mdo'i phyogs su bstan pa dar tshul gyi lo rgyus*, in Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), folio 8b.5; 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 189; and Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 95. Blo bzang chos grags continued to teach at Thos bsam gling after Skal Idan rgya mtsho retired from his responsibilities there.

<sup>20</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 66. Although his biographer tells us that Skal Idan rgya mtsho took care of both the religion and patronage of the seminary for tantric studies for thirty years (1648–1677), judging from his *mgur*, in the last years his activities, if any, were very light. He was living at Bkra shis 'khyil anyway, and at some point, Sha brang Rin po che Bya btang Blo bzang rgya mtsho started taking care of the tantric seminary, and continued in that position for many years. See Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 97.

དལ་འབྱོར་འདི་བསྐལ་བརྒྱ་རྩེད་པར་དཀའ། །

དག་སྦྱོར་ལ་འབད་པ་གང་ཆེ་འཆིང་<sup>21</sup>། །

གཅིག་ཕུ་རུ་དབེན་ཁང་ཉམས་དགའ་བར། །

དག་སྦྱོར་ལ་བཙུན་པ་སྐལ་བ་བཟང་། །<sup>22</sup>

It is difficult to obtain this leisure support in one hundred *kalpas*.  
Exerting [myself] in accumulating merit, however great, [I] am  
content.

Striving to accumulate merit alone  
In a delightful solitary hut is good fortune.

Skal Idan rgya mtsho took great delight in solitude and nature. What kind of solitary places? Just about any kind, it seems, as he advises himself in *Mgur* VII-2. Since the Tibetan text and the complete translation can be found in the appendix, here I just offer the translation of a few verses:

You want to rely on a solitary place, mountain hermit!  
When [you] generate sadness, listen to this song.  
If [I] don't give myself advice,  
Other friends inciting me to religion would be rare.

If you delight in solitary mountains,  
Under a strong small overhang in the mountain,  
There is a slate clay rock cave that has spontaneously arisen.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, in the present moment and  
time to come [you] will be happy.

If you delight in solitary forests,  
Amidst a luscious green forest  
There is a cool house of the trees' leaves.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [your] joy will increase.

If you delight in solitary snow lands,  
On the shoulder of a white snowy mountain  
There is a cave for practices in which to stay by yourself.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [your] merit will increase.

<sup>21</sup> 'tsheng ABCD, although 'tshes has been suggested as a better spelling.

<sup>22</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 348/ 309.



If you delight in solitary meadows,  
 In a large valley of beautiful wildflowers  
 There is a delightful small hut of green grass.  
 If [you] depend on a place like that, [you] will spontaneously be  
 at peace.

If you delight in solitary caves,  
 On the side of a rock with a vulture's nest  
 There is a beautiful shelter—a natural cave.  
 If [you] depend on a place like that, [your] knowledge will be pure.

If you delight in a solitary place of clay,  
 On a clay [mountain] amidst a nest of hawks  
 There is at the present moment a solid cave.  
 If [you] depend on a place like that, whatever [you] think will be  
 accomplished.<sup>23</sup>

And elsewhere in *Mgur* II-3 we read about his activities in solitary places:

.....  
 བྲག་གང་འགོལ་ནགས་ཚལ་ཉམས་དགའ་དང་། །  
 ཕ་སྒྲ་མ་གོང་མའི་སྐྱབ་ཕྱག་སྟགས། །  
 གནས་དབེན་ཞིང་ཉམས་དགར་ཁ་ཏོན་དང་།  
 ཕྱག་བཟླས་བཞེད་གཏོར་མའི་རིམ་པ་སྟགས། །  
 ཚས་དགེ་བའི་ཕྱགས་ལ་གང་རྒྱས་འབད། །<sup>24</sup>

.....  
 [I] exerted myself in areas of religion and virtue as much as I could  
 Such as [by doing] series of chants, prostrations, recitations and  
 [making] *gtor mas*,  
 In solitary and pleasing places such as  
 Whichever rock-caves, solitary places, pleasant groves, and  
 Caves in which [my] father, the supreme lama, has practiced and  
 so on.

<sup>23</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 137-38/ 122-23.

<sup>24</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 25/ 22.

What was Skal Idan rgya mtsho looking for in his hermitages? He says what it was in *Mgur* VII-6. The Tibetan text is in the appendix, and I will give only excerpts from this *mgur* here:

Lord Bstan 'dzin blo bzang, Rdo rje 'chang,  
Please look in general upon all sentient beings with compassion.

.....

Whenever [I] saw a delightful and pleasing mountain,  
I, Skal Idan, recalled a solitary grove.

Whenever [I] heard the pleasing voices of birds and so on,  
[It] moved my mind to a solitary place.

.....

Whenever I saw a twisting, colorful clay [bluff],  
I thought I would go there and an earnest desire would arise in  
[my mind].

.....

In a very solitary grove on a mountain,  
I myself, an ancient sage,<sup>25</sup> practice and live alone.

[I] have thought and thought about this, and desire has come about.

Although I am a lama who gives instruction,  
Up to now [my] mind has not been integrated with the instructions.

Now, in a pleasing solitary grove,  
Please give blessings for the meeting of [my] mind with the  
teachings.<sup>26</sup>

Skal Idan rgya mtsho mentions the theme of *sems dang khrid ma 'dres* or *sems dang chos ma 'dres*, the mind that is not integrated with instruction or religion, a number of times in his *mgur*, and the lack of integration he felt seems to be a principle reason for his wanting to go to solitary places to practice the teachings that he has received. In this regard I find it crucial to stress that his quest to be a

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<sup>25</sup> *Drang srong* (= *r̥ṣi*) brings to mind ancient Vedic sages who live practically forever thanks to their Ayurvedic herbal concoctions.

<sup>26</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 143-44/ 127-28.

hermit should not be seen as a desire to break away entirely from his previous life, but rather as an effort to relieve himself from the distractions of village and monastic life, along with his formal responsibilities there, so that he could bring the teachings and rituals he previously witnessed to fulfillment within himself.

But just going to hermitages by itself is not enough. In *Mgur* X-21 he sings of going to a hundred of them, yet still being unable to integrate Buddhism and his own mental and emotional state:

ང་<sup>27</sup>གཞིན་དུས་རིམ་བྱུང་བཟུང་ཕྱག་འབྲིམས། །  
 རིམ་བྱུང་དཔེན་ས་རུ་གཅིག་ཕུར་བཟུང། །  
 སེམས་ཚུལ་དང་ཞི་མཐུན་བཟུང་བཟུང་གྲང་། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་སེམས་དང་ཚུལ་མ་མཐུན། །<sup>28</sup>

When I was young, [I] roved around one hundred mountain  
 hermitages.

[I] stayed alone in the solitary places of whatever mountain.  
 Although [I] looked and looked at whether [my] mind was in  
 harmony with religion,  
 Still now my mind and religion are not in harmony.

A similar theme is expressed along with deep sorrow about his lack of integration, in this excerpt from *Mgur* III-4:

སྤྱིར་ཚུལ་སྒྲོར་ཞུགས་ནས་ཡུན་རིང་ཞིང་། །  
 སྤྱིས་<sup>29</sup>རིམ་བྱུང་བཟུང་ནས་ལོ་མང་ཡང་། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་སེམས་དང་ཚུལ་མ་འབྲིས། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་འགྲོད་པ་གཏིང་ནས་སྒྲིས། །<sup>30</sup>

Although in general [I] entered the door of Buddhism a long  
 time ago  
 And in particular have relied on mountain hermitages for  
 many years,  
 Up to now my mind is not integrated with religion.  
 [I] have thought about this and regret has arisen from [my] depths.

<sup>27</sup> *nga* CD; *ngas* AB.

<sup>28</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 245/ 216.

<sup>29</sup> *sgos* BD; *dgos* AC.

<sup>30</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 38/ 34.

Yet sometimes he doesn't even stay when he gets to a solitary place, as he relates in Mgur III-5:

ཆེ་འདི་སྤྲོས་བཏང་ཅི་ཁྲོད་བྱ་སྐྱམ་ཡང་། །  
 ཅི་ལ་སྤྲོབ་<sup>31</sup> ཆེ་བྲོང་ཡུལ་སྤོར་རྒྱལ་ཅིང་། །.....<sup>32</sup>

Although [I] think this time that [I] will act as a renunciant  
 mountain hermit,  
 When [I] arrive at a mountain, I rush back to the village.....

Not only hermitages, but also lamas' teachings and studying were not enough for Skal ldan rgya mtsho. He had gone to lots of teachers and still did not feel like their teachings were sinking in. In the following part of Mgur III-3, he laments this difficulty:

དུས་ཉིན་ཞིག་<sup>33</sup> སྤྱིད་གསུམ་མཐོན་པོའི་ཅིར། །  
 སྤུ་སེ་ཀུའི་ཇ་རྒྱུད་<sup>34</sup> བལ་རུ་བྱེན། །  
 ཅི་གངས་དཀར་ཆར་དྲོད་ར་བ་རྣམས། །  
 རྩེ་མིག་ཡུལ་སྤང་ཆེ་སྒྲ་མ་བྲན། །  
 རྩེ་མཚུངས་མེད་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་སྤོ་བཟང་གི། །  
 རྩེན་བཟང་པོ་བྲན་ཏི་སྤྱི་འདི་ལིན། །  
 བྱིད་དད་བཙོན་ལྷན་པའི་མཆིད་བྲོགས་རྣམས། །  
 དབྱངས་འདི་ལ་དར་ཅིག་གསན་པར་ཞུ། །  
 ཞིང་རབ་འབྲམས་བཞུགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན། །  
 འབངས་དད་ལྷན་བདག་སྐྱེས་སྤང་ངོ་རུ། །  
 མགོན་ལྷེ་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས། །  
 མཚན་འབྲུག་སྤྱོད་བྱར་ཡོངས་སུ་བྲགས། །  
 ཕ་སྐྱབས་རྩེ་ཅན་དེའི་བཀའ་རྩེན་ལས། །  
 སྤྱིར་དབང་ལྷང་རྩེས་གསུམ་གང་འདོད་དང་། །

<sup>31</sup> *sleb* ABD; *slebs* C.

<sup>32</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 39/ 35-6.

<sup>33</sup> *zhig* BCD; *cig* A.

<sup>34</sup> *rgyud* AB; *brgyud* CD.

སྒོས་<sup>35</sup>བཅའ་ལྷན་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚལ་གི་ །  
 དབང་ཟབ་མོ་ལུང་དང་མཐུན་པར་བྲོག། །  
 ཚོས་མདོ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གནད་དོན་དུ་མ་ཞིག །  
 ནང་སེམས་ཉིད་སྤང་དུ་སྒྲོར་ཚུལ་གཤམ། །  
 དེ་གཤམ་ཀྱང་ཉམས་ལེན་མ་རྟུས་པས། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་ཉམས་རྟོགས་འབྲས་མ་སྒྲིམ། །  
 ཚོས་མདོ་ལྷགས་སྒྲོམ་སྤྱིད་ཟབ་ན་ཡང་། །  
 བདག་སྒྲོམ་མཁན་ལི་ལོ་ཆེ་བ་དེས། །  
 སྤྱིད་ཟབ་མོ་ཞུས་ནས་ལོ་མང་ཡང་། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་སེམས་དང་སྤྱིད་མ་མཇུག། །  
 ལྷ་བདེ་མཚལ་བྱིན་སྐབས་ཆེན་ཡང་། །  
 ཐུགས་སྒྲུལ་<sup>36</sup>བྱེད་ཀྱི་བཞུས་པ་མ་རྟུས་པས། །  
 ལྷ་གཙམ་ཤར་བཟུང་ནས་ལོ་མང་ཡང་། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་མི་ལྷས་ཙམ་མ་བྱུང་། །  
 ཁོང་དད་ལྷན་སྒྲོལ་མའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ལ། །  
 ཚོས་གང་འདོད་བཤད་ནས་ཡུན་རིང་ཡང་། །  
 མི་རང་ལ་ཉམས་ཚུང་མེད་པ་དེས། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་གཞན་ལ་པན་མ་བྲོགས། །<sup>37</sup>

One day on the high peak of Sgyed gsum,  
 I went to see the clay range of Phu se ku.

When the row of white snow mountains  
 Appeared as an objective field in [my] nostalgic glance, [I] recalled  
 [my] lama.

Recalling the good kindness of the unrivalled lord,  
 Bstan 'dzin blo bzang, [I] sing this song.

<sup>35</sup> *sgos* D, *dgos* ABC.

<sup>36</sup> *skul* BCD; *bskul* A.

<sup>37</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 36-37/ 33.

You faithful and diligent spiritual friends—  
Spread this song! [I] request that [you] listen!

Because of the kindness of that father who has compassion,  
The protector called Sde pa Chos kyi rgyal po,  
Whose name is known everywhere like the sound of thunder,  
Through whom all the victorious ones who dwell in the limitless  
[Buddha] fields

Appear in the minds of faithful subjects such as I,  
[I] obtained in general whatever empowerments, textual  
transmissions and tantric rituals [I] wanted,  
And in particular<sup>38</sup> the deep empowerment of Bhagavat 'Khor lo  
bde mchog, in agreement with the textual transmission.

[I came to] know how to apply the many essential points  
Of the sutras and tantras of Buddhism to [my] very mind.<sup>39</sup>

Although [I] knew that, because [I] was unable to practice,  
Till now the fruits of experiential knowledge have not matured.

Although the meditation instructions of the sutras and tantras of  
Buddhism are deep,  
Since I am a very lazy meditator,  
Although [I] requested the deep instructions many years ago,  
Till now [my] mind and the instructions have not met.

Although the deity Bde mchog's blessing is great,  
Since [I] am not able to do recitations for inducing [the presence of  
his] mind,  
Although [I] have taken him as [my] sole deity for many years,  
Till now [even] mere signs in [my] dreams have not appeared.

Although one has explained whatever is desired of Buddhism  
To assemblages of faithful disciples for a long time,  
Since [that] person himself has no experience  
Till now [he] has not brought benefit to others.

<sup>38</sup> "In particular" is a translation of *sgos*, not *dgos*. The two spellings have been frequently interchanged in many *mgur* in the various editions.

<sup>39</sup> I.e. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho came to know in principle how to practice, how to think, and how to examine his thoughts.

But in spite of Skal Idan rgya mtsho being pessimistic at times about going to mountain hermitages to achieve his biggest desire, bringing together mind and Buddhism, this desire remained an integral part of his overall plan. He clearly idolizes Mi la ras pa,<sup>40</sup> and has found it fruitless to meditate in places that are not solitary, as he states in *Mgur* III-4:

ལྷ་ས་སྐྱ་མ་གྲུ་པ་ཡོན་བདག་ལ། །  
 ཆེ་སྟོས་གཏོང་སྟེ་པ་ལྷ་ལེན་ཞིས། །  
 ཆོག་མང་གཏམ་<sup>41</sup> དམ་བཅའ་མང་ཕུལ་ཡང་། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་ཆེ་འདི་སྟོས་མ་ཐོང་<sup>42</sup> །  
 སྟོན་རི་ཁྲོད་མ་བསྟེན་གནས་སྐབས་སུ། །  
 དུས་ནམ་ཞིག་སྟེ་པ་བྱེད་པའི་ཆོ། །  
 རྩེ་མི་ལ་ལྷ་བྱར་བྱེད་སྟུམ་ཡང་། །  
 ད་སྟེ་ལ་ཞུགས་ཆེ་རེ་མ་བྱུང་། །  
 རྩེ་མི་ལ་ལྷ་བྱ་ཕར་ལ་ཞིག །  
 དུས་ད་ལྷའི་སྟོམ་ཆེན་ཐ་མ་ལའང་། །  
 མིག་ཡར་བལྟས་འགྲན་པར་མི་བཟོད་ན། །  
 ཉམས་ཏྟགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ག་ལ་སྟེ། །  
 ས་དབེན་ཞིང་ཉམས་དགར་མི་འགྲོ་ན། །  
 མིང་རས་པར་བཏགས་པས་ཅི་ལ་ཕན། །<sup>43</sup>

Previously although [I] gave many words and many promises  
 To lamas, monks [and] patrons,  
 Saying “[I] earnestly apply [myself] to renouncing [this] life [and  
 its concerns],”  
 Until now [I] have not renounced this life completely.

<sup>40</sup> I will deal at length with his relationship to Mi la ras pa in the next chapter.

<sup>41</sup> *gtam* AD; *gtams* BC.

<sup>42</sup> Instead, I have read *btang* here.

<sup>43</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 38/ 34-5.

Previously in a period in which [I] was not relying on mountain  
hermitages,  
Whenever [I] did practices,  
Although [I] thought to do them in the manner of Mi la ras pa,  
When [I] entered into practices then, [my] hopes were not realized.  
Put away [the idea of practicing] like Mi la ras pa!  
As for today's common siddhas having set [their] aims high,  
If [they] cannot bear the comparison,<sup>44</sup>  
Where will the quality of experiential knowledge arise?  
If [I] don't go to a solitary and pleasing place,  
What good would it do calling [myself] "*ras pa*"<sup>45</sup>?

There are many reasons for going to solitary places, as Skäl Idan  
rgya mtsho chants rhythmically in this part of Mgur VII-10a. The  
Tibetan text is in the appendix.

When I was young, I relied on a lama.  
Now that [I] am old, I have been relying on friends and patrons.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] listened to and contemplated [religion].  
Now that [I] am old, [I] perform village rites for a living [and I]  
move to and fro on foot.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] went where monks assembled.  
Now that [I] am old, [I] have been strolling around [my]  
home village.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] liked to stay alone.  
Now that [I] am old, [I] conform with everyone.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

<sup>44</sup> I.e. with Mi la ras pa.

<sup>45</sup> The term *ras pa* signifies "one who wears cotton."



When I was young, [my] sadness was great.  
Now that [I] am old, this life has been seized in the grasping claw  
of death.

[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] observed the rules with purity.  
Now that [I] am old, [I] act freely without shame.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] performed the holy religion.  
Now that [I] am old, [I] do worldly deeds.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

[I] am going to practice in accordance with the deep religion  
In a pleasing, delightful mountain hermitage.  
When [you] disciples who come behind me do as I do,  
Walk in my footsteps!<sup>46</sup>

He considered staying in his home a real detriment, something he expresses strongly in *Mgur* VI-3:

ཕ་གྲིམ་དུག་སྐྱུལ་ཆང་ནས། །  
གཞོན་ཞུའི་དུས་ནས་ཐོན་པས། །  
རབ་བྱང་བསྟན་ཐོག་སྟོན་པའི། །  
བདུད་ཅིའི་བགོ་སྐུལ་ཕྱིང་ལྟོ།<sup>47</sup> ཇོ།<sup>48</sup>

Since [I] departed at a young age  
From my father's house, a venomous serpent's den,  
[I] experienced the fortune of obtaining the nectar of  
The vows of a novice and of a fully-ordained monk.

Skal Idan rgya mtsho is sometimes very critical of himself, as in *Mgur* V-11, in which he takes himself strongly to task. The Tibetan text and full translation are in the appendix.

<sup>46</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 148/ 131.

<sup>47</sup> *myong* CD; *myang* AB.

<sup>48</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 126/ 112.

Lord Blo bzang grags,<sup>49</sup> unequalled in kindness,  
 [Please] look with compassion upon [your] servant,  
 Skal ldan rgya mtsho, one without religion, and bless [him].

You, expert in false knowledge, cling to a pile of falsehoods  
 Without understanding that [your] father lama is holy,  
 The foundation of all good accumulations in this and future lives.  
 Aren't you a rotten-hearted one with the title of *Bka' bcu*?<sup>50</sup>

You don't understand that your present happiness  
 Is because of the lama's kindness.  
 You master of religious discourses, are you crazy or what?

You have rejected all concerns for a future life  
 In this time of having obtained a human body, in which acquiring a  
 support is difficult.  
 You who have looked at all kinds of books, have you no mind?

You haven't given a thought to [your] lack of thought for your  
 own death  
 While watching the deaths of most of [your] friends.  
 Should you not have pity on your own heart [for being like this]?

.....

You turn away after mouthing, "[I] take refuge"  
 In the Three Precious Jewels, the undistorted refuge.  
 You, scholar, has a demon entered [your] heart?

.....

You, into whose heart the demon himself has continually entered,  
 Are one who wavers in the nine different kinds of remorse and  
 clings to a sense of self.  
 When will you ever envision anything through meditation?

<sup>49</sup> This refers to Tsong kha pa.

<sup>50</sup> *Bka' bcu pa*, the one [having mastered] ten texts, is a title given to monks. See Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003), 144.

This Skal Idan rgya mtsho said to himself  
 With affectionate thoughts  
 In the mountain hermitage, the residence of the protector  
 Mañjuśrī.<sup>51</sup>

He recites a long list of things to renounce in *Mgur* III-1, whose Tibetan text and full translation are in the appendix. I have chosen some excerpts to cite here:

Having prostrated [myself] before the feet of glorious lamas,  
 I myself will give myself this talk.

.....

If [you] live in a town for a long time, [you] show your own faults.  
 Make [your] dwelling place solitary, mountain hermit!

Food, wealth and merit are hindrances to religion.  
 Be satisfied with whatever occurs, mountain hermit!

If [you] have relied on bad friends, you yourself will also  
 get worse!  
 Always stay alone, mountain hermit!

.....

When [you] die, there is no one at all who [can] help [you].  
 Don't cherish relatives greatly, mountain hermit!

.....

Later, someone who gives beneficial advice will be rare.  
 Don't listen to everyone's speech, mountain hermit!

Don't give others powerful advice; take [it] yourself.  
 Ask advice from the pronouncements of the Victorious One,  
 mountain hermit!

.....

Always take the lower place and make preparations for death.  
 There is no certainty as to when [you] will die, mountain hermit!<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 104-5/ 93-94.

<sup>52</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 33-34/ 30.

In *Mgur* III-9, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho says that there is no benefit to eulogies, wealth and goods, merit, monasteries and religious colleges, or being close to kinsmen. In the following excerpt, he makes it clear that some of the things other Buddhists value do nothing for him:

ས་ཕྱགས་འདིའི་ཡོན་བདག་ཕལ་ཆེ་བས། །  
 དུས་དེང་སང་བདག་ལ་འབྲུལ་བ་བྱེད། །  
 རྩོལ་དངོས་པོས་ཕན་གྱི་ཅི་ཡང་མེད། །  
 ལྷ་བསོད་ཁྱོད་ཇི་ལྟར་དབྱེས་དབྱེས་མཛོད། །  
 དགོན་གྲྭ་ཆང་ཁྱི་གོག་ལ་སྟོགས་པ། །  
 དུས་དེང་སང་བདག་གི་ར་བཟུང་ན་ཡང་། །  
 དགོན་ཆོས་གྲྭས་ཕན་གྱི་ཅི་ཡང་མེད། །  
 དགོན་ཆོས་གྲྭ་ཇི་ལྟར་དབྱེས་དབྱེས་མཛོད། །<sup>53</sup>

The majority of patrons of this area  
 These days make offerings to me.  
 Wealth and goods cause no benefit at all.  
 Merit—make [me] very pleased in any way!

Although these days [I] have taken as mine  
 A monastery, seminary, a clay throne, etc.,  
 A monastery and religious college cause no benefit at all.  
 Monastery and religious college—make [me] very pleased in  
 any way!

It is ironic that wealth comes to him anyway, pouring like rain, and that the wealth that pours involuntarily upon him stirs up more desire. Hence, he goes to a hermitage to let go of these desires, as he sings in *Mgur* XI-22:

ང་ཡུན་རིང་རི་ཁྱོད་འགྲེམས་འགྲེམས་པས། །  
 རྩོལ་དངོས་པོ་ཆེད་དུ་མི་གཉིས་ཡང་། །

<sup>53</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 47/ 42-3.

དུས་ད་ལྟ་བཞིན་ནམས་རྒྱས་བྲགས་<sup>54</sup> པས། །

ཉེར་དངོས་པོ་གང་འདྲིན་ཆར་ལྷར་བབས། །

ཆེ་ལྡ་མའི་བག་ཆགས་གྲགས་<sup>55</sup> བྲག་པས། །

ཉེར་མི་འདྲིན་བྲས་ཀྱང་འདྲིན་པས་གདུང་། །

རི་མཐོན་པོར་གཅིག་ཤར་ཐོད་ལྷས་ན། །

ཆོས་གང་བྲས་ལམ་དུ་འགྲོ་བར་ངེས། །<sup>56</sup>

Because for a long time I wandered around mountain hermitages,  
Although [I] do not take pains [to acquire] wealth and goods,  
Now at present [my] merit has increased fiercely.  
So wealth, goods, whatever is desired, have fallen like rain.

Because of the strong power of inclinations from [my] past lives,  
Though not having caused a desire for wealth [in this life], [I] am  
afflicted by desire.

When [I] am able to stay alone on a high mountain,  
Whatever teaching [I] practice is sure to take [me] on the path.

But it is not all so dark for Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, as he finds a balance of solitude, practice and renunciation, and is happy. In *Mgur* VII-11, he gives a long description of the beauties of *Se ku*, its mountain slopes, waters, valley, birds, alpine pastures, wild edibles, and lack of the clamor found in towns. Then he chants of the sixteen causes for happiness. The Tibetan text is in the appendix.

In that cave, because I, Skäl Idan ras pa,  
Have covered [my] body with maroon, [I] am happy.  
Because [I] have sung a sonorous song, [I] am happy.  
Because [I] have lived without mental suffering, [I] am happy.  
Because by day [I] have performed whatever religious practices  
possible, [I] am happy.  
Because in the night [I] have lain happily on [my] side, [I] am  
happy.  
Because [I]’ve not been put in a stocks by a greatly powerful lord,  
[I] am happy.

<sup>54</sup> *drags* CD; *drag* AB.

<sup>55</sup> *shugs* BCD; *shug* A.

<sup>56</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur ’bum*, 284/ 251-2.

Because [I] have no need for the care of people around me or  
kinsmen, [I] am happy.  
Because [I] have made friends with both marmots and mice, [I] am  
happy.  
Because [I] have read many stories of spiritual realization, [I] am  
happy.  
Because [I] have run about on mountain peaks several times, [I] am  
happy.  
Because [I] have stayed most of the time at the site of [my] bed, [I]  
am happy.  
Because daily [I] am free from hunger and thirst, [I] am happy.  
Because for a long time [I] have focused single-mindedly on  
religion, [I] am happy.  
Because [I] have preserved as much as possible [my] vows [and]  
promises, [I] am happy.  
Because [I] have read the *Chos thun drug rnal 'byor*,<sup>57</sup> [I] am  
happy.  
Because [I] have made gifts, holding back neither flesh nor blood,  
[I] am happy.<sup>58</sup>

Skal Idan rgya mtsho brings renunciation, practice, solitude, and natural beauty together, so that he can have what he has been looking for. And in this excerpt from *Mgur* I-7, he acknowledges that his mind has been integrated with Buddhism:

དབེན་པར་གཅིག་སྤྱར་གནས་པས་ཚེས་དང་མཐུན། །  
ཚེས་དང་མཐུན་པས་དགའ་བདེ་ངང་གིས་འཕེལ། །<sup>59</sup>

Because [I] loved alone in solitude, [my mind] is in harmony  
with religion.  
Because [my mind] is in harmony with religion, [my] happiness is  
spontaneously increasing.

<sup>57</sup> This is one of the texts on the yogas of the six periods to be done throughout the day.

<sup>58</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 153/ 136.

<sup>59</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 13/ 12.

## CHAPTER THREE

### CONNECTIONS WITH MI LA RAS PA

The Three Precious Ones, supporting all  
In the realm of Non-doing Awareness—  
I realize them all!  
Why then should I pray to them?  
Happy is the practice of Yoga  
Without Mantra and muttering!<sup>1</sup>

.....

As a result of my meditation I have achieved total awakening wherein the object meditated upon, the action of meditating, and the subject who meditates merge into one, so that now I no longer know how to meditate.<sup>2</sup>

Mi la ras pa thus describes his direct path to Buddhahood. The famed late eleventh-early twelfth century siddha never studied in a monastery and never tried to found a school or organization. Nevertheless, he has been revered in Tibet from his time on for his way of life and for his *mgur*.

All Tibetans know his life story that poignantly illustrates the themes of karma, perseverance for liberation from rebirth in one lifetime, the necessity of a guru to gain truth within oneself and asceticism.<sup>3</sup> Briefly, Mi la ras pa's father died when he was seven,

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<sup>1</sup> Garma C. C. Chang, ed., trans., *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*, vol. 1 (Boston: Shambhala, 1989), 153. (I will henceforth refer to both or either volumes of this work as Chang, trans., *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*.)

<sup>2</sup> Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, trans., *The Life of Milarepa* (Boston: Shambhala, 1985), 146.

<sup>3</sup> From around the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, Mi la ras pa's life (*rnam thar*) and songs (*mgur ma*) were generally known from the fifteenth century compilations of each of them by Gtsang smyon He ru ka (1452–1507), since he had woodblock carvings of them made. These are the versions that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho would have been familiar with. Lhalungpa translated the biography (*Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar*) into English in *The Life of Milarepa*. Chang translated Mi la ras pa's *mgur* (*Mi la mgur 'bum*) in *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*.

Gtsang smyon compiled the biography in 1488. Other versions of Mi la ras pa's life predated it, such as the *Bu chen bcu gnyis*, the *Mdzod nag ma*, *Mkha' spyod*

and then his paternal uncle and aunt robbed his mother, sister and him of their heritage and forced them to work as laborers. Encouraged by his mother, Mi la ras pa learned black magic in order to avenge the injustice done to him, and brought about the death of thirty-five paternal relatives.

Later, Mi la ras pa repented and searched for a master who could give him initiations and scriptures, yet though he practiced, he could not make progress due to his bad karma. He sought to study with Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (11<sup>th</sup> century), who refused to give him the teachings until he built a tower. Mi la ras pa was willing to undergo almost any amount of torment inflicted by Mar pa in order to receive his teachings, and built a tower and tore it down over and over for him; Mar pa at the same time was determined to force his young disciple to pay back the bad karma of his earlier days by continuing to make him do the agonizing labor. Finally, Mar pa gave Mi la ras pa tantric initiations.

Mi la ras pa went off to solitary places to live a life of retreat as a very strict ascetic, practicing under very severe conditions of cold weather while wearing little or absolutely no clothing, and often eating only nettles. He taught others through stories sung spontaneously of his own personal experience—how he subdued demons and how he converted some of his disciples—in order to advise others how to live and how to practice. Although he had sought scriptures and initiations with vigor earlier in his life, he now shunned compulsive book-learning and complex tantric rituals. During this period he again exhibited many powers, but instead of the black magic of his youth, now his flying, walking across water, entering a yak horn, being impervious to arrows, transforming himself into many bodies and so on all had the purpose of teaching others.<sup>4</sup> Finally, he entered Nirvana, amidst many miraculous signs.

Mi la ras pa was a principal link in receiving and passing down teachings of the Indian siddhas Tilopa and Nāropa, which Mar pa brought to Tibet and taught outside of any monastic establishment. Although it was Mi la ras pa's disciples and disciples of disciples who actually founded the various subsets of the Bka' brgyud pa

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*dbang po*, and *Rgyal thang pa*. See Francis Vincent Tiso, "A Study of the Buddhist Saint in Relation to the Biographical Tradition of Milarepa" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1989) for a discussion of versions of the hagiography.

<sup>4</sup> Chang, trans., *Hundred Thousand Songs*, 451, 160, 429, 287 and 593.



order, Bka' brgyud pas honor Mi la ras pa as one of the most important founding saints of their lineage. When Gushri Khan installed the fifth Dalai Lama on the throne of Tibet in 1642, three centuries of civil war came to a close. Up to that time, the Dge lugs pas had been at war with the Karma pas, a subsect of the Bka' brgyud pa, for several centuries. Yet Skal Idan rgya mtsho wrote the following homage to the first lama of the Karma pa lineage, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–93), in Mgur XI-24:

ཇི་དུས་གསུམ་མཆིན་པའི་ཀཱ་པ། །  
དཔལ་ཁམས་པ་དབྱ་སའི་ཞབས་ལ་འདུད། །<sup>5</sup>

[I] bow at the feet of the Lord, Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa,  
The glorious Khams pa, Dbu se.

and Skal Idan rgya mtsho showed further ecumenical reverence to the series of Karma pas in his petition for their blessings, called

ཇི་ཀཱ་པ་སྔ་ཕྱི་རྣམས་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་  
*Petition to Former and Later Karma pas*<sup>6</sup>

It would have been unlikely that Skal Idan rgya mtsho and Chos pa Rin po che could have praised the Karma pas and had open connections with Mi la ras pa, saints of the opposing side in the war, if they had lived in Lhasa. However, it was probably largely because they were off in Amdo that they could relate to these figures as they did. How did Skal Idan rgya mtsho and Chos pa Rin po che legitimize their bonds with Mi la ras pa, what did they esteem about him and how did they emulate his way of life? Those are some of the themes I will explore in this chapter, which consists of two sections. The first will deal with Chos pa Rin po che's connections with Mi la ras pa and the second will deal with Skal Idan rgya mtsho's.

<sup>5</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 288/255.

<sup>6</sup> For this, see Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), vol. Ka-8 (*Rje skal Idan rgya mtsho'i gsung las bstod tshogs kyi rim pa rnams, Cycles of Eulogies*), third text; Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 1, pp. 268-69. All the Karma pas up to Skal Idan rgya mtsho's time are petitioned here except the seventh.

*Chos pa Rin po che's Relationship to Mi la ras pa*

སྒྲོན་གྱི་མི་ལ་རས་པ་དེ། །  
ད་ལྟ་རྒྱུ་བོ་འཛིན་པ་སྤང་། །<sup>7</sup>

He, that Mi la ras pa of former times,  
Has now appeared as a religious practitioner of Rong bo.<sup>8</sup>

The most notable figure that Chos pa Rin po che is said to be a reincarnation of is the siddha Mi la ras pa. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho sings of this in his eulogy to the previous reincarnations of Chos pa Rin po che, Mgur I-5, entitled

བཀའ་དྲིན་འཁོར་མེད་གྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱུས་གྱི་ངོ་བོ་སྤོ་བཟང་བསྟན་  
པའི་བྱུང་མཚན་ལ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལ་རས་པ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱེས་བྱེད་བཞེས་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྒྲོ་  
ནས་བསྟོན་པ་

Following an ode to his reincarnation as Tilopa,<sup>9</sup> come the following excerpts from Mgur I-5 that link Chos pa Rin po che not only with Mi la ras pa, but with several masters of the early part of the Bka' brgyud pa lineage:

གནས་གངས་ཁྲོད་འགྲུམ་པ་ཤིང་གདུམ་མོ་བསྟོམས། །  
ལམ་ཕྱག་ཆེན་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་ཟུང་འཇུག་བརྟེས། །  
རྗེ་མི་ལ་བཞད་པའི་རྗེ་ལ། །  
བདག་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་སོ་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྟོབས། །

སྤྱི་དབུ་མར་<sup>10</sup>ཞུགས་ཤིང་བདེ་བློ་འབར། །  
སྤྱི་སྤྱི་འཆི་སྤངས་པས་<sup>11</sup>འཇུག་ལུས་བརྟེས། །  
རྗེ་ཐུགས་སྤྱོད་རས་པ་ཞི་བ་འོད། །  
བདག་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་སོ་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྟོབས། །

<sup>7</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, Mgur X-11, 226/ 199.

<sup>8</sup> Rong bo was the place where Chos pa Rin po che was born.

<sup>9</sup> Tilopa had synthesized what were to become some of the principle Bka' brgyud pa practices. Tsong kha pa received those transmissions from Tilopa as well, and made them a Dge lugs pa teaching. I will discuss these practices in Chapter 4.

<sup>10</sup> *mar* AB; *ma* CD.

<sup>11</sup> *pas* CD; *pa'i* AB.

ནང་གྲགས་སྒྲོབས་ཆེ་བས་དྭཀའ་བ་སྤྲད། །  
 ཕྱི་ཁྱིན་ངན་གྲོགས་ཤར་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ། །  
 རྩི་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ལྷུ་བ་ལོ་རས་ལ། །  
 བདག་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་སོ་བྱིན་བྱིས་སྒྲོབས། །<sup>12</sup>

[He] wandered in snowy solitary places and meditated on *gtum mo*.  
 [He] obtained meditative integration through the power of the  
*Mahāmudrā* path.

I beseech Lord Mi la Bzhad pa'i rdo rje.<sup>13</sup>  
 Please bless [me].

[He] inserted [his] *rlung* into the middle [channel] and burned with  
 blissful heat.  
 Because [he] renounced birth and death, [he] obtained a rainbow  
 body.  
 I beseech the lord, the spiritual son Ras pa Zhi ba 'od.  
 Please bless [me].

Internally, with great strength [he] did the difficult practices.  
 Externally, unfortunate accidents arose as friends [and he] obtained  
*siddhis*.  
 I beseech the lord, the siddha Rgyal ba Lo ras.  
 Please bless [me].

Zhi ba 'od was a direct disciple of Mi la ras pa.<sup>14</sup> Lo ras, the founder  
 of the lower 'Brug pa school, was a spiritual descendant of Mi la ras  
 pa.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting that three incarnations in a row are attributed to  
 Mi la ras pa and those who followed him.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 11/ 10.

<sup>13</sup> Bzhad pa'i rdo rje is an epithet of Mi la ras pa.

<sup>14</sup> For Zhi ba 'od's story, see Chang, trans., *Hundred Thousand Songs*, vol. 1, 159-89.

<sup>15</sup> For Lo ras' story and translations of some of his songs, see Nālandā Translation Committee under the direction of Chögyam Trungpa, trans., *The Rain of Wisdom: The Essence of the Ocean of True Meaning: The Vajra Songs of the Kagyü Gurus* (Boston: Shambhala, 1999), 246-55, 332.

<sup>16</sup> The entire list of the eight incarnations, stemming from 'Jam dpal dbyangs and leading up to Chos pa Rin po che, is as follows: 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Tilopa, Rnal 'byor Chags pa khri mchog, Mi la ras pa, Ras pa Zhi ba 'od (b. 11<sup>th</sup> cent.), Grub chen Lo ras (d. 1250), Rgod tshang Mgon po rdo rje (1189-1258), and Zhang zhung Chos dbang grags pa (1404-1469), followed by Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (Chos pa Rin po che). See Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 10-11/ 9-11.

Skal Idan rgya mtsho goes to great lengths in what is one of the longest colophons of his *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* to document the relationship between Chos pa Rin po che and Mi la ras pa:

དུས་གསུམ་མཁུན་པའི་སྤྲོ་མ་ཐུགས་མེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྲུལ་བ་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་རེན་པོ་ཆེ་སྟོ་  
 བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་གསུང་ནས་བདག་<sup>17</sup>ལ། བྱིད་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་མ་<sup>18</sup>ཆོས་པ་རེན་པོ་ཆེ་  
 ཁོང་གི་ཨ་ཁུ་མངོན་ཤེས་ཐོགས་མེད་དུ་མངའ་བ་ཕྱག་རྡོར་གྱི་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཆོས་མེ་སྟོར་  
 རྒྱལ་གྱིས་དགེ་ལྡན་གྱི་བྱང་ཅི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་རྒྱུད་སྤྲུལ་པའི་ཆོས་སྤྲུལ་འགྲེམས་པ་  
 ཞིག་<sup>19</sup>དུ་ལྷ་ཨ་མཛོན་སྤྲུལ་པ་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་པ་མེ་བཙུན་མི་ལའི་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་ཡིན་ངེས་  
 ཤེས་པ་ཡོད་གསུངས་<sup>20</sup>པ་དང་མཐུན་པར་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ཆོས་པ་རེན་པོ་ཆེ་མེ་བཙུན་  
 མི་ལ་རས་པར་ཁྲ་ལམ་གྱིས་ཤར་བྱང་གསུངས་<sup>21</sup>། གཞན་ཡང་མེ་བཙུན་མི་ལར་  
 སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་བ་བཞིས་ཚུལ་དང་། རས་པ་ཞི་བའོད་དུ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་བ་བཞིས་ཚུལ་དང་ལོ་  
 རས་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་བ་བཞིས་ཚུལ་ཡང་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་སུ་གསུང་བ་གནང་།<sup>22</sup>

The lama who knows the three times, incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, Rgyal sras Rin po che Blo bzang bstan 'dzin,<sup>23</sup> said to me, “In accordance with what [my (Rgyal sras’)] lama, ....Chos rje skar rgyal said, [he] knows with certainty that your lama, Chos pa Rin po che, one who went around the religious school of Rgyud smad in Byang rtse of Dga’ Idan, now in Amdo doing practices, is a reincarnation of Mi la ras pa.” In agreement with [what Rgyal sras’ lama had said to Rgyal sras, Rgyal sras

<sup>17</sup> *bdag* ABC; *bkhru*g D.

<sup>18</sup> *bla ma* ABC; *bla tsa* D.

<sup>19</sup> *zhig* BCD; *cig* A.

<sup>20</sup> *gsungs* A; *gsung* BCD.

<sup>21</sup> *gsungs* AB; *gsung* CD.

<sup>22</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 12/ 10-11.

<sup>23</sup> The following is from the biography of Skal Idan rgya mtsho about the first teachings he received from Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan 'dzin shortly after Skal Idan rgya mtsho returned from Dbus:

རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་རེན་པོ་ཆེ་སྟོ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཞབས་བྱེད་ནས་ཆེ་རྟ་མགོན་གསུམ་སོགས་མེས་གནང་  
 དུ་མང་དང་། ལམ་རེམ་ཕྱག་ཆེན་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་སྤྱིང་སོགས་མང་དུ་གསལ།

From Rgyal sras rin po che Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, [he] heard many tantric rituals of the three, Tshe [dpag med], Rta [mgrin], Mgon [po], and so on; and many things such as the study of [the genres of] *lam rim*, *phyag chen*, and *byang chub sems*.

For this, see Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 17.

said to me,] “The siddha Chos pa Rin po che has appeared in vivid color as lord Mi la ras pa.” Moreover, [he] said a lot in extensive detail about the manner in which [Chos pa Rin po che] took birth as Lord Mi la and the manner in which [he] took birth as Ras pa Zhi ba ’od and also the manner in which [he] took birth as Lo ras.

In *Mgur X-19*, Skal ldan rgya mtsho sings of hearing about Chos pa Rin po che’s lineage from Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan ’dzin:

.....  
མགོན་ལྷོ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཞབས་ལ་འདྲད། ।

ཕ་དུས་གསུམ་མཁུན་དེའི་བཀའ་བློན་ལས། ।  
བློན་བསམ་དཀའ་ཚུལ་པ་རེན་པོ་ཆེའི། ।  
སྤྱིའི་<sup>24</sup>སྤྱི་བ་བརྩུད་པའི་ནམ་ཐར་ཐོས། ।<sup>25</sup>

.....  
[I] bow to Protector Blo bzang bstan ’dzin.

Through the kindness of that father, who knows the three times,  
[I] heard the story of the reincarnational lineage  
Of Chos pa Rin po che, whose kindness has been difficult to repay.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho again sings of Rgyal sras’ words regarding Chos pa Rin po che as definitely being Mi la ras pa’s incarnation in *Mgur X-11*:

གནས་འོང་བོའི་<sup>26</sup>ཆོས་སྤེར་བཞུགས་པའི་ཆོ། ।

.....  
གང་ལྟར་ཡང་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ཆོས་པ་དེ། ।  
ཐེ་མི་ལའི་སྤྱལ་བ་ངེས་ངེས་ཡིན། ।  
དེར་ཐོ་ཆོམ་མི་དགོས་ཡང་ཡང་གསུངས། ।<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *sku'i* ABC; *sku* D.

<sup>25</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 241/ 212.

<sup>26</sup> *po'i* BCD; *por* A.

<sup>27</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 227/ 200.

When [Rgyal sras] was staying at the religious college of Rong bo,  
[he] said,

.....

“In any case, it is absolutely certain that  
The siddha Chos pa [Rin po che] is the incarnation of Mi la ras pa.

With regard to that, [I] am not obliged to doubt.” [He] said [this]  
over and over.

Considering that the Karma pas and Dge lugs pas had been at war with each other for centuries, it is not surprising that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho goes to such lengths, and even cites the authority of another revered lama, to legitimize Chos pa Rin po che as an incarnation of Mi la ras pa.

The notion that Chos pa Rin po che had a relationship with Mi la ras pa was not merely abstract, as the following stories will show. Chos pa Rin po che was influenced by Mi la ras pa from a young age. This excerpt from the biography that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho wrote of Chos pa Rin po che gives an account of a dream Chos pa Rin po che had of the lord:

དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་བཞི་བཞིས་པའི་ཤིང་རྟ་ལ། །  
གོང་མ་ཚོས་ཤིང་རྟ་ཆེན་བསམ་འབྲུབ་གྱིས། །  
རབ་བྱ་བྱུང་<sup>28</sup>ཞིང་དེ་ནས་ད་བར་དུ། །  
ཁས་སྤངས་བསྐབ་ཕྱོམ་མིག་འབྲས་ལྟ་བུར་བསྐྱེད་ས། །

.....

རབ་བྱུང་བསྐྱེད་ས་པའི་ལོ་དེར་ཤིང་རྟ་ཆེན་གྱི། །  
རྣམ་ཐར་མགུར་འབྲུམ་ཞིབ་དུ་གཟེགས་པའི་ཚེ། །  
ལན་ཅིག་མནལ་དུ་སྤང་བའི་རྣོ་ལམ་དུ། །  
ཟླ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དཀར་ཞིང་མཛེས་པ་ལ། །  
རྒྱབ་ཡོལ་འོད་ཀོར་མཛད་པའི་ཤིང་རྟ་ཆེན་གྱིས། །  
ཕྱག་གཡས་སྟེན་དང་འབྲུམ་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཅིང་། །

<sup>28</sup> Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 2a.3: *byung*; Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1999), 101: *phyung*.

ཕུག་གཡོན་ཐོད་པོར་བསྐྱམས་ནས་མགུར་དབྱངས་ནི། །  
ལྷང་ལྷང་འཐིན་པའི་གཟིགས་སྒྲང་གསལ་བར་བྱང་། །<sup>29</sup>

When [Chos pa Rin po che] reached the age of fourteen in 1594,  
[He] was ordained by the superior one,  
The lord of religion, Rin chen bsam 'grub,  
And from then on until now, he has guarded [his] promises and  
vows like an eyeball.

.....

When [he] was looking in detail at the biography [and] *Mgur 'bum*  
of the lord  
In the year in which [he] completed [his] ordination,  
Once when [he] was falling asleep, in a dream [he saw]  
A lord on a white and beautiful circle of a moon  
Who was creating a backdrop of a halo with lights radiating out,  
[His] right hand supporting [his] ear and cheek,  
[His] left hand holding a drinking cup made of a skull,  
And a vision of the way [he] was singing a *mgur* appeared clearly  
[to Chos pa Rin po che].

What the lord was doing in young Chos pa Rin po che's dream, what he was holding, his hand gesture to his ear, and the fact that he was singing *mgur* make it clear that the lord was Mi la ras pa.

Perhaps the most striking experience that shows the strong connection between Chos pa Rin po che and Mi la ras pa came at the time of the former's death. In the first month of 1659, Chos pa Rin po che, now age 79, showed signs of illness, and Skäl Idan rgya mtsho and other mountain hermits went to him.<sup>30</sup> Chos pa Rin po che said to them,

ཞལ་ནས་ཁོ་བོ་ཆེ་སྤྱད་ལ་ནན་ཏན་ཆེ་བས། ལུས་སྒྲིག་ད་བར་དུ་མ་བྲལ། ད་ཤིན་  
བཟང་འདུག་གྱ་བ་དང་.....<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 2a.2-2b.2.

<sup>30</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 22.

<sup>31</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 39.

ཡང་ཁོ་བོ་ལ་ན་བྱག་ཕྱན་གྱི་སྤང་ཡང་ཕྱིན་གྱི་ལས་ངན་སྤྱོད་ཐབས་ཡིན། ན་བ་དང་  
འཆི་བ་འདི་ལ་འགྱོད་པ་དྲུག་ཙམ་ཡང་མིད་དགའ་དགའ་རང་ཡིན་གྱི་བ་དང་ ....<sup>32</sup>

Because of great exertion regarding life and spiritual realization,  
I have not separated from my body up until now. If [I] die now,  
[it] would be good.....

Moreover, although a little illness has appeared in me, it is a  
means to study bad karma of previous times. There is no  
regretting even one particle regarding this illness and death.  
[They] are joy itself.....

A few days after, he had a healthy constitution, though “the  
movement [of] the wind of [his] nose was not changing.”<sup>33</sup> Skäl Idan  
rgya mtsho describes what happened next in his biography of Chos  
pa Rin po che:

སྐབས་དེར་སྐྱེ་བསྐངས་སྐྱེལ་ཀྱང་ངང་ནས་བཞུགས། །

དེ་ནས་ཅུང་ཟད་སོང་ཆེ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་<sup>34</sup> །

སྤྱང་ན་འདའ་ཚུལ་བསྐྱེད་ལྟར་ཅུང་ཟད་བཞུགས། །

དེ་ནས་སྤྱར་བཞེངས་རྩི་བཅུན་མི་ལ་ལྟར། །

སྐྱེལ་ལས་འགྱུར་ཞིང་སྐྱེལ་ཀྱང་ཕྱིད་པ་མཛད། །

ཕྱག་གཡས་ཕྱག་པ་གཡས་སྤང་ཅུང་ཟད་ཕྱར་<sup>35</sup> །

ཕྱག་གཡོན་ལྷོ་འག་མཉམ་བཞག་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཛད། །

སྐྱེ་ནི་འགྱུར་བ་མིད་པར་བཞུགས་པའི་ངང་། །

འཕོ་བའི་དམིགས་ཁྲིད་ཟབ་མོ་སྤྱོད་<sup>36</sup> བཞིན་དུ། །

སྤྱང་ན་འདས་ཆེ་མེ་དྲོག་ཆར་ཡང་བབས། །

<sup>32</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 39.

<sup>33</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 42.

<sup>34</sup> Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 15b.1: *kyi*; Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 43: *kyis*.

<sup>35</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 43: *phyar*; Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 15b.1: *'phyar*.

<sup>36</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 43: *sbyong*; Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 15b.2: *skyong*.



ཉི་མའི་འོད་གསལ་འཇའ་ཚན་གྱི་<sup>37</sup> གྱིས། །  
 ནམ་མཁའ་གཡའ་དག་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་བྱིང་ལྡང་<sup>38</sup> །  
 ཞལ་རས་མདངས་གསལ་སྐྱོད་མི་ཉམས་སོགས། །  
 རྩ་མཚར་རྟགས་བསྟན་ཐམས་ཅད་དད་གུས་འཕེལ། །  
 དེ་ཆེ་སྒྲངས་པའི་བསིལ་བ་ལས་འོངས་པའི། །  
 རིང་བསྐྱེལ་བྱུང་ཞིས་མང་པོའི་དག་ལས་ཐོས། །<sup>39</sup>

On that occasion, [he] remained sitting upright, cross-legged.

Then, after a little while, [he] remained for a brief time as  
if showing  
The Buddha's way of passing beyond suffering.

Then again [he] got up. Like Lord Mi la ras pa,  
[He] took on a striking posture and sat in the cross-legged position.  
[His] right hand on his right shoulder [palm upwards, he] raised  
[the hand] a little.  
[His] left hand below the navel, [he] did a *mudrā* [of] meditative  
equipoise.

He was practicing the special kind of instruction for transference.  
While in [this] state [his] body remained seated without any  
change [and]  
When [he] passed beyond suffering, a rain of flowers also fell.

The clear sunlight stretched out a canopy of rainbows.  
The fragrance of moral purity rose [into] the clear sky.  
[His] face [had] a healthy complexion, [his] body warmth [had] not  
deteriorated, and so on.  
[He] showed such wondrous signs as these [and] everyone  
[present] increased in faith and respect.

Then coming through the coolness of the mists  
[One] heard much talk that relics had occurred.

<sup>37</sup> Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 15b.2: *bre*; Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 43: *re*.

<sup>38</sup> Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 15b.3: *ldang*; Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 43: *ldan*. Against both readings, I prefer *ldangs*, the pf. stem.

<sup>39</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 43; Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 15a.6-15b.4.

That Chos pa Rin po che adopted Mi la ras pa's posture just as he was passing beyond suffering indicates that Chos pa Rin po che had a very deep connection with Mi la ras pa.

*Skal ldan rgya mtsho's Relationship to Mi la ras pa*

Skal ldan rgya mtsho also had a strong relation with Mi la ras pa, in part because of the influence of his older brother and teacher. The following excerpt from Mgur X-10 shows that he associated Mi la ras pa, Chos pa Rin po che and mountain hermitages:

ཕྱིན་མི་ལ་རས་པ་ཐོས་པ་དགའ། །  
 སྐབས་འདི་རུ་བདག་གི་དཔལ་དང་མགོན། །  
 རྗེ་སློབ་ཟུང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ། །  
 མིག་ཡར་བཟུང་ཅི་ཁྲོད་འཛོལ་སྟུང་གསུང། །<sup>40</sup>

[I] looked up to the former Mi la ras pa, Thos pa dga',<sup>41</sup>

In the present my glory and protector,

Lord Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan.

The thought occurred [to me] to hold fast to a mountain hermitage.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho felt inspired to go to the mountains when he thought of Mi la ras pa and his older brother.

In Mgur VII-3, Skal ldan rgya mtsho expresses sadness that people in his time are not following the example of Mi la ras pa, in terms of living in solitude:

རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལ་རས་པས། །  
 དབེན་གནས་ཁོན་བཟུགས་ཀྱང་། །  
 རྗེས་སྤྱོད་འབྲང་མཁན་མེད་པའི། །  
 རྒྱལ་འདིས་སྤང་བ་སྟོབ། །<sup>42</sup>

Although lord Mi la ras pa

Praised only solitary places,

<sup>40</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 224/ 198.

<sup>41</sup> *Thos pa dga'* is Mi la ras pa's childhood name.

<sup>42</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 139-40/ 124.

Because of this situation in which

There are no people following in [his] tracks—Oh sorrow!

Skal Idan rgya mtsho not only associated Mi la ras pa with mountain hermitages, but also with renunciation and practice. The following excerpt from Mgur III-4, already cited in Chapter 2, bears repeating here:

ལྷ་ས་མ་གྲུ་པ་ཡོན་བདག་ལ། །  
 ཆེ་སྒྲོམ་གཏོང་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལྟར་ལེན་ཞེས། །  
 ཆེན་མང་གཏམ་<sup>43</sup> དམ་བཅའ་མང་ཕུལ་ཡང་། །  
 དུས་ད་དུང་ཆེ་འདི་སྒྲོམ་མ་ཐོང་<sup>44</sup> །  
 སྒྲོན་རི་ཁྲོད་མ་བསྐྱེན་གནས་སྐབས་སུ། །  
 དུས་ནམ་ཞིག་སྒྲུབ་པ་བྱེད་པའི་ཆེ། །  
 རྗེ་མི་ལ་ལྟ་བུར་བྱེད་སྒྲུམ་ཡང་། །  
 ད་སྒྲུབ་ལ་ཞུགས་ཆེ་རེ་མ་བྱུང་། །  
 རྗེ་མི་ལ་ལྟ་བུ་ཕར་ལ་ཞིག །  
 དུས་ད་ལྟའི་སྒྲོམ་ཆེན་ཐ་མ་ལའང་། །  
 མིག་ཡར་བལྟས་འགྲན་པར་མི་བཟོད་ན། །  
 ཉམས་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ག་ལ་གྱུ། <sup>45</sup>

Previously although [I] gave many words and many promises  
 To lamas, monks [and] patrons,  
 Saying, “[I] earnestly apply [myself] to renouncing [this] life [and  
 its concerns],”

Until now [I] have not renounced this life completely.

Previously in a period in which [I] was not relying on mountain  
 hermitages,  
 Whenever [I] did practices,  
 Although [I] thought to do them in the manner of Mi la ras pa,  
 When [I] entered into practices then, [my] hopes were not realized.

<sup>43</sup> *gtam* AD; *gtams* BC.

<sup>44</sup> Instead, I have read *btang* here.

<sup>45</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 38/ 34-5.

Put away [the idea of practicing] like Mi la ras pa!

As for today's common siddhas having set [their] aims high,

If even [they] cannot take the competition,<sup>46</sup>

Where will the quality of experiential knowledge arise?

Skal ldan rgya mtsho had attempted to do his practices as he thought Mi la ras pa would have done them, but without renunciation and because he was not in a solitary place, his practices did not bear fruit. Especially in this age of decline, he thought it necessary to have all things working together. Skal ldan rgya mtsho continues,

ས་དབེན་ཞིང་ཉམས་དགར་མི་འགྲོ་ན། །

མིང་རས་པར་བདག་ས་པས་ཅི་ལ་ཕན། །<sup>47</sup>

If [I] don't go to a solitary and pleasing place,

What good would it do calling [myself] "*ras pa*"?

The designation, *ras pa*, "one who wears cotton," was used not only by Mi la ras pa but also a number of his followers, and indicated renunciation in general, and the lack of need for warm clothes in particular (since they performed *gtum mo*). Skal ldan ras pa was a name that Skal ldan rgya mtsho frequently used for himself. This did not mean that he specifically wore only thin cotton, since as a monk, he was known to wear monks' robes. But by the use of this name he indicated whatever renunciations the name implied to him, as well as demonstrated the relationship he felt with Mi la ras pa. He signed the name Skal ldan ras pa in the colophons to no fewer than nine *mgur*.<sup>48</sup> In the excerpt above, he makes clear the importance he places on living up to the level of renunciation the name implies for him. Below is an excerpt from *Mgur* VII-11, that I also quoted in Chapter 2, in which Skal ldan rgya mtsho makes clear his joy at wearing clothes of renunciation:

<sup>46</sup> I.e. cannot bear the comparison [with Mi la ras pa].

<sup>47</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 38/ 34-5.

<sup>48</sup> The name Skal ldan ras pa appears in the colophons to *Mgur* III-1, III-14, IV-4, IV-10, IV-11, VII-3, VII-11, and the internal colophons to *Mgur* III-1 and IX-7. The texts of five of these have to do with advice he is giving to himself.

ཕུག་དེ་ན་སྐལ་ལྷན་རས་པ་ང། །  
 ལུས་ངུར་སྒྲིག་གོས་ཀྱིས་གཡོགས་པས་བདེ། །<sup>49</sup>

In that cave, because I, Skal Idan ras pa,  
 Have covered [my] body with maroon,<sup>50</sup> [I] am happy.

Covering his body with maroon was one of the eighteen actions to which he attributes happiness, that he sang of at the lovely solitary retreat at Se ku.

Despite their differences, the lives Chos pa Rin po che and Skal Idan rgya mtsho led were often similar to the way Mi la ras pa is said to have lived according to the versions of his biography and the collection of his songs that the brothers would have been familiar with. They both concluded that a focus on renunciation and practice in hermitages was necessary, in order to integrate the teachings they received. They both felt great joy in living the life of a renunciant. Skal Idan rgya mtsho sang *mgur* as a means to instruct himself and his disciple mountain hermits. Over the centuries, like Mi la ras pa, he has usually been depicted in statues and paintings singing *mgur*, his right hand to his ear. However, instead of holding a skull cup, his left hand holds his *Mgur 'bum*.

<sup>49</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 153/ 136.

<sup>50</sup> Maroon is the color of a monk's robe in Tibet.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### INVOLVEMENT WITH THE DGA' LDAN ORAL TRADITION OF MAHĀMUDRĀ

གཏུག་མ་འོད་གསལ་གཤིས་ལ། །  
བཟང་ངན་གྲོས་པ་མེད་དོ། །  
ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི། །<sup>1</sup>

As for the natural disposition of primordial, clear light,  
There is no generation of good and bad.  
A li lo mo a li.

In this verse, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho sings about *Mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*). I will first give a brief explanation of what *Mahāmudrā* is and a history of the traditions of its practice before describing Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's relations with it. The term *Mahāmudrā* can refer to both a set of meditative practices and the supreme goal of those practices.<sup>2</sup> As the goal of the practice, it is a direct experience of the mind that is both radiant and beyond conceptualization and expression. The fourteenth Dalai Lama describes it as a "primordial clear light mind," having no beginning or end.<sup>3</sup> J. D. Willis defines *Mahāmudrā* as "naturalness of the innate mind, freed of all self-originated superimpositions onto the real, wherein distinctions of subject and object are completely dissolved and transcended and reality as a whole is experienced directly, as it really is."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, VIII-26, 194/ 171. This *mgur* is translated in full in the appendix, and is discussed extensively later in my chapter on indigenous Tibetan poetic figures.

<sup>2</sup> The word *mahāmudrā* literally means great seal/ gesture/ symbol. See Janice D. Willis, *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 111. (Henceforth referred to as Willis, *Enlightened Beings*.)

<sup>3</sup> Tenzin Gyatso, H. H. the Dalai Lama & Alexander Berzin, *The Gelug/ Kagyü Tradition of Mahāmudrā* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1997), 89. *Mahāmudrā* has frequently been compared to *Rdzogs chen* and the Sudden Enlightenment of *Chan*, or *Zen*.

<sup>4</sup> Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 111.

*Mahāmudrā* as a tradition of practices and as the goal of those practices goes back at least as far as some of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas* of India. Tilopa synthesized practices he received from four other *mahāsiddhas*<sup>5</sup> and wrote the earliest known text on yoga methods of *Mahāmudrā* later referred to as the “six yogas.”<sup>6</sup> Nāropa subsequently studied them with Tilopa and wrote a more detailed set of instructions of his own.<sup>7</sup> Mar pa was the first to bring the tradition of the six yogas to Tibet, in the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>8</sup> He was a forefather of the Bka' brgyud sect, so from the time of its inception in Tibet, *Mahāmudrā* was a practice principally done by Bka' brgyud pas. There was little more written on the six yogas in Tibet over the next three centuries, perhaps because Nāropa himself had requested that the teachings remain secret for thirteen generations.<sup>9</sup>

Tsong kha pa happened to be in the fourteenth generation of a line that received the transmissions,<sup>10</sup> and was the first to write anew about the techniques. He studied with masters of many lineages, including Bka' brgyud, and it is said that he received an (ethereal) text, known as the *Sprul pa'i glegs bam chen mo* (*Miraculous Volume*), of detailed practice instructions on *Mahāmudrā* from bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.<sup>11</sup> Based on the teachings Tsong kha pa received from teachers in the flesh and otherwise, he systematized

<sup>5</sup> These were Kṛṣṇācārya, Nāgārjuna, Lawapa and Sukhasiddhi. See Glenn H. Mullin, ed., trans., *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1997), 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Śatadharma* [sic] *upadeśa nāma* (*Chos drug gi man ngag, The Oral Instruction of the Six Yogas*), translated by Mullin in *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 27-29.

<sup>7</sup> *Karṇatantra vajrapāda* (*Snyan rgyud rdo rje'i tshig rkang, Vajra Verses of the Whispered Tradition*), translated by Mullin in *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 35-41. Mullin believes that the terms the “six yogas” and the “six yogas of Nāropa” (*Nā ro'i chos drug*) were popularized after the tradition took hold in Tibet, probably by Mi la ras pa's disciple, Sgam po pa. See Mullin, ed., trans., *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Mullin, ed., trans., *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Mullin, ed., trans., *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 18.

<sup>10</sup> The transmission from Mar pa to Tsong kha pa went through Mi la ras pa and other Bka' brgyud pas, 'Bri gung pas and Zhwa lu pas (including Bu ston). According to this transmission, the six yogas are “inner heat yoga, illusory body yoga, clear light yoga, the yoga for the transference of consciousness to a higher realm, the yoga for transference of consciousness into another body, and the *bar do* yoga.” Mullin, ed., trans., *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 14, 18-19.

<sup>11</sup> Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 123.

what became a tradition of tantric practices that he considered essential for enlightenment in one life<sup>12</sup> known as the Dga' ldan Oral Tradition of *Mahāmudrā* (*Dga' ldan snyan brgyud* or *Dge ldan bka' brgyud*)<sup>13</sup> and wrote two yoga methods for practicing the six yogas.<sup>14</sup>

While the tradition of *Mahāmudrā* continued to be associated especially with the Bka' brgyud pa sect, there were at the same time some members of the Dge lugs pa school who also practiced it. The lineage of the Dga' ldan Oral Tradition and the passage of the *Miraculous Volume* descended from Mañjuśrī and Tsong kha pa through five other Dge lugs pa siddhas<sup>15</sup> to Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, the first Paṇ chen Lama, who wrote further commentaries on the subject.<sup>16</sup> While these siddhas had also studied the Dge lugs pa

<sup>12</sup> Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 123.

<sup>13</sup> This tradition combines practices related to three chief deities: Guhyasamāja (Gsang 'dus), Cakrasaṃvara (Bde mchog) and Vajrabhairava ('Jigs byed). It is only one of the two oral traditions that the Dge lugs pas recognize, the other one being *gcod*. See Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, xiv-xv, 170.

For general information on the Dga' ldan Oral Tradition of *Mahāmudrā* (*Dge ldan bka' brgyud phyag chen*) see Willis, *Enlightened Beings*; H.H. The Dalai Lama & Alexander Berzin, *The Gelug/ Kagyü Tradition of Mahāmudrā*; and Mullin, ed., trans., *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*. For a further bibliography on the six yogas, see Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 144 n. 41.

<sup>14</sup> Both of these texts have been translated into English. See Tsong kha pa, *A Book of Three Inspirations: A Treatise of the Stages of Training in the Profound Path of Nāro's Six Dharmas* (*Zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan*), ed., trans. Glenn H. Mullin in *Tsongkhapa's Six Yogas of Nāropa* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1996); and Tsong kha pa, *A Practice Manual on the Six Yogas of Nāropa: Taking the Practice in Hand* (*Nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul*), ed., trans. Mullin in *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*.

<sup>15</sup> These are Rtogs ldan 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (1356–1428), Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1402–1473), Chos kyi rdo rje, Rgyal ba Dben sa pa (1505–1566), and Mkhas grub Sangs rgyas ye shes (1525–1591). Willis has translated biographies of these and parts of a biography of the Paṇ chen Lama in *Enlightened Beings*, 33–96. For further lineage holders, see “Praises and Supplication to the Gelukpa *Mahāmudrā* Lineage” in Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 101–10.

<sup>16</sup> The Paṇ chen Lama wrote *Nā ro'i chos drug gi zab 'khrid gser gyi sde mig* (*The Golden Key: A Profound Guide to the Six Yogas of Nāropa*), translated by Mullin in *Readings on the Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 141–53; and *Dge ldan bka' brgyud rin po che'i phyag chen rtsa ba rgyal ba'i gzhung lam* (*A Root Text for the Precious Gelug/ Kagyü Tradition of Mahāmudrā: The Main Road of the Triumphant Ones*), trans. Alexander Berzin in *The Gelug/ Kagyü Tradition of Mahāmudrā*, along with a commentary by H. H. the Dalai Lama on the text's autocommentary, *Dge ldan bka' brgyud rin po che'i phyag chen rtsa ba rgyal ba'i gzhung lam yang gsal sgron me* (*An Extensive Explanation of “A Root Text for the Gelug/ Kagyü Lineage of Mahāmudrā”: A Lamp for Further Illumination*). Further references to Paṇ chen Blo



standard curriculum, they were nonsectarian with respect to teachers, studied texts such as the *Six Yogas of Nāropa* and meditated for long periods of time in hermitages.<sup>17</sup> It is significant that though these siddhas studied in Lhasa, most of them had their main seats away from the locus of their scholarship,<sup>18</sup> presumably to feel the freedom they needed to pursue their practices. Though the Dge lugs pa school is usually thought to be made up of scholars, this lineage attests to the fact that there also are scholar-siddhas.

There are many parallels between the lifestyles of these siddhas and that of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. As we have seen, he studied the Dge lugs pa standard curriculum vigorously in the Lhasa area and was highly instrumental in the spread of the Dge lugs pa school in Amdo, yet he also had nonsectarian views that he expressed in his writing and way of life. Moreover, he chose to be a hermit so as to best support his spiritual development. Now that I have summarized some of what has been written about *Mahāmudrā* by other scholars, let us examine Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's involvement with it.

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's interest in *Mahāmudrā* seems to have gone hand in hand with interest in Mi la ras pa. Let us look again at one of Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan 'dzin's statements about the relationship between Chos pa Rin po che and Mi la ras pa. I have expanded my citation here to include Rgyal sras' advice to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. This excerpt is from Mgrur X-11:

རྩི་དུས་གསུམ་མཁུན་པ་སྤྲུལ་བའི་སྒྲ། །  
 དཔལ་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསུང་སྒྲུབ་ལས། །  
 སྒྲོན་གྱི་མི་ལ་རས་པ་དེ། །  
 ད་ལྟ་རྒྱུ་བོའི་ཆོས་པར་སྒྲུང་། །  
 དེ་ཁོང་གི་ཨ་ཁས་ལྷུང་བསྒྲན་བཞིན། །  
 མིང་ཡང་ལྷག་པར་ཡིད་ཆེས་རྟེན། །

bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan's involvement with *Mahāmudrā* can be found in a biography of him, partially translated by Willis in *Enlightened Beings*, 85-96.

<sup>17</sup> Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 13-14.

<sup>18</sup> Most of them had their seats in Gtsang. Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 10.

བྱ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མ་བྱེད་པ་ལ། །  
 རྗེ་བྱུང་ཆེན་གསུངས་བཞིན་སྐྱབས་ཤིག་གསུངས། །<sup>19</sup>

According to the statement of the great glorious Rgyal sras,  
 Lord, the incarnation of the one who is omniscient about the  
 three times,  
 The former Mi la ras pa has now appeared  
 As a religious practitioner at Rong bo.

According to the prophesy by his teacher,<sup>20</sup>  
 I also would obtain greater belief.

“Son, you [Skal ldan rgya mtsho] also, without causing a doubt  
 Must practice in accordance with what the lord siddha [Mi la  
 ras pa] said,” [he] said.

Rgyal sras’s advice to Skal ldan rgya mtsho to practice like Mi la ras pa is especially interesting since it was Rgyal sras himself who gave Skal ldan rgya mtsho teachings for the study of *Mahāmudrā*.<sup>21</sup> This was shortly after the latter’s return to Amdo at the age of twenty-one;<sup>22</sup> later, Rgyal sras gave Skal ldan rgya mtsho further encouragement to give the teachings to the mountain hermits of Bkra shis ’khyil.<sup>23</sup>

Though Rgyal sras’ advice to Skal ldan rgya mtsho was to practice like Mi la ras pa and both Rgyal sras and Skal ldan rgya mtsho associated *Mahāmudrā* with Mi la ras pa, they were at the same time members of the Dge lugs pa school. Surely Rgyal sras was in essence expecting Skal ldan rgya mtsho to practice like Mi la ras pa but via the Dge lugs pa form of *Mahāmudrā* (not Bka’ brgyud pa’s).

<sup>19</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 226/ 199.

<sup>20</sup> Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan ’dzin’s teacher is identified in the colophon to *Mgur I-5*, 12/ 11 as Chos rje Skar rgyal. There it says that it was Chos rje Skar rgyal who gave Rgyal sras the information about Chos pa Rin po che’s past lives.

<sup>21</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho had also received teachings in the genre of *phyag chen* just shortly before that, from another lama teaching in Amdo, Dgon lung Chos rje ’Dan ma Grub chen pa Tshul khrims rgya mtsho. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 16.

<sup>22</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 17.

<sup>23</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 57. The teachings were given to the mountain hermits of Bkra shis ’khyil some time in the late 1670’s. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 70.

Besides Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, there was another lama who played a central role in the lives of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho and Chos pa Rin po che who was deeply involved in the instruction of *Mahāmudrā*, namely the first Paṇ chen Lama. His contributions were large since he wrote down concise directions for its practice, referred to earlier. We have already seen how important the Paṇ chen Lama was to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, since it was the Paṇ chen Lama who gave him full ordination in the Jo khang, the holiest temple in Lhasa. The Paṇ chen Lama also played a strong role in Chos pa Rin po che's life, giving him initiations and teachings over a long period.<sup>24</sup> Although neither Skäl Idan rgya mtsho nor Chos pa Rin po che had occasion to receive the teachings of *Mahāmudrā* directly from the Paṇ chen Lama, they surely associated the teachings and practice of *Mahāmudrā* with him. Specifically, we know that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho studied and cited the Paṇ chen Lama's instructions.<sup>25</sup>

There are four works in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Gsung 'bum*: about *Mahāmudrā*:

Kha-5: ཕྱག་ཆེན་བརྒྱུད་འདེབས་

*A Petition to the Mahāmudrā Lineage*<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Chos pa Rin po che studied with the Paṇ chen Lama in Dbus in 1603, 1608 and 1617, and later sent gifts and correspondence to the lama from Amdo. In 1658, one year before Chos pa Rin po che's death, he supplicated the lama for further guidance, so that they might reunite in the same Buddha field in their next lives. See Skäl Idan, *Chos pa'i rnam thar* (1987), 2b.3-6, 4a.3, 4a.5-6, 5a.1-2, 5b.5-6, and 20a.2-4.

<sup>25</sup> *Phyag rgya chen po'i 'khrid* (instructions for *Mahāmudrā*) is a description rather than a title, and refers to the aforementioned text of the Paṇ chen Lama, *Dge ldan bka' brgyud rin po che'i phyag chen rtsa ba rgyal ba'i gzhung lam* (A Root Text for the Precious Gelug/ Kagyü Tradition of *Mahāmudrā*: The Main Road of the Triumphant Ones), and especially to the Paṇ chen Lama's autocommentary, *Dge ldan bka' brgyud rin po che'i phyag chen rtsa ba rgyal ba'i gzhung lam yang gsal sgron me* (An Extensive Explanation of "A Root Text for the Gelug/ Kagyü Lineage of *Mahāmudrā*": A Lamp for Further Illumination). We know that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho read it, since he cites it as a source for *Zhi gnas kyi dmigs 'khrid* (An instruction on how to focus on *zhi gnas*), in Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), vol. Ga-14.

<sup>26</sup> Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), vol. Kha-5; and Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 2, 211-13.

Kha-6: འཇམ་པའི་དབང་ས་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 དགེ་ལུན་ཕྱག་ཆེན་ཟབ་ཁྲིད་གདམས་ངག་གྱི་མཚོ་ནས་བདུས་པ་  
*Quotations from Dge ldan phyag chen zab khrid*  
*gdams ngag rgya mtsho*<sup>27</sup>

Kha-7: རྗེ་ཆེ་འཆང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 དགེ་ལུན་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཕྱག་གྱི་ཆེན་པོའི་ཉམས་ཁྲིད་  
 རྗེ་སློ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་གྱུ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་གིས་  
 བསྟུལ་བ་  
*An Experiential Manual of the Dge ldan Oral*  
*Tradition of Mahāmudrā*<sup>28</sup>

Kha-8: ཕྱག་ཆེན་གྱི་འཁྲིད་ཡིག  
*An Instruction Manual of Mahāmudrā*<sup>29</sup>

Text Kha-5, spoken by Chos pa Rin po che, substantiates the exact lineage of *Mahāmudrā* the brothers received instruction in. This work follows for the most part the traditional lineage of the Dge lugs pa Oral Tradition of *Mahāmudrā* in that it petitions 'Jam dpal dbyangs, Blo bzang grags pa (Tsong kha pa), Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, and so on, down through Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, the first Paṇ chen Lama and later Rgyal sras Blo bzang bstan 'dzin.<sup>30</sup> Text Kha-6 was written down by one of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's disciples, and edited by Skal ldan rgya mtsho for the purpose of being delivered to an assemblage of monks. Text Kha-7 was written by Skal ldan rgya mtsho, at the instigation of Chos pa Rin po che. Text Kha-8, an instruction manual, also seems to be by Skal ldan rgya mtsho.<sup>31</sup> These works include both homages to the lineage and instructions for his own disciples, and show avid interest on Skal ldan rgya mtsho's part for the genre.

<sup>27</sup> Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), vol. Kha-6; and Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 2, 214-35.

<sup>28</sup> Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), vol. Kha-7; and Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 2, 236-53.

<sup>29</sup> Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), vol. Kha-8; and Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 2, 254-65.

<sup>30</sup> *Phyag chen brgyud 'debs*, in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 2, 212. I have compared Chos pa Rin po che's list to the list in Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, 99-110.

<sup>31</sup> I owe this suggestion to the Rong bo scholar Blo bzang chos grags, through personal conversation.

Now that we have examined the background to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's involvement with *Mahāmudrā* in terms of his lifestyle, his writings, the lineage of teachings he received and some of the associations he had with the practice, let us turn to what he himself says about it. In Mgur X-22 he tells us that he did become convinced that the practices suited him well, but only after he had tried them:

ཅ་སྤྱུང་གྲིག་ལེ་སྒྲོམ་པའི་བྱ་བ་དང་མིན་ཡང་།

སྒྲོ་ཁ་ཚས་ལ་ཕྱོགས་པའི་བན་ཆན་ལགས་སྟེ།

གདུམ་མའི་སྒྲོབས་ཀྱིས་སྒྲིས་པའི་ཕྱག་ཆེན་སྒྲོམ་མཁན་མིན་ཡང་།

སེམས་ཀྱི་རང་ཞལ་ལྟ་འདྲོད་འདྲུན་པ་དྲག་པོ་མཆིས་པས།

བསམ་གདན་ཁང་བྱར་སྒྲུ་མ་ལྟ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་ནས།

གདམས་ངག་ཡང་ཡང་སེམས་སྤྱིང་བསྒྲོར་ནས་ཉམས་སྤྱོད་པའི་<sup>32</sup>བན་ཆན་

ལགས་<sup>33</sup>སྟེ།

ཕྱག་རྒྱ་གྲོགས་སྤྱོད་ནས་གསང་ཕྱགས་ལྟར་ལམ་ཉམས་སྤྱོད་པའི་བྱ་བ་དང་

མིན་ཡང་།

དངོས་བྱུང་ཅ་བ་དམ་ཆེག་སྒྲོམ་པ་གང་རྣམས་ལགས་པར་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད་ནས།

ཐུན་དྲག་ཐུན་བཞིའི་ནལ་འབྱོར་སྒྲོ་ནས་ཆོགས་གསོག་<sup>34</sup>སྒྲིབ་སྤྱོད་ལ་འབད་ཅིང་།

གསང་ཕྱགས་ལྟར་ལམ་བསྐྱེད་ཇོགས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་དད་པ་བཅན་པའི་བན་ཆན་ལགས་སྟེ།<sup>35</sup>

Although [I] was not a renunciant who meditates on *rtsa*, *rlung* and *thig le*,<sup>36</sup>

[I] was an old monk whose mind enters into the practice of religion.

<sup>32</sup> *pa'i* AB; *lo'i* CD.

<sup>33</sup> Since *lags* is the honorific of *yin/red*, and since Skäl Idan rgya mtsho would not have referred to himself in the honorific, it seems that this form of the existential verb was added later by someone out of respect.

<sup>34</sup> *gsog* CD; *bsag* AB.

<sup>35</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 245-46/ 216-17.

<sup>36</sup> *Rtsa*, *rlung* and *thig le* are usually translated as channels, wind and drops. The first of the six yogas of Nāropa, the generation of *gtum mo*, or inner heat, involves exercises with these three.

Although [I] was not one who meditates on *Mahāmudrā*, born  
 through the power of *gtum mo*,  
 Because [I] had a strong desire to see the nature of the mind,<sup>37</sup>  
 Having petitioned lamas and deities in small meditation huts [and]  
 Having turned the oral instructions around in [my] mind again and  
 again, [I now] am an old monk who practices [it].

Although [I] was not a renunciant who practices the quick path  
 of mantras,  
 Having been led to *mudrā* friends [and]  
 Having guarded as well as possible the promises [and] vows, the  
 foundation of the spiritual powers,  
 [I] strove for the attainment of virtue and the cleansing of  
 obscurations in the manner of the yoga of the six [and] four  
 sessions, and  
 [I] am [now] an old monk with firm faith in the areas of the quick  
 mantra path, Perfection and Completion Stages.

The emphasis on his previously held skepticism gives more force to his expression of the faith he has acquired through experience, after practicing *Mahāmudrā* and *Vajrayāna*.

Explanations aside, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho usually comes right out with strong affinity for the path. In the following introduction to Mgur V-19, he is as straightforward as can be about his practice, as he is about all other items he mentions here to define himself and his life. His life as a hermit, a renunciant and a singer of *mgur*; and his inward focus on the nature of mind complement one another:

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<sup>37</sup> The generation of *gtum mo* forms a basis for the entire collection of yogas, which themselves are supporting practices for the realization of the nature of the mind, *Mahāmudrā*.

Tsong kha pa is clear about the relationship of the practice of the six yogas to the attainment of *Mahāmudrā*:

In this tradition [i.e. the Six Yogas of Nāropa] the main technique is to arouse the inner heat at the navel chakra.....When these energies enter the central channel the four blisses are induced and one cultivated meditation on the basis of these in such a way as to give rise to the innate wisdom of *mahāmudrā*.

For this see Mullin, ed., trans., *Tsongkhapa's Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 139.

ལྷ་མ་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་སྒོ་བཟང་། །  
 ང་རང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཛོ། །  
 ཉེ་གནས་སྒོ་བཟང་སྦྱིན་པ། །  
 སྒྲིབ་ས་སྦྱིད་གསུམ་མཐོན་པོ། །  
 ཁ་ཟས་མེ་ཏོག་རིལ་བ། །  
 གཏམ་སྒྲིན་<sup>38</sup>མགུར་དབྱངས་ལྷང་ལྷང་། །  
 བསྐྱེད་བཞེད་སྦྱབས་འགྲོ་ཆོག་གསུམ། །  
 སྦྱིན་གཏོང་གཏུག་ཁྲག་ཁྲག་ཀྱིས། །  
 ལྷ་ས་ནང་གི་སེམས་ཉིད། །  
 ལྷ་དུས་གཞོན་དུས་འདི་ཡིན། །<sup>39</sup>

Lama—Bstan 'dzin blo bzang,  
 I, myself—Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
 Disciple—Blo bzang sbyin pa  
 Dwelling place—the high Sgyed gsum,  
 Food—small balls of flowers,<sup>40</sup>  
 Speech that reaches the ear—[sung in] clear *mgur* melodies,  
 Recitations—the three phrases for going to refuge,  
 Gift giving—holding back neither flesh nor blood,  
 Locale of vision—the inner nature of mind,  
 Time of envisioning—is this time of youth.

The following excerpt from *Mgur* VIII-13 gives advice on how to observe one's emotions. The practice of seeing that one's emotions (and thoughts) have no inherent existence will lead to the attainment of the goal of *Mahāmudrā*, a direct seeing of the mind as both radiant and void:

རང་གི་ཉམས་ལ་ལྷོས་ཤིག །  
 གཅིག་དང་དུ་སྒལ་རིགས་པས། །  
 ཡོད་མེད་ལེགས་པར་དཔྱད་ཆོ། །

<sup>38</sup> *snyan* ABC; *rgyud* D.

<sup>39</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 116-17/ 104.

<sup>40</sup> Eating flower balls is part of the *bcud len/ rasāyasa* practice.

ནམ་མཁའ་པརྣེ་མེ་བཞིན། །  
 ཡི་ནས་མེད་པར་འཆར་རོ། །  
 ཤར་བའི་ངང་དུ་སེམས་ཉིད། །  
 སྒྲིས་པ་ཀུན་དང་གྲུབ་བས། །  
 གཡོ་མེད་ཅི་གཅིག་ཞིག་དང་། །  
 ལྷན་དུ་ལྷ་བ་ཉིད་འགྲུབ། །<sup>41</sup>

Look at [your] own emotions!

When [you] have examined well whether [they] exist  
 [independently] or not  
 Through the logic of whether they [are] single [entities] or  
 [can] be separated into however many [parts],  
 [They] will appear as totally absent,  
 Just as [there are no] lotuses in the sky.

Place [your] unwavering attention single-pointedly  
 On the nature of mind in [its] shining manner,  
 Having no generation whatsoever.  
 [You] will quickly obtain the view [of *Mahāmudrā*].

The following is an excerpt from *Mgur* XII-26, advice happily written for mountain hermits on the nature of mind. Its radiance is always within, but one must do practices in order to see it:

སེམས་ཀྱི་ཚས་ཉིད་མཐོང་ན། །  
 འཁོར་བའི་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོ་གཙོད་དོ། །  
 ཚས་སྐྱེ་ནང་ནས་འཆར་གྱི། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་ཚོལ་<sup>42</sup>བར་གྱིས་དང་། །  
 གཉུག་མའི་ཟབ་མོ་སྤང་ཉིད། །  
 ཀུན་ལ་ཁུབ་པར་གནས་སོ། །

<sup>41</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 181/ 160.

<sup>42</sup> *tshol* AB; *'tshol* CD.



གཟེགས་མ་དེ་འདྲ་གཟེགས་ན། །  
 སློབ་དེ་དཔལ་རང་ཡིན་ནོ། <sup>43</sup>

If [you] see the nature of mind,  
 [You] cut the doors to birth in samsara.

The *dharmakāya* shines within,  
 But [you must still] persist in seeking [it] out!

Deep, primordial emptiness  
 Abides pervasively in everything.

When [you] watch a show like that,  
 The mind itself is happy and glorious.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho used a variant of the last line over and over in two other songs of his. The degree to which he used it shows his strong affinity with realizing the nature of mind. In Mgur IV-8, said to himself in jest, it appears in the fourth line of every five-line stanza:

འོ་འོ་ཆོས་ཀྱན་གདོད་མའི་གཤིས་ལུགས།  
 ཅུ་མཐའ་བུལ་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལྟ་བུར་སྒྲུམས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སློབ་དེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཅི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་ཐ་མལ་སྒྱེ་གི་བར་དོ། །  
 ཅུ་སྤངས་འབྲས་སྒྲུ་གསུམ་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་སྤྱང་བྱེད་བསྐྱེད་ཚླགས་སྒྲུམས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སློབ་དེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཅི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་མདོ་ལྷགས་ཆོས་ཀྱན་བསྐྱུས་ན། །  
 ཅུ་ཆོས་བྱོའདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་ཡ། །

<sup>43</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 326-27/ 289.

ཁོ་རེ་གྱུང་<sup>44</sup>སྒྲིའི་ཚུལ་དུ་འཐིན་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། <sup>45</sup>

Oh yeah! The primordial empty nature of all *dharma*s  
 Hey you! is the limitless *dharmadhātu*. Hey!  
 Hey! Meditate [on it] like the sky!  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! The result of what has been purified  
 Hey you! of ordinary birth, death and *bar do* is the three  
*kāyas*. Hey!  
 Hey! Meditate on the Generation and Completion Stages,  
 which are the purifying agents.  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! If [you] gather all the teachings of the sutras and tantras,  
 Hey you! this itself is the dance of religion.  
 Hey! Sing in the manner of a song from afar! Hey!  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

In another *mgur*, the same line appears as the fourth line in every four-line stanza, with the same interjections as above. The following is an excerpt from *Mgur* VIII-24:

འོ་འོ་ཕུག་གྱུ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་བ། །  
 ཞུ་བ་བས་མི་ཆག་སྒྲིམ་དགོས། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཆུ་བོའི་རྒྱུ་ལྷ་ར་སྦྱངས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། <sup>46</sup>

Oh yeah! The view of *Mahāmudrā* must be meditated upon.  
 Hey you! It's not enough to understand it!

<sup>44</sup> *rgyang* BCD; *rgyangs* A.

<sup>45</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 78-79/ 70-71.

<sup>46</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 193/ 170-71.

Hey! Guard it like the flow of a river!  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?

The attainment of *Mahāmudrā* is experiential, not conceptual. Habitual tendencies may veer us away from our experiences of it, so we must guard the flow of experiences within us, as we would a precious river.

The most poignant statement about *Mahāmudrā* comes in Mgur X-9, a lovely song in which Skal ldan rgya mtsho beseeches Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan for help. It is translated in full in the appendix. In this excerpt from that song, Skal ldan rgya mtsho asks the first Paṇ chen Lama to come to him to aid him at the time of his death:

སྒྲོ་བཟང་ཚས་ཀྱི་ནི་བྱུང་མཚན། །  
 ལུས་སེམས་སོ་སོ་རྩ་འབྲུལ་བའི། །  
 མི་རྟག་འཆི་བ་དེ་བྱུང་ཆེ། །  
 ཚས་མེད་བྱ་བུལ་ངའི་<sup>47</sup>མདུན་དུ། །  
 འཇམ་དབྱངས་སྒྲོ་མ་ཁྱེད་བྱོན་ནས། །  
 རང་སེམས་འོད་ཀྱི་ནི་ཐྱིག་ལྟ། །  
 ཐུགས་ཐེའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ནི་ཚོན་པོས། །  
 ཁྱེད་ཐུགས་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་ངང་དུ། །  
 དབྱེར་མེད་<sup>48</sup>བྱོན་གྱིས་ནི་སྒྲོ་བས་ཤིག །<sup>49</sup>

Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,  
 When the time of transitory death has come  
 Which will separate [me] into a distinct body and a distinct mind,  
 You, lama, [who is like] Mañjuḥṣa, having arrived  
 Before me, without religion [and] bereft of action,  
 Please bless [me] as inseparable from you in the manner of bliss  
 By breaking into the *thig le* of the light of [my] mind  
 [With your] iron hook of compassion.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *nga'i* AB; *ba'i* CD.

<sup>48</sup> *med* CD; *med du* AB.

<sup>49</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 224/ 197.

<sup>50</sup> This refers to the yoga for transference of consciousness to a higher realm, one of the six yogas, that is to be done when one is about to die. It involves both the visualization of one's guru as inseparable from one's meditational deity; and

That this is Skal ldan rgya mtsho's wish for the time of his death indicates that he knows that the first Paṇ chen Lama has the power to help him and that achieving *Mahāmudrā* is one of his greatest desires. Now that I have examined Skal ldan rgya mtsho's autobiographical and biographical *mgur* to see what they tell us about his life and his times, I will turn to Part II of this book, a general discussion of the genre of *mgur* and what Skal ldan rgya mtsho himself says about expressing himself through this medium.

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exercises that raise vital energies to the crown chakra, the gate through which consciousness will leave the body.

The metaphor, the iron hook of compassion, goes way back in Tibetan verse and is often used in a general sense, referring to the strength of compassion a teacher has for his student in leading him to enlightenment. But the combination of the two images here—the Paṇ chen Lama actually using his iron hook to open Skal ldan rgya mtsho's crown chakra so that the latter can achieve transference of consciousness to a higher realm before natural death has occurred—is stunning. See Mullin, ed., trans., *Tsongkhapa's Six Yogas of Nāropa*, 209-15.

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION TO  
SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S *MGUR 'BUM*



## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE GENRE OF *MGUR* AND WHAT IT MEANT TO SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO

Shar Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum*, as it is has been known since 1756, is a collection of two hundred and forty-two *mgur*, or religious songs, attributed to him. My aim in this chapter is to better understand what the genre of *mgur* meant to Skal ldan rgya mtsho. Let us begin by looking briefly at it within the context of all of his writing. Besides the *mgur* that were compiled in his *Mgur 'bum*, Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote fifty-nine other works, the vast majority of which are in prose. When carved onto woodblocks, these came to fill more than eight hundred folios. These works exist today in the first four volumes of a woodblock edition of his *Gsung 'bum*, or *Collected Writings*, mentioned above, and can also be read in their newly published version.<sup>1</sup> The subjects of these largely prose works can be summarized as follows: volume Ka contains a series of biographies, two histories of Buddhism in Amdo, and a cycle of eulogies; volume Kha contains basic *Madhyamaka* instructions and four works on *Mahāmudrā*; volume Ga contains cycles of guru yoga and instructions on the gradual path and meditation; and volume Nga contains practices in relation to such deities as Bde mchog, 'Jigs byed, Spyān ras gzigs, and Sgrol ma.

While the styles of the sixty works vary considerably and there are a variety of styles among the *mgur* as well, as a whole, Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* can be distinguished from his other works in the following ways: they are associated in particular with his life as a recluse; they are in verse and are intended to be sung; their expression is less formal and sometimes very personal; and they show considerable folk influence. Before going on to show directly what Skal ldan rgya mtsho said about singing and writing *mgur*, I will briefly summarize what Indologists and Tibetologists have written about the development of this genre. This will provide some background for Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* so that we can see that

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<sup>1</sup> Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999).

it fits into a long tradition that went back to the songs of the *mahā-siddhas* in India and their development in Tibet.

*The Development of the Genre of Mgur  
up to Skäl dan rgya mtsho's Time, in Brief*

Various authors have commented that what came to be called *mgur* in the *phyi dar*, or Later Period of the Diffusion of Buddhism, was highly influenced by the *vajragīti*, or Diamond Songs tradition (*dohā* and *caryāgīti*) of the *siddhas* in India.<sup>2</sup> P. Kvaerne introduces the origin, purpose and form of the *caryāgīti*, and makes references to what others have said, in the following way:

The songs were originally intended to be sung. This is evident not only from the term *caryā-gīti* (*gīti* “song”) itself, but also from the fact that a *rāga* is indicated for each song in the text of the commentary. Each song has a refrain (*dhruvapada*) indicating that a chorus alternated with a soloist. Charlotte Vaudeville characterizes this kind of poetry as follows, and it is worth quoting her appraisal *in extenso*:

“Like the *dohā*, the *pāda* form seems genuinely popular in origin: it is really a folk-song, adapted to religious purposes. Here again the Sahajiyā Siddhas, together with the Jain Munis, seem to have been the first to use popular lyrical forms to propagate their doctrines. As in the case of the *dohās*, the *pādas* are used to express spiritual truths in a form that is readable, accessible, and eminently pleasing to simple folk, and can easily be memorized by them, together with the tune. The *pāda*'s metrical looseness is mainly due to the necessity of adapting the words to melodic variations; it probably also reflects the

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<sup>2</sup> See R. A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, trans. J. E. Stapleton Driver (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1972), 260; T. J. Ellingson, “The Mandala of Sound: Concepts and Sound Structures in Tibetan Ritual Music” (Ph.D. diss., Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1979), 243-44 (henceforth referred to as “The Mandala of Sound”); and Per K. Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized: An Inquiry into the Nature and Form of the Songs ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama*, heft 25 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1990), 15 (henceforth referred to as *Divinity Secularized*).



indifference of uneducated audiences to prosodical subtleties.”<sup>3</sup>

It is known that dance and song played an important part in tantric rites,<sup>4</sup> and allusion is made to this in CG 17.5 [= the fifth line of the seventeenth song from the *Caryāgiti*, an anthology of Buddhist tantric songs; V. S.J. Bandoghāṭiya Sarvānanda bears witness from the 12th century A.D. that poems were sung “either solo or in chorus to the accompaniment of cymbals, anklebells, mṛdāṅgas (drums) and such other musical instruments.”<sup>5</sup>

Summarizing, both the *caryāgiti* and the *dohā* were sung. They seem to have been adaptations from folk songs popular in form, and were aimed at instructing and pleasing a general audience. Moreover, from the *Hevajra* tantra and other tantras it is known that both song and dance were important in tantric rites in India.

It may have been Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros who introduced the custom of this tradition to Tibet.<sup>6</sup> According to the biography of Mar pa written by the “madman” from Gtsang, Gtsang smyon He ru ka, at the turn of the sixteenth century,<sup>7</sup> Mar pa is said to have received a

<sup>3</sup> C. Vaudeville, *Kabir*, part 1 (London: 1974), 54, quoted in Per Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs: A Study of the Caryāgiti*, Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse, Skrifter, Ny Serie No. 14 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 8. (Henceforth referred to as *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*.)

<sup>4</sup> Kvaerne refers in his footnote to D. L. Snellgrove, ed., trans., *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study. Part I. Introduction and Translation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), II.iv. 6-12, in *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Atindra Mojumder, *The Caryāpadas*, rev. ed. (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1973), 7, cited in Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, 8.

About these songs in the present day, Kvaerne gives further information from other authors:

According to S. B. Dasgupta, who collected new *caryā* songs (as yet unpublished) from Nepal, “these songs are still being sung by the Vajrācāryas in Nepal to the accompaniment of dance and instrumental music.” According to Sāṃkṛtyāyan, the “*cacā*” (*caryā*) songs are still being sung in Nepal to a special melody, which he suggests might well be the same as that employed by the Indian Siddhas themselves. Unfortunately, he does not give further details.

For this, see Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert V. Guenther has claimed this in *Ecstatic Spontaneity: Saraha's Three Cycles of Dohā* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1993), 10 (henceforth referred to as *Ecstatic Spontaneity*); Ellingson in “The Mandala of Sound,” 243-44.

<sup>7</sup> The biography of Mar pa was written around 1505.

transmission of the *dohās* from the siddha Maitripa at the monastery of Blazing Fire Mountain:

....Marpa made offerings to please the guru [Maitripa] and arranged feast *tormas* to please the *ḍākinis*. Thus, many wondrous signs arose. The guru gave him the oral instructions and transmission of *mahāmudrā*, the *Āryamañjuśrī nāma saṅgiti* along with its commentary, and the *dohās* along with their explanation. Marpa's doubts were completely cleared away. When he practiced these teachings, excellent experiences and realizations arose in his mind, and so he was very pleased.<sup>8</sup>

Though there is no evidence of actual translations of the *dohās* by Mar pa, he seems to have brought the distinguishing character of these songs to Tibet:

While we cannot point to an explicit link between the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and Mar pa, he is more than any traveler and translator responsible for importing the ethos of Saraha's poetic instructions, an ethos which was to blossom into a truly Tibetan tradition under his disciple Mi la ras pa.<sup>9</sup>

There are no *mgur* of the style belonging to the *phyi dar* that are attributed to anyone earlier than Mar pa, and it seems that his transmission of the ethos of the *dohās* made an indelible mark on *mgur* from that point on. I quote P. Sørensen at length on this momentous occurrence and the transmission's significance in Tibet, especially in light of its influence on Mi la ras pa:

The single most decisive incitement in [Mi la ras pa's] song-lyrics, no doubt an orientation which was later refined in the tradition he initiated, and which moreover gave rise and name to a whole genre, was the inspiration he derived from the *mahāsiddha* tradition of the Indian yogin, with which Mi la ras

<sup>8</sup> Nālandā Translation Committee under the direction of Chögyam Trungpa, trans., *The Life of Marpa the Translator: Seeing Accomplishes All* (Boston: Shambhala, 1995), 28.

<sup>9</sup> Nor did Atiśa, who also received *dohās* directly from Maitripa, translate them into Tibetan. For this reason Schaeffer considers Vajrapāṇi (born 1017) as the most important person in their transmission to Tibet. See Kurtis Rice Schaeffer, "Tales of the Great Brahmin: Creative Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2000), 123, 125-26.

pa and his bKa' brgyud pa lineage of Tibetan tantric adepts considered themselves spiritually affiliated in direct line. To Mi la ras pa esoteric instructions (*zhal gdams*), yogic-meditative teachings and revelations were transmitted from his teacher Mar pa Chos kyi Blo gros (.....) of lHo brag and further back from the Indian yogin-saints Nāropa (.....) and Tilopa.<sup>10</sup>

Much has been written about the huge impact Mi la ras pa is said to have had on the development of the style of *mgur* in the *phyi dar*. Some Tibetologists believe that Mi la ras pa himself brought together elements of style from the *mgur* of the *snga dar*, the Early Diffusion of Buddhism, with elements of the *vajragiti*.<sup>11</sup> Concerning yet another fusion, I quote Stein on what he considered to be one of Mi la ras pa's greatest innovations:

.....[Mi la ras pa] annexed and adapted this foreign model [the mystical songs (*dohā*) of the Indian Tantrists] to the indigenous songs of his country. He certainly did so from personal preference, but also with the idea of popularizing Buddhist thought and making it more familiar by putting it into folk-songs.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately, the source for Mi la ras pa's *mgur 'bum* is a compilation made more than three centuries after his death and we cannot know the original texts of his songs.

Of course, many other adaptations besides the substitution of Tibetan folk songs for Indian ones as the basis for melodies had to be made in order to transfer the style of the *vajragiti* into Tibet. Exact details of the development of the tradition for translating the *vajragiti*, such as specifics of style in the Tibetan language and the point at which these translations were likely to influence Tibetan song writers, is a topic for another book and beyond the scope of mine. Regardless of the particulars, it is remarkable that parallel lines of transmission of the teachings and of the distinguishing character of songs as a medium for passing those teachings to others came from the *mahāsiddhas*. The style of the *vajragiti* adapted to the

<sup>10</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Ellingson, "The Mandala of Sound," 244-47; Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 14; Jackson, "'Poetry' in Tibet," 373; and Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 261.

<sup>12</sup> Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 260.

Tibetan language and indigenous folksongs produced a new style that took hold of the imagination of many of those in Tibet who wanted to find a new way of appealing to the people that was accessible and pleasing, just as the *vajragiti* had been in India.

Sørensen continues with details about the style of the *vajragiti* and about their Tibetan translations:

The spiritual *dohā* and *caryā* songs, themselves of folk origin, were composed by the tantric siddhas of India where they had turned out to be an apt medium to propagate their doctrines, coating and veiling the esoteric message in allusive phrases and in an enigmatic language...., rich in imagery and replete with double entendre and homonymous puns. The Tibetan translations of these collections of mystic songs gave in turn their Tibetan confrères inspiration to a new way of expressing their religious experience and awareness (*nyams len*, *nyams rtogs*), their meditative realization (*sgrub pa*) and their esoteric instructions (*zhal gdams*)....

The tradition quickly gained a firm footing in Tibet not only in the spiritual transmission lineages of the bKa' brgyud pa but also within other denominations. These popular songs were commonly known as *rdo rje'i glu* or *mgur ma* (*vajragiti*)....A large number of adepts and renowned mystics, but also traditional monk-scholars took recourse to express their religious joy and praise, their devotion and their realization and raptures in similar *mgur mas*....<sup>13</sup>

Summarizing, Tibetan translations of the *vajragiti*—themselves of folk origin and sung by the *mahāsiddhas* of India—inspired members of the Bka' brgyud pa sect and some others as well to adapt the style of the *vajragiti* for use in Tibet for a similar purpose: expressing their own religious experiences and teachings in a more accessible way. These songs were called *mgur ma* (or *mgur*), and they came to be sung by a large number of recluses, as well as by some monks based in larger monasteries.

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<sup>13</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 15-16.

In the late fifteenth century, Gtsang smyon He ru ka made a compilation of Mi la ras pa's *mgur 'bum* and had it printed.<sup>14</sup> This in itself was a big milestone in the history of *mgur* in the *phyi dar*, since after that, many lamas and yogins read what was attributed to Mi la ras pa and wrote amazing *mgur*.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the songs of siddhas, some of the lama's instructions (*zhal gdams*) were *mgur* and played a role in the continuing transmission of the genre as well. But the situation was more complex than just a proliferation of *mgur*, since there was a development in their style as well. Although songs were written by later composers who had read Mi la ras pa and were influenced by him, the songs could contain important differences from Mi la ras pa's *mgur*. This was because the Indian treatise on poetics, the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, had already been translated and awareness of it spread quickly. *Mgur* adopted poetic figures from this work of Daṇḍin:

ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། བྱི་དར་གྱི་དུས་སུ་སྟན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་མའི་གཞུང་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚུགས་ཐོག་  
དུ་དར་བྱུང་གིན་དུ་ཆེ་བས། མགུར་སྤྱུ་ལའང་སྟན་ངག་གི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བཅངས་པའི་བྱུང་  
ཚས་དང་ལྷན་ཏེ།.....<sup>16</sup>

But, because the spreading of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* through the Tibetan society at the time of the *phyi dar* was so great, *mgur* also possessed characteristics which were bound by *snyan ngag*.....

Moreover, *mgur* also incorporated some influence from the “eloquent sayings” by Sa skya Paṇḍita:

མགུར་བྱི་དར་གྱི་སྤྱུ་ལ་སྟན་ངག་གི་ཤན་ཞུགས་པར་མ་ཟད། ད་དུང་འཇགས་བཤད་ཀྱི་  
ཤན་ཞུགས་ཀྱང་ཆེ་སྟེ། ལ་ལ་ནི་“ས་སྐྱའི་འཇགས་བཤད་”ཀྱི་འདྲ་བཤས་ལྟ་བུ་རེད།<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The woodblocks were probably made between 1488 and 1495. See Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, trans., *The Life of Milarepa*, xxx.

<sup>15</sup> Don grub rgyal acknowledges Skäl Idan rgya mtsho as one of those *mgur* writers. See Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu byung 'phel gyi lo rgyus dang khyad chos bsdus par ston pa rig pa'i khye'u rnam par rtse pa'i skyed tshal*, in *Dpal don grub rgyal gyi gsung 'bum* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 486. (Henceforth referred to as *Bod kyi mgur glu*.)

<sup>16</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 486. I will show some examples of the influence of Daṇḍin's work on Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* in Chapter 9.

<sup>17</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 487.

Not only did the *mgur* of the *phyi dar* have the outside influence of *snyan ngag*; the influence of the *Legs bshad* was also great. Some [*mgur*] are like copies of Sa skya [Paṇḍita's] *Legs bshad*.

Don grub rgyal quotes a *mgur* that is practically copied from Sa skya Paṇḍita's (1182–1251) verses.<sup>18</sup>

But in spite of having various influences from the *Kāvyaḍarśa* and Tibetan classical verse, the root of *mgur* is the Tibetan folksong. Don grub rgyal attests to that:

མགུར་གྱི་ཐུ་དར་དང་ཕྱི་དར་གང་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། དེའི་མཛད་གཞི་ནི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་གླུ་  
ཡིན་ལ། གླུ་མཆན་དེ་ནི་མི་ལ་རས་པའི་མགུར་གྱི་ལས་མཆོན་ཐུབ་པར་མ་ཟད།  
བྱ་བ་དང་བྱམས་པ་ཆོས་དར་གྱི་མགུར་མ་ལས་ཀྱང་མཆོན་ཐུབ།<sup>19</sup>

Whether *mgur* is from the *snga dar* or *phyi dar*, its root is popular song: not only is it possible to illustrate [the influence of popular song on] *mgur* of Mi la ras pa, but also [to illustrate its influence on] *mgur* of Bya btang Byams pa chos par.

Don grub rgyal gives an illustration to show that a *mgur* of Bya btang Byams pa chos dar is based on songs of the common people. Byams pa chos dar's *mgur* has eight beats per line. This is a meter often found in the folksongs of Amdo<sup>20</sup> and I will show later that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses it frequently.<sup>21</sup>

In order to further understand what *mgur*<sup>22</sup> is, I will adopt R. Jackson's descriptions that place it within the larger context of Tibetan verse itself. He calls *mgur* one of the three genres which together "roughly comprise the Tibetan poetic canon." (He excludes

<sup>18</sup> Sa skya Paṇḍita's verse 87 can be found in James E. Bosson, ed., trans., *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels: The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian*, Indiana University Publications: Uralic and Altaic Series 92 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1969), 56.

<sup>19</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 488.

<sup>20</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 488.

<sup>21</sup> I will provide further evidence of the influence of folksongs on Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* in Chapters 8, 10 and in the coda.

<sup>22</sup> Jackson and I are limiting ourselves to *mgur* of the Period of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in the following descriptions. *Mgur* from the period of the Tibetan Empire has been commented on by Ellingson in "The Mandala of Sound," 229-33, and by Jackson in "'Poetry' in Tibet," 372-73.

the Ge sar epic from his scope of study.) These three genres, *glu*, *mgur* and *snyan ngag*, are related but distinguishable. Jackson states,

*Glu*, which remains in Tibetan as a general term for “song,” is the earliest, most indigenous, most secular, and most orally and musically oriented of the genres. *mGur*, which originally was either a synonym or a subdivision of *glu*, came eventually to denote a more Buddhist type of “song,” and might be either Tibetan or Indian in its inspiration, oral or written in its style. *sNyan ngag*, “speech [agreeable] to the ear,” is an ornate, written, Indian-inspired type of Buddhist (and occasionally secular) poetry that did not appear until the thirteenth century, well after the two genres.<sup>23</sup>

Hence, *mgur* can be situated between *glu* and *snyan ngag*.<sup>24</sup> Of course there is a wide range of qualities in the verses belonging to any of these three genres, but certain generalizations can be made about the characteristics of each group. Generally speaking, *mgur* are more Buddhist than *glu*, which tend to be secular. *Mgur* are more formal stylistically than *glu* but less formal than *snyan ngag*. *Mgur* are oral or written, whereas *glu* are always sung and *snyan ngag* are always written. *Mgur* can be of Tibetan and Indian inspiration, whereas *glu* usually have very little Indian inspiration and *snyan ngag* have a considerable amount.<sup>25</sup>

### *Mgur as a Means of Expression for Skäl dan rgya mtsho*

Now that we have looked at what some Tibetologists and Indologists have written about the style of the *vajragīti*, their transmission to Tibet, the inspiration that resulted in creating a new style of Tibetan verse, and some adaptations attributed to Mi la ras pa and later writers, let us focus on Skäl dan rgya mtsho’s *mgur* themselves: the

<sup>23</sup> Jackson, “‘Poetry’ in Tibet,” 369-70.

<sup>24</sup> The *Mahāvīyutpatti* gives *glu* as the equivalent of *saṃgīti*, and *glu dbyangs* as the equivalent of *saṃgīti* and *gīta*. There is no entry for *mgur*. Ryozauro Sakaki, ed., trans., *Honyaku Myōgi Taishū: Bon zo kan wa yonyaku taiko* (Tokyo: Toshokankokai, 1981), 37, 43, 52. Ryozauro Sakaki, comp., ed., *Honyaku Myōgi Taishū* (Tokyo: Toshokankokai, 1981), 38, 66, 290, 331, 364.

<sup>25</sup> Jackson, “‘Poetry’ in Tibet,” 369.

topics Skal ldan rgya mtsho sang about and what he himself says about this genre.

The topics of the *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* can be roughly broken down into the following categories. The difference between categories is sometimes slight, so I have rounded off my percentages to the nearest 5%.<sup>26</sup> They will serve as an indication of where Skal ldan rgya mtsho's interests lay in creating his *mgur*.<sup>27</sup>

advice to others	30%
own experience	20%
general teaching	15%
advice to himself	15%
petitions	5%
autobiography	5%
eulogy	5%
history	5%
nature	.5%
prayer	.5%
biography	.5%
lament over loss of teacher	.5%
message	.5%
closing dedication	.5%

From the table above, we see that roughly 80% of the *mgur* deal with the general topic of teaching, whether it be in the form of advice to others or himself, general teaching (with no recipient implied), or relating his own experience.

Next, I will turn to what Skal ldan rgya mtsho himself says about his *mgur*. As I mentioned above, Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote mainly in prose that came to be printed in eight hundred folios<sup>28</sup> to pay homage, report bibliographical and historical information, expound philosophies and explain tantric practices. Information available to me at this present time about when these pieces were written is very

<sup>26</sup> Percentages less than 1% have been rounded off to the nearest half of a percent.

<sup>27</sup> For *mgur* that involve several topics, partial credit has been assigned to each category.

<sup>28</sup> This figure refers to the Rong bo monastery woodblock edition of 1987.



scant, and he may well have written these fifty-nine pieces throughout the extent of his adult life.<sup>29</sup> The bulk of *mgur* that are dated are from after the year 1662 (when he was 56) and continue up to the year of his death in 1677, at the age of 71.<sup>30</sup> What did this genre, which he employed in at least the latter thirty years of his life, mean to him? To find out, let us turn to his *mgur*, since he often comments self-consciously on his poetry. The end of *Mgur* VII-16 states,

འདི་རང་དང་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་ཕྱིར་དུ། །  
 དུས་དེ་རིང་ཉམས་དགར་སྒྲུ་རུ་སྒྲངས། །  
 སྒྲུ་འདི་འདྲ་ལིན་ན་རིམ་ལ་ཤོག། །  
 དགེ་འདིས་ཀྱང་རང་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་ཤོག། །<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Only three dates are given in the colophons of the texts in Volumes Ka through Nga of the *Gsung 'bum*: 1639 (Ka-2.1), 1644 (Ka-6) and 1676 (Kha-1).

<sup>30</sup> There are thirty-six *mgur* with dates in the *Mgur 'bum*. The distribution of those and two *mgur* cycles that can be dated from the biography of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is as follows:

Year	Age	Number of <i>Mgur</i>
1633	27	2 cycles*
1647	41	6
1649	43	1
1651	45	1
1662	56	4
1666	60	9
1668	62	4
1669	63	4
1670	64	1
1671	65	2
1673	67	1
1676	70	1
1677	71	2

\* See Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 23-24.

In addition to the spurt of activity that occurred after 1662, the year 1647 was a time in which he wrote several *mgur*. The dates of some other *mgur* may be suggested only very loosely by place names and personal names.

The reader should be reminded of two things here: age in Tibet is one year ahead of the corresponding number in the West, since babies are already one year old when they are born. Also, Tibetan years and Western years do not coincide exactly, so the years cited in the table above are approximations (the margin of error being just a few months).

<sup>31</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 160/ 142.

In order to benefit myself and others,  
 Today [I] joyfully sang this song.  
 If [you] sing a song like this, come to the mountains.  
 May this merit also come to benefit myself and others.

The purpose of any Buddhist instruction is to benefit oneself and others, and this is the overriding principle in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*. Whom did he hope to benefit with them? The colophons of 53 *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* state to whom he gave the *mgur*. Of these, he sang nearly half or twenty-two of them to himself, giving himself advice, sometimes cheerfully, sometimes in jest, with the hope of benefiting himself. Others he sang or wrote for a variety of renunciants, mountain hermits, monks in assemblies, and so on.<sup>32</sup> The following table will give an indication of who requested the *mgur* and/or received them.

#### Individuals

monks	16
disciples	10
disciple-mountain hermits	1
mountain hermits	6
mountain hermit monks	2
spiritual friends	10
elders	3
practitioners	2
aspirants	several
patron	1

#### Groups:

groups of mountain hermits	3
groups of disciple-renunciants	3
groups of monks	1
groups of spiritual friends	1

<sup>32</sup> His *mgur* and colophons sometimes refer to recipients of the *mgur* as belonging to these general categories. Twenty-three recipients are named. Some can be identified in the biography of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. About others, I have no information. Similarly, those who urged him to sing a song are referred to at times under the general heading of "disciples," and twenty-six of them are named. About many of these I have no more information, but further descriptions in front of some of their names indicate something about who they are. Most often, the name of someone who received a *mgur* or who urged him to sing a *mgur* appears only once.

Singing out of joy was common for him, as the following excerpts will show: “Skal ldan rgya mtsho spoke this also through the power of joy at a solitary place” (VII-2);<sup>33</sup> “spoke to himself senselessly in the manner of a jest” (VIII-10);<sup>34</sup> “spoke cheerfully to the mountain hermits of Bkra shis ’khyil” (VIII-28);<sup>35</sup> “In .... place, .... I will sing this happy song” (X-17);<sup>36</sup> and “done in jest and laughter” (VIII-9).<sup>37</sup> (Later we will see that many other *mgur* were inspired by sadness.)

The locations of seventy-two *mgur* are identified. Of these, twenty-five were sung at the mountain hermitage of Bkra shis ’khyil, which became Skal ldan rgya mtsho’s base from about age sixty-four onward.<sup>38</sup> The beauties of Bkra shis ’khyil are beyond words. It has a lovely forest and a panoramic view of nearly three hundred and sixty degrees that extends out over valleys and mountain ranges. The name Bkra shis ’khyil comes up again and again in the colophons, but there are also about thirty-five place names that appear only once or a few times. Some of them are identified by Skal ldan rgya mtsho or the present-day locals as mountain hermitages. Sometimes he does not identify a place where he wrote or sang a *mgur* by name, but by description. Here are some examples of what he says about these places: “[I] am singing this melodious song in a beautiful solitary place” (IX-7);<sup>39</sup> “at a beautiful solitary place” (VII-4);<sup>40</sup> “in a meadow in front of the deity of Mo nom g.yu rtse” (X-10);<sup>41</sup> “on the high peak Lha gnyan rgod” (XIII-5);<sup>42</sup> “on a mountain peak” (X-21);<sup>43</sup> “at a mountain hermitage on the peak of a high mountain” (XI-22);<sup>44</sup> “in a mountain hermitage near Rong bo [monastery]” (IV-13);<sup>45</sup> and “in a solitary meadow” (X-7).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 138.

<sup>34</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 178.

<sup>35</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 196.

<sup>36</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 237.

<sup>37</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 177.

<sup>38</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 66.

<sup>39</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 207.

<sup>40</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 142.

<sup>41</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 226.

<sup>42</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 340.

<sup>43</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 245.

<sup>44</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 286.

<sup>45</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 86.

<sup>46</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, 222.

From these examples, we know that Skal Idan rgya mtsho feels inspired to sing in beautiful solitary places, and since he at times sings for others, it seems that they also are recluses. He apparently wrote down the majority of his *mgur* himself. This is substantiated by numerous colophons that refer to him as the writer. We know only four of his *mgur* that were written down by other scribes.<sup>47</sup>

Sometimes he has recollections when he is out in nature by himself. The introduction to Mgur III-3 exemplifies this:

དུས་ཉིན་ཞིག་<sup>48</sup> རྒྱུད་གསུམ་མཐོན་པོའི་ཆེ་ར། །  
 ཡུ་སེ་ཀུའི་རྩ་རྒྱུད་<sup>49</sup> བལྟ་རུ་བྱེན། །  
 རེ་གངས་དཀར་ཆར་དུ་དང་ར་བ་ནམས། །  
 ཕྱི་མིག་ཡུལ་སྤང་ཆེ་སྒྲ་ས་བྲན། །  
 རྩི་མཚུངས་མེད་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྟོབ་བཟང་གི། །  
 རྩིན་བཟང་པོ་བྲན་ཏེ་སྟུ་འདི་ལེན། །<sup>50</sup>

One day on the high peak of Sgyed gsum,  
 [I] went to see the clay range of Phu se ku.  
 When the row of white snow-mountains appeared in [my]  
     outer vision,  
 [I] recalled [my] lama.

Recalling the good kindness of the unsurpassable lord,  
 Bstan 'dzin blo bzang,<sup>51</sup> [I] sing this song.

This introduction to Mgur II-4 makes it clear that the recollections that spark songs are not always of things or people Skal Idan rgya mtsho cherishes:

དུས་ཉིན་ཞིག་<sup>52</sup> འཁོར་ལོ་སྟོམ་པའི་གནས། །  
 གནས་ཁྱུད་འཕགས་གཉེན་གྲོང་བྲག་གི་འདབས། །

<sup>47</sup> These are Thos bsam rgya mtsho (I-5), Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (V-13), and Bde ba'i 'byung gnas (XI-18 and XII-13).

<sup>48</sup> *zhig* BCD; *cig* A.

<sup>49</sup> *rgyud* AB; *brgyud* CD.

<sup>50</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 36/ 33.

<sup>51</sup> Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho, also frequently called Sde pa Chos rje, was an important lama of Skal Idan rgya mtsho in Amdo, as I related in Chapter 1.

<sup>52</sup> *zhig* B; *cig* ACD.

འདབས་སྒང་ལྗོངས་སྤྱིང་དུ་འཆག་པའི་ཆེ། །  
 ཆེ་འདིར་ཞིན་སྒྲོམ་པས་སྤྱིང་འདི་ལིན། །<sup>53</sup>

[This] day on the side of the especially noble Gnya' gong brag,  
 The dwelling-place of 'Khor lo sdom pa,  
 Since [I] am contemplating [my] longing for this life  
 While treading on the grassy meadow, [I'm] singing this song.

Attachment to this life was certainly something Skal ldan rgya mtsho wanted to obliterate.

Here is an excerpt from the introduction to *Mgur* III-4 indicating that sadness and nature inspired the song:

དུས་ཉིན་གཅིག་སྒྲིབ་པས་ཐུན་ཐུན་གྱིས། །  
 གནས་ཤིན་དུ་དབྱེན་པར་འགྲོ་འདོད་ནས། །  
 ཕུ་སེ་ཀུའི་གངས་ལ་བལྟས་པའི་ཆེ། །  
 སྤྱིང་ག་གི་ལམ་ནས་འདི་ལྟར་སྤངས་སྤངས་སྤྱིང་། །<sup>54</sup>

Wanting to go to a very solitary place  
 Because of a little sadness one day,  
 When [I] saw the snow of Phu se ku,  
 A song in this manner arose from [my] throat.

Other colophons or statements in the *mgur* indicate that sadness was frequently a motivating force for singing or speaking: “a eulogy in the manner of being oppressed by misery regarding rje lama” (II-6);<sup>56</sup> “a beseeching through a sad song in the manner of a lament for that very lord [Ko'u rin po che Chos rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, who had passed away]” (IV-14);<sup>57</sup> “Because a little sadness arose, [I] spoke these words” (VI-1);<sup>58</sup> and “being sad because of signs of old age having appeared....” (IX-2).<sup>59</sup>

Sometimes when he sings a sad song, he feels uplifted from the intensity of the emotion. This excerpt from *Mgur* X-5 is such a case,

<sup>53</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 26/ 23.

<sup>54</sup> *blangs* CD; *blang* AB.

<sup>55</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 38/ 34.

<sup>56</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 32.

<sup>57</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 88.

<sup>58</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 122.

<sup>59</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 200.

where Skäl Idan rgya mtsho expresses sadness and regret for many lines, and then comments,

འཕྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་སྒྲི་སྒྲི་ཡང་ཡང་སྤྱང་ལ། །  
 སྒྲི་གས་སྒྲི་དབྱངས་སྒྲི་མོ་འཐེན་<sup>60</sup> དང་། །  
 སེམས་ལ་ཡར་སྒྲིད་ཅུང་ཟད་འབྱུང་ངོ། །<sup>61</sup>

Right at this moment [my] various thoughts are becoming shorter  
 and shorter, and  
 [I] am singing a mellifluous sad song, and  
 [My] spirits are a little uplifted.

As for the process of creating a *mgur*, sometimes he relates that a song arose spontaneously, as in *Mgur* III-4 cited above, inspired by a feeling of sadness and a vision of a mountain.<sup>62</sup> In the colophon to *Mgur* XII-25, he writes that he wrote whatever arose:

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐུལ་ལྡན་གྱི་མཚོས་ངོས་བཟང་གུར་ཁང་དུ་གང་བྱུང་དུ་བྲིས་པའོ། །<sup>63</sup>

*Mgur* XII-25 has one of the loosest structures in the entire *Mgur 'bum*, with very long lines ranging from ten to eighteen beats each. But the styles in the *Mgur 'bum* vary considerably from structurally casual to more formal. This makes it seem likely that some *mgur* were spontaneously sung and then written down, while others were spontaneously sung and then improved on paper, or even worked out on paper first, to be sung later.

In summary, in this introduction to the genre of *mgur* and what it meant to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho based on his colophons and other comments about his songs, we learn that his songs were closely associated with his life as a recluse and were mainly for the purpose of instruction in solitary places, whether for himself or for other hermits. These features place them in the continuing tradition of the *caryāgiti* and *dohā* sung by tantric Indian siddhas and their subsequent development as *mgur* in Tibet. In particular, we learn from Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's words that he sang many *mgur* when he

<sup>60</sup> 'then CD; then AB.

<sup>61</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 218/ 192.

<sup>62</sup> For other examples of *mgur* he says arose spontaneously, see *Mgur* XII-24, 325/ 288; and *Mgur* XII-25, 325-26/ 288-89.

<sup>63</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 326/ 289.

was at the hermitage Bkra shis 'khyil or at various other mountain peaks or solitary places, where his inspiration to sing sometimes came from being in those beautiful, quiet places in a state of joy or sorrow. Now I will turn to Part III of this book, an analysis of various stylistic features in the *Mgur 'bum*, in which I will explore folk influences as well as some formal influences of Indian versification upon his songs. First I will discuss a very curious form he used, dialogues with animals.





PART THREE

STYLES IN THE *MGUR 'BUM*



## CHAPTER SIX

### DIALOGUES: *MGUR* IN CONVERSATIONS WITH ANIMALS

In my four previous chapters I discussed at length Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's preoccupation with the themes of residing in solitude, renunciation and practice. Here I would like to show how he expresses those themes in a poetic form that is very unusual. Two cycles of poems that he wrote in 1633 when he was twenty-seven<sup>1</sup> playfully portray some of the most important themes he has to teach through the medium of conversations with animals. Both of these cycles involve dialogues between Skäl Idan rgya mtsho and insects, one with bees and the other with lice, fleas and lice eggs.<sup>2</sup> While some specifics of the forms of these dialogues, such as meter and stanza patterns, will be discussed further in subsequent chapters, here I will show how the themes are expressed in this unique dialog format. The Tibetan text for both cycles is in Appendix A.

First I will deal with Mgur cycle IV-1, the conversations with bees, which has six sections:

section	speaker	meter	stanzas	# of lines
1	bees	2 + 2 + 2 + 3	largely of 4 lines	53
2	Skäl Idan	"	free	4
3	bees	"	of 4 lines, the first line is repeated	24
4	Skäl Idan	3 + 2 + 3	of 2 lines	4
5	bees	"	free	12
6	Skäl Idan	2 + 2	free	4

<sup>1</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 23-24. These are the earliest *mgur* for which I have dates.

<sup>2</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's biographer insinuates that the bees symbolize Zhabs drung rin po che; and the fleas, lice and lice eggs symbolize Ko'u ba chos rje rin po che. Both lamas were invited to Rong bo yar nang and gave textual transmissions and initiations there the year these *mgur* cycles were written. See Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 23-24.

There is a prose introduction to the entire cycle, as well as brief prose explanations between each of the sections. Finally, the cycle ends with a colophon which states, “Skal Idan also composed this.”

Before giving the full translation, I will give a summary of what is said in the sections. In the first, the bees give Skal Idan rgya mtsho advice, saying that his actions are senseless and that the animals know more. Skal Idan rgya mtsho criticizes the bees and says that bees speaking a human language is an unlucky omen. Then the bees ridicule what he has said and relate to him what they consider really bad omens to be: the corrupt practices of monks and novices. They tell him that although he understands religion, because he does not practice it, he will only confuse others by trying to expound it. In the fourth section, Skal Idan rgya mtsho exclaims that although he has seen the faces of a hundred lamas, he has never heard a deeper teaching, and that the bees are right. He says he is going to stay in solitude in order to practice religion, in order not to be deceived. In the fifth section, the bees are emphatic about the necessity of him being rigid with his vows. Finally, Skal Idan rgya mtsho calls the bees his friends and says he is going off to meditate. Here is my translation in full of Mgur cycle IV-1:

*Moreover, on one occasion the space between the stooping trees was adorned with such beams of sunlight like sections of the moon and twisted in the manner of swastikas, because of the drooping of the rose tree's fruits, flowers and leaves, at a time in which [I] was in a carefree state of jest and laughter, and so on, [they] sang this buzzing song of poetry through [their] windpipes, changing the dancing of [their] many wings.*

Hey, hey, listen, scholar under the tree!

Because of making careless jokes, games, and so on in past lives,  
From beginningless time up until now, passing nights and days  
[You] have wandered about in this existence.

Because of this way of still acting in contradiction to religion,  
From this point in time onwards it seems that  
[You] will bid farewell to the continual bliss of heaven and  
liberation.

[Regarding] truth and falsehood, see that [your] thoughts are in  
agreement with religion. Understand!  
The root of religion reaches into to one's own mind.

Until [you] have tamed the nature of mind,  
Although [you] expound whatever holy teachings, [since you do  
so] as a parrot would expound them,  
[Your] talk does not hit the target.

If this which is wandering independently, the elephant of  
[your] mind,  
Is not tied by the rope of a lama's oral instructions  
To a firm pillar in a solitary place,  
There is no certainty that [you] will go amidst the woods, [the real]  
riches and honor.

Since the holy lama has brought whatever benefit to you  
Perpetually through the nectar of religion,  
Continually make [your] prayers to the lama,  
Whose kindness is even greater than that of all Buddhas and  
bodhisattvas.  
[His] blessings will enter [into you].

If the blessings have entered [into you], experiential knowledge,  
qualities and so forth  
[Will instantaneously assemble in you], just as we at once assemble  
In a grove of lotuses, even without calling [to one another],  
And then [you] will be led to the city of liberation [and] paradise.

In this time in which a good foundation, like a wish-fulfilling  
jewel,  
Is very hard to obtain,  
If [you] have not received the essence of the profound,  
holy religion,  
Although [you] repent it at death, would [it] not be too late  
to change?

You have not made any sense of [your] life up to now.  
If [you] still continue to consume the remainder of your life  
senselessly,  
Making yourself stay in your homeland, this prison of demons,  
You would not be counted as a human being.

Why? [You] go about meaninglessly, in a senseless life,  
 With senseless singing, dancing, eating, drinking and so on,  
 But we swarm of animals are much more prudent than you.

As for that human who has been scared because of the fright of the  
 three evil rebirths,  
 And takes refuge from the heart in the Three Jewels,  
 Wherever the person who renounces sin and receives pure  
 virtue goes,  
 And wherever he stays, he will be reborn in a good life.

[But as for the one who clings to] all these samsaric places,  
 fiery pits,  
 Earthly goods and pleasures like honey that appears on the blade of  
 a knife,  
 As for *bodhicitta* by all those sons of Buddhas,  
 Even though [it] is the center of a meditation practice, [he] rejects  
 this very thing.  
 And so the lama who benefits [from] other [things] does not  
 believe us in any respect.

Many religions which do not eliminate grasping egocentricity  
 And which eliminate the lack of self are appearing in this region.

How awful, the evil times which have established what is as what  
 is not—

How really pitiful for the majority of the religious!  
 [And] having received an initiation, [but] not observing the vows,  
 Though [people] have meditated via the Generation  
 and Completion Stages,  
 [The benefits] are like a castle on water [which] cannot be  
 relied on.  
 [So] studying from the foundation of the path [is what's necessary].

*[So they] said, to which in response I spoke these words:*

A bee speaking human speech is a bad omen!  
 Although we humans enter into whatever activities such as joking,  
 playing, and so forth,  
 We know [that is not all there is to life]!  
 Your yak yak is insolent towards life!

*In response to what [I] had said [they said]*

A bee speaking human speech is a bad omen!?  
 All the monks and novices who indulge in such things as  
 Women and wine, fighting [and] robbery, having renounced  
 samsara well  
 In front of abbots and presiding masters are bad omens!

A bee speaking human speech is a bad omen!?  
 All those who at first studied well the Buddha's words  
 And then in the middle who perform village rites and sell religion  
 In order to receive the wealth of others are bad omens!

A bee speaking human speech is a bad omen!?  
 All those disciples whose vows have been sullied,  
 Who received many religious teachings because of a lama's  
 kindness,  
 [And] after a mere while cast aside the net of the lama are  
 bad omens!

A bee speaking human speech is a bad omen!?  
 Most tantric practitioners, who although not knowing Buddhism  
 Do most of the Dharma talks, [and thus] harm the doctrine of  
 the Buddha  
 By having the appearance of lamas, are bad omens!

A bee speaking human speech is a bad omen!?  
 Renunciants carry bows, arrows [and other weapons they] make  
 in hand.  
 Elevated ones commit shameless acts.  
 [But] this place [where we bees are] is full of things that are  
 not bad.

A bee speaking human speech is a bad omen!?  
 Especially you, expounding [religion] to others  
 Who don't practice it, all the while understanding the holy  
 religion—  
 This deception is a bad omen.

*[So they] said. Then, in response [I] said these words:*

Although I have seen the faces of a hundred lamas,  
I have not heard a teaching deeper than that!  
You're right, bees, right! You bees are right!  
Now I'll stay by myself, in order not to waver!

*Since [I] said thus, [the bees] said these words:*

Do not cast away [your] vows. Be rigid with vows.  
Do not cast away [your] oaths. Be rigid with the text of the oath.  
Do not cast away [your] promises. Be rigid with promises.  
[If you] don't consider those [three strictnesses], [you] are not in  
the human group.

Considering those three strictnesses,  
Go without a doubt into retreat.

We winged animals such as bees  
Give offerings of songs at the time of your delight [in retreat].

Roll many instructions for your memory into one!

The religion that is to be striven for, in the manner of one  
combined action,  
Is the observance of the attitude that has renounced [secular] life.

If [you] understand that, it is the king of instructions!

*Based on what [the bees] had said, rejoicing, delight and sadness arose together [in me]. [I] decided to go and practice [religion], and moreover, at that time made this request:*

Friend bees,  
Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
Is going to meditate!  
Please sing a mellifluous song!

*[I] requested.*

*This also was composed by Skal ldan.<sup>3</sup>*

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<sup>3</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 64-67/ 58-61.



Now I will turn to the other cycle of poems involving a dialogue between Skal ldan rgya mtsho and other insects, which I have translated in full below. Though it has many parallels with the cycle above, Mgur cycle IV-2 contrasts with IV-1 in a couple of important ways. Mgur cycle IV-2 heavily emphasizes the theme of karma, which in turn the insects give as a reason to live a life of purity in solitude. Furthermore, since there are three groups of insects in the cycle, lice, fleas and lice eggs, the dialogue pattern is more complex than in the preceding one:

section	speaker	meter	stanzas	# of lines
1	Skal ldan to all insects	3 + 2 + 3 throughout	free	12
2	aged louse to his friends		"	4
3	elderly and young lice to Skal ldan		"	12
4	all fleas to Skal ldan		"	8
5	lice eggs to Skal ldan		of 2 lines	4
6	Skal ldan to all insects		free	4
7	all insects to Skal ldan		"	44
8	Skal ldan to all insects		"	4
9	insects to Skal ldan		"	4

Like the cycle of the dialogue with bees, this one has a prose introduction setting the scene and short prose explanations between each of the sections. Its colophon also merely states, "Skal ldan also composed this."

I will now give a full translation of the cycle of Skal ldan rgya mtsho in conversation with lice, fleas and lice eggs, IV-2:

*Also at one time because [I] saw on the surface of my food and garments and so on that there were many lice calmly meandering, many fleas floating about and many lice eggs smiling and hanging out in a relaxed way, and [I] advised [them] as follows:*

Listen you lice who are roaming about—  
You lice have eaten my body!

Even if you are happy when you eat and drink,  
When [I] see you, what do you think?<sup>4</sup>

You thoughtless fleas, skilled in flight,  
If you are inseparable from what your body does,  
During youth you were afraid of smells going “rrrrr.”<sup>5</sup>

True or not, continue eating, and be clear about it!

You bright white and smiling louse eggs,  
Even if [you] are like pearls when you are looked at,  
When [I] see [my] contaminated garments,  
Without thinking of [my] next life, [I] want to kill you.

*Because [I] said [that], an aged louse gathered his friends and advised them as follows:*

Since I, an elderly louse, am skilled at eating and drinking,  
Up to now I have been happy and peaceful.

You youngsters have been eating at inappropriate times.  
Will I now also cause my death in connection with a smell?

*Relying on what [he] had said, all the young and old lice huddled and made secret council in detail, and replied unanimously to me as follows:*

You old monk who knows the karma of virtue and sin!  
In previous lives you ate others.  
On the strength of that, we will eat you.

<sup>4</sup> I have not translated *yang* at the beginning of the line. It is there to complete the poetic figure (the last syllable of one line is the same as the first syllable in the next line), but doesn't seem to fit in terms of meaning.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to mean dying through pollution, because the young fleas know no better than to be attracted to disgusting, foul stuff.

Now you have difficulty in replying.  
Above all, don't lecture us! Think about karma!

Earlier, you human being looked at us [and you] broke out in tears.  
Having seen where we were hiding in secret,  
[We] didn't believe that [you] would kill us with fingernail  
and tooth.

If you were now to kill [some of us], we'll also eat you!

Otherwise, we [and the one] patronized<sup>6</sup>  
Will need one another forevermore.

Now whether [we] eat or not eat, [it's] your call.

*[So they] said. Also the fleas unanimously said*

You listen, our watchman.  
We at times make [ourselves] soar up and at times float down.

You, in this ocean of the cycle of the three realms,  
Sometimes soar up and sometimes float down.

You don't be [down] there, don't be [down] there—soar  
on upwards!

Up on a solitary peak you'll soar in delight.

The nature of your mind will soar in the expanse of the sky.  
Don't threaten us—float up like us!

*[So they] said. Also the lice eggs, smiling, said this:*

In our meditation huts [within] the fabric of [your] clothes,  
Our bodies not moving, we will meditate in *samādhi*.

If you delight in meditative states in solitude,  
Don't hurt us but dwell as we dwell.

*[So they] said. Then I said this to the lice, fleas and lice eggs:*

You stupid and dumb insects—  
I'm a human being, a monk of noble rank [in comparison to you].

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<sup>6</sup> I.e. you. In their words, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is the donor patronizing the lice with his offerings.

From among insects, you are the bottom rung!  
 For you to give me advice! Ha! Ridiculous!

*Because [I] said this, the lice, fleas and lice eggs all fell on me and  
 discoursed thus:*

Even if we lice, fleas and lice eggs  
 Act under the power of religion,  
 We embrace lamas and religious lords on down,  
 And old beggars on up.

Although [we] act under the power of the world of convention,  
 As for those such as high kings, noble ladies, ministers,  
 Subjects, rich people, heroes and people with power,  
 There is no one that we don't eat or drink.

An association of lice from our group here  
 Who are black and very hot mouthed  
 Call you a wealth of rich food.

Because you have eaten dead [killed] food [and] funeral repasts for  
 so long,  
 It is natural for you to be eaten by us.

We fleas who live here  
 Don't eat siddhas who live on the peaks of mountains.

You say "Doing village rites is food for my mouth."  
 Soar and be!

Also, listen, listen, old monk, listen!  
 Don't eat dead food or funeral repasts and  
 The black lice won't eat you!

Don't rove about towns but go up to a mountain hermitage.

Isolated, pleasant, on top of green grass in a solitary and  
 pleasant place,  
 You will dwell in happiness,  
 And the fleas as a group  
 Will be committed to never bothering you.

Again—focus the hole of [your] ear for a moment!  
 Don't look at other people. Look at yourself!  
 Looking at others is simply pursuing your own benefit.

By breaking away from benefiting yourself, [and] by benefiting the  
 religion and sentient beings,  
 When [you] die [you] will not be eaten by beguiling evil spirits.

Just as each and every one of us lice, fleas and lice eggs  
 Has the same idea, namely that it is not necessary to talk  
 To you who eat meat and drink blood, so you old monks  
 Who have renounced [life] through the teaching,  
 [But] who practice the holy religion while thinking about life,  
 You must not talk to us! Be harmonious with everyone!  
 Don't be despondent because you have no entourage!

Strive to become completely enlightened, and  
 When you achieve enlightenment,  
 We will also be your retinue!

Moreover, listen! When [you] are sitting in meditation  
 And we bite you,  
 Recall your karma of past lives,  
 And being liberated from sinful karma, [you] will exert [yourself]  
 in realizing good karma..

*Based on what [the insects] had said [to me], [I] decided to go  
 meditate, and said these words:*

Because I have entered the blessing of a holy lama,  
 Lice, fleas and lice eggs have expounded the religion.

Because religion is deep, [I] have turned my mind to it.  
 In order to practice religion, I will go to a solitary place!

*Because [I] said [that], [the insects] said this:*

Without sending what you have explained into the wind,  
 Go practice for the benefit of [your] own thoughts.

It's not sufficient to know about religion—[you] have to  
practice it.

Now, in order to practice it, go to a solitary place!

*Thus [they] discoursed.*

*This also was composed by Skal Idan.<sup>7</sup>*

Both Mgur cycle IV-1 and IV-2 deal with conversations with insects that take on a didactic role as Skal Idan rgya mtsho's teachers, and he surprisingly portrays himself in an inferior role to them.<sup>8</sup> He demonstrates a Buddhist quality in the way he has written these cycles, being willing to lower himself, even to the point of being lower than insects. Skal Idan rgya mtsho's Mgur cycles IV-1 and IV-2 are unique dialogues, whose form works very well in a variety of ways to enhance the expression of his message: "go to a solitary place in order to practice religion."

The reasons that Skal Idan rgya mtsho should go live in solitude are given in the form of criticism. And having criticism "come from the mouths of others" enables deep criticism of his way of life—that he has been expounding religion like a parrot but without practicing it, and that he has wasted his life up to the present with "senseless singing, dancing, eating, drinking and so on."<sup>9</sup> And putting criticism of monks and novices in the words of insects especially allows very incriminating things to be stated about them: that they womanize,

<sup>7</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 67-71/ 61-64.

<sup>8</sup> Zhabs dkar was obviously taken and influenced by Mgur cycle IV-1, as he wrote his own conversation with bees, though in his case the bees pay homage to him from the start. The bees refer to Skal Idan rgya mtsho's songs as predecessors of their own songs. Harking back to Skal Idan rgya mtsho's cycle, Zhabs dkar requests that they be in his retinue when he attains enlightenment:

My friend the bee, come back again,  
And sing your songs for me, the yogin.  
And once I have reached enlightenment,  
I pray that you, bee, will join my retinue.

For this, see Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar*, 162-63.

Though there are dialogues in Gtsang smyon pa's compilation of Mi la ras pa's *mgur*, Mi la ras pa always performs the role of guiding the one with whom he converses, unless the latter is a teacher.

<sup>9</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 65/ 59.

drink beer, fight, steal, sell religion, break their vows, cast aside their lamas, and give more Dharma talks than anyone.<sup>10</sup>

The dialogue form allows the two sides to have not only contrasting points of view but markedly different types of speech and argumentation. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is initially haughty and short with the insects, reflecting that he thinks that they are so far beneath him as to be not to be worth addressing. The insects, by contrast, want to take time to explain things to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho carefully, articulately and logically. The various stages of the conversation make it possible both for him to voice his resistance and be slowly persuaded, and for them to respond to his objections and build their argument and advice to him. Towards the end of each *mgur* cycle, he makes the decision to change his life and behavior, based on what he has learned from the insects. What he says is again very brief (four lines), but this time the brevity indicates not rejection but acceptance. He has no reason to linger over words or lose any more time because he is eager to get to a solitary place to practice religion.

Another way that the form enhances the message in these cycles is seen in *Mgur* cycle IV-1, in which metrical variances and the progression of the argument go hand in hand. Here there are three different meters. 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 is used for the bees' opening criticism of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, his curt rejection of them, and their argumentative response. The poem has fifty-three long lines of nine syllables each, which emphasizes how much the bees are laying into him. It should also be noted that after some variation in stanza pattern, the bees' speech falls into distinct four-line stanzas as they go on a roll of listing criticisms of the way monks and novices are living. A new meter, that of 3 + 2 + 3, appears when Skäl Idan rgya mtsho changes his attitude and decides that the bees are not only right, but have given him a teaching deeper than any he has heard from a hundred lamas.<sup>11</sup> The third meter, that of 2 + 2, appears in his brief closing statement that he is off to meditate in solitude, referred to above. His brief statement, with merely four syllables per line over only four lines, emphasizes the simplicity of his statement, "Friend bees, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is going to meditate. Please sing a mellifluous song!"

<sup>10</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 66/ 60.

<sup>11</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 67/ 60.

A way the form of dialogues with animals also enhances Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's overall theme of practice in solitude is demonstrated in Mgur cycle IV-2, in which the nature of the insects closely corresponds with their teachings for him. Lice, fleas and lice eggs are both physically threatening to and threatened by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, who opens the cycle by saying he wants to kill them. This is an ideal setting for the discussion of karma. Furthermore, the fact that there are three groups of insects in the cycle makes it possible for each to express its particular perspective on why he should live a moral life and go practice religion in solitude. The lice point out that whether they bite him or not is entirely up to his karma.<sup>12</sup> The fleas use the theme of their jumping, and advise him not to stay down there, but to soar up like them, where "up on a solitary peak you'll soar in delight."<sup>13</sup> The lice eggs tell him how they experience meditative states in their meditation huts within the fabric of his clothes, and that he also can enjoy these in solitude too, if he does not hurt them.<sup>14</sup>

The two cycles of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's conversations with animals echo the relation of master and disciple. In each case, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho poses as the disciple, being lectured to by the insects, here representing the masters. When Skäl Idan rgya mtsho decides to go off to meditate in solitude, he departs from the masters. This recalls the usual path of a yogi, who having relied on a qualified master for instructions goes off to practice by himself. Note that the fleas point out that they do not eat siddhas who meditate on mountain peaks. When one becomes a solitary hermit, one is above earthly afflictions.

In general, these are didactic statements, the insects being used as the voice of criticism and advice. Another way of looking at the dialogues that take place in these cycles is as discussions of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho with his conscience. Instead of the voice of criticism remaining within his head, it is projected onto animals, making an internal conflict into an external one. Now that we have looked in

<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the prelude to Mi la ras pa's song about Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen (1079–1153) states that "[because of his compassion and purity], no insect ever grew on his body." Chang comments that "It is believed that a truly compassionate Bodhisattva is immune from the attacks of insects or beasts. Tibetan lamas even use this as a yardstick to judge and measure the compassion of their fellow lamas." See Chang, trans., *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*, 466, 496 n. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 68–69/ 62.

<sup>14</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 69/ 62.



depth at the very unusual form of dialogues with animals, I will turn to an analysis of concepts of structural form that are widely applicable to all *mgur*. First, I will examine Skal ldan rgya mtsho's use of prosody.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### METRICS

Looking further into the structural components of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* in relation to form, in this chapter I will analyze his use of metrics, the very backbone of Tibetan verse. Before doing so, I will first discuss some general characteristics of metrics in Tibet.<sup>1</sup> The choice of a particular meter is a definitive issue in the formation of a song, since other basic considerations such as language and syntax are dependent on this decision. For this reason, we must understand how meters work to gain a deeper understanding of a *mgur* and the skill involved in writing it. I will draw extensively on secondary literature that deals with the notion of prosody, both by Don grub rgyal, the noted Tibetan authority on *mgur*, and by Western analysts. At times I will compare Western notions of metrics with Tibetan ones, in order to clarify the Tibetan use of prosody, and Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's in particular.

On the most basic level, the syllable (*tsheg bar*) count of a line of verse (*tshig rkang*) defines its visual-quantitative length<sup>2</sup> and leads to a fundamental distinction Indo-Tibetan theorists recognize between those stanzas (*sho lo ka*) whose lines have the same number of syllables (*tsheg bar do mnyam pa*) and those whose lines do not

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<sup>1</sup> Tibetan metrics are a Tibetanized Sanskrit form. While Indian meters are a function of long and short syllables, Tibetan ones are based on accents.

I thank P. Sørensen for his English definitions of Tibetan technical terms regarding metrics, found in *Divinity Secularized*, 12-28 and 343-44. I have chosen to adopt many of his English equivalents, after reading their corresponding Tibetan terms and viewing the examples in Don grub rgyal's book on *mgur*. I provide P. Sørensen and others' Tibetan equivalents here so that the reader will know which of the concepts I use to explain metrics are recognized by Tibetan theorists.

<sup>2</sup> It may seem that the actual length of a verse when sung would be directly proportionate to the number of syllables that it contains. While surely there is a relation between the visual and audible lengths of a line, they are not necessarily directly proportionate. The current musical tradition employs all kinds of note values in its melodies, in which some beats are heavily ornamented and others are not. This makes the actual duration of some beats much longer than others. In the present section, when I speak of a line's length, I will be referring to its number of syllables.

(*tsheg bar do mi mnyam pa*).<sup>3</sup> In both cases, syllables in a line are subdivided into smaller units. For an example of how a Tibetan expert on verse may describe such a concept, here is an excerpt from the fifth chapter (*Mgur gyi lus kyi skor*) of Don grub rgyal's work on *mgur*, in which he explains how a line of eight syllables may be subdivided:

ཆེག་བར་བརྒྱད་ལྟན་གྱི་མགུར་གྱི་ལུས། འདི་ལ་རྣམ་པ་བཞི་སྟེ།

1. ....

2. ཆེག་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་མགོ་མ་གསུམ་དང་གཞུག་མ་གསུམ་ཟླ་ཕྱིར་གསུམ་རེ་  
གསུམ་རེ་བྱས་ནས་སྦྱོར་བ་དང་། བར་མ་གཉིས་ཟུང་དུ་ཁྲོག་པ་སྟེ།.....<sup>4</sup>

*Mgur* that have eight syllables per line: regarding this there are four types [of subdivisions], namely

1. [He describes the first type.]

2. Having construed and joined the three syllables at the beginning of a line of verse, having done likewise with the three syllables at the end of the line, and reading the middle two [syllables] as a pair:  
for example:.....

The *mgur* that Don grub rgyal uses to illustrate his second description of ways to divide eight syllables in a line is from the *Gsung mgur* of Pha bong kha pa:

དཔེར་ན།  
ཇི་ཕ་བོང་ཁ་པའི་གསུང་མགུར་ལས།  
ཁྱེད་སྟེ་ཡི་དཔག་བསམ་རབ་བརྟན་ཞིང་། །  
ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་ཡལ་འདབ་རྒྱས་པའི་ཅིར། །  
གཏན་འདུན་གྱི་འབྲས་བཟང་གཡུར་དུད་བཞིན། །

<sup>3</sup> “.....འོན་ཀྱང་མགུར་རང་གི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྱད་ཚུལ་གྱི་དབང་གིས། རྒྱུད་པར་བཅད་པའི་ལུས་ལ་འང་ཆེག་བར་  
དེ་མཉམ་པ་དང་། མི་མཉམ་པའི་དབྱེ་བ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།.....”

For this, see Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 491.

<sup>4</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 497.

དབེན་པ་རུ་བག་ཐེབས་སྒྲི་ལགས་སམ།  
 ཞིས་དང་།.....<sup>5</sup>

Each line has eight syllables and has been composed in order to form three subdivisions, which have, respectively, three, two and three syllables each.

Western analysts of Tibetan poetry have developed their own vocabulary in order to explain what makes up a subdivision, which they call a “foot” (not to be confused with a Tibetan term for a line of verse, *rkang pa*, which also means “foot”). These scholars agree that there are two types of syllables. Some theorists, such as S. Beyer,<sup>6</sup> make the distinction between stressed and unstressed. Others, such as P. Sørensen,<sup>7</sup> call them strong and weak, in the sense of being semantically strong and semantically weak.<sup>8</sup> Here I shall adopt Sørensen’s terminology of strong and weak, since it is not clear to what extent stresses were actually performed in the course of singing a *mgur*. What constitutes a strong/stressed or a weak /unstressed beat? Beyer provides a detailed explanation:

Every word in classical Tibetan has a single primary stress that falls on the first syllable; bound forms (conjunctions, nominalizers, role particles, bound quantifiers) are thus considered unstressed, as are also *ni* and *yang*, unless the latter is the first word of the preposition; free quantifiers, numerals, and determiners may also be unstressed in a weak position.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, each type has its predetermined position in a foot: each foot starts with a strong syllable, and the remaining syllables in the foot (usually one or two) are weak. This describes the two types of feet that Western theorists have recognized to be in systematic use in Tibetan poetry: the foot with two syllables and the one with three.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 497.

<sup>6</sup> Stephan Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 408.

<sup>7</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language*, 408. It should be noted that whether a beat is strong or weak is not a function of whether its syllable has a high or low tone.

<sup>10</sup> This corresponds to examples Don grub rgyal gives of different subdivisions, yet I glean that he also recognizes the systematic use of the tetrasyllabic foot. See Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 497. I have added space to indicate my

Summarizing, a syllable's syntactic function largely determines its qualification for a strong or weak beat, and hence its position in a foot, or subdivision of a line. This is a crucial point for understanding Tibetan verse:

strong beat position: first syllable of a foot
first syllable of a noun or pronoun first syllable of a verb first syllable of a proper name first syllable of an adjective first syllable of an adverb negative particle preceding a verb first syllable of an interjection first syllable of a question word

weak beat <sup>11</sup> position: subsequent syllable(s) of a foot
second syllables of a noun, pronoun, verb and other words in first position nominalizers role particles bound quantifiers <i>ni</i> and <i>yang</i>  the following are sometimes unstressed: conjunctions free quantifiers numerals determiners

subdivisions of this excerpt from the *Gsung mgur* of Kun mkhyen 'Brug pa Padma dkar po (1527–92):

དཔལ་	འཇམ་གྱ་སྒྲིང་གི་	བྱང་གི་གྱུད། །
ཟི་	ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱིས་	བསྐྱར་བའི་ཞིང་། །
མི་	གཞིང་དམར་ཡུལ་གྱི་	ཞིང་བ་ན། །
མ་	མཁའ་འབྲེལ་	མཚན་ལྗང་ར་ལུང་ཐུལ། །

<sup>11</sup> Some of the parts of speech that I have listed in this column I have again quoted from Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language*, 408.

I will now give examples of how Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses meter. The following table shows the distribution of various beats per line and their subdivisions in his *mgur*.<sup>12</sup>

syllables per line	subdivisions	number of <i>mgur</i>	percentage of total
Same number of syllables per line			94.5%
4	2 + 2 and 4	1	.4% <sup>13</sup>
5	3 + 2	2	.8%
6	2 + 2 + 2	13	5%
7	2 + 2 + 3	7	3%
	3 + 2 + 2	1	.4%
	2 + 3 + 2	3	1%
8	1 + 2 + 2 + 3	137	54%
	3 + 2 + 3	34	13%
	2 + 2 + 2 + 2	10	4%
	2 + 3 + 3	1	.4%
	2 + 1 + 2 + 3	1	.4%
9	2 + 2 + 2 + 3	26	10%
10	2 + 3 + 2 + 3	1	.4%
	2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2	1	.4%
Different number of syllables per line			6%
15			

As the tables show, Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote *mgur* using a wide variety of meters. 94% of them have lines made up of the same number of syllables, and 4% have lines with a different number of syllables. The number of syllables in the former range from four to ten. Skal ldan rgya mtsho employs different sets of subdivisions for the same number of syllables in lines with seven syllables per line, and those with eight. Now I will provide examples of forms that use a certain number of syllables per line and various subdivisions, starting with the smallest number, so that we can see how Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses prosody. Although the choice of meter is a central issue around which the language and syntax of a song revolves, it is

<sup>12</sup> The parts of *mgur* cycles IV-1 and IV-2 have been counted individually, since some of them differ in meter.

<sup>13</sup> All percentages in this section are rounded off to the nearest integer, unless they are less than 1%.

unfortunately lost in translation. For this reason, I will not provide English translations of the verses cited in this chapter. The many meters Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses seem to have been influenced by a wide spectrum of singing styles in Tibet, almost all of them popular, and when possible I will point out other genres of song that share the same meters. Statistics I provide for the frequency with which he uses each meter will emphasize his enthusiasm for writing in many styles.

*Four Syllables per Line*

2 + 2

This form is used only once, for four short lines. We have seen this passage before, as it belongs to the cycle of *mgur* in conversation with bees, IV-1. I have placed gaps to indicate my subdivisions:

གྲོགས་པོ་    སྤང་མ།    |  
 རྒྱལ་ལྷན་    རྒྱ་མཚོ།    |  
 སྤོང་ལ་    འགྲོའོ།    |  
 སྤྱན་པའི་    ལྷ་ལྟངས།    |<sup>14</sup>

In this short remark to the bees that comes at the end of the six-part cycle after Skäl Idan rgya mtsho has finally being persuaded by them, he states that he is going to meditate (no further dialog is needed). As my divisions indicate, the basic unit of most of the lines is a foot of two syllables (*tsheg bar cha*). Most Western theorists<sup>15</sup> have referred to this as a “trochee” or “trochaic foot.” J. Vekerdi has taken issue with this terminology, because it implies not only that the syllables are stressed and unstressed but also that their durations are long and short, which is not the case in Tibetan verse:

<sup>14</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 67/ 61.

<sup>15</sup> Sørensen, Beyer, Helffer and others.

There is no doubt that the shortness or length of syllables cannot play any part in Tibetan versification, since classical Tibetan does not distinguish between long and short vowels.<sup>16</sup>

.....the term [trochaic] should be avoided because of its lack of precision: in versification based on stress it is inadvisable to use the terminology of quantitative prosody.<sup>17</sup>

Vekerdi suggests that rather than calling a two-syllable unit a “trochaic foot,” we should call it a “disyllabic foot.” Clearly the term “trochaic foot” is frequently used, and when we see it we need to remind ourselves that it does not insinuate a differentiation of duration for the syllables. The term disyllabic foot is more accurate as it does not connote something which is absent in Tibetan verse.

### *Five Syllables per Line*

$$3 + 2$$

Only two of the *mgur* in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho’s *Mgur ’bum* (.8%) have five syllables per line, and both use the same subdivision. According to Don grub rgyal, there are two possibilities for dividing five syllables into groups, and he describes this particular one as follows:

ཆེག་རྒྱ་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་མགོ་མ་གསུམ་མཉམ་དུ་སྒྲུབ་བ་དང་། གཞུག་མ་གཉིས་ལྟན་དུ་  
སྒྲུག་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་དེ།.....<sup>18</sup>

The subdivisions have three syllables and two syllables, respectively.

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho’s *Mgur* IV-3 and IV-7, which use this form, will be discussed in Chapter 8, because they are also examples of *mgur* with stanzas of five lines, and a large part of one is closely related to the other in language and style. Here is an excerpt from

<sup>16</sup> J. Vekerdi, “Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2, nos. 2-3 (1952): 222.

<sup>17</sup> Vekerdi, “Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody”: 223.

<sup>18</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 493.



Mgur IV-3, with spaces provided to indicate my subdivisions, and bold format to show the syllables that repeat in the same positions within stanzas throughout the song:

དགེ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་      མི་དོག །  
 དད་གུས་ཀྱི་      རྒྱ་བོས། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་      བཞུན་ཀྱང་། །  
 རྣམ་གཡིང་གི་      སེར་བས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་      བཅོམ་ཡ། །

དགེ་སེམས་ཀྱི་      ལྷ་གྲ། །  
 ལྷང་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་      རྫོད་ཀྱིས། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་      བསྐྱངས་ཀྱང་། །  
 དཀོར་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་      བ་མོས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་      བྱིར་ཡ། <sup>19</sup>

The first group in each line consists of three syllables, here comprised of a nominal compound and a genitive particle, or an adverb (with adverbial particle). Western theorists usually call a foot with three syllables, the first being strong and the other two weak, a “dactyl” or “dactylic foot.” Following Vekerdi’s suggestion again, I have chosen to call it a “trisyllabic foot.”

Mgur IV-7 exhibits an additional feature: the particle that rounds off each trisyllabic foot in some of its verses is *ni*. For instance, its sixth stanza reads

འཇིགས་སྤྱོད་ནི་      དེ་འདྲ། །  
 དཀོན་མཆོག་ནི་      བསུམ་གྱིས། །  
 ངེས་པར་ནི་      སེལ་བས། །

<sup>19</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 71/ 64.

སྒྲིབ་གི་ནི་      དགྲུལ་ནས། ।  
 སྒྲིབ་ས་འགྲོ་ནི་      སྒྲིབ་ཡ། ।<sup>20</sup>

*Ni* is a particle used frequently in old Tibetan verses, such as those discovered at Dunhuang, where it also serves in the third syllable of the line to round out the first trisyllabic foot. The meaning of the line is not dependent on any translation of *ni*, though Stein and others have translated it as “oui,” “oh oui,” “yes,” “ah yes,” and so forth.<sup>21</sup>

There is a major difference between the usage of *ni* in most of the texts traditionally ascribed to the Period of the Early Diffusion of Buddhism, or *snga dar*, and the above usage of *ni*: the *snga dar* verses in which *ni* appears usually have six syllables per line. In fact, every example of verse that Don grub rgyal ascribes to the *snga dar* and that has a regular number of syllables per line is hexasyllabic, with *ni* in third place. Nevertheless, there are some examples of earlier texts that have a trisyllabic foot with *ni* followed by a disyllabic foot. Here is one text cited by Thomas that was discovered in a cave not far from Dunhuang that is thought to have been sealed around the same time as the latter, the early part of the eleventh century. The formatting and divisions are mine.

nyan [k]ar **ni**    btsug so/  
 stan ka[r] **ni**    rgyab bo/  
 pan kar **ni**      btsug so  
 bon kar **ni**      slud do / /  
 hin kar **ni**      btsu[g so]  
 phan kar **ni**    rgyab bo/ /<sup>22</sup>

Since no other form of Tibetan verse uses the particle *ni* in this way, it is clear that verses ascribed to the *snga dar* were Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's model for the use of *ni* in Mgur IV-7. It is curious that he chose to employ it in the much less frequent form of five, rather than six, syllables per line.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps his access to this literature was

<sup>20</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 76/ 69.

<sup>21</sup> R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine* (Paris: l'Asiathèque, 1987), 178-79.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas, *Ancient Folk-literature from North-eastern Tibet: Texts, Translations and Notes*, 66. For an additional example, see Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language*, 413.

<sup>23</sup> In fact, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho never uses the hexasyllabic line with the divisions of two trisyllabic feet.

highly limited, and he did not realize that the particle *ni* is almost always used in a hexasyllabic line of two trisyllabic feet.<sup>24</sup>

### *Six Syllables per Line*

$$2 + 2 + 2$$

In the thirteen *mgur* by Skal ldan rgya mtsho that have six syllables per line (5% of the *Mgur 'bum*), all have the disyllabic unit as their basis.<sup>25</sup> For example, I have construed the way Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses this meter in *Mgur* III-8 as follows:

<sup>24</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses the particle *ni* in an even more curious way in a heptasyllabic foot, which we will look at shortly.

<sup>25</sup> Western theorists usually say that these *mgur* are made up of trochaic or disyllabic feet, but Don grub rgyal describes this form a bit differently:

ཆོག་བར་དྲུག་དང་ལྷན་པའི་མགུར་གྱི་ལུས། འདི་ལ་ནམ་པ་གསུམ་མཆིས་ཏེ།

1. ཆོག་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་ནམས་སྟོན་ཟུང་དྲུག་ལྷན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ།.....

Regarding *mgur* which have six syllables [per line], there are three types [namely]:

1. The syllables of a line of verse are individually read as a pair.....

His language seems obscure here. The other two solutions for subdivisions of six syllables in a line are clear. In his second point, he describes successive units of one, two and three syllables:

2. ཆོག་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་དང་པོ་ནམས་ཁེར་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་པ་དང་། བར་མ་གཉིས་ལྷན་དྲུག་ཟུང་བ། གཞུག་

མ་གསུམ་མཉམ་དྲུག་ལྷན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ .....

Finally he describes two units of three syllables each:

3. ཆོག་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་ནམས་སྟོན་ཟུང་གསུམ་གསུམ་དྲུག་ཟུང་བ་ཞིག་གྱེ། .....

For this, see Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 494-95.

Why is he not as straightforward as Western theorists in describing his first type as three units of two syllables? Reading through his chapter on verse, we see that he uses this type of language (“*tshig rkang gcig gi yi ge rnam so sor zung du klog pa....*”) whenever he is referring to verse that Westerners would describe as trochaic. It appears that he does not explicitly say that the units are made up of two syllables because he wants to leave room for the possibility of larger units made up of multiples of two syllables, albeit randomly placed from line to line.

མངས་ཀྱི་      ཀུན་གྱི་      རོ་བོ། །  
 དམ་ཚེས་      ཀུན་གྱི་      འབྲུང་གནས། །  
 དགེ་འདུན་      ཀུན་གྱི་      གཙུག་ཀྱི། །  
 གློ་བཟང་      བསྟན་པའི་      རྒྱལ་མཆོན། །  
 རྩིང་ནས་      རྒྱབས་སུ་      བཟུང་ནས། །  
 ཉག་ཏུ་      གསོལ་བ་      འདེབས་སོ། <sup>26</sup>

It is notable that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho employs the form of the hexasyllabic line divided into three equal feet so infrequently in his *mgur*. The meter of three disyllabic feet is precisely the one found in the Central Tibetan folksong called the *gzhas*, which has been extremely popular in Central Tibet,<sup>27</sup> and has also been found in Western<sup>28</sup> and Eastern Tibet.<sup>29</sup>

Although the origin of the *gzhas* is unknown,<sup>30</sup> Sørensen believes that it is at least four or five hundred years old.<sup>31</sup> This would put it well within Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's time, and it may already have been popular in Lhasa then. We also know that the form has been in use in Amdo, though with certainty only from the last century

<sup>26</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 44-45/40.

<sup>27</sup> For examples of the *gzhas* in Central Tibet, see Johan van Manen, "Three Tibetan Repartee Songs," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., 17, no. 4 (1921); Namkhai Norbu Dewang, "Musical Tradition of the Tibetan People: Songs in Dance Measure," *Serie Orientale Roma* 36, no. 2 (1967); Jeanette Marie Snyder, "Some Popular Songs of Tibet," in *The Malahat Review*, ed. Robin Skelton (Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, 1972); Geoffrey Samuel, "Music of the Lhasa Minstrels," in *Zlos-gar*, ed. Jamyang Norbu (New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1986); Samuel, "Songs of Lhasa"; Savitsky, "Secular Lyrical Poetry in Tibet"; Goldstein, "Lhasa Street Songs"; Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs from Gyantse and Western Tibet*; Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*; Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language*; and Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*.

<sup>28</sup> For examples of the *gzhas* in Western Tibet, see A. H. Francke, "Ladakhi Songs," *The Indian Antiquary, A Journal of Oriental Research* 31, no. 287 (1902); and Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs from Gyantse and Western Tibet*.

<sup>29</sup> For examples of *gzhas* collected in Eastern Tibet, see Duncan, *Love Songs and Proverbs of Tibet*; and Namkhai Norbu, "Musical Tradition of the Tibetan People: Songs in Dance Measure," 342-45. The *gzhas* of Part III were collected in Khams and those of Part IV were collected in Amdo. He provides notations of typical tunes from Khams and from Amdo that the *gzhas* may have been sung to or sung and danced to.

<sup>30</sup> The *mgur* of the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706), though not folksongs, are based on this form and may have been the first of all songs that employ the *gzhas*' form to be written down.

<sup>31</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 20.

onwards, as evidenced by the abundant examples of it in Namkhai Norbu's collection.<sup>32</sup> There is no indication that Skal Idan rgya mtsho recognized any popularity of the *gzhas* form in Amdo, though he may well have been aware of it in the Lhasa area. In any event, it appears that he did not perceive the *gzhas* as a form that would appeal to those he was writing for in his area of Amdo, and used it only sparsely.

### *Seven Syllables per Line*

Skal Idan rgya mtsho uses three types of subdivisions of the seven-syllable line in his *Mgur 'bum*. I shall analyze his use of them one by one:

$$2 + 2 + 3$$

Western analysts have described this form as three and a half trochaic feet (the half foot indicating a catalexis)<sup>33</sup> or alternatively as three feet (the third one being dactylic).<sup>34</sup> Don grub rgyal describes it as follows:

ཆོག་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་མགོ་མ་བཞི་པོ་སོ་སོར་བྱེད་སྟོག་པ་དང་། འཕྲོ་མ་གསུམ་པོ་  
ལྟན་དུ་སྦྱར་བ་སྟེ།.....<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Namkhai Norbu, "Musical Tradition of the Tibetan People: Songs in Dance Measure," pt 4.

<sup>33</sup> Sørensen and others.

<sup>34</sup> Beyer and Helffer. Beyer points out that the last syllable in this form is considered neutral, since "Both stressed and unstressed syllables in verse final position count as bearing the same stress; there is no systematic distinction of stress in this position. Metrical symmetry suggests that syllables with neutralized stress be counted as unstressed...." See Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language*, 408. Helffer points out that she especially likes this way of subdividing the beats in the *Ge sar* Epic rather than the aforementioned way, since it conforms with the execution of the song. See Mireille Helffer, *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge sar d'après le livre de la Course de cheval: version chantée de Blo bzang bstan 'jin*, Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IVe section de l'École pratique des hautes études. II. Hautes études orientales, 9 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1977), 428. (Henceforth referred to as *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge sar*.)

<sup>35</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 496, where he provides examples.

The four syllables at the beginning of the line of verse are separately read in pairs and the following three are joined together.....

Although Don grub rgyal's description is broader, the description of this form as two disyllabic feet followed by a trisyllabic one fits the specific features of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Mgur* V-16, part of which I quote here:

ལྷུ་བའི་ བསྐྱེད་ མཇལ་དུས་འདིར། །  
 དམ་ཚུལ་ ཉམས་སུ་ མ་སྒྲུབ་ན། །  
 འཛིམ་པ་<sup>36</sup> འགྲོད་དོ་ ཤེས་ལྡན་ཚ། །

མཛེས་ཤིང་ འཇམ་པའི་ གཟུགས་སྤང་འདི། །  
 ཉག་དུ་ གནས་པར་ རེ་ན་ཡང་། །  
 ཁོང་རུལ་ སྤང་པོ་ ཇི་བཞིན་དུ། །  
 ལྷུར་དུ་ འགྲོའོ་ ཤེས་ལྡན་ཚ། །<sup>37</sup>

It is remarkable that only seven of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* in his *Mgur 'bum* (3%) use this form. It was used by a wide variety of writers, from Sa skya Paṇḍita to Mi la ras pa,<sup>38</sup> and is also the predominant meter in the *Ge sar Epic*.<sup>39</sup> It is the most frequent meter

<sup>36</sup> *khar* ABD; *bar* C.

<sup>37</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 112-13/ 101.

<sup>38</sup> Any reference I make in this book to Mi la ras pa's style is unfortunately only a reference to his style as portrayed in Gtsang smyon's late fifteenth century compilation of Mi la ras pa's *Mgur 'bum*.

<sup>39</sup> For examples of this meter, see Pavel Poucha, "Le vers tibétain," *Archiv Orientální: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute* 18.4 (1950): 192, 194-95, 196-202, 210, 211, and 213-14; and Vekardi, "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody," 223, both of which deal with classical verse; Helffer, *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge sar*, 428, which deals with the *Ge sar* epic; R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises 13 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959), 501-504, which deals with the *Ge sar* epic and with Mi la ras pa; Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 268-70, and Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language*, 410, which deal with Sa skya Paṇḍita; Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, in which three of the *dohās* are in this meter; Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 470-85, 496, which has examples of this meter from various styles of *mgur*, including an extensive section on Mi la ras pa; and Margret Causemann, ed., trans., *Volksliteratur tibetischer Nomaden; Lieder und Erzählungen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag., 1993), in which most of the songs from Kham use this meter.

in classical Tibetan verse, as the myriad examples in P. Poucha's article, "Le vers tibétain" demonstrate. It is also the one used most often in a collection of nomad songs from Khams collected by M. Causemann.<sup>40</sup> The movement away from predominantly trisyllabic feet in verse ascribed to the *snga dar*, to this entirely new form based on disyllabic units after the "Period of Darkness," was a revolution in itself.

The fact that *Mi la ras pa* was such a major source of inspiration to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho cannot be denied. Therefore it is very curious that only three per cent of the *mgur* in the latter's *Mgur 'bum* employ the meter of *Mi la ras pa*. I can only imagine that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho showed little interest in it because he preferred the meters that he knew would speak directly to the people in his part of Amdo.

$$3 + 2 + 2$$

There is only one *mgur* from Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* (.4%) that illustrates this meter,<sup>41</sup> *Mgur V-2*, from which the following is an excerpt:

ལྷ་མ་དང་	དཀོན་མཆོག་	བློན་ལས།	
མོ་འབྲུག་གི་	ས་ཆ་	གར་ཡང་།	
བཟའ་བདུང་དང་	ལྷོ་གིས་	ཆེད་བྱུང་།	
གར་ཕྱིན་ཡང་	ཕ་ཡུལ་	ཡིན་འདུག།	
 ལྷ་ཆོས་ལ་	 འབད་ལོ་	 བྱས་འདིས།	 
མོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་	འདུན་མ་	འབྲུག་པོ།	

<sup>40</sup> Causemann, *Volksliteratur tibetischer Nomaden: Lieder und Erzählungen*.

<sup>41</sup> Don grub rgyal describes it in his second example in *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 495-96.

མི་ཚས་ལ་      འབད་འབྱངས་ བཏོན་ཀྱང་། །  
 ལྷ་ཚས་ལ་      འབྲུབ་ངེས་    མེད་དོ། <sup>42</sup>

Not only does this *mgur* have a very distinctive meter for Skal ldan rgya mtsho, but it also has highly personal subject matter—how the practice of religion has not been fruitful enough for himself and others.

2 + 3 + 2

The final group of subdivisions of the heptasyllabic line that I will discuss is described by Don grub rgyal as follows:

ཆེག་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་མགོ་མ་གཉིས་དང་གཞུག་མ་གཉིས་སོ་སོར་བྱང་དུ་གྲོག་པ་  
 དང། བར་མ་གསུམ་པོ་ལྟན་དུ་སྒྲུབ་བ་སྟེ་.....<sup>43</sup>

The two syllables at the beginning and the two syllables at the end of a verse-line are individually read as pairs, and the middle three are joined together....

The following is an excerpt from *Mgur* VII-17, illustrating what Skal ldan rgya mtsho does with this very unusual meter that he uses in only 1% of the *Mgur 'bum*:

ཇོན་པ་      ཁྱི་ཁྱིད་ནི་      སླེབས་<sup>44</sup>བྱང་། །  
 འག་བ་      སྒྲིག་པོ་ནི་      འབྲོས་ས། །  
 ཇེ་རི་      མཐོན་པོ་ནི་      བཟང་ངོ། །  
  
 ང་རྒྱལ་      སིང་གེ་ནི་      སླེབས་<sup>45</sup>བྱང་། །  
 ཡོན་ཏན་      རི་བོང་ནི་      འབྲོས་ས། །  
 ཁྱིངས་སྒྱུངས་<sup>46</sup> བྲག་ཕྱག་ནི་      བཟང་ངོ། <sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 90/ 81.

<sup>43</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 496.

<sup>44</sup> *slebs* CD; *sleb* AB.

<sup>45</sup> *slebs* CD; *sleb* AB.

<sup>46</sup> *khengs* BCD; *kheng* A; *skyungs* ACD; *bskyungs* B.

<sup>47</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 160/ 142.



He completes the middle foot consistently with the particle *ni*, a real anomaly. On the one hand, his use of *ni* is a throwback to its use to complete trisyllabic feet in verse ascribed to the *snga dar*. On the other hand, the use of *ni* in a hexasyllabic line is not found in any known verses of that period with the same number of syllables per line.

Here is another example of the same meter, the homage to Mgur X-9:

འཕགས་པ་      གྲུ་ལྷུ་འཁྱེ་      ཡབ་སྲས། །  
 མཉམ་མེད་      སློ་བཟང་གི་      འགས་པ། །  
 སློ་བཟང་      ཚས་ཀྱི་ནི་      རྒྱལ་མཚན། །  
 གསོལ་བ་      སྤང་ནས་རང་      འདིབས་སོ། །  
 ཐུགས་ཐེའི་      ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་      རྟོངས་ཤིག།<sup>48</sup>

It seems as if Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is trying hard to experiment with this meter, because the first four lines are essentially three disyllabic feet with an unnecessary particle thrown in (*ni* or genitive) to make up the extra beat. The fifth line above is more successful.

I have no further information about this meter, and perhaps other poets found it as hard to use as Skäl Idan rgya mtsho did.<sup>49</sup>

### *Eight Syllables per Line*

The distribution of *mgur* over the range of various numbers of syllables per line and their subdivisions can be seen in the table below, arranged in descending order of frequency:

<sup>48</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 223/ 196.

<sup>49</sup> Yet another possible way to subdivide a seven syllable line is with a catalexis in its first foot. *Bod kyi la gzhas gzhon nu 'gugs pa'i lcags kyu* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987) is a large collection of *la gzhas* from Amdo. Many of the *la gzhas* there use this meter, often in the form 1 + 2 + 2 + 2. It is interesting that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho does not use it. However, he does use another eight syllable pattern found in this collection, 1 + 2 + 2 + 3, which will be discussed shortly.

Same number of syllables per line  
94.5%

Syllables per line	Subdivisions	Number of <i>mgur</i>	Percentage of total
8	1 + 2 + 2 + 3	137	54%
8	3 + 2 + 3	34	13%
9	2 + 2 + 2 + 3	26	10%
6	2 + 2 + 2	13	5%
8	2 + 2 + 2 + 2	10	4%
7	2 + 2 + 3	6 or 7	3%
7	2 + 3 + 2	3	1%
5	3 + 2	2	.8%
8	2 + 3 + 3	1	.4%
8	2 + 1 + 2 + 3	1	.4%
4	2 + 2 and 4	1	.4%
7	3 + 2 + 2	1	.4%
10	2 + 3 + 2 + 3	1	.4%
10	2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2	1	.4%

Clearly, the eight-syllable line is the favored one, and the first two examples above together comprise 67% of all of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum*. Most favored is the first meter listed above, which is used at least four times as often, and usually vastly more often, than any other meter employed by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho.

1 + 2 + 2 + 3

Here is an example from *Mgur* IV-1d, from Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's conversations with the bees:

ངས་ཀྱི་མ་བརྒྱུ་ཡི་ཞལ་མཐོང་ཡང་། །

ཚོས་དེ་ལས་ཟབ་པ་ངས་མ་ཐོས། །

བྱིད་བདེན་ནོ་བདེན་ནོ་སྤང་མ་བདེན། །  
 ད་མི་མགོ་མི་སྐྱར་གཅིག་ཡུར་སྤོ། །<sup>50</sup>

While scholars have disagreed about how to classify two strong beats together<sup>51</sup> (such as the first two syllables in each line above), they have frequently found the phenomenon something to remark upon. Don grub rgyal refers to a catalexis at the beginning of a verse line in the following ways:

ཆོག་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་མགོ་མ་རྟམས་ཁེར་རྒྱུད་དུ་གཅོད་པ་ .....<sup>52</sup>

and

ཆོག་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་གི་ཡི་གེ་དང་པོ་རྟམས་ཁེར་རྒྱུད་དུ་གཅོད་པ་ .....<sup>53</sup>

The syllables at the beginning of the lines are cut off by themselves.

Isolating the first syllable renders my divisions of the excerpt above as follows:

ངས་	སྤང་མ་	བརྒྱུ་ཡི་	ཞལ་མ་ཐོང་ཡང་། །
ཆོས་	དེ་ལས་	ཟབ་པ་	ངས་མ་ཐོས། །
བྱིད་	བདེན་ནོ་	བདེན་ནོ་	སྤང་མ་བདེན། །
ད་	མི་མགོ་	མི་སྐྱར་	གཅིག་ཡུར་སྤོ། །

<sup>50</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 67/ 60.

<sup>51</sup> Beyer gives numerous examples of catalexis in *The Classical Tibetan Language*, 414-17. See especially p. 414, since his examples (from *Mi la ras pa* and *Pad ma dkar po*) involve the very meter I am describing above.

Vekerdī would not recognize that the first syllable is an incomplete foot since it is “an integral part of the line,” and calls the meter 3 + 2 + 3. See Vekerdī, “Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody,” 230.

Helffer comments that experts (Roerich, 1952, 14 and Vekerdī) do not agree about this point in *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge sar*, 427.

Sørensen seems to describe the above meter as consisting of “an initial metrically weak (unaccented) syllable (*ya gcig*), followed by ....three and a half trochaic feet (*cha gsum dang ya gcig*).” Why he thinks of the first syllable as “metrically weak” is not clear. See Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 14.

<sup>52</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 496.

<sup>53</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 500.

While the meter above seems related visually to the meter containing three and a half feet, it must have quite a different feel when sung or heard because of the strong first beat.

How can we explain Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's extensive use of this meter? What follows is a possible response to this query. I will turn directly to a type of folksong called the "*glu*" (or "*dmangs glu*")<sup>54</sup> because it often has eight syllables per line<sup>55</sup> in the very meter discussed above, and has been popular in Amdo.<sup>56</sup> Don grub rgyal's example of a *glu* is based on the meter 1 + 2 + 2 + 3, the first line being a variant. The divisions are mine:

འབྲུག་སིང་སིང་སིང་ཞིག་	དགུང་ནས་གྲགས།	
ཆར་	བསིལ་མ་	འབབ་པའི་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
ངས་	ཡང་ཡང་	གྲགས་པའི་ རྟོན་ལམ་འདིབས།
གུ་སིང་སིང་སིང་ཞིག་	ནགས་ནས་གྲགས།	
ནགས་	སིལ་དྲིག་	ཟ་བའི་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
ངས་	ཡང་ཡང་	གྲགས་པའི་ རྟོན་ལམ་འདིབས།
སྐུ་སིང་སིང་སིང་ཞིག་	ཁྲོམ་ནས་སྐྱངས།	
ཆང་	བདུད་རྩི་	འཐུང་གི་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
ངས་	ཡང་ཡང་	འཐུང་གི་ རྟོན་ལམ་འདིབས།
ཞེས་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ། <sup>57</sup>		

Concerning the *glu* Sørensen writes the following:

The designation *glu* is the most common term for folksongs throughout Tibet and is applicable to a variety of special sub-types of songs. But the term is in particular used in mDo smad, i.e. Kham of East-Tibet as the prevailing term for songs of folk origin..... The texts (*glu tshig*) of *glu* songs are sung or recited in

<sup>54</sup> The *glu* is a major branch of Tibetan folksongs; another one is the *gzhas*, already discussed. See Namkhai Norbu, "Musical Tradition of the Tibetan People: Songs in Dance Measure," 207-8; and Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 18.

<sup>55</sup> Sørensen says that they have five to nine syllables per line. See *Divinity Secularized*, 18. But the examples that Don grub rgyal shows have seven or eight.

<sup>56</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 18. This meter is also sometimes found in classical Tibetan verse. See, for example, Poucha, "Le vers tibétain" (1950): 214-15.

<sup>57</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 335.

connection with major festivals and ceremonies..... such as in connection with public religious gatherings (*chos glu*), nuptial ceremonies...., at sportive horse-racing ....dancing...., picnic..... or at occasions such as public or private entertainment .....and parties where e.g. drinking songs (*chang glu*) are sung, etc.<sup>58</sup>

Namkhai Norbu tells us that the *glu* has seven or eight syllables per line, and that it is sung “by horsemen, or two-sided singing contest, or debate.”<sup>59</sup>

Don grub rgyal writes that a form of the *glu* called the *glu shogs* was very widespread in Amdo. His example again uses the meter we are discussing. Again, the divisions are my own:

ང་	ལུག་ཇི	ཐང་ན་	ཡོད་ཡོད་ལ།	།
ཐུང་	དར་མ་	ཀན་ཚོའི་	ངར་ལ་ལྟུང་།	།
ང་	ལུག་ཇི	ཐང་ན་	མིད་ཀྱི་ན།	།
དེས་	མ་གན་	འགའ་རེ་	གསོད་ཅིས་རེད།	།
ང་	ཐུ་བ་	ཁྲོམ་ན་	ཡོད་ཡོད་ལ།	།
ཡང་	ཐུག་ལབ་	ཀན་ཚོའི་	ངར་ལ་ལྟུང་།	<sup>60</sup>
ང་	ཐུ་བ་	ཁྲོམ་ན་	མིད་ཀྱི་ན།	།
དེས་	ཐུ་གགས་	འགའ་རེ་	ལེན་ཅིས་རེད།	།
ཅེས་པ་ལྟ་བུ།..... <sup>61</sup>				

Concerning the *glu shags*, Sørensen writes:

As a pendant to the Central Tibetan *tshig rgyag* type of repartee song, this East Tibetan *glu shags* type of song is an extremely popular form of alternate sarcastic songs aiming at teasing (*glu shags rgyag pa*) a counterpart with words, often traded in regular song competition on wits, as e.g. a mating banter between the two sexes or as a bout of social criticism. These

<sup>58</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 18.

<sup>59</sup> Namkhai Norbu, “Musical Tradition of the Tibetan People: Songs in Dance Measure,” 207.

<sup>60</sup> I am reading *ltos* here, as in the stanza above, after consultation with the Rong bo scholar Blo bzang chos grags.

<sup>61</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 335-36.

songs evince a metrical structure identical to the cognate *glu* of which it may also be considered a sub-type.<sup>62</sup>

Don grub rgyal provides us with two examples of a subtype of *glu* called the *la gzhas*, a genre of song that I will discuss in Chapter 8 with regard to stanza patterns. The first has seven beats per line and is in the meter 1 + 2 + 2 + 2. I quote the second below, with my divisions. It has the meter we are discussing, 1 + 2 + 2 + 3:

ཁྱེད་	གོས་ཆེན་	གོ་ <sup>63</sup> བ་	མིང་ཆེ་གི།
ང་	དངུལ་དཀར་	ཕྱོག་གུ་	འབྲུ་ཆུང་གི།
འབྲུ་	ཆུང་རུང་	ཕྱོག་གུ་	ཕྱོགས་དགོས་གི།
ཕྱོགས་	ཟིན་ན་	བསེར་བྱ་	ཁྱོད་དགོས་གི།
ཁྱེད་	མ་བཟང་	བྱ་མོ་	ཁྱིང་ཆེ་གི།
ང་	ཕ་བཟང་	བྱི་ལི་	དོན་ཆུང་གི།
དོན་	ཆུང་རུང་	འོགས་ལ་	ཅི་དགོས་གི།
ཅི་	བཏང་ན་	ང་མ་	ཁྱོད་དགོས་གི།
ཞེས་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ། <sup>64</sup>			

Sørensen also tells us about the *la gzhas*:

The mountain songs or rather ‘pass-songs’ (*la gzhas*) are also designated *ri glu*. This East Tibetan type is in fact the form used for what we may call love songs. The lyrics is exclusively devoted the usual themes of love between man and woman. The lyrics is full of amorous sentiments exchanged between lovers (*rogs dran pa*), on mutual harmony (*zhe mthun pa*), on recollection of the lover (*rogs dran pa*) as well as theme on lovelornness when being separated (*kha bral ba*) etc.<sup>65</sup>

*Bod kyi la gzhas gzhon nu 'gugs pa'i lcags kyu* is a large collection of *la gzhas* from Amdo. While the majority of meters in this

<sup>62</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 18.

<sup>63</sup> I am reading *gong* instead of *go* here, after consulting with Blo bzang chos grags—(*gong ba* = collar).

<sup>64</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 337.

<sup>65</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 19.

collection are seven syllables with a catalexis, 1 + 2 + 2 + 2, there are also frequent examples of the related eight-syllable meter, 1 + 2 + 2 + 3.

Besides having similarities in general to the *glu* and especially to various of the sub-types of *glu* such as the *glu gshags* and the *la gzhas*, the songs of Skal ldan rgya mtsho in this meter resemble some nomad songs. While the bulk of songs in Causemann's collection have a meter of 2 + 2 + 3, some also have the very meter we have been discussing.<sup>66</sup>

### 3 + 2 + 3

Though only used a fourth as much as the meter 1 + 2 + 2 + 3, this is the second most widely used meter by Skal ldan rgya mtsho. Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* VI-4 with my subdivisions:

སྒྲ་མ་ལ'	གདམས་ངག'	གང་འདོད་ཞུས།	
གདམས་ངག་གིས'	གཞན་ལ'	ཕན་ཡང་བདགས།	
རང་ཉིད་ལ'	ཉམས་ཚྭགས'	མ་གར་ཡང་།	
དབེན་གནས་སྟུ'	སེམས་ལ'	ལྟད་མོ་བལྟས།	<sup>67</sup>

This meter is found in classical Tibetan verse,<sup>68</sup> where it is the most frequent example of a meter that begins with a trisyllabic foot.<sup>69</sup> But it was by no means confined to classical verse, as evidenced by examples found in the *mgur* attributed to Mi la ras pa.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Causemann, *Vollsliteratur tibetischer Nomaden: Lieder und Erzählungen*.

<sup>67</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 127/ 113.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Poucha, "Le vers tibétain" (1950): 210.

<sup>69</sup> Vekardi, "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody," 230.

<sup>70</sup> Beyer gives examples of the usage of meter 3 + 2 + 3, in which Mi la ras pa combines it with another meter. See *The Classical Tibetan Language*, 418.

$$2 + 2 + 2 + 2$$

Only ten *mgur* in Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* (4%) use this meter. Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-8, which we will examine in my section on interjections:

འོ་འོ་	ཕ་གོད་	སྒོ་བཟང་	གྲགས་པ། །
ཨ་འུ་	གདན་གྱི་	སྐྱབས་གནས་	ཡིན་ཡ། །
ཁོ་རེ་	སྦྱང་ནས་	གུས་པས་	འདྲད་དང་། །
ཉི་ཉི་	སྒོ་བདེ་	དཔལ་ཡིན་	ཞི་གོ། །
ཡ་ཡི་	ཡ་ཡི། །		
འོ་འོ་	བྱང་ཆུབ་	ལམ་གྱི་	རིམ་པ། །
ཨ་འུ་	ཆོས་ཀྱི་	ཉིང་ཁྱ་	ཡིན་ཡ། །
ཁོ་རེ་	ཆུལ་བཞིན་	ཉམས་སུ་	འོངས་དང་། །
ཉི་ཉི་	སྒོ་བདེ་	དཔལ་ཡིན་	ཞི་གོ། །
ཡ་ཡི་	ཡ་ཡི། ། <sup>71</sup>		

This is an unusual meter, and it is probably no accident that Skal Idan rgya mtsho used it for a very unusual song.

$$2 + 3 + 3$$

Only one *mgur* of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's (.4%) uses this meter. Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* XII-8:

དམ་པའི་	ལྷ་ཆོས་ལ་	ཉིན་མཚན་དུ། །
བཙོན་འགྲུས་	བགྱིད་པ་རུ་	སྒྲ་མ་མཁྱིན། །
མི་རྟག་	འཆི་བ་ནི་	བང་རེ་མགྲོགས། །
ངན་སྲིང་	སྐྱུག་བསྐྱུལ་འདི་	གཏིང་རེ་ཟབ། ། <sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 77/ 69.

<sup>72</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 303/ 269.



$$2 + 1 + 2 + 3$$

Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* VI-7, which is translated in full in the appendix. This unusual meter occurs only once in the *Mgur 'bum*.

ཤེས་རབ་	ཁྱོད་	ཉལ་ནས་	འདུག་ཡོད་དམ། །
འདོད་ཆགས་	ཁོ་	སྐྱེ་སྤྱོད་	ཇི་ཅིང་རེད། །
མི་སྤྲུག་	ཁྱོད་	གང་གི་	འདམ་དུ་འབྱེལ། །
ཞེ་ཕྱང་	ཁོ་	སྐྱེ་བཞིན་	ཇི་ཅི་རེད། །
བྱམས་པ་	ཁྱོད་	ས་ཆ་	གང་དུ་བློས། །
ང་གྱུ་	ཁོ་	ང་རྒྱན་	ཇི་ཅི་རེད། ། <sup>73</sup>

### *Nine Syllables per Line*

$$2 + 2 + 2 + 3$$

Twenty-six *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* (10%) use this meter. Here is an excerpt from the opening *mgur*, I-1, a large eulogy to the Buddha, his Indian successors, and the Bka' gdams pa and Dge lugs pa lamas:

བསྟན་པའི་	བདག་པོ་	སྟོན་པ་	སངས་རྒྱས་དང་། །
རྒྱལ་བ་	བྱམས་མགོན་	ཐོགས་མེད་	དབྱིག་གི་གཉེན། །
འཕགས་པ་	སྤྱོད་སྤེལ་	བཙུན་པ་	ནཱ་སྤྱོད་སྤེལ། །
གསོལ་བ་	འདེབས་སོ་	ཐུགས་རྒྱུ་	ལྷགས་ཀྱིས་བྱངས། ། <sup>74</sup>

This meter was extremely prominent in classical Tibetan verse, second only to the seven beat  $2 + 2 + 3$ . For this reason, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho surely used it intentionally for almost all the homages to the people he admired extensively,<sup>75</sup> and for the final *mgur* in the collection. These *mgur* show other influences from classical verse as well.

<sup>73</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 130/ 115-16.

<sup>74</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 1/ 1. Larger subdivisions could be construed here as well, such as 4 + 5.

<sup>75</sup> I will discuss this group of songs in Chapter 8, in terms of quatrains.

On the other hand, Skal Idan rgya mtsho also used this meter in another way, as exemplified by this excerpt from *Mgur* III-1:

ཟས་ནོར་ བསོད་ནམས་ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ བར་ཆད་ཡིན། །  
 འདོད་རྒྱུད་ ཆོག་ཤེས་ གྱིས་དང་ རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །  
 སྒྲིགས་ངན་ བསྐྱེན་ན་ རང་ཡང་ རིང་ན་འགྲོ། །  
 ཉག་ཏུ་ གཅིག་ཤུར་ སྒྲོད་དང་ རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །<sup>76</sup>

Disyllabic meters with an odd number of syllables per line were frequently used to make Tibetan translations of the Indian siddhas' mystic songs, the *dohās*, that I have already discussed. In particular, the very meter portrayed above seems to have been popular,<sup>77</sup> so it makes sense that Skal Idan rgya mtsho would have chosen it to sing of the benefits of renunciation and solitude.

### *Ten Syllables per Line*

I will show two meters here, each of which is found in only one *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* (.4% each).

$$2 + 3 + 2 + 3$$

*Mgur* XII-18 has this meter:

སྒྲི་མ་ སངས་རྒྱས་དེ་ འབྲལ་མེད་ སྤྱི་བོར་བཞུགས། །  
 བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ དངོས་གྲུབ་དེ་ ད་ལྟ་ རང་ནས་སྦྱོལ། །

<sup>76</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 33/ 30.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, for translations by the late thirteenth century Yar klungs lo tsā ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1242–1346) from Old Bengali, and/or other old Indian dialects, into Tibetan. Over half of the 47 *dohās* in the collection have the meter I am discussing. The predominant meters (with some variations of subdivision) of all the songs are disyllabic and have an odd number of syllables per line:

26 are in predominantly 4 1/2 feet,  
 8 are in predominantly 5 1/2 feet,  
 1 is in predominantly 6 1/2 feet,  
 4 are in predominantly 3 1/2 feet, and  
 8 are variable, though still usually disyllabic.

སྒྲིབ་ལྟ་སྒྲིབ་      བཀྲོད་སྒྲིབ་      སྒྲིབ་སྒྲིབ་      ཟུག་མི་བཟང་། །  
 བཟོན་འབྲུག་      མུ་མུ་དེ་      དེང་ནས་      མུ་མི་བཟོད། །<sup>78</sup>

After this introduction, the song reverts to several unusually long sentences, which are long lists of reasons why Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is telling himself that he should help others through good discourse. The lengths of each line accentuate the length of the sentences, and the unusual features of the sentence lengths and the meter go hand in hand.

2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2

Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* XII-20:

དམ་ཚུ་      བང་ཡིན་      མི་ཤེས་      ཚུ་དཔོན་      སྒྲིབ་  
 ཚུ་དང་      ཞི་མུ་      སྒྲིབ་མུ་      སྒྲིབ་སྒྲིབ་      བཟོན་ནས། །  
 ཕར་བཟོད་      ཡང་ཡང་      ལུ་ལྷོ་      སྒྲིབ་སྒྲིབ་      བྱེད་པའི། །  
 ཚུ་བཟོད་      འདི་ལ་      སྒྲིབ་ཚུ་      མི་བཟོད་      བར་ཞུ། །<sup>79</sup>

The heaviness of the length of the lines and the regularity of the strong accents further emphasize Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's displeasure at the oppressive problems that he sees.

In this chapter, I have shown that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho employed a wide variety of meters in singing his *mgur*. On the one hand, we have seen that he is skilled in one of the traditional meters of classical Tibetan monastic verse (2 + 2 + 2 + 3), which he uses for such formal topics as eulogies. On the other, most of his meters are those found in folk songs.

The fact that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses classical meters<sup>80</sup> in only 13% of the *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum*, shows a preponderance of folk influence. He may well have sung his *mgur* in folk melodies, a

<sup>78</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 320/ 284.

<sup>79</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 322/ 286.

<sup>80</sup> Here I am including 2 + 2 + 3 (which 3% of his *mgur* employ), also a frequently used meter in classical Tibetan verse, second to the one listed above. But once again I caution the reader that this meter was not exclusive to classical prosody, and was also used extensively by Mi la ras pa.

hypothesis which I will explore further in my coda on how his *mgur* are sung today. But first I will continue to examine aspects of his style by turning to his use of stanza patterns.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### STANZA PATTERNS

Now that we have looked at Skal ldan rgya mtsho's use of metrics, I will turn to another form of rhythm found in verse, stanza patterns. Like metrics, these also play a pivotal role in the structure of a *mgur* and in the formation of its character, since syntax and sentence lengths are dependent upon them. The notion of stanza (*sho lo ka*) clearly exists in Tibet.<sup>1</sup> But in a Tibetan text, since lines of verse just follow one another as they fit across the page, stanza patterns are not immediately perceptible the way meters are. It is sometimes necessary to read a *mgur* carefully in order to group the lines into stanzas, giving each stanza a distinct idea, and the groupings can be arbitrary when the stanza patterns are irregular. At other times there are repetitions in corresponding places from stanza to stanza, or stanza external repetition, that allow one to identify the stanza patterns definitively and quickly. The notion of stanza has not been dealt with in detail by most Western theorists,<sup>2</sup> exceptions being P. Poucha, who made an inquiry into stanza in Tibetan classical verse, and a number of ethnomusicologists, who have studied stanzas in relation to popular song. Their interest is sparked by the frequent coexistence of repetition or variation of a melody (and sometimes a sequence of dance steps) with regular stanza lengths.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Don grub rgyal makes frequent references to *sho lo ka* (Tibetanized version of Sanskrit, *śloka*). For instance, *sho lo ka gcig la tshig rkang drug yod de....*, "The stanza which has six lines....." See *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 433. In the course of his description of *mgur*, he gives examples of stanzas with various numbers of lines.

<sup>2</sup> P. Poucha has gone to length to show examples of various numbers of syllables per line in stanzas consisting of various numbers of lines (two through nine), and has ranked them according to frequency. See Pavel Poucha, "Le vers tibétain," (1950): 235 and "Le vers tibétain," *Archiv Orientální: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute* 22.4 (1954): 578.

The quatrain has received the most attention. For what some Western analysts have written about the quatrain, please see footnote 17.

<sup>3</sup> Giuseppe Tucci, comp., trans., *Tibetan Folk Songs from Gyantse and Western Tibet*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1966), 16; Peter Crossley-Holland, "Form and Style in Tibetan Folksong Melody," in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks-und-Völker-Kunde*, ed. Fritz Bose (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1967), 12; and Helffer, *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge sar*, 450-59.

Many of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* do not have a regular number of lines per sentence and are written in free form, in which there is no attempt to create a feeling of the pulse or rhythm in the number of lines from stanza to stanza. Besides those written in free form, at least a quarter of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs have stanzas that form patterns from five to two lines,<sup>4</sup> and it is these that I will examine below. The extent to which he used different stanza lengths varied greatly. He tended to use some of the forms in particular ways, and what's more, he sometimes chose a particular form for the particular type of statement he wanted to make.

In this chapter, I will show examples of poems whose stanza lengths form particular patterns, many of which exhibit stanza external repetition. I shall emphasize the repetitions by formatting them in bold, so that the reader can quickly see what syllables are repeated in the same positions within stanzas, both in the Tibetan verses and their translations. Unusual stanza lengths are often accompanied by other unique features of style and/or theme. This leads me to hypothesize that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho was not only experimenting with unusual stanza lengths but also with discrete ways of writing songs. The variety of his *mgur* in this regard is yet another demonstration of the enthusiasm and ability that enabled him to write in many styles.

### *Stanzas of Four Lines*

Among the *mgur* that I have identified as exhibiting some pattern of stanza, over half of them have four lines, or predominately four lines, for every stanza. *Mgur* XI-15 is an example of such a *mgur*, and I quote an excerpt from it below:

རྫོག་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟུ། །  
ཡིད་ཆེས་གྱི་དད་པས་མི་བསྟེན་པར། །

<sup>4</sup> It is beyond the scope of my book to provide exact percentages of his songs that are written in these respective ways, since it would involve a careful reading of every song in the *Mgur 'bum*.

བྱིན་ལྷགས་དང་ཡིན་ཏན་རེ་བ་དེ། །

ས་བོན་ནི་མེད་པའི་ལོ་ཐོག་<sup>5</sup>འབྲ། །

དལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་མི་ལུས་ཐོབ་དུས་འདིར། །

དམ་ཚུལ་གྱིས་སྤྲོད་པོ་མི་ལེན་པ། །

རིན་ཆེན་གྱི་སྤྲོད་སྲོང་ཚོང་པ་ནམས། །

ལག་སྤྲོད་དུ་རང་ཡུལ་འབྲོ་དང་འབྲ། །<sup>6</sup>

etc.

The hope of blessings and qualities  
Without relying with the faith of belief  
On a benevolent lama and the Buddha  
**Is like** a crop which has no seeds.

Not receiving the essence through the holy religion  
In this time of obtaining a human body of leisure support  
**Is like** merchants who had gone to an island of jewels  
Going [back] to their homeland empty-handed.  
etc.

In the above verses, the sentences are all the same length and the finite verb '*dra*, "to be like," is repeated at the end of the fourth line. These consistencies complement the succession of discrete ideas, each involving a comparison, and further emphasize the four-line pulse.

Like the example above, many of the *mgur* that have strict or near strict sentence lengths of four lines have some repetition from stanza to stanza. This may range from the repetition of a word or words in corresponding lines to the repetition of whole lines. *Mgur* VII-3 shows more extensive repetition than the example above, its repetition involving three lines for every stanza:

སྤྲོད་པ་ཁོ་བོ་སྤྲོད་ས། །

རི་སྤུལ་བྲག་ཕུག་སྤྲོད་པ། །

<sup>5</sup> *thog* AB; *tog* CD.

<sup>6</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 271/ 240.

དེང་སང་བྲ་བྱིས་འཕྲོག་པའི། །  
 རྩལ་འདིས་སྤང་བ་སྟོབ། །  
 སྒྲིམ་པ་ཁོ་ལོ་འཆག་ས། །  
 ཡིད་འོང་སྤང་ཁྱེད་ས་ཉམས་དགའ། །  
 དེང་སང་ཨི་དྲགས་རྒྱམས་ཀྱིས། །  
 བརྒྱུང་བས་སྤང་བ་སྟོབ། །<sup>9</sup>  
 etc.

**Because the sites where I, the one in contemplation,**  
 dwell,  
 Empty caves in mountains,  
**These days** have been deprived  
 Because of the marmots and rats—**Oh sorrow!**

**Because the sites which I, the one in contemplation,** tread,  
 Engaging, cheerful grassy meadows,  
**These days** have been taken over  
 By the wild animals—**Oh sorrow!**  
 etc.

Such extensive repetition continues throughout the poem, and further emphasizes the regularity of four-line units, each expressing some loss Skäl Idan rgya mtsho notices about his retreats and how he feels about it. Listening to a song like this, once one recognizes what is the same from stanza to stanza, what is different seems more dramatic. And the way a singer fills in the blank spots, while still maintaining the stanzaic framework and meter and expressing something meaningful, often ad libbing, adds great charm to a *mgur*.

Interestingly, from among the five forms of Ladakhi songs that A. H. Francke collected towards the turn of the twentieth century in Ladakh, it is the dance songs that have patterns of repetition, which he calls “parallelism” or “rhyme of sentence” and describes as “two or more sentences .....constructed accordingly, and in the

<sup>7</sup> 'chag CD; chags A; 'chags B.

<sup>8</sup> kyis ABC; tshogs D.

<sup>9</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 139-40/ 123-24.



corresponding places different words are inserted.”<sup>10</sup> This is exactly the way in which Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses repetition.

Such repetition also occurs plentifully in the *la gzhas*, or mountain songs of eastern Tibet. Here is just one example, with the words that are repeated from stanza to stanza formatted in bold:

མཁའ་ལྷ་ཁང་གསེར་ཕྱ་པད་རྒྱན་ཅན། །  
 དེའི་ནང་ན་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་རྟེན་གསུམ་བཞུགས། །  
 བྱ་མང་མ་སེམས་རྩེ་ཇི་སྦྱིད་ཤོག །  
 ཆོས་སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡར་དར་ཤོག །  
 སྤྱི་རེ་ལུ་གསེར་གྱི་གུང་<sup>11</sup> ཤིང་ཅན། །  
 དེའི་ནང་ལ་མ་སྤྱི་གཞིས་འཛོན་བཞུགས། །  
 མ་སྤྱི་ཡི་སེམས་རྩེ་ཇི་སྦྱིད་ཤོག །  
 དཀར་འོ་མ་རྒྱན་ཆད་མཛད་པར་ཤོག །<sup>12</sup>

We already discussed *la gzhas* in Chapter 7, where I hypothesized that a meter that Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses frequently (1 + 2 + 2 + 3, precisely the meter here) may have connections with the folksongs in his area.

Mgur VII-5 is an example in which the last two lines are repeated in full:

<sup>10</sup> Francke identifies songs that have this kind of repetition as dance songs, which he says are essentially “unsophisticated” songs that can have either religious or lay themes, and are sung in the local dialect. He gives six examples of them: numbers 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10. See A. H. Francke, *Ladakhi Songs* (Leh: 1899), 12-31.

The importance of the repetition of syllables in the same positions within stanzas in Tibetan verse seems to have been overlooked by almost all other Western writers. L. S. Savitsky writes of its importance in his article “Secular Lyrical Poetry in Tibet: Works of Tsangjang-jamtsho (1683–1706),” in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Korös Memorial Symposium*, ed. Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 407. (Henceforth referred to as “Secular Lyrical Poetry in Tibet.”) Yet he does not deal with repetition from stanza to stanza, as each quatrain of the Sixth Dalai Lama stands by itself. P. van Heurck’s treatment of repetition is also confined to repetitions within a single stanza, as he is also analyzing the poems of the Sixth Dalai Lama. See Philippe van Heurck, *Chants attribués à Tsang Yang Gyatso, sixième Dalai Lama* (Rikon-Zürich: Tibet-Institut, 1984).

<sup>11</sup> This may be a misprint for *gur*, according to the Rong bo scholar Blo bzang chos grags.

<sup>12</sup> Spen pa Chos grags, comp., *Sde dge'i dmangs glu* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 6.

མྱོན་ལྷ་མ་བཞུགས་དུས་དང་པ་མེད། །  
 ད་དང་པ་སྐྱེས་ཆེ་ལྷ་མ་<sup>13</sup> བྱོན། །  
 དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་འཇོམ་པའི་དུས་མ་བྱུང་། །  
 བདག་འདི་རྩ་མི་སྤྲོད་རིལ་འགྲོ། །  
 མྱོན་ཆོས་མི་ཤེས་དུས་ཉམས་ལེན་འདོད། །  
 ད་དམ་ཆོས་ཤེས་ཆེ་ཉམས་ལེན་བཞིན། །  
 དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་འཇོམ་པའི་དུས་མ་བྱུང་། །  
 བདག་འདི་རྩ་མི་སྤྲོད་རིལ་འགྲོ། <sup>14</sup>  
 etc.

**Before, when** the lama lived, [I] had no faith.

**Now at the time that** faith has been born, a lama has  
not appeared.

**The time of those two coming together has not occurred.**

**I won't stay here. [I]'m going to the mountains.**

**Before, when** [I] didn't understand religion, [I] wanted to  
practice it.

**Now at the time that** [I] understand religion, [I] have forgotten  
to practice it.

**The time of those two coming together has not occurred.**

**I won't stay here. [I]'m going to the mountains.**

etc.

Each stanza in this *mgur* includes a couplet in which a comparison is drawn between before and now, followed by a couplet in which Skäl Idan rgya mtsho states his intention to get out of his present regrettable situation and go to the mountains.

In the example cited above, the repetition of full lines comes at the end of each stanza. While this format is more frequent, in some cases the repeated line comes at the beginning of each stanza. *Mgur* IV-1c, which I discussed in Chapter 6, is an example of this. In the segment I quote below, bees are contesting what Skäl Idan rgya mtsho said of them (that their human speech was a bad omen). They repeat it back

<sup>13</sup> *bla ma ma byon*, against all readings in ABCD: *bla ma byon*.

<sup>14</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 142-43/ 126.

to him before describing each instance of what they consider really bad omens:

སྤང་མ་མི་སྐད་སྒྲུབ་ལྟས་ངན་མིན། །  
 མཁན་སྒྲོབ་སྒྲུན་ལྟར་རབ་དུ་ལེགས་བྱང་ནས། །  
 ཉག་ཆང་དམག་ཇག་ལ་སོགས་བྱིད་པ་ཡི། །  
 དག་སྤང་དག་ཚུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྟས་ངན་ཡིན། །

སྤང་མ་མི་སྐད་སྒྲུབ་ལྟས་ངན་མིན། །  
 དང་པོར་བྱུལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་ལེགས་བྱང་ས་ནས། །  
 བར་དུ་ཆོས་བཅོངས་གཞན་གྱི་ཞོར་ལེན་པའི། །  
 སྤང་ཆོག་མཁས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྟས་ངན་ཡིན། །<sup>15</sup>  
 etc.

**A bee speaking human language is a bad omen!?**

All the monks and novices who engage in such things as  
 Women and wine, fighting [and] robbery, having renounced  
 samsara well

In front of abbots and presiding masters **are bad omens!**

**A bee speaking human language is a bad omen!?**

All those who at first studied well the Buddha's words  
 And then in the middle who perform village rites and sell religion  
 In order to receive the wealth of others by selling it **are bad  
 omens!**  
 etc.

In the examples cited above, we have seen how repetition decorates the succession of ideas from stanza to stanza. None of these examples uses the popular classical Tibetan meters, and their subject matter seems informal. The *la gzhas*, or mountain songs, themselves are in quatrains and often employ stanza external repetition. I have already remarked on the metric correspondences between the *la gzhas* and Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*.<sup>16</sup> This leads me to

<sup>15</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 66/ 60.

<sup>16</sup> It is well known that a particular type of group of folksongs, the *gzhas* (to be distinguished from the *la gzhas*), consists of quatrains. See Geoffrey Samuel, "Songs of Lhasa," *Ethnomusicology* (1976): 418; Melvyn Goldstein, "Lhasa Street Songs: Political and Social Satire in Traditional Tibet," *The Tibet Journal* 7, nos. 1-2

hypothesize that the likely influence on Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's writing of the verses above was popular song.

But the quatrain has also been the most frequently used stanza form in classical Tibetan verse,<sup>17</sup> where it often has a meter of several trochaic feet followed by one more beat (such as 2 + 2 + 3).<sup>18</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho employed the quatrain in eulogies he wrote for his lineage and for his main teachers. These include the opening homage of the *Mgur 'bum*, and eulogies to Tsong kha pa, Pañ chen thams cad mkyen pa (the first Pañ chen Lama), Mkhas grub Bstan pa dar rgyas (one of his main teachers at Dga' Idan monastery), and Chos pa Rin po che and his past lives. These are usually in the popular classical nine-syllable meter (2 + 2 + 2 + 3). Judging from this list of homages, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho felt that the quatrain used with a classical meter was the correct form to choose when he wanted to express respect toward lamas in a conservative way.<sup>19</sup>

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(1982): 56 (henceforth referred to as "Lhasa Street Songs"); and Marion H. Duncan, *Love Songs and Proverbs of Tibet* (London: The Mitre Press, 1961), 12. The *gzhas*, however, always has the particular meter of 2 + 2 + 2, and since a very low percentage of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* that are in quatrains use this meter, I discount any significant connection between the *gzhas* and his *mgur*.

<sup>17</sup> Poucha, "Le vers tibétain" (1950): 192, 229.

P. Sørensen states the following in *Divinity Secularized*, 13-14:

....in almost all treatises and works translated into canonical Tibetan from Sanskrit and Chinese the four-lined (*tshig rkang bzhi*) iso-syllabic stanza or strophe (the Tibetan śloka ) became the fixed norm in versification (*tshigs bcad*). The most prevalent metrical form was the hepta-syllabic in the śloka-quatrains..... This pattern quickly became the most dominant form and was invariably found in most of the classical and canonical versified literature. The Tibetan translation of the popular aphoristic and proverbial literature, predominantly rendered in seven-syllable..... and nine-syllable meter....., consisted of three (resp. four) and a half feet..... The popularity [of versified moral precepts]....which gained a firm footing in the wake of the writings of Sa skya Pañḍita and his school, exerted a tremendous influence on the later folksong trading by supplying it with a storehouse of proverbs and worldly adages.

According to R. A. Stein, the model for the form rendered so popular through Sa skya Pañḍita's maxims in Tibet (quatrains of seven syllables per line) was a Tibetan translation of a collection of quatrains by Nāgārjuna (*Shes rab sdong bu: Prajñadanda*). See Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 268-70.

<sup>18</sup> While the quatrain with seven syllables per line was the most popular of all, the quatrain with nine syllables per line was second in popularity.

<sup>19</sup> Some of these have repetition as well, often in the entire last line of each quatrain, which may read something like, "I beseech.... Please bless me." See *Mgur* I-5, 10-12/ 9-11.

Hence, Skal Idan rgya mtsho's use of the quatrain was motivated sometimes by folk song and sometimes by classical verse.

The same cannot be said of the influences on Skal Idan rgya mtsho's use of other stanza groups. Examples of less-frequently used two, three and five up through nine lines per stanza are found in classical verse, where they usually have the same meters as the quatrain.<sup>20</sup> But when Skal Idan rgya mtsho uses the two-line, three-line and five-line stanzas (exemplified below), he almost never uses them with the characteristic metric patterns of classical verse. This leads me to hypothesize that his use of those stanza forms is motivated by popular song.

As noted above, only a portion of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* that have regular stanza patterns use the four-line stanza form, which, furthermore, is not exclusively associated with classical Tibetan verse since it is also frequently found in folk songs. Therefore, with regard to stanza patterns (and their interaction with metrics), the vast majority of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* are not written in the classical Tibetan style.

### *Stanzas of Five Lines*

There are several *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* that contain stanzas of strictly five lines each. From among these, IV-3 and IV-7 are closely related in that they share whole lines, variations on lines, and metaphors.<sup>21</sup> Besides having stanza lengths and words and even whole lines in common, they are the only two songs in this meter (3 + 2) in the entire *Mgur 'bum*, as we learned in Chapter 7. The fact that Skal Idan rgya mtsho wrote two songs (and only two songs) that share these elements suggests that he was experimenting with a particular form. At this point, I cannot hypothesize about the type of popular song that influenced him. I quote here an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-3:

<sup>20</sup> Poucha, "Le vers tibétain" (1950): 192-215.

<sup>21</sup> For another example of a *mgur* made up of five-line stanzas, see *Mgur* I-8, 14-16/ 12-14, which is a eulogy to the Dga' Idan lama Mdo rgyud rgya mtsho and his past lives.

ཨོྲ་སྤྲེལ།

དག་སྦྱར་གྱི་མེ་དྲོག།

དད་གུས་གྱི་ཚུ་བོས།།

ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བརྒྱན་ཀྱང་།།

རྣམ་གཡང་གི་སེར་བས།།

དབང་མེད་དུ་བཅོམ་ཡ།།

དག་སེམས་གྱི་ལྷ་བ།།

ལྷང་རིགས་གྱི་རྩོད་ཀྱིས།།

ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བསྐྱངས་ཀྱང་།།

དཀོར་སྤྱོད་གྱི་བ་མོས།།

དབང་མེད་དུ་བྱིར་ཡ།<sup>22</sup>

etc.

*Om sva sti.*

**Although** the flower **of** good behavior  
Was watered **again and again**  
**By** the river **of** faith and respect,  
[It] was **helplessly** vanquished  
**By** the hailstorm **of** laziness. **Hey!**

**Although** the sprouts **of** virtuous thoughts  
Were tended **again and again**  
**By** the warmth **of** scripture and logic,  
[They] were **helplessly** carried away  
**By** the cattle **of** wealth-obscurations. **Hey!**  
etc.

The repetitions appear throughout the entire thirteen stanzas of Mgur IV-3. They work together with other regularities of each stanza—the general meaning, the syntax, the way metaphors are used, the meter of five beats over two feet and the five-line sentence length—to emphasize a backbone, or rhythm, that then allows what is different

<sup>22</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 71/ 64.

to stand out. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's use of metaphors will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Another example which has this stanzaic form is *Mgur* IV-8, which is translated in full in the appendix:

འོ་འོ་ཡ་ཞིང་སྤྱོད་བཟང་གྲགས་པ། ।

མཁུ་གཏན་གྱི་སྤྱབས་གནས་ཡིན་ཡ། ।

ཁོ་རེ་སྤྱིང་ནས་གྲས་པས་འདུད་དང་། ।

ཉི་ཉི་སྤྱོད་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞིག་། ।

ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། ।

འོ་འོ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ། ।

མཁུ་ཚས་ཀྱི་ཉིང་ཁུ་ཡིན་ཡ། ।

ཁོ་རེ་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་ཉམས་སུ་འོངས་དང་། ।

ཉི་ཉི་སྤྱོད་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞིག་། ।

ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། <sup>23</sup>

etc.

**Oh yeah!** Prudent father Blo bzang grags pa  
**Hey you!** is a place of perpetual refuge! **Hey!**  
**Hey!** Bow [to him] with respect from the heart!  
**Ha ha!** The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
**Ya yi ya yi!**

**Oh yeah!** The *Gradual Stages of Enlightenment*  
**Hey you!** is the essence of religion. **Hey!**  
**Hey!** Practice in accordance with [its] manner!  
**Ha ha!** The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
**Ya yi ya yi!**  
 etc.

Throughout the *mgur*, the first sentence extends across two lines, the interjection *ya* (hey you!) punctuating the end. The third line is a sentence in the imperative. The fourth line is a one-line sentence with an interrogative interjection, repeated in full. The fifth line is an

<sup>23</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 77/ 69.

interjection. Skal ldan rgya mtsho's use of interjections will be discussed in Chapter 10.

The appearance of the emphatic line final *ya*, repeated at the end of each stanza, is rare in the *Mgur 'bum* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, where it is used in only four *mgur*, though repeatedly in those select few. It is interesting to note that three out of the four *mgur* in which *ya* appears are precisely those discussed above—*Mgur* IV-3, IV-7 and IV-8—which use the five-line stanza. (*Ya* is also found in *Mgur* VIII-24, which is highly related to *Mgur* IV-8 through the insertion of the same set of sounds into the songs, also discussed in Chapter 10.)

It seems that in most *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* that use stanzas of five lines, a variety of other oddities of style accompany this little-used stanza length. These oddities include a meter exclusively used in this form, interjections of a certain set of sounds that begin the lines (of the *mgur* that use them, one is in this form and one is in the four-line form), and the use of an interjection at the end of a line (three of the four *mgur* that use it appear in this form). Anomalies such as these that suggest that Skal ldan rgya mtsho is not only experimenting with unusual stanza patterns themselves, but associating a pattern with other distinctive features of style as well. It does not seem coincidental that Skal ldan rgya mtsho chose the five-line form for some cases of unique expression among his songs.

### *Stanzas of Three Lines*

In the *Mgur 'bum* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, there are also a few *mgur* made up of stanzas of three lines. I quote an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-9, translated in full in the appendix, as an example of this form:

ཨ་མི་སྒྲ་མ་བཞིན་ཚུལ་འདིལ། །  
 བྱིན་རྒྱབས་དངོས་གྲུབ་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་ལྟོས་དང་གོལ། །  
 ཨ་མི་མི་ཆེ་གཟད་ཚུལ་འདིལ། །  
 ཕྱི་མར་བདེ་འགྲོའི་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 རྒྱུག་ཅན་འཆི་ཀར་ལྟོས་དང་གོལ། །



ཨ་མི་འཆི་བདག་བདུད་<sup>24</sup> ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །

ཆེ་སྲོག་བདུན་པའི་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །

མི་མང་འཆི་ཚུལ་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡ། །<sup>25</sup>

etc.

**Oh my**—this way of relying on a lama

For the benefits of blessings and spiritual powers! **Uh huh!**

**Look at** the pronouncements of the Victorious One, and  
**reconsider it!**

**Oh my**—this way in you have consumed human life

For the purpose of going to happiness in a future life! **Uh huh!**

**Look at** [being at] the point of death with sins, and **reconsider it!**

**Oh my**—this way of having approached the Lord of Death

For the purpose of a stable life! **Uh huh!**

**Look at** how many people die, and **reconsider it!**

etc.

Throughout this *mgur*, the sounds *a me* and *ha ha*<sup>26</sup> frame the very action Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is criticizing and then in the final line of the three-line stanza he gives advice as to what to do instead. It is probable that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho is addressing himself in this highly critical way.

It is interesting to see that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses the verbal ending *ye* exclusively in the *mgur* cited above, IV-9, where it always follows *go*, to understand, and occurs thirteen times.<sup>27</sup>

Mgur V-11, also translated in full in the appendix, is another example of a *mgur* made up almost entirely of three-line sentences with repetition:

<sup>24</sup> *btud* ACD; *btul* B. I have chosen *btud*, the pf. of 'dud, in the sense of *thag je nyer song ba*, through communication with the Rong bo scholar Blo bzang chos grags.

<sup>25</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 79/ 71.

<sup>26</sup> The meanings of *a me* and *ha ha* will also be discussed in my section on interjections in Chapter 10.

<sup>27</sup> The meaning of a related interjection, *e go*, will be discussed in Chapter 10.

དུས་ད་ལྟའི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཡོན་ཏན་ནམས། །

ཐེ་སྤྱི་མའི་དྲིན་དུ་མི་གོ་བའི། །

ཁྱོད་ཚས་བཤད་མཁན་པོ་སྤྱོས་སམ་ཅི། །

ཉིན་ཉིད་དཀའི་མི་ལུས་ཐོབ་དུས་འདིར། །

ཆེ་ཕྱི་མའི་དོན་ཀྱན་སྤྱོས་དོར་བའི། །

ཁྱོད་དཔེ་མང་ལྟ་མཁན་སེམས་མེད་དམ། །

གྲོགས་པལ་ཆེར་འཆི་བ་མཐོང་བཞིན་དུ། །

རང་འཆི་སྐྱམ་མེད་པའི་བསམ་མེད་པོ། །

ཁྱོད་རང་སྤྱིང་རང་ལ་མི་ཐེ་འམ།<sup>28</sup> །<sup>29</sup>

etc.

You don't understand that your present happiness

Is because of the lama's kindness.

**You** master of religious discourses, are you crazy or what?

You have rejected all concerns for a future life

In this time of having obtained a human body, in which acquiring a  
support is difficult.

**You** who have looked at all kinds of books, have you no mind?

You haven't given a thought to [your] lack of thought for your  
own death

While watching the deaths of most of [your] friends.

Should **you** not have pity on your own heart [for being like this]?

etc.

The sole repetition in this *mgur* is of the word *khyod*, you. Here Skaldan rgya mtsho addresses himself in a highly critical way, though the colophon states that he has written the song with affectionate thoughts (*sha tsha*, literally hot meat).

Another example of a *mgur* made up of three-line stanzas is *Mgur VII-17*, which shows yet another unusual stylistic feature. It also is translated in full in the appendix:

<sup>28</sup> *rje'am* AB; *rje 'am* CD.

<sup>29</sup> Skaldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 104/ 93-94.

རྩོན་པ་      ཁྱི་ཁྱིད་ནི་      སླེབས་<sup>30</sup> བྱུང་། |  
 ་ག་བ་      སྐྱུག་པོ་ནི་      འགྲོས་ས། |  
 རྩོ་རི་      མཐོན་པོ་ནི་      བཟང་ངོ། |  
  
 ང་རྒྱལ་      བིང་གེ་ནི་      སླེབས་<sup>31</sup> བྱུང་། |  
 ཡོན་ཏན་      རི་བོང་ནི་      འགྲོས་ས། |  
 ཁྱིངས་སྐྱུངས་<sup>32</sup> བྲག་ཕྱག་ནི་      བཟང་ངོ། |<sup>33</sup>  
 etc.

The hunter, leading a dog, **arrived**.

**The place of refuge** for the dark bay stag,

A high clay mountain, **was good**.

The proud lion **arrived**.

**The place of refuge** for the rabbit of qualities,

A cave for leaving arrogance behind, **was good**.

*Ni* appears as the fifth syllable of every line of the *mgur*. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho seems to have deliberately chosen this repetition: although *ni* has a grammatical function in the first and third line of every stanza, a genitive particle would have been the correct choice in the second line. The constant use of *ni* in this *mgur* recalls a style of poetry from the *snga dar*.<sup>34</sup>

The meter of *Mgur* VII-17, 2 + 3 + 2, is yet another feature that makes it quite original among the *mgur* of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. Even the seven beat line in any set of subdivisions is rare among his

<sup>30</sup> *slebs* CD; *sleb* AB.

<sup>31</sup> *slebs* CD; *sleb* AB.

<sup>32</sup> *khengs* BCD; *kheng* A; *skyungs* ACD; *bskyungs* B.

<sup>33</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 160/ 142.

<sup>34</sup> Examples of verse attributed to the *snga dar* can be seen in F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk-literature from North-eastern Tibet (Introductions, Texts, Translations and Notes)*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952 no. 3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), *Texts, Translations and Notes*, 9-19, translated on 20-32; 61-76, translated on 77-95, and so on; J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas and Ch. Toussaint, ed., trans., *Documents de Touen houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940-46), 97-122, translated on 127-70; and G. Uray, "Queen Sad mar kar's Songs in the Old Tibetan Chronicle," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1972), 5-38.

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's unusual use of the particle *ni* was also discussed in Chapter 7.

*mgur*. As we saw in Chapter 7, a scant eleven of the songs of the *Mgur 'bum* employ this number of beats per line, and use three sets of subdivisions: 2 + 2 + 3, 3 + 2 + 2, and 2 + 3. The *mgur* quoted above is the only *mgur* that uses 2 + 3 + 2 extensively.

Among the *mgur* of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum*, *Mgur* VII-17 above demonstrates unusual qualities such as an unusual meter and an unusual, extensive use of the particle *ni*. This further demonstrates my hypothesis that unusual stanza lengths are often accompanied by other unique features of style and/or theme.

Like the *mgur* in the *Mgur 'bum* that employ stanzas of five lines, those with stanzas of three lines are infrequent and often accompanied by other unique features of style and/or theme, such as interjections, Amdo dialect, heavy self-criticism, extensive use of the particle *ni*, and a very unusual meter. As in the case of *mgur* with stanzas of five lines, it seems that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho chose this form for cases of unusual expression among his songs.

### *Stanzas of Two Lines*

Examples of *mgur* written exclusively with two-line stanzas are also few. We have already seen two of these in cycles of *mgur* that take the form of conversations with animals. *Mgur* cycle IV-1, in which Skäl Idan rgya mtsho has a conversation with and receives teachings from bees, is translated in full in the appendix. I quote IV-1d in full below, in which Skäl Idan rgya mtsho addresses bees in two couplets:

ངས་སྤྱི་མ་བརྒྱུ་ཡི་ཞལ་མཐོང་ཡང་། །

ཚུལ་དེ་ལས་ཟབ་པ་ངས་མ་ཐོས། །

ཁྱིད་བདེན་ནོ་བདེན་ནོ་སྤྱང་མ་བདེན། །

ད་མི་མགོ་མི་སྐྱར་གཅིག་ཕྱར་ཐོད། །<sup>35</sup>

Although I have seen the faces of a hundred lamas  
I have not heard a teaching deeper than that!

<sup>35</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 67/ 60.

You're right bees, right! You bees are right!  
Now I'll stay by myself, in order not to waver!

As discussed in Chapter 6, in the dialogues with animals, the animals represent teachers who give correct advice and Skäl Idan rgya mtsho portrays himself as a skeptic who is gradually persuaded by them. The terseness of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's response to the bees above is in contrast to their twenty-four-line argument to him that preceded it. There is nothing more for him to say to them now that he knows that they are right, other than to acknowledge their teaching and to tell them he is now going to live in solitude.

Mgur cycle IV-2, in which Skäl Idan rgya mtsho has a conversation with lice, fleas and lice eggs, also has a section comprised of couplets. Below is part IV-2e, quoted in full, in which lice eggs give him some advice:

ཡང་སྒྲིམ་རྒྱུ་མ་འདྲུམ་བཞིན་དུ་འདི་སྐད་ཟེར་རྟེ། །

ང་གིས་སྒྲིབས་<sup>36</sup>བསམ་གཏན་ཁང་པ་ན། །

ལུས་གཡོ་འགལ་མེད་པར་དྲིང་འཛིན་བསྒྲིམ། །

ཁྱོད་གཅིག་ཕུར་དྲིང་འཛིན་སྒྲིམ་<sup>37</sup>སྒྲིམ། །

ཁྱོད་ང་ལ་མ་འཆིང་བཞིན་འདུག།<sup>38</sup>

*Also the lice eggs, smiling, said this:*

In our meditation huts [within] the fabric of [your] clothes,  
Our bodies not moving, we will meditate in *samādhi*.

If you delight in meditative states in solitude,  
Don't hurt us but dwell as we dwell.

The speech of the lice eggs above, in two couplets, is the shortest in the entire cycle of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's conversation with lice, fleas and lice eggs. Perhaps the brevity of what the lice eggs have to say reflects the simplicity of their being in a state of meditation, clarity and peace.

<sup>36</sup> *srubs* CD; *srub* AB.

<sup>37</sup> *sgom* D; *bsgom* ABC.

<sup>38</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 69/ 62.

As for an example of two-line stanzas that comprise one-line sentences, I quote from Mgur III-1 below. Here Skal ldan rgya mtsho is addressing himself:

གོང་དུ་འདུག་ཡུན་རིང་ན་རང་མཚང་སྟོན། །

འདུག་ས་དབེན་པར་གྱིས་དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཟས་ནོར་བསོད་ནམས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བར་ཆད་ཡིན། །

འདོད་ཆུང་ཆོག་གིས་གྱིས་དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

གྲོགས་ངན་བསྐྱེན་ན་རང་ཡང་ཇི་ངན་འགྱོ། །

རྟག་དུ་གཅིག་ཕུར་སྟོན་དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། <sup>39</sup>

etc.

If [you] live in a town for a long time, [you] show your own faults.  
Make [your] dwelling place solitary, **mountain hermit!**

Food, wealth and merit are hindrances to religion.  
Be satisfied with whatever occurs, **mountain hermit!**

If [you] rely on bad friends, you yourself will also get worse!  
Always stay alone, **mountain hermit!**  
etc.

In the couplets above, the first sentence makes some statement of a problem or potential problem, to which the second sentence emphatically prescribes a solution in the imperative, followed by the evocative, *ri khrod pa*, mountain hermit!

Similar in style to Mgur III-1, above, is Mgur IV-6:

སྒྲིམ་རྟེན་པར་དགའ། །

བསམ་དང་སྦྱོར་བས་སྦྱོར་ཨང་། །

མི་ལུས་རྟེན་པར་དགའ། །

དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ལ་འབོད་ཨང་། །

<sup>39</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 33/ 30.

ཆེ་ལོ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་དཀའོ། །  
 ད་ནས་འཆི་གྲངས་བྱིས་ཨང་། །<sup>40</sup>  
 etc.

It is difficult to find a lama.  
 Rely [on him] through thoughts and practice.

It is difficult to obtain a human body.  
 Strive after the holy religion.

It is difficult to go to the end of [one's] years of life.  
 From now on, prepare for death.  
 etc.

Here again, the first sentence is some statement of difficulty or a problem, and the second is a solution, given in the imperative.

The usage of two-line stanzas in the *Mgur 'bum* varies. The subject of the *mgur* is often gently given advice (as in many *mgur*). It seems that Skal Idan rgya mtsho did not accompany this stanza pattern with many of the unusual features that appeared regularly in his *mgur* of five or of three-line stanzas.

### *Mgur with Exceptionally Long Sentences*

The longest sentence in the *Mgur 'bum*, one of eighty-four lines, is in *Mgur* III-8, and is a eulogy to Chos pa Rin po che. This eulogy praises Chos pa Rin po che for who he is and what he has done. Here I would like to focus on excerpts from the long sentence, which begins in the twenty-fifth line of the *mgur*, and continues all the way through the closing dedication.

Now let us look at how Skal Idan rgya mtsho extended this sentence. The full name of his brother/ teacher, Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, fills a whole line, since each has six syllables, subdivided into three groups of two. This is a meter very rarely found in the *Mgur 'bum* and that I discussed in Chapter 7. The line

<sup>40</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 74/ 67. This song corresponds in form, meter and imperative verbs to the Ding ri Brgya rtsa, attributed to Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas. On the levels of morals and wording it is very similar too. In Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur, ri khrod pa* is found in the place of Ding ri ba.

with his name is repeated every four lines. In the three lines between his name, various means are used to keep the sentence going. Sometimes the three lines are made up of a series of appositions:

འདི་ཕྱི་ལོ་ལྷན་ཆོས་རྩ་བ། །  
 ཡོན་ཏན་ཀུན་གྱི་གཞི་མ། །  
 ལྷོ་གཏང་བསྐྱེད་མེད་སྤྱུ་བས་གནས། །  
 ལྷོ་བཟང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྤྱུ་མཚན། །<sup>41</sup>  
 etc.

**Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan,**

The place of unbeguiling refuge for the single-pointed mind,  
 The foundation of all qualities,  
 The root of accumulations of good for this and future lives.....  
 etc.

Sometimes the three lines modifying Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's name form a single apposition that is modified by a relative clause or clauses:

དལ་འབྱོར་དོན་ཆེར་དགོངས་ནས། །  
 ཉིན་མཚན་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་འདུའ་བས། །  
 མཚན་དོན་མཐུན་པའི་ཆོས་པ། །  
 ལྷོ་བཟང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྤྱུ་མཚན། །<sup>42</sup>  
 etc.

**Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan,**

The man of cloth who harmonizes with the meaning [of his] name,  
 By means of passing night and day with religion,  
 Having contemplated greatly the purpose of a leisure support.....  
 etc.

Sometimes the entire three lines constitute a relative clause or clauses that modify his name:

<sup>41</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 45/ 41.

<sup>42</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 45/ 41.



མི་རྟག་ཐུགས་ལ་འབྲུང་ས་ནས། །  
 འདི་སྒྲུང་འཁྲི་བ་བཅད་དེ། །  
 ཅི་གཅིག་སྐྱབ་ལ་གཞིལ་བའི། །  
 སློ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲུལ་མཚན། །<sup>43</sup>  
 etc.

**Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan,**  
 Who has severed this attachment to appearances,  
 Impermanence having arisen in [his] mind,  
 And who has applied [himself] diligently to the practice of  
 single-mindedness.....  
 etc.

Now let us look at another *mgur*, V-13, that includes another extended sentence honoring Chos pa Rin po che in thirteen lines, as an introduction to a song. Since it is quite different in form from the long stanza in III-8, and since it has quite a beautiful form, I have translated the entire sentence in full. Even though the order of subject and object is usually turned around in the English translation of such a sentence, I have followed the Tibetan order, presenting the full description of the object (Chos pa Rin po che) first in my translation.

ལྷ་དཀར་ཕྱགས་སྒྲིང་བའི་མཐུ་པོ་ཆེ། །  
 གཉན་བྲག་དཀར་ཐུན་གསུམ་ཇ་མདུན་ངོས། །  
 ས་ཀོ་ར་ཀའ་རེམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མཚམས། །  
 ཁྱོན་རབ་ཡངས་དབྱིབས་བཟང་ཐང་གི་འགྲམ། །  
 ཁོང་དམ་པ་གོང་མས་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་པའི། །  
 བྲག་ཁྱད་འཕགས་དགོན་རྫོང་དཔེན་གནས་སུ། །  
 བྱིན་འཁོར་མེད་སྒྲ་མ་དགེ་བའི་བཞེས། །  
 མཚན་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཆོས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། །  
 དུས་ཁོར་ཡུག་ཐུགས་དམ་རེམ་པ་ལ། །  
 བཙོན་ཆུ་ཐུན་ལྷ་བུར་སྤོང་བའི་བྱང་། །  
 བདག་སྐུལ་ལྡན་མཇུག་དུ་འོངས་པའི་ཆེ། །

<sup>43</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 45-46.

ཕ་སྤྲུལ་མའི་བཀའ་བློན་ལྔ་གསུམ་རྒྱ་པའི། །  
 དག་སྤྲུལ་དབྱངས་སྒྲན་མོ་འདི་ལྟར་འབྲིན། །  
 བྱིད་དད་གྲས་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་སྤྱད་ཙམ་ཉོན། །  
 (end of introduction)<sup>44</sup>

On the side of a wide and well-shaped high plain  
 On the border between the places Ko ra [and] Kab rom<sup>45</sup>  
 On the front side of the clay three brothers<sup>46</sup> of rugged Brag dkar,  
 The great powerful ones, the gods who carry out good purposes,  
 As for him, the holy one,  
 The spiritual friend, lama whose kindness  
 At the solitary place Dgon rong,  
 The especially noble rock which was blessed by ones of former  
     times, cannot be repaid,  
 Chos pa Rin po che, whose name is famous everywhere  
 [And] whose effort is extended in the stages of [his] tutelary deity  
 To the outmost limit of time like the flow of a river,  
 When I, Skal ldan, came to meet [him],  
 In remembrance of the good kindness of father lama.  
 [I] sang in this way a well-sounding song.

You faithful and respectful ones—listen a while!

(end of introduction)

This stanza has been extended by a variety of kinds of phrases modifying Chos pa Rin po che, and as the sentence goes on we eventually learn that he is merely the object of the main verb and recognize that the unarticulated surprise subject is Skal ldan rgya mtsho, in the last line.

It is interesting that two of the longest sentences in the *Mgur 'bum* revere Skal ldan rgya mtsho's teacher. It seems that these odd sentence forms tickled Chos pa Rin po che's fancy. Maybe Skal ldan rgya mtsho felt he wanted to honor his teacher in some unique way!

<sup>44</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 106-7/95.

<sup>45</sup> Contrast with Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 295. Here, the spelling is *kab ron*.

<sup>46</sup> These three peaks are in close physical proximity to one another, and are considered three brothers, or lords of the land (*sa bdag*).

The longest sentence has an unusual meter (2 + 2 + 2), that was discussed in Chapter 7.

In this chapter and the preceding one, I have shown that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho employed a wide variety of styles in singing his *mgur*. His choices of meters and stanza patterns are influenced mainly by folk songs but also by classical Tibetan verse suggesting that the dichotomous lifestyle he lived played a large role in bringing a wide range of influences to his writing. We will now look at another stylistic element, namely the poetic figures of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*.

## CHAPTER NINE

### POETIC FIGURES

#### I. THOSE SHOWING INFLUENCE FROM THE *KĀVYĀDARŚA*

Now that we have analyzed the metrics and stanza patterns of Skaldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, we will investigate some of the poetic figures (*alaṃkāra*, *rgyan*) that he uses. Some of his poetic figures show the direct influence of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, *The Mirror of Poetics*, which "formed the necessary precondition for the development of Tibetan ornate poetry after its translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan in the thirteenth century."<sup>1</sup> Daṇḍin defined poetic figures as features which create the beauty of a succession of words with a distinguished meaning,<sup>2</sup> and gave many examples in his text. Ornate poetry (*kāvya*, *snyan ngag*) is poetry composed in accordance with the *Kāvyādarśa* and other treatises of *kāvya*.

We can understand what ornate poetry is in Tibet by situating it in a larger context. Let us look at the following quote by R. Jackson again, which distinguishes three genres of Tibetan poetry—*glu*, *mgur* and *snyan ngag*<sup>3</sup>—this time focusing on what he says about *snyan ngag*:

...*glu*, *mgur* and *snyan ngag* (along with the Ge sar epic corpus) together roughly comprise the Tibetan poetic canon. *Glu*, which remains in Tibetan as a general term for "song," is the earliest, most indigenous, most secular, and most orally and musically oriented of the genres. *mGur*, which originally was either a synonym or a subdivision of *glu*, came eventually to denote a more Buddhist type of "song," and might be

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<sup>1</sup> Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles-Lettres: The Influence of Daṇḍin and Kṣemendra," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1996), 392.

<sup>2</sup> John F. Eppling, "A Calculus of Creative Expression: The Central Chapter of Daṇḍin's 'Kāvyādarśa'" (Ph.D. diss., Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989), 81, 333. (Henceforth referred to as "A Calculus of Creative Expression.") I will go into more detail about this definition below.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson defines the poetry of the Ge sar epic as being outside the parameters of his article, "'Poetry' in Tibet," 369.



*sNyan ngag* itself was composed almost entirely by those with an academic background—but as the monastic university system took hold in Tibet, this came to include many of the nation’s greatest thinkers and, for that matter, saints.<sup>6</sup>

In summary, *snyan ngag* is ornamental poetry written in accordance with the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. When its influence appears in *mgur*, it is likely to be found in those by song-writers who had a monastic education.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho is an example of someone who underwent a rigorous traditional monastic education in Dga’ ldan for eleven years, during which time he was surely exposed to the principles of ornate poetry, and later wrote *mgur*. This sets him apart from many composers of *mgur* related to the Bka’ brgyud pa school—such as Mi la ras pa—whom we normally associate with *mgur*, who were not educated in monasteries.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho refers to *snyan dngags*<sup>7</sup> at various times in his songs,<sup>8</sup> and in various colophons to songs in his *Mgur ’bum*, he is referred to as “*snyan dngags mkhan*,”<sup>9</sup> in the sense of “poet” rather than in direct reference to Daṇḍin’s *snyan ngag*. Not surprisingly, the majority of references to *snyan dngags* in the *Mgur ’bum* are made in relation to Tsong kha pa, and yet another reference is made in a eulogy to Bstan pa dar rgyas, a teacher Skal ldan rgya mtsho relied on for mainstream studies of *Madhyamaka* at Dga’ ldan monastery for seven years.<sup>10</sup> It appears that Skal ldan rgya mtsho aspired to use what he called “poetry” in eulogies and other songs honoring some of those with whom he had a most formal and conservative relationship.

Skal ldan rgya mtsho’s biographer also remarks on a time in 1677 at the hermitage of Bkra shis ’khyil when a lama named Rgyal ba Rin po che gave teachings on the ornate poetry relating to phonological relationships:

<sup>6</sup> Jackson, “‘Poetry’ in Tibet,” 375.

<sup>7</sup> References to *snyan ngag* are spelled “*snyan dngags*” in the *Mgur ’bum* as well as in Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*.

<sup>8</sup> There are references to *snyan dngags* in Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, *Mgur I-2* and *XII-12*.

<sup>9</sup> In colophons to Skal ldan, *Mgur ’bum*, *Mgur I-2*, *I-4*, and *XI-9*, he refers to himself as such.

<sup>10</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 8.

སྐབས་འདི་ཚོ་ལ་དཔོན་སྒྲིབ་པའི་ཆེན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་བྱུང་བ་རེན་པོ་ཆེ་ནམ་གཉིས་  
 ཀྱིས་དབྱ་མཇེད་པའི་སྒྲ་མ་མང་པོས་གསུང་ཆོས་མང་པོ་གནང་གིན་འདུག་གསུངས།  
 ལགས། བྱུང་བ་རེན་པོ་ཆེས་གསུང་ཆོས་ཅི་འདྲ་ཞིག་གནང་བྱུང་ཞུས་པས། སྒྲ་ལྟར་  
 དངགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲ་མང་པོ་གནང་གིན་འདུག་གསུངས།<sup>11</sup>

Some of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs, as may be expected, include poetic figures written in accordance with the *Kāvyādarśa*.

In order to understand what Daṇḍin meant by the term poetic figure, it is helpful to first understand what he meant by body, since he makes the distinction between body and poetic figure. I quote verse I.10 of the *Kāvyādarśa*:

And by these [earlier writers] the body and ornaments of *kāvyas*  
 are shown/

Basically the body is a succession of words distinguished with  
 desired meaning.<sup>12</sup>

Daṇḍin defines the body of ornate poetry exclusively in terms of its meaning as conveyed by a sequence of words.<sup>13</sup> His definition of poetic figure is also very broad, as we see in verse II.1:

<sup>11</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 124.

<sup>12</sup> Eppling, "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 81.

<sup>13</sup> Having defined the body of ornate poetry in verse I.10, Daṇḍin immediately goes on to define some of the general characteristics of ornate poetry in I.11:

It is classified in a threefold way: Whether stanzaic, prosaic, or  
 their mixture/

The stanzaic consists of four *pādas* and is either in *vr̥tta* or *jāti*.

For this, see Eppling, "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 81.

Daṇḍin has defined the most general characteristics in terms of stanza patterns (four *pādas*, or quarters) and two types of meter (*vr̥tta* and *jāti*). These two major types of meter have various subkinds, and are defined by the number and position of syllables, whether the syllables are light or heavy (*vr̥tta*) or are determined by the number of "sound instants" (*jāti*). Eppling explains these types of meters in "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 81-85.

The applicability and inapplicability of Indian metrics to Tibetan verse will be addressed in my discussion below on the poetic figure of *yamaka* (repetition involving groups of letters). But here I will quickly deal with the concept of weight, by quoting Eppling's definitions of light and heavy vowels:

...whether "light"/ *laghu*, where the vowel is short and not followed by more than one consonant; or "heavy"/ *guru*, where the vowel is long, or if short it is followed by two or more consonants (whether in another word or not) or if the syllable contains either an *anusvāra* or *visarga*.

Features creating the beauty of *kāvya*  
 are called *alaṃkāras*.  
 Even today they are being postulated—  
 Who could completely describe them?<sup>14</sup>

There are an unlimited number of poetic figures, it seems. Daṇḍin uses the second chapter of his treatise to describe 35 types that have semantic relationships, frequently with numerous subdivisions, and part of his third (and last) chapter to describe various poetic figures that involve phonological relationships.

It should be mentioned here that not all poetic figures found in *mgur* exhibit an influence from Daṇḍin. Some of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's other poetic figures cannot be linked exclusively to the principles of ornate poetry. Others have no connection with anything in the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. Before going on to indigenous types of figures in Chapter 10, I will give examples of five figures dealing with repetition of syllables (*yamaka*), one example involving phonemic restriction (*niyama*), and one example of a riddle (*prahelikā*), that are clearly the most influenced by Daṇḍin's treatise. What follows is not meant to be an exhaustive list of poetic figures in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, a task beyond the scope of this book. The examples below all fall under the general category of verbal figures (*sgra rgyan*), one of Daṇḍin's two major categories of poetic figures.

#### YAMAKA

The first five examples below are examples of various subtypes of a poetic figure named *yamaka* (variations of "phonemic repetition"), which Daṇḍin defines in verse III.1:

For this, see Epling, "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 82.

I may quickly remind the reader that there are no short and long vowels in Tibetan. Hence, Indian theories of metrics that define themselves according to weight are not literally applicable in Tibetan. Having said that, I will preface the ensuing description of the poetic figure of *yamaka* by stating that it is my contention that Indian theories of metrics are still loosely applicable in Tibetan, as my examples of *yamaka* will illustrate.

<sup>14</sup> Epling, "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 333.



*yamaka* is the repetition of groups of letters—contiguous or  
discontiguous/

Its range pertains to the initial, medial, and final parts of *pādas*.<sup>15</sup>

In verse III.2, Daṇḍin elaborates on what he means by contiguous and discontiguous, and on the possible placements of the repetitions alluded to above:

The varieties of *yamakas* may appear in one of the four *pādas* [of the conventional *padya*, or “stanza,”] in all, or in any combination: in the beginning; middle; end; the middle and end; the middle and beginning; the beginning and end; and throughout.<sup>16</sup>

Hence, the many varieties of *yamaka* are based on whether the group of letters and its repetition are in the same *pāda* (or quarter) of a stanza (in which case the repetition is contiguous), or in different *pādas* (in which case the repetition is discontiguous), on which *pādas* they are in, and on the placement (or placements) of the group of letters to be repeated and its repetition (at the beginning, middle or end of its *pāda*).<sup>17</sup>

The importance of *yamaka* for Daṇḍin is clear: after his general presentation of it, he goes on, in seventy-five more verses, to give examples of various subtypes of *yamaka* one by one in detail. Of the one hundred and twenty-four verses devoted to *sgra rgyan* (one of the two larger sections into which all of Daṇḍin’s poetic figures fall), seventy-seven are devoted to *yamaka*. This shows that he considers repetition and its myriad varieties very important features of his quest to describe and prescribe how to create beauty in ornate poetry.

The first poetic figure that I will illustrate here is found in Skal ldan rgya mtsho’s Mgur III-17, an arrangement in verse of sacred writings

<sup>15</sup> Daṇḍin, III.1, translated by Eppling in “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 200. It should be noted that we are now discussing the question of repetition *within* a stanza. In Chapter 8 on stanza patterns, the repetitions described were not those within a single stanza but in corresponding places from stanza to stanza.

<sup>16</sup> Daṇḍin, III.2, translated by Eppling in “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 200.

<sup>17</sup> A contiguous initial *yamaka* would have the group of letters that will be repeated placed at the beginning of a *pāda*, followed by its repetition. A discontiguous initial *yamaka* would have both the group of letters that will be repeated and its repetition at the beginning of their respective *pādas*.

of lamas, scholars and practitioners. In this excerpt, lines 20 to 25, the first and second syllables are the same:

ཇིག་ཇིག་གི་མིག་གིས་གཉིན་ལ་ལྷ།  
 ངར་ངར་གྱི་དབྱགས་ཕྱིང་ཆད་ལ་ཉ།  
 རྩམ་རྩམ་གྱི་ལག་པས་གོས་ལ་རིག།  
 འཛིགས་འཛིགས་ཀྱི་གཤེད་མས་བཟླིགས་<sup>18</sup> ལྷང་འབྱུང་།  
 ལྷབ་ལྷིབ་ཀྱི་གདམ་གྱིས་ཁ་ཆེམས་<sup>19</sup> འཛོག།<sup>20</sup>

Since the pattern of subdivision of the eight syllables per line is 3 + 2 + 3 syllables, the repeated syllables in this case belong to the same semantic unit, as my subdivisions of the lines will show:

ཇིག་ཇིག་གི་	མིག་གིས་	གཉིན་ལ་ལྷ།
ངར་ངར་གྱི་	དབྱགས་ཕྱིང་	ཆད་ལ་ཉ།
རྩམ་རྩམ་གྱི་	ལག་པས་	གོས་ལ་རིག།
འཛིགས་འཛིགས་ཀྱི་	གཤེད་མས་	ཟླིགས་ལྷང་འབྱུང་།
ལྷབ་ལྷིབ་ཀྱི་	གདམ་གྱིས་	ཁ་ཆེམས་འཛོག།

etc.

[One] looks upon kinsmen shyly.

[He] keeps [his] promises [with] a series of feeble breaths.

[He] touches [his skin] to his clothes [so that they pull his hair], by turning them around at the point of death.

The appearance of having been threatened by the very frightful messenger of the lord of death arises [in him].

[He] makes a testament with faint speech.

*Hrig hrig, ngar ngar, nom nom* and *ldab ldab* are all recognized compounds. The first syllable and its repetition together have a single meaning, which can found in the *TTC*. I have interpreted *'jigs*

<sup>18</sup> *bsdigs* CD; *sdigs* AB.

<sup>19</sup> *chems* CD; *chem* AB.

<sup>20</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 59/ 53. I have included the fifth line above as an illustration of syllable repetition, although it involves a vowel change, following G. Uray's examples in "Duplication, Geminatio and Triplication in Tibetan," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4, nos. 1-3 (1955): 177-217, 220-31. Here he discusses at length repetitions such as those in the first four lines above, and also treats those that make a vowel change.

'jigs as a kind of expression of extremity, and have translated 'jigs 'jigs *kyi* with the phrase, "very frightful."

Each line of the excerpt above begins with an example of contiguous initial *yamaka*, adapted to Tibetan metrics (in this case with three feet per line). Daṇḍin describes this subtype of *yamaka* in Verse III.4:

Mānena mā'nena sakhi praṇayo'bhūtpriye jane/  
Khaṇḍitā kaṇṭham āślishya tam eva kuru satrapam/ <sup>21</sup>

S. K. Belvalkar translates verse III.4 as follows:

Not with this angry-pride my friend, should you show your affection for the beloved person; betrayed-in-love you should wound [your arms] round [the traitor's] neck and even [so] put him to shame.<sup>22</sup>

Interestingly, a Tibetan translation of Verse III.4 seems quite useless, as it translates Daṇḍin's stanza literally, without putting repetitions in where they should be:

གྲོགས་མ་མཇའ་བོའི་སྐྱོ་བོ་ལ །  
ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོད་པ་ལྷོད་པ་ལྷོད་པ་ལྷོད །  
བསྐྱེད་པའི་མགྲིན་པ་ནས་འཁྱུད་ལ །  
དེ་ཉིད་ངོ་ཚ་ལྷན་པར་གྱིས། <sup>23</sup>

But it is clear that awareness of this variation of *yamaka* (Tib.: *zung ldan*) existed in Tibet. Don grub rgyal makes reference to Daṇḍin's Verse III.1 by writing about where repetitions can fall in the line:

<sup>21</sup> S. K. Belvalkar, *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin: Sanskrit Text and English Translation* (Poona: The Oriental Book-supplying Agency, 1924), 51. (Henceforth referred to as Belvalkar, *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin*.)

<sup>22</sup> For the reader's enjoyment, I will provide translations of Daṇḍin's illustrations that I cite here by Belvalkar in my text or footnotes below. For this, see *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin*, 51.

<sup>23</sup> Anukul Chandra Banerjee, ed., *Kāvyādarśa: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1939), 207.

བྱ་སྤྱོད་བའི་བྱ་ན།

བྱ་སྤྱོད་བའི་བྱ་ན་འདི་སྟན་ངག་གི་གཞུང་དུ་འབྱུང་བ་ལྟར་བར་ཚད་པ་དང་། མ་ཚད་པ།  
ཚད་ཅིང་མ་ཚད་པ་བཅས་ནམ་པ་གསུམ་ཡིད་ལ།.....<sup>24</sup>

Figures that are Easy to Do<sup>25</sup>

As for poetic figures that are easy to do, according to the *Kāvyaādarśa* there are three types: discontiguous, contiguous, and both discontiguous and contiguous.

He states that examples of contiguous *yamaka* (*bar ma chod pa'i zung ldan*) exist in *mgur* written by Tibetan lamas and yogis of former times:

བར་མ་ཚད་པའི་ཐོག་མའི་བྱང་ལྟན་ལ་སྟན་ངག་གི་སྟོན་དང་བསྟན་ན་ནམ་པ་བཅོ་ལྔར་  
གྲགས་ལ། དེ་ནམས་སྟོན་བྱོན་གྱི་སྟོན་ཆེན་དང་ནལ་འབྱོར་པ་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་གྱི་ཅུལ་  
ལས་ཐོན་པའི་མགྱུར་སྟུང་ནང་ནས་དཔེར་བཞེད་བཅུ་ལྔ་འདྲ་རྟེན་གྱི་ཐུབ་མོད།<sup>26</sup>

When [one] conforms with the methods of *snyan ngag* with regard to contiguous initial *yamaka*, fifteen types [can] be known, and even when [one] searches for examples from within the *mgur* which emerged from the mastery of the intellects of forerunners, great lamas and yogis, they indeed can be found.

As an example of contiguous initial *yamaka*, he gives an excerpt from a *mgur* written by Bya btang Byams pa chos dar.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 535.

<sup>25</sup> Don grub rgyal gives examples of *yamaka* under the subheadings *bya sla ba'i rgyan* (poetic figures that are easy to do) and *bya dka' ba'i rgyan* (poetic figures that are hard to do).

<sup>26</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 535-36.

<sup>27</sup> The excerpt reads as follows:

ཟབ་ཟབ་ཚུལ་སྟོན་སྟོན་མཁུ། །  
དུང་དུང་སྟོན་ནས་འདུད་ནོ། །  
ལེགས་ལེགས་འགྲིག་འགྲིག་སྟུང་ས། །  
ལྷང་ལྷང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་ནོ། །

For this, see Dong grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 536.

Hence, in spite of the misleading Tibetan translation of the passage in the *Kāvyādarśa* that illustrates contiguous initial *yamaka*, it is clear that there was awareness, in Tibet, of how this form of *yamaka* actually worked.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the influence of this poetic figure was not limited to Tibetan scholars of *snyan ngag* but extended to yogis writing *mgur*. Therefore it is not surprising that we find an example of a contiguous initial *yamaka*, or other types of *yamaka*, in the songs of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho.

My second example of a poetic figure in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* is also of contiguous initial *yamaka*, but this time the group of letters and their repetition occur in the final foot of the line. Part of *Mgur* XI-18 exemplifies this principle:

ཆས་མདོ་རྒྱུད་སྤྱིང་པོ་བསྐྱུས་བསྐྱུས་པ། །  
 རོན་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་སྤྱིང་དུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་པ། །  
 གཞུང་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་ཁྲིད། །  
 སེམས་ཐོག་མེད་ནས་དུ་སྤྱིང་གྱིང་གྱིང་པ། །  
 འདི་འདུལ་ཕྱིར་དུ་ཉན་མཆན་ཁོར་ཡུག་དུ། །  
 གནས་དབེན་པར་གཅིག་རྒྱུ་གྱིང་གྱིང་ལ། །  
 ཉམས་རྟགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཆས་ཆར་འཕེལ། །<sup>29</sup>

My metrical divisions are as follows:

ཆས་    མདོ་རྒྱུད་    སྤྱིང་པོ་    བསྐྱུས་བསྐྱུས་པ། །  
 རོན་    ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་    སྤྱིང་དུ་    རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་པ། །  
 གཞུང་    བྱང་རྒྱུ་    ལམ་གྱི་    རིམ་པའི་ཁྲིད། །  
 སེམས་    ཐོག་མེད་ནས་    དུ་སྤྱིང་    གྱིང་གྱིང་པ། །  
 འདི་    འདུལ་ཕྱིར་དུ་    ཉན་མཆན་    ཁོར་ཡུག་དུ། །

<sup>28</sup> On the seven stages of transmission of the *Kāvyādarśa* into Tibet (six of which occurred before Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's time) that were brought about by successive stages of evaluation, and on the numerous commentaries to the *Kāvyādarśa*, see van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles-Lettres: The Influence of Daṇḍin and Kṣemendra," 396-97.

<sup>29</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 277/ 245.

གནས་ དབེན་པར་ གཅིག་རྒྱལ་ ཉེ་ཉེ་ལ། །  
 ཉམས་ རྟོགས་པའི་ ཡོན་ཏན་ ཆེས་ཆེར་འཕྲིལ། །

As for the one who **collected intensively** the essence of  
 Buddhism, sutras and tantras,  
 The one who **compiled intensively** meaning in addition to  
 memorizing verses,  
 The **very** furiously **stubborn one** from beginningless time  
 [Who] thinks about the instruction of the text, *Byang chub lam gyi*  
*rim pa*,  
 In order to tame this one, day and night incessantly  
 [He] **performs intensively** the combination of practices that are to  
 be done in a hermitage and  
 The qualities of experiential knowledge become **greater and**  
**greater**.

In the example above, as in the previous example, the repetitions belong to the same semantic unit. But this time they are in the last subdivision of the line, and more importantly, this time the repetitions do not form recognized compounds themselves, other than *ches cher*. Instead, most are repetitions of single verb stems or of an adjective, done for the purpose of emphasizing the good quality of the actions taken.<sup>30</sup> The repetition of the adjective, *gyong ba*, intensifies its sense.<sup>31</sup> Hence, first, the subject of the excerpt above had to strive well to make progress, since he was so very stubborn. But finally, now that he practices so well, the fruits of his endeavors are greater and greater.

Daṇḍin illustrates his concept of contiguous initial *yamaka* in the fourth foot in verse III.7:

Aranyam kaiśchid ākrāntam anyaiḥ sadma divaukasām/  
 Padātirathanāgāśvarahitai rahitais tava/ /<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See Uray on verb stem repetition, where he states that the duplication can indicate “a prolonged, multiply duration of a process or a state” or it can indicate “a multiply, higher intensity than the average or again a full intensity,” in “Duplication, Geminatio and Triplication in Tibetan,” 194.

<sup>31</sup> Uray states that the repetition of an adjective stem leads to “an increased degree of a property or circumstance” in “Duplication, Geminatio and Triplication in Tibetan,” 193.

<sup>32</sup> For the readers’ amusement, I will give Belvalkar’s translation of verse III.7 in *Kāvyaḍarśa of Daṇḍin*, 52:

We recall that Daṇḍin defined a stanza pattern as having four quarters (*pāda*). His example has eight syllables per quarter. In the edition above, no divisions are delineated between the first and second, and between the third and fourth quarters. Hence there are sixteen syllables per line. The fact that the first *rahitai* falls on the ninth syllable of the second line means that it comes at the beginning of the fourth quarter, and is therefore a contiguous initial *yamaka* in the fourth foot.

Again, it must be emphasized that in the application of Daṇḍin's various subcategories of *yamaka* in *mgur* (with its own varieties of stanza patterns, sentence lengths and metrics), liberties may be taken and adaptations are necessary. Even so, the patterns in Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* reveal themselves as consistent with the *Kāvyādarśa*.

The third poetic figure based on the *Kāvyādarśa* is one in which the second and third syllables are the same, though they belong to different compounds. An excerpt from *Mgur* V-16a illustrates this pattern:

མ་ཐོས་ཐོས་པར་སྒྲུབ་པ་དེས། །  
 ཡར་ཚས་ཚས་པ་བརྩུག་ཉེས་ལ། །  
 མི་ཚས་ཚས་སུ་བསྐྱར་ནས་ནི་<sup>33</sup> །  
 དུས་ངན་ངན་སེམས་ལྡན་པའི་མི། །  
 འདུལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དུ་ཡི་གེར་བཞོད། །<sup>34</sup>

Since according to Tibetan prosody, a compound cannot extend across two subdivisions, I have used spaces to indicate where the syllables divide, in order to make it clear that the two syllables that look alike belong to different syntactic units. The metrical units here are made up of 2 + 2 + 3 syllables:

---

Deprived of foot-soldiers, chariots, elephants and horses your enemies have, some of them, repaired unto the forest and others unto the abode of the gods.

<sup>33</sup> *ni* CD; *na* AB.

<sup>34</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur* 'bum, 113/ 101. Three lines of *Mgur* VI-9, p. 133, exhibit the same property.

མ་ཐོས་    ཐོས་པར་    རྟོག་པ་དེས། །  
 ཡར་ཆོས་    ཆོས་པ་    བརྟུ་གཉིས་ལ། །  
 མི་ཆོས་    ཆོས་སུ་    བསྐྱར་ནས་ནི། །  
 དུས་ངན་    ངན་སེམས་    ལྷན་པའི་མི། །  
 འདུལ་བའི་    ཕྱིར་དུ་    ཡི་གེར་བཏོད། །

My translation reflects the repetition of the syllables:

On the twelfth **day** of the **days** of the waxing moon,  
 Having transformed popular **religion** into [divine] **religion**  
 In order to discipline people who have **evil** minds in an **evil** age,  
 The one haughty in **learning**, [yet] never having **studied**  
 Put this down in writing.

*Thos* can mean both to learn and to study.

The poetic figure above is also a form of *yamaka*. Though there is no verse in the *Kāvyādarśa* that illustrates exactly the pattern above, it is a simplification of the pattern in verse III.47 that J. F. Eppling has symbolized as follows. I adopt Eppling's symbols for denoting the repetitive patterns of Daṇḍin's verse:

*Kāvyādarśa* verse III.47:

[A\_\_A/A\_\_A/A\_\_A/A\_\_A]<sup>35</sup>

Skal Idan rgya mtsho Mgur V-16:

[\_\_A/A\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/  
 [\_\_A/A\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/  
 [\_\_A/A\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/  
 [\_\_A/A\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/  
 [\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_]

This pattern is not peculiar to Skal Idan rgya mtsho in Tibet. Don grub rgyal describes it as an example of '*dres pa'i rgyan*, a subcategory of *bya dka' ba'i rgyan* (one of his two major subdivisions of *sgra rgyan*), along with an example.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Eppling, "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 211.

<sup>36</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 536-37.



Fourth, several of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* show a feature in which the last syllable of one line is the first syllable of the next, as the petition and introduction to *Mgur* II-4 illustrate:

རིན་ཕུལ་བྱང་ཐེ་པ་ཚས་ཀྱི་ཐེ། །  
 རྩེ་མཉམ་མེད་བྱབ་དབང་ལྷ་ཡི་ལྷ། །  
 ལྷ་ཡི་དམ་ཀྱུལ་པོ་བདེ་བ་མཚན། །  
 མཚན་ཐུན་མོང་དངོས་བྱབ་བདག་ལ་སྟོལ། །  
 དུས་ཉིན་ཞིག་<sup>37</sup> འཁོར་ལོ་སྟོམ་པའི་གནས། །  
 གནས་ཁྱད་འཕགས་གཉེན་གོང་བྲག་གི་འདབས། །  
 འདབས་སྤང་ལྗོངས་སྟེང་དུ་འཆག་པའི་ཚེ། །  
 ཚོ་འདིར་ཞིན་སྟོམ་པས་སྐྱུ་འདི་ལེན། །<sup>38</sup>

Sde pa Chos kyi **rje**, who gave me kindness,  
**Lord**, the unrivalled Mighty one, the **deity** of deities,  
**Deity**, tutelary deity, king, the **highest** bliss,  
 Please bestow upon me the **highest** and the common spiritual  
 powers.

[On this] day [at] the dwelling-place of 'Khor lo sdom pa,  
 The especially noble **place**, the **side** of Gnya' gong brag,  
 Since [I] am contemplating attachment to this **life**,  
**As** [I] tread on the grassy **surface**, [I]'m singing this song.

As can be seen by my formatting in bold, sometimes the respective parts of each pair of sound-alikes are in fact the same word, and other times they are homophones. There is an additional set of homophones, the "*sde*" of Sde pa Chos rje's name and the "*bde*" of *bde ba*, the happiness or bliss with which he is equated.

Within one of the familiar cycles of conversations with insects, *Mgur* IV-2, there is a section which illustrates this same poetic figure. It is the opening song to the cycle of conversations between Skal ldan rgya mtsho and the lice, fleas and lice eggs. Skal ldan rgya mtsho is threatening the insects who have bitten him:

<sup>37</sup> *zhig* B; *cig* ACD.

<sup>38</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 26/ 23.

ཁྱི་ཉོན་ཅིག་དལ་བྱར་འབྱོན་པའི་ཤིག །  
 ཤིག་ཁྱི་ཀྱིས་བདག་གི་ལུས་ལ་ཐོས། །  
 ཐོས་འཐུངས་ཆེ་ཁྱོད་ནི་སྒྱིད་ན་ཡང་། །  
 ཡང་བདག་གིས་མཐོང་ཆེ་ཁྱོད་ཅི་བསམ། །  
 བསམ་མེད་པའི་ཁྱི་<sup>39</sup> བ་ཁྱིང་མཁས་ཁྱོད། །  
 ཁྱོད་སྒྱུ་སྒྱུད་འདི་དང་མ་བལ་ན། །  
 ན་གཞིན་རིང་རྒྱུ་<sup>40</sup> ཤིར་འགྲོ་དོགས་འདུག །  
 འདུག་མི་འདུག་ཡང་ཡང་ཐོ་དང་གསལ། །  
 གསལ་དཀར་ཞིང་འཇུ་མ་པའི་སྒྲི་མང་ཁྱོད། །  
 ཁྱོད་བལྟས་ཆེ་སྒྲི་དྲི་འདྲ་ན་ཡང་། །  
 ཡང་བདག་གི་གོས་རྒྱམས་སྒྲིད་<sup>41</sup> མཐོང་ཆེ། །  
 ཆེ་ཕྱི་མ་མི་བྲན་ཁྱོད་བཙུམ་འདྲོད། <sup>42</sup>

Listen you **lice** who are roaming about—  
 You **lice** have **eaten** my body!

Even if you are happy when you **eat** and drink,  
 When [I] see you, what do you **think**? <sup>43</sup>  
 You **thoughtless** fleas, skilled in flight,  
 If you are inseparable from what your body does,  
 During **youth** you were afraid of smells going “rrrrr.”<sup>44</sup>

True or not, continue eating, and **be clear** about it!

<sup>39</sup> *lji* CD; *'ju* AB.

<sup>40</sup> *dri* AC; *gri* BD.

<sup>41</sup> *slod* AB; *lhod* CD.

<sup>42</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 68/ 61. Another example of the same poetic figure occurs in the second through fifth lines of *Mgur* V-22, 118/ 106.

<sup>43</sup> I have not translated the *yang* at the beginning of the line. It is there to complete the poetic figure (last syllable of one line is the same as the first syllable in the next line), but does not seem to fit in terms of meaning. The meter is 1 + 2 + 2 + 3, so *bdag* is the subject, and is not part of a compound with *yang*.

<sup>44</sup> This seems to mean dying through pollution, because the young fleas know no better than to be attracted to disgusting, foul stuff.

**You bright** white and smiling louse eggs,  
**Even if** [you] are like pearls when **you** are looked at,  
**When** [I] see [my] contaminated garments,  
 Without thinking of [my] next **life**, [I] want to kill you.

The fact that this *mgur* has a slightly forced nature suggests that this poetic figure is very difficult to carry out. The example above is not entirely successful, since the first syllable in the next to last line, *yang*, does not have a real place in the sense of the line.

This subdivision of *yamaka* is called *saṃdaṣṭa yamaka*, “where repetitive sound elements are (literally) ‘bitten or held between the teeth’.”<sup>45</sup> Daṇḍin describes it in verse III.52 of the *Kāvyādarśa*:

Upoḍharāgāpyabalā madena sā Madenasā manyurasena yojitā/  
 Na yojitāmānam anaṅgatāpitāṅgatā’pi tāpāya mamāsa neyate/ /<sup>46</sup>

Eppling diagrams this pattern of repetitions as follows:

[\_\_\_A/A\_\_\_B/B\_\_\_C/C\_\_\_]<sup>47</sup>

This is a pattern that occurs in three of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho’s *mgur*. In addition to *Mgur* IV-2a, cited above, it is used in *Mgur* II-4 and in *Mgur* V-22.

In my fifth example which shows influence from the *Kāvyādarśa*, *Mgur* V-8, every line begins with the same syllable.<sup>48</sup> In Skäl Idan rgya mtsho’s quest to give others advice, the first syllable, *bde*, is used with a variety of meanings:

<sup>45</sup> Eppling, “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 212.

<sup>46</sup> Belvalkar translates verse III.52 in *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin, 61, as follows:

That lady, although full of passion excited by intoxication, was yet thrown into angry-mood in consequence of my lapses; and so, although all her limbs were scorched by Love, she would not join her body [with mine]: that caused me immeasurable affliction.

<sup>47</sup> Eppling, “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 213.

<sup>48</sup> For another example of a *mgur* whose lines frequently begin with the same syllable, see *Mgur* VIII-27, in which eight out of the first twelve lines begin with *sems*.

བདེ་མཚོག་གི་ངོ་བོ་སྤྲ་མ་དང་། །  
 བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་དཔལ་སྤེར་ཉི་རུ་ཀྟ། །  
 བདེ་ལྷན་གྱི་གནས་ནས་ཉྑལ་དུ་གཟིགས། །  
 བདེ་ཉམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱུ་དབྱངས་འདི་ལྟར་འཐེན། །  
 བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་སྤྲ་མ་ལ<sup>49</sup> །  
 བདེ་སྤྲལ་དུ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་འདི། །  
 བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་འཆར་ཐབས་སུ། །  
 བདེ་གཤེགས་ཀུན་མཐུན་པར་ཡང་ཡང་གསུངས། །  
 བདེ་སྤེར་གྱི་ཐབས་མཚོག་དམ་པའི་ཆོས། །  
 བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ཆེན་དལ་འབྱོར་ལུས། །  
 བདེ་མེད་ཀྱི་འཁོར་བར་རྟེན་དཀའ་བས། །  
 བདེ་སྤྲལ་ལ་མ་ལྟ་སྤྱིང་པོ་ལོངས། །  
 བདེ་བ་ནས་བདེ་བར་འགྲོ་བསམ་ན། །  
 བདེ་མཚོག་སོགས་ཡི་དམ་བསྟེན་སྤྲལ་དང་། །  
 བདེ་སྤྲལ་སོགས་ཆོས་བརྒྱད་མགོ་<sup>50</sup>སྟོམས་དང་། །  
 བདེ་བ་ལ་འགྲོ་ཀུན་འགོད་འདོད་སོགས། །  
 བདེ་སྤྲལ་དུ་བསྤྲུབས་ན་ཅིས་ཀྱང་ལེགས། །<sup>51</sup>

The lama, essence of **Bde mchog** and  
 He ru ka, who bestows the glory of **great bliss**  
 Please look [upon me] always from **Bde ba can**.

[I]'ll sing accordingly a song of **blissful experience**.

This **happy** petition to the lama, the root of **well-being**,  
 Has been said over and over in harmony with  
 All those who **have entered into eternal bliss**,  
 As a means for the sun of **happiness** to shine.

<sup>49</sup> *la* ABC; *las* D.

<sup>50</sup> *mgo* CD; 'go AB.

<sup>51</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 100-101/ 90.

Because it is difficult to obtain a body, a good foundation, the path  
of **well-being**

[And the path for] the holy religion, the most supreme means for  
giving **happiness**,

In samsara, where there is no **happiness**,

Without regard for **happiness** and suffering, obtain the essence.

If [you] are thinking<sup>52</sup> of going from **happiness** to happiness,

Recite the mantras and propitiate the tutelary deities such as **Bde  
mchog**, and

Equalize the distinctions of the eight worldly *dharma*s, such as  
**happiness** and suffering.

If [you] have easily established **happiness** [through] the desire to  
transfer all beings into a **happy state**, and so on,

By all means [your happiness] is good.

In this *mgur*, Skal Idan rgya mtsho emphasizes the idea of happiness (*bde ba*) over and over, by repeating its first syllable, *bde*, at the beginning of each line.<sup>53</sup> A lovely feature of this poem is the tension between the emphasis on happiness through the constant repetitions of *bde*, and the advice to go beyond the dichotomy of happiness and suffering. In the end, Skal Idan rgya mtsho concedes that if one has established happiness easily through desiring it for others, then one's own happiness is good.

It is apparent that *bde* has a variety of grammatical functions here. For example, *bde* is sometimes followed by another syllable, forming a union which is itself a single word (i.e. *bde mchog*, *bde legs*, etc.). Sometimes the two syllables together form an abbreviation (i.e. *bde gshegs*, for *bde bar gshegs pa*). At other times, *bde* is followed by a syllable which qualifies it (i.e. *bde med*), and so on.

The pattern above is described by Daṇḍin in verse III.29. I have broken it into *pādas* to show the pattern clearly:

Kamaleḥ samakeśaṃ te  
Kamalershyākaram mukham/

<sup>52</sup> I have interpreted *bsam*, the future stem, in the present, according to the sense here.

<sup>53</sup> In Chapter 10 I will present an example of a *mgur* in which *bde* is used repeatedly at the end of each line.

Kam alekhyam karoshi tvaṁ  
 Kamalevonmadisṇushu/ /<sup>54</sup>

Eppling diagrams this poetic figure as follows:

[A\_\_\_/A\_\_\_/A\_\_\_/A\_\_\_]<sup>55</sup>

### NIYAMA

With my sixth example which shows influence from the *Kāvyādarśa*, I move away from *yamaka* to another major branch of Daṇḍin's verbal figures, *niyama*. In *Mgur* XI-9 there are no vowel signs, and hence the only vowel present is “a.” Below is an excerpt from the song, all of whose sixty-four lines employ this poetic figure:

ལྷ་མ་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་བཅས་ལ། །  
 བསམ་པ་ཐག་པས་སྐྱབས་བཅས་ན། །  
 རང་དང་གཞན་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ། །  
 ཉག་པར་ཕན་པར་མཇད་པ་ལགས། །<sup>56</sup>

Of course my translation will demonstrate nothing about the poetic figure, but I will provide it anyway, to show how well the language flows.

Taking refuge with the rope of [one's] intention  
 In the lama and the Buddha, together with his sons,  
 Is doing perpetual benefit  
 For oneself and all others.

Here there is a constant interchange between the various pronunciations of the vowel “a,” determined by what letters follow it in a syllable. The constant repetition of these pronunciations of the

<sup>54</sup> Belvalkar translates verse III.29 in *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin*, 56, as follows:

Your head has hair like the bee, and your face is the cause of jealousy  
 to the lotus: whom would you—even like the goddess of  
 Wealth—make un-included amongst persons liable to be intoxicated?

<sup>55</sup> Eppling, “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 206.

<sup>56</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 263/ 233.

vowel “a” throughout the entire eighty-four lines gives me a sense of flow and ease.

This figure belongs to a group of figures Daṇḍin calls *niyama* (Tib.: *dbyangs dang gnas dang yi ge rnam kyi nges pa*),<sup>57</sup> or “phonemic restriction.” He explains this group as follows:

The restriction of vowels, *sthānas*,<sup>58</sup> or consonants to four or less is considered difficult to achieve—These will now be shown.

Otherwise a stanza is easy to compose.<sup>59</sup>

We are dealing with the subcategory of *svara*, or vowel restriction, here. In the most difficult case of restriction to a single vowel, the vowel prescribed for use by Daṇḍin is “a.”<sup>60</sup>

Belvalkar transliterates and translates Daṇḍin’s example of this poetic figure as follows:

Sāmāyāmā māyā māsā Mārānāyānā rāmā  
Yānāvārārāvānāyā Māyārāmā mārāyāmā

The lady who is [more] beautiful than Lakshmī, who inflicts a long dole of affliction, and whose approach is the harbinger of Cupid: that bewitching-damsel who spreads out a snare in the form of the jingling of the anklets upon her treading-foot is—along with the moon—meant for [men’s] destruction.<sup>61</sup>

Like Daṇḍin, Skāl Idan rgya mtsho acknowledges the difficulty of carrying out *niyama*, which he refers to as “*bya dka’ ba’i mdzes rgyan*”<sup>62</sup> (a beautiful ornament which is difficult to compose). Yet Skāl Idan rgya mtsho shows great mastery in the skill of writing a *mgur* with vowel restrictions, as the fluidity of Mgur XI-9 demonstrates.

<sup>57</sup> Banerjee, *Kāvyaadarśa: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*, xiv.

<sup>58</sup> Eppling defines *sthānas* as physical points of verbal articulation in “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 229.

<sup>59</sup> Daṇḍin, verse 3.83, translated by Eppling in “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 229.

<sup>60</sup> Eppling, “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 230.

<sup>61</sup> Daṇḍin, verse 3.87, transliterated and translated by Belvalkar in *Kāvyaadarśa of Daṇḍin*, 68-69.

<sup>62</sup> Skāl Idan, *Mgur ’bum*, colophon to Mgur XI-9, 264/ 234.

## PRAHELIKĀ

My last example also shows the influence of Daṇḍin's larger category of verbal figures upon Skāl ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*. In *Mgur* I-7, Skāl ldan rgya mtsho has dispersed the syllables of his name among the lines. Here is the opening beseechment:

ན་མོ་གུ་རུ་མཆུ་བྱ་ཏུ་ཡོད། །

སྐལ་བཟང་ནམས་ལ་ལེགས་བཤད་བདུད་ཅི་སྟེ། །

ཁྱིམས་ལྷན་དམ་པའི་ནམ་ཐར་རྗེས་སུ་འཇུག། །

བཤད་སྒྲུབ་བསྟན་པའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་སྒྱུ་ཆེན་མངའ། །

གཞན་པོ་མཆོ་ལྷ་རྩལ་ལྷ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས། །<sup>64</sup>

[I] prostrate myself before the guru, Mañjuśrī.

[I] give the nectar of good explanations to the **fortunate** ones.

[I] enter into the traces of the stories of liberation of the holy ones  
who **possess** precepts.

[I] have **vast** activities for benefiting the teaching of explanation  
and practice.

[I] beseech [you] to spread benefit to others more and more, like  
a **lake**.

Daṇḍin places the poetic figure demonstrated above in the general category of *prahelikā*<sup>65</sup> (Tib.: *gab tshig*),<sup>66</sup> or “riddle,” of which there are sixteen varieties. The particular type of riddle that Skāl ldan rgya mtsho employs above is *vyutkrāntā* (Tib.: *rim pa bral ba*), or disjointed riddle. Daṇḍin says it “creates confusion through the employment of [related words] excessively separated.”<sup>67</sup> Belvalkar transliterates, analyzes and translates Daṇḍin's example of this type of riddle:

<sup>63</sup> *sh'a ya* ABD; *shya* C.

<sup>64</sup> Skāl ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 12-13/ 11.

<sup>65</sup> Eppling, “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 232.

<sup>66</sup> Banerjee, *Kāvyaḍarśa: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*, 247.

<sup>67</sup> Daṇḍin, 3.99, translated by Eppling in “A Calculus of Creative Expression,” 236.



3            11            1            8            2  
 Daṇḍe chumbati padminyā haṁsaḥ karkaśakaṇṭake

9            6            7            10            4            5  
 Mukhaṁ valguravaṁ kurvaṁs tuṇḍenāṅgāṇi ghaṭṭayan.

The swan, rubbing his limbs against the stalk of the lotus-plant  
 which has a rough, hairy exterior, and giving out a sweet note,  
 kisses with his beak the [plant's] face.<sup>68</sup>

As we have seen in some of the previous examples, Skāḷ Idan rgya mtsho's examples of some of the poetic figures of the *Kāvyādarśa* are simpler than those given by Daṇḍin. In this case, Skāḷ Idan rgya mtsho keeps the syllables of his name in order, whereas Daṇḍin's syllables are jumbled. Furthermore, Skāḷ Idan rgya mtsho's use of the disjointed riddle is quite natural and causes none of the confusion Daṇḍin associates with this poetic figure. One would not suspect that Skāḷ Idan rgya mtsho is using a poetic figure here, as the poem flows naturally. The disjointed syllables of his name would not be noticed if it were not for the small circles placed above or below the syllables, in several editions.

Skāḷ Idan rgya mtsho does not seem to be making any contrived or showy attempt to use the disjointed riddle. Rather, the use he makes of it is consistent with the overall tone of this *mgur*. Though he is the subject of the opening verse, this is not specified, and when his name appears, the syllables are spread out, not compact. He asks his lama to bring more and more benefit to others, like the increasing waters in a lake (*mtsho*), lake being the last syllable of his name. In this stanza there is a sense that Skāḷ Idan rgya mtsho is reaching outward to other people. This expansion outward from oneself to others is very much a Buddhist ideal.

In this chapter, we have seen five types of repetitions (*yamaka*), one kind of phonemic restriction (*niyama*), and one type of riddle (*prahelikā*) in Skāḷ Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*. These features most clearly show the influence of the category of verbal figures, as classified by Daṇḍin in his third chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa*. This list is not meant to be exhaustive, but to give an indication of the types

<sup>68</sup> Daṇḍin, 3.110, transliterated, analyzed and translated by Belvalkar in *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin*, 72.

of figures Skäl Idan rgya mtsho employs. In the next chapter, I will show other types of poetic figures that he uses that have no connection with Daṇḍin.

## CHAPTER TEN

### POETIC FIGURES

#### II. INDIGENOUS TIBETAN POETIC FIGURES

Now that we have looked at poetic figures (*rgyan*) used by Skal Idan rgya mtsho that show influences from the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, we turn next to other figures that he uses that were not inspired by Daṇḍin's text. Don grub rgyal uses the term *rgyan* for all poetic figures, regardless of their origin. For the purpose of this chapter, I shall be following his guidance, and will expand the definition of *rgyan* I used in the last chapter. Here *rgyan* will refer to poetic figures along a wider spectrum: from those inspired by Daṇḍin through those that may show an overlap of influences (both from the *Kāvyaḍarśa* and from indigenous Tibetan poetry) to those that have nothing to do with the *Kāvyaḍarśa*.

In this chapter, my identifications of several poetic figures used by Skal Idan rgya mtsho are based on Don grub rgyal's examples, which he puts forth in his section, "*Mgur rang gi rgyan*," "*Mgur's own ornaments*."<sup>1</sup> He strongly warns against assuming that *snyan ngag* in Tibet has been written in accordance with the *Kāvyaḍarśa*:

ད་ལྟ་རང་རེའི་སྒྲོ་མཐུན་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་གིས་སྟན་ངག་ཅེས་པ་ནི་“མི་ལོང་”མའི་  
གཞུང་ལྟར་བརྒྱུ་མས་པའི་ཆོག་ས་བཅད་ལ་གོ་བ་ལེན་པ་ནི་གུ་དྲག་པོའི་བསམ་སྒྲོ་  
ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། བསམ་སྒྲོ་གུ་དྲག་པོའི་ངོས་འཛིན་དེ་ལས་“མི་ལོང་”མའི་གཞུང་  
དེ་བོད་ལ་མ་དར་གོང་དུ་བོད་ལ་སྟན་ངག་མེད་ཅེས་ཟེར་བ་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་མི་འོས་པའི་  
གནས་ཤིག་རེད།<sup>2</sup>

Nowadays not few of our fellow students think that “*snyan ngag*” means verses composed according to the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. This understanding is narrow-minded. According to that narrow-minded identification, before the *Kāvyaḍarśa* spread in

<sup>1</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 531-35.

<sup>2</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 347.

Tibet, there was supposedly no poetry in Tibet. [This] is a very inappropriate position.

He finds the position of his fellow students laughable because there certainly was poetry in Tibet before the spread of the *Kāvyādarśa* there in the thirteenth century.

Don grub rgyal may have reason to take his not-so-few comrades to task for keeping their sights so focused on the *Kāvyādarśa* in order to judge the legitimacy of Tibetan poetry. Is this what Daṇḍin himself would have proposed? Here I will remind the reader of the second half of Daṇḍin's verse that completes his definition of poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*):

Even today [poetic figures, *alaṃkāras*] are being postulated—  
Who could completely describe them?<sup>3</sup>

Although Daṇḍin describes in painstaking detail the many poetic figures (and their many subtypes) that he deals with in the *Kāvyādarśa*, he quickly acknowledges that there will always be more. Don grub rgyal himself has postulated a number of new poetic figures that he found in Tibetan poetry. This puts him even more in accord with Daṇḍin's visions than those comrades he finds fault with, who evaluate Tibetan poetic figures on the basis of whether they were written in accordance with Daṇḍin's text.

Don grub rgyal is emphatic that *mgur* needs certain poetic figures described in the *Kāvyādarśa*, which he lists below:

གཞན་ཡང་། གསལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་དང་། བསྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱ། བསྐྱར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྒྱ། སྤོང་  
པའི་རྒྱ། ལུ་ལྷུང་གི་རྒྱ། རབ་ཏྲོག་གི་རྒྱ། རེ་མ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱ། རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱ།  
ལྷན་ཅིག་བཞིན་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་མཁས་ཀྱང་མགུར་སྤྱོད་མཁོ་ཡོད།<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the poetic figures *dipaka alaṃkāra*, *āvṛtti alaṃkāra*, *samāsokti alaṃkāra*, *vibhāvanā alaṃkāra*, *atiśayokti (atiśaya) alaṃkāra*, *utprekṣā alaṃkāra*, *yathāsaṃkhyā (saṃkhyāna/ krama) alaṃkāra*, *udātta alaṃkāra*, and *saṃsṛṣṭi (saṃkirna) alaṃkāra* are indeed also needed in *mgur*.

<sup>3</sup> Daṇḍin, II.1, translated by Eppling in "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 333.

<sup>4</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 530.

All these poetic figures are found in the second chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa*, which deals with semantic relationships.<sup>5</sup> But Don grub rgyal warns against overemphasizing the application of Daṇḍin's figures to Tibetan poetry:

ཅེའི་ཕྱིར་ཞིན། མགུར་སྟུ་ནི་ངག་འཇམ་ཞིང་གོ་བདེ་བའི་ཚུམ་རིག་ཅིག་ཡིན་པས། ཁ་  
 ཉ་ཅང་དམ་པ་དང་བྱུན་དྲུག་བ་ནམས་ལ་སྦྱར་ན་མགུར་གྱི་ཚུམ་ཉམས་དང་བྱིད་ལྷས་  
 ཉམས་འགྲོ་བའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་སྟོ།<sup>6</sup>

Why? Since *mgur* is an eloquent and easily understood [form of] literature, if [one] composes poetic figures that are very tight-lipped and difficult [to comprehend], the composition of *mgur* and the ability to do [it] will decline.

Don grub rgyal reminds us that the *Kāvyādarśa* made a summary of the practices of composing the *snyan ngag* of India which was based on two types of composition (that of southern and eastern India), and was, apparently, in harmony with the characteristics of society, the period and the ethnic groups. But, Don grub rgyal says that harmony is not possible in Tibet.<sup>7</sup> All people have their own oral poetry with its particular characteristics, and the Tibetans are no exception. Don grub rgyal describes his theory of the origin of *mgur* in order to illustrate his point:

བོད་ལ་ཆ་མཚན་ན་ཡང་། ཐོག་མར་བོད་རང་གི་བྱུང་ཆོས་དང་ལྷན་པའི་སྟུ་ཡོད་པ་  
 དང་། སྟུ་དེ་དག་ནི་བོད་རིགས་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ངལ་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལག་ལེན་ཁྲོད་ནས་  
 བྱུང་བར་མ་ཟད། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་འཕེལ་བྱས་བྱུང་སྟེ་ན་བར་སྟུ་ཞིང་  
 ཡོད་འཕྲོག་པ་དང་། ཉམས་དང་འགྲུར་བ་དུ་མ་དང་ལྷན་པ། རྒྱན་སྟུ་ཚོགས་པས་ཕྱག་

<sup>5</sup> Daṇḍin's descriptions of these poetic figures are in verses II.97, II.116, II.205, II.199, II.214, II.221, II.273, II.300, and II.351 of the *Kāvyādarśa*; and are translated and discussed by Eppling in "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 671-82, 727-29, 926-32, 911-15, 948-56, 972-79, 1081-84, 1174-79, and 1348-50, respectively. For Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit names, see the index to Banerjee, *Kāvyādarśa: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*. (His numbering system of the verses is a bit different.)

<sup>6</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 531.

<sup>7</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 525 and the entire section of Chapter One (*Gzhung 'di'i yan lag gi skor*) entitled *Mgur dang snyan ngag gi dbye ba rob bsdus*, 343-51.

པའི་ཚུམ་རིག་གི་ནམ་པ་ཞིག་དུ་གྱུར་དེ་བོད་རིགས་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་སྤྲུབ་པ་  
ཁྱབ་དུ་སོང་ཡོད་ .....<sup>8</sup>

For example, in Tibet in the beginning there were songs which had Tibet's own characteristics, and those songs arose from the practice of production [and] labor of the Tibetan people, and they developed over individual periods of history, and the people were happy when they heard them. That which was melodious and charming, with many moods and changes, became a kind of rich literature by means of various poetic figures.....

Don grub rgyal laments the fact that there has never been a tradition of scholarship of Tibetan indigenous poetry, but states that it would not be hard to establish one.<sup>9</sup> This is a task that he sets out to accomplish in the second part of his seventh chapter (*Mgur gyi rgyan gyi skor*) entitled *Mgur rang gi rgyan, Ornaments of Mgur Itself*, in which he illustrates and discusses poetic figures that belong to *mgur* itself (and not to the *Kāvyādarśa*).

I have adopted Don grub rgyal's identification of poetic figures that involve sequences of numbers and those that involve interjections, and will show examples of these figures from Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs in the fifth and sixth sections of this chapter below. My fourth section will deal with the continual repetition of the same finite verb at the end of each line of verse. But before embarking on these three sections, each of which describes features of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's poetic figures that are not found in the *Kāvyādarśa*, I will start with sections on the simile, metaphor and parallelism, respectively, in which influences of Daṇḍin and of indigenous Tibetan poetry may be seen to overlap, and show why my discussion of these figures belongs in this chapter and not in the previous one.

<sup>8</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 348-49.

<sup>9</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 349.

<i>mtsho</i>	lake
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<i>nyi zla</i>	sun and moon
<i>ri mo</i>	painting, drawing
<i>snum zad mar me</i>	butter without oil
<i>chu dang chu rdo</i>	water and water stone
<i>chu ltar khol</i>	boil like water
<i>mgal me</i>	firebrand, torch
<i>ne tso</i>	expound religion like a parrot
<i>ri, ri bo</i>	mountain
<i>rnga</i>	drum
<i>gser</i>	gold
<i>glog</i>	lightning
<i>bya spu</i>	plumes of a bird

*at least 1 occurrence*

<i>chu yi chu bur</i>	channel of water
<i>rgya mtsho</i>	ocean
<i>zla zer</i>	moonlight
<i>pad dkar</i>	white lotus
<i>nor bu</i>	precious stone, jewel
<i>yid bzhin nor bu</i>	wish-fulfilling jewel
<i>mu tig</i>	pearl
<i>nyi ma shar</i>	sunrise
<i>mar me</i>	butter
<i>'o ma mang yang mar med</i>	milk without butter
<i>rlung</i>	wind
<i>lo tog</i>	crop
<i>ri dwags</i>	wild animal
<i>ne tso'i gzhog pa</i>	parrot's wing
<i>sa rdo</i>	stone made of earth
<i>lag stong du rang yul 'gro</i>	return home empty-handed
<i>srog</i>	life

From the list above, we see that over two-thirds of the similes are things found in nature, and less than one-fourth are man-made. I will make an examination of how the eight most commonly used similes are used. The fact that two of the most frequently used similes in Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum*—the flow of a river and the fall of rain—involve water, emphasizes his awareness of the scarcity of that element in his area of Amdo, which makes it particularly precious there.



*like the flow of a river*

This simile is most frequently used to refer to striving, exerting one-self to practice religion. Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-4:

ཚས་ཉམས་སྤྱེལ་ལྟ་བུ་མ་གཤིས་ན། །  
 གནས་རི་ཁྲོད་འགྲིམས་ཡང་སྤྲུག་བཟུལ་ཡིན། །  
 གླུ་བས་ད་ནས་སྒྲིམ་གྱི་ཟབ་ཁྲིད་ལ། །  
 བརྩོན་ཆུ་པོའི་རྒྱུ་ལྟར་བསྒྲིན་པར་མཛོད། །<sup>10</sup>

If [you] did not know how to practice religion,  
 Although [you] went to a mountain retreat, [the experience] would  
 be [one of] suffering.

From now on, rely on effort in the deep instructions for preparing  
 for meditation

**Like the flow of a river.**

Some of the similes which involve the flow of a river use the verb *sten*, to rely on, as in the example above.<sup>11</sup> One must rely on effort in carrying out the instructions, as one relies on a river. Both are crucial: relying on the instructions is crucial for practicing religion, and relying on a flowing river is crucial for crops, animals and human consumption.

The verb that this simile is most frequently associated with in Skaldan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* is *sring*, to extend, stretch.<sup>12</sup> Here is an example of this usage in *Mgur* V-13:

<sup>10</sup> Skaldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 72-73/ 65.

<sup>11</sup> For other examples of the simile, like the flow of a river, used with a form of the verb *sten*, to rely on, see Skaldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 216, 261. (Page numbers for lists of examples in this section correspond to edition C.)

<sup>12</sup> For other examples of the simile used with a form of the verb *sring*, to extend, stretch, see Skaldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 106, 156, 167, 211, 288, 290, 306, 317, 322, 327, 337, and 360.

.....  
 མཚན་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཚེས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། །  
 དུས་ཁོར་ཡུག་ཐུགས་དམ་རིམ་པ་ལ། །  
 བརྩོན་ཆུ་རྒྱན་ལྷ་བྱར་སྤང་བའི་དུང་། །  
 བདག་སྐལ་ལྷན་མཇལ་དུ་འོངས་པའི་ཆོ། །  
 ཕ་སླ་མའི་བཀའ་བློན་ལེགས་བློན་པའི། །  
 དག་ལྷ་དབྱངས་སྙན་མོ་འདི་ལྷར་འཐེན། །<sup>13</sup>

.....

When I, Skäl Idan, came to meet

Chos pa Rin po che, whose name is famous everywhere,

[And] who extends [his] effort in the stages of [his] tutelary deity

To the outmost limit of time **like the flow of a river,**

In remembrance of the good kindness of Father Lama.

[I] sang in this way a well-sounding song.

The nuance is a bit different in this example, though the passage uses the same simile with the same object, effort or exertion. The use of the verb *sring*, to extend, creates a parallel between the length of the river and the length of the extension of Chos pa Rin po che's effort. One extremely long river near Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's homeland is the Yellow River, which has its source in Amdo and then flows across China.

In this excerpt from Mgur VIII-24 which we saw in Chapter 4, the simile has a different twist again, since it refers to preserving an experience. Here is the last stanza:

འོ་འོ་ཕུག་གྱུ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་བ། །  
 ཞུ་བོ་བས་མི་ཆོག་སྒྲིམ་དགོས། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཆུ་བོའི་རྒྱན་ལྷ་རྒྱུངས་དང་། །  
 ཉེ་ཉེ་སློབ་དེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞེས། །<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 106/ 95.

<sup>14</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 193/ 170-71.

'O 'o,     The view of *Mahāmudrā* must be meditated upon.  
 A'u,       It's not enough to understand it!  
 Kho re,    Guard it **like the flow of a river**.  
 He he,     The mind is happy and glorious! Get it?

This is a rare case in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* where the simile does not involve relying on or extending effort, but guarding. What is to be guarded is the view of *Mahāmudrā*, which cannot be held on to conceptually. In this case, the emphasis is on energy and movement. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's advice is to preserve the flow of the meditative experience, which is like the flow of a river, precious but never something one can hold on to.

*fall like rain*

This simile is used to refer to things that have come to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho in abundance, usually the spiritual powers (*dngos grub*, *siddhis*),<sup>15</sup> as in *Mgur* III-2:

ལྷ་མ་ནི་བཀའ་བློན་མཚལ་དྲུ་ཆེ། །  
 མིས་གྱུས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིང་ནས་གསོལ་བ་དབ་ན། །  
 བཀའ་འདོད་ཀྱི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཆར་ལྷན་འབབ། །<sup>16</sup>

The lama's kindness is very great.  
 When [I] have petitioned [him] with respect from the heart,  
 Whatever spiritual powers [I] desire **fall like rain**..

In tantric Buddhism, the lama is viewed as the source of all things. Through the grace engendered by petitioning his lama, spiritual powers fall like rain upon Skäl Idan rgya mtsho. The powers that he desires come to him uncontrollably, in a torrent.

The simile can also be used causatively as in the next example from *Mgur* V-14:

<sup>15</sup> For other examples of the simile used with spiritual powers, see Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 80, 234 and 291.

<sup>16</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 34-35/ 31.

རྒྱུ་བཀའ་རྒྱན་གསུམ་ལྷན་སྒྲུ་མ་དང་། །  
 ལྷ་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚེན་ལ་སྔགས་པའི། །  
 སྐྱབས་བསྐྱེ་མེད་དཀོན་མཚེན་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས། །  
 ཐུགས་བརྩེ་བས་བདེ་ལེགས་**ཆར་ལྷན་པོག**།<sup>17</sup>

The infallible refuges, the Precious Jewels,  
 The lord lama with the three kindnesses  
 And the deity, 'Khor lo bde mchog, and so on—  
 Please cause well-being to **fall like rain**, through [your]  
 compassion!

In this case, the deity and the lama are petitioned to cause the rain of well-being to fall, while at the same time there is a sense of the uncontrollable nature of the flow from the point of view of the recipient. As in the last example, there is a connotation of an abundance of something good coming to the one who supplicates.

Here is another example of the simile, this time used with respect to material possessions,<sup>18</sup> from Mgur XI-22:

ང་ཡུན་རིང་རི་ཁྲོད་འགྲིམས་འགྲིམས་པས། །  
 རོར་དངོས་པོ་ཆེད་དུ་མི་གཉེར་ཡང་། །  
 དུས་ད་ལྟ་བསོད་ནམས་བྱུང་བྱས་<sup>19</sup>པས། །  
 རོར་དངོས་པོ་གང་འདོད་**ཆར་ལྷན་བབས།** །  
 ཆེ་སྲ་མའི་བག་ཆགས་ཤུགས་<sup>20</sup>བྱས་པས། །  
 རོར་མི་འདོད་བྱས་ཀྱང་འདོད་པས་གདུང་། །  
 རི་མཐོན་པོར་གཅིག་ཕུར་<sup>21</sup>སྒྲོད་ནུས་ན། །  
 ཆོས་གང་བྱས་ལམ་དུ་འགྲོ་བར་ངེས། །<sup>22</sup>

Because for a long time I wandered around mountain hermitages,  
 Although [I] do not take pains [to acquire] wealth and goods,

<sup>17</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 109/ 97.

<sup>18</sup> For other examples of this simile used with material possessions, see Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 204 and 321-22.

<sup>19</sup> drags CD; drag AB.

<sup>20</sup> shugs BCD; shug A.

<sup>21</sup> pur ACD; bur B.

<sup>22</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 284/ 251-52.

Now at present [my] merit has increased fiercely.  
So wealth, goods, whatever is desired, **have fallen like rain**.

Because of the strong power of inclinations from [my] past lives,  
Though not having caused a desire for wealth [in this life], [I] am  
afflicted by desire.

When [I] am able to stay alone on a high mountain,  
Whatever teaching [I] practice is sure to take [me] on the path.

As in the last case, because of doing something good (petitioning his lama, increasing merit, ....) desirable things come to him involuntarily, like the fall of rain. But in this case, what he gets through his merit—wealth and goods—are things he does not want. He feels afflicted and wants to go to a hermitage to cleanse himself.

In the following case from *Mgur* VII-5, his tears fall like rain, this time in response to his poor behavior:

ཕྱིན་གཞིན་དུ་ས་མི་དགེ་སྒྲིག་ལ་འཛེམ། །  
ད་ལོ་རེ་སོང་གིན་སྒྲིག་ལ་འཇུག །  
འདི་བྲན་ཆེ་མཆེ་མ་ཆར་ལྷན་འབབ། །  
བདག་འདི་སུ་མི་སྤྲོད་རེ་ལ་འགྲོ། <sup>23</sup>

Before, when [I] was young, I avoided<sup>24</sup> unvirtuous sin.  
This year having passed, [I] enter into sin.  
When [I] recollect this, tears **fall like rain**.  
[I] won't stay here. [I]'m going to the mountains.

The same simile, falling like rain, can also be used in reference to evil.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 142/ 126.

<sup>24</sup> Though Skäl Idan rgya mtsho has used the present stem of the verb, I have translated it in the past, since the line is introduced by *sngon*.

<sup>25</sup> For the use of this simile with respect to evil falling like rain, see Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 130 and 343.

*increase like the moon*

Most similes that involve the moon in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* have to do with increasing a good quality.<sup>26</sup> The following example is from *Mgur XII-13*:

མགོན་སངས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱོད་དང་བཅས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས། །

དུས་ཉིན་མཚན་གྱི་དུ་བྱ་བཞིན་སྤྱོད་། །

ཉམས་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི། །

དུས་ཡར་ངོའི་སྒྲ་བཞིན་གོང་དུ་འཕེལ། །<sup>28</sup>

The protector, the Buddha, together with [his] sons

(= bodhisattvas)

Are taking care [of me] like a son, all day and all night.

Each and all qualities of experiential knowledge

**Increase [in me], like the waxing of the moon.**

This excerpt is part of a description of what happened after Chos pa Rin po che passed away, and the blessings that came to those who were present at his death. There is a sense of steadiness and inevitability in the increase of the qualities of understanding within Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, because of the grace of this event.

My next example, from *Mgur XII-30*, combines the use of the sun as a metaphor with the moon as a simile:

དེང་སང་ལྷོ་ཕྱགས་འཛམ་གླིང་། །

བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ་གར་ནས། །

སྤྱི་དགུ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ལེགས་ཚལ། །

ཡར་ངོའི་སྒྲ་ལྟར་<sup>29</sup>འཕེལ་འདུག །<sup>30</sup>

These days [in] the southern Jambudvīpa-world

The sun of the teaching shines, and

<sup>26</sup> For other examples than those cited here, see Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 13, 127, 319 and 325.

<sup>27</sup> *tu* BCD; *du* A.

<sup>28</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 313/ 277.

<sup>29</sup> *ltar* ABC; *bzang* D.

<sup>30</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 330/ 292.

Good accumulations<sup>31</sup> **have increased** in all sentient beings  
**Like the first fortnight's [waxing] moon.**

First comes the sun (the teaching). After the sun comes the moonlight (good accumulations in all sentient beings), a reflection of the sun. Here the increase is again because of the grace of the existent teaching.

As a final example, I offer this excerpt from *Mgur* XI-9:

མཚན་ལྷན་གྱི་མ་དམ་པ་རྣམས། །  
 བསམ་པ་དད་པས་རངས་བྱས་ན། །  
 ཡན་དང་དགའ་བ་དཔག་དཀར་བ། །  
 ཉ་གྱས་ཤིང་ལྷ་རྣམས་པར་གྱས། །<sup>32</sup>

When [one] paid respect with faithful thoughts  
 To the holy lamas possessing the defining characteristics,  
 [His] immeasurable benefit and joy  
**Increased like a waxing moon.**

Here Skäl Idan rgya mtsho has used a form of the verb *rgya* instead of *'phel*, though their meanings are similar. His choice is dependent on the fact that this entire *mgur* is written with a poetic figure from the *Kāvyaḍarśa* that I discussed in the last chapter. The figure is called *bya dka' ba'i mdzes rgyan*, and since no vowel signs are allowed in its employment, the only vowel present in any syllable is an "a." Again the increase of benefit comes about through the grace of something higher than the recipient, in this case the lamas.

*take care of like an eyeball*

This simile is used to convey the utmost importance in preserving vows, duties, rules (*dam tshig*, *sdom pa*, *khirms*, *bslab sdom*, *bcas mtshams*).<sup>33</sup> Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* III-8:

<sup>31</sup> This refers to the two accumulations of wisdom and merit.

<sup>32</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 263/ 232.

<sup>33</sup> For other examples of the simile, take care of like an eyeball, see Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 49, 99, 211, 300, 304, 309, 315, 317 and 334.

.....  
 དྲན་ཤིས་བག་ཡོད་བཟང་པོས། །  
 བསྐྱབ་ཚྲོམ་མིག་འབྲས་ལྗར་བསྟུངས། །  
 འདུལ་བ་འཛིན་པའི་བྱ་མཚན། །  
 སློབ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་བྱུ་མཚན། །

.....<sup>34</sup>

.....  
 Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan,  
 The supreme leader who adheres to the *Vinaya* and  
**Has preserved like an eyeball** what was to be practiced  
 and vows,  
 Through good, firm recollection and wisdom.....

The simile is usually used either to give advice or to describe someone's adherence to the rules.

### *like a son*

This simile most often has the sense of protecting or thinking of someone like a son.<sup>35</sup> Here is an example from Mgur X-12:

ཆོས་ཆོས་བཞིན་བྱེད་པའི་མི་དེ་ལ། །  
 མགོན་སངས་རྒྱུ་བྱང་སེམས་བྱ་བཞིན་དགོངས། །<sup>36</sup>

The protector, the Buddha, [together with his] disciples  
 Think of that person who acts in accordance with religion **like**  
**a son.**

The agent is most often the Buddha, a bodhisattva or lama, and the recipient is someone who has done something to be worthy of their fatherly care. Here is another example which we saw above in another context. It is from Mgur XII-13:

<sup>34</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 46/ 41.

<sup>35</sup> For other examples of the simile, like a son, see Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 20, 26, 160, 244, 270 and 290.

<sup>36</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 229/ 202.



དུས་ཉིན་མཆན་ཀྱང་དྲ་<sup>37</sup> བཞིན་སྐྱོང་། །<sup>38</sup>

*watch it like a fiery pit*

ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། | 40

*like a torch circling around*

<sup>41</sup> For other examples of the simile, like a torch circling around, used in reference to going around in samsara, see Skāl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 166, 179 and 189-90.

སྤྱིར་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་གྲམས་ཅད་དང་། །  
 སྤྱིས་<sup>42</sup> རང་ཅག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ངར་འཛིན་གྱིས། །  
 གནས་ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བའི་ཁྲོན་པ་འདིར། །  
 ལར་མགལ་མའི་འཁོར་ལོ་ལྟ་བུར་འཁོར། །<sup>43</sup>

In general, all the sentient beings of the three realms, and  
 In particular, us as well, through grasping onto “I”  
 In this well of samsara of the three realms,  
 Are generally going around **like a circling torch**.

*burn like fire*

This simile is usually used by Skal ldan rgya mtsho in the sense of diligence burning like fire.<sup>44</sup> Here is an example from *Mgur* II-3, an autobiographical *mgur* written at Rong bo monastery in 1647:

བློགས་མཁས་མང་འདུ་བའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲ། །  
 དཔལ་བྱང་ཅི་ཐོས་བསམ་གླིང་མཆོག་ཏུ། །  
 ས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཆོས་འཕེལ་དང་། །  
 བཀའ་བརྒྱུ་ཕྱག་སྤྲོ་བའི་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས། །  
 མཆོན་སློ་བློས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བྱ་བ་གཉིས། །  
 ལོ་གསུམ་ཙམ་བརྟེན་ནས་བསྟུས་སྦྱོར་ལ། །  
 བརྩོན་མེ་ལྟར་འབར་བས་ལིགས་པར་སྦྱངས། །<sup>45</sup>

At the supreme, glorious Byang rtse thos bsam gling,  
 The religious school in which many scholars and [spiritual]  
     friends assemble,  
 [I] studied for about three years with two [teachers]:  
 The father 'Jam dbyangs tshul khrim chos 'phel, and  
 The one named Blo gros rnam rgyal,  
 A spiritual friend who speaks of the ten difficult texts.

<sup>42</sup> sgos CD; dgos AB.

<sup>43</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 171/ 151.

<sup>44</sup> Other examples of the simile, burn like fire, used in reference to exertion are in Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 97 and 308.

<sup>45</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 23/ 20.

Then [I] studied well, because the urge for debating **was  
burning like fire.**

While that which burns like fire is usually something good (exertion), it can also be something undesirable, as in this excerpt from Mgur II-5:

དུས་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཡོན་བདག་གྲོང་ཚོག་མཁན། །  
ལྷ་ལྷང་སྤང་འགྲིམ་<sup>46</sup>འབྲེལ་སྤྲོམ་ཆེན་ང། །  
ནང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཚོས་བརྒྱད་མི་བཞིན་འབར། <sup>47</sup>

Inside me, the yogi, who wanders like a fox in one thousand  
valleys  
Continually performing village rites for patrons for [my] living,  
Inside, the eight worldly *dharma*s **burn like fire.**

Similes Skäl Idan rgya mtsho indicates with the word '*dra*' are sometimes more complex and unusual than the ones we have seen above. The following excerpt from Mgur XI-15 will illustrate this point.<sup>48</sup> Each of the four-line stanzas in the body of the *mgur* ends with the finite verb stem, '*dra*' (to be like), and involves a comparison of two extensive nominal clauses:

རྫིན་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྲ། །  
ཡིད་ཆེས་ཀྱི་དད་པས་མི་བསྟེན་པར། །  
བྱིན་སྐབས་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་རེ་བ་དེ། །  
ས་བོན་ནི་མེད་པའི་ལོ་ཐོག་<sup>49</sup>འབྲ། །  
དལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་མི་ལུས་ཐོབ་དུས་འདིར། །  
དམ་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲོང་པོ་<sup>50</sup>མི་ལེན་པ། །

<sup>46</sup> '*grim* ACD; '*grims* B.

<sup>47</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 29/ 25.

<sup>48</sup> For another example of similes with '*dra*' that involve more complex comparisons, see Mgur XI-16, pp. 271-72.

<sup>49</sup> *thog* AB; *tog* CD.

<sup>50</sup> *po* ACD; *bo* B.

རིན་ཆེན་གྱི་སྒྲིང་སྤང་ཚོང་པ་ན་མཁས། །

ལམ་སྒྲིང་དུ་རང་ཡུལ་འགྲོ་དང་འདྲ། །<sup>51</sup>

etc.

The hope of blessings and qualities  
Without relying with the faith of belief  
On a benevolent lama and the Buddha  
**Is like** a crop which has no seeds.

Not receiving the essence through the holy religion  
In this time of obtaining a human body of leisure support  
**Is like** merchants who had gone to an island of jewels  
Going [back] to their homeland empty-handed.  
etc.

Now that we have looked at the similes that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses the most, and several more unusual ones as well, I will investigate where his influence may have come from. First, let us consider the *Kāvyādarśa*. Anyone who has read this treatise on *snyan ngag* cannot help but be in awe of Daṇḍin's explanation of his thirty-two types of *upamā*, sometimes translated as simile. *Upamā* is the first figure that Daṇḍin describes in the major category of his second chapter: semantic figures that involve the embellishment of figurative or indirect speech. His discussion of the thirty-two types fills fifty-one verses. Daṇḍin's definition of *upamā* is as follows:

Where - - variously - - similarity  
is clearly seen - -  
There is the *alaṃkāra* called *Upamā*.  
Its scope will not be described.<sup>52</sup>

A reading of Daṇḍin's many types of *upamā* will quickly reveal that his poetic figures under that general heading encompass the Western notion of simile, but include many other notions as well. Most revealing are his particles, words and expressions that indicate similarity in *upamās*, listed in verses II.57 to 65. He heads the list with a number of words that can be translated as "like," and

<sup>51</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 271/ 240.

<sup>52</sup> Daṇḍin, II.14, translated by Eppling in *A Calculus of Creative Expression*, 408.

“similar,” indicating to me (as his examples also do) that his main interpretation of *upamā* is precisely what we term simile in the West. But as his list progresses, we see that other particles and words that he identifies as indicating similarity in *upamās*, such as “on the opposite side,” “enemy,” “opponent,” “reflection,” “blame,” “torment”; and phrases such as “He robs his beauty” and “He associates with him,” take us far from our familiar notion of the simile.<sup>53</sup> Hence, I follow Eppling’s guidance in arguing against translating *upamā* as “simile” (as well as against translating *rūpaka* as “metaphor”) because some aspects of *upamā* do not have the correspondences typical of the Western concept of simile. Moreover, in the West the simile is a limited subspecies of metaphor, while in India the reverse is true: *upamā* is the central figure, and *rūpaka* is defined as a subtype of it.<sup>54</sup>

One of the thirty-two types is called “*Upamā* of Objects.” Daṇḍin defines it and gives examples in Verse II.16:

Your face is like a lotus  
 Your eyes like lilies - -  
 Where the common attribute is just implied  
 This is the *Upamā* of Objects.<sup>55</sup>

This is one of the types of *upamā* that we can truly refer to as “simile.” And this is the only type of *upamā* that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses in any systematic way in his songs. As we have seen above, he draws comparisons between nouns, and his similes are indicated by such words as *bzhin*, *ltar*, *lta bu*, *’dra* and *mnyam*. But in this regard, has he been influenced by the *Kāvyaḍarśa*?

Don grub rgyal is right to point out that the simile (*dpe rgyan*) has been used extensively in Tibet:

<sup>53</sup> These examples have been taken from Daṇḍin’s list, in Verses II.57-65, translated by Eppling, *A Calculus of Creative Expression*, 575-83.

<sup>54</sup> Eppling, *A Calculus of Creative Expression*, 409-10.

<sup>55</sup> Daṇḍin, II.16, translated by Eppling in *A Calculus of Creative Expression*, 468.

ཕྱིན་ཕྱོད་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་དག་གིས་བརྒྱུ་མཁས་པའི་མགྱར་སྒྲུ་དང་། བོད་རིགས་དམངས་  
ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་གཞས་ཆེན་མཁས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ན། དཔེ་བྱ་ནི་བྱ་བྱ་བ་དུ་བཞོལ་བའི་  
བྱ་ཞིག་རེད།<sup>56</sup>

If one examines in detail the *mgur* written by the former Tibetan experts and the lyrics of folksongs of the Tibetan populace, the simile is a poetic figure which was utilized in every place.

And he points out that the use of the simile in *mgur* and its use in ornate poetry are at times the same and at times different:

ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། མགྱར་སྒྲུའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་བྱ་དང་སྟན་ངག་གི་དཔེ་བྱ་གཉིས་ལ་ཐུན་  
མིང་དང་ཐུན་མིན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་དང་།.....<sup>57</sup>

But the simile in the occasion of *mgur* and the simile in *snyan ngag* have areas that are shared and unshared.

As mentioned, I concede that the way Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses the simile is consistent with the way one type of *upamā* is used in ornate poetry. But that kind of simile was already used in Tibet long before the thirteenth century translation of the *Kāvyādarśa*, as the following excerpts of prose and poetry from the Dunhuang documents will show. The following is an example of a simile from Dunhuang with *bzhin*, for making a comparison to the sun:

འདི་འདྲ་བར་བཀའ་བློ་ཆེན་པོ་སྤུལ་ནས་བོད་འབངས་ཡོངས་སུ་བདེ་བའི་དུས་ནི་ཉི་  
མ་བཞིན་དུ་ཤར་ན།མེན་ཏྲིག་བཞིན་དུ་བྱས་ནས་ཡུལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབྱར་མི་ཐང་དེ་ག་  
གཡུལ་\*གཡུ་ཙལ་དུ།ཁྱོད་ཆེན་པོ་ཞན་ཁྱི་སྤུམ་ཇེ་དང་ཞང་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་བཟང་དང་།....<sup>58</sup>

Below we have a simile from Dunhuang with *dang 'dra*, *'dra* and *'dra*, for making comparisons to the sun, the moon, and a great king:

<sup>56</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 527-28.

<sup>57</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 528.

<sup>58</sup> S 0751,41a4-41b1, quoted in Yoshiro Imaeda and Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum. Tome III. Corpus syllabique* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1979), 11. (Henceforth referred to as Imaeda and Takeuchi, *Choix de documents tibétains*.) \* is a symbol that Imaeda and Takeuchi use to indicate an alternative or corrected reading.

.....  
 བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བྱུང་ཉི་མ་དང་འདྲའ། |  
 རྒྱ་རྩེ་ཉི་མ་བ་དང་འདྲ་སྟེ། |  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེད་པོར་འདྲའ་ཅྟ་མོད་ཀྱང། .....<sup>59</sup>

Finally, we have a simile from Dunhuang with *ltar*, for making a comparison to a wish-fulfilling jewel:

.....དང། མཚན་དང་དཔེ་བྱད་བཟང་པོས་བརྒྱན་པའི་སྐྱུ་ཡིད་བཞིན་གྱི་ཞོར་  
 བ་\*བྱ་རྩན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷན། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རེ་བ་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྐྱང་བར་  
 མཇེད་པའི་བྱུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་ལྷན་བཟོ་སྟེ་བཞུགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བྱུག་  
 འཛུལ་ལོ། |.....<sup>60</sup>

Besides the similes in the Dunhuang documents (from before the early 11<sup>th</sup> century) that predate the translation of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* into Tibetan (13<sup>th</sup> century), we have another indication that the similes such as those quoted from Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* are of a form indigenous to Tibet: the same types of comparisons appear in folksongs (*glu*). Though they were not written down until recently, it is known that they have much less Indian influence than *mgur*.<sup>61</sup>

Taking into account the prevalence of the very form of simile that Skal ldan rgya mtsho uses in both Dunhuang material and folksongs, and the fact that he uses only one out of the thirty-two types of *upamā* explained in the *Kāvyaḍarśa* in any type of systematic way, I conclude that in the case of similes, Skal ldan rgya mtsho's influence came from indigenous Tibetan usage.

<sup>59</sup> P 1287.0516, quoted in Imaeda and Takeuchi, *Choix de documents tibétains*, 37. Ø is a symbol they use to indicate that the next syllable has been restored or added according to context.

<sup>60</sup> P OO16.22a2-22a3, quoted in Imaeda and Takeuchi, *Choix de documents tibétains*, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Jackson, "'Poetry' in Tibet," 369.

## 2. METAPHORS

Metaphors also abound in the *mgur* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho. While I do not profess the following table to be complete, it provides an indication of some of the metaphors in his *mgur*:

	<i>at least 40 occurrences</i>
<i>char</i>	rain
	<i>at least 25 occurrences</i>
<i>bdud rtsi</i>	nectar
	<i>at least 10 occurrences</i>
<i>rgya mtsho</i>	ocean
<i>me tog</i>	flower
	<i>at least 5 occurrences</i>
<i>nyi ma shar</i>	sunrise, etc.
<i>mtsho</i>	lake
<i>mda'</i>	arrow
<i>me</i>	fire
<i>me yi 'obs, me mur 'obs, etc.</i>	fiery pit
<i>me lce</i>	flame of fire
	<i>at least 2 occurrences</i>
<i>chu</i>	water
<i>zla</i>	moon
<i>nor bu</i>	precious stone, jewel
<i>yid bzhin nor bu</i>	wish-fulfilling jewel
<i>ri mo</i>	painting, drawing
<i>dril</i>	bell
<i>ne tso'i gtam/ ne tso'i chos</i>	the religion of a parrot
<i>ri</i>	mountain
<i>rlung</i>	wind
<i>rnga</i>	drum
<i>rta</i>	horse
<i>me long</i>	mirror
<i>sgron me</i>	lamp
<i>ri dwags</i>	wild animal
<i>thang</i>	plain



*at least 1 occurrence*

<i>nyi zla</i>	sun and moon
<i>zla zer</i>	moonlight
<i>mar me</i>	butter
<i>lo tog</i>	crop
<i>gser</i>	gold
<i>ka ba</i>	pillar
<i>glang po</i>	elephant
<i>lo ma</i>	leaf
<i>gri</i>	knife

Below I will discuss several of the most commonly used metaphors, and then go on to show some of the more rare cases. Finally, I will discuss the origin of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's style of metaphors.

*rain of ..... falls*  
*cause the rain of .....to fall*

One of the most important references deals with rain. As expected in a place that is fairly dry, this metaphor is used almost exclusively to refer to beneficial things, frequently *chos* (religion), *legs bshad* (good explanations) and *dnegos grub* (spiritual powers).<sup>62</sup> In *Mgur* II-2, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho petitions the Buddha 'Od dpag med to cause the rain of religion to fall upon him:

བརྩེ་བའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བདག་ལ་རྟག་པར་གཟེགས། །  
 འཇུ་མ་པའི་ཞལ་བཟང་བདག་ལ་རྟག་པར་སྟོན། །  
 ཚེས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་བདག་ལ་རྟག་པར་ཕྱོག་ །  
 བྱིན་རྒྱབས་བདུད་རྩི་བདག་ལ་རྟག་པར་སྟོན། །<sup>63</sup>

Please look at me always with loving eyes.  
 Please always show me [your] good smile.  
 Please always **cause the rain** of religion **to fall** upon me.  
 Please always bestow the nectar of [your] blessing on me.

<sup>62</sup> Other examples of the metaphor, rain of ..... falls, are in Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 13, 15, 34, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 71, 77, 87, 92, 98, 102, 127, 128, 132, 136, 149, 243, 270, 272, 283, 285, 306, 317, 352, and 357.

<sup>63</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 20/ 18.

In the example above, this metaphor is used in a petition to a deity. At other times it is used to petition a lama or to acknowledge what a lama has done. The latter is true of *Mgur* IV-14, which consists of reflections on ways that *Skal ldan rgya mtsho* misses his lama, *Ko'u ba rin po che Chos rgya mtsho*, after his death. He adds a deeper layer to the metaphor which relates rain and religion, by drawing a parallel between their sources as well:

བདག་ཚས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིམ་པས་གདུངས་པའི་ཚེ། །  
 ཚས་གང་འདྲོད་ཆར་པ་<sup>64</sup>འབབས་པའི་སྒྲིན། །  
 དབྱིངས་སྒྲིས་བྲལ་ནམ་མཁར་སྒྲོ་བྱར་ཡལ། །  
 བདག་ཚས་ཆར་འབབས་པའི་སྒྲིན་དང་བྲལ། །  
 བྱ་ཚས་ཤོངས་ཚས་ཀྱིས་མི་སྦྱང་ན། །  
 བས་ལེགས་བཤད་ཚས་ཀྱིས་<sup>65</sup>སྤྱི་ཞིག་སྦྱང་། །<sup>66</sup>

When I was afflicted with thirst for religion,  
 A cloud which **causes the rain** of whatever teachings desired  
**to fall**  
 Suddenly vanished in the sky without having spread into  
 the heavens.

As for me, bereft of the cloud which **causes the rain** of religion  
**to fall**.  
 If a son does not tend to [his] needs for religion with religion,  
 Who does [his] father take care of through good explanations and  
 teachings?

In his eulogy in remembrance of *K'ou ba Rin po che*, *Skal ldan rgya mtsho* employs parallel metaphors by associating rain with religion, and the rain cloud (the source of rain) with his deceased teacher (the source of religion).

<sup>64</sup> *pa* A; *ba* BCD.

<sup>65</sup> *kyis* ABC; *kyi* D.

<sup>66</sup> *Skal ldan, Mgur 'bum*, 86-87/ 77-78.

*nectar*

*Bdud rtsi*, or nectar, is usually associated with things involving the teaching as well: *gsung* (oral teachings), *legs bshad* (good explanations), *chos* (religion), *byin rlabs* (blessings), and so on.<sup>67</sup> The nectar metaphor is sometimes combined with the metaphor of rain, one after the other as in the first example above, or together, as in the homage to Chos pa Rin po che in *Mgur* V-13:

བྱུགས་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་དང་མཉམ་ན་ཡང་། །  
 སྐྱེ་ངུར་སྒྲིག་གར་གྱི་<sup>68</sup> རྒྱལ་རྩལ་གྱིས། །  
 བསྐྱེད་ལེགས་བཤད་བདུན་རྩེ་ཆར་འབེབས་པ། །  
 རྩི་སྒོ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་མཆོད། <sup>69</sup>

[I] make an offering to lord Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan,  
 Who, although [his] mind is on a par with all the Buddhas,  
**Causes the rain of nectar**, good explanations of the teachings,  
**to fall**

Through the pleasure of a dance of a maroon-clad body.

In the now familiar soliloquy of the bees to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho in *Mgur* IV-1, they also acknowledge the lama as the source of nectar:

སྤྱི་མ་དམ་པས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བདུན་རྩེ་ཡིས། །  
 རང་ལ་རྟག་དྲུ་ཅི་ཕན་མཛད་པས་ན། །  
 བཀའ་བྲིན་སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱང་སེམས་ཀྱི་ལས་ལྷག །  
 བསོལ་བ་རྒྱུ་དྲུ་ཐོབ་<sup>70</sup> དང་བྱིན་སྒྲུབས་འཇུག །<sup>72</sup>

Since the holy lama has brought whatever benefit to you  
 Perpetually through the **nectar** of religion,

<sup>67</sup> Other examples of the metaphor, nectar, are in Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 9, 10, 20, 21, 23, 48, 51, 71, 94, 97, 117, 236, 243, 248, 275, 285, 307, 309, 335, 339, and 357.

<sup>68</sup> *gyi* CD; *gyis* AB.

<sup>69</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 106/ 95.

<sup>70</sup> *du* BCD; *tu* A.

<sup>71</sup> *thob* A; *thobs* BCD.

<sup>72</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 65/ 58.

Continually make [your] prayers to the lama, whose kindness is  
even greater than that of all Buddhas and bodhisattvas,  
[His] blessings will enter [into you].

Since the lamas are the source of nectar, the bees say to place them  
first, before the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

*flowers*

Besides rain and nectar, flowers are also valuable to Skäl Idan rgya  
mtsho, who lives in a place where the growing season is very short.  
He associates flowers with *dge sbyor* (accumulation of merit), *snying  
rje* (compassion), *nyams rtogs* (experiential knowledge), and so on.<sup>73</sup>  
Flowers are also something he sometimes sings about in a literal  
sense, while praising the beauty of a solitary place in which he is  
doing practices. In the first stanza of *Mgur* XI-20, Skäl Idan rgya  
mtsho personifies the flowers that are physically around him. In the  
second stanza, they are metaphors:

དབྱར་སྐྱུ་<sup>74</sup> རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་དགའ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུ་འདུག །  
མི་ཏོག་ཐམས་ཅད་འཇུག་འཇུག་ཤིང་འདུག །  
བྱ་ཚྭ་སྐྱུ་སྤྱོད་དུ་བྱར་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་འདུག །  
ཕྱི་རུ་ཉམས་དགའ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་འབྲེལ་སྤྱོད་འདུག །  
  
ནང་དུ་སྐྱུ་ཀྱི་ཞུ་གསེང་ཡངས་པར། །  
དང་བཙོན་ཆར་རྒྱུ་ལྷགས་པར་བྱན་ནས། །  
ཉམས་དང་རྟེན་པའི་མི་ཏོག་ཤར་ནས། །  
དེ་འབྲས་གཏན་དུ་ཕན་ན་དགའ་བ། <sup>76</sup>

The feast of spring and summer was copious.  
All the flowers, smiling and smiling, were laughing.

<sup>73</sup> Other examples of metaphors involving flowers can be found in Skäl Idan,  
*Mgur 'bum*, 51, 71, 76, 217, 218, 260 and 293.

<sup>74</sup> *sos* ABC; *gsogs* D.

<sup>75</sup> *sgrogs* ACD; *sgrog* B.

<sup>76</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 282/ 249.

A flock of birds sang out pleasing tunes leisurely.  
 Outside, the delightful auspices of [my] undertaking were suitable.  
 Inwardly, having sprinkled well the wide meadow of [my] mind,  
 With the rain of faith and diligence,  
**Flowers** of profound experience and intuition arose.  
 If the result of that [sprinkling] continually benefits [others]—  
 Oh, joy!

The rain of diligence has allowed flowers of experiential knowledge to spring up on the meadow of his mind. Since the rains have come, he has a fertile base of experiential knowledge from which to draw when expounding religion.

*sun rising*  
*sun shining*

Skal Idan rgya mtsho frequently associates *nyi ma shar* (sun rising or sun shining) with the state of the teaching in a given place.<sup>77</sup> In Mgur XII-30 he speaks of the teaching in the southern world in terms of the sun shining:

དེང་སང་ལྷོ་ཕྱགས་འཛམ་གླིང་། །  
 བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མ་གར་ནས། །  
 གླིང་གུ་རྒྱམས་ལ་ལྷགས་ཚྲགས། །  
 ཡར་ངོའི་ཁྱེ་ལྷར་<sup>78</sup>འཕེལ་འདུག །<sup>79</sup>

These days [in] the southern Jambudvipa-world  
 The **sun** of the teaching **shines**, and  
 Good accumulations have increased in all sentient beings  
 Like the first fortnight's [waxing] moon.

Here the sun of the teaching is reflected as moonlight, and the accumulations of wisdom and merit are increasing in sentient beings like the moon when it is going towards its fullness.

<sup>77</sup> Other examples of the metaphors, the sun rising/ the sun shining, can be found in Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 122, 277 and 338.

<sup>78</sup> *ltar* ABC; *bzang* D.

<sup>79</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 330/ 292.

In *Mgur* V-20, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho acknowledges the effect his recently deceased lama, Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho, had in spreading the teaching in Amdo:

ཨ་མདོ་མཐའ་འཁོབ་ཀྱི་ས་ཕྱགས་འདི་སྟེ། །  
 བཤད་སྒྲུབ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་གྱི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ། །  
 མགོན་པོ་ཁྱད་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བློན་ཡིན་ཡང་། །  
 བཀའ་བློན་མི་བླན་ཚེ་སྤྱིང་ལ་ཅི་ཞུགས། །<sup>80</sup>

Although the **rising sun** of the Mighty One's teachings of  
 explanation and practice  
 In this barbarous area, Amdo,  
 Is the kindness of only you, protector,  
 What enters the heart of those who do not recall your kindness?

Here, the image of the rising sun of the teaching makes a contrast with how dark and helpless Skäl Idan rgya mtsho feels inside, as a result of the death of his teacher.

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho also uses the image of the sun in singing about the spread of Buddhism in Amdo and his delight in it in *Mgur* XIII-26:

ད་ལྟ་བུང་ཕྱགས་ཨ་མདོ་ན། །  
 སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ་ཤར། །  
 བཤད་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཐེ་ནི་ཡར་ཡར་རྒྱས། །  
 བཞུགས་སྤྱོད་འདི་བསམས་ན་ཉམས་རེ་སྟོ། །<sup>81</sup>

Now in the northern region, Amdo,  
 The **sun** of Buddha's teaching **has risen**.  
 Communities of schools of explanation and practice have increased  
 more and more.  
 When [I] have thought of this situation, [my] mind takes only  
 delight.

As in the previous example, I have again interpreted the verb *shar* to mean rise, rather than shine, since the teachings of the Dge lugs pas

<sup>80</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 117/ 105.

<sup>81</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 359/ 318.

are in the process of coming to Amdo in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's time.

Although the metaphors described above are used in predictable ways, there are also some that are used in more unusual ways. The following is an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-3. Here Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses the familiar metaphor of rain, but in a surprising way:

བདེན་ཚིག་གི་མེ་ལྷེ། །  
 ཚེས་གཏམ་གྱི་ནགས་ལ། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་འབར་ཡང་། །  
 རྩེན་ཚིག་གི་རྩ་པས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བསད་ཡ། །<sup>82</sup>

Although the flame of truthful words  
 Burned again and again  
 In the forest of religious discourse,  
 [It] was extinguished helplessly  
 By the **rain** of untruthful speech. Hey!

In all the other examples involving the metaphor of rain quoted or cited above, rain was equated with something positive about religion—*chos*, *legs bshad*, *dngos grub*, *byin rlabs*, *dge legs*, *dad brtson*, and so on. But here rain is associated with untruthful speech. This marks quite a different treatment of the same metaphor.

*Mgur* IV-3 is an unusual song in a variety of senses. I have noted it already on several accounts: it is one of the very few *mgur* in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* that have five syllables per line. It is also one of very few that have five-line stanzas. It demonstrates Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's conscious effort to use metaphor after metaphor, often in unusual ways. As a final set of examples of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's metaphors, I will present an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-3. The Tibetan text and my full translation of it are in the appendix.

*Oṃ swa sti*

Although the flower of good behavior  
 Was watered again and again

<sup>82</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 71/ 64.

By the river of faith and respect,  
 [It] was helplessly vanquished  
 By the hailstorm of laziness. Hey!

Although the sprouts of virtuous thoughts  
 Were tended again and again  
 By the warmth of scripture and logic,  
 [They] were helplessly carried away  
 By the cattle of wealth-obscurations. Hey!

Although the good horse of faith and respect  
 Was made to gallop again and again  
 On the plain of qualities,  
 [He] got helplessly caught  
 In the tethering ropes of false knowledge. Hey!

Although the treasury of monastic vows  
 Was filled again and again  
 With the jewels of good practice,  
 [It] was helplessly overthrown  
 By the thief of carelessness. Hey!

Although the moon of diligence  
 Appeared again and again  
 In the sky of hearing and considering,  
 [It] was helplessly eclipsed  
 By the planet of indolence.<sup>83</sup> Hey!<sup>84</sup>

In this *mgur* we have metaphors from everyday life coupled with Buddhist practices and qualities. Many of the metaphors are taken from nature: inanimate ones are flower, river, hail, sprouts, plain, moon, sky, planet (*Rāhula*), flame, forest, rain, nectar, lake, rock mountain, meadow, lightning, snow mountain, conch and a stone. Animals used as metaphors are both domestic and wild: domestic ones are cattle, horse, and hunting dog; wild ones are fish, deer, tigress and a swan. Other metaphors are man-made items that would have been familiar to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho: rope, treasury, jewel,

<sup>83</sup> This refers to an eclipse. The planet is Rāhula.

<sup>84</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 71/ 64.



vessel, hammer, iron hook, silk, pits' arrow, and net. Also we have a reference to a thief.

Finally, I would like to address the origin of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's style of metaphors. As mentioned above, Westerners frequently translate the Sanskrit *rūpaka* by "metaphor." Let us look at how Daṇḍin defines *rūpaka*:

*Upamā* itself  
— with difference obscured —  
is called *Rūpaka*.  
For example:  
Arm-creeper Hand-lotus Foot-petal.<sup>85</sup>

Daṇḍin derives the *rūpaka* from the *upamā*. With the elimination of the word, particle or expression that expressed similarity in *upamā*, the absolute identity of the two things being compared is established. I am taken by the complexity of the twenty-one types of *rūpaka* that Daṇḍin describes in verses II.67-96.<sup>86</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho's poetic figures do not seem to be derived from any of Daṇḍin's subtypes of *rūpaka*.

Don grub rgyal believes that *rūpaka* (*gzugs can*) have an important place in *mgur*, but only if they are eloquent and easily understood:

གཟུགས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱན་ཡང་མགྲར་སྤྱུ་ལ་ཉི་བར་མཁོ་བའི་རྒྱན་ཞིག་རེད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་།  
སྤྱར་བའི་གཟུགས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱན་ནི་ཁ་ཅུང་ཟད་དམ་པ་དང་། གོ་ཡང་དེ་འདྲ་མི་བདེ་བས་  
མགྲར་སྤྱུ་ལ་ཉི་བར་མཁོ་<sup>87</sup>བ་ཞིག་མིན།<sup>88</sup>

Metaphors are also poetic figures that are very much needed in *mgur*. But [when] metaphors are composed in a little tightlipped and also incomprehensible [fashion], they are absolutely not needed in *mgur*.

<sup>85</sup> Daṇḍin, II.66, translated by Eppling in "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 589.

<sup>86</sup> These are described by Eppling in "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 589-670.

<sup>87</sup> Instead, I have read *mkho*, following a suggestion by the scholar Blo bzang chos grags.

<sup>88</sup> Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 530.

Probably the awkward poetic figures that Don grub rgyal had in mind while composing the passage above are those written by a composer attempting to comply with Daṇḍin's instructions.

But surely metaphors abound in indigenous Tibetan poetry, and are not typically "tight-lipped," strict, or confusing to the reader. The reader is invited to consult R. A. Stein's book on the Ge sar epic, in which he points to the numerous metaphors and epithets.<sup>89</sup> The metaphors are generally taken from nature, and seem to come from the same source as the metaphors used by such *mgur* writers as Mi la ras pa and 'Brug pa Kun legs. M. Helffer also lists metaphors and where they are found in her transcription of a section of the epic sung by Blo bzang bstan 'dzin.<sup>90</sup>

Furthermore, the flowing style of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur* IV-3 above is seen in earlier Tibetan verse, such as in the biography of Mar pa compiled by Gtsang smyon He ru ka around 1505.<sup>91</sup> Compare, for example, this stanza by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho:

Although the good horse of faith and respect  
Was made to gallop again and again  
On the plain of qualities,  
[He] got caught helplessly  
In the ropes of false knowledge. Hey!<sup>92</sup>

and the following verse said to come from "the sky" (Nāropa) in Mar pa's biography:

If the horse of continual devotion  
Is not urged on by the whip of exertion,  
Like the deer of grasping and fixation  
Are you not caught in the trap of reality, wandering in samsara?<sup>93</sup>

And the conclusion of the two stanzas cited above is the same: entrapment.

<sup>89</sup> Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 496-98.

<sup>90</sup> Helffer, *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge sar*, 393-94.

<sup>91</sup> Nālandā Translation Committee, *The Life of Marpa the Translator: Seeing Accomplishes All*, xxi.

<sup>92</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 71/ 64.

<sup>93</sup> Nālandā Translation Committee, trans., *The Life of Marpa the Translator: Seeing Accomplishes All*, 82.

We have seen many examples of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's metaphors above. Since they do not have any apparent correspondence with Daṇḍin's subtypes of *rūpakas* and since metaphors abound in the Ge sar epic and in Gtsang mnyon He ru ka's compilations of *mgur* by Mi la ras pa and Mar pa's biography, I would suggest that the likely influence behind Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's metaphors is indigenous.

### 3. PARALLELISM AND ANTITHESIS

Mgur VII-17 exemplifies well a type of poetic figure that we call parallelism in the West. This is a very typical poetic figure used in *mgur*. The full translation and Tibetan text are in the appendix.

ངོན་པ་བྱི་ཁྱི་ཞིང་ནི་སྤྲེལ་ས་<sup>94</sup> བྱུང་། །

ཤ་བ་སྒྲུག་པོ་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །

རྩ་རི་མཐོན་པོ་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

ང་རྒྱལ་སིང་གི་ནི་སྤྲེལ་ས་བྱུང་། །

ཡོན་ཏན་རི་བོང་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །

ཁྱིང་ས་<sup>95</sup> སྒྱུང་ས་<sup>96</sup> བྲག་ཕྱག་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

བྱ་ཁྲ་ཐིག་ཅན་ནི་སྤྲེལ་ས་བྱུང་། །

འདབ་ཆགས་བྱིའུ་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །

ཤིང་ནགས་འབྲུག་པོ་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

.....

<sup>94</sup> *slebs* CD; *sleb* AB. I have chosen *slebs*, the perfective of *sleb*, to coincide with the perfective tense of the auxiliary that follows it. This recurring pair of spelling variants between the editions occurs in the first line of each stanza throughout the poem. I will mark the existence of variants only in this stanza.

<sup>95</sup> *khengs* BCD; *kheng* A.

<sup>96</sup> *skyungs* ACD; *bskyungs* B.

ལྷ་དཀར་སྟོན་ཞི་སྟོན་གྱི་ |  
 ལྷ་དཀར་སྟོན་གྱི་སྟོན་ཞི་སྟོན་ |  
 རི་ཁྲོད་དཀར་སྟོན་ཞི་སྟོན་ |<sup>97</sup>

The hunter, leading a dog, arrived.  
 The place of refuge for the dark bay stag,  
 A high clay mountain, was good.

The proud lion arrived.  
 The place of refuge for the rabbit of qualities,  
 A cave for leaving arrogance behind, was good.

The sinful bird of prey arrived.  
 The place of refuge for the little bird,  
 A deep forest, was good.

.....

The white haired spy arrived.  
 The place of refuge for the weak old beggar,  
 A solitary mountain retreat, was good.

In this *mgur*, there are three sets of parallelisms. One of each set occurs in each three-line stanza. They all modify the topics of the last stanza. The perpetrators—the hunter leading a dog, the proud lion, and so on—all modify the spy. The places of refuge—a high clay mountain, a cave for leaving arrogance behind, and so on—are all parallel to the solitary retreat. And those who need to take refuge—the dark bay stag, the rabbit, and so on—are all parallel to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho (who is referring to himself as the weak old beggar). Each stanza alludes to what Skäl Idan rgya mtsho wants to say. In the final stanza he makes his real point.

This particular pattern of parallelism is also found in a verse by Ko brag pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (b. 1170 or 1182? <sup>98</sup>). Here is an example, translated by Stearns:

<sup>97</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 160-61/ 142-43.

<sup>98</sup> The traditional dates for Ko brag pa are 1182-1261, though Stearns dates him to 1170-1249. See Cyrus Stearns, ed., trans., *Hermit of Go Cliffs: Timeless Instructions from a Tibetan Mystic* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 3.

Watching—watching the Khawo glacier in the upper valley,  
the melt-water in the lower valley wasn't noticed.  
It's too late for cultivation.

Watching—watching the clay slopes of Rumbu,  
the daisies spread on the valley floor weren't noticed.  
It's too late to tend the herds.

.....

Striving—striving for the aims of this life,  
the body aging and approaching death wasn't noticed.  
It's too late to practice the divine religion.<sup>99</sup>

Mi la ras pa too may have been fond of parallelism, as indicated by the frequent occurrences of it in Gtsang smyon He ru ka's compilation of his *mgur*.<sup>100</sup> This example was translated by Chang:

The great lioness in the upper snow mountain  
Poses proudly on the summit of the peak;  
She is not afraid—  
Proudly dwelling on the mountain  
Is the snow lion's way.

The queen vulture on Red Rock  
Stretches her wings in the wide sky;  
She is not afraid of falling—  
Flying through the sky is the vulture's way.

In the depths of the great ocean  
Darts the Queen of fish, glittering;  
She is not afraid—  
Swimming is the fish's way.

<sup>99</sup> Cyrus Stearns, ed., trans., *Hermit of Go Cliffs: Timeless Instructions from a Tibetan Mystic*, 127.

<sup>100</sup> The existence of parallelisms in Mi la ras pa has also been remarked on by Sørensen, who writes "...antithesis and parallelism, ....a pattern already known from the dynastic period, but perhaps refined here under the influence of the above-mentioned aphoristic literature translated from Sanskrit." See Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 15. The existence of structural parallelisms in Mi la ras pa is also attested by Jackson, who remarks on the existence of parallelism in *glu* and in Mi la ras pa: Mi la ras pa combined items from ancient *glu* ("imagery, structural parallelism and expressive directness") with "Buddhist themes and Indian-inspired metrical schemes." See Jackson, "'Poetry' in Tibet," 373.

On the branches of the oak trees,  
 Agile monkeys swing and leap;  
 They are not afraid of falling—  
 Such is the wild monkey's way.

Under the leafy canopy of the dense wood,  
 The striped tiger roams and swiftly runs,  
 Not because of fear or worry—  
 This shows her haughty pride,  
 And is the mighty tiger's way.

In the wood on Singa Mountain,  
 I, Milarepa, meditate on Voidness,  
 Not because I fear to lose my understanding—  
 Constant meditation is the yogi's way.<sup>101</sup>

A sequence of animals similar to the one above is common in the Ge sar epic. There also, the hero, Ge sar, is compared to them.<sup>102</sup>

Don grub rgyal considers the pattern shown above to be a form of a simile. This must be because Daṇḍin has a subtype of *upamā* (the *upamā* of parallel objects) that has similarities to parallelism found in *mgur*. Daṇḍin defines this subtype in Verse II.46:

Introducing a particular object in one expression  
 A comparable object follows in another  
 Generating the cognition of similarity - -  
 This is an *Upamā* of Parallel Objects.<sup>103</sup>

He follows with an example of it in Verse II.47:

Among kings arising  
 there's not yet one that resembles you

<sup>101</sup> Chang, trans., *Hundred Thousand Songs*, vol. 1, 82. There are other examples of parallelism in this collection as well. A number of them use the same collection of animals (lioness, tigress, fish and vulture) that are then compared to a human. See Chang, trans., *Hundred Thousand Songs*, 39, 40, 82, 260, 262, 587, 588 and 603.

<sup>102</sup> Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 496-98.

<sup>103</sup> Daṇḍin, II.46, translated by Eppling in "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 548.

Indeed, there's not a tree  
second to the Pārijāta.<sup>104</sup>

This form of *upamā* is one of the very few described by Daṇḍin that require no particle, word or expression to indicate the similarity. Here, the similarity is made apparent by lining up parallel predicates in parallel sentences.

Clearly, the type of parallelism exemplified above in the *mgur* of both Skal ldan rgya mtsho and Mi la ras pa is much more complex than Daṇḍin's. Their type, found frequently in *mgur* in Tibet, can have any number of parts that all modify the last stanza, whereas Daṇḍin's only has two parts, the second modifying the first.<sup>105</sup> (Nearly all of Daṇḍin's examples of poetic figures are those that fall within the compass of a single stanza, this one included.) Although Skal ldan rgya mtsho's figure certainly has similarities to Daṇḍin's, it would be wrong to assume that his parallelisms were inspired by the *Kāvyaḍarśa*.

A variety of authors have remarked on the parallelisms in Dunhuang manuscripts, notably Savitsky, who writes of "psychological and rhythmical syntactical parallelisms" (and "phonetic parallelisms") in those documents.<sup>106</sup> Sørensen also remarks on the existence of parallelism in poetry commonly attributed to the Early Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet.<sup>107</sup> In addition, Jackson also writes about the existence of parallelism in songs (*glu*), as we have seen, which represent "the earliest, most indigenous, most secular, and most orally and musically oriented of the genres [of Tibetan poetry]." <sup>108</sup>

All of this adds up to the fact that parallelism is an indigenous Tibetan poetic figure. Given this fact and the differences between

<sup>104</sup> Daṇḍin, II.47, translated by Eppling in "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 551.

<sup>105</sup> Don grub rgyal has also remarked on this difference in usage between *mgur* and *snyan ngag* in *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 529.

<sup>106</sup> Savitsky, "Secular Lyrical Poetry in Tibet," 406.

<sup>107</sup> Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 13. Sørensen also remarks that parallelism (including antithesis) is frequently found in the poems of the Sixth Dalai Lama. He points out that parallelism is "most regularly employed in order to illustrate, compare, contrast or in order to enforce a concrete object or a statement." The similes or allusions can be in the first or the second couplet of a stanza. See Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized*, 28.

<sup>108</sup> Jackson, "'Poetry' in Tibet," 369.

how Skäl Idan rgya mtsho and Daṇḍin use parallelism, it seems that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's use of this figure was influenced by indigenous practice.

I will now give an example of a *mgur* of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's that exhibits what we in the West call antithesis, something not found in the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* VII-5:

རྩོན་ལྷ་མ་བཞུགས་དུས་དང་པ་མེད། །  
 ད་དང་པ་སྐྱེས་ཆེ་ལྷ་མ་<sup>109</sup> བྱོན། །  
 དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་འཇོམ་པའི་<sup>110</sup> དུས་མ་བྱུང་། །  
 བདག་འདི་རུ་མི་སྤྲོད་རིལ་འགྲོ། །  
 རྩོན་ཆས་མི་ཤེས་དུས་ཉམས་ལེན་འདོད། །  
 ད་དམ་ཆས་ཤེས་ཆེ་ཉམས་ལེན་བཤེད། །  
 དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་འཇོམ་པའི་དུས་མ་བྱུང་། །  
 བདག་འདི་རུ་མི་སྤྲོད་རིལ་འགྲོ། <sup>111</sup>  
 etc.

**Before**, when the lama lived, [I] had no faith.

**Now** at the time that faith has been born, a lama has not appeared.

The time of those two coming together has not occurred.

I won't stay here. [I]'m going to the mountains.

**Before**, when [I] didn't understand religion, [I] wanted to practice it.

**Now** at the time that [I] understand the holy religion, [I] have forgotten to practice it.

The time of those two coming together has not occurred.

I won't stay here. [I]'m going to the mountains.

etc.

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur* VII-10a is similar to the example above in that the first two lines involve antithetical ideas; he has

<sup>109</sup> *bla ma ma byon*, against all readings of ABCD; *bla ma byon*.

<sup>110</sup> *pa'i* ACD; *ba'i* B.

<sup>111</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 142-43/ 126.



again added his conclusion about the present situation—to go into solitary retreat—in the second couplet of each stanza:

ངས་གཞིན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་སྒྲ་མ་བསྟེན། །  
 ད་ཤས་ཆེ་གྲོགས་དང་ཡོན་བདག་བསྟེན། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྦྱིས། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོང་དབེན་པར་འགྱོ། །

ངས་གཞིན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་སྒྲ་མ་བསམ་བྱས། །  
 ད་ཤས་ཆེ་གྲོང་ཆོག་རྒྱང་པར་<sup>112</sup>ཡོངས། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྦྱིས། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོང་དབེན་པར་འགྱོ། <sup>113</sup>

etc.

**When I was young**, I relied on a lama.

**Now that [I] am old**, I have been relying on friends and patrons.

[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.

Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

**When I was young**, [I] listened to and contemplated [religion].

**Now that [I] am old**, [I] perform village rites for a living [and]  
 move to and fro on foot.

[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.

Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

etc.

As in the two examples above, *mgur* that involve regular patterns of antithesis also tend to have uniform sized stanzas and a certain amount of repetition of words on respective lines from stanza to stanza.

<sup>112</sup> *par* A; *bar* BCD.

<sup>113</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 148/ 131.

## 4. CONTINUAL REPETITION OF A FINITE VERB

Mgur VII-11 involves repetitions of the syllable *bde*,<sup>114</sup> at the end of the lines. I already presented this *mgur* in Chapter 2 on hermitages. Unlike in the example in the preceding chapter where *bde* was the first syllable of each line and sometimes formed part of a compound with the next syllable, the translation of *bde* is uniform here, because it is a finite verb. In each line, *bde* is preceded by a particle indicating a causative syntactical relationship to a prior relative clause. Hence, each of the sixteen lines in this part of the *mgur*, which is autobiographical, has the sense of “Because....., [I] am happy.” Here is an excerpt from Mgur VII-11, which is translated in full in the appendix:

ཕྱག་དེ་ན་སྐལ་ལྡན་རས་པ་ང། །  
 ལུས་དྲ་ར་སྒྲིག་གོས་ཀྱིས་གཡོགས་པས་བདེ། །  
 ངག་སྤྱད་བྱངས་ལྷང་ལྷང་སྤངས་པས་བདེ། །  
 སེམས་སྤྲུག་བཟུལ་མེད་པར་གནས་པས་བདེ། །  
 ཉིན་ཚེས་སྦྱོར་ཅི་རྒྱས་བགྱིས་པས་བདེ། །  
 མཚན་སློ་ཕབ་བདེ་བར་ཉལ་བས་བདེ། །  
 དཔོན་དབང་ཆེས་གཉའ་གཞོན་མེད་པས་བདེ། །<sup>115</sup>  
 etc.

In that cave, because I, Skäl Idan ras pa,  
 Have covered [my] body with saffron, [I] **am happy**.  
 Because [I] have sung a sonorous song, [I] **am happy**.  
 Because [I] have lived without suffering, [I] **am happy**.  
 Because by day [I] have performed whatever religious practices  
 possible, [I] **am happy**.

<sup>114</sup> Though Skäl Idan rgya mtsho repeats *bde* most frequently, there are other *mgur* that repeat other words at the beginnings of their lines to a lesser extent, notably Mgur VIII-27, which repeats *sems* nine times in its first twelve lines.

<sup>115</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 153/ 136.

Because in the night [I] have lain happily on [my] side, [I] **am happy**.

Because [I]'ve not been put in a stocks by a greatly powerful lord,  
[I] **am happy**.

etc.

Here, the repetitions stress the importance of practice and its relation to achieving happiness. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho tells us that because he has acted in certain way, he is happy. He gives sixteen examples of things that he has done or felt that have caused him to be happy. As the repetitions continue, the listener surely has no doubts about Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's happiness, and may feel inclined to practice in the same way.

The repetition of *bde* as a finite verb is also found in a number of *mgur* attributed to Mi la ras pa.<sup>116</sup> His use of *bde* in the following excerpt has strong similarities to the way Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses it above:

བདག་ཉི་དྲུ་དང་འབྲེལ་ཐག་བཅད་པས་བདེ། །

ཕ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཞིན་པ་སྤངས་པས་བདེ། །

ཡུལ་སྤེའི་གཉེར་ཁ་མེད་པས་བདེ། །

དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་མ་འབགས་བདེ། །

ཁང་ཁྱིམ་བདད་ཏུ་མ་བཟུང་བདེ། །

འདི་ལ་འདི་དགོས་མེད་པས་བདེ། །

འཕགས་པའི་ཞོར་གྱིས་སྤྲུག་པས་བདེ། །

etc.<sup>117</sup>

Because I have left my kinsmen, I **am happy**;

Because I have abandoned attachment to my country, I **am happy**;

Since I disregard this place, I **am happy**;

As I do not wear the lofty garb of priesthood, I **am happy**;

<sup>116</sup> For other examples of the theme, to be happy/joyful, with the terminative verb *bde* used repeatedly, see Chang, trans., *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*, 70-71, 225-26, 364 and 436-37; for the *mgur* in Tibetan, see Gtsang smyon He ru ka, comp., *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999), 252-53, 388-89, 523 and 592, respectively.

<sup>117</sup> Gtsang smyon He ru ka, comp., *Rnal 'byor byi dbang phyug chen po mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur*, 281.

Because I cling not to house and family, I **am happy**;  
 I need not this or that, so I **am happy**.  
 Because I possess the great wealth of religion, I **am happy**;  
 etc.<sup>118</sup>

Daṇḍin describes the poetic figure above in verse III.41 as a type of final *yamaka*. I have divided it into its *pādas* of 12 syllables each, to show the pattern clearly. The repetitions occur in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth syllable of each *pāda*:

Tava priyā'sachcharitā'pramatta yā  
 Vibhūṣaṇaṁ dhāryam ihāṁśumat tayā/  
 Ratotsavāmodaviśeshamattayā  
 Na me phalaṁ kiṁchana kāntimattayā/ <sup>119</sup>

Eppling diagrams the pattern above as follows:

[\_\_\_A/\_\_\_A/\_\_\_A/\_\_\_A] <sup>120</sup>

It is possible to interpret Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's use of this poetic figure as having been influenced by Daṇḍin. On the other hand, the frequency with which the poetic figure is found in *mgur* attributed Mi la ras pa suggests that it is also indigenous to Tibet.

## 5. SEQUENCES OF NUMBERS

Using words for numbers in particular patterns is a popular poetic figure in *mgur* as well.<sup>121</sup> There is no mention of anything like this in the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. Here is an example of such a figure in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum*, *Mgur* V-21. The components of the pattern are formatted in bold.

<sup>118</sup> Chang, trans., *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*, 110.

<sup>119</sup> Belvalkar, *Kāvyaḍarśa of Daṇḍin*, 58, translates verse III.41 as follows:

That beloved of yours of excellent morals that there is, O shrewd one, by  
 her [when] particularly intoxicated by the joy of your contact is to be  
 worn this dazzling ornament:  
 No more any advantage unto me by brilliant decoration.

<sup>120</sup> Eppling, "A Calculus of Creative Expression," 209.

<sup>121</sup> Don grub rgyal provides a couple of examples in *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 532.

དག་ཅུ་ཐོན་མོ་དེ་དང་གཅིག །  
 དེ་ལ་འཁོར་བའི་ཉ་མོ་<sup>122</sup>གཉིས། །  
 གནས་སྐབས་དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། །  
 ཡུན་ཙམ་ཞིག་དུ་གདའ་བ། །  
 དེ་བཞིན་སྐལ་ལྷན་དང་གཅིག །  
 དེ་ལ་འཁོར་བའི་གྲ་ཚོགས་དང་གཉིས། །  
 གནས་སྐབས་དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། །  
 ཡུན་ཙམ་ཞིག་དུ་གདའ་བས། །  
 དམ་ཚུལ་ཅི་ལྟ་གྱིས་ཤིག །           | <sup>123</sup>

The blue Dgu chu <sup>124</sup>—**one**;  
 The fish that go around in [the river]—**two**.  
 An interrelationship between times and circumstances  
 Comes about suddenly.

Likewise, I, the fortunate one—**one**;  
 The disciples who go around that [one]—**two**.  
 Since an interrelationship between times and circumstances  
 Comes about suddenly,  
 Do the holy religion by whatever means [you] have.

This is a form that abounds in the *mgur* of Mi la ras pa. Don grub rgyal cites an example from his *Mgur 'bum*. I have added bold formatting to the similar parts:

ང་དང་པའི་ས་གཞི་བརྟན་དང་གཅིག །  
 བརྟན་འབྲས་ཀྱི་ཅིག་པ་མཐོ་དང་གཅིག<sup>125</sup> །  
 བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་གུང་ཞིང་ཆེ་དང་གསུམ། །  
 ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་བད་ཤུར་ལྷགས་དང་བཞི །

<sup>122</sup> *dang*, part of the pattern, was omitted in ABCD, in order to preserve the meter.

<sup>123</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 118/ 106.

<sup>124</sup> The Dgu chu is the river that flows through Reb gong near Rong bo monastery.

<sup>125</sup> Instead I read *gnyis* here, part of the pattern.



There are many types of composition of sounds for calling out, such as *kye*, *kye ma*, *kye hud*, *kye kye*, *kwa ye*, *wa ye*, *'o 'o*, *ya*, *a*, *a'u*, *kho re*, *a'e*, *ha ha*, *he he*, *ya yi*, *we*, and so on; and interrogative words, such as *e go*, *e rig*, *e mthong*, *e thos*, *e 'dod*, *e bsam*, *e snyam*, *e dgos*, and so on.

Many of these, and others, are found in the *mgur* of Skal Idan rgya mtsho. They express such attitudes as blame, scolding, wonder, joy, embarrassment, doubt, fear and so on. In this section I will look at these various sounds one by one, give examples of how he uses them and postulate what they seem to mean. Of course interjections could better be left untranslated, but just for fun I will offer what one might call out, if they were in English.

*a me*

As seen in the first three stanzas of *Mgur* IV-9 and throughout, *a me* introduces an action that Skal Idan rgya mtsho is going to criticize. The entire translation can be found in the appendix.

ཨ་མི་སྒྲ་མ་བཞེན་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 བྱིན་ཐུབས་དངོས་གྲུབ་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །  
 ཨ་མི་མི་ཆེ་གཟད་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 ཕྱི་མར་བདེ་འགྲོའི་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 སྤྲུལ་ཅན་འཆི་ཀར་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །  
 ཨ་མི་འཆི་བདག་བདུད་<sup>130</sup> ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 ཆེ་སྤྲུལ་བཞེན་པའི་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 མི་མང་འཆི་ཚུལ་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། <sup>131</sup>  
 etc.

<sup>130</sup> *btud* ACD; *btul* B. I have chosen *btud*, the pf. of *'dud*, in the sense of “*thag je nyer song ba*,” through communication with the Rong bo scholar Blo bzang chos grags.  
<sup>131</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 79/ 71.

**Oh my**—this way of having relied on a lama  
 For the benefits of blessings and spiritual powers! **Uh huh!**  
 Look at the pronouncements of the Victorious One, and reconsider  
 it!

**Oh my**—this way in which you have consumed human life  
 For the purpose of going to happiness in a future life! **Uh huh!**  
 Look at [being at] the point of death with sins, and reconsider it!

**Oh my**—this way of having approached the Lord of Death  
 For the purpose of a stable life! **Uh huh!**  
 Look at how many people die, and reconsider it!  
 etc.

The expression *a me* does not appear in the dictionaries. I have translated it here as “oh my.” This is the only *mgur* of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho that employs this term. Here it is used thirteen times, always at the beginning of a three-line stanza. Since the sounds *a me* and *ha ha* are working together in this *mgur*, I will analyze them together below.

### *ha ha*

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses the expression, *ha ha* in various ways, the most common of which corresponds to the definition of it put forth in the *TTC*. This dictionary translates *ha ha* as *phyä smod byed pa'i gad mo*, “laughter which blames/deprecates another.”<sup>132</sup> In my translation of the *mgur* above, I have translated it as “uh huh.” Here, *a me* introduces an example of some instance of someone using religion in a superficial way, for his own benefit, and *ha ha* expresses a scolding about it. Structurally, *a me* and *ha ha* encompass the first clause of the sentence, which the third line of each stanza completes by making a suggestion as to how to correct these distorted views.

Skäl Idan rgya mtsho also uses the expression *ha ha* in a jovial way, as seen in the following excerpt of the first four lines of *mgur* VI-4:

<sup>132</sup> G. Uray refers to *ha ha* as “the natural sound of laughter” in “Duplication, Gemination and Triplication in Tibetan,” 198.



ཨ་མ་ཏྲོ་སྐལ་བ་<sup>133</sup> བཟང་བ་ལ། །  
 ཨ་ལ་ལ་ཉམས་ཀྱི་དགའ་བ་ལ། །  
 འོ་ན་ལ་ལྟོ་ཆོས་སྒྲིབ་ལྟེ་ན། །  
 ཏྲ་ཏྲ་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་འཆར། །<sup>134</sup>  
 etc.

Wow! Fortune is good!  
 Yay! [Mine] is a happy mind!  
 'O na la, If [I] am able to practice the divine religion  
**Ha ha!** the sun of happiness will shine!  
 etc.

It is clear that here, *ha ha* can not have the connotation of scolding or blame, and I have translated it as we may in colloquial English, “ha ha,” a sound of joy. It comes at the beginning of the fourth line of the stanza, and structurally divides the final main clause from its relative clause.<sup>135</sup> I have left the interjection *'o na la* untranslated, since I have no clues as to its precise meaning. The other two interjections used in this stanza will be discussed below.

### *e ma ho*

The expression *e ma ho* introduces the first line of the *mgur* above, and has been translated by the *TTC* as *ngo mtshar che zer ba'i brda*, “an indication/word which expresses great wonder, surprise or astonishment.” Jäschke translates it also as an “interjection expressing joy, surprise, astonishment, hey! hey day! indeed! you don’t say so,” but further gives two more connotations: “in asking, beseeching, requesting a person’s attention: please, pray, I say; of expressive of lamentation, compassion: alas! oh! would to God! O dear!” I have translated the above example of *e ma ho* as a sound of astonishment, here in the colloquial, “Wow!”<sup>136</sup>

<sup>133</sup> *ba* ACD; *pa* B.

<sup>134</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 126-27/ 112-13.

<sup>135</sup> Other examples of *ha ha* occur in Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum* V-18 (1x), VII-19 (1x), VIII-4 (1x), VIII-20 (1x), VIII-26 (1x), X-1 (4x), XII-5 (1x), XII-15 (7x), and XII-30 (1x).

<sup>136</sup> *E ma ho* is also used in V-7 (1x) and XII-15 (4x).

*a la la*

The interjection *a la la* has been translated by the *TTC as ngo mtshar ba dang/ dga' ba'i tshig*, “a word of astonishment and joy.”<sup>137</sup> G. Uray defines it similarly as “an interjection expressive of joyful surprise,” his example being from *Mi la ras pa*.<sup>138</sup> I have translated it at the beginning of the second line of the *Mgur VI-4* above as “Yay!” Structurally, *a la la* comes at the beginning of the second line of the excerpt above and breaks the clause into two parts.

In the following *mgur*, IX-5, *a la la* is used to connote wonderment, and I have translated it as “Wow!”

ཨ་ལ་ལ་ལྷུལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ང་ནི།  
 དབུས་སུ་སློབ་གཉེར་གང་ལྟ་བུ་བཀྲིས་ནས།  
 ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྐྱོན་པ་སྤྲིལ་བས།  
 ད་ལྟ་སྟོན་པའི་གྲགས་པ་འབར་རྟོ།

ཨ་ལ་ལ་ལྷུལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ང་ནི།  
 ད་ལྟ་རྩི་ཁྲོད་འགྲིམ་པའི་འཁོར་མང་། །  
 དེ་ཀྱན་ཁ་ལོ་ཚས་ལ་སྐྱར་དང་། །  
 ཉམ་ཞིག་རང་དང་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་ནོ། །

.....

ཨ་ལ་ལ་ལྷུལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ང་ནི། །  
 རྩི་རྩི་མང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་བསྐྱོན་སོ། །  
 ཚས་ཀྱང་གཤམ་དེ་མི་ལ་བཤད་དོ། །  
 ལོ་ཡང་ལོན་ཀྱང་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད་དོ། །

ཨ་ལ་ལ་ལྷུལ་ཁམས་འགྲིམ་པའི་བན་གན་ལགས་སོ། །<sup>139</sup>

<sup>137</sup> *A la la* is also commented on by Helffer. She calls it an “exprime l’approbation,” an expression of approval, and classifies it as “racine suivie d’une particule redoublée.” Helffer, *Les chants dans l’épopée tibétaine de Ge sar*, 386. That may be why Stein refers to this interjection as “*a la*,” in *Recherches sur l’épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 494.

<sup>138</sup> Uray, “Duplication, Geminatio and Triplication in Tibetan,” 198.

<sup>139</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur ’bum*, 204-5/ 180-81.

**Wow!** As for me, an old monk who strolls around the country,  
 Having done as much study as possible in Dbus,  
 Because of increasing the teaching in the area of Khams,  
 Now [my] fame is burning.

**Wow!** As for me an old monk who strolls around the country,  
 Now the entourage which roves the mountain hermitages is large.  
 Steer them all to religion!  
 When will [I] benefit myself and others?

.....

**Wow!** As for me an old monk who strolls around the country,  
 [My] wealth also is much, [I] have blessed the crowd.  
 Religion also [I] know, [I] have explained it to people.  
 Although [my] years are passing, [I] am well and happy.

**Wow!** [I] am an old monk who strolls around the country.

In the preceding *mgur*, the interjection comes at the beginning of each four-line stanza. The sense of *a la la*, wonderment, modifies the entirety of each stanza.<sup>140</sup>

*a li lo mo a li*  
*a li*  
*a a li lo mo*

These three interjections occur in *Mgur* VIII-26, which is translated in full in the appendix. The expression *a li lo mo a li*, which is not defined in the *TTC* or in the *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs*,<sup>141</sup> comes initially once every three lines, its span matching the meter of the *mgur* and hence taking up a full line:

<sup>140</sup> Other uses of *a la la* occur in *Skal Idan, Mgur 'bum*, VII-9 (4x), VII-12 (3x), VII-15 (1x), VII-19 (1x), IX-5 (19x), and XI-8 (1x).

<sup>141</sup> *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994). However, the existence of similar interjections in the *Ge sar* epic have been noted by Stein, in *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 494. They include “*a la li la mo la li*; *a ya ya*, cet home merveilleux”; “*a la li la li ce fils de Brahṃā*,” “*a la la li li la mo li*” and “*a la la li la mo li*, je salue l’ami, le roi de Gesar.”

གཉུག་མ་འོད་གསལ་གཤེས་ལ། །  
 བཟང་ངན་སྒྲིམ་པ་མིད་དོ། །  
 ཇལ་ལོ་མོ་ཇལ་ལི། །

སྤྱང་ཉིད་རིགས་པས་དཔྱད་ན། །  
 བདག་འཛིན་ཁོ་ཡང་ཉི་ཉི། །  
 ཇལ་ལོ་མོ་ཇལ་ལི<sup>142</sup>། །

བདེན་འཛིན་སྤྱང་པས་བཀག་ན། །  
 སུ་འཁོར་གང་འཁོར་ཉི་ཉི། །  
 ཇལ་ལོ་མོ་ཇལ་ལི<sup>143</sup>། །

འཁོར་མཁན་མིད་ན་ལས་འབྲས་<sup>144</sup>།  
 རྣམ་གཞག་ཇི་ལྟར་འཛིན་ལགས། །  
 ཇལ་ལོ་མོ་ཇལ་ལི<sup>145</sup>། །

འོན་ཀྱང་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་ངང་ལས། །  
 བ་སྤྱད་ཅིན་འབྲེལ་ཞིག་ལ། །  
 ཇལ་ལོ་མོ་ཇལ་ལི<sup>146</sup>། །

etc.<sup>147</sup>

As for the natural disposition of primordial, clear light  
 There is no generation of good and bad.

**A li lo mo a li.**

If [one] examines emptiness through reasoning,  
 Clinging to self, itself also—heeee heeee!

**A li lo mo a li.**

If clinging to truth is refuted through emptiness,  
 Who goes around? What goes around? Ha ha!

**A li lo mo a li.**

<sup>142</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>143</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>144</sup> *'bras* ABD; *'bral* C.

<sup>145</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>146</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>147</sup> Skaldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 194/ 171.

If there is no agent going around,  
How are [we] to put forth an exposition of karma and [its] result?

**A li lo mo a li.**

Nonetheless, from the state of the luminous void  
Transactionally arrange the interdependent origination. Hey you!

**A li lo mo a li.**

etc.

In my translation of this *mgur*, I have left the expression *a li lo mo a li* as it is. It appears to be a play of sounds on *a li*.

The opening to *Mgur VIII-26* above is followed by a section in which *a li* is used frequently:

ཨ་ལི་<sup>148</sup> ཤེས་ན་དགའ་བ། ।

སྒྲིང་ཉིད་ཡིན་ནི་ཨ་ལི་<sup>149</sup>། ।

ཨ་ལི་བསྐྱེན་ན་དགའ་བ། ।

སྤྲ་མ་ཡིན་ནི་ཨ་ལི། ।

ཨ་ལི་<sup>150</sup> བསྐྱེང་<sup>151</sup> ན་དགའ་བ། ।

སྒྲིམ་པ་<sup>152</sup> ཡིན་ནི་ཨ་ལི། ।

ཨ་ལི་བསྐྱེད་ན་དགའ་བ། ।

རི་ཁྲོད་ཡིན་ནི་ཨ་ལི། ।

ཨ་ལི་ཀླ་<sup>153</sup> ལི་སྤྱུར་ན། ।

སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྱུར་དུ་འཕྲོབ་པོ། ।

etc.<sup>154</sup>

**A li.** If [you] understand,  
Happiness is emptiness. **A li.**

<sup>148</sup> *li* BCD; *yi* A.

<sup>149</sup> *li* BCD; *yi* A.

<sup>150</sup> *a li* BCD; *ā yi* A.

<sup>151</sup> *bsrung* BCD; *gsung* A.

<sup>152</sup> *pa* ACD; *ba* B.

<sup>153</sup> *kā* BCD; *ka* A.

<sup>154</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 194/ 171-72.

- A li.** If you rely on him,  
Happiness is the lama. **A li.**
- A li.** If you will guard it,  
Happiness is the vow. **A li.**
- A li.** If you remain in it,  
Happiness is the mountain hermitage. **A li.**
- A li.** If [you] join the vowels and consonants,  
[You] will quickly obtain Buddhahood.  
etc.

From the above excerpt on up to the closing couplet, *a li* introduces each two-line stanza and in the first three cases closes it as well. It literally means “vowels,” but functions mainly as a playful interjection here.

The final couplet of *Mgur* VIII-26 will reveal the only example of the expression *a a li lo mo* in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho’s *mgur*, here interspersed with the expression used frequently at the beginning of this *mgur*:

ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི།  
ཨ་ཨ་ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ།<sup>155</sup>

Together, they round off a *mgur* in which interjections are frequent.

*ya*

The interjection *ya* ends the last line of each stanza of *Mgur* IV-3 and its related *Mgur* IV-7. Don grub rgyal lists it as a calling sound. The *TTC* does not show it as Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses it, but rather as a free-standing interjection, before a sentence, with the meaning of *'gyod nyams kyi tshig*, “a word of regret.” The *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* also shows it free-standing, *'bod sgra ste: ya! khyod gang la 'gro?* I have decided to translate it as “Hey you!” or “Hey!” Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-3:

<sup>155</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 194/ 172.

བཙོན་འགྲུས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བ། །  
 བློས་བསམ་གྱི་ནམ་མཁམ། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་ཤར་ཡང་། །  
 ལྷུ་མ་<sup>156</sup> ལམ་<sup>157</sup> ཀྱི་གཟུང་ཡིས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་ཟེན་ཡ། །  
 བདེན་ཚིག་གི་མེ་ལྷ། །  
 ཚས་གཏམ་གྱི་ནགས་ལ། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་འབར་ཡང་། །  
 ལྷུ་མ་ཚིག་གི་ཆར་བས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བསད་ཡ། །<sup>158</sup>

Although the moon of diligence  
 Appeared again and again  
 In the sky of hearing and considering,  
 [It] was helplessly consumed  
 By the planet of indolence. **Hey!**

Although the flame of truthful words  
 Burned again and again  
 In the forest of religious discourse,  
 [It] was helplessly extinguished  
 By the rain of untruthful speech. **Hey!**

In all its appearances in the *mgur* of Skal Idan rgya mtsho, the interjection *ya* is used at the end of a line, after a finite verb, which may be in any tense of the indicative, or in the imperative.<sup>159</sup> *Ya* is also found frequently in the Ge sar epic, where it often ends lines and sometimes ends stanzas. (Helffer does not translate it.)

<sup>156</sup> *snyom* BCD; *snyoms* A. a

<sup>157</sup> *las* ACD; *pas* B.

<sup>158</sup> Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 71/ 64.

<sup>159</sup> The interjection *ya* occurs in Skal Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, *Mgur* IV-3 (13x), IV-7 (a *mgur* related to IV-3, 22x), IV-8 (in which each line in which it appears begins with *a'u*, 14x), VIII-24 (a *mgur* related to IV-8, also with *a'u*, 1x), VIII-26 (a *mgur* with sounds such as *a li*, 3x) and X-5 (1x).

*e go*

*E go* is used in only two of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, though frequently in each, and the fact that the *mgur* are related underlines his restricted use of this interjection. In fact, both *mgur* use the same line in which *e go* appears last. Don grub rgyal lists it as an interrogative word in his section on calling sounds. It is not defined in either the *TTC* or in *Dag yig gсар bsgrigs*. Since Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses *e go* in the sense of intuitive understanding, I have chosen to translate it as "Get it?" Here is an excerpt from *Mgur* IV-8, which demonstrates how Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses *e go*:

འོ་འོ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ། །  
 མཉུ་ཚས་ཀྱི་ཉིང་ཁྲ་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་ཉམས་སུ་འོངས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞེ་གྲོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྒྲུ་མ་དམ་པ། །  
 མཉུ་དངོས་བྱུང་འབྱུང་གནས་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་བསམ་དང་སྦྱོར་བས་སྦྱོར་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞེ་གྲོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་དལ་འབྱུང་ཚང་བའི་མེ་ལུས། །  
 མཉུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཉིད་པར་དཀའ་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཚས་ཀྱི་<sup>160</sup>སྦྱང་པོ་འོངས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞེ་གྲོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། <sup>161</sup>

'O 'o!      The Gradual Stages of Enlightenment  
 A'u!        is the essence of religion. Hey!  
 Kho re!    Practice in accordance with [its] manner!

<sup>160</sup> *kyi* CD; *kyis* AB.

<sup>161</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 77-78/ 69-70.



He he! The mind is happy and glorious, **get it?**  
Ya yi ya yi!

'O 'o! The holy glorious lama  
A'u! is the origin of the spiritual powers. Hey!  
Kho re! Attend to [him] in mind and deed!  
He he! The mind is happy and glorious, **get it?**  
Ya yi ya yi!

'O 'o! The human body which is replete with the eighteen  
conditions  
A'u! is very hard to obtain. Hey!  
Kho re! Receive the essence of religion.  
He he! The mind is happy and glorious, **get it?**  
Ya yi ya yi!

The interjections at the beginning of the lines will be explained below.

### *kye*

The following three interjections, *kye*, *kye kye*, and *kye ma*, are listed by Don grub rgyal as calling sounds in his section, *Mgur rang gi rgyan*. The interjection *kye* is used sparsely in the *mgur* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, and judging from the contexts, it is often used in the sense of a warning, or to express disapproval.<sup>162</sup> The following is an example of such a usage from *Mgur* II-5:

ཀྱེ་དགེ་ལ་བརྩོན་པར་མི་བྱེད་ན། །  
གནས་དབེན་པར་བསྐྱད་ཀྱང་དྲོན་འགོ་རྒྱུང་། །<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> The *TTC* defines *kye* as *rang las mtho ba zhig la 'bod pa'i sgra*, with the example "*kye rgyal po chen po*." Stein similarly mentions the use of the interjection *kye* in the Gesar epic: "*kye/ a la li la mo la li; a ya ya*, cet homme merveilleux." See *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 494. But that is not the sense here. Other examples of *kye* used with the sense that I have proposed can be found in Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, IV-11, p. 82; V-16b, p. 114; and II-5, p. 30.

<sup>163</sup> Skal ldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 29/ 26.

**Alas!** If [you] don't make effort towards virtue,  
Even if [you] stayed in a hermitage, the source of benefit would  
be small.

In *Mgur* V-9, there is an example of *kye* in the closing dedication. Here it occurs at the end of the line, with the same sense as in the example above:

ཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་ཐོག་པོ་གཞན་ལ་མེན་མོ་གྱེ། །  
མདོར་བསྡུས་ན་རང་དོན་རང་གིས་གྱིས། །<sup>164</sup>

You are not a friend to others. **Alas!**  
In short, you yourself must act for the benefit of me!

*kye kye*

The interjection *kye kye* is used by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho in the familiar opening passage of the bees addressing him in *Mgur* cycle IV-1. The *TTC* translates *kye kye* as *nan tan gyis 'bod pa'i tshig*. Here the bees are surely calling out to him with exertion:

གྱེ་གྱེ་ཉོན་ཅིག་མང་ཐོས་ཤིང་བྱང་པ།<sup>165</sup> །  
ཆོ་རབས་ཐོན་ནས་ཀྱ་རེ་ཅིང་མོ་སོགས། །  
བག་མིང་བྱ་བས་ཉོན་མཚན་འདས་པ་ལས། །  
ཐོག་མིང་བྱས་ནས་ད་བར་སྤྲོད་འདིར་འབྱམས། །<sup>166</sup>

**Hey, hey,** listen, scholar under the tree!  
Because of making careless jokes, games, and so on in past lives,  
From beginningless time up until now, passing nights and days,  
[You] have wandered about in this existence.

Saying *kye kye*, the bees want to attract Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's attention to the fact that his life is full of meaningless acts, and that he must listen to their advice, since they know so much more than he does! *Kye kye* is a call for attention and for action.

<sup>164</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 102/ 91.

<sup>165</sup> *pa* CD; *ba* AB.

<sup>166</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 64/ 58.

*kye ma*

The *TTC* translates *kye ma* as *smad pa dang/ smon pa/ zhum pa/ ngo mtshar ba/ mya ngag/ nges pa sogs kyi don la 'jug pa'i 'bod tshig cig*. In the following example from *Mgur XIII-12*, it is used in the sense of *zhum pa*, fear and dismay; as well as *mya ngag*, misery:

ཀྱེ་མ་འཁོར་བ་ལ་ནི་བདེ་བ་མེད། །  
མི་ཡི་འོ་བས་ལྷ་ར་ལྷོས་ཤིག་ལི་མོ་འི་བྱ། <sup>167</sup>

**Alas!** In samsara there is no happiness.  
Watch it like a fiery pit, son of Li mo.

'o 'o  
a'u  
kho re  
he he

There are two *mgur* among *Skal Idan rgya mtsho's* that regularly introduce the respective lines of their stanzas with the same sequence of sounds. *Mgur VIII-24* is comprised of four-line stanzas, that begin with 'o 'o, a'u, kho re and he he respectively.<sup>168</sup> *Mgur IV-8* is comprised of five-line stanzas, each line of which begins with the same sounds as in *Mgur VIII-24*, respectively, followed by a fifth line of pure sound, *ya yi ya yi*. All these interjections with the exception of *he he* are used exclusively in these two *mgur*. *Mgur IV-8* is translated in full in the appendix, and I will use it to provide examples of the same sequence of sounds introducing lines:

འོ་འོ་མ་ཁོད་སྒོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ། །  
ཨུ་གདན་གྱི་སྐྱབས་གནས་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
ཁོ་རེ་སྤྲོད་ནས་གསུམ་པས་འདུད་དང་། །  
ཉི་ཉི་སྒོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཨི་གོ། །  
ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

<sup>167</sup> *Skal Idan, Mgur 'bum*, 346/ 307.

<sup>168</sup> *Mgur VIII-24* is found in *Skal Idan, Mgur 'bum*, 192-93.

འོ་འོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ། །  
 ཨཱཱ་ཚཱ་གྱི་ཉིང་ཁྲ་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཆུལ་བཞིན་ཉམས་སུ་ལོངས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཤོ་མ་དམ་པ། །  
 ཨཱཱ་དངོས་གྲུབ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་བསམ་དང་སྦྱོར་བས་སྦྱོར་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

etc.<sup>169</sup>

**Oh yeah!** Prudent father Blo bzang grags pa  
**Hey you!** is a place of perpetual refuge! Hey!  
**Hey!** Bow [to him] with respect from the heart!  
**Ha ha!** The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
**Ya yi ya yi!**

**Oh yeah!** The *Gradual Stages of Enlightenment*  
**Hey you!** is the essence of religion. Hey!  
**Hey!** Practice in accordance with [its] manner!  
**Ha ha!** The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
**Ya yi ya yi!**

**Oh yeah!** The holy glorious lama  
**Hey you!** is the origin of spiritual powers. Hey!  
**Hey!** Attend to [him] in mind and deed!  
**Ha ha!** The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
**Ya yi ya yi!**  
 etc.

<sup>169</sup> Skäl Idan, *Mgur 'bum*, 77-78/ 69-70.

## 'o 'o

The expression 'o 'o is translated by Jäschke as “Oh yes!—as a reply.” It does not appear in the *TTC*. Above, I have translated it as the colloquial, “Oh yeah!” It begins the first line of each of the five-line stanzas in the *mgur*, and appears fourteen times.

## a'u

*A'u*, as it is, is not translated in the *TTC*. It is another way, often used in Amdo, of attracting a person's attention if one doesn't know his name.<sup>170</sup> Hence, I have translated it as “Hey!” or “Hey you!” It begins the second line of each of the stanzas, which completes the thought of the first line, whether with good news or with bad news, throughout the *mgur*. Structurally, it comes amidst the first sentence of each stanza, after the subject that occurs in the first line. Notice that every line that begins with *a'u* ends with *ya*, the interjection discussed above.

## kho re

The *TTC* defines *kho re* as *skyes pa la 'bod pa'i sgra*, “a sound for calling someone.” Here, where it begins the third line of each stanza, it calls the listener's attention to the imperative: “Hey you, bow....,” “Hey you, practice....,” “Hey you, rely....”

## he he

The *TTC* gives the expression *he he* two translations: *dga' ba'i gad mo*, “a laughter of joy,” and *'jig skrag bskul ba'i gad mo*, “a laughter which induces fear.” Examples of both are found in the *mgur* of Skaldan rgya mtsho. In the *mgur* quoted above, I have translated *he he* in the sense of joyous laughter, and have given it the English rendering,

<sup>170</sup> This identification was made through personal communication with the Bkra shis 'khyil monk, Dpal 'byor.

“ha ha.” It comes at the beginning of the fourth line of each stanza, which is repeated in full each time throughout the *mgur*.

Before moving on to the fourth sound of this series to be discussed, I wish to provide an example of *he he* in the sense of a laughter which induces fear, which is found once in *Mgur* VIII-26, of which I quote the first nine lines:

གཉུག་མ་འོད་གསལ་གཤེས་ལ། ।

བཟང་ངན་སྒྲིས་པ་མིང་དྲ། ।

ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི། ।

སྤྲོད་ཉིད་རིགས་པས་དཔྱད་ན། ।

བདག་འཛིན་ཁོ་ཡང་ཉི་ཉི། ।

ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི<sup>171</sup>། ।

བདེན་འཛིན་སྤྲོད་པས་བཀག་ན། ।

སུ་འཁོར་གང་འཁོར་ཉ་ཉ། ।

ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི<sup>172</sup>། ।

etc.<sup>173</sup>

As for the natural disposition of primordial, clear light

There is no generation of good and bad.

A li lo mo a li.

If [one] examines emptiness through reasoning,

Clinging to self, itself also—**heeee heeee!**

A li lo mo a li.

If clinging to truth is refuted through emptiness,

Who goes around? What goes around? Ha ha!

A li lo mo a li.

etc.

Here I have translated the Tibetan *he he* as “heeee heeee,” in order to try to give a sense of a scolding type of laughter that would cause shudders in the listener.

<sup>171</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>172</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>173</sup> Skaldan, *Mgur 'bum*, 194/ 171.

*ya yi ya yi*

The expression *ya yi ya yi* does not appear in the *TTC* or in *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs*. It rounds off each of the five-line stanzas of *Mgur* IV-8. Since it follows a line introduced by a sound of joyous laughter, *ya yi ya yi* seems also to be a sound of rejoicing. In English translation, I have left it as it is.

Note the similarity of the following to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's poem. I have formatted in bold the parts that correspond exactly to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Mgur* IV-8:

འོ་འོ་སྲིད་པའི་ནད་བརྒྱ་སེལ་བའི།  
 མཁུ་ལྷན་མཆོག་འདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་ཡ།  
 ཁོ་རེ་བྱུང་གླའི་ཚུལ་དུ་འཐེན་དང།  
 ཉི་ཉི་ལྷོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞིག།  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི།

Yet the *mgur* is by Bya btang Byams pa chos dar,<sup>174</sup> the personal name of Zhabs dkar ba Tshogs drug rang grol. Zhabs dkar obviously also associated this set of sounds with laughter, because he wrote “The Laughter of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas,” “The Laughter of Mañjuśrī and Saraswatī,” “The Laughter of Milarepa and his Spiritual Sons” and “The Laughter of Brahṃā” using most of these interjections in the same way. And Zhabs dkar attributes his influence in these songs to Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's “playful....tongue-twisting” style.<sup>175</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In summary, I have discussed the interjections *a me*, *ha ha*, *e ma ho*, *a la la*, *a li*, *a li lo mo a li*, *a a a li lo mo*, *ya*, *e go*, *kye*, *kye kye*, *kye ma*, *'o 'o*, *a'u*, *kho re*, *he he*, and *ya yi ya yi* within the context of selected excerpts from the *mgur* of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho and the

<sup>174</sup> See Don grub rgyal, *Bod kyi mgur glu*, 531-32.

<sup>175</sup> Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin*, 170-74.

application of any translations in dictionaries, chiefly the *TTC*, towards a possible decipherment of his usage of them.

I have also discussed the structural functions of the interjections within the excerpts. The vast majority of interjections come at the beginning of a line. A couple of them (*kye*, *ha ha* and *a li*) are used at both the beginnings and ends of lines. Several of the interjections fill whole lines themselves. The majority of interjections come at the beginning of a sentence. *A li* and *kye* come both at the beginning and end of a sentence. *Ha ha* sometimes interrupts a sentence after a relative clause. *A la la*, which often introduces a sentence, can also be found to come between relative and main clauses. Interjections that fill whole lines come after the sentence, and finish off the stanza.

The four interjections that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho used as a set come at the beginning of the lines, and are used exclusively in those two *mgur*, with one exception of *he he* appearing once elsewhere. '*O 'o*, *kho re* and *he he* all introduce sentences. *A'u* frequently comes in the middle of sentences. '*O 'o*, *a'u*, *kho re* and *he he* form a special, mutually independent group of interjections, the study of which will surely lead to further revelations about a fascinating world.

In the preceding two chapters I have presented a wide variety of poetic figures belonging to two categories: the formal tradition associated with the *Kāvyaḍarśa* and its application in Tibetan classical verse coming out of the monasteries, and what seem to be indigenous Tibetan traditions associated with verse found in Dunhuang manuscripts, Mi la ras pa's songs, the Ge sar epic, Tibetan folk songs and expressions in daily life. As we saw in his choices of stanza patterns and metrics, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho has exhibited skill in the styles of both categories, reflecting his multiple areas of expertise and interest. But again, my examples of the indigenous poetic figures in his *mgur* far outweigh the classical ones. With the completion of this overview of what we know about Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's style from the printed page, I will now turn to a coda on how his songs are sung today.



## CODA

### THE TRADITION OF SINGING SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S *MGUR* TODAY

Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* continue to play an active role in peoples' lives in the Reb gong region of Amdo. Considered the first of their most important reincarnation lineage, he remains one of the most revered of all lamas in the history of Reb gong. Virtually every nomad and farmer has a copy of his *Mgur 'bum* in his house or tent and respects it as a sacred object, much as a religious statue or *thang ka* painting, whether he has the reading skill to understand all the poems or not. Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Collected Writings*, including the *Mgur 'bum*, play a part in the curriculum of Rong bo monastery, Rong bo Bkra shis 'khyil monastery, and other Dge lugs pa monasteries influenced by him in Amdo. The monk-scholars I have met in such monasteries consider reading the *Mgur 'bum* sufficient for receiving instruction and inspiration from his songs.

But the surprising thing is that, besides the simple reverence to the text as a religious object and the monk-scholars' custom of reading and studying Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, there exists another tradition of specially designated monks and lay soloists who actually sing these *mgur* regularly in specific ritual contexts. This is very unusual, in spite of the fact that *mgur* were intended to be sung, since the tradition of the singing of most other siddhas' *mgur* has died out.

One of the few exceptions is Mi la ras pa's *mgur*, which are still sung in a few spots today. However, there is no standardization of performance style. Several plausible recordings produced by S. Beyer are sung by a 'Brug pa monk or monks; and a Kham pa painter and sculptor, singing simple pentatonic melodies with only short melismas.<sup>1</sup> Another pair of songs whose style shows a close relationship to folk music were recorded by J. Levy in Bhutan and

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<sup>1</sup> *Tibetan Mystic Song*, Lyrichord record LLST 7290, contains six *mgur* by Mi la ras pa, as well as several by Pad ma dkar po, Rgod tshang pa, disciples of Sgam po pa and Lo ras pa. *Songs of Gods and Demons: Ritual and Theatrical Music of Tibet*, Lyrichord record LLST 7291, also produced by Stephan Beyer, contains one song by Mi la ras pa.

are sung by *manipas* (wandering ascetics) in an elaborated, melismatic way.<sup>2</sup> While the recordings of Beyer and Levy each show a faithful relationship to some form of folk music, their respective forms of folk music are very different. Other recordings, not concerned with authenticity, indicate that Tibetans feel they can perform Mi la ras pa's songs in just about any way that strikes their fancy. Such recordings range from Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil monks' performance in an animated, classical style accompanied by instruments in a swinging rhythm,<sup>3</sup> to the performances by other monks or nuns using lots of sustained notes in extremely slow tempos.<sup>4</sup> The latter recordings show no discernable influence from folk songs, and hence no relationship to the way Mi la ras pa himself may have sung his *mgur*.

By contrast, not only is there a general standardization of how Skal ldan rgya mtsho's songs are to be performed today,<sup>5</sup> but the way they are sung shows a strong relationship to folk songs. In particular, major aspects of their form are like those of folk songs sung in Eastern Tibet, and hence may well resemble how Skal ldan rgya mtsho sang his songs in the seventeenth century. Because of that, and because of the lively tradition that still encompasses them, an

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<sup>2</sup> *Temple Rituals and Public Ceremonies*, in *Tibetan Buddhist Rites from the Monasteries of Bhutan*, vol. 3, Lyrichord compact disc LYRCD 9001, contains two *mgur* by Mi la ras pa on bands 10 and 14. The song on band 10 is sung by Rdo rje rin chen, a wandering ascetic from Pabisa in the Thimphu district; the song on band 14 is sung by Nado, a wandering ascetic from Simphu, in the Tongsa Valley.

Hear also Drukpa, Jigme, *Endless Songs from Bhutan*, Grappa Musikforlag HCD 7143, track 5. Jigme Drukpa sings a Mi la ras pa song while accompanying himself on the *sgra snyan* (a Tibetan lute-like instrument). His gentle style of singing melismas over an absolutely steady pulse, accentuated by striking his strings, is characteristic of much of Bhutanese folk music.

<sup>3</sup> *Monastère tibétain de Labrang*, Ocora/ Radio France compact disc C 560101, band 15 (sung by monks of Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil monastery).

<sup>4</sup> Hear, for example, *Musique sacrée tibétaine*, Ellébore compact disc 55945.2 (sung by 'Brug pa monks in unison), band 4; and *The Songs of Milarepa: Tibetan Music from the Mahayana Buddhist Nunnery*, Lyrichord record LLST 7285 (sung by nuns).

<sup>5</sup> That is, the lay singers and young monks sing a melody in a similar way. The more experienced monks take the further step of singing several cycles also in that way, and then speeding up by blending into fragments of the melody a chanting style that improvises on that melody's cells. My accompanying CD illustrates these points. Hear, for example, tracks 4 and 5 (which illustrate two lay performances of the same melody); tracks 7, 8, and 11 (performances by a lay soloist, a young monk and an experienced monk of a given melody); and tracks 9 and 10 (performances of a young and an experienced monk of yet another melody).

investigation into the performance of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* has unique importance for the study of the genre itself. In this coda, I will focus on this very alive ritual tradition of singing Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* from the point of view of both its musical and ritual contexts.

### *The Musical Context*

The general form in which Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* are sung today is antiphonal, with a soloist singing several lines from the *mgur* and with a chorus singing *Oṃ mā ṇi padme* [hūṃ]<sup>6</sup> after him. The chorus is often quite large, and can number from one hundred and fifty to seven hundred villagers. The soloist and chorus go back and forth singing their parts, until an entire *mgur* is completed. The process is slow, and it may take thirty minutes for a song of sixty-four lines to be performed. The soloist has over eighteen highly complex melodies from which to choose one appropriate for his lines for a certain *mgur*. The chorus must then respond to him with a prescribed matching melody of an extremely simplified contour consisting mainly of sustained notes from the same pitch collection as the soloist's. By oral tradition, this style of singing Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* antiphonally in a variety of melodies is said to date back to Shes rab bkra shis, a mountain hermit disciple of Skal Idan rgya mtsho at Bkra shis 'khyil.<sup>7</sup>

But since Skal Idan rgya mtsho was sometimes alone in the solitary places where he sang his *mgur*, his original way of singing them could not have necessitated a chorus. Moreover, Skal Idan rgya mtsho sang *mgur* largely to express religious teachings and his experience of them, so he must have sung them in a way that brought out the meaning of the words. Nowadays, the purpose of the singing

<sup>6</sup> This is the mantra of Avalokiteśvara.

<sup>7</sup> Bkra shis 'khyil monk Dpal 'byor, interview by author, Bkra shis 'khyil, notes, late summer, 2000. For Shes rab bkra shis' biography by his disciple Ngag dbang 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1678–1734), see *Rje btsun dam pa shes rab bkra shis pa'i rnam par thar pa lhaq bsam sprin gyi sgra dbyangs rna ba'i dga' ston byin rlabs myur 'jug*, in Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999), vol. 4, pp. 334–66. However, the biography does not go into any detail about his involvement with the formation of this musical tradition. A khu Khri rgan tshang, interview by author, Xining, June 10, 2001.

does not seem to be instruction so much as ritual. There are aspects of the present way of singing in which the form even obscures the words.<sup>8</sup> It seems probable that the purpose of singing the songs moved from instruction (by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho) to ritual (by later generations). And it is also likely that this shift was accompanied by a parallel movement away from a musical style that was generated by the words and ostensibly more free—reflecting how Skäl Idan rgya mtsho may have sung—to a more regimented one in terms of prescribed melodies, stanza lengths, and the ubiquitous necessity of a chorus. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho created new words, whereas today the singers read from a fixed text, a woodblock print of the *Mgur 'bum*, while singing.

Although the musical form today shows stylization, interesting aspects of the original way of singing the *mgur* may be shining through its trappings. I propose that certain melodic and rhythmic characteristics of the soloists may provide windows to the past, because they indicate an influence from folk songs. It is on those melodic and rhythmic aspects that I now want to focus.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> One indication that the music of the tradition as it is now known has been superimposed onto the words (rather than being generated by them) is that long melismas sometimes fall on genitive or adverbial particles, or on an adjective that precedes a noun, breaking up the sense of the syntactic units. Extreme awkwardness comes about when singing the melody Gnyis go'u thung ngo, which has a caesura amidst the beats of its first line, calling for the singing to come to a standstill no matter what relation the following syllables have to the preceding ones. Singing *Mgur* III-7 in this melody renders a full rest after Skäl Idan, while the syllables rgya mtsho then begin the next phrase. Moreover, sometimes the melodic patterns form a musical stanza that does not match the textual stanza patterns in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, so lines that are not meant to be grouped together are sung together, such as the last lines of one sentence and the beginning lines of the next, as if they formed a unit. Sometimes the monks even group the last lines of a *mgur* with the first lines of the next, and no one seems to blink an eye.

For another example of the problem of fitting thought to meter, see Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000): 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> It is beyond my scope here to comment on an antecedent for the role of the chorus as it is used today in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs. All recordings of antiphonal Tibetan music available to me show the equal importance of both parts, such as the play songs and work songs in which men and women sing back and forth to one another (though the men usually sing first). For examples of antiphonal Tibetan folk music, hear, for example, *Tibetan Folk and Minstrel Music*, Lyrichord record LLST 7196, tracks 2, 6, 7, and 11; and *Songs and Music of Tibet*, Folkways Records Album No. FE4486, side 1, bands 2-4; and side 2, bands 1, 2, 4, 6-8.

The style of antiphony in the citations above is in contrast to that in the present style of singing Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs, which alternates between a dominant

There are at least eighteen melodies from which the soloists can choose.<sup>10</sup> Some *mgur* can be sung in a variety of melodies, while others can be sung in only one melody. I will list names of the melodies below. Because these names belong exclusively to the oral tradition and because in the Amdo dialect one pronunciation can be spelled in many ways, I found no consensus on how to write the names of some of these melodies. My list includes spelling variants that were proposed to me by singers and others in the area.<sup>11</sup>

དུང་དཀར་འབྲུག་གྲགས་                      དུང་དཀར་འབྲུག་གྲགས་མ་  
 རྩ་ག་ལང་  
 ལྷ་ས་  
 རྩ་སྐལ་                      རྩ་སྐལ་                      རྩ་གོ་ལུ་                      རྩ་སྐལ་  
 རྩ་དཀར་  
 ཡ་གོ་དེ་                      རྩ་གོ་དེ་  
 གཉིས་སྐལ་གྲུང་བོ་<sup>12</sup> གཉིས་སྐལ་གྲུང་དོ་    ཉིས་གོ་ལུ་གྲུང་བོ་    ཉིས་གོ་ལུ་གྲུང་དོ་  
 ཉིས་སྐལ་གྲུང་བོ་

soloist (with changing lines) and a subservient chorus (that always responds with the same words).

<sup>10</sup> Popular tradition claims that there are precisely eighteen melodies, but if one counts, there are more. The choice of a melody for a particular *mgur* is based at least partially on the meter of the *mgur* to be sung. For example:

<i>mgur</i> with meter	3 + 2	can only be sung in one melody
	2 + 2 + 2	can be sung in many melodies
	2 + 2 + 3	"
	2 + 3 + 2	"
	2 + 2 + 2 + 3	can only be sung in a few melodies

Interview with the resident lay *mgur* singer of Hor nag, Rin chen byams, Aug. 30, 2000.

<sup>11</sup> These spellings were suggested by one of the most experienced soloists from Rong bo dgon monastery, the lay resident singer of Hor nag, and several monks of Bkra shis 'khyil. Rong bo dgon monastery, a small monastery about a three hours walk west of Bkra shis 'khyil, or about a seven hours walk west of Reb gong, is to be distinguished from Rong bo dgon chen, the large monastery in Reb gong. Rong bo dgon monk Dge 'dun 'od zer, interviews by author, notes, Hor nag ri gong ma, June 18 and 21, 2001; Dpal 'byor, interview by author, notes, Bkra shis 'khyil, Sept. 4, 2000; Byams pa rgya mtsho, interview by author, notes, Bkra shis 'khyil, Aug. 30, 2000; and Rin chen byams, interview by author, notes, A bog and Stong ces, June 27, 2001.

<sup>12</sup> This and the subsequent one (*gnyis skol ring bo*) are instead names of melody groups, both of which contain a number of melodies themselves.

གཉིས་སྒྲུབ་རིང་བོ་    ཉིས་གྲུ་རིང་ངོ་    གཉིས་སྒྲུབ་རིང་ངོ་    ཉིས་སྒྲུ་རིང་བོ་  
 མ་ཁི་བཞི་སྒྲུབ་  
 བཞི་སྒྲུབ་རིང་ངོ་    བཞི་གྲུ་རིང་ངོ་  
 བཞི་སྒྲུབ་བྱང་ངོ་    བཞི་གྲུ་བྱང་ངོ་  
 གཙམ་སྒྲུབ་    གཙམ་གྲུ་  
 བྱང་འཕྲོད་  
 ཁྱེད་སྒྲུབ་བྱང་ངོ་  
 ལཱ་སྒྲུབ་  
 དག་བ་ཚྱལ་བྱང་  
 ཨ་ཁ་ཚྱལ་ཁྱེད་<sup>13</sup>

Again, it is most probable that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho did not limit himself to a set of melodies from which to choose, though he may have had favorites. Even from among this fixed group today, variations are seen when I compare how singers of different villages perform certain melodies and which ones they tend to emphasize. It is true that each village claims to have the “authentic version,” each is slightly different from the others<sup>14</sup> and there is no way to know how the songs were originally sung. However, a few generalizations may give us indications of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho’s original style.

The melodies above and how they are performed share certain characteristics. They involve a pitch collection of between four and seven notes, with a range not much more than an octave and a half and often quite less. Movement within the phrases is characterized by sustained notes, some of which are decorated with quick melismas in free rhythms.<sup>15</sup> The lengths of the sustained notes are sometimes in stark contrast to the ornamental decorations. The lines frequently fall into pairs. And they are sung with no instrumental accompaniment. I have placed examples on my accompanying CD.

There is no doubt that the closest match in all of Tibetan music to the melodies of the soloists who sing Skäl Idan rgya mtsho’s *mgur* today are folk songs of Eastern Tibet, since many of them are sung

<sup>13</sup> This last melody is sung only in Bod mo. Dpal ’byor, interview by author, notes, Bkra shis ’khyil, Sept. 4, 2000.

<sup>14</sup> A khu Khri rgan tshang, interview by author, Xining, June 10, 2001.

<sup>15</sup> These ornaments may involve as many as 22 notes.

by soloists with no instrumental accompaniment, have long sustained notes, many of which are decorated by complex melismatic ornaments, and have lines that are also often grouped into pairs.<sup>16</sup> In particular, I have not heard any nomad songs from eastern Tibet that do not have these properties, unless they are dance songs.<sup>17</sup> Some farmers' songs from these regions also share them.<sup>18</sup> The following table will illustrate these points:

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<sup>16</sup> Following is a list of recordings of songs that fit this description. Note that all of these songs are from Amdo, Khams, eastern Tibet or other nomad regions. Most of them are nomad songs, but several of them are farmers' songs. Hear *Tibetan Folk Songs from Lhasa and Amdo*, Lyrichord record LLST 7286, side B, track 5 (from Amdo) and tracks 8-10 (from Khams); *Musique et théâtre populaires tibétains*, Ocora record OCR 62, side A, track 4 (from eastern Tibet); *Tibetan Folk and Minstrel Music*, side A, tracks 1-4, 7, 10, 13 (from Khams; the last three are occupation songs for sowing seed, threshing wheat and carrying logs or other loads up the hill); *Tibetan Folk Music: Traditional Songs and Instrumental Music from the Roof of the World*, Saydisc compact disc SDL 427, tracks 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, and 25 (all from areas from which nomad songs come: Nagchu, Sertal and Khams); *Dhama Suna*, Detour compact disc 0630-19064-2, track 8 (a nomad song from Khams sung by a performer belonging to the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts).

Bhutanese folk music is really in a separate category, since it very frequently uses complex melismatic passages to decorate an absolutely steady beat, whether accompanied by an instrument and not. Hear, for example, *Temple Rituals and Public Ceremonies*, in *Tibetan Buddhist Rites from the Monasteries of Bhutan*, vol. 4, Lyrichord compact disc LYRCD 9001, tracks 5-9, 18 and 19 (folk songs from Bhutan); and Jigme Drukpa, *Endless Songs from Bhutan*.

<sup>17</sup> I have adopted the classifications of songs I use in this discussion—nomad songs, farmers' songs, mountain songs, dance songs, work and occupational songs and songs from certain places—from the annotations of recordings cited in this coda.

<sup>18</sup> But most other farmers' songs from Eastern Tibet are for dance, have a steady pulse, and/or have instrumental accompaniment. Hear *Tibetan Folk Songs from Lhasa and Amdo*, side B, tracks 1-4 (dance music from Amdo); and *Tibetan Folk Music*, tracks 10 and 18 ("Truly in Love," from Khams and "The Crops in the Fields are Growing Nicely," from Sertal).

	Skal ldan rgya mtsho's songs	nomad or mountain songs; songs from Eastern Tibet, Amdo, Khams (excluding dance songs) <sup>19</sup>	songs from Lhasa, Central Tibet and Gzhis ka rtse; all dance songs, including from Amdo and Khams <sup>19</sup>
solo voice or homophonic, a cappella	yes	yes	no <sup>20</sup>
sustained notes sometimes decorated with freestyle ornaments	yes	yes	no

The style of the soloists singing Skal ldan rgya mtsho's songs is related to how nomad, mountain and Eastern Tibetan songs (except dance songs) are sung in certain fundamental ways, summarized above. Moreover, the styles of these two groups contrast with the styles from Lhasa, Central Tibet, and Gzhis ka rtse, and the styles of dance songs in general, in the same fundamental ways.

There is no way to determine the ages of the melodies that are currently sung, and it is probable that they themselves are substitutions for earlier tunes, Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* having been reset to new tunes as they became popular locally over the centuries. We cannot know precisely what melodies Skal ldan rgya mtsho sang, but it is likely that he employed melodies similar to those of the

<sup>19</sup> Hear, for example, *Tibetan Folk Music: Traditional Songs and Instrumental Music from the Roof of the World*, tracks 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, and 26 (from Lhasa, Central Tibet, Gzhis ka rtse, and a dance song from Khams); *Monastère tibétain de Labrang*, tracks 12-18 (theater music); *Musique et théâtre populaires Tibétains*, tracks 1, 2b, 3, 6-8 (dance songs; song from Central Tibet) and *Songs and Music of Tibet*, side A, bands 1-2 (dance songs).

<sup>20</sup> The exceptions are work and occupational songs that have other similarities to music from Central Tibet and Gzhis ka rtse but are of course by nature unaccompanied. Hear, for example, *Tibetan Folk and Minstrel Music*, tracks 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, and 14 (agricultural songs from Sa skya and Rgyal rtse).

Imitation nomad songs in operas and the epic are beyond the scope of this coda.



popular folk songs of his day, or improvised in their style.<sup>21</sup> He would have been familiar with that style, and would have even heard it quite often at his hermitages. On the far eastern side of the Tibetan plateau, valleys cut into the highlands and steep mountains are quite close to one another. There is an echoing effect, and frequently I heard nomads singing out very clearly, although I could only see a black dot—a yak—very far below. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho may well have used the melodies of the nomad songs of his area to sing his own *mgur*, in the long tradition that went back to the *caryāgiti* in India and its development in Tibet in the *mgur* attributed to Mar pa and Mi la ras pa. In my chapter on metrics I pointed out that the meters he used most often are meters used in folk music, as we know it. His style would have appealed to the mountain hermits that he was teaching and the familiarity of his melodies would have complemented his instructions, the tunes already having been part of their daily lives.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Contrafacta, or the setting of texts to pre-existent melodies, is very common in other ritual contexts as well. Examples are frequent from other cultures and times. In the West, contrafacta dates back to the fifteenth century, where, after 1450, it usually occurred as in the process above, namely a sacred text substituted a secular one. Contrafacta blended something new (a text) with something older (a melody), in order to give a sense of familiarity to the message imparted. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d. ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Grove's Dictionaries Inc., 2001). For examples of contrafacta in sacred Syrian Jewish hymns, see Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Let Jasmine Rain Down: Song and Remembrance among Syrian Jews* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).

<sup>22</sup> While the folk songs of Eastern Tibet are the major influence upon how soloists sing Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs today, it is important to recognize that there are differences between the styles too. The soloists who sing Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs sing them in a much tamer, more reserved way than the singers on most of the recordings I have heard of eastern Tibetan folk music, since the melodies used to sing Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs have fewer wide leaps, a narrower range, and gentle (irregular) beats. Something close to them can be heard in *Temple Rituals and Public Ceremonies*, in *Tibetan Buddhist Rites from the Monasteries of Bhutan*, vol. 4, tracks 6, 7 and 19, since the folk songs recorded on these tracks have less wild leaps than those on the other recordings, and since they employ gentle beats.

I would like to remind the reader that throughout this discussion, I am comparing only the style of the soloists singing Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs to the style of folk songs. However, absent from all the recordings cited above is a chorus singing *mantras* in intermittent lines. This is another big difference between how the folk songs on the recordings are sung and how Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs are sung today.

*The Ritual Contexts*

The soloists are specially designated, and the roles they play determine whether they should be lay people or monks. I shall describe the two systems separately, starting with the lay singers. This tradition is alive in each of the villages on the Tibetan plateau to the west of the Reb gong valley some five hours' walking distance from one to another: Khyung bo, Stong ces, Hor nag, A bog, Bod mo, Sngags sa and Mgron lung.<sup>23</sup> Each of these villages has a special house for singing the *mgur*, a *ma ni khang*. Several that I visited were quite elaborate, with statues and religious paintings decorating their interiors, and doubled as the central places of worship in their respective villages. One of these, the *ma ni khang* in A bog, stood out unmistakably as the most affluent and elaborate structure in the village, with its exquisitely carved wood facade and brick walls.

Each of the seven aforementioned villages has its own resident lay singer who has the sole responsibility for performing whatever rituals are required in his village. The occasions upon which *mgur* should be sung are well defined. When someone dies, the singer and a large chorus of villagers go to the deceased person's courtyard and sing some of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*. If there is a lack of rain, the singer and a number of villagers sometimes go to a particular nearby mountain, where they may stay and sing for four or five days at a time. The singer and a small chorus also will sing on the

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<sup>23</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* are sung in various places in the Rong bo Valley as well, but apparently the tradition has been adulterated there and the performances are considered to be poor. Dpal 'byor, interview by author, notes, Bkra shis 'khyil, late summer, 2000.

There are various other traditions of singing *mgur* on the Tibetan plateau to the west of the Reb gong valley as well. Rong bo dgon monks sing Mi la ras pa's *mgur* in the village of Reb sa every year. Mi la ras pa's songs have traditionally been sung in the village of Brag dkar as well, in a style that did not come out of Rong bo dgon but rather from Sgo dmar in the Rong bo valley. But Brag dkar's text of Mi la ras pa's songs was lost in 1958 with the destruction of the temple, and since the singers have been unwilling to sing from a modern edition, they are now awaiting the acquisition of a woodblock print in order to resume their tradition.

Zhabs dkar's *mgur* are still read to the east of the Reb gong valley when someone dies, in place of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*. See Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar*, xiii. They are also sung at times in the Rong bo Valley when someone dies, such as in Mkhar rtse rdzong. But it seems that the tradition is not very active since the present Zhabs dkar ba was not aware that they are sung. M. Ricard and Zhabs dkar ba (the fourth), interview by author, journal, Reb gong, Aug. 16, 2001; Dge 'dun chos 'phel, interview by author, notes, Bkra shis 'khyil, Sept. 4, 2002.

occasion of a person's old age, to promote a longer life. Finally, for some days in the winter before planting the crops, they sing in the *ma ni khang*; and for some days in the summer before the harvest, they sing in the fields.<sup>24</sup>

The monks' tradition of singing Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* centers around the summer solstice festival,<sup>25</sup> which goes on for about fifteen straight days on mountains adjacent to all but one of the villages listed above. Only monks from a particular monastery, Rong bo dgon,<sup>26</sup> are allowed to sing in this festival. In the case of this festival, the chorus is huge, made up of all the villagers present, numbering from one hundred and fifty up to as high as seven hundred. A huge tent called a *sbra gur* (felt tent) is set up in each place to accommodate the ritual. The monk-singers sit in front of an altar and their abbot's throne, against a backdrop of *thang ka* paintings of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, Chos pa Rin po che, and other high lamas on the back of the tent. In a semicircle around the monks sit the lay male villagers, and behind them are the lay women. One monk will sing his solo lines from the *Mgur 'bum* for about an hour, with all the villagers singing the intermittent choral parts. Then there will be a break. The villagers go outside and enjoy tea, and the scene is charming beyond words with the views of mountain ranges and valleys and the traditional clothing of the people. Everyone seems to highly enjoy the occasion.

<sup>24</sup> Dpal 'byor and Byams pa rgya mtsho, interviews by author, notes, Bkra shis 'khyil, late summer, 2000. Rin chen byams, interview by author, notes, Reb gong, July 29, 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Why, it could be asked, does it occur over the time of the summer solstice when all or most of the lay rituals take place at times of difficulty? According to A khu Khri rgan tshang, the festival originally took place in April, around the time of the birth of Śākyamuni, but was moved to June so that the weather would be warmer and the time would not conflict with planting. He says that the main purpose of the fifteen day monastic festival is merely to keep the tradition alive. A khu Khri rgan tshang, interview by author, Xining, June 10, 2001.

<sup>26</sup> All the monks there are trained to sing Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, from the smallest on up. Private interview, Rong bo dgon monk Blo bzang, interview by author, notes, Hor nag ri gong ma, late June, 2001. The lay singers are also either previous Rong bo dgon monks or have been taught by them. So the entire tradition of singing Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* comes out of Rong bo dgon. Dge 'dun chos 'phel, interview by author, notes, Bkra shis 'khyil, Sept. 4, 2002.

*Skal ldan rgya mtsho's Lineage Today*

The present incarnation of Skal ldan rgya mtsho is twenty-five. Being the eighth incarnation, he is the immediate successor of the extremely popular seventh Skal ldan rgya mtsho, Blo bzang bstan 'dzin 'jigs med 'phrin las (1916–1978), whose tragic death in jail after thirty years of confinement broke the hearts of the people of Reb gong. Because of this, thousands of people flock to the eighth incarnation's teachings in the valleys surrounding Reb gong where he is considered the highest lama, as well as to his teachings in the nomad areas. One empowerment of Avalokiteśvara given in the small monastery of Xiawutong at Sangs rgyas gshongs in Reb gong in September of 2000 attracted a crowd whose size was estimated at upwards of four thousand people. Since the assembly hall at Xiawutong could only accommodate two hundred, monks sat inside and the overflow of lay people stood outside in the mud during periods of rain for two days.

The reincarnation line of Skal ldan rgya mtsho is known and revered throughout Amdo and Skal ldan rgya mtsho (the first) remains one of the highest lamas in the history of Reb gong. One of the most important shrines to him is the house where he lived at Bkra shis 'khyil.<sup>27</sup> It is not unusual for pilgrims to walk more than a month to pay homage in the shrine rooms there to Skal ldan rgya mtsho and Chos pa Rin po che. Once a year, large *thang kas* of the two are revealed to the many hundreds of villagers and nomads who flock to see them.<sup>28</sup>

Statues and *thang kas* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho usually depict him with his right hand to his ear, like Mi la ras pa, indicating that he is singing *mgur*. His left hand holds a volume of his *Collected Writings*.<sup>29</sup> On his head is a hat worn by monks of the Dge lugs pa school, like one frequently seen in the iconography of Tsong kha pa. This shows that over three centuries after his death, people still remember Skal ldan rgya mtsho's unique combination of identities: a

<sup>27</sup> The house was burned down during the Cultural Revolution, but was rebuilt in the 1980s.

<sup>28</sup> The *thang ka* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho is said to be a portrait painted during his lifetime.

<sup>29</sup> This differs from iconography of Mi la ras pa, in which his left hand holds a blood-filled skull cup.

Dge lugs pa monk who was both a siddha who sang *mgur* and a scholar.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This is the first commentary in Western literature on the *Mgur 'bum* of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho (1607–1677), whose writings are little known in the West. Since my objective has been to use the *Mgur 'bum* to show Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's importance both as a distinctive figure in religious history and as an author, I have provided a comprehensive overview of his collection of *mgur*, both from the viewpoint of the autobiographical and biographical material it contains and from the point of view of form.

His *Mgur 'bum* is a collection of two hundred and forty-two songs. The core of the collection goes back to at least 1707. The first woodblock printing of the entire *Mgur 'bum* as we know it today was made in 1756. I have created a critical edition from the four extant versions, one of which is the 1756 woodblock edition, upon which I have based my translations of his songs.

Various scholars have already noted that the genre of *mgur* stands out from most other forms of Tibetan literature for its startlingly and unusually sincere descriptions of inner thoughts, feelings and experiential knowledge. I have found this to be true of the collection of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*, which contains invaluable autobiographical material and information on his surroundings and his way of life. I have examined four topics about which information is scant or nonexistent in Western languages: Amdo in the seventeenth century, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's own quest to become a hermit, his ecumenical associations and writings, and his tantric practices.

From Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's personal accounts, we have learned what life was like under Mongol supremacy, the nature of Tibetan-Mongol relations in Amdo, how he viewed Central Tibet as the source of the teaching, and how he and others spread the Dge lugs pa sect in his homeland. We have also read numerous songs telling us why a Dge lugs pa—who has been immersed in traditional training in the very Central Tibetan monastery that Tsong kha pa himself founded, and who subsequently starts both a school of explanation and a tantric seminary and has hundreds of disciples—would want to

become a hermit, what he is looking for, and his struggle to wean those who were dependent on him so that he could live the life he wanted in solitary places. Accounts of ecumenical tendencies of Dge lugs pas in the early seventeenth century are unknown in Western literature, since seventeenth-century Tibet—with the installing of the fifth Dalai Lama on the throne of Tibet in 1642 after three centuries of civil war between the Dge lugs pas and the Karma pas—is a time in which such associations would have been very delicate. Yet in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs and writings we have petitions and homages to saints on the opposing side of the war, the Karma pas, and demonstrations of an especially strong relationship with Mi la ras pa. Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's songs are furthermore a rich source of personal information about his tantric practices, which belong to the lineage of the Dga' Idan Oral Tradition of *Mahāmudrā*, since none of the other lineage holders up to his time wrote *mgur*.

I have also approached the *Mgur 'bum* from the point of view of the wealth of styles it exhibits. This is the first in-depth analysis of any collection of *mgur* in any Western language. I have built upon what Don grub rgyal, Sørensen, Jackson and Eppling have written about religious songs by analyzing the *Mgur 'bum* with respect to dialogue, metrics, stanza patterns and poetic figures, and providing many examples. I have concluded that Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* have been influenced by both classical verse and folksongs. The wide diversity of influences upon his *mgur* reflects his multiple areas of expertise and interest, and dichotomous way of life. The fact that the folk influence far outweighs the classical mirrors his ultimate decision to be a hermit in the mountains rather than to remain an important leader and teacher in a monastery. The variety of meters, stanza patterns and poetic figures in the *Mgur 'bum* indicates Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's enthusiasm and ability to write in many styles.

In the very unusual form of *mgur* in conversations with animals—bees, lice, fleas and lice eggs—we have seen Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's preoccupation with the themes of residing in solitude, renunciation and practice worked out in the form of conversations with insects. The insects take on a didactic role as his teachers, and he surprisingly portrays himself in an inferior role to them, something I have not yet seen in any *mgur* translated into a Western language.

The many meters Skal Idan rgya mtsho uses show the influence of a wide spectrum of singing styles in Tibet. I have found that on the one hand, Skal Idan rgya mtsho is skilled in one of the traditional meters of classical Tibetan monastic verse ( $2 + 2 + 2 + 3$ ); on the other, most of his meters are found in folk songs. Because his choice of meters in the *Mgur 'bum* shows a preponderance of folk influence, I believe that he sang his *mgur* in folk melodies, a hypothesis further supported by my analysis of how his songs are sung today.

Because Skal Idan rgya mtsho tends to use some stanza forms in particular ways, and sometimes chooses a particular form for the particular type of statement he wants to make, and because unusual stanza lengths are often accompanied by other unique features of style and/or theme, I have concluded that Skal Idan rgya mtsho is not only experimenting with unusual stanza lengths but also with discrete ways of writing songs. His choices of stanza patterns, like his choices of meters, are influenced mainly by folk songs but also by classical Tibetan verse, reflecting that his dichotomous way of life played a large role in bringing a wide range of influences to his writing.

Some of his poetic figures show the direct influence of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, *The Mirror of Poetics*. When ornate poetry (*kāvya*, *snyan ngag*) appears in *mgur*, it is likely to be by song-writers who have had a monastic education. Skal Idan rgya mtsho's thorough education at Dge' Idan sets him apart from many composers of *mgur* related to the Bka' brgyud pa school—such as Mi la ras pa—whom we normally associate with *mgur*, who were not educated in monasteries. I have found that some of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's songs include poetic figures written in accordance with the *Kāvyādarśa*, of which I have provided examples.

I have also shown examples of figures he uses that were not inspired by Daṇḍin's text: similes, metaphors, parallelisms, continual repetition of the same finite verb at the end of each line of verse, sequences of numbers, and interjections. Again, I have concluded that the indigenous poetic figures in his *mgur* far outweigh the classical ones.

Still today there exists a tradition of monks and lay soloists who sing Skal Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* regularly in rituals. This is exceptional: the singing of most other siddhas' *mgur* has died out in spite of the fact that *mgur* were intended to be sung. And while it is



true that Mi la ras pa's *mgur* are still sung, there is no standardization of performance style. By contrast, there is a general standardization of how Skal ldan rgya mtsho's songs are to be performed today. An analysis of the present style of singing them is a valuable source of information, since it may shed light on how Skal ldan rgya mtsho sang his *mgur* in the seventeenth century. The closest match in all Tibetan music to the melodies of the soloists who sing Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur* is the folk songs of Eastern Tibet. Therefore, it is likely that Skal ldan rgya mtsho used the tunes of folk songs that were currently popular in his day, or improvised on them, to sing his *mgur*. His disciples, the mountain hermits, would have been familiar with the tunes he was singing and would have felt a sense of rapport with him and his teachings.

The memory of Skal ldan rgya mtsho is still vibrant in the people's hearts throughout Amdo today. His reincarnational lineage remains one of the highest in the area of Reb gong, where the esteemed eighth incarnation presently resides. The first Skal ldan rgya mtsho is usually depicted in paintings and statues with attributes of Avalokiteśvara, indicating that he is thought to be a manifestation of the bodhisattva of compassion. His right hand is at his ear, the classic posture for singing *mgur*. His left hand holds a volume of his writings, and there is a Dge lugs pa hat on his head. This iconography shows that now in the twenty-first century his unusual combination of identities is still held in mind and revered: he is a deity and a monk, a Dge lugs pa scholar who wrote texts and a siddha who sang *mgur*.

### *Directions of Future Research*

It is my hope that this first commentary on Skal ldan rgya mtsho's *Mgur 'bum* may lead to further research in a number of areas. Seventeenth-century Eastern Tibet was in a huge state of transition with the migration of the Qoshot Mongol tribe into Amdo, the shifting of power there away from the Tümed to the Qoshot, and its use as a base to effectuate the enthronement of the fifth Dalai Lama by Gushri Khan. For these reasons, and in order to study the interactions of the Tibetans and Mongols in Amdo and the expansion of Dge lugs pa school there, other sources that contain information

about seventeenth-century Amdo should be sought out and translated.

Moreover, Dge lugs pa *mgur* that show folksong influence are rare. There are no collections of *mgur* attributed to lineage holders of the Dga' ldan Oral Tradition of *Mahāmudrā*. The *mgur* of more Dge lugs pa siddhas should be sought out from among their *Collected Writings* and translated. It is still a mystery who could have been Skal ldan rgya mtsho's predecessor in this regard. Furthermore, some of the lama's instructions (*zhal gdams*) from the twelfth century on were *mgur*, and played a role in the transmission of the genre. These *mgur* also need to be studied.

This is the first extended analysis of the styles of any collection of *mgur*. It is my hope that it may serve as a springboard for further studies in *mgur* by providing a foundation for future comparisons. I have introduced a methodology for analyzing a collection of *mgur* that I hope will be of use to future scholars.

More *mgur* need to be recorded. A search for other *mgur* that are still sung today and that have a standardization of performance would be very valuable. Recording folk songs from places in the vicinity and comparing styles could tell something about the original melodies of a set of *mgur*.

The study of *mgur* is a very rich field for autobiographical material as it tells us things in a personal way virtually unique among Tibetan literature. The study of its styles can lead to the discovery of a fascinating blend of the most ornate poetry and folk-influenced lines. *Mgur* are still sung today and can be heard in valleys and on mountains geographically tucked away from the erosion of time. They still remain in the hearts of those who continue the tradition as an integral part of their lives, singing the songs at such crucial times as before the planting, before the harvest, at times of drought and when someone has passed into the *bar do*, or transition state between death and rebirth.

APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

### SELECTED *MGUR* TRANSLATED IN FULL

#### *Index*

III-1.....	268
III-9.....	274
IV-1.....	276
IV-2.....	282
IV-3.....	288
IV-8.....	296
IV-9.....	304
V-8.....	310
V-11.....	312
V-16a.....	316
V-20.....	320
V-21.....	324
VI-7.....	326
VII-2.....	330
VII-6.....	336
VII-7.....	340
VII-10a.....	342
VII-11.....	346
VII-17.....	352
VII-19.....	356
VIII-26.....	360
X-9.....	364

#### *Index According to Topic*

conversations with animals.....	IV-1, 2
hermitages and solitary places.....	VII-2, 6, 7, 10, 17
behavior, self-criticism.....	IV-9, V-11, VI-7, VII-7
happiness.....	V-8, VII-11
nature.....	VII-2, 11, 19
imploration to a deceased lama.....	V-20, X-9
impermanence.....	V-16a, 21
metaphors.....	IV-3
interjections.....	IV-8, VIII-26

## III-1, pp. 33-34/ 30-31

དཔལ་ལྷན་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ནས། །  
རང་གིས་རང་ལ་གཅིག་ལ་བ་འདྲི་སྤྲོད་སྤྲོད། །

ཀྱན་དྲུག་གི་སེམས་ལ་མ་བཞུགས་ན། །  
ཆོས་སེམས་འདྲིས་པར་དཀའ་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

སྤྱི་མཐུན་སྤྱི་མཐུན་སེམས་ལ་མ་ཞུགས་ན། །  
ཉམས་ཉེག་སྤྱི་བར་དཀའ་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཤོང་དུ་འདྲུག་ཡུན་རིང་ན་རང་མཚང་སྟོན། །  
འདྲུག་ས་དཔེན་པར་གྱིས་དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཟས་ཞོར་བསོད་ནམས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བར་ཆད་ཡིན། །  
འདྲི་རྒྱུ་ཆུང་ཆོག་གིས་གྱིས་དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

གྲོགས་ངན་བསྐྱེད་ན་རང་ཡང་ཐེང་ན་འགྲོ། །  
ཉེག་ཏུ་གཅིག་ཕྱར་སྟོན་དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔལ་གང་ན་བཞུགས་མི་གིས། །  
མཐོང་མཐོང་ཀུན་ལ་མ་སྟོན་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

གཤེན་ཐེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དུང་དུ་གསང་མི་ཐུབ། །  
ཆོས་ལ་མངོན་སྟོན་མ་བྱེད་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

འཆི་བའི་དུས་སུ་ཕན་མཁན་སུ་ཡང་མེད། །  
གཉེན་ལ་སྟོན་པ་མ་ཆེ་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

སྟོན་ཏུ་གཞན་གྱི་མཚང་ནས་མ་འབྲུ་དང་། །  
ལན་པོ་རང་ལ་འཁོར་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

III-1, pp. 33-34/ 30-31

Having prostrated [myself] at the feet of glorious lamas,  
I myself will give myself this talk.

If [you] have not looked continually into the inner mind,  
The integration of religion and the mind is difficult,  
mountain hermit!

If the blessing of a lama has not entered [your] mind,  
It is hard for experiential knowledge to arise, mountain hermit!

If [you] live in a town for a long time, [you] show your  
own faults.  
Make [your] dwelling place solitary, mountain hermit!

Food, wealth and merit are hindrances to religion.  
Be satisfied with few desires, mountain hermit!

If [you] have relied on bad friends, you yourself will also  
get worse!  
Always stay alone, mountain hermit!

[You] don't know where bodhisattvas are.  
Looking and looking, don't blame everyone, mountain hermit!

[You] can't hide yourself from the Lord of Death.  
Don't be hypocritical with respect to religion, mountain hermit!

When [you] die, there is no one at all who [can] help [you].  
Don't cherish relatives greatly, mountain hermit!

Don't secretly spy out the faults of others.  
[Good and bad] responses will come back to yourself,  
mountain hermit!

གཞན་སྐྱོན་མ་རྟོག་རང་གི་སྐྱོན་ལ་རྟོག །  
 སྐྱོན་མཚང་རང་ལ་ཡོད་དེ་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཡི་དམ་ལྷ་ལ་བཟང་ངན་མ་མཆིས་པས། །  
 རང་ཉིད་གང་མོས་སྐྱོན་དང་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ལ་མི་ཟབ་གང་ཡང་མེད། །  
 དགོས་མེད་ཁ་སྤྲིག་མ་སོག་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཕྱག་དང་མཚན་པས་ལུས་ཀྱི་སྤྲིབ་པ་འདག །  
 ཉིན་བཞིན་འབད་པར་ཞུས་པ་དང་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཁ་རྟོན་བཟླས་པས་ངག་གི་སྤྲིབ་པ་འདག །  
 རོན་མེད་ལོང་གཏམ་སྤྲངས་<sup>3</sup>དང་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

བསམ་པ་བཟང་ན་ཅི་བྱས་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་འགྲོ །  
 འདི་ལ་ནན་ཏན་གྱིས་དང་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

སྤྲང་རུས་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཉམས་རྟོགས་དཀའ། །  
 སྤོམ་ལ་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་གྱིས་དང་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ང་སྐྱེལ་ཅན་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཡར་སྐྱེད་མེད། །  
 ཏ་ཅང་སྤྲང་འགོ་<sup>4</sup>མ་མཐོ་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཕྱི་མར་ཕན་པའི་ཁ་ཏ་བྱེད་མཁན་དཀོན། །  
 ཀུན་གྱི་གཏམ་ལ་མ་ཉན་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

དབང་གྲོས་མི་ལ་མ་སྤྲོར་རང་གིས་བྱངས། །  
 སྐྱེལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་གྲོས་དྲིས་རིམ་ཁྲོད་པ། །

<sup>1</sup> *skyon* ACD; *skyen* B (the vowel mark is indistinct).

<sup>2</sup> *zhus* CD; *zhu* AB.

<sup>3</sup> *spongs* CD; *spong* AB.

<sup>4</sup> *'go* ABC; *mgo* D.



Don't examine others' faults; examine your own faults.  
Faults are within yourself, mountain hermit!

Since there is no good or bad in tutelary deities,  
Rely on any amount of respect for themselves, mountain hermit!

There is no holy religion that is not deep.  
Don't accumulate needless sins through speech, mountain hermit!

Through prostrations and offerings [you] will clear away physical  
obscurations.  
I request that you strive daily, mountain hermit!

Through chanting [and] recitations [you] will clear obscurations  
of speech.  
Renounce senseless and unnecessary speech, mountain hermit!

If [your] intention is good, no matter what [you] do, [it] will be  
harmonious with religion.  
Be diligent about this, mountain hermit!

Experiential knowledge is difficult in people without perseverance.  
Strive at meditating, mountain hermit!

There is no increase in qualities for the proud.  
Do not elevate very sullied speech, mountain hermit!

Later, someone who gives beneficial advice will be rare.  
Don't listen to everyone's speech, mountain hermit!

Don't give others powerful advice; take [it] yourself.  
Ask advice from the pronouncements of the Victorious One,  
mountain hermit!

མི་ཡིས་བསྟོད་པས་བཟང་བའི་ངེས་པ་མིད། །

བཟང་ངན་ཚེས་དང་སྟུན་<sup>5</sup>དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཉག་དུ་དམན་ས་བྱངས་ལ་འཆི་གྲབས་གྱིས། །

ནམ་འཆི་ངེས་པ་མིད་དོ་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་རུ་གཏན་དུ་མི་སྟོད་ན། །

ཕྱི་མར་ཕན་ཐབས་གྱིས་<sup>6</sup>དང་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

སྒྲོམ་ཡུན་མ་ཐུང་ཆེ་དང་སྒྲོམས་པར་གྱིས། །

དོན་གྱི་གཙ་བོ་ཡིན་ནོ་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

རང་མགོ་རང་གིས་འདོན་ན་བྱ་རབ་ཡིན། །

འདོན་ཐབས་དམ་ཚེས་ཡིན་ནོ་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །

ཆོ་ལའི་ནགས་ཁྲོད་དབེན་གནས་བྲག་དཀར་ནས། །

སྐལ་ལྷན་རས་པས་རང་ལ་གྲོས་བཏབ་པ། །

འདི་ཡིས་རང་དང་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་པ་དང་། །

སྒྲུབ་བསྟུད་<sup>7</sup>བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་སྒྲིས་གྱུར་ཅིག ། །

<sup>5</sup> *stun* ABC; *bstun* D.

<sup>6</sup> *gyis* BC; *kyis* AD.

<sup>7</sup> *gyis* BCD; *kyis* A.

<sup>8</sup> *brgyud* B; *rgyud* ACD.

There is no certainty of good through praises people make.  
Act in accordance with good and bad *dharma*s, mountain hermit!

Always take the lower place and make preparations for death.  
There is no certainty as to when [you] will die, mountain hermit!

If [you] don't live on this earth forever,  
Make means of benefiting [yourself] in future lives, mountain  
hermit!

Meditate not a short time; be in equanimity with life.  
[That] is the essence of purpose, mountain hermit!

If you don't need to depend on another, [you] are a  
good disciple.  
The means of raising [yourself] is the holy religion, mountain  
hermit!

Through this advice given by Skal ldan rgya mtsho to himself  
In the solitary place Brag dkar, amidst the forest of the five clans,  
May benefit come to himself and others and  
May the teaching of the practice lineage spread and become vast.

## III-9, pp. 47/ 42-43

རྩེ་དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི།  
 ཐུགས་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཡི་ཤེས་ནི།  
 འབངས་དད་ལྷན་སྒྲུང་ངོ་ར་ཤར་བ་ལས།  
 ཡ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཞེས་གྲགས་བདག་གི་སྐྱབས།  
 ཆོས་ཟབ་མོས་པན་བདགས་པལ་ཆེ་བས།  
 དུས་དེང་སང་བདག་ལ་ངན་སྤྱོད་བཟོད།

གཏམ་ངན་པས་གཞོད་སྐྱེ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།  
 བསྟོད་པ་ཁྱོད་ཇི་ལྟར་དབྱེས་དབྱེས་མཛོད།

ས་ཕྱོགས་འདྲིའི་ཡོན་བདག་པལ་ཆེ་བས།  
 དུས་དེང་སང་བདག་ལ་འབྱལ་བ་བྱེད།  
 རྩེ་དུས་དངོས་པོས་པན་སྐྱེ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།  
 སྐྱེ་བསྟོད་ཁྱོད་ཇི་ལྟར་དབྱེས་དབྱེས་མཛོད།

དགོན་གྱི་ཆང་ཁྲི་གོག་ལ་སོགས་པ།  
 དུས་དེང་སང་བདག་གི་ར་བཟུང་ན་ཡང་།  
 དགོན་ཆོས་གྲས་པན་སྐྱེ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།  
 དགོན་ཆོས་གྲི་ཇི་ལྟར་དབྱེས་དབྱེས་མཛོད།

གཉེན་ཉི་དུ་རུས་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་ཀུན།  
 དུས་དེང་སང་བདག་གི་ར་བཟུང་ན་ཡང་།  
 གཉེན་ཉི་དུས་པན་སྐྱེ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།  
 དཔོན་<sup>10</sup>པོ་ཁྱོད་ཇི་ལྟར་དབྱེས་དབྱེས་མཛོད།

ཅེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་སྐྱེ་མཆོས་དོ་ཇི་ལྟར་ཉི་དུ་སྤྱོད་པའོ། ། །

<sup>9</sup> med ACD; mad B.

<sup>10</sup> dbon AC; dpon BD.

III-9, pp. 47/ 42-43

As for the wisdom of great bliss  
 The minds of all lord Buddhas of the three times,  
 The father, known as “Bstan ’dzin,”<sup>11</sup> my refuge,  
 Because of how [his] faithful subject appeared in [his] mind, [and]  
 Because of being the most useful through the deep religion,  
 These days has pronounced mean speech to me.

Mean speech causes no harm in any way!  
 Praise—make [me] very pleased in any way!

The majority of patrons of this area  
 These days make offerings to me.  
 Wealth and goods cause no benefit at all.  
 Merit—make [me] very pleased in any way!

Although these days [I] have taken as mine  
 A monastery, seminary, a clay throne, etc.,  
 A monastery and religious college cause no benefit at all.  
 Monastery and religious college—make [me] very pleased in  
     any way!

Although these days [I] have taken as mine  
 All those belonging to the clan,  
 Relatives cause no benefit at all.  
 Nephew—make [me] very pleased in any way!

*This also was said by Skäl dan rgya mtsho as an adamantine  
 pronouncement.*

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<sup>11</sup> Sde pa Chos rje Bstan ’dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho

## IV-1, pp. 64-67/ 58-61

My English translation is in Chapter 6.

དེ་ཡང་སྐབས་ཤིག་སེ་བའི་ལྷོན་ཤིང་འབྲས་བུ་དང་མེ་དོག་དང་ལོ་མའི་གཡུར་གྱིས་  
 དུད་པའི་ཤིང་དྲུང་བར་བར་ན་ཉི་མའི་འོད་ཟེར་ལྷ་བའི་དུམ་བུ་དང་འབྲ་བ་དང་  
 གཡུང་དྲུང་ལྟར་འཁྱུལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པས་སྤྲིས་པ་ཞིག་ན། ཀླ་རེ་དང་གད་བཞད་  
 སོགས་བག་ཡངས་ཀྱི་ངང་ནས་གནས་པའི་ཆེ། བྱང་བ་མང་པོ་གཤོག་པའི་གར་  
 སྐབས་སྤྱར་བཞིན་དུ། མགྲིན་པའི་ལམ་ནས་སྤྲིན་ཆེག་གི་དར་དེར་གྱི་སྤྱུ་འདི་སྤངས་  
 སོ། །

ཀྱི་ཀྱི་ཉིན་ཅིག་མང་ཐོས་ཤིང་དྲུང་པ། །  
 ཆེ་རབས་སྤྲིན་ནས་ཀྱི་རེ་ཅིད་མོ་སོགས། །  
 བག་མེད་བྱ་བས་ཉིན་མཚན་འདས་པ་ལས། །  
 ཐོག་མེད་དུས་ནས་ད་བར་སྤྱིད་འདིར་འབྱུངས། །

ད་དྲང་བྱ་བྱིད་ཆོས་དང་འགལ་ལུགས་འདིས། །  
 མཐོ་རིས་ཐར་བའི་གདན་གྱི་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ལ། །  
 ད་ནས་བཟུང་སྤྱི་ཕྱི་ཕྱག་བྱིད་པ་འདྲ། །

བདེན་རྒྱུན་ཆོས་སེམས་སྤྲིན་ལ་ལྷོས་དང་གོ། །  
 ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་རང་གི་སེམས་ལ་བྱུག། །

སེམས་ཉིད་མ་ཐུལ་བར་དུ་དམ་པའི་ཆོས། །  
 ཇི་ཙམ་བཤད་ཀྱང་ནི་<sup>12</sup> ཅོས་ཆོས་བཤད་བཞིན། །  
 ཁ་བཤད་ཐོག་དུ་ཁེལ་བ་མི་གདའོ། །

སེམས་ཀྱི་སྤང་པོ་རང་དགར་འབྱུངས་པ་འདི། །  
 དབེན་གནས་ཀྱི་བ་རབ་དུ་བརྟན་པོ་ལ། །

<sup>12</sup> *ne* BCD; *ne'u* A.

སྒྲ་མའི་མན་ངག་ཐག་པས་མ་བཅུངས་ན། །  
 རྟེན་བཀྲར་ནགས་ཁྲོད་རྒྱ་བར་གདོན་མི་བ། །

སྒྲ་མ་དམ་པས་ཚས་ཀྱི་བདུད་ཅི་ཡིས། །  
 རང་ལ་རྟག་དུ་ཅི་ཕན་མཛད་པས་ན། །  
 བཀྲའ་བྲིན་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་ཀྱན་ལས་ལྷག །  
 གསེལ་བ་རྒྱན་དུ་<sup>13</sup> ཐོབ་<sup>14</sup> དང་བྱིན་སྒྲུབས་འཇུག །

བྱིན་སྒྲུབས་ཞགས་ན་ཉམས་རྟོགས་ཡོན་ཏན་སྟགས། །  
 ངོད་ཅག་པརྟེན་ཆལ་དུ་འདུས་པ་ལྟར། །  
 མ་བོས་པར་<sup>15</sup> ཡང་སྐད་ཅིག་ལ་འདུས་ནས། །  
 མཐོ་ཟེམ་ཐར་བའི་<sup>16</sup> བྱོང་དུ་འཁྲིད་པར་བྱེད། །

དལ་འབྱོར་རྟེན་བཟང་ཡིད་བཞིན་རྟོར་བྱ་ལྟར། །  
 ཤིན་དུ་རྟེན་པར་དཀྲའ་བ་ཐོབ་དུས་འདིར། །  
 དམ་ཚུས་བཟ་མའི་<sup>17</sup> རྟེན་པོ་མ་སྒྲངས་ན། །  
 འཆི་ཆེ་འགྱོད་ཀྱང་འཕྱི་བར་<sup>18</sup> མི་འགྱུར་རམ། །

ཁྲོད་ཀྱིས་ཐུན་ཆད་ཆེ་ཕྱིད་དོན་མེད་བྱས། །  
 ད་དུང་ཆེ་ལྷག་དོན་མེད་གཟད་པ་ལ། །  
 ཁྲོད་ནི་ཕ་ཡུལ་བདུད་ཀྱི་བཙོན་ར་འདིར། །  
 འདུག་པར་བྱེད་ན་ཁྲོད་ནི་མིར་མི་ཅི། །

ཅི་སྒྲོད་ཅི་<sup>19</sup> རྟ་ཆེ་ནི་དོན་མེད་ད། །  
 སྒྲ་གར་བཟའ་བདུང་ལ་སྟགས་དོན་མེད་ཀྱི། །

<sup>13</sup> *du* BCD; *tu* A.

<sup>14</sup> *thob* A; *thobs* BCD.

<sup>15</sup> *par* CD; *bar* AB.

<sup>16</sup> *ba'i* B; *pa'i* ACD.

<sup>17</sup> *mo'i* CD; *mos* AB.

<sup>18</sup> *'phyi bar* CD; *'physis par* AB.

<sup>19</sup> *ce* BCD; *ces* A.

བྱ་བས་ཆུད་ཟོས་བགྱིད་ལ་བྱིད་ཅག་ལས། །  
ངེད་ཅག་དུད་འགྲོའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ཤིན་དུ་མཁས། །

ངན་སོང་གསུམ་གྱི་འཛིགས་པས་ཡིད་སྐྱབ་ནས། །  
དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྙིང་ནས་སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་ཞིང་། །  
སྤྲིག་སྤྱོད་དགེ་བ་ལྟར་ལེན་སྤྲིས་བྱ་དེ། །  
འགྲོ་བ་གང་དུ་གནས་ཀྱང་བདེ་འགྲོ་བ། །  
འཁོར་བའི་གནས་འདི་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་སྦྲུང་འོབས། །  
འདོད་ཡོན་སྤྱི་གྱིའི་སོར་ཆགས་སྤང་ཅི་བཞིན། །  
བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ནི་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས། །  
རྒྱན་དུ་སྒྲིམ་པའི་བྲགས་དམ་མཐེལ་ཡིན་ཡང་<sup>20</sup> །  
འདི་ཉིད་དོར་བས་གཞན་ཕན་ལྷ་མ་ཡིས། །  
ཕྱོགས་འདི་གང་ལའང་ཁོ་བོ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས། །

བདག་འཛིན་མི་འགོག་བདག་མིད་འགོག་བྱེད་པའི། །  
ཚས་ལུགས་མང་པོ་ས་ཕྱོགས་འདི་ན་སྤང་། །

ཀྱི་ཉུང་ཡིན་པ་བཞག་ནས་མིན་བྱེད་པའི། །  
དུས་ངན་ཚོས་པ་ཕལ་ཆེར་སྤྱིང་རེ་ཤི། །  
དབང་བསྐྱར་ཐོབ་ནས་དམ་ཚོག་མི་བསྐྱང་བལ། །  
བསྐྱེད་ཚོགས་བསྐྱེམས་ཀྱང་ཆུ་སྤང་མཁར་དང་འདྲ། །  
ཡིད་བདུན་མི་རུང་ལམ་གྱི་གཞི་ནས་སྤོབ། །

ཅིས་ཟེར་བར<sup>21</sup> ། ལན་དུ་འདི་སྐད་བདག་གིས་སྤྲོས་སོ། །

སྤང་མ་མི་སྐད་སྤྲོ་བ་ལྟས་ངན་ཡིན། །  
ངེད་ཅག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རེ་ཅིད་མོ་སོགས། །

<sup>20</sup> yang B; kyang ACD.

<sup>21</sup> bar CD; bas AB.



བྱ་བ་གང་ལ་འཇུག་ཀྱང་ངེད་ཅག་གིས། །  
 བྱིད་ཅག་ལ་བ་ལ་བ་མ་མང་སྟོག་ལ་སྟོ<sup>22</sup> །

ཞེས་སྒྲུས་པའི་ལན་དུ།

སྤང་མ་མི་སྤང་སྒྲུབ་ལྟས་ངན་མིན། །  
 མཁན་སྟོབ་སྤྱན་ལྡན་རབ་རྟུ་ལེགས་བྱང་ནས། །  
 ཉག་ཆང་དམག་ཇག་ལ་སྟོགས་བྱེད་པ་ཡི། །  
 དག་སྟོང་དག་ཚུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྟས་ངན་ཡིན། །

སྤང་མ་མི་སྤང་སྒྲུབ་ལྟས་ངན་མིན། །  
 དང་པོར་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་ལེགས་སྤངས་ནས། །  
 བར་དུ་ཆོས་བཅོངས་གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་ལེན་པའི། །  
 བྱོང་ཆོག་མཁས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྟས་ངན་ཡིན། །

སྤང་མ་མི་སྤང་སྒྲུབ་ལྟས་ངན་མིན། །  
 གྲ་མའི་དྲིན་ལས་ཆོས་ལུང་མང་པོ་ཐོབ། །  
 ཅུང་ཟད་ཅམ་ལས་གྲ་མ་ལིངས་འདྲོར་བའི། །  
 དམ་ཉམས་སྟོབ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྟས་ངན་ཡིན། །

སྤང་མ་མི་སྤང་སྒྲུབ་ལྟས་ངན་མིན། །  
 ཆོས་མི་གེས་ཀྱང་ཆོས་གཏམ་གཞན་ལས་ཆེ། །  
 གྲ་མའི་གཟུགས་ཀྱིས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཉམས་བྱེད་པའི། །  
 ལྷན་འཛིན་གྲ་མ་པལ་ཆེར་ལྟས་ངན་ཡིན། །

སྤང་མ་མི་སྤང་སྒྲུབ་ལྟས་ངན་མིན། །  
 རབ་བྱང་ནམས་ཀྱིས་མདའ་གཞུ་ལག་ཆ་བྱེད། །  
 མཐོན་པོ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་ཁྲིལ་མེད་བྱ་བ་བྱེད། །  
 ཡུལ་ཕྱགས་འདྲི་ན་ལྟས་ངན་མིན་པ་གང་། །

<sup>22</sup> *sdo* C; *bsdo* AD; *bsngo* B.

སྤང་མ་མི་སྤང་སྤྱོད་ལྟ་མེད། །  
 བྱེད་པར་བྱེད་ཀྱང་དམ་ཚུལ་གཤམ་བཞིན་དུ། །  
 ཉམས་ལེན་མི་བྱེད་གཞན་ལ་བཤད་པ་ཡིས། །  
 མི་མགོ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱོད་འདི་ལྟ་མེད་ཡིན། །

ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། ། དེའི་ཆོ་ལན་དུ་འདི་སྤང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད། །

ངས་སྤྱོད་མ་བརྒྱ་ཡི་ཞལ་མཐོང་ཡང་། །  
 ཚུལ་དེ་ལས་ཟབ་པ་ངས་མ་ཐོས། །

བྱེད་བདེན་ནི་བདེན་ནི་སྤང་མ་བདེན། །  
 ད་མི་མགོ་མི་སྤྱོད་གཅིག་ཕྱར་ཐོད། །

ཅེས་<sup>23</sup>ཞུས་པས་འདི་སྤང་གསུང་། །

དམ་བཅས་པ་མ་དོར་དམ་བཅའ་གཉན། །  
 མནའ་བསྐྱལ་བ་མ་དོར་མནའ་ཆོག་<sup>24</sup>གཉན། །  
 ཁས་སྤངས་པ་མ་དོར་ཁས་སྤངས་གཉན། །  
 གཉན་དེ་གསུམ་མི་ཅི་མི་བྱུར་མེད། །

བྱེད་དེ་དག་རྣམས་ལ་ཅི་སྒྲུལ་ན། །  
 སྤྱོད་ཐོམ་མེད་པར་དཔེན་པར་ཤོག །

དེད་སྤང་མ་ལ་སོགས་འདབ་ཆགས་རྣམས། །  
 བྱེད་སྤྱོད་ཆོ་སྤྱོད་མཚན་པ་འབུལ། །

སྤྱོད་བྱེད་མ་མང་གཅིག་ལ་དྲིལ། །

ལས་གཅིག་དྲིལ་ལྟ་བུར་འབད་བྱེད་ཆོས། །  
 ཆོ་སྤྱོད་བདང་སེམས་ལ་ལྟ་བ་ཡིན། །

<sup>23</sup> ces BCD; zhes A.

<sup>24</sup> tshig CD; 'tshig AB.

དེ་གོ་ན་གདམས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན། །

ཞེས་ཟེར་བ་ལ་བཞིན་ནས། དགའ་བ་དང་སྒྲོ་བ་དང་སྒྲོ་བ་ལྷན་ཅིག་དུ་སྦྲིས་ནས།  
སྦྲུབ་པ་ལ་འགྲོ་བར་ཐག་བཅད་དེ། ཡང་དེའི་ཆེ་འདི་སྐད་ལྟས་སོ། །

གྲོགས་པོ་སྤང་མ། །  
སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། །  
སྒྲོམ་ལ་འགྲོའོ། །  
སྙན་པའི་སྒྲུ་ལོངས། །

ཞེས་ལྟས་སོ། །

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་སྤྱར་བའོ། ། ། །

IV-2, pp. 67-71/ 61-64

My English translation is in Chapter 6.

ཡང་སྐབས་ཤིག་བདག་གི་གཟན་ཤམ་<sup>25</sup>སྟོགས་ཀྱི་ངོས་ལ་ཕར་བལྟས་པས་ཤིག་མང་  
པོ་ནི་དལ་བྱར་སྟུ། ལྷེ་<sup>26</sup>བ་མང་པོ་ནི་ལྷིང་ཞིང་འཕྱུ། སྟོ་མང་མང་པོ་ནི་འཇུམ་ཞིང་  
འདུག་པ་ལ། འདྲི་སྐད་ཅིས་གྲོས་བཏབ་པོ། །

ཁྱིད་ཉོན་ཅིག་དལ་བྱར་འབྱོན་པའི་ཤིག །  
ཤིག་ཁྱིད་ཀྱིས་བདག་གི་ལུས་ལ་བློས། །

ཐོས་འཕྲུངས་ཆེ་ཁྱིད་ནི་སྟྱད་ན་ཡང་། །  
ཡང་བདག་གིས་མཐོང་ཆེ་ཁྱིད་ཅི་བསམ། །

བསམ་མེད་པའི་ལྷེ་བ་ལྷིང་མཁས་ཁྱིད། །  
ཁྱིད་སྐྱ་སྟྱད་འདི་དང་མ་བལ་ན། །  
ན་གཞིན་ཅིང་ངྷི་<sup>27</sup>ཤིར་འགྲོ་དོགས་འདུག། །

འདུག་མི་འདུག་ཡང་ཡང་བློ་དང་གསལ། །

གསལ་དཀར་ཞིང་འཇུམ་པའི་སྟོ་མང་ཁྱིད། །  
ཁྱིད་བལྟས་ཆེ་སྟུ་ཉིག་འདྲ་ན་ཡང་། །  
ཡང་བདག་གི་གོས་རྒྱུས་སྟྱད་<sup>28</sup>མཐོང་ཆོ། །  
ཆེ་སྟུ་མ་མི་དྲན་ཁྱིད་བཙུམ་འདྲོད། །

ཅིས་སྐྱས་པས་ཤིག་གན་ཞིག་གིས་རང་གི་གྲོགས་རྒྱུས་བསྐྱས་ནས་ཁ་ཏ་འདི་བྱས་  
སོ། །

<sup>25</sup> *sham* BCD; *shams* A.

<sup>26</sup> *lji* CD; 'ju AB. This spelling variant is consistent throughout this *mgur* cycle. I have chosen *lji ba* (flea), because of a later description of the insects going up and down. This spelling variant will only be marked once.

<sup>27</sup> *dri* AC; *gri* BD.

<sup>28</sup> *slod* AB; *lhod* CD.

ང་ཤིག་གི་ན་ཟ་མཁས་འབྲང་<sup>29</sup>མཁས་པས། །

དུས་ད་བར་བདེ་ཞིང་སྤྱིད་པར་བྱང་། །

ཁྱོད་གཞིན་ནུ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་དུས་མིན་ཟོས། །

དང་ཡང་རྩི་<sup>30</sup>ལ་འཆིར་འཇུག་གས། །

ཞིས་ལབ་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཤིག་གི་ན་གཞིན་ཐམས་ཅད་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ལ་འཆང་<sup>31</sup>  
ནས་ཤོག་གྲོས་ཞིབ་དྲ་བྱས་ནས་ཁ་མཐུན་པར་བདག་ལ་ལན་འདི་སྒྲིམ་སོ། །

ལས་དག་སྤྱི་ངོ་ཤིས་བན་གན་ཁྱོད། །

ཆེ་ལྷ་མར་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་གཞན་དག་ཟོས། །

དེའི་དབང་གིས་ངེད་ཅག་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཟ། །

ད་ཁྱོད་གསུང་མི་ལེན་དཀའ་མོར་འདྲག། །

གཙོ་བོར་ངེད་ལ་མ་གཏམ་ལས་ལ་སོམས། །

ཁྱོད་མི་ལྷ་ར་ངེད་མཐོང་མཆི་མ་འཆོར། །

ཤོག་ངེད་ཅག་གང་ན་འདྲག་བཞུས་ནས། །

སོ་སེན་མོས་གསོད་ལ་ཡོད་མ་ཆེས། །

ད་གསོད་ན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་ངེད་ཀྱིས་ཟ། །

དེ་མིན་ན་འོ་སྐྱལ་ཡོན་མཆོད་ཆོ། །

དུས་གཏན་དུ་གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་དགོས་ཡིན། །

ད་ཟ་འམ་མི་ཟ་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཐུག། །

ཅེས་ཟེར་རོ། ། ཡང་ཁྱེད་ནམས་ཁ་མཐུན་པར་འདི་སྒྲིམ་ཟེར་རོ། །

<sup>29</sup> 'thung CD; 'thungs AB.

<sup>30</sup> dri ACD; gri B.

<sup>31</sup> 'chang CD; 'phyang AB.

ཁྱིད་<sup>32</sup>ཉོན་དང་ངེད་ཀྱི་བྱ་ར་མཁན། །  
ངེད་ཡར་མར་གཉིས་སུ་ལྷིང་རེས་བྱེད། །

ཁྱིད་ཁམས་གསུམ་ལའོར་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འདིར། །  
རེས་ཡར་ལྷིང་རེས་ནི་མར་ལ་ལྷིང་། །

ཁྱིད་མ་འདུག་མ་འདུག་ཡར་ལ་ལྷིང་། །  
ཡར་རེ་རྩེ་དབེན་ཞིང་ཉམས་དགར་ལྷིང་། །

སེམས་ཚོས་ཉིད་ནམ་མཁའི་དབྱིངས་སུ་ལྷིང་། །  
ང་མ་བཞིག་<sup>33</sup>ང་བཞིན་ཡར་ལ་ལྷིང་། །

ཟེས་ཟེར་རོ། ཡང་སྟོ་མང་རྣམས་འཇུག་བཞིན་དུ་འདི་སྐད་ཟེར་རོ། །

ང་གོས་སྐབས་<sup>34</sup>བསམ་གཏན་ཁང་པ་ན། །  
ལུས་གཡོ་འགུལ་མེད་པར་དྲིང་འཛིན་བསྟོམ། །

ཁྱིད་གཅིག་ཕྱར་དྲིང་འཛིན་སྟོམ་<sup>35</sup>སྟོ་ན། །  
ཁྱིད་ང་ལ་མ་འཛོེང་བཞིན་འདུག །

ཅེས་ཟེར་རོ། ། དེའི་ཆོ་བདག་གིས་ཤིག་ལྷེ་བ་སྟོ་མང་རྣམས་ལ་གཏམ་ལབ་འདི་  
བྱས་སོ།།

ཁྱིད་མེན་ཞིང་ལྷགས་པའི་འབྲུ་སྟོན་རྣམས། །  
ང་མི་ཡི་ནང་ནས་<sup>36</sup>བཙུན་པ་ཡིན། །  
ཁྱིད་སྟོན་བྱའི་<sup>37</sup>ནང་ནས་ཐ་གལ་ཡིན། །  
ཁྱིད་ང་ལ་གྲོས་འདེབས་ཨ་རེ་མཚར། །

<sup>32</sup> *khyed* ACD; *khyod* B.

<sup>33</sup> *bsdig* CD; *sdigs* AB.

<sup>34</sup> *srubs* CD; *sru* AB.

<sup>35</sup> *sgom* D; *bsgom* ABC.

<sup>36</sup> *yi nang nas* ABD; *yin nga ni* C.

<sup>37</sup> *srin bu'i* ABC; *'bu srin bu'i* D.

ཞེས་སྒྲུས་པས་ཤིག་ལྷི་བ་སྟོ་མང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བདག་ལ་སྒྲིགས་<sup>38</sup>གཏམ་འདི་བེར་རོ། །

ང་ཤིག་དང་ལྷི་བ་སྟོ་མང་རྣམས། །  
 ང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བྱེད་ན་ཡང་། །  
 ཁོང་སྤྱི་མ་ཆོས་རྗེ་མཆོ་ཆད་ནས། །  
 བན་སྤྱིང་པོ་ཡན་ཆད་ངེད་ཆོས་ཁྱབ། །

ལྷགས་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་དུ་བྱེད་ན་ཡང་། །  
 མཐོ་བྱུང་པོ་བཙུན་མ་སྟོན་པོ་དང་། །  
 འབངས་ཕྱག་པོ་དཔའ་བོ་ཁས་བྲག་སྐགས། །  
 ངས་མ་བོས་མ་འཕྱངས་གང་ཡང་མེད། །

ངེད་འདིར་ཆོགས་ནང་ན་ཤིག་ཆན་ཅིག  
 མདོག་ནག་ཅིང་ཤིན་དུ་ཁ་ཆ་བ། །  
 བྱིད་དཀོར་བཅུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དཀོར་ཤིག་བེར། །

བྱིད་ཤི་བས་འདད་<sup>39</sup>བས་བ་རིང་ལ། །  
 ངས་<sup>40</sup>བྱིད་<sup>41</sup>ལ་བ་བ་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཡིན། །

ངེད་འདིར་བཞུགས་ནང་གི་ལྷི་བ་རྣམས། །  
 རིའི་རྩེར་བཞུགས་སྒྲིམ་ཆེན་རྣམས་མི་བ། །

བྱིད་གྲོང་པར་འབྱམས་པའི་གྲོང་ཆོག་པ། །  
 ཁོ་བོའི་ཁ་བས་ཡིན་བེར་ལྷིང་ཞིང་འདུག །

<sup>38</sup> *sdigs* BC; *bsdigs* AD.

<sup>39</sup> 'dad C; dad ABD.

<sup>40</sup> *ngas*, against the two readings in ABCD: *nges* ABD; *des* C.

<sup>41</sup> *khyod* CD; *khyed* AB.

ཡང་ཉོན་ཅིག་ཉོན་ཅིག་བན་གན་ཉོན། །  
 ཁྱིད་ཤི་ཟས་འདད་<sup>42</sup> ཟས་མ་ཟ་དང་། །  
 དཀོར་ནག་པོའི་ཤིག་གིས་ཁྱིད་མི་ཟ། །

ཁྱིད་གྲོང་པར་མ་འཁུམས་རི་ཁྱིད་འགྲིམས། །

གནས་དབེན་ཞིང་ཉམས་དགར་རྩ་སྒྲིན་སྤྱང་། །  
 ཁྱིད་བདེ་བར་བཞུགས་དང་ལྷོ་བ་རྣམས། །  
 ཁྱིད་ཐུགས་སུན་ནམ་ཡང་མི་བྱིད་པར། །  
 ངེད་འདིར་ཚོགས་<sup>43</sup> རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དམ་ལ་གཞག །

ཡང་ཡུད་ཅམ་སྒྲམ་གྱི་བྱ་ག་གཏོད། །  
 མི་གཞན་ལ་མ་ལྟ་རང་ལ་ལྟོས། །  
 མི་གཞན་ལྟ་རྒྱུང་གིས་རང་དོན་ཆོར། །

རང་དོན་ཤོར་བསྐྱན་དང་འགོ་དོན་གྱིས། །  
 རྣམ་འཆི་ཆེ་བསྐྱུ་བར་གདོན་མི་ཟ། །

ངེད་ཤིག་སྒྲི་ལྷོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀུན། །  
 ཁྱིད་ཤ་ཁྱག་ཟ་ཞིང་འཕུང་པ་ལ། །  
 གྲོས་མི་དགོས་སྒྲོ་ནི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟར། །  
 ཁྱིད་བསྐྱན་ལ་རབ་བྱང་བན་གན་རྣམས། །  
 ཆེ་སྒྲོས་བདང་དམ་ཆོས་བྱིད་པ་ལ། །  
 གྲོས་མི་དགོས་གྱིས་<sup>44</sup> དང་ཀུན་དང་མཐུན། །  
 ཁྱིད་འཁོར་གཡོག་མེད་པས་ཡིད་མ་སྒྲོ། །

<sup>42</sup> 'dad C; dad ABD.

<sup>43</sup> tshogs CD; 'tshogs AB.

<sup>44</sup> gyis BCD; kyis A.



ཁྱོད་ཚོགས་སངས་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་ཞིག་དང་། །  
 ཁྱོད་ནམ་ཞིག་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐོབ་པའི་ཆེ། །  
 ངེད་ནམས་ཀྱང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་འཁོར་གཡོག་གོ། །

ཡང་ཉོན་དང་སྒྲོམ་ལ་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས། །  
 ངེད་ནམས་ཀྱིས་<sup>45</sup>ཁྱོད་ལ་ཐོས་པའི་ཆེ། །  
 ཆེ་སྒྲུ་མའི་ལས་སུ་དྲན་གྱིས་ལ། །  
 ལས་སྒྲིག་སྤྱོད་དག་བསྐྱབ་པར་ཞུ། །

ཞིས་ཟེར་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་སྒྲོམ་ལ་འགྲོ་བར་ཐག་བཅད་དེ། འདི་སྐད་ཞུས་སོ། །

ཆེ་སྒྲུ་མའི་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཞུགས་པ་ལས། །  
 ཞིག་སྒྲོ་མང་ལྗེ་བས་ཆོས་བཤད་བྱས། །

ཆོས་ཟབ་མོས་བདག་སྒྲོ་ཆོས་ལ་བསྐྱར། །  
 ཆོས་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་ཕྱིར་དབེན་པར་འགྲོ། །

ཞིས་ཞུས་པས་འདི་ཟེར་རོ། །

ཁྱོད་ཁ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ལ་མ་བསྐྱར་<sup>46</sup>བར། །  
 རང་བསམ་དོན་ལག་དུ་ལོངས་ཤིག་ཨང་། །

ཆོས་ཤིས་པས་མི་ཆོག་ཉམས་ལེན་དགོས། །  
 ད་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་ཕྱིར་དབེན་པར་སོངས། །

ཞིས་གསུངས་སོ། །

འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་སྤྱར་བའོ། ། ། །

<sup>45</sup> *kyis* ABC; *kyang* D.

<sup>46</sup> *bskur* BCD; *skur* A.

## IV-3, pp. 71-72/ 64-65

ཨྲ་སྤྲ་སྤྲི།

དག་སྤྲོར་གྱི་མེ་ཉྱག།  
 དད་གུས་ཀྱི་ཚུ་བོས།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བརྟན་ཀྱང་།  
 རྣམ་གཡང་གི་སེར་བས།  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བཅོམ་ཡ།

དག་སེམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ག།  
 ལྷང་རིགས་ཀྱི་བློ་རྒྱས།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བརྟུངས་ཀྱང་།  
 དཀོར་སྤྲོད་ཀྱི་བ་མོས།  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བྱེད་ཡ།

དད་གུས་ཀྱི་ཉྱ་བཟང་།  
 ཡོན་ཉན་གྱི་ཐང་ལ།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བརྟུགས་ཀྱང་།  
 ལོག་ཉྱག་གི་སྤྲོད་ཏུ།  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་ཚུད་ཡ།

ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་བང་མཛོད།  
 ལེགས་སྤྲད་ཀྱི་ཉྱ་ར་བས།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བཀང་ཡང་།  
 དག་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་མས།  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བརྟུགས་<sup>47</sup>ཡ།

<sup>47</sup> *brlags* CD; *brlag* AB.

IV-3, pp. 71-72/ 64-65

*Om swa sti*

Although the flower of good behavior  
Was watered again and again  
By the river of faith and respect,  
[It] was helplessly vanquished  
By the hailstorm of laziness. Hey!

Although the sprouts of virtuous thoughts  
Were tended again and again  
By the warmth of scripture and logic,  
[They] were helplessly carried away  
By the cattle of wealth-obscurations. Hey!

Although the good horse of faith and respect  
Was made to gallop again and again  
On the plain of qualities,  
[He] got helplessly caught  
In the tethering ropes of false knowledge. Hey!

Although the treasury of monastic vows  
Was filled again and again  
With the jewels of good practice,  
[It] was helplessly overthrown  
By the thief of carelessness. Hey!

བཙོན་འགྲུས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བ། །  
 ཐོས་བསམ་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་གར་ཡང་། །  
 ལྷོམ་<sup>48</sup>ལས་<sup>49</sup>ཀྱི་གཟའ་ཡིས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བློན་ཡ། །

བདེན་ཆོག་གི་མི་ལྷ། །  
 ཆོས་གཏམ་གྱི་ནགས་ལ། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་འབར་ཡང་། །  
 རློན་ཆོག་གི་ཆར་བས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བསའ་ཡ། །

ནམ་དཔྱོད་ཀྱི་བུམ་པར། །  
 ལེགས་བཤད་ཀྱི་བདུད་ཚི། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་སྒྲགས་ཀྱང་། །  
 ལོག་རྟོག་གི་ཐོ་བས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བཙོམ་ཡ། །

དག་སྒྲུང་གི་ཉ་མོ། །  
 མཁས་མང་གི་མཚོ་ལ། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཀྱང་། །  
 ཆགས་སྒྲུང་གི་ལྷགས་ཀྱས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བློན་ཡ། །

<sup>48</sup> *snyom* BCD; *snyoms* A.

<sup>49</sup> *las* ACD; *pas* B.

Although the moon of diligence  
Appeared again and again  
In the sky of hearing and considering,  
[It] was helplessly eclipsed  
By the planet of indolence.<sup>50</sup> Hey!

Although the flame of truthful words  
Burned again and again  
In the forest of religious discourse,  
[It] was helplessly extinguished  
By the rain of untruthful speech. Hey!

Although the nectar of eloquent explanations  
Poured again and again  
Into the vessel of knowledge,  
[It] was helplessly subdued  
By the large hammer of erroneous discrimination. Hey!

Although the fish of pure vision  
Went again and again  
Into the lake of many scholars,  
[It] was helplessly consumed  
By the iron hook of attachment. Hey!

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<sup>50</sup> The planet is Rāhula.

འདོད་ཚུང་གི་བྲག་ཅི།  
 ཚོག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྤང་གིས།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བརྒྱན་ཀྱང་།  
 མངོན་ཞེན་གྱི་ཐོག་གིས།  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བཤེགས་ཡ།

ཞི་དུལ་གྱི་རི་དྲགས།  
 འདུལ་བྲིམས་ཀྱི་རི་ཁར།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་ཅེ་ཡང་།  
 གྲོགས་ངན་གྱི་གཉིས།  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བཟུང་ཡ།

ཁྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་དུང་དཀར།  
 དན་ཤེས་ཀྱི་དར་གྲེས།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་སྤྲོས་ཀྱང་།  
 འོག་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ལག་རྩོས།  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བཅུག་ཡ།

དབེན་འདོད་ཀྱི་སྒྲག་མོ།  
 མགུར་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ནགས་<sup>51</sup> ཟ།  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་མཚོངས་<sup>52</sup> ཀྱང་།  
 འདོད་ཡོན་གྱི་ས་མདས་<sup>53</sup> །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་ཐོག་ཡ།

<sup>51</sup> *nags* CD; *nag* AB.

<sup>52</sup> *mchongs* B; *'phyongs* ACD.

<sup>53</sup> *gyi sa mdas* BCD; *gyis mda' yis* A.

Although the rock mountain of few desires  
 Was adorned again and again  
 By the meadow of being satisfied,  
 [It] was helplessly devastated  
 By the lightning of passion. Hey!

Although the deer of gentle disposition  
 Played<sup>54</sup> again and again  
 On the snow mountain of *Vinaya*  
 [They] were helplessly seized  
 By the hunting dogs of evil friends. Hey!

Although the white conch of modesty  
 Was adorned again and again  
 By the silk of mindfulness,  
 [It] was smashed helplessly  
 By the small stone of false practice. Hey!

Although the tigress of desire for solitude  
 Leapt up again and again  
 In the forest of *mgur* melodies,  
 [She] was helplessly struck  
 By the pit's arrow<sup>55</sup> of sensual pleasures. Hey!

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<sup>54</sup> I have translated the present tense verb *rtse* in the past here, according to context.

<sup>55</sup> This refers to a type of booby trap for animals.

བསྟེན་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་ངང་བ། །  
 བཟུངས་པུགས་ཀྱི་མཚོ་མོ་། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་དུ་ཞུགས་ཀྱང་། །  
 བཞིན་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྩི་<sup>56</sup>ཡིས། །  
 དབང་མེད་དུ་བཟུང་ཡ། །

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ནི་ཨ་ཆུང་གནམ་ཚོང་ནས་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོས་བྲིས་པའོ། ། །

<sup>56</sup> *rnyid* BCD; *snyid* A.



Although the swan of mantra recitation and meditation  
Entered again and again  
Into the lake of *dharanis*,  
[It] was helplessly ensnared  
By the net of sleepiness and mental lethargy. Hey!

*Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote this in A chung gnam rdzong.*

## IV-8, pp. 77-79/ 69-71

འོ་འོ་པ་གོད་སྒོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ། །  
 ཨཱཱ་གཏན་གྱི་སྒྲུབས་གནས་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་སྤྱང་ནས་གུས་པས་འདྲ་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སྒོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ། །  
 ཨཱཱ་ཚས་གྱི་ཉིང་ཁ་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་རྒྱལ་བཞེན་ཉམས་སྲུ་འོངས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སྒོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་དཔལ་ལྡན་སྒྲ་མ་དམ་པ། །  
 ཨཱཱ་དངོས་གྲུབ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་བསམ་དང་སྦྱོར་བས་སྦྱེན་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སྒོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་དལ་འབྱོར་ཆང་བའི་མི་ལུས། །  
 ཨཱཱ་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྩིད་པར་དཀའ་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཚས་གྱི་<sup>57</sup>སྤྱང་པོ་འོངས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སྒོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

<sup>57</sup> *kyi* CD; *kyis* AB.

IV-8, pp. 77-79/ 69-71

Oh yeah! Prudent father Blo bzang grags pa  
 Hey you! is a place of perpetual refuge! Hey!  
 Hey! Bow [to him] with respect from the heart!  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! The *Gradual Stages of Enlightenment*  
 Hey you! is the essence of religion. Hey!  
 Hey! Practice in accordance with [its] manner!  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! The holy glorious lama  
 Hey you! is the origin of the spiritual powers. Hey!  
 Hey! Attend to [him] in mind and deed!  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! The human body which is replete with the  
                   eighteen conditions  
 Hey you! is very hard to obtain. Hey!  
 Hey! Receive the essence of religion.  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

འོ་འོ་ཀུན་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་འཆི་བདག་  
 མཉུ་ནམ་འོང་ངེས་པ་མེད་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཆེ་འདི་སློ་ཡིས་ཐོངས་<sup>58</sup>དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་དཀར་ནག་ལས་འབྲས་ཕྱ་ཞིབ། །  
 མཉུ་ཕྱི་བཞིན་ངེས་པར་འབྲང་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་སྤང་དོར་ཞིབ་མོ་གྱིས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་སྤྱིར་ནི་གཏིང་ཟབ་འཁོར་བ། །  
 མཉུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཡ་རེ་ང་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་མེ་ཡི་འོབས་ལྷར་ལྷོས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་སྒྲིས་<sup>59</sup>སྤང་ན་སོང་སྤྱག་བསྐྱལ། །  
 མཉུ་ཅུང་ཟད་བཟོད་ཐབས་མེད་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་མཚོག་གསུམ་སྐྱབས་སུ་བོས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་སློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

<sup>58</sup> Skäl Idan rgya mtsho uses the spelling *thongs* frequently in the *Mgur 'bum* for the imperative of *gtong*.

<sup>59</sup> *sgos* BCD; *dgos* A.

Oh yeah! There is no certainty as to when  
Hey you! the Lord of Death, the sovereign over all, will  
arrive. Hey!  
Hey! Resign to this death [of yours] entirely! Hey!  
Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! It's certain that fine white and black karma  
Hey you! will follow [you in death]. Hey!  
Hey! Accept or reject [something] meticulously!  
Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! In general, deep samsara  
Hey you! is very frightful. Hey!  
Hey! Watch it as if it is a fiery pit! Hey!  
Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! There is no way to bear privately  
Hey you! the evil forms of rebirth and suffering even a  
little. Hey!  
Hey! Take refuge in the Three Jewels!  
Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
Ya yi ya yi!

འོ་འོ་དམ་པའི་ལྷ་ཚུལ་ཟབ་མོ། །  
 ཡུ་འདི་ཕྱི་ཀུན་རྟུ་ཕན་ཡུ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་བསྐྱབ་གསུམ་ནན་ཏན་མཛོད་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་ཉམ་ཐག་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད། །  
 ཡུ་འདི་ཅན་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲུབ་ཡིན་ཡུ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཕན་སེམས་ཕྱིགས་མེད་སྦྱངས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱུས་གོ་འཕང་། །  
 ཡུ་འདི་རྟུ་འཕྱོག་པར་དཀའ་ཡུ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ཏག་རྟུ་འཕྱོག་པར་ཕྱིར་འབོད་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་ཚུལ་ཀུན་གཏོད་མའི་གཤེས་ལུགས། །  
 ཡུ་འདི་མཐའ་བྲལ་ཚུལ་དབྱིངས་ཡིན་ཡུ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལྷ་བྱར་སྒྲུབས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འོ་འོ་ཐ་མལ་སྦྱི་ཤི་བར་དོ། །  
 ཡུ་འདི་སྦྱངས་འབྲས་སྦྱུ་གསུམ་ཡིན་ཡུ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་སྦྱང་བྱིད་བསྦྱིད་རྫོགས་སྒྲུབས་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤློ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

<sup>60</sup> 'thob CD; thob AB.

<sup>61</sup> 'thob CD; thob AB.

Oh yeah! The deep and holy divine religion  
 Hey you! will benefit [us] in all present and future lives. Hey!  
 Hey! Diligently perform the three teachings.  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! All feeble and weak sentient beings  
 Hey you! are simply [your] kind [mothers]. Hey!  
 Hey! Practice benefiting [others] with an impartial mind.  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! The citadel of a perfect Buddha  
 Hey you! is very hard to obtain. Hey!  
 Hey! Always strive in order to obtain it.  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! The primordial empty nature of all *dharma*s  
 Hey you! is the limitless *dharmadhātu*. Hey!  
 Hey! Meditate [on it] like the sky!  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

Oh yeah! The result of what has been purified  
 Hey you! of ordinary birth, death and *bar do* is the three  
                   *kāyas*. Hey!  
 Hey! Meditate on the Generation and Completion Stages,  
                   which are the purifying agents.  
 Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
 Ya yi ya yi!

འོ་འོ་མདོ་ཐུགས་ཚུལ་ཀྱན་བཟུང་ན། །  
 ཨཱཱ་ཚུལ་གྱི་འདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་ཡ། །  
 ཁོ་རེ་གྲང་<sup>62</sup>གླུ་ཚུལ་དུ་འཐེན་དང་། །  
 ཉི་ཉི་ཤོ་བདེ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཨི་གོ། །  
 ཡ་ཡི་ཡ་ཡི། །

འདི་ནི་རང་བོའི་ཨཱཱ་ཐུག་ཐུག་མཚུལ་རང་ལ་ཀྱ་རེ་རྒྱས་པའོ། ། ། །

<sup>62</sup> *rgyang* BCD; *rgyangs* A.



Oh yeah! If [you] gather all teachings of the sutras  
and tantras,  
Hey you! this itself is the dance of religion.  
Hey! Sing in the manner of a song from afar! Hey!  
Ha ha! The mind is happy and glorious, get it?  
Ya yi ya yi!

*The Hey you! Skal ldan rgya mtsho of Rong bo said this to himself in jest.*

## IV-9, pp. 79-80/ 71-72

ཨ་མི་ལྷ་མ་བསྐྱེན་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 གྱིན་རྒྱབས་དངོས་གྲུབ་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །

ཨ་མི་མི་ཆེ་གཟད་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 ཕྱི་མར་བདེ་འགྲོའི་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 རྒྱལ་ཅན་འཆི་ཀར་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །

ཨ་མི་འཆི་བདག་བདུད་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 ཆེ་སྒྲིབ་བརྟན་པའི་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 མི་མང་འཆི་ཚུལ་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །

ཨ་མི་ལས་འབྲས་ཞིབ་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 གཏན་གྱི་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 རང་གི་མཇེད་སྦྱིད་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །

ཨ་མི་ངན་སོང་སྤྲུག་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 འོ་སྒྲིབ་སྦྱིད་སྤྲུག་དོན་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 ཆོས་སེམས་བསྐྱེན་པའི་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །

ཨ་མི་སྦྱོ་གས་ཡལ་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 རབ་བྱུང་ཆོས་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 སྦྱོང་འདུལ་བ་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡི། །

<sup>63</sup> *btud* ACD; *btul* B. I have chosen *btud*, the pf. of 'dud, in the sense of "thag je nyer song ba," through communication with the Rong bo scholar Blo bzang chos grags.

<sup>64</sup> *bstun*, against all readings of ABCD, which have *stun*, at the suggestion of Blo bzang chos grags.

IV-9, pp. 79-80/ 71-72

Oh my — this way of having relied on a lama  
For the benefits of blessings and spiritual powers! Uh huh!  
Look at the pronouncements of the Victorious One, and  
reconsider it!

Oh my — this way in which [you] have consumed human life  
For the purpose of going to happiness in a future life! Uh huh!  
Look at [being at] the point of death with sins, and reconsider it!

Oh my — this way of having approached the Lord of Death  
For the purpose of a stable life! Uh huh!  
Look at how many people die, and reconsider it!

Oh my — this manner of detail about karma  
In the context of perpetual happiness! Uh huh!  
Look at [your] own activities,<sup>65</sup> and reconsider it!

Oh my — this way of suffering in the lower realms  
For the purpose of our own welfare! Uh huh!  
Look at religion in accordance with the mind, and reconsider it!

Oh my! This way of going without paying attention to sorrow  
In the context of religious renunciation! Uh huh!  
Look at the disciplines of *Blo sbyong* and *Vinaya*, and reconsider it!

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<sup>65</sup> Though the honorific verb form *mdzad* is used here, “you” seems to mean himself. If so, it is most probable that the honorific was inserted by disciples later.

ཨ་མི་འགྲོ་ཀུན་དོར་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཏ་ཏ། །  
 དག་གཉིན་མཐོང་ཆེ་ལྷོས་དང་གོ་ཡ། །

ཨ་མི་བདེན་པར་འཛིན་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 ཟབ་ལམ་ལྷ་བའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཏ་ཏ། །  
 ངར་འཛིན་ཨ་འཕས་ལྷོས་དང་གོ་ཡ། །

ཨ་མི་སྤང་གཞི་རྒྱས་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 སྤངས་འབྲས་སྒྲ་གསུམ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཏ་ཏ། །  
 རྒྱུད་སྤེའི་ལེགས་བཤད་ལྷོས་དང་གོ་ཡ། །

ཨ་མི་ཟ་ཉལ་དགའ་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 དཀའ་ཐུབ་བཅུད་ལེན་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཏ་ཏ། །  
 གཉིད་སྤྲངས་ཟན་<sup>66</sup>ཆོད་ལྷོས་དང་གོ་ཡ། །

ཨ་མི་ལེ་ལོ་ཆེ་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 བྱ་བ་གང་བརྩམས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཏ་ཏ། །  
 སྤར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་<sup>67</sup>ལྷོས་དང་གོ་ཡ། །

ཨ་མི་དྲན་རྒྱ་མང་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 མཐར་ཕྱིན་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཏ་ཏ། །  
 སློ་མང་གཞན་ལ་ལྷོས་དང་གོ་ཡ། །

<sup>66</sup> *zan* BCD; *bar* A.

<sup>67</sup> *tshul* ABC; *la* D.

Oh my! This way of having rejected all beings  
 In the context of bodhisattva [practices]! Uh huh!  
 When [you] see an enemy or a friend, look, and reconsider it!

Oh my! This way of seizing on the truth  
 In the context of the view of the profound path! Uh huh!  
 Look at the stubbornness of clinging to self, and reconsider it!

Oh my! This way of having increased the basis of purification  
 In the context of the fruit of purification, the three *kāyas*! Uh huh!  
 Look at the good explanations of the tantras, and reconsider it!

Oh my! This way of enjoying eating and sleeping  
 In the context of ascetic practice and taking essences!<sup>68</sup> Uh huh!  
 Renounce sleep, measure food, look, and reconsider it!

Oh my! This manner of great laziness  
 In the context of whatever activities [you] have begun! Uh huh!  
 Look at [your] previous situation, and reconsider it!

Oh my! This manner of many causes for remembrance  
 In the context of actions that go to the very limit! Uh huh!  
 Look at many other attitudes, and reconsider it!

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<sup>68</sup> This refers to the *rasāyana* practices such as an ascetic practice in which one eats only prepared balls of flowers.

ཨ་མི་<sup>69</sup>སྐད་དཔངས་<sup>70</sup>དམའ་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །

མགར་དབངས་སྟན་མའི་ཕྱགས་ལ་ཏ་ཏ། །

གཅིག་ཕྱར་འཐེན་<sup>71</sup>ལ་ལྟོས་དང་གོ་ཡེ། །

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ནི་རྩི་པོའི་སྐྱབ་སྐལ་ལྡན་གྱི་མཚས་སྐྱར་བའོ། །

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<sup>69</sup> *a me* CD; *e ma* AB.

<sup>70</sup> *dpangs* CD; *dbang* AB.

<sup>71</sup> *'then* CD; *then* AB.

Oh my! This way with a high and low voice  
In the context of pleasant-sounding melodies! Uh huh!  
Look at singing in solitude, and reconsider it!

*This was composed by the Rong bo songster Skal ldan rgya mtsho.*

V-8, pp. 100-101/ 90

ཨྲ་སྤྲ་སྤྲ། ।

བདེ་མཚེག་གི་ངོ་བོ་སྤྲ་མ་དང་། ।

བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་དཔལ་སྤྲར་ཉི་རྩ་ཀ། ।

བདེ་ལྷན་གྱི་གནས་ནས་ཉལ་དྲུག་བཞེགས། ।

བདེ་ཉམས་ཀྱི་སྤྲ་དབྱངས་འདི་ལྟར་འཐེན། ।

བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་སྤྲ་མ་ལ<sup>72</sup>། ।

བདེ་སྤྲ་དྲུག་སོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་འདི། ।

བདེ་སྤྲིད་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་འཆར་ཐབས་སྤྲ། ।

བདེ་གཤེགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པར་ཡང་ཡང་གསུངས། ।

བདེ་སྤྲར་གྱི་ཐབས་མཚེག་དམ་པའི་ཆས། ।

བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ཉིན་དལ་འབྱོར་ལུས། ।

བདེ་མེད་ཀྱི་འཁོར་བར་རྟེན་དཀར་བས། ।

བདེ་སྤྲུག་ལ་མ་ལྟ་སྤྲིང་པོ་ལོངས། ।

བདེ་བ་ནས་བདེ་བར་འགྲོ་བསམ་ན། ।

བདེ་མཚེག་སོགས་ཡི་དམ་བསྟེན་སྤྲུབ་དང་། ।

བདེ་སྤྲུག་སོགས་ཆོས་བརྒྱད་མགོ་<sup>73</sup>སྟོམས་དང་། ।

བདེ་བ་ལ་འགྲོ་ཀྱན་འགོད་འདོད་སོགས། ।

བདེ་སྤྲུག་དྲུག་བསྐྱབས་ན་ཅིས་ཀྱང་ལེགས། ।

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྤྲུག་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོས་མེ་ཕག་གི་ལོར་སྤྲར་བ་བཀྲ་ཤིས། । ।

<sup>72</sup> la ABC; las D.

<sup>73</sup> mgo CD; 'go AB.



V-8, pp. 100-101/ 90

*Om sva sti*

The lama, essence of Bde mchog and  
He ru ka, who bestows the glory of great bliss  
Please look [upon me] always from Bde ba can.

[I]'ll sing accordingly a song of blissful experiences.

This happy petition to the lama, the root of well-being,  
Has been said over and over in harmony with  
All those who have entered into eternal bliss,  
As a means for the sun of happiness to shine.

Because it is difficult to obtain a body, a good foundation, the path of  
well-being  
[And the path for] the holy religion, the most supreme means for  
giving happiness,  
In samsara, where there is no happiness,  
Without regard for happiness and suffering, obtain the essence.

If [you] are thinking<sup>74</sup> of going from happiness to happiness,  
Recite the mantras and propitiate the tutelary deities such as Bde  
mchog and  
Equalize the distinctions of the eight worldly *dharmas*, such as  
happiness and suffering.

If [you] easily established happiness [through] the desire to transfer  
all beings into a happy state and so on,  
By all means [your happiness] is good.

*This also was composed by Skal ldan rgya mtsho, in the year 1647.  
Happiness!*

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<sup>74</sup> I have interpreted *bsam*, the future stem, in the present, according to the sense here.

V-11, pp. 104-105/ 93-94

ཇི་བཀའ་དྲིན་མཉམ་མེད་སྟོ་བཟང་གྲགས། །  
འབངས་ཚོས་མེད་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་ལ། །  
ཐུགས་བརྩེ་བས་གཞིགས་ལ་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྟོབས། །

ཆེ་འདི་ཕྱིའི་ལུགས་ཚོགས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཞི། །  
ཕ་སྐུ་མ་དམ་པར་མ་གཤིས་པར། །  
སྟོན་ཕུང་པོར་འཛིན་པའི་ལོག་རྟོག་མཁུ། །  
བྱོད་བཀའ་བཅུའི་མེད་ཅན་སྟོང་རྩལ་ལམ། །

དུས་ད་ལྟའི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཡོན་ཏན་ནམས། །  
ཇི་སྐུ་མའི་དྲིན་དུ་མི་གོ་བའི། །  
བྱོད་ཚོས་བཤད་མཁན་པོ་སྟོས་སམ་ཅི། །

ཉིན་ཉིད་དཀའི་མི་ལུས་ཐོབ་དུས་འདིར། །  
ཆེ་ཕྱི་མའི་དོན་ཀུན་སྟོས་དོར་བའི། །  
བྱོད་དཔེ་མང་ལྟ་མཁན་སེམས་མེད་དམ། །

གྲོགས་པལ་ཆེར་འཆི་བ་མཐོང་བཞིན་དུ། །  
རང་འཆི་སྙམ་མེད་པའི་བསམ་མེད་པོ། །  
བྱོད་རང་སྟོང་རང་ལ་མི་ཇི་འམ<sup>75</sup>། །

གནས་ངན་སྔོང་ཟེར་བའི་འཛིགས་ཅན་དེར། །  
ལས་སྒྲིག་པས་འབྲིད་དོགས་མི་སྙམ་པའི། །  
བྱོད་སྒྲིན་པ་འདྲོ་<sup>76</sup>མེད་མ་འབྲུལ་ལམ། །

<sup>75</sup> *rje'am* AB; *rje 'am* CD.

<sup>76</sup> *'do* B; *mdo* ACD.

V-11, pp. 104-105/ 93-94

Lord Blo bzang grags, unequalled in kindness,  
[Please] look with compassion upon [your] servant,  
Skal Idan rgya mtsho, one without religion, and bless [him].

You, expert in false knowledge, cling to a pile of falsehoods  
Without understanding that [his] father lama is holy,  
The foundation of all good accumulations in this and future lives.  
Aren't you a rotten-hearted one with the title of *Bka' bcu*?<sup>77</sup>

You don't understand that your present happiness  
Is because of the lama's kindness.  
You master of Dharma discourses, are you crazy or what?

You have rejected all concerns for a future life  
In this time of having obtained a human body, in which acquiring a  
support is difficult.  
You who have looked at all kinds of books, have [you] no mind?

You haven't given a thought to [your] lack of thought for your  
own death  
While watching the deaths of most of [your] friends.  
Should you not have pity on your own heart [for being like this]?

You don't imagine the fear of being led by sinful actions  
Into that dreadful place called the lower three realms.  
You senseless fool, aren't [you] mistaken?

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<sup>77</sup> *Bka' bcu pa*, the one [having mastered] ten texts, is a title given to monks.

སྐྱབས་བསྐྱེ་མིན་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་པོ་ལ། །  
ཁས་སྐྱབས་འཛིན་ཞི་ནས་སློལ་ག་པའི། །  
ཁྱོད་མཁས་པའི་སྤྱིང་ལ་གདོན་ཞུགས་སམ། །

ལས་ནག་པོས་གཏོད་པར་གཤམ་བཞིན་དུ། །  
སྤྲིག་ཁྱེད་བའི་པོའི་བྱ་བས་དུས་འདུལ་བའི། །  
ཁྱོད་སྤྲིག་གན་འཆི་དུས་མི་འགྱུར་དམ། །

ལས་དག་བས་ཕན་པར་གོ་བཞིན་དུ། །  
སློས་ལིངས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱར་བའི་བྱ་བ་ལ། །  
ཁྱོད་བསམ་ཞིང་ཡོ་ཟུག་མི་ལྡང་ངམ། །

མཐོ་སྤྱིད་པའི་ཕྱི་ནས་མནར་མིན་བར་ཉ། །  
དུས་རྟག་དུ་སྤྲིག་བསྐྱེལ་ཀུན་གྱིས་གཙུག་ལ། །  
ཁྱོད་ད་དུང་གནས་དེའི་སྐྱེ་བསྐྱེལ་བམ། །

མ་ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་ལ། །  
ཕན་འདོགས་པར་འདོད་པའི་སློ་མིན་པའི། །  
ཁྱོད་ཆོས་པའི་མིང་གས་ཀུན་བསྐྱེལ་འམ། །

གྱོད་སྤྱི་དག་གཡོ་མཁན་བདག་འཛིན་ཡིན། །  
གདོན་དེ་ཉིད་སྤྱིང་ལ་རྟག་ཞུགས་པའི། །  
ཁྱོད་སློམ་པས་ནམ་ཞིག་ཅི་མཐོང་ངམ། །

འདི་སྐལ་ལྷན་སྐྱེ་མཆོས་རང་ཉིད་ལ། །  
མགོན་འཇམ་དཔལ་བཞུགས་གནས་རི་ཁྱོད་ནས། །  
ག་ཆ་བའི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲོས་པ་ཡིན། ། ། །

<sup>78</sup> bar BCD; par A.

<sup>79</sup> bslu'am AB; bslu'am CD.

You turn away after mouthing, “[I] take refuge”  
 In the Three Precious Jewels, the undistorted refuge.  
 You, scholar, has a demon entered [your] heart?

You pass the time with activities only of sin  
 While knowing the damage caused by black karma.  
 Aren’t you one who doesn’t regret the time of death of the  
     old sinner?

You think about acting on a deed which is sullied by a blind mind  
 While understanding benefit through virtuous action.  
 Aren’t you one in whom, [while] thinking [about it], despair does  
     not arise?

You have been tormented by all suffering through perpetual time  
 While not [feeling] tortured on the high peak of samsara.  
 Aren’t you one who still wanders and practices in that place?

You have no thought of wanting to benefit  
 Sentient beings, [your] mothers, who circle in samsara’s three  
     realms.  
 Aren’t you one who will deceive everyone with the name, “religious  
     [person]”?

You, into whose heart the demon himself has continually entered,  
 Are one who wavers in the nine different kinds of remorse and clings  
     to a sense of self.  
 When will you ever envision anything through meditation?

This Skäl Idan rgya mtsho said to himself  
 With affectionate thoughts  
 In the mountain hermitage, the residence of the protector Mañjuśrī.

V-16a, pp. 112-13/ 101

ཇི་བཙན་སྒྲ་མའི་ཞབས་ལ་འདྲད། །  
བདག་སྐྱབས་རྣམས་ལ་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྒྲོབས། །

རང་དང་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་པའི་སེམས། །  
མིད་ཀྱང་སྤྱང་གཏམ་འདི་སྐད་སྒྲ། །

སྤྱན་བསགས་དགེ་བས་མི་ལུས་ཐོབ། །  
རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱན་དང་མཇལ་དུས་<sup>80</sup>འདིར། །  
དམ་ཚཱ་ཉམས་སུ་མ་སྒངས་ན། །  
འཆི་ཁར་<sup>81</sup>འགྱུད་དོ་ཤེས་ལྟོན་ཚོ། །

མཛེས་ཤིང་འཇམ་པའི་གཟུགས་ཕྱང་འདི། །  
རྟག་དྲུག་ནས་པར་རེན་ཡང་། །  
ཁོང་རྩལ་སྤྱང་པོ་ཇི་བཞིན་དུ། །  
སྤྱར་དུ་འགྱོའོ་ཤེས་ལྟོན་ཚོ། །

ཐབས་དང་གཡོ་སྒྲ་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས། །  
འཕྲལ་གྱི་ཟས་ནོར་མང་བསྐྱབས་ཀྱང་། །  
འཕྲངས་ཕྱིས་<sup>82</sup>པ་ཡི་ས་དོ་ལྟར། <sup>83</sup>  
བསྐྱར་<sup>84</sup>ཆེ་སྤྱད་གོ་ཤེས་ལྟོན་ཚོ། །

ལེགས་བཤད་ཐོས་དོན་མ་བསྐྱེམས་ན། །  
འོ་མ་མང་ཡང་མར་མེད་བཞིན། །  
གསུང་རབ་ཉན་པའི་དགོས་པ་ནི། །  
ཞི་འདུག་སྐམས་དང་ཤེས་ལྟོན་ཚོ། །

<sup>80</sup> *dus* ABC; *ba* D.

<sup>81</sup> *khar* ABD; *bar* C.

<sup>82</sup> *phis* CD; *byis* AB.

<sup>83</sup> The meter in this line is 1 + 3 + 3. It stands out in contrast to the meter of the song, 2 + 2 + 3, while making a startling reference to Tibetan toilet habits.

<sup>84</sup> *bskyur* CD; *skyur* AB.

V-16a, pp. 112-13/ 101

[I] bow at the feet of the lord, lama.  
Please bless me and others.

Although I do not intend to benefit myself or others,  
[I] am going to say these words from the heart.

Because of merit accumulated previously, [you] have obtained  
bodies.

If in this age of meeting with the teaching of the Victorious One  
[You] don't take the holy religion to heart,  
[You] will regret it at the point of death, knowledgeable ones.

Although [you] hope to live forever  
In this beautiful and soft heap of a body,  
It will go swiftly, like a rotten hollow trunk, knowledgeable ones.

Although [you] have realized much incidental food and wealth  
Through opportunity and deceit and so on,  
Like earth and stone [you] have used to wipe [your] behind,  
You will suffer, knowledgeable ones.

If just as though there is lots of milk yet no butter,  
[You] hear that which is well-explained and don't contemplate  
its meaning,  
Think about whether there is a need  
To listen to the scriptures, knowledgeable ones.

ལྷ་གྱི་དྲ་གྱི་མི་ནམས་ནི། །  
 ད་ལྷའི་དྲ་སྤྱ་ཤི་ཟེན་ན། །  
 རང་རེ་མི་འཆིའི་ངེས་པ་གང་། །  
 དེ་ལ་སོམས་དང་ཤེས་ལྷན་ཆོ། །

མ་ཐོས་ཐོས་པར་སྒྲུལ་པ་དེས། །  
 ཡར་ཆེས་ཆེས་པ་བརྩུ་གཉིས་ལ། །  
 མི་ཆོས་ཆོས་སྤྱ་བསྐྱར་ནས་ནི<sup>85</sup>། །  
 དྲ་ངན་ངན་སེམས་ལྷན་པའི་མི། །  
 འདྲལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དྲ་ཡི་གེར་བཀོད། །

<sup>85</sup> *ni* BCD; *na* A.



If the people of former times  
Have now all died,  
Think about what truth there can be  
In your own hope not to die, knowledgeable ones.

On the twelfth day of the days of the waxing moon,  
Having transformed popular religion into [divine] religion  
In order to discipline people who have evil minds in an evil age,  
The one haughty in learning, [yet] never having studied,  
Put this down in writing.

V-20, pp. 117-18/ 105

སྤྱི་མ་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྤྱི་བཟང་དེ་བཞུགས་ན་དགའ་བ། །  
 དབང་ལུང་ཐེས་གནང་གང་འདོད་དེ་ཞུས་ན་སྤྱིད་པ། །  
 ཞལ་རས་སྤྱི་བཟང་ལྟུང་པ་དེ་མཐོང་ན་སྤྱི་བ། །  
 གསུང་རྒྱན་བདུད་ཅི་ལས་ལྷག་པ་དེ་མཐོང་ས་ན་བདེ་བ། །

ཨ་མདོ་མཐོང་འཁོབ་ཀྱི་ས་ཕྱོགས་འདི་རྩ། །  
 བཤད་སྤྱབ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་གྱི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ། །  
 མགོན་པོ་ཁྱོད་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བློན་ཡིན་ཡང་། །  
 བཀའ་བློན་མི་བློན་ཆོའི་སྤྱིང་ལ་ཅི་ཞུགས། །

སྤྱི་མ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ས་འདི་སྤངས་ནས། །  
 དག་ཞིང་གཙང་མ་རྩ་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་འདིར། །  
 སྤྱི་ཅི་ལིངས་ཀྱིས་གཏོད་སའི་སྤྱི་མ། །  
 ཡང་ཡང་བཙལ་ཀྱང་རྟེན་པར་མ་གྱུར། །

སྤྱི་མ་ཡང་ཁྱོད་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་བསྟན་བློན་པའི། །  
 དད་པའི་གདུང་ཤུགས་བློན་པོའི་ངང་ནས། །  
 ཉིན་མཚན་གསལ་བ་འདིབས་ཚུལ་འདི་ལ། །  
 ཐུགས་ཐེའི་སྤྱི་བློན་ལྟུང་ས་<sup>86</sup>ལ་གཟེགས་དང་། །

ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཡིན་ཏན་སྤྱི་པོ་དེ་འདྲ། །  
 ད་ལྟར་མངའ་བ་པར་ལ་ཞིག་དང་། །

ཆ་ཤས་ཙམ་ཡང་ཡོད་པའི་བཤེས་གཉེན། །  
 ཉིན་སྤྱི་ལས་ཀྱང་དཀོན་པའི་དུས་འདིར། །  
 སྤྱི་གཤེགས་མ་གནས་ཀྱང་ཅི་བྱ། །

<sup>86</sup> rkyongs BCD; rkyong A.

V-20, pp. 117-18/ 105

When the lama Bstan 'dzin blo bzang was living—Oh, joy!  
 When [I] requested whatever empowerments, textual transmissions  
     and tantric rituals [I wanted]—Oh, happiness!  
 When [I] saw that smile, like the light of the moon, [on your]  
     face—Oh, delight!  
 When [I] experienced that flow of speech greater than nectar—Oh,  
     what peace!

Although the rising sun of the Mighty One's teachings of  
     explanation and practice  
 In this barbarous area, Amdo,  
 Is the kindness of only you, protector,  
 What enters the heart of those who do not recall [your] kindness?

In this time, lama, of your having renounced this place and  
 Having gone to a pure, stainless [Buddha] field,  
 Although [I] have searched again and again for a lama [I can] focus  
     on with the net of a single-pointed mind,  
 [I] have not found [another].

With respect to this manner of beseeching [you] day and night  
 In [my] state of fiercely strong longing for faith  
 In [my] recollection once more of an image of your body,  
 Please extend [your] compassionate glance and look [at me].

[I must] now put away [the hope of trying] to have qualities  
 Like those you have accumulated!

In this time in which a spiritual friend who has even a mere portion  
     [of what you have]  
 Is even more precious than the sun and the stars,  
 Although [I] live for the remainder of [my] life, what will [I] do?

ཚས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་རེ་ཐག་ཆད་ཅིང་། །

ང་བཟང་སྒྱུ་མ་པའི་ཁྲ་ཀྱིས་ནོན་ནོ། །

དུས་འདིར་ཉིན་མཚན་ཁོར་ཡུག་གཟིགས་ཤིག །

ཅིས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་བྲིས་པའོ། །       ། །

[My] hopes in the area of religion have been cut off and  
I am overcome by the burden of pretending to be good.<sup>87</sup>

At this time, please look [at me] continually, day and night.

*This also was written by Skäl Idan.*

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<sup>87</sup> I have read *bzang nyams* instead of *bzang snyam*.

V-21, pp. 118/ 106

དག་ཅུ་ཕྱིན་མོ་དེ་དང་གཅིག །  
 དེ་ལ་འཁོར་བའི་ཉ་མོ་<sup>88</sup>གཉིས། །  
 གནས་སྐབས་དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། །  
 ཡུན་ཙམ་ཞིག་དུ་གདའ་བ། །  
 དེ་བཞིན་སྐལ་ལྷན་ང་དང་གཅིག །  
 དེ་ལ་འཁོར་བའི་གྲ་ཚོགས་དང་གཉིས། །  
 གནས་སྐབས་དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། །  
 ཡུན་ཙམ་ཞིག་དུ་གདའ་བས། །  
 དམ་ཚུལ་ཅི་ལྟ་སྒྲིམ་གྱིས་ཤིག །     ། །

<sup>88</sup> *dang*, part of the pattern, is omitted in ABCD, in order to preserve the meter.

V-21, pp. 118/ 106

The blue Dgu chu<sup>89</sup>—one;  
The fish that go around in [the river]—two.  
An interrelationship between times and circumstances  
Comes about suddenly.

Likewise, I, the fortunate one—one;  
The disciples who go around that [one]—two.  
Since an interrelationship between times and circumstances  
Comes about suddenly,  
Practice the holy religion by whatever means [you] have.

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<sup>89</sup> The Dgu chu is the river that flows through Reb gong, near Rong bo monastery.

VI-7, p. 130/ 115-16

ན་མོ་གུ་རུ། །

གཏི་མུག་ཁོ་ཐོ་ཙེ་ཆེ་རེད། །

ཤེས་རབ་ཁྱོད་ཉལ་ནས་འདྲག་པོད་དམ། །  
འདྲོད་ཆགས་ཁོ་སྐྱུ་སྤྱོད་ཅི་ཙྱེ་རེད། །

མི་སྐྱུག་ཁྱོད་གང་གི་འདམ་དུ་འགྱུལ། །  
ཞི་སྤང་ཁོ་སྐྱུ་བཞིན་ཅི་ཆེ་རེད། །

བྱམས་པ་ཁྱོད་ས་ཆ་གང་དུ་བྲོས། །  
ང་རྒྱལ་ཁོ་ང་ར་སྐད་ཅི་ཆེ་རེད། །

ཁེངས་སྤྱངས་ཁྱོད་ན་བ་འོན་ནམ་ཅི། །  
ཕྱག་དོག་ཁོ་བྱུག་རྩེ་ཅི་རགས་རེད། །

དག་སྤང་ཁྱོད་གར་སོང་ཙེ་ར་མ་ཆོད། །  
ལོག་ལྷ་ཁོ་བསྐྱུ་བྲོད་ཅི་མཁས་རེད། །

དད་གུས་ཁྱོད་མྱང་ནས་ཡལ་ལམ་ཅི། །  
འདད་<sup>90</sup> ཟས་ཁོ་ཁ་ལ་ཅི་ཞིམ་རེད། །

དག་སྤྱོད་ཁྱོད་སྤོང་ཡལ་འགྲོ་ལ་ཁད། །  
ཉིས་ལྷུང་ཁོ་ཆ་ར་བཞིན་ཅི་འབབ་རེད། །

<sup>90</sup> 'dad C; dad ABD.



VI-7, pp. 130/ 115-16

I prostrate myself before the guru.

As for stupidity etc., his senseless jokes are ever increasing.

Primordial wisdom, are you progressing by dwelling out  
there, sleeping?

As for desire, his actions are ever more coarse.

Ugliness, which swamp did you fall into?

As for anger, his brightness is ever increasing.

Loving kindness, where have you fled?

As for pride, his roaring is ever louder.

The relinquishing of pride, are your ears deaf or what?

As for envy, his complaints are ever more gross.

Pure knowledge, wherever you went, [you] did not cut to the root.

As for false view, he is ever more skilled in deception.

Faith and respect, are you vanishing from the foundation or what?

As for eating funeral repasts, he is ever more delicious to the mouth.

Good behavior, you are prevailed upon to go into emptiness.

As for sin, he is falling ever more like rain.

བསྐབ་སྒྲིམ་ཁྱོད་ཨི་ཡིད་ངས་མ་ཤིས། །

སིར་སྒྲིམ་ཁྱོད་པ་ཐིང་མ་ཤིས། །

སྒྲིམ་པ་ཁྱོད་ལག་པ་ལྟམས་སམ་ཆག །

ཅེས་པ་འདི་ནི་རྩོང་གྱིས་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོས་སྤང་གཉིན་འབྱེད་ཕྱིར་དབྱེན་ཆོག་གི་

ཚུལ་དུ་བྲིས་པའོ། ། ། །

Vows, where are you? I don't know.  
As for avarice, he is a tighter and tighter knot.

Patron, did your hand shrink or break?

*Rong bo born Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote this in order to distinguish between renunciation and attachment, in the manner of words of dissension.*

## VII-2, pp. 137-39/ 122-23

མཆོག་སྐྱེ་གསུམ་གོ་འཕང་བརྟེན་ན་ཡང་། །  
 མི་བདག་ངོར་ཐ་མལ་ཚུལ་འཛོན་པ། །  
 རིན་འཁོར་མེད་སྤེལ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཐེ། །  
 ཐུགས་བརྟེན་བའི་སྤྱན་གྱིས་སྤྱང་<sup>91</sup> ཉམས་གཟེགས། །

གནས་དབེན་པ་སྟེན་འདྲིན་རི་ཁྲོད་པ། །  
 སེམས་སྐྱོབ་སྤྱད་ལ་སྤྱུ་འདི་ཉོན། །  
 མི་རང་ལ་རང་གྲོས་མ་བདེ་ན། །  
 ཐོགས་གཞན་གྱིས་ཆོས་ལ་བསྐྱལ་བ་དགོན། །

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་རི་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 རི་ན་བུན་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱིབས་ཤེད་ན། །  
 གཡའ་རྩ་བྲག་གི་ཕྱག་པ་རང་བྱུང་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བསྟེན་ན་འཕྲལ་ཕྱགས་སྤྱིད། །

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་ནགས་<sup>92</sup>ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 ནགས་སྡོ་ལྡང་རྒྱས་པའི་ཁྲོད་ཅིག་<sup>93</sup>ན། །  
 ཤིང་ལྗོན་པའི་<sup>94</sup>ལོ་མའི་བསེལ་ཁང་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བསྟེན་ན་དགའ་སྟོན་འཕེལ། །

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་གངས་<sup>95</sup>ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 གངས་དཀར་པོའི་རི་ཡི་མགུལ་ཞིག་ན། །  
 རང་གཅིག་ཕུར་སྟོད་སའི་སྐྱབ་ཕྱག་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བསྟེན་ན་དགོས་སྟོར་འཕེལ། །

<sup>91</sup> rgyang BCD; rgyangs A.

<sup>92</sup> nags ABC; gangs D.

<sup>93</sup> cig BCD; zhig A.

<sup>94</sup> pa'i CD; pa AB.

<sup>95</sup> gangs ABC; nags D.

VII-2, pp. 137-39/ 122-23

Although [you] have obtained the rank of the most excellent  
three bodies,

Sde pa Chos kyi rje, whose kindness cannot be repaid,  
Please look upon me who cling to self tenaciously,  
From afar with eyes of compassion!

You want to rely on a solitary place, mountain hermit!  
When [you] generate sadness, listen to this song.  
If [I] don't give myself advice,  
Other friends inciting me to religion would be rare.

If you delight in solitary mountains,  
Under a strong small overhang in the mountain,  
There is a slate clay rock cave that has spontaneously arisen.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, in the present moment and time  
to come [you] will be happy.

If you delight in solitary forests,  
Amidst a luscious green forest  
There is a cool house of the trees' leaves.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [your] joy will increase.

If you delight in solitary snow lands,  
On the shoulder of a white snowy mountain  
There is a cave for practices in which to stay by yourself.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [your] merit will increase.

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་སྤང་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 སྤང་མེ་ཉྱལ་བཏུ་བའི་ལྷོང་ས་ཤིག་ན། །  
 ཅུ་ལྷང་སྟོན་སྟོལ་ཆུང་ཉམས་དགའ་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བཞེན་ན་ངང་གིས་བདེ། །

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་བྲག་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 བྲག་གོད་ཆང་ཅན་གྱི་ངོས་ཤིག་ན། །  
 སྟེབས་རབ་མཛེས་ཕྱག་པ་རང་གྲུབ་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བཞེན་ན་རིག་པ་དྲུང་ས། །

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་རྩ་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 རྩ་ཁ་མོ་སྤྱང་ས་<sup>96</sup>པའི་ཁྲོད་ཅིག་<sup>97</sup>ན། །  
 འཕྲལ་རྩམ་གཡང་མེད་པའི་ཕྱག་པ་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བཞེན་ན་ཅེ་བསམ་འབྲུག། །

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་གཡའ་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 གཡའ་སྟོ་ལིབ་བཅུགས་འབྲའི་འག་ཤིད་ན། །  
 སྤང་གཉོམ་ཆུང་སྟོད་སའི་རྟོ་ཁང་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བཞེན་ན་ངང་གིས་དལ།

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་གྲོགས་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 གྲོགས་བྱ་དང་རེ་དྲགས་བལྟས་པའི་ཆེ། །  
 འཕྲལ་རྩར་སྟན་ཡིད་དགའི་ལྷད་མོ་ཡོད། །  
 གྲོགས་དེ་འབྲ་བཞེན་ན་ཉམས་རེ་དགའ། །

བྱིད་དབེན་པའི་མཚོ་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 མཚོ་བ་རྒྱབས་ཅན་གྱི་ངོགས་ཤིད་ན། །  
 རྩ་ལྷང་ལྷང་སྤྱད་སྟན་འབྱིན་པ་ཡོད། །  
 གནས་དེ་འབྲ་བཞེན་ན་རྩུན་མར་སྟོ། །

<sup>96</sup> *spungs* BCD; *sprungs* A.

<sup>97</sup> *cig* BCD; *zhig* A.

If you delight in solitary meadows,  
In a large valley of beautiful wildflowers  
There is a delightful small hut of green grass.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [you] will spontaneously be  
at peace.

If you delight in solitary caves,  
On the side of a rock with a vulture's nest  
There is a beautiful shelter—a natural cave.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [your] knowledge will be pure.

If you delight in a solitary place of clay,  
On a clay [mountain] amidst a nest of hawks  
There is at the present moment a solid cave.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, whatever [you] think will be  
accomplished.

If you delight in a solitary place of slate,  
Under piled up flat sheets of slate like doors  
There is a stone house, a humble beggar's dwelling place.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [you] will spontaneously be  
at ease.

If you delight in friends in a solitary place,  
When [you] have seen [your] friends, birds and wild animals,  
Right away there is a joyful, sweet-sounding [musical] performance  
in [your] ears.  
If [you] depend on friends like that, [you] will be happy.

If you delight in solitary lakes,  
On the shore of a lake with waves  
There is a pleasant sound of murmuring water.  
If [you] depend on a place like that, [you] will always be happy.

བྱིད་དཔེན་པའི་ཟས་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 ཟས་རང་གྲུབ་ཤིང་ཐོག་ཟླ་ཚོད་ལ། །  
 བཅུད་མུང་ན་ཞིམ་པའི་བྲོ་བ་ཡོད། །  
 ཟས་དེ་འདྲ་བསྟེན་ན་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ། །

བྱིད་དཔེན་པའི་སྤྱུ་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན། །  
 སྤྱུ་རང་གི་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཕན་པ་ལ། །  
 དུས་གཏན་དུ་དགོས་པའི་བག་ཆགས་ཡོད། །  
 སྤྱུ་དེ་འདྲ་བསྟེན་ན་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ། །

གཏམ་འདི་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་དགེ་བ་དེས། །  
 རང་འདོད་པའི་དོན་ཀླན་འགྲུབ་པ་དང་། །  
 གཞན་བཤད་སྤྱོད་དཔལ་ལ་འགོད་པ་ལ། །  
 འགྲན་ཁྲི་བྲལ་གོ་འཕང་མུར་ཐོབ་ཤོག །

ཅེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོས་དཔེན་པ་ལ་ཡིད་སྟོན་བའི་ཤུགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲེལ་པའོ།  
 |        | |



If you delight in the food of solitary places,  
 When [you] will taste the juice in wild-growing foods—fruits and  
     vegetables—  
 There is a delicious flavor.  
 If [you] depend on food like that, [your] wonder will be great.

If you delight in songs in solitary places,  
 There is an inclination to want to benefit  
 The character of song, itself.  
 If [you] depend on songs like that, [your] wonder will be great.

May the merit which has arisen from this discourse  
 Bring about all benefits which I myself desire and  
 Serve as a foundation for glorious explanations and practices of  
     others, and  
 May [we] quickly obtain the incomparable level [of Buddhahood].

*This also was spoken by Skäl dan rgya mtsho, through the power of  
 joy in a solitary place.*

## VII-6, pp. 143-44/ 127-28

ཇི་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྒོ་བཟང་དོ་ཇི་འཆང་། །  
སྒྲིར་སེམས་ཅན་ཡོངས་ལ་བྱགས་ཇིས་གཟིགས། །

སྟོས་<sup>98</sup> རིང་བོའི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་ང། །  
བྱགས་བཅི་བས་མ་དོར་ཡུན་རིང་སྒྲིངས། །

རི་ཡིད་འོང་ཉམས་དགའ་མཐོང་བའི་ཆོ། །  
བདག་སྐལ་ལྷན་དབེན་པའི་ནགས་ཆལ་བྲན། །

བྱ་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་སྐད་སྟན་སྒྲིགས་ཐོས་ཆོ། །  
བདག་དབེན་པའི་གནས་ལ་ཡིད་རབ་གཡོས། །

ཤིང་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་སྒྲ་ལྗང་འདབ་གྱིས་ཆོ། །  
བདག་དབེན་པའི་ནགས་ཆལ་བྲན་ཞིང་སྒྲོ། །

ཇི་ཁྲ་ཁྲ་ལྷེམ་པ་མཐོང་བའི་ཆོ། །  
བདག་དི་རྩ་འགྲོ་སྟམ་འདུན་པ་གས། །

གྲོགས་བཟང་པོ་འགའ་རི་རི་ན་བཞུགས། །

རི་ཤིན་དུ་དབེན་པའི་དགའ་ཆལ་ན། །  
རང་གཅིག་ཕུར་བྲང་སྒྲིང་སྒྲིད་ལ་གནས། །

འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་བསམས་ཤིང་སྟོན་པ་སྒྲིས། །

བདག་ཁྱིད་འཛོགས་<sup>99</sup> སྒྲ་མ་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། །  
དུས་ད་དུང་སེམས་དང་ཁྱིད་མ་འདྲིས། །

<sup>98</sup> *sgos* CD; *dgos* AB.

<sup>99</sup> *'bogs* CD; *'bog* AB.

VII-6, pp. 143-44/ 127-28

Lord Bstan 'dzin blo bzang, Rdo rje 'chang,  
Please look in general upon all sentient beings with compassion.

In particular, please protect me, Skal ldan rgya mtsho of Rong bo,  
For a long time with love, with no rejection.

Whenever [I] saw a delightful and pleasing mountain,  
I, Skal ldan, recalled a solitary grove.

Whenever [I] heard the pleasing voices of birds and so on,  
[It] moved my mind to a solitary place.

Whenever the green leaves on various trees flourished,  
I recalled a solitary grove and felt delight.

Whenever I saw a twisting, colorful clay [bluff],  
I thought I would go there and an earnest desire would arise in  
[my mind].

Some good friends [who live like me] live in the mountains.

In a very solitary grove on a mountain,  
I myself, a seer,<sup>100</sup> practice and live alone.

[I] have thought and thought about this, and desire has come about.

Although I am a lama who gives instruction,  
Up to now [my] mind has not been integrated with the instructions.

---

<sup>100</sup> *Drang srong* brings to mind ancient Vedic sages who live practically forever thanks to their Ayurvedic herbal concoctions.

ད་དབེན་པའི་དགའ་ཚལ་ཉམས་དགའ་བར། །

སེམས་ཁྲིད་དང་མཇལ་བར་བྱིན་གྱིས་སློབས། །

ཞེས་<sup>101</sup> པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོས་ལྷང་ཤར་གྱི་ཚོས་གྲར་བྲིས་པའོ། ། ། །

---

<sup>101</sup> *zhes* CD; *ces* AB.

Now, in a pleasing solitary grove,  
Please give blessings for the meeting of [my] mind with the  
teachings.

*This also was written by Skäl ldan rgya mtsho, in the religious  
seminary of Lcang shar.*

VII-7, pp. 143-44/ 128

རེབ་གོང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཇག་པ། །  
 འདི་ཕྱི་སྟོ་ཡིས་དོར་ཏེ། །  
 ཁྲིལ་མེད་བྱ་བ་རྒྱང་གིས། །  
 རང་གི་ལྷོ་གོས་སྒྲིབ་པོ། །

རེབ་གོང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་སྐལ་ལྡན། །  
 རི་ཁྲོད་སྟོ་ཡིས་དོར་ནས། །  
 རྒྱལ་འཛུགས་གཡོ་སྒྱུ་རྒྱང་གིས། །  
 འདད་<sup>102</sup> ཟས་གཤེན་ཟས་སྒྲུད་དོ། །

རེབ་གོང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཇག་པ། །  
 བསམ་སྟོ་རྒྱང་ཟད་ཐོང་ས་ལ། །  
 གཏན་དུ་བཟང་ངན་སོམས་དང་། །  
 རང་ལ་ངེས་པར་དགའོ། །

རེབ་གོང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་སྐལ་ལྡན། །  
 རི་ཁྲོད་ངེས་པར་འགྲེམས་ལ། །  
 དམ་ཚཱ་གང་རྒྱས་གྱིས་དང་། །  
 རང་ལ་ངེས་པར་དགའོ། །

རེབ་གོང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཇག་པ། །  
 རེབ་གོང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་སྐལ་ལྡན། །  
 ཕྱི་ཡི་རྣམ་འགྲུར་མ་གཏོགས། །  
 རྒྱང་གི་བསམ་རྒྱལ་མཐུན་ནོ། །

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྡན་གྱི་མཚོས་བྲིས་པའོ། ། ། །

<sup>102</sup> 'dad C; dad ABD.

VII-7, pp. 143-44/ 128

As for the robber in upper Reb gong  
Having rejected this and later [lives],  
Through simply shameless deeds  
You earn your own food and clothes.

As for Skal ldan of lower Reb gong,  
Having rejected a mountain hermitage,  
Through simple deceptive “religious acts”  
[You] collect funeral repasts.

As for the robber in upper Reb gong,  
Abandon small thoughts and  
Think always about what is good and what is bad.  
[You] will certainly rejoice within yourself.

As for Skal ldan of lower Reb gong,  
Go with certainty to a mountain hermitage and  
Perform the holy religion as much as possible.  
You will certainly rejoice within yourself.

As for the robber in upper Reb gong,  
As for Skal ldan in lower Reb gong,  
Don’t tear at [your] outer behavior.  
[It] agrees with [your] inner thoughts.

*This also was written by Skal ldan rgya mtsho.*

VII-10a, pp. 147-49/ 131

རིགས་ཁྱབ་བདག་གྱལ་བ་དྲི་ཆེ་འཆང་། །  
 ཕྱི་དྲར་སྒྲིག་གར་གྱིས་ནམ་མེད་ལ་བ། །  
 མི་ཁོ་བོའི་སྒྲིག་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན། །  
 ས་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྒྲིག་བཟང་ཞབས་ལ་འདྲད། །

ངས་གཞོན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་སྒྲིག་མ་བསྟན། །  
 ད་ཆས་ཆེ་གྲོགས་དང་ཡོན་བདག་བསྟན། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྒྲིག། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོད་དཔེན་པར་འགྲོ། །

ངས་གཞོན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་སྒྲིག་མ་བསམ་བྱས། །  
 ད་ཆས་ཆེ་གྲོགས་ཆེན་ཆུང་པར་ཡིངས། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྒྲིག། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོད་དཔེན་པར་འགྲོ། །

ངས་གཞོན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་སྒྲིག་མ་འགྲིམས། །  
 ད་ཆས་ཆེ་གྲོགས་པའི་སྟོང་ཡུལ་འགྲིམས། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྒྲིག། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོད་དཔེན་པར་འགྲོ། །

ང་གཞོན་དུས་གཅིག་ཕྱིར་སྟོད་ལ་དགའ། །  
 ད་ཆས་ཆེ་ཀུན་དང་མཐུན་འཇུག་བྱེད། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྒྲིག། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོད་དཔེན་པར་འགྲོ། །



VII-10a, pp. 147-49/ 131

I bow at the feet of my lama, the omniscient one,  
My father Bstan 'dzin blo bzang,  
The one who enchants with the dance of an outer maroon [robe],  
[Of] the lineage [of] the Buddha, the Victorious One, Rdo rje 'chang.

When I was young, I relied on a lama.  
Now that [I] am old, I have been relying on friends and patrons.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] listened to and contemplated [religion].  
Now that [I] am old, [I] perform village rites for a living [and I]  
    move to and fro on foot.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] went where monks assembled.  
Now that [I] am old, [I] have been strolling around [my]  
    home village.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] liked to stay alone.  
Now that [I] am old, [I] conform with everyone.  
[I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

ང་གཞིན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་སྟོ་གས་ཆེ། །  
 ད་ཁྱས་ཆེ་ཆེ་འདིར་གྱི་སྤར་<sup>103</sup>འབྲམས། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྟེས། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོད་དཔེན་པར་འགྲོ། །

ངས་གཞིན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་སྟེ་མས་གཙང་བསྐྱངས་<sup>104</sup>། །  
 ད་ཁྱས་ཆེ་བག་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡངས་སྟོད། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྟེས། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོད་དཔེན་པར་འགྲོ། །

ངས་གཞིན་ནུའི་དུས་ན་དམ་ཚས་བྱེད། །  
 ད་ཁྱས་ཆེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་བྱ་བ་བྱེད། །  
 འདི་བསམས་ཤིང་ཡི་མུག་གཏིང་ནས་སྟེས། །  
 ད་ཁོ་བོ་མི་སྟོད་དཔེན་པར་འགྲོ། །

གནས་ཡིད་འོང་ཉམས་དགའི་རེ་བྲོད་དུ། །  
 ཚས་ཟབ་མོ་ཚུལ་བཞིན་སྐྱབ་དུ་འགྲོ། །  
 མི་ཁོ་བོའི་ཇེས་འཇུག་བྱ་སྟོབ་རྣམས། །  
 མི་ང་བཞིན་བྱེད་ན་ང་ཕྱིར་འབྲོངས། །

གཏམ་འདི་ནི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་ཡིས། །  
 མི་རང་གི་སྟོད་ཚུལ་དན་པ་ལས། །  
 གནས་ཐོས་བསམ་སླིང་དུ་ཐོགས་མེད་སྟེས། །

དགེ་གང་བསམས་སངས་རྒྱས་འཕྲོག་<sup>105</sup>ཕྱིར་བསྟོ། །

<sup>103</sup> *spar* CD; *sbar* AB.

<sup>104</sup> *bsrungs* CD; *srung* AB.

<sup>105</sup> *'thob* CD; *thob* AB.

When I was young, [my] sadness was great.  
 Now that [I] am old, this life has been seized in the grasping claw  
 of death.  
 [I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
 Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] observed the rules with purity.  
 Now that [I] am old, [I] act freely without shame.  
 [I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
 Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

When I was young, [I] performed<sup>106</sup> the holy religion.  
 Now that [I] am old, [I] do worldly deeds.  
 [I] thought about this and despair has arisen from [my] depths.  
 Now I'm not staying [here]. [I]'m going to a solitary retreat.

[I] am going to practice in accordance with the deep religion.  
 In a pleasing, delightful mountain hermitage.  
 When [you] disciples who come behind me do as I do,  
 Walk in my footsteps!

Skal ldan rgya mtsho spoke these words  
 Without restraint at the place Thos bsam gling,  
 From recollecting his own way of practicing [religion].

[I] dedicate whatever merit has been accumulated  
 For the sake of obtaining Buddhahood.

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<sup>106</sup> I have read *byas* for *byed*.

VII-11, pp. 152-53/ 135-36

ཇེ་གྲ་མ་ནམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ། །  
 ལྷ་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆི། །  
 མི་ང་དང་དབེན་པའི་དགའ་ཆལ་གཉིས། །  
 ལྷན་གཅིག་དྲུ་གནས་པར་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྟོབས། །

ཡུལ་རིབ་གོང་སྤྱང་<sup>107</sup> བའི་མཐུ་རྩལ་ཅན། །  
 གཉན་ཆེན་པོ་སེཀྱ་བྱ་ཁྱུང་གི། །  
 གཡས་རྩ་སྐྱེད་དར་དཀར་འཕྱར་འབྲའི་འདབས། །  
 ས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཆགས་སྤང་ལྷག་བྲག། །  
 ཡར་སྤང་ན་ནམ་མཁའ་གྲ་རེ་<sup>108</sup> བྲིས། །

ལོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤང་དང་ཤུག་པས་བརྟན། །  
 མདུན་བྲག་རི་རིན་ཆེན་སྤྱང་ས་འབྲས་སྤྲས། །  
 ངོགས་<sup>109</sup> ཀན་ནས་རྩ་ཆབ་བསིལ་<sup>110</sup> མ་འབབ། །  
 རྒྱབ་སྤང་རིའི་རྩེ་མོ་མཁའ་ལ་རིག། །  
 ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རི་ཕྱན་ནམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད། །  
 མདའ་ཆུ་བྲག་འཕམ་པས་སྟོ་སྤྱང་<sup>111</sup> བྱིད། །  
 དབྱིབས་ལྷ་ཡི་རྩ་ཆེན་ལྷ་བྱར་རྒྱུམ། །  
 བྱ་གོང་མོས་དབྱངས་སྟན་ཀྱར་ཀྱར་ལེན། །  
 བྱེའུ་འཛེལ་མོས་སྐད་རིགས་སྟོ་ཆོགས་སྐྱེད། །  
 ཀྱང་དྲུག་ལྷན་བྱང་བས་དེར་དེར་ཟེར། །  
 ལུས་རབ་མཛེས་རི་དྲུགས་བག་ཕེབས་བྱ། །  
 ཤིང་སྟོ་ཆོགས་ལྷེམ་ལྷེམ་གར་གྱིས་རོལ། །

<sup>107</sup> *srung* B; *bsrung* ACD.<sup>108</sup> *re* ABD; *bres* C.<sup>109</sup> *ngogs* CD; *ngogs* AB.<sup>110</sup> *bsil* CD; *sil* AB.<sup>111</sup> *srung* BCD; *bsrung* A.

VII-11, pp. 152-53/ 135-36

[I] prostrate myself before lord lamas.  
 [I] take refuge in the Three Precious Jewels.  
 Please bless [me], that both I, a human, and [this] solitary  
     delightful grove  
 May exist together.

Above the auspicious land of perfect essence, [its] meadows,  
     sheep and rocks,  
 The right clay range of the great, precipitous Se ku bya khyung  
 Which possesses the power to protect the area of Reb gong [and]  
 Whose sides are like hoisted white flags,  
 The canopy of the sky stretched out.

All sides have been decorated with meadows and juniper trees.  
 In front, the rock mountain has been adorned as if with heaps  
     of jewels.  
 From all the slopes, cool water falls from within the clay rocks.  
 Behind, peaks of grass-covered mountains touch the sky.  
 In all directions, [it] is surrounded with small mountains.  
 Since waters in the lower parts of the valleys battle with rocks, [they]  
     guard the entrances [to the mountain].  
 Shapes wind together like a big divine drum.  
 Grouses sing *kyur kyur* mellifluously.  
 Small songbirds trade various types of calls back and forth.  
 Six-legged bees say “buzz buzz.”  
 Wild animals with very beautiful bodies run happily.  
 Various trees enchant with supple dances.

ཟླ་སྒྲིག་སྒྲིག་སྒྲིག་ཚེ་མཁའ་ཁྲི་ལྷ་གྲུ་གང་། །  
 གཞི་ནི་ལྷ་གསེང་<sup>112</sup>མེ་དོག་ཚེ་གསེང་གྲིས་བརྒྱན། །  
 ཁ་ལྷོ་ར་<sup>113</sup>ལྷ་དགུན་དུས་ཉི་འོད་འཁྲུལ། །  
 དབྱར་སྐྱེས་དུས་བསྐལ་ཞིང་རིག་པ་དྲུང་ས། །  
 དུས་ཀྱན་དུ་<sup>114</sup>སྒྲི་ཞིང་བག་ཐེབས་སྒྲིང། །  
 སྒྲིང་ཐག་རིང་འར་ལུ་ར་མེད་ཅིང་འགོལ། །

གནས་དེ་ལྷ་ར་ངོ་མཚར་ལྷན་པ་ན། །  
 མདོག་རབ་མཛེས་རང་བྱུང་བྲག་ཕུག་ཡོད། །

ཕུག་དེ་ན་སྐལ་ལྷན་རས་པ་ང། །  
 ལུས་དྲུ་ར་སྒྲིག་གོས་ཀྲིས་གཡོགས་པས་བདེ། །  
 ངག་སྒྲི་དབྱངས་ལྷང་ལྷང་སྒྲངས་པས་བདེ། །  
 སེམས་སྒྲིག་བསྐལ་མེད་པར་གནས་པས་བདེ། །  
 ཉིན་ཚེས་སྒྲིང་ཅི་རྒྱས་བགྲིས་པས་བདེ། །  
 མཚན་སྒྲི་ཕབ་བདེ་བར་ཉལ་བས་བདེ། །  
 དཔོན་དབང་ཆེས་གཉའ་གཞོན་མེད་པས་བདེ། །  
 འཁོར་ཉི་འབྲེལ་སྒྲིང་དགོས་མེད་པས་བདེ། །  
 སྒྲིགས་སྒྲི་<sup>115</sup>ཅིག་གཉིས་ལ་བྱས་པས་བདེ། །  
 དཔེ་རྣམ་ཐར་མང་དྲ་བལྟས་པས་བདེ། །  
 དུས་རེས་འགྲུ་རི་ཅི་ར་འབྲུམས་པས་བདེ། །  
 སྐབས་ཕལ་ཆེར་མལ་སར་བསྐྱེད་པས་བདེ། །  
 འཕྲལ་ཁ་ངོ་མ་སྒྲིང་པ་འབྲངས་པས་བདེ། །  
 ཕུགས་སྒྲི་ཅི་ཆོས་ལ་གཏད་པས་བདེ། །  
 སྒྲིམ་དམ་ཆོག་ཅི་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པས་བདེ། །

<sup>112</sup> *gsing* BCD; *bsing* A.

<sup>113</sup> *lhor* ACD; *lho* B.

<sup>114</sup> *tu* BCD; *du* A.

<sup>115</sup> *bra* BCD; *pra* A.

The surroundings are full of vegetables, such as nettles and leeks.  
 The alpine pastures have been decorated with bunches of flowers.  
 Looking on the south face in winter, [I see] light rays converge.  
 In the spring and summer, [it] is cool, and [my] knowledge  
     is clear.

At all times, [I] am joyful and relaxed.

There is no clamor of the distant towns, and [my life] is easy thanks  
     to its absence.

In such a wondrous place as that,

There is a rock cave with very beautiful colors, that has naturally  
     come to be.

In that cave, because I, Skäl Idan ras pa,

Have covered [my] body with maroon, [I] am happy.

Because [I] have sung a sonorous song, [I] am happy.

Because [I] have lived without mental suffering, [I] am happy.

Because by day [I] have performed whatever religious practices  
     possible, [I] am happy.

Because in the night [I] have lain happily on [my] side, [I] am happy.

Because [I]’ve not been put in a stocks by a greatly powerful lord, [I]  
     am happy.

Because [I] have no need for the care of people around me or  
     kinsmen, [I] am happy.

Because [I] have made friends with both marmots and mice, [I] am  
     happy.

Because [I] have read many stories of spiritual realization, [I] am  
     happy.

Because [I] have run about on mountain peaks several times, [I] am  
     happy.

Because [I] have stayed most of the time at the site of [my] bed, [I]  
     am happy.

Because daily [I] am free from hunger and thirst, [I] am happy.

Because for a long time [I] have focused single-mindedly on  
     religion, [I] am happy.

Because [I] have preserved as much as possible [my] vows [and]  
     promises, [I] am happy.

ཚེས་ཐུན་བྱག་ནྟལ་འབྱོར་བཟླགས་པས་བདེ། །

སྤྱན་གྱིར་ཁྲག་ཁྲིར་བྱས་པས་བདེ། །

སྟུ་བདེ་བ་བཅུ་བྱག་འདི་སྒངས་པས། །

སྤྱིར་ཁམས་གསུམ་སེམས་ཅན་བདེ་བ་དང་། །

སྒྲིས་ཚེས་མཇེད་སྒྲིས་བྱ་ཀླན་བདེར་ཤོག །

ཅེས་པ་རོང་པོའི་<sup>116</sup>སྐལ་ལྷན་རས་པས་སྦྱར་བའོ། ། ། །

<sup>116</sup> *bo'i* BCD; *po'i* A.



Because [I] have read the *Chos thun drug rnal 'byor*, [I] am  
happy.

Because [I] have made gifts, holding back neither flesh nor blood,  
[I] am happy.

Because [I] sang this song of the sixteen happinesses,  
In general may sentient beings of the three realms  
And in particular all humans who practice religion be happy.

*Skal ldan of Rong bo composed what is cited above.*

VII-17, pp. 160-61/ 142-43

དོན་པ་བྱི་ཁྱི་ནི་སླེབས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་། །  
ཤ་བ་སྒྲུག་པོ་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
རྩ་རི་མཐོན་པོ་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

ང་རྒྱལ་སིང་གི་ནི་སླེབས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་། །  
ཡོན་ཏན་རི་བོང་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
ཁེངས་<sup>117</sup>སྒྱུངས་<sup>119</sup>བྲག་ཕུག་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

བྱ་ཁ་སྒྲིག་ཅན་ནི་སླེབས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་། །  
འདབ་ཆགས་བྱེའུ་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
ཤིང་ནགས་འབྲུག་པོ་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

དཀོར་ཟས་མི་ལྷེ་ནི་སླེབས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་། །  
དག་སེམས་རྩ་ཤིང་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
སློབ་སྦྱང་འབྲུག་པ་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

བྱི་ལ་གཡོ་ཅན་ནི་སླེབས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་། །  
རྒྱན་མོ་བྱི་བ་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
བྲག་པ་ཕུག་རིང་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

ལྷག་ཉྱུག་ཁ་བ་ནི་སླེབས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་། །  
དད་པ་གཅིར་བྱ་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
ལྷགས་བཤད་རྩ་ནང་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

<sup>117</sup> *slebs* CD; *sleb* AB. I have chosen *slebs*, the perfective of *sleb*, to coincide with the perfective tense of the auxiliary that follows it. This recurring pair of spelling variants between the editions occurs in the first line of each stanza throughout the poem. I will mark the existence of variants only in this stanza.

<sup>118</sup> *khengs* BCD; *kheng* A.

<sup>119</sup> *skyungs* ACD; *bskyungs* B.

VII-17, pp. 160-61/ 142-43

The hunter, leading a dog, arrived.  
The place of refuge for the dark bay stag,  
A high clay mountain, was good.

The proud lion arrived.  
The place of refuge for the rabbit of qualities,  
A cave for leaving arrogance behind, was good.

The sinful bird of prey arrived.  
The place of refuge for the little bird,  
A deep forest, was good.

The flame of the fire of wealth and food arrived.  
The place of refuge for the grass and trees of virtuous mind,  
A glacier for cleansing obscurations, was good.

The deceitful cat arrived.  
The place of refuge for the mouse-thief,  
The innermost part of a hole, was good.

The snow of false knowledge arrived.  
The place of refuge for naked faith,  
Within the grass of eloquent speech, was good.

ཉ་བ་བྱ་ཐོགས་ནི་སྤྱབས་བྱང་། །  
 ཉ་མོ་སྤྱང་<sup>120</sup>སྤྱིས་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
 གཏིང་ཟབ་ཆུ་ཆེན་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

སྤྱ་དཀར་སོ་བ་ནི་སྤྱབས་བྱང་། །  
 སྤྱང་གན་དབང་ཆུང་ནི་འབྲོས་ས། །  
 རི་ཁྲོད་དཔེན་པ་ནི་བཟང་ངོ། །

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཆོས་སྐྱར་བའོ། ། ། །

<sup>120</sup> *sgong* CD; *rgod* A; *rgong* B.

The net of a fisherman arrived.  
The place of refuge for the spawning of the fish,  
Deep, vast water, was good.

The white haired spy arrived.  
The place of refuge for the weak old beggar,  
A solitary mountain retreat, was good.

*This also was composed by Skäl dan rgya mtsho.*

VII-19, pp. 162-63/ 144-45

ཆེ་སངས་ཀྱི་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་པའི། །  
མགོན་ལྷོ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་དེ། །  
དུས་ལན་རེ་དྲན་ཡང་དད་པ་གཡོ། །  
ཕ་ཐུགས་ཆེ་མ་རྒྱུད་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྟོབས། །

ལྷ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་གནས་པའི་མཚོ། །  
མཚོ་སྟོན་པོ་ཁྱིའི་པོ་རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ། །  
དུས་དགུན་གསུམ་དར་དྭྭར་ན་<sup>121</sup>བཟའ་གསོལ། །

དར་དྭྭར་པོའི་ལམ་དེ་ལྷ་ཡི་ལམ། །  
ལྷ་མ་རྟུ་དེ་བའང་དེ་ན་བཞུགས། །

དཔལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་པུས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བསྟུབས། །  
སྟོན་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་མང་པོ་དེ་རུ་བཞུགས། །  
ཁོང་འབྱོར་ལྷན་ཡོན་བདག་དེ་ན་མང། །

རྒྱ་ཁྱིའི་འབྲུམ་འདུས་པ་མཚོ་དེ་ཡིན། །  
བྱ་སྟོན་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་སྟན་མཚོ་དེར་སྟོན།<sup>123</sup> །  
སྟབས་རྒྱ་གཉེར་གྱི་རེ་མོ་ཡང་མཚོ་དེར་གཡོ། །  
འཕྲལ་ཉམས་དགའི་གཟེགས་མོ་དེ་རུ་ཡོད། །  
ཉ་གསེར་མིག་གིས་ཅེ་འཇོ་དེ་རུ་སྟོན། །  
གྲོགས་རེ་དྲུགས་ཚོ་བག་ཕེབས་དེ་རུ་ཅེ། །

ལྷ་དྭྭར་སྟོན་ལ་དགའ་བ་དེ་ན་མང། །  
ཆོས་རྒྱས་ན་ཆོས་ལྷན་གྱི་འཕྲིན་ལས་བསྟུབ།<sup>124</sup> །

<sup>121</sup> *shor*, against all readings of ABCD, which have *gshog* AB, *shog* CD, at the advice of the Rong bo scholar, Blo bzang chos grags.

<sup>122</sup> *na* BCD; *nab* A.

<sup>123</sup> *sgrog* AB; *sgrogs* CD.

<sup>124</sup> *bsgrub* ACD; *sgrub* B.

VII-19, pp. 162-63/ 144-45

Although time after time [I] remembered Blo bzang bstan pa'i  
rgyal mtshan,<sup>125</sup>

The lord, protector who is indivisible from all the lord Buddhas,  
[It still] moves [my] faith.

Bless [me] father, with no small amount of compassion.

The lake in which the Naga Bodhisattva lives,  
Mtsho sngon po, Khri shor rgyal mo,  
Put on the white silk clothes [of] the three winter months of  
the year.

[On] that path of white silk, the path of deities,  
The deity Ma hā de ba also dwells.

Glorious O rgyan Padma blessed [it].  
Previously, many siddhas dwelt there.  
There were many wealthy patrons there.

It is the lake which has gathered one billion waters.  
Pleasing voices of various birds call out at the lake.  
Patterns of waves also move on that lake.  
Delightful shows suddenly [appear there].  
Fish there display beautiful games.  
Friendly wild animals play there happily.

There are many deities there who take delight in carrying out  
good purposes.  
If [they] are capable [with respect to] religion, deeds of the pious  
are carried out.

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<sup>125</sup> Chos pa Rin po che

སྤྱིན་སྒྲུལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་དང་། །  
 རྩེ་གཟིམས་<sup>126</sup>ཁང་གོང་གི་སྤྱུལ་བའི་སྒྲུ། །  
 དཔལ་སྤོང་སྒྲོར་སྤྱུལ་བའི་སྒྲུ་སོགས་དང་། །  
 སྒྲོས་རྩེ་འཆང་དེབང་མི་གཟུགས་ཅན། །  
 མགོན་བསྐྱན་འཛིན་སྟོབས་བཟང་སྒྲུ་མཚོ་དེ། །  
 དུས་ཡུན་རིང་བཞུགས་ཤིང་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་<sup>127</sup>པ། །  
 དེ་ལན་རེ་དྲན་ཡང་དད་པ་གཡོ། །

མགོན་དེ་ཉིད་བཞུགས་པའི་མཚོ་སྤྱིན་འགྲུམ། །  
 ས་བྱིན་ཆགས་བཏྲ་ཤིས་ཤུན་ཚོགས་དེ། །  
 ཡུལ་དེ་ཡི་བཅུད་བསྐྱུས་གཡང་གི་མཚོ། །  
 རི་ཉམས་དགའ་ནགས་ཚལ་བཅས་པ་སོགས། །  
 ཡུལ་དེ་འདྲ་བསྐྱེན་ན་དགའ་བ་ལ། །

དབྱིངས་སྤྱོས་བྲལ་བའ་མའི་ཉམས་ལེན་དང་། །  
 ལམ་བྱམས་དང་སྤྱིང་རྩེ་གོ་བྱོན་ནས། །  
 དག་ཉོན་མོངས་ཀྱི་དཔུང་དང་འཐབ་རྩུས་པའི། །  
 དཔའ་བོ་ཁྲོམ་ཤོག་<sup>128</sup>ཅིག་ལ་ཡིད་སྤོན་བྱེད། །

ཉ་ཉ་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཚས་བརྒྱད་འདི་ལ་ལྷག་པ་སྟོན། །  
 ཞ་ལ་ལ་ཤོམ་ར་དེ་འདྲ་ཞིག་<sup>129</sup>བྱང་ན་སྟེད་པ་ལ། །

ཞིས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་སྒྲུ་མཚོས་ཆུ་ཕོ་སྟག་ལོའི་དགུན་དུས་སུ་བྲིས་པའོ། ། །  
 |

<sup>126</sup> *gzims* ACD; *gzim* B.

<sup>127</sup> *brlabs* BCD; *rlabs* A. I have chosen *byin brlabs pa*. Since *byin* is verbalized, I have chosen the pf. stem form to follow it.

<sup>128</sup> *shog* CD; *gshog* AB.

<sup>129</sup> *zhig* BCD; *cig* A.



Previously the incarnations of the mighty Victorious One, the All-  
 knowing One,<sup>130</sup> and  
 Of the lords, incarnations of the Upper Sleeping Quarters,<sup>131</sup>  
 And the incarnations of Stong skor [Hutughtu]<sup>132</sup> and so on, [and],  
 In particular the mighty Rdo rje 'chang with a human body,  
 The protector Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho,  
 Stayed [there] for a long time and although time after time [I]  
 recollect [his] blessing,  
 [It still] moves [my] faith.

As for the side of Mtsho sngon, where that very protector dwelt,  
 That blessed, perfect place,  
 The prosperous lake which has collected the nectar of the area,  
 Delightful mountains, together with forests, and so on,  
 If [one] relies on a place like that, [he] will rejoice.

[I] make offerings to the hero  
 Who was able to fight with a host of common enemies,  
 Having donned [the armor] of an experience of the deep sphere that  
 is free from conceptualization  
 And an understanding of the path of love and compassion.

Ha ha! Show [your] back to these eight worldly *dharmas*.  
 A la la! When an extravagance like that arises, [I] am happy!

*This also was written by Skäl dan rgya mtsho, in the winter of 1662.*

<sup>130</sup> This refers to the Dalai Lama lineage.

<sup>131</sup> This refers to an incarnational line of 'Bras spungs monastery, the counterpart of the Dalai Lama lineage.

<sup>132</sup> Stong skor [= Stong 'khor] Hutughtu/ Sprul sku was an important incarnate at Stong 'khor monastery near the Kokonor.

## VIII-26, pp. 194/ 171-72

གཉུག་མ་འོད་གསལ་གཤིས་ལ། །  
 བཟང་ངན་སྒྲིས་པ་མིན་དོ། །  
 ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི། །

སྒྲིང་ཉིད་རིགས་པས་དཔྱད་ན། །  
 བདག་འཛིན་ཁོ་ཡང་ཉི་ཉི། །  
 ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི<sup>133</sup>། །

བདེན་འཛིན་སྒྲིང་པས་བཀག་ན། །  
 སུ་འཁོར་གང་འཁོར་ཉ་ཉ། །  
 ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི<sup>134</sup>། །

འཁོར་མཁན་མིན་ན་ལས་འབྲས<sup>135</sup>། །  
 རྣམ་གཞག་ཇི་ལྟར་འཛིག་ལགས། །  
 ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི<sup>136</sup>། །

འོན་ཀྱང་སྒྲིང་སྒྲིང་ངང་ལས། །  
 བ་སྟད་ཉིན་འབྲེལ་ཞིག་ཡ། །  
 ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི<sup>137</sup>། །

ཨ་ལི་<sup>138</sup>ཤིས་ན་དགའ་བ། །  
 སྒྲིང་ཉིད་ཡིན་ན་ཨ་ལི<sup>139</sup>། །

ཨ་ལི་བསྐྱེན་ན་དགའ་བ། །  
 སྤྲ་མ་ཡིན་ན་ཨ་ལི། །

<sup>133</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>134</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>135</sup> *'bras* ABD; *'bral* C.

<sup>136</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>137</sup> *a li lo mo a li* CD; *a li* AB.

<sup>138</sup> *li* BCD; *yi* A.

<sup>139</sup> *li* BCD; *yi* A.

VIII-26, pp. 194/ 171-72

As for the natural disposition of primordial, clear light,  
There is no generation of good and bad.  
A li lo mo a li.

If [one] examines emptiness through reasoning,  
Clinging to self, itself also—heeee heeee!  
A li lo mo a li.

If clinging to truth is refuted through emptiness,  
Who goes around? What goes around? Ha ha!  
A li lo mo a li.

If there is no agent going around,  
How are [we] to put forth an exposition of karma and [its] result?  
A li lo mo a li.

Nonetheless, from the state of the luminous void  
Transactionally arrange the interdependent origination. Hey you!  
A li lo mo a li.

A li. If [you] understand [it],  
Happiness is emptiness. A li.

A li. If you rely on him,  
Happiness is the lama. A li.

ཨ་ལི་<sup>140</sup> བསྐྱང་<sup>141</sup> ན་དགའ་བ། །  
སྒྲུལ་པ་ཡིན་ནི་ཨ་ལི། །

ཨ་ལི་བསྐྱང་ན་དགའ་བ། །  
རི་ཁྲོད་ཡིན་ནི་ཨ་ལི། །

ཨ་ལི་ཀྱ་<sup>142</sup> ལི་སྤྱར་ན། །  
སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྱར་དུ་འཕྱོང་བོ། །

ཨ་ལི་དེ་ཉིད་མི་ཤེས། །  
འཁོར་བར་སྤྱུ་ནས་འཁོར་ཡེའ་<sup>143</sup> །

ཨ་ལི་ཀྱ་ལི་<sup>144</sup> བཞུས་པས། །  
ངག་ལ་རྒྱས་པ་སྤྱིད་ཡ། །

ཨ་ལི་འདི་འདྲའི་གདམས་ངག་  
ཤེས་ན་གདམས་<sup>145</sup> པའི་མཚལ་ཡིན། །

ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ་ཨ་ལི། །  
ཨ་ཨ་ཨ་ལི་ལོ་མོ། །

ཞིས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་སྤྱར་བའོ། ། ། །

<sup>140</sup> *a li* BCD; *ā yi* A.

<sup>141</sup> *bsrung* CD; *gsung* AB.

<sup>142</sup> *kā* BCD; *ka* A.

<sup>143</sup> *ya* CD; *la* AB.

<sup>144</sup> *li* CD; *li* AB.

<sup>145</sup> *gdams* B; *gdam* ACD.

A li. If you will guard it,  
Happiness is the vow. A li.

A li. If you remain in it,  
Happiness is the mountain hermitage. A li.

A li. If [you] join the vowels and consonants,  
[You] will quickly obtain Buddhahood.

Not knowing the nature of vowels,  
[You] will go around samsara on the edge. Hey you!

A li. By having recited the vowels and consonants,  
[You] will generate ability for [your] speech. Hey you!

A li. If [you] understand such advice as this,  
It is the best of advice.

A li lo mo a li,  
A a a li lo mo.

*This also was composed by Skäl Idan.*

X-9, pp. 223-24/ 196-97

ན་མོ་གུ་རུ། །

འཕགས་པ་ལྟ་སྒྲུབ་ནི་ཡབ་སྲས། །  
མཉམ་མེད་སྒྲིབ་བཟང་གི་གྲགས་པ། །  
སྒྲིབ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ནི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། །  
གསོལ་བ་སྦྱང་ནས་རང་འདེབས་སོ། །  
ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་བྲོངས་ཤིག །

རང་སེམས་སྒྲིབ་མེད་ཀྱི་གློད་པོ། །  
ཆོས་དབྱིངས་སུ་འཕྱར་སྦྱང་འདོད་ཀྱང་། །  
བདག་འཛིན་གྱི་རྩི་<sup>146</sup> ཐག་ཁྲ་བོས། །  
དབང་མེད་དུ་འཁོར་བར་བཅིངས་སོ། །

ཟབ་ལམ་གྱི་མཚན་ཆ་རྣམས་པོས། །  
བདག་འཛིན་འདི་མྱར་དུ་སྒྲུལ་ཅིག །  
ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་བྲོངས་ཤིག །

སྒྲིབ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ནི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། །  
རང་སེམས་ཐར་འདོད་ཀྱི་བྱང་བ། །  
ཐར་ལམ་དུ་འཕྱར་སྦྱང་འདོད་ཀྱང་། །  
ཆོས་བརྒྱད་སྤང་ཅི་ཡི་དགའ་སྒྲོན། །  
རྩིད་བཀྱར་དོན་གཉེར་ལ་ཆགས་སོ། །

འདོད་ཡོན་བཅན་དག་ཏུ་ཤེས་པའི། །  
གདམས་ངག་ཟབ་མོ་ནི་སྒྲུལ་ཅིག །  
ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་བྲོངས་ཤིག །

<sup>146</sup> *rmyi* BD; *sny* AC.

X-9, pp. 223-24/ 196-97

[I] prostrate myself before the lama.

Noble Nāgārjuna and disciples,  
The unrivalled Blo bzang grags pa, [and]  
Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,<sup>147</sup>  
I myself beseech [you] from [my] heart.  
Please guide [me] with the iron hook of compassion.

Although the eagle<sup>148</sup> of my nonconceptual mind  
Longs to fly to the *dharmadhātu*,  
[It] has been helplessly bound all around,  
By the multicolored net of egocentricity.

Please quickly cut this egocentricity  
With the sharp blade of the deep path.  
Please guide [me] with the iron hook of compassion.

Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,  
Although the liberation-wanting bee of [my] own mind  
Longs to fly on the path of liberation,  
[I] am attached to the feast of honey, the eight [worldly]  
*dharmas*, [and]  
To seeking the benefits of obtaining wealth and goods and  
giving reverence.

Please bestow a deep oral instruction  
Through which [I can] apprehend the poison of demons, the quality  
of desire.  
Please lead [me] with the iron hook of compassion.

<sup>147</sup> The first Paṇ chen lama.

<sup>148</sup> I have followed M. Ricard's example in translating *rgod* as eagle rather than vulture, because of the negative connotation of the vulture in the West.

སློ་བཟང་ཚས་ཀྱི་ནི་བྱལ་མཚན། །  
 འགྲོ་དྲུག་པ་མ་ཡི་དོན་དུ། །  
 སངས་རྒྱས་འཕྲོ་བ་<sup>149</sup>འདོད་ལ་ཞུགས་ཀྱང་། །  
 ཉན་ཐོས་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་བཅེངས་སོ། །

གཞན་པན་ཐུགས་ཐེ་ཡི་ལྷགས་ཀྱས། །  
 ཐོག་ཆེན་ལམ་བཟང་ལ་རྟོངས་ཤིག །  
 ཐུགས་ཐེ་ཡི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་བྱངས་ཤིག །

སློ་བཟང་ཚས་ཀྱི་ནི་བྱལ་མཚན། །  
 མི་རྟག་སྤྱུ་མ་ཡི་ཉེ་ར་རྒྱས། །  
 ཕྱོགས་མེད་དུ་སྦྱོན་པར་འདོད་ཀྱང་། །  
 ལན་དང་ནམ་སྒྲིན་ལ་རེ་བས། །  
 ཐོག་དམན་རང་འདོད་ཀྱིས་བཅེངས་སོ། །

འདོད་ཡོན་སྤྱུ་མ་རུ་ཤས་པའི། །  
 ཉམས་ལེན་རང་བྱུང་ལ་སྦྱུལ་ཅིག །  
 ཐུགས་ཐེ་ཡི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་བྱངས་ཤིག །

སློ་བཟང་ཚས་ཀྱི་ནི་བྱལ་མཚན། །  
 ལུས་སེམས་སོ་སོ་རུ་འབྲལ་བའི། །  
 མི་རྟག་འཆི་བ་དེ་བྱང་ཆོ། །  
 ཆོས་མེད་བྱ་བལ་ངའི་<sup>150</sup>མདུན་དུ། །  
 འཇམ་དབྱངས་སྤྲུམ་ཁྱེད་བྱོན་ནས། །  
 རང་སེམས་འདྲ་ཀྱི་ནི་ཐོག་ལ། །  
 ཐུགས་ཐེ་ཡི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ནི་རྟོན་པོས། །  
 ཁྱེད་ཐུགས་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་ངང་དུ། །  
 དབྱེ་མེད་<sup>151</sup>བྱིན་གྱིས་ནི་སློབས་ཤིག །

<sup>149</sup> 'thob BCD; thar A.

<sup>150</sup> nga'i AB; ba'i CD.

<sup>151</sup> med CD; med du AB.



Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,  
 Although [I] have embarked upon desiring to obtain Buddhahood  
 For the benefit of the six [levels of] sentient beings, [my] fathers  
 and mothers,  
 [I] have been bound by a Śravaka commitment to enlightenment.

Please lead [me] on the good Mahāyāna path  
 With the iron hook of compassion [for] the benefit of others.  
 Please lead [me] with the iron hook of compassion.

Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,  
 Although [I] want to impartially give  
 Wealth and goods, impermanent and illusory,  
 Because of hopes of retribution and ripening,  
 [I] have been bound by my own desires for the lower path.

Please bestow practical knowledge on [my] own mental disposition  
 Which apprehends the illusion of the quality of desire.  
 Please lead [me] with the iron hook of compassion.

Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan,  
 When the time of transitory death has come  
 Which will separate [me] into a distinct body and a distinct mind,  
 You, lama [who is like] Mañjughoṣa, having arrived  
 Before me, without religion [and] bereft of action,  
 Please bless [me] as inseparable from you in the manner of bliss  
 By breaking into the *thig le* of the light of [my] own mind  
 [With your] iron hook of compassion.

བསྐྱེ་མེད་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་ནི་དམ་པ། །  
 སྐྱ་མ་བྱིད་ཉིད་ལས་མེད་དོ། །  
 འདི་ཕྱི་བར་དོ་ཡི་སྐྱེལ་མ།<sup>152</sup> །  
 སངས་བྱུང་བྱིད་ཉིད་ལས་མེད་དོ། །

ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ནི་ཚོན་པོ། །  
 དད་པའི་མགལ་ལོང་ལ་ཐོབ་ཅིག །

སྐྱ་མ་བྱིད་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་གྱུར་ཅིག །

ཅེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོས་སྐྱར་བའོ། ། ། །

<sup>152</sup> *skyel ma* ABD; *skye lam* C.

Holy lama of infallible refuge,  
There is nothing other than yourself.  
As escort of this life, later lives, and the *bar do*,  
There is no Buddha other than yourself.

Sharp iron hook of compassion,  
Please receive and obtain [a song from] a faithful throat.

May [I] become inseparable from you, lama.

*This also was composed by Skäl dan rgya mtsho.*

## APPENDIX B

### YAB RJE SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S LIFE IN BRIEF

Skal ldan rgya mtsho was born in 1607 in Reb gong gser ljongs to his father Rong bo Mkhar 'bum rgyal and mother Nag yu za Snying mo.<sup>1</sup> When he was four or five, he began studying reading and writing with his older half-brother, Chos pa Rin po che, and also was ordained by him at the age of ten.<sup>2</sup> Chos pa Rin po che, who was twenty-six years his senior,<sup>3</sup> would come to influence him in many ways.

In 1617, Chos pa Rin po che continued to emphasize a solid education for his younger brother by taking him to Dbus, in Central Tibet. At Dga' ldan monastery, he entrusted the monks with the formal education of Skal ldan rgya mtsho. Skal ldan rgya mtsho studied in Byang rtse Thos bsam gling, a college of Dga' ldan Monastery founded by Tsong kha pa, for nine years, where he focused on the five books<sup>4</sup> and gained proficiency in scriptures and logic.<sup>5</sup> He also attended the summer session of 1626 at Gsang phu, where he did an examination cycle and concentrated on the *Prajñāpāramitā*.<sup>6</sup>

In Dbus, he received many empowerments, textual transmissions, and tantric rituals from Blo gros rgya mtsho and Tshul khri chos 'phel, his main teachers at Dga' ldan.<sup>7</sup> He also heard many teachings from many scholars and siddhas, such as Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho, lamas of Rtse shar, the retired Dga' ldan khri pa and the first Paṇ chen lama.<sup>8</sup> In 1626, in front of the statue of Śākyamuni

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<sup>1</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 3; Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), 1b.3-4.

<sup>4</sup> The term “five books (*po ti lnga*)” refers to the five principal subjects taught in Dge lugs pa monasteries: *Pramāṇa* (*tshad ma*), *Prajñāpāramitā* (*phar phyin*), *Madhyamaka* (*dbu ma*), *Vinaya* (*'dul ba*) and *Abhidharma* (*mngon pa*).

<sup>5</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 6-9.

<sup>6</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 8, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 13.

Buddha in the Jo khang, he was fully ordained by the Paṇ chen Lama.<sup>9</sup> With regard to this ceremony, Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote, "[My] whole spiritual continuum was satiated by the nectar of the law."<sup>10</sup>

In 1627 when he was twenty-one, ten years after having left his homeland, he returned to Amdo where he was reunited with Chos pa Rin po che. Soon thereafter, Ko'u ba Chos rgya mtsho, a lama who was to become very important to Skal ldan rgya mtsho, was invited to the nearby hermitage of Bkra shis 'khyil. There, Ko'u ba Chos rgya mtsho gave numerous cycles of instructions and textual transmissions of Mahāyāna texts, such as explanations of the big and small *Byang chub lam rim*<sup>11</sup> and tantric initiations, to the two brothers together with several mountain hermits.<sup>12</sup> This place of solitary retreat was to become the principal home of Skal ldan rgya mtsho later in life.

Another great lama, Sde pa Chos rje Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho, came to Amdo from Dbus and gave numerous teachings at Sku 'bum.<sup>13</sup> The two brothers went there and elsewhere to study with numerous masters who lived in Amdo or came through, such as the fifth Dalai Lama on his way to China in 1652.<sup>14</sup> About this first phase of his life, Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote that he had requested explanations of the treatises, instruction, initiations, textual transmissions and tantric rituals from thirty-three holy scholars and siddhas.<sup>15</sup>

In the next phase of his life, Skal ldan rgya mtsho aimed at being impartial towards studying and thinking about sutras and tantras.<sup>16</sup> His aim from age twenty-one on was essentially to do tantric practices in solitary places.<sup>17</sup> Chos pa Rin po che, however, discouraged him from this for a while, even though he himself was

<sup>9</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 12.

<sup>11</sup> These are the *Lam rim chen mo* (Peking bstan 'gyur, from p. 1, leaf 1, line 136a8) and the *Lam rim chung ba* (Peking bstan 'gyur, from p. 182, leaf 5, line 323a7), both by Tsong kha pa. See *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition: Catalogue & Index* (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1962), 853-54.

<sup>12</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 13-14.

<sup>13</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 14-16.

<sup>14</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 16-17, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 19-20.

<sup>17</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 20.

living that way, and requested that his younger brother found a philosophical college at Rong bo monastery in Reb gong.<sup>18</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho founded the school of Thos bsam gling<sup>19</sup> in 1630, when he was twenty-four,<sup>20</sup> and it was financed through patrons and teaching. Eighteen years later in 1648, he founded a seminary for tantric studies at the hermitage Bkra shis 'khyil,<sup>21</sup> whose congregation hall he called "Bka' gdams pho brang."<sup>22</sup> Here instruction in both scriptures and rituals evoking protective deities, initiations, textual transmissions and tantric rituals was given to mountain hermits, and practices such as year-long retreats and month-long retreats were established for them.<sup>23</sup> The number of mountain hermits studying there increased, later reaching as many as two hundred.<sup>24</sup>

In spite of the pressures Skal ldan rgya mtsho felt during the thirty-nine years that he took care of the religious college in Rong bo and the many years that he took care of the seminary for tantric studies at Bkra shis 'khyil,<sup>25</sup> he was also able to spend time meditating in mountain hermitages, and he sang *mgur* melodies in many

<sup>18</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 21-22.

<sup>19</sup> Thos bsam gling was also the name of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's school at Dga' ldan monastery, and after which the school at Rong bo was apparently named.

<sup>20</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 66.

<sup>21</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 66.

<sup>22</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 33.

<sup>23</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 31.

<sup>24</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 31.

<sup>25</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 66. Here is my translation of the account of the founding and development of Bkra shis 'khyil, given in Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 31. Skal ldan rgya mtsho can be identified as the founder, since he was 42 in the year 1648:

...in the year 1648 called *kun 'dzin*, having reached the age of 42 [Skal ldan rgya mtsho] founded newly the seminary for Tantric studies (*sgrub sde*) of Bkra shis 'khyil and the mountain hermits also gradually increased, and later there even arose an assemblage of more than two hundred monks who had the three teachings.

For this, see Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 31.

of these places. He practiced in the eight holy places of Reb gong,<sup>26</sup> in many solitary places in the area of the Yellow River such as the mountain Dan tig, Yang tig, and in one hundred caves such as A chung gnam rdzong, Rong bo mar nang gi brag dkar and Gnya' gong brag dkar.<sup>27</sup>

After Chos pa Rin po che's death in 1659 when Skal ldan rgya mtsho was 53, he traveled around Amdo to give teachings in Sku 'bum, Bis mdo, Rdo bis, Shel dgon and so on, and to visit patrons.<sup>28</sup> He attracted disciples from a large area<sup>29</sup> to the south as far as Mdzo dge and to the north as far as Dpa' ris.<sup>30</sup> He became the personal

<sup>26</sup> These are 'Bal gyi mkhar gong la kha, Stag lung shel gyi ri bo, Spyang phu'i lha brag dkar po, 'Dam bu'i brag dkar gser khang, Mtha' smug rdzong dmar dgon pa, Shel del chos kyi pho brang, Skya sgang gnas mo'i bang ba or Do ri dpal gyi ri rtse, Gong mo'i gur khang brag rtse, and Bcu gcig she. See Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar*, 22, n. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 20.

<sup>28</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 45, 51.

<sup>29</sup> Maps of Amdo are found in Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho* (*A History of the Spread of Buddhism in Amdo*), ed. Yon tan rgya mtsho (Delhi: A lags 'Jam dbyangs and Wa shul Skal bzang Bstan pa, 1974); Turrell V. Wylie, trans., *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad*, Serie Orientale Roma 25 (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962); J. F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma chhen Range and Adjacent Regions: A Monographic Study*, Serie Orientale Roma 12 (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956), maps 2 and 3; George N. Roerich, *Le parler de l'Amdo: Étude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet*, Serie Orientale Roma 18 (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958); and Ricard, trans., *The Life of Shabkar*, map 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 98. Mdzo dge is south southeast of Rong bo, and appears on a variety of maps of the Amdo region. Using the scale on Rock's map, it looks as if Mdzo dge is about 70 miles south southeast of Rong bo. Dpa' ris seems to be about the same distance north northeast of Rong bo, judging from Wylie's map. That would make the distance over which Skal ldan rgya mtsho had influence about one hundred and forty miles long. This is considerable, considering that transportation in this area was very difficult, mountain passes and deep valleys being the usual terrain.

lama of both the Tümed Mongol governor, Qoloči<sup>31</sup> and another great Mongol governor, the *Ju nang*, who patronized his school.<sup>32</sup>

From 1670 on, for the remaining seven years of his life, he remained principally in Bkra shis 'khyil, where he wrote, spent large portions of his time in retreat, and gave teachings to mountain hermits.<sup>33</sup> By the time of his death in 1677,<sup>34</sup> he had many hundreds of disciples.<sup>35</sup> Many of them, in turn, founded religious colleges and

<sup>31</sup> This Tümed governor, Qoloči (= 'Kho lo che), has the same name as the most important Tümed lord in the history of the tribe in the Kokonor, the great leader of the Tümed, Altan Khan's grand nephew. According to the biography of the third Dalai Lama, Qoloči was appointed ruler of the Kokonor region in 1579 as a result of his consultation with the Dalai Lama for the purposes of facilitating the movement of Dge lugs pa monks between China and Tibet, and so on. Qoloči led large numbers of his tribe to settle in the Kokonor, where he was the first great leader. He sided with the Dge lugs pa in their war against the Gtsang in Central Tibet and was defeated by the Coytu in the Kokonor in 1634. See Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, Serie Orientale Roma 40 (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 65, 105 n. 67, 111; and Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor, *The Annals of Kokonor*, 29, 32 and 58 n. 13. For more bibliographic information about Qoloči, see Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor, *The Annals of Kokonor*, 58 n. 13.

The patron of Skal ldan rgya mtsho was either this same leader, now quite elderly, or someone in his line. Unfortunately, none of the sources I have access to give the year he died.

<sup>32</sup> Tibetan: *ju nang*, Mongol: *jinong*, a loanword from Chinese *jun wang*. It originally meant prince of the second rank, but by Skal ldan rgya mtsho's time the meaning had become blurred and it was just an honorary title that could be given to various people at the same time. H. Serruys states that the title *jinong* probably first appeared in the latter part of the sixteenth century. While other authors (Franke, Hambis, and Schmidt) have claimed that *jinong* came from the Chinese *qin wang*, prince of the first rank, Serruys gives his reasons for believing that *jun wang* is the correct Chinese title from which the Mongols formed their loanword. Henry Serruys, "Jinong: chun wang or ch'in wang," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 30 (1976): 199-208. For more references to *jinong*, see Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor, *The Annals of Kokonor*, 84 n. 160; William Frederick Meyers, *The Chinese Government: A Manual of Chinese Titles*, 3rd ed. (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966), 3 n. 20; Henry Serruys, *Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan-Qan* ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958), 12 n. 1; and Henry Serruys, *The Tribute System and Diplomatic Missions (1400-1600)*, vol. 2 of *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming*, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 14 (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1967), 460 n. 52.

<sup>33</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 66.

<sup>34</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 127.

<sup>35</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 31.



seminaries for tantric studies in their own regions.<sup>36</sup> Skäl ldan rgya mtsho is widely credited with spreading the Dge lugs pa tradition in Amdo.

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<sup>36</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl ldan gyi rnam thar*, 95-98.

## APPENDIX C

### CONTENTS OF THE ACCOMPANYING CD OF SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S SONGS:

Track 1: Dge 'dun 'od zer, of Rong bo dgon Monastery, sings Mgur VII-7 with a large chorus of about 700 male and female villagers from Hor nag Ri gong ma and Ri zhol ma. In this song, Skal ldan rgya mtsho calls himself "the robber of Reb gong," since he is convinced that he has committed "shameless deeds" by profiting monetarily from religion. He concludes that he must go to a mountain hermitage to practice religion and cleanse his inner thoughts.

The words are in Appendix A, pp. 340-41.

(recorded at the solstice festival at Hor nag Ri gong ma, June 26, 2002 )

[3'37"]

Track 2: Rin chen byams, lay soloist of Ri gong ma, sings Mgur V-20 with a small chorus of local villagers (six men and five women). This song honors one of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's lamas, who was "more precious than the sun and the stars." He expresses extreme grief over the lama's passing away and a supplication for the lama to watch over him. He laments, "Although I live for the remainder of my life, what will I do?"

The words are on pp. 320-23.

(recorded in Rin chen byams' home in Ri gong ma, July 16, 2002)

[10'29"]

Track 3: Blo bzang, of Rong bo dgon Monastery, sings Mgur X-12 with a large male and female chorus of about a hundred and fifty villagers from Hor nag. I can only offer the first twenty-eight lines here. The song honors the lamas, scholars and practitioners who have blessed Amdo, where "glorious meadows and forests adorn the sublime land."

(recorded at the solstice festival at Hor nag Ri gong ma, June 26, 2001)

[6'07"]

Track 4: Padma dbang can, lay soloist of Bod mo, sings Mgur XIII-8 with a small chorus of five local women. I provide this excerpt of the first eight lines as a means of comparison with the next track, since the melodies are the same. This will show that this form of the melody group *gnyis skol thung bo* is performed essentially the same way in the villages of Bod mo and Ri gong ma.

(recorded in the *ma ni khang* of Bod mo, Sept. 4, 2000)

[2'06"]

Track 5: Rin chen byams sings Mgur VII-10a with a small chorus of ten local villagers. Here Skal ldan rgya mtsho sings about his despair that his behavior has become despicable during his old age in the village, and his decision to go to a solitary retreat to return to the pious behavior of his youth. "Now I'm not staying here. I'm going to a solitary retreat," he sings in a refrain that adds to the swinging nature of the song.

The words are on pp. 342-45.

(recorded in Rin chen byams' home in Ri gong ma, July 16, 2002)

[11'30"]

Track 6: Dge 'dun 'od zer sings Mgur VII-11 with a large chorus of about 700 male and female villagers from Hor nag. This *mgur* is about the great beauties of nature in a retreat of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, and his great joy about living a life of renunciation. It is structurally interesting since eighteen of the last lines end in the same syllables (...*pas bde*, because..., [I] am happy).

The words are on pp. 346-51.

(recorded at the solstice festival at Hor nag Ri gong ma, June 26, 2002 )

[7'01"]

Track 7: Padma dbang can sings Mgur XII-15 with a small chorus of five local women. Again I offer a short excerpt sung by the soloist of Bod mo as a means of comparison to the next track, since the melodies are the same.

(recorded in the *ma ni khang* of Bod mo, Sept. 4, 2000)

[1'21"]

Track 8: Sangs rgyas chos 'phel of Rong bo dgon Monastery sings Mgur III-7 with a large male and female chorus of about one hundred and fifty villagers from Hor nag. This is a “fierce supplication” to his guru for support. There is much similarity in the ways Padma dbang can and Sangs rgyas chos 'phel, a very young monk, sing this melody. This indicates that in the early stages of learning how to sing *mgur* in Rong bo dgon, the young monks sing in the same style as the lay soloists do in the villages.

(recorded at the solstice festival at Hor nag Ri gong ma, June 18, 2001)

[5'05"]

Track 9: Sangs rgyas chos 'phel sings Mgur II-2 one year after the previous track was recorded. It is a supplication to the Buddha 'Od dpag med to liberate him with his “great boat of compassion,” sung with a large male and female chorus of about seven hundred villagers from Hor nag. I offer this excerpt of the first eight lines to show how quickly a young monk's singing can develop, and as a comparison to the way an accomplished soloist of Rong bo dgon sings the same melody in the next track.

(recorded at the solstice festival at Hor nag Ri gong ma, June 25, 2002)

[2'40"]

Track 10: Dge 'dun 'od zer sings Mgur V-8 with a large chorus of about 700 male and female villagers from Hor nag. This *mgur* is about happiness, which comes not by holding on to the state for one-self but by desiring it for all beings. It is structurally interesting since every line begins with the same syllable, *bde*, which forms various compounds and other groupings with the next syllable. The meanings of these combinations often have to do with happiness or bliss. A comparison of tracks 9 and 10 illustrates the accomplished monks' frequent pattern of singing the first several cycles of a song in the same way as both a soloist from the villages and young monks would. Then the experienced monks speed up by blending fragments of the melody with a chanting style that improvises on some of its cells. Various melodies lend themselves to this form of improvisation, while others can not be sung this way.

The words are on pp. 310-11.

(recorded at the solstice festival at Hor nag Ri gong ma, June 26, 2002 )

[2'56"]

Track 11: Dge 'dun 'od zer sings *Mgur* VII-6 with a large chorus of about 700 male and female villagers from Hor nag. In this *mgur*, Skal ldan rgya mtsho states his lack of integration with the teachings he has received and his desire to go to a "pleasing solitary grove" to practice alone. Tracks 7 and 8 are in the same melody, so a comparison of the three tracks together (sung by a village soloist, a young monk and an experienced monk, respectively) again illustrates the point I made following a comparison of tracks 9 and 10.

The words are on pp. 336-39.

(recorded at the solstice festival at Hor nag Ri gong ma, June 26, 2002 )

[4'00"]

Track 12: Rin chen byams sings *Mgur* X-9 with a small male and female chorus of ten local villagers. Here Skal ldan rgya mtsho supplicates the first Paṇ chen lama to lead him "with the iron hook of compassion," both during Skal ldan rgya mtsho's life and at the point of death.

The words are on pp. 364-69.

(recorded in Rin chen byams' home in Ri gong ma, July 16, 2002)

[19'40"]

## APPENDIX D

### EXTANT VERSIONS AND CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *MGUR 'BUM*

At least by 1708, some of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur* had already been compiled. This is clear from the fact that his biographer and direct disciple, Ngag dbang bsod nams, makes frequent references to "*mgur 'bum*," and quotes from it in his biography<sup>1</sup> of his teacher. As the following tables show, all of the lines quoted in this biography also occur in extant versions of the *Mgur 'bum*:

Quotes from " <i>mgur 'bum</i> " in the biography <sup>2</sup>	<i>Mgur</i> in extant versions of the <i>Mgur 'bum</i>
p. 23	Mgur IV-1, p. 64 <sup>3</sup>
p. 24	Mgur IV-2, p. 68
p. 25	Mgur VI-2, p. 124
p. 27	Mgur VI-1, p. 122
p. 37	Mgur XII-12, p. 309
p. 54	Mgur II-4, p. 26
p. 61	Mgur X-20, p. 242
p. 65	Mgur X-1, p. 209
p. 73	Mgur IX-5, p. 202
p. 91	Mgur III-14, p. 53
p. 94	Mgur X-25, p. 248
pp. 98-99	Mgur XIII-3, p. 333
p. 105	Mgur XII-18, p. 320

The biographer does not specify that the following quotes are from "*mgur 'bum*" but merely refers to them as being from Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's "*nyams mgur*" or "*mgur*":

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<sup>1</sup> Vostrikov, who had access to a version I do not have, dates the biography to the year 1708 in *Tibetan Historical Literature*, 171 n. 501.

<sup>2</sup> Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*.

<sup>3</sup> The page numbers are in version C.

Quotes from “ <i>nyams mgur</i> ” or “ <i>mgur</i> ” in the biography	<i>Mgur</i> in extant versions of the <i>Mgur 'bum</i>
p. 55	Mgur XI-6, p. 258
p. 59	Mgur X-11, p. 226
p. 63	Mgur IX-1, p. 197
p. 63	Mgur IX-1, p. 198
p. 65 (with description only)	about Mgur X-10, pp. 224-25
p. 76	Mgur IX-4, p. 201
p. 89	Mgur XI-12, p. 268
p. 102	Mgur III-15, p. 55
pp. 102-3	Mgur XI-18, p. 276-77
p. 103	Mgur X-5, p. 218
pp. 103-4	Mgur X-21, pp. 244-45
p. 104	Mgur XIII-7, p. 341

All of the quotes from “*mgur 'bum*,” or of a “*nyams mgur*” or “*mgur*” in the biography appear in the four extant versions of the *Mgur 'bum* listed below. Therefore, it is certain that the two hundred and forty-two *mgur* that came to be printed together in 1756, or at least the core of them, were already recognized as an integral collection at least forty-eight years earlier. At present, there are at least four extant versions in Tibet:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> There was also an edition published in India in 1994, made from a copy written out by hand by A khu Khri rgan tshang, the brother of the seventh Skal ldan rgya mtsho, during the former's stay in India sometime after 1958. There are supposed to be copies of Khri rgan tshang's hand-written copy in the libraries in Dharamsala and Varanasi. I have no information on which version of the *Mgur 'bum* Khri rgan tshang's copy was based. The 1994 publication includes an introduction in Tibetan by Rab gsal, a former resident of Reb gong. He provides a concise biography of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, lists the titles in his *Collected Writings*, and discusses briefly such topics in the *Mgur 'bum* as style, themes and language. See Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Grub dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho'i mgur 'bum*, ed. Rab gsal (Varanasi: Rig pa 'byung ba'i grong khyer dpe sgrig sde tshan, 1994). I have not dealt with this version of the *Mgur 'bum* here, since I only became aware of it after finishing my critical edition.

- A) *Gsung mgur (Collected Songs of Spiritual Experience)*, carved at Rong bo monastery, Amdo, in the *me pho byi* year 1756,<sup>5</sup> and copied and published in New Delhi: A lags 'Jam dbyangs, 1977.
- B) *Gsung mgur chen mo*, volume Ca of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *Gsung 'bum*, carved at Rong bo monastery, Reb gong, Amdo in the *me yos* year 1987.<sup>6</sup>
- C) *Shar Skäl Idan rgya mtsho'i mgur 'bum*, Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994.
- D) *Yab rje bla ma Skäl Idan rgya mtsho'i mgur 'bum*, in *Yab rje bla ma Skäl Idan rgya mtsho'i Gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 1-320, Xining: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999.

All four versions contain the same number of *mgur* in the same order, no more and no less. Moreover, the order and number of the lines are the same, with only two exceptions.<sup>7</sup>

The most pronounced difference among the four versions is on the level of words and syllables. I have sought to make a critical edition for all poems used in this book by making the best choice among these versions. Occasionally I have felt it necessary to propose yet another suggestion for a syllable that does not appear in any of the extant editions. My critical edition of all material quoted in this book largely relies on common usages listed in *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen*

<sup>5</sup> In 1751 when Khri rgyan 'Jam dbyangs Dge 'dun bstan 'dzin was thirty-five, he is said to have heard the voice of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho saying, "If you put my *Mgur 'bum* onto woodblocks, benefit will come to the teaching and sentient beings." He became the editor of the undertaking, which was completed in 1756. From 1778, the woodblocks were administered by the corporation (*bla brang*) of the lineage of Khri rgyan. See *Chos kyi rgyal po yab rje skal Idan rgya mtsho'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag don Idan rin chen lnga yi do shal*, in Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), folios 8b.6-9a.4.

<sup>6</sup> The next wood carving was done in 1843, and was administered by the corporation of Rong bo Khri chen. In 1935, the seventh incarnation of Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, Blo bzang bstan 'dzin 'jigs med 'phrin las collected many donations (25, 549 in paper money) towards another printing, which was finally realized in 1987 in Rong bo. See *Chos kyi rgyal po yab rje skal Idan rgya mtsho'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag don Idan rin chen lnga yi do shal*, in Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), folios 9a.5-10b.3.

<sup>7</sup> In this regard, I have compared versions A, B and C throughout. In the A and B versions of *Mgur I-1*, one stanza is repeated twice and another stanza once; these repetitions do not occur in C or D. Hence, in A and B, *Mgur I-1* has three stanzas (twelve lines) more than in C or D. *Mgur XIII-8* has four extra lines in both A and B that are not in C or D.



*mo* (henceforth referred to as the *TTC*), and when stumped, I consulted the Rong bo monastery scholar, Blo bzang chos grags. Variants of any material quoted here will be indicated in the footnotes, with the texts identified by the abbreviations A, B, C, and D. Besides those choices in my critical edition, I have standardized all sets of *pa/ bas* and *po/ bos* according to customary orthographic rules, without listing the variants in footnotes. I use Wylie transliteration in any romanization of Tibetan script throughout.

## APPENDIX E

### A CATALOGUE OF SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S *GSUNG 'BUM (COLLECTED WRITINGS)*

#### Ka-1

title:

གྲུབ་ཆེན་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཆོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་  
ཡིན་བཞིན་དབང་གི་གྲུབ་པོ་

subject: biography of Skal ldan rgya mtsho

length: 80 folios/ vol. 1, 1-99<sup>1</sup>

colophon:

author: Bo dhi wa kentra bu nye<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I provide the lengths of each text in the woodblock and the page numbers in the bound edition (1999), respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Although the author of this work, a disciple of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, writes a Tibetanized Sanskrit translation of his name in the colophon, he is usually referred to by his Tibetan name, Byang chub Ngag dbang bsod nams (*bo dhi = byang chub, va gendra = ngag dbang, pun ya = bsod nams*). His primary title is Co ne Byang chub mi la, and his personal name is Ngag dbang bsod nams. Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas refers to him as Byang chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod nams: "...ces Byang chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod nams kyis mdzad pa'i rnam thar bsam 'phel dbang gi rgyal po las bshad la....." in *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, 307. A. I. Vostrikov also refers to the biographer as Byang chub Ngag dbang bsod nams in *Tibetan Historical Literature*, 171, fn. 501. 'Jigs med theg mchog lists him among the main disciples of Skal ldan rgya mtsho in *Rong bo dgon chen*, 190. The author of this *rnam thar* does not put his name in the text (other than in the colophon), but refers to himself as "I," "*bdag*," various times. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 87-89, 101. As I stated in Appendix D, Vostrikov dates this biography to 1708 in *Tibetan Historical Literature*, 171, fn. 501.

title:

ནལ་འགྱུར་གྱི་དབང་སྐྱུག་གློ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་  
པར་ཐར་པ་  
དང་པའི་འབྲིན་གྱིད་

subject: biography of Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (Chos pa Rin po che); these three texts deal with his life in chronological order

length: 20 folios/ vol. 1, 100-33

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

source: based on what Chos pa Rin po che said

time: the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the third *hor* month of the year *sa mo yos*,  
1639

place: the solitary forest Bkra shis 'khyil<sup>4</sup>

scribe: Thos bsam rgya mtsho<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Volume Ka of the *Gsung 'bum* includes the six biographies and the history of the spread of Buddhism in Amdo (Ka-7, Ka-5, Ka-4, Ka-6, Ka-3, Ka-2 and Ka-13) that are also found in the aforementioned Skäl Idan, *Bla ma'i rnam thar gyi rim pa* (folios 245-55, 256-65, 265-95, 395-396, 396-413, 413-55, and 455-74, respectively).

<sup>4</sup>At least twelve more texts in his *Gsung 'bum* were written at Bkra shis 'khyil (Ka-10, Ka-11, Kha-1, Kha-3.1, Ga-1.1, Ga-1.4, Ga-8, Ga-10.1, Nga-7, Nga-10, Nga-16, and Nga-19).

<sup>5</sup> The monk Thos bsam rgya mtsho was a disciple of Skal ldan rgya mtsho and the scribe of at least six texts in his *Collected Works* (Ka-8.5, Kha-7, Ga-4, Ga-11, Ga-18.4), as well as of at least one of his *mgur* (I-5).

## Ka-2.2 (from 1639 to 1659)

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

place: the solitary place Brag seng ge'i rtse

scribe: Kun dga' rgyal mtshan<sup>6</sup>

## Ka-2.3 (1659)

colophon:

subject: Chos pa Rin po che's testament at the point of death

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

scribe: Dpal 'byor lhun 'grub

## Ka-3

title:

ཆེ་བཙུན་དམ་པ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཆོའི་གསུང་ལས་<sup>7</sup>

ཆེ་བཙུན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྱི་མཆོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་གྲུབ་པ་<sup>8</sup>

subject: biography of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's lama, Chos kyi rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, also called Ko'u ba Chos rgya mtsho<sup>9</sup>

length: 20 folios/ vol. 1, 134-48

<sup>6</sup> Kun dga' rgyal mtshan was the scribe of at least four texts in the *Collected Works* (Ka-4, Nga-15.1, Nga-18). He was a mountain hermit and monk.

<sup>7</sup> Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987): *las*; Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999): no *las*. The editors thought that it was important to indicate that this work, and most of the subsequent ones, are from his *Collected Writings* (*Gsung 'bum*).

<sup>8</sup> The title of this work in Skal Idan, *Bla ma'i rnam thar gyi rim pa* is *Mkhas grub chen po ko'u ba chos rgya mtsho'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i gtam snyan*.

<sup>9</sup> Ko'u ba Chos rgya mtsho (1571–1635) was one of Skal Idan rgya mtsho's main teachers in the Amdo region, and gave many teachings at Bkra shis 'khyil and Rong bo monastery. See Ngag dbang, *Skal Idan gyi rnam thar*, 13-14, 24, 91.

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
 petitioned by: Chos pa Rin po che  
 place: the mountain hermitage Ri bo dge 'phel

#### Ka-4

title:

རོང་རྟོན་ཚས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་པོ་གྲུབ་དབང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཆོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 སེ་ར་རྩེ་བཙུན་ཚས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་པོ་མཆན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་<sup>10</sup> རྣམ་ཐར་ཆོག་ལྷག་མ་

subject: biography of Se ra Rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal  
 bzang po (1469–1544, who was an erstwhile abbot of Se ra  
 monastery) in prose

length: 14 folios/ vol. 1, 149-71

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
 source: cycles of biographies that Se ra Rje btsun's spiritual  
 son Bde legs nyi ma (b. 16 c.) gathered together<sup>11</sup>  
 place: Bsam 'grub bde ldan,<sup>12</sup> in the forest of Mkhar gong<sup>13</sup>  
 scribe: Kun dga' rgyal mtshan

#### Ka-5

title:

རོང་རྟོན་ཚས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་པོ་གྲུབ་དབང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཆོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 སེ་ར་རྩེ་བཙུན་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཆོག་ས་བཅད་མ་

<sup>10</sup> Skal ldan, *Bla ma'i rnam thar gyi rim pa*: gyi, no *dpal bzang po'i*.

<sup>11</sup> In this catalogue I am only listing the sources that appear in the colophons. Skal ldan rgya mtsho often used more sources than those listed in the colophons, as is apparent from his references to them in many of the texts.

<sup>12</sup> An alternate spelling also used frequently is *bsam grub bde ldan*.

<sup>13</sup> Bsam 'grub bde ldan is a hermitage in the forest of Mkhar gong, within walking distance of Reb gong, in the Dgu chu area of Amdo. Here Skal ldan rgya mtsho wrote at least 9 texts (Ka-4, Ka-5, Ka-6, Ka-7, Ka-9, Ga-12, Ga-18.4, Nga-2, and Nga-15.1).

subject: versified biography of Se ra Chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal  
bzang po

length: 6 folios/ vol. 1, 172-79

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

source: biography by Sera Rje btsun's disciple Bde legs nyi  
ma, and other well-founded histories

place: the solitary place Bsam 'grub bde ldan

### Ka-6

title:

ཇི་བཙུན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱིན་པ་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྟོ་བཟང་གྱུ་མཚོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཞལ་  
ལྷན་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་གསུང་པ་  
དད་པའི་སྒྲིབ་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་

subject: biography of Skal ldan rgya mtsho's lama Bstan 'dzin  
blo bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang po,<sup>14</sup> frequently called Sde  
pa Chos [kyi] rje

length: 46 folios/ vol. 1, 180-255

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

petitioned by: Chos pa Rin po che and Bsam gtan rgya mtsho<sup>15</sup>

time: *shing pho spre'u'i lo*, 1644, seven years after that lord  
had passed away

<sup>14</sup> Skal ldan rgya mtsho also makes references to Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho's role in the history of the spread of Buddhism in *Rje skal ldan rgya mtsho'i gsung las mdo smad a mdo'i phyogs su bstan pa dar tshul gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, in Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987), Ka-13, folios 3a.4, 4b.3, 5b.6.

<sup>15</sup> According to the *rnam thar* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, Bsam gtan rgya mtsho acted as the '*chad nyan*' of the philosophical school of Thos bsam gling at Rong bo monastery for a long time, tamed the area of Reb gong with Spyran ras gzigs' mantra, and founded the nearby monastery of Dar zhing. See Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 95

place: the hermitage of Mkhar gong, Bsam 'grub bde ldan  
scribe: Nam mkha' don grub<sup>16</sup>

## Ka-7

title:

རིང་ལོ་ལྷན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་དབང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་འོ་གསུང་ལས་  
འཇམ་དབྱངས་ས་པཎ་ཆེན་པོ་ཀུན་དགའ་བྱུང་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་  
ཐར་པ་  
མཐོང་ཐོས་དོན་ལྡན་

subject: biography of Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan  
dpal bzang po

length: 6 folios/ vol. 1, 256-64

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
petitioned by: the great patron of the teaching Ku shrii Bsod  
nams don grub and Gnyer pa Sangs rgyas rin chen  
source: biography of Sa skya paṇḍita, written by Yar klung pa  
Seng ge rgyal mtshan; *Deb ther sngon po*; and others  
place: the solitary grove of Mkhar gong, Bsam 'grub bde ldan  
scribe: Nam mkha' don grub<sup>17</sup>

## Ka-8

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་འོ་གསུང་ལས་  
བསྟན་ཆོག་གས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་རྣམས་

<sup>16</sup> Nam mkha' don grub, the scribe of two biographies by Skal ldan rgya mtsho (Ka-6, Ka-7), was a direct disciple of his. See 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 190.

<sup>17</sup> Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987): *grub*; Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999): *'grub*. The name of the hermitage can be spelt either way, according to a local scholar Blo bzang chos grags.

subject: cycles of eulogies

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

length of the eleven eulogies together: 10 folios/ vol 1, 265-80

#### Ka-8.2

colophon:

petitioned by: the patron of the teaching Byams pa rgya mtsho

#### Ka-8.3

title:

ཇེ་ཀཱ་པ་ལྟ་བུ་སྒྲིམ་མཁའ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་

colophon:

subject: petition to former and later Karma pas

#### Ka-8.4

colophon:

subject: eulogy to Byams pa bzang po, also called Thar pa'i rgyal mtshan

#### Ka-8.5

colophon:

subject: biography of Ko'u ba Chos kyi rgya mtsho, arranged as a eulogy in verse

scribe: Thos bsam rgya mtsho



## Ka-8.6

title:

ཇེ་བཙུན་སྒོ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་བྱུང་མཆན་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་  
བྱིན་ཞབས་ཀྱི་བང་མཛོད་

subject: eulogy to Chos pa Rin po che

colophon:

petitioned by: Thos bsam rgya mtsho  
scribe: Blo bzang chos grags

## Ka-8.7

colophon:

subject: eulogy to Chos pa Rin po che

## Ka-8.8

colophon:

subject: petition to Bya khyung Chos rje Rin po che Grags pa  
bkra shis (b. 1631), together with prayers for his long life

## Ka-8.9

colophon:

subject: eulogy to Blo bzang chos grags,<sup>18</sup> together with prayers  
for his long life

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<sup>18</sup> Blo bzang chos grags, a direct disciple of Skal Idan rgya mtsho, also acted as a scribe for Skal Idan rgya mtsho.

## Ka-8.11

colophon:

subject: eulogy to Tshul khrim rgya mtsho<sup>19</sup>

## Ka-9

title:

ཆེ་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཕྱག་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
སྐྱབས་འགྲོའི་འབྲིད་ཡིག་  
བསྟན་པའི་སློ་འབྲེད་

subject: instruction manual for seeking refuge

length: 3 folios/ vol. 1, 281-84

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

petitioned by: Thos bsam rgya mtsho

sources: instruction for seeking refuge which occurs in *Thugs*

*rje chen pa'i dmar'khrid* (*Introductory Instructions about*

*Avalokiteśvara*) by 'Brong rtse Lha'i btsun pa (b. 14 c.);

and the oral teaching of Blo bzang don grub

place: the solitary grove Bsam grub bde ldan

## Ka-10

title:

ཆེ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་བཀའ་འབུམ་ལས་  
འདྲེལ་བའི་བསྐབ་བྱ་  
བསྟན་པའི་མཛེས་རྒྱུན་

<sup>19</sup> This Tshul khrim rgya mtsho may have been the lama of Dgon lung monastery, from whom Skäl Idan rgya mtsho received the oral teachings and instructions in *Mahāmudrā* and the *Gsam sron me rta 'grel*, instructions about many other deities and instructions in *gcod*. See Ngag dbang, *Skäl Idan gyi rnam thar*, 16.

subject: *Vinaya* precepts

length: 14 folios/ vol. 1, 285-307

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

purpose: to benefit his own disciple-ascetics and renunciant monks

place: Bkra shis 'khyil

scribe: Dpal ldan rgya mtsho

#### Ka-11

title:

རྩེ་སེམས་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་བསྐབ་བྱ་  
གྱལ་སྐས་མཛེས་གྱན་

subject: the bodhisattva precepts

length: 10 folios/ vol. 1, 308-22

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

purpose: to offer at a gathering of his own ascetic disciples

place: Bkra shis 'khyil

#### Ka-12

title:

བྱལ་བདག་མགོན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བསྐབ་བྱ་  
རིག་འཛིན་མཛེས་གྱན་

subject: tantric precepts

length: 11 folios/ vol. 1, 323-40

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

purpose: to offer at a gathering of his own renunciant monk  
disciples as a teaching for memorizing

### Ka-13

title:

རྩི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
མདོ་སྤད་ཨ་མདོའི་ཕྱགས་སུ་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཆུལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས་

subject: brief histories of the manner in which the teaching spread  
in Amdo

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

length of the two texts together: 10 folios/ vol. 1, 341-55

Ka-13.1 (in verse)

Ka-13.2 (in prose)

colophon:

circumstance: wanting to write a history of how the teaching  
spread in Amdo with more extensive detail later; this is a  
mere summary

### Ka-14

title:

བློ་ལན་འགྲུབ་ཞིག་

subject: about twenty questions followed by short answers

length: 3 folios/ vol. 1, 356-58

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's questions with Blo bzang chos  
kyi rgyal mtshan's answers  
circumstance: answers to questions sent in a letter  
place: Bkra shis lhun po

### Kha-1

title:

ཇི་མཁས་ཤིང་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཕྱག་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
དབུ་མའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་ཐུལ་པོ་རྩ་བ་ཤིས་རབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་  
དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་ལྗོན་ཤིང་<sup>20</sup>

subject: commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā*

length: 145 folios/ vol. 1, 359-474; vol. 2, 1-127

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho  
scribe: Shes rab bkra shis  
place: Bkra shis 'khyil  
time: at the age of 70, in the year *me pho 'brug* (1676)

### Kha-2

title:

ཇི་བཙུན་ལྷ་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
མཐའ་བྲལ་དབུ་མའི་ལྷ་འབྲིད་  
རྟོན་འབྲེལ་རིགས་པའི་ཡང་སྟོང་དོ་ཇིའི་གཟེགས་མ་

subject: instruction in *Madhyamaka*, free from extremes

length: 5 folios/ vol. 2, 128-33

petitioned by: Chos pa Rin po che

<sup>20</sup> In Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999) this text is in two parts, with *gi stod cha* and *gi smad cha* added to the title above, respectively.

colophon:

author: Chos dbyings rdo rje (= Skal ldan rgya mtsho)<sup>21</sup>

sources: oral instructions in *Madhyamaka* from Bstan 'dzin blo  
bzang rgya mtsho, Chos kyi rgya mtsho, Dge 'dun Bstan pa  
dar rgyas,<sup>22</sup> and others

### Kha-3

title:

རྩི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་འོ་གསུང་ལས་  
དབུ་མའི་ལྷ་ཁྱིའི་  
དགེ་སྤྱོད་ཐོས་བསམ་གྱི་མཚོ་ལ་བསྒྲུབ་བ་

length of both together: 3 folios/ vol. 2, 134-36

### Kha-3.1

subject: instruction in *Madhyamaka*

circumstance: given to the monk Thos bsam rgya mtsho

<sup>21</sup> Chos dbyings rdo rje is a *gsang mtshan* of Skal ldan rgya mtsho. See *Phyag na padmo yab rje skal ldan rgya mtsho'i skyes ba rabs kyi rgyud gsang gsum snang ba'i sgron me*.

<sup>22</sup> The extent to which Skal ldan rgya mtsho studied with Bstan pa dar rgyas at Dga' ldan monastery is indicated by the following passage in Ngag dbang, *Skal ldan gyi rnam thar*, 8:

After that, [Skal ldan rgya mtsho] studied with the lama, Dharma lord of Rgyal rong, Mkhas grub bstan pa dar rgyas, and for seven years [he] was made to study regarding the five great books, both the *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma*, both the *Madhyamaka* and *Prajñāpāramitā*, together with the *Pramāṇavārttika*, together with the abridgement of those texts such as the abridgement of *Madhyamaka* and such texts as the *rtēn' brel*, *bsam gzugs*, *dge 'dun nyi shu*, *drang nges rnam 'byed*, and the abridgement of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

The latter five texts are by Tsong kha pa. For these works see numbers 6016, 6148, 6147, 6142 and 6150? in *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition: Catalogue & Index*, on pp. 856, 868, 866 and 869, respectively.

colophon:

author: Skal ldan ras pa

petitioned by: Thos bsam rgya mtsho<sup>23</sup>

place: the mountain hermitage Bkra shis 'khyil

### Kha-3.2

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་

ལྟ་བའི་དམིགས་ཁྲིད་མདོར་བསྡུས་

subject: a summary of the instructions upon which one should  
focus one's mind which involve the doctrine

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

purpose: to benefit himself and others

### Kha-4

title:

མཁས་ཤིང་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཕུག་ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བསྟན་བཅོས་མདོར་པར་རྟགས་པའི་བྱེད་གྱི་སྐབས་དང་པོ་ནས་སྐབས་བཞི་བའི་ཐེག་  
ཆེན་གྱི་ཐར་པ་ཆ་མཐུན་འཆད་པའི་བར་གྱི་ཆོག་དོན་རྣམ་པར་བཤད་པ་

subject: commentary on chapters one through four of the  
*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*

length: 45 folios/ vol. 2, 137-210

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

<sup>23</sup> As previously noted, the monk Thos bsam rgya mtsho was a disciple of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, and acted as a scribe for a number of texts in the *Gsung 'bum*. He also petitioned several texts.

## Kha-5

title:

ཕུག་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་འདེབས་

subject: petition to the *Mahāmudrā* lineage

length: 3 folios/ vol. 2, 211-213

colophon:

source: spoken by Chos pa Rin po che

## Kha-6

title:

འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་སྒྲུབ་ལྟ་སྒྲུབ་མཆོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
དགེ་ལུན་ཕུག་ཆེན་ཟབ་སྒྲིབ་གདམས་ངག་སྒྲུབ་མཆོའི་ནས་བདུས་པ་

subject: quotations from *Dge ldan phyag chen zab khrid gdams ngag rgya mtsho*

length: 14 folios/ vol. 2, 214-35

colophon:

source: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho quotes from the *Gdams ngag rgya mtsho*

purpose: to give to the assemblage of monks

circumstance: Tshul khriims bkra shis<sup>24</sup> memorized it and wrote it down, and [Skäl Idan rgya mtsho] edited it again

<sup>24</sup> Tshul khriims bkra shis is listed among Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's disciples. See 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 190.



## Kha-7

title:

རྩོམ་པོ་འཆང་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚན་གསུང་ལས་  
 དགེ་ལུན་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཕྱག་ཆེན་པའི་ཉམས་ཁྲིད་  
 རྩོམ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་སྐལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་གིས་བསྐྱལ་བ་

subject: experiential manual for the Dga' ldan oral tradition of  
*Mahāmudrā*

petitioned by: Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po

length: 12 folios/ vol. 2, 236-53

colophon:

author: Skäl ldan rgya mtsho

scribe: Thos bsam rgya mtsho

circumstance: offered to his teacher Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal  
 mtshan dpal bzang po

## Kha-8

title:

ཕྱག་ཆེན་གྱི་འཁྲིད་ཡིག་

subject: instruction manual for *Mahāmudrā*<sup>25</sup>

length: 9 folios/ vol. 2, 254-65

## Ga-1

title:

འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 ལྷ་མའི་རྣལ་འབྱེད་གྱི་སྐོར་འགའ་ཞིག་

<sup>25</sup> Though there is no indication in the title, this work seems to be by Skäl ldan rgya mtsho, according to the Rong bo scholar, Blo bzang chos grags.

subject: several cycles of guru yoga

length: 6 folios/ vol. 2, 266-73

### Ga-1.1

topic:

ཇི་བཙུན་འཇམ་པའི་དབུང་ས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་མའི་རྣལ་འབྱུང་བསྐྱེད་པར་འདོད་པས་

subject: guru yoga of Mañjuśrī

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

petitioned by: the mountain hermit Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin

place: Bkra shis 'khyil

### Ga-1.2

title:

ཐུགས་ཇི་ཆེན་པོ་སེམས་ཉིད་ངལ་བ་སའི་<sup>26</sup>སྤྲོ་མའི་རྣལ་འབྱུང་

subject: guru yoga of Thugs rje chen po sems nyid ngal ba so<sup>27</sup>

colophon:

source: oral teaching by Blo bzang bstan 'dzin

circumstance: given by him to an assemblage of monks and lay  
at Rong bo monastery; written down by Skal Idan rgya  
mtsho

### Ga-1.3

title:

ཇི་མི་ལ་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་སྤྲོ་མའི་རྣལ་འབྱུང་

subject: guru yoga for Mi la ras pa

<sup>26</sup> Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987): *ba so'i*; Skal Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999): *bso'i*.

<sup>27</sup> Avalokiteśvara Karṣapāni

colophon:

source: oral teaching by Blo bzang bstan 'dzin  
 circumstance: given by him to several of us mountain hermits  
 at the place of shaving hair; written down later by Skäl Idan  
 rgya mtsho

#### Ga-1.4

title:

རྩོམ་གྱི་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་སྒོ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་བྱུང་མཆོད་སྐབས་གསུམ་ཀུན་འདུས་སུ་  
 སྒྲིམ་ཚུལ་

subject: how to meditate on Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan  
 (Chos pa Rin po che)

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho  
 petitioned by: the monk Bsod rnam rin chen  
 place: Bkra shis 'khyil

#### Ga-2

title:

རྩོམ་ཁས་གྲུབ་སྤྱི་བའི་དབང་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་བྱ་མཆོད་ཀྱི་གསུང་འབུམ་ལས་  
 བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་འབྲིད་  
 སྒོ་བ་མ་རིམ་ཁྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཉམས་འབྲིད་དུ་སྦྱུལ་བ་<sup>28</sup>

subject: experiential manual for instructions in Tsong kha pa's  
*The Gradual Path to Enlightenment*

circumstance: given to disciple mountain hermits

length: 15 folios/ vol. 2, 274-96

<sup>28</sup> Instead, I am reading *bstsal ba* here.

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

### Ga-3

title:

ངག་གི་དབང་ཕུག་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 གྲང་རྒྱུ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་གྱི་འབྲིད་  
 རྩི་གྲགས་པ་གྱུ་མཚན་སྟོགས་ལ་བསྟུལ་བ་

subject: instruction in Tsong kha pa's *The Gradual Path to Enlightenment*

circumstance: given to Rje Grags pa rgyal mtshan<sup>29</sup> and others

length: 13 folios/ vol. 2, 297-315

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

### Ga-4

title:

མཁས་གྲུབ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 གྲང་རྒྱུ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་འབྲིད་  
 ཚེས་རྩི་ཀུན་དགའ་ལེགས་པ་ལ་བསྟུལ་བ་

subject: instruction in Tsong kha pa's *The Gradual Path to Enlightenment*

circumstance: given to Kun dga' legs pa and others

length: 9 folios/ vol. 2, 316-27

<sup>29</sup> This Grags pa rgyal mtshan is probably the one referred to in the colophon to Ga-18, pt. 4 as a great patron of the teaching who created an endowment for Buddhist texts.

colophon:

petitioned by: Kun dga' legs pa

place: a solitary house on the mountain peak of Sgyed gsum  
mthon po

scribe: the monk Thos bsam rgya mtsho

#### Ga-5

title:

རྩེ་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཕྱག་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་དམར་འབྲིད་  
སློབ་གསལ་པ་སྒྲིའི་ཁ་འབྲེད་

subject: introductory instructions in the gradual path to  
enlightenment

length: 13 folios/ vol. 2, 328-47

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

circumstance: given to the mountain hermits of the eastern  
solitary place Thar pa gling

#### Ga-6

title:

ཐམས་ཅད་མཐུན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
རི་ཁྲོད་པ་འགའ་ལ་  
ལམ་འབྲིད་ཟེན་གུ་ཕྱག་པ་

subject: a rough draft of instructions in the path [and stages]

length: 9 folios/ vol. 2, 348-60

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

circumstance: an instruction manual given to several of his own  
renunciant disciples

#### Ga-7

title:

ཇི་བཙུན་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྒྲུབ་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་དམིགས་ཁྲིད་ཟབ་མོ་

subject: a deep instruction for focusing one's thoughts on the  
gradual path to enlightenment

length: 15 folios/ vol. 2, 361-82

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho<sup>30</sup>

#### Ga-8

title:

བཀ་འདྲིན་མཉམ་མེད་ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་འཁྲིད་  
སྟོང་བདེ་བ་

subject: instruction in the gradual path to enlightenment

length: 17 folios/ vol. 2, 383-408

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

circumstance: given as an experiential manual to those who live  
in renunciant mountain hermitages

place: Bkra shis 'khyil

<sup>30</sup> The author is identified as Skal Idan rgya mtsho in the title.

## Ga-9

title:

མཁན་ཆེན་ཚས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བྱུན་དུ་ཉི་ཤེས་མཁའ་ལྷན་འབྱོར་ཟབ་མོ་

subject: deep meditation which is continually required

length: 7 folios/ vol. 2, 409-417

colophon:

author: Skäl dan rgya mtsho

circumstance: for the benefit of mountain hermits

## Ga-10

length of both texts together: 24 folios/ vol. 2, 418-55

## Ga-10.1

title:

ཇི་མཚུངས་མེད་ཚས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་སློབ་སྤྱིང་དོན་བདུན་མའི་ཉམས་འཁྱིད་  
ཐེག་ཆེན་མཛེས་བྱུན་

subject: an experiential manual for *Blo sbyong don bdun ma*  
(*Seven Points for Training the Mind*)<sup>31</sup>

length: 35 pages

<sup>31</sup> For an English translation of the *Blo sbyong don bdun ma*, see Geshe Kelsang Gyatso, *Universal Compassion: A Commentary to Bodhisattva Chekhawa's Training the Mind in Seven Points* (London: Tharpa Publications, 1988).

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

circumstance: given as an experiential manual to many of his  
own disciples, monks who apply themselves single-mindedly  
to cycles of practice and contemplation in the year-long  
retreat

place: Bkra shis 'khyil

#### Ga-10.2

title:

རྩེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
རྩེ་བ་སོ་བའི་གསུང་གྱུན་བཞོད་པ་

subject: an arrangement of the tradition of Rje Ba so ba

length: 2 pages

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

source: oral teachings of the Ba so incarnate Ngag dbang chos  
kyi dbang phyug

#### Ga-11

title:

བྲུབ་ཆེན་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཐོག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྒྲིབ་  
ཡིད་ཀྱི་ཐུན་སེལ་

subject: *Blo sbyong* (spiritual purification)

length: 41 folios/ vol. 3, 1-64

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

petitioned by: Chos pa Rin po che



sources: *Blo sbyong* by Hor ston pa; *Byang sdom gyi rnam bshad* by 'Brong rtse Lha btsun pa; *Byang chub lam rim*; *Blo sbyong gi rtsa tshig* by Hor ston pa  
scribe: Thos bsam rgya mtsho

## Ga-12

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཐུན་དྲལ་གི་ནལ་འབྲེར་ཉམས་སྲུ་ལེན་ཚུལ་གྱི་རིམ་པ་གཉིས་

subject: how to practice meditation for six watches

author of both: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

length of both: 3 folios/ vol. 3, 65-68

## Ga-12.1

colophon:

source: *Rtsa ltung rnam bshad dam*<sup>32</sup> *tshig gsal ba'i sgron me*,  
by Mkhas grub Nor bzang rgya mtsho (1423–1513)  
purpose: to benefit himself  
place: the solitary place Bsam grub bde ldan

## Ga-12.2

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཐུན་དྲལ་བསྐྱུས་པ་

<sup>32</sup> Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987): *dam*; Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999): no *dam*.

## Ga-13

title:

སྒྱབས་གནས་ཀྱི་འདུས་ཀྱི་བདག་ཉིད་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྤྲུལ་མ་དམ་པ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་  
གསུང་ལས་  
སེམས་གནས་ཀྱི་འབྲིང་གཉིས་

subject: instructions in stabilizing the mind

author of both: Skäl dan rgya mtsho

length of both together: 6 folios/ vol. 3, 69-76

## Ga-13.1

colophon:

circumstance: given to the provost of Sku 'bum, Blo bzang  
rgya mtsho

## Ga-13.2

title:

མཁས་ཤིང་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
སེམས་འབྲིང་

## Ga-14

title:

རྩི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཞི་གནས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་འབྲིང་

subject: an instruction for focusing one's mind on *zhi gnas*  
(*śammatha*)

length: 3 folios/ vol. 3, 77-80

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

sources: *Phyag rgya chen po'i 'khrīd*, by the first Paṇ chen  
Lama and instruction manuals by Gsang mda' ba<sup>33</sup> Chos  
Idan rab 'byor and others

Ga-15

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ལས་  
ཅིན་ཆེན་ཕྱིང་བའི་སྟོན་ལམ་གྱི་རིཀ་

subject: a commentary on *Rin chen phreng ba'i smon lam*<sup>34</sup>

length: 5 folios/ vol. 3, 81-87

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

source: Rgyal tshab chos rje's commentary

Ga-16

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
རྒྱུད་སྡེ་སྟོན་ཀླུ་མ་གཞག་ཉུང་བསྟུས་

subject: a brief summary of the general analysis of tantric  
literature

length: 5 folios/ vol. 3, 88-94

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987): *ba*; Skäl Idan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999): no *ba*.

<sup>34</sup> *R ā japarīkathārātnāvalī*, by Nāgārjuna. See Michael Hahn, *Nagarjuna's Ratnavali*, Indica et Tibetica, ISSN 0723-3337, Bd. 1, 19 (Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1982-90).

<sup>35</sup> The author is identified by the title as Skäl Idan rgya mtsho.

## Ga-17

title:

མཁའ་ཤིང་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཕྱག་རྩེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོས་མཛད་པའི་  
བསྐྱེས་གྲུའི་ཙྰ་ཚོག་

subject: eristic

length: 5 folios/ vol. 3, 95-101

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho spoke this

## Ga-18

title:

རྩེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བྱི་ལན་སོགས་ཐོར་བྱ་ནམས་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་དུ་བསྒྲིགས་པ་

subject: miscellaneous questions and answers

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's answers to questions posed  
by others

length: 7 folios/ vol. 3, 102-111

## Ga-18.1

colophon:

subject: answer to a question posed by a spiritual friend  
endowed with supreme wisdom

## Ga-18.2

colophon:

subject: answer to a question posed by Thos bsam rgya mtsho

## Ga-18.3

colophon:

subject: how the precious physical relics of Mi la ras pa's  
remained in the cave of Zho phug rdo rje

## Ga-18.4

colophon:

subject: catalogue of tantric texts, Phan bde'i gzhi 'dzin  
circumstance: written when the patron of the teaching, the  
gnyer ba named Grags pa rgyal mtshan, brought into  
existence through endowment all volumes of the texts  
in Tibet  
place: the solitary place Bsam grub bde ldan  
scribe: Thos bsam rgya mtsho

## Ga-18.5

colophon:

subject: advice to Skal ldan rgya mtsho's spiritual friend Ngag  
dbang rnam rgyal

## Ga-18.6

colophon:

subject: advice to those of the solitary place of Dga' ldan  
skyed tshal

## Nga-1

title:

ཁྱབ་བདག་རྗེ་ཐུགས་སྦྱོར་པའི་འོ་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྒྲུ་མ་དམ་པ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚའི་  
གསུང་ལས་  
བདེ་མཚལ་ལྷ་ལྷའི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་ཚུགས་བཅད་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པ་

subject: *sādhana* of Bde mchog lha lnga, in verse

length: 13 folios/ vol. 3, 112-30

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

place: the dwelling place of 'Khor lo bde mchog, Gnya' gong  
brag dkar

### Nga-2

title:

དཔལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚན་གྱི་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་པ་ལག་མཚན་བཅས་པ་དང་ཚལ་ས་  
ཀྱི་མཚན་པ་  
འདོད་ཡོན་གྱི་དུ་རྒྱུ་པ་

subject: the outer offering together with the hand offering to  
'Khor lo bde mchog

length: 3 folios/ vol. 3, 131-34

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

place: Bsam grub bde ldan

### Nga-3

title:

རྩོམ་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཞལ་ལྷན་གྱི་གསུང་  
ལས་  
དཔལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚན་གྱི་སྒྲིལ་ལྷན་གྱི་ལྷན་པོ་བཅས་འཇུག་  
དངོས་གྲུབ་ཆར་འབྱེད་པ་

subject: self-empowerment of 'Khor lo bde mchog dril bu phyi  
dkyil lha lnga

length: 16 folios/ vol. 3, 135-61

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho<sup>36</sup>

colophon:

source: Dkyil chog bde chen rol mtsho, by Lūipa;<sup>37</sup> the oral instructions of his own root lama

#### Nga-4

title:

ཆེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
དཔལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་ལྷ་ལའི་བདག་མདུན་ཐ་མི་དང་དུ་སྐྱབ་ཚུལ་དང་བདག་  
འཇུག་  
དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་རྩལ་མཚོ་

subject: how to carry out the *bdag mdun* and *bdag 'jug* of 'Khor lo bde mchog lha lnga

length: 16 folios/ vol. 3, 162-87

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

source: *Bde mchog dril bu lha lnga'i bdag 'jug dngos grub kyi rol mtsho* by Bsod nams rgya mtsho

circumstance: written as an abridgement to benefit himself

#### Nga-5

title:

རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུབ་བདག་དོ་ཆེ་འཆང་ཆེན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
བདེ་མཚོག་ལྷ་ཨི་བའི་ཆོགས་རིམ་གྱི་དམར་འབྲིད་  
གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་མཛེས་རྒྱན་

<sup>36</sup> The author is identified in the title as Skal ldan rgya mtsho.

<sup>37</sup> For Lūipa's story and a discussion of some historical sources on him, see Keith Dowman, ed., trans., *Masters of Mahāmudrā: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 33-38.

subject: introductory instruction in Lūipa's perfection stage

length: 8 folios/ vol. 3, 188-99

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

circumstance: given as an experiential manual to several  
spiritual friend renunciants, such as Grags pa dar rgyas of  
Dgon lung monastery

#### Nga-6

title:

ཆེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
དཔལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་བྱ་ལྟ་ལྟའི་ཆོགས་རེམ་གྱི་ཉམས་འབྲིད་

subject: experiential manual for the perfection stage of 'Khor lo  
bde mchog dril bu lha lnga

length: 6 folios/ vol. 3, 200-208

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

purpose: to benefit his own disciple mountain hermits

place: the monastery of Lcang shar, Bshad sgrub dar rgyas in  
Rdo bis

#### Nga-7

title:

དོ་ཆེ་འཛིན་པ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ནུ་རྩའི་ཆོས་དྲུག་གི་འབྲིད་  
གྲུབ་པའི་མཛེས་སྒྲུབ་

subject: instructions in *Nā ro'i chos drug*

length: 10 folios/ vol. 3, 209-24



colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

circumstance: given as a text of what is to be applied to five of  
his own disciples

place: Bkra shis 'khyil

scribe: Grags pa dar rgyas<sup>38</sup>

### Nga-8

title:

ཁྱབ་བདག་མགོན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
དཔལ་རྩི་ཆེ་འཛིགས་བྱེད་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚྱུགས་རིམ་གྱི་འཁྲིད་  
སྐལ་ལྷན་མཛེས་གྱུར་

subject: instructions in the completion stage of Rdo rje 'jigs byed

length of three texts: 6 folios/ vol. 3, 225-40

### Nga-8.2

title:

གདུམ་མོ་ཨ་ཨ་ཐུང་ཤད་གྱི་མན་ངག་གི་སྒྲིན་ས་འཛིགས་བྱེད་ཚྱུགས་རིམ་བསྒྲུབ་ཚུལ་

subject: meditation on the completion stage of 'Jigs byed in the  
manner of the deep method of the *a thung shad* for *gtum mo*.

colophon:

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

sources: oral instructions of Rje yab sras (Tsong kha pa and his  
two main students) and other counsel of many scholars and  
practitioners

circumstance: given as an experiential manual to renunciants  
who explain and meditate

<sup>38</sup> It seems likely that Grags pa dar rgyas is also the one by the same name who received a text from Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, Nga-5.

## Nga-8.3

title:

ཆེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 རྩོམ་ཆེའི་མགུར་

subject: *Vajra* songs

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

## Nga-9

topic:

དཔལ་རྩོམ་ཆེའི་འཇིགས་བྱེད་དཔའ་བོ་གཅིག་པའི་སྒྲིན་ལམ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དང་བཅས་པ་

subject: prayer and good wishes at the end of the practice of Rdo  
 rje 'jigs byed dpa' bo gcig pa

length: 2 folios/ vol. 3, 241-43

colophon:

author: Skal Idan rgya mtsho

petitioned by: the monk Blo bzang dam chos and others

source: Chos kyi rgya mtsho

## Nga-10

title:

ཆེ་རྩོམ་གྱི་སྐུ་བྱེད་ཆེའི་<sup>39</sup>བཀའ་འབུམ་ལས་  
 དཔལ་རྩོམ་ཆེའི་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཆོགས་ཅིམ་  
 སྒྲིན་བརྒྱད་ཅིམ་གཉིས་བདུད་ཅིའི་སྤྲང་པོ་

subject: completion stage of Rdo rje 'jigs byed

length: 13 folios/ vol. 3, vol. 244-63

<sup>39</sup> This is Tibetanized Sanskrit for Rin chen Skal Idan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po.

colophon:

circumstance: given by Skal ldan rgya mtsho to Grags pa  
rgyal mtshan<sup>40</sup>  
place: Bkra shis 'khyil

### Nga-11

title:

ཁྱབ་བདག་རྩི་མེ་སེམས་དཔའི་ངོ་བོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྐྱེ་མ་དམ་པ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོ་  
དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
དཔལ་རྩི་མེ་འཛིགས་བྱེད་གྱི་ཚུགས་རིམ་  
སྟན་བརྒྱུད་བདུན་ཅིའི་བུམ་པ་

subject: completion stage of Rdo rje 'jigs byed

length: 7 folios/ vol. 3, 264-73

colophon:

circumstance: Skal ldan rgya mtsho gave this text as an  
experiential manual to renunciants

### Nga-12

title:

སྐུ་མ་དུས་གསུམ་མཁྱེན་པ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཡི་དམ་སྐྱབ་སྐྱོར་འགྲེལ་ཞིག་

subject: several cycles of practices regarding tutelary deities

length of three texts: 5 folios/ vol. 3, 274-78

<sup>40</sup> Since Grags pa rgyal mtshan is referred to here as *mkhas pa'i dbang bo bstan 'dzin dam pa*, he seems to be the patron, rather than the disciple of the same name, referred to in 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 190.

## Nga-12.1

topic:

དཔལ་ཏྲ་མགྲིན་ལྷགས་རལ་ཅན་བསྐྱབ་པ་འདོད་པས།.....

subject: the practice of Rta mgrin lcags ral can

colophon:

author: Chos dbyings rdo rje (= Skal ldan rgya mtsho)

## Nga-12.2

topic:

འཇམ་དབྱངས་སྒྲ་བའི་སང་གི་བསྐྱབ་པར་འདོད་པས། .....

subject: the practice of 'Jam dbyangs smra ba'i seng ge

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

source: instructions of holy superior ones

## Nga-12.3

topic:

དོན་ཡོད་རྩི་མེད་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་.....

subject: meditation and recitation of Don yod rdo rje

colophon:

source: oral teachings of Rje yab sras (Tsong kha pa and his  
two main disciples) put into verse by Skal ldan rgya mtsho

## Nga-13

title:

ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཐེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཆོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 ཐུགས་ཐེ་རིན་པོ་ཆུལ་བ་གྱི་མཆོ་གསང་སྐབ་ལྷ་དགུ་མའི་སྐབ་ཐབས་

length of both texts: 10 folios/ vol. 3, 279-93

## Nga-13.1

subject: ritual text of Thugs rje chen po rgyal ba rgya mtsho  
 gsang sgrub lha dgu ma

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

sources: *Thugs rje chen po rgyal ba rgya mtsho* by Bstan 'dzin  
 blo bzang rgya mtsho; *Gsang sgrub bcu gsum ma* by Sde pa  
 Chos kyi rje

## Nga-13.2

topic:

ཐུགས་ཐེ་རིན་པོ་གསང་སྐབ་ཀྱི་མདུན་སྐྱེད་སྐབ་ཚུལ་ .....

subject: the secret practice in which Avalokiteśvara (Thugs rje  
 chen po) is produced in front of you

## Nga-14

title:

ཐེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཆོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
 ཐུགས་ཐེ་རིན་པོ་གསང་སྐབ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་རིམ་

subject: perfection stage of Avalokiteśvara

length: 4 folios/ vol. 3, 294-99

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

sources: many tantric texts such as *Sngags rim*,<sup>41</sup> in accordance  
with the thought of Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho

petitioned by: Nam mkha' don 'grub<sup>42</sup>

scribe: Bsam gtan rgya mtsho<sup>43</sup>

### Nga-15

title:

བྱུང་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཆེན་པོ་ཐེ་བཙུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཐུགས་ཐེ་ཆེན་པོའི་དམར་འབྲིང་གྱི་དམིགས་པའི་སྐོར་

subject: introductory instructions in the practice of Avalokiteśvara

length of three texts: 12 folios/ vol. 3, 300-18

### Nga-15.1

colophon:

source: *Blo gros kyi thugs rje chen po'i dmar 'khrid kyi dmigs  
skor rnams*, by 'Brong rtse Lha'i btsun pa Rin chen rgya

mtsho, arranged in one place by Skal ldan rgya mtsho

place: Bsam grub bde ldan in the woods of Mkhar gong

scribe: Kun dga' rgyal mtshan

### Nga-15.2

title:

ཐེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་

ལྷ་བའི་འབྲིང་ལས་དང་པོ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གཞི་བུ་མཁོ་བ་

<sup>41</sup> This is the *Sngags rim chen mo*, by Tsong kha pa.

<sup>42</sup> Nam mkha' don 'grub, a direct disciple of Skal ldan rgya mtsho, was also a scribe of several texts in the *Gsung 'bum*. See 'Jigs med theg mchog, *Rong bo dgon chen*, 190.

<sup>43</sup> Bsam gtan rgya mtsho also petitioned a work by Skal ldan rgya mtsho (Ka-6).

subject: instructions in the doctrine

### Nga-15.3

topic:

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་དམར་འབྲིང་གི་སྒྲ་བརྒྱད་ནི།.....

subject: transmission of introductory instructions about  
Avalokiteśvara

### Nga-16

title:

མཁས་གྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
མགོན་པོ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞལ་གདམས་སྙིང་པོ་དོན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཉམས་འབྲིང་  
དགའ་ལྷན་དུ་བཞུད་པའི་བདེ་ལམ་

subject: experiential manual for the three core topics concerning  
Avalokiteśvara

length: 11 folios/ vol. 3, 319-34

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

circumstance: given to more than eighty of his own renunciant  
disciples for memorizing through repetition

place: the solitary place Bkra shis 'khyil

scribe: the monk Bde ba'i 'byung gnas

### Nga-17

title:

ཐུགས་རྗེའི་མངའ་བདག་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
སྙིང་པོ་དོན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁྲིད་ཐོན་སྒྲུབ་<sup>44</sup>པ་ནམས་ལ་སྤྱལ་བ་

<sup>44</sup> Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999): *slas*; Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987): *lhas*. My decision between the two is tenuous.

subject: instruction manual for the three core topics concerning  
Avalokiteśvara

length: 6 folios/ vol. 3, 335-42

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho<sup>45</sup>

### Nga-18

title:

མཁས་གྲུབ་སྣ་བའི་དབང་པོ་ཐེ་སྐལ་ལྡན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ལས་  
སྣོལ་མའི་རྟི་ཀླ་

subject: commentary on Sgrol ma

length: 7 folios/ vol. 3, 343-52

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

sources: *Sgrol ma'i ti kka*, by Dge 'dun rgya mtsho,

ornamented with other good explanations

place: the monastery of Lcang shar, Bshad sgrub dar rgyas  
gling

scribe: the monk and mountain hermit Kun dga' rgyal mtshan

### Nga-19

title:

ཁྱབ་བདག་མགོན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྡན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
དན་པ་བཞི་ལྡན་གྱི་སྒྲིན་སྐད་ཁྱེད་ཟབ་མོ་གྱུན་དུ་སྦྱོང་བའི་ཚུལ་  
ཐར་འདོད་མཛེས་གྱུན་

subject: instructions in the four kinds of mindfulness

length: 12 folios/ vol. 3, 353-72

<sup>45</sup> The author is identified in the title as Skal ldan rgya mtsho.



colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

source: Byang chub lam gyi rim pa, and the kindness of Bstan  
'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho, Chos rgya mtsho, Blo bzang  
bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan

circumstance: given as an introductory instruction to many of  
his own disciple renunciant monks who remained during the  
year long meditation retreat

place: Bkra shis 'khyil

Nga-20

title:

བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་མཛེས་

འཛིན་པའི་འཕྲིན་ལྗན་

subject: reciting mantras

length: 5 folios/ vol. 3, 373-79

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

petitioned by: his own disciple Grags pa rgyal mtshan

sources: *Sngags klog pa*, by Snar thang *lo tsā ba*; the writings  
of 'Jam dbyangs rig ral, Ne'u pan di ta, and Chos rje Bsod  
nams rnam<sup>46</sup> rgyal; the eloquent explanations of Tsong kha  
pa

Nga-21

title:

མཁའ་མཁའ་ལྷན་པའི་ཉི་མ་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚན་མཛེས་གསུང་ལས་

གཏོར་མ་བརྒྱ་རྩེ་ཅིམ་པ་

<sup>46</sup> Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1987): *rnam*; Skal ldan, *Gsung 'bum* (1999): *rnal*.

subject: *gtor ma*

length of three texts: 10 folios/ vol. 3, 380-94

### Nga-21.1

colophon:

source: *Gtor ma brgya rtsa*, by Paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa  
Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, arranged for chanting by  
Skal ldan rgya mtsho

### Nga-21.2

title:

བརྒྱུ་ཅུ་བསྐྱེས་པ་

### Nga-21.3

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས  
བྱལ་གཏོར་དཀོར་སྒྲིབ་དག་བྱེད་ཟླ་ཤལ་ཆུ་གྱུན་

subject: how to send a *gtor ma* at an evil spirit

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
petitioned by: mountain hermit monks  
source: *Brul gtor gyi cho ga* by Paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen  
pa Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan

### Nga-22

title:

ཇི་བྱལ་པའི་དབང་ཕུག་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་  
ཟབ་དོན་གཅོད་ཀྱི་གདམས་པ་ཟབ་མོ་

subject: instruction in *gcod*

length: 28 folios/ vol. 3, 395-439

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

#### Nga-23

topic:

གཙོད་བསྐྱུས་

subject: *gcod yul*

length: 1 folio/ vol. 3, 439-40

colophon:

circumstance: given to the spiritual friend Blo bzang dar rgyas  
by Skal ldan rgya mtsho

#### Nga-24

title:

ཇི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མཚོའི་གསུང་ལས་

དཀར་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱོད་བའི་ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཉན་ཆེན་པོ་སེ་ཀུ་བྱ་ཁྱུང་ལ་བསང་མཚོད་འབུལ་  
ཚུལ་

subject: how to give an offering of *bsang* to the local deity Gnyan  
chen po Se ku bya khyung

length: 2 folios/ vol. 3, 441-43

colophon:

author: Skal ldan rgya mtsho

source: the claims of the Master (*Dpon po*) Bsod nams  
rgya mtsho

place: the mountain peak of Lha zhol brag dkar of Gnyan  
chen po

Ca<sup>47</sup>

length: 177 folios/ vol. 4, 1-320

colophon:

title: གསུང་མཁུར་ཆེན་མོ་

author: Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

subject: a collection of *mgur* by Skäl Idan rgya mtsho

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<sup>47</sup> I have not inserted the chapter headings in the two bound editions, because the headings do not appear in the woodblock editions. They are new and do not explain the general topics of their respective chapters.

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## INDEX

- Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, 397
- A bog, 256
- A chung gnam rdzong, 373
- advice. *See under* behavior; *Gsung 'bum*
- A khu Khri rgan tshang. *See under* *Mgur 'bum*
- alaṃkāra* (poetic figure), 162
- Amdo
- Dge lugs pa school, 17–19
  - maps of, 373
  - return to, 24
  - Skal ldan rgya mtsho's histories of, 12–13
  - teachings in, 321
  - Tsong kha pa, 20–21
- See also under* *Gsung 'bum*;
- Mongols; songs from eastern Tibet or other nomad regions
- animals, conversations with. *See* dialogues: conversations with bees; conversations with lice, fleas and lice eggs
- answers to questions. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- antiphonal Tibetan folk music, 249–50
- recordings, 250
- antiphony, chorus. *See under* singing *mgur* today
- antithesis. *See under* poetic figures, indigenous
- a thung shad*, 415
- Atiśa, 80
- Avalokiteśvara
- experiential manual for, 421
  - instructions about, 421
  - instruction manual for, 422
  - perfection stage of, 419
  - practice of, 420
  - secret practices for, 419
- bar ma chod pa'i zung ldan* (contiguous *yamaka*), 170
- Ba so ba, 406
- Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 62, 66
- bcud len* (*rasāyasa*), 69
- bdag mdun* and *bdag 'jug*. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- Bde ba'i 'byung gnas, 90
- Bde mchog, 62
- Bde mchog lha lnga, *sādhana* for, 412
- bees. *See under* dialogues
- behavior, *Mgur* IV-3, 288–95
- advice
    - Mgur* III-1, 268–73  - despair
    - Mgur* VII-10a, 342–45  - self-criticism, 101
    - Mgur* IV-9, 304–9
    - Mgur* V-11, 312–15
    - Mgur* VI-7, 326–29
- Bhutanese folk music, 248, 253
- biographies by Skal ldan rgya mtsho.
- See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- biography of Skal ldan rgya mtsho. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- Bis mdo, 373
- Bka' bcu, 313
- Bka' brgyud pa sect. *See under* *mgur*
- Bka' gdams pho brang. *See under* Bkra shis 'khyil
- Bkra shis 'khyil
- Bka' gdams pho brang (tantric seminary), 24, 372
  - founding, 372
  - development, teachings, 372
  - location, 20
  - Mahāmudrā* teachings given at, 64
  - mgur* written at, 89
  - principle solitary retreat, 29, 371
  - Skal ldan rgya mtsho's last years at, 374
  - texts written at, 385
  - See also under* Ko'u ba Chos rgya mtsho
- Bkra shis pa thur, 21
- Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil monastery, 21
- Blo bzang. *See under* singing *mgur* today

- Blo bzang bstan 'dzin. *See* Rgyal sras Rin po che Blo bzang bstan 'dzin
- Blo bzang bstan 'dzin 'jigs med 'phrin las, 258, 382
- Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan. *See* Chos pa Rin po che
- Blo bzang chos grags, 29, 391
- Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan. *See* Paṇ chen Lama, first
- Blo bzang dam chos, 416
- Blo bzang rgya mtsho (provost of Sku 'bum), 408
- Blo gros rgya mtsho, 8, 9, 370
- blo sbyong* (spiritual purification), 305, 406
- Blo sbyong don bdun ma* (*Seven Points for Training the Mind*), 405
- bodhisattva precepts, 393
- Bo dhi wa kentra bu nye, 384
- Bod mo, 256, 377
- Brag dkar, 160, 273
- Brag seng ge'i rtse, 386
- Bsam grub bde ldan, 387
- Bsam gtan rgya mtsho, 388, 420
- bsang*, 425
- Bshad sgrub dar rgyas gling, 414, 422
- Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 425
- Bsod nams rin chen, 401
- Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho. *See* Sde pa Chos rje Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho
- Bstan pa dar rgyas, 396
- Bu ston, 61
- Byams pa bzang po, 390
- Byams pa rgya mtsho, 390
- Byang chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod nams, ix, 380, 384
- Co ne Byang chub mi la, 384
- Byang chub Ngag dbang bsod nams. *See* Byang chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod nams
- Byang rtse, 50
- Thos bsam gling (at Dga' ldan monastery), 370
- Cakrasaṃvara (Bde mchog), 62
- caryāgiti*, 78–79
- See also under mgrur*
- caryā* songs, 79, 82
- catalexis. *See under* metric subdivisions
- catalogue. *See under* *Gsung 'bum ching wang*, 21
- Chos dbyings rdo rje (= Skal ldan rgya mtsho), 396, 418
- Chos kyi rdo rje, 62
- Chos pa Rin po che
- biography of, 385–86
- eulogy to, 391
- life, mixed messages, 25
- meditation on, 401
- Paṇ chen Lama, first, studies with 65
- Skal ldan rgya mtsho's formal education, 370
- Skal ldan rgya mtsho's school, 372
- pressure by Chos pa Rin po che over, 24–26
- See also under* Mi la ras pa
- Chos rje Skar rgyal, 50, 64
- Chos thun drug rnal 'byor*, 351
- classical Tibetan verse, meters, 125, 133, 135, 137
- clinging to self, 361
- clinging to truth, 361
- Çogtu Mongols. *See under* Mongols commentaries. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- compassion, iron hook of, 365, 367, 369
- Co ne Byang chub mi la. *See* Byang chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod nams
- continual repetition of a finite verb. *See under* poetic figures, indigenous
- contrafacta, 255
- conversations with bees. *See under* dialogues
- conversations with lice, fleas and lice eggs. *See under* dialogues
- cycles of practices. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- Dalai Lama, fifth, in Amdo, 14–17
- Dalai Lama, sixth. *See under* *gzhas*; poetic figures, indigenous, parallelisms
- dance songs, 139, 142–43, 253–54

- Danḍin. *See under Kāvyaḍarśa*; poetic figures influenced by the *Kāvyaḍarśa*
- Dan tig, 373
- Dbus
- problems in, 10–12
  - source of the teaching, 7–10
- dbyangs dang gnas dang yi ge rnam*  
*kyi nges pa* (phonemic restriction), 181
- See also under* poetic figures influenced by the *Kāvyaḍarśa*
- death, 39–41, 73–74, 99, 104, 107, 269, 299, 305, 317, 345, 367
- despair. *See under* behavior
- Dga' ldan monastery
- formal studies at, 370
- Dga' ldan Oral Tradition of *Mahāmudrā*
- founding, 61–62
  - lineage, 62
  - siddhas' lifestyles, 62–63
    - and Skal ldan rgya mtsho, comparison, 63
- See also under Mahāmudrā*; Pañ chen Lama, first
- Dga' ldan skyed tshal, 411
- Dge 'dun 'od zer. *See under* singing *mgur* today
- Dge ldan bka' brgyud rin po che'i phyag chen rtsa ba rgyal ba'i gzhung lam*, 65
- Dge ldan bka' brgyud rin po che'i phyag chen rtsa ba rgyal ba'i lam yang gsal sgron me*, 65
- Dge ldan phyag chen zab khrid gdams ngag rgya mtsho*, 398
- Dge lugs pa school, 11
- See also under Mahāmudrā*
- Dgon lung Chos rje 'Dan ma Grub chen pa Tshul khribs rgya mtsho, 64
- Dgu chu, 325
- dialogues
- conscience, discussions with, 110
  - conversations with bees
    - Mgur cycle IV-1, 98–102, 276–81
    - sections, 97
    - summary, 98
  - dialogues, conversations with bees (*continued*)
    - Zhabs dkar's autobiography, 108
  - conversations with lice, fleas and lice eggs
    - Mgur cycle IV-2, 104–8, 282–87
    - sections, 103
  - experiential knowledge, 271
  - form enhances messages, 108–11
    - criticism, 108–9
    - language, 109
    - master and disciple, 110
    - metric subdivisions, variance of, 109
    - nature of insects, 110
    - in Mi la ras pa's *mgur*, 108
  - dmangs glu*, 130
  - dohā*, 78–82, 92
    - See also under* metric subdivisions; *mgur*
- Don grub rgyal. *See under* poetic figures, indigenous
- Don yod rdo rje, 418
- Dpa' ris, 373
- Dunhuang. *See under* poetic figures, indigenous
- eristic, 410
- eulogies. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- experiential knowledge, 58, 60, 72–73, 271
- experiential manuals. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- farmers' songs. *See under* songs from eastern Tibet or other nomad regions
- finite verbs. *See under* poetic figures, indigenous
- folk songs
- melodies for *dohā* and *mgur*, 78–79, 81–82
  - See also* singing *mgur* today: influence from; songs from Central Tibet; songs from Eastern Tibet or other nomad regions
- four horns, 9, 11

- gab tshig* (riddle), 182  
     *See also under* poetic figures influenced by the *Kāvyaḍarśa*:  
         *prahelikā*
- gcod*, instruction in, 425  
*gcod yul*, 425
- Ge sar Epic  
     meters in, 123, 124  
     sequences of animals, 220  
     *See also under* poetic figures,  
         indigenous: metaphors
- giti* (song), 78
- glu* (folksongs), 130–31  
     *See also under Kāvyaḍarśa*; *mgur*;  
         ornate poetry (*snyan ngag*);  
         poetic figures, indigenous:  
         parallelisms
- glu shogs*, 131–32
- Gnya' gong brag dkar, 91, 373, 412
- Gnyan chen po Se ku bya khyung, 425
- gradual path to enlightenment, 403,  
     404
- Gradual Path to Enlightenment* by  
     Tsong kha pa, 297, 401, 402
- Grags pa dar rgyas, 414, 415
- Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Yar klungs lo  
     tsā ba: meters, 136
- Grags pa rgyal mtshan (disciple), 423
- Grags pa rgyal mtshan (patron), 402,  
     411, 417
- Gsang 'dus, 62
- Gsang phu, 9–10, 370
- Gsung 'bum*, 384–426  
     contents  
         advice, 411  
         Amdo, brief histories, 394  
         analysis, 409  
         answers to questions, 410  
         *bdag mdun* and *bdag 'jug*, 413  
         biographies of others, 385–90  
         biography of Skal ldan rgya  
             mtsho, 384  
         catalogue, 411  
         commentaries, 395, 397, 409,  
             422  
         cycles of practices, 417  
         eulogies, 389–92  
         experiential manuals, 399,  
             401, 405, 414, 415, 417, 421  
         *Gsung mgur chen mo*, 426  
         *Gsung 'bum*, contents (*continued*)  
             guru yoga, 400  
             instruction manuals, 392, 399,  
                 404, 421–22  
             instructions, 395–97, 402–4,  
                 408, 414–15, 421–22,  
                 424–25  
             introductory instructions, 413–  
                 14, 420–21  
             meditation, 415  
                 and recitation, 418  
             petitions, 390, 391, 398  
             practices, 418  
             prayer and good wishes, 416  
             precepts, 392–94  
             reciting mantras, 423  
             ritual text, 419  
             *sādhana*, 411–12  
             secret practices, 419  
             self-empowerment, 412  
             *Vajra* songs, 416  
             other styles vs. style of *mgur*, 77  
             summary, 77  
         *Gsung mgur chen mo*, 426  
         *See also* *Mgur 'bum*
- gtor ma*  
     sending at an evil spirit, 424
- Gtor ma brgya rtsa*, 424
- Gtsang, 10–12
- Gtsang smyon He ru ka, 45, 79, 83,  
     124
- gtum mo* (inner heat), 49, 58, 67, 68,  
     415
- Guhyasamāja (Gsang 'dus), 62
- guru yoga. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*.
- Gushri Khan, 1, 21, 47
- gzhas*, 122–23, 145  
     in Central Tibet, 122  
     in Eastern Tibet, 122  
     of sixth Dalai Lama, 122
- Gzhis ka rtse. *See under* songs from  
     Central Tibet
- happiness, 27–28, 43–44, 104, 106,  
     178–79, 305, 313, 331, 333
- Mgur V-8, 310–11
- Mgur VII-11, 346–51
- hermitages and solitary places, 24–44
- Mgur VII-6, 336–39
- Mgur VII-7, 340–41



- hermitages and solitary places  
     (*continued*)  
     Mgur VII-10a, 342–45  
     Mgur VII-17, 352–55  
*Hevajra* tantra, 79  
 histories of Amdo by Skäl Idan rgya  
     mtsho. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*  
 Hor nag, 256, 376–379  
     Hor nag Ri gong ma, 376–379  
     Hor nag Ri zhol ma, 376  
 Hor Sog po, 3
- impermanence, 27  
     Mgur V-16a, 316–19  
     Mgur V-21, 324–25  
 imploration to deceased lamas  
     Mgur V-20, 320–23  
     Mgur X-9, 364–69  
 Indian meters, vowels, stanza  
     patterns. *See under* *Kāvyādarśa*  
 insects. *See under* dialogues  
 instruction manuals. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*  
 instructions. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*  
 integration with teachings, 12, 32–33,  
     269  
     Mgur VII-6, 336–39  
 interdependent origination, 361  
 interjections. *See under* poetic figures,  
     indigenous  
 introductory instructions. *See under*  
     *Gsung 'bum*
- 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, 21  
 'Jam dbyangs smra ba'i seng ge, 418  
 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, 49  
 'Jigs byed, 62  
     completion stage of, 415  
 Ji kin Lake, 20  
 Jo khang, 371  
*Ju nang*. *See under* Mongols  
*Jun wang*. *See under* Mongols
- Kab rom, 160  
 K'ang hsi emperor, 22  
 karma, 103, 104, 105, 106, 305, 315,  
     361  
 Karma pa, first, Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's  
     homage to, 47  
 Karma pas: petition to, 390
- Kāvyādarśa* (*The Mirror of Poetics*),  
     by Daṇḍin, 162  
 Indian meters, vowels, stanza  
     patterns, 165–66  
*mgur* and *glu*, influence on, 163–64  
 Skäl Idan rgya mtsho, exposure  
     to, 164–65  
 Tibet, influence in, 162–64  
     seven stages, 171  
*See also under* *mgur*; poetic figures,  
     indigenous; poetic figures  
     influenced by the *Kāvyādarśa*  
*kāvya* (ornate poetry), 162  
 Khams, 10–11, 12, 19, 23  
     songs from, meters, 124  
*See also under* songs from eastern  
     Tibet or other nomad regions  
 'Khor lo bde mchog, 36, 412  
 'Khor lo bde mchog dril bu lha lnga,  
     perfection stage of, 414  
 'Khor lo bde mchog dril bu phyi dkyil  
     lha lnga, 412  
 'Khor lo bde mchog lha lnga, 413  
 'Khor lo sdom pa, 91  
 Khri rgyan 'Jam dbyangs Dge 'dun  
     bstan 'dzin, 382  
 Khri shor rgyal mo, Lake (Kokonor), 4  
     Mgur VII-19, 356–59  
 Khyung bo, 256  
 Ko brag pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan, 218–  
     19  
*See also under* poetic figures,  
     indigenous: parallelisms
- Ko ra, 160  
 Ko'u rin po che Chos rgya mtsho dpal  
     bzang po  
     biography of, 390  
     sad song for, 91  
     symbolized by lice, fleas and lice  
     eggs, 97  
     teachings at Bkra shis 'khyil, 371  
 Kṛṣṇācārya, 61  
 Kun dga' legs pa, 402–403  
 Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 386, 387, 389,  
     420, 422
- la gzhas*, 132–33  
     meters in, 127  
*See also under* stanzas with patterns  
     of repetition

- lama, 32, 40, 98–99, 102, 297, 305, 311, 313, 321, 361
- Lawapa, 61
- Lcang shar, 414, 422
- Lha gnyan rgod, 89
- Lhasa. *See under* songs from Central Tibet
- Lha zhol brag dkar of Gnyan chen po, 425
- lice, fleas and lice eggs. *See under* dialogues
- Lo ras, 49
- Lüpa, 413–14
- Madhyamaka*, 395, 396  
*See also under* Bkra shis 'khyil;  
 Dga' ldan Oral Tradition of  
*Mahāmudrā*; Paṇ chen Lama,  
 first
- Ma hā de ba, 357
- Mahāmudrā*  
 definitions, 60  
 in Dge lugs pa school, 61–63  
 early history, 61  
 nature of mind, 68–73  
 Paṇ chen Lama, first  
   involvement with, 62–63, 65  
   writings on, 62  
 Skäl ldan rgya mtsho's writings  
   on, 65–66  
   Dga' ldan oral tradition of,  
   manual for, 399  
   instruction manual for, 399  
   lineage, petition to, 398  
 Tsong kha pa  
   six yogas and *Mahmudrā*,  
   relation of, 68  
   transmission to, 61
- mahāsiddhas*, 61, 80–81  
 eighty-four, 61  
*See also under* *mgur*
- Mahāvvyutpatti*, 85
- Maitripa, 80
- ma ni khang* (special house for singing  
*mgur*), 256
- Mañjuśrī, 61
- mantras  
 reciting, 423  
*See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros, 46, 61  
 biography of, 216–17  
*See also under* *mgur*
- Mdo khams, 11
- Mdo khams sgang gsum, 11
- Mdo smad, 11
- Mdzo dge, 373
- meditation, 102, 105, 271, 301, 405  
 how to practice for six watches,  
 407  
*See also under* *Gsung 'bum*
- meditation and recitation. *See under*  
*Gsung 'bum*
- merit, 30, 331
- metaphors. *See under* poetic figures,  
 indigenous
- meter  
 Indian, 165  
 Tibetan, syllables per line  
   four, 117–18  
   five, 118–21  
   six, 121–23  
   seven, 123–27  
   eight, 127–35  
   nine, 135–36  
   ten, 136–37  
*See also under* Ge sar epic; Khams;  
*la gzhas*; Mi la ras pa
- metric subdivisions  
 catalexis, 129  
 in *dohās* translated into Tibetan,  
 124, 136  
 in Skäl ldan rgya mtsho's *mgur*  
 (tables), 116, 128  
 tetrasyllabic foot, 114–15  
 Tibetan description of, 113–14  
 Western descriptions of, 114–15  
   stressed/ unstressed, 114  
   strong/ weak, 114–15
- four syllables per line  
 2 + 2, 117
- five syllables per line  
 3 + 2, 118–19
- six syllables per line  
 2 + 2 + 2, 121–22
- seven syllables per line  
 2 + 2 + 3, 123–25  
 2 + 3 + 2, 126–27  
 3 + 2 + 2, 125–26

metric subdivisions (*continued*)

- eight syllables per line
  - 1 + 2 + 2 + 3, 128–33
  - 2 + 1 + 2 + 3, 135
  - 2 + 2 + 2 + 2, 134
  - 2 + 3 + 3, 134
  - 3 + 2 + 3, 133

## nine syllables per line

- 2 + 2 + 2 + 3, 135–36

## ten syllables per line

- 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2, 137
- 2 + 3 + 2 + 3, 136–37

*See also under* dialogues

Mgon po, 50

Mgon lung, 256

*mgur*

Bka' brgyud pa sect, 82

genre, development of, 78–85

India, *dohā* and *caryāgiti*,  
78–79

*Kāvyaḍarśa*, 83

lama's instructions (*zhal*  
*gdams*), 82, 83

*mahāsiddhas*, 82

Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros,  
79–80

Mi la ras pa, 80–81

Gtsang smyon He ru ka's  
compilation, 83

Sa skya Paṇḍita, 83–84

*glu* and *snyan ngag*, within the  
context of, 85

Skal ldan rgya mtsho, means of

expression for, 85–93

inspiration, nature, 90

joy, 89

sadness, 91–92

spontaneity, 92

*snga dar*, 81

Tibetan folk songs, 81

*See also under* *Kāvyaḍarśa*; *Mgur*  
*'bum*; ornate poetry (*snyan*  
*ngag*); poetic figures influenced  
by the *Kāvyaḍarśa*

*Mgur 'bum*, 380–83

A khu Khri rgan tshang, copy by,  
381

citations of verse in the biography,  
380–81

*Mgur 'bum* (*continued*)

critical edition of, 382–83

dating compilation, 380–81

dating *mgur*, 86–87

extant versions, 381–82

petitioners, recipients, 88

Rong bo monastery, carved at,  
382

scribes, 90

specifying *mgur* in (author's  
method), 2

topics (table), 86

*See also under* poetic figures,  
indigenous

*Mgur rang gi rgyan*, by Don grub  
rgyal, 185

Mi la Bzhad pa'i rdo rje (= Mi la ras  
pa), 49

Mi la ras pa

Chos pa Rin po che

dream of, 52–53

posture before death, 53, 54–56

reincarnation of, 48–52

relationship to, 48–56

direct path, 45

life in brief, 45–46

lifestyle, similarities with Skal ldan  
rgya mtsho and Chos pa Rin po  
che, 59

meters in, 124, 137

*mgur 'bum*, 81

Skal ldan rgya mtsho

iconography like, 59

idolization of, 37–38

relationship to, 56–59

Skal ldan ras pa, 58

writings on Mi la ras pa

guru yoga for, 400

relics of, in Zho phug rdo  
rje, 411

*See also under* Chos pa Rin po che;  
dialogues; *mgur*; poetic figures,  
indigenous: continual repetition  
of a finite verb, parallelisms,  
sequences of numbers; Rong bo  
monastery; singing *mgur* today;  
Skal ldan rgya mtsho

Mkhar gong, 389, 420

Mkhas grub Sangs rgyas ye shes, 62

- Mnga' ris skor gsum, 11–12  
 Mo nom g.yu rtse, 89  
 Mongols  
   in Amdo, 2–5  
   Çogtu, 1  
   *Ju nang*, 1–2, 21–22, 374  
     title, 374  
   *Jun wang*, 21  
   Ordos, 1  
   Qoshot, 1  
     Gushri Khan, 1, 21, 47  
   Tümed, 1  
     Qoloči, 21, 374  
 mountain hermitages, 37–38, 39, 56,  
   331, 341, 345, 355, 363  
*mudrā* friends, 68  
  
 Nāgārjuna, 61  
   *Madhyamakakārikā*, 395  
 Nag yu za Snying mo, 370  
 Nam mkha' don grub, 389, 420  
*Nā ro'i chos drug*, 63  
   instruction in, 414  
 Nārōpa, 46, 61, 81  
 nature  
   Mgur VII-2, 330–35  
   Mgur VII-11, 347–51  
   Mgur VII-19, 356–59  
 Ngag dbang bsod nams. *See* Byang  
   chub mi la Ngag dbang bsod  
   nams  
 Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin, 400  
 Ngag dbang chos kyi dbang phyug, Ba  
   so incarnate, 406  
 Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, 411  
*ni* (particle), 119–21, 127, 153  
*niyama*. *See under* poetic figures influ-  
   enced by the *Kāvyādarśa*  
 nomad or mountain songs. *See under*  
   songs from eastern Tibet or  
   other nomad regions  
 numbers. *See* poetic figures,  
   indigenous: sequences of  
  
 Ordos Mongols. *See under* Mongols  
 ornate poetry. *See under* *snyan ngag*  
 outer and hand offerings, 412  
  
*pāda*, 78  
 Padma dbang can. *See under* singing  
   *mgur* today  
 Padma dkar po, Kun mkhyen 'Brug pa,  
   115  
 Paṇ chen Lama, first  
   Dga' ldan Oral Tradition of  
     *Mahāmudrā*, lineage of, 62  
   *Gtor ma brgya rtsa*, 424  
   *Mahāmudrā*, writings on, 62–63  
   Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
     imploration for aid from Paṇ  
       chen Lama at death, 73–74  
     ordination of, by Paṇ chen  
       Lama, first, x, 370–71  
     questions answered by Paṇ chen  
       Lama, first, 395  
   *See also under* Chos pa Rin po che;  
   *Mahāmudrā*  
 parallelisms. *See under* poetic figures,  
   indigenous  
 path and stages, 403  
 petitions. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*  
 Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas, 157  
 Phu se ku, 35, 90, 91  
*phyag rgya chen po* (*Mahāmudrā*), 60  
*phyag rgya chen po'i 'khrīd*, 409  
 poetic figures influenced by the  
   *Kāvyādarśa*  
   contiguous vs. discontiguous, 167  
   Daṇḍin's definition, 162, 165–66  
   *mgur*, applied to: liberties and  
     simplifications, 173, 174  
   *niyama* (phonemic restriction)  
     explanation, 180–81  
     *svara* (vowel restriction),  
       180–81  
   *prahelikā* (riddle), 182  
   *vyutkranta* (disjointed),  
     182–83  
*yamaka*  
   bitten between the teeth,  
     175–77  
   contiguous initial, first foot,  
     167–71  
   contiguous initial, last foot,  
     171–73  
   explanation, 166–67

- poetic figures influenced by the  
*Kāvyādarśa*, *yamaka* (*continued*)  
 same first syllables, 177–80  
 second and third syllables the  
 same, 173–74
- poetic figures, indigenous  
 antithesis, 222–23
- Don grub rgyal  
 examples, 185  
 indigenous figures, 185–88  
 necessary figures from  
*Kāvyādarśa*, 186–87
- finite verb, continual repetition of,  
 224–26  
 in *Kāvyādarśa*, 226  
 in *Mgur 'bum*, 224–25  
 origin of, 226  
 in *Mi la ras pa*, 225–26
- interjections, 228–46  
 Don grub rgyal, list of, 228–29  
 in *Mgur 'bum*  
*Mgur* IV-8, 296–303  
*Mgur* VIII-26, 360–63  
 syntax, 246  
*a la la*, 232–33  
*a li lo mo a li, a li, a a li lo*  
*mo*, 233–36  
*a me*, 151, 229–30  
*a'u*, 241–43  
*e go*, 238–39  
*e ma ho*, 231  
*go ye*, 151  
*ha ha*, 151, 230–31  
*he he*, 241–44  
*kho re*, 241–43  
*kye*, 239–40  
*kye kye*, 240  
*kye ma*, 241  
*'o 'o*, 241–43  
*ya*, 236–37  
*ya yi ya yi*, 245
- metaphors, 206–17  
 in *Ge sar* epic, 216  
 in *Kāvyādarśa*, 215  
 in *Mar pa*, biography of,  
 216, 217  
 in *Mgur 'bum*  
 frequency of occurrences  
 (table), 206–207  
 origin of style, 215–17
- poetic figures, indigenous, metaphors,  
 in *Mgur 'bum* (*continued*)  
 unusual usage, 213–15  
*Mgur* IV-3, 288–95  
 flowers, 210–11  
 iron hook of compassion,  
 73–74, 364–69  
 nectar, 209–10  
 rain of ... falls, 207–8  
 sun rising/ shining, 211–13
- parallelisms, 217–22  
 in *glu*, 219  
 in *Kāvyādarśa*, 220–21  
 in *Ko brag pa Blo gros rgyal*  
*mtshan*, 218–19  
 in *Mgur 'bum*, 217–18  
*Mgur* VII-17, 352–55  
 origin of, 221–22  
 in *Mi la ras pa*, 219–20  
 in sixth Dalai Lama, 221
- rgyan*, definitions, 162, 185
- sequences of numbers, 226–28  
 in *Mgur 'bum*, 226–27, 228  
 in *Mi la ras pa*, 227–28
- similes, 189–205  
 Dunhuang, examples from,  
 204–5  
 in folksongs (*glu*), 205  
 indigenous, 203–5  
 in *Kāvyādarśa*, 202–3  
 in *Mgur 'bum*  
*'dra*, introduced by, 201–2  
 frequency of occurrences  
 (table), 189–90  
 eyeball, 197–98  
 fiery pit, 199  
 fire, 200–201  
 moon, 196–97  
 rain, 193–95  
 river, 191–93  
 son, 198–99  
 torch circling around,  
 199–200
- practice, 43, 57, 108, 271, 301, 325
- practices. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*  
*prahelikā*. *See under* poetic figures  
 influenced by the *Kāvyādarśa*
- prayer and good wishes. *See under*  
*Gsung 'bum*
- precepts. *See under* *Gsung 'bum*
- primordial, clear light, 361

- Qoloči, 21, 374  
 Qoshot Mongols, 1  
     Gushri Khan, 1, 21, 47
- Rājaparīkathārātnāvalī*, by Nāgārjuna, 409
- ras pa* (title), 58
- Rdo bis, 373
- Rdo rje 'jigs byed, completion stage, 415–17
- Rdo rje 'jigs byed dpa' bo gcig pa, 416
- reasoning, 361
- Reb gong, 341  
     corruption, 5–6  
     eight holy places, 5, 21, 373  
     Reb gong gser ljongs, 370  
     Se ku bya khyung, protector of, 347
- reciting mantras. *See under Gsung 'bum*
- refuge, 315, 392
- renunciation, 41–43, 269, 275, 305, 307  
     vs. attachment, 329
- Rgod tshang Mgon po rdo rje, 49
- Rgyal ba Dben sa pa, 62
- Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho, 370
- Rgyal sras Rin po che Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, 20, 401  
     Chos pa Rin po che, reincarnation of Mi la ras pa, 50, 63–64  
     Skal ldan rgya mtsho receives advice from, 63–64
- rgyan* (poetic figure), 162, 185  
     *See also* poetic figures influenced by the *Kāvyaśāstra*; poetic figures, indigenous
- Ri bo dge 'phel, 387
- rim pa bral ba* (disjointed riddle), 182
- Rin chen byams. *See under* singing *mgur* today
- Rin chen phreng ba'i smon lam*, 409
- rituals. *See Gsung 'bum*: contents; singing *mgur* today
- rlung* (wind), 49, 67
- Rma chen sbom [or: spom] ra, 16
- Rma klung, 6
- Rnal 'byor Chags pa khri mchog, 49
- Rong bo dgon (not Rong bo [dgon chen]) monastery. *See under* singing *mgur* today
- Rong bo [dgon chen] monastery  
     reincarnation of Mi la ras pa at, 48  
     Thos bsam gling (philosophical college), 24, 372  
     *See also under Mgur 'bum*
- Rong bo Khri chen, 382
- Rong bo mar nang gi brag dkar, 373
- Rong bo Mkhar 'bum rgyal, 370
- Rta mgrin, 50
- Rta mgrin lcags ral can, 418
- Rtogs ldan 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho, 62
- rtsa* (channels), 67
- Rtse shar, 370
- sādhana*. *See Gsung 'bum*
- saṃdaṣṭa yamaka* (sound elements are bitten between the teeth), 177
- śāmmatha (zhi gnas)*, 408
- Sangs rgyas chos 'phel. *See under* singing *mgur* today
- Saraha, 80
- Sa skya Paṇḍita, 124  
     *See also under mgur*
- Sde pa Chos [kyi] rje Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang po, 388
- Sde pa Chos rje Bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho, 371  
     in Amdo, 13  
     biography of, 13  
     at Lake Khri shor rgyal mo, 359  
     Skal ldan rgya mtsho's lama, 13–14  
     imploration to, Mgur V-20, 320–23  
     *mgur* inspired by, 90  
     teachings from, 36
- secret practices. *See under Gsung 'bum*
- Se ku bya khyung, 347
- self-empowerment. *See under Gsung 'bum*
- sequences of numbers. *See under* poetic figures, indigenous
- Se ra Rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, 387
- sgra rgyan* (verbal figures), 166
- Sgrol ma, commentary on, 422  
     *Sgrol ma'i ti kka*, 422
- Sgyed gsum, 35, 69, 90
- Sgyed gsum mthon po, 403
- Shel dgon, 373
- Shes rab bkra shis, xiii, 249, 395

- sho lo ka* (stanza), 112, 139  
 siddha. *See under* Dga' ldan Oral  
     Tradition of *Mahāmudrā*  
 similes. *See under* poetic figures,  
     indigenous  
 singing, 309, 335  
 singing *mgur* today  
     antiphony, chorus, 249–50  
     Hor nag Ri gong ma, 376–79  
     Hor nag Ri gong ma and Ri zhol  
     ma, 376  
     influence from folk songs, 250,  
     252–55  
     lay tradition, lay soloists, 256–57  
     Padma dbang can, 377  
     Rin chen byams, 376, 377, 379  
     melodies, 251–55  
     Mi la ras pa, 247–48  
     recordings of, 247–48  
     monk soloists  
     Blo bzang, 376  
     Dge 'dun 'od zer, 376–379  
     Rong bo dgon, 376, 378  
     Sangs rgyas chos 'phel, 378  
     summer solstice festival, 257,  
     376–79  
     musical context, 249–55  
     ritual contexts, 256–57  
     Rong bo dgon as source, 257  
     Skal ldan rgya mtsho's style,  
     indicative of, 252–55  
     standardization questions  
     in Mi la ras pa, 247–48  
     in Skal ldan rgya mtsho, 248  
     Zhabs dkar, 256  
 six yogas, 61  
 six yogas of Nāropa, 61, 63  
     instructions in, 414  
 Skal ldan rgya mtsho  
     Amdo  
     actions to improve, 21–22  
     return to, teachings received, 371  
     behavior, self-criticism, 38–41  
     biography of, 384  
     summary, 370–75  
     Blo gros rgya mtsho, ordination by,  
     8–9  
     in Dbus  
     at Dga' ldan, 8–9  
     empowerments received, 370–71  
     disciples of, 374–75  
     Skal ldan rgya mtsho (*continued*)  
     education, formal, 370–71  
     hermit, quest to be, 371–73  
     hermitages  
     activities in, 31  
     delight in, 29–31  
     focus on, 25–29  
     purpose in, 32–44  
     home, departure from, 39  
     iconography, 258  
     integration with teachings, 32–36  
     Mi la ras pa, idolization of, 37–38  
     Mongol lords  
     lama of, 373–74  
     patronized by, 22  
     Paṇ chen lama, first, ordination  
     by, 370–71  
     positions, ending of, 29  
     reincarnation line, 258  
     present incarnation, 258  
     renunciation, 41–43  
     schools, 372  
     Skal ldan ras pa, 58  
     *See also under* Dga' ldan Oral  
     Tradition of *Mahāmudrā*;  
     *Kāvyādarśa*; *Mahāmudrā*; *mgur*;  
     Mi la ras pa; Paṇ chen Lama,  
     first; Chos pa Rin po che; Bkra  
     shis 'khyil; singing *mgur* today  
 Sku 'bum, 20, 373  
 Sngags sa, 256  
*snyan ngag* (ornate poetry), 162  
     *glu* and *mgur*, in comparison with,  
     162–63  
     *See also under mgur*  
 songs from Central Tibet, 254  
     Gzhis ka rtse, 254  
     Lhasa, 254  
 songs from eastern Tibet or other nomad  
     regions  
     Amdo, 254  
     Eastern Tibet, 254  
     farmers' songs, 253  
     folk songs, 252  
     Khams, 254  
     nomad or mountain songs, 254  
     recordings, 253, 255  
*Sprul pa'i glegs bam chen mo*  
     (*Miraculous Volume*), 61  
 stabilizing the mind, 408

- stanza lengths  
   in Skäl Idan rgya mtsho's *mgur*,  
     summary, 140  
   two lines, 154–57  
   three lines, 150–54  
   four lines, 140–47  
     quatrain: popularity and usage,  
       146  
   five lines, 147–50  
     exceptionally long, 157–61  
 stanza, notion of in Tibet, 139  
 stanzas with patterns of repetition,  
   141–45  
     dance songs, 142  
     *la gzhaz*, 143, 145  
 Stong ces, 256  
 Stong skor Hutughtu, 359  
 suffering, 305, 315  
 Sukhasiddhi, 61  
 summer solstice festival. *See under*  
   singing *mgur* today  
 syllables. *See under* meter, metric  
   subdivisions; poetic figures  
   influenced by the *Kāvyādarśa*:  
     *yamaka*; *tsheg bar*; *tsheg bar*  
     *cha*; *tsheg bar do mi mnyam pa*;  
     *tsheg bar do mnyam pa*  
 tantric precepts, 393  
 tantric texts  
   general analysis of, 409  
   catalogue, 411  
 tetrasyllabic foot. *See* metric  
   subdivisions  
 Thar pa gling, 403  
 Thar pa'i rgyal mtshan, 390  
*thig le* (drops), 67, 73, 367  
 Thos bsam gling, 345, 372  
   *See also under* Rong bo  
   monastery  
 Thos bsam rgya mtsho, 90, 385, 390,  
   391, 392, 396, 397, 399, 403,  
   407, 410, 411  
 Thos pa dga' (Mi la ras pa's childhood  
   name), 56  
 Thugs rje chen po rgyal ba rgya  
   mtsho, 419  
 Tilopa, 46, 49, 61, 81  
 transference of consciousness at  
   death, 55, 73–74  
 Tshe dpag med, 50  
*tsheg bar* (syllable), 112  
   *See also* syllables  
*tsheg bar cha* (a foot of two syllables),  
   117  
   *See also* syllables  
*tsheg bar do mi mnyam pa* (lines with  
   different number of syllables),  
   113  
   *See also* syllables  
*tsheg bar do mnyam pa* (lines with the  
   same number of syllables), 112  
   *See also* syllables  
*tshig rkang* (line of verse), 112  
 Tshul khriims bkra shis, 398  
 Tshul khriims chos 'phel, 370  
 Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan, 90  
 Tsong kha, 11  
 Tsong kha pa  
   *Mahāmudrā*  
     involvement with, 61–62  
     writings on, 62  
     petition to, 66, 398  
     Tilopa's practices, synthesis of, 48,  
       61  
     *See also under Mahāmudrā*  
 Tümed Mongols, 1  
   Qoloçi, governor, 21, 374  
 tutelary deities, 417  
 Vajrabhairava ('Jigs byed), 62  
 Vajrācāryas in Nepal, 79  
*vajragiti*, 78, 81, 82  
 Vajrapāṇi, 80  
*Vajra* songs, 416  
   *See also under* *Gsung 'bum*  
 verb, finite, continual repetition of.  
   *See under* poetic figures,  
   indigenous  
 verse attributed to the *snga dar*, 153  
*Vinaya* precepts, 393  
 vows, 102, 363  
*vyutkrāntā* (disjoined riddle), 182–83  
   *See also under* poetic figures  
   influenced by the *Kāvyādarśa*:  
     *prahelikā*  
*yamaka* (variations of phonemic  
   repetition), 166–67  
   *See also under* poetic figures  
   influenced by the *Kāvyādarśa*  
 Yang tig, 373



Yangtse River, 11

Yellow River, 11

Zhabs dkar Tshogs drug rang grol, xi

*See also under* dialogues; singing  
*mgur* today

Zhabs drung Rin po che (symbolized by  
bees), 97

*zhal gdams. See under mgur*

Zhang zhung Chos dbang grags pa, 49

Zhi ba 'od, 49

*zhi gnas*, 408

CONTENTS OF THE ACCOMPANYING CD OF  
SKAL LDAN RGYA MTSHO'S SONGS

TIBETAN SONGS OF REALIZATION:  
A CONTINUING TRADITION FROM THE 17th CENTURY

1. Mgur VII-7	Dge 'dun 'od zer, soloist	03:37
2. Mgur V-20	Rin chen byams	10:29
3. Mgur X-12, exc.	Blo bzang	06:08
4. Mgur XIII-8, exc.	Padma dbang can	02:07
5. Mgur VII-10a	Rin chen byams	11:30
6. Mgur VII-11	Dge 'dun 'od zer	07:02
7. Mgur XII-15, exc.	Padma dbang can	01:21
8. Mgur III-7, exc.	Sangs rgyas chos 'phel	05:05
9. Mgur II-2, exc.	Sangs rgyas chos 'phel	02:41
10. Mgur V-8	Dge 'dun 'od zer	02:56
11. Mgur VII-6	Dge 'dun 'od zer	04:01
12. Mgur X-9	Rin chen byams	19:41

Villagers of Hor nag Ri gong ma, Hor nag Ri zhol ma and Bod mo sing the choruses.

These songs were recorded on the Tibetan plateau in the villages of Hor nag Ri gong ma and Bod mo, Qinghai, P.R.C., in the summers of 2000, 2001 and 2002.

Notes for the songs are in Appendix C, with references to the Tibetan texts and translations in Appendix A.

Compiled, recorded, translated and annotated by Victoria Sujata  
Audio engineer: William Countie at the Media Production Center,  
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