The Jeweled Fish Hook:
Monastic Exemplarity in the *Shalu Abbatial History*

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Centre for the Study of Religion
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This dissertation is an in-depth study of the nineteenth-century Shalu Abbatial History, a collection of biographies of abbots and other important religious masters, or lamas, from the Tibetan monastery of Shalu, located in the Tibetan region of Tsang. Examining the History in conjunction with the autobiography of its author, Losel Tengyong (b. 1804), and vis-à-vis other texts from Shalu, reveals, I argue, that the Shalu Abbatial History is a guidebook of conduct that prescribes to the Shalu monk, its intended reader, a discrete pattern of exemplarity that constitutes the author's own particular vision of what a noble lama should be within the Shalu tradition.

The constitution of this pattern of exemplarity is examined within four themes of virtuous conduct: the dedication to resolving congregational conflicts, the literalist observance of the Buddhist disciplinary code contained within the Vinaya, the devotion to the preservation of books, and the power to successfully exploit violent rituals to protect the monastic tradition. The prescriptive vision, moreover, constituted by these four virtuous themes, lies not only within the History itself, but also more broadly in the
inter textual connections that clarify this prescription and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition—the world that has generated, and is reflected within, the text.
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List of Conventions

1. Tibetan Transliteration
The spelling of Tibetan words in the body of this dissertation generally follows the
phonetic transcription system employed by Ronald Davidson in *Tibetan Renaissance*
(with the exception of terms that appear in Wylie transliteration in parentheses).\(^1\) A
table of orthographic correspondences of Tibetan phonetic transcription to the Wylie
transliteration system is included at the end of this dissertation. The Wylie
transliteration of Tibetan is used in all footnotes, with the exception of proper names of
persons and places, which remain phoneticized (unless they appear in the Tibetan
[Wylie] transcription of a translated passage, or as part of a Tibetan bibliographic
reference).

2. Tibetan Capitalization
This dissertation capitalizes the first letter only for Tibetan text titles, person names,
and place names, not the Tibetan root letter.

3. Spelling
This dissertation uses American spelling.

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\(^1\) See the "Pronunciation Guide," immediately following page xiv in Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005). The phonetic transcription system used in this dissertation differs from Davidson's in several respects. Here, the letter <é>, for instance, only appears in a word's final syllable.
4. Dates

Dates for individuals and texts, unless otherwise noted, are based on the electronic database of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC) and on the Table of Contents for the Tibetan manuscript of the Shalu Abbatial History.

5. Foreign Terminology in Parentheses

Certain English terms and phrases are followed by equivalents in Tibetan, and in some cases, in Tibetan and Sanskrit. In the case that both Tibetan and Sanskrit equivalents are provided, the Tibetan and Sanskrit words are separated by a semicolon, for example: "... patience (bzod pa; kṣānti) ..." In cases where two Tibetan synonyms are provided for an English word or phrase, the Tibetan terms are separated by a slash, for example: "... final testament (bka' chems/zhal chems) ..." In cases where a list of English words are provided with Tibetan equivalents, a list of Tibetan words, separated by commas, sequentially follows the English list, for example "... reincarnation or emanation (sprul sku, sprul pa) ..." Finally, cases in which both a phoneticized and its corresponding transliterated Tibetan (Wylie) term follow an English word, the Tibetan words are separated by an em-dash, for example "... spiritual activities (gechor—dge sbyor) ..."

6. Hypothetical Sanskrit Reconstructions from Tibetan

Hypothetical Sanskrit reconstructions from Tibetan are preceded by an asterisk (*).

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7. Italicization of Foreign Terminology

Foreign words are always italicized, unless they are commonly used in the English language, such as dharma and lama.
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Finally, thank you to my family. To Sarah, I thank you for your valuable perspectives, copy editing, delectable cooking, and constant support, encouragement, and love. To Noah and Eli, I thank you for your profound teachings on patience, compassion, and wakefulness, and endless distractions, silliness, affection, and joy.
General Introduction

In the year 1835, the Tibetan monk Losel Tengyong (b. 1804), aged 32, set out to write a seven-century long history of the abbots and lamas of Shalu monastery,\(^3\) entitled the *Shalu Abbatial History* (hereafter: the *History*).\(^4\) As he composed his manuscript, perhaps Losel Tengyong gazed down upon Shalu's central buildings from his hillside residence of Ripuk.\(^5\) Surrounded by stacks of the monastery's texts, observing monks coming and going from his window, and pausing from his research and writing to consult his elders on the monastery's past, how did Losel Tengyong choose to characterize the institution of Shalu at this moment in time? How did this single monk wish to convey the history of the institution within whose teaching traditions and administration he was fully engrossed for most of his life? What of the author's immediate world, and what of the author himself, is reflected in this compendium? What can be known about the nature of the forces that wove this biographical collection together; what can be known about the world and the author that generated this text? This dissertation attempts to answer these questions.

The principal work under examination in this dissertation is the *History*, a compendium of biographies of abbots and other important religious masters, or lamas

\(^3\) The Tibetan monastery of Shalu was founded in the mid-eleventh century in the region of Tsang (Gtsang). See the discussion on three possible dates for the foundation of Shalu—1001, 1027, or 1039—beginning on page 91 in Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London: Serindia, 1990).

\(^4\) This text is referred to by its short Tibetan title—the *Zha lu gdan rabs* (*The History of the* Zha lu Abbatial Succession)—in this dissertation's footnotes. For full bibliographic details (and in some cases, the full titles) of the Tibetan manuscripts cited in this dissertation, please refer to the Tibetan-language bibliography. Losel Tengyong's autobiography mentions that the *History* was commissioned in the wood-sheep year (1835). E. Gene Smith's English introduction to the Tibetan woodblock manuscript of the *Zha lu gdan rabs* (p. 1, note 2) points out that events dated later than 1835 may be later additions composed by the author or the text's editor(s).

\(^5\) When I refer to the "monastery of Shalu" or "Shalu" in this dissertation, I am referring to a large monastic complex, which includes, according to Shalu's literature, a "lower/main Shalu" (*zha mthil*), and the adjacent hermitage of Ripuk.
(bla ma), affiliated with Shalu. This text is an example of a common type of Tibetan monastic literature, the ecclesiastical biographical compendium: a collection of biographies of masters, often abbots, affiliated with a particular monastic tradition.\(^6\)

The History's full title reveals that the work is a "biography-history" or "historical biography" (\textit{n\textipa{m} thar lo rgyus}),\(^7\) which we may gloss as a "history (lo rgyus) gathered from biographies (\textit{n\textipa{m} thar})" based on an explanation of the text's title provided within the text itself. Losel Tengyong writes, "this [text], entitled \textit{Entrance to Wonderful Devotion}, [is] a book of history (lo rgyus) that was gathered from a mere fraction of the life stories of the holy beings who were extremely gracious towards the teachings of the glorious Shalu community."\(^8\) Fully entitled \textit{Entrance to Wonderful Devotion: The History [Drawn From] Biographies of the Holy Persons Who Were Extremely Gracious Towards the Teachings of the Glorious Shalu Community},\(^9\) the History presents the biographies of lamas

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\(^6\) My use of the word "compendium" broadly follows the second definition of the word as "a collection of things, especially one systematically gathered" in the \textit{New Oxford American Dictionary} (entry for "compendium"), but also specifically denotes a collection of biographies of \textit{different individuals}, assembled by \textit{one author}. A "biographical compendium" in this study hence differs from Tibetan texts that narrate the lives of \textit{single personages} in compendia of their "qualities" (\textit{yon tan}). On this type of "biographical compendium," see chapter 4 in Andrew H. Quintman, "Mi La Ras Pa's Many Lives: Anatomy of a Tibetan Biographical Corpus" (University of Michigan, 2006). My use of the adjective "ecclesiastical," furthermore, distinguishes the History, and texts like it, from other biographical compendia, such as collections of \textit{jātakas} and \textit{Avadānas}.

\(^7\) For a recent discussion of the term \textit{n\textipa{m} thar lo rgyus}, see Andrew Quintman: "Between History and Biography: Notes on Zhi byed ri pa's \textit{Illuminating Lamp of Sun and Moon Beams}, a Fourteenth-Century Biographical State of the Field," \textit{Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines} 23 (2012), 5-41. On the term \textit{lo rgyus}, Leonard van der Kuijp writes, "The expression \textit{lo rgyus}, literally 'tidings of year[s],' is only very occasionally best rendered by 'annals.' It is far more often the case that works with this term in their title do not fulfill what is promised by such a rendition, that is to say, they do not at all give a year-by-year account of their subject-matter, but rather present a narrative of events, historical, quasi-historical, or even ahistorical, in rough chronological sequence." Leonard van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Historiography," in \textit{Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre. Essays in Honor of Geshe Lhundup Sopa}, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón and Robert R. Jackson (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1996), 42-43. See chapter 1 in this dissertation for a discussion of the term \textit{n\textipa{m} thar}.

\(^8\) dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka’ drin che ba’i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar gyi cha shas nas btus pa’i lo rgyus kyi yi ge ngo mtshar dad pa’i ’jug ngoqs zhes bya ba ‘di ni. Zha lu gdan rabs, 469.

\(^9\) Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa’i bstan pa la bka’ drin che ba’i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus ngo mtshar dad pa’i ’jug ngoqs. Ibid., 1.
affiliated with Shalu from the moment of the monastery's foundation in the first half of the eleventh century, up until the time of the text's completion in 1835. These biographies include all of the abbots (mkhan po) of Shalu, as well as the custodians of the lineage of Buddhist teachings inaugurated by Shalu's eleventh abbot, Butön Rinchengrup (1290–1364)\textsuperscript{10}—many of whom were also abbots.

The History, like many other Tibetan multi-life ecclesiastical compendia, contains sections that constitute different traditional genres of Tibetan literature. As I will discuss in more depth in chapter 2, the History is made up of sections that are constitutive of "[histories of] abbotial successions" (gdan rabs), and "biographies of lineage masters/llamas" (bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar).\textsuperscript{11} These types of texts have often been examined for doctrinal, historical, or lineage data, and have sometimes been translated in their entirety, but little western scholarly work has examined the nature of their didactic religious messages.\textsuperscript{12}

Upon initial consideration, there appears to be little that distinguishes the History or its genre(s) from other forms of Tibetan biographical and historical literature. The

\textsuperscript{10} Butön was the eleventh abbot of Shalu, but he is credited with inaugurating a scriptural college, or shedra (bshad grwa) for the study of Tantra and philosophy at the monastery, founding the mountain-side hermitage of Ripuk, and initiating a tradition known as "Butön's Tradition," the "Buluk" (Bu lugs), which significantly contributes intellectually to Tibet's Buddhist tradition, particularly in the areas of epistemology, monastic discipline, and Kālacakra Tantra exegesis.

\textsuperscript{11} Although the "abbatial succession" and the "lama lineage biographies" sections of the History, constitute, strictly speaking, separate Tibetan literary genres, this dissertation persistently ignores this distinction. One genre is ostensibly place-specific, and the other, lineage-specific, but in the History, both are utterly concerned with the place of Shalu and the lineage of Butön. A. I. Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, trans. Harish Chandra Gupta (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1994); and Dan Martin, Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works (London: Serindia, 1997) offer descriptions and definitions of these genres. See chapter 2 for a treatment of these works.

History does not feature any content, narrative styles or modes, themes, or foci that do not appear in several other traditional types of Tibetan literature such as "annals" (deb ther), "dharma origins" (chos 'byung), "histories" (lo rgyus), or "biographies" (rnam thar), which may also indeed narrate life stories of abbots and lineage masters, their teachings transmitted and received, and so forth. While the History and its genre(s) may focus a great deal on the themes of monastic life, one finds the very same topics and types of narratives strewn throughout Tibet's multiple literary genres.

Like other forms of Tibetan biographical and historical literature, the History is at once concerned with the narration of place, person, and past, and as such, problematizes perceived scholarly distinctions between "historical" and "biographical" types of Tibetan literature. As I will explore in chapter 2, the text relates "impersonal data," such as events and historical processes occurring at the monastery and in wider society. These are blended together with "life data"—(religious and secular) experiences, opinions, and so forth—of masters, together with records of teachings received and transmitted, major life events, such as projects, studies, pilgrimages, and so forth, and the usual life data expected in any biography: family data, and dates and details of birth and death, monastic ordination, abbatial ascension and relinquishment, and so forth. In this way, the History epitomizes a confluence of concerns: the concern of narrating the past and the concern of narrating lives. It is also defined by place (the

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13 On these and other traditional Tibetan forms of literature, see Martin, *Tibetan Histories*; Leonard van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Historiography," 39–56; and Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*.

14 In his review of Dan Martin's *Tibetan Histories*, Kurtis Schaeffer provocatively writes, "[t]he importance of biography for historical investigation cannot be stressed enough; as Martin's work shows, many histories are in fact collective biographies which are centered on the lives of individuals rather than anonymous historical movements. Is it possible that the distinction between the historical (group/impersonal) and the biographical (individual/personal) masks as much as it reveals in the case of Tibetan literature?" Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Review of *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* by Dan Martin, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 3 (1998): 857–858.
place of Shalu) and lineage (the lineage of Butön Rinchendrup). It epitomizes a collusion of lives and events in its narration. But cannot the very same issue be said of other genres of Tibetan historical/biographical texts whose interests lie within, and reflect upon, one or another place or lineage, and which narrate lives and events within those places and lineages?

Tibetan biographical compendia like the History are arguably distinct from other genres of Tibetan biographical and historical writing in certain respects. Institution- and lineage-affiliated multi-life works such as the History are often redactions, that is, they are shortened collections of a series of (frequently much lengthier) source writings. As redactions, biographical compendia are ripe for authorial manipulation; redactors are able to select passages that resonate—or editorially force passages to resonate—with their own discrete visions of the place and tradition represented by their collection. With respect to the History in particular, it is precisely because the many biographies are organized into multiple sections—depending upon the lineage being narrated (see chapter 2)—that numerous "paratextual" spaces are revealed in which the author can direct or control the reading of his text.15

As a collection of hagiographies of enlightened saints, the History fulfills the goal of all Buddhist life-writing to incite readers to emulate enlightened protagonists. But is there anything exceptional to be said of place- and lineage-based biographical

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15 Prefaces, in addition to introductions, covers, dedications, chapter titles, and similar ancillary textual elements constitute what literary theorist Gérard Genette terms the paratext: "more than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a threshold." Gérard Genette, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation (New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–2. It is those elements that "surround" and "extend" a text, in order to "make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption." Ibid., 1. According to Genette, the reading experience of a text is moderated by the paratext, which ensures a "more pertinent reading" of the text "in the eyes of the author and his allies." Ibid., 2. Quoting Philippe Lejeune, Genette further describes paratext as "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text." Ibid.
collections like the *History*, which furnish us the opportunity to read dozens of life stories unified together in a collection? Biographical compendia representing place and lineage—and which are written by a single author of that place and lineage—bring forth definitions of the ideal, model, or exemplary religious practitioner that are tailored to a particular tradition and molded by the author and his own agenda. But is this, in fact, not such a pervasive phenomenon in the generation of religious hagiography?  

There is, nevertheless, a difference between knowing that this localized and author-driven practice of creating hagiography *must occur pervasively*, and being able to witness something of, and articulate something about, this artistic process. In exploring this creativity, this dissertation hopes to expose something of hagiography's intended functions in a religious community.

Recent Tibetological and Buddhological studies have investigated the nature of particular hagiographies and their intended functions through analyses of the contexts of these texts' creations. Andrew Quintman and David DiValerio have both recently examined the most infamous biography of Milarepa in the context of the life of its author, Tsangyön Heruka, the "Madman of Tsang." Contextualized within the wider religious, social, and political atmosphere of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Tibet, these studies have generated hypotheses on the creation and intended functions of one

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16 The fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century monk and historian Iosif Volotsky wrote what contemporary historian David Goldfrank calls a "slanted monastic history," written "to show that his [i.e., Volotsky's] Rule was consistent with the traditions of Russia's great monastic figures and institutions." David Goldfrank, "Old and New Perspectives on Iosif Volotsky's Monastic Rules," *Slavic Review* 34, no. 2 (1975): 299. Character development in Iosif's writings appears to be somewhat analogous to what we will see in the *History*, particularly in chapter 3. Goldfrank writes, "Iosif's chief hagiographic theme is that the heroic and saintly elder adamantly and selflessly follows the strictest monastic and fasting life and resolutely defends the founder's traditions against internal decay or outside corrupting influences." Goldfrank, "Old and New Perspectives on Iosif Volotsky's Monastic Rules," 299–300.

version of Milarepa's hagiography within its anticipated communities of readers.

Quintman has argued that the Madman of Tsang's repudiation of Milarepa's portrayal as a reincarnation or emanation (sprul sku, sprul pa)—a literary characterization featured in earlier biographies of Milarepa—and the former's (re)characterization of Milarepa as a saint who achieves enlightenment through his own efforts, epitomizes "a commentary on the degree of power and prestige that the institutionalized incarnation traditions had garnered." Quintman, "Mi La Ras Pa's Many Lives: Anatomy of a Tibetan Biographical Corpus," 240. Divalerio similarly writes that "[i]n the process of formulating a Life of Milarepa that contained within it criticisms of institutionalism and scholasticism, the Madman of Tsang was not just criticizing the dominant models of religious authority in Tibet, but also making an argument for an alternative one." Divalerio, "Subversive Sainthood and Tantric Fundamentalism: An Historical Study of Tibet's Holy Madmen," 531–2.

These studies by Quintman and Divalerio demonstrate that Milarepa's character is a vehicle for the propagation of Tsangyön Heruka's ideal Buddhism as well as for the latter's critique of Buddhism in Tibet, and reflects broad social, political, and religious issues and trends in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Tibet.

Akin to these Tibetological studies, and another model for the present one, is Albert Welter's study of Chinese "eminent monk" biographical collections: the Kao-seng chuan (c. 520), the Hsü kao-seng chuan (667), and the Sung kao-seng chuan (998). Welter explores how the compiler of the Kao-seng chuan collection, Hui-chiao, organizes his biographical subjects under eminent categories of translators, exegetes, meditators, therapists, and visionaries. Welter, The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-Ming Yen-Shou and the Wan-Shan T'ung-Kuei Chi (New York: P. Lang, 1992), particularly chapter 1.

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disciplinarians, and so forth. Welter points out that Hui-chiao initiates his collection with, and records most of the monks' biographies under, the categories of translators and exegetes, suggesting the favor with which the compiler regarded these activities. Welter then contextualizes this apparent authorial bias in the context of the author's own life, writing, "[a]s an exegete himself, Hui-chiao valued most highly the literary activities that members of the Buddhist community were engaged in." This bias, argues Welter, also finds expression in the compiler's preface to the Kao-seng chuan, which reads, "it would seem that the flow of Buddhism into China was due to the meritorious work of translators. . . . Such merit being worthy of deep respect, I have placed them at the beginning of the book." And Welter further suggests that this bias reflects "the central importance that Translators and Exegetes hold in the early Buddhist community [of China]."

Likewise, this dissertation attempts to understand the nature and function of the History through an examination of the context of this text's inception. As such, the present study methodologically follows, broadly speaking, the way that scholars like Quintman, DiValerio, and Welter analyse hagiography's intended functions through positing—or recreating—the text's forces of creation. What I hope to contribute to this lineage of scholarship lies in this dissertation's sustained analysis of the immediate forces implicit within the History's creation.

It is all too often the case that very little is known about the conditions—the actual forces, particularly the authorial force—of the production of hagiography within

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21 Ibid., 9.
22 Ibid., 8.
23 Ibid., 9–10.
24 Ibid., 10.
Buddhist communities. It is often impossible, because of our lack of available data, to discuss the author or compiler of a text. In her study of the Tamil Buddhist text, the Maṇimēkalai, Paula Richman writes, "We know practically nothing about its author or the circumstances of its composition."\(^{25}\) Commenting on yulu, or "the recorded sermons (shangtang), conversations, anecdotes, and poetic utterances of a specific master,"\(^{26}\) Albert Welter writes, "The importance of the editor in the process of yulu formation cannot be underestimated. Unfortunately, none of the editors of Linji manuscripts left any information regarding their activities."\(^{27}\) In her study of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, Damchö Diana Finnegan declares, "We know nothing of its historical compiler."\(^{28}\) Luckily, we have a significant amount of information available on the History's author.

Attempting to reconstruct the world of Shalu monastery at the moment of the History's creation, and to interpret the History as a reflection of this world, I read the History in conjunction with its author's autobiography, entitled Clear White Crystal Mirror, composed in 1864,\(^ {29}\) as well as a host of other texts from the Shalu tradition including histories, biographies, ritual texts, and letters, in which I presuppose the History's intended readers would be learned.

Through comparative thematic and rhetorical analyses between the History and


\(^{27}\) Ibid., 161.

\(^{28}\) Damchö Diana Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too: Ethics and Gender in the Narratives of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya" (PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009), 44.

\(^{29}\) Blo gsal bstan skyong. Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long. The title page reads: "[The text] herein contained is entitled: Clear White Crystal Mirror, An Autobiography Written [By Myself]." Rang gi rnam thar byas pa shel dkar me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so, 473.
Losel Tengyong's autobiography, this dissertation presents a close analysis of the authorial voice embedded within the text. While this autobiography does not, in any empirical or absolute sense, present the very "same" authorial voice encountered in the *History*, the record, nevertheless, of the author's reflections and opinions in the *Clear White Crystal Mirror* allow me to situate the *History* in a very narrow context: the author's record of his life. Although neither Losel Tengyong's *History* nor his autobiography will ever reveal a "true" or unmediated historical reality, a study of these texts in concert nevertheless helps to define the force of authorship in the creation of the *History*. *Clear White Crystal Mirror*'s pensive and detailed account of the world that gave rise to the *History* is an invaluable context for understanding the nature of the latter and its function within the Shalu tradition.

Reading the *History* in conjunction with its author's autobiography and vis-à-vis other texts from Shalu reveals, I argue, the following conclusion: the *History* is a guidebook of conduct that prescribes to the Shalu monk, its intended reader, a discrete pattern of exemplarity. This pattern of exemplarity embodies the author's vision of what a noble Lama should be within the Shalu tradition. In order to understand the text in this way, the *History* must be read in two modes: in the first, we, like the text's intended reader, must read the *History* in light of the text's immediate world—the Shalu tradition that exists "outside" of the text, and which is reflected and embedded within the tradition's wider textual tradition. The pattern of exemplary conduct prescribed by the *History* is one that is only properly understood with reference to this immediate world of the text. The second mode is to read the *History* in light of the authorial force that directs the reader to understand the text's tradition-specific pattern of exemplary in a nuanced way, according to the author's specific inclinations and opinions. Reading
in both of these modes requires identifying and examining the forces of author, intended reader, and tradition-specific intertext that have impacted the History in its moment of creation, and which now remain as remnants of this impact, woven throughout the text.

This dissertation presents four contours of the History's discrete pattern of exemplarity. To each of the four contours of virtue, I devote one chapter: perseverance through congregational conflict (chapter 3), strict observance of the Vinaya (chapter 4), the guardianship of books (chapter 5), and the guardianship of tradition through violent ritual (chapter 6). Chapters 1 and 2 lay the necessary groundwork to thoroughly understand these contours of virtue. In chapter 1, I explain this dissertation's theoretical approach, drawn from the work of historian Gabrielle Spiegel, and I define and explain the central concepts that I examine throughout this dissertation. In chapter 2, I situate the History in its historical context and genre, and I discuss the text's content, organization, style, and themes. Chapter 2 also begins to introduce readers to the hagiographical template of the exemplary lama that I argue embodies the History's teaching.

In chapter 3, I consider the exemplarity of perseverance through ecclesiastical conflict. The History presents this specific virtue through unfolding narratives that attest to the soteriologically deleterious conditions of congregational discords. Although it would seem on the surface that these stories discredit monasticism as an effective vehicle for Buddhist liberation, the History in fact makes use of these provocative tales to compellingly highlight a series of Buddhist virtues. Through the hardship that accompanies being an ecclesiastical lama, the History's saints are implicitly shown to advance soteriologically amid conflict, because of conflict, and not in
spite of it. Moreover, I illustrate how this perseverance through congregational conflict resonates with Losel Tengyong's autobiographical self-representations, and I suggest a powerful authorial force behind the History's presentation of this exemplary theme. Concurrently, I demonstrate how these same discourses are woven through some of Shalu's most well-known literature: Butön's final testaments. As such, I suggest that forces of anticipated (tradition-specific) reader and intertext have played a role in molding this particular hagiographical virtue.

In chapter 4, I illustrate how, through a series of complex editorial moves, Losel Tengyong localizes a conflict within Shalu's larger political realm, and directs a monk to enact an exemplarity of strict Vinaya observance that resonates with both Butön's writings on monastic comportment, and the author's own self-representations.

In chapter 5, I explore a series of narratives in which the Shalu lamas fiercely protect the very same manuscript and woodblock collections that the History's intended readers find in their midst and are charged with protecting. Through activities of manuscript and woodblock production, collection, organization, and text editing, Shalu's protectors of texts tenaciously safeguard one of the monastery's most precious resources—its written receptacles of the Shalu teachings. Here I argue that the exemplarity of text protection resonates with a series of discourses found in the monastery's textual corpus, and hence has a discrete significance to the History's intended reader—i.e., monks learned in the Shalu tradition. I contextualize the History's narratives of text protection within two writings by Butön, the monastery's forefather, that highlight the importance that Butön himself ascribes to the care of books. Bringing their situated knowledge of the Shalu tradition to their reading of the History, readers encounter a matrix of meanings that resonates with elements of the wider Shalu
tradition. This matrix, concurrently, is woven by the author himself, and to demonstrate this, I explore how this exemplarity of book protection mimics the author's autobiographical self-representations.

Finally, in chapter 6, I continue to explore the exemplarity of guardianship by examining narratives that illustrate the masters' powers in protecting the monastery from its enemies through ritual. In these narratives, Shalu's masters are ennobled by narratives that draw attention to their miraculous abilities to enlist fierce protector deities to protect the Shalu tradition. Here, as in the other chapters, I explore how intended readers encounter a web of meanings resonant with the tradition's wider discourses and Losel Tengyong's autobiographical self-representations. I argue that readers encounter—in the History's narrative hagiographical models—exemplary successes of the rituals that they themselves perform at Shalu.

In each of these chapters, I argue that readers encounter—in the History's narrative hagiographical models—a bundle of meanings informed by lineage and place, and formed at an intersection of the forces of author, intended reader, and intertext. When Losel Tengyong's vision of noble conduct for the Shalu monk clashes with previous models of lamas' exemplarity presented in the Shalu tradition, he carefully retells these past narratives, adjusting them editorially, and forcing them to resonate with his History's larger prescription of monastic exemplarity. Losel Tengyong's autobiography is a valuable tool in this study because of its pithy and forthright reflections, which have the capacity to present the author's explicit and definitive positions on matters, which unfold only implicitly through the History. The autobiography hence allows us to isolate and define the authorial voice that manifests within, and drives forward, the History's modes of virtuous conduct. Losel Tengyong's
prescription, moreover, lies not only within the *History* itself, but also more broadly in the intertextual connections that clarify this prescription and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition—the world that has generated, and is reflected within, the text. All together, the chapters of this dissertation aim to understand how and why a collection of hagiographies is created, and how and why it propagates its definition of exemplarity. Most broadly speaking, this dissertation is a study of the nature, creation, rationale, and function of a piece of Buddhist literature within a Buddhist community.
Chapter 1—Approaches

1.1—Theoretical Approach

This dissertation focuses on a single event: the production of the *History* in the year 1835. It attempts to isolate and explicate the meanings that bind the text together, which are expressed through its narratives, and which concurrently reside in the immediate world of the text's creation. This theoretical approach is inspired by the thought of Gabrielle Spiegel, a historian of medieval France, whose work explores the theory and practice of historiography. Writing in response to the postmodern "linguistic turn" and its erasure of the "historical" into the "imaginative," or "fictionalized"—what she refers to as "poststructuralism's dissolution of history"—Spiegel opens a conceptual lens within which to examine the historical text within its context. This conceptual lens is what Spiegel terms "the social logic of the text," that is, the position of the text "within a local or regional social context of human relations, systems of communications, and networks of power that can account for its particular semantic inflection and thus aid in the recovery of its full meaning as cultural history seeks to understand it." In attempting to balance the demands of both literary criticism and history upon the written historical document, Spiegel advises the historian to engage in two processes—(1) a close analysis of the text itself, coupled with (2) the text's positioning in a narrow scope of context. Regarding the former, Spiegel writes, "[o]nly a minute examination of the form and content of a given work can

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32 Ibid., 24.
determine its situation with respect to broader patterns of culture at any given time."³³ Regarding the latter, Spiegel advocates an approach that looks at "local or regional social structures and processes rather than at society as a global whole."³⁴ In attempting to understand a religious text within its tradition or community, it is needless to say that the broader the social, historical, or political context invoked, the more diffuse and abstract are the sought data in piecing together a text's context. And the more diffuse and abstract a text's context is, moreover, the more tenuous are the historian's arguments in reading these (increasingly constructed and imputed) milieux in the text itself, and the more indistinct the text's creative process and intended function appear to the historian.³⁵ The present study takes these methodological problems seriously, and attempts to mitigate them, following Spiegel, by analysing the History through a scope of context that is as narrow as possible.

The narrowest scope of context, Spiegel advocates, is achieved by grounding the study of the historical text within the text's "moment of inscription," which is

the moment of choice, decision, and action that creates the social reality of the text, a reality existing both "inside" and "outside" the particular performance incorporated in the work, through the latter's inclusions, exclusions, distortions, and stresses. In force in shaping a literary text is a host of unstated desires, beliefs, misunderstandings, and interests which impress themselves upon the work, sometimes consciously, sometimes not, but which arise from pressures that are social and not merely intertextual.³⁶

By focusing on the social logic of the text, itself reflected within the text, and resulting from the text's moment of inscription, Spiegel suggests that we may "best become

³³ Ibid.
³⁴ Ibid., 27.
³⁵ On this problem, see Carl R. Trueman, Histories and Fallacies: Problems Faced in the Writing of History (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway, 2010).
attuned to the specific historical conditions whose presence and/or absence in the work alerts us to its own social character and function, its own combination of material and discursive realities that endow it with its own sense of historical purposiveness."

Following Spiegel, I attempt to define the virtue of the lama internal to the *History* through its exemplary pattern's resemblances to the text's "external social reality," which, for the purposes of this study, I recreate from Losel Tengyong's autobiography and a host of texts in which I suggest that the *History*'s intended readers were learned. While the "real" authors and readers are not ultimately accessible to us, it is necessary, as Spiegel writes "in light of poststructuralism's dissolution of history, to insist that context is not simply another text, if only for heuristic purposes."

This dissertation opens a conceptual space to explore the impact of "external" forces upon the *History*, and through analyzing these forces, attempts to understand the nature and function of the *History*'s prescription of exemplary conduct. In this conceptual space, I wish to adjust Spiegel's "external social reality" to a trilogy of external forces that impact the text—author, reader, and intertext. The elements of this trilogy are inseparably intertwined; they blend into one another as they impact and form the *History*. The authorial force contains the anticipated reader within it and also forges connections between the *History* and other Shalu texts. The authorial force and the forces of reader and intertext intermingle together to mold the *History*. This heuristically potent conceptual space allows us to see how the *History* produces its definition of tradition-specific exemplarity.

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37 Ibid., 26–27.
38 Ibid., 27. Emphasis mine.
1.2—Key Concepts
In this section, I define the specific concepts that play a role within this impact, within this creation of the text: the "external" forces—of "author," "reader," and "intertext"—that reside as remnants of this impact within the History. I also define "lama," the hagiographical category internal to the text that is molded by these external forces and prescribes a soteriologically-efficacious, tradition-specific, roadmap. I define "exemplarity"—that which is instantiated within the hagiographical category of "lama," which ultimately reflects the text's external social reality instantiated in the History's "moment of inscription," and which is dependant upon that external social reality for its definition. Finally, I define "didacticism," the specific way that the History is instructional.

These key concepts are conglomerates of ideas previously defined in critical theory, Tibetology and Buddhology, and the History itself. These concepts are also conglomerates of my own creation: they are necessarily syntheses of attributes drawn from others in order to optimally articulate the forces implicit within the History's inception and within the text's prescription of exemplarity. As I engage with the text's own self-referential reflections, this section may be productively envisaged as a series of bridges between myself and the History; between how this text wishes to be understood, and my own terms for understanding it.

1.2.1—"Author" as Scriptor, Navigator, Collector, and Nourisher
The notion that authorship holds significant implications for the interpretation of a text is a fiercely debated issue in literary theory. Biographical compendia, such as the History, consist of amalgamated, edited, and often rewritten source material essentially
composed first by other "authors." It is therefore imperative to proceed with caution in citing "authorship" as one of the forces in the creation of the History. In his infamous essay, "The Death of the Author" (1967), literary theorist Roland Barthes argues that texts can never be definitively "explained" through textual analyses that depend on any of an author's known attributes, such as personality, psychology, ethnicity, and so on. Critiquing approaches that see authors in texts, Barthes writes, "The explanation of a work is always sought in the man or woman who produced it, as if it were always in the end, through the more or less transparent allegory of the fiction, the voice of a single person, the author 'confiding' in us."39 Shifting away from the creative force of the (authorial) "author," Barthes relegates the force behind a text's inception to the "scrip tor," a figure who merely blends previous texts together. For Barthes, a text is nothing but a fabric woven out of other texts, it is a "garment (text) woven from the threads of the 'already written' and the 'already read'. Every text has its meaning, therefore, in relation to other texts."40 Barthes writes, "Every text is a new tissue of recycled citations. Fragments of codes, formulae, model rhythms, bits of social discourse pass into the text and are redistributed within it."41

It is true that the History is a "tissue of quotations" not only as Barthes ultimately defines all texts, but it is quite literally a web of quotations of at least a hundred other texts. On his role as the History's creator, Losel Tengyong writes,

I wrote this collection of stories—narrated above—by means of gathering up all the texts of the biographies of former [lamas of Shalu] that I could find, listening


to further [biographical information] from certain people, [and assembling all that information] in this one place.\textsuperscript{42}

Thus the very nature of the \textit{History} is that of a woven tapestry, and I define the "author," Losel Tengyong, as the text's "scriptor," in as far as his role involves combining preexisting texts. But "author" in this dissertation means much more than just this.

The author of any text is also constrained by source material (either written or oral), genre(s), literary conventions, cultural traditions and mores, expectations of readership, and so forth. Amid such constraints, however, authors also embrace traditional editorial models, themselves developed as responses to these very same restrictions, to convey personal opinions and reflections in writing. On the ancient Greek author, historian of philosophy Pierre Hadot writes, "For the ancient author's art consists in his skillfully using, in order to arrive at his goals, all of the constraints that weigh upon him as well as the models furnished by the tradition."\textsuperscript{43} In other words, the power of the author in shaping the meaning implicit within her text is always dependent upon the author's ability to skillfully make use of the restrictions she faces in writing. Thus, when citing the force of "author," I not only mean a "scriptor," but also one who is skillful in navigating through the restrictions of genre and the commitment to faithfully reiterate source material.

The notion that Buddhist narrative texts are woven out of preexisting sources is widely known in secondary scholarship; scholars have increasingly noticed the

\textsuperscript{42} gong du smos pa'i lo rgyus kyi tshogs 'di dag ni rang nyid kyil[s] gong ma'i rnam thar gyi yi ga [-ge] rnyed pa las btus pa dang / gzhan ga' zhiig las brgyud nas thos pa'i tshul rams phyogs gcig tu bkod pa yin. Zha lu gdan rabs, 458.

\textsuperscript{43} Pierre Hadot, \textit{Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault} (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 64.
phenomenon of narrative exchanges between Buddhist texts and across Buddhist genres. As biographical compendia are typically produced through redactions of source materials, authors are afforded significant freedom in selecting, or "collecting" fragments that convey particular personal interests or agendas. Although the History does indeed rely heavily on earlier works, themselves multi-vocal and imbued with diverse religious and institutional positions, Losel Tengyong is able to adjust these voices and positions to align them with his own particular vision of monastic exemplarity. Reflecting on collectors, scholar of Museum Studies Susan Pearce writes, "The process of selection lies at the heart of collecting. . . the act of collecting is not simple; it involves both a view of social ideas of the value which should (or should not) be attached to a particular object and which derive from the modern narratives and impulses which lie at the deepest level of individual personality." Thus by "author," I refer not only to a skillful "scriptor" and "navigator," but also an opinionated "collector" of passages—an occupation that highlights the creativity and literary acumen brought to the process of textual creation.

Losel Tengyong himself reflects upon the crucial role of his individual personality—which he sees as unbiased or "nonsectarian"—in the production of the History. In one of the verses concluding the History, Losel Tengyong glosses his name in

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a verse that reflects upon his role as the History's author. He writes,

[An] immaculately clear mind (Losel), [like] the surface [of a] lunar crystal, Marked by sincere altruism, [like] a deer's figure [marks the moon's surface], Is [found in me] who guards the Buddhist teachings (Tengyong) [like
moonlight nurtures] water-lilies. [Like this,] I wrote this history—a rosary [of biographies], [comprehensible and unbiased like] clear [moon] light. 46

In this verse, Losel Tengyong uses the verb sbyar, (pres. byor ba) which not only means "to compose" a text, but also "to stick together," or join parts together. Although Losel Tengyong is a scriptor, navigator, and collector, he reckons that his own mind is a force that nourishes his readers' experience of reading. Although the History has been assembled from hundreds of other works, it is not a mere haphazard compendium or a summary of previous literature: this study, and in particular chapter 4, reveals how the delicate treatment of source material results in drastic permutations of meaning in editorial output—permutations that strongly suggest a reading experience that is anticipated (or sought) by the author. In chapter 4 we encounter Losel Tengyong's alterations of a fifteenth-century narrative dealing with a monk's sexual misconduct: through a series of complex editorial moves, Losel Tengyong localizes a conflict within Shalu's larger political realm, and directs a monk to enact a kind of exemplarity that resonates with a strand of the Shalu tradition and the author's own self-representations.

1.2.2—"Reader" as Intended, Situated, Transformative, and Expert

A basic presupposition of this dissertation is that the History was intended to be read by monks of Shalu monastery who the author imagined to be versed in Shalu literature.

[46] dri med blo gsal zla shel ngos // lhag bsam ri dwags mtschan ma can // bstan pa'i ku mud skyong ba pos // lo rayus 'od dkar 'phreng ba sbyar / 6 / Zha lu gdan rabs, 468.
There is evidence—albeit very scant—that the text was actually read (or heard) by others. In Losel Tengyong's autobiography, we read a quoted letter from one Dragdön Rinpoché who requests to listen (gsan) to the History—that is, to hear Losel Tengyong read the text to him, along with a host of other texts, for the purpose of promoting both the Buddhist teachings in general, as well as Butön's own tradition of teachings in particular.\footnote{The list of texts is found in *Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 601-2.} The autobiography reads that Dragdön wishes to receive "the reading transmission (lung) of the newly composed *Abbatial History of Shalu*" (zhwa lu'i gdan rabs gsar rtsom mdzad pa'i lung).\footnote{*Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 601.}

Reading transmissions (lung) are an integral aspect of textual dissemination between Tibetan monastics. Literally "scripture" (Skt. āgama), lung is the text itself in oral form as it is read aloud from teacher to student "in order to create a connection with the entire vocal, scholarly, and ritual lineage of the text."\footnote{Kensur Yeshey Tupden, Anne C. Klein, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Path to the Middle: Oral Mādhyamika Philosophy in Tibet* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994), 8.} In textual transmission, the lung precedes the text's oral commentary and its study, and its debate or usage in meditation practice, if applicable to the text's form and genre.\footnote{Ibid.} This conferral of authority inherent within a text's lung presumes that the sound of the text carries blessings of power (nus pa; śakti) and latencies (bag chags; vāsanā) which aid a recipient's future practice of the text.\footnote{Ibid., 9.} Lung is particularly important for texts that concern discrete practices of meditation, debate, or ritual, as to receive the lung's blessings "means one has some power or capacity (nus pa; śakti) to engage the text..."
Receiving the lung for a biographical corpus such as the History permits the receiver to read or explain the text to others, and to study it himself, and heightens—through the lung's conferred blessings—the spiritual benefits derived from transmitting the text to others.\textsuperscript{53}

But can the receiving of a lung constitute readership? During a lung, the text may be read "so rapidly that conceptual grasp of it is minimal; this is a time when the spoken work must be heard, not necessarily understood."\textsuperscript{54} Nevertheless, a "complete" lung may be said to be "achieved when recited by a teacher out of compassion for a student who has faith in that teacher and focuses full attention on the reading."\textsuperscript{55} Unfortunately, Losel Tengyong's autobiography provides no account of how the reading was delivered, and I have hitherto found no further indications regarding the History's circulation or reception.

Because of the paucity of information regarding the History's actual reception, when I discuss the "readers" of the History, I refer specifically to an anticipated or "model" reader, as it is defined by the philosopher and literary critic Umberto Eco; that is, a "reader" with whom the History's author assumes his own matrix of meanings, his own social world, and curriculum of learning in the Shalu tradition, are shared.\textsuperscript{56}

Losel Tengyong wrote his History for a Shalu-educated reading community in addition to a more general monastic audience. In each chapter of this dissertation, I

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\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53} I thank Khenpo Kunga Sherab for having a discussion with me on the significance of lung with respect to biographical works.

\textsuperscript{54} Kensur Yeshey Tupden, Klein, and Hopkins, \textit{Path to the Middle}, 9.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{56} Umberto Eco, \textit{The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 7.
attempt to vicariously approach the text with a matrix of meanings—albeit in fragmentary form—that intended readers would bring to their experience of understanding the History and its spiritually transformative program. This approach presumes that the History is especially meaningful to a discrete group of readers—a reading community who, at least in some hypothetical sense, experiences the text's transformative goals. "Reader," as I use it here, is partially in conformity with historian Brian Stock's definition of "textual communities"—as "types of microsocieties organized around the common understanding of a text."57 While the History played some role in the formation of Shalu's communal identity, while it surely impacted its actual readers, this project looks only at how the History's intended readers—indeed, a community of intended readers—have impacted the text.

That Losel Tengyong anticipates readers who are learned in the Shalu tradition can be gleaned from instances in the History in which the author addresses his readers directly. Occasions of these addresses are explored in chapter 5, when we encounter the author demonstrating his own virtuousness of protecting manuscripts through explaining to his readers that his History should itself serve as a guide for readers to locate other manuscripts at the monastery. Losel Tengyong writes, for instance, in the History's biography of Künkhyen Sönampel (1361–1438), that "his collected writings do not presently appear to reside here. I saw a catalogue [of] his works, so for the ease of locating copies of his works in the future, I have listed [his works from this catalogue

below] in this [text]. This, and other passages like it, demonstrate that the author anticipates his readers using the *History* not only as a *spiritual guide*, as I discuss below, but also as a *library guide* to other manuscripts from the Shalu tradition. This move presumes (at least a partial) readership that is learned in Shalu literature.

Even the text’s subject matter, overwhelmingly entailing episodes of monastic life at Shalu, anticipates a tradition-situated readership: one finds extensive references in the *History* to Shalu-specific buildings, historical characters, historical events, texts, doctrinal systems, rituals, deities, and so on, which are often little elaborated. Passages from other Shalu texts, in which Shalu monks would likely be learned, are also quoted in the *History*. We will encounter in chapters 4 and 6 the quotation in the *History* of a piece of Shalu literature for which readers would need to supply their knowledge of the entire external work to derive the quoted passage's full significance.

Below, in my analysis of the key terms "exemplarity" and "didacticism," I suggest that Losel Tengyong's intended reading community is anticipated to undergo a religiously transformative experience through their reading of the *History*. The notion that reading can be spiritually transformative is commonly encountered in Tibetan literature. In one passage from the *Life of Milarepa*, for instance, we read the following account of transformative reading, in which Milarepa recalls, "Then he [Marpa] narrated a brief account of Nāropa's life and his practice of austerities, concluding, 'It will be difficult for you to live up to such an example.' *This engendered a powerful faith that moved me to tears, and I resolved to do whatever the lama commanded.*"

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58 gsung 'bum 'di dag da lta phyogs 'di na bzhugs pa mi snang zhing / phyis dpe rgyun rnyed sla ba'i phyir du dkar chag 'di yang bdag gi mthong ba las 'dir bris ba'o // Zha la gdan rabs, 119–120.

according to Losel Tengyong as well, can be deeply transformative. In an episode in his autobiography, Losel Tengyong recalls how his lama, Menkangwa, was resistant to the former's medical studies, but upon haphazardly encountering a page torn from a manuscript, the latter was transformed through reading. Losel Tengyong recalls,

In the meantime, my lama said [to me]: "The Shalu community has become chatty with me [saying], 'this boy is memorizing medical texts!' Just leave it now!" One day, when my lama was walking outside, a torn piece of a page from a book was lifted up by the wind, and then falling in his hand, he looked at it . . . [This passage was] from the concluding chapter of the *Last [Medical] Tantra* (*Phyi ma rgyud*). When those verses appeared there like that [in his hand], a [strong] understanding arose [in his mind from that [passage] and then, he did not prevent [me from studying medicine].

On the basis of this passage, in which scripture is portrayed as being transformative, we should take seriously Losel Tengyong's instructions to his readers—articulated below—that the *History* should be approached as a religious guidebook, capable of spiritual transformation. A contour of the force that I define as "reader" in the *History*'s creation is thus of a community imagined (at least to have the capacity) to undergo transformative reading.

Losel Tengyong imagines that his *History* imparts to its readers not only transformative wisdom, but also a kind of expert knowledge in the Shalu tradition, a clear record of the tradition's past, with which its readers would become superior to those who approach the Shalu tradition with biased ignorance. Losel Tengyong writes,

[You who] possess faith and the other [seven] jewels, and are impartial,

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60 *bar skabs su bla ma na re / bu'i sman dpe bzung pa 'dis nged la zha lu pas kha zer du 'ong ba 'dug / da gshol [z-shol] dgos gsungs / nyin gcig bla ma phyi rol tu phebs pa'i lam du dpe cha shog byar hrul po zhig rlung gis bteg nas phyag tu lhung byung ba la qgi gis pas / ... zhes phyi ma rgyud kyi sdom gi skabs nas tshigs bcad de ltar yod pa zhig byung pas de las thugs rtog zhig 'phros nas bkag cha ma mdzad do // Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 502.*

61 *'phags nor bdun*. These "seven riches of the noble ones" are faith, discipline, learning, being generous, having a sense of shame, a sense of decency, and wisdom. These are mentioned in verse 32 in Nāgārjuna's *Letter to a Friend* (*Bshes pa'i springs yig*; *Suhrlekha*). See Nāgārjuna and Klong-chen Ye-shes-rdo-
Happily [read this text] 
[Like] the nāga king and [his] assembly of nāga [followers] 
Happily frolic in the ocean [of Buddhist teachings]!

I produced this [text]—the finest essence of ambrosia—[pouring it] into the ears 
In doing so, those given to sectarianism—[like] owls possessed by demons—
Although [they] squawk of mistaken views, become but the brunt of jokes!^62

Losel Tengyong fancies his readers not only becoming more learned about the Shalu tradition, but he admits that some may even be more knowledgeable about the tradition’s past than he is. And Losel Tengyong invites these experts—as long as they are impartial—to amend his text in case they access new material on Shalu's history.

Losel Tengyong writes,

I wrote this collection of stories—narrated above—by means of gathering up all 
the texts of the biographies of former [lamas of Shalu] that I could find, listening 
to further [biographical information] from certain people, [and assembling all 
that information] in this one place [i.e., this text]. Although [I have tried my best], 
still, in the future, if some intelligent people, who were impartially minded, 
wanted to make amendments [to this text] on the basis of some recently located 
narratives, I would not object to that. And if errors that I failed to correct happen 
to be found, please correct them! Not including these [intelligent persons], those 
[of you] who boast of your knowledge but [merely] act [i.e., would write] without 
deliberating, don’t sully [this text] with your exaggerations and denigrations [of 
the lamas' conduct]^63

This short passage provides us with a valuable glimpse into one of the ways that Losel Tengyong imagines his work being read. Besides anticipating readers working with the
text to transform themselves spiritually (as we shall see below), and using it as a sort of manuscript catalogue (as pointed out above), the author anticipates that his text is read, or even scrutinized, by scholars. He writes that he imagines these scholars might make "amendments" or "supplements" (zur rgyan) to the text. As such, Losel Tengyong might have imagined the future addition of annotated commentaries (mchan 'grel) within his manuscript, or perhaps the composition of a supplement in the form of an appendix (kha skong/kha bskang) added to the end of the existing text. In any case, here we clearly see the authorial articulation of an intended readership, comprised, at least in part, of monks learned in Shalu's literature.

1.2.3—"Intertext" as Mosaic, as Echoes, as Intragroup Memory
The "intertextual" is the third of the "external" forces impacting the History's creation, the remnants of which still reside within the text. The History is "intertextual" in two discrete ways. It is firstly intertextual in the sense that the History is itself actually a conglomerate of other texts—it is literally "a mosaic of quotations."64 But the History can also be said to be intertextual in the sense that it is most fruitfully read together with a host of texts that are not actually included within it; that is, it reflects, according to literary critic Meyer Abrams, "the multiple ways in which any one literary text echoes, or is inescapably linked to, other texts."65 The learned Shalu monk—that is the text's intended reader—approaches the History with a vocabulary of stories that are common to a particular group of people. In her study of "intragroup memory," historian Jeanette Mageo writes that intertexts "operate through recollection: when people hear a story

or story fragment, they also hear echoes of other stories. Recurrent character types and themes that compose stories supply a glossary in light of which the story or fragment is read. Thus when I refer to "intertextual" in this dissertation, I am referring to a force that anticipates a situated, or place- and tradition-specific knowledge and memory.

Intertextual connections in the History are usually implicit, but these connections nevertheless constitute powerful forces in sculpting the History. In chapter 6 I argue that the History presents a set of didactic guidelines that are informed by, and best understood in concert with, Shalu's ritual literature. Readers encounter specific, life-like, and intimately familiar situations involving the propitiation of Shalu's wrathful deities within Shalu's ritual curriculum. These episodes comingle with readers' broader knowledge of deities' personalities, specific associated rituals, and deities' personal histories (or biographies) within the Shalu tradition that guide readers' encounters with the History.

The History serves not only as a religious guidebook, but also as a library catalogue: it describes the physical locations of other manuscripts. The History, and other institutionally situated biographical compendia like it may be fruitfully considered "catalogues," not only in the sense that a monastery's greater literature is physically located by it, but also in the sense that these texts conceptually locate other texts in readers' memory. Through its study of the History, this dissertation puts forward the notion that institutionally situated biographical compendia may be thought of as specialized nodes that reach out into nexuses of tradition-specific literature. They are didactic and meditate on the past, but they do so in a tradition-

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specific way—they use the forum of a site- and lineage-specific past for the purposes of a site- and lineage-specific edification.

1.2.3.1—A Note on Butön Rinchendrup (1290–1364) and Intertextuality
Many of the intertextual connections in the History are to works composed by—and works that provide literary representations of—Butön Rinchendrup (1290–1364). Butön was the eleventh abbot of Shalu, but he is credited with inaugurating a scriptural college, or shedra (bshad grwa) for the study of Tantra and philosophy at the monastery, for founding the mountain-side hermitage of Ripuk, and for initiating a tradition known as "Butön's Tradition," or the Buluk (Bu lugs), which significantly contributes intellectually to Tibet's Buddhist tradition, particularly in the areas of epistemology, monastic discipline, and Kālacakra Tantra exegesis.

The past that is envisaged in the History is literally warped around the figure of Butön. Although this abbot arrives at the monastery some two centuries following its foundation, his biography is written first in the History, hence relegating the abbots who historically precede him to a section of the text entitled "the old abbatial succession" that follows the biographies of Butön's chief disciples and masters of his lineage of teachings (i.e., the Buluk). Shalu's abbatial chair, following Butön, following his death, is henceforth referred to as "Butön's throne."

Losel Tengyong couples this organizational privileging of Butön with effusive accolades to Butön as an illustrious exemplar in all respects in both his History and autobiography: he asserts that Butön is the lord of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, repeatedly comparing his teachings to pure gold and ambrosia. As a holder of Butön's
teachings, Losel Tengyong revels in safeguarding the master's teachings and passing on the lineage to others. He repeatedly extols Butön's teachings, and quotes others' plaudits of Butön's teachings and lineage. At the beginning of the History, Losel Tengyong asserts that Butön is not only the most important abbot of Shalu, but is in fact the greatest pioneer of all Buddhist doctrinal systems in Tibet. Losel Tengyong writes,

Moreover, with respect to the teachings in this snowy kingdom of Tibet, [Buddhism] arose in early and later disseminations. And with respect to the latter, inconceivably numerous holy beings established traditions of tenets such as [those from] the Kadam, Sakya, Dakpo Kagyü, Jonang, Shalu, Bodong, Shangpa [Kagyü], Geluk, and Nyingma [schools]. As for [whose] activities of explanation, debate, and composition ('chad rtsod rtsom) are most eminent from among all [of those holy beings], there is none other who surpasses our lama, the Omniscient Lord of the Dharma, the Venerable Butön.67

Besides being the most illustrious mind in Tibetan history, Butön is declared to be the highest kind of enlightened being, a fully perfected buddha,68 merely enacting his human presence at Shalu for the benefit of sentient beings. Butön's biography in the History69 is told in twelve acts, like the twelve acts of the Buddha,70 pointing to the

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67 bod yul kha ba can gyi rayal khams 'dir yang bstan pa la snga dar dang phyi dar gnyis su byung ba las / phyi ma la yang bka’ gads pa / sa skya pa / dwaqs [po bka’] breyud pa / jo [nang pa] zhal [-zha lu pa] gnyis / bo dong pa / shang pa / mnyam med ri bo dge ldan pa dang / sngaqs mying ma pa soq grub mtha'i srol ‘byed kyi skyes bu dam pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa byon mod / thams cad kyi nang na ‘chad rtsod rtsom gsum gyi ‘phrin las phul du byung ni / bdag cag gi bla ma chos kyi rje thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston zhabs las gzhon gong na med pa yin no // Zha lu gdan rabs, 6–7.

68 Ibid., 9.

69 Ibid., 8–43. The biography is heavily drawn from Rinchen Namgyel's Chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston lo tsa ba’i rnam par thar pa snyim pa'i me tog ces bya pa, which is itself translated by D.S. Ruegg in The Life of Bu ston Rin po che (1966).

70 mdzad pa bcu gnyis. This is an abbreviation of rayal ba’i mdzad ba bcu gnyis, "[t]he twelve deeds of a Conqueror," which is usually in reference to twelve major deeds performed by a "supreme nirmāṇakāya" (mchog [gi sprul [sku]). Supreme nirmāṇakāya-s are bodies of buddhas who descend into the world to teach, and are associated with the 32 excellent marks (skyes bu chen po'i mtshan bzang po sun cu so gnyis) and the 80 marks of a great being (skyes bu chen po'i dpe byad bzang po bryad cu). Tony Duff, The Illuminator Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic Dictionary, 5.17 ed., Electronie Edition for Cross-Platform Unicode Reader (Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2000). While often associated with biographical traditions of Śākyamuni, a number of Tibetan masters, including Milarepa, are also eulogized in twelve acts. One translated example is found in the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama. See Sañs-rgyas-rgya-
intentional nature of a great enlightened being's incarnation as Butön. Butön is referred to several times in the History as the (world's) "second Buddha." As the world's "second Buddha," Butön is the History's Buddha proper: his biography is a model, a record of a flawless enactment of a life (lived and then recounted for the benefit of others). Unfolding in twelve paradigmatic acts, Butön's life story is a blueprint of Buddhist soteriology in the ecclesiastical world of Shalu. The Lama's biographies are organized around Butön's life story, a story so powerful that it overrides the historical chronology of abbots. Beginning the text, Butön's biography constitutes the History's compass of virtue.

Losel Tengyong often invites his readers to engage with the History's transformative program through invocations of Butön's literature, or of Butön himself. When our author does so, when he brings his readers to meet with Butön's writings, teachings, or the literary character of Butön who is woven out of those writings and teachings, Losel Tengyong presumes that his readers are familiar with Butön's literary tradition in general, specific pieces of Butön's literature, the personality of Butön that is contained within the authorial voice of the latter's compositions, and Butön's own (authored) template of ecclesiastical exemplarity. The History mentions that the abbot Shalu Lotsāwa (1441–1528) performed the duties of abbot as described in the Reminder Letter to the Seat-Holding Khenpos, a well known Shalu text penned by Butön, and also


71 See, for instance, the Zha lu gdan rabs, 103.
that the former often read Butön's texts to the monks of Shalu.\textsuperscript{72} The explicit mode of exemplarity is not explicated in this passage, but rather merely invoked by the mentioning of a text title. The exemplarity presented here must be drawn by readers from a tradition-specific intertext, situated within readers' intragroup memory.

Other important instances in which we can clearly see Butön's intertexts being invoked in the History are explored in chapters 4 and 6. We encounter in chapter 4, for instance, a narrative recounting the composition of one of Butön's texts. This narrative invokes the actual text, outside of the History, whose content adds a crucial nuance to the narrative and supports Losel Tengyong's theme of exemplarity that unfolds therein. Furthermore, in chapter 6, I examine Losel Tengyong's quotation of the first three stanzas of one of Butön's prayers to Shalu's protector deities. I argue that the full implication of the narrative wherein this text is quoted could only be enjoyed by readers who would have known the end of this protector text (itself not quoted in the History). In chapter 4, I reflect upon how Losel Tengyong folds a passage written by Butön into the narrative, establishing the textual quotation as the latter's speech—in effect, placing Butön's text in Butön's mouth in the narrative. This conjures up for readers a narrative representation of a voice they know well through Butön's vast corpus of literature. Butön appears to Shalu's microsociety of readers in the same way

\textsuperscript{72} Butön's text is called the Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skal gyi yi ge. See the passage involving Shalu Lotsāwa in Zha lu gdan rabs, 236; Rin chen bkra shis. Rje btsun zhwa lu lo tsā ba'i rnam par thar pa brjed byang nor bu'i 'khri shing, 32a; and Kurtis R. Schaeffer, The Culture of the Book in Tibet (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 28 note 36. On Shalu Lotsāwa / Shalu Lochen Chökyong Sangpo, see chapter 3 of The Culture of the Book in Tibet; Zha lu gdan rabs, 218-42; and Rje btsun zhwa lu lo tsā ba'i rnam par thar pa brjed byang nor bu'i 'khri shing, which Losel Tengyong uses as a source for the Zha lu gdan rabs (see Schaeffer, 177 note 36).
that any literary hero may appear to a textual community of any size—an ever dynamic mosaic of images of a great author who is nourished by the author's very own œuvre.\textsuperscript{73}

1.2.4—"Lama" as Authoritative, Ordained, Enlightened, Tantric, and Ecclesiastical

The characters through which the History defines its exemplarity are the History's protagonists. As a group, these figures are referred to as the monastery's "holy beings," (skyes bu dam pa rnams); individually, they are variously referred to as "lord" (rje), "great being" (bdag nyid chen po), "monk" (dge slong), "master" or "spiritual preceptor" (slob dpon), "precious one" (rin po che), "reincarnation" (sprul sku), "emanation" (sprul pa), and/or "lama" (bla ma), which means "superior one," "master," or "spiritual preceptor."

Accounts of these protagonists serve, all together, as the material out of which the History's definition of exemplarity emerges. What joins these protagonists together as a category? Why refer to them as lamas?

Not all of the History's protagonists are "abbots" (mkhan po). Part of the History, as I indicated above, and will discuss further in chapter 2, is devoted to recounting the lives of the lamas of Butön's lineage in a collection of "lama lineage biographies" (bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar)—not all of whom were Shalu's abbots. However, with the exception of one novice nun (dge tshul ma; śrāmaṇeri),\textsuperscript{74} the protagonists are all monks (dge slong; bhikṣu), meaning that they have undergone full monastic ordination (bsnyen

\textsuperscript{73} Butön's narrated actions thematically and rhetorically resemble his own non-narrative corpus of literature, as we shall see throughout this dissertation. The style in which Butön's actions are written by Losel Tengyang, an author informed by Butön's works, may tell us much more about who Butön "actually" was than the accounts of his activities recorded in his biography. On biography, novelist and literary critic Vladimir Nabokov writes, "The best part of a writer's biography is not the record of his adventures but the story of his style." Vladimir Nabokov, \textit{Strong Opinions} (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 155. Emphasis mine.

\textsuperscript{74} On this figure, see chapter 4.
par rdzogs pa; upasampadā). But the designation "monk" is an insufficient category for the History's protagonists, as these characters are, in addition to being monks, also always in positions of authority. For this reason, I find "lama" a useful group-characterization for the History's protagonists.

Lama (bla ma) is the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit word guru and may be interpreted in several ways—as a "soul" (bla) "mother" (ma), that is, one who nurtures the soul.⁷⁵ Conversely, bla can be translated as "superior," and ma, simply as a postposition that renders nouns and adjectives into abstract nouns (an example provided by Michael Walter is mdun ma, "the front one," derived from mdun, "front").⁷⁶ The word bla ma can also serve as an equivalent to the Sanskrit ācārya, the latter often translated into Tibetan as slob dpon, and as "master," or "spiritual preceptor," in English.

In this dissertation, I use the word lama, interchangeably with the word master, to designate the History's protagonists. What I mean by lama is not only a monk (dge slong; bhikṣu),⁷⁷ but also one who holds authority—the authority of the abbacy, and/or the authority of transmitting the Shalu teachings. Besides its denotations of religious authority, which the History's protagonists possess, the word lama is a useful designator for these figures since the group is considered to be spiritually advanced or saintly.

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⁷⁶ Michael L. Walter, Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet (Boston: Brill, 2009), 108. See Chapter 2 in this work, entitled Sku, Bla, Lha, Etc.: The Language and Phraseology of Early Tibetan Politics and Religion, for a detailed historical analysis of the word bla ma.

⁷⁷ Not all lamas are monks in the sense that the former need not be celibate nor ordained. On this point see Martin A. Mills, Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism: The Foundations of Authority in Gelukpa Monasticism (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 27.
('phags pa). Thus I reiterate here in my definition of lama, one aspect of Georges Dreyfus' explanation of the term guru in his *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (2003). About guru, Dreyfus writes "Such a teacher should be considered an enlightened being who is to be given the greatest respect and even worshiped." The very concept of a monk or a Buddhist teacher as a lama, as Michael Walter points out, may have arisen during the rule of Tibet's emperor, Relpachen (ninth century), when concepts of Buddhist monks and teachers came to be characterized as "superiors among beings," as equivalents to buddhas, and as "those to be made [objects of] superiority" (*bla ma bgyi'o*). My definition of lama includes the connotation of a type of religious master who holds some degree of political power—the *History's* lamas represent, as a group, a collusion of religious and political authority.

Other attributes of my definition of lama follow Dreyfus' description of guru: the *History's* lamas are tantric masters who pass on empowerments (*dbang*), transmissions (*lung*), and special instructions (*man ngag*) to monks. By lama/master, I also mean a group of characters fully immersed in the affairs of a monastery; that is, "lamas" in this dissertation means "ecclesiastical lamas," fully immersed in monastic life.

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78 Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 61. Many of the masters in the *History* are explicitly called "emanation bodies" or tulkus (*sprul sku; nirmāṇakāya*), an identity Dreyfus designates "reincarnate lamas." See Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*, 62. Most of the *History's* lamas, even when not overtly dubbed tulkus, would nevertheless fulfill the basic criteria of this identity.


81 Several comments are made on this in Walter, *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet*, 107–110.

This project attempts to outline the History’s definition of exemplarity through the lama, and as such hopes to contribute to recent scholarship that has sought to expose the religious meanings and socio-historical contexts instantiated within a variety of Tibetan life-writing. As we will see in this dissertation, Tibetan Buddhist monasticism's public self-representation, at least in one instance, offers us a protean picture of the "clerical" or "ecclesiastical" lama, full of seeming contradictions and tensions that challenge the often encountered binary divisions of Tibetan religious practitioners as wandering/settled, ritualist/scholar, and monk/yogi—or more broadly, cleric/shaman. The History presents characters who dwell much more on the peripheries, rather than the centers, of these dualisms.

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1.2.5—"Conflict" as Ubiquitous Thrust of Plot, Life-Like Forum, and Extreme Delimiter of Hagiographic Virtue

The point is often made that conflict itself is constitutive of literature: as an essential component of narrative, as "the struggle that grows out of the interplay of two opposing forces in a plot." As the very basis of narrative, literary theorists often point to various types of (sometimes overlapping) conflict that are omnipresent in literature: the protagonist's/protagonists' struggle(s) against an/other person/persons (i.e., the antagonist/s), against society or nature, or against an antagonistic force within the protagonist/s. Conflicts imitate reality; they are hence said to make literature "believable," and thus "compelling," "exciting," and able to hold a reader's attention.

When I refer to "conflicts" in this study, I refer to discrete types of interpersonal clashes that are obvious manifestations of the ubiquitousness of conflict in narrative. These include arguments, physical fighting, (legal) disputes, quarrels (e.g., kha mchu, 'thab brtsod/’than rtsod, 'khrug long, yo 'khyoms) and so forth, between protagonists and antagonists; conflicts between protagonists and monastic life (when this life is itself rife with the aforementioned interpersonal discords); oppositions between protagonists and demonic forces; and tensions between protagonists and the natural elements. All of these sorts of conflicts are explored throughout chapters 3–6.

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88 On the notion that (literary) narrative and life (as narrative) are concomitant and mutually-productive, see Paul Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

Conflicts in literature are fertile contexts for the ennobling of protagonists' characters. This function of conflict is well attested to in Buddhist literature that recounts the Buddha's struggles against his cousin, Devadatta. Juxtaposed against Devadatta's ambition, jealousy, aggression, and hatred, emerge the Buddha's virtues of selfless loving-kindness, skillful means, and boundless patience. It is the extraordinary upper limits of these noble qualities that are portrayed with the assistance of the most deplorable and despised of characters. Milarepa, arguably Tibet's most beloved saint, famously thanks his aunt—whose calculated, evil, and profound selfishness set in motion Milarepa's ruin—for supporting his cultivation of patience. Milarepa says, "It is taught that patience is the best means for attaining buddhahood. My aunt is the support for cultivating such patience, and it is thanks to my uncle and aunt that I have met with authentic dharma." Likewise, exemplary characters in the History are defined by their opposites: antagonistic characters who are frequently encountered in the episodes of conflict that pervade the History. Against and above characters who are lazy, narrow-minded, "deranged" (smyon, though not in a positive, "holy madness" sense), "without foresight/conscience" (bsam shes pa), "rude" or "abrasive" (mi bsrun pa), and/or "cruel" (gdug rtsub).

Many of the History's narratives consist of sketched impressions of reality: struggles, oppositions, or tensions, out of which monastic exemplarity dramatically and convincingly emerges. Narratives concerning monastic life are fruitful venues to encounter images of ecclesiastical virtue. These models are complex. They unfold, like...

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experience itself, in problems and solutions. *Situational* and *applied* rather than hypothetical, the *History*'s narratives are replete with the familiar settings, struggles, and casts of characters of monastic life. The text provides its readers with imagined, though life-like, impressions of exemplary encounters with difficulties and of exemplary soteriological transmutations of those difficulties.

1.2.6—"Exemplarity" as Noble, Enacted, Perfected, and Extraordinary Model
When I use the word "exemplarity" (and its synonyms "virtuousness," "righteousness," and "nobility" for stylistic reasons) in this dissertation, I am referring to a host of the protagonists' external or manifest (*phyi*) and internal or unmanifest (*nang*) behaviors—all of it albeit entirely apparent to the *History*'s readers. My use of the term "exemplarity" relies on an important conceptual bifurcation of the Shalu *saṅgha*'s orientation in the *History*: the separation of the protagonists who are declared to be, or who are understood to be, spiritually enlightened—the "noble *saṅgha*" (*phaqs pa'i dge 'dun*), set apart from the rest of the monks, the "*saṅgha* of ordinary individuals" (*so so'i skye bo'i dge 'dun*). This division is inherent within the *History* and intended readers concurrently approach the text with this hermeneutic lens.

Signs of previous enlightened existences, and narratives of extraordinary gestation, birth, and death (examined in chapter 2) distinguish the "noble *saṅgha*" or "saintly society" from the rest, as does the oft-appearing expression "seeming" or "giving the appearance" (*tshul bstan pa*) when describing the lamas' activities. The latter is a crucial indicator that a lama's life is a mere *enactment* for the benefit of observing sentient beings. Readers of the *History* are presented with the notion that masters have "performed" their lives at Shalu as spectacles for observers and are guided by *History*'s
narrator, Losel Tengyong, who interprets instances in which masters' actions can only be understood from an exalted (ʼphags pa)—that is, an enlightened—rather than from a mundane (so so) perspective.⁹²

The "noble saṅgha" performs, as a group, an "average, median, or typical pattern of 'normal' behaviour" (the sort of which I will explain below).⁹³ Furthermore, by virtue of their ontological exaltation above a "lesser" community which constantly witnesses this exaltedness (and which is demarcated from this exaltedness), the protagonists are "a model of behaviour, an exemplary type of behaviour towards which all behaviour should be directed."⁹⁴ In other words, "exemplary" behavior in this dissertation refers to a model of behavior, which is anticipated to be soteriologically efficacious when mimicked.

The narrated lives of the History's protagonists, which I consider to be "exemplary," are themselves called namtars (rnam thar), "model lives," or "model biographies," which are to be emulated by readers.⁹⁵ According to Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein, biographical accounts of Tibetan masters, or namtars, "function as

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⁹² Seeming paradoxes in the History's hermeneutical fabric emerge upon encountering the narration of masters' thoughts that are clearly of a confused—or saṃsāric—nature, as we will witness in chapter 4. Does testimony to inward confusion undermine the History's strategy to present masters as enlightened beings "appearing" to transform spiritually for the sake of observers? Perhaps readers overlook this paradox by accepting that thoughts are simply another aspect of the protagonists' skillful performances. Whatever the case may be, the notion that the biographies contain "enactments" confirms that the History's narratives are indeed didactically oriented. The purpose of narrating masters' encounters with problems and their solutions of these problems is to reveal exemplary, or enacted, solutions to be modeled by confused beings.


⁹⁴ Ibid.

allegorical accounts of the specific spiritual traditions in which they are written," and that spiritual paths are "mapped concretely through the lives of individuals."\(^96\) Losel Tengyong directs his readers to center their spiritual practice upon the emulation of the exemplary conduct narrated within the *History*’s biographies—its collection of *namtars*. He writes, "[Having] heard the manner [in which they lived], embrace the exemplary lives (*rnam par thar pa*) of those holy beings as the core of your practice and then, in order to accomplish benefit to oneself and others, become wise [like those lineage holders]!"\(^97\) Asking his readers to embrace the exemplary lives (*rnam par thar pa*), literally meaning "[accounts of the] complete liberation" of former masters, as the core of their practice, Losel Tengyong reminds his readers that the etymology of the very word "biography"—*namtar* (*rnam thar*)—signals a narrative account of Buddhist enlightenment, or of the process of becoming enlightened, to be modeled by readers.

Throughout this dissertation, I work towards building the *History*’s definition of exemplarity, which the text presents through its narrative models of lamas. Elements of this definition of exemplarity mirror the Buddhist "perfections" (*phar phyin; pāramitā*)—typically ordered in a group of "six perfections" (*phar phyin drug; śadāpāramitā*): (1) selfless generosity (*sbyin pa; dāna*); (2) ethics or proper conduct (*tshul khrims; śīla*); (3) patience or endurance (*bzod pa; kṣānti*); (4) diligence or vigor (*brtson 'grus; vīrya*); (5) meditative concentration (*bsam gtan; dhyāna*); and (6) insight (*shes rab; prajñā*). To these, an additional four are sometimes added—skillful means (*thabs; upāya*), aspiration (*smon lam; praṇidhāna*), power (*stobs; bala*), and wisdom (*ye shes; jñāna*)—


\(^97\) *tshul de ltar bsan rjes'jug rnams kyang skyes bu dam pa de dag gi rnam par thar pa nyams len gyi mthil du bzung nas rang dang gzhan gyi don bsgrub pa la mkhas par bya'o* // Zha lu gdan rabs, 349–350.
forming a list of "ten perfections" (phar phyin bcu; daśapāramitā). These perfections are an inseparable component of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition: comprising "the perfection vehicle" (phar phyin gyi theg pa; pāramitāyāna), they constitute an integral constituent of the exoteric layer of the Tibetan Buddhist canon.

It is well known that these perfections are deeply ingrained in a wide variety of Buddhist literature and art across a wide span of time and place, and I would strongly argue that these perfections, and the narrative tropes within which they take expression across the world, completely saturate the History's narratives and define a component of the lamas' exemplarity. While the actual terminology of the perfections is rarely used in the History, I nevertheless point to instances in the narrative in which I believe these perfections are fundamentally understood. Thus, I use the perfections in the abstract to articulate meanings that I argue are intrinsic to the text, crucial to understanding the text, and which I argue are part of the History's anticipated hermeneutics of reading.

The perfections are but one component of the lamas' general exemplarity in the History. Also saturating the History's narratives and which define a component of the

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lamps' virtue are miraculous powers (dngos grub; siddhi). These not only include the "supreme siddhi" (mchog gi dngos grub) of the state of complete enlightenment, but also the ordinary siddhis (thun mong gi dngos grub) which include powers such as flying in the sky (mkha' spyod kyi dngos grub/mkha' la 'phur ba'i dngos grub), the "siddhi of the sword" (ral gri'i dngos grub), meaning the ability to vanquish one's enemies, the power in sustaining one's body through "extracting the essence" (bcu len; rasāyana) of medicinal plants and minerals (bcu len gyi dngos grub), powers in creating medicinal pills (ril bu'i dngos grub), attaining deathlessness (chi pa'i dngos grub), or overcoming illnesses (nad 'joms pa'i dngos grub). While the practitioner need not be enlightened to perform these mundane siddhis—they are "by products" of ascending soteriological paths—fully enlightened beings, such as the History's protagonists, may nevertheless perform these siddhis to help ease beings' suffering. Performances of the siddhis in the History are coupled with references to the masters' innate power akin to "sorcery" (mthu), a power I explore in chapter 6. Expositions of these kinds of powers clearly demonstrate the protagonists' spiritual advancement and virtuosity and tend to be

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more explicitly articulated in the *History* than the masters' enactments of the perfections. Stories of the lamas' powers serve to mark their non-ordinary ontological status, and in doing so, present an important feature of the *History*’s pattern of nobility: the coalescence of spiritual advancement and extraordinary means.

Interlinked with "the perfection vehicle" (*phar phyin theg pa; pāramitāyāna*) is Tibetan Buddhism’s esoteric component, called the "secret mantra vehicle" (*gsang sngags theg pa; guhyamantrayāna*) or "diamond vehicle" (*rdo rje theg pa, vajrayāna*), which refers not only to the Tibetan Buddhist canon's of esoteric texts (i.e., the tantras) themselves, but also to the practices and worldview contained within those texts and the vast (Indian and Tibetan) commentarial, ritual, and philosophical literature that grows out of these tantras. "Exemplarity" in the *History* also sometimes entails the disclosure of the lamas' control over the subtle energies—of the channels (*rtsa; nādi*), winds (*rlung; vāyu*), and vital force (*srog; prāṇa*)—a goal of Vajrayāna wherein liminal or subtle states of awareness can free the mind of conceptuality and ground the practitioner in nonduality.105 In chapter 6, I explore how narratives of lamas' mastery of tantric ritual—the success (*sgrub*) of which is often testified to in the neutralization of malevolence directed towards the monastic community—bolsters their virtue.

Added to this growing definition of exemplarity is a full range of the characteristics that fall into the domain of ecclesiastical life. Virtuousness in the *History*, in addition to everything else it entails above, means the successful and spiritually potent dissemination of the Shalu tradition in the words of its teachings (*lung*), in the conferral of empowerments (*dbang*) to correctly practice and realize those teachings, and in the execution of the teachings' oral explanations (*khrid*). In addition,

exemplarity in this dissertation also means a whole host of activities involving the category of "teaching and learning" ('chad nyan) within which two standard trilogies of activities are bound up: three activities done for the benefit of oneself, that is, listening, contemplation, and meditation (thos bsam sgom); and the three duties of teaching, debate, and composition ('chad rtsod rtsom) done for the benefit of others. Statements that testify to masters' excellence in these trilogies pervade the History.

Added still to this definition of exemplarity are the temporal expressions of virtue (as seen in the stages of a lama's life, as we will see in chapter 2), as well as a host of miscellaneous qualities such as "ascetic-like perseverance" (sdug sran) and "far-sightedness" (dgongs pa zab) that overlap, but are importantly distinctive from the aforementioned Buddhist perfections, and will be explored in the chapters to come.

1.2.7—"Didactic" as Bedazzling Transformative Itinerary
Tibetologist Per Sørensen writes of four different, but overlapping, narrative modes that dominate the writing of what he terms "Tibetan historiography"—a blanket genre containing the various indigenous Tibetan genres of historical narrative.106 These include a "tradition-bound" mode that forces narration to legitimize rule and hegemony, and a "critical," or "analytic" narrative form, in which stories are subject to interpretation and in which an author's personality emerges from an otherwise "anonymous" narration.107 The History contains both of these narrative modes and Losel Tengyong himself anticipates several possible identities of the text—not only as

106 Per K. Sørensen, "Introduction," in Rare Texts from Tibet: Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Medieval Tibet (Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007), 12.

107 On these modes of historical narration, which are drawn from the thought of historian Jörn Rüsen, see Ibid., 13.
religious book, but also as historical reference guide; not only as literature, but also as manuscript catalogue. All of these modes and identities of the History are, in some sense, didactic, since they all indeed "intend to give instruction." By "didactic," however, I refer to the orientation of the text that is "designed to expound a . . . moral, religious, or philosophical doctrine or theme." The History's colophon reiterates the notion that the text is meant to be didactic in the sense that it intends to instruct in proper religious conduct:

Listen!
[If] beings' eyes that roam [toward] a wrong path,
Would look up at [those masters' lives] of eminent conduct who came in the past,
And if [these wayward beings] were to be established on the path of authentic dharma,
How wonderful that would be! By means of [this] pure altruism, [I] wrote [this text].

Losel Tengyong directs his readers to view his History as a guidebook for "holy conduct" (dam pa'i tshul); its biographies should serve as soteriologically productive models to be emulated—models that have the power to establish the text's readers on the "path of pure/authentic dharma" (yang dag chos kyi lam). Thus, when I write that the History is didactic, I mean that it intends to transform readers soteriologically in its narrative theaters.

As a collection of namtars, the History possesses a strong didactic orientation; it is perhaps its dominant—albeit not its only—mode or identity. In her study of Geluk siddha (grub thob) biographies, Janice Willis argues that namtar should foremost be regarded as instructional materials: She writes that "rnam thar do more than just

\[\text{kye ma log lam } '\text{phyan pa'i skye bo'i mig} // '\text{sngon byon dam pa'i tshul la yar blta zhing} // '\text{yang dag chos kyi lam la 'go[d] gyur na} // '\text{ci ma rung snyam lhag bsam dkar pos byas} // '\text{Zha lu gdan rabs}, 470–1.\]

109 Ibid.
110 kye ma log lam 'phyan pa'i skye bo'i mig // sngon byon dam pa'i tshul la yar blta zhing // yang dag chos kyi lam la 'go[d] gyur na // ci ma rung snyam lhag bsam dkar pos byas // Zha lu gdan rabs, 470–1.
inspire and edify, they *instruct* as well, setting forth, albeit in veiled language, detailed descriptions of practice and instructions for future practitioners of the Path. Tibetan religious biographies set out spiritual programs; they are, as Matthew Kapstein writes, "Illustrative of soteriological praxis and attainment," and for this reason, Kapstein's translation of *namtar* as "soteriography" is particularly apt.

My use of "didactic" is strongly interlinked together with "exemplary" as the latter is defined above. Here I follow Sørensen, whose "didactic" mode of Tibetan historiographical narrative is defined as "predominantly edificatory-didactic and allegorical." This mode, according to Sørensen, is documented in much historical and biographical materials... mostly being rendered in an imaginative and allusive style in conformity with the celebrated dictum *historia magistra vitae* (i.e. "history teaches life"): Episodes and incidents... functionally serving as a sort of *exemplorum* (as parable or as historical analogy) [are] a format for displaying ideal activities. Tibetan narrative literature is replete with such allusive discourses. Often, the narration mode simply aims at teaching a lesson from history, by providing a good example to be imitated and to eschew a bad one. The mode by nature is predominantly edificatory-didactic and allegorical.

The *History* presents the past in a didactic mode, broadly speaking, like Greek, Roman, and medieval European chroniclers do: "as a school of moral instruction, a storehouse of examples of good and evil conduct that illuminate principles of behavior and teach men how to live. They repeat Cicero's famous definition of history as 'the witness of the past, they light shed on truth, the life-giving force to memory, the guide to life'."

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113 Sørensen, "Introduction," 13.

this way, the past may be considered to be a religious commentary of sorts, a sermon, or a even a religious meditation.\footnote{Herbert Butterfield, \textit{The Origins of History} (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 104–5.}

By reading the \textit{History} as didactic, I presuppose that the text anticipates its role in a soteriologically transformative program for its readers. By a soteriologically or spiritually "transformative program," I refer here to a particular spiritual itinerary through which a text leads its readers. Thus by "didactic," I refer to a transformative guidebook, akin to the western philosophical work of antiquity, which, according to Hadot, makes him [i.e., the reader] traverse a certain itinerary in the course of which he will make spiritual progress. This procedure is clear in the works of Plotinus and Augustine, in which all the detours, starts and stops, and digressions of the work are formative elements. One must always approach a philosophical work of antiquity with this idea of spiritual progress in mind.\footnote{Hadot, \textit{Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault}, 64.}

The specific itinerary through which the \textit{History} guides its reader, and with which this dissertation is concerned, is a template of ecclesiastical exemplarity for the Shalu lama.

To further complexify the above, didactic works may also concurrently be "imaginative"—meaning, specifically, that they contain "a dimension of pleasure in the artistry of the representation," in order to enhance the "human interest" and "persuasive force" of the text's message.\footnote{Abrams and Galt, \textit{A Glossary of Literary Terms}, 88.} Losel Tengyong also expresses that his \textit{History} is a successful vehicle for religious change because of its attractiveness. Delivered in a medium that is powerful in its refinement, the \textit{History} is a piece of literature whose qualities are capable of drawing readers' minds into its enchanting narrative theaters built for spiritual transformation. Losel Tengyong writes:
The mere hearing of it will vanquish [your] faults. This [text of] marvelous biography [is] a jeweled fish hook, Which [has] the power [to] draw in the minds of all [its readers] like a [teacher sums] his [followers]. [Like] leading elephants up hill, [this text] induces [readers] to accumulate merit and wisdom.\textsuperscript{118}

The *History* is hence not only a piece of literature that promises to be soteriologically transformative, but it also imagines itself as a text whose allure lies in its literary beauty: it leads readers along its transformative itinerary with the might akin to pulling elephants uphill. Like a jeweled fish hook, the *History* dazzles its readers, languishing in the ocean of *saṃsāra*, and draws them towards liberation. Buddhist transformative religious programs embedded within narrative literature are compelling to readers not only because of their content, but also because of their captivating literary textures.\textsuperscript{119}

\begin{flushright}
\texttt{thos pa tsam gyis nyes 'joms kun dga'i yid // gang gi rjes 'gro ji bzhin 'gugs nus pa // phun tshogs rnam thar nor bu'i lcags kyu 'dis // tshogs gnyis glang po'i kha lo gyen du drangs / 11 / Zha lu gdan rabs, 468.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\texttt{On the enticing qualities of the fifth-century Sri Lankan Pāli history, the *Mahavamsa*, see Scheible, "For the Anxious Thrill and Serene Satisfaction of Good People": Rethinking the Pāli *Mahāvamsa."}
\end{flushright}
Chapter 2—The History in Context

2.1—Introduction
As the History has never been the subject of any academic study,\textsuperscript{120} this chapter provides a general introduction to this text. I begin this chapter, in section 1, by situating the History in its historical milieu, broadly previewing the contexts, drawn largely from Losel Tengyong's autobiography, that serve my analyses of the History in the chapters to come. In section 2, I situate the History in its genre(s), discussing the difficulties in classifying the text. In section 3, I provide an overview of the History's content and style, taking my readers through a typical biography in the collection. Finally, in section 4, I provide a thematic overview of the History. Here, I examine the life of a Shalu lama as a broad theme; as it is defined by principals and molded through the paradigmatic—and exemplary—life stages of gestation, birth, adulthood, old age, and death. This final section serves as a conceptual basis for, and a transition to, my four closer analyses of the History's virtuous lama that I undertake in later chapters.

2.2—Historical Context
The History was composed during the first half of the nineteenth century, a period relatively unexplored in western scholarship on Tibet. When historically focused on the modern period, academic studies on Tibetan history have tended to cluster around two

\textsuperscript{120} Some parallel passages, nevertheless, can be found in Ruegg's translation of Bu ston rnam thar, which is one of Losel Tengyong's sources for the Zha lu gdan rabs. See Rin chen rnam rgyal, [Bu ston rnam thar] Chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston lo tsa ba'i rnam par thar pa snyim pa'i me tog, translated in David Seyfort Ruegg, The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston rNam Thar (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966). A PhD student at the University of Oslo, Puchung Tsering, began writing his doctoral dissertation on one section of the Zha lu gdan rabs. I had hoped to collaborate with him on our projects, but my attempts to contact him have hitherto been unsuccessful.
periods: the eighteenth century, and the early- to mid-twentieth centuries—but have generally neglected the nineteenth century itself. The present study focuses on historical context narrowly; as I indicate above, the History's context explored here centers on the History's author and the Shalu monastic tradition. Before I begin sketching some narrower (i.e., Shalu-specific) contexts for the History's creation, I will deal here with a few broad contexts.

One possibility for a broad socio-religious influence on the History and the template of ecclesiastical exemplarity that emerges from it, explored in chapter 3, are critiques against large, hierarchical, and politically enmeshed monastic institutions—of which Shalu is representative—such as those launched by Losel Tengyong's contemporary, the poet and mystic Shabkar Tsogdruk Rangdröl (1781-1850/1). Shabkar argues that life in monasteries like Shalu is spiritually deleterious rather than efficacious. But such critiques are not limited to the nineteenth century, nor are they necessarily intended to be actually corrosive towards the monastic establishment.

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124 I have hitherto detected no obvious reflections within the History of Tibet's early nineteenth-century political context involving increasing Qing Chinese control over Tibet's religious and secular affairs. On this complex period, see chapter 5, "The Rule of the Dalai Lamas" in Kapstein, *The Tibetans*, 127–174.
Although the *History* certainly advocates monasticism as a viable and potent vehicle to spiritual realization, such an orientation is just as likely a response to a pervasive trope of anti-monasticism that permeates Buddhist literature across time and culture, as it is to any specific historical trends.

Losel Tengyong's meticulously detailed autobiography, *Clear White Crystal Mirror*, hitherto unexplored in western scholarship, is a valuable source of information on early nineteenth-century Tibet. Losel Tengyong mentions and describes Tibet's major political figures of the time, including the tenth Dalai Lama, Tsültrim Gyatso (1816–1837), the latter's regent, Tsomönling Tulku Nagwang Jampel Tsültrim (1819–1844), and some of Tibet's most renowned and influential polymaths and luminaries of the day, including Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo (1820–1892), the female reincarnate master Shabdrung Dorjé Pakmo, Chadrel Rigung Chöying Dorjé (1772–1838)—an important teacher of the Bara Kagyü tradition—the aforementioned poet and mystic Shabkar Tsogdruk Rangdröl, and many other important masters. In the chapters to come, I make extensive use of this autobiography to attempt to provide several possible contexts for understanding the elements of the lamas' exemplarity that emerge from the *History*. These contexts include the author's reflections and opinions, which are both hinged and (rarely) unhinged upon events. I will briefly sketch out some of the principal ideas here.

125 One particularly valuable piece of information in this autobiography is Losel Tengyong's mention of the death of Shabdrung Dorjé Pakmo of Yardrog Samding monastery in the wood-tiger year (1854), when the author was fifty-one—also mentioning that he offered money for her cremation (*Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 640). This is likely a reference to the second incarnation of Dorjé Pakmo (Vajravārāhi), one of Tibet's few female incarnation lineages, whose details are still unclear in scholarship. On the Dorjé Pakmo incarnation lineage, see Hanna Havnevik, *Tibetan Buddhist Nuns: History, Cultural Norms, and Social Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 78–80. Also see Dhondup K. and Tashi Tsering, "Samdhing Dorjee Phagmo—Tibet's Only Female Incarnation," *Tibetan Review* 14, no. 8 (1979), 11–17.
One possible historical influence on the History's creation, explored in chapter 3, is a complex and lengthy dispute, narrated in Losel Tengyong's autobiography, regarding water resources in the Shalu area, in which the author finds himself deeply embroiled in the two years leading up to the History's composition. Extensively recounting his role in the dispute, which involves clergy, secular officials, and lay villagers, Losel Tengyong reveals his exasperation in being unable to quell the gradually deteriorating struggle and his profound disgust with the dispute's participants. Losel Tengyong even blames the conflict for exacerbating an illness, to which he nearly succumbs. Could it be that the extensive treatment of congregational conflict in the History, which we shall examine in chapter 3, is a result of this conflict and its trauma?

Another possible historical influence, explored in chapter 4, is the state of Vinaya-observance in the nineteenth century according to the author. Losel Tengyong's autobiography is replete with statements in which he indicates his repugnance over an apparent laxity of proper Vinaya-adherence in Tibet. Could it be that the very strict adherence—what one might argue is a "literalist" observation—of the Vinaya in the History, which I examine in chapter 4, is reflective of this apparent state of affairs? There is no reason to believe, albeit based only on the paucity of information on actual Vinaya observance in pre-twentieth-century Tibet, that the Vinaya was less strictly adhered to in the nineteenth century than at any other time. Losel Tengyong's disgust of Vinaya laxity in particular, and the state of monasticism in general, may simply constitute a particular variant of the pervasive literary trope of a gradually darkening and degrading dharma, invoked by Buddhist authors in all times and places. Nevertheless, I take Losel Tengyong's comments and self-characterizations seriously as
I read them together with the History. The startling editorial changes in Vinaya-related material, seen in chapter 4, suggest a strong and specific thematic resonance between the History and Losel Tengyong's autobiography. Whether or not the History reflects any "real" state of the Vinaya in Tibet, it most certainly, I would argue, reflects Losel Tengyong's views on the matter.

The rhetoric of nonsectarianism as an exemplary trait of the lama in the History could well be reflective of the beginnings of the so-called nonsectarian (ris med) movement that flourished in eastern Tibet later in the nineteenth century as a result of the efforts of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo (1820–1892) and Jamgön Kongtrül Lotrō Thayé (1813–1899).¹²⁶ One of the few things mentioned about Losel Tengyong in western scholarship is that he was an early figure of the so-called "non-sectarian" (ris med) movement.¹²⁷ The autobiography of Losel Tengyong features extensive and complex expositions on the soteriological potency of ecumenical learning and cultivating an attitude free of dogmatic partisanship towards any one Buddhist tradition. These positions have clearly taken expression in Losel Tengyong's History.

Losel Tengyong firstly asserts that his History is itself motivated by a sense of genuine altruism that is distinguished by its lack of sectarian loyalty. On his apparent transparent orientation in writing the History, Losel Tengyong glosses his name in a verse ending the History:

[An] immaculately clear mind (Losel), [like] the surface [of a] lunar crystal, Marked by sincere altruism, [like] a deer's figure [marks the moon's surface],

¹²⁶ For an impressive critique on the very notion of the Tibetan "nonsectarian movement" that pervades western Tibetology, see Alexander Patten Gardner, "The Twenty-five Great Sites of Khams: Religious Geography, Revelation, and Nonsectarianism in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Tibet" (University of Michigan, 2006).

Is [found in me] who guards the Buddhist teachings (Tengyong) [like moonlight nurtures] water-lilies.

[Like this,] I wrote this history—a rosary [of biographies], [comprehensible and unbiased like] clear [moon] light.\textsuperscript{128}

As a self-professed "nonsectarian" piece of writing, the History is also fancied by Losel Tengyong to be a basis of an unbiased education in history that is itself an antidote to the soteriologically deleterious biases of school, tradition, or teacher. In two verses from the History's concluding poem, Losel Tengyong writes,

When dense rain clouds of superimposition and denigration [gather in your minds],
[This text] will banish [such biases] far away through winds of critical investigation,
Destroying the darkness [of doubt] in the hearts of myself and others,
Creating a wondrous radiant clarity [of wisdom].

I produced this [text]—the finest essence of ambrosia—[pouring it] into the ears Of [my] wise [readers] who long for history.
In doing so, those given to sectarianism—[like] owls possessed by demons—Although [they] squawk of mistaken views, become but the brunt of jokes!\textsuperscript{129}

Thus the text is intended for those given to impartiality or nonsectarianism only. Losel Tengyong writes again in his final poem,

[You who] possess faith and the other [seven] jewels,\textsuperscript{130} and are impartial,
Happily [read this text]
[Like] the nāga king and [his] assembly of nāga [followers],
Happily frolic in the ocean [of Buddhist teachings]!\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{128} dri med blo gsal zla shel ngos // thag bsam ri dwags mtshan ma can // bstan pa'i ku mud skyong ba pos // lo rayus 'od dkar 'phreng ba sbyar / 6 / Zha lu gdan rabs, 468.

\textsuperscript{129} gang tshe sgro stug po'i sprin [-sprin] // rnam dpyod rlung gi[s] pha mthar bskrad // rang gzhan rnying [-snying] gi mun 'joms ba'i // ngo mthar snang ba raya cher spros / 7 / . . . lo rayus tshul la gdung ba'i shes ldan gyi // rna bar bdud rtsi'i gze gs ma 'di spros pas // phyogs lhung gdon gyis brlams pa'i 'byung po'i bya // log lta'i skad nang tsher yang ga zha'i gnas / 12 / Zha lu gdan rabs, 468.

\textsuperscript{130} 'phags nor bdun. These "seven riches of the noble ones" are faith, discipline, learning, being generous, having a sense of shame, a sense of decency, and wisdom. These are mentioned in verse 32 in Nāgārjuna's Letter to a Friend (Bshes pa'i springs yig; Suhīlekha). See Nāgārjuna and Klong-chen Ye-shes-rdo-rje, Nagarjuna's Letter to a Friend: With Commentary by Kangyur Rinpoche.

\textsuperscript{131} dad sogs nor bu'i gdengs ka can // gzur gnas los 'gro'i tshogs rnams kyang // yid dbang raya mtsho'i dba' klong du // dga' bas rol mo byod shig gu / 8 / Zha lu gdan rabs, 468.
The rhetoric explicitly articulated here in one of the History's paratexts also takes expression in the History's narratives as well. Of the seventeenth abbot of Shalu (following Butön), Champa Sönam Wangpo (1559–1621), Losel Tengyong writes,

[Champa Sönam Wangpo] said "the Buddhist teachings have to be spread without sectarian bias (ris med)," [and hence] [he] did not act [like he was] only biased towards the doctrinal positions of the Sakya and Shalu schools. [Having] a mind directed toward enlightenment, that was greatly peaceful and tempered, [Champa Sönam Wangpo] nurtured [the Buddhist teachings] through [promoting] religious systems without sectarian prejudice (ris med). Even the Bhutanese and so forth promised to follow [him]; even [followers] of the Karma [Kagyü], Geluk, and others schools had great faith [in Champa Sönam Wangpo].

Although the theme of nonsectarianism is certainly not exclusive to Losel Tengyong's History, it may indeed reflect, to some extent, the historical beginnings of a Shalu-based nonsectarian intellectual movement that eventually came to flourish in eastern Tibet, in part through the efforts of Losel Tengyong's close associate, Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo.

The History's exemplarity of bookish learning is also clearly reflected in the text's social world. Shalu monastery of 1835, as it had been for many centuries prior, was a community deeply engrossed in various forms of reading and writing: textual studies, textual protection, and textual preservation. In chapter 5, I examine Losel Tengyong's reflections on textual production embedded within the History in which he mentions and describes the conditions and whereabouts of manuscript and woodblock collections amid the monastery complex. These accounts, coupled with Losel Tengyong's autobiographical recollections of text reading, writing, and preservation, present us with a picture of a monastic community deeply engrossed in texts.

132 bstan pa ris med nas dar dgos pa yin zhes sa zhal gnyis kyi grub mtha'i phyogs zhen kho na yang mi mdzad / thugs rgyud byang sms zhi dul che zhir chos lugs ris med nas skyon ba mdzad pas lho 'brug pa sogs kyang bka' 'brangs su dam bca' zhir gzhan yang karma dge lugs sogs dad mos che / Zha lu gdan rabs, 388–9.
While writing the History at Shalu, Losel Tengyong would have been surrounded by monks much resembling the picture he paints of himself and his associates in his autobiography: giving and receiving textual reading transmissions (lung), and borrowing books and memorizing them. Like Losel Tengyong's autobiography, the History itself also abounds in episodes wherein masters quote scripture, accomplish feats of textual memorization, pass on precious manuscripts to their students, and, as we shall explore in depth in chapter 5, protect Shalu's vast holdings of manuscripts and woodblocks. Losel Tengyong himself quotes extensively from hundreds of different texts in both his History and autobiography, demonstrating his own immersion in reading, and provides extensive notes in the History on the location and condition of various manuscript collections. As I explain above, Losel Tengyong also directly addresses his readers, referring them—both physically and conceptually—to other Shalu literature. He quotes passages from other texts in which Shalu monks would likely be learned, and there is also evidence—albeit scant—that the text was actually read (or heard) by others, as I discuss above. All of this provides us with a glimpse into a world of monks deeply immersed in reading and writing texts, and, besides this being a basis for the History's thematics, is also a firm basis for the presupposition inherent in this

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133 Reading transmissions (lung) are an integral aspect of textual dissemination between Tibetan monastics. Literally "scripture" (Skt. āgama), lung is the scripture itself in oral form as it is read aloud from teacher to student "in order to create a connection with the entire vocal, scholarly, and ritual lineage of the text." Kensur Yeshey Tupden, Klein, and Hopkins, Path to the Middle, 8. This conferral of authority inherent within a text's lung presumes that the sound of the text carries blessings of power (nus pa; śakti) and latencies (bag chags; vāsanā) which aid a recipient's future practice of the text. Kensur Yeshey Tupden, Klein, and Hopkins, Path to the Middle, 9.

134 Losel Tengyong, for instance, recalls in his autobiography: "We arrived at Ripuk and then I borrowed [some] books (dpe cha) from Pöntsang Bongkarwa and memorized the Root, Explanatory, and Last Medical [Tantras] (Sman gyi rtsa bshad phyi gsum po). Even though I was able to memorize the Instructional Tantra (Man ngag rgyud), I was unable to recite it." (ri phug tu phebs pa dang dpon tshang bong dkar ba la dpe cha g.yar nas sman gyi rtsa bshad phyi gsum po bzung / man ngag rgyud kyang 'dzin thub pa 'dug rung skyor mi nus pa 'dra snyam nas ma bzung /) Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 502.
dissertation that Losel Tengyong anticipated his *History* would be encountered by Shalu monks learned in the monastery's literature.

It is not only the "present" Shalu's concern with texts that is reflected, broadly speaking, in the *History*'s Shalu of the past. All of this dissertation's other main chapters' central foci—conflict (chapter 3), monastic discipline (chapter 4), and violent and protective ritual (chapter 6)—reflect, to some extent, the world from which the *History* has sprung. The *History*’s general concern with monastic life, its structures, hierarchies, procedures, difficulties, and benefits, are all reflected in the *History*—not in a general sense, but as an "intragroup" reflection of the text's immediate social world, unfolding in life-like narrative theaters of the past. *Situational* and *applied* rather than hypothetical, the *History*’s narratives are replete with the familiar settings, struggles, and casts of characters of monastic life.

2.3—Genre

Attempting to define the genre of the *History* is a complex project. The first difficulty is one encountered when dealing with Tibetan historical genres in general. Of Tibetan historical works, the Russian historian of Tibetan literature, A.I. Vostrikov writes, "It is fairly difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between them" and that "they are so contiguous to each other that sometimes it becomes almost impossible to decide as to under which division a particular work should be classed."\(^{135}\) Vostrikov writes that without any "complete, finished and elaborate classification of historical works" by

\(^{135}\) Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, 61.
Tibetans, one nevertheless finds "more or less firmly established terms" for denoting historical types.136

What makes the History difficult to classify is the fact, explained above, that this text is a complex work containing sections which themselves correspond to distinct Tibetan literary genres—namely, "[histories of] abbatial successions" (gdan rabs), and "biographies of lineage masters/lamas" (bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar)—albeit the entire work is titled a "historical biography" (rnam thar lo rgyus).

As I discuss in the introduction, the History, like other forms of Buddhist historical-biographical writing, epitomizes a intermingling of the concerns of place, person, and past in its narration. The text is largely concerned with imparting what we might term "life data"—religious and secular experiences and opinions, records of teachings received and transmitted, projects, studies, pilgrimages, dates of birth and death, details of monastic ordination, abbatial ascension and relinquishment, family data, and so forth. These data are further warped around place and lineage—Shalu's locales, political forces, teachings, rituals, and so on.

The History moreover imparts "impersonal" chronological events occurring at the monastery of Shalu, and, to a lesser extent, related events occurring elsewhere. For the most part, these "impersonal" data appear in the individual biographies only in as far as they relate to the life being narrated, but less directly relevant data are also reported on occasion. In the biography of Butön, for instance, Losel Tengyong writes, "At that time, there were 2,500 [monks] who permanently resided [in the] monastic assembly at

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136 Ibid.
Shalu, [who], if gathered together with the [monks] who arrived from elsewhere to sometimes [listen] to the teachings, [would number at] around 7304.\footnote{dus der zhwa lur dge 'dun tshogs pa rgyun bzhugs phyed lnga stong / phyogs nas chos bar la byon pa dang kun bsgril na bdun stong sum brgya rtsa bzhi tsam re yod. Zha lu gdan rabs, 26.}

Losel Tengyong also contextualizes the biographies amid larger processes in Tibet, as we see, for instance, in the words beginning the History's "Old Abbatial Succession" section: "As for the history (lo rgyus) of [how] this very monastery was established during the time of the later spread of the doctrine . . .\footnote{bstan pa phyi dar gyi dus su chos sde 'di nyid btab pa'i lo rgyus ri // Ibid., 354–5.} Losel Tengyong also conglomerates the biographies in historically meaningful paratextual reflections. After concluding the biography of Yutok Drasersang, Losel Tengyong writes, "Up until this point, [these] three abbots, [who] came from their family lineage of the Ché, were dharma masters and secular leaders (chos [pa] dpon [po]) combined.\footnote{dzi yan la lce'i brgyud rang nas byung ba'i chos dpon sbrags pa'i mkhan po gsum mo // Ibid., 356.}

The History is commonly referred to as the [History of the Abbatial Succession of Shalu (Zha lu gdan rabs)],\footnote{See for instance, Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 601.} even though the full Tibetan title of the text itself does not contain the words "abbotial succession" (gdan rabs). The History does, however, contain an "abbotial succession" in section IV of the outline below. Preceding this abbotial succession, however, the History contains a biography of Butön Rinchendrup, the founder of the monastic and textual tradition at Shalu (section I). This text, of a single individual, simply corresponds to the genre of Tibetan sacred biography or namtar (rnam thar), discussed in chapter 1 above. Sections II and III, which narrate the lives of Butön's disciples and the masters who followed in Butön's tradition collectively
epitomize the Tibetan genre of biographies of lineage masters (bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar). The text's organization, outlined by E. Gene Smith, is provided here:

The major sections of the History examined in this dissertation, the "abbatial succession" and the "lama lineage biographies," constitute, strictly speaking, separate Tibetan literary genres, but this dissertation does not treat them as such. One genre is ostensibly place-specific, and the other, lineage-specific, but in the History, both are utterly concerned with the place of Shalu and the lineage of Butön. The lama lineage biographical collection, writes Vostrikov, is "quite closely allied" to the genre of abbatial history, except that the former biographies are "linked not on the basis of the succession to the headship of a monastery . . . but on the basis of the succession in

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141 This is drawn from Gene Smith’s introduction to the Tibetan manuscript of the Zha lu gdan rabs.
receiving and imparting some doctrine or cult."142 Lama lineage biographies, on the other hand, "enumerate, in chronological order, and eulogize the persons expounding the teaching about the 'path' in the particular school."143 The genre of lama lineage biography thus allows Tibetan ecclesiastical authors the ability to recount a tradition of masters whose lineage extends beyond a particular monastery.

Losel Tengyong likely included both types of multi-life hagiography in his History as many of the important masters in Butöns lineage, although often residents of Shalu, were not always abbots of Shalu. This may signal Losel Tengyongs desire to be exhaustive in his recounting of all of Shalu's lamas. Losel Tengyongs organizational scheme is so extensive, in fact, that numerous biographies are told twice in the History, in the case that Butöns lineage heirs were also abbots of Shalu. In these cases, however, the latter biography (appearing in the abbatial history section) is usually a mere concatenation of dates and bare biographical data.

On abbatial histories, Dan Martin writes that these texts "usually give biographical details about the abbots of a particular monastery from its founding up until the time of writing."144 Beyond this, in fact, little else can be said of the defining features of the abbatial history; like the lama lineage biography, these texts take a variety of different organizational structures, and contain diverse kinds of information. In their shortest forms, Vostrikov writes that abbatial histories "are simple lists of names of successively changing Heads," though "often accompanied by all sorts of

143 Ibid., 181.
additional information. Abbatial histories may include information on curricula of texts studied at a monastery, precious objects contained therein, and smaller institutional structures, such as monastic colleges (bshad grwa) or scriptural colleges (grwa tshang). These and other topics may either be formally grouped together in sections, or informally dispersed throughout the biographies of abbots. Either way, the single defining feature that distinguishes an abbatial history from any other genre of Tibetan literature, is its focus on the successive (rabs) seat holders (gdan sa pa) of a monastic institution.

Regarding the actual foci of abbatial histories, these texts can treat a single monastery, but may also chronicle multiple successions of abbots of interrelated monasteries or monastic colleges under an umbrella monastery within one text. On this latter variety, we see for instance the abbatial history for Sangpu Neütog Monastery that chronicles the successive heads of both an upper monastery (Gling stod) and a lower monastery (Gling smad). Abbatial histories of Labrang Monastery in Amdo provide biographical details on the heads of various monastic colleges and faculties, and also provide sections that are topically rather than biographically focused, including overviews of the texts studied within different sub-sections of the monastery. In the case of the History, most of this text's attention is devoted to the monastery of Shalu, but the text also records and narrates the biographies of the heads of the monastic hermitage of Ripuk, next to, and institutionally linked together with,

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145 Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, 88.
146 See Ibid., 88–91 for numerous outlines of Tibetan abbatial histories.
147 See the lists of the abbots of Sangpu before and after the monastery split into upper and lower divisions, based principally on a gdan rabs entitled Dpal ldan gsang phu’i gdan rabs gsal ba’i me long, in Onoda, “The Chronology of the Abbatial Successions of the gSaṅ Phu sNe’u Thog Monastery,” 208–213.
148 See Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, 89–90 note 291; and 90–91 note 295.
Alternatively, abbatial histories may be exclusively devoted to only one college within a greater monastery, as is the abbatial history of the tantric college at Tashilungpo Monastery.  

Lama lineage biographies (bla ma brgyud pa’i rnam thar) and abbatial successions (gdan rabs) are themselves ecclesiastical variants of a group of traditional Tibetan multi-life biographical works that also include family chronicles (gdung rabs), royal genealogies (rgyal rabs), and histories of incarnations (’khrungs rabs). Just like lama lineage biographies and abbatial histories, these works may be individual texts or sections of larger works, as one or another of these successions may be folded into other genres of history.  

Tibetan historical writing has likely been influenced by a wide variety of foreign literature including the vast spectrum of Indian Buddhist literature narrating the past—including Sūtra, Jātaka and Avadāna, and Vinaya literature—translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit and other South and Central Asian languages. Clan or family histories (gdung rabs) and royal genealogies (rgyal rabs) may also find prototypes in South Asian texts of a genealogical nature, such as the vaṃśāvalīs, though it may be said that premodern texts of a genealogical nature—wherein royal and family lines draw their lineages back to prestigious and supernatural origins—are prevalent throughout diverse Eurasian

149 See 422–432 of the Zha lu gdan rabs.

150 Gu ge yong ’dzin blo bzang bstan ’dzin. Chos grwa chen po bkra shis lhung po’i gsang sngags rgyud pa grwa tsang gi rdo rje slob dpon rnams kyi rtogs par brjod pa dpag bsam ljon pa’i dbang po: Lives of the Successive Vajrācārya or Hierarchs of the Tantric College of Tashilhunpo. (Delhi: Chophel Legdan, 1980). For more information on this text, composed in 1806, see Martin, Tibetan Histories, 150–1.

151 See, for instance, an abbatial history folded into a text designated chos ’byung in the sixteenth century Gnas rnying chos ’byung. Bswi gung nyams med rin chen. Gnas rnying chos ’byung: Skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam par thar pa rin po che’i gter mdzod. Manuscript courtesy of TBRC.

literary traditions, and hence Tibetan translators likely encountered a wide variety of such texts. As works revealing the past through successive biographies of a lineage, Tibetan biographical compendia may also find prototypes in the Jātaka and Avadāna collections. The Chinese "eminent monk" biographical collections Kao-seng chuan (c. 520), Hsiü kao-seng chuan (667), and Sung kao-seng chuan (998), may also have impacted the development of Tibetan ecclesiastical biographical compendia—particularly these collections' use of successive monks' biographies to highlight virtuous or exemplary characteristics.

The late-eleventh-century Indian Sanskrit biographical compendium Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas (Caturaśītisiddhapravṛttī), written by the Indian master Abhayadatta and translated into Tibetan around the year 1100, in addition to texts like it, may have had a role in shaping a variety of forms of Tibetan multi-life biographies and the strong didactic orientations contained within them. On the Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas, David Templeman writes, "[t]o make his hagiographical collection a teaching tool (albeit a fairly basic one) Abhayadatta insisted on ending many of the vignettes (for they were merely fragments rather than full biographies) with didactic lines to demonstrate the reader the correct frame of mind to adopt if one were to emulate these

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153 This point is made by Witzel in Ibid.

154 On comparisons between the Jātakas and the Tibetan genre of "histories of incarnations" ('khrungs rabs), see Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, 93.


masters in any way."\textsuperscript{157} Thus some seven centuries prior to the composition of the History, there existed in Tibetan literature the precedent for a biographical collection being a didactic tool in which an author directs his readers through paratexts.

Indian precedents for the specific Tibetan genres of abbatial history and lama lineage biographies are difficult to locate. Tibetan translators and scholars may have known of collections of records—at least lists of names, but perhaps even full biographies—of abbots of the great Buddhist monasteries of India, such as Vikramāśīla and Nālandā. An account of the Tantric masters (vajrācārya) of Vikramāśīla appearing in chapter 38 of the History of Buddhism in India (Rgya gar chos 'byung) written by Tāranātha (1575–1634) may have been based on an elusive text—of which Tāranātha mentions he made extensive use—specified at the end of his work: "an account of the succession of the ācārya-s by the brāhmaṇa *paṇḍita *Bhaṭaghaṭi."\textsuperscript{158} It is known that Vikramāśīla served Tibetans as a model for the institutional structure and monastic practices of Tibetan monasticism.\textsuperscript{159} Could it be that the many Tibetans who visited Vikramāśīla and other monasteries like it adopted the practice of compiling biographies of abbatial and teaching lineages? Tāranātha's successive biographies of these Indian tantric Buddhist masters resemble brief Tibetan ecclesiastical biographical compendia. These biographies are chronologically successive and partitioned off from one another. Internally, each of Tāranātha's biographies easily resembles one of the History's short biographies, proceeding chronologically, and listing details of birth, travels, studies, the


assumption of religious roles, students, and ritual and meditative prowess.\(^{160}\) Did Tāranātha’s account of the tantric masters closely resemble the biographical collection by Pañḍita Bhāṭaghaṭi, or did he simply fold the data he found into a style of writing collective biographies already popular in Tibet?

Like other genres of Tibetan historical writing, the ecclesiastical biographical compendia is overwhelmingly indebted to its indigenous development. And like many other varieties of Tibetan historical writings, biographical compendia gradually grew in length and organizational complexity over time. Short Tibetan lama lineage biographies can be found in twelfth century,\(^{161}\) and early extant examples of abbatial histories are contained within in the Blue Annals (Deb ther sngon po), written by Göltsāwa Zhönupel (1392–1481) between the years 1476 and 1478.\(^{162}\) Only a handful of individual abbatial histories date from before the eighteenth century.\(^{163}\) Of the hundreds of extant lama lineage biographies and abbatial histories, most of which date from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries, few have been translated or summarized in western languages,\(^{164}\) and little has been postulated regarding the religious significance

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\(^{160}\) Tāranātha, Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India, 325–329.

\(^{161}\) See an early example in Martin, Tibetan Histories, 28 (entry 11).

\(^{162}\) See abbatial histories, for instance, beginning on pages 210 and 328 in Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal, The Blue Annals [Deb Ther Sngon Po], trans. George Roerich, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976).

\(^{163}\) Such early examples include the sixteenth-century Gnas rnying chos ’byung (see note above) and the ’Bri gung gdan rabs, written by ’Bri gung chos rje kun dga’ rin chen (1475–1537). On the latter, see Martin, Tibetan Histories, 84 (entry 157).

of these collections, their historical development, or the various functions that these works would have served within Tibetan monastic institutions.

The *History* is not defined by any content, literary features, or foci that do not appear in other genres of history such as "annals" (*deb ther*), "dharma origins" (*chos 'byung*), "histories" (*lo rgyus*), or "biographies" (*rnam thar*) which may also feature stories of abbots and lineage masters, their teachings transmitted and received, and so forth, blended together with records of events—just not necessarily organized in the same way. Tibetan biographical compendia like the *History* do, however, typically feature a complex organizational structure. With biographies organized into multiple sections and sub-sections, Tibetan biographical compendia are able to open up numerous paratextual spaces in which authors can direct the reading of their texts.

2.4—Content and Style: What's in a Lama's Life?
Most of the *History*’s lengthy biographies present lamas' lives temporally, beginning with masters' past lives (on occasion) and then proceeding to explicate data on the masters' parents, and clan or lineage affiliation in most cases. Then the biographies proceed, in many cases, to narratives of protagonists' gestation and birth, sometimes giving details on their mothers' conception. Many of the longer biographies open new episodes in the masters' lives according to year, with words like, "at the age of 40," or "in the wood-mouse year." On rare occasions, Losel Tengyong sums up masters' activities with blocks of years, with expressions such as, "from the ages of 15 to 58 . . . " In most

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cases, however, the narratives move forward temporally simply with the word "then" (de nas). The temporal movement is particularly significant to the exemplarity of a master, as certain activities ideally occur during particular periods in the lamas' lives, as I will discuss below.

Protagonists of each of the biographies contained within the History are lamas (bla ma; guru), who are usually referred to simply as Jé (rje), "the Lord." The length of each biography depends upon the available source material: Losel Tengyong often informs his readers whether he has too much or too little source material to work from. Another factor that determines the length of a biography in the History depends upon whether a lama's biography is found in the History's section of lama lineage biographies as well as in the abbatial history section. In the case that a biography appears in both sections, the abbatial history biography, as I have mentioned above, will be extremely concise. The following biography, quoted in full, is of the History's second biography of Shalu's second abbot (in the lineage following Butön), Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltseñ (1365–1448), appearing in the History's abbatial history section:

The second seat holder, the omniscient Drakpa Gyeltseñ took birth in the year of the wood-snake of the sixth sexagenary cycle [1365]. In his twenty-fifth year, in the earth-snake year [1389], on an auspicious day in the first month, he took [Shalu's abbatial] throne. In his fortieth year, in the year of the wood-ape [1404], he entrusted the monastic seat to Kedrup Sangyé Pelrin. The latter performed [as abbot] eight years, and in the year of the water-dragon [1412], the latter renounced his [abbotial] activities. Following this, in the year of the water-snake [1413], in his forty-ninth year, the master [Drakpa Gyeltseñ] himself once again took [Shalu's abbatial] throne. In his seventy-sixth year, in the year of the iron-monkey [1440], [Drakpa Gyeltseñ] appointed Lord Trülshig to the monastic seat, and, [in his] eighty-fourth year, [in] the earth-dragon year [1448], on the fifteenth day of the ninth month [the former] passed into nirvāṇa.  


166 gdan sa gnyis pa thams cad mkhyen pa grags pa rgyal mtshan rab byung drug pa'i shing mo sprul [=sbrul] la sku 'khrungs / dgung lo nyi shu rtsa lnga pa sa mo sbrul lo zla ba dang po'i gza' tshes dge bar khri thog tu phebs / dgung
This type of biography, consisting merely of dates and details of abbatial tenure, would generally only appear in the History's abbatial history section in the case that the abbot was also provided a longer biography in the lama lineage biography above.

Drakpa Gyeltsen's other biography, contained earlier in the History in the lama lineage section, is much longer and more narratively complex, and contains the themes and rhetoric characteristic of a wide range of Tibetan ecclesiastical biographical literature. This longer biography relates various other details about the abbot, for instance that he was born into a lineage of rulers that produced a siddha by the name of Gomorbi. We also learn that Rinchen Namgyel (1318–1388), the chief disciple of Butön Rinchendrup, officiated Drakpa Gyeltsen's ordination ceremony. We read that Drakpa Gyeltsen is Rinchen Namgyel's "spiritual son" (thugs kyi sras), learning almost all of the dharma from his teacher, "like a vase being filled up to the brim." These statements are all indicators of exemplarity: the lama takes ordination in Butön's lineage, studies extensively within that lineage, and comes from a spiritually potent family lineage.167

Drakpa Gyeltsen's biography also states that just before Rinchen Namgyel (the incumbent abbot) is about to die, the latter issues a final testament (zhal chems) to one of Shalu's rulers, Kushang Namkha,168 endorsing Drakpa Gyeltsen as his successor. Rinchen Namgyel exhorts that Drakpa Gyeltsen would make a capable abbot since "he had earlier received the initiations (dbang), explanations (bshad pa) and oral teachings

\[ lo \ bzhig \ bcos \ pa \ shing \ pho \ spre'u'i \ lo \ ma \ mkhas \ grub \ sangs \ rayas \ dpal \ rin \ la \ gdan \ sa \ gtag / \ des \ lo \ brgyad \ mdzad \ nas \ chu \ pho \ 'brug \ gi \ lo \ bya \ bral \ la \ theqs / \ de \ nas \ yang \ rje \ nyid \ kyi \ gzung \ lo \ zhe \ dgu \ pa \ chu \ mo \ sbrul \ gyi \ lo \ khri \ thog \ tu \ bskyar \ ma \ phebs / \ dgon \ lo \ bdun \ cu \ don \ drug \ pa \ lcags \ pho \ spre'u'i \ lo \ la \ 'khrul \ zhiug \ rje \ gzan \ sar \ bskos \ te \ brgyad \ cu \ gya \ bzhig \ pa \ sa \ pho \ 'brug \ lo \ smin \ drug \ zla \ ba'i \ tshes \ bco \ bnga \ la \ mya \ ngan \ las \ 'das \ so // Zha lu gdan rabs, 372. \]

167 On the relationship between family and monastic life, see chapter 6.

168 This may be the Namkha Chogdrup Pelsangpo mentioned on 43a of the Lce'i gdung rabs.
(gdams ngag) of all of the [three] outer [vehicles] of dialectics (phyi mtshan nyid [theg pa gsum]) and the inner secret mantra—except for only a portion—which were passed along from the Lord of the Dharma, the Omniscient One [Butön]. After urging that others should be quickly summoned to discuss the succession of Shalu's seat holder, Rinchen Namgyel passes away.

The endorsement of the incumbent abbot or lineage holder as a successor of the abbatial seat and/or the lineage of teachings is also a typical feature of the History's longer biographies. These testimonies ensure readers that the lineage of teachings, or the monastic seat, has been entrusted only to the most capable candidate. We also see statements that the biography's protagonist possesses, in an exhaustive manner, the monastery's (and lineage's) teachings. The latter issue is of the utmost concern: the fundamental purpose of a Shalu lama is to disseminate Shalu teachings, especially those composed by the tradition's forefather, Butön. Shalu's masters preserve the Shalu tradition through their passing down of the actual words of the teachings (lung), their conferral of the empowerments (dbang) to correctly practice and realize those teachings, and their execution of the teachings' oral explanations (khrid). A significant share of the History consists of copious lists of teachings passed on from master to master—extraordinarily detailed and exhaustive accounts of dissemination ensuring the History's readers that the correct teachings have indeed been transmitted through Butön's lineage.

The History also relates that Drakpa Gyeltshan serves as "royal lama" (ti shri) to the Phamodru leader of Tibet, Gongma Drakpa Gyeltshan (1374–1432), based at Neüdong. For

\[169 \text{snga mo nas chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa nas brgyud pa'i phyi mtshan nyid / nang gsang snga is thams cad kyi dbang / bshad pa / gdams ngag sna re tsam ma gtos bu mpa gang byor 'phrod yod pa. Zha lu gdan rabs, 102.}\]
this reason, the abbot is said to have traveled to central Tibet often. The History also mentions that this Neüdong ruler serves as one of Shalu's benefactors (sbyin bdag), sponsoring the carving of some of Butön's works into woodblocks. As in all the other biographical details presented above, this material also ennobles the protagonist: he not only nurtures the Shalu's teachings themselves, but he also safeguards the monastic institution that is responsible for transmitting and practicing these teachings, forging powerful political alliances and eliciting patronage to protect the edifices (in this case the texts themselves) that preserve the tradition's teachings.170

For the 52 years that constitute Drakpa Gyeltsen's two tenures on Shalu's abbatial throne, the History tells us that he extensively facilitates the activities of teaching through explanation, debate, and composition ('chad rtsod rtsom)—a marker of a lama's nobility, discussed in more detail below. Drakpa Gyeltsen is remembered to have exerted control in both religious and secular matters (lugs gnyis), not only at Shalu itself, but also at its nearby village and monastic hermitage of Ripuk, and perhaps even further beyond—the text cryptically recounts that he brokers peace when warfare (dmag 'khrug) erupts in the Tibetan regions of Ü and Tsang. Being charged with protecting Shalu's Buddhist teachings, as we read in the History, demands a much broader set of skills than simply being learned in religious teachings and faithfully transmitting them: in Tibet's politically volatile landscape, the best monastic leaders also need to be skilled diplomats, and take serious interest (or in fact immerse themselves) in a whole range of "this worldly" matters that ultimately protect the monastery's "other worldly" concerns.

170 On text protection as an exemplary characteristic of the Shalu lama, see chapter 4.
Nearing the end of his life, Drakpa Gyeltsen spends time in central Tibet as a teacher to various rulers including the Neüdong king and many monks and lay disciples. He also is recounted to have spent a month in front of the Jokhang's statue of Jowo Śākyamuni, paying homage and making offerings. Having returned to Shalu for the last time, at the age of 76, in the year 1440, Drakpa Gyeltsen entrusts Shalu's monastic seat to his successor, Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen. Two days later, Drakpa Gyeltsen moves to the nearly monastic hermitage of Ripuk, where he stays for the remaining eight years of his life. The account ends, like most of the History's longer biographies usually do, with a list of the lama's main students.171

On the transition between abbots, the History quotes extensively from Drakpa Gyeltsen's final testament, in which it is explained that his chosen successor, Trülshig, is the best among the candidates for the abbatial throne. Drakpa Gyeltsen explains that while there were many worthy candidates—spiritual guides (dge ba'i bshes gnyen) knowledgeable in all the sūtras and tantras—only Trülshig has also received the lineage's blessings. Drakpa Gyeltsen reveals the ritual technologies in which the final choice for abbot was made: the final deciding factor resulted from a ritual in which the abbot wrote all the names of the candidates on paper scrolls, rolled them up, and placed them into the hand of Tibet's most precious image—the statue of Jowo Śākyamuni. After extracting a scroll from the statue's hand, like pulling straws, the final candidate's name appeared. The abbot is also revealed to be a exemplary master of ritual: Trülshig's virtuous service to the Shalu tradition, portrayed throughout the

171 Among Drakpa Gyeltsen's chief disciples (bu chen) recorded in the Zha lu gdan rabs are the master's two abbatial successors: Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473; tenure as abbot: 1440–1466) and Kedrup Sangyé Pelrin (b. 1376), who served as abbot for eight years between Drakpa Gyeltsen's two tenures. Among his chief disciples in central Tibet was the famous Gölotsāwa Zhönupel (1392–1481). See Zha lu gdan rabs, 105, for a complete record of this abbot's main students.
latter's biography, itself also testifies to Drakpa Gyeltsen's exemplarity as a ritual master.\textsuperscript{172}

All of the content in each biography directs readers to see the lamas as exemplary masters. And much of the narrative material in the biographies, for instance what we have just examined about Drakpa Gyeltsen immediately above, establishes the lamas' exemplarity in quite obvious, and rather expected, or even "stenciled," ways. Other narratives, however, are far more narratively complex: they require significant engagement on behalf of readers, and incite the History's intended readers to supply intertextual connections, revealing complex, life-like models of ideal behavior. This dissertation primarily examines these complex narratives. In chapter 3, for instance, I will closely examine a lengthy passage from Drakpa Gyeltsen's biography that makes use of the theme of congregational conflict to further ennoble this abbot's character. This is one of the History's narratives that draws its readers into a vivid narrative theater, full of impassioned dialogue, and eliciting tradition-relevant readings.

2.5—Themes of Exemplarity in Lamas' Lives
A central theme of the History is monastic life in general, and overwhelmingly, activities of "teaching and learning" (\textit{chad nyan}), in particular. These topics, as we have seen above in the biography of Drakpa Gyeltsen, expose a set of virtues. The Shalu lamas' modes of virtue examined in this dissertation also unfold within a set of specific themes—congregational conflict (chapter 3), monastic discipline (chapter 4), book protection (chapter 5), and violent ritual (chapter 6)—which are fertile narrative venues for the generation of those modes of virtue. I treat the History's themes of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{172} See chapter 6 for a full treatment on the virtuousness of ritual prowess.
\end{footnotesize}
scrupulousness involving donations and nonsectarianism in separate studies that focus primarily on Losel Tengyong's autobiography.\textsuperscript{173} In discussing the History's thematics in this section, I not only continue to outline the History's salient features, but I also begin to contextualize the evidence for my central argument—that the History is fruitfully read as didactic—presented in chapters 3–6. The current section examines the life of a Shalu lama as a broad theme.

Common descriptors of the History's lamas, as we have seen in chapter 1 above, are two standard trilogies of Tibetan monastic nobility: the trilogy of activities done for the benefit of oneself, that is, listening, contemplation, and meditation (thos bsam sgom); and the trilogy of teaching, debate, and composition ('chad rtsod rtsom), done for the benefit of others. Statements that testify to masters' excellence in these trilogies pervade the History. The categories may simply describe the master, as we have seen in the above biography of Drakpa Gyeltsen. Or they may conjoin a description of other virtuous qualities: in the life of Norsang Rinchen Pelzang, we read that this master has no need to inquire with others on matters of exposition, debate, and composition, and Butön's activities of explanation, debate, and composition are declared to be "immeasurable" (mu med pa). In the life of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen, Losel Tengyong uses the words "teaching," "debate," and "composition" as section headers to narrate the master's achievements. In the History's biography of Butön, the trilogy of teaching, debate, and composition is found in the actual title of Butön's 8th great act: "How he amplified the celebration of teaching, debate, composition, and translation." These activities then serve as headers to separate the content of Butön's achievements.

Many statements on what constitutes a lama's exemplarity are explicitly uttered by the History's characters themselves. In a discussion about his abbatial successor, Rinchen Namgyel ranks the qualities of suitable abbots: when he is asked "please offer, according to your wisdom, instructions on what kind of seat holder suits [you]." The master responds,

No matter who it is, it is of the utmost importance that [he hold] this vow lineage (sdom rgyun) [of Butön]. The best [kind of seat holder] would be my vow-son (sdom phrug), he would have the external [behavior characteristic] of the Mahāyāna (mtshan nyid [theg pa]), and thoroughly practice Vajrayāna internally. A medium-grade [successor] would [also] be my vow-son, would be a kashipa who has excellent knowledge of the Yoga tantras and the Kālacakra Tantra. The third-best [kind of successor] would be a son of my vow-lineage, and who is a kashipa that has the capacity to teach the Vajrayāna, Mahāyāna, and grammar. Entrust [the throne] to one [of these three types]!

Ideal masters, and in particular, abbots, possess a blend of learnedness and realization. This confluence is instantiated in the History's biographies, as attention is continuously drawn to both the abbots' feats of learning and teaching ('chad nyan), as well as to their meditative realization.

Woven throughout the History are three well known aspects of Tibetan biography, the first of which is the masters' "outer biography" (phyi'i rnam thar), which recounts details such as education, ordination, monastic training, travels, and teachings given and received. Folded into this "outer" or external level are aspects of the lamas' "inner

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175 kashipa (bka' bzhi pa), meaning "one [who has mastered] four texts," refers to mastery in prajñāpāramitā, Vinaya, Abhidharmakośa, and Madhyamaka (or Prāmaṇa). See Dreyfus, The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk, 144, and 366 note 72.
176 'phags yoga dus gsum. I am uncertain of which textual corpus the word 'phags refers to here.
177 gang ltar na'ang sdom rgyun 'di gal shin tu che ba yin pas / rab nged kyi sdom phrug yin pa la phyi mtshan nyid / nang gsang sngags thams cad che tshang ba gcig / 'bring sdom phrug yin pa la bka' bzhi 'phags yoga dus gsum yod pa'i yon tan yar 'phel zhiq / thu ma'ang sdom 'phrug yin pa bka' bzhi yod pa la sngags mtshan nyid sgra dang bcas pa la slob pa'i blo gros yod pa gcig la bskos mdzod gsungs. Zha lu gdan rabs, 62.
biography" (nang gi rnam thar), which chronicles specific meditative cycles and initiations. Finally, the third type of biography found in the History is referred to as "secret biography" (gsang ba'i rnam thar) which describes meditative and mystical visions. In many of the History's biographies, one encounters an implicit temporal progression from the "outer" towards more esoteric pursuits, the "secret;" from recounting the activities of learning and teaching, to recalling meditative experiences.

2.5.1—Lamas' Exemplary Lifecycles

Losel Tengyong quotes from the writings of the Sakya master Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyeltsen (1182–1251) to relate the ideal cycle of a lama's life in the biography of Norsang Rinchen Pelsang. Losel Tengyong writes,

In short, as the saying goes,

First, become learned in all fields of knowledge.
Later, eloquently expound [the dharma] before scholarly assemblies.
Finally, meditate diligently on the meaning of [whatever] you have learned.

This is the view and exposition of all the buddhas of the three times.

I believe that the life of this great being (bdag nyid chen po; mahātma) epitomizes these verses.

Noble masters, hence, spend the first portion of their lives learning, the second, teaching, and finally, they actualize these experiences in meditative practice. This saying captures what is implicit in the lamas' biographies themselves: lamas' lives are

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179 Ibid. Willis writes that most namtars contain all three levels, albeit one or another is emphasized, and some namtars treat one level only. See Willis, "On the Nature of Rnam-thar: Early Dge-lugs-pa Siddha Biographies," 312 note 17 for examples.
180 mdom na ji skad du / thog mar shes bya kun la bkha' par sbyangs // bar du mkhas pa'i thig skus su legs par bshad // phyi la 'dri ba'i [='pa'i] don la brtson pas bsgom // dus gsum rgyal ba yongs kyi bzhed gzhung yin // zhes gsums pa'i don yang bdag ... nyid chen po 'di la mnga' bar sems so // Zha lu gdan rabs, 120. I am thankful to Khenpo Kunga Sherab for indicating that this passage was authored by Sakya Paṇḍita. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to locate the passage in the latter's collected works.
presented as a gradual transformation from learning to teaching, and then from teaching to meditation. In what follows, I look at the ideal lifecycle of a Shalu lama as it is presented in the History.

2.5.1.1—Conception, Gestation, Birth, and Childhood
The Shalu lama's conception, gestation, birth, and childhood unfold in typically ideal ways, which testify to the protagonists' enlightened ontological status—the inner basis of their exemplary behavior as monastic leaders. Besides the biography of Butön, whose life story begins with an account of his previous existences, many of the longer lamas' biographies open with narratives that testify to the main characters' extraordinary conception and gestation.¹⁸¹

Stories of miraculous conception and gestation are common in the History, mirroring a very common feature of Tibetan sacred biography, and in fact, a common feature of hagiography from a multitude of religious traditions.¹⁸² A story of miraculous conception appears in the biography of Butön's successor, Rinchen Namgyel, in which the future abbot's mother becomes pregnant after a monk gives her a miraculous dharma pill (ril bu). The nun's ingestion of the pill is accompanied by a radiant light beam that travels down her throat into her womb, at which time, the conception of Rinchen Namgyel occurs.¹⁸³ As we will see in chapter 6, the mother of Lama Sotön Šākyapel (1355–1432) has successive dreams that her womb is filled with a maṇḍala of

¹⁸¹ Some biographies, however, such as those of Khyenrab Chöjé Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrub, Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen, and Shalu Lotsāwa, include brief statements, although not full narratives, on the masters' previous existences.

¹⁸² See Serinity Young, Dreaming in the Lotus: Buddhist Dream Narrative, Imagery & Practice (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999), 76.

¹⁸³ The story is told beginning on Zha lu gdan rabs, 44.1.
Vajrapāṇi, blazing light, and prostrating offering-givers. While the future abbot Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473) gestates in his mother's womb, the latter dreams of a dancing yogi, adorned as the deity Heruka, who comes to ask if he can spend a night at the mother's house. In the biography of the abbot Shalu Lochen Rinchen Chökyang Sangpo (1441–1528), it is the king of the nāgas who makes a request in the mother's dream to stay the night. During her pregnancy, the mother of the future abbot Khyenrab Chöjé Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrup (1436–1497) dreams that her gestating baby emerges from her womb and rises up to the sky amid an emergence of radiant light. Pregnant mothers also dream of stūpas giving rise to more stūpas, and the sounding of conch shells (which call the saṅgha to assembly). In the biography of Gongkar Dorjé Denpa Jigmé Pawo (1432–1496), both the mother and father have a dream during their baby's gestation that a young bejeweled god asks to stay with them; in the morning (still in the dream), they see the boy-god sitting atop a throne of texts. Narratives of dreams of extraordinary conception and gestation testify to the extraordinary ontological nature of Shalu masters, signaling lives enacted for the benefit of sentient beings, which are later narrated for the benefit of readers.

The pregnancy experience of Butön's mother is not only extraordinary in terms of her dream about a maṇḍala replete with deities, but the mother herself also undergoes transformative experiences, such as the arising in her mind of the entry or

184 See the biography of Chétsun Tenzin Trinlé (1744–1798)—Zha lu gdan rabs, 448–459.
185 See the biography of Künkhyen Sönampel (1361–1438)—Zha lu gdan rabs, 107–120.
"gates" of concentration (ting nge 'dzin gyi sgo; sāmadhimukha), and a feeling of cotton-like lightness in her body, just as Queen Māyā felt as the Buddha gestated in her womb.  

Stories of miraculous births and early childhood also signal the Shalu masters' enlightened status. Butön's birth is characterized by the typical features narrated in the masters' lives: raining flowers, sounds of crashing symbols, and so forth, but also a dream experienced by his mother wherein a maṇḍala of deities inside her womb emerges to recreate a maṇḍala in the external world, purifying the earth, and establishing beings in dharma. An interesting example of a miraculous birth is found in the biography of Chetsun Tenzin Trinlé (1744–1798), wherein this lama's birth is accompanied by a thunderous sound that neighbors mistake for gun-shooting partygoers.

Stories of extraordinary early childhood are also common in the History: almost any biography of significant length features narratives of the future lamas' abilities to read, write, and memorize texts with unusual ease in childhood.  

A narrative recounting the sleepless curiosity of a child supplies testimony to the effortlessness with which one master becomes enlightened. In the life of Chetsun Tenzin Trinlé (1744–1798), we read:

During [Chetsun Tenzin Trinlé's] childhood, there was a horse named Chönyi Mugdzin (Chos nyid [i.e., 'emptiness'] smug 'dzin) that belonged to [the boy's] father, and one night, the name of that [horse] repeatedly appeared in [the child's] mind and hence he was unable to sleep for half the night. After some

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187 Ruegg mentions the following passage from the Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann), p. 71.5: "Indeed, oh bhikṣus, Queen Māyā felt no heaviness of body when the bodhisattva was in her womb." Ruegg, The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston rNam Thar, 64.

188 See the biography of Gongkar Dorjé Denpa Jigmé Pawo (1432–1496)—Zha lu gdan rabs, 172–176.
time, the view that sees all apparent phenomena as emptiness spontaneously arose [in the boy's mind].

Nowhere in the lamas' lives is the hermeneutic fabric more complex and paradoxical, with some masters perfectly enacting every moment of their lives, and others "actually" seeming to become enlightened (again), albeit usually very quickly.

It is typically mentioned in the History that the future lamas show no interest in games or play, but only in religious activities, which often manifest in children using their toys as religious implements. In the life of Śākyapel, for instance, a story is related of the boy teaching dharma to a group of frogs. Religious masters as children seamlessly identify painted deities, spontaneously utter mantras, and remember past lives. These stories signal the innate enlightenment of the child, which sometimes, as I explore in chapter 6, have profound implications for later events.

2.5.1.2—Adulthood

Early adult life in the biographies concerns the central events of novice and full monastic ordination, and extensive space is usually devoted to the elucidation of teachings received. These details, too many to mention here, assure readers that the lamas have received ordination within suitable vow lineages (sdom rgyun)—ideally Butön's—and that they have been educated under noted masters. Accounts of adulthood also provide copious details on teachings given and received. These

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189 chung du'i dus nub gcig yab kyi chibs ba chos nyid smug 'dzin zer ba zhig yod pas / de'i ming thugs la yang yang shar bas mtshan phyed tsam gyi ring mnl ma byung / ji zhig nas yul snang thams cad stong par 'dug dgon bs pa'i lta ba rang khrungs su byung pa. Zha lu gdan rabs, 449.

190 See the biography of Gongkar Dorjé Denpa Jigmé Pawo (1432–1496)—Zha lu gdan rabs, 172-176.

191 See the biography of Sotön Śākyapel (1355–1432)—Zha lu gdan rabs, 123-139.

192 See the biography of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473)—Zha lu gdan rabs, 139-164.

193 See the biography of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473)—Zha lu gdan rabs, 139-164.
"teachings" are in the form of the actual words of the teachings (lung), the conferral of the empowerments (dbang) to correctly practice and realize those teachings, and the execution of the teachings' oral explanations (khrid). The extensive records of teachings given and received, which are not explored in this dissertation, reveal that a staggering diversity of doctrinal and ritual traditions passed through Shalu.

Other information provided of the lamas' adulthood includes the assumption of positions of importance, often to Shalu's abbatial throne; projects, such as physical renovations to the monastery, or the sponsoring of artwork or text collections; meetings with important religious and political leaders; and a host of other information. Interspersed within these accounts are a plethora of narratives that are too varied to discuss here, and which in fact represent the bulk of the narratives explored throughout this dissertation. These include narratives that testify to the exemplary traits of conflict resolution (chapter 3), Vinaya adherence (chapter 4), book making and protection (chapter 5), and ritual prowess (chapter 6).

2.5.1.3—Old Age and Death
Narratives of dying and death are fertile forums for the explication of a number of exemplary qualities including the lamas' worth to the monastic community, their enlightened status, and their great pedagogical skills. Narratives of lamas' deaths are venues to unveil the crucial importance that a master has held for the Shalu monastic community during his life. A perfect example of this occurs when Butön's disciple learns of the former's plans to die in the near future and ascend to Tuṣita heaven. The
disciple laments, "Please don't utter these words! Maitreya himself [already] teaches the dharma in Tuṣita. Please stay here for the benefit of sentient beings—I beg you!"\textsuperscript{194}

Narratives of old age and death, like birth and childhood, are also especially fruitful narrative forums for the explication of advanced states of mind. Death is often preceded by prophetic dreams. In his biography, Butön relates a dream that prophesizes his impending death: he sees himself ascending a ladder to Tuṣita heaven aside Maitreya.\textsuperscript{195} In the biography of Künkhyen Sönampel (1361–1438), the master has a dream, at the age of 78, of a blue woman inviting the master to walk along a long woolen white cloth. When he wakes, he utters, "This year I'm going to die!"

Butön's death is accompanied by rainbows, miraculous sounds, and a rain of flowers—standard miracles accompanying most of the masters in the History. Butön's body, upon being cremated, produces miraculous relics—another standard result of the lamas' deaths. Like premonitions, and miracles preceding and accompanying death, control over the time of death itself also indicates an enlightened status. A key indicator signaling this power over death is the expression "seeming" or "giving the appearance" (tshul bstan pa). In the biography of Butön, it is mentioned that he "gave the appearance of becoming ill,"\textsuperscript{196} but following his disciples' pleas for the continuance of his life, he "appears" to reverse his illness, as he understands that his life still serves some benefit to Shalu's monks. At the end of his life, as well as throughout his life, Butön's acts, including his death, are carefully orchestrated enactments for the benefit of sentient beings.

\textsuperscript{194} de skad mi gsung bar zhu / dga’ ldan na byams pa rang gis chos gsung ba lags / drung nas ’di ru ’gro ba’i don la bzhugs ’tshal. Zha lu gdan rabs, 37.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid., 37.
\textsuperscript{196} sku bsnyung (=bsnyun) pa’i tshul bstan. Ibid., 37.
In addition to indicating his enlightened status, Butön's control over his death also illustrates the lama's pedagogical mastery. Losel Tengyong tells us that Butön sees his own death as an important tool for the skillful teaching of Buddhism. Regarding Butön's second illness, to which the master eventually succumbs, Losel Tengyong writes, "for the sake of training [his] disciples clinging to permanence, [Butön] manifested the appearance of returning to [his] illness."[197]

Many of the History's lamas, before they die, utter "final testaments" (bka' chems/zhal chems) to their disciples. These statements include distillations of whatever the masters consider to be the most important advice based upon their lifetimes of experience in monastic matters. Some of the biographies feature only a few lines from the testaments, while others include longer passages that tend to unfold in a structure beginning with autobiographical retrospections that gradually shift to the giving of advice. End-of-life or end-of-abbatial-tenure statements typically open with (or include) expressions like, "Now I'm getting old" or "I won't live much longer." These testaments, when delivered by abbots, often name the abbatial successor, as we have seen above.

The final testament of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen begins with a series of humble—yet ultimately ennobling—life-retrospections: the eagerness with which he engaged in learning and practice, his efforts in leading the monastery through difficulties, and his scrupulous use of donations. Trülshig further reflects on his failure to commit Butön's collected writings to woodblocks—a project discussed in chapter 5. Trülshig's testament then shifts to advice-giving in which the master implores the monks to strive to get along, to focus their efforts on cultivating the exemplary trilogy of listening,
contemplation, and meditation (thos bsam sgom), to devote themselves to the monastery, and, especially, to complete the carving of Butön's collected works into woodblocks.

2.6—Conclusion
This chapter has begun to demonstrate that exemplarity in the History is bound up in the lives of the text's lamas in a series of principals and paradigmatic life stages. What we have seen so far of the virtuous Shalu lama is a mere outline—a roughly sketched road map for Shalu monks.

Some of the general features of the History's ecclesiastical lama seen in this chapter are of this character type's involvement in all matters of "teaching and learning" ('chad nyan) involving initiations (dbang), explanations (bshad pa) and oral teachings (gdamgs ngag); activities of listening, contemplation, and meditation (thos bsam sgom), and teaching, debate, and composition ('chad rtsod rtsom); and the exertion of control in both religious and secular matters (lugs gnyis). This literary character type lives its life in a gradual shift of foci: from learning to teaching, and then from teaching to meditation.

In the following chapters, I focus on discrete parts of this road map, filling it in to reveal Losel Tengyong's unique hagiographical pattern of the ideal Shalu lama. From the next chapter onwards, we enter a series of narrative theaters that, being specific to Shalu itself, are most compellingly and meaningfully experienced by the History's intended readers—Shalu's monks. On this transformative itinerary, these monks bring along a collection of memories—intertexts gleaned through their monastic education in the Shalu tradition. These intertexts are keys that unlock the doors to the History's
transformative theaters, to fully experience the transformative worlds that Losel Tengyong has woven for his intended readers out of the very literary fabric of the Shalu tradition.
Chapter 3—Monasticism, Conflict, and Enlightenment

3.1—Introduction
This chapter begins to define and analyze Losel Tengyong's discrete mode of ecclesiastical exemplarity that takes expression through the History's narratives. The first contour of this exemplary mode is a type of hagiographical virtuousness that emerges out of stories about lamas who persevere through congregational conflict. The History presents this specific contour of the lama's righteousness through unfolding narratives that attest to the soteriologically deleterious conditions of congregational conflict. Although it would seem on the surface that these narratives discredit monasticism as an effective vehicle to Buddhist liberation, the History in fact makes use of these provocative stories to compellingly highlight a series of Buddhist virtues. Through the hardship that comes with being an (ecclesiastical) lama, the History's saints are shown to advance soteriologically amid conflicts within the monastic community, because of these conflicts.

Through stories of congregational strife at Shalu, Losel Tengyong builds his theme of the exemplary Buddhist leader who, rather than abandoning the monastery when trouble strikes, commits to guiding the community through its troubles. And this exemplary theme, I argue, is only fully understood in terms of the text's immediate world, the world which has generated (and remains reflected within) the text, as well as in light of the authorial force that directs the reader to understand this contour of exemplarity in a nuanced way, according to Losel Tengyong's inclinations and opinions.

Losel Tengyong constructs the exemplarity of perseverance through congregational conflict in three ways. Firstly, vignettes of escape amid monastic
conflict situate the idea of escape into solitude as an important point of reference in the History. This is explored below in section 1. Secondly, against the reference point of escape amid conflict, the History’s narratives about saints who stay amid conflict and persevere in leading the community are potently and meaningfully ennobled. This is explored below in section 2. Although escape is always possible, Shalu’s masters who choose (what is portrayed as being) the more difficult option of leading the monastery amid conflict are shown to exude Buddhist virtues such as determination (brtson ’grus; vīrya), patience (bzod pa; kṣānti), skillful means (thabs; upāya), insight (shes rab; prajñā), and selfless generosity (sbyin pa; dāna). In short, through the hardship that accompanies being a Buddhist leader, the History’s saints are implicitly shown to advance soteriologically amid conflict, because of conflict.

Thirdly, the notion that to stay is exemplary is bolstered through the History’s presentation of the idea that the hardship of Buddhist leadership itself engenders a quality of "ascetic-like perseverance" (sdug sran). Juxtaposed against, and superior to, "real" asceticism (i.e., outside the monastery), this exemplary quality is a kind of "domesticated asceticism." In section 3, I situate the History’s presentation of the religiosity and soteriology of staying amid conflict in the wider context of Shalu literature. Here, I illustrate how these discourses are woven into some of Shalu’s most well-known writings: Butön’s final testaments. Finally, in section 4, I illustrate how the discourses that constitute the theme of virtuous perseverance amid conflict resonate with Losel Tengyong’s self-representations in his autobiography.

This chapter demonstrates that Losel Tengyong prescribes a specific model of

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exemplary behavior to the Shalu monk. This prescription, moreover, lies not only within the *History* itself, but also more broadly in the intertextual connections that clarify this prescription and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition. This chapter concurrently demonstrates that a powerful authorial force is present in the *History*, and that this force of authorship aligns the *History*, for the benefit of its readers, with Losel Tengyong’s prescriptive vision of a Shalu-specific exemplary lama.

3.2—Trouble in the Community, Escape into Solitude

Pervading Tibetan literature are references to monastic life being rife with conflicts, troublemakers, and general misery. *The Mount Potala Delights*, a poem by the Nyingma master Longchen Rabjampa (1308–1363), captures this troubled image well, when monasteries, in addition to townships, are described as being "full of evildoers who cause trouble for those conducting themselves in accordance with dharma."[^199] That the troubles of monastic life are specifically deleterious to Buddhist soteriology is also articulated in Tibetan literature. A contemporary of Losel Tengyong, the celebrated wandering yogi Shabkar (1781–1851), writes the following about Buddhist monasteries in his autobiography:

> To stay in towns or monasteries is very comfortable,
> But if you linger there, attachment and hatred will increase.
> A Dharma practitioner's place is a mountain hermitage;
> Always remain in the wilderness.[^200]


Asserting that hatred increases in monasteries, Shabkar insinuates that monasteries are sites of conflict. True progress on the Buddhist path to liberation, he tells us, occurs in solitude, away from monasticism's inevitable quagmires of attachment and hatred.

These rhetorical fragments attending to monasticism's conflicts and their spiritual harm are part of a much larger rhetorical tension between "settled" and "wandering" religiosities that pervades Buddhist literature. Unsparing attacks directed at "settled" Buddhist monks, relishing in apparent fame and fortune, are frequently uttered by Tibet's most infamous wilderness-dwelling yogi, Milarepa, who is Shabkar's previous incarnation, and whose life story serves as a model for the latter's. Milarepa is quoted, for instance, to say things like: "There are those who once fell prey to worldly pride and then, having learned to preach on a few religious books, took pleasure in their own gains and in the defeat of others. Such people call themselves dharma practitioners and wear golden robes, all the while seeking as much wealth and fame as possible. I turn my back on all such people and always will."

The notion that communal monastic life stymies Buddhist transformation pervades Buddhist literature. In the Theragāthā, for instance, the saint Pārāpiya, speaking from the forest, criticizes the behavior of monks living communally, in

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settled monasteries. Pārāpāriya asserts that the conduct of Buddhist monks "now seems different from when the protector of the world, the best of men, was alive,"\textsuperscript{205} when they lived "in the forest, at the foot of trees, in caves and grottoes, devoting themselves to seclusion."\textsuperscript{206} Juxtaposed against these solitary monks, who once dwelt in solitude "with all āsava\textsuperscript{207} completely annihilated," Pārāpāriya says of those living communally: "Having abandoned the true doctrine, they quarrel with one another; following after false views they think, 'This is better.'\textsuperscript{208} Moreover, "[t]hose who are outside the Order quarrel about the Order's gain," writes Pārāpāriya.\textsuperscript{209} In this "time of evil characteristics and defilements," the true dharma remains only among those who eschew communal living—Pārāpāriya tells us "those who are ready for seclusion possess the remainder of the true doctrine."\textsuperscript{210} In communal living, with its quarrels, Pārāpāriya says, "Because of the complete annihilation of good characteristics and wisdom, the conqueror's teaching, endowed with all excellent qualities, is destroyed."\textsuperscript{211} These connections drawn between monasticism, conflict, and enlightenment in both Tibetan and Pāli literature suggest the widespread presence of a particular type of

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid., 86 verse 921.

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid., 87 verse 925.

\textsuperscript{207} Skt. āśrava; Tib. zag pa. On this difficult to translate term, Dan Lusthaus writes that āsava are "deeply seated propensitites that drive one to pursue and cling to pleasure, further existence, ignorance, and pernicious views and theories." Dan Lusthaus, \textit{Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogācāra Buddhism and the Ch'eng Wei-Shih Lun} (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 126.

\textsuperscript{208} Norman, \textit{The Elders' Verses I: Theragāthā}, 87 verse 933.

\textsuperscript{209} Ibid., 88 verse 943.

\textsuperscript{210} Ibid., 87 verse 930.

\textsuperscript{211} Ibid., 87 verse 929.
rhetorical\textsuperscript{212} attack that presents monasticism—and its inherent predicaments—to be spiritually detrimental.

These sentiments appear in works\textsuperscript{213} that glorify solitary or wandering Buddhist saints and vilify settled monasticism—regardless of however indebted these works and their authors actually were to monastics, monastic scriptoria, coffers, and patrons. But narratives that highlight monasticism's spiritual toxicity are also embraced by Tibetan ecclesiastical hagiographical writings, that is, by writings that take monks' lives as their principal subject, that are written by and about figures unambiguously entrenched in institutional monastic life, and that praise monasticism as an apt form of Buddhist religiosity and a suitable apparatus for Buddhist soteriology. As I will explore below, the History, a collection of ecclesiastical hagiographies, and a work that expressly sets out to present models of spiritual exemplarity in the lives of lamas, abounds in narratives that appear to rhetorically attack settled Buddhist monasticism. Why might this be the case? What functions could anti-monastic narratives play in a work that glorifies ecclesiastical lamas?

Although it would seem on the surface that these narratives discredit monasticism as an effective vehicle to Buddhist liberation, the History in fact makes use of these provocative stories to compellingly highlight a series of Buddhist virtues. Through the hardship that comes with being an (ecclesiastical) lama, the History's saints are shown to advance soteriologically amid conflict. The History accomplishes this by first simply confronting the view that solitary living is a remedy to the conflicts—and

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{212} In no way am I suggesting that these instances of anti-monastic rhetoric should be understood to be corrosive to any form of monasticism. On the contrary, this chapter demonstrates their crucial role in the most unambiguously monastic Tibetan hagiographical literature.}  
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{213} By "works," I refer here to the discrete poems, songs, or autobiographies cited above—not to any larger collections in which these works are found.}
hence to the spiritual obstacles—of monastic life. In the History's biography of Shalu's 18th abbot (in the lineage following Butön), Wangchug Rabten, (1558–1636), we read:

Some deranged (smyon) Shalu monks concocted various malicious deceptions: they had Lama Kashipa Tszultrim Gyurmé meet with [the Tsang governor who this lama] knew well [so that the former could] ask the Tsang governor to let Pönchen Gyelsten Sangpo be appointed to the [abbot's] seat of Ripuk. As that happened, these words from the Bodhicaryāvatāra [arose] in the Lord [Wangchug Rabten]'s mind:

In the woods, wild animals, birds, and trees
Never say bad things [about you]
And are happy when befriended.
When shall I come to live with them?

He realized that the time had come [to enter solitary retreat, fulfilling] the meaning of those words, and he stayed in central Tibet [in retreat] for a long time.\(^{214}\)

Wangchug Rabten's evocation of Bodhicaryāvatāra 8.26—a verse praising forest-dwelling solitude—amid a monastic conflict, perfectly captures the sentiments expressed above by Shabkar and other "anti-monastics" that only in solitude is one free of communal life's soteriologically toxic discords. The verses around 8.26 in the Bodhicaryāvatāra illustrate that attempting to offer spiritual help to the angry and quarrelsome is an exercise in utter futility—bringing them (and oneself) more harm than good. Bodhicaryāvatāra 8.22 and 8.23 illustrate this perfectly:

If even the Conqueror was unable to please
The various inclinations of different beings,
Then what need to mention an evil person such as I?
Therefore I should give up the intention (to associate with) the worldly.

They scorn those who have no material gain

\(^{214}\) zha la pa'i ban smyon 'gar [=’ga’] zhi gis mi bsrun pa'i raysu 'grul [=sgyu ‘phrul?] sna tshogs byas te bla ma ka bzhi pa tshul khrims 'gyur med ngo chen la sbran [=sprad?] nas ri phug gi qdan sar dpon chen rgyal mtshan bzang po bskos chog pa sde pa qtsang la zhus nas byung gda’ bas rje nyid kyi thugs la ri / ji skad du spyod 'jug las / nas na ri dwags bya rnams dang // shing rnams mi snyan brjod mi byed // 'grogs na bde ba de dag dang // nam zhig lhan cig bdag gnas 'gyur // ces pa'i don dus la bab po snyam pa 'khrungs to dbus phyogs su rayun ring ba bzhugs / Zha lu qdan rabs, 321.
And say bad things about those who do;  
How can they who are by nature so hard to get along with  
Ever derive any pleasure (from me)?\(^{215}\)

Wangchug Rabten's resolution to such an impossible situation here is clear: to dwell with the trees and birds, who do—or say—nothing harmful to spiritual practice.

A similar notion that ecclesiastical conflict pushes monastic Buddhist leaders into solitude is present in the History's biography of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473). When this monk is appointed to take over Shalu's abbacy amid what is referred to in the History as the Great Quarrel (\(\text{yo 'khyoms chen po / che ba}^{216}\)), described in more detail below, he becomes distraught to the point of fleeing the monastery into solitude, hoping to take up a wandering life, as he imagines, like Milarepa.

The History tells us that in the year 1440, Trülshig joins an assembly at the residence of his lama, Shalu's abbot Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltsen (1365–1448), to hear the latter announce his successor.\(^{217}\) The episode recounts that the abbot delivers a sermon to the assembly, itself quoted in Drakpa Gyeltsen's biography, appearing just prior to Trülshig's in the History.\(^{218}\) The sermon of advice recounts the Great Quarrel, involving a flurry of nasty letters and the near destruction of the monastery (see below), and


\(^{216}\) This phrase is derived from the verb yo ba, "to be slanted," and 'khyom ba, "to wobble," or "to be disturbed." The Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo defines yo 'khyoms as 'khrugs pa'am gnod rkyen. 'Khrugs pa refers to a disturbance, such as a "quarrel," "disagreement," "feud," etc., and gnod rkyen meaning a "condition of harm." The following example sentence is provided in the Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo, "Those bad people misbehaved and created a great disturbance (yo 'khyoms chen po) in the community" (mi ngan de tshos spyod ngan byas te mang tshogs khrod du yo 'khyoms chen po bzos). Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo. Mi rigz de skrun khang, 2006, 2597. Yo 'khyoms is one of the more vaguely defined types of conflicts mentioned in this chapter; the word neither strongly describes the content of the conflict nor does it rule out the involvement of physical altercations. Other terms that describe conflicts mentioned below carry more specific connotations, such as kha mchu, which refers to disputes, as in legal disputes.

\(^{217}\) This episode occurs in the biography of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen, which is found on 139–146 of the Zha lu gdan rabs.

\(^{218}\) The biography of Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltsen is found on 101–105 of the Zha lu gdan rabs.
includes stern warnings not to interfere in the abbatial succession. In Trülshig's biography we hear nothing of the sermon's Great Quarrel itself. Only the abbot's threat to the assembly—intended, presumably, for the conflict's instigators—is repeated from the previous biography. The abbot says, "Those [of you] who bring adverse conditions to this [successor's enthronement should] dump water on [your] heads!" The reader, presumably having already just read the previous biography, has to supply the context of the Great Quarrel to enjoy the full significance of this story.

After supplying his warnings, the abbot stares intensely at Trülshig, sitting at the very end of the monks' seated ranks (bzhugs gral), and announces the latter as the abbatial successor. Rising immediately upon hearing the news, Trülshig prostrates and enumerates reasons for his abbatial unsuitability. Some of his supporters in the assembly shout: "Be seated you fool!" Trülshig then sits quietly and plans his escape from the monastery, thinking "I'm incapable, at this point, of carrying the burden of such a great group [of monks and lay persons], so [I] should flee to Tsaritra—the glorious, supreme place of pilgrimage—and live like Milarepa." Trülshig's reaction to the enormous responsibility (or burden) of leadership is that he decides to flee to Tsaritra (Rtsa ri tra) and live like Milarepa, Tibet's legendary wandering yogi. Tsaritra, or Tsari is one of Tibet's holiest mountain sites and among its most important places

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219 di la sus 'gal rkyen byas pa de rang gi mgo la rang gis chu drangs ba 'gro ba yin no. Zha lu gdan rabs, 146. The language is obscure here and I have had to rely on Khenpo Kunga Sherab's explanation. Sherab tells me that this may be an insult and a euphemism for "go put shit on your head!"

220 This would seem to suggest, according to Khenpo Kunga Sherab, that the monk has been ordained for a shorter period of time than the other monks with whom he is seated in this episode.

221 khyod kyi yang mi shes sdom sdom. Zha lu gdan rabs, 146.

222 da ni sde chen po 'di 'dra'i khur 'khyer ba mi yong pas gnas mchog dpal gyi rtsa ri tra la bros nas mi la ras pa 'dra ba zhig bya dgos. Ibid., 146–7.

223 For a discussion on the names of this mountain pilgrimage area, see Toni Huber, The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet (New York: Oxford University Press,
of pilgrimage. Huber writes that since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Tsari was colonized by various sub-branches of the Kagyü sect in a "style of Tantric asceticism involving homeless wandering and remote mountain retreats in caves and small huts by yogins (neljorpa) and solitary meditators (gomchen)."\(^{224}\) Evoking the image of this lifestyle amid the Great Quarrel, Trülshig clearly highlights the notion that escape into solitude, and the adoption of a wandering religiosity, is preferable to remaining in communal life with its relentless, enlightenment-inhibiting conflicts.

The same problem unfolds again in the History's biography of Sotön Śākyapel (1355–1432), one of Shalu's important masters (a holder of Butön's teachings, although not himself an abbot),\(^{225}\) when we learn that this master flees the monastery in response to a heated conflict. The biography relates that among a group of newcomer students to Shalu, a great argument and fight (kha mchu dang 'khrug long) erupts over an offering of one of the Great Kings (gong ma) of Tibet, based at Neüdong.\(^{226}\) Because of the broken monastic vows involved in this dispute, Shalu's dharma protectors step in, causing the instigators pain, the vomiting of blood, and death. The events then continue to spiral out of control: Śākyapel's biography reveals that people gossip following the deaths, saying "since Master Śākyapel turned the watermill of the

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1999), 82–3. Tsaritra, abbreviated as Tsari, is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Cāritra. Huber writes, "the site of Cāritra was a southern port city on the Orissan (Udra) coast. In Indian Tantric literature and Tibetan commentaries it is variously identified as one of the twenty-four action sites or eight great Tantric charnel grounds." Huber, The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet, 83.


225 Sotön Śākyapel's biography (123–139) appears in the History's section devoted to the biographies of scholars and saints connected with the monastery of Shalu and Butön's tradition of teachings, or Buluk (Bu lugs), appearing on 101–353. See chapter 1 for an extended discussion of the History's structure.

226 This might be Gongma Drakpa Gyeltsen (1374–1432), based at Neüdong, who is noted in the Zha lu gdan rabs to have been a patron to the abbot Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltsen.
heretics, fire blazed up and water splashed about and everyone was killed!" Although Śākyapel's role in the troubles is not specified, it is noteworthy, as his epithet "lord mantra holder" (rje sngags 'chang) reveals, that he is a powerful sorcerer, or ngakpa (sngags pa). Born into the family of So, a lineage that descended from one of three "kings" of the ngagpas, Śākyapel inherited his father's profession of protecting crops from hailstones. Despite his renown and talent as a weatherman-sorcerer, Śākyapel goes forth to become a monk under the auspices of Rinchen Namgyel (1318–1388), from whom the former undertakes full monastic ordination and receives the Shalu teachings.

The History does not relate which (if any) of Śākyapel's actions amid the dispute are the source of aforementioned slanderous comments, but we learn that the gossip enrages one of Śākyapel's students, Choglang, who attempts to kill a pair of the gossipers through sorcery to avenge his teacher's honor. Choglang attempts to propel lightning at the instigators of the gossip, although he does not possess the necessary instructions on how to successfully do so. Choglang exposes something from his teacher's magic box, literally, a "container of mantra substances" (thun dong), to the

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227 slob dpon shayka [=shAkya] dpal gyis mu stegs pa'i rang 'thag gcig bskor bas / me lhab lhab 'bar chu thor thor 'byung zning ni thams cad good kyin 'dug ces rje rin po che la kha zer ro // Zha lu gdan rabs, 134.

228 Sotön Śākyapel's biography reads "As for his [i.e., Śākyapel's] father, [he] was born in a pure lineage (rigs rus), that was one [lineages that has descended] from among the three kings of the ngagspas: So, Zur and Nubs—the lineages of the Old Tantras" (‘di’i yab ni sngags rnying ma’i gdung rgyud so zur nubs gsum sngags pa’i rgyal por grags pa’i nang nas so zhes bya ba’i rigs rus dri ma med par ’khrungs). Ibid., 123. On the So of the So, Zur, and Nubs trio, see Dung dkar blo bzang ’phrin las. Dung dkar tshig mdo chen me. Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002), 2063.

229 Rinchen Namgyel's biography appears on 43–64 of the section devoted to the biographies of the chief disciples (thugs sras bu chen rnams) of Butön. See chapter 4 for a discussion of Rinchen Namgyel's life.

230 On his deathbed, Sotön Śākyapel's father, Sotön Chökyongpel, hands his son his inheritance, which is a "container of mantra substances" (thun gdong). According to the father, this container, "surpasses a major monastery." The contents of this container are listed at the bottom of Zha lu gdan rabs, 134, followed in the text by a description of their powers. See chapter 6 for a further discussion of Sotön Chökyongpel and his magic box.
sky. This causes lightning bolts (thog mdel) to appear, but not knowing how to properly direct them, the bolts kill an innocent man and an ox, and damage the hermitage of Ripuk. Terrified, and not knowing how to control the lightning, Choglang cowers beneath a painted scroll (thang kha) of the buddha Vajrapāṇi.

When Choglang explains to his teacher what he has done, Śākyapel infuriatingly rebukes his student, saying, "Thanks to [your] small mind (nyams chung), lightning flew over a mere dispute (kha mchu). How is that suitable? Let both [of those] two enemies of the teachings [who engaged in gossip] go free!" This conflict is to be the final straw for Śākyapel, who, as the History narrates, "was displeased over the various disturbances like that, and then freed himself from his worldly responsibilities (bya bral) and went to central Tibet."

Another master who made himself "free from worldly responsibilities" (bya bral), that is, the responsibilities of monastic leadership, is the abbot Sangyé Pelrin. In the life story of this abbot, who we learn in the History is said to be an incarnation of Milarepa, we read that the abbot sets off from the monastery abruptly in the year 1412, to take up a wandering existence, teaching disciples in the wilderness and singing songs of realization. That conflict provokes the abbot's departure from Shalu and his adoption

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231 The word here, nyam(s) chung, has a wide range of meanings. See Jäschke's Tibetan-English Dictionary (Taylor and Francis, 1881), 186. While in its positive sense the word can denote humility, in its negative sense it usually refers to weakness, including physical and mental weakness. The meaning here is likely of mental weakness and suggests a lack of knowledge, as in a deficiency of knowledge of discernment or foresight—hence, "small minded," which is a literal rendition of nyam(s) (mind) chung (small).

232 The expression gar lang here is obscure. Khenpo Kunga Sherab suggests it might be a synonym for ga la 'os, "how is [that] suitable?"

233 khyod nyams chung ba la thug / kha mchu da [=de] tsam la thog spur pas gar lang / bstan pa'i dgra bo gnyis kyi tshe thar 'dug pa. Zha lu gdan rabs, 135.

234 de lta bu'i za zir sna tshogs kyi thugs sun nas bya bral gyi rnam pa mdzad de dbus su phebs. Ibid., 135.
of the wandering life is not explicitly articulated in the History, although one might certainly derive this impression on the basis of several suggestions in the text.

Through reading the History, we learn that Śākyapel initially assumes the abbacy from the abbot Drakpa Gyeltsen in the year 1404. After holding the abbot's chair for eight years, he "frees himself from his responsibilities" (bya bral), leaving Shalu in the year 1412. Following that, we learn that the abbot Drakpa Gyeltsen assumes the abbacy again in the year 1413.235 Elsewhere, as explored above, the History gives us the impression that the monastery was quarrelsome around the time of Sangyé Pelrin's tenure in the early fifteenth century: it was around this time that the newcomer monks' argument and fight erupts, as we have learned from the life story of Śākyapel (1355–1432). We also know that the Great Quarrel would have begun sometime prior to the year 1440, as we have learned from the biography of Drakpa Gyeltsen. It is with these events in mind that the reader encounters Sangyé Pelrin's departure from the monastery.

Having no biographical account to work from, Losel Tengyong supplies Sangyé Pelrin's biography from a collection of spiritual songs (mgur) that occasionally mentions events. Even in these songs, we see glimpses of disharmony that may indeed have had their roots in the culture of conflict that characterizes the monastery in the History in the early fifteenth century. A scene is relayed of monks laughing and chatting during the abbot's lecture. This culminates in the abbot delivering an impassioned sermon in which he scolds the misbehaving assembly, saying, "[You] look at people who remind you of Dharma like your enemies / [As you] fling away the strings that tie

235 Ibid., 372.
your mind [in discipline]!" In other sermons given in this abbot's biography, he admonishes his students for breaking their rules of monastic discipline in general, and specifically for drinking beer. All of this leads the History's reader to see Sangyé Pelrin's departure into meditative solitude as a result of the tumultuous culture of conflict raging at the monastery.

Through narratives of conflict, the History presents a problem, which itself reflects anti-monastic Buddhist rhetoric. When we read that two of Shalu's masters "make themselves free of responsibilities" (bya bral mdzad), they signal their intent to be ascetics (bya bral pa). On the term chadrel (bya bral), Tibetologist Keith Dowman writes, "The image that gives insight into this concept is of the siddha so totally relaxed, so removed, detached from his "performance" (spyod pa), that he can passively watch the functions of his body, speech and mind." As an epithet, Dowman further explains that the term chadrel refers to "a religious mendicant without any responsibilities," a "vagrant" or "wastrel." So when Shalu's masters tell us of their intentions to free themselves of responsibilities, or chadrel (bya bral), they communicate the notion, not only of the identity of a lone, wilderness-dwelling wanderer or hermit, but also of a soteriology that is interdependent with that identity. In these stories, this identity, and the religiosity it carries with it, is clearly presented as a seemingly better alternative to the difficult, or impossible, task of weathering a monastic conflict as a monastic leader.

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236 Chos dran pa sku la bgyis la dgrar ltas te // sens dran 'dzin gyi thag pa rgyang du 'phen // Ibid., 374.
237 Ibid., 373.
238 See Jäschke, Tibetan-English Dictionary, 883.
In Losel Tengyong's other presentation of Shalu's past, his autobiography, we encounter the same problem of monasticism—its harm stemming from ecclesiastical conflict—and the same resolution to flee into the wilderness. Losel Tengyong recalls an event that occurs at the age of twelve, in which his own teacher, Menkhangwa, decides to flee the monastery and set off into the wilderness. Losel Tengyong writes,

When I was twelve, during the wood-pig year [1815], I helped [my lama], Lord Menkhangwa make repairs to the row of prayer wheels at Ripuk. In the past, Changling Rinpoché was far-sighted (dgongs pa zab). [He] received teachings from [my lama] Menkhangwa, and is [one of my] root-lamas. He can't be blamed for this, but some rude (mi brsun pa) Shalu monks and [Changling Rinpoché's] attendant—who was more cruel (gdu rtsub) and deceptive than a demon—twisted [Changling Rinpoché's] mind. It was said that [Changling Rinpoché] severely beat a monk who was an attendant of Lord Menkhangwa and [unduly] blamed and scolded [the aforementioned group]—like a fighting dog—in many other [unrelated] situations.

Lord Menkhangwa hence said: "Previously, I strove to develop my spiritual activities (dge sbyor) as much as I could [here] at Ripuk, [and in this way] I cared for the Shalu residents. [I] never disgraced [Shalu monastery], but since it's [come to] this nowadays, [I want to] find [myself] a mountain retreat (ri khrod) and go!"

At that time, [he] made a decision to leave.

As Menkhangwa attempts to locate a suitable retreat, he reiterates his distain for large town-adjacent monastic communities like Shalu. When the master receives an invitation to stay at Khyungtsé monastery in Tsang, he rejects the invitation, saying, "I

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241 bskur ba zhu rgyu is likely a synonym to bskur ba 'debs pa (to blame).

242 Note that in thugs skyogs [read: thugs skyog], the presence of the honorific thugs instead of sms suggests that it is the lama's (rather than a monk's) mind being twisted, or being made angry.

243 Rang lo bcu gnyis pa na tshed ldan zhes pa shing mo phag gi lo shar ba dang rje sman khang bas ri phug gi ma Ni ring mo la zhig gso mdzad pa'i phyag g.yogs [=g.yog] zhas / snagar byang gling rin po che dgongs pa zab cing rje sman khang pa la chos gsan pa dang / kho bo rang gi rtsa ba'i bla ma yin pa soqs bskur ba zhu rayu med rtag / zha lu pa'i grwa pa mi brsun pa'ga' dang kon ghang rang gi phyag g.yog 'byung po mi ma yin las gdu rtsub dang cho 'phru la ba rams kyis thugs skyogs [=skyog] nas bla ma sman khang pa'i nye gnas dge slong gci yod pa la brdung 'tshog byed zer ba dang / skabs gzhan dang gzhana la brnyad [=brnyed] nas bka' skyon khyi 'khrug pa ltar pa mdzad do // bla ma sman khang pa yang / snagar ni ri phug tu dge sbyor gang 'phel byis nas zha lu pa'i zhabs tog las / zhabs 'dren byas pa med / da cha 'di ltar yin na ri khrod gcig tshal nas 'gro gsung te phebs par thag bcd dus / Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 496.
have no need for a "town-adjacent monastery" (*grong ltag gi dgon pa*)!^244

As in the *History*, Losel Tengyong's autobiography continues to present the same problem of monasticism and its seemingly better alternative: flight into solitude amid conflict. The problem present in the *History* is given a full and explicit presentation in the preceding autobiographical episode. Menkhangwa's quotation implies that it is the master's "spiritual activities" *gechor* (*dge sbyor*) that are jeopardized by the conflict. *Gechor* may be used to connote expertise in meditation, but also activities like prostrations, circumambulation, and reciting scriptures.^245 As Menkhangwa implies that he does these activities in the service of Shalu monks, we must certainly add the activities of conducting rituals, and providing initiations and teachings. In short, *gechor* can be performed not only for the benefit of oneself but also for others and institutions, and the teacher's statement alludes to the notion that his spiritual activities are no longer beneficial (to anyone) nowadays, amid the conflict. The best alternative, it would seem, is escape to a mountain retreat, or *ritrö* (*ri khrod*). Menkhangba rejects the suggestion that Khyungtsé monastery could constitute an isolated setting, as it is a "town-adjacent monastery" (*grong ltag gi dgon pa*).

Instead, Menkhangwa investigates whether a cave called Dramtsäl Dragdrup, renowned for its miraculous qualities, would be a suitable place for a solitary retreat. He returns, however, telling us, "I didn't [see] any miraculous cave there, [only] evidence of yogis and their consorts living like couples and fornicating! We aren't fit to

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^244*grong ltag gi dgon pa mi dgos.* Ibid., 497. Jäschke defines *grong ltag dgon pa* as "the convent above and behind the village." *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, 217.

^245 I thank Khenpo Kunga Sherab for discussing this term with me.
stay at such [a place]! Menkhangwa, and his student, the author, set off and travel around the region of Nyangtö, surrounding Shalu. The pair stays with the author's elder sister; the author's maternal aunt who is herself in solitary retreat; a wealthy family; at several monasteries; and at a cave called Samtän Chöding. Retuning to Shalu, the pair once again find the monastic community embroiled in a dispute (ʼkhrug long) about one of the attendants to a lama at Ripuk. The author reflects on the behavior of the community of monks toward the lama, saying that they generate "nonsense," or "meaningless distractions" (za ri za ri).247

The above stories from Losel Tengyong's autobiography work with similar narratives, as we have seen, of conflict within communal life and its escape as a seemingly reasonable, or desirable, alternative. Culprits of conflicts are described as "deranged" (smyon), "small-minded" (nyams chung),248 and as we shall see below, the instigators of the Great Quarrel are "people without foresight/conscience" (mi bsam shes med pa). These descriptors continue in a similar fashion in Losel Tengyong's own life story: here, monks are described as "rude" or "abrasive" (mi bsrun pa), and "cruel" (gdug rtsub); and a lama is no longer "far-sighted" (dgongs pa zab), but, small- or narrow-minded. Monk-instigators of congregational conflicts are also petty in the sense that they bring about nonsensical or meaningless (za ri za ri) attacks, and, as we will see below, monk-instigators in the autobiography are also "deranged" (smyon).

These descriptors importantly position the protagonists above the conflict and

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246 brag phug ngo mtshar che rgyu cang mi gda’ / rtog ldan dang btsun ma khyo shug byas nas bsdebs shul du ’dug / ’o skol de ’drar sdog mi nyon. Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 497.

247 Ibid., 501. za ri za ri, often meaning "confused" or "troubled," is likely a synonym here for cho med pa, "nonsense."

248 See my note on this word above.
away from the conflicts' instigators or participants. While the instigators are described as insane, stupid, petty, or cruel, the stories' saints demonstrate their deep insight (shes rab; prajñā) through their reflections on the conflicts. Wangchug Rabten's conjuring up of Bodhicaryāvatāra 8.26 illustrates his deep penetration into the nature of his current situation—seeing it for what it is: utterly futile. Trülshig's intention to emulate Milarepa likewise shows us the latter's recognition in the impossibility of taking on the burden of leadership amid conflict. Śākyapēl's cutting rebuke of his student indicates his abhorrence for the conflict, and ultimately his deep disappointment. The narratives dramatically display the monastery's saints' capacity to position themselves beyond conflicts, rather than becoming passionately embroiled within them. The History does not furnish the culprits with the opportunities to speak—they are props, two-dimensional, nothing more. Their function is to support the development of the protagonists' characters, who through their narrator, Losel Tengyong, are given the opportunity to speak or think, showing us their deep insight amid the conflict.

In the History's presentation even just of the problems (not to mention the solutions) of monastic conflicts, its lamas are potently ennobled. Embracing rather than eschewing notions of monasticism's harm to soteriology, the History presents the very same challenge that is at the heart of Tibetan monasticism's criticism by Tibet's "anti-monastic" practitioners—that communal life breeds conflict and obstructs Buddhist practice and transformation. In its self-professed goal to be a transformative program of exemplary models, the History presents this problem not to prescribe flight from the responsibilities of monastic leadership, but rather, as we will see below, to inspire Buddhist leaders to stay and persevere through conflict. Vignettes of escape amid conflict, besides already serving to ennoble the History's saints through their
juxtaposition against conflicts' culprits, also situate the idea of escape into solitude as an important point of reference in the History. Against this reference point of escape amid conflict, the History is better equipped to present the more difficult—but ultimately more exalted and indeed soteriologically efficacious—conduct of staying amid conflict, and persevering in leading the community.

3.3—Lamas Who Stay
As the History is a work devoted to providing exemplary stories of abbots and great Buddhist teachers, the text responds to monasticism's problems in reference to leadership. With the exception of Milarepa's incarnation, Sangyé Pelrin, all the aforementioned leaders return to positions of monastic leadership. Wangchug Rabten returns to become abbot; Śākyapel becomes the abbot of a small monastery elsewhere; and Trülshig is coaxed back to Shalu by his elderly lama. In Losel Tengyong's autobiography, Menkhangwa likewise returns to the monastery less than a year after setting off with Losel Tengyong.

As we will see below, the History's masters who reluctantly stay at (or return to) the monastery illustrate Buddhist virtues through the hardship that comes with being a Buddhist leader. Leaving aside the extreme of Sangyé Pelrin, an incarnation (like Shabkar) of Milarepa, the returning teachers signal that a virtuous lama returns to the monastery, even after fleeing his responsibilities (albeit the most exemplary lamas never leave at all, as we shall see below). Although escape is always possible, Shalu's masters who choose what is portrayed as being the more difficult option of leading the monastery amid conflict are shown to exude Buddhist virtues of determination (brtson 'grus; vīrya), patience (bzod pa; kṣānti), skillful means (thabs; upāya), insight (shes rab;
prajñā), and selfless generosity (sbyin pa; dāna). In short, through the hardship that comes with being a Buddhist leader, the History's saints are implicitly shown to advance soteriologically amid conflict, because of conflict, and not in spite of it.

3.3.1—Butön's Near Flight
When conflict strikes the monastery, the possibility of escape into solitude is presented as one course of action for Buddhist leaders in the History. Remembering that this work is explicitly prescriptive and didactic—that these hagiographies are to be taken to be exemplary—what would the text actually prescribe in this regard? Are the readers being told that "escape from one's duties" (bya bral) is itself exemplary? To answer this question, we need to direct our attention to Butön's biography.

The principal component of Butön's seventh act, "[how] he supported his group of students,"249 is a narrative about how Butön himself nearly renounces his abbatial duties and flees the monastery into solitary retreat when a conflict erupts—but in the end does not. Taking material from Butön's biography written by Rinchen Namgyel,250 Losel Tengyong writes:

In the year of the iron-ape [1320], when the Dharma King [Butön] himself was 31, he was invited to this great monastery of the Glorious Shalu Golden Temple251 and was henceforth made the highest priest of [all] creatures and gods and decided to stay at this great monastery. He then established [Shalu's] scriptural college (bshad grwa) that was [based on the study of] four texts.

[Butön] nearly achieved immense benefit to the dharma [and all] beings, [but] the evil gods and nāgas grew agitated and certain peoples' attitudes changed. Then, because the heart of the dharma king himself became disturbed,

249 grangs med gdal bya'i tshogs pa bskyangs. Zha lu gdan rabs, 22–27.
251 Golden Temple (gser khang) is commonly used to describe Shalu.
he wrote a letter of appeal containing three chapters entitled Chos kyi don grub\textsuperscript{252} to [Shalu's] great benefactor (sbyin bdag chen po).\textsuperscript{253} [The letter reads:]

As for me, by the power of the bad karma [that I] accumulated [in] a previous life,
Amid the snow mountains [where] the dharma disappears [and] non-dharma flourishes,
A place where [those who] perform in accordance with dharma are discarded like grass,
[I] was born here, [in] Tibet, where people give away dharma [and their] lives\textsuperscript{254} for the sake of food.
[It is] a country where, if [one] has guarded [one's] [monastic] discipline,
[then one is just] a hypocrite, merely displaying an outward show of religious conduct,
[Where,] if a person studies and contemplates, [it is because of one's] desire [for] fame [in] this lifetime,
[Where,] if [one] maintains [just a little] self-control, [then one becomes] possessed with [both] ego [and] arrogance,
[Where,] if [one] gets along well with everyone, [one] will be criticized for being weak or thinking too much [about pleasing others].
[And where] if one acts in accordance with dharma, [then one] is abused by everyone.
[Where if one] does not act in accordance with the dharma, [then one will bear] the heaviess [of] [negative] karmic maturation upon oneself.
Because [I] am unaware of [any] behavior that will please everyone,
Behold how whatever actions I've done have become faults!
Not beneficial to [my] self [and] harmful to others—
Like this, what else do my teaching and listening accomplish?
[My] actions [of] eating, sitting, walking, and moving about, and so on, whatever [I've] done,
Have become the cause of others' anger—that saddens me!
Furthermore, [my] life won't last much longer.
[My] inner sense faculties are not entirely clear and,
The misery of birth and death is extremely difficult to bear.
The time has come [for me to put] the little [I] know [into] practice!\textsuperscript{255}

\textsuperscript{252} Bu ston rin chen grub. Zhu yig chos kyi don grub. Vol 26 (la), 96v–98r, in Gsung 'bum: Rin chen grub. Lha sa: Zhol par khang, 2000. This letter was evidently an important biographical source for both Rinchen Namgyel and Losel Tengyong, the latter apparently returning to the original source despite its use in Rinchen Namgyel's biography of Butön.

\textsuperscript{253} This is likely a reference here to Kushang Drakpa Gyeltsen. For biographical information on this Kushang (Shalu's secular leader), who is narrated to have been responsible for the invitation of Butön to Shalu, see Ruegg, p. 89ff in The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston rNam Thar; Vitali, 100ff in Early Temples of Central Tibet; Lce'i gdung rabs, 27bff; and Tucci's abridged translation of the latter material in Tibetan Painted Scrolls, 659-60.

\textsuperscript{254} The other possible reading here would be that they give away chos srog, "the vital essence of dharma," which is Ruegg's reading.
Because [Butön] said [that] and so forth, the great benefactor and all the ordained disciples who were virtuous panicked and came to [Butön] [and] prostrated [violently] as if [they were] tumbling down a chasm. Then they [said]:

Great abbot, Omniscient One, you are to be like the sole eye of sentient beings. Because of [that], whatever you intend, we will surely do it! We beg [you] to stay at this great monastery and extensively turn the wheel of dharma. Moreover, some of us acted slightly wrong [and we] feel ashamed. We truly feel remorse about everything! Please, don't become a hindrance to us, your Excellency!

[Like] this, [they] pleaded [with Butön], and hence the Dharma king himself accepted [their pleas] and founded the great virtuous scriptural college [for the study] of mantra and philosophy.256

This narrative of conflict definitively answers the question, implicitly posed within the History, on what behavior is meant to be exemplary for a Buddhist leader amid conflict.

We have a definitive answer here because Butön—a fully perfected being who teaches what is exemplary by example—performs the action.

255 This line of the letter indicates the actual request: that Butön wishes to enter retreat for the rest of his life because of the aforementioned reasons.

256 This line of the letter indicates the actual request: that Butön wishes to enter retreat for the rest of his life because of the aforementioned reasons.
As in the narratives explored above, wherein leaders flee the monastery, Butön's story begins to unfold in the same way. Deeply affected by the conflict, Butön is pushed to the brink of fleeing the monastery. On the inevitability that, despite his best intentions, he fuels the conflict, Butön says he feels "sad" or "miserable," kyo (skyo), a word that carries connotations of "being fed up," "disenchanted," or "weary." Whatever he does, Butön tells us, only fuels negativity—it is an impossible situation for a monastic leader. This inevitably of harm reflects the wider notions embedded around Bodhicaryāvatāra 8.26, examined above, which highlights the futility in attempting to minister to the angry and quarrelsome. The conflict pushes the master to question the point of even being abbot—after all, as he says, his activities of teaching are of no soteriological benefit to anyone, neither to himself nor to others. At the end of this letter, Butön insinuates that recent events have stymied his enlightenment. Although we know that this struggle is not actually possible as Butön is already a buddha in the History, he nevertheless is shown to enact the struggle for his viewers' (and now vicariously for his readers') benefit—that is, as a exemplary case of how to experience an ecclesiastical conflict. He writes, "Now, [my] life, furthermore, won't last a long time, / [My] inner sense faculties are not entirely clear and, / The misery of birth and death is extremely difficult to bear." This refers to his declining capacity to reach enlightenment and his fear of having to bear samsāra's inevitable suffering in future lives—a fear over the perpetual miseries of coming births and deaths. As he is getting old, and as the current climate of monastic conflict is not facilitating his soteriological transformation, escape into solitary practice is apparently his only viable solution.

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257 See the entry for skyo ba in Duff, The Illuminator Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic Dictionary.
Butön decides, "the time has come to put the little I know into practice," that is, to abandon his responsibilities of monastic leadership and enter retreat.

As in the narratives above of those who flee Shalu, the specifics of the conflict itself feature no elaboration at all, nor are the culprits allowed to speak. Here, they are of the evil (rather than the petty) variety. We are told their attitudes have been transformed (bsam pa bsgyur), as they have turned their minds away from Butön, and the implication is that their minds have been possessed by demons—gods and nāgas (lha klu) of dark (as in evil) forces (nag phyogs). The focus in this narrative is on Butön and his reaction to conflict, as in all the cases above. This careful treatment of quoted material, preserved by Losel Tengyong, allows a powerful autobiographical voice to be used in biography.258

Losel Tengyong furnishes Butön, like he does his other protagonists, with the opportunity to reflect upon the conflict. This illustrates Butön's deep insight (shes rab; prajñā) into the current climate's deleterious effects on his own and others' soteriology. This narrative dramatically displays the monastery's preeminent saint, just like Shalu's other masters, being positioned above—rather than within—conflict.

Up until the end of the quoted letter, Butön's biography reflects and reiterates the problem presented in the History that monasteries breed conflict, and that no good can come from remaining in a position of leadership. What is different in Butön's biography is its presentation of the disciples' reactions when the master threatens to leave. In Butön's story, they panic, prostrate violently, and beg him to stay. His acceptance to remain on behalf of his (good) disciples highlights the master's deep commitment to them (in spite the cost to himself), and hence his profound, selfless

258 Although, as Janet Gyatso points out, such first-person narratives reported by a second narrator do not constitute the Tibetan autobiographical genre proper. See Gyatso, Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary, 107.
generosity (*sbyin pa; dāna*). Here we also see the master's skill in oration as we witness Butön's eloquent and impassioned poetry to capture the significance of the conflict and to effectuate positive change. This exhibits his skillful means (*thabs; upāya*). All together, Butön illustrates his determination (*brtson 'grus; vīrya*) and patience (*bzod pa; kṣānti*) in weathering the conflict and stabilizing the community. In short, this episode establishes a hagiography wherein the exemplarity of staying amid conflict is prescribed. We learn that the hardship accompanying Buddhist leadership is itself a fertile context for soteriological advancement.

3.3.2—Drakpa Gyeltsen and the Great Quarrel

Drakpa Gyeltsen is another example of an abbot who *remains amid conflict*. His life is strongly juxtaposed with Shalu's incarnation of Milarepa, Sangyé Pelrin, who sets off into the wilds, never to return. Already having stepped down as abbot, it is Drakpa Gyeltsen who again returns to the abbot's seat after Sangyé Pelrin flees Shalu amid troubling times, and guides the monastery through its near destruction amid the Great Quarrel. Like Butön, Drakpa Gyeltsen stays the course, and the latter's biography also presents the notion that persevering as a leader amid ecclesiastical conflict is noble. We learn this from Drakpa Gyeltsen's reaction to what is called the Great Quarrel in the *History*.

The Great Quarrel (*yo 'khyoms chen po / che ba*) is mentioned twice in the *History*: once in the biography of Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltsen (1365–1448), and again in the biography of the latter's successor, Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473). In the biography of Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltsen, we read that in the year 1440, this abbot summons all of Shalu's lamas, officers (*las sne*), and lay leaders (*sde'i khur 'dzin*) to his
residence, furnishes them with a great feast, and issues them a sermon of advice that describes troubles at the monastery. Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltsen declares:

This great monastery [of] ours of the Shalu Golden Temple is like the second Bodhgaya of Tibet, and [is where] the omniscient father Butön, who is like the second Buddha, [and his spiritual] sons established a great tradition of the Buddhist teachings and caused [those teachings]—dissimilar to other sets of teachings—to flourish.

Recently, nevertheless, due to letters that incited some senseless people who have utterly surpassed unruly behavior, a great quarrel (yo ’khyoms che ba) arose in enormous magnitude, even among monks (se). Nevertheless, through the compassionate activity of the Great Omniscient One [Butön], the power of our dharma protectors and, especially, the kindness of the precious Lama Śākyapel, the monastery was spared the scattering [of its monks] [and its very] destruction. [And] in addition to that, [our monastery] has flourished, having developed into a common object of worship among everyone [in] Ü-Tsang.

Furthermore, I have been making it appear [like I] carry burdens [in] both spiritual and temporal [ways], through whatever strength [I can muster], now I'm getting old. I'm no longer suitable [to carry out the activities] of teaching and listening. It being necessary [now, to] select a seat holder, there are many spiritual guides, knowledgeable in all the sūtras and tantras, worthy of the monastic seat at this monastery of ours. Nevertheless, it's not possible to appoint them all together! Earlier, in front of the precious statue of the Omniscient One [Butön], [I] investigated [the candidates in my mind] and then, in particular, [I] offered scrolls (shog dril) [each bearing the name of one candidate] of [those] worthy of the seat into the hand of Lhasa's Jowo [Śākyamuni statue], and then I supplicated [the statue] for a period of one month. Hence, in all my examinations, this noble nephew, a high monk, was the [most] auspicious and [he] has [also] received the blessings from the Omniscient Father [Butön and his] [spiritual] sons.

Furthermore, because it emerged [from the examinations] that benefit to others would be said to robustly arise [were he the abbot], it has been decided

259 The usual translation of bar skabs su as "meanwhile" does not make sense in this context and could be taken as analogous to bar lam, "recently."

260 The line yan phyin gyi mi bsam shes med pa 'ga' zhi gi byed 'phrin la brten nas does not make sense unless a word like dbyin, "to incite," is supplied, as in yan phyin gyi mi bsam shes med pa 'ga' zhi gi [dbyin] byed 'phrin la brten nas.

261 The word for monks, se, is derived from gser "gold," as in gold robes, and seen in expressions such as skya gser "laity and clergy"—literally, "white [and] gold."

262 This is an older spelling of shed mong, meaning "the application of force in the sense of someone who has strength and that strength is coming out, being used by them," or "a person who has personal strength as part of their character and who manifests that strength in their dealings with others." (The Illuminator Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic Dictionary).

263 btsun gnas dpon po might be understood as a monk (bstun pa) who is of a high grade (gnas [rim mtho bo]), who is a dbron bo, which can refer to a nephew (perhaps of a lama?).
that he will be appointed [to the abbot's seat] on the sixth day of the month. So, whoever brings adverse conditions to this [successor's enthronement] should dump water on his head! So, don't do it! Everyone should be responsible for [one's own] actions. Give [him] prostrations and offerings. [I] request [that all of you] bring [these] favorable conditions (mthun rkyen) [to the enthronement].

Pitting him against a raging conflict—one that we know was still engaged at the monastery at the time of this sermon—Drakpa Gyeltsen is given the opportunity to speak, as in the above cases, demonstrating his insight and aloofness from the pettiness of the conflicts. As in the above cases, the conflict and its instigators are mere props to embellish the master's insight. As in the case of Butön, Drakpa Gyeltsen exhibits his talent in the art of oration to stymie the conflict. Drakpa Gyeltsen conveys the quarrel's idiocy: it was precipitated by "senseless people" (mi bsam shes med pa) who nearly destroyed the illustrious tradition inaugurated by Butön, the second Buddha, and his enlightened successors. This implicitly highlights the destructive potential that the election of his successor might bring within this culture of conflict at Shalu. Here, the abbot is a skillful user of the cautionary narrative to achieve ends of conflict resolution,

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264 di la sus 'gal rkyen du 'gro ba byas pa de / rang gi mgo la rang gis chu drangs par 'gro ba yin pa. The language is obscure here and I have had to rely on Khenpo Kunga Sherab's explanation. Khenpo Kunga Sherab tells me that this is likely an insult and a euphemism for "go dump shit on your head!"

265 go 'khur can be expanded to go skal gyi 'khur, "take [your] share of responsibility."

266 rang re zhwa lu gser klang gi gtsug lag khang chan po 'di bod kyi rdo rje gdan gnyis pa lta bu yin cing / sangs rgyas gnyis pa lta bu'i bu ston thams cad mkhyen pa yab sras kyi sang rayas kyi bstan pa'i srol chen po btsugs te dar zing rayas par mtdzad pa'i chos sde gshan dang mi 'dra ba yin n'ang / bar skabs su yan phyin gyi mi bsam shes med pa 'ga' zhig gi byed 'phrin la brten nas se la'ang yo 'khyoms che ba yong tshad byung na yang / thams cad mkhyen pa chen po'i thugs rje'i 'phrin las dang / rang re'i chos skyong mnyams kyi nus mthu dang / khyad par bla ma ri mo che shAkya dpal ba'i sku drin las / chos sde la'ang byer zhig med med kyi steng du dbus gtsang thams cad kyi spyi'i mchod gnas su thon pas 'phel du song zhing / nged kyi kyang chos 'jig rten gnyis kyi sgo nas sho me gang yod kyi khor 'khor ba'i lugs yin / da nged kyang na so rgyas / chad nyan sos ki pher ba 'du cig cing gan dsa pa zhig bsko dgos par 'dug pas / rang re'i chos sde 'di nyid na mdo snags mtha' dag la mkhas pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen gan dsa'i 'os mang po 'dug na'ang / de thams cad dus gcig tu bskos pas ni mi yong /gang rlung gcig la bsko pa las 'os mi 'dug / de la nged kyi snga mo nas thams cad mkhyen pa'ii sku 'dra rin po che'i drung du brtags pa byas shing khyad par lha sa'i jo bo'i phyag tu gdan sa'i 'os kyi shoq dril mnyams phul nas zla ba gcig gi bar du gsol ba btab pas / btsun gnas dpon po 'di brtags pa thams cad la shis par byung zhing thams cad mkhyen pa yab sras kyi byin rlbs 'jug /gshan phan yang che bar yong zer ba byung bas / tshe sa drag gi nyin bsko bzhag byed pas 'di la sus 'gal rkyen du 'gro ba byas pa de / rang gi mgo la rang gis chu drangs par 'gro ba yin pas de bzhiin du ma song bar thams cad kyi go khur bskedyed nas phyag 'bul dang li shing gang 'byor phul / mthun rkyen du 'gro ba mtdzad pa zhu. Zha lu gdan rabs, 103–104. The meaning of the line, thams cad kyi go khur bskyed nas phyag 'bul dang li shing gang 'byor phul is obscure and it has only been partially translated.
blending together his oration of the past troubles, which intensify his explicit warnings for the future.

Besides illustrating his skillful means, Drakpa Gyeltseñ's sermon also conveys his great determination. As we read, he has led the monastery, mustering all his strength, just giving the "impression of carrying its burdens," but not actually succeeding in resolving its disturbances. This recalls Wangchug Rabten's evocation of *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 8.26, which signals a sense of futility in ministering to the angry and quarrelsome, and evokes Butön's lamentation about "only bringing harm" to the congregation, no matter what he does. The toll of this unworkable task has brought Drakpa Gyeltset to an old age, having barely held the monastery together, but never able to completely restore its peace. This recalls Butön telling us that weathering the conflict has brought him to an early old age (of only 31!),

spiritually bereft. These autobiographical reflections reveal a spiritual haggardness—the extraordinary sacrifice of an unfulfilled religious life. Ironically, these narratives convey to us that this self-professed spiritual deficiency is indeed the mark of a fully perfected being. These narratives of conflict illustrate the perfections of perseverance and extraordinary, selfless generosity.

Against this reference point of *escape amid conflict*, the characters of Butön and Drakpa Gyeltset—saints who *stay amid conflict* and persevere in leading the community—are potently and meaningfully ennobled. Although escape ever lurks in the background, the masters who choose the more difficult option of leading the monastery amid conflict are shown to exude Buddhist virtues of determination (*brtson*

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267 Leaving speculations of early life expectancy in premodern Tibet aside, the abbots at Shalu are rarely appointed at such a young age. The implication here, I would argue, is clearly that the conflict has expedited Butön's aging process.
\'grus; vīrya), patience (bzod pa; kṣānti), skillful means (thabs; upāya), insight (shes rab; prajñā), and selfless generosity (sbyin pa; dāna). In short, through the hardship that comes with being a Buddhist leader, the History's saints are implicitly shown to advance soteriologically amid conflict.

3.4—A Saint That Engenders Ecclesiastical Asceticism

The notion that to stay is exemplary is bolstered through the History's presentation of the notion that the hardship of Buddhist leadership itself can engender a quality of "ascetic-like perseverance," dugsen (sdug sran). Juxtaposed against, and exalted above, asceticism outside the monastery, this exemplary quality is akin to a "domesticated asceticism;" that is, the integration of the ascetic's hardship into settled monasticism.

The History's biography of Trülshig—the abbot who sets out during a conflict for Tsari to live in the hermit-dwelling wilderness like Milarepa—illustrates the process whereby characters are ennobled through staying amid conflict. As in the cases of Drakpa Gyeltsen and Butön, Trülshig's hagiographical development presents the idea of remaining at the monastery, which is juxtaposed against the idea of escape into solitary retreat. Against the backdrop of escape into solitude, the abbot is ennobled specifically because he stays, because he chooses the more difficult option of staying.

As explained above, Trülshig learns of his appointment to the abbot's chair immediately following a sermon that recounts the Great Quarrel. That sermon, as readers hear in Trülshig's biography, contains a stern warning (likely to the culprits of the Great Quarrel) not to interfere in the succession of the abbacy. As readers have also learned that the old abbot has barely held the monastery together amid the struggle, the task of leading the troubled monastery ahead seems utterly impossible—
particularly since Trülshig's appointment appears very likely to be contested. The task of holding the seat is tremendous, and Trülshig opts for what is presented as the easier option: life as Milarepa.

After his escape is thwarted by a great falling of snow orchestrated by Shalu's protector deities and after being coaxed back to the monastery by his elderly teacher, Trülshig is enthroned as abbot, and just two days later, sits with his lama, Drakpa Gyaltsen, now at the adjacent monastic hermitage of Ripuk. There, we read that the new abbot is offered a statement of advice in which Drakpa Gyaltsen praises the new abbot and advises him how to navigate through the difficulties that lie ahead, amid the Great Quarrel. This statement begins:

Many [monks] presuming to be learned, righteous, and noble (mkhas btsun bzang) did not acquire this monastic seat of the Great Dharma Lord, the Omniscient One [Butön]. In addition [to them] there is not one single person [who had those three qualities but] who didn't [also] want [the seat]. [But because you have these three qualities and] because you received the blessings from all the lamas, [the seat] was entrusted [to you]. [So you] shouldn't cause [yourself] the anxiety of thinking [that you are] incapable [of being the seat holder] like that.

Aside from the great quarrel (yo 'khyoms chen po) that emerged at this monastery, fourteen people and two [others] who have control over [worldly] discussions have been appointed to take care of all the worldly [administrative] activities. Therefore, not [having to interfere in worldly matters], it is essential [that] you yourself teach the summer [and] winter dharma [classes] uninterruptedly.

As in the previous stories examined above, the author is ennobled—here implicitly—against the instigators of the dispute. We get the impression, in the stories recounting the Great Quarrel, of a single group of trouble makers. Those grappling for the abbot's

268 See chapter 6 for my treatment of Shalu's protector deities.

269 chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa'i gdan sa 'di mkhas btsun bzang gsum du rjom pa mang po zhiq gis ma thob pa ma gto gs mi 'dod pa med pa gci yin te / khyed la bla ma rnam kyi byin rbas 'jug par 'dug pa gstad pa yin no // 'di 'dra mi pher snyam pa'i sdu gbsngal bya mi dgos / chos sde 'di la yo 'khyoms chen po byung ma gto gs gzhen 'jig rten gyi bya rnam bka' gros la dbang ba'i mi bcu bzhis rkang yang ba gnyis dang bcas pa byed du bcug nas 'jig rten la kha mi 'jug par rang re dbyar dgun gyi chos ma chag par 'chad pa gal che. Zha lu gdan rabs, 146.
seat described here are likely to be the same group that contests Trülshig's succession. We may easily imagine them to be the same group whom Drakpa Gyeltzen specifically warns not to interfere in the abbatial succession. And finally, it seems likely that this is the same clique that instigated and prolonged the Great Quarrel itself. Trülshig is explicitly exalted as being authentically learned, righteous, and noble (mkhas btsun bzang)—a virtuous marker—compared to the group of impostors. Again, as in the previous stories, troublemakers are all props against which exemplary character is defined.

The rest of Trülshig's biography reads like a stainless record of a learned, righteous, and noble abbot. Against the episode of escape to Tsari, of what might have been, we read the account of a perfected leader, utterly devoted to protecting and nurturing the Shalu tradition. Much of his activity, for instance, was devoted to the preservation of Butön's writings. Against the overwhelming desire to leave the monastery amid the quarrel at the beginning of his abbatial career, Trülshig grows into the kind of leader who confronts, embraces, and transmutes conflict.

In chapter 6, I explore narratives in which Trülshig uses ritual to resolve discords. In one of these rituals, aimed at the reconciliation of a military conflict between the Rinpung and Nyangtö armies, Trülshig is pictured delivering a sermon on Buddhist cause and effect (rgyu 'bras) atop an enormous throne situated between the two opposing forces. The sermon reconciles the two groups, as the powerful teachings transmute the armies' aggressive minds.

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270 See chapter 5 on this abbot's preservation efforts.
271 Zha lu gdan rabs, 154.
At the end of his life, Trülshig delivers his final testament to the monks of Shalu, and reflects upon the time that he accepted the responsibility of abbot's chair. He says, "[I] earnestly applied myself to the command, which was indeed a great burden [given to me by] the venerable lord of wisdom and compassion, Drakpa Gyeltsen Pelsangpo, who nurtured [me] with [his] loving kindness."\textsuperscript{272} He states, "[I] tried to increase my spiritual activities (gechor—dge sbyor) as much as I could and [I] engendered perseverance (dugsen—sdug sran). Therefore, the factors of disharmony (ma mthun phyogs) not [being able to] harm [me], this monastery did not deteriorate at all over the past twenty-six years."\textsuperscript{273}

That at the end of Trülshig's life we read that he engendered perseverance and saved the monastery, is fitting. The word dugsen here is crucial. As a short form of the expression "endurance/stamina [amid] pain" (sdug bsngal bzod sran), dugsen has a range of meanings such as hardiness, tenacity, perseverance, endurance, and even asceticism. It signals the transformation or conquering of pain and may in fact describe a hermit or wanderer's (ultimately profitable) transmutation of the pain of severe asceticism. It is a virtue, like determination (brtson 'grus; vīrya) but more specific, because it arises particularly through pain. This quality, which appears at the end of the biography of Trülshig, suggests a resolution to the challenge that communal monastic life breeds conflict which obstructs Buddhist practice. The answer provided here is that monasticism's "factors of disharmony" (ma mthun phyogs) can themselves be transmuted into a virtue: weathering conflicts selflessly for the sake of others is itself

\textsuperscript{272} rje btsun mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po thugs brtse bas bskyangs pa'i bka' lung khur che ba dang du blangs te. Ibid., 162.

\textsuperscript{273} dge sbyor ci 'phel gyi ngos nam sdug sran bskyed pas / ma mthun phyogs kyis ma tshugs par lo nyi shu rtsa drug gi bar du chos sde'ang mar 'grib med tsam byung ba de yin / Ibid.
an exemplary model of behavior.

As an answer to the question of escape into the wilderness of solitude, the notion of *dugsen* signals, to borrow Olivelle's expression, the "domestication of asceticism." In "Village vs. Wilderness: Ascetic Ideals and the Hindu World," Olivelle considers "the conflict between asceticism and the established societal religion and the symbolic universe of classical Hinduism that emerged from their interaction." Olivelle explores how renunciation was "structurally integrated into the Hindu world," both conceptually and institutionally—"at the structural-institutional level and at the level of ideas, values and practices." Thus we see something akin operating within the *History*: the integration of the ascetic's soteriological transmutation of pain *within* the monastery.

It will be examined in greater depth in chapter 6 that Trülshig's life indeed constitutes the epitome of domesticated asceticism. Although he turns away from actually leaving the monastery, he nevertheless lives a life much like a wilderness-dwelling *yogi*: in close communication with deities and treasure finders (*gter ston*), spending lengthy periods in meditation, writing songs of spiritual experience (*mgur*), and often exemplifying unconventional behavior. He even assists a master from Tsari, Lama Tsasenpa, and the latter's students, all on pilgrimage to Sikkim, to "open the doors" (*gnas sgo 'byed pa*) to a pilgrimage route at a powerful place. This ritual, writes Huber, is credited to "the wandering hermit type of Tantric lamas from the twelfth to

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275 Ibid., 144.
276 See the episode on *Zha la gdan rabs*, 152.
fifteenth century." Trülshig is hence portrayed as actually participating with the religious modalities of wilderness-dwelling yogis within the confines of settled monastic life (indeed within the confines of its leadership). Blending ascetic and monastic religiosities, Trülshig is an abbot who has transmuted the burdens of his office into an exemplary attitude of "ascetic-like perseverance" (dugsen); he has mastered the ascetic's soteriological transmutation of pain within the monastery.

3.5—Conflicts in Context
Now that we have examined one contour of the History's discrete mode of exemplarity, namely, the virtuousness of persevering through ecclesiastical conflict, it remains to be demonstrated how this contour is molded by Losel Tengyong for his intended readers. Before continuing to read this contour together with Losel Tengyong's autobiography, we shall see where else in the Shalu tradition this particular type of ecclesiastical virtue resonates.

Butön himself undertook two attempts to prescribe exemplary conduct for lamas at Shalu in the texts entitled: A Reminder Letter to the Seat-Holding Abbots and A Reminder Letter to all of the Abbots, Teachers, and the Community of Monks. These texts contain guidelines of advice, particularly for Buddhist leaders, but they also establish new laws for the monastery. As such, they are considered to be an early example of

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"monastic constitution" (chayik—bca’ yig) literature. Monastic constitutions, or chayik, are documents that outline "a condensed body of customs, oral lore, and traditional documentation woven together with aspects of the Vinaya," and "deal with the rules and regulations of particular monastic institutions." In short, Tibetan monastic institutions have created localized and specific supplements to the Vinaya, and Vinaya commentaries, through chayik literature.

The conduct of Tibetan monastics is indirectly based on the behavior prescribed in the sprawling Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and more directly, on two fifth- to seventh-century digests on the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya—the Vinaya Śūtra (’Dul ba’i mdo) and the Ekottarakarmaśataka (Las brgya rtṣa gcig pa), both by Guṇaprabha. And while the Vinaya prescribes conduct that is historically distant and geographically foreign, chayik prescribe conduct for daily life, not just at any Tibetan monastery, but at one or another specific Tibetan monastery. As Ellingson writes, chayik "draw on the basic principles of the Vinaya to derive specific obligations and institutions not covered in the formulations of the Vinaya texts themselves."

While there are no available Shalu texts specifically designated as chayik to survey as analogs to the narrative literature of conflict presented above, we can still examine Butön’s testaments, which, according to Ellingson, constitute a "formal

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282 Cabezón, "The Regulations of a Monastery," 337.

283 See the beginning of chapter 4 for a brief discussion on the Vinaya in Tibet.


285 According to the TBRC, there does exist a text in the Potala entitled Zhwa lu ri phug gi bca’ khrims yi ge rab gsal nor bu, written by Ngag dbang dpal ldan chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1850–1886).
conventional resemblance to chayik," even though the pair of texts predate any of the documents designated as chayik in Ellingson's study of the genre. Most generally, Butön's documents resemble chayik literature in that they emphasize "adherence to religious and disciplinary standards, general harmoniousness and consensus in the community." In addition to resembling chayik literature, however, these texts are also explicitly designated "final testaments" (kha chems) by the author. Hence, they constitute a blend of genres.

These texts appear to have held an important place at the monastery. Butön's Reminder Letter to the Seat-Holding Khenpos is referred to in the biography of the abbot Shalu Lotsāwa (1441–1528), in which it is mentioned that this master performed the duties of abbot as described in this letter and also that he read Butön's testaments to the saṅgha. Furthermore, in his autobiography, Losel Tengyong himself recalls that when he was 54 years old, he read the second of Butön's testaments, the Reminder Letter to all of the Khenpos, Teachers, and the Community of Monks before giving instructions to an assembly at Ripuk. Butön's testaments were circulated and recited at Shalu, and would be well known to the History's intended readers.

Of the first of these two texts, entitled A Reminder Letter to the Seat-Holding Khenpos, Butön writes, "This is a letter of encouragement and advice from [my] compassion. It is also [my] final testament (kha chems), so keep [it] beside [your] pillow

287 On Shalu Lotsāwa / Shalu Lochen Rinchen Chökyong Sangpo, see chapter 3 of The Culture of the Book in Tibet; Zha lu gdan rabs, 218–42; and Rje btsun zhwa lu lo tsā ba'i rnam par thar pa brjed byang nor bu'i 'khri shing, which Losel Tengyong uses as a source for the Zha lu gdan rabs (see Schaffer, 177 note 36).
288 Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 656.
and look at it sometimes." In the text, Butön offers his abbotial successors the kind of advice that may not be directly available through other sources, or perhaps what he felt most needed to be taught, based on his own experience as Shalu's abbot. Butön presents several "means for accomplishment" (sgrub thabs) for his abbotial successors including one that comments explicitly on conflict, namely, "the means for the accomplishment of stopping gossip (kha smras) [and] disputes (kha mchu)." Regarding this, Butön writes,

Refrain from involving yourself in others' ridicule (skya khab) and arguments (kha zin), over which [you your]self have no authority. Do not put men who engage in gossip (kha smras) into [your] retinue [of attendants]. As for the monks, servant-monks and so forth who have [already] become [your] attendants [and who] behave improperly, [tell them] not to behave like that. If gossip or disputes (kha smras kha mchu) and so on have arisen [among your monks], I [would] tell [them] "[I] cannot be your leader" and set forth [a warning] [and] earnestly make [them] cleanse [themselves through punishments]. Even if [you] have done that accordingly, [but they] don't listen and are similarly engaged in gossip, [you should] give [them] a little food, clothes, and so on, and say "go find yourself another leader (dpon po) and so forth!" and then [you should] cast [them] out [of the monastery] and forget [them].

Butön's instructions here are reminiscent of the History's abbots—particularly Drakpa Gyeltsen—who rigorously perseveres through a conflict, but never stoops so low as to become embroiled within the conflict himself. When the History's readers encounter

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290 'di dran skul gyi yi ge'ang yin / brtse ba'i gdaems pa'ang yin 'chi ba'i kha chems kyang yin pas sngas khar bzhag nas skabs su bita m'dzod. Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge, 323.
292 I was not able to determine the meaning of skya khab. Khenpo Kunga Sherab tells me it may mean "ridicule." A similar-sounding phrase is skya skyag rang byed pa to "ridicule/insult [someone]."
293 I would argue that "authority" is meant by mthu here, which refers to the abbot's control over his responsibilities (gan 'khris).
294 rang la mthu med pa'i gzhan gyi skya khab dang kha zin bdag gnyer mi bya / kha smras spyor ba'i mi 'khor du mi gzhag / 'khor du byung ba'i grwa pa grwa a.yog la sosgs mi rigs pa byed pa rnama la de lta bu ma byed / kha smras kha mchu sosgs byung na / ngs khyed kyi bdag mi yong ngo byas la bshad sbyang nan tan bya / de lta byas kyang mi nyan cing kha smras spyor ba 'dra na / zas gos la sosgs than thun byin la / khyed rang dpon po la sosgs gzhan tshol cig byas la bskrad de gtang. Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge, 321–2.
Drakpa Gyeltsen, he invokes Butön and the latter's illustrious tradition, which is now in danger, before demonstrating his perseverance in saving that very tradition from destruction due to conflict. Drakpa Gyeltsen's performance of exemplarity is likely heightened by the resemblance of his behavior to Butön's explicit instructions for monastic comportment at Shalu. Drakpa Gyeltsen may, in this way, be seen as a "life-like" model of Butön's testamentary advice.

Behaving according to the very instructions of exemplarity that the tradition's forefather has set out for Shalu lamas, and mimicking the literary character of Butön, who in fact speaks a letter from (the "real") Butön's collected works, readers are drawn into a narrative theater of exemplary conduct woven out of the very intertextual fibers of the Shalu tradition. And just as Drakpa Gyeltsen and the "literary" Butön skillfully quell a growing conflict through their exemplary skillful means (specifically powerful oration) in the History, the "real" Butön informs us in the passage immediately quoted above that being able to prevent or quell disputes is a Shalu lama's virtue.

As for the second of Butön's testamentary letters A Reminder Letter to all of the Abbots, Teachers, and the Community of Monks, Butön similarly offers advice to abbots on how to resolve conflicts, for instance about expelling misbehaving monks after warnings,\(^{295}\) but he widens the focus on conduct in this letter to all monks and lamas as well as the abbots. Butön writes, for instance, "Monks and attendant monks, each having engaged in his own service, should act in a way wherein fighting ('thab brtson), gossip (kha smras), and disputes (kha mchu) will not arise."\(^{296}\)

\(^{295}\) Mkhan slob dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i spyi la snyan bskul ba'i yi ge, 324.

\(^{296}\) gra pa gra g.yog la sogs pa rnams la so so nas zhal ta bcug nas 'thab rtsod kha smras kha mchu mi yong ba'i thabs la sbyor dgos. Ibid. These are three distinct types of conflict. While kha smras explicitly refers to gossip, defined in the Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo as mi kha ("gossip," "slander," etc.), and kha mchu refers to
In this text, Butön elaborates on the importance of the "rule master" (chos khrims pa), the enforcer of rules for monks. About the rule master, Butön writes, "If the case arises that [monks] make [themselves] contradictory towards the rules tightened up by the rule master, [you should all] exceedingly support [the rule master] and the rule master should also keep his mind in general affairs [i.e., not dwell on particular situations or people]. And the [rule master] should completely tighten up the rules."

Undoubtedly, much of the information in these letters has derived from actual conflicts. Here we see a glimpse of this within the anticipated rhetoric of generality in these testaments. Butön again writes about the rule master:

Because there arose many [instances wherein the rule master] was accused ([skyon]'dzugs pa) [in such a way that people] said he [caused] harm because of [his] grudge over whether or not he was invited to Shidé—as of this year's winter [teaching] session, the rule master is not [allowed] to go to Shidé. Even [if] a sponsor fixates [his] mind [on a rule master] and says "come no matter what!", [he] still [must not] go. Because this is [now] a common law, it is vital that [the rule master] acts in accordance with that.

Butön similarly recommends another practice, involving suspected troublemakers from other monasteries, to thwart possible conflicts. This is clearly based on some unspecified event in the past. Butön writes, "If a guest appeared at [this] place, who was not individually expected, who like before, [came] for sight [seeing] and let off accusations, quarrels ('than rtsod) would emerge—about [precisely] what we can't be disputes, as in legal disputes, 'thab brtsod denotes either physical or verbal altercations, with 'thab being found in words such as dmag 'thab ("warfare"), and brtsod in expressions like rtsod pa rgyab pa ("to argue").

297 cho khrim pas chos sdom pa la mi mthun pa byed pa byung na / bdag gnyer thang pa byed pa dang chos khrims pas kyang blo spyi sor bzhag nas chos khrims legs par bsdam. Mkhan slob dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i spyi la snyan bskul ba'i yi ge, 324. "[You should all] exceedingly support [the rule master]" is rendered from bdag gnyer thang pa byed pa. I was unable to determine the meaning of thang pa. Khenpo Kunga Sherab believes that thang pa might be a Tsang-specific expression for lhag par, "exceedingly."

298 cho khrims pa bzhi sde la bos ma bos kyi snying nad kyis gnod pa bskyal zer nas 'dzugs mang po byung bas / da lo dpun chos phar bcad nas chos khrims pa bzhi sde la ma 'gro / yon bdag gis sems 'dzin du byas nas cis kyang shog zer kyang ma 'gro / 'di spyi khrims yin pas de bzhin du byed pa gal che. Ibid.
sure—so it is vital that everyone guide [the guest with] detailed advice."\(^{299}\)

The lama of Butön's testaments unalteringly and methodically applies monastic law—no matter what—and in effect, keeps the community together. Butön begins his A Reminder Letter to the Seat-Holding Khenpos stating that discipline (btsun) is of the greatest importance in effectively carrying out the duties of an abbot. He writes, "In order to perform as the head of the great assembly, and to perform the activities of the abbot (mkhan po), there is nothing of greater importance [than] maintaining discipline."\(^{300}\)

Moreover, in his Reminder Letter to all of the Khenpos, Teachers, and the Community of Monks, Butön asserts that maintaining proper conduct is essential for the survival of the monastery, and ultimately, for the survival of the Buddhist teachings. He writes: "[The survival of the] Buddhist teachings depends on the saṅgha. The saṅgha depends on discipline, so therefore, it is vital to make efforts towards discipline."\(^{301}\) Thus in this context, the image of Butön's steadfast lama is understood more broadly to epitomize a master who perseveres through conflict, and who, like Drakpa Gyentsen, Trülshig, and (the literary character of) Butön, strive to keep the community together.

The History's intended readers, versed in Butön's testaments, would clearly detect resemblances, in the external behaviors, between Butön's ideal lama in the testament, and Losel Tengyong's ideal lama in the History. Although this testamentary lama lacks the

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\(^{299}\) gnas su mgron so so ma byung ba la sngar bzhiin lid pa dang kha ga yogs gtong ba byung na / 'thab rtso r ga ru yong cha med pas thams cad kyi' kha ta zhib mo 'dzud pa gal che. Ibid., 325.

\(^{300}\) dge 'dun mang po'i mgo byed cing / mkhan po'i bya ba byed pa la / btsun tshugs pas gal che ba med pas / tshul khrims ngo phag med pa rang gi sens kyi' mkhrel ba brung ba gal che. Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge, 317. The term btsun tshugs may be glossed along the lines of btsun pa'i spyod pa la tshugs, that is, "control over the behavior of discipline."

\(^{301}\) sangs rgyas bstan pa dge 'dun gyi sde la rag las / dge 'dun gyi sdechos tshugs la rag las pa yin pas / chos tshugs la 'bad ba 'don pa gal che. Mkhan slob dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i spyi la snyan bskul ba'i yi ge, 323. The term chos tshugs may be glossed along the lines of chos dang mthun pa'i spyod tshugs, that is, "control [over] behavior that is in harmony with the dharma."
explicit expression of the soteriological transformation underpinning this steadfastness, the *History*'s readers would still bring their intertextual memory to their reading of the *History* and recognize Shalu's past masters performing the external *culmination* of discrete modes of virtuousness that are articulated in their most sacred of all the Shalu tradition's texts: Butön's testaments.

3.5.1—A Note on Narrative and Non-Narrative Intertextual Dynamics

Before examining more of the resemblances between the *History* and Losel Tengyong's autobiography, I would like to offer a few comments here on what this section suggests about the dynamics of interaction between narrative and non-narrative literatures within a textual community.

Butön's testamentary letters may well have been based on specific conflicts—perhaps conflicts incited by the accusations of patrons or lone visitors—that occurred during this master's life, but the idiom of his letters is such that the events have become generalized: while events are hinted at, they are not at all narrated. And there is no question that this generalized advice, while specific to the monastery of Shalu, is understood to be ultimately insufficient for the resolution of conflicts and other problems that will nevertheless arise. At the end of his second letter, Butön writes, "Now [I'm] getting old. My body being powerless, [I'm] seeking out comfort. Like this, like that, [things] happen. Don't bring [me] idle chatter like 'such and such happened to
me' and [other such] many enquiries. If the need [for such] enquiries arises, consult [Shalu's] lamas and secular leaders!\footnote{302}

This insufficiency, we should note, is indeed fulfilled by the History—a piece of narrative literature. It is possible in narrative to present what is impossible in Butön's texts: life-like theaters, in which problems are addressed and "realistically" worked through. As the twentieth-century legal theorist Robert Cover writes,

law and narrative are inseparably related. Every prescription is insistent in its demand to be located in discourse—to be supplied with history and destiny, beginning and end, explanation and purpose. And every narrative is insistent in its demands for its prescriptive point, its moral. . . . Once understood in the context of the narratives that give it meaning, law becomes not merely a system of rules to be observed, but a world in which we live.\footnote{303}

The History exhibits to its readers situations in the monastery that are seemingly impossible when confronted—that are life-like in their complexity. The History shows us that "real" problems cannot simply be solved by "casting instigators out of the monastery and forgetting about them!" Moreover, it is only narrative that can exhibit internally productive struggles—that are ultimately spiritually potent—presented in a series of stories. In short, the History presents what Butön's documents cannot—it conveys something that cannot be told, but only shown. The History shows us the exemplary characteristics of determination, perseverance, and heroism. Losel Tengyong shows us that a haggard yet committed abbot can intensify his generation of Buddhist virtues. This exemplary conduct is staged and performed in the History: it unfolds in dramas, or in imagined narrative worlds.

\footnote{302} da nga rgas / guqs pos ma nus bar so bsod don du gnyer ba la / 'di 'dra 'di tshul / nga la 'di 'dra byung la sogs pa'i lab lob dang / zha zhu mang po khyer la ma yong / zha zhu dgos pa byung na / yon mchod gnyis la zhus. Mkhan slob dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i spyi la snyan bskul ba'i yi ge, 325.

3.6—Losel Tengyong and the Water Dispute

Above, I bring up some possible resonances of the exemplarity of a soteriologically efficacious perseverance through conflict in the intended readers' intertextual intragroup memory. In Butön's testaments, readers encounter a discourse that resonates with, or takes expression in, the History's exemplarity of perseverance amid conflict. Butön's is a vision of a lama who is steadfast in the face of conflict, who holds his authority amid congregational turmoil, and who does not cower in the face of troublemakers. It is Losel Tengyong who selects passages—or writes passages—that inherently resonate with Butön's writings, and are woven out of Butön's writings into the literary character of Butön who, in concert with other historical characters, enacts the "real" Butön's advice to Shalu's monks. As such, Losel Tengyong's prescription of exemplarity to his intended readers, seen here in the virtue of perseverance through conflict, lies not only within the History itself, but also more broadly in the intertextual connections that clarify this prescription and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition—the world that has generated the text. In this section, I examine the force of authorship in the History by reading the History in light of Losel Tengyong's autobiography, and suggest, on the basis of this reading, that there exists a powerful authorial force implicit in the History's narratives that reflects the world from which the History has sprung.

In Losel Tengyong's autobiography, the same exemplary characteristics of determination, patience, skillful means, insight, and selfless generosity emerge from a protracted conflict within which the author was embroiled in the two years leading up to his writing of the History. Losel Tengyong reports:

During the spring season [of] this year [1834], Gyamorongpa Yeshé Drakpa, a director of the Shalu monastic residence, and the Tsongdü [district] official (gnyer
named Tashi disagreed over water [resources]. As a result [of this], Shalu monks and laypersons initiated a revolt against Gya[mo]rong. [Someone] called Shugta was banished from the place [of Shalu], and a group of people gathered and beat up Pasang Tenzin, a Chukar elder [who] hence had to flee to Ripuk for a short time [out of fear for his life]. After that, [I] asked an elder from Tsechen Drongsar to settle the matter by law and [I] gave him a bunch of money. The three months of summer passed while [all of] that [happened]. During that time, I had misgivings about myself that I had [just] been squandering the whole year [here] at Ripuk, all of my thoughts and behavior being carried away by laziness and distractions. At the time [these] misgivings came about, observing all of their [bad behavior], my flimsy mind didn't seem all that bad! A little measure of joy came about as [I] thought [that].

Losel Tengyong then writes this impassioned poem, which is followed by a report about a foot disease, which he later connects to the conflicts. He writes,

Neither-Chinese-nor-Tibetan Gyarong stirred up a quarrel. Deranged (smyon) monks and many former monks started a monks’ protest [and], Cut Shugta’s tale (zhu gu) [and] made [him] tail-less, [They] caused disturbances (‘khrug long) in the manner of big fights and little fights. Those who acted heartlessly, vindictively, [as if having] tumors [in their] hearts [are] Lawless, tail-less, inattentive to discipline—[how] excellent would it be if they abandoned [these activities]!

Starting in about the tenth month of this year, an illness appeared on the sole of my foot that [looked] like soot.

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304 Petech describes gnyer pa as a "steward" within the court (mhkar) surrounding the king and royal family of Ladakh and as someone "in charge of the stores of wheat, barley, fruits and other foodstuffs and keeping the accounts of in- and outgoing items." Luciano Petech, The Kingdom of Ladakh: C. 950-1842 A.D. (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977). Although we are considering an entirely different context here, it should be noted that the gnyer pa in Losel Tengyong's autobiography is nevertheless also responsible for resources.

305 'di lo dpyid ka'i mtshams su zha lu bla brang 'dzin mi rgya mo rong pa ye shes graqs pa dang tshong 'dus gnyer pa bkra shis zer ba chu'i skor la ma 'chams pa'i rkyen byas te zha lu pa ser skya raya rong la nго log brtsams / zhiugs rta zer ba gnas bsbrad / chu dkar ba'i sha pa sargs bstan 'dzin yang mi mang po rlog nas rdung 'tshog byas kyi dogs theng gcig ri phug tu bros dgos byung / de rjes rtse chen grong gsar ba'i a bo zhig la khrims la gtug pa zhu gshe zer ba gnas dngal mang po bskyal zhing de'i bar la dbyar zla gsum po rgyas song / ngeg kyi bsam spyod 'di kun la lo dang g.yeng ba 'd ras khyer nas ri phug tu mi tsho stong zad rang la song snyam pa'i sens khral byung dus ni khang tsho'i 'di nrms mthong bas nga'i zab be zob be 'di'ang a'u rtsi yin 'dra snyam pa'i dga' ya ba zhig byung ngo / Rang gi nrms thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 565–6.

306 rgya rong rgya ma bod kyis rgya 'dre bslangs // ban smyon ban log mang pos ban ling byas // zhug rta'i zhug gu breg nas zhiug rdum bzos / 'khrug chen 'khrug chung tshul du 'khrug long byas // zha lu'i chu 'di zha khrims zlos mtshams kyi // khrims ma'i mdo don khras yig nang gsal kyang // snying skran zhe bzhag snying ral byed pa nrms // khrims med mjug med khrims 'chal spangs na legs // 'di'<i>di</i> zla ba bcu pa tsam nas nged rang gi
The conflict unfolds much like we have seen in the History: the protagonist finds himself amid a conflict. The instigators, here called "deranged" (smyon), vindictive, and rotten-hearted are embroiled in "big fights and little fights"—i.e., petty disputes. The conflict and its participants starkly oppose the protagonist. Again, these props do not speak but serve as points of juxtaposition for the dramatic ennoblement of the main character. Losel Tengyong reflects amid the conflict, like the History's saints, articulating his distaste for the turmoil. And as in the History, he is exalted above the conflict as he illustrates his great insight into the distressing circumstances at hand.

Although couched in the expected idiom of Tibetan autobiography's extreme humility, Losel Tengyong nonetheless praises his own character. Compared to the culprits, he writes, "My flimsy mind doesn't seem all that bad!"

As in the narratives examined from the History above, Losel Tengyong also demonstrates his commitment to solving problems through Buddhist teachings. Again mentioning his foot disease, Losel Tengyong writes,

> When I was 31, the wood-horse year [1835] began and [my food disease] was getting worse. It became slightly difficult [to] sit and stand up. Around the fourth month, it came about that the Chukar and Shalu villagers again set off (rgyag) a fight, so his holiness Nordé Chenpo and I gave two gurmo (mgur mo) [of] money to the [Shalu] villagers and I myself explained [teachings on] karmic causality (rgyu 'bras) to the Chukar people and, through undertaking [these] means [to] pacify

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rkang pa'i mthil du dreg lta bu'i na tsha zhi gkyung / Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 566. I was unable to determine the meaning of the bolded stanzas in this poem.

307 As in the phrase dkrug shing rgyag pa, "to instigate," or "provoke" fighting, for instance by uttering divisive speech (tshig rtsub)—this is one of the ten unwholesome actions called mi dge bcu.

308 This is a measure of weight and currency: eight Tam equals one mgur mo. See the entry for mgur mo in Duff, The Illuminator Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic Dictionary. On these and other forms of Tibetan money, see Wolfgang Bertsch, The Currency of Tibet, A Sourcebook for the Study of Tibetan Coins, Paper Money, and Other Forms of Currency (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2002).
[their] anger, [both groups] listened for a time and then [they] came to reconcile [their] fighting.\textsuperscript{309}

Just before he wrote the History, however, the fighting erupted again. Referring once more to his progressing illness, Losel Tengyong writes:

Once again, the Chukar people fanned the worn-out embers [of the dispute] and then, [it] happened [that the Chukar people] used the Tibetan cabinet (bka’ shag) to condemn the Shalu villagers and so forth, but no success whatsoever came about in this regard. Beginning in about the ninth month, I became extremely sick and whatever medical treatments were done nevertheless didn’t benefit [the disease]—[I] was certain to die.\textsuperscript{310}

After prayers, a prophetic dream, and the assistance of a doctor, Losel Tengyong, nevertheless, recovers. The connection between the disease and the conflicts is never specified in the narration of the conflict, though the full implication of the connection is spelled out in his poem. He connects the illness to the conflict through the imagery of weather, and in doing so, blames the conflict for his illness. He writes,

\begin{quote}
Kye ma! Uncultivated people of the degenerate age,
Excessively gathered [like] black clouds of anger and aggression and then,
Brought down hail and thunderbolts of the abusive speech [of] incitement and insult.
By means of vapors [risen up] from vow-polluting dirty water that gathered [in pools from the storm]
A fierce illness ravaged [my] fragile body.\textsuperscript{311}
\end{quote}

Through the carefully navigated rhetoric expected of Tibetan autobiography, Losel Tengyong uses the theme of ecclesiastical conflict to reveal that his character is

\textsuperscript{309} rang lo so gcig pa rgyal ba zhes pa shing pho rta’i lo shar ba nas je sdug la song ste sdod langs dka’ ba tsam byung / zla ba bzhi pa tsam la chu dkar ba dang zha lu pa’i grong pa rnam s’khrug pa bskyar ma rayag tu byung bas nged dang nor bde chen po’i drung nas grong pa la dngul ngur mo do byin zhing chu dkar ba la nged rang gis las rgyu ’bras bshad nas zhe sdang zhi thabs byas pas skabs gcig nyan nas ’khrug pa ’dum pa byung / Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 567.

\textsuperscript{310} chu dkar bas slar yang me ro rnying pa gsos nas zha lu pa’i grong pa rnam s la bka’ shag gi dam ’bebs [dma’ ’bebs] sos byas byung yang de la ni grub ’bras cang ma byung ngo / zla ba du’u pa tsam nas nged rang shing tu na ste bcos ka ci byas kyang ma phan pas skyas chen ’degs par thag bcad. Ibid., 568.

\textsuperscript{311} kye ma snyigs dus skye bo mi brsun pas // zhe sdang khong khrö’i sprin nag cher bsdus nas // phra ma tshig rtsub brlang po’i thog ser phab // dam grib btsog chu ’khyil pa’i kha rlangs kyis // bro nad drag pos sgyu lus mnar ba. Ibid., 569.
elevated above the conflict, and aligned with Buddhist sensibilities as he insightfully appraises the situation. Losel Tengyong's skillful means in solving the conflict is illustrated through his assumption of leadership in the solicitation of experts' help, and in putting the conflict into its religious context in sermons of advice for villagers. Like Trülshig who delivers sermons on karmic causality (rgyu 'bras) to two opposing armies, Losel Tengyong does the same to opposing sides of a feud. Like the characters of Butön and Drakpa Gyeчаст, Losel Tengyong is himself pushed to a brink, utterly worn out over the conflict. This importantly illustrates his determination (brtson 'grus; vīrya), patience (bzod pa; kṣānti), and selfless generosity (sbyin pa; dāna). Facing a conflict, and persevering to solve it, as we see in the History, is a characteristic of the exemplary Shalu lama. Like Trülshig who becomes perfected by enduring pain (sdug sran) in the service of his brethren, Losel Tengyong is ennobled by weathering a conflict to help others, in spite of the cost to himself.

Unlike many of the characters presented in the History, Losel Tengyong does not reveal that he himself considered flight into solitude as a viable solution to the suffering, and soteriological harm, of conflict. This is not surprising, however, since Losel Tengyong's definitive position, as articulated in his autobiography, is that fleeing to mountain retreats is utterly unrelated to soteriological development. In a lengthy poem of general advice to his readers, he writes,

Hermit! (bya bral ba) Don't worry so much about little things!
If [you] abandon distractions (g.yeng ba), [then] everywhere is a quiet retreat.
[If you do not abandon your mental distractions] there is no value in moving to [other] mountains [or] provinces.
If [you] can [change] your mind [‘s motivation / attitude (i.e., kun slong)],
whatever you do becomes a spiritual activity (gechor—dge [sbyor]).

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312 blo sna tsab tsob ma mang bya bral ba // g.yeng ba spangs na gar bsdad dben dgon yin // gnas spos ri rdzong mang pos dgos pa med // sems kyi long na byas tshad dge ba yin // Ibid., 623.
The author's direct address to hermits or "abandoners of responsibility" (bya bral ba) is clearly aligned with the *History* in its criticism of the idea that solitude, and the lack of responsibilities amid solitude, is requisite to spiritual progress. Even the language here in the autobiography resembles the very same problem-solutions we have seen in the history involving the abandoning of responsibilities (*chadrel—bya bral*) and the threat of conflicts to spiritual activities (*gechor—dge sbyor*).

The resonances in which the theme of a soteriologically efficacious perseverance through conflict unfolds between Losel Tengyong's two works suggests the presence of a powerful authorial force in the *History*. The virtue that emerges out of Losel Tengyong's self-representation as a tenacious resolver of conflict is a strain of exemplarity that Losel Tengyong weaves throughout his *History*.

3.7—Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined a series of narratives in the *History*, which I argue constitutes a contour of virtue within the *History*’s prescription of an exemplary pattern of conduct for Shalu lamas. In these narratives, we witness protagonists being exalted above petty (vaguely defined) conflicts and (unnamed) prop-like culprits. While villainous instigators and participants of conflicts are silenced by the hagiographer, Losel Tengyong, protagonists are always furnished with poignant (first-person) reflections conveying penetrating insight and deep commitment to the Shalu tradition. Protagonists are often pushed to a brink of exhaustion and exasperation, poised to leave the monastery, or actually do so, but nevertheless stay (or return) in dramatic performances that demonstrate their altruism and steadfast resolve towards bettering a crumbling institution and its climate of hostility. A soteriology of perseverance
resulting from managerial hardship implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) unfolds through these narratives.

The exemplarity of perseverance through ecclesiastical conflict is a discrete virtue that unfolds through the *History*. The *History* molds narratives of conflict to compellingly highlight a series of Buddhist virtues: determination (*brtson 'grus; vīrya*), patience (*bzod pa; ksānti*), skillful means (*thabs; upāya*), insight (*shes rab; prajñā*), selfless generosity (*sbyin pa; dāna*), and a soteriological perfection through enduring pain (*dug sran*) in the service of others.

This chapter has suggested that forces of anticipated reader and tradition-specific intertext have played a role in molding this contour of the Shalu lama's uprightness. This same type of exemplarity is mirrored in some of the monastery's most well known literature—Butön's final testaments. Acting according to the very instructions of exemplarity that the tradition's forefather (the "real" Butön) has set out for Shalu lamas, and concurrently mimicking the (literary) character of Butön, the Shalu lamas of the *History* enact a model of virtuousness that is woven out of the very textual fibers of the Shalu tradition.

The discourses that constitute this exemplary contour also resonate with Losel Tengyong's autobiographical self-representations, hence suggesting a powerful authorial force behind the *History*’s creation. Losel Tengyong's autobiography helps us to define, isolate, and understand the force of authorship—and the qualities of that force—within the creation of the *History*. The virtue that emerges out of Losel Tengyong's own self-representations as a tenacious resolver of conflict is a strain of exemplarity that the author also weaves throughout his *History*. 
Chapter 4—The Monastic Exemplarity of Strict Vinaya Observance

4.1—Introduction

Little is hypothesized in western Tibetological literature on how the monastic code of conduct contained within the Vinaya practically functioned within premodern Tibetan monasteries. It is widely asserted in scholarship that the tradition of Tibetan commentarial literature on the Vinaya is itself largely based on two fifth- to seventh-century digests on the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya; namely, the Vinaya Sūtra (’Dul ba’i mdo) and the Ekottarakarmaśāatakā (Las brgya rtsa gcig pa), both by Gunaprabha. Monastic conduct in Tibetan monasteries, as it is also clearly asserted in Tibetological works, has been regulated by "monastic constitution" literature (chayik—bca’ yig), or codes of monastic conduct modified from the Vinaya to suit particular monasteries and monastery-complexes. Dealing generally in minute behavioral regulations, monastic constitutions are explicitly prescriptive codes of conduct. Tibetan commentarial literature on the Vinaya, on the other hand, is largely argumentative and scholarly in nature. Monastic constitutions and Vinaya commentaries tell us little about actual cases of Vinaya observance—real or imagined.

313 For an outline of the contents of the Vinaya Sūtra and the Ekottarakarmaśāatakā, see Bhikṣunī Jampa Tshedroen, A Brief Survey of the Vinaya: Its Origin, Transmission, and Arrangement from the Tibetan Point of View with Comparisons to the Theravāda and Dharmagupta Traditions, Vinaya Research 1 (Hamburg: Foundation for Tibetan Buddhist Studies, 1992), 68–75. For an outline of two Tibetan commentaries on the Vinaya Sūtra—the twelfth-thirteenth century Ocean of Scripture and Logic (’Dul ba mtsho ṭik) by Kun mkhyen mtsho sna pa shes rab bzang po, and the Precious Garland (’Dul ṭik rin chen phreng pa) by Rgyal ba dge ’dun grub (1391–1475)—see Tshedroen, A Brief Survey of the Vinaya: Its Origin, Transmission, and Arrangement from the Tibetan Point of View with Comparisons to the Theravāda and Dharmagupta Traditions, 76–82. For a list of commentaries on the Ekottarakarmaśāatakā, see ibid., 82–3. For references to other Tibetan Vinaya commentaries, see the bibliographies in Kh ś sprul Blo gros mtha’-yas, Buddhist Ethics, 513–544.

Questions on the observation of the *Vinaya* in Tibetan monasteries in the past remain largely unarticulated in western scholarship. To what extent did Tibetan monks follow the behavioral precepts prescribed in the *Vinaya*? What happened to monks who transgressed rules prescribed in the *Vinaya* or even in monastic constitutions? Can anything be postulated, however hypothetically, on what Tibetan monks thought about, or experienced, following *Vinaya* disciplinary regulations?

We may begin to answer some of these questions through this chapter's treatment of the next contour in Losel Tengyong's wider prescriptive presentation of exemplarity: the theme of the lama strictly observing the *Vinaya*. I center my study in this chapter on a story from the *History*’s biography of Rinchen Namgyel Thugsé Lotsāwa (1318–1388), abbot of Shalu monastery from 1356 to 1388, and chief disciple and abbatial successor of the Shalu tradition’s forefather, Butön. This story narrates Rinchen Namgyel’s *Vinaya* transgression: sexual intercourse with a laywoman, and its effects, including the monk’s punishment by Butön.

Losel Tengyong’s rendition of this story features important changes from an earlier account of the tale, found in a biography of Rinchen Namgyel by Sotön Śākyapel (1355–1432), an earlier Shalu lama.315 These changes, I argue, allow us to see first hand Losel Tengyong’s editorial skill and sophistication in aligning Shalu's lore with his own prescriptions for what should best represent a Shalu lama's nobility.316

315 So ston Śākya dpal. *Rin chen rnam rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa snyim pa’i me tog las ’khrungs pa ngo mtshar ze ’bru’i nor bu* (hereafter *Rin chen rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar* in the footnotes). This work exists only in the form of one undated 57-folio *dbu med* manuscript of unknown origin (courtesy of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center Library).

316 While we cannot say for certain that Losel Tengyong made use of the very same manuscript of Sotön Śākyapel’s text that has come down to us today, it is clear from the lengthy verbatim passages, that Losel Tengyong made use of this manuscript, or perhaps a close variant of it in writing his own account of the sexual transgression. While we cannot definitively posit Losel Tengyong’s direct use and selective editing of this manuscript, we can nevertheless examine what is unique to Losel Tengyong’s version and situate
I demonstrate this in the following way. Firstly, in section 2, I present Sotön Śākyapel's version of Rinchen Namgyel's sexual transgression. In this story, a powerful laywoman named Jojo develops an insufferable sexual attraction towards Rinchen Namgyel, an ordained Shalu monk, who is distinguished by his extraordinary physical beauty. The woman lures Rinchen Namgyel into her home, and the two engage in sexual intercourse—an act that entails Rinchen Namgyel's violation of one of the four most serious behavioral transgressions specified in the Buddhist monastic code. Sotön Śākyapel explains that Rinchen Namgyel has sexual intercourse with the woman to alleviate her suffering. In doing so, Śākyapel invokes a well known Buddhist literary trope of male bodhisattvas satiating lust-crazed women, a trope that highlights the preeminence of compassion over all other (i.e., less important) ethical concerns, such as monastic comportment.

Secondly, in section 3, I argue that Sotön Śākyapel's story is dissimilar to Losel Tengyong's vision of the Shalu lama's exemplarity. While the core elements of the story remain the same in Losel Tengyong's new version, Sotön Śākyapel's rationale for Rinchen Namgyel's sexual transgression—that sex was the ultimate expression of Buddhist altruism—is unacceptable. Instead, Losel Tengyong chooses to situate Rinchen Namgyel within a struggle in which the latter's only recourse to perform monastic exemplarity is strict adherence to the monastic code contained within the Vinaya. As such, in Losel Tengyong's new version, Rinchen Namgyel is forcibly seduced by Jojo and the former is excused for his conduct on the basis of a technicality presented in the

these unique features within the author's larger prescriptive presentation of strict Vinaya observance as a marker of the Shalu lama's exemplarity.
Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, the text upon which Tibetan Buddhist monastic conduct is based. This technicality specifies that if a fully-ordained monk does not "conceal" his transgression from others, he may still remain within the monastic community.

In section 4, I demonstrate how Losel Tengyong's version of Rinchen Namgyel's sexual transgression resembles the author's larger presentation of lamas' exemplarity presented in his History, autobiography, and a series of intertexts that the History's intended readers bring to the History.

4.2—Rinchen Namgyel's Sexual Transgression According to Sotōn Śākyapel

Before delving into Losel Tengyong's account of Rinchen Namgyel's sexual transgression, I will examine the story's earlier narration according to Sotōn Śākyapel (1355–1432). The episode in question opens recounting how the monk Rinchen Namgyel of Shalu Monastery has a powerful benefactor, a mistress or chieftainess (dpon mo) named Jojo, who becomes fixated on the monk's extraordinarily handsome looks and other pleasant qualities that are stated to be the fulfillment of the monk's monumental cache of good karma. Sotōn Śākyapel writes:

Previously, the mistress (dpon mo) Jojo who was a friend of the lady [of the secular lord] gave provisions and so forth [to Rinchen Namgyel] after the lady went to central Tibet. On the basis of [his] immeasurably good qualities [that were] the results of this bodhisattva-mahāsattva having perfected patience over countless previous [lives]—which included [his] body that was captivating to behold, and beautiful, [his] melodious and soft speech, and his considerate mind—she repeatedly [made attempts to] stimulate [Rinchen Namgyel's] love [for her]. Nevertheless, [the monk] did not long [for her].

317 Literally, "cannot get enough of seeing" (lta bas chog mi shes).
318 de nas sngar dpon mo ba'i zla la yod pa'i /dpon mo jo jo cig gis dpon mo ba dbus phyogs la thegs pa'i rjes la / 'phral chas na bza'la sog [=sogs] gter ba cig yod pa des / sems dpa' chen po 'di nyid / thog ma med pa'i sngon rol nas / bzod pa mthar phyin pa'i 'bras bu /sku lta bas chog mi shes shing mdzes pa gnang gdangs snyan zhi ngam ngag jam pa / thugs zab cing khyon yangs pa sogs yon tan dpa'i tu med pa'i stobs kyiis yang yang brtser du byung na'ang / 'dun pa ma btang pa las / Rin chen rnam rnal gyi rnam thar, 46.
At a place called Thongmön, Jojo invites Rinchen Namgyel for tea. He accepts, bringing along a companion, literally a "conscientious friend" (khrims grogs), that is, a monk's chaperone. Becoming late, Jojo asks Rinchen Namgyel to stay the night. Sotön Śākyapel writes:

Then, once, at Thongmön, [Jojo] told [Rinchen Namgyel], "you must come [for] tea!" and then [Rinchen Namgyel] went [to her house] accompanied by [his] conscientious friend (khrims grogs), Ācārya Jamyangpa. [There, she] offered [Rinchen Namgyel] tea. Making about three pots, it became late, at which time, [Rinchen Namgyel] said "[we have to] go now!" [to which Jojo responded], "please stay here now! There's a comfortable bed in the parlor (ja khang) upstairs."

Sotön Śākyapel here sets the stage for an impending infraction of monastic conduct as Rinchen Namgyel brings along a "conscientious friend" or chaperone (khrims grogs). The term khrims grogs carries a discrete meaning that is explicated in Tibetan commentarial Vinaya literature. According to his Sunlight Illuminating the Root Summary of Discipline, a commentary on Guṇaprabha's Vinaya Sūtra, the thirteenth-century Tibetan scholar Tsönawa Sherab Sangpo defines khrims grogs as "a friend who prevents a monk from incurring a downfall and who is not non-human, mute or stupid, insane, a hermaphrodite, or blind." Śākyapel then recounts Rinchen Namgyel's seduction. He writes, "that night, [Rinchen Namgyel] and Jamyangpa screened [themselves] off [from Jojo] with a curtain and then slept [there] together. Then, mistress Jojo appeared [from behind the curtain]..."
and embraced. Šākyapel then immediately moves from the narration of the story into a discussion of Rinchen Namgyel's actions that unfold in an extremely terse and intricate passage, which explains that Rinchen Namgyel's actions cannot be evaluated from a "Śrāvakayāna" perspective, that is, from the perspective of, what are considered to be Śrāvakayāna monastic comportment and ethics articulated in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya.

Šākyapel explains that Rinchen Namgyel's transgression of the first pārājika rule prohibiting sexual intercourse for monks only holds when evaluating the monk's actions from the perspective that sees monastic behavior as it is articulated in the (Mūlasarvāstivāda) Vinaya to be definitive. When examined in the context of a bodhisattva's code of behavior, however, Šākyapel explains that an ordained monk who engages in sexual intercourse does not commit any actual transgression when "that which is to be abandoned" (dgag bya) in the Vinaya (i.e. sexual intercourse for monks) needs to performed in order to act in compassionate service towards others. In this case, satiating Jojo's debilitating sexual urges trumps the monk's adherence to the Vinaya.

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322 *gtser ba*, which means "to hurt the ears" is likely a scribal error, perhaps signifying *bcer ba*, "to squeeze," which, according to Jäschke is a variant of *bcir ba* (pres. 'chir ba). Tibetan-English Dictionary, 147. *bcer ba* somewhat resembles the meaning of the verb 'chang, "to embrace," used in the expression "[she] embraces [his body]" (sku la 'chang) in the Zha lu gdan rabs version of this story.

323 *de'i nub slob dpon 'jam dbyangs pa dang gnyis pos / steng du yol bas bres nas lhan du gzims pa la / dpon mo jo jos yongs nas [=yong nas] *gtser ba [=bcer bas(?)]. Rin chen rnam ryal gyi rnam thar, 47.

324 I use the terminology of the Buddhist vehicles Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna—not because I myself take them seriously as delimiters of Buddhist teachings, but simply because they are the terms within which Šākyapel's analysis of Rinchen Namgyel's behavior unfolds.

Śākyapel explains that Rinchen Namgyel's actions must be understood from the "higher" behavioral codes of a bodhisattva or a tantric practitioner. Buddhist practitioners like Rinchen Namgyel who hold all "three codes" (sdom pa gsun), asserts Śākyapel, must act in accordance with the higher code when the three codes of conduct come into conflict with one another. In Rinchen Namgyel's case, just such a conflict emerges: he is confronted at once with the injunction to refrain from sex in the "lower" (i.e., Śrāvaka) code of the Vinaya and the simultaneous injunction of the "higher" (i.e., bodhisattva) code to engage in sexual intercourse to ease a being's suffering. For Śākyapel, the choice is unambiguous: not acting in accordance with the higher (bodhisattva) code, writes Śākyapel, would be a grave sin, "if the minds of sentient beings had not been protected [i.e., made happy]" in the case that the lower code was observed while a sentient being suffered (in this case, with unbearable lust). To support his argument, Śākyapel cites the following verse from Atīśa's Commentary on the Lamp for the Path (Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma'i dka' 'grel; Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā): "There are no other means to please the Buddha / Besides making sentient beings happy."

Rinchen Namgyel's actions, hence, according to Śākyapel's analysis, were simply the result of him "protecting Jojo's mind" from going insane with lust.

This is a rather standard explanation of bodhisattvic sexuality that is aligned, generally speaking, with narratives of male bodhisattvas easing the suffering of "lust-crazed" women in Buddhist literature, such as the Śikṣāsmuccaya and the Bodhisattvabhūmi. The Upayakausalya Sūtra illustrates the point well in several places. In

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327 The verse is found in the Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma'i dka' 'grel, 246r. Atiśa. Bodhipathapradīpapañjikā (Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma'i dka' 'grel). Sde dge bstan 'gyur. Dbu ma, vol Khi, ff. 241a-293a (Toh. 3948).
the story of Jyotis, for instance, the Buddha narrates that in his previous life as the Brahman Jyotis, he broke his 42,000-year-long practice of celibacy in order to save a woman from her impending death brought on by her intense sexual desire for the Brahman. In this sūtra, Jyotis reflects, "I may go to hell for breaking my vow of austerity. But I can bear to experience the pain of hell. Let this woman not die, but be happy."\textsuperscript{328} The Buddha ends the episode with the words: "Take note: Something that sends other sentient beings to hell, sends the Bodhisattva who is skilled in means to rebirth in the world of Brahmā.\textsuperscript{329} This notion fits in well with the discourse that the bodhisattvic mandate—and vow,\textsuperscript{330} in fact—to ease suffering must trump all other (Buddhist) ethical concerns. To do otherwise is sinful. In the Bodhisattvabhūmi, for instance, we read: "Even in the case of [a transgression that] is sinful by nature, the bodhisattva acts with such skillful means that no sin is committed; rather, great merit arises.\textsuperscript{331} A similar point is also articulated in Candragomin’s Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva Vow, where we read, "When the welfare of others is at stake, the bodhisattva will approach what is naturally reprehensible as well as what is reprehensible by precept with skill in means. In this way there will be no transgression, but rather, a spread of much merit."\textsuperscript{332} Śākyapal hence insists that Rinchen Namgyel’s actions are the result of his bodhisattvic compulsion to assist sentient beings, and this compulsion, from

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{328}] Mark Tatz, trans., The Skill in Means (Upāyakausālya) Sūtra (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004), 34.
\item[\textsuperscript{329}] Ibid., 35.
\item[\textsuperscript{330}] The Bodhisattvabhūmi, for instance, includes the following pledge: "I, of such and such a name, declare before all the Tathāgatas and bodhisattvas of the great stage of the ten directions. Before them, I undertake all the moral precepts of the bodhisattva and the entire bodhisattva morality; the morality involving discipline, the morality of accumulating factors of virtue and the morality accomplishing the welfare of sentient beings that the bodhisattvas of the ten directions of the past, present and future have trained in." Pagel, The Bodhisattvapiṭaka: Its Doctrines, Practices and Their Position in Mahāyāna Literature, 171.
\item[\textsuperscript{331}] Ibid., 173.
\item[\textsuperscript{332}] Candragomin, Candragomin’s Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva Vow and Its Commentary by Sakya Dragpa Gyaltsen, trans. Mark Tatz (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1982), 47–8.
\end{itemize}
the perspective of the bodhisattva's code of conduct, trumps the prohibitions against sex for monks in the Prātimokṣa.

Rinchen Namgyel's behavior, according to Śākyapel, epitomizes "upward possession" (yar ldan) of the codes, or, in a general sense, a "preeminence of the higher vows."333 The explanation here, in the context of the wider story, reflects, at least on a broad level, strands of Kagyü and Nyingma thought on the three codes. We see the assertion, for instance, in the writings of Gampopa Sōnam Rinchen (1079–1153) that in the case of contradictions between the codes, "any lower vow that endangers life or obstructs a higher vow is not to be observed."334

Presupposed in Śākyapel's analysis is the protagonist's ontological status, established earlier in the story, as a bodhisattva-mahāsattva (sems dpa' chen po), meaning

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334 Gampopa writes,

If an internal conflict arises between the prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva vows, one practices like the bodhisattva, and there is no moral fault in ignoring the prātimokṣa. If there arises a conflict between the bodhisattva [vows] and the Mantra [vows], one should practice according to the Mantra, and there is no moral fault in ignoring the bodhisattva vows. Why? There is no moral fault because the higher is observed. There is no moral fault because the lower is not continued. That which is the absence of the two moral faults is taught to be [the functioning of] the powerful rituals, the excellent means, the hierarchy of the vehicles, [and thus it is] the Buddha's intention.

Otherwise, if the lower is observed after the higher has been abandoned, a moral fault is produced because the lower is observed, [and] a moral fault is produced because the higher is abandoned. The two moral faults that are produced are having entered into the lower ritual [and] the lower means, mistaking the hierarchy of vehicles, [and] not realizing the Buddha's intention, because the greater has been abandoned for the smaller. Therefore, if [the vows] are possessed, [they] are 'possessed 'upwardly'," Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism, 207. This is Sobisch's translation of the following passage from Sgam po pa’s Work A 8: so so thar pa dang byang chub sms dpa'i sdom pa nag thug byung na / byang chub sms dpa' ltar spyad la / byang chub sms dpa'i sdom pa so so thar pa yal bar dor ba la nyes pa med / byang chub sms dpa' dang gsang sngaags 'dom thug byung na / gsang sngaags ltar spyad la / byang chub sms dpa'i sdom pa yal bar dor ba la byes pa med de / de ci'i phyir zhe na / gong ma brungs pas nyes pa med / 'og ma mi gnas pas byes pa med / nyes pa gnyis po gang med pa cho ga bstan po / thabs btang po / theg pa'i go rims sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa yin gsung /

de ltar ma yin te / gong ma dor nas 'og ma brungs na / 'og ma brungs pas nyes pa bskeyed / gong ma dor bas nyes pa bskeyed / nyes pa gnyis gang bskeyed pa de cho ga dman pa thans dman pa la zhaps pa / theg pa'i go rims nor ba / sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa ma lon pa ste / chung ngu'i ngor chen po btang ba' phyir ro // de bas na idan na yar idan no // ibid., 206.

A precise assessment of Sotön Śākyapel’s presentation of the three vows, that is, where his position might be placed within the vast Tibetan three-vow literature in general, and within the subtle differences between Kagyü and Nyingma treatments of "upward possession" (yar ldan) in particular, is far beyond the capabilities of this study, which is focused on the writings of Losel Tengyong.
a bodhisattva residing on the seventh bhūmi or higher.\textsuperscript{335} The reader's understanding of the protagonist as an advanced bodhisattva, moreover, is reinforced by Śākyapel's lengthy explication provided at the beginning of his work on Rinchen Namgyel's buddhahood as it developed over many aeons.\textsuperscript{336} It is explained that Rinchen Namgyel is a "supreme nirmanakāya" (mchog sprul), a fully enlightened buddha who has manifested in human form for the purpose of leading others to liberation.

After Śākyapel's analysis of Rinchen Namgyel's actions, the author returns to his narration of the story, in which we read that Rinchen Namgyel emerges from Jojo's house immediately following the illicit sexual encounter and realizes that Butön should already know (i.e., through the latter's omniscience) what has transpired. Rinchen Namgyel arrives at Butön's residence as the master is about to fall asleep. After being allowed in, the monk throws himself to the ground, embraces Butön's feet, and weeps. Butön insists that Rinchen Namgyel rise, and the former asks his young attendant Sönam Drup to light a butter lamp.

Following this, Butön spontaneously utters a new textual composition that Rinchen Namgyel is asked to transcribe: it is a teaching for his disciple, entitled A Spoon of Heart (Snying gi thur ma). The text is itself not quoted in Śākyapel's text, but it is still retained in Butön's collected works.\textsuperscript{337} In this text, Butön harshly rebukes Rinchen Namgyel's activities in verse. Butön begins his vehement and unrestrained assault on the monk's character with the following:

Although [your] outer appearance, in the form of a monk, has not changed,
[Your] inner mode of conduct (tshul khrims; śīla) has rotted as a result of [your] affictive emotions (nyon mongs; kleśā).
You are like a ripe kūṃśāṇḍa fruit [rotten on the inside]—
Unscrupulous! Think about the meaning of these things!\(^{338}\)

The remainder of this letter details the eschatological consequences of transgressing the monastic conduct of the Vinaya. Although written as a general statement of advice, some of the Rinchen Namgyel's narrative by Śākyapal's can nevertheless be detected in the letter. Among the various types of women with whom sex will lead to eventual hellish rebirths, Butōn mentions one of interest to our story examined here: "the daughter of a ruler" (mi dbang bu mo), who might easily be a chieftainess or mistress (dpon mo), such as Jojo. Butōn writes:

Since you have copulated with a daughter of a ruler,
[Your] brains will be eaten by lions and snakes,
[And your] ribs and back, by tigers. [You will be] scorched by fire and,
The lord of death will shoot arrows [at you] from all angles!\(^{339}\)

The image of Rinchen Namgyel's conduct presented here is radically divergent from Śākyapal's assessment of the monk as a bodhisattva, and it is no surprise that no quotations from his text appear in Śākyapal's narrative. Śākyapal's story hence clashes with other assessments of these events, or at least other expositions on monastic conduct, that are contained within Butōn's collected works. This inherent tension, as we shall see below, is neutralized when Losel Tengyong retells the story in his History.

Next, the story recounts that the day following his transgression, Rinchen Namgyel, dressed in white robes, is pictured leading Butōn to the assembly hall carrying incense. It is recounted that this causes a great stir, dramatically attracting

\(^{338}\) phyi yi cha lugs dge spyod tshul las ma g.yos kyang // nang gi tshul khrims nyon mongs dbang gis rul gyur pa // ku shma na yi shing thog smin pa lta bu yi // snying med po khyed don 'di rnams la bsam mno thong // Bu ston gyis rang gi slob ma la zhe thag pa nas gros 'debs pa'i yi ge snying gi thur ma, 310.

\(^{339}\) bdag nyid mi dbang bu mo la spyad pas // klad par seng ge sbrul gyis rtsib logs dang // rayab nas stag gis za zhing mes bsreg la // gshin rjes phyogs rnams kun nas mdal 'phen 'gyur // Ibid., 312.
groves of "spectacle-watchers," including Shalu's secular leaders, called the Kushang. After all sorts of speculations are murmured, a lama named Drubpa Pelwa explains the situation to the assembly. He says, "Master Rinchen Namgyel intends to [repair his situation], which is [that he has] gone against the prescribed rules (bcas [khrims]) of the holy discipline." Rinchen Namgyel is then asked by Butön to prostrate to all the members of the saṅgha and it is recounted that he even bows thrice to the child monk Sōnam Drup. After this, Rinchen Namgyel is made to sit amid the great assembly and listen to a recitation of Butön's A Spoon of Heart. Following this, it is narrated that "at that very instant, the master [Rinchen Namgyel became] devoid of anxiety, fear, and misery, and [his] face became even more radiant than before." Afterwards, Rinchen Namgyel himself solemnly recites devotional verses (gsol 'debs) to his teachers.

Later, during the very same assembly, Rinchen Namgyel is re-ordained as a bhikṣu (dge slong). Immediately prior to receiving his re-ordination, Butön says, "Let [Rinchen Namgyel] receive today's teachings." Following Rinchen Namgyel's re-ordination, the focus of the story shifts to a group of Shalu's lamas who converse about Butön's "public disgrace" (dma' phab) of the monk. Lama Kabchogpa who has grown extremely agitated, over Butön's punishment of Rinchen Namgyel, invites a group of Shalu's senior lamas to his residence for tea to discuss the matter. He opens the conversation by asking his

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340 The Shalu secular leaders are often referred to by the title Kushang (Sku zhang), "maternal uncle," because of their clan's intermarriage with the Sakya school since the time of Tibet's rule by Yuan China. For a discussion of the term Kushang, see Vitali, Early Temples of Central Tibet, 99.

341 slob dpon rin rnal [=rin chen rnam rgyal] pas / dam chos 'dul ba'i bcas pa las 'gal ba'i rgyal yus la dmigs. Rin chen rnam rgyal a'i rnam thar, 49. I have not been able to determine the precise meaning of rgyal yus.

342 de ka'i mod la slob dpon pa kyam nyam nga ba dang / bag tsha ba spobs pa zhum pa mod par bzhin snar bas kyang mdangs gsal. Ibid., 50.

343 di ring [=de ring] gi chos de zhu ba la thong. Rin chen rnam rgyal a'i rnam thar, 50. chos here is likely to be understood as gsung chos "religious discourse," as in a lecture.
guests, "what do [you think about] what happened this morning"? One of the lamas responds:

Oh dear! [As for] that particular [situation involving Rinchen Namgyel], all the circumstances [specified in the Vinaya] from the holy Vinaya tradition are exclusively under the abbot's control, so [what] the Venerable Dharma King [Butön] did [is technically correct]. [Nevertheless, Rinchen Namgyel] is the most highly regarded\textsuperscript{344} among the all the masters. [So] I wonder whether [Rinchen Namgyel] had to be publicly disgraced [following everyone's arrival] after [this morning's] sounding [of the conch shell]. I felt deep sadness [over what Butön did].\textsuperscript{345}

Several of the other lamas present agree with that assessment: that while Butön did act correctly in accordance with the Vinaya, his public disgrace of Rinchen Namgyel was excessive, and in fact, it was decided that Butön committed a "grave fault" (skyon che).

One lama, Dharma Śrīpa, however, who had hitherto been sitting quietly through the others' reviling of Butön, reminds his cohort that the master's behavior can not be evaluated as from the perspective of an ordinary person's (so so'i skye bo; prthagjana) mind, that is, from an unenlightened perspective. Dharma Śrīpa compares what happened between Butön and Rinchen Namgyel to the public humiliation of the Buddha's disciple Ānanda by another of the Buddha's disciples, Mahākāśyapa, following the Buddha's death. By simply drawing such a comparison, Śākyapela invokes an intertextual connection in readers' minds of a story from the Vinaya in which Mahākāśyapa induces Ānanda to arhatship through a harsh public rebuke so that Ānanda would henceforth be able to infallibly understand and preserve the Buddha's

\textsuperscript{344} chos mthong : I read this as che mthong, "highly regarded."

\textsuperscript{345} a mo de ka dam chos 'dul ba'i lugs kyi (=kyi) / tshogs tham / mkhan po rang gis byed pa / dbang pa yin pas / chos rje'i drung nas rang gis gang mthad yin pa la / slob dpon pa kun gyi nang nas chos mthong (=che mthong?) / che shos de / dung bud nas dama' phab yag mthad pa / la dgos pa ci yod bsams / sems skyo lhangs lhangs pa byung. Rin chen rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar, 51.
Dharma Śrīpa argues that Butön's enlightened intention behind the public dispute is beyond the present group's unenlightened comprehension. Śākyapel narrates Lama Dharma Śrīpa's speech:

Do you perceive the Dharma King [Butön] [as] an exalted ('phags pa), or an ordinary (so so) being? [You] have to evaluate [Butön's conduct] in these terms. From our ordinary point of view, [I] believe that [we] must not assess [Butön's conduct because we don't have the capacity to assess it]. Previous buddhas, bodhisattvas, and siddhas also came forth in various modes of appearance that [seemed] ordinary to [ordinary beings]. Many [examples of this] are mentioned in the Buddha's word [collection] and commentaries, and in particular, in the Vinaya. As seen by other [ordinary beings], Mahākāśyapa enumerated those [well-known] faults to Ananda in front of the whole saṅgha and then [Ananda] was expelled. There are many stories [like this]. You are wise virtuous masters [who] have studied [scriptures] as [numerous as] the ocean is vast. Of course you all know [stories like these]!

Another lama responds "damn!" following this explanation, and regrets that, because the masters were all blinded by such intense depression, they all forgot the canonical stories that would have suitably contextualized Butön's actions. All the lamas then fold their hands in reverence toward Dharma Śrīpa, praise the truth he has just revealed, and roar with laughter. Relieved from their uncomfortable state of doubt, the masters excitedly whittle away the afternoon chatting over a "celebratory tea" (legs ja). The following day, Butön confronts the group over missing their classes, to which the monks sheepishly reply with an excuse. Śākyapel writes,

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347 'Dul ba lung. Sobisch writes that the term 'Dul ba lung collectively refers to four sections of the Vinaya ('dul ba lung sde bzhi)—that is, the Vinayavastu, Vinayavibañga, Vinayaksudrakavastu, and the Vinayottaragrantha. Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism: A Comparative Study of Major Traditions from the Twelfth Through Nineteenth Centuries, 37 note 87.
"[I] heard [that] your afternoon classes were cancelled yesterday. Why is that?"

Looking dumb with surprise, unable to muster the confidence to answer, they [stood there, speech-]less. Then, [finally,] master Gyeltang said: "Ācārya Kyabchog invited us for tea [and] during that [occasion], since it happened that we were discussing the dharma [so much], it became late and then we missed [our classes]."

Butön then rebukes the group of masters, saying:

My master, a plain-spoken man, would give [his] scriptural teachings following the sun [as his] measure [for ending class]. Even when passing into nirvāṇa, he died in the act of propounding the dharma atop his throne! I also adhere to that way of teaching—following the sun [as my] measure [for ending class]. While this is [the system that I follow], [you have done otherwise, so] in the future, conduct yourselves like this!

The story concludes with a final statement on Butön's profound and conventionally incomprehensible skillful means:

From that point onwards, all the virtuous masters said:

These investigations into the heart of the Dharma Lord [Butön]—[which has] wisdom like [we have seen], [and which] creates [merit] and purifies [obscurations]—[have shown us that it] is without a doubt [that Butön] definitely has great plans. Therefore, it is not suitable for us to defile [Butön's pure actions] with [our] negative tendencies [of worldly doubt].

As a consequence of that, [those masters'] faith [in Butön] intensified. As for ordinary beings, [they still] talked doubtfully [about Butön's conduct] for a little [while longer].
4.3—Rinchen Namgyel's Sexual Transgression According to Losel Tengyong

Losel Tengyong's retelling of Śākyapel's story both retains lengthy verbatim passages from the latter's text, and also features numerous alterations—some gross, some subtle. In comparing these two stories, what is retained, altered, and omitted from the earlier version? What do these retentions, alterations, and omissions suggest in the context Losel Tengyong's presentation of exemplarity in the *History*?

The second half of Rinchen Namgyel's story according to Śākyapel—namely, the lamas' discussion about Butön's behavior and Butön's reprimand of those lamas—remains largely unchanged in Losel Tengyong's new account, except that this section is now more concise. It is not dissimilar in meaning, however. This retention of the earlier account suggests that Butön's characterization in Śākyapel's account is harmonious within the notions of monastic exemplarity that pervade Losel Tengyong's presentations of monastic life in Shalu's past.

Also imported within this retention is the same hermeneutical fabric employed by Śākyapel to characterize Butön, which understands that the master's actions epitomize the skillful training of others according to an enlightened, rather than a mundane, perspective. Butön's actions are plausible to Losel Tengyong both from a *conventional* perspective and according to their *ultimate* function for the soteriological benefit of others.

This fits in well with Losel Tengyong's wider presentation of Shalu's past in his *History*. An important component of this past envisages Butön, as we have seen in chapter 1, as a fully perfected enlightened being: he exists simultaneously in each of the three bodies of the Buddha, merely enacting his human presence at Shalu for the
benefit of sentient beings, and performing his life in 12 paradigmatic acts like the Buddha. As the world's "second Buddha," Butön's actions as they are recorded in the *History* constitute a compass of virtue.

Besides accepting Śākyapel's portrayal of the inconceivability of Butön's acts on the basis of the latter's exalted nature, Losel Tengyong also retains the mundane elements of Butön's characterization, such as the latter's rebuke of the group of lamas. Following Śākyapel's text almost verbatim, Losel Tengyong writes:

My master, a plain-spoken man, would give [his] scriptural teachings following the sun [as his] measure [for ending class]. Even when passing into *nirvāṇa*, he died in the act of propounding the dharma atop his throne! I also adhere to that way of teaching—following the sun [as my] measure [for ending class]. While this is [the system that I follow], [you have done otherwise, so] in the future, don't do what you have done!³⁵³

Losel Tengyong would have recognized that Śākyapel's description of Butön's strict stance on monastic discipline clearly echoes Butön's voice in the literature that the latter left behind for the monks of Shalu. Consider the following from Butön's *Reminder Letter to the Seat-Holding Khenpos*, his final testament left to his abbatial successors. Very closely mirroring the above characterization Butön, Butön writes,

Because [Shalu] is a monastery that has [run] scriptural classes uninterrupted[ly] up until the present day, it is essential [that you] persevere [in enriching] the teaching [of teachers] and the learning [of students]. In particular, [when] the summer and winter days get longer and shorter, if [you have to] wait for [some] monks who have yet to gather in the assembly, [your] class will not begin on time, so put [both] the assembled monks and unasssembled monks in dharma class [and keep them there] until the class is over! [What is] most important [is that you] focus on teaching—ignore everything else! The dharma-conch [should] not be sometimes [blown] late and sometimes [blown] early, the dharma-conch [must be] blown precisely on time!³⁵⁴

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³⁵³ *ned kyi slob dpon tshad ma'i skyes bu de bka' pod bzhī re gsung ba la / nyi tshod bzung naschos gsung gin yod pa yin / bde bar gshegs dus kyang chos khrī'i khar chos gsung phro la gshegs pa yin / nged kyis kyang de'i bka' sröl bzung nas nyi tshod byed kyin yod ba 'di yin mod / da phyin chad de 'dra ma mdzad gsung ngo // Zha lu gdan rabs, 54–5.*

³⁵⁴ *deng sang gi bar da bshad grwa ma chag pa'i grwa sa yin pas / bshad nyan la 'bad pa 'don pa gal che zhirig / khyad par dbyar dgun nyi ma log ma khad / gra pa tshogs ma tshogs bsgugs na chos dus la mi tshugs pas / tshogs se*
Losel Tengyong's near-verbatim inclusion of Butön's public rebuke of Rinchen Namgyel and the Lamas' reflections on its severity is also closely aligned with Butön's own musings on monastic conduct in his reminder letter. Butön writes,

“If a monk transgresses the conduct [specified in the *Vinaya*], then laypersons will not place their faith [in the monks]. If [in the case of a monk,] a defect (skyon) to the [four] fundamental [precepts] were to arise, [you] should expel [that monk from the monastery]. If it is [the case that] a defect (skyon) [to the four fundamental precepts] almost arises, [then] [you] will have to discipline [him] by manifold skillful means in the manner of intimidating (*bsdigs pa*), disparaging (*smad pa*) [and] ostracizing (*phyir 'gyed*) [him].

In citing the activities of intimidating (*bsdigs pa*), disparaging (*smad pa*), and ostracizing (*phyir 'gyed*), the "real" Butön—just like the literary character of Butön—aligns his vision for disciplinary activities with processes of "subjugating" (*nan tur*) or humbling monks articulated in Tibetan commentarial literature on the *Vinaya*. Intimidating (*bsdigs pa*), disparaging (*smad pa*), and ostracizing (*phyir 'gyed*) are included, for instance, within a list of "twenty-six ways of degrading a monk" mentioned in *Vinaya* commentaries by Sönam Dragpa (1478–1544), Padmakarpo (1527–1592), and by Jamgön Kongtrül Lotrö Thayé (1813–1899).
Recognizing the intertextual connections that his intended readers would make with these sections of Śākyapel's text, Losel Tengyong marked them for inclusion in his History. Here, Losel Tengyong anticipates his readers—Shalu monks—bringing their situated, or "intragroup," memory of Butön's intertexts to their experience of reading the History. Losel Tengyong invites his readers into a "life-like" narrative theater in which they find a Butön they all know well, and who himself performs a characterization that is woven out of Butön's own writings, which themselves form the basis of the Shalu tradition. (The literary character) Butön's performance of abbatial exemplarity is enriched by his resemblance to (the historical writer) Butön's explicit behavioral instructions: the character itself becomes a "life-like" guide or model for the application of Butön's testamentary advice. Acting according to the very instructions of exemplarity that he himself has set out for Shalu lamas, readers are drawn into a narrative theater of Butön's exemplary behavior woven out of the very intertextual fibers of the Shalu tradition, which is based on Butön's writings.

The most significant alteration in Losel Tengyong's retelling of the Rinchen Namgyel story is its omission of all references to Rinchen Namgyel following a higher (i.e., a bodhisattva's) code of conduct. In its place, precisely following the reference to Rinchen Namgyel's sexual liaison, Losel Tengyong asserts that Rinchen Namgyel incurs an offence called a "non-concealed pārājika" (pham pa 'chab med). With these four words, Losel Tengyong offers a strong intertextual connection to his intended readers—learned monks of Shalu, who would be well versed, through Butön's writings, in Vinaya

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360 See my invocation in chapter 1 of the reflections of Vladimir Nabokov on the Russian poet Pushkin, which are particularly apt here in my assertion that the literary characterization of Butön is itself woven out of Butön's own œuvre.

361 Zha lu gdan rabs, 50.
literature in general, and on the topic of non-concealment of a pārājika in particular.\textsuperscript{362} The story invoked with the words "non-concealed pārājika" is found in the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya about a monk named Nandika (Dga’ ba can) who has sex with a woman, but is nevertheless able to remain within the saṅgha.

It is widely asserted in western scholarly literature that Buddhist monks or nuns who engage in sexual intercourse are permanently expelled from the Buddhist monastic order.\textsuperscript{363} As recently explored in the work of Shayne Clarke, however, this view stems from an over-reliance on the Pāli Vinaya, and, all the other extant Vinayas—Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika, Mahāśāsaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Mūlasarvāstivāda—contain exceptions wherein pārājika-committing clerics can nevertheless remain within the saṅgha.\textsuperscript{364} In the case that a monk breaks his rule prohibiting celibacy—that is, the first pārājika—the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya followed in Tibet (and the other Vinayas except the Pāli) specifies that in certain cases, the monk is not expelled from the...

\textsuperscript{362} It is often stated that premodern Tibetan monastics did not actively read the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya itself, but rather only the the Vinayasūtra and its Indian and Tibetan commentaries. See Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too: Ethics and Gender in the Narratives of the they Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya," 26. While this may have been true of the monks of Shalu monastery, they would have nevertheless been versed in Butön’s staggering vast writings on the Vinaya, many of which contain copious amounts of quoted material from the Vinaya. The notion of a "pārājika without concealment" (pham pa ‘chab med) is elaborated upon in Tibetan literature on the Vinaya and Butön himself discusses the matter extensively in his own commentary on the Vinayasūtra. See ’Dul ba mdo’i don rnam par ‘byed pa ‘dul ba rgya mtsho’i snying po rab tu gsal bar byed pa for a discussion of pham pa ‘chab med beginning on 20b.5. Compare this with Jamgön Kongtrül Lotrō Thayé’s discussion of pham pa ‘chab med in Buddhist Ethics, 142–3.

\textsuperscript{363} For a critique of this scholarly oversight, see Shayne Clarke, "Monks Who Have Sex: Pārājika Penance in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms," Journal of Indian Philosophy 37, no. 1 (2009): 4–6. Statements on the pārājikas in the Tibetan monastic tradition tend to not mention the notion of the "non-concealed pārājika." Georges Dreyfus writes, for instance, "The numerous rules that codify monastic life are also central to Buddhist monasticism. Four are fundamental: monks are barred from killing a human being, engaging in sexual intercourse, stealing, and making false claims to spiritual realization. Those who ignore any of these bans incur a defeat (pham pa, pārājika) and cease to be monks." The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk, 35. Mattiew Richard writes "[Defeating acts (pham pa) are] the four major transgressions, any one of which makes one completely lose one’s ordination. These four are: to kill a human being, to steal (take what is not given), to break celibacy, and to tell major lies such as pretending to have attained a high spiritual level." Žabs-dkar Tshogs-drug-ran-grol, The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogi: The King of Wish-Granting Jewels That Fulfills the Hopes of All Fortunate Disciples Who Seek Liberation, 93 note 42.

\textsuperscript{364} See Clarke, "Monks Who Have Sex: Pārājika Penance in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms."
saṅgha, but may rather remain within it undertaking a special status known as the śikṣadatta, meaning one who has been "granted the training" (bslab pa byin pa).

The specifications that allow for the śikṣadatta status over expulsion in the case of the breach of celibacy by a monk are outlined in the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, in which the Buddha's provisions for this exception are preceded by the story of Nandika, who is seduced by a daughter of Māra.365 The particular provision that facilitates the possibility for Nandika's ensuing penance—over his permanent expulsion—has its basis in one of this monk's reflections following his act of sexual intercourse. Nandika thinks,

*I did not conceal the act in my mind for even a single instant.* First [I should] go to the Buddha [and explain what happened]. In the case that [I might still] have the fortunate opportunity [to remain a monk], [then] I will remain [a monk]. If there is no [opportunity to remain a monk], [then I] will engage in the enjoyment [of making love, as a householder].366

The notion of not having concealed (ma bcabs) the pārājika is key to the Buddha's ensuing decision to allow the monk to remain within the saṅgha. Weeping, like Rinchen Namgyel, Nandika comes to the Buddha and admits his pārājika, adding "[I] did not conceal the act in my mind for even a single instant" (bcab pa'i sems gcig gis kyang ma bcabs lags so).367 On this basis of non-concealment, the Buddha addresses the monks, establishing the provision for pārājika penance. The account reads:

Then, the Blessed one addressed the bhikṣus, saying,

365 The account begins in the Stog Palace 'Dul ba, vol. Ta, on 154b.3 and the Sde dge 'Dul ba, vol. Tha on 102a.5. For a translation of the Nandika story, which follows the Chinese and Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Kṣudrakavastu alongside the account given in the Chinese Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya, see Clarke, “Monks Who Have Sex: Pārājika Penance in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms,” 9–13.

366 bdag gis bcab pa'i sems gcig gis kyang ma bcabs pas / re zhi gcom ldan 'das kyi spyan sngar song ste / gal te skal ba yod pa zhi gtu gyur na ni gnas so // 'on te med na ni dga’i mgur spyan par bya’o. Stog Palace 'Dul ba, vol. Ta, 154b.7–155a.2.

367 Ibid. 155a.1–2.
Monks, although the bhikṣu Nandika has done what he should not have done, he has not concealed the thought even for an instant. For this reason, [what he has done] is not a male pāraśīka. Nandika, and any other monk in this kind of situation, should be granted the rite (sdom pa) of life-long training (ji srid 'tsho'i bar du bslab pa).

The Buddha then sets down the provisions for Nandika's granting of the pārājika penance in detail: Nandika must first recite an entreatment thrice to the saṅgha, imploring them to grant him the life-long training out of compassion. A single bhikṣu is then appointed to carry out the formal act (las):

Virtuous saṅgha, please listen! The bhikṣu Nandika, without giving up his ordination, has engaged in sexual intercourse, but he has not concealed the thought even for an instant. The bhikṣu Nandika begs for life-long training from the saṅgha.

Consenting through their silence, Nandika is henceforth granted the life-long training by the saṅgha. Following this, the Buddha specifies the nature of the life-long training itself. The Buddha begins,

A bhikṣu who has been granted the training should refrain from accepting words of respect (gus par smra ba; abhivādanam), prostrations (phyag 'tshal ba; vadanam), rising out of respect (mngon du ldang ba; pratyutthāna), hands folded in devotion (thal mo sbyar ba; añjali-karma) and acts of bowing ('dud pa'i las; sāmīcī-κarman) from a bhikṣu in good standing.

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368 de na bcom ldan 'das kyis / dge slong rnam la bka' stsal pa / dge slong dag dge slong nga' ba can gyis spyd par bya ba ma yin pa spyd kyang sems gcig gis kyang ma bcabs pas / 'di phas pham par ma ayur gyis / dge slong dga' ba can dang / gzhan yang rung / 'di lta bu gang yin pa la ji srid 'tsho'i bar du bslab pa'i sdom pa sbyin cig. Ibid., 155b.

369 bslab pa phul ba. According to Butön, this is one of the ways, specified in the Abhidharmakośa, that invalidates one's adherence to the Prātimokṣa code. Butön writes, "In the Abhidharmakośa, [one] relinquishes [one's] prātimokṣa discipline [by means of] (1) giving away [one's] precepts, (2) death, (3) sexual intercourse, (4) the loss of the root [of faith], and (5) the elapsing of a night [in the case of holding temporary ordination]." (mdzod las / bslab pa phul dang shi 'phos dang // mtshan nyid dag ni byung ba dang // rtsa ba chad dang mtshan 'das las // so so thar pa'i 'dul ba gtong // ). 'Dul ba mdo'i don rnam par 'byed pa 'dul ba rgya mtsho'i snying po rab tu gsol bar byed pa, 19a.6. Also see Koñ-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, Buddhist Ethics, 141–2.

370 dge 'dun btsun pa rnam gsan du gsol / dge slong dga' ba can 'dis bslab pa ma phul bar mi tshangs par spyod pa 'khrig pa'i chos bsten te / de na 'dis bcab pa'i sems gcig gis kyang ma bcabs bas / dge slong dga' ba can 'di dge 'dun las ji srid 'tsho'i bar du bslab pa gsol. Stog Palace 'Dul ba, vol. Ta, 156a.1–3.

371 Jan Nattier points out that these are "stylized expressions of politeness that would be exchanged within the monastic community and made toward monks in general by outsiders" and listed in the
The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya proceeds to specify that a śīkṣadattaka may not (or may no longer) ordain novice or full monks, admonish nuns, or accuse monks for lapses in deportment. Moreover, the trainee must rise early in the morning and open the monastery's gates, wash down and sweep the monastery, clean the latrines, prepare the containers of incense and the incense itself, and complete a host of other menial tasks. While all the other elements of the training cannot be explored in detail here, the śīkṣadattaka, as Clarke characterizes it, "is effectively reduced to a position of subservience and humility, one in which he would be constantly reminded of his loss of monastic seniority."

Finally, after Nandika attains arhatship and continues to perform the śīkṣadattaka training, the Buddha declares that the period of penance is no longer required, saying, "[He] should sit according to seniority, and cease whatever [penance he has been doing, and] should [henceforth be in communion] with the monks in good standing." Pārājika "without concealment" completely replaces bodhisattvic behavior as an explanation of Rinchen Namgyel's actions in Losel Tengyong's retelling of this story in the History. And the presence of this non-concealed pārājika in Losel Tengyong's story

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372 bslab pa byin pa'i dge slong gi kun tu spya' pa'i chos bca' bar bya ste / bslab pa byin pa'i dge slong gis rang bzhin du gnas pa'i dge slong gi gus par smra ba dang / phyag 'tshal ba dang mgon du ldang ba dang / thal mo sbyar ba dang / 'dud pa'i las bdag gir mi bya / Stog Palace 'Dul ba, vol. Ta, 156b.

373 Ibid.


375 Clarke, "Monks Who Have Sex: Pārājika Penance in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms," 27.

376 de rghan rims bzhin 'dag par bya zhing / ji ltar bkag pa yang rang bzhin du gnas pa'i dge slong rnams kyi bya'o / Ibid., 158a.3.
facilitates, I argue, this account's closer mimicry—and hence intertextual invocation—of the story of Nandika as it appears in the *Vinaya*.

Losel Tengyong also engages in a series of small editorial changes that bring his account into a closer resemblance with story from the *Vinaya*. Principally, these changes result in the vilification of the seductress Jojo as a demon ("dud mo"). Losel Tengyong is thereby able to suggest that the woman forcibly seduced Rinchen Namgyel, and as such, the monk finds himself victimized, and in an impossible position, and that a close adherence to the *Vinaya* is the monk's only recourse to perform ecclesiastical exemplarity.

The suggestion that Rinchen Namgyel is forcefully seduced by Jojo is entirely absent in Śākyapel's version of the story. Whether or not this struggle is read as conventionally (i.e. relatively real) or actually real, it is a conflict nonetheless present within the mundane perspective internal to the story, and hence constitutes an exemplary, or modeled, confrontation with, and success over, the problem. The struggle is highlighted through Losel Tengyong's insertions of elaborated details in the character of Jojo. Of Jojo, Losel Tengyong writes, "[Jojo] became attached [to him] and then set many cunning ruses in motion [to win his affection]. Even though [she] carried out [those ruses] in order to trick [him], [his] eyes were not the least bit distracted [by her], [let alone his heart]."377 Here, we see a decidedly vilified portrait of the woman that is entirely absent in Śākyapel's version of the story. Jojo sets forth "cunning ruses" or "trickery" (g.yo sgyu) in order to "deceive" or "seduce" (bslu) the monk. Also introduced anew in Losel Tengyong's account is that Jojo succeeds in forcibly

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377 de sms chaqs nas g.yo sgyu du ma bteg cing bslur byung ba la / spyan tsam yang ma g.yos bar yod pa'i skabs. Zha lu gdan rabs, 49.
separating the two monks, banishing *(phyi rol du dbye)* Rinchen Namgyel's chaperone from her house. Losel Tengyong furthermore adds that Jojo overpowers Rinchen Namgyel, writing, "unable to generate the force [to fend her off], she embraced [his] body."

The practice of vilifying Jojo—which introduces an element of antagonism between Jojo and Rinchen Namgyel—continues as Losel Tengyong folds a passage from a text written by Butön into the narrative, establishing it as Butön's speech—in effect, placing the master's own text in the mouth of the author (as literary character). The new account reads:

Then the Dharma Lord, the Omniscient One [Butön] spoke [these verses]:

> Long ago, in the presence of the Buddha,
> All [of you, our protector deities] who earnestly took an oath to protect the teachings and annihilate harmers to the teachings,
> [Oh] wrathful guardians of the teachings,
> Listen to these words!

*With unobstructed all-seeing eyes and
Completely pure god-like ears that can hear from a distance, and
Trustworthy minds free of bias,*
Because [you possess these qualities], [it is] you [who must] consider whether [it is] fitting or unfitting [to punish my disciple].

*My disciple—endowed with splendid wisdom,*
*A fearlessly confident expounder of scripture and philosophy,*
*An utterly pure fully ordained monk who holds the three-fold training—*
Look how a witch defeated this helpless one!

*Like this, Butön* recited *The Wheel of Slander to the Witch* including [these verses] quoted [here above].

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378 Ibid., 50.
379 dbang ma byung bar dpon mo des sku la ’chang. Ibid., 50.
380 de nas chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa’i zhal nas // sngon tshe ston pa’i spyun sgan mdongs gsol du // bstan pa bsrung shing bstan la gnod byed ba // tshar gcud byed par thugs dam zhal bzhes pa’i // bstan srung gnyan po’i tshogs rnam tshig ’di gson // khyed cag sgrib med ’phrul gyi spyan dang ldan // ring nas gsan ba’i lha snyan rnam dag cing // nye ring mi mnga’ thugs dgongs tshad ma ste // de phyir tshar gcud ’os sam mi ’os gzigs // bdag gi slob ma rnam dpyod blo gros can // lung rigs smra ba’i mi ’jigs spod pa can // bslab gsum ’dzin pa’i dge slong rnam dag pa // bdud mos dbang med nyid du bcoms la gzigs // zhes sogs bdud mo la smod pa’i khor lo gsung nas. Ibid., 52.
The woman is vilified here in Losel Tengyong's new account as a "witch" or "demoness" (bdud mo), and we again see a reference to Rinchen Namgyel's incapacity to fend the woman off. Here he is called a "helpless/powerless one" (dbang med nyid) who is "conquered" or "defeated" (bcom) by the woman. These careful editorial emendations subtly but crucially emphasize the struggle of the protagonist against the seductress.

Just as Śākyapel cites Atiśa's verse, that is, that "there are no other means to please the Buddha / Besides making sentient beings happy"\textsuperscript{381} to support the idea that Rinchen Namgyel acts as a bodhisattva, Losel Tengyong invokes his own intertextual connection to assert that Jojo forces herself on Rinchen Namgyel. Losel Tengyong writes that Rinchen Namgyel's behavior "accords to [the story of the] the Arhatī Kapilabhadra, [who,] although she was free of desire, couldn't find the path [to escape] depending on her powers. Because of that, King Ajātraśatru seized [her] and raped [her]."\textsuperscript{382} Losel Tengyong invokes a story from the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya about Kapilabhadra, a character who mirrors Rinchen Namgyel as he is portrayed by Losel Tengyong.\textsuperscript{383} Like Rinchen Namgyel, Kapilabhadra is extraordinarily beautiful, enlightened, and sexually desireless, and is raped by a powerful ruler. The implication here seems to be that despite Rinchen Namgyel's desirelessness and spiritual accomplishment, he is nevertheless unable to fend off the woman, unable to escape,
and in effect, forcefully seduced.

Likening Rinchen Namgyel's seduction to Kapilabhadrā's rape, Losel Tengyong introduces a struggle essential to the History's presentation of ecclesiastical exemplarity. Losel Tengyong is forced, by the very nature of the genre within which he works, to present each protagonist's exemplarity in some way. And this virtue presented by Losel Tengyong is not of Rinchen Namgyel being noble as a bodhisattva sleeping with women, but rather, becoming exemplary in the only way he can given the situation: closely adhering to the Vinaya—specifically, by following the exception of "not-concealing" a pārājika.

Losel Tengyong's retelling of the story also localizes Rinchen Namgyel's actions discretely at the monastery of Shalu and within its larger political environment. Śākyapel's account, in fact, never mentions the word Shalu once, whereas Losel Tengyong mentions Shalu thrice—and once in reference to Jojo's house, which is described as being in the Shalu region. Jojo is hence more obviously entrenched in Shalu's political world in Losel Tengyong's account. Of Jojo, Losel Tengyong writes that she "was a friend of the lady of the Kushang," that is, she was closely connected to Shalu Monastery's powerful lay rulers, the descendents of the great Ché clan, who protected and supported the monastery.384 These subtle differences bring Losel Tengyong's version of the story of Rinchen Namgyel's seduction into the realm of Shalu's complex religio-political fabric: into the reality that the monastery depends upon its powerful lay patrons for protection and survival.

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384 On the Ché (Lce) clan, see the sixteenth-century clan history or text of ancestral succession (gdung rabs) entitled Chos grwa chen po dpal zha lu gser khang gi bdag po jo bo lce'i gdung rabs and the text's partial translation in Giuseppe Tucci's From the Genealogies of Ža lu in Giuseppe Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, vol. 2 (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1949).
Within the differences instantiated in Losel Tengyong's version of the story of Rinchen Namgyel's transgression emerges an account of a problem. It is a problem of a monk being unable to refuse the advances of a powerful and politically connected lay woman. The solution to the problem introduced here is strict adherence to the code of conduct articulated in the Vinaya. Losel Tengyong's story prescribes that the solution to this particular "life-like" problem is the lama's adherence to the Vinaya's exception of a pārājika non-concealment.

The new story furthermore becomes aligned with Losel Tengyong's larger presentation of monastic life, which envisions strict adherence to the Vinaya as an exemplary monastic characteristic. It is obvious that Śākyapel's reduction of Rinchen Namgyel's actions to bodhisattvic behavior does not permit the character to enact an exemplarity by strictly observing the monastic conduct prescribed in the Vinaya: his actions demonstrate a different kind of exemplarity—but one that is discordant with Losel Tengyong's vision of the exemplary lama. Entirely absent now in Losel Tengyong's story are any explicit references to the protagonist as a bodhisattva. In the place where Śākyapel refers to Rinchen Namgyel as a bodhisattva-mahāsattva (sems dpa' chen po), Losel Tengyong simply refers to the monk as a "holy one" (dam pa).

4.4—Losel Tengyong's Larger Presentation of Vinaya-Adherence as a Contour of Ecclesiastical Exemplarity

Losel Tengyong's History is a work devoted to the betterment of its readers: instantiated within it is a sophisticated program of transformation that is molded by complex and subtle editorial practices. These practices are the result of a powerful authorial force that brings the text in line with the author's own particular prescription of ecclesiastical exemplarity. Losel Tengyong's prescription lies not only within the
History itself, but also more broadly in the intertextual connections that clarify or intensify this prescription. Although Losel Tengyong makes use of numerous earlier works, which are themselves multivocal and imbied with diverse positions, we have seen thusfar in this chapter that these sources are transformed, forced by the author to reveal discrete positions of his own selection. That these positions are firmly Losel Tengyong's is supported by the author's larger presentation of ecclesiastical virtue—a presentation that extends to his own autobiography. Here, we see Losel Tengyong continue to highlight strict observance of the Vinaya as a component of the lama's nobility.

Sexual transgressions by monastics in Losel Tengyong's presentation of monastic life are thoroughly vilified. In what is likely one of Losel Tengyong's source materials, the Ché Clan History, we find an account relating that the third of the Shalu's first generation of ruler-abbots "violated his precepts and then took up the lineage of [secular] leaders." Losel Tengyong's presentation of this in the History borrows the line verbatim, but embellishes it in the following way: "Although earlier [in life] he was greatly learned and virtuous, nevertheless, later [in life, he was] afflicted by the punishment of the desire-realm gods, and therefore, he violated his precepts and took up the lineage of leaders." There is likely an implicit reference here to the Hindu deity Kāmadeva, and hence to the sexual lust that the deity incites with his arrows, like Cupid. Here, Losel Tengyong introduces the degree to which the abbot has became

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385 Chos grwa chen po dpal zha lu gser khang gi bdag po jo bo lce'i gdung rabs.
386 bslab pa 'chal nas dpon rgyud du song. Chos grwa chen po dpal zha lu gser khang gi bdag po jo bo lce'i gdung rabs, 17b.
387 'on kyang khong rang sngar mkhas btsun che yang rjes su 'dod lha'i chad pas nyen nas bslab pa 'chal ste dpon brgyud du song ngo. Zha lu gdan rabs, 356.
ignoble, in effect vilifying the abbot, concurrent with the insinuation that the abbot's precepts have fallen to sexual desire.

The insistence on the unsuitability of sexual intercourse in monastic life finds expression in Losel Tengyong's continuation of Shalu's past in his own autobiography. Losel Tengyong reports an event occurring when he was twelve in which his own teacher, Menkhangwa, decides to leave the monastery and set off into the wilderness following a series of ecclesiastical conflicts (as we have seen in Chapter 3). In his teacher's ensuing search for a suitable place to practice in solitude, Menkhangwa goes to investigate whether a certain renowned cave would suit a monk's isolated practice retreat. He returns disgusted, telling us, "I didn't [see] any miraculous cave there, [only] evidence of yogis and their consorts acting like couples and fornicating! We aren't fit to stay at such [a place]!" The sentiment here is significant because it reveals the contours of what is beyond the realm of monastic exemplarity for Losel Tengyong, and also because it reveals that the idea of religious practitioners engaging in sexual activity is itself actually present in the social world of the History, an idea that is clearly controversial to (at least some of) Shalu's lamas.

For Losel Tengyong—like his teacher, and like Butön—exemplary lamas strictly adhere to the Vinaya. The History's only biography of a (novice) nun, itself contained within the biography of the fourteenth/fifteenth century monk Kashipa Chogdrup Pelbar, illustrates that strict Vinaya observance is a marker of exemplarity, along with other features typical of Tibetan ecclesiastical hagiography: feats of extraordinary learning and realization, the cultivation of siddhis, the undertaking of arduous

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388 brag phug ngo mtshar che rayu cang mi gda' / rtog ldan dang btsun ma khyo shug byas nas bsdebs shul du 'dug / 'o skol de 'drar sdod mi nyan. Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 497.
practices, and the manifestation of auspicious physical signs. We find references in this biography to the nun's strict observance to the regulations outlined within the Vinaya: her inseparability (*dang mi 'bral*) from her three robes, and her refusal to eat—not even soft food—after the correct time of day.

Another instance of strict Vinaya adherence as an element of virtuous character is found in the biography of Khyenrab Chöjé Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrup (1436–1497) contained within the *History*:

At the age of 31, [Khyenrab Chöjé Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrup] arrived on the [abbot's] seat of Wangden Chökor Monastery. He built a new temple there and extensively taught the dharma. There, [he] saw that the novice monks [and] even the fully ordained monks were not correctly conducting [themselves according to] the Vinaya so [he] trained [them] to follow the Vinaya down to the minute details of practice, including [how to] read the [sun's shadow using] a dial (*grib tshod*) in order to not mistake the time of the midday meal and [how to] give water offerings following meals. Thus [he] established the monks in the Vinaya rules (*'dul khrims*).

Here we see the exemplary character of an abbot molded by his strict adherence to time-keeping and water-offering procedures as specified in the Vinaya.

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389 This likely refers to the second of the thirty-three Nihsargika-pāyantika rules for nuns as articulated in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*: "After having obtained the [five] robes and having received the kaṭhina, if a bhikṣuṇī stays apart, beyond the limits, from any one of the five robes for even one night, unless she has permission from the Sangha, she commits a nihsargika-pāyantika." Karma Lekshe Tsomo, *Sisters in Solitude: Two Traditions of Buddhist Monastic Ethics for Women: A Comparative Analysis of the Chinese Dharmagupta and the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa Sūtras* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 92.

390 "If a bhikṣuṇī takes solid or soft food at an unallowable time, she commits a pāyantika." Ibid., 101.

391 *gdung lo so gcig pa la dbang ldan chos ’khor aiyi gdan sar phesbs / der gtsug lag khang gsar bzhengs dang chos ’khor rgya cher bskor de na ’khod pa’i dge tshul slong rnams kyang ’dul ba’i kun spyod ma dag par gzigs te / gong [*gung*] tshig gi dus mi [*]phyugs pa’i phyir grib tshod lta ba dang / zas skom aiyi ’og tu chab gtong ba sogs phyag len phra mo tshun ’dul ba’i gzhung dang sbyar nas bslab ste btsun pa rnams ’dul khrims la bkad [*=bkod*] / Zha lu gdan rabs, 183.

392 The practice describing the use of a sundial (*grib tshod*)—given the Sanskrit equivalent *chāya* in the *Mahāvyutpatti*—requires further investigation. The use of sundials to mark time in Indian Buddhist monasteries was reported in I-ching’s seventh-century *Record of the Buddhist Religion*. Nevertheless, there appears to be no mention of these dials in the *Vibaṅga* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*. See Junjirō Takakusu, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (a.d. 671–695) by I-Tsing: Translated by J. Takakusu, with a Letter from F. Max Muller (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966), 143; and Gregory Schopen, *Marking Time in Buddhist Monasteries: On Calendars, Clocks, and Some
Losel Tengyong's autobiography is full of references to a strict—or what one may call a literalist—adherence to the Vinaya that mirrors these descriptions from the History. One episode that praises this literalist Vinaya observance—here with reference to himself—unfolds when Losel Tengyong is 25:

[When I] reached the age of 25, [when] the year of the earth-mouse [1829] called Künzin dawned, I acted as both abbot (mkhan po) and procedural officiant ([las kyi] slob dpon) and completed the full ordination [of] one set of three [ordination] receivers: Rinchen Tenzin, Rinchen Lungdrub, and Rinchen Namgyel. Regarding this process, it is explained in the Vinaya that the abbot who performs the full ordination rite must have reached [a period of] ten years standing after having himself taken full ordination. But on the occasion of this [ordination] I myself had not reached [a period of more than] five years [following my own full ordination]. Year divisions [in] India [are such] that each time of solstice is defined as each year. Hence, Tibetan years are half [of Indian years], [as it is stated by] many [Tibetan scholars]. Therefore, at the time of this [ordination], [I] considered that ten [Indian] years, which were classified as half [that number of] years [in Tibet, had passed since my ordination].

Nevertheless, at a later time, I thought again that, because it is said for instance that "receivers [of the full monks' ordination], who [would have to have been] twenty years [old] including time spent in their mothers' wombs," would the implication of this verse [then] not be that [Tibetan receivers of full


The reference to the practice of water offerings, chab gton, also referred to as chu gton or chab/chu gtor, requires further investigation. This may refer to a practice that has its origins in the Vinaya in a story wherein a yakṣa named Hārtī was feeding others' children to her own. After taking the upāsikā ordination from the Buddha, the Buddha promises to have his monks provide daily offerings to the yakṣa. The story is relayed by I-ching, who also mentions the practice of painting images of Hārtī on the doors or walls of monasteries' kitchens. See Yifa, The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 262 note 182. Jigmé Lingpa (1729–1798) writes that observers of Vinaya rules may offer handfuls of food to both Hārtī and her children and recite mantras to them in a text entitled Entering into the Path of Enlightenment Taking Daily Activities According to the Unified Approach of Sūtra and Tantra. This text is contained within an anthology of works translated by Tulkhu Thondup in Harold Talbott, ed., Enlightened Living: Teachings of Tibetan Buddhist Masters (Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications, 2004), 137. The practice mentioned here may bear some resemblance to one in a set of rules outlined in the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mālasarvāstivāda Vinaya that prescribes the conduct of travelling monks. The text reads: "At a resting place a verse of the Sage must be recited. When taking water a verse must be recited for him to whom it belongs and for its deva" (ngal bso ba'i gnas kyi phyogs su gtsug lag gi tshigs su bcad pa gdon par bya'o / chu chu ba na chu de gang gi yin pa dang / de'i lha la tshigs su bcad pa dgon par bya'o). The translation here is Schopen's. The Tibetan is located at Sde dge bka' 'gyur. 'Dul ba, Vol. Tha. 1986.1. Khenpo Karthar Rinpoche mentions that the phenomenon of "water gtor ma" (chab gtor) is "[b]ased on the instructions of the Buddha." Karma Chakme’s Mountain Dharma, vol. 2 (Woodstock, N.Y.: KTD Publications, 2006), 382. More investigation is clearly needed here.
ordination] are [actually] half [as many] years [old]? [I] thought that [I] had [made] a grave mistake and then sent a letter of inquiry to the great Vinaya master (dul 'dzin [pa]; vinayadhara) who had the name of Dharma. In response, [Dharma wrote]: "That [point, which you bring up] is explained in the Vinaya to be generally [true]. In exceptional cases, an abbot is allowed to perform [the ordination] if [he] has spent five years following [the taking of ordination] under the guidance of [his] residence lama.\(^{393}\) Hence, [you were] very kind [to have] served as abbot [in the capacity of that ordination]." This was [the response he] gave together with a white scarf indicating [his] approval [of my actions].\(^{394}\)

Following the Vinaya regulations with precision as a marker of exemplarity, as we have seen in the History, is a theme that is also woven through the author's autobiography. Following his own novice ordination, Losel Tengyong writes, "Furthermore, before [taking novice ordination], [I] never drank beer (chang). After [taking my novice ordination], I was vigilant about [not eating] food after noon, and [not] sleeping naked.\(^{395}\) The reference here to eating food after noon is likely a reference to pāyantika rule 37 in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa Sūtra: "Whatever monk should chew or consume hard food or soft food at the wrong time, that is a pāyantika.\(^{396}\) The practice specifying sleeping naked requires further investigation.

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\(^{393}\) gnas [kyi] bla ma. Dreyfus equates this figure with the contemporary "room teacher" (zhag gi dge rgyan). He writes, "The room teacher, who often is not well educated, lives with the young monks in his charge and directs their daily life. In the Tibetan Vinaya literature, this teacher is described as the 'residence guru' (gnas kyi bla ma). A new monk has to remain under his teacher's direction for the entire time he is a novice and for ten years after being fully ordained." The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk, 57.

\(^{394}\) rang lo ngyi shu rtsa lnga sles pa kun 'dzin zhes pa sa pho byi ba'i lo shar ba dang / nged rang gis mkhan slob sbrags ma byas te rin chen bstan 'dzin / rin che lhung grub / rin chen rnam rgyal te bsgrub bya gsum tshan geig bsnyen rdoogs su bsgrubs / de yang 'dul ba las ni bsnyen rdoogs kyi mkhan po byed pa la mkhan po rang nyid bsnyen rdoogs byas nas lo bcu lon dgos bar bshad pas nged kyi 'di skabs lo lnga las ma lon / rgya gar gyi lo tshigs de nyid [=nyi] ma byed thang re la lo ler bzhag pas bod kyi phyed lo byas pa mang bas 'di dus phyed lor bzhag pa'i lo bcu la ngos bzung yin rung / rjes su bsam mno skyar ma btang bas sgrub bya'i lo ngyi shu mngal bshol dang bcas pa sogs kyi zer bas tshig gi shugs las phyed lo ma yin 'dug / thal cha che snyam nas 'dul 'dzin chen po dharma'i mtshan can la dri ba'i yi ge phul bas / lan du 'dul ba nas bshad pa de spyir btang la dzogs pa yin / dmiigs bsal gnas bla ma la brten nas lo lnga nas mkhan po byas chag par gshungs pas khyed kyi 'dul ba'i mkhan po mdzad pa bka' drin che zhes legs so'i kha btags dang bcas pa yang gnang byung nyo / Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 554–5.

\(^{395}\) de yang chang ni snga gong nas ma 'thung zhis 'di tsam nas phyi dro'i kha zas dang / mtshan mo gcer rgyal byed pa la bag yod bar byas so / Ibid., 490–91.

What Losel Tengyong’s autobiography allows for are pithy and forthright reflections, which have the capacity to present the author's explicit and definitive position on matters, that unfold only implicitly through his History. The autobiography hence allows us to isolate and define the authorial voice that manifests within and drives the History's modes of virtuous conduct. In the autobiography, we see a fully developed reflection on the importance of Vinaya adherence that is only implicitly alluded to in the History:

On the fourth day of the sixth [month], [I] ordained both Pelden Chönpel and Pelden Püntsok. Whenever I confer ordination, I act as both the abbot (mkhan po) and procedural officiant ([(las kyi) slob dpon]) at once—never just as one or the other.

From the teachings of the Omniscient One Butön, we read the words:

If [it is] wrong to write down the Vinaya,
Forget about being allowed to recite it [off of] paper!

Therefore, whenever [I] have performed [ordination], I have done [so] without ever needing to look at a book. These days, here in Tibet, it is not like there actually exists a genuine practice of the Vinaya; there is [just] a reflected image [of authentic Vinaya practice]. That being the case, when I say, "I have acted [in service] to the dharma," that is really not an exaggeration!

In the seated ranks where abbots, procedural officiants, and town leaders gather,
The nonsensical talk that is the muddled language [of] the ordination rite, Uttered to yellow[-robe wearing] donkey-receivers,
[This] strange [practice] of making "monks" (dge slong) as [nothing but] names [happens] a lot [here in Tibet].

With regard to myself, I do not possess qualities [of] trustworthiness and knowledge,
Although [ordination] receivers who strive in the three-fold training are rare,
In this degenerate age, the lineage of a new [degenerate] Prātimokṣa

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397 ‘ud gog rang du mi ‘gro ba tsam yod: the expression is difficult to translate literally, and I rely here on Khenpo Kunga Sherab’s oral explanation. ‘ud gog should be read as ’ur shob, which means "lying," "exaggerated talk," or "exaggerated praise."

398 las chog may refer here to the ’Dul ba'i las chog by Karma Trinlepa (1465–1539), which is a treatise detailing the method and formula for monks’ ordinations.
ordination [is] disseminated. These are the ongoings that force [me] to establish through [scripture] [correct from incorrect ordination] procedures.

Through the iron pin [that guides and punishes elephants] that is pure monastic discipline, which abandons the seven [non-virtuous actions].

If the mad elephant of mind cannot be disciplined, [Then] how beneficial is it to wrap splendid monks' saffron robes [decorated] with dharma [wheels, etc.]

A hundred times around [one's] body?

For that reason, in dependence upon [your] helmsmen: [your] abbot and procedural officiant, If [you] stay on the ship that protects [your] five precepts, [Bringing you] across the [vast] ocean [of] the [holy] Vinaya, even [if you are] of inferior wisdom,

There is no doubt that you will attain the jewel [of] monastic discipline.

It is important to note, regarding Losel Tengyong's presentation of Rinchen Namgyel's sexual transgression, that all of the former's reflections on monastic discipline rest

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399 The type of perceptive validity alluded to here is likely a reliance on trustworthy scripture or testimony (yid ches pa'i lung).

400 These likely refer to the first seven of the "ten unwholesome actions" (mi dge ba bcu): (1) killing (srog gcud pa), (2) stealing (ma byin par len pa), (3) sexual misconduct ('dod pas log par g.yem pa), (4) lying (rdzun du smra ba), (5) slander (phra ma), (6) meaningless speech (ngag bkyal ba), (7) abusive speech (tshig rtshub mo), (8) covetous thoughts (brnab sems), (9) harmful thoughts (gnod sems), and (10) wrong views (log lta). On these actions, see Geshe Sonam Rinchen, How Karma Works: The Twelve Links of Dependent Arising, trans. and ed. Ruth Sonam (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2006), 134–5 note 47.

401 yan lag lnga here likely simply refers to the five precepts—bslab pa lnga.

402 drug pa'i tshes behi la dpal ldan chos 'phel dang / dpal ldan phun tshogs gnyis bskyen rdzogs byas te / nga rang gis sdom phog tshad la mkhan slob sbrags ma byas pa kho na las gzhon med / bu ston thams cad mkhyen pa'i bka' las / 'dul ba yi ger 'dri mi rung ba // dpe klog gi chog lta ci smos // zhes 'byung bas chog gang byas dpe la ltaos mi dgos bar byas so // deng sang bod 'di na 'dul ba'i lag len gsham [=gsha' ma] zhi g ni yod yod mi 'dra // gzugs brnyan zhi g ni 'dug / de rayu mtshan du byas na ngas bstan ba la byas so zhes brjod kyang 'ug gog rang du mi 'gro ba tsam yod do // mkhan slob grong dpon tshogs pa'i bzhugs gral der // las chag yi ye 'khrugs pa'o bab bcol gtam // bsnayad nas bsgrub bya bong bu ser bo la // dge slong ming du 'chos pai ya mtshan mang // brtan mkhas yon tan rang la mi ldan zhing // bslab gsam don gnyer bsgrub bya'ang dkon mod kyi // dus mthar so thar sdom pa'i gsar spel rayun // lag len tsad mas byas ba'i rnam thar yin // spong bdun tshul khrims dag pa'i laqas kyu yis // 'sem kyi glang chen smyon pa ma brul na // 'gur kum chos kyis bka' ba'i chos gos kyis // rang lus lan brgyar dkeris kyang ci la phan // de phyir mkhan slob ded dpon la brten nas // bsrung thabs yan lag lnga yi grur zhugs na // blo gros dman yang chos 'dul rgya mtsho las // tshul khrims nor bu thob par the tshom med // 'Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 634–5.
firmly in the realm of the Vinaya, the Pratimokṣa code of conduct, or, as it is articulated in the three vows scheme, in the "śrāvaka" code.

4.5—Conclusion
The particularities of Losel Tengyong's version of the story of Rinchen Namgyel's sexual transgression, taken all together, reveal a problem unarticulated in the story's earlier telling. The History's version of the story presents a struggle, reflecting to some degree, an actual event pertaining to a single monk. The issue is also a general one, encountered, perhaps, by any monk. It is a dilemma of being unable, or maybe unwilling, to refuse the advances of a powerful lay woman—a lay woman, who now in Losel Tengyong's version, is connected with the powerful Ché clan who nurtures and protects Shalu. The exemplary solution to the problem, according to Losel Tengyong, is strict adherence to the code of conduct articulated in the Vinaya. And that solution, moreover, is aligned with Losel Tengyong's larger vision of monastic exemplarity, which features strict Vinaya observance as one of its core contours. Silenced in this new presentation of monastic life are references to the limitless compassion of a bodhisattva, his compulsion to help others by transgressing the rules of the Pratimokṣa. What appears anew, is the story of a monk who strictly adheres to the Vinaya.

What does this study contribute to answering the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter? To what extent did Tibetan monks follow the behavioral precepts prescribed in the Vinaya? What happened to monks who transgressed rules prescribed in the Vinaya or even in monastic constitutions? Can anything be postulated, however hypothetically, on what Tibetan monks thought about, or experienced, following Vinaya disciplinary regulations? While the questions cannot be answered in
any general sense through this study, Losel Tengyong's retentions, alterations, and omissions in his story about Rinchen Namgyel likely reveal something not only about the author's particular vision as we have seen above, but also something about the social and institutional milieu at the History's "moment of inscription." What do Losel Tengyong's inclusions, exclusions, distortions, and stresses—and the theme of the exemplary Vinaya-adhering lama that emerges from these practices—tell us about the author's world?

Looking to Losel Tengyong's autobiography to reconstruct or imagine the immediate conditions that gave rise to the History, we see that the author, in his own estimation, was surrounded by yellow-robe-wearing donkeys and dimwitted abbots uttering nonsensical ordination liturgies. Among the conditions that generated the History in its current form was Losel Tengyong's alliance with figures (such as his lama) and certain Shalu writings (i.e., Butön's) that clearly advocated for a strict observance of monastic conduct according to the Vinaya. It is this world, crystallized in the author's own frank opinions and self-representations, that also takes expression in Shalu's past through the power of Losel Tengyong's pen.

What is clear from this chapter is that Losel Tengyong has successfully harnessed the Tibetan genre of multi-life writing to present a specific contour of the Shalu lama's exemplary behavior. When previous models of lamas' exemplarity diverge from Losel Tengyong's prescription of noble conduct for his intended readers' consumption, he adjusts narratives in careful editing practices. His prescription, moreover, lies not only within the History itself, but also more broadly in the intertextual connections that clarify this prescription and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition.
Chapter 5—Custodians of the Written Word

5.1—Introduction
The most important responsibility, according to the History, of a Shalu lama—what we might deem his very raison d'être—is to nurture and promote Shalu's unique and liberative Buddhist teachings, revealed by the world's "second Buddha," Butön, and his enlightened followers. Interlinked through these teachings in a spiritual lineage (bṛgyud), Shalu's masters preserve the tradition through their passing down of the actual words of the teachings (lung), their conferral of the empowerments (dbang) to correctly practice and realize those teachings, and their execution of the teachings' oral explanations (khrid). A significant portion of the History consists of copious lists of teachings passed on from master to master—extraordinarily detailed and exhaustive accounts of dissemination ensuring to the History's readers that certain teachings were indeed transmitted through Butön's lineage. But these lists themselves testify little to the lamas' exemplarity in protecting the Shalu teachings. Over the next two chapters, I explore two distinct ways in which Shalu's masters demonstrate their exemplarity in protecting the monastery's teachings.

In chapter 6, I examine a spectrum of the History's narratives that portray the Shalu monastic tradition under threat from a host of hazardous forces including armies, harmful spirits, and various other ill-defined "enemies" (dgra). These malevolent agents are poised to destroy the physical monastery itself or the surrounding political regime that protects and nourishes Shalu. Above all, we encounter in these stories threatening forces that pose immense danger to the monastery's most precious resource: its masters, who are responsible for transmitting
Shalu's teachings. Through neutralizing these threats—largely by means of violent rituals—Shalu's masters are potently ennobled as masters who exude Buddhist altruism and compassion, since they safeguard teachings that are ultimately understood to ease beings' suffering. While the chapter 6 is largely concerned with the lamas' exemplarity in protecting the monastery's "teaching holders" (bstan 'dzin), that is, other lamas, this chapter examines a related hagiographical virtue: one of protecting the monastery's "texts"—literally "receptacles of speech" (gsung rten). This chapter and the next introduce a broad hagiographical theme of masters as great teaching protectors, and, inherent within this theme, is the History's presentation of an effective, robust, and glorious teaching dissemination.

At the beginning of his work, Losel Tengyong promises his readers that his compilation will serve to exhibit the "manner" (tshul) in which Shalu's masters passed down Butön's teachings: his History proposes to exhibit "the manner in which the system of teachings (bka' srol) of the Great Being [Butön] was disseminated"\(^{403}\) at Shalu. The text's lengthy and sophisticated account of this system of transmissions does not simply comprise a record of who passed down what teachings to whom, but the History also tells a story, interwoven through its biographies, about how a tradition successfully and authentically transmits its teachings, thanks to its exemplary custodians of the teachings.

Section 2 below examines a series of narratives that exhibit the Shalu masters' exemplarity in caring for books. Shalu's protectors of texts are noble masters who tenaciously safeguard one of the monastery's most precious resources—its written receptacles—through activities of manuscript and woodblock production, collection,

\(^{403}\) bdag nyid chen po 'di'i bka' srol ji ltar dar ba'i tshul du. Zha lu gdan rabs, 7.
organization, and editing. The function of canonicity presented in the History's hagiographies is the protection of the "teachings' continuity" (bstan pa'i rgyun) rather than the prevention of textual change. In section 3, I contextualize the History's narratives of text protection within two of Butön's texts which highlight the importance that the monastery's forefather ascribes to the care of books: these are Butön's Catalogue to Shalu's Tengyur, and a text that prescribes the proper procedures for the production of Buddhist canons. Here I argue, as I do regarding the other modes of exemplarity presented throughout this dissertation, that the virtue of text protection is resonant with a series of discourses found in the monastery's textual corpus, and hence has a discrete significance to the History's intended reader—i.e., monks learned in the Shalu tradition. This section supports my assertion that the History is not only a vision of general Buddhist ecclesiastical exemplarity, but that it is also a guidebook on how to be a model Buddhist master in a specific place and within a specific lineage. Here, readers encounter models of exemplary care for the very manuscript collections that are actually found at Shalu and that comprise the very education of a Shalu monk.

Bringing their situated knowledge of the Shalu tradition to their reading of the History, readers encounter a meaningful matrix of significations that resonates with the literary tradition's wider discourses. Losel Tengyong's depiction of the exemplary

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book-protecting lama lies not only within the History itself, but also more broadly in the intertextual connections that clarify this mode of nobility and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition. Concurrently, this exemplary contour of the lama is woven by the author himself. To demonstrate this, I explore the author's larger presentation of monastic life—which extends to his autobiography—in section 4. As we witness in other modes of virtue in the History, Tengyong's vision of monastic exemplarity articulated in his autobiography is also resonant with the performances of the History's past masters. Losel Tengyong allows other actors (in his History) to articulate and execute a set of particular themes that constitute his own vision. And the hagiographical mode of exemplary book protection in the History additionally features the rare emergence of the author's critical voice. By "critical" voice, I mean condemnatory, as opposed to "analytical." This voice shares some features with what Sørensen terms the "critical or analytic narrative form" of Tibetan ecclesiastical historiography, because Losel Tengyong's condemnatory voice is "by nature less anonymous and reportative" and "the author's mind and personality often comes to the fore." 406 Nevertheless, this "critical-condemnatory" voice diverges from Sørensen's "critical-analytical" voice in the sense that the latter may constitute instances in which "a story to be told is subject to interpretation . . . events and incidents of the past perpetually are scrutinized, queried or challenged." 407 Below, I examine a passage from the History wherein Losel Tengyong interjects to criticize a group of monks who neglect their masters' texts. It is here, in this important passage, that we see the nature of the threat to Shalu's textual

406 Per K. Sørensen, Rare Texts from Tibet: Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Medieval Tibet (Bhairahawa: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007), 13.

407 Ibid.
tradition clearly articulated: it is the misuse and disappearance of Shalu's manuscript collections owing to monks' careless neglect of books. As in chapter 3, we once again encounter a vaguely defined caricature of the despicable Shalu monk, here flippantly disregarding the monastery's manuscripts, allowing them to decay and scatter—an action, which the History asserts, reflects the low degree of importance such monks ascribe to the teachings themselves. Juxtaposed against these "horrible" (ma rungs pa) monks are the noble, fierce protectors of Shalu's texts who assert that the survival of the tradition is necessitated by the survival of its manuscripts.

5.2—The Protection of Religious Teachings in Books
Shalu monastery was one of Tibet's greatest libraries and sites of book production. Besides its Buddhist canons, for which Shalu is infamous both in Tibet and in the west, the monastery housed extensive caches of paper manuscripts and woodblocks in its libraries at both "lower Shalu" (zha mthil), that is Shalu itself, and the adjacent monastery of Ripuk. In Losel Tengyong's autobiography, the author mentions just one collection of 5,505 woodblocks at Shalu that he saves from neglect. Butön's own collected works, today covering 26 volumes and comprising thousands of folios, was


409 For estimates on Shalu's woodblock holdings at both lower Shalu and Ripuk, see the survey of woodblocks conducted by the Tibetan government in 1957: [Anonymous]. Gangs can ayt la bka' dang bstan bcos sgs kyi aleg bam spar gzhi ji lta yod pa nams nas dkar chag spar tho phyogs tsam du bkod pa phan bde'i pad tshul 'byed pa'i nyin byed in Three Dkar Chag's, Ngawang Gelek Demo (New Delhi 1970), 169–243. For a discussion on this work, see E. Gene Smith, "Banned Books in the Tibetan Speaking Lands," in 21st Century Tibet Issue: Symposium on Contemporary Tibetan Studies, Collected Papers, Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (Taipei 2004), 364–81. Smith explains that the text lists 1373 bibliographic items and surveys the blocks of 115 printeries and was commissioned by the Tagdrak Regent (in power from 1941-1950). Also see an article on this text by Françoise Robin, "Note préliminaire concernant les imprimeries non monastiques au Tibet," Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie 15 (2005): 1–25.

410 Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 565.
carved and housed at Shalu according to a number of narratives from the _History_ discussed below. And for source material for the 124 biographies contained within the _History_—itself composed at Ripuk—Losel Tengyong likely consulted at least this many individual manuscripts, many of which would have exceeded a hundred folios. Up until the twentieth century, Ripuk housed rare Sanskrit manuscripts of the _Kālacakra Tantra_ and the _Pramāṇavārttika_ that were copied by the 12th/13th century Indian Buddhist master Vibhūticandra. But with this illustrious collection of texts, comes the ever-present possibility of the collection's neglect or disappearance. While text collections are themselves caches of spiritual merit, and vessels of institutional power and monetary value, the loss of texts also entails the severance of the teaching tradition, and it is the latter concern that is bound up in the _History_ 's hagiographies. Explicitly equating text and teaching, masters in the _History_ who safeguard the monastery's text holdings are ennobled as fierce protectors of the Shalu lineage.

Butön, Shalu's forefather, was Shalu's—and surely one of Tibet's—most exemplary protectors of the book. He is described by Schaeffer as "a model textual scholar and bibliophile." Losel Tengyong himself, following in Butön's tradition (and following Butön's example), professes a great love for books in his autobiography, and draws attention to, and emphasizes, their care and protection as an exemplary characteristic of the Tibetan master in his _History_. Mirroring the _History_ 's other major contours of model behavior examined in this dissertation, the preservation of teachings in books

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411 _Zha lu gdan rabs_, 470.

412 Ernst Steinkellner, _A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, Their Past and Their Future_, 2003 Gonda Lecture (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004), 11.


finds its expression in the *History’s* biography of its *most exemplary* master, Butön. Through the *History’s* biography of Butön, the master is repeatedly praised for his efforts in the creation of a both a Tibetan canon of the Buddha’s words, or Kangyur (Bka’ 'gyur), and the Indian commentaries on the Buddha's words, or Tengyur (Bstan 'gyur), by collecting, translating, revising, and editing manuscripts—activities, as we shall see below, that Butön himself equates with protecting Buddhist teachings. Butön hence undertakes his activities of canon translation, production, formation, and editing not only for the sake of establishing what the Tibetan Buddhist canon should ultimately be, but also for the sake of preserving the Buddha's collected speech and its commentaries.

Ending an account of Butön's activities involving translating scriptures and commentaries into Tibetan, Losel Tengyong equates the master's efforts with establishing the "great life-tree of the Buddhist teachings" in Tibet. Butön is praised for completing the Kangyur and Tengyur by "entirely translating some [texts], proofreading others, and filling in gaps [in the translations] of other [texts]." Losel Tengyong presents further accounts of Butön's activities of text production and protection, often flattering the master with lofty praises. In a section of the *History's* biography of Butön, which commemorates the holy objects that the master leaves behind, Losel Tengyong writes, "regarding sacred texts (gsung rten), [Butön] published

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415 Butön's contribution to the formation of the Tibetan Buddhist canon is one of the few well-studied aspects of the Shalu biographical tradition. See Schaeffer, "A Letter to the Editors of the Buddhist Canon in 14th-Century Tibet"; Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (especially chapter 2); Ruegg, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston rNam Thar* (especially pages 18–35).

the Prajñāpāramitā in 100,000 Ślokas [written] in gold, and innumerable volumes [of] the
 canon of the Buddha's word-collection [and its] commentaries (bka’ gyur bstan ’gyur). 417
In Butön's tenth great act, which Losel Tengyong entitles "a life beyond imagination," 418
the latter informs us that "if one were to examine his actions of publishing scriptures, it
would seem that he spent his whole life writing them out [and] describing [to others
how to write them out]." 419 Furthermore, Losel Tengyong writes, "If one were to examine his
actions of translating the holy dharma, it would seem that he spent his whole life translating." 420
According to the History, Butön was even requested in his
dream by the great Sakya lama Drakpa Gyeltsen (1147–1216) to edit manuscripts for
errors. 421 Ultimately, Losel Tengyong admits that narrating the full account of Butön's
efforts in text production and preservation, through the master's deeds of meticulous
collecting, editing, and translating, would be an exercise in futility. "All that is included

417 gsung rten du yum rgyas ’bring bsdus gsam gser las bzhengs shing bka’ gyur bstan ’gyur sogs glegs bam g[ ]angs
kyis mi chod pa. Zha lu gdan rabs, 30.
418 bsam gyis mi khyab pa’i ’nyam par thar pa. This section begins on Ibid., 30.
419 gsung rab bzhengs pa la bglas nas [=na] tshangs [’]das bri ba brda mdzad pa ’dra ba yod. Ibid., 31. This line
closely resembles the following statement made in the Bu ston rnam thar: gsung rab bzhengs pa la bglas na
sku tshe rangs bri ba brda mdzad pa ’dra ba yod, fol., 25b. In Ruegg’s translation, gsung rab bzheng pa seems to
be rendered "sermons he prepared." The verb bzhengs here is likely the honorific form of skrun pa, in the
sense of "to publish," as in printing and disseminating written materials. Duff provides dpe cha par du
skrun, or "publishing Tibetan texts," as an example of this usage. See the entry for skrun pa in Duff, The
Illuminator Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic Dictionary. Ruegg’s translation appears to render "writing" from
bri brda mdzad. Here I have posited a meaning entailing two actions: writing out (bri) and "describing"
(brda) [to others] how to write them out. See Jäschke, 279. I would argue this line refers to Butön's
editorial activities, rather than to his own compositions as such, particularly since a following line of
parallel construction (in both the Zha lu gdan rabs and the Bu ston rnam thar) explicitly treats Butön's
compositions: "If one were to examine his activities of composing commentaries, it would seem that he
spent his entire life writing" (bs tan bcos brtsams pa la bglas na sku tshe rangs rtsom pa mdzad pa ’dra ba yod).
Zha lu gdan rabs, 31; Bu ston rnam thar, 25b. Here, the verbs brtsams pa (past stem) and rtsom pa (present
stem) unambiguously mean "to write/compose [a text]."
420 dam pa’i chos bsgur ba la bglas na sku tshe rangs ’gyur mdzad pa ’dra ba yod / Zha lu gdan rabs, 31; Bu ston
rnam thar, 25b.
421 Zha lu gdan rabs, 32.
here," Losel Tengyong tells us, "is a mere seed" of Butön's illustrious career of caring for texts.\footnote{422}{Ibid., 30.}

The History's references to activities of editing and translation are coupled with a broader vision that lamas' deeds in making books available to students is an essential component of their obligations in promoting monasteries' activities of "teaching and listening" ('chad nyan), a term that may be glossed as the "[teachers'] teaching [and students'] listening [to teachings]." In Butön's sixth great act, which Losel Tengyong entitles, "how he apprenticed under learned, conscientious, and wise lamas,"\footnote{423}{mkhas btsun bzang gsum gyi bla ma bsten tshul. This section begins on Ibid., 20.} the History presents a narrative wherein book production is equated with "teaching and listening" ('chad nyan) and exalted above activities of meditation. After receiving teachings on the Guhyasamāja and other tantras from his lama, Künkhyen Pagö Rinpoché, Butön presents a series of offerings to his teacher. The lama, however, refuses to accept the offerings, insisting that he has no need for them, and urges Butön to direct his efforts to assisting monks instead. Künkhyen Pagö Rinpoché says,

In place of giving offerings to an old man [like] myself, replace (yang ’jog) [the commentaries] for each of the Yoga [tantras] and the Guhyasamāja Tantra [with] clear (gsal po) commentaries/documents (yig cha)! Through doing this, [you] should henceforth place exclusive emphasis on [perfecting the teachers'] teaching [and the students'] listening ('chad nyan). Do this, and you'll fulfill the wishes of an old man!\footnote{424}{mi rgan nged la 'bul ba'i tshab mar yo ga dang gsang 'dus la yig cha gsal po re yang ’jog grub pa gyis / de nas ’chad nyan kho na gtsa bor mdzad dgos so // de ma mdzad na mi rgan nga'i bsam pa mi rdzogs so. Zha lu gdan rabs, 22.}

It is unclear whether the lama advises Butön here to compose new "commentaries" (yig cha) or replace "documents" (also yig cha),\footnote{425}{The common meaning of yig cha as "debate textbook," is certainly not intended here, since these are either commentaries on, or the documents of, tantras.} through their reprinting, and making either...
the meaning, or the print, "clear" (gsal po). Whatever the intended sense of this passage, the process of text production—that is, the crystallization of teachings in written form—is highlighted here as an exemplary activity. Following the lama's advice, Butön admits immediately thereafter, that if he were to focus on cultivating meditative techniques, he might become a famous meditation master like Mänlung Guru. Following his Lama's advice, however, Butön asserts that he should earnestly devote all of his time to overseeing the teaching and learning ('chad nyan) of monastic life, here in the context of facilitating text production. "Following Künkhyen Phagpa's advice," Butön says, "I continuously emphasized only teaching and learning ('chad nyan), and I didn't have any time for meditation."

The History continues to articulate the virtues of text protection through the biographies of Shalu's masters who follow Butön, focusing now on the safeguarding of

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426 This thirteenth-century figure is mentioned in the Blue Annals. See Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal, The Blue Annals [Deb Ther Sngon Po].

427 Kun mkhyen ’phags pa’i bka’ bzhi ’chad nyan kho na byed byed nas sgom long tsam rang ma byung. Zha lu gdan rabs, 32. The virtue of text production contained within his episode appears to conflict with a discourse found in another conversation between Butön and his lama, Künkhyen Phagpa, which is absent in Butön's biography by Losel Tengyong. In this episode, the lama warns Butön of the dangers of writing down oral instructions. The account recalls that the lama tells Butön, "Writing down the instructions of an oral lineage . . . is like the king descending to the common people or wandering about a village." The lama continues to warn Butön, "After the text exists, the practical instructions will not be sought after, and people will come to know the instruction only by obtaining the text. In the end it will become merely a reading transmission and thus the lineage of the real instruction will be severed." Schaeffer, The Culture of the Book in Tibet, 1. The passage is found in Butön's text, entitled Dpal gsang ba ’dis pa’i rdzogs rim rim Inga’i dmar khrig kyi man ngag yid bzhi nor bu rin po che’i za ma tog in The Collected Works of Bu-ston (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), 10: 31–70 (21 folios) at 21a.2, and appears in Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal, The Blue Annals [Deb Ther Sngon Po], 424–425. This episode appears to denounce the practice of writing down oral instructions, and may therefore be somewhat discordant with the above passage that seems to exalt the writing and distribution of texts at Shalu. We encounter, therefore, something of the multiplicity of views on manuscripts that likely exists within the Shalu tradition, and also something of how these views may be negotiated in Losel Tengyong's presentation of monastic exemplarity in Shalu's past. While the passage is indeed absent from Losel Tengyong's biography of Butön, it is not entirely at odds with other aspects of Losel Tengyong's preservation of the Shalu lama's exemplarity, particularly a certain distain for "rote" learning that runs throughout the History and autobiography. To complicate matters further, as the episode involving Künkhyen Phagpa continues, Butön indeed does provide written teachings to the prominent lama Dampa Sōnam Gyeltse. See Schaeffer, The Culture of the Book in Tibet, 2.
Butön's collected works. Like Butön himself, Butön's collected works are shown in the *History* to garner the Shalu masters' fervent admiration. Künkhyen Sonampel (1361–1438) reveals on his death bed, for instance, that after he studied Butön's texts when he was younger, all he could hope for was that he would remember the master's collected works in his next birth.\(^{428}\) Just as Butön is regularly referred to in the *History* as the "second Buddha," Butön's collected works are referred to by Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473) as being "similar to the 'canon of the Buddha's words' (rgyal ba'i bka')."\(^{429}\)

As Butön is clearly Shalu's own Buddha, efforts, therefore, of physically protecting Butön's teachings become important markers of hagiographical exemplarity for Shalu masters. In the life of Drakpa Gyeltsen (1365-1448), for instance, it is mentioned that this abbot is able to secure royal patronage for the carving of some of Butön's works into woodblocks from one of the Pagmodru kings of Tibet at Neüdong, Gongma Drakpa Gyeltsen (1374–1432), whom the abbot served as a royal lama (*ti shri*). Shalu's fourth abbot (following Butön), Trülshig Tshultrim Gyeltsen (1399–1473), engages in a major project, beginning at age 70, to commit all of Butön's voluminous collected writings—today comprising thousands of folios over 26 volumes—to woodblocks.

Trülshig's biography recounts that after deciding to undertake the project to commit Butön's writings to woodblocks, the master sends envoys to prospective patrons and writes to the wealthy and powerful to elicit donations for the project.\(^{430}\) When Trülshig becomes ill during the mission, he undertakes a series of rituals in the

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\(^{428}\) *Zha lu gdan rabs*, 116.

\(^{429}\) Ibid., 163.

\(^{430}\) Ibid., 158.
hopes of extending his life long enough to see the completion of the carvings.\footnote{Ibid.} Unfortunately, the History reports, an omen emerges predicting the project would not reach completion during the master's life. When a certain disciple arrives at Ripuk and offers Trülshig a pair of silk shoes, an auspicious conjunction of events (rten 'brel) converges, and Trülshig orders his attendant to throw one of the shoes at the visitor's head and banish the latter from the monastery. Stupefied, the attendant does nothing. Trülshig reveals that his disciple's inaction signals that Shalu's monastic community does not possess a sufficient cache of spiritual merit to extend the master's life long enough to complete the woodblock project. Trülshig laments, "I [wanted] to stay alive in order to roughly complete the carving [of] the Omniscient One [Butön's] collected works into woodblocks, nevertheless, the shared karma (spyi mthun gyi las) [of] sentient beings, and in particular, the good fortune of the Shalu monastic community, is not quite enough [to extend my life]."\footnote{Ibid., 159.}

Later, in Trülshig's final testament (bka' chems) to his disciples, the master laments how he has been unable to see the woodblock project through to completion. He reveals that Shalu's benevolent deities did not aid the project as the Shalu monks lacked faith and loyalty. He urges his monks to prioritize text production in the future. He says, "In general, building texts [lit. receptacles of speech (gsung gi rten)] [brings] great blessings (byin rlabs) and merit (bsod nams)."\footnote{Ibid., 163.} In particular, monks should ensure the production of Butön's works, which Trülshig says are similar to the canon of the

\footnote{ngas thams cad mkhyen pa'i bka' 'bum rags rim par brkos ma grub par bsdad snyam yang sms can spyi mthun gyi las dang sgos zhwa lu pa'i skal pa de tsam du zad do. Ibid., 159.}

\footnote{Ibid., 163.}
Buddha's words (rgyal ba'i bka'). Each of you take responsibility for only ten blocks," Trülshig urges his disciples, arguing that taking on too much work will lead to the project's eventual failure. From his deathbed, Trülshig dramatically implores his disciples to focus exclusively on the production of woodblocks for Butön's collected works. He says, "Compared to the great virtue of building other holy objects, [the production] even of just two volumes [of Butön's writings] will bring greater benefit to the continuity of teachings (bstan pa'i rgyun), constitute spiritual works ('phrin las) that are more beneficial than other [kinds of spiritual works], and bring about more blessings."

It is of extraordinary importance that Trülshig considers woodblock production a benefit to the continuity of teachings (bstan pa'i rgyun), that is, the safeguarding of the existence of the Shalu teachings, and that woodblock production is neither exclusively undertaken for the accrual of spiritual merit, nor as a way of prohibiting further editorial changes to texts. Indeed, one of the usual functions of canonization, that is, "to stabilize and perpetuate a single version of a text declared to be authoritative," is entirely muted in the History's hagiographical vision of exemplarity in the care of books. The History equates the survival of teaching and text, and this equation itself is concurrently instantiated in the text's hagiographies.

Trülshig's grand project to preserve Butön's writings in woodblocks, according to the History, would not reach completion until 23 years after his death, when, in the year

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434 Ibid.
435 Ibid.
436 gzhan rten bzhengs sogs kyi dge rgya che las par po ti gnyis 'di yang bstan pa'i rgyun dang 'phrin las gzhan phan che yang byin rlabs che bar yod snyam pa yod. Ibid.
1496, we read that Kushang Khyenrab Choje Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrub (1436–1497) hires 17 carvers to complete the project. Although ultimately unsuccessful in reaching his goal, the History nevertheless establishes Trülshig as a master devoted to the preservation of Shalu's teachings in written form. The History, in effect, presents an account of a lama's failure in the noblest of terms: through his desperate attempts to complete the protect, Trülshig is determined to be a fierce protector of Butön's teachings. The History exhibits this master's great devotion to Butön's teachings, and reveals his skill in the use of impassioned oration to rouse others to the commendable deed of preserving books—an act that is fully instantiated in Trülshig's own life.

The History not only ennobles masters through illustrating the protagonists' commitment to protecting Butön's texts; masters are also concerned with the protection of Shalu manuscripts in general. From his deathbed, Künkhyen Sönampel (1361–1438) urges his disciples to care for the manuscripts that have been in his personal possession and provides his disciples details on where these manuscripts should be thenceforth be housed. Shalu masters also express sentiments of sadness and regret when they encounter destroyed or lost manuscript collections. In the life of Śakyapel, for instance, the master is distraught upon seeing water-damaged texts in an upper room of the small and decrepit Drepün Nyedo Monastery, where the master assumes the abbatial throne and later carries out renovations.

Shalu masters explicitly equate the loss of Shalu manuscripts with the loss of the Shalu tradition. In the biography of Rinchen Namgyel, for instance, the master entrusts the community's texts to his followers in a deathbed testament, equating the texts' protection with the tradition's continuity. He says,
Ripuk's manuscripts (phyag dpe) and empowerment articles being of the utmost importance, shall be entrusted to Pelsang. Shalu's manuscripts shall be entrusted to Śākyapel. If [those manuscripts and empowerment articles] were lost, harm would befall the continuity of [our] teachings (bstan rgyun). It is hence imperative that you not lose them!\[438\]

As I mentioned in chapter 2, deathbed testaments (bka’ chems) furnish the History's readers with succinct distillations of the masters' most important guidelines of ideal monastic behavior. Although these testaments reflect a plurality of viewpoints in a plurality of voices, it is nevertheless the text's ultimate narrator, Losel Tengyong, who selects elements of these testaments and holds them up for readers' inspection and contemplation. And among the many elements of exemplarity that Losel Tenyong allows Shalu's past masters to teach from their deathbeds to the History's readers, is the exemplarity of protecting Shalu's manuscripts for the sake of safeguarding the Shalu tradition.

5.3—Book Protection in Butön's Writings

The History clearly establishes that book production and preservation are important components of a wider template of the lama's ideal activities involving teaching and learning (’chad nyan) in the monastery. Through utterances by Shalu's past masters, in which the protected text and the continuous teaching are explicitly equated, lamas are exalted as champions in the safeguarding of the monastery's libraries. To the learned reader of the History, this contour of ecclesiastical exemplarity harmonizes with calls to protect manuscripts that are famously prescribed by Butön elsewhere in Shalu literature.

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\[438\] ri phug gi phyag dpe bdang rdzas rnams gal che shos yin pas dpal bzang gis gto dgyu yin / zhwa lu'i phyag dpe rnams shAkha dpal gyis gto dgyu yin pas / zags pa byung na bstan rgyun la gnod pas ma zags pa gal che’o. Zha lu gdan rabs, 61.
Butön's "Directions to the Editors and Publishers of the Buddhist Scriptures,"\textsuperscript{439} constitutes, according to Kurtis Schaeffer, "one of the earliest and most detailed works describing the process of editing and copying Buddhist manuscripts in Tibet,"\textsuperscript{440} and is likely to have been addressed to a group of three managers that oversaw a mid-fourteenth-century project to copy the newly organized Tengyur at Shalu.\textsuperscript{441} Butön opens his letter by imploring his project managers—those "who are producing the great treatises"\textsuperscript{442}—to follow his rigorous and detailed advice. Butön explains that his letter constitutes "a request that you work in accordance with the instructions I have given,"\textsuperscript{443} urging his readers to take his advice to heart.

Butön outlines a series of highly detailed instructions for the copying and editing of manuscripts. On orthography, for instance, Butön writes "Please [instruct] the writers of printing-style letters to make [them] small, complete, joined, and firmly printed."\textsuperscript{444} Regarding the text's clarity of meaning, Butön writes, "Do not write contractions; even those [contractions] present in the original [manuscript] should be expanded" and "[d]uring proofreading, [the text] should be read out loud slowly and with clarity by the recitator, and the scribes should certify that reading with the certifier in between work [periods]."\textsuperscript{445} Butön's extensive instructions on proper punctuation and spelling in this letter may be said to underscore the master's insistence that the meanings within these manuscripts be clearly evident to their

\textsuperscript{439} I use Schaeffer's title here.
\textsuperscript{440} Schaeffer, The Culture of the Book in Tibet, 20.
\textsuperscript{441} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{442} Ibid., 149.
\textsuperscript{443} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{444} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{445} Ibid.
readers. Butön continues his letter with instructions for the scriptorium's managerial administration, underscoring the importance the master ascribes to the production of orthographically clear manuscripts: "If [the scribes] are not producing letters both distinct and complete, or if they are not listening to instructions, the religious steward must have a word [with them]." Furthermore, Butön writes, "Kindly inform the scribes and proofreaders of the scriptorium that the fine will be a half a pound of tea if [they] do not come in when the break-time bell has sounded." Here, Butön speaks in his characteristically strict voice that we have encountered above, particularly in chapter 3, through his many writings, and concurrently through this figure's characterization in the *History*.

Finally, Butön ends his letter, stressing the seriousness of the project:

> In short: this is not just writing down some village family's small sūtra. These are the manuscripts of the Nobleman [of Shalu], and therefore care is vital for everyone. Great efforts should go into attaining provisions [for the workers]. Since we will handsomely provide wages and bonuses afterward as befits the qualifications [of the different workers], care is vital for everyone, so very vital.

While Butön does not explicitly outline the importance of these copying and editorial practices to the protection of Buddhism, readers of this letter—learned in Butön's tradition and about Butön's life—would likely understand that these activities indeed epitomize the safeguarding of Buddhist teachings. Activities of text production and editing, as we have read in the *History*, are indistinguishable from Butön's establishment of the "great life-tree of the Buddhist teachings" in Tibet. The image that

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446 Ibid., 149–150.
447 Ibid., 150.
448 Ibid.
449 Ibid.
Schaeffer invokes of Shalu's scriptorium overseen by Butön could well be imagined by a Shalu monk learned in writings by and about Butön:

Many types of manuscripts would have been gathered to the scriptorium at Shalu: some old and brittle, some abounding in spelling mistakes, some in barely legible scribal hands, and some perhaps exquisitely penned in gold ink upon black paper. Some of these would have been well edited and would have required little editorial effort from the scribes and scholars of Shalu; others would have required more drastic intervention.\(^{450}\)

The great transformation of these materials into an organized and a (physically as well as conceptually) accessible collection is indeed a testament to Butön's "great life tree." Butön's Tengyur is a manifestation—situated at Shalu (whether physical or imagined)—of the powerful discourse that pervades Shalu literature about Butön's strong desire, as Schaeffer writes, "to propagate the teachings of the Buddha and the Buddhist masters through textual scholarship."\(^{451}\) And this discourse of textual production and protection, bound up in the character of Butön, comes to envelop and infuse the characters of other Shalu masters who are charged with the protection of Butön's own manuscripts.

The importance ascribed to the care of manuscripts—namely, that the safeguarding of texts is synonymous with the protection of teachings—is not explicitly uttered in Butön's *Letter to the Editors*, and arises, perhaps, only when this text comingles with other texts by and about Butön in Shalu's tradition. In the introduction to his catalogue for Shalu's Tengyur,\(^{452}\) however, Butön explicitly equates the care of texts with the existence and continuity of Buddhist teachings. Here, Butön expresses strong

\(^{450}\) Ibid., 21–22.

\(^{451}\) Ibid., 19.

admiration for those who have safeguarded manuscripts in the past. After praising the
monarchs and translators that drove the translation efforts of the Kangyur and
Tengyur during Tibet's imperial period (7th to mid-9th centuries), Butön extols
translators not only for translating the teachings as such, but also for their efforts in
providing lists of titles (mtshan byang), establishing the correct order (go rim) of texts,
and arranging texts in catalogues.\textsuperscript{453}

Concurrently, Butön reviles those who, following the Tibetan empire's collapse,
came under the influence of the ninth-century, anti-Buddhist monarch Lang Darma,\textsuperscript{454}
and brought about the decline of Buddhism, in turn facilitating the "scattering" or
"decay" (\textit{thor ba}) of these newly translated Buddhist texts.\textsuperscript{455} Butön praises Shalu's
political leader, Kushang Kunga Döndrup, and Shalu's ruling Ché family, for furnishing
the financial conditions that have brought the present catalogue into existence, and
among the explicit goals of the catalogue itself, Butön mentions that it has been created
"in order to make the precious teaching, which is the source of present and future
happiness, spread and flourish."\textsuperscript{456} In other words, the mere act of compiling the names
of texts in catalogues for properly organizing a collection so that it is not lost, is
declared by Butön to be a virtuous ecclesiastical activity.

It is no coincidence that Butön introduces his catalogue against the backdrop of
the standard, traditional account of Tibetan history, which descends from an "early

\textsuperscript{453} Ruegg, \textit{The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston rNam Thar}, 31.; and Bu ston rin chen grub, Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba, 4a.


\textsuperscript{455} Ruegg, \textit{The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston rNam Thar}, 31.; and Bu ston rin chen grub, Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba, 4a.

\textsuperscript{456} phan bde'i 'byung gnas bstan pa rin po che dar zhi ngas par bya ba'i phyir. Bu ston rin chen grub, Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba, 4b. Ruegg's translation is given in \textit{The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston rNam Thar}, 32.
diffusion of Buddhism” (bstan pa snga dar) in which Buddhist teachings flourish amid fervent textual production, into a period of darkness, or fragmentation (sil bu'i dus), in which Buddhist teachings are remembered to decline, spoil, or distort. Butön draws on the typical conceptual oppositions embedded within these traditional historical periodizations—civility/barbarism, orthodoxy/heresy, enlightenment/ignorance, and dharma/anti-dharma—and narrates the story of Buddhism's decline in Tibet through the disappearance of manuscripts. Butön recounts the very history of Buddhism in Tibet in terms of manuscripts—that is, the continuity of Buddhist teachings are directly indebted to the safety of Buddhist texts. As such, manuscripts epitomize the very existence of authentic Buddhism, and their absence signals the true dharma's absence. Amidst this powerful dualism, emerges the cache of Buddhist literature housed at Shalu, neatly watched over by means of a catalogue.

The virtue that emerges from Butön's own self-representation as a force behind the protection of texts is a strain of exemplarity that Losel Tengyong weaves throughout the History as well as through his own life. The concern with Shalu manuscript collections and their preservation is explicitly articulated by, and expressed through, the actions of Shalu's past masters. This type of virtue, presented through the History by Losel Tengyong, is harmonized together with Butön's own words expressed elsewhere in the tradition. This harmonization, as we have seen throughout this dissertation, points to tradition-relevant aspects of ecclesiastical exemplarity that pervade the History. The History not only presents a general vision of Tibetan Buddhist monastic exemplarity, it is concurrently a guidebook that prescribes how its intended

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457 For a recent analysis of this period, see chapter 2 in Dalton, *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism*. 

readers should be exemplary at Shalu and within Butön's lineage. Here, readers encounter models of exemplary care for the very manuscript collections they both find in their midst, and that constitute the sources for their very learning in the Shalu tradition.

5.4—Losel Tengyong: A Fierce Protector of Texts
Losel Tengyong’s own voice interjects multiple times at the conclusions of the masters' biographies throughout the History, showing concern for the whereabouts and conditions of manuscript collections. As I explore below, the author even explicitly addresses his readers, explaining that the History's copious comments on various manuscript collections are meant to aid readers in locating other texts, and, importantly, so that the records of texts contained within the History itself may even prevent the loss of Shalu's wider literature in the future. Losel Tengyong's comments on the status of manuscript collections are hence themselves a testament to the author's own exemplarity of protecting texts, and resonate with the same concern for manuscripts and woodblocks explicitly articulated by, and expressed through, the actions of Shalu's past masters.

In the life of Trülshig, Losel Tengyong surmises that "if one were able to compile [Trülshig's writings] into a complete set (mthar chags) of collected works, they would comprise many volumes (po ti). However, nobody compiled his writings, and his series of teachings is now very difficult to find." Of the master Kewang Tsendra Śrīratna, Losel Tengyong writes, "I myself have not seen [his] entire collected works . . . they

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458 bka' 'bum mthar chags su bsgrigs thub na po ti du ma longs pa yod tshul 'dug kyang / dus der bka' bsdu mkhan ma byung ba zhig gam / phyis du ni dpe rgyun shin tu dkon no // Zha lu gdan rabs, 156.
appear to be scattered." In the life of the master Yeshé Gyaltsen Sharchenpa, Losel Tengyong writes, "I hear that most of the teachings which were published in his collected works were located in the latrang at Gongkar Dorjé Monastery, but I'm not sure whether or not these works are still there these days." Regarding Butön's own collected works, Losel Tengyong offers the following assessment:

Besides those texts that I have seen existing within [Butön's] well-known collected writings nowadays, not included within that [collection] are several [works] that were composed earlier [in Butön's life] in Tropu and in other places, as well as texts that were composed in the Dharma Lord's mind. It is hence said that there are several great texts that could not be included in [Butön's] volumes of scriptures.

These speculations on the existence, whereabouts, and conditions of manuscript collections play an important role in a function of the History, examined above, to serve as a catalogue for its readers for identifying and locating the important works that comprise the Shalu tradition.

On occasion, Losel Tengyong even explicitly states that his History should serve as a tool for readers to locate manuscripts. As Losel Tengyong writes in his biography of Künkhyen Sönampel (1361–1438), "His collected writings do not presently appear to reside here. I saw a catalogue [of] his works, so for the ease of locating copies of his works in the future, I have listed [his works from that catalogue below] in this [text]."

Of another master's works, Losel Tengyong writes, "[I] saw some small pieces of a scroll of [his] record of received teachings that [I] think was [written] in [his] actual

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459 Ibid., 122.
460 gsung rab bka’ 'bum du bzhengs pa phal che ba rnams gong dkar rdo rje gdan gyi bla brang na yod par grags kyang dus da ta ni bzhugs sam ma bzhugs cha mi ’tshal lo. Ibid., 170.
461 deng sang yongs grags kyi bka’ 'bum rnams na de tsam zhig bzhugs pa mthong la / der ma ’dus pa khro phu soqs su mdzad pa’i snga rtson gyi rigs ga’ zhig dang chos rje nyid kyi thugs la brtsams zin nas glegs bam du bka’ bsdu ma thub pa’i gzhung chen po ’ga’ re yang yod ces grags pa. Ibid., 28.
462 gsung ’bum ’di dag da ta phyogs ’di na bzhugs pa mi snang zhing / phyis dpe rayun rnyed sla ba’i phyir du dkar chag ’di yang bdag gi mthong ba las ’dir bris ba’o / Ibid., 119–120.
handwriting. After I found and saw [these fragments], [I listed his works in this text and so] they appear written [here], like this." The *History* is hence *itself* a great effort to protect the teachings of the Shalu masters, and concurrently, these sentiments of concern for manuscripts uttered by Losel Tengyong ennable the author himself as an exemplary protector of the Shalu teachings.

On one occassion, these concerns over the masters' compositions even become condemnatory, or "critical-condemnatory" towards those who have neglected to protect their masters' writings. In the biography of Norsang Rinchen Pelsang (14th–15th c.), Losel Tengyong cuttingly rebukes Norsang's disciples, who were negligent in caring for their teachers' books. He writes,

It seems that [Norsang's] gradually compiled and diverse collected works did exist at one time, but at some point, his rotten followers let a [group of texts containing] important deeds of teaching, debate, and composition composed by the great beings [who were their teachers, including Norsang,] disappear without a trace, just like the sound of a *ganḍi* falls on the ears of an old dog. Having left behind a long legacy of doing this, [all of Norsang's texts] vanished.

The image that Losel Tengyong evokes here with the sound of the *ganḍi*, or wooden gong that summons the monastic community to assembly, falling on old dogs' ears is of a group of disciples whose inattentiveness to protecting manuscripts signals the lack of value they ascribe to the teachings contained within their pages. Like Rinchen Namgyel, in whose deathbed testament the continuity of Shalu teachings is necessitated by the safeguarding of its manuscripts, Losel Tengyong himself makes this

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463 de dag las bla ma dam pa dang la ldan chos bzang ba'i lo rgyus zhib tu ma 'tshal mod / 'on kyang rje nyid rang gi gsan yig phyag bris ngo ma yin nam snyam pa'i shog ril tshal bu chung nau zhiig bdag gis rnyed de mthong ba na 'di ltar bris snang / Ibid., 312.

464 sngon gsung 'bum gyi rim pa'ang ci rigs pa byung tshod 'dag kyang / rjes 'jug ma rungs pa dag gis bdag nyid chen po 'di dag gi 'chad rtsod rtsom gsum gyi mdzad pa ba gang che ba rnam khyi rgyan gyi rna bar gaNDi'i sgra bsgrags pa bzhin du rjes med du btang pa'is lag rjes snga phyi kun tu bzhag nas mi mngon pa'i dbyings la gshegs so // Ibid., 120-1.

very same assertion from a negative perspective: to neglect manuscripts means to devalue the teachings contained within them. It is here, in this important passage, that we see the clear articulation of Losel Tengyong's opinion on the importance of textual preservation.

As in chapter 3, we once again encounter a vaguely defined caricature of the despicable Shalu monk, here it is "horrible" or "rotten" (ma rungs pa) monks who flippantly disregard the teachers' manuscripts, allowing the texts to disappear forever, "without a trace." Above and against these despicable monks are the History's noble protectors of Shalu's texts who explicitly equate the survival of the tradition and the preservation of its manuscripts, in both word and deed.

Losel Tengyong's discourses of protecting books are by no means exclusive to the History, but what interests us here is not the degree to which these aspects of exemplarity are unique to this one text, but rather how these discourses weave in and out of the History and into the History's wider contexts of authorship and readership. Here, Losel Tengyong's critical-condemnatory voice, which rarely emerges to the surface with such clarity, is a valuable piece of evidence to support the notion that the exemplarity of book protection is indeed not a mere haphazard inclusion in the History, but an intentional addition to the author's wider prescriptive presentation of ecclesiastical exemplarity.

Losel Tengyong's critical-condemnatory voice, harmonized with the History's past masters who utter and execute the virtuous protection of manuscripts, also seamlessly blends into the author's own self-characterizations articulated in his autobiography. Here, Losel Tengyong continues to present the protection of manuscripts as an element of the Shalu lama's nobility, albeit instantiated within a record of his own life. The
author's concern for books is mentioned at several points throughout his life. Losel Tengyong recalls leading numerous projects, in which he sponsors, or seeks sponsorship for textual projects; delegates others to purchase new Buddhist canons, or to produce canon covers, catalogue flaps, and woodblocks from handwritten manuscripts; and ensures the completion of incomplete collections of woodblocks, and creates catalogues of previous masters' works. Speaking about one such project, Losel Tengyong writes,

When I was 55 years old, the earth-horse year [1858–9] began. The [four] classes of tantras, existing in 5,505 woodblocks that were engraved by Sachen Kunga Lotrö were recently kept at lower Shalu (zha mthil). All of those woodblocks got mixed up, and were hence extraordinarily neglected over time. After bringing the entire bunch of woodblocks up to Ripuk, we engraved a [new] catalogue, and arranged the blocks on a new shelf. They are [now] in a special, and extremely clean, woodblock storage room at Ripuk. The expenses for this endeavor, all combined, came out to 30 tamsang.

Here, Losel Tengyong envisions himself, as he has done with many of Shalu's past masters, as a great protector of the Shalu tradition, a feat he achieves through the careful guarding of the monastery's manuscript and woodblock collections. Losel Tengyong's own disciple, Rinchen Losang Khyenrab, echoes his master's sentiments on the importance of caring for woodblocks in a catalogue to (what is very likely) the same collection of 5,505 woodblocks that Losel Tengyong moved to Ripuk from lower Shalu. Rinchen Losang recalls how a collection of woodblocks of the four classes of

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466 See examples in Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long on fols. 659, 660, 664, and 674.
467 rang lo nga lnga pa dus kyi pho nye zhes pa sa rta gnam lo shar nang snagar rgyud sde rnams / sa chen kun dga’ blo gros kyi par brkos mzdad pa’i par shing stong phrag lnga dang lnga brgya lnga bcas zha mthil du bzhugs yod pa bar lam par thams cad ‘dzings rkyen la brten rim pas nyams chags che bar par shing tshang ma ri phug tu gdan zhus kyi ka btags =dkar chag; kha bskong?] brkos te / bar khri gsar bsgrigs bgyis nas ri phug rang du par khang dmigs bsal ‘gad gtsang =mtha’ gtsang?] bar yod / de dag gi’gro song yod bsgril gyi Tam srang sum cu tham pa song. Ibid., 656.
468 Rin chen blo bzang mkhyen rab. Rdo rja [= rdo rje] theg pa dkyil ’khor chan po rnams kyi cho ga phyag len du mzdad pa’i par tho dkar chag dang ’bre la yi cha nga’ dzin: thugs rje’i chu rgyun. Dieter Schuh, Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke: Teil 8 (Sammlung Waddell der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin)
tantras languished at lower Shalu, "being without benefit to sentient beings" (gro don med par), but after having been brought to Ripuk, and furnished with a new catalogue,\(^\text{469}\) including chapter titles, the texts can now be easily located by those who are interested.\(^\text{470}\) Rinchen Losang ends his introduction to the catalogue, writing that he is doing his best to render all of Losel Tengyong's collected writings themselves into woodblocks.\(^\text{471}\)

5.5—The Protection of Books in Religious Communities
Exemplary Shalu lamas come to the aid of manuscript collections that are degrading, are feared to degrade in the future, or which do not yet exist. Epitomized in these efforts are a host of Buddhist virtues that, as we have seen, unfold elsewhere in the History. Just as Losel Tengyong's narratives of conflict within Shalu's congregation (chapter 3) are fertile narrative venues within which to unfold the Buddhist perfections (pha rol tu phyin pa; pāramitā), it is also in the exemplarity of protecting manuscripts, amid the threats of disappearing teachings, that we witness masters exuding virtues of determination (brtson 'grus; vīrya), skillful means (thabs; upāya), and insight (shes rab; prajñā). As masters equate the protection of manuscripts with the continuity of the

(Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981). I have not been able to consult the manuscript directly and have relied on a transcription of the text, courtesy of Dan Martin, housed at the following website: http://sites.google.com/site/tibetological/50-tibetan-geo-texts/Home/printeries-par-khang. Martin's transcription is based on a copy of the manuscript located at the Library of the Indian & Tibetan Studies Seminar in Hamburg (catalogue number M IVa 975/1; accessions number 1987.1721).

\(^{469}\) ka ta = dkar chag? Ibid., 2r.

\(^{470}\) Ibid.

\(^{471}\) Ibid.
Shalu tradition, the virtue of text protection also epitomizes a quality of being "far-sighted," a positive attribute, explored in chapter 3, that permeates the *History*.

The fierce protection of books as a theme that bolsters exemplary behavior is certainly not exclusive to the Shalu tradition. Given that Buddhist monastic institutions typically house and create texts—often valuable commodities in premodern times—and receive prestige and patronage for such efforts, it is not surprising that clergy become exemplary as protectors of books in Buddhist narratives. Paradigmatic hagiographical Buddhist protectors are the Buddha's three disciples Ānanda, Upāli, and Mahākāśyapa, who are remembered to have recited the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Mātṛkā (or Abhidharma) sections, respectively, of the Buddhist canon's "three baskets" (*Tripitaka*) during the first Buddhist council.473 After the recitation of the sūtras and the Vinaya, Mahākāśyapa expresses the importance of textual transmission, with specific reference to his forthcoming recitation of the Mātṛkā:

> For the sake of those men who will hereafter wish for wisdom and who will follow whatever letter there be, for the sake of those who will delight in the essence of the doctrine...why, I myself will expound the Mātṛkā to preserve the sense of the Sūtranta and Vinaya as it was spoken.474

Completing the recitation of the entire canon, Mahākāśyapa reflects that "he had done all that was necessary for the preservation of the doctrine to future generations," and,


474 Ibid., 160. Diacritics altered from Rockhill’s translation.
in preparation for his own death, entrusts the Buddha's teachings to Ānanda.\textsuperscript{475} Mahākāśyapa says, "Ānanda, the Blessed One committed to my care the keeping of the doctrine, and passed away. Now, when I shall have passed away, thou shalt take care of the doctrine."\textsuperscript{476} Albeit without paper, ink, and woodblocks, recitation, too, is a technology employed for the preservation of Buddhist teachings. What is common between the \textit{History} and the \textit{Vinaya} here are the important literary intersections of text (written or recited), teaching, lineage, and virtuous master. Altogether, these intersections may signal the very broad outlines of a pan-Buddhist template of hagiographical exemplarity in the care of texts.\textsuperscript{477}

Even beyond Buddhist literature, one finds close parallels to Losel Tengyong's virtues of book care in medieval Christian monasticism. A monk's account of the Bavarian Wessobrunn Monastery written in 1513 describes a former nun Diemudis copying out "with her own hand many volumes in a most beautiful and legible character, both for divine service and for the public library of the monastery."\textsuperscript{478} The monk praises the nun's efforts for copying out the books "for the use and ornament of divine service," and mentions that her books "adorned the library."\textsuperscript{479} In enumerating the nun's books that remain at the monastery's library, the monk explains that many have disappeared, owing not only to two fires, but, mirroring Losel Tengyong, because

\textsuperscript{475} Ibid., 161.
\textsuperscript{476} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{477} See the extensive study of a seventeenth-century monastic project to commit Buddhist scriptures to woodblocks under the direction of the Zen master Tetsugen Dōkō in Helen J. Baroni's \textit{Iron Eyes: The Life and Teachings of Ōbaku Zen Master Tetsugen Dōkō} (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2006).
\textsuperscript{479} Ibid.
of "the negligence and sloth of subsequent monks." In another medieval text, from the monastery of Saint Martin in Flanders, an eleventh-century abbot praises a prior for his "utmost pains" in promoting book preservation, and clearly mimics Butön's own diligence in carefully editing manuscripts. The abbot praises the prior's facilitation of a preservation project: "If you had gone into the cloister, you might in general have seen a dozen young monks sitting on chairs in perfect silence, writing at tables carefully." After listing the books that were "diligently transcribed" and installed in the monastery's library, the abbot reflects, "You would scarcely have found such a library at any monastery in that part of the country, and everybody was begging for our copies to correct their own."

5.6—Conclusion
Although the exemplarity of book protection is present within a wide variety of the world's monastic literature, this theme is neither a haphazard inclusion in the History, nor is it insignificant (or only significant in some broad way) to the History's readers. Book protection was clearly a major concern for Losel Tengyong: it preoccupied his life, and he does not soften or silence his views on the importance of book protection in his History. On the contrary, the care of books is a noble theme marked for inclusion in Losel Tengyong's prescriptive presentation of ecclesiastical exemplarity instantiated within the History's narratives. This contour of the Shalu lamas' nobility reflects the

480 Ibid., 81.
481 Ibid., 78. The passage was originally published in Maitland's The Dark Ages, 413–14.
482 Ibid.
immediate context that has given rise to the History: an author who spends his life safeguarding the very same textual collections that are narrated within the History.

This virtue that Losel Tengyong weaves throughout his History is significant to the History's readers because it mirrors Butön's own self-representations and writings. The character of Butön, again, becomes Losel Tengyong's conduit for the explication of the virtues that are contained within Butön's œuvre. In doing so, the History not only presents a general vision of Tibetan Buddhist monastic exemplarity; it is concurrently a guidebook that prescribes how its intended readers should be exemplary at Shalu and within Butön's lineage.

The History's intended community of readers read with a shared memory, or "intragroup memory" that features a kind of "situated knowledge"—a kind of memory that is "rooted in real places, states of embodiment, and felt relations with others." Shalu's masters become exemplary not only through protecting manuscripts in general, but particularly through preserving the very same materials that readers physically find around them, in which they are learned, and with which they are charged by the tradition to protect. What is presented here is a tradition-specific element of exemplarity that is also clearly meaningful to the author himself.

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Chapter 6—Guardians of the Monastery

6.1—Introduction

When the Orientalist, Tibetanist, and Lieutenant Colonel of the British Army, Laurence Austine Waddell (1854–1938) visited Shalu Monastery during his 1903–4 journey to Tibet, he published the following impression:

[Shalu] has a great repute for black magic. In it there is an underground cave, in which a man is shut up for twelve years, during which time he tries to acquire magical powers by chanting Indian spells and incantations, and silly stories are seriously related of the miracles which happen. At the end of the twelve years he notifies his desire to return to the upper world by blowing upon his human thighbone trumpet. On the first blast all his belongings are blown to the surface in a miraculous way through a small orifice like a keyhole. With the second blast he emerges himself by an equally small hole, in the well-known cross-legged attitude of Buddha. He is then examined to ascertain if he has acquired the recognized magical powers of casting no shadow, ability to sit on the top of a pyramid of barley grain without displacing a single seed, flying in the air, etc. But, added our informants dolefully, very few ever succeed in passing these tests, although there are many who try.  

While these descriptions bear little resemblance to the rituals described in Shalu's literature, at least in the literature examined in this chapter, what is perhaps accurate about Waddell's account is simply the fame that Shalu held across Tibet as a place of tremendous ritual power. For Waddell, reports of Shalu's ritual practices contributed to what he perceived as Tibetan's gross misinterpretation of Indian Buddhism. He writes,

The evolution of so repulsive a form of religious observance offers, it seems to me, another instance of the mistaken and mechanical way in which the semi-savage Tibetans, sunk in the depths of ignorance, try to imitate the rites and practices of Indian Buddhism, which is their great model of orthodoxy, but which the great majority of their priests so imperfectly understand.  

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485 Ibid., 241.
While for Waddell, stories of paranormal feats signaled the degenerate nature of Shalu's religious practices, Losel Tengyong's accounts of supernatural achievements—written just seventy years before Waddell's visit—serve to highlight the enlightened wisdom of Shalu's masters. Stories of Shalu's lamas' supernormal abilities, known as "accomplishments" (dngos grub; siddhi) and innate powers akin to "sorcery" (mthu) mark these characters' non-ordinary spiritual status, and in doing so, present an important feature of the History's pattern of exemplarity: the coalescence of spiritual advancement and extraordinary means. It is, above all, narratives of masters' annihilation of malevolence directed towards the monastic community that draws out this exemplary coalescence.

It is not only monks' neglect of manuscript collections that brings harm to Shalu's teachings. The History also recalls that a host of malevolent forces relentlessly threatens the monastic tradition. These malevolent forces, often explicitly called Shalu's enemies (dgra), may either be in the form of human beings or spirits. And the nobility of masters as protectors of the teachings is defined through narratives that illustrate masters' extraordinary power in protecting the monastery from its enemies. These enemies typically pose some vague threat to the monastery itself, its lamas, or the political region of Shalu upon whose military and financial security the monastery depends. In the History, the Shalu region's lay rulers may take to arms to eradicate opposing forces, while the monastery's lamas annihilate enemies and neutralize threats by means of miraculous feats undertaken alone, or through the help of protector deities, who are summoned by rituals.

Below, I outline the contours of the lamas' exemplarity in protecting the tradition through their annihilation of threats, and I explore the implications of this exemplary
type of behavior. Firstly, I examine narratives that portray lamas defending the monastery themselves, through their power, sometimes explicitly referred to as mthu, which is often translated as "sorcery," or "black magic." Masters are ennobled through narratives that draw attention to their astounding, and sometimes dangerous, power, which is albeit carefully controlled for the purposes of institutional betterment.

Secondly, I examine lamas who, instead of fending off threats to the monastery or monastic tradition themselves, solicit the assistance of Shalu's fierce protector deities or "dharma protectors" (chos skyong) through rituals. These rituals, when specified, typically employ "ritual cakes," or torma (gtor ma), to request the assistance of Shalu's dharma protectors in the annihilation of the tradition's enemies. Although the deities ultimately safeguard the monastery, the masters are nevertheless ennobled because the History's narratives demonstrate the lamas' innate capacity to effectively control these dangerous and powerful protectors.

Thirdly, I contextualize these narratives within a range of ritual literature from Shalu, and argue that the virtue of Shalu's masters in protecting the monastery through eliciting help from deities is a tradition-specific contour of exemplarity. I suggest that masters who successfully defend the monastery from harm are not only understood by the History's learned readers to have mastered Shalu's ritual curriculum, but they are also imagined by readers to be favored by the particular host of deities specific to the monastery. In other words, I argue that Losel Tengyong selects a thread

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486 This word overlaps in meaning with several others, such as drag (ferocity) of the "four actions" of Tibetan "mundane" rituals—pacification (zhi), augmentation (rgyas), subjugation (dbang), and ferocity (drag). For a short description of these four actions, see Bryan J. Cuevas, "The 'Calf's Nipple' (Be'u Bum) of Ju Mipam (Ju Mi 'pham): A Handbook of Tibetan Ritual Magic," in Tibetan Ritual, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 168. According to Cuevas, although similar to drag, the term mthu "explicitly connotes something malevolent, an evil action of the sort we might more easily recognize as witchcraft." Ibid., 185 note 32. Cuevas also points out that the distinction between mthu and another word for "black magic," mngon spyod, is not entirely clear. Ibid.
of virtue out of his source materials that is not only commendable in a Tibetan Buddhist sense, but one that epitomizes virtue at Shalu monastery in particular. Shalu's masters are exemplary within the confines of what is expected of, or imagined about, the propitiation of the monastery's deities according to Shalu's wider literature.

Fourthly, I examine the theme of violence that unfolds through these narratives and reflect upon the role it plays in the History's hagiographies. I argue that the hagiographies draw on Buddhist literary notions of "compassionate violence," and that this specific form of violence plays a crucial role in ennobling ecclesiastical masters.

Finally, I examine how our author, Losel Tengyong, transforms the character of Butön, Shalu's most exemplary master, into a great protector through folding one of Butön's own compositions on deity protection into the History. And just as Losel Tengyong transforms others into ideal protectors in the History's past, he moulds his own self-representation in the same way in his autobiography.

6.2—Fending Off Threats
It is quite rare for the masters of Shalu to protect the monastery from malevolent forces themselves, without the assistance of deities, although this does indeed occur in the History. In the life of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltser (1399–1473), one of the monastery's fiercest protectors, we encounter a narrative wherein the master comes under a series of attacks from the protector deities of Drepung and Sera monasteries. The narratives highlight the master's power in combating the deities, preemptively neutralizing their threats to his own lineage—in effect, subjugating them. In a dream, Trülshig emanates himself as the deity Hayagrīva (Rta mgrin) with an enormous body, and three faces and six arms, in order to subdue a particular protector deity of Drepung monastery. The
opposing spirit mimics Trülshig's transformation, also emanating himself as an enormous Hayagrīva. Trülshig then grows larger, with his feet expanding down to the golden lower stratum that rests beneath the traditional Buddhist world system (gsa gzhi; kāñcanamayī prthivi), and his head reaching up as far as the form realm (gzugs khams; rūpadhātu). The competition continues, with Drepung's dharma protector precisely doubling Trülshig's show of miraculous strength. In an unexpected move, Trülshig shrinks down to the size of a tenth of a sesame seed and burrows into his enemy's heart, causing the enormous being to cry out in excruciating pain. As the winner of the great cosmic struggle, Trülshig is offered an oath (bro) by his enemy, that the latter will "never inflict harm within the Lord's lineage of disciples." The harm to Shalu here—specifically to one of its lineages—is conceptualized as potential, but not immediate. It is directly through the master's power that he is able to preemptively neutralize harm to Shalu by subjugating a possible future enemy.

This narrative bears some resemblance to the Buddhist tantric Rudra-taming myth found in the Compendium of Intentions Sutra (Dgongs pa ‘dus pa’i mdo), an Anuyoga tantra specific to the Nyingma school, which, according to Jacob Dalton, has profoundly impacted the narrative themes and imagery of Tibetan historical writing as well as the ways in which Tibetans have reflected upon violent rituals. A resemblance to the short narrative here in the History is seen in chapter 25 of the Rudra-taming myth, in which Hayagrīva, after being threatened by Rudra, feigns retreat only to transform into

487 Zha lu gdan rabs, 143.
488 See the entire narrative on Ibid., 142-3.
490 See Ibid. The myth itself is summarized on 19–22 and translated in full in Appendix A: The Subjugation of Rudra, 159–206.
a piece of food desired by Rudra. Upon the latter's consumption of the food, Hayagrīva bursts through the top of Rudra's head and the soles of his feet, causing Rudra—like our Drepung dharma protector—to cry out in excruciating pain, being prepared for final subjugation. Perhaps even more alike is a scene in the Rudra-taming myth wherein a wrathful heruka buddha defeats Rudra through imitating the latter's form: "Rudra shouts his spell, 'Rulu-ruulu bhyo,' and mutates 'into a wrathful appearance with three heads, six arms, and four legs.' To which the buddha responds by imitating Rudra's appearance and replying, 'Rulu-ruulu hūṃ bhyo.'" As Rudra is an epithet of the god Śiva, Dalton argues that, at least from one perspective, the Rudra-taming myth proclaims Buddhism's superiority over Brahmanism. But Dalton also writes that the myth provides "a model for subsequent rituals of demon taming." The resemblance of this myth to Trülshig's battle with the Drepung dharma protector not only draws attention to Trülshig's buddhahood, but the mimicry also firmly establishes that Trülshig only executes violence which is ultimately understood to be compassionate and just. Trülshig's battle here in the History is a localized and ecclesiastical adaptation of a myth that epitomizes "the prototypical act of violent demon subjugation at a cosmological level." The narrative likeness between Trülshig's battle and the Rudra-taming myth intensifies and clarifies Trülshig's ecclesiastical exemplarity of protecting the monastery against opposing forces.

491 See ibid., 20, 176.
492 Ibid., 37. See the full passage on 188.
493 Ibid., 36.
494 Ibid.
495 Ibid., 61.
Another master of Shalu who directly protects the tradition from harm is one of Shalu's great ritualists, Sotön Śākyapel. Born into the family of So, a lineage that descends from one of three "kings" of the ngakpas (sngags pa)—in this case non-monastic tantrikas—Śākyapel inherits his father's profession of protecting crops from hailstones. Śākyapel is an example of a master who brings the "extra-monastic" training he received from his powerful family lineage into monastic life and ecclesiastical matters. Losel Tengyong devotes extensive attention to Śākyapel's early life and to the exhibition of the powerful ritual practices that are passed down through Śākyapel's family. I argue that Losel Tengyong does this in order to bolster the master's exemplarity—illuminating how he draws upon a powerful "extra-monastic" base of power and enacts that power, as a great ecclesiastical protector, within the monastic sphere.

A crucial moment in the life of Śākyapel is the master's conversation with his father on the latter's deathbed. Just before he dies, Śākyapel's father, Sotön Chökyongpel, hands Śākyapel his inheritance, which is a "container of mantra substances" (thun gdung). The container, or "magic box," is filled with a number of different substances (thun) that have been "ritually activated" by means of different mantras, as well as a book. Handing over the container, Śākyapel's father impresses upon his son the extraordinary power of the substances. He says, "Now don't think of...

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496 Sotön Śākyapel's biography reads "As for his [i.e., Śākyapel's] father, [he] was born in a pure lineage (rigs rus), that was called So, which was one [lineages that has descended] from among the three kings of the ngagspas: So, Zur and Nubs—the lineages of the Old Tantras" ('di'i yab ni sngags rnying ma'i gdung rayud so zur nubs gsum sngags pa'i rgyal por graqs pa'i nang nas so zhes bya ba'i rigs rus dri ma med par 'khrungs). Ibid., 123. On the So of the So, Zur, and Nubs trio, see Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las. Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002), 2063.

497 The contents of this container, which are extremely difficult to translate, are listed in Zha lu gdan rabs, 127, followed in the text by a description of their powers. It appears that in addition to a blue book, the box contains materials (thun) such as stones and seeds which have been ritually activated by the uttering of various mantras. The thun gdung itself appears to be decorated with a scorpion and a frog.
these things that I'm giving to you as your inheritance to be small.\textsuperscript{498} The father proceeds to outline the powers of the substances. He says,

> The power and blessings of this container of magical articles are superior to a major monastery. Even just one single mustard seed of these mantra-enhanced substances (\textit{sngags thun}), are enough to crack open the heads of your enemies like an \textit{adzra} plant. [They] are incomparable to [other] wrathful actions. These [things] can destroy demons (\textit{byung po}) that inflict harm.\textsuperscript{499}

The father encourages Śākyapel to take extraordinary care with the powerful articles, explaining that they surpass the power of an entire army, and that they have the capacity to tame enemies and protect relatives, and to make the poor rich. Importantly, the father admits to Śākyapel that the son will surpass the father in effectively using the substances, and the \textit{History} hence draws attention to Śākyapel's innate power. After his warnings, encouragements, and explanations, the father propels his consciousness into a pure realm (in a practice known as "ejection" or \textit{phowa }[\textit{pho ba}]), and passes away.\textsuperscript{500} The son, following in his father's footsteps, subsequently takes up the occupation of protecting fields from hailstones, receiving further precious and powerful ritual substances and instructions from his mother. And the \textit{History} vividly portrays the young Śākyapel pushing back storms from the fields with the mere pointing of his finger.\textsuperscript{501}

Śākyapel's early life is important in the \textit{History} because it establishes the master's astonishing nature, a nature including innate powers that are superior even to those of his father—the holder of a very powerful lineage of teachings. Śākyapel's

\textsuperscript{498} \textit{da khyod la pha phogs su gtad pa 'di chung bsam pa ma byed. Zha lu gdan rabs}, 128.

\textsuperscript{499} \textit{thun dong nag po 'di'i nus mthu dang byin rlaus chos sde chen po gcig las lhag ga mam no / sngags thun 'di'i yungs 'bru re res kyang dgra bgegs kyi mgo a rdza ka'i dog pa bzhin 'gas par byed / drag po'i las la thogs med la 'di rnams kyiis gnod byed 'byung po thams cad rlag par byed pa. Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{500} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{501} Ibid.
special nature is first elaborated upon in a series of dreams that befall his mother during the master's gestation in her womb. At first her dreams reveal that her womb is filled with a maṇḍala of Vajrapāṇi and then of blazing light. The father at first dismisses the dreams as insignificant, but following the mother's third dream, wherein her womb is full of prostrating offering-givers, the father reveals that he once received a prophecy from a lama that his child would be a great bodhisattva. For this reason, the lama once instructed the father to refrain from taking monastic ordination and lead the life of a layman in order to produce this miraculous offspring.

Śākyapel's special nature is further elaborated in the master's childhood. We read in the History that as small child, Śākyapel has no interest in games and play, only in meditation. On one occasion, the father finds his young son preaching the dharma to a group of frogs on a riverbed. Fully imbued with compassion, the young child is named Great Bodhisattva (Chang chub sems dpa' chen po), and observing the boy's compassionate deeds leads the father to quell his fierce temper and refrain from rousing his powers to bring down hail stones on his enemies' fields. When the young boy first attends a Buddhist ritual with his uncle, Śākyapel has a series of extraordinary visions of meditation deities which result in the latter's immersion in "uncontaminated samādhi" (zag med kyi ting nge 'dzin). Śākyapel emerges from the visions possessing "wisdom in all objects of knowledge about which he need not ask others." Already embedded in his early life, hence, Śākyapel possess the potential to be an exemplary Buddhist master: he is possessed of great wisdom, meditative prowess, and extraordinary insight.

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502 The narration of the series of dreams is found in Ibid., 124.
503 The episode starts at the beginning of Zha lu gdan rabs, 125.
504 Ibid., 125.
505 shes bya thams cad la gzhan dring mi 'jog pa'i thugs rab. Ibid.
This potentiality is coupled with the admittance of his father, that the son is destined to be a more impressive ritual master than himself. Śākyapel appears to have a better grasp on the dangerous family teachings and mighty substances than his powerful father.

This profound ritual prowess would serve Śākyapel well in the monastery. In elucidating Śākyapel's great control over his family's dangerous teachings, coupled with elaborations on the family's great powers, Losel Tengyong, in effect, reveals the power that fuels Śākyapel's exemplarity and makes him an ecclesiastical protector. The extra-monastic and innate power transmute into the ideal of ecclesiastical protection in several ways in the History. The crucial moment of this transmutation occurs when the young Śākyapel first encounters Butön and the latter delivers the boy a prophecy, telling him that he is destined to become Shalu's great protector. The History narrates that when Śākyapel comes to listen to Butön's teachings at Ripuk as a child, the latter notices the boy in the audience and requests his presence at the lama's residence. Aged now, and using a walking stick, Butön tells Śākyapel that he is unable to house the child at the monastery permanently, perhaps knowing this is not the boy's destiny. "Nevertheless," Butön tells him, "because it is the case that you are a great being, protect this monastery even if it were reduced to a heap of ashes!"

Later in his life, Śākyapel relates, "I am fiercely loyal to the Shalu community. I serve [them] however I can. This action is the order (bka') of the Wise Lord, Butön the Great!"

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506 'on kyang nyid cag sms can chen po gcig yin gda' bas / sde 'di thal khung du song yang skyong mdzad cig. Ibid., 127.

507 nged zhwa lu par lhag par zhen che zhing zhabs tog gang 'grub byed pa 'di / mkhyen rab dbang phyug bu ston chen po'i bka' yin. Ibid.
After Śākyapel takes monastic ordination, and trains as a monk under Rinchen Namgyel, Butön's successor, Śākyapel saves Shalu from a freak shower of hailstones that fall out of the blue sky and pelt the monastery. Amid the storm, a number of people perform divinations to unearth a solution, but only upon throwing dice does a nun reveal that Śākyapel alone can offer the necessary protection, and organizes a series of offerings for the monk. Predictably, Śākyapel neutralizes the dangerous hail storm. In another story (encountered in chapter 3) in the biography of the abbot Drakpa Gyeltsen, it is Śākyapel who is given credit for saving the monastery from destruction following the "Great Quarrel," which was instigated by an exchange of nasty letters. Drakpa Gyeltsen recalls in his sermon that it was Butön, the monastery's dharma protectors (chos skyong), and "especially" the precious lama Śākyapel who spared the monastery its very destruction.

Śākyapel is hence envisioned as a lama whose exemplarity of ecclesiastical protection is directed by both his own innate power and the extraordinary ritual traditions of his family lineage. Śākyapel epitomizes the perfect combination of qualities for a great ecclesiastical protector: he is a conscientious, insightful, and compassionate conduit of an extraordinary powerful set of teachings in the ecclesiastical context. This exemplarity is not only juxtaposed against his hot-tempered father, but also against his own irresponsible and spiritually deficient student, Choglang, whose use of the master's powerful substances, as we have also seen in chapter 3, result in chaos and destruction. To avenge the slanderous comments directed towards his teacher, Choglang takes Śākyapel's magic box without permission and recklessly attempts to propel lightning at a pair of monks. In the end, without the

508 See the beginning of this episode on Ibid., 133.
requisite insight, instructions, and training, Choglang kills an innocent man and damages Ripuk. Incensed over his student's actions, Šākyapel leaves the monastery.

This episode not only highlights Šākyapel's ultimate sense of discomfort about monastic life and the conflicts that it breeds (as we explored in chapter 3), but the story also juxtaposes an ideal master against his deficient disciple, revealing the master's exemplarity in protecting the monastery. Šākyapel's power, wielded in the monastery, is impelled by his innate compassion (not the passions, like his student and father), and is mitigated by restraint, conscientiousness, and respect for the necessary permissions and trainings that accompany dangerous rituals. In Šākyapel's transmutation of his family's dark powers, we see something broadly akin to Tibet's hero Milarepa, in whom there always exists (i.e., pre- and post-transformation) an extraordinary ritual potency, whether used for good or evil. We might also draw a connection here to the ninth/tenth-century master Nubchen Sangyé Yeshé whose expertise in violent sorcery effectively safeguarded his tantric teachings during Tibet's dark age of fragmentation, and who may have been viewed, according to Dalton, as a "protective beacon in a time of darkness." Of Nubchen, Dalton writes, "His training in the dark arts made him a Buddhist beacon of hope, someone with enough esoteric power to control the local gods and demons of Tibet and save the teachings."

It is no surprise that Losel Tengyong devotes such attention to narrating the destructive potential of Šākyapel's family's powers. Through exhibiting the extraordinary abilities of Šākyapel and then narrating their application in the monastery, the History, in effect, reveals a virtuous master who epitomizes the

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510 Ibid.
"domestication" of "extra-monastic" power, now conducted within the monastery and monastic life. The domestication of this power in monastic terms—that is, devoted to the protection of the monastic establishment and its Buddhist teachings—is a key element of Śākyapel's ideal status. Here, we may draw a comparison to the domestication of extra-monastic asceticism seen in chapter 3, wherein it is only against the masters' flirtations with "actual" asceticism, that the exalted mode of "domesticated asceticism" convincingly emerges.

6.3—Protectors Assisting Protectors
The History's masters typically become exemplary protectors in the History through narrative exhibitions of their abilities to successfully solicit the assistance of Shalu's fierce protector deities. The success or "accomplishment" (sgrub) of these ritual enlistments is testified to in the History through a narration of the neutralization of threats to the monastery. These neutralizations sometimes involve accounts of enemies' deaths following the performance of rituals and the subsequent deterrent that these deaths serve to a wider group of enemies. As a result, these narratives reveal the extraordinary ritual prowess, innate power, and steadfast resolve of Shalu's masters in protecting their monastic tradition.

Narratives describing the rituals that culminate in the death of lamas' enemies are fruitful sites to explore how Tibetan monastic writings envision the role of violence in ecclesiastical hagiography. James Gentry has recently highlighted the Tibetan ritual subgenre of "army expelling rites," or magdog (dmag zlog) through an examination of
the writings of the Nyingma figure Sogdogpa Lotrö Gyaltsen (1552–1624).\footnote{James Gentry, "Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Expulsion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty," in Tibetan Ritual, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 131-163.} Gentry's work examines the use of magdog rites by Tibetan ritual specialists, commissioned by Tibetan political leaders, for the purpose of national defense—the case in point in Gentry's chapter is the use of magdog rites to repel Tibet's Mongol invaders by Sogdogpa "the Mongol Repeller" Lotrö Gyaltsen. Gentry writes that a central concern of Sodogpa's text \textit{The History of How the Mongols Were Turned Back}\footnote{Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus. For a full bibliographic reference, see Ibid., 155 note 8.} was not only "to present a persuasive account of the efficacy of the rituals concerned," but also to expose "the power of the actors involved."\footnote{Ibid., 138.} The latter of these central concerns is clearly mirrored in the \textit{History}. Gentry's study hence provides a useful starting point in the present analysis of the \textit{History}, which also examines the role of ritual prowess in Tibetan life writing. The focus of Gentry's study, however, diverges from the present chapter, which considers the role of violent ritual within the monastery, in ecclesiastical hagiography, rather than within narratives unfolding on Tibet's national stage. Still, what is shared between both studies is an exploration of the ultimate rationale behind violent rituals—performed by a range of Tibetan ritual specialists, for a broad range of purposes, and ranging widely in scope—to "protect Buddhist teachings" (bstan srong). Gentry writes, "The ostensible reason for such rituals was to 'protect the doctrine' (bstan srong)."\footnote{Ibid., 132.} In Gentry's study, this imperative manifests on a national scale, as he writes, "To preserve the geopolitical integrity of Tibet so that Buddhist institutions could thrive there
unabated." In the present study, on the other hand, we are presented with a similar imperative to protect Buddhist teachings, but it is an imperative that manifests in a much more direct concern for a single monastery, as well as its immediate environs.

Above, I examined masters who protect the monastery alone, while in this section, I focus on masters who protect the monastery through (explicit or obvious) assistance from Shalu's protector deities (chos skyong). An excellent example of a narrative in the History that ennobles a master through demonstrating his prowess in protecting the monastery with the help of deities, is found in the life of Tsarchen Losel Gyatso (1502–1566), in a passage that Losel Tengyong selects—almost verbatim—from the former's biography written by the fifth Dalai Lama, Ngakwang Losang Gyatso (1617–1682) in 1676. Following his enthronement at Shalu in the wood-hare year (1554–5) at the age of 54, we read a passage, containing several interrelated short narratives, that testifies to Losel Gyatso's ability to enlist the help of deities, through ritual, to protect the monastery. It is first mentioned that the abbot revives a tradition at Shalu of propitiating the deity indicated in the text as ma he ("buffalo"), meaning the Lord of Death Shinjé (Gshin rje; Yama) with "ritual cakes," or torma (gtor ma). At that time, presumably still in the wood-hare year, we read that Losel Gyatso writes an inscription

515 Ibid.
516 I do not wish to exclude the possibility that these masters are nevertheless ultimately understood by the History's intended readers to protect the monastery through the assistance of deities (even though there is no explicit mention made of the deities' involvement). Indeed, given that these masters are enlightened beings, working amid a matrix of other enlightened beings, it is ultimately unreasonable to suggest that they are acting entirely alone.
518 This may refer to the buffalo-headed form of Shinjé (Las kyi gshin rje). See René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck, 1975), 85.
which is itself described in the History as a "summons (zlo ba) to the human and non-human demons who abide and wander in the three existences." Following the text's account of the inscription posted by Losel Gyatso, the History provides an account of the abbot fiercely calling the deity Shinjé to action. Tsarchen sets down his vajra (rdo rje)—his ritual implement—on a mask (zhal brnyan), presumably of Shinjé, commanding Shinjé (here called "the Pledge-Bound Dharma King;" Dam can chos rgyal) and his consort to annihilate Shalu's enemies and obstructers (dgra bgegs). During the ritual, which readers may understand to be a Shinjé torma ritual, the abbot's face grows deep-red, the audience trembles in terror, and a particularly hateful enemy (dgra) of Shalu instantly vomits blood and dies. As a result, the History tells us, officials who wanted to rob the Shalu residents of their monastic land-holdings (chos gzhis) were unable to do so for many years out of paralyzing fear.

A similar case is repeated in the life of Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen, another of Shalu's great masters who calls Shinjé to his aid through ritual in the face of a threat directed at Shalu. In the History, we read that during Trülshig's life, owing to their

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\footnote{Zha lu gdan rabs, 277; Blo gsal rgya mtsho rnam thar, 598. Blo gsal rgya mtsho rnam thar reads sgo yig, "inscription," or "doorway sign," while the Zha lu gdan rabs reads sgo yig bka' shog, "inscription-notice(?)"}

\footnote{sridd ba [=pa] gsum ba gnas shing phyug'i [=rgyu ba'i(?)] 'byung pho [=pol(?)] mi dang mi ma yin pa rnams la zlo ba. Zha lu gdan rabs, 277; sridd pa gsum na gnas shing rgyu ba'i 'byung po mi dang mi ma yin pa rnams la zlo ba. Blo gsal rgya mtsho rnam thar, 598.}

\footnote{See this mask's origin story in Blo gsal rgya mtsho rnam thar, 596.}

\footnote{The History reveals that a ritual is indeed taking place here, as the text refers to the summoning of Shinjé and his consort during the ritual's "main part" (dngos gzhi). The History does not specify what type of ritual is being performed, although we may posit that a Shinjé torma ritual is to be understood here, since, immediately preceding the description of the inscription and this ritual, we read that Losel Gyatso revived Shalu's tradition of propitiating Shinjé with torma.}

\footnote{Zha lu gdan rabs, 277.}

receipt of a nasty letter, the residents of the Shalu region began fighting the principality of Minyak in the Tibetan region of Kham. The fighting intensifies after the Shalu army destroys the monastery of Chöding, and the two sides cannot be reconciled by any possible means. Exasperated, Trülshig tells his monks to perform a torma ritual in order to call Shinjé to action and neutralize the threat towards Shalu. Trülshig prefaces his instructions by reminding his monks that, as religious practitioners (chos pa rnams), it is lamas and deities, and no one else, who should assist them in protecting the monastery. Trülshig says,

No matter what we say to the Kham people, they don't listen! We religious practitioners (chos pa rnams) place our requests for help in the lama, the Three Jewels, the mother Ąkīnīs, and the dharma protectors (chos skyong). Besides [them], there is no one else [to whom we ask for assistance]. You monks should offer a torma to the Pledge-Bound Dharma King (Dam can chos rgyal) [Lord of the Dead—Shinjé; Yama] to incite him to perform his deeds!525

The History recounts that the monks fashion a torma and perform a ritual. One of Shalu's Khampa enemies then wanders into Shalu—as if he was "summoned" (bkug pa) by Shinjé himself. Upon seeing a huge red torma (dmär gtor) ornamented with flesh and blood, the enemy bleeds from his nose, takes seven steps, vomits blood, and drops dead.526

Torma (gtor ma) are Tibetan "ritual cakes" used in a wide variety of ritual practices, and may be offered, as a discrete ritual or as part of a larger ceremony, to various beings, including buddhas, dharma protectors, and local deities.527 Serving as food for

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525 khams pa rnams la gtam ci tsam lab kyang go ba mi len 'dua / rang re chos pa rnams kyi re ltos zhu sa bla ma dkon mchog dang ma mkha' 'gro chos skyong min pa gzhon med khyod grwa rnams kyis dam can chos rgyal la gtor ma phul te 'phrin las bcom mdzod. Zha lu gzhan rabs, 150.

526 Ibid.

protective deities, torma may be offered in order to elicit a range of deities' services: from the making of rain, to psychological transformation, to increases of wealth, merit and power, and, as we see here in the History, to the subduing of threatening forces.\footnote{228}

Later during Trülshig's life, a group of Shalu's enemies from the region of Dargyé insult Shalu's torma rituals, saying, "they're just wasting barley!" As the disgraces make their way to Trülshig's ear, he responds, saying,

In general, I consider that I need to protect the Buddha's teaching, [and] specifically this monastery through peaceful compassion. [If I wanted to perform wrathful activities], I would set in motion the "destructive activities" of Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka ('Jam dpal gshin rje gshed) and I would even be able to "liberate" (sgrol) Brahma, Indrā and the like!\footnote{229}

To give them a mere taste of his medicine, Trülshig undertakes a ritual of "reversal" (bzlog)—implying here that Shalu is under threat—and prepares a wrathful torma, which has the effect of killing a pair of Dargyé residents and culminates in various extraordinary occurrences (cho 'phrul) involving lighting and howling dogs. As a result, the History tells us, Shalu's enemies have no choice but to repent and make extensive offerings, including gold, silver, and robes, to Shalu.\footnote{230} The success (sgrub) of the ritual is hence clearly evidenced, imparting to the reader that Trülshig is a powerful and effective ritual expert: he is able to call the wrathful from of Mañjuśrī, Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka, to his aid in protecting the monastery.

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\footnote{228}{See Butler, "Torma: The Tibetan Ritual Cake," 43.}
\footnote{229}{ngas spyir sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa sgsos chos sde 'di snying rje chen pos zhi ba'i sgo s nas bskyangs dgos snyam pa ma gto g 'jam dpal gshin rje gshed kyi las sbyor brtsams na tshangs pa brgya byin sogs kyang sgrol mi thub pa ma yin. Zha lu gdan rabs, 151.}
\footnote{230}{Ibid.}
The above narratives ennoble Tsarchen and Trülshig as great protectors through demonstrating their ability to enlist the assistance of protector deities by means of their power and ritual prowess. The *History* exalts other masters by simply implying their ability to protect the monastic tradition, portraying protector deities readily coming to their aid. One such character is Kushang Khyenrab Chojé Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrub (1436–1497), who, as we explored in chapter 5, completes the project of setting Butön's collected works to woodblocks. Not only is Khyenrab Chojé a great custodian of the Shalu teachings in written form, but he is also a great protector of the Shalu monastic tradition.

The *History* testifies to Khyenrab Chojé's prowess in enlisting the help of deities through its presentation of a childhood narrative. When the master is only nine years old, the young boy asks a shepherd to pardon a certain old goat's death. After the shepherd, nevertheless, sends the goat on to be killed by a butcher, the child scolds the shepherd, saying, "you didn't listen to me! Through enacting my force (*mthu*), first I'll kill the butcher, then I'll kill you!" Following the threat, Khyenrab Chojé fashions a wrathful Vaiśravaṇa torma (*Rnam sras drag gtor*) out of his food, and performs a torma ritual, which has the effect, mirroring the story about Losel Gyatso and Shinjé above, of "immediately" killing the butcher, and rendering the shepherd petrified. Mirrored in the story of the Dargyé residents' fearful repentance and gift-giving to Shalu, the shepherd offers the boy his confession and repentance (*'gyod bshags*) together with gifts of food.

Later in his life, Khyenrab Chojé is declared, through a series of narratives, to have the potential, through his force (*mthu*) already established early in life, to protect

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531 *khyod nga la ma nyan bas mthu byas nas sngon la bshan pa gsod / de nas khyod rang gsod gsungs te* / Ibid., 178.
Shalu and her teachings. We read that at the age of 23, while in a three-year mediation retreat, dharma protectors (chos skyong) assemble in his dreams and perform whatever deeds he asks of them, acting as his servants (bran). In another episode, when the master's jaw comes loose after yawning, a great mahākāla resets the jaw in a dream, and it is miraculously reattached when the master wakes. The History recalls that two powerful protectors, the mahākālas Günpo Gur and Günpo Shel, as well as Shalu's fierce protectress, Dorjé Raptenma, appear to Khyenrab Chojé in the flesh (dngos su) and promise to destroy his enemies. They say, "If harm [to you] were to occur, we would come and liberate (sgrol ba) [your enemies]!"

Both Trülshig and Khyenrab Chojé's dharma protectors promise to "liberate" (drölwa—sgrol ba) Shalu's enemies. The verb drölwa here has the sense of "to liberate through killing," meaning that beings are released from their present lives of suffering and propelled towards better destinies. On drölwa, Duff writes, "There are many examples in ancient literature of Buddhist masters killing harmful beings (and others, too) not because of hatred but in order to send them on to a better situation; i.e., 'to liberate them by sending on through death'." Liberating through killing, or drölwa, is typically invoked, as evidenced by the History, within contexts in which beings are

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532 Ibid., 182.
533 A mahākāla (nag po chen po) is a type of protector deity (chos skyong; dharmapāla) and also a meditational deity (yi dam gyi lha;  śrota-devatā) typically black in colour, with two, four, or six arms. As protectors, mahākālas protect the dharma, especially the Hevajra, Vajra-Pañjara, and Paramasukha-Cakrasañvara Tantras. See Marilyn M. Rhie, "Mahakala: Some Tangkas and Sculptures from the Rubin Museum of Art," in Demonic Divine: Himalayan Art and Beyond, ed. Robert N. Linrothe and Marilyn M. Rhie (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2004), 45.
534 Zha lu gdan rabs, 182.
535 gnod byed byung na nged rang rnams 'ong nas sgrol ba yin / ibid.
536 See the entry for sgrol ba in Duff, The Illuminator Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic Dictionary.
537 Ibid.
killed in order to protect the tradition and its teachings from harm—teachings which are understood to have the potential, as all Buddhist teachings do, to ease the suffering of beings.

That masters are able to associate with and call to aid the monastery's extraordinarily dangerous and volatile protectors, is itself a testament to the lamas' power (mthu) wielded for the monastery's protection. This power is bolstered by narratives in the History which exhibit that Shalu's protector deities are still ultimately more powerful than the lamas who command them. Although it is explained, for instance, that Khyenrab Chojé is indeed able to enlist the help of Dorjé Raptenma, when the master leaves Shalu for Tsari at the age of 39, Dorjé Raptenma grows displeased, and tugs on his clothes and manifests wrathful signs until he returns to Shalu. With a primary inclination directed to protecting the monastery at all costs—and this includes preventing Shalu's great lineage holders from leaving the monastery—Shalu's protectors are extremely dangerous, and masters who can effectively call them to action necessarily possess great power and ritual prowess. Although no specific threat arises to the monastery during the life of Khyenrab Chojé, it is nonetheless conveyed in the History that this master possesses the power to call upon the monastery's guardian deities to defend the tradition, should a threat arise.

As seen above, being a great protector of Shalu monastery in the History means that one possesses the power (mthu) and ritual prowess to call deities to aid. This aspect of the masters' exemplarity is further embellished through the History's recounting of the special relationships that exist between these human masters of protection and

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538 In a related episode in the History's biography of Shalu's ninth abbot (following Butön), Lochen Rinchen Chökyong Sangpo (1441–1528), Dorjé Raptenma possesses a young woman in order to plea for the return of a Shalu master. See Zha lu gdan rabs, 232.
their non-human protectors. Several narratives specifically highlight the eagerness with which protector deities come to the aid of great protectors. In one episode from Trülshig's life, the master and his attendant come under attack from Drepung Monastery's dharma protectors (chos skyong), who nearly kill the party's donkey which is transporting food and clothing. Dorjé Raptenma hurriedly arrives from Shalu aboard her mule to aid Shalu's master, Trülshig, protecting him from further attack. Trülshig's attendant is woken by what appears to have been a nightmare: Dorjé Raptenma was grabbing at a bunch of grass that the attendant placed next to his pillow for the donkey. After he wakes screaming, the attendant reports his nightmare to Trülshig:

A terrifying dark maroon woman riding a mule arrived here in front of me and said:

"[I] need to feed [this] grass to my mule!"
I objected:

"I need the grass for my donkey [so I'm] not giving [it to your mule]."
And the woman replied:

"There was an obstacle (bar chad) to you [and your] teacher, so I came [all the way] from Tsang [as fast as I could] hitting my mule until his hooves became [worn] like this!"\(^{539}\)
[I] cried out in fear because [she] went to grab the bundle of grass [next to my pillow].\(^{540}\)

In another story, when Trülshig walks down a flight of stairs, his attendants hear a scratching sound following him. Trülshig tells them that the sound comes from the peacock feathers of a female protector scraping along the ground. He calls her "Lady

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\(^{539}\) ngas gtsang nas dre'u rmig pa 'di ltar song song shad 'ongs pa yin zer. My translation here is uncertain. The second word gtsang may also be read (i.e., orthographically interpreted) as gcad "eliminate." This reading would make sense here since the deity has indeed eliminated an obstacle to Trülshig. As gcad is a transitive verb, this reading also supports the ergative first person pronoun immediately preceding: ngas. Still, the ergative might also support the verb shad, perhaps meaning "to curry" (as in a horse) in this case.

\(^{540}\) bdag gi mdun 'dir bud med smug nag dre'u la zhon pa 'jiqs su rung ba zheg [=zhiq] 'ongs nas / nga'i dre'u la rtswa ster dgos zer ba la / rtswa nga rang gi bong ba la dgos / mi ster byas pas / mo na re / khyed dpon slob la bar chad gcig yong ba 'duq pas / ngas gtsang nas dre'u rmig pa 'di ltar song song shad 'ongs pa yin zer / rtswa chun 'phog tu byung bas skad shor zer skad de bstan srung ma chen mo rdo rje rab brtan ma 'di shin tu 'go [=ygor] ba yong snang / Zha lu gdan rabs, 142.
Ripuk," (Jo mo ri phug ma), a female protector deity of Shalu's Ripuk hermitage.\footnote{This deity is mentioned in the torma-offering paper inscription found in Shalu's protector chapel, in similar terms: "Vajra Goddess with a skin of peacock feathers, / Holding a vajra-sword, an arrow with multicoloured ribbons, and a weasel, / O Female protector who preserves and protects the vajra teachings, / I praise [you] Dorjé Ripugma! (rdo rje lha mo rma bya'i sgro thul can / rdo rje ral gri mda' dar né'u le thogs / rdo rje 'dzin bskyong bstan pa'i gnyer kho ma / rdo rje ri spug ma la bstod par byi / ). This inscription's location is described on p. 358 and transcribed as Inscription B, on p. 363 in Franco Ricca and Lionel Fournier, "Notes Concerning the Mgon-khaṅ of Zwa-lu," Artibus Asiae 56, no. 3 (1996): 343–363. The inscription is undated and provides no statement of authorship. This information would likely have been contained at the bottom of the inscription, which is now completely lost to damage. On a nearby inscription in Shalu's protector chapel, see my chapter, entitled: "Misbehaviour and Punishment in a Paper Inscription at Zha Lu Monastery: A Preliminary Report," in a forthcoming publication of the proceedings of the twelfth seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (IATS), edited by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub and Kurt Tropper.} He says, "She was protecting me because she was worried that I might fall down."\footnote{Zha lu gdan rabs, 151.} In another episode, when Trülshig's student flees the monastery upon being elected abbot, Trülshig reassures his assembly not to worry, explaining to them that their "great protectress of the teachings" (bstan bsrung ma chen mo)—likely here Dorjé Raptenma—would be summoned to resolve the situation on the seventh day of the month. In accordance with Trülshig's promise, the fleeing would-be abbot is immobilized by the deity, feeling as if his feet were bound, having no choice but to concede, return to Shalu, and become enthroned as abbot.\footnote{See the episode on 156–7 of the Zha lu gdan rabs.}

Still in another story, Trülshig is seen to call upon Dorjé Raptenma, through ritual, to resolve a battle between Shalu's larger region of Nyangtö and Tibet's powerful house of Rinpung, sometime after the year 1440.\footnote{I give this date on the basis that Trülshig's biography is chronologically consecutive, and previous to the mentioning of this battle, he was declared to be 42 years old in the iron-ape year 1440–1441 (see fol. 146). The Rinpung became Tibet's dominant political power, displacing the Pakmodru following the year 1435. See W. D. Shakabpa, One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet (Boston: Brill, 2010), 271.} As the opposing armies fight each other with catapults, killing scores of people and animals in the region,\footnote{Zha lu gdan rabs, 153. Here, "catapults" is a translation of rdo sgyog, a variant of the more standard sgyogs rdo. See Jäschke, Tibetan-English Dictionary, 119.} Trülshig
decides to neutralize the threat to the area, and loads up a horse with a host of precious objects from the monastery, including Shalu's conch horn (chos dung). After making these preparations, Dorjé Raptenma appears to the abbot in the flesh. The text recounts that she arrives from Shalu's neighboring Gyengong Monastery—her dwelling place (see more on this below)—and describes her as the "glorious goddess riding a terrifying great mule wearing ornaments just like the customary ornaments of the goddess Remati." Trülshig is remembered to have reconciled the opposing forces (through unspecified means). After peace is achieved, the History recounts that one could see mule's hoof prints (dre'u rmig rjes), that were enormously large, circumambulating the monks' encampment on the battlefield.

The stories of Trülshig's close relationship with Dorjé Raptenma embellish the master's role as a great protector. The ease with which Trülshig can summon the deity for assistance—often without even asking her—reveals the lama's ability to wield his extraordinary power to protect the monastic tradition. Here we may draw a connection to an episode in the Life of Milarepa wherein a group of hunters, who harass and repeatedly lift and drop the saint, subsequently incur protector deities' violent retributions—without Milarepa's instigation.

The ability to protect the monastery through the assistance of deities is an exemplary characteristic of the Shalu lama. Butön, the History's epitome of an ideal master, is himself remembered as "having subdued ('dul ba) evil spirits ('dre gdon)

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546 dpal ldan lha mo 'ang dre'u chen po 'jigs su rung ba zhig la zhon pa'i zhal gcig phyag bzhi ma rgyan cha lugs thams cad re ma ti ji lta ba bzhi. Zha lu gdan rabs, 153.

547 The footprints are each declared to be the size of a khru, which is the distance from one's elbow to one's fingertips.

548 Gtsan-smyon He-ru-ka, The Life of Milarepa, 137.
thanks to his possession of unimaginable powers, and it is asserted that “bountiful superhuman beings offered their lives [to Butön], by which they came to follow his orders.” And Losel Tengyong—as I explore below—transforms Butön into even more of a fierce protector through the former’s clever stitching together of source materials.

6.4—The Protection of Shalu
The above passages illuminate the exemplarity of Losel Gyatso and Trülshig in protecting the monastery through the help of Shalu’s protective deities, including Shinjé, Dorjé Raptenma, Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka, and others. We not only read accounts of the abbots and other masters making various efforts to propitiate protector deities, but we are also given a glimpse into the abbots’ mastery in eliciting the deities’ protective assistance through passages that illuminate rituals’ successes or “accomplishments” (sgrub), which often come instantaneously. Where this success entails the killing of Shalu’s enemies (dgra), death comes swiftly, and serves as a deterrent to a larger group of hostile forces. Implicit in these narratives is the understanding that the masters’ ritual fortitude, deriving from their innate power (mthu), accomplishes the annihilation of threats to Shalu. Besides highlighting ritual prowess in general, these passages also illuminate a tradition-specific mode of exemplarity; it is specifically the mastery of Shalu’s ritual teachings—and its deities—that is highlighted in these passages.

Learned readers of the History would likely be familiar with the Shalu tradition’s textual corpus, which contains a vast array of ritual texts, and the readers themselves would also likely have been officiants of, or participants in, Shalu’s rituals. This section

549 nus pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa dang ldan pas ’dre gdon ’dul ba. Zha lu gdan rabs, 17.
550 mi ma yin rnams kyis srog snying ’bul ba sogs bka’ bzhin sgrub pa byung ngo. Ibid.
situates the History's narratives of lamas' ritual successes within a range of other literature generated by the monastery—torma-offering liturgies, an inscription, and Shalu's origin story of Dorjé Raptenma—and examines ways in which the History mediates and comments upon the past to its anticipated reading community of learned Shalu monks. I argue that the commemoration of past lamas' ritual successes exhibits a tradition-specific aspect of exemplarity to Shalu's learned readers.

6.4.1—Torma Offering to Shinjé

In attempting to imagine how the History's readers may have been learned in Shalu's ritual tradition, I turn now to a popular Shalu ritual text, which is described as an extensive torma-offering liturgy (gtor chog) for Shalu's guardians deities and protectors of the teachings, entitled [For] the Rapid Accomplishment of the Four Activities. This text is one of many from Shalu that describe the monastic tradition's practices of enlisting Shalu's protectors, with the use of torma, for assistance in the face of threats. The ritual for offering torma to the deity Shinjé incites the practitioner to prepare a wrathful ritual cake covered in human flesh and blood (or animal flesh and blood as a substitute)—an image of which we have encountered above in the History—as well as alcohol, garlic, and onions. The practitioner is guided through a series of complex visualizations, including self-visualization as Shinjé in union with Shinjé's consort, and

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551 The full title of the text is: Zhwa lu'i bka' bstod chos skyong bsrung ma rnams kyi gtor chog rgyas pa las bzhi'i ’phrin las myur ’grub, hereafter Zha lu gtor chog. This undated manuscript was compiled by Thub bstan rin chen legs bshad dbang phyug. Courtesy of TBRC. The "four activities" of protective deities that torma rituals may incite, corresponding to practitioner's benefits, are summarized by Butler: "A protective deity's support may be sought in four kinds of activities: Peaceful action: for example to make rain, to cure diseases physical as well as psychological, such as ignorance, greed, attachment and hatred. Increasing action: to obtain wealth, increase merit and the development of mental faculties, such as intelligence and memory. Controlling action: subduing of human and nonhuman beings, and the principal goal, taming the mind. Forceful action: for pacifying exterior disturbances, and acquiring power." Butler, "Torma: The Tibetan Ritual Cake," 43.
holding various weapon-like implements. The offering object itself (i.e., the torma), in its ultimate form, is visualized as a great skullcap arising out of emptiness, and resting upon various seed syllables and burning human skulls.552

The section of the ritual wherein the practitioner invites Shinjé to consume the torma and neutralize an impending threat accords in many ways with the History's account of Losel Gyatso's propitiation of this deity.553 The ritual text incites the practitioner to invite Shinjé with a sermon that praises the deity for being "a punisher of the sinful."554 The end of the sermon particularly reflects the History's implication that Shinjé may be called on to disable enemies of the monastery through killing; here, the deity is called upon to perform wrathful actions (drag po'i las), and "liberate" enemies (dgra) of the teachings. The text reads,

You, who are called the Dharma Lord Shinjé,
You, who possess clairvoyance, miraculous powers, and magical might,
Come, together with your retinue,
O king, together with your retinue.

I want to entrust you with wrathful actions (drag po'i las).
Enemies (dgra bo) who destroy the teachings,
While they are alive, they harm all sentient beings,
And utterly endanger the Triple Gem.

They are full of hatred towards every yogi of penetrating mind.
So, for the sake of quickly liberating those [demonic enemies],
I invite, you, king, together with your retinue.
As a consequence of your pledge (dam tshig), please come!555

552 The section on Shinjé begins on Zha lu gtor chog, 51.
553 The invitation commences on Ibid., 55.7.
554 sdig pa can gyi chad pa mkhan, Ibid., 56.
555chos rgyal gshin rje zhes bya ba // mngon shes rdzu 'phrul mthu stobs can // 'khor bcas 'di ni gshegs su gsol // rgyal po 'khor dang bcas pa la // drag po'i las ni gtad par 'dod // bstan pa shigs pas dgra bo 'dis // gsol na 'gro ba yongs la gnod // dkon mchog gsum la rnam par 'tshe // dmigs kyi rnal 'byor yongs la sāṅg // 'di dag myur du sgral ba'i phyir // rgyal po 'khor bas spyan 'dren na // dam tshig dbang gis gshegs su gsol // Zha lu gtor chog, 56.
Besides being versed in the ritual literature and practices for propitiating Shinjé, the History's readers would also likely be aware of actual instances wherein the deity was called to protect the monastery from some definite threat. A paper inscription, perhaps commemorating just such an event, is found in Shalu's protector chapel (mgon khang). The inscription formally invites Shinjé, as well as other protector deities of Shalu, to consume torma offerings, and implores them to protect the monastery and its teachings. Addressing Shinjé, the inscription reads:

Utterly terrifying great oath-bound Lord of the Dead,
Loudly Laughing, open-mouthed, red-faced wrathful buffalo,
With [your] utterly wrathful consort and infinite retinue,
I praise you, the best butcher of [our] bitter enemies!

Inviting the deities to consume torma, the inscription begs the protectors to consume torma in both its physical (conventional) form and non-physical (ultimate) form. The inscription reads:

Like this, [those] who protect the monastic college and main temple,
[Of] the great glorious Shalu Golden Temple,
[Are] an assembly of supramundane and worldly protectors,
Possessing servants, envoys, and messengers.

We offer you outer, inner, and secret pledge objects of great torma:
[Both] the actual [i.e., visual] and visualized offering substances, which are as many as [there are] clouds in the sky.
[The actual torma is] supported here, and the visualized substances are as expansive as the sky.
Consume them, and happily enjoy them!

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556 See my note above in this chapter on this inscription.
557 The expression rab rtog might also be read as "utterly savage."
558 rab 'jigs gshin rje'i rgyal po dam can che / rab rtog ma he khros pa'i zhal dmar gdangs [read: gdang ba] / rab gtum yum mchog 'khor tshogs rgya mthar bcsas / rab sdang dgra ba'i shan pa khyod la bstd. The text is drawn from Ricca and Fournier's transcribed Inscription B, on p. 363, and tentatively compared with photographs of this inscription, taken in 2010, that were kindly provided to me by Kurt Tropper.
559 I am unsure whether pho nya is intended to mean "consort" here.
560 de ltar dpal ldan zha lu gser khang che / chos gra gtsug lag khang chen skyong ba yi / 'jig rtren 'das dang ma 'das bsrgun ma'i tshogs / bran g.yog rngags pa pho nyar bcsas pa rnam / dgos bshams yid khyis spral pa'i mchod pa'i sprin / dam rdzas gtor chen phyi rang gsang ba yi / brten dang spyan gzigs nam mkha'i khyon gang ba / 'bul lo mchod do dayes shing rol bar mdzod / Ibid.
The inscription ends with a dramatic call to the deities, imploring them to aid in the protection of the monastery from its enemies:

In general, your task is to protect the precious teachings,
To increase the life-spans of our teaching holders,
To guard the teachings' benefactors and their courts,
And "liberate" (sgrol) the vow-perverting, evil-doing enemies of the teachings from this land.
You who protect the Buddha's sponsors,
Do not forget, do not forget, you samaya-holding dharma protectors!
Invincible and unhindered, generate your miraculous powers!561

In this inscription, just as we have encountered in the ritual text, we see a close affiliation of what Shinjé is meant to (or hoped to) accomplish and what is accomplished by Shinjé narratively in the History. Readers of the History would likely bring their familiarity of Shinjé's hypothetical or expected actions to the History. The exemplarity, hence, that is articulated by narratives of masters calling upon Shinjé is not merely a general characteristic of Tibetan Buddhist ecclesiastical virtue. This ideal type of conduct, as in other cases we have seen throughout this dissertation, resonates within a plausible past universe of Shalu that is informed by the History's readers' familiarity with Shalu's larger literary tradition and refined by the text's author, Losel Tengyong. He selects this thread of virtuousness out of his source materials, and out of the world that surrounds him, and holds it up for inspection and speculation in the History for the monks of Shalu. This selected thread of virtue is furthermore not just some general Tibetan or Buddhist ideal, but something that the author considers to be an important element of being noble at Shalu Monastery. Shalu's masters are exemplary

561 spyi dgos bstan pa rin chen khyod kyis bsrungs / bstan 'dzin sku tshe phrin las khyod kyis spel / bstan pa'i skyin bdag 'khor bcas khyod kyis bskyongs / bstan dgra dam nyams gduq can zhing 'di sgrol / ma g.yel ma g.yel dam can bsrung ma'i tshogs / ma pham ma thogs mthu stobs rdzu 'phrul bskyed / Ibid.
within the confines of what is expected of, or imagined about, the deity's propitiation according to Shalu's wider literature.

6.4.2—The Origin Story of Dorjé Raptenma
The History's presentation of the Shalu masters' exemplarity of protecting the monastery does not merely communicate a standard characteristic of Tibetan Buddhist ecclesiastical exemplarity to its readers. Stories that testify to Shalu masters enlisting the assistance of Shalu's deities entails, for the History's learned readers, a tradition-specific significance. When Shalu monks, versed in the monastery's wider literature and experienced in the monastery's actual propitiation of its deities in hazardous times, encounter the History, the History provides a useful set of data to accompany Shalu's ritual literature: specific contexts wherein propitiation of wrathful deities is appropriate, the unforeseen dangers accompanying such practices, examples of anticipated results of the rituals, and the enlightened insight, or even the ritual fervor, that bring about ritual successes. Thus the specific mode of exemplarity performed in the History comingles with readers' broader knowledge of the deities' personalities and their own histories—or perhaps even "biographies"—in the Shalu tradition.

Dorjé Raptenma's characterizations in the History closely mirror her depictions in the History—a doubling we have already encountered between accounts of Shinjé in the History and in ritual literature. According to The Abridged History of Shalu Monastery, a history of Shalu written in 1987, the tenth-century figure Lotön Dorjé Wangchuk, who founded the monastery of Gyengong, next to Shalu, and who was a teacher of Shalu's

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founder, Chetsun Sherab Chungné, first brought Dorjé Raptenma to the Shalu region. Lotön’s encounter with Dorjé Raptenma is mentioned in a thirteenth-century history, but elaborated into a full narrative, of unknown pedigree, in The Abridged History of Shalu Monastery.

Gyengong is threatened by a certain enemy named Tarpé Lama Chel Nakpo Thogbeb who attacks the monastery with sorcery (mthu). Searching for a great protector to aid in the monastery’s struggle, Lotön proceeds in the direction of India, when a terrifying deep-maroon-colored woman riding a mule emerges out of a great dust cyclone. The alarmed Lotön is engaged by the deity in conversation and, as the latter learns of the sorcery afflicting Gyengong, she offers to become the monastery’s protector. Lotön initially doubts that the deity, being female, could effectively protect his monastery and asks her to demonstrate a magical power (rdzu ’phrul) to prove her strength. The deity points a threatening hand gesture (sdig mdzub) towards a great river and diverts the water upwards, revealing the pebbles underneath. She hands over a scroll (shog sgril), containing her sādhana, which she says was written by Padmasambhava, and instructs Lotön to recite the text when he needs to summon her. When Lotön learns of the deity’s extensive past travels and identities, he doubts her promises to permanently stay at the monastery. In response, Dorjé Raptenma instructs

563 Ascribed to Lde’u jo sras. [Lde’u chos ’byung]. Chos ’byung chen mo bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan lde’u jo sras kyi mdzad pa. (Lhasa: Mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987). Regarding the text’s dating and authorship, see Martin, Tibetan Histories, 44 (entry 55).

564 The narrative begins on page 5 of the Zha lu dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bs dus, in a section entitled “On the Foundation of Rgyan Gong” (Rgyan gong bzhengs pa’i skor). The Zha lu dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bs dus is largely a compilation of passages from various texts, including the Myang chos ’byung, the Lce’i gdung rabs, and Rinchen Namgyel’s biography of Butön, but an initial investigation of the texts in the colophon of the Zha lu dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bs dus has not led me to this passage. Unfortunately, both authors of this text have died (Sarah Richardson, personal communication, 2009) so the ultimate origins of this passage (unless it was indeed penned anew in 1987), remain unknown.
the master to fashion her own effigy at Gyengong and promises to permanently dwell within the statue.

After the deity miraculously dissolves into space like a rainbow, Lotön returns to Gyengong and constructs the statue according to the deity's instructions, which she previously describes as: "An effigy of me [which is] not young [with its] feet steadily planted on the earth, [with] a mule that lies in front [of it]."\textsuperscript{565} When the effigy is ready, the goddess arrives at the monastery on foot, accompanied by her mule and attendants, and in a dramatic moment, replete with great sounds of the dharma, Lotön witnesses the goddess become "absorbed" (thim pa) into her own effigy. After her arrival, and installation, at Gyengong, Lotön is able to pacify the harm that inflicts his monastery, having annihilated (tshar bcad) his enemy. The text tells us, that with this defeat, Lotön "performed the first of [his] siddhis—the enlightened activity of subduing ('dul ba) an enemy (dgra)."\textsuperscript{566}

The text recounts how the deity "became famous in all directions, owing to her being frightening, wild (rtsub), and very wrathful." We read furthermore, that, as Shalu monks have held her "as the highest of their dharma protectors," in consequence, she has accomplished whatever they want. Shalu Monastery, hence, "came to flourish," because of her presence. Very closely resembling the protector's relationship with Trülshig as we have seen in the History, the passage that ends the Abridged History of Shalu's account of Dorjé Rabtenma reads: "Up until the present time, the succession of [Shalu's] khenpos and [its] holders of the teachings, have been followed [by her] as a

\textsuperscript{565} nga'i gzugs brnyan gzhon pa zhabs sa la brtan par btsugs pa / mdun du dre'u nyal ba zhig. Zha lu dgon gyi lo rayus mdor bsdus, 6.

\textsuperscript{566} dngos grub kyi thog ma dgra 'dul ba'i phrin las mdzad. Ibid., 7.
shadow accompanies a body. [She] is a dispeller of obstacles and an establisher of favorable conditions.\textsuperscript{567}

In the \textit{Abridged History of Shalu} we begin to encounter something of the larger matrix of significations involving Dorjé Rabtenma that the History's learned readers may well have brought to their reading of the text. The deity's personality—fiercely loyal, yet unpredictable, extraordinarily powerful, and who arrives in times of menacing conflicts—embellishes readers' encounters with the History's hagiographies. As we have seen in the biographies of Trülshig and Khyenrab Chojé, Dorjé Rapttenma indeed follows Shalu's exemplary masters "as a shadow accompanies a body." It is specifically through readers' extended and "situated" memories of the Shalu tradition, that Losel Tengyong's presentation of the exemplarity of protection is plausible, significant, and relevant to the present community. In effect, the History unfolds masters' exemplarity in a discrete universe—past lamas become exemplary not only within the very same institutional structures, rooms and buildings, physical landscapes, and curricula as its present readers, but masters, past and present, become exemplary vis-à-vis the very same powerful beings.

An early Shalu ritual text, entitled the \textit{Torma Ritual Sadhāna of Dorjé Rapttenma Accompanied [by Verses of] Praise,}\textsuperscript{568} composed by Butön's abbatial successor Rinchen Namgyel, and based on an earlier text by Lotön Dorjé Wanchuk, also portrays Dorjé Rapttenma in ways that resemble her appearances in the History. This torma ritual text guides its readers through a self-visualization as Dorjé Rapttenma, and incites them to

\textsuperscript{567} dus deng sang gi bar du mkhan brgyud dang chos rayun ’dzin pa rnams kyi lus dang grib ma bzhin du ’grogs nas bar chad sel zhing mthon rkyen sgrub pa yin. Ibid., 7.

present her with a torma covered in meat and blood. Through a set of visualizations and utterances of mantras, the torma is ultimately transformed into nectar (bdud rtsi; amṛta) which the deity is visualized to consume through her tongue, shaped like a vajra-straw.

The deity is propitiated with verses that describe her in terms that resemble her appearances in the History. The text instructs the practitioner to recite the following:

Hūṃ bhyoh! Goddess Dorjé Rabtenma,
With [your] great dark-maroon body,
[And] one face, two arms, and three eyes,
Wearing a human hide, I entreat you!

[Your] Right hand brandishes a blazing sword,
[Your] Left hand clutches a mongoose,
Riding a three-legged mule,
When time has come for you to be called to action,

Three times a night, [you] appear like a flash of lightning,
Three times a day, [you] appear in a flash, like a hawk,
The time has come to protect the teachings,
[Our] only mother, Dorjé Rabtenma!

The time has come to overpower ('dul ba) [our] enemies,
Receive this offering of blood and,
Receive this torma of blood and flesh,
[Our] chief dharma protector Dorjé Rabtenma!

The time has come for you to honor your oath,
Accomplish the deeds you promised to fulfill,
Oh fierce one, you must protect the teachings!
Please perform deeds such as these. ¹⁵⁶⁹

Both Dorjé Rabtenma’s physical description and personality—appearing quickly, coming to Shalu’s aid when enemies strike—resembles her appearances in the History.

Dorjé Rabtenma is also featured in the torma-offering paper inscription found within

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¹⁵⁶⁹ hUM bhyoh lha mo rdo rje rab brtan ma // sku mdog smugs [=smug] nag chen mo la // zhal gcig phyag gnyis spyan gsum ma // sku la mi lpags g.yang gzhi gsol // phyag g.yas la gri ‘bar ba bsnams // g.yon pa’i phyag gis n’e’u le ‘dzin // chibs su drel rkang gsum chibs // phrin las bcol ba’i dus kyi tshe // mtshan gsum glog ltar ‘khyug cing byon // nyin gsum khra ltar ‘khyug cing byon // bstan pa bsrung ba’i dus la bab // ma gcig rdo rje rab brtan ma // dgra bo ‘dal ba’i dus la bab // rakta’i mchod pa ’di bzhes la // sha khrag gtor ma ’di bzhes shig // brtan pa’i gtso mo rab brtan ma // khyod kyi thugs dam dus la bab // bcol pa’i phrin las grub par mdzad // bstan pa gnyan po khyod kyi srungs / zhes sogs kyi ’phrin las gzhon te // tibid., 593–4.
Shalu's protector chapel, which calls deities to eliminate dangers to the monastery. In this inscription, she is described as:

Chief of the wrathful dākinīs, Rabtenma,
For the sake of subduing [enemies], [you possess] the body of a deep-maroon ogress,
Like a mother, compassionately protect [us] like your own children
I praise you, glorious goddess, [our] only mother!570

The descriptions, expectations of behavior, and knowledge of the ritual propitiations of Shalu's deities are integral elements of the History's informed readership, which renders the exemplarity of the text's masters of protection in localized terms. As in the case of Shinjé above, this selected thread of exemplarity in summoning Dorjé Raptenma is not only some general Tibetan or Buddhist aspect of virtue, but also an element of being an ideal lama at Shalu Monastery. This particular, localized thread of the nobility of protection through inciting the aid of deities, is one of the History's finest sites to explore the History's intertexts. Shalu's masters are charged with becoming ideal lamas within the confines of what is expected of, or imagined about, deities' propitiation according to Shalu's wider literature.

6.5—Masters in Violent Liberation

Shalu's protector deities "liberate" (sgrol ba)—that is "compassionately kill"—or promise to liberate enemies (dgra) of the teachings in both the History as well as the monastery's ritual literature. As the Shalu masters are the instigators of such killing, they too take part in the violence that this "liberation" entails. The History's masters hence participate in notions of compassionate violence that pervade Buddhist exoteric

570 ma mo'i gtso mo rdo rje rab brtan ma / ma rungs 'dul phyir smug nag srin mo'i gzugs / ma lta brtse bas bstan 'dzin bu bzhin bskyong [=skyong] / ma gcig dpal ltha mo khyod la bstod / See my notes on this inscription above in this chapter.
and esoteric literature. In his recent work, *The Taming of the Demons*, 571 Dalton provides an overview of Buddhist texts wherein violence becomes crucial to the appropriate behavior of both bodhisattvas and tantrikas. In the *Skill-in-Means* (*Upāyakauśalya*) Sūtra, perhaps dating from around the turn of the common era, 572 for instance, the bodhisattva ship captain, Mahākaruṇa ("Great Compassion"), concludes that his most virtuous (or most "bodhisattvic") course of action is to kill a certain thief about to murder five hundred of the bodhisattva's fellow passengers. Doing nothing, Mahākaruṇa would suffer the disastrous karmic consequences of letting 500 people be murdered. Warning his fellow passengers, on the other hand, would most certainly provoke the thief's murder, allowing his fellow passengers to incur the negative karma their actions would generate. The most ethical and altruistic solution, hence, is for the bodhisattva himself to murder the thief, saving 500 innocent lives, and incurring the karmic retribution himself. 573

Rhetorical imperatives to altruistically and ethically kill seen in the *Upāyakauśalya*, and in other texts such as Asaṅga's *Stages of the Bodhisatta* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*), are guided by the notion that to kill, for the sake of helping others escape suffering, is acceptable. In these texts, the bodhisattva's compassionate violence constitutes an inversion of the moral negativity normally ascribed to murder in Buddhism's standard ethical codes—the "five precepts" (*bslab pa lnga; pañcaśīlāni*) and monks' and nuns' codes of conduct for "individual liberation" (*so so thar pa; prātimokṣa*). This ethical inversion is further elaborated in the tantras, as Dalton highlights, in which

572 Ibid., 26.
Buddhist practitioners are portrayed undertaking violent rites for the sake of protecting the Buddhist teachings—that is, the teachings that alleviate beings' suffering—from harm. In the Susiddhikāra-mahātantra, for instance, it is asserted that violent rites should be performed in cases where such acts culminate in benefit to beings through the elimination of evil: "Such wrathful rites should be directed for the benefit of those who deprecate the words of the sugata, those who are inherently evil and hateful, those who are immoral or argumentative, or those who injure the guru."\(^{574}\)

Dalton points out similar rhetoric in a tantric text entitled Confession for the Root and Branch Downfalls of the Vajrayāna, which includes a confession for practitioners having neglected their vows to kill: "I have not annihilated and been loving toward those persons who do not believe in, or who despise and deprecate, the lama, the three jewels, and the Vajrayāna of Secret Mantra."\(^{575}\)

The extent to which such rhetoric has been understood literally by the Tibetan tradition is far beyond the scope of the present investigation, but what we see in the History is that lamas' exemplarity is molded in narratives that are clearly indebted—rhetorically speaking—to both sūtras and tantras that incite Buddhist masters to compassionately kill. As seen several times in the History's narratives, Shalu masters instigate the "liberation" (sgrol ba) of malevolent beings according to the same rationale for violence we encounter in the sūtras and tantras: to neutralize those who potentially bring harm to the Buddhist teachings, teachings which are themselves capable of lessening beings' suffering. As Dalton has explored, Tibetan writers have approached this controversial and complex religiosity of compassionate violence hesitantly. Of the

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\(^{575}\) Ibid., 34.
The great majority of Tibetan commentators on the Rudra myth, Dalton writes, "The relationship between the buddha and Rudra, and thus too between just and unjust violence, was simply too complex to answer definitively."\(^{576}\) Admittedly, the diverse reflections on the topic of violence and liberation in the history of Tibetan Buddhism cannot be answered in this dissertation, yet we should note the that the role played by the protector deities in the *History* is one that mitigates, perhaps, some of the anxiety associated with lamas' being *directly* engaged in violence.

Protector deities' abilities to serve as the enforcers of necessary violence play an important role in the hagiographical development of the *History*'s masters. In the *History*, Khyenrab Chojé is warned to refrain from participating in violent *torma* rituals himself, out of the possibility that these dangerous rites may harm his "mental cultivation of enlightenment" (*sems bskyed*; *bodhicitta*). Shalu's protectors caution him, "If you cast out (*brgyab*) a *torma* with your own hands, harm [will come to your] *bodhicitta* (*sems bskyed*), so don't do [that]!"\(^{577}\) Alternatively, they promise to intercede on the master's behalf when killing needs to be done. The deities promise him, "if harm [to you] were to occur, we would come and liberate (*sgrol ba*—i.e. "kill") [your enemies]!"\(^{578}\) This underscores the important role of wrathful deities in the hagiographical development of the Shalu master: what is highlighted is not the masters' involvement in murder—which is directly allocated to the deities—but rather the lamas' extraordinary power (*mthu*) and ritual prowess. The violence within which masters' activities of protection unfolds does not detract from the *History*'s ennoblement of

\(^{576}\) Ibid., 38.

\(^{577}\) khyed rang gis gtor ma lag tu blangs nas brgyab na sems bskyed la gnod pas ma byed. Zha lu gdan rabs, 183.

\(^{578}\) gnod byed byung na nged rang rnams 'ong nas sgrol ba yin. Ibid.
Shalu's masters. On the contrary, the lamas' capacities to accomplish the protection of the monastic tradition through violent means, in effect, highlights ennobled motivations that are ultimately rooted in altruism and compassion.

6.6—Losel Tengyong: An Exemplary Shalu Protector
6.6.1—Butöön Becomes a Great Protector of Shalu
Losel Tengyong's presentation of Shalu's past in the History features a tradition-specific model of exemplarity that describes how to protect the monastic tradition from harm. Chapter 4 examined how one of Losel Tengyong's sources—the Biography of Rinchen Namgyel—is transformed by Losel Tengyong into a story highlighting strict Vinaya-observance. The transformed tale, I argue, resonates with the author's larger presentation of strict faithfulness to the Vinaya. Amidst this transformation, Rinchen Namgyel's seductress becomes a demon, and the protagonist, a victim who struggles to become exemplary through following the Vinaya closely.

Besides providing a venue for Rinchen Namgyel to demonstrate his virtuousness of Vinaya-adherence, the story, transformed by Losel Tengyong, also becomes a forum for Butöön to become a great protector of the Shalu tradition himself. The vilification of Jojo, Rinchen Namgyel's seductress, alters the story so that Shalu's lineage holder comes under direct demonic threat. Jojo's demonization also, in effect, threatens Shalu's lineage and its continuity of teachings. With this new dynamic in place, Losel Tengyong envisions Butöön as a great protector of the monastery: Losel Tengyong has Butöön utter verses to the dharma protectors in his History—an episode entirely absent in Sotön Śākyapel's earlier telling of the same story. Losel Tengyong selects a passage from a text for summoning Shalu's protector deities written by Butöön, entitled The
Wheel of Slander to the Witch\textsuperscript{579} into the narrative, establishing it as Butön's speech—in effect, placing Butön's text within Butön's mouth in the narrative. The account reads:

Then the Dharma Lord, the Omniscient One [Butön] spoke [these verses]:

\begin{quote}
Long ago, in the presence of the Buddha,
All [of you] who earnestly took an oath to protect the teachings and annihilate harmers to the teachings,
[Oh] wrathful guardians of the teachings,
Listen to these words!
\end{quote}

With unobstructed all-seeing eyes and
Completely pure god-like ears that can hear from a distance and Trustworthy minds free of bias,
For those reasons, [it is] you [who must] consider whether [it is] fitting or unfitting [to punish my disciple].

My disciple—endowed with splendid wisdom,
A fearlessly confident expounder of scripture and philosophy,
An utterly pure fully ordained monk who holds the three-fold training—
Look how a witch defeated this helpless one!\textsuperscript{580}

Losel Tengyong's added passage establishes Butön as a fierce protector of the Shalu tradition's most valuable resources, its lineage holders, from external (in this case, demonic) harm. Although only the beginning of the Butön's text is quoted in the History, Shalu's learned readers would likely have known the entire text—an integral component of their most sacred writings—which ends with calls to the dharma protectors to protect the lineage Lamas. Here, Butön calls out to the dharma protectors:

\begin{quote}
Completely annihilate those who bring harm to the teachings!
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{580} sngon tshe ston pa'i sphyin sngar mdongs gsal du // bstan pa bsrung shing bstan la gnod byed ba // tshar gcig byed par thugs dam zhal bzhes pa'i // bstan srung gnyan po'i tshogs rnams tshig 'di gsong // khyed cag sgrigs med 'phrub gyi sphyin dang ldan // ring nas gsal ba'i lha sphyin rnams dag cing // nye ring mi mnga' thugs dgon gtsas tshad ma ste // de phyir tshar gcig 'os sam mi 'os gisgs // bdag gi slob ma rnams dphyod blo gros can // lung riqs smra ba'i mi 'jigs spong pa can // bslab gsum 'dzin pa'i dge slong rnams dag pa // bdud mos dbang med nyid du bcoms la gisgs // Zha la gdan rabs, 52. The passage appears in Butön's text Bstan srung la dbang gsal nas bdud mo la smod pa / smod pa'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba, 315.
And protect the holy beings who are the holders of our teachings (bstan pa 'dzin pa) like your own children!
I implore you to defend us!581

While Jojo is reenvisioned as a demon who indirectly threatens Shalu's teachings through her direct attack on a teaching holder (bstan pa 'dzin pa), Butön is envisioned here as a powerful protector, calling upon protector deities to protect his lineage. This important change in the History bolsters the sentiments written in Butön's biography contained within the History of Butön as a subduer of evil spirits (dpe gdon) owing to his possession of "unimaginable powers"582—a fierce protector to whom "bountiful superhuman beings offered their lives" and came to follow his orders.583 Here, Losel Tengyong, causes Butön, the most noble and ideal of Shalu's Lamas, to perform the exemplarity of protecting Shalu. This is a most significant maneuver because it forces Butön to perform tradition-protecting, and hence definitively establishes his behavior as an ideal characteristic of Shalu masters, remembering that everything Butön does in the History, is explicitly an intentional act performed for others' emulation.

6.6.2—Losel Tengyong's Self-Representation as a Great Shalu Protector

The hagiographical theme of protecting the Shalu monastic tradition not only finds expression in Losel Tengyong's History, but it continues to unfold in the author's other works. Losel Tengyong appears to have become a renowned ritualist in Tibet, and his autobiography mentions that the Tibetan government employed him to perform state rituals.584

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581 bstan la gnod byed legs par tshar bcad cing // bstan pa 'dzin pa'i gang zag dam pa rnams // bu bzhin srung zhi ngskyob par mdzad du gsol // ibid., 317.
582 nus pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa dang ldan pas 'dpe gdon 'dul ba. Zha lu gdan rabs, 17.
583 mi ma yen rnams kyis srog snying 'bul ba sogs bka' bzhin sgrub pa byung ngo. Ibid.
rituals (sde pa gzhung gi rim gro). On one occasion, at the age of 45 in the earth-monkey year (1849), Losel Tengyong is requested to perform a state ritual, involving the burying of two types of sri demons,\textsuperscript{584} "enemy sri" (dgra sri) and "sri that deteriorate wealth" (phung sri).\textsuperscript{585}

The notion that to be a Buddhist master entails being a great protector of the tradition is also explicitly articulated in Losel Tengyong's autobiography. The author reflects in verse upon the time he joined the Shalu monastic tradition at the age of nine, and entreats both lamas and deities to protect him:

\begin{quote}
Lead! Lead! To the path of liberation lead [me]!
Act! Act! As [my] protectors (skyabs) and defenders (dpung gnyen), act!
Look! Look! [at] sentient beings' suffering, look!
Grant! Grant! Grant [me a stream of] superhuman accomplishments (dngos grub; siddhi) like the rain!\textsuperscript{586}
\end{quote}

It is not only deities, but also lamas, in Losel Tengyong's words, that need to protect the living masters of a tradition. As "protectors" or "refuges" (skyabs), and "defenders" (dpung gnyen), great lamas are required to protect their lineage.

Besides his writings on monastic life (that is, his History and autobiography), Losel Tengyong also focuses his efforts on ritual literature. He leaves us important texts in the Compendium of Sādhanas (Sgrub thabs kun btus), compiled and edited by Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo (1820–1892),\textsuperscript{587} and, significant to the present study, Losel Tengyong

\textsuperscript{584} On this class of demons, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, 216, 300–303, 516–518.

\textsuperscript{585} My translation of phung sri is drawn from Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, 216, 300–303, 516–518. On the various types of phung sri, and how dgra sri and phung sri are to be buried, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, 517–518.

\textsuperscript{586} gsol lo mchod do bla ma mkha’ ‘gro yi chos skyong // drong shig drong shig thar pa’i lam sna der drong shig // mdzad cig mdzad cig skyabs dang dpung gnyen zhig mdzod cig // gzigs shig gzigs shig ’gro ba’i sdag bsgal la gzigs shig // stsol mdzod stsol mdzod dngos grub char ’bebs rang stsol mdzad // Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 488.

\textsuperscript{587} Smith, "Introduction," 2.
himself also composed a text containing a collection of torma rituals for the monastery of Shalu, entitled *Torma Ritual: A Clear Explanation Without Errors*.\(^5\) In the text, the author incites the masters of Shalu to offer torma to a wide range of deities, and describes how to perform the torma rituals. One section is devoted to offering torma to the monastery's protectors, including the dharma protectors (*chos skyong*), Brahmā, Indra, the Four Guardian Kings, and oath-bound (*dam tshig can*) dharma protectors.\(^6\) Losel Tengyong recounts the invocation that Shalu masters should utter to these dharma protectors when offering torma, imploring them to eliminate obstacles, to aid in the flourishing of the dharma, to grant practitioners supreme and common siddhis, and to remove inner and outer obstacles.\(^7\) The text, hence, provides, at least in some general sense, the tools for Shalu's masters to achieve the modes of exemplarity that are narrated in his *History*. Losel Tengyong, in effect, leads learned Shalu readers to the exemplarity of protecting the monastic tradition by both directly *telling* them to how perform idealized actions in his ritual literature, and *showing* them what it means to be ideal in his *History*.

To be a virtuous Shalu lama means to protect the monastery through calling deities to aid in threatening times by mastering the Shalu ritual curriculum. This mode of virtue also unfolds in Losel Tengyong's autobiography, as the author portrays himself as an exemplary master who protects the Shalu tradition. Losel Tengyong reveals his prowess as a protector of Shalu during the 1854–6 Tibeto-Nepalese war,\(^8\) or,


\(^6\) Ibid., 319.

\(^7\) Ibid., 319–320.

\(^8\) According to Petech, this conflict is an area of gross scholarly neglect, and about which Tibetan texts apparently provide little information. On this conflict, see See Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet*,
as it is called in his autobiography, the "Gor[kha] War" (Gor dmag). The conflict was instigated by the ruler of Nepal, Jung Bahadur (1816–1877) over grievances regarding the mistreatment of the Nepalese in Tibet, including customs levied on Nepalese merchants involved in trans-Himalayan trade. Although no direct threat to the monastery is mentioned, Losel Tenyong, together with a group of Shalu monks, performs a number of "army expelling rites" (dmag zlog). And Losel Tenyong himself assists a person named Sagung Shedra Chenpo who arrives in the Shalu area to propitiate the "goddess of Gyengong," that is, the wrathful protectress Dorjé Raptenma, in hopes of pacifying the conflict.

Like Trülshig who calls upon Dorjé Raptenma to resolve the fighting of two armies, Losel Tengyong's efforts at neutralizing violence on a regional or national scale must be understood to ultimately have some impact on the monastery of Shalu and its tradition. Such rituals, even if performed for national concerns on behalf of a government, as Gentry writes, ultimately function to "protect the doctrine" (bstan srung); "to preserve the geopolitical integrity of Tibet so that Buddhist institutions


592 Losel Tengyong mentions the conflict as the Gor dmag, that is, the Gor[kha] war or army, depending on the context, but it most certainly does not refer to the 1814-16 "Gurkha War" (fought between the Kingdom of Nepal and the British East India Company), since Losel Tengyong mentions the Gor dmag erupting at the age of 51, in the wood tiger year (1854-5).

593 Ramakan, Indo-Nepalese Relations, 1816 to 1877 (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1968), 257.

594 Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 640–1. I borrow this translation of dmag zlog from Gentry, "Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Expulsion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty." Losel Tengyong's autobiography mentions that the provisions needed to perform the dmag zlog rites were provided by a body called the bla gzhung, which may refer to the Tibetan government.

595 Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 641.
could thrive there unabated." On Sodogpa's "army expelling rites" (dmag zlog), Gentry writes, "the rites described in these episodes appear to be more about protecting Tibet's frontiers and population from the ravages of warfare than saving Buddhist monasteries, reliquaries, and shrines, although those two sets of concerns were no doubt seen as very much interrelated."

Further allusions to the Tibeto-Nepalese War's potential threat to Shalu are expressed by Losel Tengyong as he recalls that the Manchu Chinese Viceroy, or Amben (am ban) encouraged the inclusion of "monk-soldiers" (ser dmag) in the conflict, a situation that may have come to directly affect Shalu itself. In response to this threat, Losel Tengyong elicits patronage and supervises the production of a series of woven painted scrolls (thang kha) of several of Shalu's dharma protectors, including Shinjé and Dorjé Raptenma. Losel Tenyong himself performs the paintings' consecration (rab gnas), meaning that he ritually invites the deities to "permanently dwell" (rab tu gnas pa) in their painted receptacles. Accompanying the consecration, Losel Tengyong also asserts that he performs a "request for protection" (phrin bcol) ritual—that is, he requests Shalu's protector deities, now residing in the paintings, to offer their protection. Losel Tengyong then sponsors an extensive protection rite (phrin rgyas), performed at Shalu, and provides provisions for the ritual's participants. He also offers a hundred sets of "five offering substances" (mchod pa sna lnga)—that is, offerings for

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597 Ibid., 151.
598 Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 644.
599 Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 643–4.
the pleasure of the protectors' five senses. Summing up the effects of his ritual efforts, Losel Tengyong reveals the following outcome: "Previously, [there was] a great problem concerning the Gor[kha] war and [there was] encouragement from the Chinese Amben [to] enlist monk soldiers (ser dmag) [in the conflict]. Despite great coercions such as this, from then onwards, the situation pacified."

The Tibeto-Nepalese war came to an end through the signing of a 10-point treaty between Tibet and Nepal on March 24, 1856, which stipulated Tibet's payment of an annual tribute to Nepal of ten thousand rupees. Although couched in the expected extreme humility of Tibetan autobiography, Losel Tengyong nevertheless skillfully reveals his ritual mastery through insinuating his rituals' successful outcome or "accomplishment" (sgrub). Losel Tenyong hence reveals himself to be an exemplary master of protecting the monastic tradition, mirroring the great protectors in the History.

6.7—Conclusion
The History presents a set of didactic guidelines that extend beyond the History itself, into the confines of Shalu's ritual literature. A full reading of Losel Tengyong's prescriptive vision on the ideal of ritual prowess at Shalu requires that readers link with the History the intertextual connections that clarify this prescription and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition. In the History, readers encounter specific, life-

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600 These often take the form of a mirror (sight); a lute, cymbals, or gongs (sound); incense or a perfumed conch (smell); fruit (taste); and a silk cloth (touch). See Beer, The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols, 28.
601 de sngon gor dmag gi skor la gzir cha che zhang rgya mi am ban nas ser dmag tshun chad bsuk la sog brdab gzigs [=gsig] shin tu che yang / de bas bzung jam chags su song ba yin. Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 645.
602 Ramakant, Indo-Nepalese Relations, 1816 to 1877, 260.
like, and intimately familiar contexts wherein they witness appropriate contexts and procedures for the successful propitiation of Shalu's wrathful deities. Readers also see— instantiated within the History's narratives—the unforeseen dangers accompanying, and the successful results of, their own monastery's practices for enlisting deities' protection. Finally, readers encounter the enlightened insight, innate power, and ritual fervor that effectuate these rituals' successes. These prescriptive narratives are made meaningful, and are clarified, by readers' broader knowledge of deities' personalities, specific rituals, and their personal histories (or biographies) within the Shalu tradition.

The History is not only an account of general Tibetan Buddhist ecclesiastical exemplarity, but more specifically, it is a guidebook on how to be exemplarity in one specific place and within one specific lineage. Readers bring their situated knowledge of the Shalu tradition to their reading of the History, and Losel Tengyong concurrently combs his sources and situates selected narratives within Shalu's imagined universe, which he himself fashions through vicariously imagining his intended readers. The exemplarity, then, that arises between author, reader, and intertext, is one that exists in situated, place- and tradition-specific terms.

In chapter 3, I illustrated how Shalu was demarcated and defined vis-à-vis places of remoteness, like Tsari. Places of remoteness function in the History's narratives to mold an antithetical identity against which the ecclesiastical exemplarity of persevering through conflict—unfolding at the place of Shalu—is defined. These two places—Shalu versus the wilderness—constitute a productive tension, out of which the exemplary master of Shalu emerges. In chapter 4, I showed how, though a series of complex editorial moves, Losel Tengyong localizes a conflict within Shalu's religio-political web, and directs a monk to enact the exemplarity of Vinaya-adherence in line
with the Shalu tradition's mores as they appear in the lineage's writings. In chapter 5, we witness the Shalu monk encountering narratives that exalt past masters' fierce protection of the very manuscript and woodblock collections they find in their midst, and are charged with protecting. Here, in this chapter, readers encounter the exemplary successes of the rituals that they themselves perform. In each case, readers encounter a matrix of significations that is not only resonant with the tradition's wider discourses, but one that is woven by the author himself and which concurrently envelops his autobiographical self-representations and explicit didactic utterances. The exemplarity of protecting Shalu from harm is a discourse that is informed by lineage and place, and formed through an intersection between author, reader, and intertext.
Conclusion

The *History* intends to instruct. This is true, not only because of the text's self-characterization as such, but also because the *History*’s readers constantly encounter narratives comprised of performances and audiences—readers witness mundane observers within the text progressing towards the perfected behaviour of Shalu's "noble" (*phags pa*) society of saints. Readers, thus, are not only presented with a prescription for ideal behavior, but they also see other "ordinary" witnesses, within the *History*, already attempting to model a perfected mode enacted by Shalu's saintly elite. It is in the *History*’s ordinary beings (so so'i skye bo), who always surround this higher, inner society, that the *History*’s readers see themselves, reflected in the past. Following their reflected images, readers look upwards towards the pinnacles of perfected conduct. These pinnacles are of Losel Tengyong's own choosing; he carves them out of the very fabric of the Shalu tradition, and they reflect the text's outer world.

Losel Tengyong’s *History* is a jeweled fish hook—it attracts its readers, languishing in the ocean of *saṃsāra*, and leads them toward liberation. The *History* is a series of narrative theaters of the past that are most meaningfully experienced by Shalu's monks. On their transformative itinerary, led by Losel Tengyong, Shalu's monks encounter the *History* with a collection of memories—intertexts gleaned through their immersion in the tradition. These intertexts are keys that unlock the doors to these transformative theaters that Losel Tengyong has built for his readers, where familiar characters model the life-like application of the Shalu tradition’s own teachings. Woven out of the textual threads of the Shalu tradition, these theaters and characters feature the discrete contours of exemplarity that Losel Tengyong insists his readers should
observe. The *History*, and the extensive constellation of texts that surround it (of which only a fraction are reviewed above), illuminates, through this study, something of the dynamics within which a text representing and informing a tradition is woven together with discrete authorial and institutional forces.

It is specifically through readers' extended and "situated" memories of the Shalu tradition that Losel Tengyong's presentation of the exemplary lama is plausible, significant, sensible, and relevant to the *History*'s readers. The *History* unfolds its masters' past exemplarity within the same hierarchical structures; rooms and buildings; political fabric; physical landscapes; doctrinal, ritual, and meditative curricula; ritual calendar and tradition; and disciplinary tradition within which the *History*'s presentist readers also strive to become virtuous.

As a guidebook for the Shalu monk, the text supplies its readers with narrative models of the exemplary lama—models woven out of an interplay of forces generated by author, intended reader, and intertext. Each of the central chapters focuses in on one contour of this lama; each examines him from a different angle. In total, I extract and explicate four modes of virtue that dominate the text: perseverance through congregational conflict, the strict observance of the *Vinaya*, the guardianship of books, and the guardianship of tradition.

In chapter 3, I examined the virtue that arises out of perseverance through ecclesiastical conflict. The *History* presents this noble quality through unfolding narratives that attest to the soteriologically deleterious conditions of congregational conflict. In this chapter, I demonstrated how the *History* makes use of these provocative stories to compellingly highlight a series of Buddhist virtues. Through the hardship that comes with being an ecclesiastical lama, the *History*'s saints are implicitly shown to
advance soteriologically amid conflict. I also explored in this chapter how the
discourses that constitute this righteous contour resonate with Losel Tengyong's
autobiographical self-representations, and I consequently suggest a powerful authorial
force within the History's narratives. Concurrently, I demonstrate how these same
discourses resonate with some of Shalu's most well-known literature: Butön's final
testaments. As such, I suggest that forces of anticipated reader and intertext have
played a role in molding the exemplarity of soteriologically efficacious perseverance
through conflict.

In chapter 4, I illustrated how, though a series of complex editorial moves, Losel
Tengyong directs a monk, through clever editorial practices, to enact an exemplarity of
strict Vinaya observance that resonates with Butön's writings on monastic
comportment, and the author's own self-representations. Again, I endeavored to
illustrate in this chapter how the History provides a narrative model of the noble lama
woven together by the forces of author, intended reader, and (tradition-specific)
intertext.

In chapter 5, I examined a series of narratives in which the Shalu lamas fiercely
protect the very same manuscript and woodblock collections the History's intended
readers find in their midst and are charged with protecting. Through activities of
manuscript and woodblock production, collection, organization, and text editing,
Shalu's robust protectors of texts tenaciously safeguard one of the monastery's most
precious resources—its written receptacles of the Shalu teachings. I argue that the
exemplarity of text protection resonates with a series of discourses found in the
monastery's textual corpus, and hence has a discrete significance to the History's
intended reader. I contextualize the History's narratives of text protection within
Butön's own texts that highlight the importance the monastery's forefather (Butön) ascribes to the care of books. Bringing their situated knowledge of the Shalu tradition to their reading of the History, readers encounter a meaningful matrix of significations that resonates with the tradition's wider discourses of book protection. Concurrently, this matrix of meaning is woven by the author himself, and to demonstrate the latter, I explore how the exemplarity of book protection mimics the author's autobiographical self-representations.

Finally, in chapter 6, I explored the exemplarity of guardianship by examining narratives that illustrate the masters' extraordinary power in protecting the monastery from its enemies through ritual. In these narratives, Shalu's masters are ennobled by narratives that draw attention to their astounding power and ability to enlist fierce protector deities to protect the Shalu tradition. Here, as in the other chapters, I explore how intended readers encounter a contour of righteousness that is resonant with the tradition's wider discourses and Losel Tengyong's own self-depictions.

In each of these chapters, I argue that readers encounter—in the History's narrative hagiographical models—a bundle of meanings informed by lineage and place, and generated through an impact of the forces of author, intended reader, and intertext. When previous models of lamas' exemplarity—instantiated in older Shalu stories—diverge from Losel Tengyong's prescription of noble conduct for his intended readers' consumption, he editorially forces these older narratives to resonate with his History's larger prescription of ecclesiastical exemplarity. Losel Tengyong's prescriptive vision of ecclesiastical nobility, moreover, lies not only within the History itself, but also more broadly in the intertextual connections that clarify this prescription and infuse it with meaning from the Shalu tradition—the very world that has generated the text.
While the *History's* pinnacles of exemplarity may be of Losel Tengyong's own choosing, albeit carved out of the textual fibers of the Shalu tradition, what is not explored through this study is how unique these pinnacles of the lama's behavior appear across a spectrum of Tibetan monastic writings. In the future, I hope to compare the *History* to similar works and better contextualize the ways in which Losel Tengyong has ennobled his protagonists. The above has examined (albeit to a very limited extent) a few ways in which the *History* follows broad templates from, and shares broad features with, the profoundly influential biographical traditions of the Buddha and Milarepa. But how would texts that are comparable to the *History* (in date, size, scope, focus, and so forth) present the very same elements of exemplarity: how would different authors present themes of conflict resolution, *Vinaya* adherence, protection of books, and ritual prowess in enlisting violent deities?

Although Losel Tengyong's vision of the Shalu lama's nobility is not yet contrasted in a systematic fashion to other comparative works, the pattern of exemplarity that emerges from this study of the *History* nevertheless tells us several items of significance. We learn in this study, for instance, something of how *Vinaya* observance was seen in nineteenth-century Tibet, at least according to one influential lama. In reading the *History* together with the works that contextualize it, we see that the issue of clerics and sex was contentious, steeped in a plurality of viewpoints, some of which, like Losel Tengyong's (and his lama's), were conservative. We also learn something more general about *Vinaya* observance in Tibet in the nineteenth century: there existed a view that the *Vinaya* was adhered to leniently, incorrectly, and without much understanding of its importance. This point, albeit invoking a Buddhist literary trope of an ever declining and perverting dharma, and although it bolsters Losel
Tengyong's own virtues of strict Vinaya observance, could not entirely be without some basis in reality—otherwise the readers of his autobiography would swiftly reject the author's self-characterizations. Indeed, had the picture of the Vinaya's state of affairs in Tibet been utterly distorted, Losel Tengyong's autobiography would fail to fulfill its crucial criterion—truthfulness⁶⁰³—betraying its own promise, expressed in the text's very title, *Clear White Crystal Mirror*, to faithfully reflect reality.

On the dynamics of Tibetan hagiography, this dissertation reveals several points of interest. We learn something, for instance, of the centrality of conflict in defining virtuous character. The Buddha's and Milarepa's great virtues—and specifically, the extremes of these virtues—were literally sculpted out of paradigmatic conflicts with their infamous antagonists. This study illustrates the continuity of this process in Tibetan Buddhist hagiography up to the nineteenth century and reveals how a wide assortment of congregational conflicts can be readily folded into this broad hagiographic pattern.

Another point on Tibetan hagiography revealed by this study in chapter 6 is of the role played by the protector deity in violent ritual. What is highlighted in the *History* is not the masters' involvement in murder itself—the act directly allocated to the violent deities—but rather their extraordinary power (*mthu*) and ritual prowess. Deities who murder others on behalf of lamas in the *History* reveal, perhaps, a strategy to mitigate some of the anxiety, encountered throughout Tibetan literature, associated with lamas being engaged in violence.

A point on canonicity in Tibetan hagiography, and which perhaps represents wider views on the importance of Buddhist texts in Tibetan history, is raised in chapter

4. In the *History*, the importance of canon is defined in relation to the protection of the "teachings' continuity" (bstan pa'i rgyun) rather than the prevention of textual change. The function of canonization to stabilize and disseminate one version of an authoritative text is muted in the *History*’s hagiographical vision of exemplarity in the care of books.

Another interesting issue that arose in this dissertation, and which requires more contemplation and study, relates to the apparent paradox seen in the *History*’s revealing of the seemingly confused (or "saṃsāric") thoughts of enlightened characters, whose outward actions are merely enacted for the purpose of readers' soteriological edification. Does testimony to inward confusion undermine the strategy of the *History*—and more generally speaking, Buddhist hagiography—to present masters as enlightened beings "appearing" to transform spiritually for the sake of observers? Do readers overlook this paradox by accepting that thoughts are somehow simply another aspect of the protagonists' skillful performances?

Finally, the dissertation contributes to a general scholarly understanding of literary descriptions of the ideal Tibetan Buddhist lama. The *History* conveys that lamas, in their most general configurations, perform the perfections (phar phyin; pāramitā) and miraculous powers (dngos grub; siddhi); possess an innate "capacity" akin to sorcery (mthu); are immersed in all matters of "teaching and learning" (*chad nyan*) involving initiations (*dbang*), explanations (*bshad pa*), and oral teachings (*gadams ngag*); are preoccupied with activities of listening, contemplation, and meditation (*thos bsam sgom*), and teaching, debate, and composition (*chad rtsod rtsom*); and exert control in both religious and secular matters (*lugs gnyis*). Lamas lives their lives in a gradual shift of foci: from learning to teaching, and then from teaching to meditation. The lama is a
master of the Vajrayāna, attaining control over the subtle energies of channels (rtsa; nādi), winds (rlung; vāyu), and vital force (srog; prāṇa) that grounds the tantric practitioner in states of nonduality. The lama is also a master of the tantric ritual, with the prowess and power to execute its desired "accomplishment" (sgrubs). Great lamas possess "ascetic-like perseverance," "far-sightedness," resolute dedication to resolving conflict, literalist adherence to the Vinaya, tireless devotion to book preservation, and startling capacity to enlist deities in violent rituals. What chapters 4 and 6 reveal about the character type of the History's lama vis-à-vis the Buddhist sūtra tradition and the figure of the bodhisattva contained therein, is that the History's vision of an ideal lama may invert the Prātimokṣa's injunctions against murder, but not sexuality.604

These literary characteristics are not peculiar in themselves, particularly to those familiar with Tibetan monastic narrative literature, but comparisons of the History with other similar works might reveal subtle differences in the ways that different authors choose to write monastic hagiographies. Like other works certainly would, the History's lamas challenge the aforementioned set of twofold representations that sometimes characterize Tibetan religious practitioners as wandering/settled, ritualist/scholar, monk/yogi, and cleric/shaman. As we have seen in this dissertation, Tibetan Buddhist monasticism's public self-representation, at least in one instance, presents a much more protean picture of the ecclesiastical male "cleric." He is full of contradictions and

604 Further investigation in this area may yield some interesting results: Losel Tengyong's views on this matter may be aligned with those of Tsongkhapa (1357–1419). Peter Harvey writes, "Tsong kha pa holds that while a monk may kill, steal, and lie on compassionate grounds, without 'defeat' as a monk, he may not have sex on such grounds, as this would lay aside the basis of his training as a monk, with no real benefit to others." An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: Foundations, Values, and Issues (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 140. For a discussion of this point in Tsongkhapa's thought, see Asaṅga and Tson-kha-pa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa, Asanga's Chapter on Ethics with the Commentary of Tsong-Kha-Pa, the Basic Path to Awakening, the Complete Bodhisattva, trans. Mark Tatz (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), 212–13.
tensions—both wandering and settled, peaceful and violent, and sexual and asexual. The *History* presents characters who dwell much more on the peripheries, rather than the centers, of these dualisms. I would like to propose that the *History*, and other "clerical" works like it, might be approached as sites for examining the coalescences—rather than just one side—of these dualisms.

Besides contributing to a broad definition of a literary type (i.e., the lama), this study also furnishes us with a look into the processes behind the generation of Buddhist tradition on a microcosmic scale. This dissertation examines a process that is certainly a pervasive phenomenon in Buddhism and in other religious traditions: the process of hagiography whose nature and function is defined in localized and author-specific terms. What this dissertation tries to do is to explicate some of the inner mechanics within this artistic process. As a case study of such a pervasive phenomenon, this dissertation's ultimate hope is to contribute to the broadest speculations about the Buddhist tradition's creative process. We can think, for instance, about this study in relation to the some of grossest categories in which Buddhism is often imagined—founder, canon, community. If we take it to be true that all of these categories are themselves placeholders for a wide range of small traditions, and if we take seriously the resistance to equating Buddhism as a whole with the Buddhist canons, the life of Śākyamuni, or with any one place (e.g., premodern India), then there is no reason why this study should not contribute to our understanding of these large, ultimately protean, placeholders of Buddhist founder, canon, and community. If we thus imagine Butön standing in for the Buddha; Shalu literature, for the Buddhist canon; and the *History*'s readers for the monastic elite audience of those Buddhist canons, then this study reveals something about the central place of the individual author in the creation
and dissemination of the Buddhist tradition—Losel Tengyong, standing in for the often elusive creator of the Buddhist text. While it is already known that Buddhist traditions are woven out of literary characters resembling the Buddha, and out of the very fibers, or echoes, of their founders' own words, this study allows us to see something of the artist behind the creation of this quilt work, or mosaic: the high degree of reflection that occurs between the artist and his work, and the importance of knowing about authors in attempting to understand Buddhist texts.
Tibetan Orthographic Equivalents

Amben = Am ban
Bara Kagyü = 'Ba' ra bka' brgyud
Bodong = Bo dong
Buluk = Bu lugs
Butön = Bu ston
Butön Rinchendrup = Bu ston rin chen grub
chadrel = bya bral
Chadrel Rigdzin Chöying Dorjé = Bya bral rig 'dzin chos dbyings rdo rje
Champa Sönam Wangpo = Byams pa bsod nams dbang po
Changling Rinpoché = Byang gling rin po che
chayik = bca' yig
Ché = Lce
Chetsun Sherab Chungné = Lce btsun shes rab 'byung gnas
Chetsun Tenzin Trinlé = Lce btsun bstan 'dzin 'phrin las
Chöding = Chos sding
Choglang = Phyogs glang
Chukar = Chu dkar
Dakpo Kagyü = Dwags po bka' brgyud
Dargyé = Dar rgyas
Dharma Changchup = Dar ma byang chub
Dharma Śrīpa = Dharma śri pa
Dorjé Pakmo = Rdo rje phag mo
Dorjé Raptenma = Rdo rje rab brtan ma
Dragdön Rinpoché = Brag dgon rin po che
Drakpa Gyeltsen = Grags pa rgyal mtshan
Dramtsäl Dragdrup = Bram tshal brag grub
Drepün Nyedo = Grwa'i phun snye mdo
drölwa = sgrol ba
Drubpa Pelwa = Grub pa dpal ba
dugsen = sdug sran
Gampopa Sönam Rinchen = Sgam po pa bdod nams rin chen
gehor = dge sbyor
Geluk = Dge lugs
Gölotsawa Zhönupel = 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal
Gomorbi = Sgo mor bi
Gongkar Dorjé Denpa Jigmé Pawo = Gong dkar rdo rje gdan pa 'jigs med dpal bo
Gongma Drakpa Gyeltsen = Gong ma grags pa rgyal mtshan
Gönpo Gur = Mgon po gur
Gönpo Shel = Mgon po zhal
gurmo = mgur mo
Gyamorongpa Yeshé Drakpa = Rgya mo rong pa ye shes grags pa
Gyeltang = Rgyal thang
Gyeltangpa = Rgyal thang pa
Gyengong = Rgyan gong
Jamgön Kongtrül Lotrō Thayé = 'Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas
Jamyang Drakpa Gyeltsen = 'Jam dbyangs grags pa rgyal mtshan
Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo = 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po
Jamyangpa = 'Jam dbyangs pa
Jigmé Lingpa = 'Jigs med gling pa
Jojo = Jo jo
Jonang = Jo nang
José Purpakap = Jo sras phur pa skyabs
Jowo = Jo bo
Kabchogpa = Skabs mchog pa
Kadam = Bka' gdams
Kadampa = Bka' gdams pa
Kagyü = Bka' brgyud
Kagyüpa = Bka' brgyud pa
Kangyur = Bka' 'gyur
Karma Trinlepa = Karma 'phrin las pa
kashipa = bka' bzhi pa
Kashipa Chogdrup Pelbar = Bka' bzhi pa mchog grub dpal 'bar
Kedrup Sangyé Pelrin = Mkhas grub sangs rgyas dpal rin
Kewang Tsendra Śrīratna = Mkhas dbang tsandra śrī ratna
Kham = Khams
\textit{khenpo} = mkhan po
Khyenrab Chöjé Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrup = Mkhyen rab chos rje rin chen mkhyen rab mchog grub
Khyungtsé = Khyung rtse
Kongtrül Lotrö Thayé = Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas
Kunglepa = Khung lhas pa
Künkhyen Sönampel = Kun mkhyen bsod nams 'phel
Künzin = kun 'dzin
Kushang = Sku zhang
Kushang Drakpa Gyeltse = Sku zhang Grags pa rgyal mtshan
Kushang Khyenrab Chojé Rinchen Khyenrab Chogdrub = Sku zhang mkhyen rab chos rje rin chen mkhyen rab mchog grub
Kushang Kunga Döndrup = Sku zhang kun dga' don grub
Kushang Namkha = Sku zhang nam mkha'
Kyabchö Pelsangpo = Skyabs mchod dpal bzang po
Kyabchog = Skyabs mchog
\textit{kyo} = skyo
Labrang = Bla brang
lama = bla ma
Lama Kashipa Tsültrim Gyurme = Bla ma ka bzhi pa tshul khrims 'gyur med
Lama Tsasenpa = Bla ma rtsa san pa
\textit{latrang} = bla brang
Lobtön Gönpodrup = Slob ston pa mgon po grub
Longchen Rabjampa = Klong chen rab 'byams pa
Lotön Dorjé Wangchuk = Lo ston rdo rje dbang phyug
Lotsāwa = Lo tsā ba
Losel Tengyong = Blo gsal bstan skyong
\textit{magdog} = dmag zlog
Menkangwa = Sman khang ba
Milarepa = Mi la ras pa
Minyak = Mi nyag
Namkha Chogdrup Pelsangpo = Nam mkha' mchog grub dpal bzang po
namtar = rnam thar
Neüdong = Sne'u gdong
ngakpa = sngags pa
Ngakwang Losang Gyatso = Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho
Nordé Chenpo = Nor bde chen po
Norsang Rinchen Pelsang = Nor bzang rin chen dpal bzang
Nubchen Sangyé Yeshé = Gnubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes
Nyangtö = Nyang stod
Nyingma = Rnying ma
Nyingmapa = Rnying ma pa
Padmakarpo = Padma dkar po
Pakmodru = Phag mo gru
Pasang Tenzin = Pa sangs bstan 'dzin
Peldén Chönpel = Dpal ldan chos 'phel
Peldén Püntsok = Dpal ldan phun tshogs
Pelsang = Dpal bzang
Phakmodru = Phag mo gru
phowa = 'pho ba
Pöntsang Gyeltsen Sangpo = Dpon tshang rgyal mtshan bzang po
Pöntsang Bongkarwa = Dpon tshang bong dkar ba
Relpachen = Ral pa can
Rinchen Losang Khyenrab = Rin chen blo bzang mkhyen rab
Rinchen Lungdrup = Rin chen lhung grub
Rinchen Namgyel = Rin chen rnam rgyal
Rinchen Namgyel Thugsé Lotsāwa = Rin chen rnam rgyal thugs sras lo tsā ba
Rinchen Tenzin = Rin chen bstan 'dzin
Rinpung = Rin spungs
Ripuk = Ri phug
Ripuk Changling = Ri phug byang gling
Ripuk Umdzé Chenmo = Ri phug dbu mdzad chen mo

ritrō = ri khrod

Sachen Kunga Lotrö = Sa chen kun dga' blo gros

Sakya = Sa skya

Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyeltsen = Sa skya Paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan

Sakyapa = Sa skya pa

Sagung Shedra Chenpo = Sa gung bshad sgra chen po

Samtān Chöding = Bsam gtan chos sdings

Sangpopel = Bzang po dpal

Sangpu = Gsang phu

Sangpu Neütog = Gsang phu sne'u thog

Shabdrung Dorjé Pagmo = Zhabs drung rdo rje phag mo

Shabkar = Zhas dkar

Shabkar Tsogdruk Rangdröl = Zhas dkar tshogs drug rang grol

Shalu = Zha lu / Zhwa lu

Shalu Lochen Rinchen Chökyong Sangpo = Zha/Zhwa lu lo chen rin chen chos skyong bzung po

Shalupa = Zha lu pa / Zhwa lu pa

shedra = bshad grwa

Shidé = Bzhi sde

Shinjé = Gshin rje

Shugta = Zhugs rta

Sogdogpa Lotrö Gyaltsen = Sog bzlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan

Sönam Dragpa = Bsod nams grags pa

Sönam Drup = Bsod nams grub

Sotön Chökyongpel = So ston chos skyong dpal

Sotön Śākyapel = So ston śākya dpal

Tagdrak = Stag brag

tamsang = Tam srang

Tarpé Lama Chel Nakpo Thogbeb = Thar pa'i bla ma dpyal nag po thog 'bebs

Tashilungpo = Bkra shis lhun po

Tengyur = Bstan 'gyur
torma = gtor ma
Thongmön = Mthong smon
Tropu = Khro phu
Trülshig Tsültrim Gyeltsen = 'Khrul zhig tshul khrims rgyal mtshan
Tsang = Gtsang
Tsangyön Heruka = Gtsang smyon he ru ka
Tsarchen Losel Gyatso = Tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho
Tsaritra = Rtsa ri tra
Tsechen Drongsar = Rtse chen grong gsar
Tsömönling Tulku Nagwang Jampel Tsültrim = Mtsho smon gling sprul sku ngag dbang
  'jam dpal tshul khrims
Tsonawa Sherab Sangpo = Mtsho sna ba shes rab bzang po
Tsongdü = Tshong 'dus
Tsongkhapa = Tsong kha pa
Tsültrim Gyatso = Tshul khrims rgya mtsho
Tugskea = Thugs sras pa
Ü-Tsang = Dbus-Gtsang
Yardrog Samding = Yar 'brog bsam sdings / lding
Yeshé Gyatso Sharchenpa = Ye shes rgya mtsho shar chen po
Yutok Drasersang = G.yu thog sgra gser bzang
Wangchug Rabten = Dbang phyug rab brtan
Wangden Chökor = Dbang ldan chos 'khor
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