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CHAPTER 18

The Deer as a Structuring Principle in Certain Bonpo Rituals

A Comparison of Three Texts for Summoning Good Fortune (g.yang)

Charles Ramble

Introduction

This article aims to examine the motif of the deer that features in a number of Tibetan ritual texts. I shall confine myself here to the presentation of some textual findings from the west-central Himalaya that will, I hope, contribute to the exploration of a theme that has already been the subject of investigation by certain scholars. This relatively narrow scope forbids more general reflections on the cultural and historical significance of the deer in Tibetan and adjacent civilisations, a theme that nevertheless deserves — and would surely reward — systematic investigation in the future.

The research presented here is part of a wider study of Bon rituals based on a manuscript compendium in the possession of Lama Tshultrim, a tantric priest from the village of Lubrak in Nepal's Mustang district.[1] The rituals constitute the repertoire of Lama Tshultrim, and while some of them are rarely, if ever, carried out, others feature relatively prominently among the ceremonies he is requested to perform by his network of patrons. One of these is the "Summoning of good fortune" (*g.yang 'gug*), a ritual that is commonly performed by Bonpos and Buddhists alike, for the benefit of both private clients and whole communities. I have seen Lama

[1]I am indebted to Khenpo Tenpa Yungdrung for helping me with difficulties in these texts, and to Françoise Robin for her valuable comments on an earlier version of this article.

Tshultrim perform the ritual on several occasions, and in 2008 he kindly permitted me and Kemi Tsewang to film a performance that he conducted for a private household in Lubrak itself.

For the purposes of the present article, the *g.yang 'gug* ritual is relevant only insofar as the ritual manual features the motif of the deer, and details concerning the performance and other aspects of the text will not be given here. However, a few words may be said by way of introduction about the term *g.yang*. Although the nature of these notions has been addressed by several writers, a particularly succinct account is given by Samten Karmay in his prelude to the *Mu ye pra phud*, one of the texts with which we shall be concerned here. The translation he proposes for the term is "quintessence of fortune", adding that it might be combined with other terms to signify their essence, as in the compound *rta g.yang*: "The '*g-yang* of horse' is not the horse itself, but the 'super horse', so to speak" (Karmay and Nagano 2002: x–xi; see also Karmay 1998 [1975]: 149). This definition is vividly illustrated by one of the texts discussed below, in which we are told that a horse without *g.yang* is no different from a wild ass, and a yak without *g.yang* is like a *'brong,* a wild yak. It is *g.yang* that gives these animals their 'horseness' and their 'yakness'.[2]

A term that is closely associated with *g.yang* is *phya*. As Karmay points out, this word has two meanings: 'prognosis' and 'vital force' or 'life' (Karmay and Nagano 2002: x; see also Karmay 1998 [1986]: 247, fn. 9), and that when it is combined with *g.yang* it is in the latter sense that it should be understood. The evidence of our texts suggests a complex relationship between *phya* and *g.yang* that deserves closer examination in the future. Even from the excerpts cited below it is clear that *phya* is more closely associated with humans, and *g.yang* with animals: *phya* is to humans what *g.yang* is to livestock, lustre is to turquoise, warmth to clothing and nutrition to food (*Yab lha bdal drug*: fol. 3r). But the difference is not quite as straightforward as this. There are passages (though not in the excerpts presented here) where humans, too, have *g.yang*, and animals — and inanimate objects — have *phya*. Indeed *g.yang* itself has *phya*, though it does not seem to be the case that *phya* has *g.yang*.

[2]When a preliminary version of this paper was presented at Shimla, Matthias Pfisterer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna observed that, on the basis of these examples, *g.yang* appeared to be associated with domestication. Although this is not the occasion to pursue the notion, the suggestion is an intriguing one that deserves further investigation.

A final point to be made is that *phya* is not the same as Phywa, which designates a category of divinities. Both terms appear in our texts, but the orthography is random, and it is not always clear from the context which word is intended.

The Deer in Tibetan Rituals

Magical deer of one sort or another are extremely common in the folktales and myths of Central Asia and Europe, and there is little to be gained by establishing the kinship of the particular deer with which we are concerned here to that great herd.[3] At the present stage of research, a relatively restricted range of comparisons may well be more instructive. Three studies in particular will be mentioned here.

The work in which the significance of the deer in Bonpo ritual receives the fullest treatment is Blondeau and Karmay's "Le cerf à vaste ramure" (1988). The study is based on the text of a *mdos* ritual, *Bon sha ba ru rgyas*, but includes extensive discussion of references to the ritual in other Tibetan works, as well as a consideration of Tibetan and Himalayan cultural activities — including hunting and dance — in which deer play a central role. There is insufficient space here to pursue the numerous avenues of enquiry opened by this important work, but it is worth drawing attention to a few of the features shared by the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas* and the works examined here. The effigy of the deer that is constructed in the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas* ritual is intended as a ransom. Although no effigy is constructed for the rituals to be discussed here, in both cases different parts of the deer's body and behaviour are enumerated and explained in terms of certain values or objects in the world that they represent, either as analogies or as the source of their manifestation. The implicit dismemberment of the deer in all the texts invites the question of whether the rituals ever entailed animal sacrifice. Blondeau and Karmay address this matter and conclude that, although later Buddhist accounts maintain that the Bonpo rite did entail blood offerings, the claim is too far in time from the alleged practice to constitute a reliable witness, and that the use of an effigy does not by itself imply substitution for a real animal. In two of the texts considered here the deer is hunted, but there is no mention of the quarry being

[3]For a survey of the distribution and variants of this motif see, for example, Harald von Sicard's "Der wunderbare Hirsch" (1971).

killed and dismembered; indeed, in one of the two (*Mu ye pra phud*) the animal is explicitly released after its qualities have been transferred into a sheep.

A remarkable account of a sacrifice among the Gurungs of Nepal is given in Mumford's *Himalayan Dialogue* (1989: 63–79). The ritual features a number of themes that leave little doubt about its conceptual relationship to the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas*—for example, in the relationship between the bird, the tree, and the deer that is developed in both. But the fact that the two rituals reveal a shared set of cultural values does not in itself constitute evidence that the Tibetan ritual ever entailed animal sacrifice. And if the texts examined below contain themes of hunting and dismemberment, in this case too we should avoid drawing apparently obvious conclusions that may well have no foundation.

A vivid idea of the significance of deer in Tibetan oracular religion is conveyed by John Bellezza's important study of spirit-mediumship in Western Tibet, *Calling Down the Gods* (2005). In addition to manifesting as gods or constituting divine offerings, deer (of various species) feature extensively in oracular narratives and stories, most commonly in the context of a hunt. In the texts examined in this work deer provide the mounts for many divinities (passim, but esp. 149, fn. 140). Bellezza's study also highlights the importance of the concept of *g.yang* among the spirit-mediums with whom he worked (ibid.: 53–172; see especially 146–51). One of them goes so far as to maintain "that the main purpose of spirit-mediumship is to bring *g.yang* (good fortune) to families afflicted with misfortune" (ibid.: 88). The penultimate section of the book is devoted to ritual texts for summoning *g.yang* (ibid.: 456–83). While the three texts presented by the author give some idea of the considerable diversity of this genre, it is the last of these, *Mu ye pra phud*, that is particularly relevant to the present article because of its association of *g.yang* with deer.

Just as the deer provides the focus of different kinds of rituals (such as the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas*), it is also true that the animal may not be a *necessary* feature of *g.yang*-retrieval rites: like the mandala, it may be an organisational principle that can be applied in a variety of ritual contexts. In two of the three texts examined by Bellezza, as well as another *g.yang* text from eastern Tibet,[4] deer are entirely absent from both the

[4]*Pha mtshun sgra bla'i g.yang skyobs 'dod dgu char 'bebs bsam pa don grub*. I am grateful to Dangsong Namgyal for showing me this work.

mythic narrative and the imagery of the ritual itself. Of the numerous animals that feature in the latter work, it is the sheep that is particularly associated with the *g.yang*. The possibility that this association may be due to the derivation of the Tibetan *g.yang* from the Chinese *yang*, meaning sheep, is well known. While I am not qualified to comment on the plausibility of this etymology, I would like to raise the possibility of the interchangeability of the deer and the sheep in a ritual context.

In the performance of the *g.yang 'gug* ritual the meat that is used to represent the body parts of the deer is mutton: the ritual requires that a sheep should have been butchered (but not sacrificed, and not necessarily for the express purpose of the ritual). When the priest's assistant goes onto the roof to summon the *g.yang* from the four directions he holds in his right hand the arrow with coloured cloths and in his left the foreleg of the sheep, which he uses to gather the *g.yang* towards him. But the sheep leg is considered a substitute for the leg of a deer, which should be used if available. In the performance I attended in Lubrak the foreleg of a musk deer was used on the first day; but Lama Tshultrim considered it a poor specimen: it had been dried and kept in the rafters of the house for a long time, and mice had gnawed it down to a few inches above the hoof. Consequently on the second day, after a sheep had been butchered, he declared that a leg of fresh mutton should be used instead.

Evidence for an association between deer and sheep among Tibet's erstwhile neighbours is to be found in a fourteenth-century history of the Liao Dynasty (*Liao Shi*). A study by Linda Cooke Johnson of a mural painting in a Khitan tomb discusses the significance of a deer that features in the depiction of a marriage procession. The animal is standing next to a cart, and was assumed by the archaeologists who reported the find to be a draft animal. But the deer is too small to be used for this purpose, and its more likely function is explained by the *Liao Shi*. The work states that, at the time of her wedding, an imperial princess was provided with a funeral carriage for use at her future burial. Inside the carriage was a sacrificial animal described by the text as *yang*. As the author explains, "the term *yang* literally means 'sheep', but is often used generically as in 'red deer'. The bones of deer, sheep and goats were all found in Liao tombs" (Johnson 1983: 126, fn. 51).[5]

[5]I am indebted to Berthe Jansen for drawing my attention to this work. Whatever the funeral associations of the deer may be, it is worth noting that the dialogue between

Presentation of the Texts

Many of the divinities (and places) in the narratives are well known from other Bonpo works, though in some cases the role and identity they are accorded in the present texts are very different from those with which they are usually associated. For the sake of brevity, the present treatment will avoid discussion of the various protagonists, and the numerous terminological problems raised by the works will also be passed over in silence.

The first text I shall consider here is the one used by Lama Tshultrim of Lubrak in his *g.yang 'gug* performances. It bears the title *Phywa g.yang g.yang len dgu bskor*. The second *g.yang* of the title may or may not be superfluous, but in any event it may be glossed as "Fetching the *phya* and the *g.yang*, in nine sections". It opens directly with an account of the miraculous appearance of a primordial deer.

> Homage to the presence of the *phywa* (= *phya*) *bon* and the *g.yang bon*. First, as for setting out the base for the *phya* of the phenomenal world, [recite as follows]: *Kyai*! When the sky first came into being, at the beginning of the world-ages, at the boundary of being and non-being, there came into existence a white conch-shell deer with crystal antlers. What came into existence? It was the first of the world-ages that came into existence; what descended? It was *phya* and *g.yang* that descended. Call "*khu'i*" to summon that *phya* undefeated; call "*khu'i*" to summon the *g.yang* undefeated! There was an emanation from that deer's heart, and from the head of that emanation there came into existence the Phywa (= *phya*?) castle [called] *gYang* Heart.... From the right antler of that emanation there came into being the long bright spear for the top, and from that there came into existence the five *pho wal* siblings.... From the left antler of that emanation there came into being the mothers' life-force spindle with the turquoise whorl (lit. leaves), and from that there came into existence the five *mo wal* siblings...

Various parts of the deer's body are transformed into objects representing the items that feature on the altar in the course of the ritual. The

the hunter and his coy quarry in *Mu ye pra phud* is somewhat reminiscent of the formal discourses that mark the confrontations between the parties of the groom and the bride in Tibetan pre-nuptial ceremonies.

coherence of the components of the altar is therefore provided not by virtue of their location in an integrated mandala, but insofar as, taken together, they reconstitute the body of a deer.[6] Each of the texts under consideration here contains a similar list in which parts of the deer's body are paired with ritual items, and these lists will be presented below in tabular form for the sake of easier comparison.

[6]'Creative dismemberment' is of course a well-known motif in Tibet and the Himalayas, generally as a template for social divisions, and the topic has been discussed by a number of authors. However, Françoise Robin has kindly drawn my attention to two stories that deserve special mention here insofar as they relate to the manifestation of dwelling-places — a tent in one case and a palace in the other — from the dismembered bodies of animals. Both the translations given below are based on Dr. Robin's bilingual (Tibetan-French) edition of the *Mi ro rtse sgrung*. In the first episode a boy, mounted on a yak-cow (*'bri*), is fleeing from a demoness:

> They reached an area of meadows, and the piebald yak-cow said to the boy, "Slaughter me quickly. Spread out my hide on the ground with my heart in the middle, place my hooves in the four directions, circle it with my intestines, scatter my black fur on the shady side, my white fur on the sunny side and my piebald fur between the two. Put my kidneys beneath my hind legs. Once you've done that go to sleep and you shall have whatever you wish for."

The boy remonstrated, but at the animal's insistence he

> did as the piebald yak-cow had told him, and went to sleep. When he woke up again and looked around — would you believe it! — the hide had turned into a huge tent, the white fur into sheep, the black fur into yaks, the piebald fur into horses, the two kidneys into dogs and the heart into a lovely woman. Because he'd been flustered during the butchery and had nicked the heart with his knife, the woman bore the trace of a scar on the tip of her nose. (Robin 2011 [2005]: 174, 175)

In the second account a woman and her son are fleeing from danger on horseback:

> They came to an empty, uninhabited pastureland and the horse said, "My lady, slaughter me and spread my hide on the ground. Set my four hooves in the four directions, heap my bones up in the middle, scatter my mane to the four quarters and four interstices. Set aside my heart, my lungs, my liver and my eyes — they will be of great benefit to you". Since she didn't dare to do any of this, the grey horse fell over by itself and died, and the woman then did as the horse had instructed her. The following day, there appeared a great palace, surrounded on all four sides by a row of trees. There were towers at the four corners, and in the middle a house with a pitched roof. There was also a clear, cool spring, and inexhaustible wealth in the treasury. After this had happened, she lived there with her son. (Robin 2011 [2005]: 298–300, 299–301)

While going through a private collection of manuscripts in Lubrak I came across another text for the summoning of *phya* and *g.yang*. This work, comprising fifty folios, is entitled *Srid pa yab lha bdal drug gis phya gzhung chen mo gzhugs-s+ho*, the "Great Main Text of the *phya* Ritual of Srid pa Yab lha bdal drug". The collection in which this work was discovered consists largely of works that I believe are original compositions of dKar ru grub dbang bsTan 'dzin rin chen (1801–1860), as well as other works that may have formed part of his library. The evidence of his autobiography reveals that he was often called on to perform *g.yang 'gug* rituals for his patrons, especially in the Himalayan regions, and it may be the text that he used in his performances. The work is actually a compilation of excerpts from a number of pre-existing writings. While this scissors-and-paste method does produce some rather jarring discontinuities, at least the provenance of some of the passages is provided. However, it is not clear if dKar ru himself was the compiler of the volume or if he was even the author of some of the unidentified sections.

In any event, the opening of the text is a great deal more elaborate than the account given in *Phya g.yang g.yang len*. Instructions for the preparation of the ritual paraphernalia are given as follows:

> Homage to the body of sNang gshen gtsug phud, the Teacher who is the primordial *gshen*, the magical Bonpo! With respect to this propitiatory *phya* ritual composed by the *sugata* Srid pa Yab lha bdal drug for the retrieval of the lives of humans and the *g.yang* of animals, the purpose is expressed through a variety of components (?). First, divine barley is spread out on top of the divine base, a piece of white felt. Above that is placed the *phya* pouch, filled with barley, and above that the *phya* vase, filled with essential nectar. Above that place the [*gtor ma* named] Phya 'phrang zhal dkar, and the arrow with the coloured ribbons to its right. To the left, place a glorious spindle, and behind it the powerful leg of meat. In front of it place the sternum that is the *phya* meat, the circular *g.yang* noose, the *rdzi* meat, the *g.yang* pouch and so forth. Then the *phya* requisites such as the nectar and the various items of food, metals such as gold, silver, copper and iron, different precious objects, armour, trappings such as a saddle, a bridle and a halter; a tethering-line, tethering ropes, and [other ropes; *'byor skyogs*, *sgyi thag*]; measures such as a *bre*, a *srang* and

> a *'bo*. Arrange all these items nicely and then recite the scripture of whichever tutelary divinity is preferred.

The text continues with instructions for summoning the *phya* and the *g.yang*. Later sections of the text contain much more elaborate recitations for the acquisition of these properties, but they will not be considered here.

> First, establish the ritual precincts, and then perform the *phya* vase as follows. *Khuye*, come, *phya*! From the east comes Phya sman rgyal mo; make a prayer on this *phya* beer, make a prayer on this *phya* vase! Bring hither the life-*g.yang* of humans; bring hither the cattle-*g.yang* of the livestock; bring hither the nutrition-*g.yang* of food; pray, be seated unmoving and firm in the middle of the secret *phya* row. Say *khuye* so that all the marvelous things we wish for might appear. Recite this five times, once for each of the directions and the centre.

The passage immediately following this is especially valuable inasmuch as it helps us to appreciate, by a series of well-chosen examples already mentioned in the introduction, what *phya* and *g.yang* are conceived to be. Without these qualities, the things listed would be much-diminished versions of themselves:

> Now that the *phya* base has been laid out, chant as follows: *Phya khuye*! come unharmed and secure! First a base must be sought for the eternal *phya*. If there is no base, it is as if there were no seat beneath the officiating priest (*sku gshen bon po*). A base must therefore be sought for the eternal *phya*, a seat must be sought to place beneath the officiating priest. Next, a support must be sought for the eternal *phya*. If there is no support for the eternal *phya*, it's as if the officiating priest had no turban on his head. A support must therefore be sought for the eternal *phya*; a turban must be sought for the officiating priest. Finally, requisites must be sought for the eternal *phya*. If the eternal *phya* has no requisites, it is as if the officiating priest had no beer in his throat. Requisites must therefore be sought for the eternal *phya*; beer must be sought for the throat of the officiating priest. *Khuye*, come, *phya*, come undefeated and stable! First, *phya* must be sought for humans. If humans have no *phya*, how do they differ from the wild men

> (?) of the southern ravines?[7] *Phya* for humans must therefore be sought. Next, *g.yang* must be sought for horses; if horses have no *g.yang*, how do they differ from the wild asses of the Northern Plateau?[8] *gYang* for the horses must therefore be sought. Finally, *g.yang* must be sought for the yak-cows. If the yak-cows have no *g.yang*, how are they different from the wild yaks of the Northern Plateau? *gYang* must therefore be sought for the yak-cows. *Khuye*, come, *phya*! First, lustre must be sought for the one-sixth-red turquoise. If the one-sixth-red turquoise has no lustre, how does it differ from a stone? Lustre must therefore be sought for the one-sixth-red turquoise. Next, warmth must be sought for the clothing we wear. If the clothing we wear has no warmth, how does it differ from ginger-peel? Warmth must therefore be sought for the clothing we wear. And finally, nutritional content should be sought for the food that is eaten. If the food that is eaten has no nutritional content, how is it different from tawny clay? And so nutritional content must be sought for the food that is eaten. *Khuye*! Come undefeated and steady! Well, where shall we seek for the *phya* base, the *g.yang* base? Where shall we seek for the *phya* requisites and the *g.yang* requisites?

Here, as elsewhere in the three texts with which we are concerned, *phya* is associated particularly with humans and *g.yang* with animals. The response to the question posed at the end of the last section is a remarkable narrative that begins with a perfunctory cosmogony before moving rapidly on to an account of a deer hunt.

> *Kye*! At the beginning of the earliest times, at the beginning of the earliest age, at first, before anything had come into existence, there came into being the merest atom; from that there came into being a droplet of moisture; from that there came into being a vast ocean. In that ocean there appeared bubbles, and the bubbles rolled up into eggs, and nine precious eggs came into being. There were three conch-shell eggs, three

[7] *lho rong gis mo'*; the context suggests that the term *mo'*, which is unknown to me, may correspond to something like *mi'u*.

[8] On the theme of the separation of the horse from the wild ass, see for example Stein 1971: 485–91.

golden eggs and three iron eggs, nine in all. The conch-shell egg dissolved into the sky, and from it there appeared the gods, the white ones, and the support. From the golden egg that had appeared next there came into being humans, *smra*, and *gshen*; from the iron egg that had fallen down, there came into being the *'dre*, the *srin*, and the *'byur*. At the time those three came into being, in the land of Mi yul kyin sting, in the palace Sa mkhar ldems pa, the one father Sangs po bum khri and the one mother Chu lcam rgyal mo had a son, and that son was 'Phrul gyi mi pho. When the father, the mother, and the son were there, humans had no *phya*, and there was much illness; beasts had no *g.yang*, and deadly epidemics were rife; food had no nutrition, and gave little strength. Then the father, the mother, and the son held a council, and invited lHa bon thod dkar. They wound a white turban around his head, and spread a silken seat beneath him, and gave him the pure first-offering of beer to drink. They besought him to summon the *phya* and the *g.yang*. lHa bon thod dkar said, "To summon the *phya* and the *g.yang,* you must seek the nine different requisites." At this, gYung drung 'phrul gyis mi po bound a white turban on his head, and donned his white cloak. In his right hand he took his magic sun-ray noose, and in his left his bow and arrows of means and knowledge. To seek for the nine different *phya* requisites he went to the east of Mount Meru, where he met a white conch-shell deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the white conch-shell deer. The deer spoke to him clearly in a human voice: "Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a divine support, intended for the gods. Man, your deer is in the north." And so gYung drung 'phrul gyis mi po travelled to the north of Mount Tise, where he met a red copper deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the red copper deer. The deer spoke to him in a human voice: "Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a support for the *btsan,* intended for the *btsan*. Man, your deer is in the west."

Again, Yung drung 'phrul gyi mi po travelled to the west of Mount Meru, where he encountered a brown agate deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the brown agate deer. The

> deer spoke to him in a human voice: "Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a support for the *dmu,* intended for the *dmu.* Man, your deer is in the south." Again, Yung drung 'phrul gyi mi po travelled to the south of Mount Meru, where he encountered a black iron deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the black iron deer. The deer spoke to him in a human voice: "Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a support for the *bdud,* intended for the *bdud.* Man, your deer is in the centre." Again, Yung drung 'phrul gyi mi po travelled to the centre of Mount Meru, where he encountered a jewel deer. The deer's foreparts were white, and made of conch; its middle was yellow, and made of gold, while its hindparts were brown and made of agate. Its clear white antlers were made of crystal; its tongue was made of celestial lightning, and its variegated eyes were made of *gzi*; its hooves were made of iron. This was the deer he encountered. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the jewel deer. The jewel deer spoke to him in a human voice: "I am the stable base (*brtan ma*) of *phya* and *g.yang*; the nine *phya* items are fully present in me; Man, I am your deer." 'Phrul gyi mi pho said, "I have obtained the requisites we needed; I have found the precious items we sought," and he presented that jewel deer to lHa bon thod dkar, and asked him to perform the summoning of the *phya* and the *g.yang*.
>
> *Khuye*, come, *phya*, come undefeated and firmly! Through the [action of] lHa bon rgyal gyis thod dkar the four portals of the Secret *Phya* Castle came into existence from the head of the jewel deer. From that deer's hooves the four turrets of the Secret *Phya* Castle came into being….

As in the case of the first text, the section continues with a list of the transformations of different parts of the deer's body into the various components of the altar arrangement. Here, too, the passage in which the transformations are itemised will not be translated in its entirety, but will be summarised in tabular form for the sake of convenient comparison across the three texts.

In 2002 Samten Karmay published a collection of eight Bonpo works from Dolpo under the title *The Call of the Blue Cuckoo*. The second item in the collection is the text for a *g.yang*-summoning ritual, entitled simply

Mu ye pra phud phya'i mthar thug bzhugs s+ho, "The Ultimate *Phya*; the Celestial Head-Ornament"[9] (Karmay and Nagano 2002: 35–90). In this text, too, it is the body of a deer that provides the organisational motif for the altar. At a first glance, I supposed that *Yab lha bdal drug* and *Mu ye pra phud* must be versions of the same text. A closer examination, however, revealed that, in spite of certain structural similarities, there were substantial differences between the two.

A valuable discussion of this work, along with an English translation of the opening charter myth and the corresponding edited text, is provided in John Bellezza's *Calling Down the Gods* (2005: 472–83), and the following presentation of the story may therefore be confined to a summary of the points of main relevance to the present article. For the citations given in this outline I have preferred to use my own English renderings, rather than Bellezza's, simply for the sake of consistency with the translations given above.

Following a brief cosmogonic introduction, the scene shifts to the land of Phywa yul snang ldan where there stands a castle, Rin chen mdzes pa. The king of the Phywa gods convokes the *phya gsas* divinities and announces that the great Phywa Yab lha bdal drug is bereft of a *phya* base (*phya gzhi*). Srid pa Sangs po explains that the absence of Yab lha's *phya* base is due to demonic activity that resulted in the dispersal of the five Srid pa gods (*srid pa'i lha lnga*), leaving a vacancy that has been occupied by demons. A volunteer to seek for the missing base is found in Prince sGam po, the son of 'Od de gung rgyal and Phywa lcam lo ma. The prince rides to the summit of Mount Meru where he meets gNam phyi gung rgyal, who indicates where he can find what he is seeking:

> To the north of Mount Meru, where we are, in the centre of the turquoise lake Mer ba ("the Brimming") is gYung drung brag gu zur bzhi, the "Eternal Four-sided Little Crag". On top of gYung drung brag gu are a stag, gNam sha ru ring ("Long-antlered Sky Deer") and a hind, dMu sha yu mo. The son they produced (*sprul*) is named Dung sha shel ru ("Conch-shell Deer with Crystal Antlers"). It is from him that you should make the eternal *phya* base.[10]

[9] *Mu ye* and *pra phud* are Zhang zhung terms that the Lexicon glosses respectively by Tibetan *nam mkha'* and *dbu rgyan zhig*.

[10] The image of a lake-shore with three deer, one of which is the rightful quarry of the hero, also features in *Gesar* (Hummel 1998: 54).

The prince duly goes to the designated location, where he meets the deer. The deer explains "in clear human speech" that its father is a manifestation of the god gNam lha dkar po and its mother a manifestation of dMu btsan rgyal mo, and that the *lha*-lake and the *dmu*-crag are respectively its soul lake and soul-mountain. The prince explains the situation and asks the deer to accompany him and become the *phya* and *g.yang* base for Yab lha bdal drug, lord of the Phywa. The deer replies as follows:

> "The sun and moon that abide in the sky: if the sun and moon were removed from the sky, living beings would be enveloped in darkness and would die; the fish and the otter that live in the lake: if they were removed from the lake they would die as a result; the deer that lives on the crags: if the deer were taken from the crags it would die. Man with an understanding mind, do not say such things to me!" The Phywa prince sGam po replied, "Listen, Conch-shell Deer with Crystal Antlers! You are the deer in which all qualities are combined: the five points on each of the antlers that grow on your head signify the presence of the five families of *gsas* lords; the jewelled whorl in your forehead signifies the presence of the Celestial Head-ornament (*Mu ye pra phud*); the ridge of your neck and so forth signify the presence of the five *nor lha* siblings in the council of the gods; the fact that you speak in a human voice signifies communication from gods to men; your whiteness, brighter than conch, signifies the clearing away of karmic residues; your four iron hooves signify the drying-up of the four demonic rivers; the fact that you eat medicinal leaves signifies liberation from physical illnesses. Since all qualities are represented in you, please, come for the *phya* of humans!"

The deer replies that the features enumerated by the prince are actually signs of defects, and requests that it should not be taken away by the prince. As it makes to flee, the prince lassoes it and tries to calm it down, extolling its superior qualities — which the deer continues to deny, insisting that its inferiority disqualifies it from the expectations the prince has of it. But the prince insists, and the deer wavers. It requests a pleasant environment where it will not suffer from excessive heat or cold or from hunger and thirst, or from fear. The prince reassures it:

> Once you have gone to the land of the Phywa, you will have rice to eat and sugar-cane juice to drink — there will be no question

> of hunger and thirst![11] You will dwell in the centre of the royal enclosure — there will be no question of heat or cold! Your neck will be adorned with gold and turquoise, and your head decked with silks and brocades, and your body painted with vermilion and indigo. You will be set up as a support for the *lha* and *gsas* divinities, and laid out as a base for *phya* and *g.yang*— there is no question of fear or terror!

They reach the land of the Phywa, where the Prince presents the deer to Yab lha bdal drug, who is duly delighted. He gives the deer exactly the lavish treatment promised by the prince, and:

> For three days he prayed for the *phya*; for three days he summoned the *phya* of humans and the *g.yang* of livestock; for three days he gathered brightness and splendour. After these nine days had passed, and through the magic of Yab lha bdal drug and from the emanations effected by the eternal deer, the fourfold *phya* castle as well as a range of requisites for *phya* and *g.yang* came into being. In this way was the *phya* base sought.

The text continues by itemising the correspondence between various ritual items and the body-parts of the deer. Since the section is of central concern to this article, and Bellezza does not include it in his study of the work, it is presented here in some detail.

> And now the manifestations of the deer as supports for the *phya* are set up as follows:
>
> *Kye*! First, what is the meaning of the so-called *phya*? What is the meaning of the so-called *g.yang*? The *phya* base, the *g.yang* base, this White Conch Felt—first, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? What is its purpose today? The *phya* castle, the *g.yang* castle, this "Possessing Nine Secrets": First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? What is its purpose today? The *phya* arrow, the *g.yang* arrow, this Arrow

[11]This enticement of the deer with the promise of culinary delicacies recalls the similar blandishments extended to the mortuary sheep in a Dunhuang manuscript, PT 1194: "You, favourite animal, be brave on the pass! After eating [nothing but ordinary] grass in the land of the living, [henceforth] you shall have rice shoots, buttered tsampa, and sugar in the land of the dead, 'Bres dang." (From the French translation in Stein 1971: 514.)

> with the Cloths of Five Colours: First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? What is its purpose today? The *phya* spindle, the *g.yang* spindle, this Golden Spindle with the Turquoise Whorl: First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? The *phya* beer, the *g.yang* beer, this Dewdrop of Nectar: First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? The *phya* requisites, the *g.yang* requisites, these Various Support Items: First, from what substance were they made? Next, for what were they set up as supports? What is their purpose today? Goddess of the Srid pa, pray tell us!
>
> First, the characteristics of the so-called *phya*: it signifies descent from the sky to the earth. The characteristics of the so-called *g.yang*: it signifies the acquisition of nutrition.[12] The characteristics of "*khu*": it signifies massing together like clouds in the sky. And as for the characteristics of "*ye*": it signifies inducing the *phya gsas* divinities to come from space. From the rays of light from the heart of the *phya gsas* divinities [there came the deer, and] from the hide of that deer there came into being the White Conch Felt. First, that was the substance from which it was made. Next, it was set up as a support for the *phya*. It is there today for the sake of the *phya* and the *g.yang*. Call out, "Do not be diminished! *Khuye*!" From the heart (*thugs*) of that deer there came into being the *Phya* palace "Possessed of Nine Secrets". First, that is the substance from which it was made…

The hide and the heart are the first two of twenty parts of the deer from which the altar is constituted. The general structure of the narrative is broadly similar to that seen in *Yab lha bdal drug*: a cosmogonic account, followed by a palatial setting in which the protagonists are concerned by the loss of the main priest's *phya*. The loss has resulted in a general reduction in the quality of life, and must be restored. The figure who accomplishes this is a heroic youth, who dons the appropriate apparel and sets off on his horse in quest of the material for the *phya*. The hunter's quarry is a deer that he successfully captures and that agrees to act as the basis

[12] *dmu yad zas bcud*: a bilingual pleonasm: *zas bcu* is one of the Tibetan glosses for the Zhang zhung term *dmu yad* (Lexicon: 194).

Table 18.1 Comparison of names in *Yab lha* and *Mu ye*

Name	**Yab lha bdal drug**	**Mu ye pra phud**
The setting	Mi yul skyin sting	Phywa yul snang ldan
The castle	Sa mkhar ldems pa	Rin chen mdzes pa
The hero's father	Sangs po 'bum khri	'Od de gung rgyal
The hero's mother	Chu lcam rgyal mo	Phywa lcam lo ma
The hero	'Phrul gyi mi pho	lHa sras sgam po
The priest	lHa bon thod dkar	Yab lha bdal drug

for the *phya* that is to be retrieved. There are, nevertheless, significant differences, as Table 18.1, which compares the names of the protagonists and places, makes clear.

In the case of the first text considered above, *Phya g.yang g.yang len*, the charter myth, the *smrang*, is absent altogether. However, all three texts feature a section in which each of the items on the altar is explained as an emanation of a part of a deer. In order to facilitate a comparison across the texts, the essential points of each are presented in summary form in Table 18.2 The order in which the body parts are presented is the same in *Phya g.yang g.yang len* and *Yab lha bdal drug*; in *Mu ye pra phud* it is different. In each column, the order is indicated by the numbers in brackets.

Table 18.2 Comparison of body parts and their manifestations in the three texts

Part of deer	Phya g.yang g.yang len	Yab lha bdal drug	Mu ye pra phud
Name	Conch[-white] deer with crystal antlers	Jewel deer	Conch[-white] deer with crystal antlers
Head	(1) *gYang* heart phywa castle (steng gis phywa mkhar *g.yang* thugs)	(1) Secret *phya* castle with four doors	
Four hooves		(2) Four turrets of the castle	(19) Four *phya* castles
Right antler	(2) Spear	(3) Spear	
Left antler	(3) Mothers' life-spindle with turquoise whorl	(4) Arrow with coloured cloths	
Blood		(6) Beer	(12) Beer
Three hairs OR three siblings	(4) [*spu*(*n*) *gsum*] Three glorious meanings (*dpal kyi don pa rnams gsum*). Itemised as meanings of *lha, gsas* and humans.	(19) [*spu gsum*] The three sharp *rom po* (*dbal gyis rom po rnam gsum*). Itemised as *rom po* of *lha*, of *gsas*, of *srog*.	(20) [*spu gsum*] Three sharp meanings (*dbal gyi don po rnam gsum*). Not itemised.
Head[13]	(5) Phywa 'brang zhal dkar (torma)		
Diaphragm	(6) Primordial curtain for *phya* and *g.yang*	(7) Silken ribbons	
Heart (*don snying*)		(8) [*don snying*] Phya 'brang zhal dkar (torma)	
Heart (*thugs*)			(2) *Phya* castle of the nine-fold secret

[13] In view of the fact that the head has served earlier as the basis for the *phya* castle we might have expected to find some other body part here.

Table 18.2 Comparison of body parts and their manifestations in the three texts (cont.)

Part of deer	Phya g.yang g.yang len	Yab lha bdal drug	Mu ye pra phud
Life-vein	(7) *Phya* arrow with white fletching		(3) Arrow with coloured cloths
Stomach chamber (*pho ba*)	(8) Vase	(5) Vase	(9) Pouch
Gall bladder/bile	(9) *Phya/g.yang* beer		(?) See *mchin 'khris* below, no. 15
Foreleg	(10) Foreleg of *phya* meat	(12) [*lag g.yon*] Foreleg of *phya* meat	(18) Foreleg of *phya* meat
Sternum	(11) *Phya* sternum	(13) *Phya* sternum	(17) Fragment of *g.yang* breastplate (*g.yang srab sil ma*)
tshe zhi	(12) Blue spindle of the mothers		
Innards	(13) All (lit. nine) kinds of *phya* ritual items	(20) Various kinds of *phya* ritual items	
Stomach chamber (*yang grod / grod pa*)	(14) [*yang grod*] pouch		(8) [*grod pa*] tent
spu thog (?)	(15) Barley		
Brains	(16) Curd	(17) Curd	(10) Curd
Fat	(17) Butter	(9) Butter decorations	(7) Butter
Kidneys		(10) Long-life pills	(5) *Phya* soul-lake
Liver		(11) Molasses and sesame	(4) Molasses drops
Hide	(18) *Phya/g.yang* base		(1) Felt base
Lungs			(6) Soul mountain
Dung			(11) Barley
Small intestine		(14) *g.yang zhag sgor mo*	(13) *g.yang zhag mgo dgu*
Intestines			(14) Rope

Table 18.2 Comparison of body parts and their manifestations in the three texts (cont.)

Part of deer	Phya g.yang g.yang len	Yab lha bdal drug	Mu ye pra phud
mchin 'khris			(15) Curtain
rdzi sha		(15) *g.yang* pocket	(16) *g.yang* pocket
Skull		(16) Bowl	
mkhril pa		(18) Oil/melted butter	

Conclusions

Might a comparison of these three texts tell us something about how widespread the motif of the deer was in this part of the Himalayan region? Or alternatively, might the motif have been confined just to these three works?

While there is insufficient space here for a detailed discussion of the correspondences revealed by Tables 18.1 and 18.2, it is nevertheless possible to make some general observations about the relative proximity of the texts. Two features of the list suggest that the two Lubrak texts, *Phya g.yang* and *Yab lha*, are more closely related to each other than they are to *Mu ye pra phud*:

1. In all three texts there is roughly the same number of body parts (19, 20, 20). However, the order of body parts listed in the two Lubrak texts is very similar, while that of *Mu ye pra phud* is significantly different.
2. *Mu ye pra phud* has more body parts that are unique to its list than those in the two Lubrak texts:
   - Unique to *Phya g.yang*: *tshe zhi; spu thog*.
   - Unique to *Yab lha*: skull; *mkhril pa*.[14]
   - Unique to *Mu ye:* lungs; dung; intestines; *mchin 'khris*.[15]

These observations argue in favour of *Mu ye pra phud* being the odd one out. However, there are certain body parts that feature in two of the texts but are absent from the third, and according to this criteria, it is *Phya g.yang g.yang len* that is the outsider:

- Absent from *Phya g.yang*: hooves; heart; kidneys; liver; lungs; small intestine; *rdzi sha* (7).
- Absent from *Yab lha*: life-vein; stomach chamber *grod pa / yang grod*; hide (3).
- Absent from *Mu ye*: head; antlers; diaphragm; heart; innards (5).

[14]Unless the *thod pa* of *Yab lha* is taken as corresponding to the *mgo* of *Phya g.yang*, and *mkhril pa* is read as *mkhris pa*.

[15]*mchin 'khris* could plausibly be taken to signify the gall bladder, were its manifestation (curtain) not more obviously associated — as in the two other texts — with the diaphragm.

It should be pointed out that, even where a body part appears in two or all three of the texts, its manifestation is not always the same. There are at least five instances of such a discrepancy. Four of them are as follows:

- Four hooves: turrets *vs* castles
- Left antler: spindle *vs* arrow
- Stomach chamber *pho ba*: vase *vs* pouch
- Blood = beer *vs* bile = beer

But it is the fifth example that is particularly significant. It provides compelling evidence (supporting that of the body parts common to them that are absent from *Yab lha*) to suggest that *Phya g.yang* and *Mu ye* are heirs to a transmission that *Yab lha* does not share. The part in question is *spu gsum,* literally 'three hairs', though it is by no means certain what this signifies. As stated earlier, this has been tentatively amended in *Phya g.yang* to *spun*, but the amendment could be simply a sign of the unknown editor's bewilderment at the term. In *Phya g.yang* and *Mu ye* the *spu gsum* manifest as, respectively: *dpal kyi don pa rnams gsum* and *dbal gyi don po rnam gsum*. The latter might be translated as "the three awesome meanings", but no further elaboration is given. In the first case, the "three glorious *don pa*" are identified as *lha, gsas* and humans. A term that seems much more at home in this context than either *don po* or *don pa*—which has no obvious meaning—is *Yab lha*'s *rom po*, which denotes a category of divinities associated with the four directions. A confusion between *rom* and *don* would not be unlikely in certain cursive hands, and it would appear that both *Phya g.yang* and *Mu ye* inherited a scribal variant that did not find its way into *Yab lha*.

If the textual evidence is taken at face value, it must be concluded that the three works under consideration are not directly related, but represent three witnesses connected through a probably complex stemma of lost or undiscovered hyparchetypes. This in turn suggests that the dismembered deer is—or was—a very common motif, at least in Mustang and Dolpo and at least in the context of *g.yang*-retrieval rituals. In all probability, however, we are faced with a situation in which the scribes of our texts were not attempting to be faithful copyists but may have been actively composing new works. The fact that the names of places and protagonists in Table 18.1 are *systematically* different is almost suspicious: might this be a case of one—or both—of the authors reaching into the well-stocked

reservoir of epic Bonpo names to create a superficially distinctive cast of heroes and settings for a patented variant of the ritual?

But this perspective leads us to the same conclusion: that the topos of the hunted and dismembered deer was a well-established, culturally sanctioned template on which new combinations of elements might be arranged.

Transliterated Texts

Since the text of *Mu ye pra phud* has been published—both in facsimile and a retyped *dbu can* version (Karmay and Nagano 2002: 35–90) as well as, substantially, in roman transliteration (Bellezza 2005: 479–83)—it need not be reproduced here. The following excerpts comprise only the opening sections of *Phya g.yang g.yang len* and *Yab lha bdal drug* that are partially translated above.

Note on Transliteration The transliterated text is presented without any attempt to amend orthographic irregularities. Contracted forms (*bsdus yig*) are spelled out in full, but the syllables are separated with hyphens. Unorthodox spellings within the contractions are not, however, reproduced in the extended transliteration. The smaller cursive hand in which the text gives instructions related to the performance of the ritual is represented by italics.

The normal *shad* is represented by the oblique stroke (/), the broken *shad* that corresponds to a "ditto" mark to signify a refrain is indicated by a vertical line (|).

Phya g.yang g.yang len *(fol. 1r)* Phywa g.yang g.yang len dgu bskor dbus phyogs bzhugs pa legs-s+ho / *(fol. 1v) phywa bon g.yang bon sku la phyag-'tshal-lo / dang po srid pa phya gzhi btings pa ni* / / kyai gnam snga srid pa'i dang po la / zhe tsam bskal pa'i thog ma la / srid pa yod med gnyis kyi 'tshams shed na / dung sha dkar mo shel ru can cig srid / srid ni bskal pa'i dang po srid / 'bab ni phya dang g.yang du 'bab / phya de yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / yang de yang ma 'phang khu'i *(fol. 2r)* / /gsungs / sha wa thugs kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i mgo bo la / steng gis phywa mkhar g.yang thugs srid / srid ni bskal pa'i dang po srid / 'bab ni phywa dang g.yang du 'bab / phywa de yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / yang de

yang ma ’phang khu’i gsungs / sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa las / sprul pa de’i ra co g.yas pa la / steng gi phywa mdung gsang ring srid / pho wal mched lnga de la srid / srid ni skal | ’bab ni pya | phya de yang ma ’phang khu’i *(fol. 2v)* gsungs / yang de yang ma ’phang ’khu’i gsungs / sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i ra co g.yon pa la / yum gyi srog ’phang g.yu lo srid / mo wal mched lnga de la srid / srid ni skal pa’i | ’bab ni phywa | phywa de yang ma ’phang | yang de yang ma ’phang khu’i gsungs / sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i spun gsum la / dpal kyi don pa rnams gsum srid / gcig ni lha’i don po yin / gcig ni gsas kyi don po yin / gcig ni mi’i don po yin / srid ni skal | ’bab ni | phywa de yang ma ’phang | yang de yang ma | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i mgo bo la / ye srid phywa ’brang zhal dkar srid / srid ni skal | ’bab *(fol. 3r)* ni phywa | phya de yang ma | yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi | sprul pa de’i yol dri la / ye srid phywa yol g.yang yol srid / srid ni skal | ’bab ni | phywa de yang ma ’phangs khu’i | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i srogs rtsa la / ye srid phywa mda’ sgro dkar srid / srid ni | ’bab ni phywa dang | phya de yang ma ’phang | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i pho ba la / ye srid phywa bum g.yang bum srid / srid ni skal pa’i | ’bab ni | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i mkhris pa la / ye srid phywa chang g.yang chang srid | srid ni skal | *(fol. 3v)* ’bab | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i lag pa la / ye srid phywa sha lag pa srid / srid ni skal | ’bab ni | phywa de yang ma ’phangs khu | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i nam dong la / ye srid phywa sha nam dongs srid / srid ni skal | ’bab ni | phywa de yang | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i tshe zhi la / ye srid mo ’phang sngon po srid / srid ni skal pa’i | ’bab ni phywa | phya de yang ma | g.yang de yang ma | sha ba thugs-kyi | sprul pa de’i nang grol la / ye srid phywa rdzas sna dgu srid / srid ni skal | ’bab ni phya | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang | sha ba *(fol. 4r)* thugs-kyi sprul | sprul pa de’i yang grod la / ye srid phywa skyes g.yang skyes srid / srid ni skal | ’bab ni | phywa de yang | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs kyi | sprul pa de’i spu thog la / ye srid phywa nas g.yang nas srid / srid ni skal pa’i | ’bab ni | phywa de yang | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul | sprul | sprul pa de’i glad pa | ye srid phywa zho g.yang zho srid / srid ni | ’bab ni | phywa de yang | g.yang de yang ma | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de’i tshi-lu la / ye srid phya mar g.yang mar srid / srid ni skal | ’bab ni phywa | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang ma | sha ba

thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i lpags *(fol. 4v)* pa la / ye srid phywa gzhi g.yang gzhi srid / srid ni | 'bab ni | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / sngon gyis srid pa dang po la / phywa rje srid pa'i phywa gzhi yin / de ring rgyud-sbyor yon bdag gis / phywa gzhi ling phying dkar po'i stengs / phywa rten g.yang rten tshangs par bsogs / sprul pa'i phya bon g.yang bon gyis / phywa glud g.yang glud phyogs bzhir 'bul / khu'i ma 'phang g.yang du blan / *ces phywa gzhi tshar* /

Yab lha g.yang 'gug *(fol. 1r)* srid pa yab lha bdal drug gis phya zhung chen mo gzhugs+ho /

(fol. 1v) ston pa ye gshen 'phrul gyis bon po / snang gshen gtsug-phud kyis sku la phyag-'tshal-lo / *bder-gshegs srid pa yab lha bdal drug nas bgyis pas / mi tshe nor g.yang 'gugs pa'i phya'i bsgrubs pa 'di la / don rnams pa sna-tshogs kyi sgo nas ston ste / dang po lha gzhi phying dkar gyi steng du lha nas bcal du bkram / de steng phya sgye nas kyis bkang ba bzhags / de steng phya bum bdud-rtsi bcud kyis ltams pa / de steng phya 'phrang zhal dkar g.yas-su mda' dar / g.yon du dpal 'phang / rgyab du dbal sha lags pa / mdun du phya sha nam 'dong / g.yang zhags sgor mo / rdzi sha g.yang khug la sogs te / bdud-rtsi / zas sna-tshogs kyis phya rdzas dang / gser dngul zangs lcags la-sogs rin-chen sna-tshogs dang / go khrab sga srab sgrogs mthur / sdang thags star thags 'gyor skyogs sgyi thag / bre srang 'bo gsum la-sogs pa'i yo byad kyi rdzas rnams legs par bshams la / yi-dam gang byed kyi gzhung bsrangs dgos / dang po 'tshams (fol. 2r) bcad / de nas phya bum bca' ste* / / phya kyu yai / shar nas phya sman rgyal-mo byon la / phya chang 'di la smon lam thob / phya bum 'di la smon-lam thob / shar phyogs dri za'i phya g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / mi'i tshe g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / nor gyi phyugs g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / zas kyis bcud g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / phya gral gsang ba'i dbus phyogs-su / mi-'gyur brtan par bzhugs-su-gsol / phun-tshogs 'dod dgu 'byung par khu ye gsung / *ces pas / phyogs bzhi dbus dang lnga khar tshig 'dres pa'o / da ni phya gzhi gting ste / 'di skad gyer-ro* / phya khu ye ma 'pham brten la byon / dang po g.yung-drung gis phya la gzhi cig 'tshal / g.yung-drung gis phya la *(fol. 2v)* gzhi med na / sku gshen bon po'i 'og na gdan med 'dra / de phyir g.yung-drung gis phya la gzhi cig 'tshal / sku gshen bon po'i 'og na gdan cig 'tshal / bar du g.yung-drung gis phya la brten cig 'tshal / g.yung-drung gis phya la brten med na / sku gshen bon-po'i dbu la thod med 'dra / de phyir g.yung-drung gis phya la brten cig 'tshal / sku gshen bon-po'i dbu la thad cig 'tshal / mtha mar g.yung-drung gis phya la rdzas cig 'tshal / g.yung-drung gis phya la rdzas med na / sku

gshen bon-po'i 'gur du skyem med 'dra / de phyir g.yung-drung gis phya la rdzas cig 'tshal / sku gshen 'gur du skyem cig 'tshal / phya khu ye ma pham brten la byon / dang po sko legs mi la phya cig 'tshal / sko legs mi la phyed med na / lho rong gis mo' dang ci ma snyams / de phyir sko legs-gis mi la phya cig *(fol. 3r)* 'tshal / bar du gyi ling gis rta la g.yang cig 'tshal / gyi ling gis rta la g.yang med na / byang thang gis skyang dang ci ma bsnyams / de phyir gyi ling gis rta la g.yang cig 'tshal / mtha' ma zil dkar gyis 'bri la g.yang cig 'tshal / zel dkar gyis 'bri la g.yang med na / byang thang gis 'brong dang ci ma snyams / de phyir zel dkar gyis 'bri la g.yang cig 'tshal / phya khu ye ma pham brtan la byon / dang po drug dmar g.yu la bkrag cig 'tshal / drug dmar g.yu la bkrags med na / gur mo'i rdo dang ci ma snyams / de phyi drug dmar d.yu la bkrag cig 'tshal / bar du gon pa'i gos la drod cig 'tshal / gon pa'i gos la drod med na / go smug gi shun dang ci ma bsnyams / de phyir gon pa'i gos la drod cig | *(fol. 3v)* mtha' ma za ba'i zas la bcud cig 'tshal / za ba'i zas la bcud med na / kham pa'i 'dam dang ci ma | / de phyir za ba'i zas la bcud cig | / phya khu ye ma pham brtan | / 'o na phya gzhi g.yang gzhi gang nas rtsal / phya rdzas g.yang rdzas gang nas rtsal / / / kyai gnas snga bstod kyis dang po la / zhes snga bskal pa'i thog ma la / dang po ci yang ma srid par / de la bag tsam brdul tsam srid / de la zil tsam phra-mo tsam srid / de la rgya-mtsho mer bar srid / rgya-mtsho de la sbu bar chags / sbu ba la ni sgong du 'dril / rin-chen sgong nga dgu ru srid / dung sgong gsum dang gser sgong gsum / lcags sgong gsum dang dgu ru srid / dung sgong gnam du yal ba la / de la lha dkar rten gsum srid / gser sgong bar du chags pa la / de la mi smra gshen gsum srid / lcags sgong mthur du *(fol. 4r)* bab pa la / de la 'dre sring byur gsum srid / srid pa de gsum chags dus la / yul ni mi yul kyin sting na / mkhar ni sa mkhar ldems pa na / yab cig sangs po bum khri dang / yum cig chu lcam rgyal-mo la / sras nas 'phrul gyis mi pho 'khrungs / yab-yum sras gsum bzhugs pa la / mi la phya med snyung cig mang / nor la g.yang med god kha sdang / zas la bcud med phan bstobs chung / der yab-yum sras gsum bka' gros nas / lha bon thod dkar spyan drangs ste / dbu la dar dkar thod cig bcing / 'og na za 'og gdan cig gting / zhal du skyems phud gtsang ma drang / phya dang g.yang du 'gug dgos zhus / lha bon thod dkar zhal na re / phya dang g.yang du 'gugs pa la / phya rdzas sna dgu tshol cig gsung / de la g.yung-drung 'phrul gyis mi po yi / dbu la dar dkar *(fol. 4v)* thod cig bcing / sku la dar dkar 'jol ber gsol / g.yas pa nyi zer 'phrul zhags bsnams / g.yon pa thab shes mda' gzhu bsnams / phya rdzas sna dgu 'tshol ba la / ri rgyal lhun po'i shar du byon / dung sha dkar mo ci dang 'phrad /

nyi zer ’phrul zhags ’phangs pa yi / dung sha dkar mo sgyir gyis bzungs / sha ba’i mi skad lhang gyis smras / sha ba nga ma ’dzin sha ba nga thong / nga lha la btsugs pa’i lha brten yin / mi khyod gyis sha ba byang na yod / yang g.yung-drung ’phrul gyis mi po yi / ri rgyal lhun po’i byang du byon / zangs sha dmar po cig dang ’phrad / nyi zer ’phrul zhags ’phangs pa yi / zang shwa dmar-po sgyir gyis bzungs / sha ba’i mi skad lhang gis smras / sha ba nga ma ’dzin sha ba nga thong / nga btsan la btsugs pa’i btsan rten yin / mi khyod gyis sha ba nub *(fol. 5r)* na yod / yang g.yung-drung ’phrul gyis mi po de / ri rgyal lhun po’i nub du byon / mchong sha smug po cig dang ’phrad / nyi zer ’phrul zhags ’phangs pa yi / mchong sha smug po sgyir gyi | sha bas mi skad | sha ba nga ma ’dzin | nga mu la btsugs pa’i dmu rten yin / mi khyod kyis sha ba lho na yod / yang g.yung-drung ’phrul | ri rgyal lhun po’i lho ru | lcags sha nag-po cig dang | nyi zer ’phrul zhags | *gong gi ’dre’o* / lcags sha nag po sgyir | sha ba’i mi skad | sha ba nga ma ’dzin | nga bdud la btsugs pa’i bdud sha yin / mi khyod kyis sha ba dbus na yod / yang g.yung-drung ’phrul gyis | ri rgyal lhun po’i dbus-su byon / rin-po-che’i sha ba cig dang ’phrad / sha ba’i khog stod dkar po dung la byas / sked pa ser po gser la byas / khog smad smug po mchong la *(fol. 5v)* byas / rwa gnyis dkar gsal shel la byas / lce mo bar-snang glogs la byas / spyan mig khra bo gzi la byas / rmig bzhi nag-po lcags la byas / rin-chen sha ba de dang ’phrad / nyi zer ’phrul zhags ’phang pa yi / rin-chen sha ba sgyir gyis bzung / rin-chen sha ba’i mi skad smras / sha ba nga phya dang g.yang gis brtan ma yin / phya rdzas sna dgu nga la tshang / mi khyod kyis sha ba nga yin zer / ’phrul gyis mi po’i zhal na re / da ’dod pa’i rdzas dang ’phrad nas byung / rtsal ba’i nor rdzas rnyed nas byung / rin-po-che’i sha ba de / lha bon thod dkar phyag tu phul / phya dang g.yang du ’gug tshal zhus / phya khu ye ma pham brtan la byon / lha bon rgyal gyis thod dkar gyis / rin-chen sha ba’i mgo-bo la / phya mkhar gsang ba’i sgo bzhi srid / sha be de’i sug bzhi la / phya mkhar gsang ba’i *(fol. 6r)* lcog bzhi srid / sha ba de’i ra g.yas la / steng gis phya mdung zang ring srid / sha ba de’i ra g.yon la / dpal gyis mda’ dar sna lnga srid / srid ni skal pa’i dang po la / rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha ba’i rgyu / brten ni phya dang g.yang gis brten / gyer ni mi gshen bdag-gis gyer / sngon tsam srid pa yab lha bdal drug phya / do nub rgyud-nor yon-bdag la / babs ni phya dang g.yang du babs / phya babs mi ngan phya bab bzang / phya bab bzang ba’i khu ye gsung / sha ba de’i pho ba la / ye srid phya bum g.yang bum srid / sha ba de’i khong khrag la / ye srid phya chang g.yang chang srid / sha ba de’i dar yol la / ’gul ching rgya dar sna lnga srid / srid ni skal pa’i dang po la / rgyu

ni g.yung-drung sha ba'i rgyu / brten ni phya dang g.yang gis brten / gyer ni mi *(fol. 6v)* gshen bdag-gis gyer / sngon tsam srid pa yab lha bdal drug phya / do nub rgyud-sbyor yon-bdag la / babs ni phya dang g.yang du bab / phya babs mi ngan phya bab | phya bab bzang ba'i khu ye | sha be de'i don snying la / ye srid phya 'brang zhal dkar srid / sha ba de'i tshil bu la / ye srid phya yi dkar rgyan srid / sha ba de'i mkhal ma la / ye srid tshe ril bcud ldan srid / sha ba de'i mchin pa la / ye srid bu ram til grol srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang po la / rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha ba'i rgyu / brten ni phya dang g.yang | gyer ni mi gshen | sngon tsam srid pa yab lha bdal | do nub rgyud-nor | babs ni phya dang g.yang | phya bab mi ngang phya bab | phya bab bzang ba'i khu ye gsung / sha ba de'i lag g.yon la / ye srid phya sha lag pa srid / sha ba de'i nam *(fol. 7r)* 'dong la / ye srid g.yang sha nam 'dong srid / sha ba de'i zhag rgyu la / ye srid g.yang zhag sgor mo srid / sha ba de'i rdzi sha la / ye srid g.yang gis khug ma srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang po la / rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha ba'i rgyu / brten ni phya | gyer ni mi gshen | sngun tsam srid pa yab lha bdal | do nub rgyud-sbyor | babs ni phya dang | phya bab mi | phya bab bzang ba'i khu ye gsung / sha ba de'i thod pa la / ye srid phya phor g.yang phor srid / sha ba de'i glad pa la / phya zho gad pa bkri ldan srid / sha ba de'i mkhril pa la / bcud ldan mar khu'i rgyal-mo srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang | rgyu ni g.yung sha ba'i rgyu / brten-ni phya dang | gyer ni mi gshen | sngon tsam srid pa yab | do nub rgyu-sbyor | bab ni phya dang | phya bab mi ngan | phya bab bzang ba'i | sha *(fol. 7v)* ba de'i spu gsum la / dbal gyis rom po rnam-gsum srid / cig ni lha'i rom po yin / cig ni gsas gyis rom po yin / cig ni srog gis rom po yin / sha be de'i nang grol dang / rgyu srog lha ma sna-tshogs la / gzhan yang phya rdzas sna 'tshogs srid / srid ni skal ba'i dang po la / rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha | brten ni phya dang | gyer ni mi gshen | sngun tsam srid pa yab lha | do nub rgyu-nor | bab ni phya dang | phya bab mi ngan | phya bab bzang ba'i | sngon tsam phya gzhi phya rdzas de ltar srid / do nub rgyud-sbyor yon-bdag 'di'i / phya gzhi phya rdzas 'di rnams la / phya dang g.yang la 'gugs-so khu ye gsung / *da ni phya brten g.yang brten btsug ste* / *'di skad-do* / /

Abbreviations

Lexicon P. T. Tenzin, C. T. N. Nyima and G. L. Rabsal (2008). *A Lexicon of Zhangzhung and Bonpo Terms*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Works in Tibetan

Pha mtshun sgra bla'i g.yang skyobs 'dod dgu char 'bebs bsam pa don grub. Thirty-one folios, *dbu med* manuscript. Photocopy.

Phya g.yang g.yang len *Phywa g.yang g.yang len dgu bskor bzhugs-s+ho*. Thirty-two folios, *dbu med* manuscript. Privately-owned manuscript in Lubrak, Mustang.

Mu ye pra phud *Mu ye pra phud phya'i mthar thug bzhugs s+ho*. Thirty-six folios, *dbu med* manuscript, transcribed in *dbu can* in Karmay and Nagano 2002: 35–90.

Yab lha bdal drug *Srid pa yab lha bdal drug gis phya gzhung chen mo gzhugs-s+ho*. Fifty folios, dbu med manuscript. Privately-owned manuscript in Lubrak, Mustang.

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