



Consonanze 11.2

# ANANTARATNAPRABHAVA

STUDI IN ONORE DI GIULIANO BOCCALI

*a cura di Alice Crisanti, Cinzia Pieruccini,  
Chiara Policardi, Paola M. Rossi*

II



*Anantaratnaprabhava*

Studi in onore di Giuliano Boccali

A cura di Alice Crisanti, Cinzia Pieruccini  
Chiara Policardi, Paola M. Rossi

II

LEDIZIONI

# CONSONANZE

Collana

del Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Filologici e Linguistici  
dell'Università degli Studi di Milano

diretta da Giuseppe Lozza

11.2

## Comitato Scientifico

Benjamin Acosta-Hughes (The Ohio State University), Giampiera Arrigoni (Università degli Studi di Milano), Johannes Bartuschat (Universität Zürich), Alfonso D'Agostino (Università degli Studi di Milano), Maria Luisa Doglio (Università degli Studi di Torino), Bruno Falchetto (Università degli Studi di Milano), Alessandro Fo (Università degli Studi di Siena), Luigi Lehnus (Università degli Studi di Milano), Maria Luisa Meneghetti (Università degli Studi di Milano), Michael Metzeltin (Universität Wien), Silvia Morgana (Università degli Studi di Milano), Laurent Pernot (Université de Strasbourg), Simonetta Segenni (Università degli Studi di Milano), Luca Serianni (Sapienza Università di Roma), Francesco Spera (Università degli Studi di Milano), Renzo Tosi (Università degli Studi di Bologna)

## Comitato di Redazione

Guglielmo Barucci, Francesca Berlinzani, Maddalena Giovannelli, Cecilia Nobili, Stefano Resconi, Luca Sacchi, Francesco Sironi

ISBN 978-88-6705-680-4

In copertina: Rāvaṇānugrahamūr̥ti, Ellora, Grotta 29, VII-VIII sec. ca. (Foto C. P.)

Impaginazione: Alice Crisanti

© 2017

Ledizioni – LEDIpublishing

Via Alamanni, 11

20141 Milano, Italia

[www.ledizioni.it](http://www.ledizioni.it)

*È vietata la riproduzione, anche parziale, con qualsiasi mezzo effettuata, compresa la fotocopia, anche a uso interno o didattico, senza la regolare autorizzazione.*

## INDICE

### VOLUME PRIMO

- p. 7 Note introduttive  
*Veda e Iran antico, lingua e grammatica*
- 13 *Fra lessico e grammatica. I nomi dell'acqua nell'indiano antico e altrove*  
Romano Lazzeroni (Università di Pisa)
- 23 *Questioni di dialettologia antico indiana e l'indo-ario del regno di Mitanni*  
Saverio Sani (Università di Pisa)
- 31 *Chanson de toile. Dall'India di Guido Gozzano all'India vedica*  
Rosa Ronzitti (Università degli Studi di Genova)
- 41 *Abitatori vedici dell'acqua*  
Daniele Maggi (Università degli Studi di Macerata)
- 63 *A Curious Semantic Hapax in the Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra: The Priest Hotṛ as the Chariot of the Gods (devaratha) in a Courageous Metaphor*  
Pietro Chierichetti, PhD
- 77 *On Some Systems of Marking the Vedic Accent in Manuscripts Written in the Grantha Script*  
Marco Franceschini (Università di Bologna)
- 89 *Cobra e pavoni. Il ruolo linguistico e retorico di A 2.1.72*  
Maria Piera Candotti (Università di Pisa),  
Tiziana Pontillo (Università degli Studi di Cagliari)
- 107 *Subjecthood in Pāṇini's Grammatical Tradition*  
Artemij Keidan (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 127 *Sull'uso didattico di alcuni subhāṣita*  
Alberto Pelissero (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 137 *Avestico rec. pasuuāzah-. Vecchie e nuove considerazioni a proposito dell'immolazione animale nella ritualistica indo-iranica*  
Antonio Panaino (Università di Bologna)

- 153 *Khotanese baṣṣā and bihaḍe*  
Mauro Maggi (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- Religioni, testi e tradizioni*
- 165 *'As a She-Elephant, I Have Broken the Tie'. Notes on the*  
*Therī-apadāna-s*  
Antonella Serena Comba (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 183 *Le Therī e Māra il Maligno: il buddhismo al femminile*  
Daniela Rossella (Università degli Studi della Basilicata)
- 195 *Asceti e termitai. A proposito di Buddhacarita 7, 15*  
Antonio Rigopoulos (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)
- 217 *Alla ricerca del divino: figure ascetiche e modelli sapienziali*  
*nella tradizione non ortodossa dell'India e della Grecia antica*  
Paola Pisano
- 231 *A proposito del kāśīyoga dello Skanda-purāṇa*  
Stefano Piano (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 241 *Della follia d'amore e divina nella letteratura tamil classica e medievale*  
Emanuela Panattoni (Università di Pisa)
- 255 *"The Poetry of Thought" in the Theology of the Tripurārahasya*  
Silvia Schwarz Linder (Universität Leipzig)
- 267 *Cultural Elaborations of Eternal Polarities: Travels of Heroes,*  
*Ascetics and Lovers in Early Modern Hindi Narratives*  
Giorgio Milanetti (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 287 *Fra passioni umane e attrazioni divine: alcune considerazioni sul*  
*concetto di 'ishq nella cultura letteraria urdū*  
Thomas Dähnhardt (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)
- 309 *Il sacrificio della satī e la «crisi della presenza»*  
Bruno Lo Turco (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 321 *Jñānavāpī tra etnografia e storia. Note di ricerca su un pozzo al*  
*centro dei pellegrinaggi locali di Varanasi*  
Vera Lazzaretti (Universitetet i Oslo)
- 335 *Cakra. Proposte di rilettura nell'ambito della didattica dello yoga*  
Marilia Albanese (YANI)
- Appendice*
- 349 *Critical Edition of the Ghaṭakharparaṭikā Attributed to Tārācandra*  
Francesco Sferra (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
- 391 *Tabula gratulatoria*

## VOLUME SECONDO

### *Filosofie*

- 9 *The “Frame” Status of Veda-Originated Knowledge in Mīmāṃsā*  
Elisa Freschi (Universität Wien)
- 21 *Diventare è ricordare. Una versione indiana dell’anamnesi*  
Paolo Magnone (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano)
- 33 *Sull’epistemologia del sogno secondo il Vaiśeṣika. Appunti per  
una tassonomia del fenomeno onirico*  
Gianni Pellegrini (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 45 *Coscienza e realtà. Il problema ontologico e l’insegnamento  
di Vasubandhu*  
Emanuela Magno (Università degli Studi di Padova)
- 57 *Contro la purità brahmanica: lo Śivaismo non-duale  
e il superamento di śaṅkā ‘esitazione’, ‘inibizione’*  
Raffaele Torella (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 69 *La cimosā e il ‘nichilista’. Fra ontologia, evacuazione e  
neutralizzazione dei segni figurati in Nāgārjuna*  
Federico Squarcini (Università Ca’ Foscari Venezia)
- 87 *Poesia a sostegno dell’inferenza: analisi di alcuni passi scelti dal  
Vyaktiviveka di Mahimabhaṭṭa*  
Stefania Cavaliere (Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”)
- 107 *La ricezione dell’indianistica nella filosofia italiana di fine  
Ottocento. Il caso di Piero Martinetti*  
Alice Crisanti, PhD
- 121 *Prospettive comparatistiche tra storia della filosofia ed  
estetica indiana*  
Mimma Congedo, PhD  
Paola M. Rossi (Università degli Studi di Milano),

### *Palazzi, templi e immagini*

- 147 *Descrizioni architettoniche in alcuni testi indiani*  
Fabrizia Baldissera (Università degli Studi di Firenze)
- 163 *Devī uvāca, Maheśvara uvāca. Some Katyuri Representations of  
Umāmāheśvara and the Śaivism of Uttarakhand*  
Laura Giuliano (Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale ‘Giuseppe Tucci’)
- 185 *Bundi. Corteo regale in onore del Dio bambino*  
Rosa Maria Cimino (Università del Salento)

*Tra ieri e oggi. Letteratura e società*

- 213 *La miniaturizzazione dell'ānanda tāṇḍava di Śiva in talune poesie indiane del '900*  
Donatella Dolcini (Università degli Studi di Milano)
- 229 *Rabindranath Tagore. The Infinite in the Human Being*  
Fabio Scialpi (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 239 *Minority Subjectivities in Kuṇāl Siṃh's Hindi Novel Romiyo Jūliyaṭ aur Aṁdherā*  
Alessandra Consolaro (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 249 *Jhumpa Lahiri's "Unaccustomed Earth": When the Twain Do Meet*  
Alessandro Vescovi (Università degli Studi di Milano)
- 261 *La 'Donna di Sostanza' si è opposta ai 'Miracoli del Destino': casi celebri in materia di diritto d'autore in India*  
Lorenza Acquarone, PhD
- 273 «Only consideration is a good girl». *Uno sguardo sulla società contemporanea indiana attraverso un'analisi degli annunci matrimoniali*  
Sabrina Ciolfi, PhD
- 285 *L'arte abita in periferia*  
Maria Angelillo (Università degli Studi di Milano)
- 297 *Alcune considerazioni preliminari allo studio delle comunità indigene (ādivāsī) d'India oggi*  
Stefano Beggiora (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)

*Studi sul Tibet*

- 319 *La Preghiera di Mahāmudrā del Terzo Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje*  
Carla Gianotti
- 341 *The Dharmarājas of Gyantsé. Their Indian and Tibetan Masters, and the Iconography of the Main Assembly Hall in Their Vihāra*  
Erberto F. Lo Bue (Università di Bologna)
- 361 *In Search of Lamayuru's dkar chag*  
Elena De Rossi Filibeck (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 375 *Torrente di gioventù. Il manifesto della poesia tibetana moderna*  
Giacomella Orofino (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
- 395 *Tabula gratulatoria*

## In Search of Lamayuru's *dkar chag*

*Elena De Rossi Filibeck*

Before entering into the discussion of my research report about the *dkar chag* – or guide book –, let me briefly explain how I came into possession of the manuscript. In September 2010, just a month after the mudslide had damaged a part of Ladakh, I nonetheless went ahead with a trip to Lamayuru which had been organized much earlier at a time when I had not been able to foresee the flood. Thanks to the presentation by Lama Konchog Rigzin of the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies at Choglamsar (Leh) and by Lama Paljin of the Centro Mandala in Milan, my colleague and friend Kristin Blancke and I were received by the rTogs ldan rin po che.<sup>1</sup> He helpfully opened the library of the monastery for us. At my request he allowed me to take photos of the *dkar chag* manuscript owned by the monastery.

In his *Kingdom of Ladakh*,<sup>2</sup> as far as the events of the Dogra conquest are concerned, Professor Petech refers to three sources quoted by Gergan which he himself had been unable to consult. These included: «An account of the mishaps and destructions undergone by the Lamayuru monastery during the war, compiled in 1862 by its *bla zur* dKon mchog rang grol».<sup>3</sup>

Observing the colophon where author and date were reported, I later realized it could be the same text.

On my return to Italy, before translating the text, I checked to see if it was already known.

For this purpose the only person I knew who could help me was the late Gene Smith. As far as he knew, the manuscript was indeed unrecorded<sup>4</sup> and he asked me to send it to the TBRC Centre as soon as I had finished my work, which I shall certainly do. He also suggested that I contact the Chetsang rin po che of the Deh-

1. Name: dKon mchog bstan dzin thub bstan rgyal mtshan, the ninth of the series, born in Durbuk in 1939. Part of this paper was presented at IATS 2013 (International Association of Tibetan Studies, Ulan Bator).

2. Petech 1977, 138.

3. Gergan 1976, 594.

4. It was only in 2014 that I found mention of this text in the article by Blancke 2014, 274, n. 1. She wrote «[...] it is being translated by K. H. Everding». Unfortunately this translation, if it exists, was not available to me.



radun Songtsen Library to find other versions. I spent the first week of May 2012 there and spotted two more *dkar chag-s*<sup>5</sup> but did not find the one I was looking for. On my last day in Dehradun, just a few hours before leaving, Dehradun Kagyu College's *mkhan po* Shes rab appeared. Knowing about my research, he brought me a copy of the manuscript written in capital letters (*dbu can*).<sup>6</sup> It was a great joy for everybody. The Library employee went away to photocopy the text but unfortunately after just a few pages the machine broke down.

A month later I found a pdf copy of the manuscript in *dbu can* in my inbox, sent and prepared by the *mkhan po*, whom I sincerely thanked.

When I started the work I realized that the original manuscript was missing some pages. Thus, without the pdf I received from Dehradun *mkhan po* – to whom Gene Smith had referred me – I would not have been able to come into possession of the complete text of the manuscript.

Since this is not the place to present a translation of the whole text, I will just mention the most noteworthy information about it.

The manuscript (1a-15b) titled //*g.yung drung dgon dang po ji ltar chags rabs dang da ltar ji gnas tshul gyi rnam dbye bi dza har ti sma*// (from now on text A1) is written in *dbu med*, measures 20 x 5 cm, and contains seven lines per page. The margins of the pages are marked by two red vertical lines.

The author of the text was *bla zur* dKon mchog rang grol nyi ma, who wrote the *dkar chag* in 1862 when the monastery was restored. He was also given the title of Bakula – the second of the series. He was born in sKyid ring to the family called Gong ma steng pa. We also know he learned how to read and write at the g.Yung drung monastery. At the age of 18, he went to Tibet where he took the vows of *dge bsnyen* in 'Bri gung thel. He completed his studies, and after seeing 'Bri gung skyabs mgon in a dream, he decided to come back to Ladakh.<sup>7</sup>

The author does not refer to his sources but writes relying on notes from the oral tradition (*thos lo*).

5. Text B //Thub bstan g.yung drung thar pa gling// de yang mang yul la dvags gsham phyogs phyi nang sa mtshams su thub bstan g.yu (*sic*) drung dgon gyis lo rgyus sa bcad tsam bkod pa la// 59-79 (modern print, s.l.s.a.).

Text C //g.Yung drung thar gling dgon gyi chags tshul dang// rten gsum ji ltar bzhengs dang bzhugs pa dang// 'dus sdes bslab gsum nyams len mdzad tshul sogs// cung zad gleng la lhag ltas gngang bstsol// 633-658 (modern print, s.l.s.a.).

6. Text A2, 1-28.

7. This information can be found in Text C, 664. See also Nawang Tsering Shakspo 1988, 439: «sKin dyang born Bakula dKon mchog Rang gro Nyi ma (*sic*)». See also Gergan 1976, 594.

*Origin of Lamayuru*

The author claims to tell the history of Lamayuru before the arrival of the Tibetans: «At that time in Ladakh *stod* there were no villages and everything was a complete desert. Later the K<sub>l</sub>a k<sub>l</sub>o, called 'Bro<sub>g</sub> pa<sup>8</sup> settled in the region of Sham, but since it was infested by bandits fighting each other, they built a little fortress in every valley».<sup>9</sup>

According to the oral tradition the *arhat* Nyi ma gung pa or Arya Madhyantika arrived in one of these valleys. He was the first to prophesy that the place where the monastery would be built would also be a centre for the propagation of the Buddha's doctrine.

He miraculously arrived in Yu ru from India, crossing Kashmir, Zangs skar and Gar zha. Performing the ritual of *chu gtor* he freed the lake from the Klu or Naga, who had been living there since ancient times.

As he pointed to the lake with his hermit's stick the lake itself drained.<sup>10</sup> It is told that the mountain on the east side of Yu ru from which the *arhat* foretold the future of Lamayuru was called sKam bur<sup>11</sup> because it was an arid (*skam*) protuberance ('bur).

The origin of the name of the future monastery is explained as follows:

Because of the movement of the waves of the lake the offerings made once in the *chu gtor*, were gathered from all directions at the centre of the lake, and these mixed with the humid air and earth upon the protuberance of the soil. And in the place where the monastery would arise since *g.yung drung*-shaped grains of corn were born, it was given the name of *g.yung drung* or swastika.<sup>12</sup>

It is important to remark that Tucci<sup>13</sup> found the erudite form of Yu ru, the original name of the village in the toponym g.Yung drung. It was then to be linked to the names of places in *ru*, highly recurrent in Indian Tibet toponymy – such as Miru, Suru and Taru. In the manuscript the toponym Yu ru is always kept distinct from the name of the monastery indicated as g.Yung drung dgon pa.

8. They are Dardi people, see Petech 1977, 6, and Vohra 1988, *passim*.

9. Text A1, 2a.

10. As we know, settling in a saintly place (chapel or monastery) which had previously been a lake seems to be a *topos* in Tibetan literature. See Venturi 2002, 55, and Sorensen–Hazod 2005, 56–57.

11. The place is recorded with this name on Francke's map (Francke 1926, II, 148), precisely between Lamayuru and Kalartse.

12. See Thubstan Paldan 1976, 8.

13. Tucci 1932, 69.

The origin of the name Seng ge sgang is also explained, which, as we know, is the oldest building in Lamayuru: «When Nyi ma gung pa made the lake miraculously drain, two swampland lions appeared. Later in that place the chapel named after that event would be built».<sup>14</sup>

The author refers the spread of the Buddha's doctrine to the presence of the Indian *siddha* Naropa (956-1040), remarking that the spread was not confined to the Yu ru area:

It is told that Naropa came from India to Kashmir and stopped in rDzong khul phug in Zangs dkar. Then he arrived here and took refuge on the top of the protuberance where the grains of corn were born. And even now it is said that in many regions such as Pu rig and sBal ti there are signs of the presence of the doctrine, such as statues, deserted shrines (*lha khang hrul po*), *ma ni* and old *mchod rten*.<sup>15</sup>

It is worthwhile noting that in Rin chen bzang po's biography, the draining of the lake is due to Naropa's presence and action.<sup>16</sup> The author speaks of ancient hearsay (*da lta rags rim tsam gyi thos lo ni*), which said that in the past a *dpon po* lord called Bhag dhar skyabs ruled over the region from the borders of Kashmir to Mar yur (*ka che'i sa mtshams nas mar yul la tshun chab srid du bzung ste*).<sup>17</sup> This fact is interesting because Vitali<sup>18</sup> remarks that the modern Ladakhi author Thub bstan dpal ldan claims that before the tha Nyi ma mgon conquest, Ladakh was ruled by the family Jo Bhag dhar skyabs. The supremacy of this family is then to be placed in a remote scenario. The author of the manuscript sets the supremacy of the *dpon* Bhag dhar skyabs before the arrival of Rin chen bzang po giving evidence of the vitality of some oral traditions, which, although uncertain, are still remembered. This tradition is also present in an article by Abdul Ghani Sheikh<sup>19</sup> who writes:

Western Tibet and Ladakh broke into small principalities. Tibet fell prey to internal strife and its monarchy came to an end. Upper Ladakh was then ruled by the Gyapa Cho, while Lower Ladakh was divided into small chiefdoms with the Dard chief Cho Broqdor Skyabs as the most prominent ruler.

This means that sKyi lde Nyi ma gong arrived after the Dard chief Cho Broqdor Skyabs / Jo Bhag dar skyabs. The author of this article found the information in a

14. Text A1, 2b; Text A2, 3.

15. *Ibid.*, 3b; Text A2, 4.

16. Snellgrove–Skorupski 1977, 76.

17. Text A1, 3b, Text A2, 5.

18. Vitali 1996, 324, n. 510.

19. Ghani Sheikh 2007, 11.

modern text by Kacho Sikandar Khan (1987) – an expert whom scholars trust.<sup>20</sup> We also know from both Ladakh rgyal rabs – translated by Francke –<sup>21</sup> and from Vitali's work that a *khri dpon* Bhag dar skyabs is remembered in an inscription by Wan la as the «ruler of the La dvags gsham and Pu rig», and also as the founder of *gsum brtseg* of Wan la in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Vitali, knowing that, according to tradition, the existence of *khri dpon* can be located in ancient times, adds: «[...] unless Bhag dhar skyabs is a collective name addressing a high ranking family of non Tibetan people of Ladakh».<sup>22</sup>

Vitali considers the domain of the Bhag dhar skyabs of the Wan la inscription to be set in 1240. As far as its origin is concerned, he writes: «[...] the people of rGya kingdom were of Iranic stock».<sup>23</sup>

And also: «Judging from the artistic evidence of his Wan la gsum brtsegs its images are stylistically close to those of Bla ma g.yu ru Seng ge sngang and a date to about 1240 is sound». This is also consistent with Tucci's<sup>24</sup> hypothesis ascribing the oldest building in Lamayuru to a *bka' gdams pa* era.

### *History of the Monastery*

The Lamayuru microhistory mingles with Ladakh macrohistory and with the religious history of Tibet.

Referring to the arrival of Rin chen bzang po in mNga' ris, the author writes: «In this monastery of g.Yung drung the *bka' gdams* doctrine spread, and since that time it was established the rule that the abbot or *mkhan po* of g.Yung drung had to come from central Tibet».<sup>25</sup> And then:

Some generations of kings (*rgyal rabs*) later this monastery adopted the religious system of the *zhva dmar pa* and, specifically, of the monastery grva rgyun Byang yangs pa can.<sup>26</sup> It was the *zhva dmar gdan sa* location, and it was customary to go there since a monastery called Jo me lung was established there as a representative monastery (*do ma/ tshab ma*) of g.Yung drung.<sup>27</sup>

20. See Bredi 2010, 26 ff.

21. Francke 1926, 273.

22. Vitali 1996, 325. See also Tropper 2007, 105-140.

23. Vitali 1996, 388.

24. Tucci 1932, 62-63.

25. Text A1, 44; Text A2, 6.

26. The monastery is located 20 miles north of mTshur pu. It was founded in 1489 by Mus ras 'byams pa thugs rje dpal. Then it decayed and was converted to the dGe lugs pa in the years of the war with the Gorkha (1792). See Richardson 1998, 339, and Wylie 1962, 78, 150.

27. Text C, 636. /'di ga'i jo me lung zhes pa'i gnas der dgon pa do ma de yod par bshad/.

The author ascribes the spread of the doctrine to the first kings of the second dynasty:<sup>28</sup>

After the war with the 'Brog pa from Sham, the people grew and multiplied thanks to the establishment of many villages. Later the rGyal ba nyi ma'i gnyen (Buddha) doctrine spread among those from La dvags stod sham. According to old rumours the holy law spread to the South as far as those subjects of the king of Ladakh – including those from the country of Gar zha – were living, to the West – Kashmir – from Pu rig, to the North-West in Bru sah and Gilgit (*'gyil lid*). And, even now, those who arrive there can see *mchod rten*, chapels (*lha khang*) and rock engravings with their eyes (*mig lam*). Regarding the spread and the decline of the faith, in Ladakh and in the borderlands, – a king protector of justice having succeeded – the holy law had once again increased till now. Many monasteries such as 'Brug pa, Sa skya pa and rNyig ma pa were built.<sup>29</sup>

The author here accounts for many events happening at the same time, also making references to the foundation of Leh and Chu bi.<sup>30</sup>

Then he accounts for irrigation works involving the building of channels to convey water. The conquest of the borderlands is however set later, in a period known as the golden age of Ladakh (1550-1650).

Between 1350 and 1550, Ladakh underwent several invasions, which are recalled by the author just to affirm that during wars, the wealth and richness of the monastery would decrease: «Once the decay had risen from Yar khen in the country, Mongols and Balti disturbed the borders and this monastery became impoverished».<sup>31</sup> This was probably an allusion to the invasion by Mirza Haidar from Yarkand who assailed Ladakh in 1532.<sup>32</sup>

In the text the macrohistory remains in the background, letting names and anecdotes emerge:

Later, according to a prophecy made by rJe 'Bri gung pa 'Jig rten mgon po (1143-1217), the g.Yung drung monastery was granted to the 'Bri gung pa; the prophecy says: «In the West, as far as Bru sha and Gilgit the doctrine is practised». And, according to it, the doctrine spread and grew in this monastery and it is said that many

28. Petech 1977, 25-37.

29. Text A1, 5a; Text A2, 7, 8.

30. *Ibid.*, the author just says: «An heir of the royal lineage of Tibet».

31. Text A1, 6b; Text A2, 11.

32. See Petech 1977, 26-28. Other invasions were in 1545 and 1548. See also Mohammed 2005, 148.

great *siddhas* such as Grung pa rdzong pa<sup>33</sup> and others arrived from Tibet because here the doctrine was supported, shielded and spread by saintly people.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, the reconstruction of the story of the arrival of 'Bri gung pa in Ladakh contains a mistake that still occurs nowadays.<sup>35</sup> It consists in attributing the encounter with the *chos rje* lDan ma of the 'Bri gung pa to the king 'Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal (reign ca. 1595-1616) rather than to bKra shis rnam rgyal (reign c. 1555-1575). The king gave him the land where afterwards the *chos rje* would have founded the monastery of sGang sngon bkra shis chos in Phyi dbang. Here follows the account:

The king Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal<sup>36</sup> fell ill and any healing rite was useless. Gods through prophecies and lamas through decrees asked for the 'Bri grung monastery of Ti se where there was a particularly saintly lama, a *yogin* of realization, whose name was Chos rje mDan ma.<sup>37</sup>

The prophecies say: «If you call him to perform the rite the king will instantly be healed from leprosy (*mdze*)», being invited, he became the spiritual advisor of the king. After the king had given him a *chos gzhis* he founded the monastery of sGang sngon bkra shis chos rdzong. The king also offered, as *chos srid gdan sa*, this monastery gYung drung which on that occasion gained the name of Thar pa gling because, according to the rule, whosoever entered the monastery was freed from sin.<sup>38</sup>

It also says that a relic or *nang rten* belonging to sGang sngon was the horn of the yak on which the *chos rje* lDan ma had ridden to come to sGang sngon.

The historical figures mentioned, such as dGa' ldan Tshe dbang,<sup>39</sup> the lama general sent by the fifth Dalai Lama in Ladakh, are described as being linked with some event regarding the monastery. We have to keep in mind that we are in the period of the siege of Basgo (1683). During this siege, the king of Ladakh bDe legs rnam rgyal (ca. 1680-1691) and his minister asked the Moghul governor of Kashmir (*Kha chul*) to intervene. He sent an army that beat the Mongol-Tibetan forces.<sup>40</sup> According to Petech the Tibetan Ladakhi Moghul war had a great political importance for the Western Himalayas. He wrote:

33. Unidentified: grub thob chen po grung pa rdzong pa zhes pa la sogs.

34. Text A1, 3b; Text A2, 4.

35. See Thubstan Paldan 1976, 14.

36. *i.e.* bKra shis rnam rgyal.

37. *i.e.* *rdzo rdzin pa* lDan ma kun dga' grags pa. Petech 1977, 29-30. For the history of the 'Bri gung pa in Ladakh see Petech 1988b, 355-368.

38. Text A1, 7a; Text A2, 12

39. He was the Mongol lama of Tashilumpo who had conquered mNga' ris for Tibet in 1679-1683. Petech 1977, 71-73.

40. Petech 1939, 157, and Petech 1988a, 33-34.

It determined the ruin of the short-lived Himalayan empire of the Ladakhi kings [...]. The border between Tibet and Ladakh, as settled in the peace which closed this war, is the modern border between Tibet and India, and the whole territorial status determined at that time has remained the same to this day, except only that Kashmir has absorbed and supplanted Ladakh.<sup>41</sup>

The monastery's main statue (*nang rten gyi gtso bo*) was an image of a lama called Chos rje Bya btang pa.<sup>42</sup> The text says:

It was so powerful that any prayers to that image were immediately realized. And because someone would hide the *nang rten* in the country of Wam la, being impossible to conceal it, the throne for the statue which is still there was built in a place close to the Wam la river. Later, when the army of Kashmir returned, the commander wanted to bring the *nang rten* to Kashmir, but nobody could move it. And, although they tried to destroy it smashing it into pieces, it repaired itself. Thus there were marvellous signs for the diffusion of the doctrine.<sup>43</sup>

The tradition of *lo phyag* established with the treaty of Timogang (1684) – namely the payment of a tribute in homage to the authorities of Lhasa – is recalled together with the fortunes and misfortunes of the monastery:

According to the document (*yig tshang*) of the bka 'shag (*sde pa gzhung gi bka 'shag*) sixty loads were granted to the abbot of the monastery. Later, with the decadence of the 'Bri gung pa order, the loads were reduced to twenty or thirty. The *lo phyag pa* Bha bha Ag mad shan<sup>44</sup> showed up with just twenty or thirty loads for the incarnate (*sku thog*) of mTsho mo gling pa.<sup>45</sup>

The period of the king Tshe dpal rnam rgyal (reign 1782-1802) and of his great minister Tshe dbang don grub is recalled because they had protected the monastery and the doctrine:<sup>46</sup>

41. Petech 1988a, 19.

42. It seems to be the same lama who visits Pu rangs, quoted in Vitali 1996, 482, n. 813, from the Zhang zhung snyan rgyud.

43. Text A1, 6a; Text A2, 10.

44. Referring to Ag mad shan we understand that the right spelling of the name is Ahmad Shah. See Petech 1977, 132: «Another special envoy of the Ladakhi king came to the Tibetan capital in 1827 with a suite of 17 men; his name is given as Ahmad khan. Probably he was one of the Muslim traders which by this time monopolized the lo phyag missions». The time is that of the Dalai Lama XI (1838-1856) when the mTsho smon gling sprul sku Ngag dbang 'jam dpal tshul khirms (1819-1844) was regent of Tibet, cf. Petech 1988c, 141-2.

45. Text A1, 4b; Text A2, 6.

46. Petech 1977, 127 à propos of Tshe dbang don grub: «like a mother brought the Kingdom to

Some *rdzong* of Ladakh *sham* adopted the system of the *chos kbrims* rather than the *rgyal kbrims*. Even the community of monks was enlarged by 300 or 400 people. The particularly saintly things – such as relics – also increased, and there was abundant wealth. And many years passed during which the monastery was a place where buddhists and non-buddhist were protected after the arrival of the lineage of the Ladakh *chos rgyal*.<sup>47</sup>

A huge war between Ladakh and Baltistan is remembered because the monastery of Lamayuru was the intermediary in order to reach an agreement concerning the borders of the two countries. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know which war – amongst the many between Ladakh and Baltistan – the author is referring to, since there were frequent attacks in 1804, 1811, 1812 and 1815.<sup>48</sup>

Then Ladakh fell under the domain of Gulab Singh (1792-1857) the raja of Jammu. The author also describes the Dogras' invasion.<sup>49</sup> This is the dramatic story:

When Tibet had to fight with bDzi Jo ra war (*i.e.* Zorawar Singh 1786-1841), *bka' blon* of Jammu, since Ladakh had an agreement with Tibet, that territory was filled with armies from Jammu, each with his commander and his army – united under the power of one called Dhe wan ha ri can –, from Kha chul to Grang tse in Ladakh.<sup>50</sup> Then all the fortresses of Ladakh, without saving North and South Sham sTod were destroyed. Even from this monastery which was right on the armies' path the men fled to the mountains. For one summer, while the armies were on the march, not only all the monasteries, but also the *bla brang* and the villages were empty after being conquered, and all the doors and the windows were open. Later, in autumn, the authorities having reached an agreement, the Jammu armies turned back and the men came back to the villages from the mountains. Inside, among all the paintings and the *rtan* of this *bla brang* (*i.e.* Lamayuru) only the plaster statue of 'Bri gung zhabs drung bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan<sup>51</sup> not even for one cubit was ruined. On the contrary, just a Mongolian lute remained of the furnishings, everything had been destroyed. The precious *bka' 'gyur* (the holy scripture set) was full of straw and the cattle could enter into the assembly hall and all were evil because some monks had been killed. Afterwards the whole community of monks fled each to his own village, and when they gathered again they were no more than a dozen. When they had come back from the mountain they made flower pots and

prosperity and merit».

47. Text A1, 7b-8b; Text A2, 13, 15.

48. Petech 1977, 127 ff.

49. *Ibid.*, 138 ff.

50. He is the Dewan hari chand in Cunningham 1854, 355, the Diwan in Francke 1926, 137, and the lban ha ri can in Schubert 1937, 206, 209.

51. His reliquary (*gser gdung*) is in the 'du *khang* of rGyang grags. See De Rossi Filibeck 1988, 46, 81. Regarding the monastery see Tucci 1937, 94-99.



clay tools for meditation. They settled in huts because they were desperate and miserable because of the war. The chapels of the *bla brang* emptied and the sound of evil spirits coming and going was heard (*mi ma yin*).<sup>52</sup>

### *Restoration of the Monastery*

The text also refers to the arrival of dKon mchog rang grol who started to restore the monastery:

During the summer of the next year, when he arrived in Yu ru he made offerings to everybody and, in two years time, he repaired the plaster statues, starting with the damaged ones. And after two years he also realized the new and precious *bka' 'gyur*. Some years later the necessary tools for the shrine, the dances and the offerings were realized. Then alms were given to the whole Sham s'Tod and the ruins were restored. Furthermore, lord Bakula Rang grol nyi ma<sup>53</sup> made (?)<sup>54</sup> a new meditation hat with three, four turnings of felt (*khom*), since the one of the *bka' brgyud pa* was too old.<sup>55</sup>

The last pages are dedicated to the list of the ceremonies of the monastery which we should compare with the contemporary liturgy.

In the words that Petech wrote many years ago we can find the reason for the research about the Lamayuru *dkar chag*:

Another very important source of the Ladakh *rgyal rabs* chiefly for its third section (*i.e.* Ladakhi history) must have been the *dkar chag* (*mahatmyas*) of the Ladakhi monasteries: they are works of usually very ancient origin and contain very interesting information. The notices in the third section about pious works and donation of the kings are most certainly copied from the *dkar chag* of the most important Ladakhi monasteries: for example Alchi and Lamayuru.<sup>56</sup>

52. Text A1, 10b; Text A2, 18.

53. Text A2, 9.

54. Doubtful translation.

55. Text A2, 18-23. See the image of the hat in Cunningham 1854, 372.

56. Petech 1939, 95.

*Acknowledgements*

My sincere thanks are due to many people who helped me in the search for Lamayuru's *dkar chag*, the study of which I am delighted to dedicate to Professor Giuliano Boccali. They are: the abbot rTogs ldan rin po che of Lamayuru monastery, Lama Konchog Rigzin of the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies at Choglamsar (Leh), Lama Paljin of the Centro Mandala in Milan, Dehradun Kagyu College's mkhan po Shes rab, my colleague and friend Kristin Blancke and, last but not least, my Ladakhi friend Tsering Samphel.

## References

### *Primary Sources*

Text A1 //g.yung drung dgon dang po ji ltar chags rabs dang da ltar ji gnas tshul gyi rnam dbye bi dza har ti sma// 1a-15b (*dbu med* manuscript).

Text A2 //g.Yung drung dgon dang po ji ltar chags rabs dang da ltar ji gnas tshul gyi rnam dbye bi dza har ti sma// 1-28 (*dbu can* copy, modern print s.l.s.a.).

Text B //Thub bstan g.yung drung thar pa gling// de yang mang yul la dvags gsham phyogs phyi nang sa mtshams su thub bstan g.yu (*sic*) drung dgon gyis lo rgyus sa bcad tsam bkod pa la// 59-79 (modern print, s.l.s.a.).

Text C //g.Yung drung thar gling dgon gyi chags tshul dang// rten gsum ji ltar bzhengs dang bzhugs pa dang// 'dus sdes bslab gsum nyams len mdzad tshul sogs// cung zad gleng la lhag ltas gngang bstsol // 633-658 (modern print, s.l.s.a.).

### *Secondary Sources*

Ahmad 1963 = Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Tibet and Ladakh. A History*, «St. Antony's Papers» 14 (1963), 1-58.

Ahmad 1968 = Zahiruddin Ahmad, *New Light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal War of 1679-84*, «East and West» 18, 3 (1968), 340-361.

Blancke 2014 = Kristin Blancke, *Lamayuru (Ladakh) – Chenrezik Lhakhang: The Bar do Thos Grol Illustrated as a Mural Painting*, in Erberto Lo Bue, John Bray (eds.), *Art and Architecture in Ladakh. Cross-Cultural Transmission in the Himalayas and Karakorum*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2014, 274-297.

Bray 2005 = John Bray, *Introduction. Locating Ladakhi History*, in Id. (ed.), *Ladakhi Histories, Local and Regional Perspectives*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2005, 1-30.

Bredi 2010 = Daniela Bredi, *Scelte religiose e politica alle frontiere dell'Islam: Kargil e il regno di Purig*, «Rivista degli Studi Orientali» 82, 1-4 (2010), 9-34.

- Cunningham 1854 = Alexander Cunningham, *Ladakh, Physical, Statistical and Historical with Notices of the Surrounding Countries*, Wm. H. Allen and Co, London 1854.
- De Rossi Filibeck 1988 = Elena De Rossi Filibeck, *Two Tibetan Guide Books to Tise and La phyi*, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, Bonn 1988.
- De Rossi Filibeck 1999 = Elena De Rossi Filibeck, *Later Inscriptions in the Tabogtsug lag khang*, in Luciano Petech, Christian Luczanits (eds.), *Inscriptions from the Tabo Main Temple*, IsMEO, Roma 1999, 189-207.
- Francke 1926 = August Hermann Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta 1926, 2 vols.
- Gergan 1976 = Joseph Gergan (ed.), *Bla dvags rgyal rabs 'chi med gter*, S. S. Gergan (ed.), Srinagar 1976.
- Ghani Sheikh 2007 = Abdul Ghani Sheikh, *Ladakh and its Neighbours. Past and Present*, in John Bray, Nawang Tsering Shakspo (eds.), *Recent Researches on Ladakh 2007*, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Language, Leh 2007, 11-24.
- Mohammed 2005 = Jigar Mohammed, *Mughal Sources on Medieval Ladakh*, in John Bray (ed.), *Ladakhi Histories, Local and Regional Perspectives*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2005, 147-160.
- Nawang Tsering Shakspo 1988 = Nawang Tsering Shakspo (ed.), *Recent Researches on Ladakh 2007*, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Language, Leh 1988.
- Petech 1939 = Luciano Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, s.n., Calcutta 1939.
- Petech 1977 = Luciano Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842*, IsMEO, Roma 1977.
- Petech 1988a = Luciano Petech, *The Tibetan-Ladakhi-Moghul War (1679-1683)*, in Id., *Selected Papers on Asian History*, IsMEO, Roma 1988, 19-44.
- Petech 1988b = Luciano Petech, *The 'Bri gung pa Sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh*, in Id., *Selected Papers on Asian History*, IsMEO, Roma 1988, 355-368.
- Petech 1988c = Luciano Petech, *The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet. A Chronological Study*, in Id., *Selected Papers on Asian History*, IsMEO, Roma 1988, 125-147.
- Richardson 1998 = Hugh Richardson, *The Karmapa Sect. A Historical Note*, in Id., *High Peaks, Pure Hearth. Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*, Serindia Publications, London 1998, 337-378.
- Schubert 1937 = Johannes Schubert, *Der tibetische Mahatmya von Lamayuru*, «Artibus Asiae» 7 (1937), 205-216.
- Shakspo 1988 = Nawang Tsering Shakspo, *The Revival of Buddhism in Modern Ladakh*, in Helga Uebach, Jampa L. Panglung (eds.), *Tibetan Studies*, Proceedings of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (Schloss Hohenkammer-Munich 1985), Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische

- Akademie der Wissenschaften, München 1988, 439-488.
- Snellgrove–Skorupski 1977 = David Snellgrove, Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, Aris & Phillips, Warminster 1977.
- Sorensen–Hazod 2005 = Per K. Sorensen, Guntram Hazod, *Thundering Falcon. An Inquiry into the History and the Cult of Khra 'brug, Tibet's First Buddhist Temple*, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2005.
- Thubstan Paldan 1976 = Thubstan Paldan, *A Brief Guide to the Buddhist Monasteries and Royal Castles of Ladakh*, Kapila Power Press, Nanjagud (Karnakata) 1976.
- Tropper 2007 = Kurt Tropper, *The Historical Inscription in the Gsum brtsegs Temple at Wanla, Ladakh*, in Deborah Klimburg-Salter *et alii* (eds.), *Text, Image and Song in Transdisciplinary Dialogue*, Proceedings of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (Oxford 2003), Brill, Leiden 2007, 105-140.
- Tucci 1932 = Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-tibetica I: mC'od rten e ts'a ts'a nel Tibet indiano ed occidentale. Contributo allo studio dell'arte religiosa tibetana e del suo significato*, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1932.
- Tucci 1937 = Giuseppe Tucci, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Hoepli, Milano 1937.
- Venturi 2002 = Federica Venturi, *Guide to the Rdzing Phyi Monastery*, IsMEO, Roma 2002.
- Vitali 1996 = Roberto Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, Indraprastha Press (CBT), New Delhi 1996.
- Vohra 1988 = Rohit Vohra, *Ethno Historicity of the Dards in Ladakh-Baltistan. Observations and Analysis*, in Helga Uebach, Jampa L. Panglung (eds.), *Tibetan Studies*, Proceedings of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (Schloss Hohenkammer-Munich 1985), Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München 1988, 529-546.
- Wylie 1962 = Turrel V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad*, IsMEO, Roma 1962.