

Salt and the Sovereignty of the Dalai Lama, *circa 1697*
Kurtis R. Schaeffer (kschaeff@bama.ua.edu)

Conference in Honor of Koichi Shinohara, UBC, October 15-16, 2004
Draft, September 7, 2004

The Dalai Lama's Last Regent

On April 14th of 1695 the desiccated body of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Losang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682), was removed from the wooden casket in which it had been placed thirteen years earlier on April 8th 1682, the day after his death.¹ Wrapped in silk and cotton, packed with cinnamon, saffron, camphor, and salts, his body had mummified during these years. It was now time to install it in the sixty-foot tall golden reliquary housed within the recently completed Red Palace of the Potala.² Known as the Single Ornament of the World, the stūpa was to form an essential part of both ritual and political life within the the massive castle known as the Potala, the nearby city of Lhasa and its environs, and more widely throughout Tibet. At least this is what Sangyé Gyatso (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653-1705) worked toward when he began a major series of writings dedicated to ensuring the Fifth Dalai Lama and his remains just such a place.

The Fifth Dalai Lama, known to Tibetan history simply as the “Great Fifth,” is renowned as the leader under whom Tibet was unified in 1642 in the wake of bitter civil war. Sangyé Gyatso, the fifth and most important Regent of the Tibetan government founded under the Fifth Dalai Lama, was a prolific writer during his twenty-four years as ruler (1679-1703). He was perhaps the most influential writer on secular arts and sciences that Tibet had produced up to the seventeenth century, and most likely since. From his

early 1681 work on governance to his 1703 history of medicine, he touched on subjects as varied as language arts, building techniques, the politics of ritual, funeral rites, astrological and calendrical theories, methods of healing, and rules for court servants. Yet he did more than simply follow the standard canons of tradition; he argued with them, he remade them and—due to his position as ruler of Tibet for over two decades—he implemented his vision of Tibetan culture in wide-ranging reforms. Over the course of his career he sought to systematize Tibetan cultural life and practice in a number of specific areas through his writing, from bodily practices in the form of medical treatises, spatial practices in ritual manuals, time in the form of astrological writings and an officially sanctioned New Year, administrative practice in the form of rules for court servants, and religious discourse in the form of polemic historical and philosophical writings. Although it remains to be borne out in detail, it is probably no exaggeration to say that Sangyé Gyatso's corpus represents the boldest attempt at a broad cultural hegemony known to Tibet.³

Sangyé Gyatso spent much of the 1690s molding a public vision of the Fifth Dalai Lama, marshaling the vast resources of canonical literature in what is surely one of the great biographical projects of Tibetan literature. His literary activities between 1693 and 1701 were almost entirely concerned with the Fifth Dalai Lama's life, his death, and his legacy. In all he devoted more than seven thousand pages to extolling the Fifth Dalai Lama from a variety of perspectives—a staggering amount of writing by any account, and likely the largest biographical project attempted in Tibet either before or after the Dalai Lama.⁴ Sangyé Gyatso's writing efforts during these few years were not random, but almost certainly connected with the 1695 installation of the Fifth Dalai Lama's remains

in the great stūpa, the completion of the Potala's Red Palace in which the stūpa was housed, and the enthronement of the Sixth Dalai Lama in 1697.

In a long-term study of this literature and its contexts—of which the present essay is a part—I am interested in the ways in which culture and power are interrelated at a significant period of transformation in Tibet's history.⁵ To the extent that the Dalai Lama's government was successful in achieving political and cultural leadership in Tibet, how, I would ask, did it proceed in successfully carrying this transformation out? More specifically, what role did Sangyé Gyatso's voluminous writing play in this? It is my working hypothesis that the primary effect of these and other related writings was to establish, through shrewd adaptation redeployment of commonly available cultural materials such as classical Buddhist literature, public acceptance of the sovereignty of the Dalai Lama's rule (characterized here as one of absolute benevolence) over Tibet. This effect can be traced in the continued importance of the institution of the Dalai Lamas and the Potala in Central Tibetan cultural and social life despite the political vicissitudes of the Dalai Lamas and their regents as political leaders. The principle techniques employed in these writings to accomplish this were the memorialization of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the re-formation of classical Buddhist traditions of practice and myth in a contemporary Tibetan context. The principle object symbolizing this sovereignty was no less than the Fifth Dalai Lama's tomb, a massive gilt stūpa rising over seventy feet to roof of the Red Palace at the center of the Potala.

A study of the precise extent to which such efforts effected public perception beyond the Potala and after the end of the seventeenth century exceeds the scope of this paper, requiring as it would significant historical and literary investigation beyond even

the considerable mass of writings left by Sangyé Gyatso. Yet perhaps we can gain some glimpse of the Regent's success from an anecdote related by Sir Charles Bell in the early part of the twentieth century. In describing impressions of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death among citizens of Lhasa then—more than two centuries after the event—Bell notes that “you will hear from some of the simpler folk that it is only since this calamity that the branches [of the weeping willows around Lhasa] drooped, whence they call it the “tree of sorrow.” Even those who use the ordinary name, ‘Chinese Willow,’ aver that since those days all the trees and flowers have drooped a little.”⁶ Likely I make too much of this episode, yet I very much doubt whether the willows around the city would still droop more than two centuries later without the work of Sangyé Gyatso in memorializing his master in the 1690s, work to which we now turn.

A 1697 Proclamation on Salt

Among the minor writings in Sangyé Gyatso's "Dalai Lama" corpus is a short work dedicated to salt. To be sure, he writes of a particular kind of salt—the very salt used to desiccate the corpse of the Fifth Dalai Lama and thus embalm his body in preparation for its installation in a stūpa.⁷ Sangyé Gyatso's short work on embalming salt was prepared as a proclamation and delivered at a crucial historical juncture—the transference of sovereignty from the Fifth Dalai Lama to the Sixth. We might think of it as a sort of public sermon, consisting largely as it does of passages from Buddhist canonical works and explications thereon. Yet this was a sermon deeply embroiled in the negotiations for power occurring in Lhasa and Central Tibet at that moment, and it was composed by a

layman—a layman who was arguably the most powerful person in central Tibet at that time.

Now, taken as a whole, the Regent’s writings on the Fifth Dalai Lama’s death constitute perhaps the most significant discussion of corporeal remains, relics, and their veneration in Tibetan literature, and his proclamation on embalming salts is only one part of this larger body of writing. Short though it is, it is nevertheless worthy of attention for three reasons. First, it is the longest defense of mummification currently known in Tibetan Buddhist literature. Second, it is a clear example of Sangyé Gyatso’s clever appropriation of Buddhist canonical resources. Finally, as a proclamation, it is a fascinating instance of a Buddhist treatise of some technical complexity that is clearly meant for public appreciation in a specific time and place in Tibet. In what follows I will introduce the Sangyé Gyatso’s account of embalming salt, place it very briefly in the context of late seventeenth-century Central-Tibetan politics, and survey the subsequent history of the practice Sangyé Gyatso did much to popularize, the mummification of Tibetan Buddhist masters and the installation of these mummified bodies within stūpas located at the principle monasteries of Tibet.

Sangyé Gyatso lays the groundwork for his argument with paraphrases from two canonical works. The first is one from the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, in which the Buddha assures his followers that after he dies his remains (*sku gdung rnam*s) will continue to perform the good works of a Buddha.⁸ He then introduces the first of several paraphrased excerpts from that classic source on the Buddha’s death, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*.⁹ At the point where Sangyé Gyatso picks up the sūtra, the Buddha enjoins his disciples to ask now if they have any last questions about the teachings, and assures them that there is no

reason to grieve at his passing, for the three jewels will continue to be manifest—his body in the form of relics (*ring bsrel*), the dharma in scriptures, and the community itself. Human and divine mourners, including Brahma, Indra, Aniruddha, and Ānanda, pay their respects in verse, selections of which Sangyé Gyatso highlights in his own text.

A further passage from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* details the funeral proceedings.¹⁰ The Buddha's corpse is placed upon throne, wrapped with white cotton, washed in scented water, and finally set in an iron container in which it is cremated, a process resulting in the production of relics. He also includes a full account of the repetition of these rituals devoted to the Buddha's body prior to cremation by Kāśyapa. Lastly, as if to assure the listener that there is more than one major canonical source for the story of the Buddha's death, he leaves the sūtra yet continues the scene by citing a passage from *Kṣudrakavastu* on the distribution of the relic shares by Ḍṛona the Brahmin.¹¹

Sangyé Gyatso then moves quickly to the spread of the Buddha's relics in India, paying particular attention to the story of Aśoka, in which the emperor finds Ajātaśatru's stash of relics under wheel of weapons. The relics of Śākyamuni Buddha eventually spread beyond India to China, at which point we are introduced to the notion of a multiplying relic (*'phel gdung*). These relics which grow of their own accord help to account for the fantastic proliferation of Buddha's relics from a single body.¹² These relics were eventually brought to Tibet through several different channels, as for instance when a Mongol leader offered relics to the representative of the Sakyapa School at the Mongol court, Chogyal Pakpa (Chos rgyal 'Phags pa, 1230-1285). All paths eventually lead to the Dalai Lama for Sangyé Gyatso, and these and other holy objects eventually

came to be housed at the Ganden Podrang (Dga' ldan pho brang) of Drepung Monastery ('Bras spungs), seat of the Dalai Lamas before the Potala was constructed in 1645. Other relics of the Buddha made their way from India to Mongolia and were eventually placed in the stūpa of the Fifth Dalai Lama in the center of the Potala, and still others were brought by the Tibetan culture hero Padmasambhava after he obtained them from the tantric heartland of Oddiyana. Sangyé Gyatso dwells on Śākyamuni Buddha's relics here to set up his eventual argument regarding the efficacy of objects associated with the Fifth Dalai Lama for, as we will see shortly, these relics make up part of the contents of the Fifth Dalai Lama's casket.

The Regent then moves from praising the benefits of relics and recalling their spread throughout Asia to discuss a more pressing matter, the worship of whole corpses of Buddhas. Here he chooses selections from the *Bhadrakalpika Sūtra* to illustrate a point apparently not highlighted to his satisfaction in the life stories of Śākyamuni Buddha, namely that there have been Buddhas of the past who were not cremated and divided up into relic shares for, but were instead preserved whole. Here Sangyé Gyatso introduces a new term, *sku gdung ril po*—"entire remains," or "whole corpse"—which will now form a central place in his discussion. He summarizes several passages from the *Bhadrakalpika*, pointing out that while some Buddhas worked for the benefit of beings through relics gained from the cremation of their bodies, others were preserved as complete corpses after death, yet were nevertheless able to benefit living beings. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* also, he alerts his audience, tells of a certain Buddha named Prabhūtaratna who made a vow to be preserved whole and set in a stūpa.¹³ Finally, he cites a passage from the *Ekottarakarmaśataka* in which a certain king "worshiped the remains (*sku gdung la*

mchod pa) [of the Buddha], built a stūpa for the remains, venerated greatly that stūpa, and initiated a festival for that stūpa."¹⁴ Here Sangyé Gyatso is playing with the term *sku gdung*, an honorific term that can mean bones, remains, or corpse.¹⁵ He clearly wants the term to be understood as referring to the Buddha's entire body, the implication being that the king placed the Buddha's corpse in a stūpa without cremating it (One might go so far as to say that one of the main points of his work is to shift the connotation of *sku gdung* away from "remains" to "whole corpse," so that it is essentially synonymous with *sku gdung ril po*). Sangyé Gyatso summarizes this theme, emphasizing that stories relating to the complete corpse of the Buddha are beyond number (he engages in a bit of hyperbole here), and that the Buddha's ability to lead disciples to liberation is in no way compromised by this.

As he turns his attention to issues in Tibet during his day, Sangyé Gyatso first seeks to counter a possible criticism, namely that the worship of whole corpses entombed in stūpas causes the sentient being who has left that body—yet of course still lives on in his or her next rebirth—great pain wherever they might currently exist. This is couched in terms of a debate with the fifteenth-century writer Taktsang Lotsawa Sherap Rinchen (Stag tshang Lo tsa'a ba Shes rab rin chen, 1405-?), who suggested in a work of 1459 that placing the corpse of a lowly person in stūpa would cause such an individual great pain if that stūpa happened to be worshipped by a person of high repute. This, he tells us, is illustrated in the tale of the non-Buddhist teacher Purāṇa, who suffered greatly in hell when his disciples worshipped his stūpa.¹⁶ While Taktsang Lotsawa only alludes to the story, Sangyé Gyatso cites it from the *Kṣudrakavastu* in order to show that the episode does not pose a serious threat to the notion of entombing holy people. Purāṇa, according

to Sangyé Gyatso, was pained by the worship of his stūpa only because he taught non-Buddhist doctrine. To suggest from this example that all holy people, Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike, are so pained by stūpa-worship is—and here Sangyé Gyatso uses a favorite Tibetan insult—to pattern one’s hat after one’s boot, or in other words to confuse the actual practice with a false example. For Sangyé Gyatso, the real concern is not the fact that Taktsang Lotsawa made this statement in the mid-fifteenth century, but rather that some people (who here remain anonymous) have been confused by his statement, and thereby have argued that if the body of a famous Buddhist master, or even his relics that have resulted from cremation or the bones that have naturally formed into images of deities are placed in stūpas, it will harm that master. Therefore, the claim goes, these relics must not be placed into a stūpa, but be fashioned into miniature clay icons known as *satsas* (*tsha tsha*). Sangyé Gyatso will have none of this, for "such an ignorant claim give rise to doubts and a lack of faith in the good works of past saints." It also offers a potentially devastating critique of the practice for which Sangyé Gyatso is so ardently advocating.

The mortuary proceedings of masters in the Gandenpa/Gelukpa School are Sangyé Gyatso’s next concern. Tsongkhapa Losang Drakpa (Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, 1357-1419), traditionally held founder of the School, was entombed whole at Ganden Monastery just east of Lhasa, an institution that he had established in 1417, only two years before his death. The account of Tsongkhapa’s death and funeral composed within a few years of his death by his student, Kedrupjé Gelek Palzangpo (Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang po, 1385-1438) is likely the most important source for the practice of bodily preservation available to the tradition before Sangyé Gyatso’s own,

despite its brevity. The passage on entombment—upon which Sangyé Gyatso relies directly for his own description of Tsongkhapa's death—is short, yet contains all the major elements of the more elaborate accounts of the Fifth Dalai Lama's entombment: "A discussion ensued regarding whether to cremate the corpse or preserve it undamaged. It was thought that preserving it undamaged would be of great benefit to the continuation of the teachings, so it was decided to ask that it be preserved undamaged. The Faithful from all around offered eighteen large measures [*bre*] of silver, out of which was fabricated a great tomb ['receptacle for remains,' *gdung rten*], set with various precious substances and decorated. The corpse was well-wrapped in a monk's robe, placed within a casket constructed only of sandalwood, and set in the vase section [of the reliquary *stūpa*]."17

The beneficial results of preserving Tsongkhapa's body at the monastery for which the new movement came to be known are, according to Sangyé Gyatso, obvious: One simply has to look at the success of the Gandenpa in the intervening centuries. Yet if he has Tsongkhapa on his side, it is unfortunate for his argument that the first four Dalai Lama's were in fact cremated and not embalmed. The Third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 1543-1588), died in Mongolia and, according to the Fifth Dalai Lama's biography of his predecessor, was to be mummified according to the example set by the disciples of Tsongkhapa. He was, however, cremated.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Sangyé Gyatso he makes the most of this fact by stressing once again that both cremation and preservation produce efficacious results, whether they result in the entombed mummy of Tsongkhapa or relics of the early Dalai Lamas.¹⁹

Having established traditional precedents for the bodily preservation Buddhist masters, the Regent now directly addresses the issue of embalming salts, using much the same method. There is indeed, he assures us, a tradition of meting out embalming salts in lieu of bodily relics, although it is not in the Gandenpa School but rather the Sakyapa School, and particularly in the lineage of teachers and disciples within the contemplative tradition known as the Path and its Result (Lam ‘bras slob bshad). Both Doringpa Kunzang Chokyi Nyima (Rdo ring pa Kun bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 1429-1524),²⁰ and his disciple Tsarchen Losal Gyatso (Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho, 1502-1566)²¹ were preserved whole by their disciples, who subsequently bestowed embalming salts into the hands of the faithful. Sangyé Gyatso might have mentioned several other Sakyapa masters who were preserved, though he perhaps he focused on Tsarchen because of his importance to the ritual traditions promoted by the Fifth Dalai Lama.²²

With two folios left in a nineteen-folio work, Sangyé Gyatso finally brings the subject around to the Fifth Dalai Lama himself. From 1682 to 1695 the corpse of the Fifth was preserved in a sandalwood casket, wrapped in cotton and packed in two types of salt (*rgya tswha* or salomoniac and *lan tswha* or halitum). In 1695 his preserved corpse was removed from box and placed in the massive golden stūpa at the center of the Potala. Because of this preservation, Sangyé Gyatso admits, relics (here the term *ring bsrel* is used) will not be forthcoming and thus will not be able to benefit people in the manner of the previous Dalai Lamas. But this is no cause for dismay, as he seeks to show in a multi-point argument: The relics of the Buddha offer the faithful the same chance to earn merit by making offerings to them that the Buddha himself did when he was alive, the Regent reminds his audience, yet in their absence is not at a total loss. One merely needs a

substitute—in this case, embalming salt. This salt is efficacious because it has been in contact with the body of Dalai Lama, a fact which alone should be reason enough to accept the efficacy of its blessing power. Yet Sangyé Gyatso does not stop there. In addition to the corpse of the Fifth Dalai Lama himself, the embalming salt was also in contact with the numerous holy items placed around the corpse. These objects of blessing power (*byin rten*) included Śākyamuni Buddha's relics (recall the brief history provided by Sangyé Gyatso of the Buddha's relics journey to Tibet), bits of his walking staff, cuttings from the bodhi tree, and grass and stones from where he sat. Even the Buddha is not enough, for the salt also came into contact with the bones and robe of Śāriputra as well as a host of other Indian luminaries, the flesh of the legendary Tibetan emperor Nyatri Tsenpo as well as various body parts and belongings of other members of the Tibetan imperial family, the blood, hair and teeth of Tsongkhapa, and numerous body parts from the First through Fourth Dalai Lamas and nearly twenty other important Tibetan religious leaders. In short, we might think of the salt as a form of contact relic (although Sangyé Gyatso nowhere refers to the salt a ring bsrel, the Tibetan term for which I usually reserve the term "relic").

It is in the next part of his closing argument that Sangyé Gyatso makes his boldest claim. Returning to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* one last time, he emphasizes that the remaining two out of five hundred cotton garments wrapping the Buddha's corpse that were left unburned by the crematory fires were themselves divided among the Buddha's followers to be placed within stūpas and worshipped. As the clothing of the Buddha's corpse was worshipped, so should the objects and substances that have been in close proximity to the corpse of the Fifth Dalai Lama be worshipped. These items, which have

been in contact with his body for years, are "incomparable foundations for worship." This much is likely uncontroversial, and really no more than a recapitulation of efficacy of the salt by virtue of contact, yet here Sangyé Gyatso makes a further move. Apparently elaborating on the notion that the Buddha's mortuary garments are worshipped in the same fashion as the Buddha himself and are thus, at least in terms of their use, identical to the Buddha, he claims that, by virtue of its prolonged proximity to the body of the Dalai Lama, the embalming salt is not simply *like* the body of the Dalai Lama, but rather *is* the body of the Dalai Lama. The salt is now considered efficacious not merely because of contact, but because of its identity with the corpse. Since offerings to the actual Buddha in the world and to his body after death create the same amount of merit, and since the embalming salt (and anything made from the salt, such as images) in fact is the Fifth Dalai Lama, then the issue of whether the Dalai Lama will continue to provide blessings for his followers even when mummified is resolved. Having proven "by scripture and by reasoning" that the embalming salt is as productive of merit and blessings as any bodily relic because the salt *is* the body, Sangyé Gyatso entreats his audience in a final plea to "give up doubts and second thoughts about the salt," and to worship the wholly preserved body of Fifth Dalai Lama from afar, safely ensconced in the Potala's Red Palace.

I have spoken in passing of the audience for this account of embalming salt and other mortuary issues, and now want to say a few words about the circumstances of its composition and reception. Sangyé Gyatso wrote (or at least completed) the work in November 1697, and issued it as a proclamation that very month. The timing of the proclamation was not coincidental. It fell between two events of crucial import for the

continuing success of the Dalai Lama's government: the announcement of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death, and the enthronement of the young Sixth Dalai Lama. The Fifth had been dead fifteen years, and his tomb had been complete for three, yet knowledge of these events did not extend beyond the a few privileged insiders at the Potala court. The Fifth Dalai Lama's death had in fact been held secret from the Tibetan public by Sangyé Gyatso.

It was not until June of 1697 that the Regent began to reveal the secret. In that month he laid some of the groundwork for revealing the existence of a new Dalai Lama by providing select people with an account of the transference of consciousness from the Fifth Dalai Lama to the Sixth (entitled soothingly, *Nectar for the Ear*, *Rna ba'i bcud len*) an event which would have occurred fifteen years ago.²³ It was not until November of 1697 that he had the text read to large assemblies at the major monasteries around Lhasa—Drepung, Sera (Se ra), Ganden (Dga' Idan)—as well as Tashilunpo Monastery (Bkra shis lhun po) in Tsang, at which time the account of embalming salt was also read. During the proclamations, the skies were clear and there were many wondrous signs such as a rain of flowers at Tashilunpo (at least according to the official account in Sangyé Gyatso's biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama). Two laymen read the account of the transference of consciousness to citizens of Lhasa in a park, and as the public reacted to the news of the Dalai Lama's death some years ago, an old woman remarked that "from that year to now the Regent has accepted the responsibility of dharma and worldly affairs. Not even knowing the dusk, we now see the dawn!"²⁴

The dawn in this case is of course the coming of the new Dalai Lama, for the timing of these proclamations was no doubt planned carefully to prepare the lay citizens

of Lhasa and the thousands of resident in its monasteries for the upcoming enthronement of the Sixth Dalai Lama, and event of great pomp which was to occur on December 8th of the same year.²⁵ Most people present thus met the news with a mixture of sorrow and joy and wept a great deal. As these works were read at Sera Monastery, each person present was given some embalming salt, and small molded figurines of the Dalai Lama were given to each commoner, mementos of the previous Dalai Lama in expectation of the next.²⁶

If the promotion of the Fifth's embalming salt helped to successfully endear the new Dalai Lama to the public for the remaining years of the seventeenth century, it was not enough to keep the government from falling less than a decade later when, for reasons falling outside the scope of this paper, Sangyé Gyatso was assassinated and the Sixth Dalai Lama was abducted by the Qoshot Mongols, leaving the corpse of the Fifth Dalai Lama to be tended by the heirs of the Regent's efforts in the eighteenth centuries.

Mummification Before and After the Fifth Dalai Lama

Let me conclude by returning briefly to the central mortuary practice in the Regent's account of embalming salt: the preservation, entombment, and worship of a whole corpse. Although the case of the Fifth Dalai Lama is clearly a watershed moment in the history of mummification in Tibet, the issue appears to have been subject to longstanding debate. Tradition offers several reasons against preserving the bodies of Buddhist masters: It is rare in canonical literature; it is rare in Tibet; it does not produce relics; it is harmful to the deceased; it causes difficulty for the process of conscious rebirth into the next saintly incarnation. An early work by Sangyé Gyatso describes mortuary practices

for twelve different classes and occupations. Preservation of the corpse was one of several methods to treat the dead, although cremation is said to be the more popular practice across a spectrum of social classes. Kings and members of the Bonpo tradition are singled out as candidates for entombment, ministers may either be entombed or cremated, Buddhist masters should be cremated, while members of the remaining social groups should be cremated, buried in the ground, or left exposed to the elements.²⁷ The extent to which this list is descriptive or prescriptive is open to investigation, but it is noteworthy that while secular leaders should be entombed, religious specialists should be cremated. Thus, while Sangyé Gyatso argues against the above reasons not to preserve the Dalai Lama, he also argues against his own earlier writing.

Even when Buddhist masters express personal desires to be entombed, their followers are not always disposed to follow their wishes. A very early instance of preserving the whole corpse of a Buddhist master—or at least an attempt to do so—is found in the life of the eleventh-century figure Khyungpo Naljor (Khyung po rnal 'byor) who beseeched his disciples to preserve his body whole: "When the Indian masters conferred (upon me) fully the four (tantric) empowerments, (I) actually dissolved into Jñanasattva, and given that Jñanasattva does not die, it is not appropriate to burn (my) corpse. Do not burn my corpse, but construct a box of jewels, gold, silver, copper, and iron, set the corpse in it and worship it. If this is done this region of Zhongzhong will be like a second Vajrāsana, and my dharma lineage will flow like a river."²⁸ When a faction of monks from Kham (Khams) threatened to steal the corpse if it was not cremated to produce relics, the monks of Zhongzhong relented and, despite their master's wishes, put his corpse to the fire.

Examples of other, successful, efforts to entomb prominent religious leaders have been mentioned earlier, Tsongkhapa being perhaps the most significant in terms of the history of the Gandenpa School. But there was one other preserved master of great importance for the school, the First Panchen Lama, Losang Chokyi Gyaltzen (Blo bzang chos kyī rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662). The Panchen Lama was preserved whole in 1662 and placed in a stūpa-tomb at Tashilunpo Monastery in Tsang, fully twenty years before the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama.²⁹ Sangyé Gyatso must have been aware of this, despite the fact that the official account of the Panchen Lama's funeral was not composed until 1720, and the possible reasons why he did not even bother mention this case need to be investigated.

If few examples of bodily preservation occur in comparison with cremations before the Fifth Dalai Lama, there are more numerous examples after him, and to this extent it appears that Sangyé Gyatso was successful in his efforts to promote the practice. The Seventh Dalai Lama (Blo bzang skal bzang rgya mtsho, 1708-1757) was also preserved whole within a sandalwood casket³⁰ and then placed in a stūpa in the Potala, as was every Dalai Lama after him.³¹ The Jamyang Shepa ('Jam dbyangs bzhad pa) incarnations, so important for the history of the Gelukpa school in the northeastern Tibetan region of Amdo, were also all embalmed and entombed. The First Jamyang Shepa (Ngag dbang brtson 'grus, 1648-1722) died in 1722, forty years after the Fifth Dalai Lama, and in his biography of 1758 we find several significant remarks on the topic of embalming: During debates over the proper treatment of the master's corpse, one faction held that preserving his body whole would impede his successful rebirth as the Second Jamyang Shepa. This argument did not win the day however, for the likelihood of

the wholly preserved body generating blessings (*byin rlabs*) was deemed sufficient reason to embalm the master. His corpse was thus bathed in scented water, and placed in a copper container, during which time a silver stūpa and a casket were prepared for final internment,³² much like the master who bestowed upon him his monastic vows, the Fifth Dalai Lama himself. If debates about mummification continued, the example set by Sangyé Gyatso in the case of the Fifth Dalai Lama was sufficient to assure that the practice would be considered orthodox, at least in the large Gandenpa/Gelukpa institutions. What Sangyé Gyatso had to argue for at the end of the seventeenth century became more or less accepted doctrine in the eighteenth century, as we find the Third Panchen Lama (Dpal Idan ye shes, 1738-1780) writing in reference to the Second Panchen Lama's (Blo bzang ye shes, 1663-1737) tomb that, "where the precious corpse resides as a single whole in a casket, the precious teachings of the Victor will long remain continuously, this great dharma college will also remain unharmed for a long time, and its ways of spreading the dharma will become supreme."³³

Using limited classical resources to respond to the exigencies of particular historical circumstances, Sangyé Gyatso was engaged in what we might term the work of Buddhist political theology (to borrow the term from Kantorowicz). We perceive him assuming control over the canonical discourse of death and at the same time seeking to transform mortuary practice itself in the tradition of the Dalai Lamas. In the proclamation we see him appropriating, adapting, and subsuming the accounts of numerous past masters within the story of the Fifth Dalai Lama even when their deaths did not end in preservation but in cremation. And perhaps most interestingly, we see him utilizing

Buddhist sūtras composed over a millenium before him to engage in public activity with very real social, cultural, and political consequences.

Yet Sangyé Gyatso used his sources with selective care. He was too shrewd to let the traditional materials at his disposal undermine his argument, even where they might offer resistance. His citation or paraphrase of the final scenes in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, which makes up almost one quarter of his work, is a case in point.³⁴ The Regent employs the sūtra to evoke a time-honored tradition of preparing and venerating mummified masters, as well as the merits gained these practices. Yet the distinct outcome of the sūtra, namely the *cremation*, not preservation, of the Buddha's corpse and the subsequent production of relics, must be downplayed if the sūtra is to have any defensible place in an argument for mummification. Where, for instance, Sangyé Gyatso quotes a passage on the ritual preparation of the Buddha's body for cremation, he leaves off immediately before an injunction to burn the body, only to return to the sūtra at a passage we have noticed already, on the worship of the cotton that wrapped the Buddha's corpse.³⁵ In fact, in some four folios of references to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the cremation is not even mentioned. Sangyé Gyatso thus garners whatever evocations of mourning and worship he can from this famous account of the founder's death, all the while avoiding the fact that the Buddha and the Fifth Dalai Lama were subject to manifestly different mortuary practices. It is the cotton garments covering the Buddha that are important to Sangyé Gyatso's vision of mortuary practice, not the Buddha's relics, and though he may have begun his sermon in a place most of his audience thought they new, he leaves them in new territory.

As in the case of his treatment of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, Sangyé Gyatso chose his material selectively from accounts likely available to him of entombment in Tibet. One of the most heated discussions about the relative merits of preserving the corpse whole is found in the 1629 biography of the twenty-fourth abbot of Sakya Monastery, Kunga Rinchen (Kun dga' rin chen, 1517-1584). At first his corpse was placed in a stūpa located where he passed away. Not long after that it was moved to a second stūpa made of silver and decorated with jewels, where his disciples reveled in the fact that "this precious corpse will remain whole for two thousand years." But it was not to be, for Kunga Rinchen himself had said earlier that there is no good reason to leave the whole corpse of a Buddhist master for so long. "In the future," the master admonished his disciples, "when the Buddhist teachings have declined, it is possible that the master's corpse will become food for alleyway dogs and the like. It is very important that my bones and skin be burned, and quickly!" Heeding his plea, his followers decided to have their master's body cremated, and the remains were then placed back in the silver stūpa,³⁶ his flesh now safe from the greedy jaws of future scavengers. We can only hope that the dogs are kept at bay outside the doors of the Potala, and we might forgive Sangyé Gyatso for choosing to leave this particular episode out of his proclamation to a mourning public on a winter's day in 1697.

¹ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Mchod*, p. 247.9. Sangs rgya rgya mtsho, *Drin...bzhi pa*, ff. 160b-161a; Ahmad (1998), p. 275; Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Pur*, f. 16a.2; Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Mchod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gtso*, pp. 64-72.

² See Meyer (1987) and Chayet (2003) for general surveys of the Potala's construction, and more generally the essays in Pommaret (2003) for background to the period discussed in this essay.

³ I would like to thank E. Gene Smith for suggesting to me, over the course of several conversations between 2000 and 2004, the broad outlines of Sangyé Gyatso's

significance for the development of Central Tibetan culture. All misinterpretations and misappropriations of Smith's important insights remain entirely my own.

⁴ See Appendix for a chronology of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's writings.

⁵ Here I have drawn inspiration from Wolf (1999), among other social theorists.

⁶ Bell (1931), pp. 135-136.

⁷ See Cuevas (2003), Chapter Four for an overview of Tibetan mortuary practice, as well as references cited therein. See Faure (1991) and Sharfe (1992) on mummification in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Uebach (1982) contains a full German translation of a note composed in the 1930s on the process of mummifying the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Wylie (1964) contains an early description in scholarly literature to Tibetan practices of mummification.

⁸ Compare Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Pur*, ff. 2a.5-3a.3 with *Snying rje pad ma dkar po* (D113), ff. 235a.4-237a.4, and Yamada (1968), v. 2, pp. 262.7-263.

⁹ I will discuss the issue of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's citation and paraphrase of the *Myang 'das* (D119) more fully in a subsequent draft of this essay. It is clear that he used D119 and not the version contained within the *Vinaya* (Waldschmidt [1950-51]). In rough terms, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Pur*, f. 3a-5b is drawn from D113, ff. 318b-325b. Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho cites *bam pos* 42 and 43 of the *Myang 'das* (and not *bam pos* 55 or 56, as one might expect from the *Sde dge Bka' 'gyur*), though the passages all come from final sections of the sūtra. This suggests that he was citing from a sutra stemming from the Them spans ma line of *Bka' 'gyurs*. See Eimer (1998).

¹⁰ See Strong (2004).

¹¹ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Pur*, ff. 6a.3-7b.3 paraphrases or cites extracts from '*Dul ba phran tshogs kyi gzhi* (*Kṣudrakavastu*) (D6), ff. 296b-300b.

¹² See Bentor (1994), p. 17.

¹³ *Dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (D113), ff. 147b-148b, See Kern (1884), pp. 229-231, 236-237.

¹⁴ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Pur*, f. 12a.1: *de'i sku gdung la mchod pa byas te sku gdung gi mchod rten btsigs nas mchod rten de la bkur sti chen po byas te mchod rten gyi dus ston gyi lugs gtod do //*. See *Las rgyas rtsa gcig pa/Ekottarakarmaśataka* (D4118).

¹⁵ Schopen (1997), pp. 227-228, n. 38 discusses the connotation of translating *śarīra* by *sku gdung* in the context of the mortuary ritual.

¹⁶ Shes rab rin chen, *Rten*, p. 528.4-5: *gang zag dman pa'i rus pa sogs ni rten gyi nang du bcug na / de la gang zag khyad par can gyis phyag mchod mdzad pa'i tshe / gang zag de la shin tu gnod par 'od bsrungs rdzogs byed kyi gtam rgyud las grub pas mi rung la / gal te 'jug na lhar bskyed pa'i rus chog khyad par can byas te sa'a tstsha gdab pa'am yi ge'i snag tsha la bsre ba sogs byas na rung ngo //*. See Schopen (2004), p. 297 for a summary of this story.

¹⁷ Dge legs dpal bzang po, *Rje*, p. 136.1-.7: *de nas chos kyi sku la mnyam par bzhag pa las bzhengs nas / sku gdung zhugs la bzhen pa dang / ma nyams par bzhugs pa ji ltar bya zhes bka' bgro ba mdzad pa las ma nyams par bzhugs nas bstan pa'i rgyun la shin tu phan pa'i dgos pa che bar dgongs te / ma nyams par bzhugs su gsol ba la thag bcad nas / so so nas dad pas phul ba'i dngul bre chen bco brgyad tsam las grub pa'i gdung rten chen po / rin po che'i phra sna tshogs pa bkod pas spras pa bzhengs te / de'i bum par sku*

gdung snam sbyar gyis legs par g.yogs te tsandan 'ba' zhig las bsgrub pa'i sgrom bu bcug nas bzhugs su gsol lo //.

¹⁸ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Rje*, p. 242.3. The Fourth Dalai Lama, Yonten Gyatso, died in Drepung Monastery toward the end of 1616 at the young age of twenty-eight years: Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Jig*, pp. 346-348.

¹⁹ Compare Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Pur*, f. 16b with Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Drin can...drug pa*, f. 341: *rje bla ma srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan mchog gi sku gdung rin po che ring bsrel gyis rgyas par gyur nas 'gro ba'i mchod sdong dang ril por bzhugs pa gang 'gab brtag pa phul bar phye ma babs pa ltar / gdung skal ring bsrel rgyas pas gnas dang yul gyis skal ba sa mtha'i 'gro ba rnams kyi don ma thub pa'i dod du pur rtsal byin rten bdag nyid chen po a ti sha'i gdung / slob dpon padma'i byang sems dkar dmar / 'jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po btsong kha pa'i dbu lo / sku chos sogs rang phyogs kyi byin rten yod do cog dang / gzhan yang ris med kyi grub mtha' ris su ma chad pa'i byin rten 'gangs che mang ba / rgya bod kyi gnas chen ma lus pa'i sa rdo shing gsum gyi sna / rin po che'i rigs / sman sna / dar sna sogs chur gang che'i jo bo khams ngang pa gnas chung pa sor gsum bsres pa'i sman 'dam 'gangs chen la dbu gnang gi dad rten du 'bur char bzhengs pas mar me nges par 'dzin 'dug gshis / rje bla ma'i sku par che chung phyag gdan lan mang bstar ba gnyis dang gsar blug bcas chung ba khri lhag dang / che ba gnyis nas kyang brgya phrag kha shas bcas pur tshva me 'dzin ma gab 'debs mi rnams kyi yig drug dang ye dhar 'don bzhin bu 'gro ba rnams kyi dad rten gyi skal bar 'degs bcug go /.*

²⁰ Blo gsal rgya mtsho, *Dpal*, pp. 241.4-242.4: *de nas gzhal du med pa'i sku gdung rin po che nyid / sman dang dri bzang dang gos dar ras yug la sogs pas gril nas za ma tog gi nang du spyang drangs / <dbu rgyan> rgyan drug dar zab la sogs pas klub nas gdung sgrom gyi khrir mchod pa'i sprin spungs kyi dbu su bzhugs su gsol nas / rgyud sde rin po che nas bshad pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor dang rjes su 'brel ba'i cho gas yun ring du gsol ba btap pas tshe'ang thams cad sems bying rgod dang bral zhing khams dwangs la dge sbyor gyi 'char sgo stobs che bas sdug [242] bsngal gyi gdung ba yongs su skyob nus pa lta bu byung / lhag par skal ldan gyi 'gro ba 'ga' zhig la rmi lam gyi snang bar rje nyid seng ge'i steng na bzhugs pa'i gsung gi snang bas lung bstan pa sogs ngo mtshar ba mang po byung bar snang / de nas sku gdung rin po che zhugs la yongs su zhen pa'i gdung gi khrod du dbu thod kyi dum bu nang logs la dpal mgon chen po bram gzugs sku phyed yan tsam shin tu gsal ba de man dbyibs yod pa / rgyab tu hu'uM yig kha dog nag po'i ri mo'i rnam pa can dang / phyag sor gyi tshigs lta bu zhig la baM yig li khri'i mdog can 'bur du dod pa / ring bsrel mang dag dang bcas pa byon / gzhan yang rnal 'byor dbang phyug gi sku dang yi ge sogs byon ces gleng ba ni thos / rjes su byin rlabs rten gyi gdung tsha so sor bkye ba'i khrod na'ang ring bsrel 'khrungs pa'ang byung tshod 'dug /.*

²¹ The biography of the Tsarchen by the Fifth Dalai Lama corroborates Sangyé Gyatso's claim: Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Rigs*, pp. 631.1-634.1. The embalming salts of Blo gsal rgya mtsho are also mentioned in Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Sku*, v. 2, f. 262b.3.

²² See Heller (2003), p. 91. Sangyé Gyatso might also have mentioned Kun spangs pa's master, Sa skya Bdag chen Blo gro rgyal mtshan (1444-1495), or his disciple, Kun dga' legs pa (d. 1544), both of whom were also mummified. See respectively Blo gsal rgya mtsho, *Khams*, pp. 136.4-145.5, and 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug, *Rje*, pp.

374-388, esp. the mention of *gdung tsha* (read *tswha*) at 387.2 By contrast, the previous figure in the Lam 'bras lineage, Mus chen Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388-1469) was cremated and his burnt remains produced relics in a more traditional fashion: Blo gros rgyal mtshan, *Rje*, pp. 30-31. See also the biography of Lam 'bras master, Yol Mkhan chen Gzhon nu blo gros (1527-1599), whose body was entombed whole: Blo gros rgyal mtshan, *Rje bla ma*, pp. 387-391. Another Sakyapa master Muchen Sangyé Rinchen (Muchen Sangs rgyas rin chen, 1450-1542), Eighth Abbot of Ngor Monastery (Ngor E wam chos ldan), died on the way to Mongolia. His body was carried to a certain institution (Gling dga' bde ba can Monastery) and entombed whole in a stūpa "as a field of merit for living beings:" Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, *Dzam*, p. 359.4-.13.

²³ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Thams*, pp. 296-297. See Aris (1989), p. 143.

²⁴ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Thams*, pp. 322.1-324.13, esp. 323.5-.13: *'bring bsdus rna ba'i bcud len le tshan du gsal ba ltar yin pas tshang mas go nyan dgos lugs kyi gsed dkrol ngag sbyangs sngon du btan ste tshoms chen du rna ba'i bcud len 'bring po dang steng du bsdus pa / so sor sku gdung rgyas pas 'gro don ma thub pa'i dod / sku pur dang lo skor bar 'grogs pa'i tshwa dang gos dar gyis gzhi byas de bzhin gshegs pa'i 'phel gdung sogs bstan pa ris su ma chad pa'i byin rten bgrang ba las 'das pa bsres pa'i par sku spos dang mar me nges par 'dzin pa 'di'i dkar chag bcas bsgrags /*

²⁵ Petech (1988), p. 128.

²⁶ Medicine prepared from embalming salt was also prepared at the medical college established by Sangyé Gyatso on Chakpori (lcags po ri), the hill next to the Potala: Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Thams*, p. 300. See also *ibid*, pp. 427, 569, 595, 611.

²⁷ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Phug*, p. 85.12-86.19; Martin (1996), p. 354, Dorje (2001), p. 344. Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Phug*, p. 85.12-86.19.

²⁸ See Anonymous, *Mkhas*, p. 60.8: *der bla ma'i zhal nas nga la rgya gar gyi bla ma rnams kyis dbang bzhi rdzogs su bskur ba'i dus su ye shes sems dpa' dngos su bstim pa yin pas / ye shes sems dpa' ma gshegs par pur sbyong du mi btub ste / da lta nga bas lhag pa nam yang med de nga dang mnyam pa yang med pas nga'i pur ma sbyangs par / rin po che gser dngul dang zangs lcags kyi ga'u gyis la / der pur bzhugs pa la mchod pa phul / de ltar byas na zhong zhong gi gnas 'di rdo rje gdan gnyis pa lta bu la nga'i chos rgyud 'di chu bo'i gzhung lta bu zhis 'ong par 'dug ste khyed rnams kyis gros nyes gcig las mi byed dam gsung / da ni nas bla ma zhing khams gang du gshegs / gsol ba gang du 'debs zhus pas / 'di nas bde ba can du 'tshang rgya bas der gsol ba thob / the tshom yid gnyis ma byed ang / zhes lan gsum dung gsung ngo / da 'pho ba ye shes skar khung ma sgom pa rnams 'di bzhin du nyams su long zhis gsung tsa na dbu thod lag mthil tsam zhis nam mkha' la 'phar te / sgra dang 'od dang 'ja' tshon du gyur nas gshegs so // de nas zangs dang gser dngul gyis ga'u brdungs nas der pur bzhugs par byas tsa na / khams pa grwa pa mang la dbang che bas khong rnams na re / bla ma'i pur mi sbyong na / dbu khams su khyer nas dngul gyi gdung khang byas nas bzhugs pa yin no zer byung / de nas pur sbyangs pas rgyud sde lnga'i lha tshogs dang lha bzhi la sogs pa'i sku dang / gdung dang / ring bsrel dung g.yas su 'khyil la sogs pa'i rten mang po byon /*

²⁹ Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570-1662) and Blo bzang ye shes (1663-1732). *Chos*, pp. 356.15: *'di dag gi skabs su phyag mdzod / sras kyi thu bo gnyis / zhal snga nas slob spon nam pa bzhi / zhabs 'bring pa blo bzang bstan 'dzin sogs gros la dbang ba thams cad kyis sku gdung ril por bzhugs pa dang / zhugs la phul ba gang legs kyi gsung*

bgros mdzad par / snga sor mkhas grub khung po rnal 'byor gyis / nga'i spur 'di ril por bzhag na chos brgyud 'di chu bo'i rgyun las ring ba dang / zhong zhong 'di rdo rje gdan gnyis pa lta bu zhig yong ba yin te / khyed rnams [357] kyis ngan zhig pa 'dra gsung ba bzhin / khams sogs nas 'dus pa'i slob ma rnams kyi shed khyer ba'i sku gdung bzhu nas so sos gdung skal khyer bas rten 'brel ma 'grig pa de bzhin byung 'dug [/] de dang mi 'dra bar rje btsun bla ma tsong kha pa chen po'i sku gdung rin po che yang rol por ri bo dge ldan du bzhugs / da lam yang sku gdung ril por bzhag na spyi sgos gang sar phan bde bla na ma mchis pa dang / khyad par bkra shis lhun po'i bstan pa dang sems can gyi phan bde rgyas pa yong bas ril por bzhag na legs tshul dang / snga sor rje de nyid kyis gsol dpon bla bzang bstan 'dzin la / rgyal ba blo bzang don grub dben dgon zhol du sku'i bkod pa sdud nas skugdung dben dgon rtser rje sangs rgyas ye shes kyis gdan drangs pa'i lo rgyus zhib cha gsungs pa dang / rje nyid kyang gzhan don la dgongs su nye ba'i snga gong gi mdzad pa 'ga' zhig la brtags na sku gdung ril por zhog cig pa'i brdar go nas tshang ma sku gdung ril por 'jog par zhal mthun pa dang / de mthun grwa rigs dang sbyin bdag drag zhan tshan mas kyang sku gdung ril por bzhugs pa legs tshul thams cad thugs mthun zhal gcig nas bton pa lta bu byung 'dug cing / de nas blo bzang bstan 'din dang rdo rje rgyal mtshan gnyis kyis tshad blangs te dbu mdzad chos dbying rgya mtshos sku gdung bzhugs yul za ma tog gi shog khra bris par gsum ga la myong ba med pa'i stabs kyis a za ma tog shin tu ches pa gdung khang mchod sdong yang shin tu che ba yong ba'i rten 'brel 'grig ces gleng /.

³⁰ Rol pa'i rdo rje, Rgyal, v. 2, p. 1072.12: *de nas sku gdung rin po che zhugs la phul ba dang / ril por bzhugs pa gnyis gang legs rgyal tshab mchog nas sku gdung rin po che'i drung du thugs dam rten grags gras rje'i sku brnyan bkra shis rdo kha ma / jo bo'i lung bstan sgrol ma / lha mo gsung byon ma bcas spyan drangs thugs dam brtag sgril gnang bar yang lha mi'i mchod sdong du ma nyams par bzhugs su gsol ba babs shing / rgyal ba gnyis pa tsong kha pa chen po sogs kyi sku gdung yang ril por bzhugs pa bcas / da lam yang ma nyams par bzhugs na legs par thugs thag chod de / bzhugs gnas kyang gong ltar thugs dam brtag pa mdzad par babs pa bzhin / pho brang po ta la'i rten btso 'phags mchog lo ke shwa ra'i sku'i g.yas phyogs gzim chung bkra shis 'khyil bar gtsug lag khang gsar du bskrun pa bzo bkod kyang shin tu bka' babs pa byung 'dug /; ibid, p. 1073.12: *glang lo hor zla dgu pa'inang du legs par grub nas / gza' skar 'phrod sbyor dge ba'i nyin sku gdung rin po che yid bzhin gyi nor bu bum nang du spyan 'dren skabs gtsug lag khang gsar par phebs pa dang dus mtshungs su grwa tshang gi tshogs dung bus pa / bum nang du tsandan 'ba' zhig las bsgrubs pa'i za ma tog gi nang du snam sbyar rigs lnga'i dbu rgyan sogs phul te bzhugs su gsol ba...**

³¹ See Ya (1991).

³² Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, Mkhas, p. 239.1: *de ltar dgongs rdzogs rnams legs par grub zin nas phal cher gyis byin rlabs kyi ched sku gdung ril por 'jog dgos zer / 'ga' zhig gis ril bor bzhag na sprul sku 'byon pa la gnod ces 'then khyer byung yang / mi'i dbang po rnam rgyal gyi gsung ltar sku gdung ril bor 'jog par thag bcad de dri bzang gi chus legs par bkru nas gur kum dang tsan dan sogs dri bzang gi phye ma dang bcas snam sbyar gyi legs par g.yogs nas zangs kyi bum pa'i nang du bcug ste / mi'i dbang po yab yum gnyis kyi thog drangs grwa slob sbyin bdag rnams kyis mthun rkyen sbyar ba la brten dngul srang chig stong las byang chub mchod rten bzo dbyibs dang bkod pa khyad par 'phags shing / rin po che sna tshogs pa'i phra rgyan gyis mdzes pa gsar du bzhengs*

pa'i nang du bzhal du med pa'i yon tan gyi phung po du ma'i za ma tog sku gdung rin po che bzhugs su bcug nas lung dang rigs pa smra ba'i khyu mchog chen po thugs sras dam pa rje nga dbang bkra shis pa'i zhal snga nas kyis gtso mdzad / dge 'dun 'dus pa'i tshogs kyis rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga rgyas par mdzad de byin rlabs kyi gzi 'od phyogs brgyar spro bas lus can kun la phan pa dang bde ba'i dngos po yid bzhin du 'jo ba'i srid pa gsum gyi mchod sdong (gdung) gcig pur gyur to //. On the funeral and mumification of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa II Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, see Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, *Dus*, pp. 475-481. On 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa III Thub bstan 'jigs med rgya mtsho (1792-1855), see Ngag dbang thub bstan rgya mtsho, *Kun*, pp. 359-365.

³³ Dpal ldan ye shes, *Rdo*, ff. 105-10, esp. f. 105a.6-b.1: *gang gi za ma tog lta bu'i sku gdung rin po che ril po gcig tu bzhugs pa ni / rgyal ba'i bstan pa rin po che rgyun ring du gnas pa dang / chos grwa chen po 'di nyid kyang yun ring bar mi nyams shing [10b5] dar rgyas su 'gyur ba'i thabs mchog tu 'gyur bar kun gyis bgros te /*. See also the catalog to the contents of the Second Panchen Lama's stūpa, in which the Seventh Dalai lama refers to the "stūpa in which the precious corpse resides whole as a holy field of merit for all living beings: Blo bzang skal bzang rgya mtsho, *Rgyal*, p. 506.5-.6: *sku gdung rin po che 'gro ba kun gyi bsod nams kyi zhing sa dam par ril por bzhugs pa'i mchod sdong*.

³⁴ Rockhill (1991), pp. 122-147 summarizes a Tibetan version *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* as found in the *Kṣudrakavastu* in comparison with translations from the Pāli by Rhys-Davids.

³⁵ Compare Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Pur*, f. 15b.5-.6 with *Mya ngan las 'das pa*, f. 315a.6-b.2.

³⁶ Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, 'Dzam, pp. 465.16-467.2: *de nas re zhig gi bar du sku gdung rin po che de nyid lhun grub pho brang de nyid du mchod rten gyi khang bu brtsegs par bzhugs su gsol zhing / de nas rgyun mi ring bar gdung sras 'jam pa'i dbyangs sku mched kyis sngags 'chang nyid kyi gdongs pa rdzogs thabs su nyid kyi sku brnyan gser zangs las grub pa ngo mtshar can thog tshad ma la lam zab bla ma brgyud pas bskor ba dang / khyad par sngags 'chang chos kyi rgyal po nyid kyi sku gdung bzhugs pa'i rnam rgyal mchod rten rgyu rin po che dngul las grub cing bzo khyad rmad du byung ba rin po che bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i phra rgyan gyis spras shing dpangs shin tu mtho ba / mthong na mi [466] mthun pa med pa de nyid gsar bzhengs mdzad de / sku gdung rin po che spyang drangs nas der bzhugs su gsol zhing / mchod pa'i bye brag bsam gyis mi khyab pa bshams te / gdung sras 'jam pa'i dbyangs sku mched kyis gtso mdzad rdo rje 'dzin pa du mas rab tu gnas pa rgyas par mdzad pa'i tshe / spyan dbye'i skabs su rten rnams la nyi ma shar zhing / nam mkha' shin tu dwangs pa la lha rnams kyis me tog gi char chen po phab pa dang / 'ja' 'od kyi gur phub pa la sogs pa ngo mtshar ba'i ltas du ma dang bcas te bkra shis dang byin rlabs kyi gzi 'od 'bar bar bzhugs te slar yang srid pa ji srid pa de srid du 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam sprul rim par byon te gdul bya gang la ci 'dul gyi rnam par bstan nas 'phrin las rgyun mi chad cing lhun gyis grub pa'i rten 'brel phun sum tshogs pa 'grig pa yin no // de ltar sku gdung rin po che de nyid mi lo nyi shu'i bar du ril por bzhugs shing / de nas sngon 'jam pa'i dbyangs sku mched la sngags 'chang nyid kyi gsung las / bla ma dge ba'i bshes gnyen gyi pur ril po yun ring 'jog pa 'di legs rgyu med de / ma 'ongs pa bstan pa nyams pa'i dus su bla ma'i pur srang bar gyi khyi sogs kyi zas su 'gro ba yang srid pas / nged kyi rus bu 'di dang tsho ni myur du bzhu ba gal che'o zhes yang yang gsung ba zhig yod pa gdung sras sku mched gnyis*

kyi thugs dkyil du bcangs nas / shing pho 'brug gi lo (1604?) shar ba na sku gdung rin po che bzhu ba la phul te / gdung tsha rnams dngul gdung rin po che de nyid du bzhugs su gsol zhing / de dang dus mtshungs par sems dpa' chen po sngags 'chang grags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bdag nyid chen po'i dgongs rdzogs thabs su rigs 'dzin bla ma brgyud pa'i gtsug lag khang gsar bzhengs mdzad de'i rten gyi gtso bo la sngags 'chang chos kyi rgyal po'i nang rten dngul gdung yid [467] bzhin gyi nor bu de nyid spyang drangs te deng sang gi bar du 'gro ba rnams kyi mchod pa'i gnas su bzhugs pa 'di nyid yin no //.

Appendix

The following is a rough chronology of writings (totaling some 3640 printed folios) composed by Sangyé Gyatso between 1693-1701 pertaining to the Fifth Dalai Lama. The dating of all these works requires further detailing.

1693: Verse and commentary on the previous lives of the Fifth Dalai Lama. 79 folios.

'Khrungs rabs rnam thar gsol 'debs kyi 'grel pa mu tig chun po. Unavailable.

1693: Regulations for the annual Great Offering Ceremony to the Fifth Dalai Lama. 99

folios. *Mchod sbyin nam mkha' mdzod kyi rgyun btsugs pa'i tshogs mchod bca' bsgrigs 'byung khungs mdo rgyud shar ri nas drangs pa'i byang chen nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor.* Unavailable.

1694: *Tales for the New Year.* 46 folios. *Rgyal khab chen po'i dga' ston gyi dus dam pa'i*

chos las brtsams pa'i 'bel gtam gyi lde mig skal bzang mgrin rgyan rna bar kun dga' ster ba'i bdud rtsi.

1695: Verse-biography of the Dalai Lama. 194 folios. *Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ngag*

dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i thun mong phyi'i mdzad pa rnam thar don bsdus gyur pa dbyangs can 'phang 'gro'i rgyud las drangs pa rab snyan gzhan gsos kyi glu. Blockprint available at TBRC.

1695: Account of the Fifth Dalai Lama's transference of consciousness to the Sixth. 110

folios. *Pad dkar 'dzin pa ngur smrig gar rol lnga pa sdom brtson rgyal po'i tshul 'chang ba drug par 'phos pa'i gtam rna ba'i bcud len yid kyi kun dga'.* Available at University of Washington.

- 1696: Account of building and installation the Dalai Lama's stupa. 767 folios. *Mchod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig rten gtsug lag khang dang bcas pa'i dkar chag thar gling rgya mtshor bgrod pa'i rdu rdzings byin rlabs kyi bang mdzod.*
- 1696: *Lhasa Circumambulation Survey*. 111 folios. *Mchod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gtso bor gyur pa'i lha sa ra mo che rigs gsum bla ri dang bcas pa spyi bye brag gi skor tshad byang chen bgrod pa'i myur lam.*
- 1696: Three-volume continuation of the Dalai Lama's autobiography. 1081 folios. *Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i thun mong phyi'i rnam thar du ku'u la'i gos bzang glegs bam gsum pa'i 'phros bzhi ba; glegs bam bzhi pa'i 'phros lnga pa; glegs bam lnga pa'i 'phros drug pa.*
- 1697: Account of the Fifth Dalai Lama's remains. 19 folios. *Pur tshwa me 'dzin ma'i dkar chag dad pa'i sa bon gyis bskyed pa'i byin rlabs ro bda'*. Blockprint available at TBRC.
- 1697: Guidelines for the education of the Sixth Dalai Lama. 201 folios. *'Gro kun dad pa'i zhing sar bden don chos char 'bebs pa'i sngon 'gro'i gtam lha'i rnga chen.*
Unavailable.
- 1698: *Yellow Beryl* history of the Gandenpa school. 419 folios. *Dpal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa zhwa ser cod pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa bai dūrya ser po'i me long.*
- 1701: Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama. 514 folios. *Thams cad mkhyen pa drug pa blo bzang rin chen tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho'i thun mong phyi'i rnam par thar pa du ku'u la'i 'phro 'thud rab gsal gser gyi snye ma glegs bam dang po.*

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