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# Preliminary Remarks on Bonpo Manuscripts in Dolpo

**Abstract:** This article documents the history of the successive discoveries of Bonpo manuscripts in Dolpo stemming from David Snellgrove’s assessment of the library of the Samling monastery in 1956 to the present description of a library of a private Bonpo householder in the vicinity of Phijor (Byi cer) visited in 2012. The manuscripts here are predominantly *Khams chen* and *Khams bryad*, the Bonpo ‘Perfection of Wisdom’ texts. The dedications of two ancient manuscripts are studied here, both written on dark blue paper (*mthing shog*) with gold ink. According to these texts, both manuscripts specify their local production for Bonpo sanctuaries in the vicinity of Phijor village. One preface stipulates that the manuscript was made during the paramountcy of the Yatse (Ya rtse) kingdom over this region of Dolpo, corresponding to c. 1340–1354.

## 1 Introduction

The present research is inspired by the scholarship of David Snellgrove and Corneille Jest, who resided in Dolpo in 1960–1961. Snellgrove pursued his pioneering studies of Bonpo manuscripts in-situ in Namgung (Gnam gung) village, in Dechen Labrang (Bde chen bla brang); in tandem, Jest lived as resident ethnologist in Khagar Labrang (Mkha’ mkhar bla brang), a hamlet of Tarap (Rta rab). Since it was an ox year, Jest accompanied a small group of Khagar men as they accomplished the pilgrimage to holy places of Dolpo, resulting in the compendium *Tales of the Turquoise*.<sup>1</sup> During their travels, Jest visited the Bonpo monastery of Samling (Bsam gtan gling) and two Buddhist sanctuaries of the nearby village of Phijor (Tibetan: Byi cher, Bicher; Nepali: Vijer). Snellgrove had preceded him there in 1956; in both villages Samling and Phijor, Snellgrove found many volumes of books and manuscripts. In Samling monastery, Snellgrove was led to the private chapel of the Samling lama, who showed him many ancient manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Entering the Samling monastery, Snellgrove observed:

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1 Jest 1975; Jest 1985; Jest 1993.

2 Snellgrove 1961, 114.

On the left there was a large collection of very dusty volumes, all wrapped in cloths and strapped up between heavy boards in the usual Tibetan manner. Since the frames were inadequate for their number, they were just piled one upon another. Here was a large collection of Bon literature such as I was unlikely to find again, but it would clearly be a formidable task to look through it.<sup>3</sup>

Snellgrove subsequently spent a month in the Samling monastery; with the help of the head lama he collected a number of interesting manuscripts which he studied in detail.<sup>4</sup> In the Phijor sanctuary, Snellgrove merely described “a complete set of the Tibetan Buddhist canon and a fine gilt image of Maitreya.”<sup>5</sup> He gave no indications of the dates of the volumes. When Jest visited the temple five years later, he was told by the custodian that the volumes of Kanjur and Tanjur had been printed in Lhasa with funds obtained due to a special tax exemption in the distant past:

In the valley of Karmarong, situated to the west, an epidemic of smallpox was raging and the king of the land of the West, Sonam De (Bsod nams lde) called the lama of Phijor in order to fight this calamity. The Lama organised a big kurim (*sku rim*) and the evil stopped of its own accord, outright! Thankful, the king told the lama to express a wish. Without hesitating, the lama asked for tax exemption for the four valleys of Dolpo, for 18 years. The wish was granted and with the money that would have been paid as tax, religious works, printed in Lhasa, could be bought.<sup>6</sup>

One may note that the chronology of the epidemic is not clear, but it took place at a time when printed books could be purchased in Lhasa, and therefore ostensibly not before the sixteenth century at the earliest.

This was all that had been published about the Phijor volumes until June 1999, when the Pritzker and Roncoroni families made a photographic safari in Dolpo.<sup>7</sup> As connoisseurs of Tibetan and Himalayan art, they trekked from village to village, where they were shown the local treasures of ancient mural paintings, sculptures in clay or wood, thanngas and manuscripts. When they reached Phijor, the Buddhist lama, Ven. Tenzin Gyaltzen (Bstan ’dzin rgyal mtshan), was outside waiting for them sitting in the sun, with a selection of illuminated manuscript

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<sup>3</sup> Snellgrove 1961, 115.

<sup>4</sup> Snellgrove 1967, viii; Ramble and Kind 2003, 698–699.

<sup>5</sup> Snellgrove 1961, 129.

<sup>6</sup> Jest 1975, 361; Jest 1993, 69–70.

<sup>7</sup> Klaus-Dieter Mathes of the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) micro-filmed some manuscripts from Samling and Phijor during missions in 1996, 1999 and 2000, described in his internal reports of the NGMPP; his research on certain manuscripts was first published in 2003 (personal communication December 2020).

leaves beside him. They immediately realised the potential time range of twelfth to thirteenth century or even earlier for some of the manuscript leaves. In order to discuss the contents of the library at length with the lama, they decided to hire a horse from him, which required him to accompany them throughout their month-long journey in Dolpo.

During the trek the lama expressed his dismay that the library was no longer accessible for the villagers. Due to thefts in nearby monasteries, the village committee had decided to construct a concrete brick wall blocking the entrance to the cella where the sacred volumes were stored on shelves surrounding a life-size statue of Buddha, the main icon of the temple. Sensitive to this situation, the Pritzker and Roncoroni families proposed an architectural renovation of the sanctuary to consolidate the structure and protect the books, accompanied by the creation of a village school and construction of a medical dispensary. The village committee unanimously approved this project. The lama estimated that there were approximately 200 volumes behind the wall. In May 2000, in order to inventory the contents of the library, a team comprising a Tibetologist and two photographers reached the village, whereupon the lama proceeded to demolish the cement brick wall. As the dust settled, the team realised that the description of Jest's informant was completely inaccurate. Instead of volumes of Buddhist texts printed in Lhasa, the initial count revealed over 600 volumes of Buddhist manuscripts comprising numerous texts, many with illuminations. The daunting task of creating a title list and measuring the volumes was to be accomplished inside eight days, when the helicopter was due to bring the team down to Kathmandu.

## 2 An inventory of the manuscripts

The intense schedule to complete the initial inventory was respected. It soon became clear that many of these were manuscripts locally produced in Dolpo. In particular, 61 volumes had dedication prefaces indicative of their local commission in Phijor or nearby villages as well as historical data such as the name of the king during whose reign the manuscript was made, or the name of the titular abbot at the time of the commission.<sup>8</sup> In general the title pages were written in

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<sup>8</sup> See Heller 2001 for a brief summary of the library project, Heller 2007 and Heller 2009 for a selection of the Dolpo prefaces. See De Rossi Filibeck 2007 for similar prefaces in the manuscripts of Tabo monastery in Spiti, and Helman-Ważny and Ramble 2021, 204–222 for Bonpo dedications in Mustang.

gold ink on *mthing shog*, dark blue or black paper, with ornamental margins and elegant calligraphy. The dedication prefaces were sometimes written in gold ink on *mthing shog*, but more often written in black ink on buff coloured paper. The dedication prefaces were most frequent among volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā, which are meritoriously copied for the benefit of all sentient beings as well as the local population. In the Phijor Buddhist temple of Nesar (Gnas gsar), among the Prajñāpāramitā dedications, certain names among the groups of donors – such as Ston pa g.yung drung – reflect ostensibly Bonpo practitioners, who also participated in the villagers’ collective effort to produce merit.<sup>9</sup> This reflects the long history of good collaboration and *bon voisinage* in Dolpo between Buddhists and Bonpo practitioners.<sup>10</sup> No mention was found of the king Sonam De of Karma-rong, the benefactor of the volumes according to Jest’s informant; however, historical documents in the village traced the strong spiritual relationship linking the eleventh Phijor abbot Khenpo Jamyang (mKhan po ’Jam dbyangs) with Sonam De (Bsod nams lde) (r. c. 1330–1340), ruler of the kingdom in western Nepal known as Ya rtse or Dzumla in Tibetan, and Khaśa Malla in Nepali. Several dedication prefaces of Prajñāpāramitā volumes indicated that they were made in Phijor during the sovereignty of the Ya rtse kingdom, whether Sonam De or his son Pritivimalla, whose reign ended in 1354.

Due to the Phijor villagers’ interest in the local and regional history of their village which was partially elucidated by the study of the prefaces of the manuscripts in the library and local historical texts, I returned to Dolpo in 2012 to bring a copy of my book *Hidden Treasures of the Himalaya, Tibetan Manuscripts, Sculptures and Paintings of Dolpo* to present to the library of the Mugpo Rong school. At this time, Bonpo families requested me to visit their home and their private library in a nearby hamlet. The visit proved extremely worthwhile.

I was led into a small chapel where a large Bonpo sculpture graced the altar accompanied by the requisite offering bowls for water. On the shelves of the library, inside thick boards, many volumes were stacked. During my brief visit of a few hours, I could only roughly calculate that there were more than 100 volumes (see Fig. 1 and Appendix 2). The caretaker requested me to photograph a specific volume which he designated as particularly important. The elegant calligraphy of the first pages immediately indicated the commission of a manuscript of great

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<sup>9</sup> Heller 2009, 41 Preface to volume Lang 78. This was a manuscript produced during the reign of Mustang king Bkra shis mgon (d. 1489).

<sup>10</sup> See Snellgrove 1961, 129–131; Snellgrove 1967, 4–5; and more recently Heller 2009, 35 for the local history of Bon and Buddhists in Phijor.

significance. In large scale raised gold letters, the start of the title *zhang zhung skad du*, ‘in the language of Zhangzhung’.



Fig. 1: Private library, general view of shelves, Phijor, 2014; photo by Chandra Gurung.



Fig. 2: Ornamental calligraphy leaves of a manuscript *Khams chen*, c. 22 × 60 cm, *mthing shog* blue paper with raised gesso and gold pigment, and red silk cloth cover for protection. Phijor, 2012; photo by Amy Heller.

The next volume also began with an ornamental leaf of dark blue paper, with the central panel again reading *Zhang zhung skad du*, ‘in the language of Zhangzhung,’ complemented by two brief dedications written in gold on both sides of the central panel (see Fig. 2). These two dedication verses succinctly indicate the title of the volume, which is a copy of the first volume of the *Khams chen* (the Bon ‘Perfection of Wisdom’). The *dbu can* (headed letters) of the handwriting is quite small in comparison with the letters of the central panel, in very large scale *dbu can*. Although the leaf looked ancient, there are no particular archaisms in the orthography or calligraphy. No chronological information is provided by the dedication verses. The names of several donors are inscribed in this first dedication. In particular, there is a member of the Ya ngal clan, whose ancestors were responsible for the foundation of Samling and who retain to the present day the hereditary role of principal lama of the Bonpo monastery of Samling and the Bonpo sanctuary in Phijor.<sup>11</sup> Also among the donors, there is the officiating lama named *Byi cer mkhas btus lags*,<sup>12</sup> indicating that he was someone living in Phijor.

The dedication consists of two sections, eight short verses to the left and six short verses to the right of the large-scale ornamental calligraphy.

Left: *ston pa ngo mtshar che / rgyal ba gshen rab lags drin can ngo mtsar che / ya ngal khus x yon lags yon bdag ngo mtshar che / dar ma sam (sic: bsam) grub lags rgyu sbyar ngo mtshar che / jo lcam rgyan ne lags*

The extraordinary teacher (who is) the extraordinarily kind lord Gshen rab, the extraordinarily generous donor Ya ngal khus, the extraordinary rich donor Dar ma sam grub and his wife Rgyan ne.

Right: *bla mchod ngo mtshar che / byi cer mkhas btus lags / thugs dam ngo mtshar che / khams chen rgyas pa lags / shes bya ngo mtshar che / 'bur chen 'od 'bar lags /*

The extraordinary officiating lama *Byi cer mkhas btus lags*, the extraordinary personal commitment of commission of the volume entitled *Khams chen rgyas pa*, (which is) extraordinary knowledge. The scribe (*'bur chen*) was 'Od 'bar'.

Additional photography has revealed other dedication prefaces, one of which is studied here as it is exemplary in content, handwriting and indication of chronological data (Fig. 3). The dedication text is longer and more elaborate than the very succinct dedication discussed above (Fig. 2). The volume is a *Khams brgyad*

<sup>11</sup> Snellgrove 1992, 14; Ramble and Kind 2003, 698–699.

<sup>12</sup> Literally, his name means ‘the wise one of *Byi cer*’. The *Khams chen* is the longest of several versions of Bon ‘Perfection of Wisdom’ literature.



‘Perfection of Wisdom’ text. In many respects, the verses are strikingly similar in tone to the dedication prefaces of the ‘Perfection of Wisdom’, Prajñāpāramitā volumes conserved in the Phijor Buddhist sanctuary. There is a page of dark blue paper which is carefully ruled with double gold lines as margin, a protective cloth cover with tie-dye in blue, red and yellow has been stitched to the upper portion of the sheet of paper. The bottom portion of the page also has a decoration of additional small sections of blue paper. The dedication is written on a second leaf of blue paper which covers the ‘window’ of the lower page. This use of two sheets of the precious paper and gold enhances the beauty of the dedication, thus adding further merit to the donation of the volume. In terms of chronology, this dedication was ostensibly written during the first half of the fourteenth century, when this region of Dolpo was under the sovereignty of the Yatse kingdom.<sup>13</sup> The handwriting is a clear *dbu can* script written in eight lines on the verso of the sheet of paper. No scribe is named. There is one archaism in orthography (the *da drag*, for example in *gyurd*). The initial punctuation (*mgo yig*) is stylized and elegant. The verses are brief, many have nine syllables which conveys a sense of rhythmic recitation which is difficult to maintain in translation. The proposed translation attempts to convey this idea of recitation, rather than seeking more literal tone.

Homage to the absolute nature of the Primordial Teacher, the Joyous teacher of unchanging pervasive Compassion.

Praise to the lamas of the lineage, the guides on the path to receive the wisdom of the ancestors.

As to the world, past and future phenomenal worlds came into existence from below and the inhabitants descended from the gods of clear light. May all the karma be accomplished in harmony with the world and its inhabitants.

Thinking of the countless families of sentient beings (here) underneath the wheel with eight spokes (which is) the turquoise blue sky, in this narrow space of the lotus of the immutable swastika, the power of the king of Yatse is the best.

This place of the spread of the doctrines of Everlasting Bon, in Phijor the land where the ten virtues reside, (there is) the Smra clan in the lineage of the Zhang zhung pha chen Khyung po, having great wealth due to their faith in virtuous karma.

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<sup>13</sup> One may note that among the Buddhist manuscripts of Phijor, the Yatse period corresponds to the first half of the fourteenth century. In the context of upper Dolpo, the royal line of Yatse ceased after the death of Pritivimalla in 1354, subsequently Phijor came under the authority of Mustang. See Heller 2009, 36–43.

A son was born to the donor Dbang dar and his brothers, they zealously commissioned many volumes, a wondrous deed of great significance!

With the (thought of) good qualities of those who died and with pride for the sake of this life and the hereafter, after veneration the mind itself is like a servant, even like a divine servant of the skies for the young boy and his family.<sup>14</sup>

By the strength of their faith, earnestly practising virtue, and imploring as had done the earlier ancestors of the family, may all beings achieve happiness.

By the example of this virtue, foremost on the part of the donors, may all the beings of the three worlds practice virtue!

Once all beings having quickly cleared away the darkness of ignorance, may all sentient beings obtain Enlightenment.<sup>15</sup>

(1) E ma ho / / thugs rje bdal khyab 'gyur med bde ba ston // ye nyid ston pa'i ngang la phyag 'tshal lo // // gong ma'i dgongs pa len cing 'og ma'i lam sna 'dren // // brgyud

(2) pa'i bla ma nmams la phyag 'tshal bstod // // snod ni mas srid phyi'i 'jig rten rtos / / nang bcud 'jig rten mas chad 'od gsal lha / / phyi nang snod bcud spyi mthun las las grub / / sems can

(3) rigs la bsam 'das grangs mang zhing / / 'khorlo rtsibs brgyad g.yu rgung (sic: dgung) sngon po'i 'og / / dog sa pad ma mi 'gyur g.yung drung steng / / nang nas mchog gyurd ya tshe rgyal po'i mnga' / g.yung drung bon

(4) gi bstan pa dar ba'i gnas / / dge bcu ldan pa'i bzhugs yul byi cer du / smra rigs zhang zhung khyung po'i rgyud / / dkor nor phyug cing dge ba'i las la dad / / yab la sras 'khrungs

(5) yon bdag dbang dar sku mched kyis / / brtson 'grus bskyed nas gsung rabs mang du bzhengs / / bsags pa don can mdzad pa ngo mtshar che // // 'dzangs gshin ldan pa'i yon tan mdzes se

(6) 'is / / phyi ma'i don dang (tshe, erased) 'di'i khyeng drags (sic: dregs) la / / dkon mchog mchod nas zhabs tog rjes yid rang / / nam mkha'i lha pran (sic: bran) lta bu'i bu chung sku mched kyang / / yab mes

(7) gong ma'i rjes su snyogs par mdzad / / dge la brtson cing dad pa'i shugs kyis ni / / 'gro ba bde la 'di phyi'i don grub shog // // dge ba 'dis mtshon yon mchod rtso byas

(8) nas / / 'khams gsum sems can rnam kyang dge spyod cing / / 'gro kun ma rig mun pa myur bsal nas // sems can ma lus sangs rgyas thob par shog // //

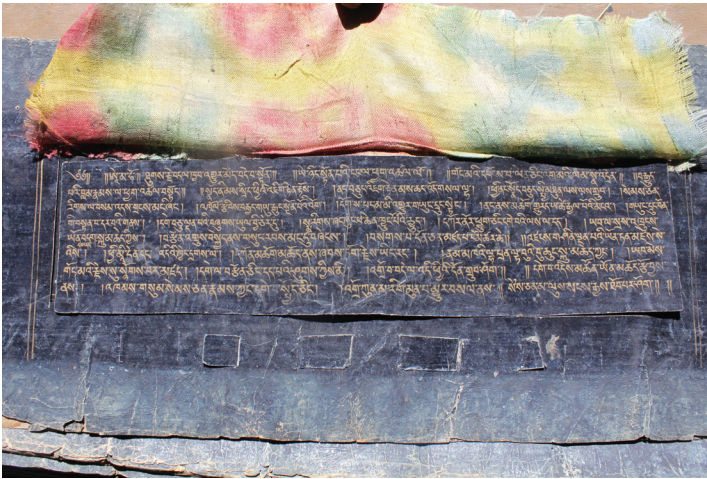
In contrast with the terminology of the very few dedication prefaces of this period among the Phijor Buddhist manuscripts, no specific ruler is named as sovereign. The Bon dedication merely reads 'under the rule (or power) of the Ya rtse king'. This dedication does however indicate a local provenance for this manuscript within the area of Phijor. The chronology of 1330–1350 conforms broadly to the

<sup>14</sup> Here is a translation followed by a transliteration of the text found in original script in Appendix 1.

<sup>15</sup> I thank Samten Karmay for his help with the translation of this dedication.



presumed period when Bon religion had firmly taken root in Dolpo, as well as the period of sovereignty of the Yatse kingdom over this region of Dolpo, although the extent of authority of the Yatse kingdom over Dolpo still remains to be determined.<sup>16</sup> When Snellgrove studied the Samling texts, his principal concern was accurate understanding of the texts and their translation, while codicological aspects of the volumes, typology and provenance of the paper as well as historical aspects of the production of the manuscripts were not yet studied systematically. At present, the focus is different thanks notably to the pioneering research on material aspects of the manuscripts and paper of the western Himalayas by Agnieszka Helman-Ważny et al.<sup>17</sup> Future research will thus be in a position to document more securely many aspects of the numerous local Bon texts remaining in Samling and in the vicinity of the village of Phijor.



**Fig. 3:** Dedication leaf of a *Khams brygad* manuscript, blue paper, gold ink, Phijor, c. 22 × 65 cm, commissioned mid-fourteenth century.

Following my brief visit to the private library in 2012, additional photography has been possible thanks to Chandra B. Gurung, director of the Revival of Vijer Dolpo, a non-governmental organization responsible for the direction and administra-

<sup>16</sup> Snellgrove 1961, 4–5; Heller 2009, 35. For example, there are no decrees or taxation documents. See Heimbel 2017, 328–329, 501.

<sup>17</sup> Helman-Ważny 2014; Helman-Ważny and Ramble 2020.

tion of the local school and medical dispensary in Phijor. Thanks to his earlier photographic experience with the manuscripts of Nesar temple, the Phijor Buddhist sanctuary, he adopted the same protocol for the Bon manuscripts in this private library: each volume was photographed for title page(s), dedication page (if extant) followed by the first two or three leaves, and the conclusion leaf. In some cases, the volumes were lacking title pages, conclusion or dedications. That said, this protocol allows a brief examination of each volume; in some cases it has been possible to identify the texts.<sup>18</sup> The renowned Bonpo scholar Samten Karmay has kindly reviewed these photographs and provided the title wherever possible in relation to the catalogue of Bon texts published by Per Kvaerne.<sup>19</sup> There are copies of well known Bon texts, such as the *Khams brgyad*, the *Klu 'bum*, the *Snyan brgyud* as well as other texts which remain unidentified at present.

Similar to the manuscripts conserved in the Nesar temple in Phijor village, the Bon manuscripts demonstrate great care in calligraphy, spatial organisation and illustrations. The paper format of the majority of the Bon texts conforms to the size of the large pages, roughly 22–25 cm × 66–68 cm, typical of the Nesar Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts attributed to local Dolpo production of the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. Analysis by Helman-Ważny indicates that the paper was made from the local plants *Daphne/Edgeworthia* sp. fibres and *Stellera* sp.<sup>20</sup> The ink appears to be carbon-black and/or red ink for the buff-coloured leaves, while gold, silver and occasionally red are used on the dark blue *mthing shog* leaves. In terms of spatial organisation and layout, the majority of leaves have the text written in the central portion of the leaf with margins of varying width at right and at left, which also conforms to the Buddhist manuscript leaves. A few texts have illuminations at the two lateral margins, roughly 12 cm square, painted in bright colours. These may represent Bon deities as well as a few portraits of Bon teachers. On the whole, thanks to preservation in the dry climate of the high altitude of Dolpo, the colours remain brilliant and there is little deterioration of the pages. The dedications vary from very brief to three full pages in length, citing numerous names of local donors. In terms of chronology, the earliest dedication yet identified is the *Khams brgyad* dedication of figure 3, attributed to the period of Yatse sovereignty (Fig. 3). One may already indicate that the manuscript texts on the dedication leaves of the *Khams chen* and *Khams brgyad* volumes appear to date from approximately the mid-fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, similar to many of the volumes of manuscripts in the Phijor Bud-

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**18** This is a preliminary survey, as the volumes remain to be systematically inventoried.

**19** Kvaerne 1974. See Appendix 2.

**20** Helman-Ważny 2014, Fig. 66.

dhist temple. The main objective of commissioning copies of the sacred scriptures, both Buddhist and Bonpo, is consistently to procure well-being, good health and happiness for all sentient beings, with especial regard for the benefits of the good karma accrued for the inhabitants of Phijor, not forgetting their livestock as well as future generations, thanks to the generosity of the local donors.

Pending future research on Bon manuscripts still conserved in Dolpo, this brief report is conceived as an introduction, indicative of a long history of local production in upper Dolpo. The high quality of the manuscripts demonstrates the great spiritual devotion and the economic commitment by the local community in ancient times.

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## Appendix 2: List of manuscripts in the Bonpo private library in the vicinity of Phijor

The list reads as follows with identification according to Kvaerne 1974. K and T stand for Kanjur and Tenjur respectively.

Item No.	Catalogue No.	Category/Title	Canonical Volume No.	Comments
1	9201-9224	Khams brgyad	K47	
2	9224-9277	Khams brgyad	K47	
3	9278-9284	Ritual (i) Rnam par rgyal ba		
4	9287-9201	Klu 'bum	K45	
5	9292-9293			Unidentified
6	9295-9296	Shes rab kyi bla na med par phyin pa'i snying po yongs su rdzogs pa'i mdo		Unidentified
7	9297-9305	Rdzogs chen gyi sngon 'gro phyag khrigs (khrid) pa		Unidentified
8	9306-9309	Man ngag rin po che khrid kyi 'chad thabs		Unidentified
9	9313-9315	Dge spyod yan lag gsum pa	K36	
10	9316-9318	Phyi ang gsang ba'i bon thams cad kyi gsang ba'i snying po gzungs kyi mdo		Unidentified
11	9319-9325	Snyan brgyud rin chen sgron gsal	T267	
12	9326-9328	Snyan brgyud smug gu	T264	
13	9329-9331	Rdzogs pa chen snyan brgyud rin po che nam mkha' 'phrul gyi mdzod chen	T272	
14	9332-9334	Klong rgyas kyi ting nge 'dzin gsal byed mkhas pa mi bzhis mdzad pa		Unidentified

Item No.	Catalogue No.	Category/Title	Canonical Volume No.	Comments
15	9335-9337	Shar phyogs/ Lha mo lha chen srid pa gshen rab stong la phyag 'tshal ba'i le'u		Unidentified
16	9338-9339			Unidentified
17	9340-9354	Me ri gsang ba 'khor lo'i rgyud Kham brgyad	K87	