

**BUDDHIST HIMALAYA:  
STUDIES IN RELIGION, HISTORY AND CULTURE**

**VOLUME I: TIBET AND THE HIMALAYA**



**EDITORS**

**ALEX MCKAY**

**ANNA BALIKCI-DENJONGPA**

**NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY · SIKKIM**



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STUDIES IN RELIGION, HISTORY AND CULTURE**

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOLDEN JUBILEE CONFERENCE  
OF THE NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY  
GANGTOK, 2008

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ALEX MCKAY  
ANNA BALIKCI-DENJONGPA

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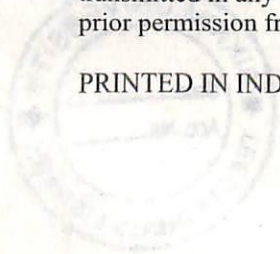
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IN MEMORIAM

TASHI TOPDEN IAS (1948-2009)

NIT Director (1995-2002)  
Conference Participant

GENE SMITH (1936-2010)

Tibetan Scholar  
Conference Participant

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The collection of articles presented in these three volumes were read at the Golden Jubilee Conference of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture*, held in Gangtok 1-5 October 2008. The idea of holding an international conference at the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology (NIT) had been brewing for a number of years and the Institute's Golden Jubilee celebrations eventually provided the perfect opportunity to do so. Under the leadership of NIT director Tashi Densapa, Alex McKay was appointed Conference Convenor, funds were raised, invitations were sent out and in due course, a program of over 70 papers was drawn up reflecting the varied histories and cultures of the region to be presented by a formidable assembly of scholars from no less than eighteen nations. The renowned Gene Smith served as our Senior Presiding Scholar. The planning team initially consisted of Tashi Densapa and ourselves but as the conference drew closer, the team eventually grew to include the whole of NIT staff.

In an effort to honour the institute's Founder Members, Princess of Sikkim Pema Tsedeun Yabshi Pheunkhang Lhacham was invited to attend as Guest of Honour. Unfortunately, she had to decline due to poor health and instead contributed a letter which was published in the Institute's souvenir book prepared by Tina Tashi commemorating its 50 years of existence.

As Senior Presiding Scholars, we also sought to invite scholars who had been pioneers in the field of Sikkim and Himalayan/Tibetan Studies. Chief among them was Gene Smith who had spent time in Sikkim in the late 1960s, and indeed at the Institute where he was lodged in its hostel, collecting Tibetan manuscripts as refugees were poring out of Tibet. Tibetologist Samten Karmay and Japanese anthropologist Chie Nakane, who had carried out fieldwork research in Sikkim in 1955, were also invited but eventually had to decline.

The conference was inaugurated at Chintan Bhavan by the President of the NIT, His Excellency the Governor of Sikkim Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh with the Chief Minister of Sikkim Shri Pawan Chamling as Guest of Honour. A message from Sonia Gandhi was read and addresses were also delivered by Gene Smith, Ven. Lama Zotpo and Ashok Sinha, son of former NIT Director N.C. Sinha (1958-71 and again 1976-78). A number of books written, compiled or translated by NIT staff were released on the occasion (in alphabetical order):

Gyatso, (Acharya) Samten, *The History of Sikkim's Monastery* (in Tibetan), Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2008.

Gyatso, (Acharya) Tsultsem, *Short Biographies of Eminent Tibetan Masters and their Recent Activities and Contributions to Buddhism in Sikkim* (in Tibetan), Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2008.

Hochotsang, Kunga Yonten (compiler), *A Tibetologist in Sikkim, Selected Works of Professor Nirmla Chandra Sinha*, Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2008.

Tenzin, Thupten (translator), *Twelve Deeds of Buddha with illustrations*, Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2008.

The conference went off splendidly with three parallel sessions and lively discussions, interspersed with an afternoon of sightseeing, a series of workshops, a dinner hosted by His Excellency the Governor at Raj Bhavan and a performance of the Sikkim Cultural Department in addition to dinner hosted by the Honourable Culture Minister Gargaman Gurung.



We would like to herewith extend our gratitude to all those who contributed in making the NIT Golden Jubilee Conference a success:

1. Sonia Gandhi
2. His Excellency the Governor of Sikkim Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh and his staff
3. Chief Minister of Sikkim Shri Pawan Chamling
4. The Honourable Culture Minister Gargaman Gurung
5. The Late Gene Smith
6. Ven. Lama Zotpa
7. Mr Ashok Sinha

We thank the Ministry of External Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, Govt of India, the Chief Minister of Sikkim Shri Pawan Chamling and the Department of Culture, Govt of Sikkim, for the financial support which enabled us to host the Golden Jubilee Conference.

Behind the scenes, making it all possible, were a wide range of people. Thank you to the NIT staff members who all showed a great deal of dedication in ensuring a successful conference. Foremost among them were Kelsang Choden and Kunga Hochotshang. Throughout the conference they dealt with an enormous range of issues with grace and humour, from banners to conference folders and badges to meal tickets; Tenzin C. Tashi (Tina) who has given so much of her time and laboured so hard in dusty archives to produce the Golden Jubilee celebration book; Tashi Chuki who handled all the conference accounts together with Tashi Wangyal and Prescilla as office staff; Thupten Tenzin in the conference office had to turn his hand to just about everything; Tenzin Samphel, Lama Tsultsem Gyatso, Sonam Thinley and Gyaltzen Lepcha, the resourceful staff at Bagdogra Airport, NJP railway station, Rangpo and then in Gangtok; Phurba Tshering our cameraman; Angee in the book sales department; Gyaltzen on the sound system; Kesang and Suk Bahadur our skillfull drivers; and Yeshe Wangchuk and Palden Lepcha among the staff already mentioned above deputed to coordinate and assist in the hotels as well as Karuna and Passangkit who made sure we were all well supplied with tea.

Thank you also to the many other scholars who assisted us in various ways in organising this gathering, not least NIT Consultant Tashi Tsering, Francoise Pommaret, and John Bray. And to Francoise, Mark Turin, Karma Phuntsho, Heleen Plaisier and Ann Shaftel for giving their time to make the teaching workshops such a success. We also thank our respective spouses Jeri and Jigme who not only contributed in their own way but also put up with both of us labouring long hours over a period of several months prior to the event.

We would also like to acknowledge the participants who for various reasons were unable to submit a paper for these volumes (in alphabetical order): Vibha Arora, Olivier Chiron, George van Driem, Julien Garcia, Vijaya Kumar, Sherap Raldi, Prem Saran, Ajay Kumar Singh, Kishore Kumar Thapa, the Late Tashi Tobden, Ngawang Tsering, Mynak Tulku, M. Veerender.

And last but not least, we thank our director Tashi Densapa for inviting us to organise the conference in the first place; Tashi Densapa not only remained a constant source of ideas, energy, and encouragement throughout but also an ocean of calm. We all owe him a great deal, not least for his ability to raise the necessary funds to make all this possible.

Alex McKay  
Anna Balikci-Denjongpa



## INTRODUCTION

ALEX MCKAY

*Namgyal Institute of Tibetology*

The Sikkim *maṅḍala* has traditionally been surrounded by Bhutan in the east, Tibet in the north, Nepal in the west and India to the south. Situated on the main trade route from India to Lhasa, Sikkim has been a cross-roads of civilisations and cultures, sometimes contested, sometimes a buffer-state between its neighbours in their expansionist phases. The nature of the modern Sikkimese state of India reflects this location and history, just as it reflects the diverse environmental conditions of a land that stretches from the plains of Bengal to the highlands of Tibet. Given the diverse range of environments, cultures, and histories that have impacted upon Sikkim, we may approach its study through many different disciplines, and in this volume the articles represent a selection of historical and cultural phenomena that have been manifest in the wider Indo-Tibetan regions and which impact upon Sikkim in the wider context.

It has been a weakness of Tibetan studies, and indeed the study of many cultures, that they have been treated in isolation rather than as unbounded worlds influenced by, and influencing, neighbouring cultures and lands. But here pasts, present, and indeed futures of Sikkim and its neighbours are considered, for the actions and ideas of Rin chen bzang po, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Chinese tea merchants, and the Norwegian eco-philosopher Arne Naess, to take just a few examples, may all be considered in regard to Sikkim.

In bringing together specialists in both Sikkim and its neighbouring lands, the 2008 Jubilee Conference of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology in Gangtok fostered, as intended, a dialogue concerning the study of Sikkim and its place in the wider region. Given the current foundational nature of Sikkim Studies (discussed by Balikci; Volume II), it is hoped that these conference proceedings will, in conjunction with the forthcoming volumes on the history of Sikkim (Saul Mullard) and the Namgyal dynasty (edited by Anna Balikci) as well as the emergence of studies from the new Sikkim University, provide a firm foundation for the future development of the field.

The volume opens with a discursive piece by David Germano, centred on the realities of academic engagement with China in the context of the Tibetan human rights issue. Tibetan exile identities, which embrace both unity and difference, are discussed within the wider framework of the rights of minority groups world-wide. Reflecting on how academics might foster Tibetan self-empowerment, Germano points to the use of digital technology, and specifically the Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library, as a means by which Tibetans may engage in self-representation and participatory knowledge creation, using this outlet to express Tibetan forms of knowledge rather than these being imposed by outsiders. This, he suggests, enables Tibetans—and by extension other minority groups—to participate “in a fully dimensional world with dimensions that are uniquely and wholly their own in character.” If that expression currently seems at odds with political realities, we may remember a Tibetan saying: “Even though the whole world is covered with snow and ice, some rabbits still inhale the smell of green grass in their dreams.”<sup>1</sup>

Karma Phuntsho then outlines his developing researches into the Tibetan culture of the book, the subject of his forthcoming monograph. He begins with a critique of academic



boundaries, an argument for the importance of a multi-disciplinary approach, with subjects of the complexity of, for example, Tibetan Buddhism requiring more varied perspectives for proper understanding. Indeed, as he notes, the growth of digital technology is transforming the organisation of knowledge and breaking down these artificial conceptual boundaries. He then illustrates the necessity of varied approaches to the study of the book, discussing such issues as how the role and function of the book permeates Tibetan culture, the question of what a book means to a Tibetan Buddhist, how books serve as a historical tool through which to examine Tibetan Buddhism, and how they function as sacred objects, as art, and as manifestations of the historical Buddha.

With several hundred languages and dialects in use throughout the Himalayas, the question of a single language being required at state level is very relevant, and the issue has implications elsewhere, as in India, where the imposition of Hindi has proved controversial. Lopen Lungtaen Gyatso discusses the challenges and opportunities posed by the development of Dzongkha as the *lingua franca* of Bhutan. First transformed into a written language as recently as the late 1960s, it is considered an important part of the promotion of Bhutanese national identity. English, however, remains a status language, and fluency in Dzongkha is far from universal even at graduate level. A shortage of Dzongkha teachers hinders its progress, while English is fostered by globalisation. Thus the aims of institutionalising Dzongkha are on-going, but yet to be achieved.

Staying with Bhutan, the article by Yongten Dargye provides an overview of modern Bhutanese funeral procedures and their regional variations. Cremation, sky-, water-, ground- and cave-burial are all practiced in different parts of the country depending on both social and environmental factors, as is the case elsewhere in the Himalayan region.<sup>2</sup> Dargye also describes the religious procedures from the time of approaching death until final disposal of the body, and records the recent endeavours by the 70<sup>th</sup> Je Khenpo which have removed the increasing modern tendency to grander and more expensive funerals, a situation with parallels in Sikkim.

Lopen Ngawang Jamtsho then describes the particular character of the Aolay (*A'o legs*) harvest festival in Laya (La yag), northern Bhutan. This event brings together the yak-herding pastoralists of the region, and is distinguished by its being associated with the visit to the region by the unifier of Bhutan, Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, in 1616. This three day communal festival also celebrates the local *yul lha* (mountain deity), and while modernity may lead to its decline, the festival has been preserved on film, having been, in 2005, documented by the ILCS and also the subject of a Bhutanese television programme.

Akiko Ueda's article examines recent socio-political changes in Bhutan around the transition to constitutional monarchy and discusses modernity in Bhutan with reference to the theoretical work of Pierre Bourdieu. It focuses on changing hierarchies, particularly the perceptions of young Bhutanese in this time of great change, and discerns a legitimacy deriving from H.M. the King of Bhutan that ensures that, "modernity is firmly in the hands of tradition". Bhutan is unusual in that democracy has been introduced at the behest of the king, and not in response to popular demand, contradicting the theories of social scientists such as Bourdieu. Ueda also examines the social implications of the new political careers available as a result of democratisation, and discusses the attraction of a political career to the youth of Bhutan.

Two articles on art and material culture then follow. In the first, Lopen Tobgye and Françoise Pommaret provide a much-needed in-depth analysis of the cult of phallic representations so common in Bhutan. This aspect of Bhutanese culture has long exerted a



fascination on outsiders, with various theories suggested in regard to its origins. But while a variety of Buddhist and non-Buddhist formulations of this ancient fertility symbol have crystallised around the 'divine madman' figure of Drukpa Kinley, the authors conclude that this phenomena has earlier origins. They demonstrate that it is part of a "multi-layered socio-religious matrix", one that has, in recent times, proved useful in allowing open discussion within Bhutanese society in the fight against HIV-Aids.

Susanne von der Heide then reports, with bountiful illustrations, on art investigations carried out by the author and the late Dzongsar Ngari Thingo Rinpoche at two early cave temple sites in Upper Mustang; Mentsün Lhakhang and Dagrangjang. With wall paintings provisionally dating from around the eleventh century, and clay statues from the eleventh-twelfth centuries, these indicate an earlier date for Buddhist art development in Mustang than has previously been assumed. Situated on the old trade route from Guge, taken by such luminaries as Milarepa and Atisha, these sites also raise the possibility of their indicating local influence by Rin chen bzang po.

Biographical accounts of female medical practitioners in Tibet are extremely rare, and Therese Hofer's study of the Tibetan medical doctor (*am chi*) Yangchen Lhamo, popularly known as Khandro Yangkar (1907-73) contributes to both medical history and gender studies. Khandro Yangkar practiced not only in Tibet (and Bhutan), but in Sikkim in the 1940s, enjoying particular repute in the field of eye surgery. Hofer situates her work within the wider context of the history of *sowa rigpa* (the Tibetan 'science of healing'), where female practitioners were extremely rare, and also discusses the techniques for cataract removal under this system. But gender restrictions surface again after the Chinese take-over of Tibet, when Khandro Yangkar was able to continue practicing but was apparently forced to give up her speciality and focus on women and children's health, see as more appropriate to a female practitioner.

Before we move into the historical section of the volume, we firstly consider the device for linking Buddhist and modern ecological understandings proposed by Rhyddhi Chakraborty and Chhanda Chakraborti. They compare the philosophy advanced by the famous Lotus Sutra with the Deep Ecology platform of the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess in order to suggest a culturally appropriate platform for Sikkimese environmental approaches. Both systems postulate a non-duality between humans and their environment, and both require a transformation of the self through a specific platform of ethical development in order to obtain an ultimate goal that embraces a relationship between the natural and human worlds. The fragility of the Sikkimese environment in the context of modern development makes such issues of considerable relevance.

Recent decades have seen considerable advances in the field of Tantric studies, which have, however, tended to focus on the elite stratas of society and religion, or what Sheldon Pollock has called the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis'. To counter this tendency to homogenise, and thus erase, important distinctions in Tantric sources, Ronald Davidson proposes a biogeographical approach as a heuristic device enabling us to situate sources in time and space. As Davidson states, "different areas of tantric practice had different characteristics, some of which, at the very least, have made these areas highly distinctive." The biogeography model brings out the diversity of Tantric forms shaped by regional cultural environments, as demonstrated here by the examples of four regions—Oddiyana, Kashmir, Kangra, and Nepal—and their variations in Tantric Buddhist history and practice. Tantric Buddhism thus emerges as a series of "complex systems of possibilities in dialogue with the



environment", escaping the emic and elite paradigms that exclude so many observable realities of Tantric history and practice.

The Cakrasamvara Tantric cycles are the subject of the following paper by Andrea Loseries. This cycle is fundamental to an understanding of Tibetan Buddhist landscape conversion as it occurred in the tenth-thirteenth century, particularly in the *Ti se* (Kailas), *La-phyi*, *Tsa ri* sacred mountain sites. Loseries outlines the history of the various Cakrasamvara formulations in their transmission, discusses the question of their origins in the Vajrayana/Saivite overlap, and considers the *piṭha* traditions associated with these teachings. The relevance of Davidson's biogeographical approach is immediately apparent here, with the importance of the Cakrasamvara Tantric cycles to the western Himalayan region.

We then turn to the much-debated question of the origins of Bon, with an article by Henk Blezer that is part of his continuing enquiries into this problematic issue. He concludes that the emergence of identities distinct from the Buddhist seems to first arise in documents from around the turn of the first millennium CE., and focuses here on narrative cycles concerning the shifting realm of *Myi yul sKyid mthing*. This suggests that the projection of Bon origins as being from the far west of Tibet, in *Zhang zhung* or *Ta zig*, seems late, and Blezer's structural analysis of Bon narratives suggests earlier elements are more associated with central locations.

David Holmberg examines the distinct western Tamang socio-cultural formation of non-monastic Buddhism. This arose within a clan-based subsistence agricultural society and thus provides a counterpoint to anthropological models of Buddhism as arising as a product of urban development and in association with state formation. Holmberg describes the cosmogonic mythology of the Tamang and its production of the Buddhist social order and the rituals and understandings that reinforce the 'naturalisation' of other-worldly powers. Increased contact with the modern world, however, has made the Tamang aware of the distinct nature of their religious practice, and Holmberg explores the tensions that exist between the newly apparent 'orthodox' lamas, who are transforming ritual and associated social practices in line with textual practice, and the lamas following Tamang formulations, who may be locally preferred as manifestations of a distinct Tamang identity.

Our knowledge of the *phyi dar* and the processes of state formulation consequent upon that phase owe much to the work of Roberto Vitali. Here he discusses the *mes rabs* of the *Nyingma gter ston* ('Treasure-finder'), *rig 'dzin rGod ldem can dNgos grub rgyal mtshan* (1337-1408). He was well known in Sikkim, where he was active from 1374-1384 and Vitali is particularly concerned to discuss *rGod ldem can*'s family origins among the Turkic and Tangut tribes of Central Asia, and in particular the consequences of the southern migrations from *Mi nyag* after the Mongol destruction of the *Si hia* (Xixia) kingdom (also see, Sperling: Volume II.).

Our knowledge of the life and achievements of *Rin chen bzang po* is then enhanced by Laxman Thakur's study of his life and achievements based on a previously neglected source, local folk-songs, allied to Thakur's own archaeological researches at sites associated with the 'Great Translator'. This approach provides an unjustly neglected counterpoint to the study of a culture's texts, which are generally elite discourses, and, as Thakur states, "democratises the study of history." Folk-songs in the western Himalayas describe such aspects as *Rin chen bzang po*'s relationships with local deities and with local communities rather than with the elites referred to in the texts. The songs also describe in fascinating detail the actual processes involved in monastic construction, such as the transportation of wood and clay, and



provide versions of the chronology of monastic construction in the region that can be supported by site investigation, and ultimately compared to textual accounts.

Staying with this formative period, the role of imperial legacies in the life of princess Chos kyi sgron ma (1422-1455), is discussed by Hildegard Diemberger. From the royal family of Gung thang, whose status was considerably enhanced by their claim to origin and associations among Yarlung dynasty royalty, the princess was the founding figure in the bSam sdings rDo rje Phag mo tradition. Her life was thus interpreted in her biography as a manifestation of the divine, and while as a woman she was unable to “fully enact the imperial legacies associated with her lineage”, the princess was of considerable importance both in the ‘Hidden Lands’ movement and in that her followers ensured the establishment of her incarnation lineage.

From these formative figures we then come forward to the seventeenth century, when, the dGa’ ldan pho brang government was established against the background of a tri-partite struggle between Manchu China, Mongolia and Tibet. This government was to rule Tibet until the Chinese invasion in 1950. Its consolidation was achieved, as is well known, under the rule of one of Tibetan history’s outstanding personalities, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682). While earlier studies have highlighted his activities in central Tibet, and in the centralisation of power there, Peter Schwieger’s article examines his expansion of Tibetan power—with Mongol support—to what became the south-eastern districts of Tibet. It is notable that, as Schwieger describes, this saw the dGe lugs pa sect established as dominant there through the “systematic suppression of other Buddhist schools, especially the bKa’ brgyud”. Henceforth the dGe lugs pa in that area were closely linked to the religio-political centre of Tibet.

More recent expansion by the Tibetan state is then discussed in the article by Toni Huber, which examines their political and economic movements into the fragmented and stateless regions of the far eastern Himalayas in the first half of the twentieth century. In three case studies of Tibetan activities in the regions from Tawang to Pemakö, which draw on texts and oral histories from field work in this frontier region, Huber’s focus is on what actually happened on the ground in the encounter between Tibetan agents and local peoples. The sense of cultural and religious superiority felt by the Tibetans over the non-Buddhist ‘Loba’ inhabitants of this region enabled a primary concern with ‘exploitation and profit’ rather with the more usually mentioned religious, or political-diplomatic goals of Tibetans in border contacts. The lands of the ‘Loba’, largely beyond the administrative control of British India, were a region from which the Tibetans took slaves, and used armed force to impose their will.

The focus of the next article is the social and political history of tea, the staple beverage of Tibetan culture. As Patrick Booz’s article shows, tea was of considerable significance—both actual and symbolic—in nineteenth and early twentieth century regional geopolitics. China’s tea trade with Tibet was not only of great economic importance, but part of the Chinese control mechanisms in Tibet. Chinese sources persist in promoting a myth that British Indian attempts to export tea to Tibet had significant effects, and that tea was the thin end of the wedge of British efforts to take-over Tibet. But British-Indian efforts to promote Indian tea in Tibet were a total failure, not least because Tibetans simply preferred the taste of Chinese tea, and as Booz concludes: “Indian tea rarely entered Tibet, and never posed a threat to the Sichuan tea industry.”

Localised versions of the life(s) of the historical Buddha were one of the key features of the indigenisation of Buddhism throughout Asia, and in this context Todd Lewis discusses a



Newar version of the Buddha's life story, the *Sugat Saurabh* ('The Fragrance of the Buddha'). This was composed by the great Nepali poet Chittadhar Hridaya in the 1940s, and while in traditional idioms from the Indic *kāvya* tradition his composition reflects both the local cultural setting and modernist influence. Lewis demonstrates these influences—the latter broadly within the Buddhist modernism movement in such aspects as the de-emphasising of the miraculous—while celebrating the great literary command and achievements of the poet.

The Buddhist encounter with modernity is also the background to Małgorzata Gdolk-Klaffkowski's account of the Roerich family, which discusses their relationship with Sikkim as well as providing a valuable bibliographical resource on this remarkable family, with particular reference to Russian research. Nicholas Roerich, artist, mystic and Central Asian traveller, had considerable influence on Western imaginal constructions of Tibet as Shangri-la, while his painting style was widely influential, not least it has been suggested, in regard to the delicate landscapes painted by the last Chogyal of Sikkim. With Nicholas Roerich's wife Helena, a Theosophist, and their sons being the Oriental scholar Yuri and the painter and botanist Svyatoslav, this extraordinarily talented family had a lasting impact on Western, not least Russian, understandings of Indo-Tibetan world. Not least among the noteworthy features of his career is that Nicholas was one of the very few outsiders who largely rejected the status of the Dalai Lama in favour of the Panchen Lama. There is much still to be written about the Roerich's, and this article provides an invaluable bibliographical starting point.

Finally we turn to a sacred site that is renowned throughout the Indo-Tibetan world; the sacred complex of Kailas-Manasarovar in what is now the Ngari region of western Tibet. Herself recently returned from a visit to the site, Kumkum Roy's article analyses four twentieth century travel accounts by Indian visitors to the region, uniquely in Kailas pilgrimage literature and studies, she is concerned not only with her subject's disparate reactions to landscape and populations, but with the often overlooked service class, porters, guides and suchlike; the "other" of the *yatri*." Relations with the local populations and these servants were often "marked by ambivalences and fears", their humanity both acknowledged and denied.

## NOTES

- 1 Bodlien library, Richardson Collection, MS. Or. Richardson 32: 1-99, Sonam T. Kazi to Hugh Richardson, 18 April 1994.
- 2 Also see, for a recent complementary study, Erberto Lo Bue, 'Notes on Sky-Burial in Indian, Chinese and Nepalese Tibet', in John Bray and Elena De Rossi Filineck (eds), *Mountains, Monasteries and Mosques: Recent Research on Ladakh and the Western Himalaya. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> Colloquium of the International Association for Ladakh Studies*, Fabrizio Serra Editore, Pisa/Rome, 2009, pp.221-38.