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KĀLIDĀSA IN TIBET: MESSENGER POETRY IN TRANSLATION

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ABSTRACT

My project explores the translation and transmission of Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa's poem *Cloud Messenger* (*Meghadūta*) into Tibet as a case-study for understanding the Tibetan reception and interpretation of Sanskrit poetics. More broadly, because the Tibetan reception of *Cloud Messenger* transpired in a formative period in Tibetan literary and cultural history, an analysis of this translation demonstrates how cross-cultural literary encounters—between India and Tibet—engendered the transmission of this popular South Asian genre of messenger poetry in Tibet. My central thesis for this project is that the fourteenth-century Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger* is usefully understood as simultaneously a Tibetan Buddhist reinterpretation of Kālidāsa's original piece, and a Tibetan poetical innovative work, thus a contribution to the genre of messenger poetry itself.

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

For all Sanskrit historical names and terms, I use the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (I.A.S.T.) scheme as formalised by the Transliteration Committee of the Geneva Oriental Congress, in September 1894.

For Tibetan historical names and terms, I alternate between two different transliteration schemes. For parenthetical names and terms, including any that occur in footnotes or bibliography, I use the Wylie transliteration scheme as standardized by Turrell V. Wylie in his article, *A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription*, published in 1959. In cases where article or book titles are rendered by the author or publisher in Romanization using a different transliteration scheme (such as Library of Congress), I leave the titles intact, but use Wylie for Tibetan author names.

For the body of my text, I made the choice to use the THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan scheme, standardized by David Germano, Nicolas Tournadre, and THL in 2003 in their article “THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan” (<http://www.thlib.org/reference/transliteration/#!essay=/thl/phonetics/>). The reason for this choice is that while the Wylie transliteration scheme renders Tibetan in a comprehensive way that allows for accurate orthographical correspondence, the resulting romanization is unpronounceable for readers who are not Tibetan specialists. THL Simplified renders Tibetan names and terms into a Romanization which follows the pronunciation of the Central Tibetan dialect based upon the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa.

Kālidāsa in Tibet: Messenger Poetry in Translation

Chapter One

Translations and the Spread of *Kāvya* in Tibet

1.1 Introduction

This project is about the translation of a poem—though not just any poem and not just any translation. My dissertation seeks in part to analyze and contextualize the fourteenth century Tibetan translation of a fifth-century Sanskrit poem: Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger* (*Meghadūta*), a poem that has enjoyed popularity throughout South Asia in various incarnations, including interlingual translations and imitation poems in both Sanskrit and various South Asian vernacular languages, which have in turn inspired—perhaps even created—a new ‘genre’ of South Asian poetry: ‘courier poetry,’ or ‘messenger poetry’ (*sandēśa-kāvya*, *dūta-kāvya*). The Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger*, too, as we will see, is significant as both a poetic translation and a piece of formal Tibetan poetry (*snyan ngag*, *kāvya*).

While it is uncertain whether Kālidāsa’s poem is the first of its kind in the genre of so-called messenger poetry, it is certain that the Sanskrit tradition accepts it as such. The *Cloud Messenger* is thus the standard and the model after which many poets from a variety of South Asian languages chose to style their own messenger poetry. In this regard, Yigal Bronner and David Shulman assert,

Although it has been argued that Kālidāsa was not the first to compose a

messenger-poem, there is no doubt that the tradition views the genre as we know it as originating with the *Meghasandēśa* [i.e. *Cloud Messenger*]. We are, indeed, dealing with a genre, possibly the most productive defined genre in all of Sanskrit poetry. All *sandēśa-kāvya*s are modelled after Kālidāsa’s: they are usually composed in *mandākrāntā* metre like the *Meghasandēśa*; they share a set of standard topoi, including the usual division into two halves—a description of the imagined journey followed by the recognition of the recipient of the message and its delivery—as well as a finer structure built around certain recurrent junctures.¹

Thus both stylistically in its own right, and as the quintessential model for the *sandēśa-kāvya* genre, it is clear *Cloud Messenger* is an important piece of literature and its reception into different languages is worthy of attention. The fact that *Cloud Messenger* is the last of the Sanskrit belletristic literature to be translated into Tibetan prior to the modern era and the *only* piece of *non-Buddhist* Sanskrit formal poetry (*kāvya*) translated into Tibetan prior to the modern era² is also significant. Given this poem’s ubiquity and popularity throughout South Asia, and given the rarity of Tibetan translations of non-Buddhist literature, for this project I chose to focus on the translation practices of a group of translators from the fourteenth century who were involved in the earliest known Tibetan translation of Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa’s famous poem, *Cloud Messenger*.

¹ Yigal Bronner and David Shulman, “A Cloud Turned Goose: Sanskrit in the vernacular millennium” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 43, (2006): 1-30.

² The only other piece that potentially rivals *Cloud Messenger*’s status as the only premodern non-Buddhist Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit belletristic piece is a play written by Harṣa called the *Nāgānanda*, whose Tibetan translation dates to the thirteenth century. This is debateable however as some scholars argue that the *Nāgānanda* is Buddhist by content, if nothing else. cf Michael Hahn, “The Buddhist Contribution to the Indian Belles Lettres,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung* 63, no. 4 (2010): 455–471. See also Michael Hahn, “Notes on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature: Chronology and Related Topics,” in *Studies in Original Buddhist and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Commemoration of Late Professor Dr. Fumimaro Watanabe*, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1993), 31–58.

1.2 Tibetan Buddhist reception and appropriation of Sanskrit Poetry and Poetics

It is commonly known that the Tibetan poetical tradition has been greatly influenced by Sanskrit poetics. It is also commonly known that although Tibetans have regarded the Sanskrit ‘sciences’—including linguistics, poetics, and medicine—with considerable respect, Tibetan scholars have often written as though they were pressured to justify these studies by their efficacy in furthering Buddhist pedagogical and soteriological aims. Sakya Paṇḍita, in his *Gateway*, argues that Sanskrit study is necessary in order to understand the context of Buddhism and Buddhist texts and thus necessary in order to be a good scholar and teacher of Buddhism.³ In other words, for Tibetan scholars, the study of Sanskrit poetics and grammar was not necessarily in and of itself a justifiable scholarly inquiry, as it was for Indian scholars, unless it involved Buddhist teachings.

The fact that there are relatively so few translations of non-Buddhist Sanskrit texts preserved in the Tengyur is further evidence for this point. While *stotra*-s and ‘Buddhist’ examples of Sanskrit *kāvya* were commonly translated and preserved, and while there is evidence of Tibetan scholarly interest in non-Buddhist Sanskrit *kāvya*, *Cloud Messenger* remains the only non-Buddhist *kāvya* translated during this time. There is some evidence that even the choice of Sanskrit poetic treatises was in part influenced by Buddhist-oriented goals. Sheldon Pollock asserts in his article on the Indian scholar Ratnaśrījñāna⁴ that while other commentaries on Daṇḍin’s *Mirror of Poetry* were extant in the north-eastern part of India, such as

³ See Jonathan C. Gold, *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers: Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (New York: States University of New York Press, 2008): 25-39.

⁴ Sheldon Pollock, “Ratnaśrījñāna” in *Encyclopedia of Indian Wisdom*, Sharma, Ramkaran ed., Volume I., (Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 2005) 637-643.

Vādiyaṅghāla's commentary, the tenth-century commentary of the southerner Ratnaśrījñāna was later introduced into the north-east and selected by the Tibetans for translation "in consequence of the authority of his exegesis and the fact that he was a Buddhist."⁵ Thus while *Mirror of Poetry* itself shows no sign of religious affiliation, the choice of Ratnaśrījñāna's recension for Tibetan translation may have been religiously or institutionally motivated. A similar argument could be made regarding the translation of Sanskrit grammar. Of all the various systems of Sanskrit grammar prevalent during the various translation periods, the systems of grammar that were translated and recorded as being studied, commented upon and 'transmitted' along with Buddhist teachings during the late spread were the those associated with Buddhist authors: the *Cāndra* (Candragomin's system) and the *Kātantra* (or *Kalāpa*, attributed to Buddhist grammarian Śarvavarman). As Peter Verhagen notes, "the first and only translation of a major work in the Pāṇinian tradition of grammar was produced by Dar Ngawang Phuntsog Lhundup between 1658 and 1660."⁶ Thus, we know that Buddhism as a cultural and political force greatly influenced the Tibetan reception and subsequent transmission of Sanskrit grammar and poetics.

We have seen by contrast a resistance to this Buddhist hegemony over scholarly inquiry within the Tibetan medical tradition. As Janet Gyatso articulates in her work *Being Human in a Buddhist World*:

It [medicine in Tibet] was also influenced by concepts and ideals in the Buddhist literature being translated from Indic languages and then composed in Tibetan during the same period. The classical medical text in Tibet, the *Four Treatises*, even takes the exceptional step of framing itself as a teaching originally preached by the Buddha in his form as Bhaiṣajyaguru, the "Medicine Buddha." But Tibetan medicine continued to operate out of an explicitly worldly ethos and a distinctive sense of the empirical grounds

⁵ Ibid., 640-641.

⁶ Pieter C. Verhagen. *Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet : a Study of the Indo-Tibetan Canonical Literature on Sanskrit Grammar and the Development of Sanskrit Studies in Tibet*. (PhD diss., Leiden: 1991): 122.

for knowledge, and often adapted what it was taking from Buddhist heritages in novel ways suited for medical science. This makes for a fascinating and instructive history. Given the overwhelming hegemony of Buddhist knowledge systems in Tibet—and in spite of many moves to keep medicine under the purview of the Buddha’s teachings—the gestures that medicine managed in the direction of autonomy are no less than astonishing.⁷

While Tibetan translations of poetry and poetical works such as *Cloud Messenger*, *Mirror of Poetry*, and *Ocean of Meters*, as well as those of Sanskrit grammatical pieces (not to mention the numerous commentaries and explanations of the *Mirror of Poetry*) remain evidence of a persistent Tibetan scholarly interest in the linguistic sciences, so far I have not seen a comparable level of scholarly resistance articulated against the view proposed by Sapan—namely that Tibetan scholarly inquiry into the linguistic sciences is significant apart from its function as a means to better understand and explain the Buddhist teachings.

This seeming unresolvable tension between scholarly inquiry and religious inquiry is usefully explored through the lens of David Ruegg’s work *Ordre Spirituel Et Ordre Temporel Dans La Pensée Bouddhique De L’Inde Et Du Tibet*, a two-part work of which the second part focuses on the relationship between religious and “secular” spheres in various contexts.⁸ Among Ruegg’s arguments is the claim that the division between the so-called ‘inner’ (*nang pa*, Buddhist) and ‘outer’ (external) sciences have more to do with which domains (i.e. the ‘outer’ or ‘external’) of knowledge are accepted as knowledge common to all, regardless of religion and which (the ‘inner’) are only accepted by Buddhists. This is a way of approaching discourse

⁷ Janet Gyatso. *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet*, Kindle Edition (NY: Columbia University Press. 2015): Kindle Locations 354-363.

⁸ I wish to thank Professor Matthew Kapstein for bringing this work to my attention. See David Seyfort Ruegg, *Ordre Spirituel Et Ordre Temporel Dans La Pensée Bouddhique De L’Inde Et Du Tibet: Quatre Conférences Au Collège De France* (Paris: Collège de France: Dépositaire exclusif, Edition-Diuffusion de Boccard, 1995).

which became popular in Tibet following the introduction of Indian scholar Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on Valid Cognition (Pramāṇavārttika)*, of which the second chapter emphasizes (for the purposes of scholarly debate) the importance of identifying and positing only premises which would be accepted by all parties. For example, since a non-Buddhist debater would not take the word of the Buddha to be inherently authoritative, a debate between a Buddhist and non-Buddhist could not proceed with that particular assertion as a premise.⁹ Thus, within the Tibetan Buddhist scholarly apparatus, there is at least tacit acknowledgement that there are domains of knowledge outside of Buddhist ones that are necessary for the investigation of reality—which is a part of the project of Buddhist scholastic inquiry. That the famed Tibetan scholar Sakya Paṇḍita felt compelled to claim the necessity of studying the 'outer sciences' would seem to highlight the historical reality that while it was not forbidden to study the 'external' arts, the study of 'inner' arts was more likely to be accepted (and perhaps more likely to be funded). I will explore this distinction between the inner/outer sciences and its relevance to the study of poetry more in Chapter Two, though as will become clear, the relevance of these distinctions—and of others yet to be articulated—informs the entirety of this project.

1.3 Tibetan Translations: A Brief History

The history of Tibetan translations is rich in material for scholars interested in the practice of translation of Sanskrit literature in South Asia. Beginning during the Tibetan Imperial period in the seventh through mid-ninth century (the 'early spread' or *snga dar*), the translation into Tibetan of Sanskrit texts—in particular of Sanskrit Buddhist texts—became both a well-

⁹ See John D. Dunne, *Foundations of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy, vol. 1st* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004):15-33.

established and a well-funded enterprise. Royal patronage during this time ensured the flourishing of translations, which only seemed to halt temporarily following the fall of the Tibetan empire in the tenth century. Translation activity resumed and continued throughout the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries, which became known as the ‘late spread’ (*phyi dar*) of the Buddhist teachings.

During this so-called ‘late spread,’ there was an increased interest in the Sanskrit arts and sciences including grammar, poetics, medicine, astrology, in addition to Buddhist *tantras*, *sūtras*, *śāstras* and other Buddhist genres of text. Interest in the figure of the Tibetan translators, the Lotsāwas, increased as well. Ronald Davidson argues that in the ‘late spread’ translators were afforded a certain social status derived from their supposed spiritual status as conveyors of the Buddhist dharma into Tibetan. As a result, large amounts of hagiographical literature emerged surrounding the Lotsāwa figures, attributing to them powers typically associated with *siddha*-s and other tantric adepts.¹⁰ The practice of translation played a significant role historically, both for the spread of Buddhism into Tibet and for the subsequent development of Buddhism and of Sanskrit Buddhist culture in Tibet.

Beyond this important role Tibetan translation has played throughout Tibetan Buddhist history, Tibetan translations are also significant in their contribution to the fields of literature and linguistics. In the opening paragraph of his article on alternate translations of Sanskrit sources in Je Tsongkhapa’s (Rje tsong kha pa) writings, Christian Wedemeyer writes:

Much has been made, in both scholarly and more popular literature, of the marvel of the Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts between the eighth and the fourteenth centuries. In particular, the Tibetan translations have been praised for their alleged extreme

¹⁰ See Ronald Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (NY: Columbia, 2005), 117-160.

precision—an exactitude the presumption of which has led some to attempt ‘back translating’ of works from Tibetan into Sanskrit.¹¹

Yet, as Wedemeyer notes in his article, this practice of Tibetan translators of closely preserving Sanskrit syntax and word order often resulted in rather artificial and/or clumsy translations and occasionally in translations that were imprecise or even incorrect. The tendency of previous scholars to praise Tibetan translations as syntactically precise—or alternately to criticize the seemingly mechanistic precision of word-for-word translations—makes the careful study of such translations critical for a more accurate understanding of Tibetan translation practices.

Understanding the methods and techniques of translation used by Tibetan translators is essential in order to better understand the role translation played in the transmission of Buddhism. The Tibetan translation project that spanned the eighth through tenth, and eleventh through fourteenth centuries is one of the largest translation projects in recorded history. As Matthew Kapstein argues in his book, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, the transmission of Buddhism—and later the establishment of Buddhism as the court religion of Tibet—profoundly impacted Tibetan culture. The mass translation projects of the ‘early spread,’ combined with the efforts in the ‘late spread,’ succeeded in transmitting several hundred thousand pages of Indian Buddhist texts as well as numerous Sanskrit texts pertaining to linguistics, poetry, poetics, metrics, astrology, medicine, and other Sanskrit sciences.

¹¹ Christian K. Wedemeyer, “Tantalising Traces of the Labours of the Lotsāwas: Alternative Translations of Sanskrit Sources in the Writings of Rje Tsong kha pa,” in *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis: Studies in its Formative Period, 900–1400*, edited by Ronald M. Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 149.

Various Sanskrit Buddhist *kāvya* works were translated over the twelfth through thirteenth centuries.¹² We likewise have extant a pair of Sanskrit plays, both Buddhist in content, from that time period.¹³ Numerous other pieces of various Sanskrit genres and styles pertaining to Buddhist topics (such as *campū*, *stotra*, *kathā*, *lekha*, etc.) were translated and preserved from this time period as well.¹⁴ Additionally, numerous treatises on Sanskrit grammar, poetics, astrology, and medicine were translated during the ‘late spread.’ In the early-thirteenth-century, Tibetan scholar Sakya Paṇḍita, in his *Gateway to Learning* (*Mkhas pa ’jug pa’i sgo*), translated major portions of the first two chapters of Daṇḍin’s famous poetical treatise *Mirror of Poetry* (*Kāvyaḍarśa*, *Snyan ngag me long*).¹⁵ The complete text was translated by Shongtön Lotsāwa Dorjé Gyaltsen and Lakṣmīkara in the thirteenth century.¹⁶ The fact that translations of (non-

¹² For instance Aśvaghōṣa’s *Life of the Buddha* (*Buddhacarita*), Kṣemendra’s *Creeping Vine of Lives of Bodhisattvas* (*Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*) and two different texts by the name *Garland of Jātaka-s* (*Jātakamālā*) attributed to two different authors, not including Āryaśūra’s *Jātakamālā*, which was initially translated as early as the ninth century.

¹³ The Buddhist play *Joy for the World* (*Lokānandanāṭaka*), by the famous Buddhist grammarian Candragomin, is extant only in Tibetan translated by Kirticandra and Nyi ma rgyal mtshan in the early fourteenth century. See Michael Hahn, *Candragomin’s Lokānandanāṭaka. Nach dem tibetischen Tengyur herausgegeben und übersetzt. Ein Beitrag zur klassischen indischen Schauspieldichtung*. (Wiesbaden: Asiatische Forschungen 39, 1974). Additionally, we have extant a Tibetan translation of Harṣa’s play, *Joy of the Nāgas* (*Nāgānanda*) dated to the thirteenth century, which contains some Buddhist themes.

¹⁴ For a detailed summary of the different genres of Sanskrit literature translated into Tibetan see Michael Hahn, “The Buddhist Contribution to the Indian Belles Lettres,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* Volume 63, 4 (2010): 455-471.

¹⁵ For recent scholarship pertaining to the Tibetan translations of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, see Dragomir Dimitrov, *Mārgavibhāga. Die Unterscheidung der Stilarten. Kritische Ausgabe des ersten Kapitels von Daṇḍin’s Poetik Dāvyaḍarśa und der tibetischen Übertragung Sñan ngag me loṅ nebst einer deutschen Übersetzung des Sanskrittextes*, Indica et Tibetica Verlag (Marburg 2002). See also Dragomir Dimitrov, *Śabdālamkāraḍaṣavibhāga—Die Unterscheidung der Lautfiguren und der Fehler. Kritische Ausgabe des dritten Kapitels von Daṇḍin’s Poetik Kāvyaḍarśa und der tibetischen Übertragung Sñan ngag me loṅ samt dem Sanskrit-Kommentar des Ratnaśrījñāna, dem tibetischen Kommentar des Dpañ Blo gros brtan pa und einer deutschen Übersetzung des Sanskrit-Grundtextes*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011).

¹⁶ Van der Kuijp identifies at least seven phases of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*’s transmission into Tibet. He notes that not all of these commentaries resulted in revisions of the translation. The Beijing and Narthang versions preserve Pang Lotsāwa’s revision; the Derge and Cone preserve the mid-fifteenth century revision by Nye-thang Lotsāwa; and the

Buddhist) poetry and poetical works were produced during this time period is not surprising considering that the famous scholar Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyaltsen two centuries earlier had urged teachers of the Buddhist dharma to study and learn the Sanskrit sciences so as to better explicate the Buddhist teachings to their disciples. What might be more surprising is how few *non-Buddhist* Sanskrit belletristic works were translated into Tibetan during this period.

I consulted three commentarial traditions for the Sanskrit *Cloud Messenger*: those of Vallabhadeva and Mallinātha, and Dakṣiṇāvarthanātha's southern recension. I see no evidence conclusively demonstrating that the Tibetan translation follows any particular commentary or recension, though the closest match seems to be with the recension favored by Dakṣiṇāvarthanātha, with Mallinātha a close second. And there are five traditions of the text itself: the Tibetan recensions constituted by the editions preserved in each of the five major versions of the Tengyur (Dergé, Coné, Narthang, Peking, and Golden). The original Tibetan recension was translated in the late fourteenth century by two Tibetans in conjunction with a paṇḍit from Kashmir named Sumanaśrī and remains preserved only through these recensions.¹⁷

bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan version published in Bhutan relies on Zhwa lu Lotsāwa's study of the text in the 15th-16th century. See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles-Lettres: The Influence of Daṇḍin and Kṣemendra" in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996): 393-410. It is interesting to note here that both the translator Shongtön and Pang Lotsāwa were of the Bodongpa lineage.

¹⁷ The Coné, Dergé (Sde-dge), Narthang (Snar-thang), Peking, and Golden (Gser gyi lag bris ma) editions of the Tengyur each contain a separate version of the Tibetan translation.

1.4 Previous Scholarship on Tibetan Translations

Among the most important sources for the study of Tibetan translations are the two ninth-century texts, the Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon, the *Great [Treatise on] Etymology (Mahāvvyutpatti)*¹⁸ and its partial commentary, the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise, (Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa)*. The *Great [Treatise on] Etymology* was commissioned in the ninth century by Emperor Tri Songdetsen. The *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise* was commissioned during the reign of his son, Tri Desongtsen (d.815).¹⁹ This latter text takes 413 of the 9565 entries of the *Great [Treatise on] Etymology* and gives etymological explanations for the choices of Tibetan terms, many of which are neologisms.²⁰ The *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise* also contains a short introductory section, consisting of rules and guidelines for handling specific types of translation problems, which served as an edict on translation methods for translators.

From the mid-eighteenth century, we also have extant Changkya Rolpé Dorjé's²¹ Tibetan-Mongolian lexicon, *Sourcebook for Lexical Scholarship (Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas)* which, like the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise*, consists of an introductory section containing guidelines for translators.²² Unlike the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise* however,

¹⁸ This text is most commonly referred to by its Sanskrit title, *Mahāvvyutpatti*. The title was rendered in Tibetan *Bye brag tu rtogs par byed pa chen po* or *The Great Volume of Precise Understanding*.

¹⁹ According to Peter Verhagen the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise* was possibly finished during the reign of his successor, Khri gtsug lde btsan ral pa can (815-836). see Peter C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet. Volume 1: Transmission of the Canonical Literature*, (Leiden - New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 16.

²⁰ Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*, 17.

²¹ For more information on Changkya Rolpé Dorjé, see E. Gene Smith, Chapter 11: “The Life of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje” in *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001): 133-146.

²² See Ruegg's work on the introduction to the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas*: David Seyfort Ruegg, “On Translating the Buddhist Canon (a Dictionary of Indo-Tibetan Terminology in Tibetan and Mongolian: The Dag Yig

these guidelines concern the translation of texts from Tibetan to Mongolian. This treatise also contains guidelines for the ideal qualities of a translator.

Peter Verhagen, in his dissertation, which was expanded and published over a seven-year period as a two-volume set, titled *History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*,²³ discusses Tibetan translations in his treatment of the ninth-century edict on translation contained in the introduction to the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise*. Volume one of this set is a systematic study of the then-available Sanskrit grammatical treatises in the Tibetan canon from the seventh century through the late nineteenth century. Verhagen identifies the Sanskrit grammatical elements in each, noting when each text was translated into Tibetan. The first section of this volume consists mostly of his analysis of the Sanskrit grammatical elements contained within the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise*.²⁴ Volume two of this set is a systematic study of all the Tibetan grammatical treatises written on Sanskrit grammar and the Indic or Sanskritic elements present in these treatises. Verhagen additionally published two articles that pertain to the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise*. In his earlier article, “‘Royal’ Patronage of Sanskrit Grammatical Studies in Tibet,” he argues that there was a high level of Tibetan royal patronage during the imperial period compared to the degree and structure of patronage of

Mkhas Pa'i 'Byung Gnas of Rol-Pa'i- Rdo-Rje),” in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, Volume 3: Commemoration Volume on the 71st Birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira* (New Delhi: P. Ratnam, 1974), 243–61.

²³ Peter C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet. Volume 1: Transmission of the Canonical Literature*, (Leiden - New York: E.J. Brill, 1994). and *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet. Volume 2: Assimilation into Indigenous Scholarship* (Leiden - Boston: E.J. Brill, 2001).

²⁴ Verhagen, *Volume 1*, 9-45.

grammatical studies and translations from the late spread (eleventh century) onwards.²⁵

Additionally, Verhagen is currently working with Cristina Scherrer-Schaub to publish a critical translation of the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise*.²⁶ Cristina Scherrer-Schaub's piece titled "Translation, Transmission, Tradition: Suggestions from Ninth-Century Tibet"²⁷ has contributed to our knowledge of ninth-century Tibetan translation practices. Nils Simonsson's work analyzing the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise* edict is similarly foundational for the study of Tibetan translations.²⁸

Michael Hahn's 2007 essay, "Striving for Perfection: On the Various Ways of Translating Sanskrit into Tibetan," stands out as being the most relevant for understanding the historical practice of (rather than theory of) Tibetan methods and approaches to translation. Hahn examines the Tibetan translation of the *Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels (Subhāṣitaratna karaṇḍakakathā)* by identifying metrical and other stylistic features used in this translation. Hahn convincingly demonstrates that "syntactical Sanskritisms" and "grave lexical mistakes" abound in this particular translation, thus calling into question the "fidelity" of Tibetan translations as a

²⁵ Peter Verhagen, "'Royal' Patronage of Sanskrit Grammatical Studies in Tibet." In *Ritual, State and History in South Asia: Essays in Honor of J.C. Heesterman*, edited by A.W. Van den Hoek, D.H.A. Kolff, M.S. Oort. (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992), 375-392.

²⁶ Peter Verhagen, email message to author, May 4, 2011.

²⁷ Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "Translation, Transmission, Tradition: Suggestions from Ninth-Century Tibet" *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27(1999): 67-77. See also her more recent work on the same: "Enacting Words. A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (*bkas bcad*) and their Application in the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa Tradition." (*JIAS* 25/1-2, 2002): 263-340.

²⁸ Nils Simonsson, "A Note on the Knowledge of Indian Grammar Among the Tibetan Translators of the Ninth Century." *Orientalia Suecana* Vol 33-35 (1986): 385-89. See also Simonsson, "Untersuchung des Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa" in *Indo-tibetische Studien: die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1957).

whole.²⁹ Likewise, as mentioned previously, Christian Wedemeyer, in his article on alternate translations of Je Tsongkhapa’s writings, also specifically addresses the trope of faithfulness of Tibetan translations in light of the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise* edict through an examination of these writings.³⁰ Also noteworthy is Claus Vogel’s piece on the Tibetan translation of the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasaṃhitā*,³¹ in which he conducts an extensive analysis of the different types of Tibetan neologisms coined for the medical terms in this work.

In the considerable Tibetological scholarship conducted by indigenous Tibetan scholars, most notably exemplified by Khasang Tashi Tsering and Dorje Rinchen’s book *Research on the Archaic Tibetan Language (Bod kyi yig rnying zhib 'jug)*,³² few Tibetan-authored writings focus on the history and practice of translation.³³ One notable exception is Wangdu Tsering and Trinley Gyatso’s book *The Mirror for Illuminating the History of Tibetan Translations and Biographies of Lotsāwas (Bod kyi sgra sgyur lo rgyus dang lo tsā ba rim byon gyi mdzad rnams gsal ba'i me long)*.³⁴

²⁹ Michael Hahn, “Striving for Perfection: On the Various Ways of Translating Sanskrit into Tibetan,” *Pacific World Journal Third Series* Number 9 (2007): 123-149.

³⁰ Wedemeyer, “Tantalising Traces of the Labours of the Lotsāwas,” 149–182.

³¹ Claus Vogel, *Vāgbhaṭa’s Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasaṃhitā. The first five chapters of its Tibetan version*. Edited and rendered into English with the original Sanskrit. Accompanied by a literary introduction and a running commentary on the Tibetan translating-technique, (Wiesbaden 1965).

³² Bkra shis tshe ring, Kha sgang, Rdo rje rin chen. *Bod kyi yig rnying zhib 'jug (New Research on the Tibetan Language)*. (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003).

³³ For more on this text and on the history of Tibetan Tibetology, see Matthew T. Kapstein, “Tibetan Tibetology? Sketches of an Emerging Discipline,” in *Monica Esposito, Ed. Images Du Tibet Aux XIX-XXe Siècles. Etudes Thématiques 22* (Paris: EFEO, vol. II, 2008), 799–815.

³⁴ Dbang 'dus tshe ring and 'Phrin las rgya 'tsho. *Bod kyi sgra sgyur lo rgyus dang lo tsā ba rim byon gyi mdzad rnams gsal ba'i me long, (The Mirror for Illuminating the History of Tibetan Translations and Biographies of Lotsāwas)* (Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000).

1.5 Euro-American Scholarship on the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*

Euro-American scholarship on the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger* is primarily comprised of the work done by German scholar Hermann Beckh in 1907 and 1908.³⁵ For his dissertation, which was reprinted in the same year as a separate publication, Beckh conducted a philological examination of the Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger*. This work consists mostly of a critical edition of the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger* compiled from the Tibetan Tengyur editions, followed by a German translation of the text from the Tibetan. The German translation itself contains some helpful analyses, such as side-by-side notations of the Sanskrit and Tibetan words corresponding to select German words; however, missing from this skillful examination is a more general analysis of the Tibetan translation itself. Beckh does not elaborate here, for instance, on styles or trends in the Tibetan translation, nor is there an analysis of the Tibetan (or Buddhist) reception of the poetics of this piece.

Beckh reserves the more analytical portions of his work for his 1908 publication, *Beiträge zur tibetischen Grammatik, Lexikographie, Stilistik und Metrik (Contributions to Tibetan Grammar, Lexicography, Style and Meter)*.³⁶ In this short piece (63pp), Beckh covers a vast amount of philological ground.³⁷ While his notes here are restricted to grammatical concerns

³⁵ See Hermann Beckh, *Die tibetische Übersetzung von Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, (Berlin: Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1907) which is a republication of his dissertation: *Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik von Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*. PhD diss. (Berlin, 1907).

³⁶ Hermann Beckh, *Beiträge zur tibetischen Grammatik, Lexikographie, Stilistik und Metrik*, (Berlin: Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1908).

³⁷ Roughly half of this piece (31pp) is devoted to grammatical examples, out of which roughly half concern the category of grammatical number. The remaining fifteen or so pages of this first section contain examples of the Tibetan usage of case, adjectives and adverbs, pronouns and verbs (including tense, mode, verbal modifiers, etc.) in the Tengyur versions of *Cloud Messenger*. The second half of this piece (32pp) is split between notes on lexicographical, 'stylistic' and metrical aspects of the text.

(such as the translation of specific Sanskrit suffixes), these notes facilitate any analysis of the Tibetan reception of Sanskrit poetic figures of sense, such as simile and metaphor (*upamā* and *rūpaka*). One relevant example is Beckh’s six pages of notes regarding the usages of *bzhin*, the Tibetan particle used for comparisons (Skt *iva*), and the Tibetan particle *nyid*, which can be used either as an emphatic particle (Skt *eva*) or as a generalizing particle indicating property (-hood, -ness, Skt. *tā* or *tvam*).³⁸ Also of interest for poetics and scholars of translation alike are the three pages Beckh devotes to what he calls the ‘Peculiarities of Poetic Style’ (*Eigentümlichkeiten des poetischen Stils*) which he enumerates as ‘freedom of word-order,’ ‘word-repetition, alliteration and rhyme,’ and ‘onomatopoeia.’³⁹ Beckh’s notes regarding these various topics are unfortunately quite brief. He does not discuss at length any particular verse, instead focusing on the generalities of the translation (as much as can be explained in three pages).

More relevant to the interests of this current study is a short piece by Pavel Poucha, titled “A Kalidāsa text in New Mongolian.”⁴⁰ Since the Mongolian translations of the *Cloud Messenger* are known to be based on the Tibetan translation, *Trinki Phonya*, rather than on one of the Sanskrit *Meghadūta* editions, Poucha’s piece includes a brief but interesting explanation as to why the Tibetan scholars chose to translate the *Cloud Messenger*, given Tibetan scholarly interest in predominantly Buddhist and linguistically scientific treatises (such as grammar and poetics). Poucha imagines four possible reasons, the first of which is that Indian paṇḍit and co-

³⁸ Ibid., 32-38.

³⁹ Ibid., 50-53.

⁴⁰ I wish to thank Professor Matthew Kapstein for bringing this piece to my attention. Poucha, Pavel, “A Kālidāsa Text in New Mongolian,” in *Indo-Asian Studies* Part 2, ed. Dr. Lokesh Chandra, vol. 37, Śata-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965), 149–60.

translator Sumanaśrī was from Kashmir, where Vallabhadeva’s commentary originated. In theory this seems plausible, as we know that other texts and translators came through Kashmir during this period. Unfortunately, the fact that *Trinki Phonya* as a translation does not seem to conform to Vallabhadeva’s commentarial interpretation to any great degree would weaken that thesis.⁴¹ The second reason Poucha suggests is that Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger* is highly regarded by Indian paṇḍits throughout poetic treatises, a reason which while plausible, does not explain why translators might choose this piece over other popular and well-written poems of Kālidāsa’s poems, such as *Kumārasambhava* or *Raghuvamśa*, which are likewise well-regarded in poetical treatises. The third reason Poucha offers is that since the *Cloud Messenger* describes the natural landscapes of the northern regions of India and southern regions of Tibet, the familiarity of the landscape itself might be a reason to favor this piece over others. This explanation is the one I find the most compelling, for reasons I will spell out more clearly in Chapter Four. The fourth suggested reason, and the one I find least compelling, is that while Kālidāsa was Hindu, he allegedly had connections with some Buddhists of his time. This explanation I find the least likely, as we have no evidence to suggest that Tibetan scholars of any historical period were familiar with these particular legends. Nonetheless, Poucha’s explanations here offer the first published scholarly reflection (of which I am aware) on why the translation team would have chosen *Cloud Messenger* in the first place.

There is another Euro-American scholarly piece on the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*—or more precisely on one verse of the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*. This short piece, “Die Tibetische

⁴¹ I explore the degree to which *Trinki Phonya* appears to be influenced by one of another of the Sanskrit commentaries in Chapter 3.

Übersetzung von Kalidasas Meghaduta 38 (36),” by Albert Grünwedel, examines Verse 38 of the fourteenth-century Tibetan translation, which corresponds to Verse 36 in Vallabhadeva’s and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha’s editions of *Meghadūta*.⁴² As a whole, Hermann Beckh’s and Albert Grünwedel’s work remains exceedingly helpful for anyone interested in navigating the text-critical issues of *Cloud Messenger*; however, it is clear that apart from Beckh’s considerable contribution on the micro level, much work remains to be done to more fully articulate the styles of translation used for this piece in order to talk about more general issues regarding the poetic styles on a macro level, let alone address issues pertaining to the transmission and Tibetan (Buddhist) reception of Sanskrit love poetry.

1.6 Tibetan Scholarship on *Cloud Messenger*

Tibetan scholarship on *Cloud Messenger*, or *Trinki Phonya* in the Tibetan, is more extensive. We have extant three different commentaries on *Trinki Phonya*, all of which were written by Tibetan scholars during the late twentieth century and each of which approach *Trinki Phonya* from a different formal perspective. The earliest of those commentaries, written by Parī⁴³ Dorzhi Dongdruk Nyempé Lodrö (b. 1935/6) in 1957, was published first in Beijing in 1988⁴⁴ and again in Lanzhou in 2003.⁴⁵ The second commentary was written by Rakra Thubten Chödar

⁴² Albert Grünwedel, “Die Tibetische Übersetzung von Kalidasas Meghaduta 38 (36),” *Festschrift Adalbert Bezzenger zum 14* (April 1921): 60–67.

⁴³ Parī (Tibetan *dpa' ris*, short for *dpa' ris rdzong*) refers to a region in modern-day China (*Tianzhu*) located in the Gansu province, thus is an indicator of where the author Dorzhi is from.

⁴⁴ Kālidāsa and Dpa' ris Dor zhi gdong drug snyems blo, *Snyan ngag Sprin gyi pho nya'i tshig 'grel go bde ngag rig kun da'i zla zer* (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988).

⁴⁵ Dor zhi gdong drug snyems blo, *Snyan ngag sprin gyi pho nya'i 'grel ba kun da'i zla zer* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003).

(b. 1925) and published in Dharamsala, India in 1998.⁴⁶ The third commentary was written by Nordrang Ogyen and published in 2004.⁴⁷ These commentaries will be examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

Apart from the commentaries, while there is considerable Tibetan scholarship published over the past fifty years on the subjects of Sanskrit grammar and poetry, I have so far been able to locate only a few modern Tibetan scholarly works written about *Trinki Phonya*, all published after the extant commentaries and all written by Tibetan scholars living in India. The first is an article published in 1990 in the first issue of the Tibetan journal *Research on the Tibetan Arts* (*Bod ljongs sgyu rtsal zhib 'jug*), written by Lhagyel Tsering, a Tibetan exile poet and scholar.⁴⁸ Lhagyel Tsering's article, which in translation is called "Liquor from the Cheeks of Women Watering the 100 Bakula Buds: A Brief Analysis of the Cloud Messenger Poem," remains the only Tibetan scholarly article I have been able to find that focuses exclusively on the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*. Other Tibetan scholarly articles that discuss the *Cloud Messenger* do so in passing, generally just to name it as an example of *nyen-ngak* (*snyan ngag*, ornate poetry) that was translated into Tibetan. Tsering's 'short' piece (22 pages) is divided into five sections: (1) The topic of discussion, (2) The author Kālidāsa, or Nakmo khöl, (3) Essential thoughts on the

⁴⁶ Thub bstan chos dar, Rakra Rin po che, *Gnas bryad kyi "Grel pa tha snyad rig pa'i thi gu dang sprin gyi pho nya'i 'grel pa glog phreng* (Dharamsala, H.P.: Rigs lam slob gnyer khang, 1998). The introductory section of Rakra's piece clarifies that the original commentary, "known as the *Garland of Lightning* (*glog 'phreng ma*), or *Saudāmanī*, was written by an Indian master named Sṛī Ketāranatha Sharma" whereas the original *Trinki Phonya* comes from the Tengyur edition translated by Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo in collaboration with Sumanaśrī.

⁴⁷ Nor brang O rgyan, *Sprin gyi pho nya'i 'grel pa ngo mtshar dga' ston* (*Marvelous and Festive Commentary on the Cloud Messenger*) (Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2004).

⁴⁸ Lha rgyal tshe ring, "Snyan ngag sprin gyi pho nya la mdo tsam dpyad pa ngag rig ba ku la'i sbugs brgya 'byed pa'i mdzes ma'i 'gram chang zhes bya ba (Liquor from the Cheeks of Women Watering the 100 Bakula Buds : A Brief Analysis of the Cloud Messenger Poem)," *Bod ljongs sgyu rtsal zhib 'jug*, no. 1 (1990): 99–120.

subject of the poem *Trinki Phonya*, (4) The artistry of the words that express the poem *Trinki Phonya*, and (5) The artistic characteristics of the poem *Trinki Phonya*.

The section that best addresses the subject of this dissertation is the first: the “topic of discussion” (*gleng gzhi*). In this section, Tsering argues that while Kālidāsa’s original poem conveyed *rasa* (Skt. mood or flavor) through particular word-choices in the Sanskrit, for the Tibetan translation this wasn’t done with sufficient scrutiny. The reasons Tsering gives are threefold. The first is that the main reason for the translation of *Cloud Messenger* is that Buddhism is based on ancient Indian texts. Tibetan scholars were concerned primarily with Buddhist texts; the translation of Sanskrit poetry was merely a byproduct. Secondly, he argues that the *Cloud Messenger* introduces themes that are problematic for Buddhist thinkers: namely the emphasis on love between separated men and women, and on objects of desire. Thirdly, Tsering claims that for translators to reach sufficient ease and depth in the compositional arts to precisely elucidate the meaning of such a poem requires a vast intellectual capacity⁴⁹—one which Tsering implies our fourteenth-century translators Jangtsé and Namkha Pel lacked. While, having extensively analyzed the Tibetan *Meghadūta*, I find the third claim (or rather its implication that the translators were lacking in poetic skill) unsustainable, Tsering’s first two points are well-taken and point to themes which I will elaborate upon further in Chapters Three and Two respectively.

The second piece is a 2011 publication of the Dergé edition of the fourteenth-century Tengyur-preserved Tibetan translation with Sanskrit verses interspersed (and with critical

⁴⁹ Ibid., 100.

notes).⁵⁰ Self-titled as a critical edition of the Tibetan translation of *Meghadūta*, this work was edited and prepared by a diverse team of three scholars—including both Tibetan and Indian scholars hailing from three different educational institutions in India. The introduction to this work includes a brief summary of the lives of the fourteenth-century translation team, which is information rarely presented in Tibetan scholarship on translation. The Sanskrit version of *Cloud Messenger* included in this text seems to correspond to the one preserved in Mallinātha's fourteenth-century commentary, though the editors do not cite the Sanskrit edition they use. By contrast, the Tibetan is meticulously cited. While the editors rely primarily on the Dergé version for this manuscript, they cite all variations from the Narthang and Peking editions in footnotes,⁵¹ making this certainly the most 'critical' of extant published editions of *Trinki Phonya*. However, only 52 pages of this 241-page book consist of the critical edition. The remaining 189 pages are comprised of an extensive Sanskrit-to-Tibetan and Tibetan-to-Sanskrit glossary,⁵² which includes translational equivalents for the vocabulary used in *Trinki Phonya*, as well as a list of each Tibetan verse in which these entries are found. This lexicon is one of the most interesting features of this work and is an incredible scholarly resource for anyone interested in either the grammar or semantics of Sanskrit-Tibetan translations. The fact that *Trinki Phonya* as a translation was deemed sufficiently important for these modern scholars to devote significant

⁵⁰ Kālidāsa, Chimpa, Bimlendra Kumar, and Jampa Samten, *Meghadūtam = Sprin Gyi Pho nya zhes Bya Ba = Meghadūta: Critical Edition with Sanskrit and Tibetan Index* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan., 2011). Published by CUTS (Central University of Tibetan Studies).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁵² Each glossary contains 2136 entries, which—considering that its scope is relegated to the vocabulary used in a 117-verse poem—is quite extensive. For comparison, note that the first Tibetan-Sanskrit lexicon, the ninth-century *Great [Treatise on] Etymology (Mahāvyutpatti)*, crafted to be the lexical support for Early-period translators who worked on a variety of texts and subject matter contains only 9565 entries.

time to systematically analyzing the translators' word-choices is perhaps indicative of a shift towards increased Tibetan scholarly interest in methods for translating Sanskrit poetical writings. In addition to these two previously mentioned works, increasingly more late-twentieth century Tibetan articles on the history of Tibetan *kāvya* now mention *Cloud Messenger*, a trend which may indicate the beginnings of a shift towards increased Tibetan scholarly interest in the history of translation. These ideas will be explored more in Chapters Two and Five.

1.7 Outline of Project

The influence of Buddhism on late-spread Tibetan scholarship extends beyond works of grammar and poetics. The narratives surrounding the lives of Tibetan translators themselves are commonly intertwined with Buddhist salvation stories. The kinds of translation activity recorded and discussed in Tibetan historical materials are likewise colored by a Tibetan Buddhist lens. Chapter Two will begin to explore these ideas through examining what is known about the lives and translation practice of those translators involved in the *Cloud Messenger* translation. As I will argue, beyond providing a context for the first Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger*, this datum reveals tensions within the Tibetan tradition regarding the preservation of non-Buddhist literary history. Within Tibetan biographical and historical materials from the late-spread we see a tendency to emphasize the history of primarily 'Buddhist' texts, authors, and translators and de-emphasize the history of non-Buddhist texts and their respective authors and translators. As will be explored in later chapters, the ramifications of these trends will be relevant for understanding both the fourteenth-century translation itself and modern Tibetan scholarly responses to the *Cloud Messenger*.

Chapter Three examines *Trinki Phonya* as a translation of Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger*. Its colophon attests that Indian Paṇḍit Sumanaśrī and Tibetan translator Jangchub Tsemo (1303-1380) began the translation, but that it was finished by Namkha Zangpo,⁵³ who is listed in the *Blue Annals* as having studied under and attended on Jangchub Tsemo.⁵⁴ Given that Namkha Zangpo is described in the colophon as finishing (and editing) the translation begun by Jangchub Tsemo and Sumanaśrī, I had anticipated that a close examination of the translation might reveal a disjunction where one translator pair ends and the other begins; however, no such disjunction was found. Instead what I discovered was that as an exemplar of Sanskrit love poetry, *Cloud Messenger* presents challenges to the translator that are different from the vast majority of Sanskrit texts translated into Tibetan. Within Sanskrit belletristic literature—whether poetry (*kāvya*), drama (*nāṭaka*), or other genres—there are many tropes associated with characters who are in love (or lust). *Cloud Messenger* is a poem about lovers who are forced to experience ‘separation’ (*viraha*) as punishment because the male character—an unnamed *yakṣa*⁵⁵—neglected his duties to his lord Kubera. As my analysis in Chapter Three will show, when we examine *Trinki Phonya* with an eye for the eight Sanskrit mood-ornaments in poetry (*rasa-ālaṃkāra*), we find certain subtle shifts in the interpretation of these Sanskrit ‘moods.’ In

⁵³ This Nam mkha’ bzang po appears to be identical with the Nam mkha’ dpal bzang po who was known to be an abbot of Stag Lung monastery. The indexer for the Blue Annals appears to think the two persons are distinct, however since the Stag lung abbot Nam mkha’ dpal is described as having studied under "Chos-rje-bla-ma" and "Lo-chen-Byang-rtse" there is a high probability that the two are in fact the same. There is another Nam mkha’ bzang po mentioned in the Blue Annals that seems to be distinct from Byang rtse’s disciple (Lha ra kha pa Nam mkha’ bzang po); however, this one is mentioned in a lineage contemporary with persons in the twelfth century, and thus cannot be the same Nam mkha’ bzang po. The indexer appears to have confused this Nam mkha’ with the fourteenth-century Nam mkha’ as entries for “Nam-mkha’ bzang-po” span both the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. See *Blue Annals* 1194 for index entries.

⁵⁴ Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal, and George Roerich, ed and trans. *The Blue Annals*. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Monograph Series ; V. 7. (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1953): 788, 1194.

⁵⁵ A *yakṣa* is an Indian mythological figure known to be a servant of Kubera, lord of the North.

particular, the so-called erotic mood (Skt: *śṛṅgāra rasa*, Tib: *gekpé gyen*) and the pitiful mood (Skt: *karuna rasa*, Tib: *nying-jé gyen*), as I will argue, reveal a Tibetan Buddhist reinterpretation and recategorization.

Chapter Four considers *Trinki Phonya* as a piece of Tibetan poetry (Skt: *kāvya*, Tib: *snyan ngag*) and accordingly analyzes this piece for the uniquely Tibetan poetic elements that emerge throughout this poem. I begin by considering the implications for the translator's choice of meter for this piece. In addition to metrical considerations, this chapter examines the degree to which fourteenth-century translators crafted a uniquely Tibetan version of Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*. *Trinki Phonya*, as I will argue functions as both a translation and an original Tibetan piece rife with Buddhist and other Tibetan-centered imagery and themes.

Chapter Five considers *Trinki Phonya*'s influence and impact on Tibetan poetry and Tibetan literary scholarship to the present day. Tibetan interest in Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* has resurfaced over the centuries that followed its fourteenth-century translation, culminating in the production of a series of modern commentaries and modern imitation poems, which participate in the genre of messenger poetry. This Chapter explores these and other examples of Tibetan scholarly and literary interest in, and influence by, *Trinki Phonya*. Accordingly, in Chapter Five, I will give a historical overview of the significance and influence of *Trinki Phonya* throughout Tibetan literary history and highlight some of the insights gained from examining the commentaries on the *Trinki Phonya* translation. For these commentaries participate not only in the discourse of poetical translation but also in the genre of messenger poetry itself by providing alternate translations of Kālidāsa's piece.

As my analysis of *Trinki Phonya* and its Tibetan reception will show, the Tibetan translation of Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* is usefully considered a Tibetan Buddhist re-interpretation of Kālidāsa's poem. *Trinki Phonya*—as both a translation and a poem—has always occupied a liminal place within Tibet's literary history, consciously reworked to emphasize Buddhist themes and yet never consciously accepted as a Buddhist work within the Tibetan literary tradition.

Kālidāsa in Tibet: Messenger Poetry in Translation

Chapter Two

Lives of the Lotsāwas

2.1 Introduction

Throughout the twentieth century, Euro-American research focusing on Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts often glossed over the social and historical data that contextualizes translations—such as the monasteries with which translators were affiliated, the teachers with whom they studied, the number and types of additional texts the translators may have studied, and the number and types of commentaries or other pieces written by a translator. This kind of data was not always available for all but the most well-known Tibetan translators; moreover, scholarly interests in socio-historical issues were often eclipsed by interests in more philological and/or philosophical domains, which resulted ultimately in a body of research that disproportionately emphasizes the linguistic and semantic content of translations.

In the domain of social history, Euro-American research tended to emphasize the persona of the Lotsāwa, or translator figure, through examinations of the biographical and hagiographical accounts of the translators' lives, with little attention paid to either the quantity—or even the genres—of translated texts, let alone specifics about the translator's literary style or approach to translation. Scholarship examining Tibetan translations in comparison with extant Sanskrit or Chinese versions of a given text remained prevalent; however, in this context, Tibetan

translations were often consulted either as linguistic tools for parsing opaque passages in the Sanskrit versions, or as the closest approximation to an imagined Sanskrit Ur text, when no Sanskrit text remains extant. In short, Tibetan translations were not often taken seriously as objects of inquiry in their own right, as texts containing individual linguistic and literary styles, and composed in a specific socio-historical context. Instead, they were more commonly treated as objects to be approached as tools for inquiry into other, often non-Tibetan, texts.

The past twenty years, however, has seen a significant shift in both the amount of scholarship and the diversity of approaches thereof regarding the study of Tibetan translators and their translations. On the macro level Ronald Davidson's 2005 work *Tibetan Renaissance*,¹ which heavily emphasizes the social and historical context of late-spread Tibetan translation, stands out as an example of this. On the micro level, recent scholarship on more well-known Tibetan translators such as Rinchen Zangpo and Ngok Loden Sherab emphasize their translation activity. Notably, Ralf Kramer's 2009 work on twelfth-century Lotsāwa Ngok Loden Sherab² includes an extensive list of Ngok Lo's known translations (as well as others attributed to him).

Part of the reason for the previous paucity of scholarship on the socio-historical context of Tibetan translators and their translations is that in many cases, biographical data regarding translators is difficult to find in Tibetan historical sources. The preservation of biographical information about Buddhist *teachers* has clearly been important throughout Tibet's written

¹ Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance : Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

² Kramer, Ralf and Blo gros 'byung gnas, *The Great Tibetan Translator: Life and Works of rNgog Blo Ldan Shes Rab (1059-1109)* (München: Indus Verlag, 2007). Thanks to Professor Matthew Kapstein for bringing this text to my attention.

history, as it has been for much of Buddhism’s history in India.³ Indeed, these biographies (*rnam thar*) and autobiographies (*rang rnam*) were and remain common ways to preserve the life stories of popular teachers (and some translators) of Buddhist texts in Tibet.⁴ In the case of Tibet, translators of Buddhist texts were often accorded a high status, in particular from the tenth century onward.⁵ For popular translators, specifically those known for translating tantric texts, such as Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055) and Marpa Lotsāwa (1012–1097), teacher of Milarepa,⁶ abundant amounts of biographical (and hagiographical) material remain preserved, often in the form of elaborate salvation narratives. For less commonly-known translators, which include the translators of the *Cloud Messenger*, relatively little biographical information remains extant, thus what remains preserved is itself telling. The gaps in information preserved—the historical ‘lacunae,’ so to speak—can be as meaningful as examining the historical data that are actually preserved.

As I will argue in this chapter, these lacunae in many of these historical works reveal a subtle, yet persistent emphasis on biographical narratives for translators that can be seen as implicitly supporting the claim that the translation activity that makes one worthy of the title

³ Kurtis R Schaeffer, “Développement de La Biographie et de La Critique Biographique Au Tibet. / The Growth of Biography and Biographical Criticism in Tibet.” (*Edition, éditions: l’écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, École Normale Supérieure, Paris, 2008), <http://www.cnrs.fr/infoslabos/conferences-colloques/Docs-PDF/tibet.pdf>.

⁴ For more on Tibetan Life-Writing and Autobiography, see Janet Gyatso, “Autobiography in Tibet,” in *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary: A Translation and Study of Jigme Lingpa’s Dancing Moon in the Water and Dakki’s Grand Secret Talk* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 101–23.

⁵ For more on the prestige of Tibetan translators during the early Late Spread (10th-12th centuries), see Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

⁶ Tsangnyön Heruka, *The Life of Milarepa*, trans. Andrew Quintman (NY: Penguin, 2010): xii-xiii. See also Kurtis R Schaeffer, Matthew Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle, “The Life of the Translator Rinchen Zangpo,” and “Marpa’s Dream Vision of Saraha” in *Sources of Tibetan Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 173–76, 203–8.

“Lotsāwa” must be Buddhist in content. In the Tibetan historical narratives for those ‘translators’ who do not conform to this model—such as Jangchub Tsemo or Namkha Pel Zangpo, who translated poetry and poetic treatises—their non-Buddhist scholarly activities are often either minimized or else omitted. To see how this unfolds, we must first examine what data we have concerning the biographies of our translation team.

2.2 Who translated the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*?

I examined the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*, preserved in five of the extant versions of the Tengyur (*bstan 'gyur*). The colophons for all five versions are identical and contain a curious ambiguity:

*kha che'i paṇḍi ta snyan ngag mkhan
chen po su ma na shrī dang | zhu chen
gyi lo tsā ba mang du thos pa'i dge slong
byang chub rtse mo dang | lo tsā bar
gtogs pa lung rigs smra ba nam mkha'
bzang pos dpal sa skya'i gtsug lag khang
chen por bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab
pa.....*

The great Kashmiri paṇḍit poet Sumanaśrī,
(and) the learned Zhuchen Lotsāwa Gelong
Jangchub Tsemo and the expounder of scripture
and philosophy among Lotsāwas, Namkha
Zangpo, at the great Sakya temple translated,
revised, and edited it....

Part of the ambiguity of this sentence is the degree to which the two *dang*-s (“and”) are distributive. One possible reading is—as I translated above—that Jangchub Tsemo is chief translator (and editor), and Namkha Zangpo is included on the translation team as an assistant translator of sorts who finished the translation, edited and subsequently revised it. Given that there is only one ergative particle (here the *pos* part of Namkha Zangpos) and all three verbs (*bsgyur*, *zhu*, and *gtan la phab*) generally take the ergative particle, distributing *bsgyur* across to include Namkha Zangpo appears to be a logical reading. Additionally the phrase “included as a translator” (*lo tsā bar gtogs pa*), unambiguously used to modify Namkha Zangpo, would appear

to confirm this reading. Thus either all three members worked together to translate and edit this piece, or the first two members were primary translators and the last member (Namkha Zangpo) was a secondary translator who finished, edited and revised the piece in which case he need not have been present at the time of Jangchub Tsemo and Sumanaśrī’s consultations. In either case, it seems Namkha Zangpo was responsible for at least some of the translation. For comparison, take for example the following excerpt from the colophon from a roughly contemporary translation: the translation of *Nor rgyun ma'i smon lam* conducted by Pang Lotsawa (Logrö Tenpa), the uncle of Jangchub Tsemo:

... *tshul 'di ni dpang lo tsā ba dpal ldan blo
gros brtan pa zhol phug tu | rgya dpe las
bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'i...*⁷

...In this way [the text] was **translated** from the Indian manuscripts, **edited**, and **revised** by the glorious translator Lodrö Tenpa in the Zhöl cave...

In this colophon, the same phrase *bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa* is used to modify only one person (Pang Lotsāwa). The ergative particle here is not used, but it is clear who the subject of all three verbs is.

The Tibetan *Cloud Messenger* colophon however does not end after the phrase *bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa*. The colophon continues, including what appears to be a versified summary of the earlier part of the colophon:

*snyan ngag 'di ni bod skad du ||
kha che paṅ chen dang lhan cig ||
dge slong byang chub rtse mos bsgyur ||*

This poetry was translated into Tibetan by the Gelong Jangchub Tsemo along with the Kashmiri Paṇḍit.

⁷ Tōh. no. 3702 Dergé Tengyur, vol. MU, folio 336r.5-336v.7. See Tshul khriṃs rin chen, “Nor Rgyun Ma’i Smon Lam Dang Bstod Pa,” in *Bstan 'Gyur (sde Dge)*. TBRC W23703., vol. 77 (Delhi: delhi karmapae choedhey, gyalwae sungrab partun khang, 1982), 673–74, [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS6011/O00CR000814222\\$W23703](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1GS6011/O00CR000814222$W23703).

This versification seems to offer a different reading of the earlier part: Sumanaśrī and Jangchub Tsemo are taken to be the translators (and hence the subject of *bsgyur*) and Namkha Zangpo is omitted, possibly implying him to be merely an editor. I argue however that this versification does not in fact contradict my reading of the colophon given that it is also possible that Namkha Zangpo may have written the colophon himself, seeking to praise the work of his teacher Jangtsé, and thus chose to minimize his own contribution. Given the use of ergative particle with Namkha Zangpo and the use of *lo tsā bar gtogs pa* to describe Namkha Zangpo, it seems likely that Namkha Zangpo was involved in the translation process. Thus it is the lives of both Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo which interest me for the purposes of this chapter.

As I will show, a close examination of the lives of these translators reveals a complex and multi-faceted relationship between translators and their text(s). In particular, Namkha Pel's tenure as abbot is most likely the time during which he would have worked on revising the *Cloud Messenger* as well as Ratnākaraśānti's *Ocean of Meters*.⁸ Other significant findings include a possible competition for resources between prominent scholar and editor Butön and translator Jangchub Tsemo. The most promising result, however, is the way in which so many of these biographical and historical narratives support the claim that the translation activity that makes

⁸ While the *Cloud Messenger*'s colophon states that the Great Chief Namkha Tenpa (*dpon chen nam mkha' brtan pa'i*) authorized the translation, unfortunately this does not help us more precisely determine a date. We know that that Namkha Tenpa (also known as Jangpa or Jangpa Pönchen) was involved in a political coup around 1356 (a year before Sumanaśrī even arrived in Tibet) that involved the imprisonment of the current Pönchen. Unfortunately, we don't have reliable information regarding Namkha Tenpa after the coup was defeated shortly thereafter. The main source for information on Namkha Tenpa itself (*Si tu'i bka'i chems*, written by Jangchub Gyaltsen, founder of the Phakmodrupa dynasty) was itself composed as early as 1361, thus we are further limited to Tenpa's pre-1361 years. For more on the coup and Namkha Tenpa's involvement, see Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan - Sa - Skya Period of Tibetan History*, vol. LXV, Serie Orientale Roma (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 119-137.

one worthy of the title “Lotsāwa” should be ‘Buddhist’ (*nang pa*) in content, a claim which I will elaborate upon in this chapter.

2.3 Monks, abbots, and ritual specialists by day...

Data regarding biographical details of this translation team within the genres of Dharma histories (*chos 'byung*) and Annals remain sparse. Our knowledge of the Indian paṇḍit Sumanaśrī from these sources is largely limited to the translations he composed and the fact that he worked with both Butön Rinchen Drup and Jangchub Tsemo. The information available within these particular historical sources for the lives and activities of translators Lochen Jangchub Tsemo (henceforth Jangtsé) and Lochen Namkha Pel Zangpo (henceforth Namkha Pel) is greater, though not extensive. *The Blue Annals (Deb gter sngon po)*⁹ compiled by Zhönnu Pel ('Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal) contains an impressive amount of biographical and hagiographical information regarding Namkha Pel, but little detail about Jangtsé apart from listing the students to whom he taught, gave empowerments, or gave ordination as monks.

The Blue Annals narrates much of the early religious life of Namkha Pel. He was born in Dar-yül¹⁰ in 1333, the Water-Female-Bird year. The *Blue Annals* chronicles his apparent spiritual attainment starting from an early age. From Roerich/Chapel's translation:

From the age of five, whenever he saw the sufferings of other people, a great commiseration used to be produced in him and he shed tears....At the age of 7 he was ordained...At the age of 8, the faculty of prescience was born in him. At the age of 10, he studied the notes and commentary on the Hevajra-Tantra and other texts. Signs peculiar to the *Ṣaḍaṅga* (yoga) were observed in him without practicing meditation. At the age of

⁹ 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal, trans., Roerich, *The Blue Annals*. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Monograph Series; V. 7. (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1953).

¹⁰ Located in 'Phan-yul, the Phan po valley of Central Tibet.

11, he felt a boundless commiseration and sadness....He recollected his former existences in India, in gTsang, and in other places. Later, when plunged in meditation, he was able to perceive future (existences also). He used to say that during two nights he had a vision of listening to the preaching of the Doctrine by Lord Avalokiteśvara. He had countless similar visions, but in most cases did not relate them...¹¹

In addition to demonstrating prescience and considerable levels of compassion, he is described above at the age of ten as demonstrating signs particular to *Ṣaḍaṅga* yoga, a branch of yogic practice associated with *Kālacakra*. This is significant in part because the *Blue Annals* attests that Jangtsé's uncle Pang Lotsāwa, and his great-nephew, Bodong Paṅchen Choklé Namgyel,¹² were known to have studied and practiced this form of yoga,¹³ but Namkha Pel had apparently not yet begun studying it. Namkha Pel is additionally described as being able to recall his past lives (prior to beginning meditation), and eventually his future lives as well (after beginning meditation practice). Namkha Pel studied with Jangtsé and Chöjé Lama Dampa first at age eighteen, learning *Kālacakra* and *Jātaka-s* among other Buddhist texts.¹⁴ Various insights, visions, and dreams of Namkha Pel are recounted in this narrative, carefully framed so as to lead

¹¹ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 635.

¹² Bodong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, fifteenth-century polymath and nephew of Jangtsé, is sometimes confused in Tibetan historiographical materials with the popular fourteenth-century scholar Phyogs las rnam rgal who studied under Dolpopa (of the Jonang lineage). The two however are distinct; the Phyogs las who served as abbot of Bodong E monastery is the one who concerns us the most for the purposes of this study.

¹³ According to the *Shelkar Chöjung*, Pang Lotsāwa translated a *Ṣaḍaṅga* yoga text titled the *Sbyor drug rtsa 'bral ('grel)*. Diemberger believes this to be the same text which the *Blue Annals* attests Pang Lotsāwa translated: a commentary on Śunyaśrī's *Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* text. The *Blue Annals* further attests that Bodong Choklé Namgyel likewise practiced *Ṣaḍaṅga* yoga, made popular under Dolpopa. See Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho et al., *Shel Dkar Chos 'Byung* = History of the "White Crystal": Religion and Politics of Southern La Stod (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996): 69, and 1. 'Gos Lotsāwa Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Monograph Series; v. 7 (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949), 764, 777-9.

¹⁴ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 635-636.

the sympathetic reader to the conclusion that Namkha Pel is the reincarnation of Dharmeśvara, son of the Mahāsiddha Yumo and founder of the Jonangpa lineage.¹⁵

By comparison with the amount of detail given to Namkha Pel’s spiritual accomplishments—his visions, dreams, and prescient statements—very little information is provided in these sources concerning his scholarly endeavors, such as the number and types of texts he studied and transmitted to others. The *Blue Annals* and *An Ocean of Wonders* both attest that Namkha Pel had started studying with Jangtsé at age eighteen. After his final ordination in Lhasa at age twenty-seven, the *Blue Annals* states that Namkha Pel taught the *Jātakas* and *Kālacakra* (along with its popular commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*), the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*, the *Munimatālamkāra*, *Hevajra-Tantra* and the “Path and Fruit” doctrine (*lam ’bras*) until the age of twenty-nine when his uncle and abbot of Taklung, Ratnākara, passed away.¹⁶ Namkha Pel subsequently performed the funeral rites, and took over as abbot of Taklung until the age of forty-three (fifteen years). During this time he continued to hold classes for monks and additionally composed treatises himself, though the only of these treatises specifically named in the *Blue Annals* is the *Guidebook and Introduction to Śaḍaṅga* [yoga] (*sbyor drug gi khrid yig ngo sprod*). Over the approximately fifteen years that Namkha Pel served as abbot of Taklung (1361-1375), he was known to have composed numerous treatises, including one on *Śaḍaṅga* yoga and one on astrology, in addition to maintaining classes for the monks. Allegedly he spent much of his time in seclusion.¹⁷ The Taklung history likewise attests that Namkha Pel composed

¹⁵ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 787.

¹⁶ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 637.

¹⁷ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 636-8.

numerous treatises on topics such as astrology, poetry, and medicine during this time.¹⁸ At the age of thirty-nine, Namkha Pel prophesied that a great accident would cause him to die early, at the age of forty-seven or forty-eight.¹⁹ After retiring as abbot of Taklung and entrusting the chair to his nephew Tashi Peltsek (according to *The Blue Annals*), Namkha Pel spent his remaining four years at Selé²⁰ practicing the Generation Stage (*utpanna-krama/utpatti-krama, bskyed rim*) on Cākra-Saṃvara and the Red Yamāri, and the Completion Stage (*sampanna-krama, rdzogs rim*) according to the *Ṣaḍaṅga* method (*sbyor drug*).²¹

Apart from descriptions of Namkha Pel studying the *Jātakas* with Jangtsé at age eighteen (and later teaching them) there is no mention in the *Blue Annals* of Namkha Pel's study of poetry or poetics, nor is there mention of any translation work done either independently of or in conjunction with Jangtsé. In fact, as far as this historical information obtains, Jangtsé appears absent from accounts of Namkha Pel's life past the age of eighteen when Namkha Pel studied under Jangtsé. It is only through accounts of ordinations of other monks and the transmissions of texts to other monks in these sources that we know of Namkha Pel's and Jangtsé's continued interaction. For instance, according to the *Blue Annals*, in the Earth-Male-Horse year (1378-9), Tashi Paltsek was ordained by Lochen Jangtsé as the ordaining preceptor²² along with his

¹⁸ See folios 514-15 in Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, Chos 'byung, *Ngo Mtshar Rgya Mtsho [An Ocean of Wonders]*.

¹⁹ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 637.

²⁰ Se gle

²¹ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 637.

²² Skt. *upādhyāya*, Tib. [*gnang ba'i*] *m Khan po*

nephew Drakpa Gyaltsen as ceremonial master,²³ and Namkha Pel as interviewer.²⁴ Soon after this ordination, Namkha Pel entrusted Tashi Paltsek with Taklung monastery and left to focus on meditation until passing away one year later in the Earth-Female-Sheep year (1379).²⁵ From the *Blue Annals*, we are thus left with a largely hagiographical account of Namkha Pel as a spiritually accomplished teacher and abbot who composed (mostly unidentified) texts, and taught many disciples. The *Blue Annals* makes no reference whatsoever to Namkha Pel’s translation activity, or to any apparent proficiency in Sanskrit, let alone to Sanskrit poetics or the other sciences—nor does it appear to do so for any other translator so far as I have been able to observe.

The *Blue Annals* section devoted to Jangtsé clarifies his role in Namkha Pel’s education, though it also does not supply any further information regarding scholastic or literary output. According to *The Blue Annals*, Jangtsé was born in 1303 (Water-Female-Hare year) in Southern Latö.²⁶ As a child, he studied and mastered the Three *Piṭakas*, the “precious class of the Tantras,” and the Sanskrit language under the tutelage of his uncle Pang Lotsāwa. The *Blue Annals* attests Jangtsé also studied and mastered the so-called “lesser sciences” (poetics, prosody, synonymics, drama, and astrology and divination). The *Blue Annals* likewise clarifies that Jangtsé’s teacher, Chöjé Lama Dampa had ordered him to take over as abbot of Bodong E Monastery after which the Taklung abbot Ratnākara requested Lama Dampa additionally allow Jangtsé to serve as

²³ Skt. *ācārya*, Tib. *las byed pa slob dpon*. Also sometimes called “preceptor.”

²⁴ Tib. *gsang ste ston pa*. Literally means “secret preceptor.”

²⁵ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 639-40, 787.

²⁶ La stod, western part of *gtsang*.

spiritual advisor (*slob dpon*) for his nephew, Namkha Pel.²⁷ From accounts in the *Blue Annals* we thus conclude that Jangtsé had the role of a teacher and advisor for Namkha Pel, who later became abbot of Taklung. Thus both Namkha Pel and Jangtsé were known to be well-educated in poetry and poetics; yet we do not here have any specifics regarding their scholarly output.

The information in the *Blue Annals* concerning Jangtsé's scholastic life is remarkably scant. Throughout his monastic life, Jangtsé visited and stayed at Yarlung, Densa-thel and Gungthang monasteries, teaching the *Kālacakra* and other Buddhist texts while he was there. He also traveled to Tsang (western Tibet) and stayed at Chumik Rinmo monastery, initiating and teaching students there. Apart from the report of a monk named Drakpa Jangchupa, who recalls observing Jangtsé meditating day and night undisturbed,²⁸ there are no hagiographical descriptions in the *Blue Annals* of Jangtsé's alleged spiritual accomplishments. There is also no reference to any texts that Jangtsé either composed or translated.

The 'Dharma History' (*chöjung*, *chos 'byung*) genre supplies some additional biographical information for Jangtsé, including his scholastic training. The *Shelkar Chöjung*

²⁷ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 787. At least one twentieth-century Tibetan history which mentions Jangchub Tsemo seem to have quoted this section directly. See Mkhas btsun bzang po, "Dpal ldan byang chub rtse mo," in *Rgya bod mkhas grub rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs [A Collection of Biographies of Accomplished Indian and Tibetan Scholars]*, vol. 12 (dharamsala : h.p: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1973): 93–94, [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1KG10294/O1KG10294C2O1898\\$W1KG10294](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1KG10294/O1KG10294C2O1898$W1KG10294). By contrast, a modern compilation of Lotsāwa intellectual historical information includes data from translator colophons (i.e. names texts translated and with whom) but exclude the biographical data (such as birth and ordination dates, names of teachers, names of texts studied, and other intellectual historical data) that are more commonly found in *namthar* and *chöjung* genres. See, for example, "Lo tsā ba byang chub rtse mo," in *Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma'i 'gyur byang blo gsal dga' skyid [Joyful and Clear Thought from the Colophons of Numerous Translators from the Land of Snow]*, vol. 1, TBRC W24697 (mtsho sngon: kan lho bod rigs rang skyong khul rtsom sgyur cu'u, 1983), 369–71, [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2JT3954/O2JT3954JT4115\\$W24697](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2JT3954/O2JT3954JT4115$W24697).

²⁸ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 787–88.

(*Shel dkar chos 'byung*)²⁹ includes a small amount of general biographical data about Jangtsé including the names and locations of his relatives, some of the major texts he studied (including poetical texts) and his relationship to his maternal uncle Pang Lotsāwa. The *Shelkar Chöjung* clarifies that Jangtsé was born in Chugok-tro of Surtsho (within Southern Latö).³⁰ Unlike Namkha Pel, Jangtsé's childhood is described without reference to any particular prescience. He met Pang Lotsāwa for the first time at age six, took his vows, and was ordained by Chökyong Pel (Chos skyong dpal). At the age of sixteen, (Iron-male-horse, 1330), Jangtsé went to Gung-thang to study *Abhidharma*, *Pramāṇa*, and other subjects, and subsequently went to Sakya to study the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*. After this, Jangtsé taught *Abhidharma* at Denpa-thé, where Pang Lotsāwa heard him teach and subsequently recognized him from his youth. Jangtsé was fully ordained at the age of twenty-three by Dönyö Gyaltzen (ordaining preceptor), Palden Lodrö Tenpa (preceptor/ceremonial master), and Chöjé Lama Dampa ('secret' preceptor).³¹

The *Shelkar Chöjung*'s account then takes a hagiographical turn, describing Jangtsé's spiritual powers as well as his accomplishments as a teacher. The *chöjung* attests that Jangtsé received many empowerments (*dbang*), transmissions (*lung*) and instructions (*man ngag*) from both Chöjé Lama Dampa and Butön.³² Wangdu and Diemberger translate the passage as follows:

Many people possessed by evil spirits and many dumb received great benefit from seeing his face, from his blessing, and from his (holy) spittle. He gave blessings beyond imagination, healing people suffering from eye diseases, making deaf people hear, liberating from their sickness people suffering from diseases of the arms and legs. He gave up completely all affairs of the outside world and in his interior spiritual existence

²⁹ H. Diemberger, *Shel dkar chos 'byung*= *History of the 'White Crystal'* (Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996).

³⁰ Chu gog khro in Zur tsho. See Diemberger, *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, 70.

³¹ Diemberger, *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, 71.

³² Diemberger, *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, 71.

he abandoned any clinging to one's own self. He performed magic to some small extent. His skill at mastering the mind and the *rlung*³³ was extraordinary. Once, after going to Shel dkar, he ordered the great lord Chos kyi rin chen to build a monastery according to the prophecy of dPang lo tsā ba and blessed the place. He stayed a while at Chos lung byang rtse and led many converts to spiritual liberation. He was invited to dBus by Gong ma sNe gdong, who asked for many religious empowerments. The innumerable predictions and miracles he performed were accurately recorded. At the age of seventy-seven, on the twenty-first day of the first month in the year of the iron-male-monkey (1392), he passed away in Chu mig in gTsang. At that time the people saw him going to all spiritual spheres (*zhing khams*). In order to know further details, the biography should be consulted.³⁴

There exists another historical source which the compilers of the *Shelkar Chöjung* consulted, commonly known as the *Bodong Chöjung*.³⁵ This work was compiled in the late sixteenth century by Bodong disciple Chimé Öser. While the manuscript is extant only in the archives of Bodong E monastery, there is an English translation provided in Diemberger and Wangdu's book, *Feast of Miracles*.³⁶ The *Bodong Chöjung* attests that both Lama Dampa and Butön, among many others, became disciples of Pang Lotsāwa. It also attests that after Pang Losāwa's

³³ vital wind (*prāṇa*)

³⁴ Diemberger, *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, 71-2. The biography in question is most likely the biography of Jangchub Tsemo himself, composed by his nephew and student, Drakpa Gyaltsen (Bka' bang Grags pa rgyal mtshan), listed in the catalog of the Drepung Monastery archives. See Bka'-bangs Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, "Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam thar pa snang ba spel ba." Manuscript. Listed in Drepung Catalogue, p. 1520. *'bras spungs dgon du bzugs su gsol ba'i dkar chag*, (Beijing : Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004). Tibetologist scholar Leonard van der Kuijp attempted to gain access to a copy of this biography on my account, but reported that he was unsuccessful (via personal correspondence dated 6/21/2012). The availability of this text has changed since I started this project. I am grateful to Professor Matthew Kapstein for locating this work for me, thus enabling me to incorporate a small amount of the biography's content into this study. Unfortunately, time did not permit me to investigate the entirety of this work, therefore I cannot at this time assess whether or not the biographical material given above corresponds to anything found in Jangtse's biography.

³⁵ Its full title is *Dpal de kho na nyid 'dus pa* or *The Lamp Illuminating the History of the Bodong*.

³⁶ Dkon mchog 'bangs et al., *Feast of Miracles: The Life and the Tradition of Bodong Chole Namgyal (1375/6-1451 A.D.) according to the Tibetan Texts "Feast of Miracles" and "The Lamp Illuminating the History of Bodong"* (Clusone (Bergamo): Porong Pema Chöding Editions, 1997).

death there was an interim period before Jangchub Tsemo took over as abbot of Bodong E (during which two other monks served short terms as abbots).

More interesting, perhaps, is the remainder of what the *Bodong Chöjung* claims about Jangtsé. He is described as having taken initiations under Butön as well as Pang Lotsāwa, Lama Dampa, and Gyalsé Thokmé. He taught considerably during his time at Bodong E, and in addition to his reputation for being a wise, learned, and accomplished scholar, he composed “numerous texts on the sūtra and tantra.” This *chöjung* likewise asserts his meditational accomplishments, including prescience, and attests that he founded the monastery known as Ngari Chödé and performed rites to subdue the land for the building of Shelkar Monastery.³⁷ The Taklung monastery *chöjung*, titled “An Ocean of Wonders,”³⁸ which was written by the sixteenth century Taklung monk Ngawang Namgyal also provides some information on Namkha Pel and Jangtsé, but most of the content and phrasing overlaps significantly with the *Blue Annals*’ accounts of both Namkha Pel and Jangtsé.

Overall, while the information contained in the various Dharma histories (*chöjung-s*) and the *Blue Annals* is helpful for crafting a picture of the monastic and *Buddhist* scholastic lives of these translators (as well as their alleged spiritual and meditative accomplishments), it tells us little of their training in Sanskrit, let alone their penchant for translation. Instead what we see is an emphasis on biographical narratives for translators that can be seen as implicitly supporting the claim that the translation activity that makes one worthy of the title “Lotsāwa” must be

³⁷ Ibid., 108.

³⁸ See folios 502-523 in Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, Stag lung pa Ngag dbang bstan pa'i nyi ma, and Khams sprul VIII Don bryud nyi ma. Chos 'byunng, *Ngo mtshar rgya mtsho [An Ocean of Wonders]: a Detailed Account of the Development of Buddhism in Tibet with Special Emphasis on the Stag-lung Bka'-bryud-pa*. (Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, 1972).

Buddhist in content. In the Tibetan historical narratives for those ‘translators’ who do not conform to this model—such as Jangtsé or Namkha Pel who translated poetry and poetic treatises—their non-Buddhist scholarly activities are often either minimized or else omitted.

2.4 ...Sanskrit specialists and translators by night?

We know from Tengyur colophons that Jangtsé (along with Namkha Pel) translated and edited the *Cloud Messenger* and Rinchen Jungné’s *Ocean of Meters*. From recent research by Leonard Van der Kuijp we also know that Jangtsé, together with his uncle Pang Lotsāwa, also co-translated Jñānamitra’s commentary on the popular Buddhist Sanskrit text *Abhidharmasammucaya*.³⁹ However, within available historical materials, it is the biographical genre (Tib. *rnam thar*) which provides us with the greatest detail regarding the intellectual background for our translator duo. There remains extant the biography of Jangtsé himself⁴⁰ as well as that of Butön,⁴¹ Chöjé Lama Dampa,⁴² and various accounts of the life of Tsongkhapa,⁴³

³⁹See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, “Notes on Jñānamitra’s Commentary on the *Abhidharmasammucaya*,” in *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners: The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, ed. Ulrich Timme Kragh (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, Department of South Asian studies, 2013), 1388–1429.

⁴⁰ Grags pa rgyal tshan, “Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo’i rnam thar snang ba spel ba,” in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, TBRC W1PD153537. 24 (Zi-ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 11–145, [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1PD153537/O1PD153537C2O0639\\$W1PD153537](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O1PD153537/O1PD153537C2O0639$W1PD153537). Unfortunately, the existence of this text only came to my attention as I was in the revision stages of this project. Jangtsé’s biography is rich, complex, and long, and thus warrants considerably more attention than I am able to give it for the purposes of this dissertation. In the remainder of this chapter, I do my best to incorporate what I have learned from this work. Further examination of this work will be needed prior to publication of this chapter.

⁴¹ David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Life of Bu-ston Rin-po-che*, Serie Orientale Roma no. XXIV, (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966).

⁴² Byang chub rtse mo, *Bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar [The Life of Lama Dampa Sonam Gyaltsen]*. TBRC W1CZ1868. 1 vols. [s.l.]: [s.n.], [n.d.]. <http://tbrc.org/link?RID=W1CZ1868>.

⁴³ One 19th century biography of Tsongkhapa in particular, which quotes from earlier biographies, cites Tsongkhapa’s studies with Namkha Zangpo. See Dar han Mkhan sprul blo bzang ‘phrin las rnam rgyal, ‘*Jam mgon*

which collectively help to establish a few essential dates and events related to the translation activities of Jangtsé and Namkha Pel. As Dan Martin points out, from biographical accounts of the famed founder of the Gelukpa order, Tsongkhapa, we know that Namkha Pel taught Tsongkhapa Sanskrit poetry and poetics for some short amount of time during Tsongkhapa's twenty-third year (approximately 1379).⁴⁴ The colophon for the *Shelkar Chöjung* cites a *Biography of Pang Lotsāwa and Disciples (Dpang lo yab sras kyi rnam thar)*, which does not seem to be extant.

Jangtsé's biography, written by Drakpa Gyeltsen, highlights Jangtsé's literary, poetic, and linguistic skills and accomplishments throughout this extensive work. A significant portion of the biography appears to be a résumé of the works Jangtsé studied, starting with the Sanskrit grammatical and poetical works:

..[Jangtsé] closely attended to Glorious [Pang Lotsāwa] Lodrö Tenpa's teachings, [including] the Great work on *vyākaraṇa* [called] the *Sūtras of the Kalāpa*,⁴⁵ the commentary on that written by the Master Durgasiṃha,⁴⁶ and the extensive commentary entitled *Beneficent for the Students*.⁴⁷ Furthermore, he studied the great grammatical

chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar ["*Biography of the Mañjuśrī Lord Dharma King Tsongkhapa the Great*"] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 162-164.

⁴⁴ See Dan Martin, "Veil of Kashmir: Poetry of Travel and Travail in Zhangzhungpa's 15th-Century Kāvya Reworking of the Biography of the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055 CE)" in *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines: Tibetan Studies in honour of Samten Karmay, Part I* (November 2008): 26-7 Accessed August 14, 2015. See also fn31-33 in same. http://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/ret/pdf/ret_14_03.pdf. See also Rudolf Kaschewsky, *Das Leben Des Lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo Bzang Grags Pa (1357-1419), Dargestellt Und Erläutert Anhand Seiner Vita "Quellort Allen Glückes,"* Asiatische Forschungen 32 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1971), 87.

⁴⁵ *ka lā pa'i mdo*, i.e. Skt *Kalāpa-sūtra* attributed to Śarvavarmin. See Pieter C. Verhagen, "Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet: A Study of the Indo-Tibetan Canonical Literature on Sanskrit Grammar and the Development of Sanskrit Studies in Tibet" (Dissertation, Leiden, 1991), 40.

⁴⁶ Likely the *Kālapa-sūtra(-nama)-vṛtti*, attributed to Durgasiṃha between the 6th and 8th century CE. Usually rendered in Tibetan as *Cha bsags kyi mdo'i 'grel pa (zhes bya ba)*. Verhagen, 41.

⁴⁷ Likely the *Kalāpa-vyākaraṇa-sūtra-vṛtti-śiṣyahiṭā* attributed to Grags 'byor (shes rab), best rendered in Sanskrit as Ugrabhūti or Ugrabhūti-prajñā. Full Tibetan title is *Lung ston ka lā pa'i mdo'i 'grel pa slob ma la khan pa (zhes bya ba)*. See Verhagen 42.

sūtras called *Chandrapa*, along with its explanatory commentaries,⁴⁸ and the [Eight] branches [including] treatises on verbal roots,⁴⁹ treatises on the verbal prefixes,⁵⁰ the *Unādi Sūtras*,⁵¹ the *Syādyanta-prakriyā*,⁵² the *Ty-ādyantasya-prakriyā-pāda-rohaṇa*,⁵³ and the *Varṇa-sūtra*⁵⁴ and so forth. [In this way] he mastered the body [of knowledge] that was necessary in the science of language, including the appended works, along with root texts and commentaries. Furthermore, among the [five] lesser sciences [he studied] the Treatise on synonymics *Amarakoṣa*, Ratnākaraśanti’s *Ocean of Meters*, The treatise on ornaments called the *Mirror*, the poetical treatises including the *Jātaka*-s and the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, and treatises on drama including the *Nagānanda*. He greatly trained himself in these and—having attained mastery of the words and their meanings—he became a great Lotsāwa and an eye unto the world.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Here Dragpa is likely referring to the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* (*Lung du ston pa tsandra pa'i mdo*), attributed to Candragomin. For more on this text and its commentaries, see Verhagen 35-6.

⁴⁹ Tibetan reads: *byings kyi bstan 'chos*. Likely this is a refercne to one of the texts we know as *Dhātu-kāya*, usually rendered as *Byings kyi tshogs*. See Verhagen 46-7.

⁵⁰ In Sanskrit this is known as the *Viṃśaty-upasarga-vṛtti*. The full Tibetan title is *Nye bar bsgyur ba nyi śu pa'i 'grel pa*. See Verhagen 36, 47.

⁵¹ *Unādi-vṛtti*, usually rendered in Tibetan as *uñ la sogs pa'i 'grel pa*, attributed to Durgasiṃha. See Verhagen 80.

⁵² *Si la sogs*, abbreviation for *Si la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba*. Sanskrit: *Sy-ādy-antaprakriyā*, literally treatise on “technical derivations of forms ending in the *sī* suffix, and so forth.” See Verhagen 43.

⁵³ *Ti la sogs*, abbreviation for *ti la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba'i tshig 'grel gsal ba*. Literally Treatise on “Clear words on the technical derivation form forms starting with *ti*, and so forth”. See Verhagen 38.

⁵⁴ Tibetan: *Yig ge'i mdo*. A *sūtra* on phonemes, attributed to Candragomin. See Verhagen 36-7.

⁵⁵ See Grags pa rgyal mtshan, 22. *dpal ldan blo gros brtan pa'i drung du nye bar bsnyen te | brda sprod pa'i gzhung chen po ka lā pa'i mdo dang | de'i 'grel pa slob dpon bgrod dka' seng ges mdzad pa dang | rgya cher 'grel pa chen po slob ma la phan pa zhes bya ba rje bo rdag 'byor gyis mdzad pa dang bcas pa dang | yang sgra mdo chen po tsandra pa zhes grags pa 'grel pa 'grel bshad dang bcas pa dang | de gi [read yi] yan lag | byings kyi bstan 'chos dang | nyer bsgyur dang | vyu nā di dang | si la sogs dang | ti la sogs kyi bstan 'chos dang | yi ge'i mdo la sogs pa sgra rig pa la nye bar mkho zhing cha lag tu gyur pa rnam rtsa ba dang 'grel par bcas pa ma lus pa phyis phyin par mdzad cing | gzhan yang paṇḍita rnam la rig pa'i gnas chung ltar grags pa'i mngon brjod kyi bstan 'chos 'chi med mdzod ces pa dang | sdeb sbyor gyi bstan 'chos rin [ch]en 'byung gnas ces pa dang | rgyan gyi bstan bcos me long zhes pa dang | snyan ngag gi bstan 'chos dpa' bo'i skyes rabs dang dpag bsam 'khri shing dang | zlos gar gyi bstan bcos klu kun tu dga' ba la sogs pa ches cher sbyangs te tshig don mtha' dag la dbang 'byor pas 'dzin gyi mig lo tsa ba chen por gyur te/*

It is clear from this list that Jangtsé, under the tutelage of Pang Lotsāwa, studied an enormous number of Sanskrit grammatical and poetical texts in addition to the volumes of *tantra* and philosophical *śāstra*-s listed on the folios that follow it.

We know also from Jangtsé's biography that the activity of translation itself was significant to Jangtsé. Quoting Jangtsé, Drakpa Gyeltsen writes:

Moreover here in the snowy land of Tibet, people who arrogantly take their own initiative, arranging garlands of evil thoughts, have fabricated tantras, *sūtras*, and so forth [passing them off] as either words of the Buddha or as treatises written by Indian paṇḍits. Further, some have taken their own many evil systems and written them into The Buddha's word and the pure *śāstra*-s. Many adulterations have arisen....

When this great translator dwelt in the world, even though there were fabrications and adulterations [of texts], this great translator compared the Indian and Tibetan texts and established the proper readings. ...

Furthermore, although the former Lostāwas and paṇḍits had already translated many various *sūtra*-s and *śāstra*-s including [those] on grammar, poetry, meter, and so forth, these areas of science had not formerly been translated completely without error. Thus the inhabitants of the snowy land, like blind people, were in the darkness with respect to the areas of the five sciences. For that reason, because it was necessary for these areas of science to be learned from actual Indian writings and manuscripts it was extremely difficult. Many translators of the intermediate time⁵⁶ were uninterested in the great treatises of grammar. Relying on the [*Mahā*]vyutpatti they were able to translate a little, but they erroneously translated, translated using the wrong meaning (for synonyms), left things out, or over-translated, and so forth.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Tibetan *bar skabs*. This term refers to the Tibetan historical period between *snga dar* and *phyi dar*.

⁵⁷ See Grags pa rgyal mtshan, 23-24. *de yang gangs can [23] 'dir rtsol phod can gyi gang zag du mas ngan rtog gi phreng ba du ma bsgrigs te rgyud dang mdo la sogs | rgyal ba'i bka dang rgya gar gyi mkhas grub rnam kyis mdzad pa'i bstan bcos su 'chos pa dang| yang 'ga' zhig gis rang nyid kyi grub mtha' ngan pa du ma bka' dang bstan bcos rnam dag rnam kyis nang du bris nas slad pa du ma byung ba'ang ... lo tsa ba chen po 'jigs rten na bzhugs pa'i tshe| bsdun ma dang bsre slad byas kyang lo tsa pa chen po 'dis rgya dpe dang bod dper gtugs cing gtan la phab bas ... gzhan yang sngon gyi lo paṇ rnam kyis bka' dang bstan bcos gzhan du ma bsgyur du zin kyang| sgra dang snyan ngag dags dang sdeb sbyor la sogs pa rig pa'i gnas 'di rnam ni ma nor zhing lus yongs su sngogs par sngar ma bsgyur bas gangs can pa rnam dmus long la mar bstan pa [Inga] rig pa'i gnas 'di rnam la mun 'thoms par gyur cing| rgyu mtshan de nyid kyis rig pa'i gnas 'di dag ni rgya gar nyid kyi yi ge dang dpe las dangs su bslab par byang dgos pas [24] shrī dka' bar gyur ba la brten| bar skabs kyi lo tsa ba du mas brda sprod pa'i gzhung chen po rnam ma blo kha ma phyags shing| bi bud pa ta tsam la brten te cung zad bsgyur snang yang log par bsgyur ba dang rnam grangs gzhan du bsgyur ba dang ma bsgyur ba dang ha cang bsgyur ches pa la sogs par gyur pas|*

The author follows this passage with a somewhat obscure metaphor, which appears to compare the kinds of mistakes that these translators would make to the kinds of linguistic errors small children make when first learning to speak.⁵⁸ While the precise kind of linguistic error being referenced is not clear to me, what is clear is that Jangtsé was critical of over-reliance on lexical sources such as the *Mahāvvyutpatti* for establishing the contextually appropriate meaning of a word or phrase. Additionally we see here articulated the assertion that a Tibetan translator should be well-trained and inherently *interested* in the study of Sanskrit grammar, poetry, meter, and so forth in order to minimize errors. As we will see in Chapters Three and Four, these views informed his (and Namkha Pel's) translation practices regarding *Cloud Messenger*.

Butön's biography is also useful for establishing the timeline for the intellectual activity of our duo's Indian paṇḍit, Sumanaśrī. The Dergé and Coné catalogs list Sumanaśrī as working with Butön to produce a variety of translations from various genres of Sanskrit that were preserved in the Tengyur.⁵⁹ Butön's biography attests that Sumanaśrī arrived at Zhalu monastery where Butön was in the female fire bird year (approximately 1357-8) and subsequently gave initiations in the *Maṇḍala of Padmajāla* (*Spyan ras gzigs bla med pad ma dra ba*), among other texts. This biography attests that after hearing these teachings in the original Sanskrit, Butön

⁵⁸ Thus like how small children who search for the object of a referent but don't find [its] basis and switch [them], [these Lostāwas likewise] appear to have contributed to ignorance. *se'u bcu'i dag ltar brjod bya'i don bsnyang rgyu ma rnyed pas log rmongs par byed pa'i tshul du snang ba la* | *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁹ See for instance, the *Saptaślokaḥbhagavatīprajñāpāramitā-nāma-sūtra* (*Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma 'phags ma tshigs su bcad pa bdun ma zhes bya ba'i mdo*). Tōh. no. 4463 or *Navaśloka* (*Tshigs su bcad pa dgu pa*). Tōh. no. 4462.

began translating them. It also states that Butön transmitted a text on the *Kālacakra* (*Dus 'khor yongs rdzogs gnang ba*) to Sumanaśrī at that time as well.⁶⁰

Jangtsé's biography likewise helps us establish a timeline for Sumanaśrī:

At that time the Kashmiri paṇḍit Sumanaśrī was invited to Tibet by the Easterner; When he reached the great Seat [of Sakya], The head Lama [Chöki Gyeltsen]⁶¹ invited both the translator (Jangtsé) and the Paṇḍit (*lo pan*) and requested elaborate explanations⁶² [for the] Sanskrit treatises. Pandita made errors, which Chöjé himself refuted. He [then] arrogantly said “If you refer to someone as *mahāpaṇḍita*, you're referring to me!” In a panic, the Kashmiri paṇḍit hadn't reached [understanding] from the authoritative treatises. Purifications were offered. Up to that day, Chö-gyal (Chöki Gyeltsen) had raised the Paṇḍita's seat cushion so that it was higher than Chöjé's. From that day onward, the [levels of the] seat cushions were equalized.

At that time, Taben Namkha Tenpa requested the Translator [Jangtsé] and Paṇḍit translate the poem *Trinki Phonya*, written by Indian poet-scholar Kālidāsa. Lotsāwa Namkha Zangpo served as scribe and assistant. Being quite intelligent, both the translator [Namkha Pel] and paṇḍit [Sumanaśrī] finished the translation. With respect to key points of grammar, they became wise in an unobstructed way. Then in the autumn of the fire monkey year (1357), [Jangtsé] was invited to Ngari.⁶³

The first part of this passage remains more than a little opaque to me. The ambiguity of the referents present in my English translation is present also in the Tibetan, owing in part to

⁶⁰ David Seyfort Rugg, *The Life of Bu-ston Rin-po-che*, Serie Orientale Roma no. XXIV, (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 149-50.

⁶¹ Bla ma lha khang [Chos kyis rgyal mstan], the head of Sakya monastery at the time.

⁶² The Tibetan here reads *'bol gtam*, which is likely a transcription error for *'bel gtam*.

⁶³ *de'i tshe kha che'i pandita Su ma na shrī shar rgyal pos gdan drangs nas gdan sa chen por phebs dus | bla ma lha khang pas lo pan gnyi ga gdan drangs nas | legs sbyar gyi bstan bcos rnams la 'bol gtam [read 'bel gtam] mdzad par zhus pa na | pandita la nor pa 'ga' byung pa rnams chos rje nyid kyis legs par sun phyungs nas | Ma hā pandita zer na nga la zer ba yin gsung zhing thugs gyal mdzad pas | kha che'i pandita 'khrims shing chung nas phebs pa mod par gyur to | dag pa phul zhing | de'i nyin drang chos rgyal bas Pandita bzhugs gdan shrī mtho zhing chos rje pa'i bzhugs gdan dma' bar mjad na'ang | de phyin cad nas gzhugs gdan mnyam po bshams par gyur to 'o| de dus lo pandita kyis ta lben nam mkha' brtan pas zhus pa'i ngor| rgya gar gyi snyan ngags mkhen po nag mo khol gyis byas pa'i snyan ngags kyi bstos sprin kyi pho nya bsgyur zhing| Lo tsa ba nam kha' bzang pos 'gyur gyi yi ge pa dang zhabs tog byas pas lo pandita [gnyis] po ches cher mkhas pa'i stobs kyis 'gyur cher ba dang sgra'i gnas rnams la thogs pa med pa'i panditar gyur to || de nas me pho spre lo'i ston mnga' ris su ga na drang nas | See Grags pa rgyal tshan, 64-5.*

abbreviated referents to the people in question. However, what seems to be going on is that in a curious incident—which appears to have happened prior to Sumanaśrī coming to work with Butön in 1357—Sumanaśrī allegedly was invited to Sakya monastery at the same time as Jangtsé. Someone referred to ambiguously as Chöjé—likely Chöjé Lama Dampa⁶⁴—seems to have made a *faux pas*, correcting Sumanaśrī in an arrogant way which caused offense. As a result, by way of apology, The head of Sakya, Chöki Gyeltsen lowered this Chöjé’s cushion (which presumably must have been higher) and raised Sumanaśrī’s such that the two were now assumed to be equals. The second part of the passage is clear: together Jangtsé and Sumanaśrī translated *Cloud Messenger* into Tibetan at some point prior to Jangtsé being invited to Ngari in autumn of 1356, thus also prior to Sumanaśrī arriving at the Zhalu monastery in 1357 (to visit Butön).

Butön’s biography, written by his disciple Rinchen Namgyal, who was a contemporary of Jangtsé, doesn’t mention Jangtsé at all, which is a curious omission. In neither Butön’s biography nor in *Blue Annals*, is there any indication that Jangtsé and Butön had any interactions, let alone interactions of significance. This biography repeatedly cites Butön’s interactions with the popular teacher Lama Dampa Sonam Gyeltsen, who is mentioned no fewer than six separate times throughout the biography— more than any other teacher save for the then-head of Sakya monastery Chöki Gyeltsen. Not only was Jangtsé a devoted student of Lama

⁶⁴ While the identity of ‘Chöjé’ here is uncertain, it strikes me as most likely to be Chöjé Lama Dampa Sonam Gyeltsen, one of Jangtsé’s teachers. Given that the title of this biography adds the title *Chos kyi rje rin po che* in front of Jangchub Tsemo’s name (the longer form of the title also used to address Lama Dampa in his biography), it is likewise possible that Jangtsé could be the referent here. However given that Jangtsé is almost certainly the referent of ‘lo’ in lo paṅ (Lotsāwa and Paṅdit) referred to in the subsequent passage as the translators of *Cloud Messenger*, it seems more likely that Chöjé does *not* refer to Jangtsé here. Unfortunately, this incident involving Sumanaśrī is not mentioned in either Lama Dampa’s biography or Butön’s biography, thus so far I have no other accounts against which to compare this.

Dampa, but he was eventually asked to compose Lama Dampa’s biography, which itself mentions Butön numerous times. According to this biography, Butön was invited to see Lama Dampa several times, sometimes to participate in consecrations and rituals and other times to hear Lama Dampa’s teachings.⁶⁵ Butön also apparently came to visit to hear teachings even without specific invitations.⁶⁶ Despite the fact that clearly Butön had significant interactions with key figures at Sakya such as Lama Dampa and Sumanaśrī, not only is there no mention of Jangtsé in Butön’s biography—when by contrast there are ample references to Butön in both Jangtsé’s and Lama Dampa’s biographies—but the way in which Butön’s biographer Rinchen Namgyel emphasizes Sumanaśrī’s arrival at Zhalu, there is nothing to indicate that Sumanaśrī did anything in Tibet except teach and translate with Butön. This is particularly interesting given that Rinchen Namgyel attests that he wrote the first half of Butön’s biography in 1355 at Sakya monastery under the encouragement of Chöki Gyeltsen—the time during which we know from Jangtsé’s biography that Jangtsé was *also* at Sakya (Lha khang Bla ’brang). Having been invited by the same Chöki Gyeltsen, Jangtsé is attested to have been during that time studying Sanskrit grammar, poetics, and meter in addition to works such as the *Pramāṇavarttika*,

⁶⁵ The biography of Lama Dampa specifies Jangtsé’s locations only a few times throughout the text. Thus, although we know that Butön and Jangtsé shared Lama Dampa as a teacher, from this biography alone we do not have a sense of what kind of relationship Jangtsé and Butön may have had. References to Butön in Jangtsé’s biography are numerous, and I am certain that further examination of this work will result in a much more nuanced understanding of the relationship between Jangtsé and Butön. Given time constraints, for the purposes of this dissertation, I chose to focus predominantly on the narratives surrounding Jangtsé as they appear in these peripheral works. This approach is not without significance, as it allows us the opportunity to closely examine the ways in which texts written by people less connected to Jangtsé personally—texts which remained more readily accessible to Tibetan readership through the centuries than did Jangtsé’s biography—characterized these scholar-translators.

⁶⁶While Jangtsé’s mentions of Butön in his biography of Lama Dampa are not extensive, they are quite complimentary in tone. Butön is always referred to in the text as “Butön Rinpoche,” emphasizing his role as a well-known teacher. See Byang chub rtse mo, *Bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar [The Life of Lama Dampa Sonam Gyeltsen]*, vol. 1 vols. [s.l.]: [s.n.], [n.d.], TBRC W1CZ1868, <http://tbrc.org/link?RID=W1CZ1868>.

Abhidharmakośa.⁶⁷ Rinchen Namgyel then would certainly have known and interacted with Jangtsé personally—especially given that Jangtse’s biographer was Drakpa Gyeltsen, another polymath who we know studied under both Butön and his biographer Rinchen Namgyel before eventually becoming abbot of Shelkar monastery.⁶⁸

There is another detail in Butön’s biography which highlights this omission. According to Butön’s biography, Sumanaśrī arrived in Zhalu approximately 1357-58—seven years before Butön’s death. Jangtsé’s biography by contrast highlights the fact that Sumanaśrī was invited to Sakya temple and subsequently co-translated *Cloud Messenger* with Jangtsé prior to Jangtsé being invited to Ngari in the autumn of 1357.⁶⁹ Thus we know that immediately prior to leaving for Zhalu to work with Butön, Sumanaśrī was working with Jangtsé on *Cloud Messenger*. Yet there is no mention of Sumanaśrī’s departure in Jangtsé biography, just as there is no mention of Sumanaśrī’s activity in Tibet prior to meeting Butön in Butön’s biography. Given that

⁶⁷ Jangtsé apparently impressed Chöki Gyeltsen with his facility in these subjects and was requested to translate Dharmadāsa’s commentary on Changragomin’s grammatical treatise. See Grags pa rgyal tshan, 64. *bla ma lha khang pa chos kyi rgyal mstan pas lha khang bla brang du gdan drangs te| sgra dang snyan ngags dang sdeb sbyor la sogs pa'i slob sbyong dang tshad ma rnam 'grel dang mngon pa la sogs pa'i 'zigs tog dang yig cha mjad pa'i grogs ldan mjad cing | de nyid kyis bskul nas brda sprod pa'i gzhung chen po candra pa'i 'grel pa dha rma dā sa'i 'gyur dang | blos gros dang 'dun pa can gzhan du la'ang legs par bshad pa'i dga' ston gyis ji ltar rigs pa 4 [bzhi] na tshim par mjad de |*

⁶⁸ Drakpa Gyeltsen is listed in the Shelkar chöjung as being the third abbot of Shelkar—for which Pang Lotsāwa and Jangtsé are listed as first and second abbots respectively. These titles are mostly honorary for Pang Losāwa and Jangtsé however as Shelkar was built by Drakpa Gyeltsen in 1385—long after their passing—with the financial support of Chöki Gyeltsen. Both however served as abbots for Bodong E and, according to the Shelkar Chöjung, both gave injunctions in support of the erection of Shelkar, thus earning their honorary status. See *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, 3-6.

⁶⁹ Specifically in the autumn of the fire male monkey (*me pho spre lo'i ston..*) which corresponds to approximately Autumn 1356. See Grags pa rgyal tshan, 65. *de dus lo pandita kyis ta lben nam mkha' brtan pas zhus pa'i ngor/ rgya gar gyi snyan ngags mkhen po nag mo khol gyis byas pa'i snyan ngags kyi bstos sprin kyi pho nya bsgyur zhing| Lo tsa ba nam kha' bzang pos 'gyur gyi yi ge pa dang zhabs tog byas pas lo pandita [gnyis] po ches cher mkhas pa'i stobs kyis 'gyur cher ba dang sgra'i gnas rnams la thod pa med pa'i panditar gyur to || de nas me pho spre lo'i ston mnga' ris su ga na drang nas.*

Sumanaśrī's relationship with Butön was highly emphasized in Butön's biography despite Sumanaśrī's limited time in Tibet, and given the improbable lack of references to Jangtsé in Butön's biography, it strikes me as plausible that Jangtsé and Butön may have been in competition for the attention of certain teachers, specifically Lama Dampa and Sumanaśrī.

Historical evidence suggests that in addition to competition over teachers Lama Dampa and Sumanaśrī, Jangtsé and Butön may have additionally competed over a student: Namkha Pel himself. Butön's biography states that in 1351, several year prior to the *Cloud Messenger* translation, Butön served as the ordaining preceptor (*upādhyāya*) and master of ceremonies (*ācārya*) for the monastic ordination of various important persons, including someone referred to as "Khenpo of Astrology (*rtsis kyi mkhan po*), Namkha Rinchen Pel Zangpo."⁷⁰ From the *Blue Annals* and *An Ocean of Wonders*, we know that Namkha Pel also went by Namkha Rinchen and that he not only studied astrology but composed a treatise on Tibetan astrology (*rtsis-yig*).⁷¹ What is intriguing is that nowhere does either the *Blue Annals* or *An Ocean of Wonders* mention any relationship between Namkha Pel and Butön. Chojé Lama Dampa and Jangtsé figure heavily in the *Blue Annals*' descriptions of his teachers, as does his former Taklung teacher, Ratnākara. Further, the *Blue Annals* by contrast indicates that when Namkha Pel received his final ordination at age twenty-seven (not at eighteen as he would have been in 1351), Butön is not listed as being present.⁷²

⁷⁰ David Seyfort Ruegg, Rin chen nram rgyal, and Sgra tshad pa, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che: With the Tibetan Text of the Bu ston nram Thar*, Serie Orientale Roma, XXXIV (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 134.

⁷¹ Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 637. See also *An Ocean of Wonders*, 514-15.

⁷² *An Ocean of Wonders* does however list the *slob dpon* (*ācārya*, preceptor|ceremonial master) for Namkha Pel's ordination as someone by the name of Ston rgyal ba, which is possibly a variation on Butön (bu ston). See *An Ocean*

Another remaining fact would seem to support this Butön rivalry hypothesis. In the appendix to his translation of Butön’s biography, scholar D.S. Ruegg claims that the table of contents (*dkar chag*) for the Coné Tengyur notes that Butön translated *Birth of Kumāra* (Skt. *Kumārasambhava*, Tib. *Gzhon nu’i ’byung ba*), another poem by Kālidāsa, author of *Cloud Messenger*, and the only other non-Buddhist *kāvya* to have been allegedly translated into Tibetan prior to the modern era.⁷³ Given that *Birth of Kumāra*, like *Cloud Messenger*, is not Buddhist in content, this seems an unlikely choice for Butön, who is well-known more for his translations (and co-translations) of tantric texts and for his editing of the *Tengyur*. Although *Birth of Kumāra* may be listed within the Coné Tengyur’s table of contents,⁷⁴ neither a copy nor a fragment of this translation has been found to date. Given the extent to which Butön’s editorial work influenced the corpus of texts that have become called the *Tengyur*—in which this translation of *Birth of Kumāra* would have been later preserved alongside the *Cloud Messenger* translation—this seems suspicious. Even if we assume that it was later editors of the *Tengyur* (rather than Butön himself) who decided to include the *Cloud Messenger* and *Ocean of Meters* translations, given Butön’s prestige it seems unlikely that if a translation of *Birth of Kumāra* were extant, it would have been excluded. Nevertheless, although this translation of *Birth of*

of Wonders, 510. The *Blue Annals* cites the name as *Ston rgyal*. See *Gzhon nu dpal*, *The Blue Annals*, 636-7. This, however, seems specious.

⁷³As Ruegg states, “According to the *dKar chag* of the *Co ne bsTan ’gyur* as quoted by B. Laufer (v.p.149 n.1), Butön translated Kālidāsa’s *Kumārasambhava* (*Gzhon nu’i ’byung ba*) included under the table of contents for vol *no.*” See Ruegg, 185.

⁷⁴ Ruegg cites Laufer’s assertion that this listing of Butön’s translation is included in Coné No. 36, and possibly also in the *Narhang Index*. see Nagnajit and B. Laufer, *Dokumente Der Indischen Kunst: Das Citralakshana Nach Dem Tibetischen Tanjur Herausgegeben Und Übersetzt* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1913):159-160. Although I have checked various versions of the Coné Tengyur, I have so far not been able to locate either a copy of this text nor have I yet been able to verify Laufer’s claim that the *Kumārasambhava* is listed in either the *Cone Tengyur* catalog or the *Narhang index*.

Kumāra—a poem of Kālidāsa’s which certainly rivals the *Cloud Messenger* in fame—likely never existed (in completion), and despite the fact that Butön was not known for his interest, let alone expertise, in Sanskrit poetry, this alleged “translation” by Butön remained listed in the catalog to the Coné Tengyur.

Given the extent to which Butön and Jangtsé shared mentors, teachers, and at least one student—not to mention the degree to which Butön is mentioned, frequently and with considerable respect in Jangtsé’s biography—it strikes me as unusual that Butön’s biography does not mention Jangtsé, or at the very least his uncle the famous Pang Lotsāwa given that it spends significant time describing Butön’s interactions with both Lama Dampa and Sumanaśrī. By contrast, it is perhaps salient to note that the *Shelkar Chöjung* attests that Jangtsé obtained “empowerments, precepts, and advice” from several teachers including Butön himself.⁷⁵ There is however one passage in Butön’s biography which may allude to an interaction with Jangtsé, although it never refers to Jangtsé by name:

He went to E Bodong Chöki Jungné and performed the dedication of the great temple. He met with the Dharmaswāmins—uncle and nephew—with Gyelsé Thok Mepa and others and conferred on them the instructions they required....⁷⁶

Given the fact that the location is the Bodong E monastery where Pang and Jangtsé served as abbots, and that Thok Mepa, who is known to be a teacher of both Namkha Pel and of Jangtsé’s nephew (and successor as abbot of Bodong E) Drakpa Gyaltsen,⁷⁷ was present, the phrase

⁷⁵ Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho et al., *Shel dkar chos 'byung = History of the “White Crystal”*: Religion and Politics of Southern La Stod (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 71. This fact alone may indicate that Jangtsé was likely present during one or more of Butön’s visits to Lama Dampa.

⁷⁶ Ruegg, 156.

⁷⁷ See Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 636. Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, 72.

“Dharmaswāmins—uncle and nephew” undoubtedly refers to Pang Lotsāwa and his nephew Jangtsé. Yet not only were Pang Lotsāwa and Jangtsé Lotsāwa—both of whom were more popularly known by the title ‘Losāwa’ than ‘Dharmaswāmin’—left unnamed in this passage, but their role in interacting with Butön was apparently only to *receive* teachings from Butön himself. The *Bodong Chöjung*, by contrast, claims that Butön, along with Lama Dampa and others, became the *disciple* of Pang Lotsāwa.⁷⁸ Yet only a few lines later in Butön’s biography, Butön is described as being invited to Taklung to visit none other than the abbot Rinchen Pel Zangpo (Namkha Pel).⁷⁹

It is clear then that Butön and Jangtsé’s professional worlds overlapped significantly. Why then would Butön’s biography fail to include any explicit reference to Jangtsé, when both Jangtsé’s biography and the biography he composed for his teacher Lama Dampa contain explicit references to Butön’s involvement? The answer I will suggest is that there existed a tension, perhaps even a competition, between Butön and the pair of uncle-nephew translators. Consider the following passage from Butön’s biography:

To me (student Rinchen Namgyel) he said, “It is shameful to be called a translator (Lotsāwa) if one has not translated anything: first translate the *Proof of Omniscience* (*Thams cad mkhyen pa grub pa*) and apply yourself earnestly to (Sanskrit) grammar (*sgra*). If one is a paṇḍit, he thinks of revising the grammatical commentary (*sgra'i tīk*), the *Ūrdhvajaṭā* (*Ral pa gyen brdses*) etc.; if one is not a paṇḍit, one thinks of expounding the *Maṅḍalavidhi-viṃśatikā* (*Dkyil chog nyi śu pa*) and the *Guhyasamāja-Pañcakrama*. Now it appears that this has not been done.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See Dkon mchog 'bangs et al., *Feast of Miracles: The Life and the Tradition of Bodong Chole Namgyal (1375/6-1451 A.D.) according to the Tibetan Texts “Feast of Miracles” and “The Lamp Illuminating the History of Bodong”* (Clusone (Bergamo): Porong Pema Chöding Editions, 1997), 107.

⁷⁹ Ruegg, 156.

⁸⁰ Ruegg, 161.

This passage is buried at the end of larger section in the biography seemingly dedicated to enumerating Butön’s criticisms of various intellectual failings by monks, such as not properly editing and revising texts, not knowing the texts relevant to the *Vinaya* (monastic law), and not knowing the texts relevant to the recitation of mantras.⁸¹ A specific textual hierarchy is likely implied, though these passages lack sufficient detail for us to recreate it in its entirety based on this biography alone. What can be reconstructed clearly is a bias towards written translation for anyone identified as either a *lotsāwa* or a *paṇḍit*. As Butön claims, one has to have translated a text to deserve to be called a “translator” (*lotsāwa*), otherwise it is shameful. This is relevant because the *Shelkar Chöjung* attests that Pang Lotsāwa—Jangtsé’s uncle—became known as “the translator” (*lotsāwa*) for acting as interpreter between Lama Zhi Thokpa and his associated Indian paṇḍit, rather than for written translations.⁸² From the above passage, it seems likely Butön had in mind a person (or persons) with the title “Lotsāwa” he wished to criticize for their lack of sufficient contribution to translations of Buddhist treatises (and, by association with Buddhist content, of Sanskrit grammatical treatises). Knowing that Jangtsé himself is referred to in much of the historical literature as either “The Great Translator” (*lo chen*), “The Great Translator Jangtsé” (*lo chen Jangtsé*) or “Jangtsé (Jangchub Tsemo) Lotsāwa”⁸³—and yet is only known to have translated the *Cloud Messenger* and a work on Sanskrit meter, Ratnākaraśānti’s

⁸¹ Ibid., 159-161.

⁸² Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Shel Dkar Chos 'Byung*, 63-4. The Shel dkar manuscript reads: “[He] became known by the title ‘Lotsawa’ after serving as interpreter (lo tsa) between Lama Zhithok and [an Indian] paṇḍit.” *bla ma bzhi thog pa dang paṇḍita'i bar gyis lo tsa mdzad pa'i lo tsa ba'i mtshan de nas grags so |*

⁸³ For references specifying Jangtsé’s title as Lotsāwa, see: Cyrus Steams, *The Buddha from Dolpo : A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1999), 29. (see also endnote 98 on p. 191) See also Gzhon nu dpal, *The Blue Annals*, 639, 778-9, 787-88. Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, 70-72. Dkon mchog 'bangs et al., *Feast of Miracles*, 108.

Ocean of Meters (Chandoratnākāra)—it seems plausible that either or both of the uncle-nephew pair may have been the target of this critique, which could indicate a professional tension between Butön and either Jangtsé or his uncle Pang Lotsāwa (or both of them!).

In Butön’s *namthar* we find implicit the claim that the translation activity that makes one worthy of the title “Lotsāwa” should be Buddhist in content—or alternatively grammatical in content if one is a ‘pandit.’ What is significant is that the Tibetan historical narratives that depict translators who do not conform to this model seem either to minimize or omit their non-Buddhist activities, or else—as in the case of Butön’s critiques—call into question the title “Lotsāwa.” Likewise, modern Tibetan historical materials on the history of translations often seem to reify this model by only including translators who worked predominantly on Buddhist texts (including Buddhist poetic works such as Kṣemendra’s *Creeping Vine of Lives of Bodhisattvas* and Aśvaghōṣa’s *Life of the Buddha*). The translators, such as Jangtsé and Namkha Pel, who worked on non-Buddhist content, are generally not included in these ‘histories’ unless they additionally translated Buddhist content.

Given the preference of Tibetan historical materials to preserve biographical detail of translators that primarily confirms either their alleged Buddhist spiritual progress or their expertise as teachers and translators of Buddhist (and more commonly tantric) treatises, there remain few kinds of sources for historical data on the non-Buddhist translation and compositional activity of most Tibetan translators. Indeed, in the absence of Jangtsé’s remarkably detailed biography, what we would know about the translation activity of Jangtsé and Namkha Pel is attested only from the colophons appended to the translations themselves.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ As scholar Orna Almogi has previously argued, many Tibetan translations did not originally have a translation colophon; often colophons were added by later editors, either based on oral information or in imitation of colophons

We have already examined the colophon for the *Cloud Messenger* translation. As E. Gene Smith noted in his book, *Among Tibetan Texts*, Ratnākaraśānti's text on Sanskrit meters, the *Ocean of Meters*, was first translated by Jangtsé and then later revised by Jangtsé and Namkha Pel (and later corrected by Zhalu Lotsāwa Chökyong Zangpo).⁸⁵ All of this is attested solely from the colophon to the translation:

This [text] was composed by the venerable Ratnākāraśānti, omniscient one of the Kali yuga. This is written by the Shakya monk, the supreme translator, Rinchen Chökyong Zangpo. Subsequently...it was translated in the presence of Jangchub Tsemo and done at his request. Gelong Namkha Zangpo—who was greatly supported through the kindness of that Lama and [other] excellent persons—translated it. The Shalu Lotsāwa, Chökyong Zangpo later corrected it. May this work benefit the precious teachings of the Buddha and all sentient beings.⁸⁶

As Smith likewise noted, the auto-commentary on *Ocean of Meters* was first translated in the thirteenth century then corrected a century later by Namkha Pel on the basis of a Sanskrit manuscript belonging to Pang Lotsāwa.⁸⁷

from similar translations. Nevertheless, they remain the only historical sources we have available to attest the specifics of translation activity for this pair. See Orna Almogi, “How Authentic Are Titles and Colophons of Tantric Works in the Tibetan Canon? The Case of Three Works and Their Authors and Translators,” in *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature : PIATS 2006 : Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Königswinter 2006, ed. Orna Almogi, International Association for Tibetan Studies; Proceedings of the ... Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies; Beiträge Zur Zentralasienforschung 14 (Halle, Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), 87-124.

⁸⁵ E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 202.

⁸⁶ Tibetan: 'di ni rtsod pa'i dus kyi thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen 'byung gnas zhi ba'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa'o | 'di ni shākya'i dge slong 'jig rten mig mchog rin chen chos skyod bzang pos bris pa'o | slad kyi sa gsum na 'gran zla bral ba'i thams cad mkhyen pa chen po don gyi slad du mtshan smos pa byan chub rtse mo'i zhal snga nas bsgyur ba las| slar yang de nyid kyi bka'i rjes su gnang ba la brten nas| bla ma de nyid dang skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi bka' drin gyis bskyangs pa'i dge slong nam mkha' bzang pos bsgyur ba las| slar yang zha lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang pos dag par bcos pa'o| 'dis kyang sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa rin po che dang sems can thams cad la phan thogs par gyur cig|| See Rinchen Jungné. *Sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas zhes bya ba* [Ratnākaraśānti's *Chandoratnākāra*]. Translated by Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo. In *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, sgra mdo, se 351b1-360b6 (Tōh. 4303) TBRC W23703.

⁸⁷ E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 202.

This is the text called Rinchen Jungné's *Ocean of Meters*, composed by Ratnākāraśānti, the Omniscient One of the Kali yuga. It was translated by the devout Rasava and Drakpa Gyaltzen from Yarlung. For the sake of the great all-knowing one, who is unsurpassed in the three worlds, the following name[s] are mentioned: It was (re-) translated in the presence of Jangchub Tsemo and done at his request. Gelong Namkha Zangpo—greatly supported through the kindness of that Lama and [other] excellent persons—translated, edited and corrected it at the Glorious [Bodong] E monastery, in accordance with the Indian manuscripts written by the Glorious [Pang Lotsāwa] Lodrö Tenpa, speaker of two languages, sole volume of the Piṭaka-s, and crown of the austere ordained monks of the Shakya.⁸⁸

We know that Jangtsé and Namkha Pel studied, taught, and composed translations of Sanskrit poetic material, most significantly *Cloud Messenger* and *Ocean of Meters*. However, it is *how* and *from where* a reader of Tibetan 'histories' obtains this kind of information that, I argue, is significant. It is common practice in many of the Tibetan historical genres—annals, *namthar*-s (biographies), and *chöjung*-s (Dharma histories)—to preserve intellectual historical data such as the categories (and sometimes names) of texts studied. This appears to be the case for teachers and translators (Lotsāwas) alike. In the case of Lotsāwas, however, these sources not only fail to provide us with an intellectual historical basis for understanding the non-Buddhist texts that are translated but fail to mention even the *translation* of non-Buddhist texts, let alone more general details concerning a given translator's translation activity. It is thus often through the difficult-to-verify genre of the translation colophon that we even come to know of a translator's non-Buddhist translation activity.

⁸⁸ Tibetan: *rtsod pa'i dus kyi thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen 'byung gnas zhi ba'i zhabs kyi mdzad pa'i sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas zhes bya ba rdzogs so || || 'di ni chos ldan ra za ba dang | yar klungs pa grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba'o || slad kyi sa gsum na 'gran zla dang bral ba'i thams cad mkhyen pa chen po don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te | byang chub rtse mo'i zhal snga nas bsgyur ba la | slar yang de nyid kyi bkas rjes su gngang ba la brten te | bla ma de nyid dang | skeyes bu dam pa rnams kyi bka' drin gyis legs par bskyangs pa'i dge slong nam mkha' bzang pos | shākya'i dge slong sdom brtson dam pa rnams kyi gtsug rgyan | sde snod gsum gyi glegs bam gcig pu | skad gnyis smra ba'i dbang po dpal ldan blo gros brtan pa'i phyag bris kyi rgya dpe la gtugs nas | dpal e'i chos grwa chen por bsgyur cing zhus te dag par bgyis so || See Rinchen Jungné. *Sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas* [Ratnākāraśānti's commentary on Chandoratnākāra]. Translated by Chöden Repa, Drakpa Gyaltzen, and revised by Namkha Zangpo. In *Sde dge bstan 'gyur, sgra mdo*, se 361b1-379b7 (Tōh. 4304) TBRC W23703.*

2.5 The limits of ‘Buddhist’ (*nang pa*) as a category

Other socio-political factors, such as the political instability of Sakya monastery in the fourteenth century or the potential rivalry between Butön, principal editor of the Tengyur, and Jangtsé, may have contributed to the collective dearth of information concerning the translation activities of persons such as Jangtsé and Namkha Pel. However, given that the biographical information related to their Buddhist monastic interactions remains preserved, a closer look at the apparent ‘lacunae’ in their life stories is warranted. When compared with the details of the translation activity of other Lotsāwas such as Rinchen Zangpo and Marpa Lotsāwa, a pattern emerges. Information concerning the translation of non-Buddhist materials—including, but not limited to poetics manuals and non-Buddhist poetry—were not considered relevant to the narratives crafted surrounding the lives and intellectual activity of a Tibetan Lotsāwa.

In lieu of secular forms of knowledge, such as Sanskrit poetry and grammar, let alone less popular domains of Buddhist knowledge such as Vinaya, Mahāyāna sūtras, etc., as Ronald Davidson notes, Tibetan translators of the eleventh century onwards prioritized the study and translation of the esoteric—namely, tantra:

Indeed, more than anything else, the rebirth of Tibetan civilization [in the eleventh century] was the result of Tibetan translators of Indian tantric literature, their charisma as the new religious representatives, and their authority augmented by Indian yogins, who themselves had a vested interest in highlighting the translator’s accomplishments.⁸⁹

By the time of Sakya Paṇḍita’s scholarship in the thirteenth century, the presence of specialists in tantric ritual texts had become the basis for assessing a given monastic institution’s worth.

By the early thirteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism had assumed its place on the stage of Asian religion. Overcoming some measure of social instability, the neoconservative agenda of Sakya Paṇḍita, Drigung Jikten Gönpö, and Chaglo Chöjé-pel afforded a strong

⁸⁹ Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance : Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 116.

social and ritual locale for the important Sarma institutions and provided the rationale for their self-promotion. With Indian literary principles assuming the central position, Tibetans found their institutions being judged on the same standards.⁹⁰

Given this primacy and authoritative status of esoteric ritual texts within the Indic Buddhist literary canon, it is perhaps unsurprising that the translation of *nyen-ngak* (*kāvya*) might be considered less important to Tibetan (Buddhist) historians, let alone *nyen-ngak* such as *Cloud Messenger*, which is not Buddhist in content.

In order to understand the category of “Buddhist” within Tibetan forms of knowledge, we must examine the categorization of the ‘sciences’ of Tibet. Referring to Indian scholar Asaṅga’s fourth-century articulation of the sciences, thirteenth-century Tibetan scholar Sakya Paṇḍita describes the so-called “five major sciences” (*rig gnas che ba lnga*)⁹¹ of Buddhism as follows:

If someone should ask, who gets called “scholar”?—He is someone who knows without error everything that can be known. Alternatively, for someone who knows teachings in some specific field, in that and that alone he gets the name (*ming*) “scholar.”

The fields of study for that scholar are the five sciences:

The fields of grammar, reasoning, Medicine, the inner [i.e. the Buddhist Dharma], and the outer are called “the sciences.”

Grammar is [the science of] language (*śabdavidyā*); reasoning is [the science of] logic (*hetuvidyā*); the outer science is crafts (*śilpakarmasthānavidyā*); the inner science is the textual [Buddha] dharma (*lung gi chos*—i.e. *adhyātmavidyā*); and medicine is the science of remedies (*cikitsāvidyā*)—[so are the sciences] explained.⁹²

As Kurtis Schaeffer explains,

⁹⁰ Ibid., 369.

⁹¹ Sanskrit: *vidyāsthāna*, Tibetan: *rig gnas che ba lnga* or *rig pa'i gnas lnga*

⁹² Jonathan C Gold, *The Dharma's Gatekeepers: Sakya Pandita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 155.

[In Asaṅga’s treatment, t]he arts appear in a discussion of the “non-Buddhist” subjects to be studied by the bodhisattva. All knowledge to be acquired is subsumed under 1) inner (i.e., sacred) knowledge; 2) logic; 3) language; 4) medicine; and 5) arts and crafts.... To the five major forms of knowledge, five “minor” forms are often added, making up ten often prescribed for the bodhisattva: 1) arts and crafts; 2) medicine; 3) language; 4) logic; 5) the inner knowledge of Buddhism; 6) poetics; 7) prosody; 8) synonymics; 9) dramaturgy; and 10) astrology and divination.⁹³

Within this two-tiered hierarchy of Buddhist forms of knowledge in Tibet, we see that poetry, poetics, meter, and performing arts are categorically subsidiary to the five major sciences. Thus, while grammar, logic, crafts (such as painting of religious iconography), and even medicine—as Gyatso’s recent work on Tibetan medicine highlights—medicine were accepted as domains of knowledge to be studied alongside the Buddhist science, the so-called ‘minor’ sciences—including poetry, poetics, meter, and performing arts—were not afforded that same status; they are categorized as secondary and subsidiary to the first five.

In the historical data concerning the lives and activities of translators—found almost exclusively in the *namthar* and *chöjung* genres—we see reflected in these texts this same hierarchical classification of the sciences: both the translations and translators of works comprising the five major sciences—in this case Buddhist treatises and Sanskrit grammatical treatises—are treated as more important than the translations and translators of the so-called “five minor sciences” (*rig gnas chung lnga*):⁹⁴ poetry, poetics, meter, dramaturgy, and astrology/divination. Implicit in these literary genres is an assertion of what entails “Buddhist” as a category of Tibetan knowledge, as well as what constitutes a Tibetan Buddhist life. What appears to be omitted from these literary genres is the historical data that highlights the liminality

⁹³ Kurtis R Schaeffer, “The Growth of the Arts and Sciences,” in *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, ed. Kurtis R Schaeffer, Matthew Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 469.

⁹⁴ Tibetan: *rig gnas chung lnga* or *rig pa'i gnas lnga*

of their Buddhist status. Thus, although we know that for translators such as Jangtsé and Namkha Pel, whose translation work consisted primarily of categorically non-Buddhist works belonging to the minor sciences, what we see described about them within the genres of *chöjung* and the annals are their specifically Buddhist activities: namely their experience teaching the Buddhist Dharma and their Buddhist spiritual accomplishments. Although translators such as Jangtsé and Namkha Pel are commonly referred to as Lotsāwa (translator) by name in these and other works from historical genres, it is seemingly not the translation activity itself that warrants this title. Rather, the title ‘Lotsāwa’ functions as an indicator of Buddhist scholastic accomplishment, for which translations of Buddhist texts are not required as evidence and for which non-Buddhist translation activity is largely irrelevant and unnecessary to detail.

This tendency to minimize or omit non-Buddhist translation activity to articulate Lotsāwa as a category of Buddhist scholastic accomplishment is likewise preserved in modern Tibetan histories. Despite the existence of the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger* in the *Tengyur*, histories of Tibetan *nyen-ngak* do not frequently name it as an example of Tibetan translation of Sanskrit *kāvya*. Instead, Buddhist *kāvya* such as Kṣemendra’s *Creeping Vine of Lives of Bodhisattvas* and Aśvaghosa’s *Life of the Buddha* are emphasized as exemplars of the category of *kāvya*. The late-spread Tibetan understanding of Sanskrit *kāvya* is thus mediated by Indian Buddhism; accordingly, Tibetan explanations of Sanskrit poetics may be expected to be heavily influenced by the Buddhist soteriological concerns of the accompanying Tibetan literary institutions. I will elaborate on the degree to which this may be the case for the Sanskrit mood-ornaments in Chapter Three.

The types of translated works that were unambiguously prioritized in Tibet before the fifteenth century are Buddhist, and commonly tantric. Categories of knowledge that were accepted by Tibetan scholars as bordering on the line between Buddhist and non-Buddhist—the major sciences such as Sanskrit grammatical treatises, but additionally Daṇḍin’s poetry manual, *Mirror of Poetry*—were considered sufficiently important for translations of these texts to be both preserved and emphasized in subsequent Tibetan historical accounts. Translations of non-Buddhist examples of *kāvya* were less commonly preserved and underemphasized, if not omitted, in subsequent Tibetan historical accounts. What we can discover from this passive erasure from histories of poetry and poetics of Tibet is perhaps a discomfort with *kāvya* as a category of Tibetan (Buddhist) knowledge. Previously we saw that Butön criticized some scholars who were called Lotsāwa and implied that the genres of translations that warrant that title are either tantric (hence Buddhist) or pertaining to Sanskrit grammar. Given our understanding of the classification of Tibetan sciences and their role in the data available in the well-known historical genres, *namthar* and *chöjung*, we see that this critique in some ways reifies the already predominant assumption that the translation activity that makes one worthy of the title Lotsāwa consists of translations whose content is already accepted as prestigious by the Tibetan classification of knowledge. By association with the fifth science (Buddhism), texts belonging to the four remaining of the major sciences (including grammar) are accepted as prestigious; the status of poetics, meter, and the performing arts is less certain.

This chapter highlights the fact that late-spread Tibetan discourses regarding what counts as a Lotsāwa prioritize Buddhist teachers and Buddhist texts. This resulted in the production of historical materials that de-emphasized translators—such as Jangtsé and Namkha Pel—that

translated primarily non-Buddhist texts. *Trinki Phonya* is significant in part because it is the only extant non-Buddhist piece of Sanskrit *kāvya* that these late-spread editors and compilers of Tibetan translations implicitly deemed worthy of preserving. Despite this partial erasure of socio-historical background for *Cloud Messenger* and other poetic texts, the historical impact of Sanskrit *kāvya* such as *Cloud Messenger* in Tibet is significant. The following chapter will address the way this Buddhist approach to the study of Sanskrit poetics and grammar impacts the later Tibetan reception of these fields of knowledge. I will examine Tibetan reinterpretations of Sanskrit poetics—in particular the so-called ‘mood ornaments’—through an examination of Jangtsé and Namkha Pel’s fourteenth century Tibetan translation of Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger*.

Kālidāsa in Tibet: Messenger Poetry in Translation

Chapter Three

Translation as an Act of Interpretation

3.1 Introduction

As an exemplar of Sanskrit poetry about separated lovers, *Cloud Messenger* presented a challenge to fourteenth-century Tibetan translators. *Cloud Messenger*, in part, is a poem about lovers who are forced to experience ‘separation’ (*viraha*) due to the male character—an unnamed *yakṣa*—being negligent regarding his duties to his lord Kubera. The poem depicts the emotional state of both this *yakṣa* and his lover in ways that are quite typical in Sanskrit belletristic literature for characters in this situation. For instance, one physical condition frequently described in separated lovers is the loss of weight (for men, the loss of muscle) that occurs, which in commentaries is typically attributed to the lover’s lack of appetite due to experiencing sadness or grief. Invariably, this weight loss is indicated by the character’s arm-bracelets (or other arm-ornamentation) slipping down their arm. Sometimes this entire phenomenon of weight loss (as is the case of *Cloud Messenger*) is implicated indirectly through a description of the arm-ornamentation slipping down or falling off someone’s arm. The depiction of these kinds of tropes specific to the Sanskrit moods did not exist in the Tibetan poetical world prior to the influence of Sanskrit; therefore, the way in which Tibetan translators choose to convey these types of poetic descriptions can be quite revealing.

My central thesis of this chapter is that the Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger* introduces the specific Sanskrit literary trope of ‘separation’ of lovers (*viraha*) into the Tibetan literary sphere. In the Sanskrit poetic tradition, the concept of *viraha* is related to *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra-rasa*, or “unfulfilled erotic mood.” However, as I will argue, for several discrete reasons, the emphasis on separated lovers in the *Cloud Messenger* presents a complication for the organization of Tibetan poetics. First, as I will demonstrate through an examination of Tibetan treatises on Sanskrit poetics, the so-called ‘erotic’ mood (*śṛṅgāra-rasa*, *gekpé nyam*) and ‘pitiful’ mood (*karuṇa-rasa*, *nying-jé nyam*) do not entirely map on to the traditional Sanskrit poetics’ approaches to the poetic moods. As I will argue, what is called the ‘erotic’ mood in Sanskrit is better termed ‘passionate’ mood in the Tibetan context; likewise, what is called the ‘pitiful’ mood in Sanskrit is better termed the ‘compassionate’ mood. The reasons for these translation choices for *gekpa* and *nying-jé* and the ramifications of this on Tibetan poetics will be explained in the following section. In this same section, I will demonstrate through the examination of Tibetan poetical treatises that the Sanskrit concept of *viraha* (separation of lovers) is a trope which—within the Tibetan poetic system—is neither clearly *gekpa* (passion) nor *nying-jé* (compassion). Thus, the predominance of this trope in the Sanskrit *Cloud Messenger* required a creative re-interpretation in the Tibetan context. In the final section of this chapter, an analysis of the use of *viraha* in the Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger* demonstrates this translation is a Tibetan Buddhist re-interpretation of *Cloud Messenger* which heavily emphasizes several distinct Buddhist themes: renunciation, compassion, discipline, and service to others.

3.2 Tibetan Interpretations of Sanskrit Mood Ornaments (*rasa-alaṅkāra*)

As noted previously, the Tibetan poetical tradition has been greatly influenced by Sanskrit poetics. In the early-thirteenth century Tibetan scholar Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyaltsen, in his *Gateway to Learning*, argued that Sanskrit study is necessary in order to understand the context of Indian Buddhist texts and is thus necessary in order to be a good scholar of and teacher of Buddhism.¹ In other words, for Tibetan scholars, the study of Sanskrit poetics and grammar was not necessarily in and of itself a valid scholarly inquiry in the absence of Buddhist teachings, as it was for Indian scholars. Regarding Saṅḡa's treatment of Sanskrit poetics, Jonathan Gold argues,

Above all, Sa-ṅḡa's goal in this section of the *Gateway* is to present traditional poetic concepts in a mode that will satisfy the likely tastes of his Tibetan Buddhist readership, and at the same time, to show them that literary expertise can be used to display the very height of refinement....

Since this is a theoretical model that is largely new, he is careful to make it as palatable as possible by connecting it to familiar Buddhist themes and goals, and by skipping over the racier parts.²

While Sakya Paṇḍita cites Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Poetry*, Bhoja's *Necklace of Sarasvatī* (*Sarasvatī-kaṅṭhâbharāṇa*), and other non-Buddhist sources for his understanding of Sanskrit poetics—and although it is Daṇḍin's treatise that is translated, re-translated, and commented upon over the centuries to follow—as Gold argues, Sakya Paṇḍita's emphasis on the poetic moods in *Gateway* as central to poetry appears to more closely mirror Bhoja's (eleventh-century) treatment of *rasa*

¹ See Jonathan C. Gold, *The Dharma's Gatekeepers: Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (New York: States University of New York Press, 2008): 25-39.

² *Ibid.*, 119, 121.

and *bhāva*.³ In this treatise, although Daṇḍin only lists eight, Sakya Paṇḍita lists the nine moods (*rasa*, *nyams*⁴) that correspond to the nine moods of drama, choosing to include the additional ‘peaceful’ *rasa* (*śānta*, *zhi ba*) as a mood.⁵ Further, as Gold argues in *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers*, Sakya Paṇḍita reinterprets these nine poetic moods through a Buddhist lens, distinguishing between worldly and Buddhist applications for each mood, thus creating a new Buddhist form of poetics.⁶ A brief analysis of the Tibetan understanding of the Sanskrit ornament of sense (*artha-alaṃkāra*) known as the ‘mood ornament’ (*rasa-alaṃkāra*, *nyams ldan gyi rgyan*) is sufficient to demonstrate the degree to which Buddhism served as a lens through

³ Ibid., 119-120.

⁴ In his translation of Sakya Paṇḍita’s section on poetics (Gold 2008, 173), Jonathan Gold translates *nyams* as “emotion” referencing the Sanskrit word *bhāva*; however, while I agree with Gold’s claim that Tibetan poetic scholars did not often differentiate between *rasa* (mood) and *bhāva* (emotion), and were generally more concerned with describing the different poetic moods than in consistently defining and theorizing these terms, I maintain that the usage of *nyams* throughout Tibetan poetical literature (including Sakya Paṇḍita’s treatment) best approximates the term *rasa*. Later Tibetan commentaries on *Mirror of Poetry*, such as Khamtrul’s, do in fact coin a term for *bhāva* (*gnas can*) and *sthāyibhāva* (*gnas byed*) but do not use it consistently. See Fourth Khams sprul bstan ’dzin chos kyi nyi ma 1990, 389–408.

⁵ Gold 2008, 224 fn18. It is also worth mentioning that Anne Monius notes that the eleventh-century Tamil-speaking Buddhist known as Puttamittiraṅ in his work *Vīracōliyam*— a Tamil work on Sanskrit poetics in which the author claims to follow Daṇḍin’s treatment of ornaments from his *Mirror of Poetry*—also includes this ninth poetic mood. See (Anne E. Monius, 2000). Given that only a century later, Tibetan translators starting with Sakya Paṇḍita chose to translate a southern text on poetics (Daṇḍin is believed to have lived in Kanchipuram in modern-day Tamil Nadu), it might be worthwhile to consider the possibility of ties between Buddhist communities in southern regions of India (including the Tamil communities in which Puttamittiraṅ operated) and the Kashmiri Buddhist Paṇḍits with which the 11th-14th century Tibetan translators collaborated for translations. While it has been established that there was movement of texts from Kashmir to the South during the medieval period, to my knowledge there has not yet been evidence established indicating movement of texts in the opposite direction, that is Southern texts moving north to Kashmir and beyond during this time. It is curious to me then that of all the various extant editions of the Sanskrit *Meghadūta*, the version the Tibetan corresponds the most closely regarding divergences in content, prakṣipta verses, and verse-order, is Dakṣiṇāvartanātha’s recension. For more on the movement of Sanskrit and Tamil texts in medieval India, see Whitney Cox, “From Source-Criticism to Intellectual History in the Poetics of the Medieval Tamil Country,” in *Bilingual Discourse and Cross-Cultural Fertilisation: Sanskrit and Tamil in Medieval India. Collection Indologie No. 121*, ed. Whitney Cox and Vincenzo Vergiani (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2013).

⁶ Gold, *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers*, 119-121.

which Tibetan scholars and translators of the late spread approached the study of Sanskrit literature and poetics.

Sanskrit theoreticians formally organize the erotic mood (*śṛṅgāra-rasa*) by dividing it into into the subcategories of ‘unfulfilled’ erotic mood (*vipralambha*)—under which instances of separation (*viraha*) of lovers would be organized—and ‘fulfilled’ erotic mood (*saṃbhoga*)—in which lovers are united. The ‘unfulfilled’ category also applies to instances of deceit or infidelity of lovers, including the infamous *abhisārikā* figures in Sanskrit poetry and drama who steal away from their husbands in the middle of the night for a rendezvous with their lover. The earliest Sanskrit commentary on the *Cloud Messenger* that directly refers to this poem as exemplifying the unfulfilled erotic mood (*vipralambha śṛṅgāra*) which I have been able to identify so far as is Mallinātha’s fourteenth century commentary;⁷ however, the categorization of *vipralambha* (unfulfilled) and *saṃbhoga* (fulfilled) itself is at least as early as the *Treatise on Drama (Nāṭyaśāstra)*, attributed to Bharata and written no later than the third century CE.⁸ Bharata argues that the primary difference between *karuṇa* and *vipralambha* is that *karuṇa* (here ‘pity’) is a condition of hopelessness (*nirapekṣa-bhāva*) that arises from destruction due to a curse, separation from a loved one, loss of wealth, death, or being captive; whereas *vipralambha* (being unfulfilled) is a state of *hope* (*sāpekṣa-bhāva*) that arises from yearning and anxiety [towards a loved one].⁹ This indicates that in the case of separated lovers, whether or not there is

⁷ (Kālidāsa., Mallinātha. Sañjīvinī., and Kāle 1979, [9th]:3)

⁸ *tasya dve adhiṣṭhāne—saṃbhogaḥ vipralambhaś ca* (NŚ VI: 45). See Bharata Muni, *The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata Muni*. Bombay: Nirnaya-sagara Press, 1894.

⁹ *karuṇas tu śāpa-kleṣa-vinipatitēṣṭajana-vibhava-nāśa-vadha-bandha-samuttho niropekṣa-bhāvaḥ | kuśakya-cintā-samutthaḥ sāpekṣa-bhāvo vipralambha-kṛtaḥ | evam anyāḥ karuṇo 'anyaś ca vipralambha iti | evam eṣa sarva-bhāva-saṃyuktaḥ śṛṅgāro bhavati |* (NŚ VI: 45)

hope for reunion would determine whether the mood evoked is the sympathetic mood or erotic mood.

This association between the erotic mood and the concept of a separation of lovers is present in Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Poetry* as well. If we examine Daṇḍin's example verse and definition for *śṛṅgāra*:

*She's dead. I wish I could die, to see her in the next life;
How did I find this Avantī here, in this very life?*

Previously, joy was displayed. Here, passion (*rati*)—
Through an abundance of its nature—becomes erotic [passion].¹⁰

From this it is clear that the most easily accessible example of *śṛṅgāra* for Tibetan scholars was in fact an instance of separated lovers. Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary—upon which the Tibetan translations were allegedly based—explains regarding the example, “Unable to bear the separation (*viraham*) from her, because of being enamored, he became convinced that the way to meet with her is to follow [her] in death.”¹¹ Thus it is clear that in some of the earliest Tibetan reception of *rasa*-theory, the concept of *viraha* would have been associated with *śṛṅgāra*. Despite this, most of the examples and descriptions of this mood in Tibetan premodern poetical works focus almost exclusively on the *fulfilled* erotic mood, often with a decreased focus on the ‘erotic’ elements. If and when the unfulfilled erotic mood is described in Tibetan poetical works,

¹⁰ The Sanskrit reads: *mṛtēti pretya saṃgantum yayaā me maraṇam matam | saivāvantī mayā labdhā katham atraīva janmani || prāk prīti-darśitā sēyam ratiḥ śṛṅgāratām gatā | rūpa-bāhulya-yogena tad idam rasavad-vacaḥ ||* See Daṇḍin and Ṭhakkura 1957, 163.

¹¹ *sa ca tad-viraham asahamāno 'tirakta-tayā 'anumaraṇam tat-saṅgam avartma vyavasasau |* See Daṇḍin and Ṭhakkura 1957, 163.

it is associated with deceit (*bslu ba*) and the *abhisārikā* figures; *viraha* is not referenced and tropes related to separated lovers are generally absent.

For example, consider Sakya Paṇḍita’s treatment regarding the so-called ‘erotic’ or passionate mood:

Passion (*gekpa*) is a kind of beauty
In body, speech, appearance, and place, etc..

Passion (*gekpa*), being beautiful, is an appearance that arrests the mind. If we divide it into parts: Inner passion (*gekpa*) has the distinction of beautifying demeanor of body and speech. Outer erotic passion (*gekpa*) arises out of the place, etc. Such things as the village and the park, things like flowers, fruit, water, clouds, mountains, meadows, pleasant plains, birds and animals, wealth such as jewelry, clothing, tooth-paint, and maroon dye, and the summer wind, the sun and the moon and lamps, etc., [all] please the body and mind. And, by [bringing about] amazement (*ngo mtshar*) they become examples which show the meaning (*dpe don 'byor*). And words that generate this amazement foster passion (*gekpa*).¹²

I added to Jonathan Gold’s translation here parenthetical references for the word *gekpa*, which he translates as “passion” for descriptions of internal *gekpa* (*nang gi sgeg pa*) and as “erotic passion” for external *gekpa* (*phyi'i sgeg pa*). In Sakya Paṇḍita’s *Gateway*, however, there are no descriptions of the more erotic senses of *gekpa*, nor do themes related to separated lovers appear in this piece. While certainly the descriptions of *gekpa* listed are also included in the Sanskrit classification of *śṛṅgāra*, these descriptions one-sidedly focus on examples of non-erotic external *gekpa*. There are no examples of internal *gekpa* such as particular bodily actions or facial expressions that indicate passion for another person, nor are there examples of erotic external *gekpa* such as the mating of animals; the erotic denotations of *gekpa* are ignored. Given this, in Sakya Paṇḍita’s treatment of *gekpa*—and in most later Tibetan treatments of *gekpa*—as I will

¹² This translation is from Jonathan Gold’s Appendix B of *Gateway* (173-6).

demonstrate, ‘passion’ is a more fitting translation for *gekpa* than ‘erotic,’ as the Sanskrit *śṛṅgāra* is more commonly rendered.

Tibetan lexical literature appears to support this interpretation of *gekpa* as ‘passion.’ The *Mahāvvyutpatti* entry for *laḍita*, which is often used to describe the flirtatious or graceful movement of dancers (or the gait of a beautiful woman!) in Sanskrit literature lists *gekpa* as a potential translation, along with *rolpa* (*rol pa*, to play) and *dzepa* (*mdzes pa*, beautiful, lovely).¹³ The only other *Mahāvvyutpatti* entries which list *gek* or *gekpa* as a translation are two entries pertaining to dance movements: *lāsya* (literally “dancing”) and *śṛṅgāra* as a mode of dance.¹⁴ The Tibetan-Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary known as *Tshig dzö Chenmo* (*The Great Lexicon*) defines *gekpa* as “beautiful or captivating.”¹⁵ Under *gekpé gyen*, the definition reads “One of the mood ornaments: an ornament demonstrates *gek nyam* [through] an expression that increases internal excitement through encountering a captivating object.”¹⁶ The *Dag yig Sar drig* (*Newly Compiled Lexicon*) tautologically defines ‘*gekpa*’ as follows: “One of the eight moods of dramatic performance is *gekpé nyam*. It [*gekpa*] is a name for a bodily expression of affection and desire, like in the *gekpé nyam*.”¹⁷

¹³ See *Mahāvvyutpatti* entry 7136 (*sgeg pa'am rol pa'am mdzes pa*).

¹⁴ See *Mahāvvyutpatti* entries 7132 (*lāsyam 'jo 'am sgeg pa*) and 5036 (*śṛṅgāra stegs pa'am sgeg pa'am 'dzim pa*) respectively.

¹⁵ *mdzes shing yid du 'ong ba*. See Yisun Zhang, *Zang Han Da Ci Dian = Bod Rgya Tshig Mdzod Chen Mo*, vol. Di 1 ban (Peking: Min zu chu ban she : Xin hua shu dian fa xing, 1985): 590.

¹⁶ (1) *nyams ldan gyi rgyan gyi nang gses shig ste/ yid du 'ong ba'i yul dang phrad pa'i stobs kyi nang du dga' ba 'phel ba'i rnam 'gyur sgeg nyams ston pa'i rgyan zhig/* (2) *gar gyi nyams dgu'i nang gses/ mdzes pa ngom pa'o/* Ibid., 590.

¹⁷ *gar gyi nyams brgyad kyi nang gi sgeg pa'i nyams te | dga' zhing chags pa'i lus kyi rnam 'gyur gyi ming | sgeg pa'i nyams zhes pa lta bu |* See Qinghai min zu chu ban she. *Dag yig gсар bsgrigs*. ([Xining Shi]: Mtsho-sñon Mirigs Dpe-skrun Khañ, 1979): 167.

Pari Sangyé and Norbu Kundrup’s recent Tibetan lexical compilation, *Ocean of Authentic Etymology*¹⁸ is fortunately more comprehensive. The entry for *nyams* (*rasa*) under the heading *The Eight Moods of Drama* includes a definition and brief exemplification of each of the eight moods, starting with *gekpa*: “The way body and speech appears, following the production of an intense mental alteration, is called ‘mood’ (*nyams*). As for that, there are eight categories. The passionate mood (*sgeg pa'i nyams*) has the nature of increasing attachment...”¹⁹ Outside of the section on drama and performance, variants of the word *gekpa* and *gek* appear in this lexical compilation in a few other instances: twice as a synonym for a peacock,²⁰ once as style of neck ornamentation,²¹ once as a synonym for one of the 28 lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*) in astrology,²² once as a synonym for Kāmadeva (the Indian god of love),²³ and twice as a synonym for a beautiful woman.²⁴ However, each of these entries likewise define the term tautologically, referencing the either the term’s ability to produce *gekpé nyam*, or its association with *gekpé nyam*. From this cursory examination, it is clear *gekpa* in the Tibetan lexical literature is predominantly associated with poetry and dramatic performance. In order to be consistent with

¹⁸ Dpa' ris Sangs rgyas and Nor bu kun grub, ed. *Mngon brjod khungs btsun rgya mtsho*. (Pe-cing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2010).

¹⁹ *yid kyi 'gyur ba shugs drag par bskyed nas lus ngag tu shar ba'i snang tshul la nyams zhes bya ste/ de la dbye ba brgyad yod / zhen chags 'phel ba'i bdag nyid ni sgeg pa'i nyams ste/ dga' ba'i 'dzum mdangs shar ba/ yid 'phrog pa'i nam 'gyur bstan pa/ lta bu'o| Ibid., 570.*

²⁰ *sgeg ldan, sprin la sgeg*. Ibid 375.

²¹ *sgeg rgyan*. Ibid., 461.

²² *sgeg mo*. Ibid., 100.

²³ *sgeg pa'i skye ngas*. Ibid., 49.

²⁴ *sgeg ldan ma, sgeg mo*. Ibid., 401.

the use of *gekpa* in both Tibetan poetical and etymological works, and in order to distinguish it from *śṛṅgāra* (‘erotic’ or ‘eros’), when referring to *gekpa*, I will use the English word ‘passion.’

If we examine Tibetan lexical sources for usages of *nying-jé*, we find that (unsurprisingly) Buddhist usages predominate. The *Dag yig Sar drig* interestingly does not contain entries for either *nying-jé* or related words. The *Mahāvvyutpatti* lists *nying-jé* as translations for (1) *karuṇā* (compassion) here listed as one of the four Buddhist *brahmavihāra-s* (*tshang pa'i gnas bzhi*) given in the Pāli *Metta Sutta*, (2) *karuṇā* or *kāruṇyam* (pity, kindness) listed here (like *gekpa*) as one of the eight moods of dramatic performance, and alternately for (3) *kṛpā* (tenderness, caring).²⁵ The *Tshig dzö Chenmo* entry reveals an even stronger Buddhist lens: “One of the four *brahmavihāra-s*; thinking it would be nice if rather than tortured by sufferings such as sickness and so forth, sentient beings were free from suffering; a mental antidote for intent to harm.”²⁶ Under the entry *nying-jewa* (*snying rje ba*) the *Tshig dzö Chenmo* reads “An arising of a mental state that wishes for those full of suffering to be free from suffering. [Example]: Assisting through merely compassion [generated] towards those suffering from cold and starvation.”²⁷ Under the heading for *nying-jé nyam*, *Tshig dzö Chenmo* reads: “One of the poetic moods. It [is] an ornament which demonstrates the kindness mood (*brtse nyams*) through an expression of inner *nying-jé* through encountering an object that is

²⁵ *Mahāvvyutpatti* entries 1505 (*karuṇā snying rje*), 5042 (*kāruṇyam karuṇā snying rje ba*), and 5156 (*kṛpā snying rje'am snying rtse ba*) respectively.

²⁶ *tshang pa'i gnas pa bzhi'i nang gses/ nad sogs sdug bsngal gyis mnar ba'i sems can de dag sdug bsngal dang bral na ci ma rung snyam pa ste/ rnam par 'tshé ba'i sems kyi gnyen po'o* | See *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1003.

²⁷ *sdug bsngal can rnam sdug bsngal dang 'bral 'dod kyi blo skyes pa* | [Example]: *'khyag ltogs kyi sdug bsngal yod mkhan tshor snying rje ba tsam gyis cang mi phan* | See *Ibid.*, 1003.

experiencing intense suffering.”²⁸ The entry on *nyam* in Pari Sangyé and Norbu Kundrup’s *Ocean of Authentic Etymology* states, “The compassionate mood (*snying rje nyams*) has the character of extensive sorrow; showing kindness towards [someone] oppressed by suffering, like a doctor examines [even] diseased semen and excrement, desiring to heal [someone].”²⁹ In other sections of this compilation, two variants of the word *nying-jé* are listed as common names for the Bodhisattva Chenrezik (Avalokiteśvara),³⁰ and a variant of *nying-jé* is listed as a common word for Bodhisattva-s in general.³¹ Otherwise, *nying-jé* appears remarkably absent from this compilation.

From these definitions it is possible to consider *nying-jé* as conveying a kind of pathos or pity like *karuṇa* in the Sanskrit poetic context. However, unlike *karuṇa rasa*, the Tibetan usage of *nying-jé nyam* in lexical literature also seems to contain a Buddhist teleological ethic: once a person has witnessed the suffering of another, they experience the desire to alleviate the suffering in some way. As I will demonstrate in my analysis of the both Sapaṅ’s treatment of *nying-jé* and the use of *nying-jé gyen* in the Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger*, this re-interpretation of *nying-jé* occurs in Tibetan poetic practice as well. Thus, while ‘pity’ is a more common translation for the Sanskrit word *karuṇa*, for the Tibetan *nying-jé*, in order to be

²⁸ *nyams ldan gyi rgyan gyi nang gses/ sdug bsngal drag po myong ba’i yul dang phrad pa’i stobs kyis nang du snying rje rgyas pa’i rnam ’gyur brtse nyams ston pa’i rgyan zhig*| See Ibid., 1004.

²⁹ *...mya ngan rgyas pa’i bdag nyid ni snying rje’i nyams ste/ sdug bsngal gyi mnar bar rjes su rtse ba/ na khu lci ba la sman pa btsal nas gso bar ’dod pa/ lta bu’o*. The phrase *na khu lci ba la* was opaque to me. Given the context it is likely that the example given is that a doctor (*sman pa*) endures the act of examining even unpleasant or distasteful substances, such as excrement, out of a desire to heal the sickness of others. Given this, I took *khu* to be *khu ba* (semen) and interpreted *na* as modifying *khu [ba dang] lci ba*. Dpa’ ris Sangs rgyas and Nor bu kun grub, ed. *Mngon brjod khungs btsun rgya mtsho*. (Pe-cing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2010): 570-1.

³⁰ *snying rje’i gter, snying rje’i lha sogs su grags shing*. Ibid., 24.

³¹ *snying rje can*. Ibid., 19.

consistent with the majority of Tibetan interpretations of *nying-jé*, I will translate using the word ‘compassion.’³²

Sapaṇ’s section on the ‘sympathetic’ mood (*karuṇa-rasa*), or in this case, ‘compassionate’ mood (*nying-jé gyen*), reveals an interesting interpretive move:

Compassion (*nying-je*) is a mind that generates tenderness (*tsewa*).
By seeing an inferior person, and by hearing of
The wondrous compassionate (*thukjé*) acts of the bodhisattva
There arises the distinction [between the two kinds of] compassion.

Feeling loving kindness (*nying tsewa*) in the heart for one who has fallen into evil, in the three lower existences, lack of refuge, disease, misery, hunger, poverty, being tormented by others, old age, trouble, and death, etc., is the arising of compassion for an inferior person. Having heard of the splendid acts of the bodhisattva, the heart is overwhelmed, one’s hair stands up. Tears flow. Being amazed, loving kindness (*tsewa*) arises; this is the compassion that arises for the superior person.³³

The first of the two types of ‘compassion’ identified by Sapaṇ—compassion as experienced by a lower person “feeling loving kindness in the heart for one who has fallen into... death, etc”—is similar to Bharata’s description of *karuṇa*, except instead of loss resulting in a state of hopelessness (*nirapekṣa-bhāva*) as Bharata describes, Sapaṇ articulates that it is a kind of “kind-heartedness” (*nying tsewa*)³⁴ which is generated towards those suffering. While the term *nying-*

³² It is interesting to note that while lexical entries for *snying rje* convey compassion, rather than pity, there is a modern colloquial Tibetan usage of the word *snying rje* as a stand-alone expression that conveys something like “Too bad!,” which evokes the sentiment of pity. When historically this arose in Tibetan colloquial vernacular (or how widespread its usage is) is uncertain.

³³ Gold 2007, 175-6. *snying rje brtse ba bskyed pa'i sems/ dman pa mthong dang rgyal sras kyi/ thugs rje'i spyod pa ngo mtshar can/ thos pas snying rje phyad par skye/ log par lhung ba ngan song gsum dang mgon med pa nad/ mya ngan/ bkres pa/ phongs pa/ gzhan gyis mnar ba/ rgas pa/ rgud pa/ 'chi ba la sogs pa la snying brtse ba ni dman pa la snying rje skye ba yin la/ byang chub sems dpa' spyod pa rlabs po che thos nas sems mi bzod cing spu ldang/ mchi ma g.yo/ ngo mtshar zhing brtse ba skye ba ni mchog la skye ba'i snying rje'o |*

³⁴ Jonathan Gold translates two different Tibetan phrases as “loving kindness” in this section. The Tibetan word *brtse ba*, which is more accurately translated as “kindness” and *snying brtse ba*, for which “kind-heartedness” is more accurate a translation etymologically. The English phrase “loving kindness” has also commonly been used to translate the Sanskrit term *bodhicitta* (*sems bskyed*), so there is some vagueness in Gold’s translation choice here. To

je, like its Sanskrit counterparts (*karuṇa*, *karuṇā*, and *kṛpā*) can cover the range of English meanings from ‘pity’ to ‘compassion’ or ‘tenderness,’ it is clear the resulting mood described by Sapaṇ above appears to better fit the more active English term ‘compassion,’ which is also the most common translation for Buddhist usages of *nying-je*.

However, this emphasis on the resulting ‘kindness’ or ‘kind-heartedness’ generated in Sapaṇ’s description appears to be a Buddhist interpolation. In Daṇḍin’s description of the poetic moods, as in Bharata’s treatise, *karuṇa* is depicted as something closer to ‘pity’ than ‘compassion’ in the sense described in Sapaṇ’s treatment. Consider the example and definition of *karuṇa* given in Daṇḍin’s *Mirror of Poetry*:

*Even a bed of flowers causes pain for this tender-limbed one;
How can this Queen lie down on the funeral pyre, with its blazing oblation?*

Here, the grief (*kāruṇyam*), being prominent, is considered to be an ornament. Likewise [for] the remaining [four] also: disgusting, comedic, awesome, and fearful.³⁵

Regarding this verse, Ratnaśrījñāna’s commentary explains that *kāruṇyam* here means *śoka*: grief or sorrow.³⁶ It would seem that Ratnaśrījñāna, like in Bharata’s treatment in his *Treatise on Drama*, understands *karuṇa* to be closer to ‘pity’ than ‘compassion’ per se.

In Sapaṇ’s commentary, the notion of *karuṇa* as ‘pity’ which is exemplified in Daṇḍin as simply the sadness resulting from observing the misfortune of others is seemingly replaced by a more active form of *karuṇa* which produces in the observer a kindness (*tsewa*) or kind-

differentiate between the technical term “loving kindness” which does not appear in this section of Sapaṇ, I chose to render *nying brtse ba* as “kind-heartedness” or “tenderness” instead.

³⁵ The Sanskrit here reads: *yasyāḥ kusuma-śayyāpi komalāṅgyā rujākarī | sādhiṣete katham devī hutāśanavatīm citām || iti kāruṇyam udriktam alaṅkāratayā smṛtam | tathāparēpi bībhatsa-hāsyādbhuta-bhayānakāḥ ||* See Daṇḍin and Ṭhakkura 1957, 165.

³⁶ Daṇḍin and Ṭhakkura 1957, 165.

heartedness (*nying tsewa*) towards those who are suffering. Sapaṅ's second type of compassion—compassion inspired by seeing the great acts of a bodhisattva—likewise appears to be a Buddhist interpolation with no basis in either Daṇḍin, Bhoja, or Bharata.

If we compare Daṇḍin's example and definition of *karuṇa* with Daṇḍin's example and definition of *śṛṅgāra rasa* (mentioned previously), an interesting similarity becomes apparent. Daṇḍin's examples of both *śṛṅgāra* and *karuṇa* describe emotions felt towards a loved one who has passed away—in a sense, both verses depict a pair of separated lovers. The difference appears in part to be emphasis: for the erotic mood, what is emphasized is hope: the male lover is fortunate to have even found Avantī in this life; there is hope for a reunion between the lovers, even if only in the next life. For the example of pitiful mood, what appears to be emphasized is the pitiable condition of the Queen mourning for the loss of her husband. While she, like Avantī's lover is compelled towards death, there is no hope of reunion expressed in the example of *karuṇa*. Thus it seems also that the possibility of reunion may play a role in distinguishing *śṛṅgāra* from *karuṇa*, like in Bharata's treatment of the subject.³⁷ It is also perhaps relevant to note that in these examples, it is a female character (Avantī) whose qualities inspire the passion and love implied in the verse, and also a female character (the Queen) whose emotional condition after her husband's death evokes the pity of the narrator.

This distinction between hope and hopelessness as qualifications for *śṛṅgāra* and *karuṇa*—though present implicitly through the example verses translated into Tibetan—does not seem to have resonated in the Tibetan imaginaire, nor was it included in Tibetan accounts of

³⁷ I want to thank Yigal Bronner for bringing it to my attention that the lack of hope for reunion after death is what appears to distinguish *karuṇa* from the *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra-rasa* in Daṇḍin's example verses.

these two mood ornaments. Sakya Paṇḍita's treatment of the poetic moods in his *Gateway*, based on a Buddhist innovative interpretation of both Daṇḍin and Bhoja's works, appears to become the basis for some later Tibetan commentaries on Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Poetry*, moreso perhaps even than Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary. One thing that is common to the Tibetan treatments of *rasa*-theory from Sakya Paṇḍita's time onward that I have examined—and particularly relevant for analysis of *Cloud Messenger*—is that although the erotic connotations of *gekpa* are eventually incorporated as part of 'worldly' *gekpa*, there seems to be no attempt to incorporate the trope of separated lovers (*viraha*) into Tibetan discussions on either *gekpé gyen* or *nying-jé gyen*. Despite the existence of a Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger* as early as the late-fourteenth century, as will be explained in Chapter Five, Kālidāsa's work appears to have been largely ignored in Tibetan discussions on poetic theory prior to the 20th century.³⁸

Approximately one century after Shongtön Lotsāwa Dorjé Gyaltzen and Lakṣmīkara's late thirteenth-century translation of Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Poetry*,³⁹ *Cloud Messenger* translator Jangchub Tsemo's uncle and Sanskrit teacher—the well-known translator Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö

³⁸ One reason for this might be that simply stated, *Cloud Messenger* was not sufficiently 'Buddhist' a poem to consider for exemplifications of the new Buddhist interpretations of *gekpa* and *nying-jé*. That however is an unsatisfactory answer—it does not explain for instance why Kṣemendra's *Creeping Vine of Lives of Bodhisattvas* became the standard text for exemplification of poetics rather than another Buddhist poem such as Aśvaghōṣa's *Life of the Buddha* or one of the extant *Garland of Jātaka*-s poems which were translated several centuries before *Cloud Messenger*. The answer, I suspect has more to do with the fact that Kṣemendra's *Creeping Vine of Lives of Bodhisattvas* was translated by the same translators who produced the first Tibetan translation of *Mirror of Poetry* (Shongtön Lotsāwa Dorjé Gyaltzen and Lakṣmīkara), which thus implicitly set the standard for which poetic text to consult. Further analysis of Tibetan poetic commentarial traditions from the 13th-17th century would be needed in order to evaluate this hypothesis.

³⁹ It is interesting to note here that both the translator Shongtön and Pang Lotsāwa were of the Bodongpa lineage.

Tenpa—composed a commentary for the same.⁴⁰ Pang Lotsāwa’s commentary on *gekpa* reads as follows:

“Because of the announcement, ‘My lover Avantī has died,’ I wish to die in order that in a later life I can be with and love her. After I die, I will surely accompany [her]. If [I] don’t die, then Avantī is already lost. While I am alive, how will I find her [again] in this lifetime, when I don’t have her [now]?” Through these words, the expressions of body and speech—which indicate either a current relationship or extreme affection—arise and are conveyed. In reply, the ministers said, “[You must] continue to live!”

If someone were to ask, “wasn’t the ornament of love (*dga' ba'i rgyan, preyas*) already explained previously?” [the answer would be that] this affection (*dga' ba*) has a person for an object; what was previously explained and exemplified is the ornament of ‘love’ (*dga' ba*). The affection (*dga' ba*)⁴¹ that arises with a woman as an object is a [mental] ‘alteration’ (*vikāra*) or ‘thought’ (*mānasa*),’ and is the basis for the passionate mood; it becomes *gekpa* itself and is the latter [of the two] example[s] [concerning *dga' ba*]. If you ask how that comes to be, this ‘alteration’ or ‘thought’ possessing that essence [of *gekpa*] to a great degree, continues to swell. The deeds of speech and body reveal this; in that way it becomes [*gekpa*]. Moreover, in the *Amarakoṣa*, it is said, “A mental expression is a mental experience.” It applies to only the internal [realities]—such as affection, agitation, desire and so forth; it does not slip off into expressions of body and speech. That [slipping off] is the ‘alteration’ or ‘thought’ which swells. From that intensification, the indicators (*anubhāva, rjes su 'gyur ba*)—such as smiles, grimacing, and so forth—are the means of conveying the thought. As it is said there, actions of speech and mind reveal what is called the ‘mood.’ These excellent verses were written by Master Ratnaśrī:

Affection (*dga' ba*), humor, and sorrow (*mya ngan*);
Anger and energy, likewise fear;
Revulsion and wonder;
These are called the underlying emotions (*gnas byed, sthāyibhāva*).
Passionate (*sgeg pa*), comic, and compassionate (*snying rje*);
Furious, heroic, and fearsome;
Disgusting, and amazing;
These are the eight moods (*nyams*) in drama.

⁴⁰ Dpang Lotsāwa Blo gros brtan pa, *Snyan ngag me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa gzhung don gsal ba* In *Rigs gnas phyogs sdebs*, a Collection of Tibetan Minor Sciences, pp. 281-502. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981.

⁴¹ Here it is clear that *gawa* (*dga' ba*) is a translation for *rati*. As explained previously, *rati* in the context of *śṛṅgāra* refers to sexual passion; however, given that none of the Tibetan poetical treatises prior to Khamtrül’s 18th-century commentary exemplifies *gekpa* as ‘sexual’, rather than ‘passionate,’ I consider “affection” a more accurate translations for the sense of *dga' ba* being conveyed here.

As for the topic of [this] section, the example [verse] is for [the purpose of demonstrating how] *gawa* (*dga' ba*) becomes *gekpa*. Accompanied by the flavor (*ro*) of *gekpa*, the words become endowed with ‘mood’ (*nyams*).⁴²

Despite the implications from Daṇḍin’s example verse, in Pang Lotsāwa’s commentary there is no elaboration of any of the subcategories of *gekpa* even to the extent that they were treated in Bharata’s *Treatise on Poetry*, nor is there a reference to a trope of separated lovers.

On the subject of *nying-jé*, Pang Lotsāwa is surprisingly terse.⁴³ Regarding Daṇḍin’s example verse and explanation of *nying-jé*, Pang Lotsāwa writes:

As for the fourth [example of a mood], it [concerns] a queen with a soft body, for whom even a bed made of lotuses—though extremely soft—is made harsh, not to mention other [fabrics] such as felted wool (*re lde*), and so forth. A queen such as this—the consort of the King, with such young flesh—how can she lie upon the funeral pyre with fire devouring [everything]! O how it burned! When the king was dead, the queen was burning [also] along with the corpse. This was conveyed with some amount of sadness by several persons [in the example]. Just as it was explained [there], what is called ‘distraughtness’ (*mya ngan, śoka*) is *desiring to evoke compassion*; it swelled, and

⁴² *dga' ma a ban tī de shi'o zhes brag pa'i rgyu las nga shi nas skye ba pha rol tu ste tshe phyi ma la mdzes ma gang dang 'grog shing rtse ba'i ched du bdag 'chi bar 'dod te/ bdag shi nas deng nges par 'grog 'gyur bas so/ gal te ma shi na a ban tī shi zin pa de nyid/ bdag gson pas ni skyes ba 'di la ci ltar 'thob ste mi thob pas so/ ngag des deng 'grog pa'ang shin tu dga' bar ston pa'i lus ngag gi rnam 'gyur byung bar bstan to / der blon po rnams kyis de slar yang 'tsho 'o zhes smras so/ de 'chad pa ni dga' ba 'di rgyan snga mas brjod pas 'dir ci byed ce na/ dga' ba skyes bu'i yul can ni sngar dga' ba'i rgyan la bstan cing dper brjod te/ bud med kyi yul la byung ba'i dga' ba zhes bya ba'i 'gyur pa'am bsam pa sgeg pa'i nyams kyi skye gnas de sgeg pa nyid du gyur pa dper [b]rjod phyi ma 'di yin no/ de der cis 'gyur zhe na/ 'gyur pa'am bsams pa de ngo bo rang bzhin che ba nyid ldan te rgyas shing ngag dang lus kyi bya bas gsal bar gyur pas der 'gyur ro/ de 'ang spyir 'chi med mdzod du/ yid gyi rnam 'gyur bsam pa'o zhes 'byung ba ltar/ dga' ba dang khro ba dang 'dod pa la sogs pa nang gi de kho na nyid du 'jug cing lus ngag gi rnam 'gyur du ma shor ba ni 'gyur pa 'am bsam pa zhes bya zhing / de nyid rgyas pas 'dzum pa dang khro gnyer la sogs pa'i rjes su 'gyur ba de nyid su/ bsam pa'i go byed rjes 'gyur ba'o/ zhes 'byung ltar lus ngag gi bya bas gsal bar gyur pa ni nyams zhes bya'o/ de dag bsdu ba'i tshigs su bcad pa slob dpon Radna shrīs mdzad pa ni / dga' dang rgod bro mya ngan dang / khro dang spro ba de bzhin 'jigs/ skyug bro ngo mtshar zhes pa rnams/ gnas byed 'gyur bar rabs tu bsgrags/ sgeg dang rgod dang snying rje dang/ drag po dpa' ba 'jigs byed dang / mi sdug rmad byung ming can zhes/ brgyad rnams gar gyi nyams su bshad / ces so/ skabs kyi don bsdu ba ni / dga' ba sgeg par son pa de'i phyr dpe [b]rjod 'di ni sgeg pa'i ro dang bcas pas nyams dang ldan pa'i tshig go/ see Dpang Lotsāwa Blo gros brtan pa, *Snyan ngag me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa gzhung don gsal ba In Rig gnas phyogs bsdebs, a Collection of Tibetan Minor Sciences* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 402-3.*

⁴³ Pang Lotsāwa allocates three lines of one folio side to *nying-jé*. Compare to the nine folio lines used for *gekpa*, roughly half of which consists of explanation of the example verse and background story for Avantī.

became fully explicit. This is how the compassionate mood is explained in [Bhāmaha's] *Ornament of Poetry (Kāvyaḷamkāra)* (emphasis mine).⁴⁴

There is an interesting interpretation regarding *nying-jé*. As Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary on Daṇḍin's verse explains, in Sanskrit treatises on poetics, *karuṇa* (pity) is typically described simply as grief intensified. Pang Lotsāwa explains that what is called grief is in fact the “desire to evoke compassion,” which is itself intensified [into compassion].⁴⁵ The implication of this is that inherent in the experience of *mya ngan* (grief, distraughtness) as a poetic emotion—and subsequently of *nying-jé* as a poetic mood—is the desire for an act of compassion to be done. In this Tibetan interpretation, the poetic emotion of grief results in compassionate action.

Written four centuries later, and thus important for later Tibetan interpretations of the *Cloud Messenger*, Khamtrül Tenzin Chöki Nyima's famous eighteenth-century commentary on Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Poetry* provides a rather elaborate description of the mood ornaments—perhaps the most elaborate of extant Tibetan commentaries—drawing upon a variety of texts outside of the Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary including Kṣemendra's *Creeping Vine of Lives of Bodhisattvas*, Subhūticandra's *Kāma-dhenu* or *Wish-fulfilling Cow ('dod 'jo)*,⁴⁶ and Sakya

⁴⁴ *bzhi pa ni lus 'jam/ pa can gyi lha mo gang la pad ma'i mal stan shin du 'jam pa nyid kyang rtsub/ par byed na gzhon re lde sogs lta ci smos / de 'dra'i lha mo rgyal po'i btsun mo shin du gzhon sha can de ni ro khang ro bsreg pa'i thab bsreg bya za ba me ldan [404] par ci ltar nyal/ kye hud bsregs so | lta su skos khyod kyis 'di ltar phongs par byas so zhes rgyal po shi ba na ro dang lhan cig btsun mo bsregs pa na skyo ba can 'ga 'zhig gis smras pa'o/ de 'chad pa ni ces pa de lta bu ni snying rje bya bar 'dod pa mya ngan zhes pa'i 'gyur ba rgyas te gsal bar gyur pa snying rje'i nyams yin pas snyan ngags kyi rgyan du bshad do / Dpang Lotsāwa Blo gros brtan pa, *Snyan ngag me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa gzhung don gsal ba* In *Rig gnas phyogs bsdebs, a Collection of Tibetan Minor Sciences* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 403-4.*

⁴⁵ Tibetan: *snying rje bya bar 'dod pa mya ngan zhes pa'i 'gyur ba rgyas te*.

⁴⁶ Subhūticandra's *Kāmadhenu* is a commentary on the *Amarakośa*.

Paṇḍita's *Gateway*, among other texts.⁴⁷ Following Sapaṇ's binary division into 'worldly' and 'dharmic' aspects of the moods, this commentary quite extensively treats *gekpa*, including its more 'worldly' applications as erotic passion, but surprisingly fails to make explicit reference to the separation of lovers:

Regarding this, the affection (*dga' ba*) that arises regarding a woman as object is the passionate mood (*sgeg pa'i nyams*). Also in the *Amarakoṣa*, it says: "A mental expression is a mental experience." Because of remaining interior [and] being of a mental nature, it is either the expression of affection or desire towards a woman as object. Those [mental acts] that do not slip into expressions of body or speech are called 'alterations' or mental experiences. That is considered to be the basis for producing the mood. As for visible mental and bodily expressions: bodily expressions include looking [at someone] with desirous sidelong glances, playfully embracing, being short of breath, and so forth. The expressions of speech include erotic speech, and so forth. The emergence of these expressions of body and speech is the basis for the passionate mood Thus, the increase or spread of affection (*dga' ba*) like in [Ratnaśri's commentary] is the resulting speech act of the passionate mood; it is exemplified this way in the [root] text.⁴⁸

also

There are two different types of what are called passionate mood (*gekpé nyam*). In the *Kāma-dhenu*, it says, "[They are called] 'complete enjoyment' (*rdzogs longs spyod, sambhoga*) and 'disappointment' (*bslu ba, vipralambha*)." Regarding the two kinds of passion, desire produces various types of 'complete enjoyment' such as lakes, palaces, pleasure groves, ornamentations, sandalwood *mālā* beads, and so forth....

⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that Khamtrul's commentary has become the standard commentary used in curriculum on Tibetan poetics throughout modern Tibetan educational systems, in particular at the Central University of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath. Via personal correspondence with Penpa Dorjee, CUTS October 2012.

⁴⁸ *'dir ni bud med kyi yul las byung ba dga' ba sgeg pa'i nyams te/ de yang 'chi med mdzod du/ yid kyi rnam 'gyur yid nyams te/ zhes 'byung ba ltar/ nang gi de nyid sems rang bzhin du gnas pa las bud med kyi yul la dga' ba'am 'dod pa'i rnam 'gyur yid la byung zhing/ de lus ngag gi rnam 'gyur du ma shor ba ni 'gyur ba'am yid nyams zhes bya ste nyams skyed byed kyi gnas so/ de nyid lus ngag gi rnam 'gyur du gsal ba chags pa'i zur mig gis lta ba dang/ 'khyud cing rtse ba dang/ dbugs 'dar ba sogs lus kyi rnam 'gyur dang/ 'khrig tshig smra ba sogs ngag gi rnam 'gyur te lus ngag gi rnam 'gyur du 'thon pa sgeg pa'i nyams kyi gnas can yin pas....des na de lta bu'i dga' ba'i 'gyur ba rgyas pa'am 'phel ba sgeg pa'i ro nyams mthar thug pa'i ngag ni gzhung gis dper brjod pa 'di lta bu ste/ See Fourth Khams sprul bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma 1990, 390-91.*

...Moreover, if you divide passion into three sections, you get these three kinds: passion for dharma (*chos kyi sgeg pa*), passion for [accomplishing] a goal (*don gyi sgeg pa*), and passion for a desire[d thing] (*'dod pa'i sgeg pa*).⁴⁹

and finally:

In the *Kāma-dhenu* commentary [it says], “Whatever affection (*gawa*) there is respectively—man towards a woman, woman towards a man—that is called ‘passion’ (*gekpa*); it is the cause behind things such as recreation with a lover.” Moreover, regarding this it is explained that there are two [kinds] of passionate mood (*gek nyam*): ‘disappointment’ and ‘complete enjoyment.’ From those, ‘disappointment’ is when there is no meeting [despite] there being a place and time set [for a date]. The way of expressing this clearly is [through] a mental demeanor...⁵⁰

Unlike in Sakya Paṇḍita’s commentary (and that of Mipham’s nineteenth-century commentary), Pang Lotsāwa elaborates on the potentially erotic themes permissible in poetry. However the translation and explanation offered for *luwa* (*bslu ba, vipralambha*) focuses exclusively on the disappointment due to the situation where one of the lovers is unfaithful, ignoring the perhaps more common example of separation (*viraha*) of lovers—either due to fate or due to punishment enacted by worldly or non-worldly beings—which occurs quite commonly throughout Sanskrit poetry up through this time period.⁵¹ Thus it seems that the alternate lexical meaning of *luwa* as ‘deception’ might be more fitting here.

⁴⁹ *de las sgeg pa'i nyams zhes bya ba ni rnam pa gnyis te/ kā ma dhe nur/ rdzogs longs spyod dang bslu ba zhes/ sgeg pa rnam pa gnyis su 'dod/ ces dang/ rdzing ring khang bzang skyed mos tshal/ rgyan dang phreng ba tsandan sogs/ rdzogs longs spyod pa'i rnam skyed de/... gzhan yang chos dang don dang 'dod pa'i sde gsum gyi dbye bas sgeg pa yang rnam pa gsum ste/* See Fourth Khams-sprul bsTan-'dzin-chos-kyi-nyi-ma 1990, 391-2.

⁵⁰ *'grel pa 'dod 'jor / skyes par bud med bud med la / skyes ldan so sor dga' ba gang / de ni sgeg pa zhes grags te / dga' mar rtse ba sogs kyi rgyu / zhes 'byung zhing/ de la yang bslu ba dang rdzogs par longs spyod pa'i sgeg nyams gnyis su bshad / de las bslu ba ni dus btab pa'i sar ma tshogs pa ste / yid kyi rnam 'gyur de gsal bar rtogs par byed pa'i mngon tshul ni /* See Fourth Khams sprul bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma 1990, 392.

⁵¹ Separation as either punishment or due to fate is a common trope throughout Sanskrit literature. Depictions of the separation of Rāma and Sītā figure prominently in various versions of the *Rāmāyana* stor(ies). Some famous examples (aside from the *yakṣa* in *Cloud Messenger*) include the character Shakuntalā in Kālidāsa’s play, *The Recognition of Shakuntalā* (*Abhijānaśākuntala*), who is punished for her inattentiveness to her duties while day-dreaming about King Duṣyantah, virtually the entirety of the character list from Bāṇā’s literary prose work, *Kādambārī*, among others.

If we examine also Khamtrül’s commentary on the compassionate mood (*nying-jé gyen*⁵²), we see that there is likewise no explicit space for the traditional theme of *viraha* (separation with the hope of reuniting). In Khamtrül’s commentary:

What is appropriately termed compassion is what intensifies suffering (*mya ngen*) and makes it evident. Being the compassionate mood, it is explained as a poetic ornament. In the *Kāmadhenu commentary*, [it says]:

“The state of suffering intensified is compassion. Whatever experience is produced by things such as falling into poverty, being killed, being bound (chained), being beaten, being disparaged, being tormented by the afflictions, and so forth is compassion.”

This kind-heartedness (*nying tsewa*) towards those that have fallen down into the three lower realms, those without a protector, the sick, sorrowful, starving, poor, those those tormented by others, the old, the weak, those dying and for forth, is [what arises] in an ordinary [person]. [However], after hearing about the exalted actions of Bodhisattva-s, the mind can’t help but be amazed, with goosebumps [of joy], tears, and shaking; the arising of kindness (*tsewa*) [in this case] is the compassion (*nying-jé*) that arises in a superior [person].⁵³

⁵² It is curious that Khamtrül and Tibetan commentators that follow prefer to use terminology referring to the individual mood ornaments s though they are independently ornaments of sense. While Sapaṅ and Pang Lotsāwa seem to prefer the terms *sgeg pa'i nyams* and *snying rje'i nyams* (passionate mood and compassionate mood)—or sometimes just *sgeg pa* and *snying rje* (passion and compassion)—Khamtrül and later commentators instead use the terms *sgeg pa'i rgyan* and *snying rje'i rgyan* (passionate ornament and compassionate ornament). These later commentators do continue to subsume these categorically under one ornament, the 18th ornament of sense in Daṅḍin’s treatise referred to as ‘mood ornament’ (*nyams ldan gyi rgyan*), but I suspect this shift in terminology accompanies a shift in emphasis, prioritizing the mood ornaments as among the more important ornaments of sense within Tibetan poetics. A glance at the table of contents of many modern Tibetan primers on poetics is sufficient to demonstrate that certain ornaments (such as *rasa*, *preyas*, *upamā*, *rupaka*, among others) are prioritized as ‘extraordinary’ or ‘special’ ornaments (*thung mong ma yin pa'i rgyan*) and others relegated to the status of ‘ordinary’ ornaments (*thun mong ba'i rgyan*). See for example: Blo bzang dpal ldan, Bse tshang, *Snyan ngag la 'jug pa'i sgo* (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003).

⁵³ *snying rje bya bar 'os pa mya ngan zhes pa'i 'gyur ba rgyas te gsal bar gyur pa snying rje'i nyams yin pas snyan ngag gi rgyan du bshad pa ste/ 'grel ba 'dod 'jor/ mya ngan rgyas pa'i bdag nyid ni snying rje ste/ 'dod pa'i nor nyams lhung ba dang/ gsoḍ dang 'chings dang brdeg pa dang/ smod pa nyon mongs gdung sogs kyi/ bskyed pa'i nyams gang snying rje'o | zhes 'byung ba ltar/ log par lhung ba ngan song gsum dang/ mgon med pa dang nad pa dang mya ngan can dang | bkres pa 'phongs pa gzhan gyis mnar ba/ rgas pa rgud pa 'chi ba la sogs pa la snying brtse ba ni dman pa'i yul can yin la | byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa rlabs po che thos nas sems mi bzod cing spu ldang mchi ma g.yo ngo mtshar zhing brtse ba skye ba ni mchog la skye ba'i snying rje'o | See See Fourth Khams sprul bstan 'dzin chos kyi ni ma 1990, 398.*

Khamtrül’s description here is nearly identical to Sakya Paṇḍita’s description of *nying-jé*. A variety of pitiable situations are enumerated here, ranging from numerous types of illnesses, emotional ailments, torment, and even death. However, there is nothing to suggest that separation of loved ones might best be classified under *nying-jé*. Thus it seems that the trope of separation of lovers, crucial for understanding the use of *rasa* in the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*, is not something explicitly treated in premodern Tibetan poetics: it is neither quite *gekpa* nor *nying-jé*.

One might rightfully object: in the absence of Tibetan theoretical works dealing with the trope of *viraha*, how else can the trope of *viraha* in the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger* be analyzed? One interpretative approach resides within the translator’s colophon. If we examine the Tibetan colophon for *Cloud Messenger* we see clearly what themes the translators (or possibly the editors⁵⁴) considered necessary to emphasize for the patron of the poem.

Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* is now finished. By the command of the great chief Namkha Tenpa—adorned with immeasurable excellent qualities such as intelligence (*blo gros*), compassion (*snying rje*), discipline (*brtul ba*), ascertainment (*nges pa*), renunciation (*gtong ba*), and so forth—the great Kashmiri poet-ṇḍit Sumanaśrī, the famous Zhuchen Lotsāwa Gelong Jangchub Tsemo and the expounder of scripture and philosophy among Lotsāwas, Namkha Zangpo, at the great Sakya temple translated, revised, and edited it.

By completely purifying whatever thoughts
 Encouraging these [qualities], favorable conditions are achieved;
 By whatever merit we accomplish through effort,
 May we cross over Samsāra and attain the three bodies [of the Buddha].
 From the auspicious speech of the lord of the North
 This poetry was translated into Tibetan
 By the Kashmiri Paṇḍit, together with Gelong Jangchub Tsemo.

⁵⁴ See Orna Almogi’s work on Tibetan colophons: Orna Almogi, “How Authentic Are Titles and Colophons of Tantric Works in the Tibetan Canon? The Case of Three Works and Their Authors and Translators” In Orna Almogi, ed., *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature. PIATS 2006: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* (Königswinter 2006), and *Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung* 14, ed. Peter Schwiieger Band 14 (Halle: IITBS, 2008): 87-124.

By this [translation] may there be benefit to immeasurable beings, and may there be virtue and blessings.⁵⁵

It is worth noting the overlap between some of the themes highlighted here as causes for Namkha Tenpa's patronage, and the themes emphasized in Sapaṅ's explanation of *nying-jé* and *zhiwa* (*zhi ba*) in a later section of *Gateway*. Regarding how to properly combine mood ornaments, Sakya Paṇḍita says:

In both compassion and tranquility, avoid the six:
Passion, heroism, comedy,
Violence, horror, and awesomeness.

Since, while compassion and tranquility, being beneficial, are kinds of discipline (*dul ba*), *passion* (*sgeg pa*)—quivering and distracting—is a quality of extreme disquiet. And since, on the one hand, compassion and tranquility, with the mind serene, are disciplines, and on the other hand, heroism, comedy, violence, and horror are hindrances to those [disciplines] (emphasis mine).⁵⁶

In Sapaṅ's description regarding the proper application of these moods, *nying-jé* (compassion)—even as a mood ornament—is conceptualized as a practice of (Buddhist) discipline (*dul ba*).

Whereas *gekpa* (passion), even in the context of poetry, is conceptualized as a hindrance to this practice of discipline.

⁵⁵ All extant colophons for the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*, including editions appearing in recent Tibetan commentaries, appear to be identical: *snyan ngag mkhan chen po nag mo'i khol gyis mdzad pa'i sprin gyi pho nya rdzogs so || blo gros dang snying rje dang | brtul ba dang nges pa dang | gtong ba la sogs pa'i yon tan phul du phyung ba dpag tu med pas spras pa'i dpon chen nam mkha' brtan pa'i bka' lung gis | kha che'i paṇḍita snyan ngag mkhan chen po su ma na shrī dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba mang du thos pa'i dge slong byang chub rtse mo dang | lo tsā bar gtogs pa lung rigs smra ba nam mkha' bzang pos dpal sa skya'i gtsug lag khang chen por bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa || gang zhig thugs dgongs rnam par dag pa yis || 'di la bskul zhing mthun rkyen bsgrubs pa dang || bdag cag 'bad las bsod nams gang bsgrubs pas || 'khor ba las rgal sku gsum thob par shog || byang gi bdag po'i gsung bzang las || snyan ngag 'di ni bod skad du || kha che paṇ chen dang lhan cig || dge slong byang chub rtse mos bsgyur || 'dis 'gro ba dpag tu med pa la phan thogs nas bkra shis shing bde legs su gyur cig ||*

⁵⁶ *snying rje dang zhi ba ni phan 'dogs shing dul ba'i yan lag yin la*. See Gold 2007, 177, 226 fn32.

While on the literal level the qualities listed simply praise the patron of the *Cloud Messenger* translation, on a more figurative level the inclusion of these qualities seems to mimic the Sanskrit practice of listing the characteristics the poet deems necessary for an audience to appreciate the given poetic work. Thus the list of qualities may also reflect aspects of the poem itself. Consequently, in order to understand the Tibetan reception of *viraha*, and its relation to *gekpa* and *nying-jé*, via the Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger*, I examined the heavily separation-laden verses of *Cloud Messenger* with an eye for both the themes highlighted in the translators' colophon and those highlighted in Tibetan poetic treatment of *gekpé nyam* and *nying-jé nyam*.

3.3 Trope of 'viraha' in the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*

Given that in Sakya Paṇḍita's *Gateway*, *gekpa* is described as a distraction to the discipline required for *nying-jé* and *zhiwa* (*śānti*, *zhi ba*), the emphasis on *gekpa* present in *Cloud Messenger* might likewise constitute a distraction from the qualities of *nying-jé* present in the text. If the Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger* was in part intended to exemplify Tibetan poetic sensibilities, then a de-emphasis of the Tibetan passionate mood (*gekpé nyam*) in verses laden with the Tibetan interpretation of compassionate mood (*nying-jé nyam*) might be expected. It would perhaps also not be surprising if there is a greater emphasis on compassion in general throughout the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*.

My analysis of the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger* shows that this translation evidences that certain aspects of this *viraha*-rich poem was an issue of concern for Tibetan translators in the fourteenth century; however, given the extent to which erotic elements remain present in *the*

Tibetan Cloud Messenger, bowdlerization as a practice does not suffice to explain the translation choices made in the Tibetan version of this poem. My analysis shows that Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo, in their translation of *Cloud Messenger*, subtly reinterpreted themes of *viraha* in their translation of *Cloud Messenger* through the lens of a surprisingly different mood: the compassionate mood (*karuṇa-rasa, snying rje'i nyams*), creating in the process a Tibetan Buddhist reinterpretation of the Sanskrit *Cloud Messenger*.

The Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*, called *Trinki Phonya* in Tibetan, as a whole evidences a slight discomfort with certain of the erotic themes present in the poem and by contrast evidences a preference for themes related to renunciation and compassion (*nying-jé*). The translation techniques employed by these translators create three coherent themes that arise throughout *Trinki Phonya*, which are particularly valent in the verses for which the Sanskrit word *viraha*, or its variants, are present. I argue that these three themes can usefully be thought of as approaches to resolving tensions relating to introduction of the theme of *viraha* into Tibetan poetics. From the translator's colophon we know that renunciation, compassion, and discipline were important to the translators and editors of this poem. It is fitting then, that the first of the themes I will address which arises in relation to *viraha* is what I will call "men who abandon women." The second theme is an increased emphasis on compassion, in particular compassion directed towards loved ones and service done for the sake of others. The third theme is "women (not men) who are tormented by desire." I see these three themes as foci, systematically and consistently emphasized by the translators throughout this poem. While these themes may seem unrelated at face value, I argue that their existence in the poem in close proximity to verses emphasizing

themes of *viraha* connect them as themes pertaining to the Tibetan interpretation of *viraha* and the use of the translation of *Cloud Messenger* to emphasize these new themes in Tibetan poetry.

I have identified two major strategies used by these translators to accomplish this interpretive emphasis. Both strategies are best exemplified by examining the translation of words related to *viraha*, or separation. Based on an analysis of verses containing the words *viraha* and similarly-themed words, I argue that the differences in translation of these words are not only intentional, but they can usefully be thought of as a strategy to frame the *Trinki Phonya* and craft a poem that subtly emphasizes themes of the renunciation of householder life and the suffering inherent in desire.

The first strategy I choose to highlight is the treatment of descriptions of suffering and verses evoking the compassionate mood (*nying-jé gyen*). I argue that throughout *Trinki Phonya*, there is both a qualitative and quantitative increase in words denoting suffering and torment compared with the Sanskrit *Cloud Messenger*. Not only do the Tibetan words used to translate the experience of suffering increase the intensity compared to the Sanskrit, but the sheer number of words in each verse dedicated to conveying suffering in these passages is quantifiably higher in *Trinki Phonya*.⁵⁷

The second strategy concerns the treatment of the passionate mood (*gekpé nyam*). *Trinki Phonya* evidences a certain tension or discomfort in verses when erotic aspects of *gekpá* are paired with descriptions of separation, in particular when they describe the male experience of desire. At times, this tension is seemingly resolved by slight bowdlerization. The eros is

⁵⁷ It is worth noting at this point that some of these shifts may be instances of translation serving as commentary. What interests me regarding this is the way in which the act of translation and the labeling of it as such functionally marks *Trinki Phonya* as a participant in a genre other than ‘commentary.’ This idea will be explored further in Chapters Four and Five.

minimized in some way. At other times, the desire is shifted from the male subject to the female subject in the process of translation. Often times this is paired with a marked increase in the use of words depicting suffering in the verse compared with Sanskrit versions, in particular through the use of emphasis of the “suffering” experienced by one or more of the characters which results in an increase of *nying-jé nyam* in the verse.

3.4 ‘Men who abandon their women’

If we examine the first verse of *Trinki Phonya*, the Sanskrit verbal noun *viraha* (separation) is translated using the Tibetan verb *spong*, listed in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* to be used for Sanskrit verbs such as *ut√sṛj*, *√hā*, and others which in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan mean to “abandon” or “leave behind.”⁵⁸

Verse 1⁵⁹

English of Tibetan

His splendor was destroyed by the grave order, due to his lord’s anger.
 A certain *yakṣa*, careless towards his duties, was commanded to abandon his lover for the duration of a year
 And go to the Rāma mountain—its waters auspicious from the bathing of the beautiful daughter of Janaka and extremely beautiful, with lovely trees full of shade—and endure, making it his home.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See *Mahāvvyutpatti* entries: 2560. *jahāti*: *spong ba'am 'dor ba* 2547. *pratinisṛjya*: *spangs te spangs pa 'am bsil ba'am bsal*; 2602. *utsṛṣtam*: *btang ba'am spangs pa'am bor ba*; 2604. *utsarjanam*: *gtang ba*.

⁵⁹ For each verse analyzed in this section, I supply the Sanskrit edition that best corresponds to the Tibetan translation for each verse, but note differences between commentarial traditions and recensions. Where relevant, differences between Tibetan recensions (Dergé, Coné, Golden, Narthang, Peking) and/or differences between Sanskrit recensions (Vallabhadeva’s edition (V), Mallinānatha’s edition (M), and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha’s edition (D)) will be noted. Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations of Tibetan or Sanskrit are mine.

⁶⁰ *rje bo khros pas* [Dergé, Coné: *pa'i*] *shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung dag gis gzi brjid nyams par byas 'gyur cing | gnod sbyin 'ga' zhig la ni rang nyid bag med dbang gyur mdzes ma spong la lo yi bar | yid 'ong skyed byed bu mo'i khros bya bsod nams chu bo rnams* [Dergé, Coné: *che ba rnams*] *dang shin tu rab mdzes pa'i | rab bzang ljon shing grib ma dang ldan rā ma'i ri bor* [Dergé, Coné: *dra ma'i dri bor*] *song la spyod pas gnas par gyis |*

English of Sanskrit

A certain Yakṣa—negligent regarding his duties— [his] greatness was destroyed by a Lord’s curse. Because of the heaviness of separation from his beloved,[which was] to be endured for a year, [this Yakṣa] made [himself] a home among the hermitages of the Rāmagiri [mountains]—[hermitages] which had trees thick⁶¹ with shade; [and] whose waters were auspicious from being bathed in by Janaka’s daughter.⁶²

The opening line of the Sanskrit verse emphasizes the *yakṣa* himself, as a character who—both because of the heaviness of separation from his lover (*kāntā-viraha-guruṇā*) and because of negligence to his duties to his Lord Kubera—will be an agent in the poem. In the lines that follow, the Sanskrit verse makes clear how this heaviness in separation relates to the overall plot. We discover that it is the master’s curse (*śāpena*) that is heavy due to separation and realize that the curse is the result of the *yakṣa*’s negligence (mentioned in the first line) and that the curse consists of enduring for a year (*varṣa-bhogyena*) this separation from his lover by living in Rāmagiri. The curse—which is heavy due to the Yakṣa’s separation from his lover—is specifically *that* the *yakṣa* must endure a year living in Rāmagiri.

The Tibetan translation, however paints a somewhat different picture. The opening line of *Trinki Phonya* tells us that someone (the *yakṣa*’s) splendor is destroyed by the grave command of his *angry* master (*rje bo khros pas shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung gis*). No word for separation (or for lover) appears in the opening line of the Tibetan. Instead, the reader is primed with the expectation that the master’s command (and his anger) are the key elements. The lines that follow fill in the gaps, revealing for the reader that the result of this command was that the *yakṣa*

⁶¹ Vallabhadeva’s commentary notes the poem was desired to be made resorting to the *śṛṅgāra* [rasa]. Vallabhadeva attributes the use of *snigdha* (here thick) as evoking this and being used for this reason. See Hultzsich, 2.

⁶² *kaścit kāntā-viraha-guruṇā svādhikārāt pramattaḥ | śāpenāstaṅgamita-mahimā varṣa-bhogyena bhartuḥ | yakṣaś cakre janaka-tanayā-snāna-puṇyōdakeṣu | snigdha-cchāyā-taruṣu vasatiṃ rāmagiry āśrameṣu ||* Vallabhadeva’s edition reads *svādikāra-pramattaḥ* in place of *svādhikārāt pramattaḥ*.

would abandon his lover (*mdzes ma spong la*), and, for a year reside in Rāmagiri. From this, the reader of the Tibetan understands that the content of the command is two-fold: to *abandon* his lover, and to live for a year in Rāmagiri.

The word-choice in the opening verse of *Trinki Phonya* is significant. Rather than using a non-volitional nominalized verb such as *'bral ba* (separation), which would be grammatically closer to the Sanskrit use of the word *viraha*, the Tibetan translators instead use the volitional verb *spong* (*spang ba*, to abandon), priming the reader to accept that the *yakṣa* is commanded not merely to live in Rāmagiri (burdened by separation from his lover), but rather to *leave behind his lover* and live in Rāmagiri for a year. While the Sanskrit version prepares the reader for what we may usefully conceive of as a poem about separated lovers, the Tibetan translation instead prepares the reader for a poem about abandonment (*spang ba*), or more specifically about a man (or male *yakṣa*) who abandons his woman. The relationship emphasized in the opening verse in the *Trinki Phonya* is not, therefore that of the separated lovers, but in a sense, the relationship between the *yakṣa* and his master whose command is the basis for the poem's plot.

This emphasis on abandonment is echoed in the second verse of *Trinki Phonya* as well:

Verse 2

English from Tibetan

That passionate one, [both] from abandoning his lover, and from having been forced to go to that mountain for several months,
His arm had grown thin, causing his golden bracelets to slip towards the middle.
On the first day of the month of the rainy season, there were clouds resting on the peak of a mountain.
He saw these clouds, and wondered if they were beautiful elephants, reveling in sport.⁶³

⁶³ *'dod ldan de ni mdzes ma spangs shing*⁶³ [Peking, Narthang: *zhing*] *zla ba 'ga' yis ri bo der ni phyin byas pas / lag pa phra bar gyur nas gser gyi gdu bu dag ni dbung pa'i bar du rgyu bar byed / chu stod zla ba rdzogs pa'i nyin la sprin rnams ri shor ri steng nyal bar gyur pa ni / mchog tu rol cing mdzes par gyur pa'i* [Dergé, Coné: *pas*] *glang chen yin nam snyam du rtog cing mthong bar gyur /*

English from Sanskrit

That lover, separated from his weak[ened] woman, spent some number of months there on that mountain. His golden bracelet had slipped down, making his forearm bare; [Then] On the first day of *Āṣāḍha*, he saw a cloud— embracing the peak of a mountain; beautiful like an elephant stooping, butting its head against the slope.⁶⁴

In the second verse of *Trinki Phonya* also, the Sanskrit word for “separated” (*viprayukta*, the past-passive participle of *vi + pra + √yuj*), which, like *viraha*, might be more literally translated into Tibetan as *'bral ba* (“separated from” or “freed from”) is also translated using *spang ba* (“to abandon”). The repetition of this verb *spang ba* in the second verse of the poem, while subtle, further emphasizes the theme of abandonment introduced in the first verse.

At this point one might rightfully ask if this is a translation error of some sort. Did the late-fourteenth century Tibetan translators of *Cloud Messenger* confuse the meaning of *viraha* and consistently translate it throughout *Trinki Phonya* as *spang ba*? When we examine how *viraha* (separation) and related words are translated throughout *Trinki Phonya* poem, it becomes quite evident that the more common translation by far is in fact *'bral ba*, as I suggested above. These instances of *spong/spang* as translations for “separation” in the first two verses appear to be—statistically speaking—outliers (See Fig 3.1a and 3.1b). However unlike true statistical outliers, these instances are significant: they bear weight, functionally providing something for the reader of *Trinki Phonya*. An examination of instances in which the verb *spang ba* and *'bral ba* occur in *Trinki Phonya* will make this clear.

⁶⁴ *tasminn adrau katicid abalā viprayuktaḥ sa kāmī | nītvā māsān kanaka-valaya-bhramśarikta-prakoṣṭhaḥ | āṣāḍhasya prathama-divase megham āśliṣṭa-sānum | vapra-kriḍā-pariṇata-gaja-prekṣaṇīyaṃ dadarśa ||* Vallabhadeva reads *praśama-divase* for *prathama-divase*.

Fig 3.1a: Verses where *viraha* and related words are translated as *spang/spong ba*

Verse 1: *kāntā-viraha-guruṇā* → *mdzes ma spong la*

Verse 2: *katicid abalā-viprayuktaḥ sa kāmī* → *mdzes ma spangs zhing*

Verse 102: *kuśalam-abale prcchati tvām viyuktaḥ* → *khyod ni spang par gyur la ...dri zhes.*

Fig 3.1b: Verses where *viraha* and related words are translated as *bral/'bral ba*

Verse 7: *me dhana-pati-krodha-viśleṣitasya* → *bdag po ched cher⁶⁵khros pas 'khyams shing bral ba bdag*

Verse 8: *viraha-vidhurām* → *bral bas mchog tu nyen cing*

Verse 10: *praṇayi hrdayaṃ viprayoge ruṇaddhi* → *bral las lhung ba ...'gog cing*

Verse 12: *sneha-vyaktiś-cira-viraha-jaṃ* → *mdza' ba gsal byas yun ring 'bral las*

Verse 31: *virahāvasthayā* → *khyod dang bral bar gnas pas*

Verse 84: *viraha-tanu* → *bral bas btud⁶⁶ par gyur pa*

Verse 86: *viraha-divasa-sthāpitasyāvadher vā...ramaṇa-viraheṣu...* → *bdag ni 'ongs pa'i nyin nas brtsams te ... bdag po bral bas*

Verse 87: *pīdayed viprayogaḥ* → *bdag dang bral las de ltar shin tu gdung min yang⁶⁷*

Verse 88: *ādhiḥkāmāṃ viraha-śayane* → *bral bas lhag par gdung pas sa yi gzhi la..*

Verse 90: *viraha-divase* → *bral ba'i nyi ma*

Verse 95: *prathama-virahe* → *dang por bral la*

Verse 110: *tvad-viyoga-vyathābhiḥ* → *khyod dang bral ba'i*

Verse 112: *viraha-guṇitam...abhilāṣām* → *yun ring bral bar⁶⁸ las byung 'dod pa'i long spyod*

Verse 114: *snehānāhuḥ kimapi virahe dhvaṃsinaḥ* → *bral bas gdungs pa longs spyod bral*

Verse 115: *prathama-virahôdagra-śokām* → *dang por bral bas gdungs par gyur pa'i..*

Verse 117: *vidhura iti vā...ma te vidhyutā viprayogaḥ* → *gdung ldan bdag gi..glog ma dang yang nam yang mi 'bral gyur cig*

Of the nineteen instances in the where words denoting “separation” (such as *viraha*) appear in the Sanskrit, in the Tibetan, all but three are translated using '*bral ba* (intr. v. “to be separated [from]”). For each of the three that are not translated using '*bral ba*, the Tibetan verb

⁶⁵ Narthang, Peking: *ches cher*

⁶⁶ Narthang, Peking: *rdzud*

⁶⁷ Dergé, Coné: *min na yang*

⁶⁸ Narthang, Peking: *ba*

chosen in place of *'bral ba* is *spang ba*. Given that the translators clearly knew that *viraha*, at least in certain contexts, means *'bral ba*, but did not consistently choose to translate it that way indicates that these divergences are likely intentional choices on the part of the translators. This however, does not address the issue of why the translators may have chosen *spang ba* for these verses alone and not the sixteen other instances of *viraha*. The answer I will suggest becomes more clear when when we examine the third instance of *spang ba*, which is in Tibetan verse 102:

Verse 102

English from Tibetan

O venerable one, by just my words, in order to help her, say this [to her]:
 “Your King is alive and living at the supreme King Rama’s mountain residence.
 Having abandoned you, o beautiful one, he asks if you are well.”
 For, towards people whose activity has declined, assurance is given first.⁶⁹

English from Sanskrit

O noble one, because of my words, and in order to do credit yourself, say this to her—“My lady, your lover is alive, residing at the Rāmagiri hermitage. Separated [from you] he asks if you are well; For, this alone is the first thing asked regarding men to whom misfortune comes easily.”⁷⁰

There is a subtle but nonetheless distinct commonality between these three apparent outliers. Rather than translate these three instances using the intransitive verb *'bral ba* (“separated from”), for every instance where the Sanskrit poem specifies the male *yakṣa* as the subject of the verbal action of separation and the female lover as the direct object of this verbal action, the transitive verb *pang* (*spang ba*), “to abandon” or “to leave behind” is used. In other words, for any instance where the Sanskrit poem specifies the female lover as the grammatical patient of separation (i.e.

⁶⁹ *kva ye tshe ldan bdag gi tshig dang nyid kyis kyang ni de la phan pa'i ched du ni | khyod kyi rgyal po mchog gi rgyal po rā ma'i ri yi [Dergé, Coné: ra ma yi ri] gnas shing 'tsho ba nyid | khyod ni spang par gyur pa la kva ye mdzes ma dge'am 'dri zhes de ltar smra bar mdzod | gang phyir skye bo rnams ni byed pa nyams la dang por 'dra'i dbug dbyung byed pa nyid |*

⁷⁰ *tām āyusman mama ca vacanād ātmanas [V ātmanā] cōpakartum | brūyā [V brūyād] evaṃ tava sahaçaro rāmagiry āsrama-sthaḥ |avyāpannaḥ kuśalam-abale pṛcchati tvāṃ viyuktaḥ |pūrvāsāsyam [M pūrvābhāṣyam] sulabha-vipadām prāṇinām etad eva || = M 2.41, V 98, D 2.34*

separated from the male lover), the translators of *Trinki Phonya*, use *spang ba*. By contrast, whenever the word for ‘separation’ is used in the Sanskrit without specific reference to the female lover as its grammatical patient, the Tibetan word more closely denoting “separation” (*'bral ba*) is used. While this is a quantitatively small change—a shift in translation for but a few words—the qualitative impact on *Trinki Phonya* is observable. The beginning of this poem crafts for the reader the image of a male *yakṣa* who actively *abandons* his female lover, a theme which is reinforced later in verse 102 and, as I will argue, is likewise embedded within the second theme I have identified: *Trinki Phonya* is also characterized by an intensification of certain aspects of the compassionate mood (*nying-jé gyen*).

3.5 Intensification of *nying-jé nyam* and ‘service for the sake of others’

An examination of the way the Tibetan translators handled the verses for which *'bral ba* was used for *viraha* and related words, will clarify the way in which these translation methods are used as interpretive strategies emphasizing the themes of renunciation, discipline, and compassion. If we re-organize the verses identified in Figure 3.1b according to the grammatical subject experiencing the ‘separation’ (*'bral ba*), we find the following:

Fig 3.2a Grammatical subject experiencing *'bral ba*: Male *yakṣa*

Verse 7: *me dhana-pati-krodha-viśleṣitasya* → *bdag po ched cher*⁷¹ *khros pas 'khyams shing bral ba bdag*

Verse 8: *viraha-vidhurāṃ* → *bral bas mchog tu nyen cing*

Verse 110: *tvad-viyoga-vyathābhiḥ* → *khyod dang bral ba'i*

⁷¹ Narthang, Peking: *ches cher*

Fig 3.2b Grammatical subject experiencing 'bral ba: Female lover

Verse 10: *praṇayi hr̥dayaṃ viprayoge ruṇaddhi*→ **bral las** *lhung ba ...'gog cing*
Verse 31: *virahāvasthayā*→ *khyod dang* **bral bar** *gnas pas*
Verse 84: *viraha-tanu*→ **bral bas** *btud⁷²par gyur pa*
Verse 86: *viraha-divasa-sthāpitasyāvadher vā...ramaṇa-viraheṣu...*→ *bdag ni 'ongs pa'i nyin nas brtsams te ... bdag po* **bral bas**
Verse 87: *pīḍayed viprayogaḥ*→ *bdag dang* **bral las** *de ltar shin tug dung min yang⁷³*
Verse 88: *ādhiḥkṣāmāṃ viraha-śayane*→ **bral bas** *lhag par gdung pas sa yi gzhi la..*
Verse 90: *viraha-divase*→ **bral ba'i** *nyi ma*
Verse 95: *prathama-virahe*→ *dang por* **bral la**
Verse 102: *kuśalam-abale prcchati tvāṃ viyuktaḥ*→ *khyod ni* **spang par** *gyur la ...dri zhes.*
Verse 115: *prathama-virahôdagra-śokāṃ*→ *dang por* **bral bas** *gdungs par gyur pa'i..*

Fig 3.2c Grammatical subject experiencing 'bral ba: Inanimate things

Verse 12: *sneha-vyaktiś-cira-viraha-jam*→ *mdza' ba gsal byas yun ring* **bral las**
Verse 117: *vidhura iti vā...ma te vidhyutā viprayogaḥ*→ *gdung ldan bdag gi..glog ma dang yang nam yang mi* **bral** *gyur cig*

Fig 3.2d Grammatical Subject experiencing 'bral ba: Unspecified

Verse 112: *viraha-guṇitam...abhilāṣāṃ*→ *yun ring* **bral bar⁷⁴** *las 'dod pa'i long spyod*
Verse 114: *snehānāhuḥ kimapi virahe dhvaṃsinaḥ*→ **bral bas** *gdungs pa longs spyod* **bral**

In eleven out of the sixteen Sanskrit verses in which 'bral ba is used to translate *viraha*, either the female lover is the subject of the verbal action of “being separated (Fig. 3.2b),” or else the female experience of separation is described in such detail in the verse that the female subjectivity is implied. In two verses (112, 114, Fig 3.2d), the subject experiencing separation is unspecified—separation is referred to in the abstract and is the thematic focus of the sentence. In

⁷² Narthang, Peking: *rdzud*

⁷³ Dergé, Coné: *min na yang*

⁷⁴ Narthang, Peking: *ba*

two verses (12, 117, Fig 3.2c), the verbal patients are anthropomorphized inanimate beings; the first concerns the impending separation of the Rāmagiri mountain from the Cloud who is imagined to be leaving to deliver the *yakṣa*'s message, and the second is the final verse where the *yakṣa* wishes the Cloud himself to never be separated from his lover, Lightning.

In precisely three of the sixteen verses (Verses 7, 8, 110, Fig 3.2a) where words pertaining to “separation” are translated using *'bral ba*, the verse describes the *yakṣa*'s male experience of separation; the *yakṣa* is the patient of the verbal action of “being separated.” In all three of these verses, the *yakṣa*'s mental and emotional suffering are depicted—not as a result of his being separated from his lover—but rather as a result of his inability to alleviate the suffering of his separated lover. In this reinterpretation, it is the *yakṣa*'s inability to alleviate the suffering of his lover which prompts his emotional duress, rather than his emotional attachment to his lover. The translation of these verses thus frames the separation experience for the *yakṣa* in terms of *nying-jé* rather than *gekpa*, in accordance with descriptions in Sakya Paṇḍita's and Pang Lotsāwa's commentaries on the Tibetan poetic moods. After observing the apparent grief of his lover (due to their separation), the *yakṣa* desires compassionate action to be done to alleviate her suffering.

Verse 7

English from Tibetan

O water-bearer, you are the refuge for those in anguish;
Thus, please compose a message to my love from me, separated [from her] due to
roaming
because my life-long master⁷⁵ is extremely angry.

⁷⁵ *gtan gyi bdag po* is a curious phrase here. *gtan gyi skyabs* is seen indicating a permanent refuge, unfailing refuge, lasting refuge, constant refuge, etc. It can also be used with *grogs* (friend) to indicate a friend for life, husband, etc. In this context, the colloquial phrase “life-long” while imprecise, connotes better the sense of *gtan gyi* in this verse.

You must go to the place where the palaces are illuminated by the moonlight from the crown of head of Indra who is in the outer gardens:
The place known as Changlochen, the great abode of Vajrapāṇi.⁷⁶

English from Sanskrit

O water-bearer, you are the refuge for the tormented! Therefore, bring to my beloved a message from me, who has been separated [from her] due to the Lord of Wealth's anger. The place you should go to is called Alakā,⁷⁷ residence of the regents of the *yakṣas*—a palace made brilliant by the moonlight from the head of Śiva who resides in the outer gardens.⁷⁸

In this verse of *Trinki Phonya*, the *yakṣa* is described as separated (implicitly from his lover) and “roaming” or “wandering” (*'khyams*). This is curious considering there is no word denoting “roaming” or “wandering” in any of the Sanskrit versions. It is possible that the translators mistook *priyāyāḥ* for *prayāyāḥ* and mistakenly took this to be a present participle of *prayā* modifying the *yakṣa*; however, since the translators seem to have also fully translated *priyāyāḥ* as *bdag gi dga' ma la* (my lover) in the first *pāda* this to me seems unlikely. Thus it appears that the translators inserted *'khyams shing* (roaming, traveling) as way to capture the full force of *viśleṣita* (separated) for which *'bral ba* alone was perhaps insufficient.

The Sanskrit word *dhana-pati* (epithetically “the Lord of wealth,” i.e. Kubera) is more commonly translated using the Tibetan *nor bdag* (literally, “lord of wealth”, i.e. a wealthy person), a word often used to denote a patron. As Professor Kapstein pointed out to me the choice of *gtan gyi bdag po* was likely motivated in part by the desire to not confuse Kubera with these other connotations of *nor bdag*. The choice of *gtan gyi* accordingly is salient to my analysis.

⁷⁶ *ka ye chu ldan khyod ni shin tu gdungs gyur skabs nyid de phyir bdag gi dga' ma* [Dergé, Coné: *ba*] *la* / *gtan* [Dergé: *gtam*] *gyi bdag po ches cher khros pas 'khyams shing bral ba bdag gi phrin ni mdzad du gsol* / *phyi rol skyed tshal* [Dergé, Coné: *skyed mos* (no *tshal*)] *mchog gnas 'phrog byed gtsug gi zla ba'i 'od kyis snang byas khang bzang can* / *gsang ba'i bdag po'i* [*bsti gnas*, missing from Peking and Narthang] *lcang lo can zhes bya ba'i gnas su khyod gshegs mdzod* /

⁷⁷ Capital city of Kubera located on the Himālayas and inhabited by Śiva.

⁷⁸ *saṃtaptānām tvam asi śaraṇam tat payoda priyāyāḥ* | *saṃdeśam me hara dhana-pati-krodha-viśleṣitasya* / *gantavyā te vasatir ālakā nāma yakṣeśvarāṇām* | *bāhyōdyāna-sthita-hara-śiraś-candrikā-dhauta-harmyā* || = M7/V7/D7

What makes this significant is that the *yakṣa* is described as separated (by travel) because his ‘life-long’ (*gtan gyi*) boss or master is extremely angry (*ches/ched cher khros pas*). The relationship between the master and the *yakṣa* is emphasized here as a long-term commitment, described by *gtan gyi*, which has the sense of ongoing, perpetual, or permanent. While the Sanskrit versions all describe the *yakṣa* as separated due to his master’s anger, *Trinki Phonya* uniquely emphasizes the longevity and depth of the relationship between the *yakṣa* and his master. From a narrative standpoint, this emphasis on the primacy of the master-servant implies the *yakṣa*-lover relationship is secondary in importance to the *yakṣa*. The insertion of the description of the *yakṣa* as separated by roaming (*'khyams shing bral ba*) additionally resonates with the Buddhist imagery of *samsāra*, possibly connoting for the Tibetan reader the image of a *yakṣa* as wandering, circling around, stuck in *samsāra*. With descriptions of the male *yakṣa*’s emotional experience centered on his relationship with Kubera, it becomes predominantly the female lover whose love-sickness is emphasized in *Trinki Phonya*.

This shift in relational emphasis in *Trinki Phonya* is clarified by the surrounding lines in this verse. The *yakṣa* appeals to the Cloud as a refuge for those who are in anguish—here implicitly the *women* of travelers, not the *yakṣa* himself—and asks the Cloud to deliver a message to the *yakṣa*’s lover. In this verse, the *yakṣa* appears to suffer—not because of his own experience of separation—but because of his inability to alleviate the suffering of his lover. Rather than playing on the *viraha*-related tropes common for depictions of *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra* in the Sanskrit context, *Trinki Phonya* depicts instead a suffering born out of the desire to alleviate the suffering of others, as is described in Pang Lotsāwa’s commentary on *nying-je*.

Unable to fulfill this compassionate action himself because of his dedication to his master, the *yakṣa* asks the Cloud to render the compassionate service for him.

The precise nature of the relationship between the *yakṣa*'s desire for compassionate action and his experience of suffering becomes more apparent in the following verse (8).

Verse 8

English from Tibetan

Because you—riding along with the wind—come via the skillful path, the women of travelers

Thinking joyful thoughts, hold back their hair and look upon you with faith!

When you arrive, what other person is there who, having a lover like me—oppressed by separation, and under the power of another like a servant—would not greatly revere [you]?⁷⁹

English from Sanskrit

The beloved ones of travellers, holding back their locks [of] hair, feeling consoled from faith,⁸⁰ [they] will gaze at you who has ascended in the sky. When you are fully equipped (i.e., filled with water), who would neglect his wife, miserable from separation? Only someone like me, whose life is completely devoted to another!⁸¹

Several key translation choices in *Trinki Phonya* influence the flavor of this verse. In all extant Sanskrit versions, *viraha* (separation) modifies the female lover. The female lover is described as miserable due to separation (*viraha-vidhurāṃ*). The Sanskrit verse clearly indicates that the

⁷⁹ *khyod ni dri bzhon bzhon ba dang ldan mkhas lam gshegs pa'i dbang gis lam bgrod mdzes ma rnams | bsam pa dga' bar gyur te lan bu'i rtse mo rgyab* [Narthang, Peking: *rgyag tu | tu byas nas blta zhing gus par byed | khyod 'ongs tshe na bral bas mchog tu nyen cing g.yog bzhin gzhan dbang gyur pa bdag 'dra dang | gang zhig gzhan yang mdzes ma'i skye bo su zhig gus pa rgya cher byed mi 'gyur* / For the last line, Dergé, Coné read: *gang zhig gzhan yang mi yi skye bo su zhig gus shing dga' ba rgya cher byed mi 'gyur*. While this reading fits the meter better (and is a smoother translation), *mi yi skye bo* strikes me as a possible bowdlerization for *mdzes ma'i skye bo* (rendering the *arthāntaranyāsa* as a more Buddhist message). In the presence of two readings, I think the less 'Buddhist' of the two is more likely to be prior. Nor brang's commentary takes the phrasing of the longer Dergé/Coné edition, but curiously splices the Peking/Narthang's *mdzes ma'i skye bo* in place of *mi yi skye bo*. While Nor brang's is a much more attractive reading, I doubt its historicity, therefore I chose the Peking/Narthang reading here.

⁸⁰ A more literal translation is “feeling consoled out of faith/confidence.”

⁸¹ *tṵām ārūḍhaṃ pavana-pāḍavīm udgrhitālakāntāḥ | prekṣipyante pathika-vanitāḥ pratyaḃyād āśvasatyah | kaḥ saṃnaddhe viraha-vidhurāṃ tvayy upekṣeta jāyām | na syād anyo 'py aham iva jano yah parādḥīma-vṛtīḥ || = M8/V8/D8*

yakṣa's devotion is directed towards his boss; the implication of this statement is clear: only devotion to one's boss could possibly cause someone to abandon their lover.

Trinki Phonya, however, describes the situation in a subtly different manner. The *yakṣa* is oppressed by separation. He clearly is aware of his lover's suffering but is incapable of alleviating it due to his devotion ("like a servant") to his boss. In this state of duress, the *yakṣa* then asks the rhetorical question: "Who in this state would not revere [you/the Cloud]?" This re-interpretation, framed by the servant metaphor, emphasizes the *yakṣa*'s dedication to his master but additionally creates a Cloud-figure that is much more than a mere messenger. The Cloud is implied to be worthy of reverence for its capacity to deliver alleviating messages to the *yakṣa*'s lover. This is a particularly strange reinterpretation—if that is what it is—and arguably this verse diverges more strongly from what we imagine the Sanskrit must have been than for any other *Trinki Phonya* verse I have examined. While we cannot know what precise Sanskrit version these translators had access to, let us consider what it could mean if in fact the Sanskrit they had access to was more or less what we have preserved above. Let us assume, specifically, that this is in fact an intentional translation divergence. What semantic concerns could motivate this choice?

I argue here that, if we are to assume intentional divergence, it is the sense conveyed from the figure of *arthāntaranyāsa*—the aphorism-like poetic figure embedded within the last two *pāda*-s of the verse—which best offers a potential motivation for divergence from the Sanskrit. It is a common trope in Sanskrit poetry that the arrival of the rainy season and monsoon clouds in Sanskrit poetry generally intensifies anxiety and longing between separated lovers. Thus, for the Sanskrit-poetry literate reader, the last two *pāda*-s would have clearly conveyed the *yakṣa*'s longing and regret at his separation. In this context, had the Tibetan translators translated

the verb *upa√īkṣ* (in this case, “to abandon”) as *spang ba*, and had they allowed “separation” to modify the female lover, the message conveyed through this aphoristic poetic figure would have potentially contradicted the themes of renunciation and discipline the translators established earlier in *Trinki Phonya*. Such a literal translation of the Sanskrit would have implied that a man could only leave behind a lover *if* he is devoted to another, namely his boss. Using the alternate meaning of *upa√īkṣ* of “attending upon” and replacing the female lover with the Cloud as the patient of the verb, created space for a new theme to emerge. As *Trinki Phonya* appears to argue (though Tibetan commentarial responses seem to disagree),⁸² the sight of the Cloud would apparently be a relief, delighting those women whose lovers are abroad and inspiring their reverence towards the Cloud. In turn, this relief of the female experience of suffering likewise compels the *yakṣa* (and other male travelers) to revere the Cloud as well.

Through what I argue to be an interpretive choice, the resulting Tibetan verse contains a significant shift in meaning. While the male travelers are described as oppressed by suffering, what appears to inspire their reverence or devotion to the Cloud is the temporary alleviation of the suffering of *others* (in this case, their women). Thus implicitly, the suffering experienced by the male lovers is due to their inability to alleviate the suffering of their women themselves. Apparently however, the alleviation of suffering enacted by someone else (the Cloud) is sufficient to inspire their change of heart to reverence. These changes altogether solidify the previously emphasized theme of dedication to one’s master, but additionally create the space for a new interpretation of the Cloud as a sort of Bodhisattva-figure, inspiring devotion through his compassionate acts which alleviate the suffering of others. The gender switch from the female

⁸² I elaborate in more detail the degree to which Tibetan commentaries evidence discomfort with some of the themes that arise in *Trinki Phonya* in Chapter Five.

lover to the *yakṣa* (as grammatical patient of “separated”) is usefully understood as an attempt to interpret this verse through the lens of the ‘higher’ of the two forms of the Tibetan compassionate mood described in Sapaṅ’s treatise: the compassionate acts of a Bodhisattva which inspire wonder (*ngo mtshar*) in others. The introduction of this Bodhisattva-Cloud figure—and other Tibetan Buddhist imagery—into *Trinki Phonya* will be more fully explored in Chapter four.

The Cloud however is apparently not the only figure aspiring towards acts of compassion in *Trinki Phonya*. In Verse 110, the final verse describing the *yakṣa*’s experience of suffering, the *yakṣa* himself is depicted as suffering, though not due to the love-sickness that comes from separation from a lover. Rather he is implicitly described as suffering due to his inability to take care of his lover while in separation.

Verse 110

English from Tibetan

How did the long, [dark] nights pass like an instant?
 In the days too, how did all the occasions pass with so little suffering?
 O trembling-eyed one, just like that, my mind has low fortune [regarding its] efforts;
 The torments and great [many] sufferings from being separated from you cause me
 to be unstable.⁸³

English from Sanskrit

“How could night, with its long watches become compressed into just a moment?”

⁸³ *thun gsum [mun pa] can ma thun ring gyur pa skad cig bzhin du bsdus pa ci ltar yin / nyin par yang ni gnas skabs kun tu cung zad gdung ba'ng ji ltar gyur pa yin / ka ye 'dren byed g.yo ba de ltar gyur pas bdag sems don gnyer skal pa dman par gyur / khyod dang bral ba'i gdung ba [mang bo]⁸³rnams dang che ba'i sdug bsngal rnams kyis brtan par min par byas / In the Peking and Narthang recensions *mun pa* is missing; In the Dergé/Coné recensions *yun ring* is used in place of *thun ring*. These differences are curious since the descriptor *mun pa* (darkness) does not occur in any of the Sanskrit editions of this verse. However, *thun ring* is an older form than *yun ring* and thus more likely to be prior indicating that the Peking/Narthang recension here may be more accurate. However, *pāda* four of the Peking/Narthang recension of this verse additionally includes the word *mang bo* (missing from Dergé/Coné) editions. The addition of these two syllables to the fourth *pāda* brings the total to 21 syllables—two more than the typical meter for this translation, therefore I find it likely this is an interpolation.*

How could the day, too, in all conditions have such very mild heat?
O trembling-eyed one, just in that way my heart desires the unattainable!
It is defenseless against the burning heat of the anguish from being separated from
you!”⁸⁴

In this verse the male *yakṣa*’s experience of separation is characterized by intense suffering and torment which has caused the *yakṣa* to become unstable. A comparison with the Sanskrit versions of this verse reveals a striking difference. The Sanskrit uses the metaphor of heat to describe suffering—a trope which is also common in Tibetan texts. The *yakṣa*’s “burning hot anguish due to separation” (*gāḍhōṣmabhiḥ viyoga-vyathābhiḥ*) is contrasted with the comparatively mild heat of the season in northern India as a way of emphasizing the *yakṣa*’s suffering. In *Trinki Phonya*’s version, this heat metaphor is eliminated. The third *pāda* instead depicts a *yakṣa* whose mental capacity has diminished as a result. The emphasis in this *pāda* is thus not on the *yakṣa*’s emotional experience of separation as it is in the Sanskrit versions, but rather on the suffering experienced due to the *yakṣa*’s inability to concentrate. The fourth *pāda* further diverges from the Sanskrit by eliminating the heat metaphor and using the phrase “causes instability” (*brtan par min par byas*), implying that the act of separation is what causes the *yakṣa* to be made unstable. In the Sanskrit versions, the reader experiences pity (*karuṇa*) towards the *yakṣa* for his emotional state. Reading this verse, we as readers know that the *yakṣa* feels torment in the same way as his lover; he desires her. *Trinki Phonya* conveys neither his desire nor the degree of his torment due to separation in this *pāda*—both are absent in the Tibetan. And subsequently his torment is depicted only in so far as it causes him to become mentally unstable.

⁸⁴ *saṃkṣipyeta* [V *saṃkṣipyeran*] *kṣaṇa iva katham dīrghayāmā triyāmā* [V *dīrghayāmās triyāmāḥ*] / *sarvāvasthāsv ahar api katham manda-mandātapaṃ syāt* [itthaṃ cetaś caṭula-nayane durlabha-prārthanaṃ me | *gāḍhōṣmabhiḥ* [D *gāḍhōṣṇābhiḥ*] *kṛtam aśaraṇaṃ tvad-viyoga-vyathābhiḥ* || = M 2.48/V 105/D 2.41

In the context of the larger narrative of *Trinki Phonya*, this verse bears another important implication. The *yakṣa* has already begged the Cloud to deliver messages to sooth his lover, articulating that this is the action that compassion would inspire. We know at this point that the *yakṣa*'s mental efforts are directed towards caring for his lover, for alleviating her suffering, a role which he is (pitiably) prevented from fulfilling due to separation. It is thus not simply the emotional torment of separation itself, but implicitly it is the torment from being unable to act compassionately towards one who is suffering that produces the instability. *Trinki Phonya*'s *yakṣa* is motivated not by *passion* (*gekpa*), but by *compassion* (*nying-jé*). It is the thwarting of this compassionate impulse—the desire to alleviate the suffering of another person—that causes the *yakṣa* pain.

For the translators of *Trinki Phonya*, this is no longer the story of two love-sick lovers, separated by fate; rather, it is a story of the anguish experienced when the compassionate impulse is thwarted. It is neither passion (*gekpa*) nor eros (*śṛṅgāra*) which becomes the dominant mood of this poem, but rather compassion (*nying-jé*). The *śṛṅgāra*-filled descriptions of mutually experienced torment due to the separation between the *yakṣa* and his female lover are minimized in *Trinki Phonya* and subtly replaced by a more Buddhist sense of *karuṇa* or *nying-jé nyam*. This change in emphasis becomes especially relevant when we examine the verses explicitly describing the female lover's experience of separation, which brings us to the third and final theme I will explore for this chapter.

3.6 Miminization of the ‘erotic’ within *gekpé nyam* and ‘Women tormented by desire’

When we compare the verses which explicitly describe the female experience of suffering in *Trinki Phonya* and in those of the various Sanskrit recensions, a curious trend emerges. What initially may appear to the casual reader to be bowdlerization of the more erotic elements of the poem in fact is something much more interesting and nuanced. Within a given verse, the de-emphasis of erotic components of *gekpé nyam* is additionally coupled with an increased emphasis on the suffering experienced due to desire. However, this desire (and its related suffering) is gendered. It is not the desire (and suffering) of the *yakṣa* which is described in these verses but the *female* experience of suffering that is highlighted, a theme which I will call “women tormented by desire.”

The first example of this I want to highlight occurs in Verse 31 of *Trinki Phonya*:

Verse 31

English from Tibetan

Crossing that, the Sindhu river—whose body is quite thin like a braid of hair;
Obscured by the falling withered leaves from trees growing on the side, she is quite pale—
O fortunate one! Being separated from you, the condition of her body has become this way!
Having abandoned your wife, will you create a good situation [for her]? Only you know if [you can create a better situation].⁸⁵

English from Sanskrit

Having passed by that river [Nirvindhya], whose water is thin like a braid,
White colored from the dried leaves drooping from trees growing on the slopes;
O lucky one, through this state of separation she reveals your good fortune,

⁸⁵ *de rgal sin dhu'i chu ni lan bu* [Dergé, Coné *len bu*] *bzhin du lus ni rab tu phra bar gyur pa can | ngogs su skyes pa'i* [Dergé, Coné *dgos su rgyud pa'i*] *shing ni rnyings pa'i 'dab ma lung ba rnams kyis khyab par bsgribs* [Dergé, Coné *bkram*] *pas dkar | ka ye skal bzang khyod dang bral bar gnas pas lus kyi gnas skabs 'di 'drar 'gyur | gang gi chung ma spangs nas che ba'i gnas skabs mdzad dam khyod mkhyen de ni rjod par byed/*

That by your action alone she will stop her emaciation!⁸⁶

The last two *pāda*-s of this *Trinki Phonya* verse evidence a clear departure from the prototypical erotic elements emphasized in the respective Sanskrit verse. In the Sanskrit versions, the *yakṣa* praises the Cloud for the fact that the Sindhu river, through her appearance in the first two *pāda*-s which express the condition of her being separated from the Cloud (*virahāvasthayā*), revealing (*vyañjayantī*) his good luck (*saubhāgyam te*) that through his action alone (*vidhinā..tvayā eva upapādayaḥ*) she will stop her emaciation. On a literal level, the Cloud will fill the Sindhu river with rain, making ‘her’ less ‘emaciated.’ Metaphorically, however the Cloud—and implicitly the *yakṣa*—is described as lucky for having a woman who displays these signs of separation, such as emaciation; because these signs of separation can only be alleviated by reunion with the loved one (you alone!). These signs born out of separation indicate the Sindhu’s love for the Cloud.

The Tibetan translators however interpret this differently, instead emphasizing the Cloud’s responsibility to serve as a caretaker for his lover, even going as far as to question the Cloud’s apparent abandonment of the river. In *Trinki Phonya* the *yakṣa* asks the Cloud, “After abandoning your wife will you create a good situation [for her]?” The Sindhu’s emaciation is offered as evidence indicating that the Cloud’s abandonment might not have produced a better outcome. This translation evidences a tension on the part of the Tibetan translators. It is interesting then to see that instead what is conveyed in the Tibetan is that the Cloud should be

⁸⁶ *veñī-bhūta-pratanu-salilā tām atīttasya sindhuḥ | pāṇḍu-cchāyā taṭa-ruha-taru-bhraṃśibhir jīrṇa-parṇaiḥ | saubhāgyam te subhaga virahāvasthayā vyañjayantī | kāśyaṃ yena tyajati vidhinā sa tvayaivōpapādayaḥ ||⁸⁶ = M30/V29/D29. Vallabhadeva takes the compounds modifying Sindhu to be in the accusative, matching *tām*: *veñī-bhūta-pratanu-salilām*, *pāṇḍu-cchāyām*. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, like Mallinātha, reads them all in the nominative, but reads the first pada as *sā tu 'īttasya*. The Tibetan seems to follow Mallinātha here in reading *tām* (*de*) with *atīttasya* (*rgal*), but reading Sindhu and all its modifiers to be part of a separate sentence describing the qualities of the Sindhu.*

concerned about the condition of his abandoned and emaciated River-lover. The Cloud is not urged to reunite; however, he is urged to consider the fact that his actions of abandoning her result in this pitiable state. The more overtly erotic elements of the verse are minimized and replaced by an overall emphasis on pity, perhaps even compassion towards the River's emaciated condition and the suffering which caused it. The reason behind this translation choice is unclear; concern for the welfare of the River is perhaps comparable to the later description in Verse 110 of the *yakṣa*'s mental torment at not having the capacity to take care of his loved one. It is also possible that this emphasis might also reflect a concern of these monk-translators regarding the impact of their own renunciation on their own families, though unfortunately there is no data from sources contemporary to the translation to assess this for the case of *Trinki Phonya*.⁸⁷ Nevertheless it is clear that this verse serves to emphasize the themes of both abandonment and of compassion towards those suffering by both minimizing the erotic elements and emphasizing the female experience of suffering.

Two verses later, In Verse 33, *Trinki Phonya* describes the female experience in more detail, this time as an experience characterized by torment due to *lust*:

Verse 33

English from Tibetan

Where the loudly voiced maddening songs of swans—a captivating sound—
resounds,
At daybreak, the bitter taste becomes appealing, producing the delightful fragrance
of blooming lotuses;

⁸⁷ I want to thank Charles Hallisey for suggesting this possible interpretation. As Hallisey and Punci Meegaskumbura argued at *Sanskrit Summer Academy III: Mapping the World Through Courier Poems*, held at Hebrew University's Institute for Advanced Studies, 4-16 August 2013, there is ample evidence that the monk's renunciation's impact on their families was of concern to Sinhalese monks and is a theme that appears in modern Sinhala messenger poetry. It is perhaps significant that in later Tibetan literature (notably eighteenth century writer Zhapkar Tsoldruk Rangdröl) we do see instances of Tibetan religious writers reminiscing about their mothers. Thanks to Matthew Kapstein for bringing this to my attention. See Kurtis R Schaeffer, Matthew Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle, eds., *Sources of Tibetan Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 665-673.

The wind, sprinkling water drops, removes the tormenting affliction of lust of the women and is in harmony with [their] bodies;
Like an excellent lord speaks pleasantly and causes delight in order to provide for what [they] desire.⁸⁸

English from Sanskrit

Where the breeze from Sīprā [river]—prolonging the sharp [yet] maddening indistinct cooing of cranes, fragrant thanks to friendship with the fragrance of fully blooming lotuses at dawn, [a breeze] agreeable to the body— removes the fatigue of women from lovemaking, like a lover using flattering words requesting something more.⁸⁹

The Sanskrit recensions depict a very sensual scene. The first two *pādas*-s in Sankrit contain a series of erotic descriptions: The daily breeze from Sīprā is fragrant from lotus blossoms and it encourages the cranes to continue making their maddening indistinct calls; all of these descriptions are considered beautiful (and *śṛṅgāra*-filled) things. It is clear also that in the Sanskrit context, *surata-glānim* refers to sexual exhaustion, which is alleviated by this pleasant breeze. The idea conveyed in the Sanskrit versions is one of relief and reinvigoration. This is supported by the last *pāda* in which the breeze from Sīprā, agreeable to the body, removes the fatigue from the lovemaking of women (*strīnām surata-glānim*), like a lover using flattering words for requesting ‘something’ (*prārthanā-cāṭu-kārah*)—implicitly more sexual pleasure. In all the Sanskrit versions, this use of soft, flattering words to solicit pleasure is that to which the breeze’s effect in all other domains is being compared. Thus like these flattering words, the

⁸⁸ *gang du bzhad rnams myos pa'i gdangs snyan che bar sgrogs* [Narthang,Golden: *sgrog*] *cing yid 'ong sgra ni gsal bar byed* | *nyi gzhon gyis rgyas chu skyes dri bzang dga' skyed bska ba'i ro ldan yid du 'ong gyur cing | chu thigs kyis bran dri bzhon bud med chags gzir gdung ba 'phrog byed lus kyis* [Coné, Dergé: *phrog byed lus kyī*] *rjes mthun pa | bdag po mchog ni 'dod don gnyer bar byed la snyan par sgrogs* [Narthang,Golden: *sgrog*] *cing dga' bar byed pa bzhin* |

⁸⁹ *dīrghī-kurvan paṭu madakalaṃ kūjitaṃ sārasānām | praty-ūṣeṣu sphuṭita-kamalā-moda-maitrī-kaṣāyaḥ | yatra strīnām harati surata-glānim aṅgānukūlah* | *sīprā*⁸⁹ [M *śīprā*]-*vātaḥ priya-tama iva prārthanā-cāṭu-kārah* = M32/V31/D31

breeze has the power to refresh even those suffering from sexual exhaustion. Implicit is their sexual reinvigoration.

Trinki Phonya crafts a different scene. In each of the first three *pāda*-s, something considered unpleasant is made pleasant or agreeable by the wind. In the first *pāda*, the maddening sound of cranes is made more aurally pleasant, implicitly by the breeze. In the second *pāda*, the bitter taste present at daybreak is transformed, also implicitly by the breeze, into an appealing flavor, delightful because of the fragrance of blooming lotuses. In the third *pāda*, *glāni* is taken more literally to be affliction (like a bodily affliction) and translated as *gzir ba*. *Surata* is translated as *chags*, here probably “lust” or “sexual desire.” The wind thus is described as removing the “tormenting affliction of lust [or sexual desire] (*chags gzir gdung ba*)” experienced by these women. The idea of sexual reinvigoration is completely absent in the Tibetan. There is in fact no reference to sexual acts having been completed. The Sanskrit word for *surata*, here referring to sexual intercourse, is weakened to the Tibetan word for “lust” or “attachment,” and is construed with *gzir gdung ba*, clearly conveying that this breeze removes this tormenting lust they are experiencing in the first place, thus implicitly preventing sexual activity to begin with! The implication of this is that this breeze metaphorically relieves not their exhaustion, or even their torment, but rather their lust, effectively “cooling them off” sexually.

In each *pāda* of *Trinki Phonya*, the breeze acts to remove or transform apparently unpleasant experiences. The fourth *pāda*, like in the Sanskrit versions, completes the metaphor, supplying the *arthāntaranyāsa* figure. The supreme lord, or husband is described as speaking pleasantly or flatteringly, and delighting [the female] in order to “provide for what is desired” (*'dod don gnyer ba byed pa la*). The context here is unclear—perhaps a lovers’ quarrel of sorts—

but it appears that for whatever reason flattering and delight-producing words are needed to ameliorate whatever unpleasant situation one or both of the members is experiencing. While the context is unknown, it is apparently not sexual since sexual desire is referenced in the third *pāda* as something which a breeze, like the husband’s words, would remove. Further, the recipient of the “desired thing” is not specified in the Tibetan, leaving the reader to decide for whose sake this flattering and delightful speech is produced.

Overall it is clear that the translators chose to minimize certain erotic aspects of this verse while simultaneously increasing the emphasis on the female experience of suffering due to desire or lust. In this verse, the aspects of *gekpa* that are erotic are considered unpleasant; thus, the breeze removes them, whereas the aspects of *gekpa* that are not overtly erotic (sensual sounds and scents) are described as provided by the breeze, creating a *gekpa*-filled scene seemingly empty of ‘erotic’ elements. This is not unlike the descriptions of *gekpa* in Sapaṇ’s *Gateway*, prompting Jonathan Gold to translate *gekpa* as “passion” rather than “eros.”

Much like Verse 31, Verse 86 in *Trinki Phonya* also illustrates a minimization of erotic aspects of *gekpa* that further emphasize the degree of suffering experienced by the female lover.

Verse 86

English from Tibetan

Counting the remaining days and months that have passed since the day I arrived [at Rāmagiri],
 Creating a representation on the ground, in the doorway she tosses flowers [to keep tally];
 She begins many times to imagine in her mind, thinking about when we will meet again;
 For most women, because of being separated from their lords, the mental activity is full of torment.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ *bdag ni 'ongs pa'i nyin nas brtsams te nyin zhag dang ni zla ba song ba'i lhag ma rnams/ sa la rnam par 'god cing sgo yi nang du gangs kyi me tog rnams ni skyur bar byed | bdag cag nam ni phrad par 'gyur ram snyam pa snying la sems pa'i rtsom pa mang po byed | phal cher bud med rnams ni bdag po bral bas yid kyi las kyis [Dergé, Coné: gi] gdung ba mang po nyid |*

English from Sanskrit (M&D)

Or, [she will appear to you] arranging on the ground, counting, by means of flowers placed on the threshold the remaining months til the end [of the curse] set from the day of separation; or enjoying pleasure, the act of which is envisioned in her mind; For, these are generally the diversions of women when separated from their husbands.⁹¹

English from Sanskrit (V)

Or, [she will appear to you] arranging on the ground, counting, by means of flowers placed on the threshold the remaining months til the end [of the curse] set from the day of going; or enjoying union, the act of which is envisioned in her mind; For, these are generally the diversions of women when separated from their husbands.⁹²

For this verse it is important to note the variant Sanskrit versions, because the Tibetan translation diverges significantly from the trends in other verses. As stated previously, generally the Tibetan translation follows the verse order and divergences in common with the Sanskrit editions that correspond to Mallinātha's Northern (c. 14th-15th century) and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's Southern (c.12th -13th-century) commentary. The verse-order and variant readings attested by Vallabhadeva's Northern commentary (10th century) generally correlate less strongly with the Tibetan translation than either of the other two commentaries. This includes also *prakṣipta* verses ("inserted" verses not believed to be authored by Kālidāsa). While there are a few verses considered *prakṣipta* by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and/or Mallinātha that are also translated into Tibetan, the verses that are considered by these two commentators to be authentically authored by Kālidāsa are invariably included in the Tibetan translation. In short, the Tibetan version

⁹¹ Mallinātha's and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha read: *śeṣān māsān viraha-divasa-sthāpitasyāvadher vā | vinyasyantī bhuvī gaṇanayā dehalī-datta-puṣpaiḥ | sambhogam vā hṛdaya-nihitārambham āsvādayantī | prāyeṇāite ramaṇa-viraheṣv aṅganānām vinodāḥ || = M 2.27/D 2.20*

⁹² Vallabhadeva reads: *śeṣān māsān gamana-divasa-prastutasyāvadher vā | vinyasyantī bhuvī gaṇanayā dehalī-datta-puṣpaiḥ | samyogam vā hṛdaya-nihitārambham āsvādayantī | prāyeṇāite ramaṇa-viraheṣv aṅganānām vinodāḥ || = V 84*

would indicate that some recension of the Sanskrit *Cloud Messenger* which closely resembles the one attested by either Mallinātha or Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, both in terms of content (variant readings and *prakṣipta* verses) and in the order of verses, formed the basis for this translation.

Verse 86 appears to be an exception to this trend. Where Mallinātha and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha attest *viraha-divasa-sthapitasya avadher* (“the end determined since the [first] day of separation”) and *saṃbhogaṃ* (“[sexual] union”), Vallabhadeva attests *gamana-divasa-prastutasya avadher* (“the end approached [since] the day of [the *yakṣa*]’s departure) and *saṃyogaṃ* (“meeting”) which seems to correspond much more closely to the *Trinki Phonya* version, with a few important differences.

Vallabhadeva’s Sanskrit recension describes a female lover who is counting the months that have passed and the remaining days until her lover returns. *Trinki Phonya* clearly describes the female lover as counting the remaining days and months that have passed (*zhag dang ni zla ba song ba’i lhag ma rnams*) “since I [the *yakṣa*] arrived” (*bdag ni ’ongs pa’i nyin nas brtsams*)—presumably at Rāmagiri, where he remains throughout the poem. There is no word for separation (*viraha*) present in this *pāda* of *Trinki Phonya*, nor is there a word for departure (*gamana*), though otherwise the syntax and phrasing in the Tibetan seem to match Vallabhadeva’s reading the closest. Where *Trinki Phonya* differs most significantly is in the elimination of the Sanskrit word *avadhi* (declined as *avadheḥ* “the end”). In all extant Sanskrit recensions, the “end” (*avadhi*) implicitly refers to the end of the lovers’ separation. *Trinki Phonya* eliminates this word, instead apparently implying that the lover is simply counting days since the *yakṣa* arrived [in Rāmagiri]; while the female lover imagines their future reunion in her mind (*phrad par ’gyur ram snyam pa snying la sems pa’i rtsom pa mang po byed*), in *Trinki*

Phonya's version of this verse, there is no indication that this reunion will necessarily come to fruition in real life.

The third *pāda* likewise evidences a certain discomfort with the themes of the Sanskrit verse. Vallabhadeva here attests *saṃyogaṃ* (“union,” “meeting”) in place of *saṃbhogaṃ* (“[sexual] union”) which seems to be picked up by the Tibetan translators via their choice of *phrad pa* (“meeting,” “union”). The fourth *pāda* makes clear the significance of these translation choices. The Sanskrit versions all summarize these actions as typical ‘diversions’ or ‘pastimes’ (*vinodaḥ*) for women separated from their lovers. The *Trinki Phonya* verse, however, does not contain any word for *vinodaḥ*. Instead, the Tibetan summarizes with a different statement, claiming that generally the mental activity (*yiḍ kyi las*⁹³) of women is *full of torment* (*gdung ba mang po nyid*) because of being separated from their lovers (*bdag po bral bas*). This is particularly striking when compared with the Sanskrit versions, none of which contain any words for torment or suffering. Given the previous changes throughout this verse, this translation choice strikes me as intentional. All extant Sanskrit versions describe the various ways in which separated female lovers bide their time—the things they do when separated. *Trinki Phonya* reveals a new interpretation for the trope of *viraha* (separation), focusing on the obsessive nature of the female lover’s thoughts which govern these types of actions and foregrounds them. The phrase “full of torment” (*gdung ba mang po*) is inserted, thus further emphasizing the suffering of the female lover.

The next two examples convey this even more clearly.

⁹³ Most likely *citta-karma* or *citta-vṛtti* if back-translated in Sanskrit.

Verse 100

English from Tibetan

“O [friend], know that I am a good friend of your husband’s by the name of a young cloud;

Keeping his pleasant messages in my heart I have come before you;

When my voice resounds, those weary, traveling on the road are caused to flee indoors;

My pleasant sounds cause the braids of women to be undone, indicating their being tormented by desire.”⁹⁴

English from Sanskrit

“Know that you are not a widow! I, a cloud, am your husband’s dear friend, who has come to you with his messages placed in my heart—[a cloud] which urges on their way, with deep and sweet sounds, multitudes of weary travelers who are eager to loosen the braids of their women!”⁹⁵

The Sanskrit version of *Trinki Phonya* Verse 100 describes a scene where the thunder and rain from the Cloud encourages the male travelers, who are weary and still on the road, to quickly go inside and loosen the braids of women. In fact these men are described as “eager” to loosen these braids (*utsukāni*). In *Trikyi Phonya* also, the men on the road are urged to go indoors; however it is not the men who are described as eager to loosen the womens’ braids. The last *pāda* in Verse 100 does not indicate the agent who loosens the braids. Instead the agent is omitted and the act of undoing their braids is placed in the passive. This action of undoing of the braids is depicted as evidence indicating (*mtshon par byed*) that some person or persons, presumably the women, are tormented due to desire (*'dod pas gzir bar*). The Tibetan translators deftly avoid the connotation of “eagerness” from the multivalent word *utsuka* and instead translate this as *gzir* (also the word

⁹⁴ *ka ye khyod ldan chu gzhon ming can bdag ni rje yi grogs bzang yin par shes par mdzod | de yi 'phrin* [Peking, Narthang: *phrin*] *snyan yid la bzung nas khyod kyi drung du nye bar 'ongs par gyur pa nyid | bdag gi sgra ni sgrags tshe lam bgrod dub pa'i tshogs rnams sgo yi nang du 'bros par byed | snyan pa'i sgra dbyang rnams kyis bud med lan* [Dergé, Coné: *len*] *bu 'grol zhing 'dod pas gzir bar mtshon par byed |*

⁹⁵ *bhartur mitram priyama-vidhave viddhi mām ambu-vāhaṃ | tat-saṃdeśān manasi nihitād āgatam tvat-samīpam | yo vṛndāni tvarayati pathi śrāmyatām proṣitānām | mandra-sniḡdhair dhvanibhir abalā-veṇi-mokṣōtsukāni || = MD 2.39/V96/D 2.32 Mallinātha alternately reads *tat-saṃdeśair hṛdaya-nihitair*.*

used to translate *glāni* in verse 33!), which unambiguously indicates torment or anguish. In this verse, the translators frame the experience of desire in the context of suffering, but more importantly appear to shift this experience to the female. The male agent undoing the braids is omitted in the Tibetan, leading the reader to assume the women undid their own hair,⁹⁶ indicating their desire, but more importantly, their being tormented by desire.

The next two verses should be read in conjunction, since Verse 114 is the *yakṣa*'s reply to the concerns voiced in Verse 113.

Verse 113 -114

English from Tibetan

He further said, “Once before when you and I had gone to sleep, lying together in bed embracing,
I woke up suddenly; [you] were crying for some reason;
Agitated from this, you asked me not just once, saying,
‘In a dream I saw [you] having fun with some cheating woman!’”⁹⁷

Rather, realizing that I am generous, [and have] excellent characteristics,
O dark-eyed one, the words of wicked people are not worthy of respect;
For, a friend would say: “torment due to separation is free from enjoyment”
[But] when [she] sees these concrete things, [her] taste for love will become many
heaps.⁹⁸

English from Sanskrit

And he further said, “[One time], although clinging to me on my bed, after falling asleep, you woke up, crying loudly for some reason; [And when] I asked you repeatedly

⁹⁶ Possibly contrasting with Verse 8 in which the female lovers are described as holding their own hair back.

⁹⁷ *yang ni brjod pa sngon ni bdag dang khyod ni mal stan gnas na mgrin 'khyud gnyis song bas / bdag ni phral la rab tu sad par gyur nas ci yang ngu bar byas par gyur pa na* [Peking, Narthang: ni] / *nang nas rgod pa dang bcas lan ni cig min par khyod kyis bdag la dri ba brjod pa na / kwa ye g.yo ma 'ga' zhig dang yang dga' byed rmi lam mthong zhes* [Peking, Narthang: rmi lam du mthong zhes pa] *bdag gis khyod la'o* /

⁹⁸ *de las* [Dergé, Coné: de la] *bdag ni khyod la mtshan ma bzang po sbyin par byed pa yin par rig byas nas / ka ye 'dren byed dkar min skye bo ngan pa'i tshig las bdag la mi gus 'os ma yin / gang phyir bral bas gdungs pa longs spyod bral la de rnams mdza' bo'i brjod pa ci zhig yin / dngos po rnams ni mthong tshe mchog tu dga' ba'i ro ni mang ba'i* [Dergé, Coné: ri ni mang bo] *phung po nyid du 'gyur* /

[why], you said, laughing inwardly, [saying] ‘You cheat! I saw you in my dream sleeping with some other woman !’⁹⁹

Know that I am safe from giving proof of this, oh black-eyed one! Don’t be distrusting of me because of mean-spirited talk. They say, for whatever reason, that affections diminish during separation. But tastes for desired things [only] increase from lack of indulgence— they become heaps of love!”¹⁰⁰

Together, the Sanskrit verses make clear that the female lover in the past dreamed that her *yakṣa* had cheated on her. The Sanskrit versions of Verse 114 are offered as a verbal pre-emptive strike, designed to convince his lover that the doubts she had in her dream will not be confirmed in reality (*māṃ kuśalinam abhijñāna-dānād viditvā*); and although people may say things to convince her otherwise, such as “Affection diminishes during separation” (*snehān... virahe dhvaṃsinas/hrāsinas te*), she should be consoled by the fact that counter to their claims—much like the English idiom, “absence makes the heart grow fonder” —“due to lack of indulgence, taste for a desired thing [only] increases—it becomes heaps of love!” (*hy/tv abhogāt iṣṭe vastuni upacita-rasāḥ prema-rāśī bhavanti*).

In these final verses detailing the Cloud’s message to the lover, the *Trinki Phonya* translators took a very different approach. Rather than asserting that the *yakṣa* is safe from giving proof of this (i.e. that he would never cheat on his lover in reality), the Tibetan translators change the word-order to assert instead that the female lover will come to realize that the *yakṣa* is someone who is generous and has excellent characteristics (*mtshan ma bzang po sbyin par byed*

⁹⁹ *bhūyaś cāhe tvam api [D asi] śayane kaṅṭha-lagnā purā me | nidrāṃ gatvā kimapi rudatī sasvaram [V sasvanam] viprabuddhā | sāntar-hāsaṃ kathitam asaṅgāt pṛcchataś ca tvayā me | dṛṣṭvāḥ svapne kitava ramayan kāmapi tvam mayēti || = M2.51/V108/D2.44*

¹⁰⁰ *etasmān māṃ kuśalinam abhijñāna-dānād viditvā | mā kaulīnād asita-nayane mayy aviśvāsīnī bhūḥ | snehān āhuḥ kimapi virahe hrāsinas hy abhogād | iṣṭe vastuny upacita-rasāḥ prema-rāśī-bhavanti || For pāda 3, Mallinātha: virahe dhvaṃsinas te tv abhogād; Vallabhadeva: viraha-hrāsinas te abhogād = M2.52/V109/D2.45*

par yin par). This divergence is important because it impacts the reading of the final two *pāda*-s of this verse, the final piece of the Cloud’s message.

The Tibetan translators apparently mistake the final “d” from the *saṃdhi* created by *abhogāt* (ablative singular of *abhogaḥ*, “lack of enjoyment”) followed by *iṣṭe vastuni* (nominative plural of *vastu*, “these things”), reading it as *abhogā + dṛṣṭe vastuni* (“lack of enjoyment.. when seen, [these] things...”). Despite the presence of *hi*, (*hy abhogāt* or *tv abhogāt* according to Mallinātha) marking that *abhogāt* should be construed with the last *pāda*, the translators construe *abhogāt* with the third *pāda*, changing the sense of the entire verse: “For, a friend would say: ‘torment due to separation is free from enjoyment;’ [But] when [she] sees these concrete things, [her] taste for love will become many heaps.” The *iṣṭe* (from $\sqrt{iṣ}$) in *iṣṭe vastuni* (desired things) is translated as though it were the past passive participle of $\sqrt{dṛś}$, “to see” (**dṛṣṭe vastuni*, seen things), seemingly referring to the female lover seeing the Cloud and hence receiving the *yakṣa*’s message. This is the last of the verses in *Trinki Phonya* depicting what the *yakṣa* hopes the Cloud will convey to his lover, so the phrasing here is especially important. It is not predominantly love or desire that increases due to separation in *Trinki Phonya*; rather, it is suffering.

The argument offered to counter the female lover’s concerns is that the torment that arises due to separation is wholly separated from enjoyment (*longs spyod bral la*). In *Trinki Phonya*, it seems that only suffering is possible during separation. This alone is perhaps not so interesting an assertion; however coupled with the fourth line in *Trinki Phonya*, it becomes apparent that the remedy for this suffering is *not* a reunion for the lovers. The remedy rather appears to be messages delivered by the Cloud which increase her taste for love [again]. The

message to be delivered by the Cloud thus becomes a message of compassion, sent to alleviate her suffering. Through this reinterpretation, the erotic *gekpa* present in the Sanskrit versions is replaced by an emphasis on the Cloud as a Bodhisattva-like figure, embodying dharmic *nying-jé*, by bringing messages to alleviate the lover's suffering.

The final verse in *Trinki Phonya* is particularly relevant for examining themes related to the translation of *viraha* and related words.

Verse 117

English from Tibetan

O Cloud, having taken care of me, conveying the words of me, tormented; Whether you are being kind [to me, showing] heaps of affection, or whether you are of a compassionate mind; May you attain your desired object, may you be glorious with heaps of beautiful rain clouds, and May you never be separated from Lightning, and likewise may all of [us] also receive virtue and blessings. ¹⁰¹

English from Sanskrit

Having done this favor for me, presenting a request unworthy of you whether [done] out of friendship, or [because] I am separated, or in order to show compassion for me— Wander, O cloud, wherever you desire, with your splendor enhanced by the rain! And may you never, even for a moment, like me experience separation from Lightning (your wife)! ¹⁰²

I previously identified this as one of the verses where the word denoting separation, *viprayogaḥ*, is applied to the Cloud. This however is not the full picture. An examination reveals that both comparisons to the *yakṣa*'s experience of separation present in the Sanskrit are eliminated in the Tibetan. In the first instance in the Sanskrit, the *yakṣa*'s experience of separation is suggested as

¹⁰¹ *ka ye chu 'dzin gdung ldan bdag gi brjod pa bdag gi sems la don gnyer dga' ba yi | tshogs 'di byams par gyur pa'am rjes su [rab tu] brtse ba'i bslos ni 'di rnams kun byas nas | khyod kyang 'dod pa'i yul ni thob cing mdzes pa'i char sprin tshogs 'dzin dpal dang ldan pa dang |glog ma dang yang nam yang mi 'bral gyur cig de bzhin kun kyang dge zhing shis gyur cig | rab tu* missing from Peking, Narthang editions.

¹⁰² *etat kṛtvā priyam anucita-prārthanā-vartino me | sauhārdād vā vidhura iti vā mayy anukośa-buddhyā | iṣṭān deśāñ jalada vicara prāvṛṣā sambhṛta-śrīḥ | mā bhūd evaṃ kṣaṇam api ca te vidyutā viprayogaḥ || = M 2.55/V 111/D 2.47*

a potential reason why the Cloud might want to show compassion by delivering his messages. In *Trinki Phonya*, *vidhura* from the second *pāda* is translated as *gdung ldan* (tormented) and inserted into the first *pāda* in the Tibetan. The *yakṣa* is depicted as tormented, and thus especially grateful for the Cloud's actions (of delivering messages). The emphasis is now on the Cloud's good qualities, which are offered as reasons for the compassionate acts ("Whether you are being kind [to me, showing] heaps of affection, or whether you are of a compassionate mind"). The second reference to separation is in the last *pāda*, where in the Sanskrit there is a direct comparison being made between the *yakṣa*'s separation from his lover and the Cloud's separation from Lightning. In the context, it is clear that *evaṃ* conveys "likewise" in the sense of "like me" to emphasize this comparison between the couples. The Tibetan, however, disrupts this comparison by inserting a benediction at the end and construing the *evaṃ* (*de bzhin*) with the benediction instead. Thus although the Sanskrit contains two references to separation, both of which evoke the separation experience of the *yakṣa* and his lover, in *Trinki Phonya*'s version of this verse the only mention of separation occurs in the last *pāda* which appears to refer to only the Cloud and Lightning. The fact that the Tibetan translators inserted a benediction at the end is likewise significant. This serves to prime the reader to expect this poem be not merely a poem about separated lovers, but something which should convey blessings and virtue.

3.7 Towards a Buddhist Interpretation of the *Cloud Messenger*

My original hypothesis was that the Tibetan translators, when faced with a poem for which separated lovers (*viraha*) and the eros inherent to this (*vipralambha śṛṅgāra*) are such predominant themes, might have displayed discomfort with the emphasis on erotic themes and

resolved this through bowdlerization of the erotic in *Trinki Phonya*. Instead, the translators handled these apparent tensions in much more nuanced ways. The result, as I have argued throughout this chapter is the re-creation of the *Cloud Messenger* as a compassionate-mood-filled poem which additionally centers on themes perhaps more palatable to Buddhist monastic ears: such as dedication to one’s master, compassion for the sake of others, and the suffering inherent in desire.

While the various Sanskrit recensions of *Cloud Messenger* thematically focus on the experience of separation (*viraha*), and center heavily on the so-called ‘erotic’ mood (*śṛṅgāra rasa*, *gekpé nyam*) among poetic mood ornaments, the fourteenth-century Tibetan translation, *Trinki Phonya*, diverges from this thematic emphasis. The heavily Buddhist themes of dedication to one’s master, and compassion for others, in particular, feature prominently. Verses laden with erotic connotations of *śṛṅgāra* (*gekpa*) are often bowdlerized in the Tibetan translation, and aspects of *śṛṅgāra* most associated with *vipralambha śṛṅgāra* (unfulfilled erotic mood) are reinterpreted through the Tibetan understanding of *karuṇa rasa* (*nying-jé nyam*). Indicators of hope for reunion between the *yakṣa* and his lover—prominent in the Sanskrit recensions—are de-emphasized, minimized and undermined, further crafting the *yakṣa* as a quasi-renunciant character, albeit a seemingly reluctant one (Verses 1, 2, 102). This renunciant *yakṣa* also feels torment due to separation from his lover, though this torment is most commonly characterized in terms of the *yakṣa*’s inability to alleviate the suffering of his lover himself (Verse 7, 8, 110). While still present, the *yakṣa*’s own experience of separation and longing for his lover is likewise de-emphasized, minimized and undermined in this version. This version of *Cloud Messenger* highlights the so-called ‘sympathetic’ (*karuṇa*) or compassionate (*nying-jé*) mood, emphasizing

the pitiable situation of these two separated lovers—the female suffering due to lust and love-sickness (Verse 31, 33, 86, 100, 114), and the male (*yakṣa*) due to his inability to alleviate his partner’s torment from afar (Verse 7, 8, 110).

The Cloud, in this version of *Cloud Messenger*, becomes a *Bodhisattva*-like figure. As in the various Sanskrit recensions, the *yakṣa* asks the Cloud deliver a message to his lover; as in the Sanskrit recensions, the Cloud takes a rather scenic route through Northern India to reach the *yakṣa*’s lover (though the final destination—Ālakā versus Changlochen—may differ); as in the Sanskrit recensions, the Cloud is praised throughout the poem for his ability to delight humans, animals, and plant-life alike with the thunder, rain, and complexly beautiful hues of this traveling monsoon cloud. But, in the Tibetan translation, this Cloud is also praised and revered by men and women for alleviating the suffering of women (Verse 8); described as unintentionally encouraging lust (Verse 86), but intentionally removing the torment of lust from women’s bodies (Verse 33); appealed to as a caretaker with the duties of taking care of his lover the Sindhu River (Verse 31); and, through the compassionate act of delivering messages, imagined to alleviate the suffering of the female lover (Verse 114). This is no ordinary Cloud indeed.

The difference in emphasis is perhaps in part attributable to the diverging categorization of *viraha* in the Tibetan poetical system. The Tibetan category of *luwa* (*vipralambha*) appears an ill fit for the lovers in the *Cloud Messenger*. In the absence of theoretical explanations exemplifying separated lovers as a trope exemplifying *gekpa*, Tibetan translators may have understood this separation to be a situation exemplifying *nying-jé nyam*.

Beyond the formality of categories, it is clear that, since Sakya Paṇḍita’s elaborations on mood ornaments in the thirteenth century, there has been a Tibetan interest in interpreting the

Sanskrit poetic moods through a Buddhist lens. I argue that *Trinki Phonya*—the fourteenth-century Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger*—can be usefully considered a Tibetan Buddhist interpretation, or even *adaptation* of the Sanskrit recensions. In the following chapter I will elaborate on some of the uniquely ‘Tibetan’ characteristics of *Trinki Phonya*, including the use of Tibetan meter and use of Tibetan imagery and Buddhist geography in this piece.

Kālidāsa in Tibet: Messenger Poetry in Translation

Chapter Four

Translation as Literature: “Jangtsé and Namkha Pel, authors of *Cloud Messenger*”?

4.1 Introduction

In Jorge Luis Borges’ fictional short story “Pierre Menard, Author of *Don Quixote*” we are told that a (fictional) prolific twentieth century writer named Pierre Menard undertook to ‘write’ Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*.

He did not want to compose another *Don Quixote*—which would be easy—but *the Don Quixote*. It is unnecessary to add that his aim was never to produce a mechanical transcription of the original; he did not propose to copy it. His admirable ambition was to produce pages which would coincide—word for word and line for line—with those of Miguel de Cervantes. (Borges, “Pierre Menard, Author of *Don Quixote*” in *Ficciones*)¹

Setting aside the question for a moment of *how* such a task of authorship could be accomplished—a task which Borges himself explains only through a series of logic-defying negations—Borges describes his response to this (imagined) ‘new’ text as follows: “Shall I confess that I often imagine that he [Pierre Menard] finished it and that I am reading *Don Quixote*—the entire work—as if Menard had conceived it?”²

Borges’ story, in part, challenges the way we approach authorship in literature. One possible interpretation of this story is that reading *Don Quixote* as though it were in fact written

¹ Jorge Luis Borges, “Pierre Menard, Author of *Don Quixote*,” in *Ficciones*, ed. Anthony Kerrigan, trans. Anthony Bonner (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1962), 48-9.

² *Ibid.*, 50.

by a twentieth century author gives us a different understanding of the text that in some ways may be more profound. While this analogy ultimately breaks down for *Trinki Phonya*, it is this kind of approach to reading literature that interests me for the purposes of this chapter.

Accordingly I ask of the reader(s) of this chapter, what can we gain if we imagine for a moment that the Tibetan translator's goal was other than to simply produce a 'translation' of Kālidāsa's poem? What consequences result from approaching *Trinki Phonya* as though it were a consciously crafted piece of Tibetan poetry *in imitation of the Cloud Messenger*?

This fourteenth-century translation of the Sanskrit *Cloud Messenger*—*Trinki Phonya*—stands apart from other Tibetan translations in part because it is the first complete Tibetan translation of non-Buddhist Sanskrit poetry. However, beyond the apparent singularity of *Trinki Phonya* as an instance of Tibetan scholarly interest in producing translations of non-Buddhist Sanskrit poetry, there are features of the translation itself, that is of *Trinki Phonya* as a *text*, as a piece of *literature*, that mark it as significant in the history of Tibetan literature.

In the previous chapter, I examined *Trinki Phonya* as a translation: a linguistic interpretation from source language (Sanskrit) to target language (classical Tibetan). All discussions in this previous chapter treated *Trinki Phonya* as though it were an alternate version—and perhaps a consciously re-interpreted version—of Kālidāsa's fifth century Sanskrit poem, *Meghadūta*. Approaching *Trinki Phonya* as a translation of Kālidāsa's poem proved quite fruitful. Viewing this text through the lens of a translation allowed for a comparative study between emphases on poetic mood within the two versions of *Cloud Messenger*, thus allowing for a deeper understanding of the fourteenth-century Tibetan reception of the Sanskrit mood-ornaments (Skt. *rasa-alamkāra*, Tib. *nyamden gi gyen*).

For this current chapter, I approach *Trinki Phonya* not as a translation but rather as a consciously crafted piece of Tibetan *kāvya* (*nyen-ngak*) in and of itself, and a Tibetan contribution to the genre of “messenger” or “courier” poetry. Numerous examples of this so-called “messenger” poetry (Skt. *dūta-kāvya*, *saṁdeśa-kāvya*) have been composed in various South Asian languages including Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali, Sinhala, in both direct and indirect imitation of Kālidāsa’s poem—some with Kālidāsa’s poem as either a prior text or intertext—from the fifth century C.E. on through the present day. Because the ubiquity of cloud imagery and the broad appeal of Kālidāsa across various cultural groups over the last seventeen centuries in the history of South Asian literature, specialists from various fields at academic institutions in India, Sri Lanka, Europe, Israel and the United States have analyzed Kālidāsa’s *Meghadūta* and its ‘imitation’ messenger poems from various South Asian languages.

Tibetan *kāvya*s, however—let alone Tibetan translations of Sanskrit *kāvya*—have not yet been included in scholarly studies of *kāvya*. This is unfortunate for many reasons, not the least of which is that understanding the Tibetan reception of Kālidāsa can provide critical insights into how *kāvya* becomes incorporated into a new linguistic and Buddhist context. This chapter, thus, approaches *Trinki Phonya* as a piece of Tibetan poetry and examines the ways it serves as a *Tibetan* contribution to the genre of messenger poetry, which uniquely highlights Tibetan aesthetics including Tibetan (Buddhist) geographical imagery and Tibetan Buddhist thematic concerns.

4.2 The Use of Meter in *Trinki Phonya*

Although historical records make it clear that translators Jangtsé and Namkha Pel read a variety of Sanskrit poetic texts together, it is interesting to note that—as far as can be told from colophons of extant texts—they jointly translated into Tibetan only one Sanskrit text (in addition to the *Meghaduta*): *Ocean of Meters (Chandoratnākāra)*, the Indian Buddhist scholar Ratnākaraśānti’s eleventh-century treatise on Sanskrit meter. Whether this work was translated before or after *Trinki Phonya* remains to be determined. Given that these translators were apparently ‘well-versed’ in the use of meter (both *vr̥tta* and *jāti*) in Sanskrit poetry—and presumably in the use of meter in Tibetan poetry as well—it struck me as curious that the meter used throughout *Trinki Phonya* was strikingly longer than the more common Tibetan meters, which are commonly organized into quatrains of as few as five to fifteen syllable-lines. During this time period we do see an increase in use of longer metrical lines of Tibetan verse, often accompanied by rich and elaborate poetic language. This is especially true for translations and/or imitations of Sanskrit *kāvya*. The degree to which *Trinki Phonya* follows these typicalities will be evaluated below.

Trinki Phonya, like its Sanskrit counterpart, is written in a single meter. However, while the Sanskrit is composed in the relatively common *mandākrāntā* meter (four metrical feet of seventeen syllables per foot each),³ *Trinki Phonya* uses by contrast a relatively long Tibetan meter: four metrical feet (*pada*-s) of nineteen syllables each. Out of the 117 verses, a few do contain metrical feet comprised of either more or fewer syllables than nineteen (either seventeen

³ The *mandākrāntā* meter additionally conforms to the following metrical pattern: ___ ___ ___ | ___ UU| UUU| ___ ___ U| ___ ___ U| ___ ___ (LLL LSS SSS LLS LLS LL). “Appendix A: Sanskrit Prosody” in Vaman Shivaram Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Rev. & enlarged ed., 1st. compact ed (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1998).

or 21); however, this variation appears to be incidental and thus likely due either to a transcription (or transmission) error or, in some cases, possibly to accommodate the extra syllabic length of Sanskrit place names. Additionally, some of these examples of irregular meter are attested in only one or another of the five Tibetan recensions, thus casting further doubt on the authorial intent behind these variations. Whatever the cause behind the occasional metrical deviation in *Trinki Phonya*, it is clear that Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo chose to render the translation using a somewhat unusual metrical grouping consisting of nineteen syllables per foot, four feet per translated verse. The question of *why* these translators might have chosen to use a nineteen-syllable meter in *Trinki Phonya* remains to be explained, but before delving into this area, it is useful to elucidate Tibetan approaches to the study of Sanskrit meter.

Fourteenth-century Tibet is certainly not the first time we see Buddhist scholarly interest in the study of meter. As scholar Michael Hahn demonstrated, although Indian Buddhist scholarly interest in meter bloomed relatively late in Sanskrit literary history (eleventh and twelfth century CE), the interest was extensive. The earliest known Buddhist authors of metrical treatises were Ratnākaraśānti and Jñānaśrīmitra, author of *Vṛttimālāstuti*, *Praise in the Form of a Garland of Meters Counted by Syllables*, both of which were translated into Tibetan by the fourteenth century.⁴ The only other Buddhist treatise on Sanskrit meters extant in Tibet during the fourteenth century is *The Bunch of Flowers Consisting of Various Meters* (*Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po*), written a century earlier by Tibetan scholar Sakya Paṇḍita. As Michael Hahn elucidates, Sakya Paṇḍita's piece is an original work that centers around

⁴ Michael Hahn, "Sanskrit Metrics--As Studied at the Buddhist Universities in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries A.D.," *Journal of the Nepal Research Center* IX (1993): 57–58.

Ratnākaraśānti's *Ocean of Meters* yet also includes content otherwise known only from Jñānaśrīmitra's *Praise in the Form of a Garland of Meters*.⁵ Given that the earliest known Tibetan translation (and commentary) of Jñānaśrīmitra's work was composed by Jangtsé's uncle and teacher Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa,⁶ it seems reasonable to include both Ratnākaraśānti and Jñānaśrīmitra's treatment of Sanskrit meters in any considerations of Jangtsé and Namkha Pel's metrical choices for *Trinki Phonya*.

It is important to note that there is no one-to-one correspondence of Sanskrit to Tibetan meters, nor is there the capacity for such analysis of Tibetan verse. Tibetan *nyen-ngak*—unlike Sanskrit *kāvya*—has fairly flexible rules governing syllabic groupings and word choice. While most meters used for Sanskrit *kāvya* distinguish between light (*laghu*) and heavy (*gūṇa*) syllables within and between words and requires strict adherence to patterns of light and heavy syllables within a metrical foot,⁷ Tibetan poetry makes no such distinction; they are generally metrically regular and follow a trochaic pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables.⁸ For oral recitation, Tibetan *nyen-ngak* instead emphasizes groupings of syllables, usually into pairs of stressed and unstressed syllables. The reader will thus slightly emphasize the first syllable in each pair, fading off slightly on the second syllable. For lines with odd-numbered syllabic length, the final syllable

⁵ Ibid., 75.

⁶ Michael Hahn, *Jñānaśrīmitra's Vṛttamālāstuti. Ein Beispielsammlung zur altindischen Metrik. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur zusammen mit der mongolischen Version herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert.* (Wiesbaden, 1971): 7-8

⁷ Recall that within Sanskrit *kāvya*, typically a 'foot' is defined to be one quarter of a verse.

⁸ Alex Preminger and T.V Brogan F., eds., "Tibetan Poetry," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1290–91. For more on Tibetan prosody, See Pavel Poucha, "Le Vers Tibétain," *Archiv Orientální* XXII (1954): 563–85. See also J. Vekerdi, "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2, no. 2/3 (1952): 221–34. See also Kun Chang, "On Tibetan Poetry," *Central Asiatic Journal* 2, no. 2 (1956): 129–39.

is generally grouped by itself, though within Tibetan verse, we occasionally see a variety of permitted options for groupings of syllables. Samples from Lobsang Monlam’s Standard Tibetan Language Software⁹ will suffice to demonstrate the typical flexibility of syllabic groupings:

Figure 4.1a Nine-syllable meters (From Monlam Standard Tibetan Language Software):

Option 1: (4 pairs of 2 syllables) + (1 syllable)

ཚན་རིག་རྣམས་ལྷན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡིས། །

རང་བྱུང་འདི་གཉེན་ཁམས་གྱི་གསང་བའི་མཐའ། །

ཡོངས་སུ་བརྟོག་ནས་དགུ་ཚིགས་ཚུ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ས། །

རབ་བཞུག་བཟོ་བའི་སྤྲིང་སྤྲོབས་མད་དུ་བྱུང། །

Option 2 : (3 pairs of 2 syllables) + (1 syllable) + (2 syllables) [where the single syllable is grammatical particle]

པ་མཐའ་མི་མངོན་ཞི་བདེ་ཡི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། །

ནམ་མཁའི་དབྱིངས་དང་འདྲེས་བ་ལྟར་གྱུར་ཏེ། །

ཞོགས་བའི་ཉི་གཞོན་ཚུ་མཚོ་ཡི་ནང་ནས། །

མངོན་བར་འཆར་བའི་སྤྲད་མོ་ཞིག་མཐོང་ངོ། །

Option 3: (2 pairs of 2 syllables) + (1 syllable) + (2 pairs of 2 syllables) [where the single syllable is a grammatical particle]

⁹ All of these metrical groupings and examples are extracted from the those listed in “Tshigs bead klog stangs” under *Gtam brjod* (Speech) in Monlam, Lobsang. Monlam bod kyi thung mong skad gdangs (Monlam Standard Tibetan Language Software) [Software]. Retrieved November 2015 from <http://www.monlamit.org/node/80> and <http://www.monlamit.org/node/68>.

Figure 4.1a, continued

སྐས་གྱི་གདང་བྱ་དང་འབྲ་བའི་རི་བོའི་ངོས་སུ། །
 གང་བྱས་བཞོད་འདོམས་ལ་ཉན་བའི་འབྲུལ་འཁོར་གཏོང་ཆེ། །
 འཁྲོག་འཁྲོག་རི་སུལ་གྱི་ཁྱག་བ་ཡུད་ཙམ་ཞིག་ལ། །
 བཞོད་ལེགས་མཚོད་རྟེན་དང་འབྲ་བའི་ཞིང་ཐང་ཆགས་སོ། །

Figure 4.1b Eleven-syllable meters (From Monlam Standard Tibetan Language Software):

Option 1: (5 pairs of 2 syllables) + (1 syllable)

ཁ་བའི་མདོག་ལྷར་རབ་དཀར་རྒྱ་ཆེའི་རས་ཡོལ་ངོས། །
 མ་བྲིས་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཡོངས་གྱི་ངོ་མཚར་བཞོད་བའི་གཟུགས། །
 མ་སྤྱན་མངོན་སུམ་མཐོང་བའི་སློག་གི་སྣང་བརྟན་འདིས། །
 ཁྱ་ཚུང་རབ་གསལ་མིག་གི་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ཡངས་པོར་བྱས། །

Figure 4.1b, continued

Option 2: (5 pairs of 2 syllables) + (1 syllable) [where the single syllable is grammatical particle]

མོ་གྲོས་མི་བཟད་ནས་མཁའ་ཡངས་པའི་མཛོད་བཟང་བུ། |
ལུང་རྟོགས་སྐྱབ་བསྟན་ཉི་མའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མི་ལུབ་པར། |
འཛིན་པའི་དགེ་མཚན་རྒྱལ་ཡབ་དཀར་པའི་འཛོ་སྐྱེག་ཅན། |
གངས་ལྗོངས་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས་པའི་ཞབས་བྱེད་བུ། |

Option 3: (2 pairs of 2 syllables) + (1 syllable) + (3 pairs of 2 syllables) [where the single syllable is grammatical particle]

སྐས་གྱི་གདང་བུ་དང་འབྲ་བའི་རི་བོའི་ངོས་སུ། |
གང་བྱས་བཀོད་འདོམས་ལ་ཉན་པའི་འབྲུལ་འཁོར་གཉོང་ཚེ། |
འཁྲོག་འཁྲོག་རི་སུལ་གྱི་ཁྱུག་པ་ལུད་ཅམ་ཞིག་ལ། |
བཀོད་ལེགས་མཚོད་རྟེན་དང་འབྲ་བའི་ཞིང་ཐང་ཆགས་སོ། |

If we apply these metrical trends to the recitation of *Trinki Phonya*, we see that Verse 1 of *Trinki Phonya* would typically be grouped syllabically as follows into (nine pairs of two syllables) + (one syllable):

*rje bo khros pas shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung dag gis gzi brjed nyams par byas 'gyur **cing** / gnod sbyin 'ga' zhig la ni rang nyid bag med dbang gyur mdzes ma spong la lo yi **bar** / yid 'ong skyed byed bu mo'i khrus bya bsod nams chu bor rnam dang shin tu rab mdzes **pa'i** /*

rab bzang ljon shin grib ma dang ldan rā ma'i ri bor song la spyod pas gnas pa gyis //

However, as I have heard it performed in contemporary oral recitation of Tibetan poetry,¹⁰ occasionally these pairs of syllables are read aloud as though they are actually arranged into groups of four syllables (two pairs of two syllables) with a slight emphasis on the first syllable of each grouping (indicated by bold) and a slight pause after the last member of each grouping (indicated by a space). Additionally, the voiced sound of the final syllable of each foot is emphasized and held for the duration of two syllables (indicated by bold and a blank space).

rje bo khros pas shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung dag gis gzi brjed nyams par byas 'gyur cing /
gnod sbyin 'ga' zhig la ni rang nyid bag med dbang gyur mdzes ma spong la lo yi bar /
vid 'ong skyed byed bu mo'i khrus bya bsod nams chu bor rnams dang shin tu
rab mdzes pa'i /
rab bzang ljon shin grib ma dang ldan rā ma'i ri bor song la spyod pas gnas pa gyis //

In addition to the aesthetic benefit of a smoother recitation than pairs of syllables would allow, this choice of grouping for *Trinki Phonya* verses additionally clarifies the meaning of the verse for both the reader and the listener. Rather than occurring after individual words—or in the middle of words!—pauses more often occur naturally after classifiers, case markers, pronouns, and similar grammatical elements, correspondingly more closely to the way phrase breaks occur in Tibetan prose as well.

Trinki Phonya's use of nineteen-syllable feet is quite uncommon for Tibetan poetry prior to this period in Tibetan literature. The *Two-Volume Lexicon*, whose introductory section advises translators in various Sanskrit-to-Tibetan translation-related matters does not specify a preferred metrical length, stipulating only that each translated verse should contain either four or

¹⁰ My primary source for this alternate way of reciting Tibetan poetry was through reading with Amdo-born Tibetan poet and poetry specialist Lobsang Gyatso through the NGO *Esukhia* in Dharamsala, U.P. (India) December 2012. Our focus when reading through *Trinki Phonya* was to gain a greater understanding of the ways in which Tibetan *kāvya* (*nyen-ngak*) is recited in contemporary contexts.

six metrical feet per verse.¹¹ Given that Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa used the not-uncommon Sanskrit meter called *Mandākrāntā*—which has seventeen syllables per foot—there appears to be no obvious reason why Tibetan translators may have preferred a meter of nineteen syllables per foot, other than the capacity to explore a more lengthy and elegant poetic translation, which had become a more common practice by this time. Upon analysis of the individual verses, I noted no pattern which might indicate a particular utility in the choice of a nineteen-syllable meter. Some verses are translated quite concisely, and others with more elaboration. My first hypothesis thus was that the choice of nineteen syllables appears to be arbitrary. This hypothesis, however, might incorrectly imply that Jangtsé and Namkha Pel had no working knowledge of Sanskrit meter to consider rendering into Tibetan, or else that these translators had no pragmatic interest in the rendering of Sanskrit meter into an eloquent Tibetan.

This claim is easy to refute. The standard treatise for Tibetans on Sanskrit meter is Ratnākaraśānti’s *Ocean of Meters*, which Jangtsé and Namkha Pel first translated into Tibetan in the fourteenth century. The final revision of this text—which also includes a transliteration of the Sanskrit—by Shalu Lotsāwa Rinchen Chökyong Zangpo (a student of Jangtsé) is the version that is preserved in the Tengyur. The auto-commentary of this text (also by Ratnākaraśānti) was translated by Chöden Rasawa and Yarlungpa Dagpa Gyaltsen nearly a century earlier, and subsequently revised and edited by Namkha Pel.¹² If a translation of a text can be taken as

¹¹ See Mie Ishikawa, *A Critical Edition of the Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1990). “If mixing up [the word order] is convenient and facilitates understanding, for verse it is appropriate to render them into [groupings] of either four or six [metrical] feet. Within each verse, one should translate, mixing [up the word order] however is convenient.” Tibetan: *bsnor na bde zhing go ba bskyed pa zhig yod na | tshigs bcad la ni rtsa ba bzhi pa’am | drug pa’ang rung ste | tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi nang na gang bde ba bsnor zhing sgyur cig |*

¹² E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001):202. See also Ratnākaraśānti and Kendrīya-Tibbatī-Ucca-Śikṣā-Saṃsthānam,

indicative of a relatively strong understanding of that text, then it is clear these translators were knowledgeable about a variety of Sanskrit meters.¹³ Further, given that *Trinki Phonya* and their translation of *Ocean of Meters* remain the only extant translations—not to mention the only known translations—produced by this team of translators, it is clear that the study of Sanskrit meter was a priority for this team.¹⁴

The question still remains whether these translators applied their knowledge of Sanskrit meter to their metrical choice translation of *Meghadūta* or whether their choice was more pragmatically based. To address this, we must consider the Tibetan understanding of the Sanskrit metrical tradition. In the Sanskrit tradition, long meters are not uncommon. For instance, Ratnākaraśānti's exemplification of Sanskrit syllabo-quantitative meters (*varṇavṛtta*) in the second chapter of his treatise lists meters ranging from six to 32 syllables per foot.¹⁵ Among the nineteen-syllable meters Ratnākaraśānti includes within this section (Sanskrit *atidhṛti*), while the meter called *Meghavisphūṛjita* (Verse 70) is listed first in this text, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (Verse 71)

Chandoratnākaraḥ: Svopajñavṛtṭyā Samanvītaḥ, 1. saṃskaraṇa, Bhoṭa-Bhāratīya Granthamālā 18 (Sāranātha, Vārāṇasī: Kendrīya Ucca Tibbatī-Śikṣā-Saṃsthāna, 1990).

¹³ The poetic ingenuity of the *Cloud Messenger* translation itself—which is sufficiently complex and subtle to warrant linguistic expertise in both and Sanskrit and Tibetan poetic language—only confirms this duo's deep understanding of poetry and meter. Fortunately we also have attestation from Jangtsé biography that he studied numerous Sanskrit grammatical and poetical texts. See Chapter Two for more details.

¹⁴ Note that while *Ocean of Meters* is the only other known translation produced by this pair of translators, there exists at least one other translation attributed to Jangtsé, namely Jñānamitra's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* commentary. cf. Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "Notes on Jñānamitra's Commentary on the Abhidharmasammucaya," in *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners: The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, ed. Ulrich Timme Kragh (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, Department of South Asian studies, 2013), 1388–1429.

¹⁵ While Ratnākaraśānti's treatise more generally exemplifies a range of Sanskrit syllabic- and non-syllabic-based meters (*varṇavṛtta* and *jāti*), his second chapter focuses on syllabic meters with an equal number of syllables per foot (*samāvṛtta*). See Ratnākaraśānti, and Michael Hahn, *Ratnākaraśānti's Chandoratnākara* (Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre, 1982).

has been more commonly used in Sanskrit poetry, exemplified in another of Kālidāsa's works, *Raghuvāṃśā*. For the *Śārdulavikrīḍita* meter the caesura (*yati*) divides each metrical foot into groupings of twelve (*sūrya*) and seven (*aśva*) syllables.¹⁶ Considering the popularity of this meter in Sanskrit, I considered this the first viable contender for a model meter. Applying this caesura pattern to the Verse 1 of *Trinki Phonya* gives us the following:

rje bo khros pas shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung dag gis gzi brjed nyams par byas 'gyur cing /
gnod sbyin 'ga' zhig la ni rang nyid bag med dbang gyur mdzes ma spong la lo yi bar/
vid 'ong skyed byed bu mo'i khrus bya bsod nams chu bo rnams dang shin tu rab mdzes
pa'i /
rab bzang ljon shin grib ma dang ldan rā ma'i ri bor song la spyod pas gnas pa gyis //

From this example, we see that for the first two feet (and possibly the fourth), this caesura pattern admits semantic coherence. In the first and fourth feet, the break occurs after the agentive particle *gis* and the locative particle *-r* respectively. In the second foot, the break occurs after the verbal form *gyur* (*dbang gyur*) which is also not uncommon for Tibetan metrical breaks. In the third foot, the break actually separates the plural ending *rnams* from its lexical item (*chu bo*), which though not ideal, is again not uncommon.

There is however a nineteen-syllable syllabo-quantitative meter which is considered to be genetically related to the *Mandākrānta* meter used in Kālidāsa's original work: the previously mentioned *Meghavisphūrjita*.¹⁷ Given the primacy of this meter in Ratnākaraśānti's text¹⁸ and its

¹⁶ In other words, the break occurs after the twelfth syllable of each metrical foot.

¹⁷ Amulyadhan Mukherji describes *Meghavisphūrjita* as a composite meter comprised of the *Mandākrāntā* meter with an "iambic foot at the commencement." See Amūlyadhana Mukhopādhyāya, *Sanskrit Prosody: Its Evolution*, 1st ed (Calcutta: Saraswat Library, 1976): 192-3.

¹⁸ *Meghavisphūrjita* is the first meter listed under the *Atidhṛti* (19-syllable meter) section. It occurs in Verse 70 of the Second section of Ratnākaraśānti's text. See Rinchen Jungné, *Sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas zhes bya ba* (Ratnākaraśānti's *Chadoratnākāra*). Translated by Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo. In *Sde dge bstan 'gyur, sgra mdo*, se 351b1-360b6 (Tōh. 4303) TBRC W23703. See also Ratnākaraśānti, and Michael Hahn, *Ratnākaraśānti's Chandoratnākāra* (Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre, 1982): 8.

semantically-apt name (“Roaring of Clouds”), we might consider this meter a possible inspiration for *Trinki Phonya*. *Meghavisphūrjitā*’s caesura patterns are similar to that of *Śārdulavikrīḍita*; the breaks occur after the sixth, twelfth, and final (nineteenth) syllable of each metrical foot (6+6+7).¹⁹

When we apply the caesura patterns suggested by the *Meghavisphūrjitā* meter to *Trinki Phonya*, a new pattern emerges. Compare the more typical Tibetan grouping of elements to the grouping suggested by the *Meghavisphūrjitā* meter:

Figure 4.2 - *Trinki Phonya* Verse 1 metrical comparison

Traditional Tibetan grouping of syllables:

rje bo khros pas shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung dag gis gzi brjid nyams par byas 'gyur cing /
gnod sbyin 'ga' zhig la ni rang nyid bag med dbang gyur mdzes ma spong la lo yi bar /
yid 'ong skyed byed bu mo'i khros bya bsod nams chu bor rnams dang shin tu rab mdzes pa'i /
rab bzang ljon shin grib ma dang ldan rā ma'i ri bor song la spyod pas gnas pa gyis //

Grouping of syllables suggested by the location of caesurae (*yāti*) in the *Meghavisphūrjitā* meter:

rje bo khros pas shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung dag gis gzi brjid nyams par byas 'gyur cing /
gnod sbyin 'ga' zhig la ni rang nyid bag med dbang gyur mdzes ma spong la lo yi bar /
yid 'ong skyed byed bu mo'i khros bya bsod nams chu bor rnams dang shin tu rab mdzes
pa'i /
rab bzang ljon shing grib ma dang ldan rā ma'i ri bor song la spyod pas gnas pa gyis //

The groupings suggested by the *Meghavisphūrjitā* caesura patterns result in a curious divergence from more typical Tibetan poetical groupings. As we see from Figure 4.2 above, this divergent grouping pattern admits the caesura to occur (primarily) after grammatical particles: the

¹⁹ For the 19-syllable section, The Tibetan version of Ratnākaraśānti’s *Ocean of Meters* introduces this meter as follows: “The one [beginning with these] six [syllables]: *ya mu na su ra wa* is rendered as “The roar of clouds”. *yamūnsū rephau vaḥ ṣaḍhṛtuturagair meghavisphurjitā syāt |... ya mu na su ra ra wa rnams drug dus mgyogs 'gro'i sprin rnams sgrogs su 'gyur |* See Rinchen Jungné. *Sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas zhes bya ba* (Ratnākaraśānti’s *Chadoratnākāra*). Translated by Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo. In *Sde dge bstan 'gyur, sgra mdo*, se 351b1-360b6 (Tōh. 4303) TBRC W23703: 354A.

dative/locative *tu* and *-r*, instrumental *gis*, genitive *-i*, emphatic *ni* and the connector particle *cing*. By comparison, although the more traditional grouping of syllables likewise occasionally breaks after grammatical particles, more commonly the pause occurs after individual words or phrases, independent of grammatical markers.

There is no compelling evidence to indicate that these translators were consciously imitating this particular meter. However, I suggest that the translators may have considered this as a kind of inspiration, in part because of its name: as a play on words, akin to a linguistic pun on the title of the poem.²⁰ It is worth noting also that the *Meghavisphūrjita* meter is genetically related to the *Mandākrāntā* meter which was used for all but a few of the Sanskrit messenger poems (*dūta-kāvya*) composed since the time of Kālidāsa.²¹

Whatever the reason, while the use of a longer meter was not uncommon by this time period, this metrical choice was not entirely uncontested. Nordrang Ogyen, in his early twenty-first century Tibetan commentary on *Trinki Phonya*, implicitly reveals a discomfort with the nineteen-syllable meter used by Jangtsé and Namkha Pel in their fourteenth century translation. For each of the 117 Tibetan verses, Nordrang first provides the ‘canonical’ nineteen-syllable translation by Jangtsé and Namkha Pel. Then, following his own narrative explanation, Nordrang subtly—without explicitly marking it as such—provides a re-translation of each verse in the same nineteen-syllable meter, with a few significant differences, some of which I will elaborate upon in the following chapter. However, additionally—as if to indicate that even a

²⁰ Note that both the name of the meter, *meghavisphūrjita* and the title of the Sanskrit poem *Meghadūta* share the theme of clouds (Skt *megha*, Tibetan *sprin*).

²¹ Chintaharan Chakravarti, “Origin and Development of *Dūtakāvya* Literature in Sanskrit,” *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (1927): 291-2.

nineteen-syllable meter would not do the poem justice—Nordrang additionally provides two alternate translations for each re-translated verse: one each in common eleven-syllable and nine-syllable per foot meters respectively.

There is a remaining interpretative possibility for why these translators may have been influenced by *Meghavisphūrjita*, for which an examination of the *Meghavisphūrjita* meter in Jñānaśrīmitra’s *Praise in the Form of a Garland of Meters Counted by Syllables (Vṛttamālāstuti)* yields more helpful results. Translated by Jangtsé’s uncle Pang Lotsāwa,²² the Tibetan version of Jñānaśrīmitra’s work illustrates 150 meters in the form of a hymn addressed to a Buddhist deity: the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.²³

Regarding the *Meghavisphūrjita* meter
O lord of those extremely firm beings
who for the welfare of others
continue to stay (in the circle of existences),
you abode of the desire for those manifold sentiments
which arise because of the compassion with everybody—
listen to what I am going to tell you:
Grant, oh teacher, only for a moment
that purest of all pure states,
by which you take away
the visible manifestations of my bad deeds (*me 'ghavisphūrjitāni*)!²⁴

²² Michael Hahn, “The Sanskrit Text of Jñānaśrīmitra’s Vṛttamālāstuti,” in *Bauddhasāhityastabakāvalī: Essays and Studies on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, ed. Dragomir Dimitrov, Roland Steiner, and Michael Hahn (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2008): 94.

²³ Michael Hahn, “Śākyarakṣita’s Vṛttamālāvivṛti on Jñānaśrīmitra’s Vṛttamālāstuti,” *South Asian Classical Studies* 8 (2013), 265.

²⁴ Translation from Sanskrit by Michael Hahn from Ibid., 269-270. *Sanskrit: parārthe sthāsnūnām atidhṛtimatām īśa viśvānukampāmukhonmīlannānārasarasapad ākarṇayāvedayāmi | daśāṃ tām ādhehi kṣaṇam api guro pāvanīṃ pāvanānāṃ samantadhvāntāni praharasi yayā me 'ghavisphūrjitāni* || Tibetan from Michael Hahn, *Jñānaśrīmitra’s Vṛttamālāstuti. Ein Beispielsammlung Zur Altindischen Metrik*. Asiatische Forschungen 33 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1971): 180. *gzhan gyi don la gnas pa shin tu brtan ldan rnams kyi dbang po sna tshogs thugs rje yi | sgo nas 'dus pa'i sna tshogs 'dod ldan nyams kyi gnas gyur gson cig bdag gis rigs lags so | bla ma gang gis bdag gi sdig pa rnam par bsgyings pa kun nas mun par byed pa rnams | 'phrog byed dag nyed rnams kyi dag byed gnas skabs de ni skad cig tsam yang sgrub par mdzod ||*

As can be seen from this description, Jñānaśrīmitra creatively parsed the Sanskrit verse-name *megha-visphūrjita* (roaring of clouds) as *me 'gha-visphūrjitāni*²⁵(my bad deeds) within the larger narrative of a verse propitiating the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī to remove the manifestations of the author's (Jñānaśrīmitra's) bad deeds. This method of parsing Sanskrit compounds in two or more different ways—referred to as *śleṣa* in Sanskrit—is a rhetorical device and literary mode used in Sanskrit *kāvya*. Operating much like a homophone- or homonym-based pun in English, this method of literary composition allows for two or more readings of the same word, passage or line in literature. In Sanskrit literature, this device has, upon occasion, been used to compose entire poems such that a poem can be read bitextually from beginning to end. In his book, *Extreme Poetry: The South Asian Movement of Simultaneous Narration*, Yigal Bronner describes *śleṣa* as “..not an allegory or an insinuation based primarily on extralingual factors, but a unique manipulation of language itself with the aim of making it consistently double.”²⁶ In the case of the phrase *meghavisphūrjita*, the more typical reading would be “roaring of clouds” (*meghānām visphūrjitaḥ*). The second reading suggested by Jñānaśrīmitra's poem would be “removal of my bad deeds” (*me 'ghānām visphūrjitaḥ*). If we posit that Jangtsé and Namkha Pel based *Trinki Phonya*'s metrical phrasings on the *Meghavisphūrjita* meter, a new interpretative possibility for *Trinki Phonya* emerges: one in which the poem can usefully be seen as a simultaneous exploration of the themes of both the “roaring of clouds” and “the removal of bad deeds.”

If we imagine this verse to be a potential lens through which *Trinki Phonya* can be usefully approached, and imagine that one potential function of the use of the *Meghavisphūrjita*

²⁵ Tibetan *bdag gi sdig pa rnam par bsgyings pa*.

²⁶ Yigal Bronner, *Extreme Poetry : The South Asian Movement of Simultaneous Narration*, South Asia across the Disciplines (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010): 5-6.

meter in *Trinki Phonya* may in fact have been *to evoke this precise sentiment*, we would read *Trinki Phonya* in a different way. As I will argue in the remainder of this chapter, there is in fact considerable textual evidence to suggest that *Trinki Phonya*'s Cloud can in fact be usefully approached as a bodhisattva-like figure whose "roar," motivated by compassion for the welfare of others, conveys messages that not only remove the bad deeds of others but eliminate their suffering as well. This reader-response approach informs my reading of *Trinki Phonya*—as if *Trinki Phonya*, that is Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, were a Tibetan piece of *kāvya* written by a pair of fourteenth-century educated Buddhist Tibetan scholars: Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo.

4.3 Sacred landscapes and path imagery

While overt descriptions of the Cloud as a messenger of compassion occur relatively late in *Trinki Phonya*, the Bodhisattva reading is prefigured earlier in this text through the usage of Buddhist sacred landscape and path imagery. Scholars of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* and of its (both Sanskrit and vernacular) imitations often note the importance of regionally specific geographical references within the Sanskrit original and its imitation poems.²⁷ Some imitation poems follow different routes or emphasize different areas. *Trinki Phonya* is similar in this regard. While the general path of the Cloud in Kālidāsa's poem (from Rāmagiri northward into the Himalayan mountains) is the same in *Trinki Phonya*, subtle differences in the description of the landscape

²⁷ See Chintaharan Chakravarti, "Origins of *dūtakāvya*" *Indian Historical Quarterly* c.1 v. 3 1927: 273. See also Steven P. Hopkins, "Lovers, Messengers, and Beloved Landscapes: *Sandేశakāvya* in Comparative Perspective," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 8, 1-3 (2004): 29-55. see also: Yigal Bronner David Shulman, "A Cloud Turned Goose": Sanskrit in the vernacular millennium" *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 43, 1 (2006) SAGE New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London DOI: 10.1177/001946460504200401

coupled with a few key location changes craft a path for the Cloud that is rich with Tibetan Buddhist imagery and iconography.

In Verse 7 of *Trinki Phonya*, we get the first hint that the Cloud's path may diverge slightly from that of Kālidāsa's Cloud:

O water-bearer, you are the refuge for those in anguish;
Thus, please compose a message to my love from me, roaming and separated [from her]
because my life-long master is extremely angry.
You must go to the place where the palaces are illuminated by the moonlight from the
crown of head of Indra who is in the outer gardens:
The place known as Changlochen, the great abode of Vajrapāṇi (emphasis mine).²⁸

Kālidāsa's Cloud, by comparison, is instructed to go to Ālakā, where the lord of the *yakṣas*, Kubera, resides.²⁹ An interesting peculiarity of the choice of Changlochen is that it is used to refer to at least three distinct places within the Tibetan lexicographical tradition. The earliest Tibetan-Sanskrit lexicon, the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, lists Changlochen as the place “where they wore matted hair (*alakavat*).”³⁰ Given the multiple spelling variations of Ālakā, including Alakā and Alaka, it is easy to see why a Tibetan interpreter may have chosen Changlochen as a potential translation for Ālakā.

²⁸ *ka ye chu ldan khyod ni shin tu gdungs gyur skabs nyid de phyir bdag gi dga' ma* [Dergé, Coné: *ba*] *la | gtan* [Dergé: *gtam*] *gyi bdag po ches cher khros pas 'khyams shing bral ba bdag gi phrin ni mdzad du gsol | phyi rol skyed tshal* [Dergé, Coné: *skyed mos* (no *tshal*)] *mchog gnas 'phrog byed gtsug gi zla ba'i 'od kyis snang byas khang bzang can | gsang ba'i bdag po'i [bsti gnas, missing from Peking and Narthang] lchang lo can zhes bya ba'i gnas su khyod gshegs mdzod | Sanskrit: saṃtaptānām tvam asi śaraṇam tat payoda priyāyāḥ | saṃdeśam me hara dhana-pati-krodha-viśleṣitasya | gantavyā te vasatir ālakā nāma yakṣêśvarāṇām | bāhyōdyāna-sthita-hara-śiraś-candrikā-dhauta-harmyā || = M7/V7/D7*

²⁹ *saṃtaptānām tvam asi śaraṇam tat payoda priyāyāḥ | saṃdeśam me hara dhana-pati-krodha-viśleṣitasya | gantavyā te vasatir ālakā nāma yakṣêśvarāṇām | bāhyōdyāna-sthita-hara-śiraś-candrikā-dhauta-harmyā || = M7/V7/D7*. For more on Kubera and other *yakṣa/yakkha* figures in Buddhist mythology see Gail Hinich Sutherland, *The Disguises of the Demon : The Development of the Yakṣa in Hinduism and Buddhism*, SUNY Series in Hindu Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

³⁰ See Sakaki 4137. *aṭakāvati (alakāvati) lcañ lo can*. Ryozauro Sakaki, “Mahāvvyutpatti, 2 Vols” (Kyoto, 1916), <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=263> (accessed February 2017).

However, there is a more common use of *Changlochen* in Tibetan lexicography. The Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary known as *Tshig dzö Chenmo (The Great Lexicon)* defines *lcang lo can* as “The abode of either Vajrapāṇi (*gsang bdag*) or Vaiśravaṇa/Kubera (*rnam [thos] sras*).”³¹ Yet when we closely examine Verse 7 again for the Tibetan phrasing, it becomes clear which of the meanings the Tibetan interpreters intended for their audience: “the Changlochen of Vajrapāṇi (*gsang ba'i bdang po'i lcang lo can*).”

More commonly in Tibetan, Changlochen is the name used to refer to a specific area in the Tsang region of Tibet believed to be the abode (or alternately the pure land) of Vajrapāṇi, a popular and important bodhisattva and dharma protector (*dharmapala*) in both Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna forms of Buddhism. Also known as Vajrasattva, he is referred to in one Mahāyāna *sūtra* called the *Golden Light Sūtra (Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtreन्द्रarājāḥ)* as “great general of the *yakṣa*-s.”³² Subtle though it may be, this interpretive choice crafts for *Trinki Phonya* a distinctly Buddhist feel to the Cloud’s path. Tibetan readers know from Verse 7 onward that the Cloud will eventually reach Vajrapāṇi’s³³ abode. This subtle shift in cosmographical orientation then impacts the reception of the remainder of the poem, rendering the Cloud’s journey as akin to a Buddhist pilgrimage, albeit a bit of a non-traditional one.³⁴

³¹ *gsang bdag dang rnam sras kyi gnas*. See Yisun Zhang, *Zang Han Da Ci Dian = Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, vol. Di 1 ban (Peking: Min zu chu ban she: Xin hua shu dian fa xing, 1985): 765.

³² Vessantara. *Meeting the Buddhas: A Guide to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tantric Deities*. Birmingham [England]: Windhorse Publications, 1998 (ISBN 0904766535), 162.

³³ It is significant to note that both Vajrapāṇi and Kubera are *yakṣas*, thus making this geographical shift a subtle, and likely intentional choice.

³⁴ For a brief historical account of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage practices including popular sites, see Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & the Tibetan Invention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 59-74.

While seemingly extreme for a translation, this choice to direct the Cloud on a pilgrimage route is not so different from what we find in other Sanskrit messenger poetry written in imitation of Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger*. As Steven Hopkins compellingly argues, fourteenth century South Indian poet Vedantādeśika grounds his messenger poem, *Goose Messenger* (*Haṃsasandeśa*), in South Indian Hindu Śaivite temple and pilgrimage imagery.³⁵ Unlike in Kālidāsa’s poem—in which the Cloud travels from the South (Rāmagīri) to the north (Alakā)—Vedāntadeśika’s messenger (here a goose) is asked to deliver a message from Rāma to his beloved Sītā, who is in captivity in Laṅka under Rāvaṇa. The goose follows a pilgrimage route southward to Laṅka, passing through various locations filled with Śaivite imagery, including the Holy hills of Tirupati, Kāñcīpuram, Vṛṣabha Hill, and many others.³⁶ In this way, *Trinki Phonya*’s inclusion of Buddhist pilgrimage imagery would seem to mark it as more fully participating in the *sandeśa-kāvya* genre.

The next major shift in geography involves another linguistic ambiguity. In Verse 26, whether by accident or design, the Cloud is described as going to Rājagrha (modern-day Rajgir in Bihar), a place famed as the location where the Buddha gave many of his teachings. It is also one of shrines of the so-called Eight Sites of the Buddha (Skt: *aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya*, Tib. *gnas chen po brgyad kyi mchod rten*), which have been popular and important pilgrimage sites for much of Tibet’s Buddhist-influenced history.³⁷ Verse 26 reads:

³⁵ Steven P. Hopkins, “Lovers, Messengers, and Beloved Landscapes: Sandeśakāvya in Comparative Perspective,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 8, 1–3 (2004), 33-37.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-46.

³⁷ For more on the history of the 8 sites and their ‘reinvention’ and reception in Tibet, see Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & the Tibetan Invention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 22-36, 72-4.

To the north of there, go quickly to the capital named Vidisha, the King of Weapons;
 There, you will obtain the great fruit—you will immediately attain an extraordinarily
 high position;
 Flowing from the expansive shore, melodious, and delicious,
 You will drink from that auspicious *Vita* ocean, waves moving like the movement of a
 eyebrows on [a woman's] face!³⁸

Just like the word “Rajgir/Rājagṛha,” Gyalpö khab (*rgyal po'i khab*) can simply mean “palace,” or “capital.” In Tibetan, this is perhaps its more common meaning. *The Great Lexicon* defines *rgyal po'i khab* as “1) A palace of house of a king. 2) One of the six great cities of ancient India, [i.e. Rājagṛha].”³⁹ Thus, the Tibetan could be a mistranslation of the Sanskrit word *rāja-dhānī*, “capital city” (perhaps mistaking it for *rāja-dhāman*). Whatever the intent of the translators, the impact of this phrasing is clear. For the Tibetan—particularly for the Tibetan *Buddhist*—reader, when the phrase Gyalpö khab is used, the Buddhist pilgrimage site, Rājagṛha, will be evoked as a secondary association, and along with it, relevant Buddhist imagery. Reaffirming the Buddhist pilgrimage connection we see that a few verses later the Cloud next visits Vaiśālī, also included among the eight sites (*gnas chen po brgyad kyi mchod rten*) mentioned previously. In Verse 32:

From the peak of Avanti, in which the village elderly women know the tales about
 Udayana.
 Then go to the city palaces previously described—that greatly splendid and excellent
 Vaiśālī;
 It's as if the gods came and, with their remaining merit, stole a beautiful piece of
 heavenly earth

³⁸ *de yi byang phyogs gzhi la bi di sha zhes mtshon cha* [Peking, Narthang *mtshon cha*; Coné, Dergé *mchod cha* 'Beckh *mtshan pa*] *rgyal po'i khab tu myur song nas| der ni khyod kyis shin tu che ba'i 'bras thob mchog gi go 'phang 'phral la thob 'gyur zhing| che ba'i kha zheng dang ldan mtha' nas lhung lhung skad snyan sgrog dang ro zhim dang ldan pa| g.yo ba'i rlabs phreng gdong la smin ma g.yo bzhin bi ta'i* [Coné, Dergé *bzhin pa 'dri'i*] *mtsho de'ang skal bzang khyod 'thung 'gyur|* Sanskrit = M25/V24/D24. While all extant Tibetan recensions give *mtshon cha* (weapon) or *mchod cha* (ritual implements), it is likely that Beckh's amendment to *mtshan pa* is more faithful to the Sanskrit *lakṣaṇa*, and thus is more likely an accurate reading.

³⁹ 1) *rgyal po'i pho brang ngam khyim|* 2) *sngar rgya gar gyi grong khyer chen po drug gi gras shig*. See Yisun Zhang, *Zang Han Da Ci Dian = Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, vol. Di 1 ban (Peking: Min zu chu ban she : Xin hua shu dian fa xing, 1985): 553.

That had become the fruit of their good sayings.⁴⁰

This association between the Cloud's path and a Buddhist pilgrimage is thus implicitly affirmed, both through the Cloud's journey through various 'Buddhist' pilgrimage sites and through the emphasis placed on the Cloud's destination of Changlochen.

These literary choices—or perhaps, translation choices—to use Tibetan Buddhist place names in effect imbues *Trinki Phonya* with a subtle Buddhist valence that carries throughout the poem. The significance of these choices is underscored by the rarity of Tibetan language place names within the poem. By contrast, for other place names, the translators more often rendered the Sanskrit place names in Tibetan transliteration, as the ninth-century *Two-Volume*

Grammatical Treatise (*Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*) advises:

If there is a word that is fittingly interpreted in many ways, it should be rendered as appropriate for general understanding, without translating in one particular way. When translating the names of places, animals, flowers, plants and so forth, if it is confusing, and not easy [to understand], even if it seems appropriate to give an approximate translation, for the [words] whose meaning is uncertain in that case, one should leave them in the Indian language and add the respective [categorical word]: place, flower, etc.⁴¹

A brief survey of place names in *Trinki Phonya* reveals that most of the place names in *Trinki*

Phonya are either partial or full transliterations of the Sanskrit names into Tibetan script:

⁴⁰ *a wanti'i yul thog nas u da ya na'i gnam ni grong gi rgan mos shes pa yod | de rjes grong khyer sngar bstan khang bzang yangs shing dpal dang phun tshogs che ldan yangs pa can | 'dzam gling sa gzhir mtho ris mdzes ldan dum bu bsod nams lhag ma rnams kyis skabs gsum pa'i| legs bshad 'bras bur gyur pas nyung shas 'ga' zhig dag ni phrogs nas 'ongs par gyur pa bzhin || Sanskrit = M31/V30/D30.*

⁴¹ *gar yang drang du rung ba'i tshig cig byung na| phyogs gcig tu chad par mi bsgyur bar spyir snyegs su rung bar gyis shig| yul dang| sems can dang| me tog dang| rtsi shing la sogs pa'i ming bsgyur na yid gol zhing tshig mi bde ba dang | 'ol spyir bsgyur du rung yang don du de ltar yin nam ma yin gtol med pa rnams la| mgo la yul zhe 'am| me tog ces pa la sogs pa gang la bya ba'i ming gcig bla thabs su snon la rgya gar skad so na zhog cig| See Mie Ishikawa, *A Critical Edition of the Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1990).*

Figure 4.3a Sankrit place names rendered in Tibetan transliteration

- Verse 1: **Rā ma'i ri bo** (Rāmagiri)
Verse 17: **a mra rtse** (Amra[kūṭa] peak)
Verse 25: **grong khyer Tam sha** (The city called Tamsha, i.e. Daśārṇa)
Verse 27: **ni tsa zhes grags ri bor** (Mountain called Nicha, i.e. Nichais)
Verse 29 **Udzza ya na** (Ujjayanī)
Verse 30: **Birbendha** (Nirvindhya)
Verse 31: **Sin dhu'i chu** (Sindhu River)
Verse 32: **A wanti** (Avanti), **U da ya na** (Udayana, i.e. Ujjayinī)
Verse 44: **De ba ri** (Devagiri)
Verse 45: **Gang gā** ([Heavenly] Ganges)
Verse 49: **Da sha zhes bya'i grong khyer** (The city called Da sha, i.e. Daśapura)
Verse 51: **Sā ra swa ti'i chu** (Sarasvatī River)
Verse 52: **Kan ka la yi grong** (The city called Kan ka la, mistake for Kanakhala mountains)
Verse 53: **Ya mu na yi chu dang gangā** (Yamuna River and the Ganges)
Verse 54: **Gang gā** (the Ganges)
Verse 59: **Krauntsa yi ri yi lam** (The path through the Krauñca mountain)
Verse 60: **Kai la sha yi ri** (Kailāsa mountain)
Verse 75: **Gang gā** (the Ganges)

Figure 4.3b: Sanskrit place names translated fully into Tibetan

- Verse 7: **lcang lo can zhes bya ba'i gnas** (The place known as Changlochen)
Verse 11: **yiḍ kyi mtsho dang gangs can** (Lake Mānasa and Kailāsa),
Verse 18: **sna tshogs rtsegs pa zhes pa'i ri bo** (That mountain known as 'Variously Peaked')⁴²
Verse 20: **drang srong bu mo'i chu bo** (Daughter of the Sages River, i.e. Revā River)
Verse 20: **'bigs byed ri** (Vindhya mountain)
Verse 26: **rgyal po'i khab** (Rājagrha)
Verse 32: **yangs pa can** (Vaiśālī)
Verse 59: **gangs kyi ri** (Mountain of Snow, i.e. Kailāsa)
Verse 65: **lcang lo ldan ma** (a.k.a. *lcang lo can*, Changlochen)

⁴² This is probably a translation for *Citrakūṭah*, which is a variant reading for *Āmrakūṭah* (modern-day Amarakāṇḍaka) in the Sanskrit. See Kālidāsa., Mallinātha. Sañjīvinī., and M. R. (Moreshvar Ramchandra) Kāle, *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa : Text with Sanskrit Commentary of Mallinātha, English Translation, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and a Map*, vol. [9th] (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1979): 38-39.

Apart from Changlochen and Gyalpö khab, there are actually very few examples of Sanskrit place names that are fully translated into the Tibetan language. Among them is the Buddhist pilgrimage site Vaiśālī, which would have been well-known to Buddhist monks familiar with the history of the Buddha's life. The Tibetan translation *yangs pa can* is additionally attested in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Entry 4105); therefore, aside from metrical reasons, transliteration would have been unnecessary.⁴³ The translation offered for the Vindhya mountain also, 'big byed ri, is included in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Entry 4156). However, inclusion in the ninth-century translators' lexicons was apparently not a sufficient criterion to translate place names into Tibetan. Several other famous place names, such as Avanti and Ujjayinī, are included in Tibetan translation in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, yet were rendered in transliteration for *Trinki Phonya*. Kailāsa, the famous mountain in the Himalayas, was translated as *gangs can* in Verse 11, but transliterated in Verse 60. While the choice whether to use transliteration or translation for place names may have been metrical in certain instances, overall, is unclear what criteria may have been used when determining which place names to translate.⁴⁴ What does appear to be consistent is that with few exceptions (which are for the most part probably metrical), the general preference for *Trinki Phonya* translators was to keep Sanskrit place names in the Sanskrit. Given this apparent inconsistency, it might be tempting to assume a lack of intentionality on the part of the

⁴³ Given that the *Mahāvvyutpatti* provides *yangs pa can* (Entry 4150) as an acceptable translation for Vaiśālī, the injunction of the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise* to leave the place name in the Indian language would be null in this case.

⁴⁴ This apparent inconsistency in Tibetan writings regarding whether a toponym is translated into Tibetan or transliterated is further corroborated by Huber's work. Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & the Tibetan Invention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 118-119.

translators. Alternately, I suggest that the point of this apparent inconsistency is to produce a specific aesthetic effect on the Tibetan reader.

Current advances in translation theory remind us that a Tibetan reader faced with mostly unfamiliar Sanskrit place names—some of which are rendered nearly unreadable by erroneous transliteration—will at those moments experience at least a temporary textual disjunction or foreignness in the text. Here Schliermacher’s distinction between a ‘foreignized’ versus ‘domesticated’ translation might be useful. As contemporary scholar Lawrence Venuti elucidates,

Admitting (with qualifications like “as much as possible”) that translation can never be completely adequate to the foreign text, Schleiermacher allowed the translator to choose between a domesticating method, an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home, and a foreignizing method, an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad.... The “foreign” in foreignizing translation is not a transparent representation of an essence that resides in the foreign text and is valuable in itself, but a strategic construction whose value is contingent on the current target-language situation. Foreignizing translation signifies the difference of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language.⁴⁵

In the case of *Trinki Phonya*, the “foreign,” marked in particular by the Sanskrit place names, disrupts the Tibetan reader. Venuti, clearly preferring the foreignizing approach, contrasts this effect with what he perceives to be the ethnocentric “violence” of the domesticated approach to translation:

I want to suggest that insofar as foreignizing translation seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, it is highly desirable today, a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs, pitched against the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others. Foreignizing

⁴⁵ Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995): 20.

translation in English can be a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism, in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations.⁴⁶

While it is clear that Venuti's interpretation of foreignized translation (and consequently his injunction to translators) is firmly rooted in a modern global context, it is useful as a contrast with the apparent Tibetan preference for a domesticated approach to the translation of most of *Trinki Phonya*. The contrast with domesticated translation, the predominant norm for Tibetan translators at this time, renders these moments of foreignized translation—marked by heavily Sanskritic place names—all the more impactful. Like a listener who experiences relief from the resolution of a dissonant chord in a Bach concerto, a Tibetan reader of *Trinki Phonya*, following these textual disjunctions, may find solace in the comfort of the familiar, Tibetan-named locations ripe with Buddhist imagery. Through contrast with the discordant disjunctions of Indian culturally significant places, these familiar, consonant places gain greater prominence. Hence this translation practice can be seen as way of resisting complete domestication of the foreign text. By creating the space for a few specific exceptions to *Trinki Phonya*'s tendency to preserve Tibetan translated names of geographical locations, the reader experiences enough disjunction to perceive the poem as simultaneously both familiar *and* foreign.

When we examine how this translation practice is applied throughout *Trinki Phonya* (Fig 4.3a and 4.3b above), a pattern emerges. Without exception, all of the previously-identified *Buddhist* geographical locations emphasized throughout the text—Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, and Changlochen, not to mention Kailāsa (*gangs gi ri*)—are translated into Tibetan; the Indic non-Buddhist geographical locations are more commonly left in transliteration. Thus the foreignness of the non-Buddhist geographical locations is amplified for the Tibetan Buddhist reader, whereas

⁴⁶ Ibid., 20.

the foreignness of the Indic Buddhist geographical sites is minimized, thus inviting Tibetan readers to draw more deeply upon their own native cultural and religious background when reading this poem. Reading this poem through the lens of a fourteenth century Tibetan Buddhist scholar, we would see a story centering around a Cloud on a journey through the Himalayas, passing through several Buddhist pilgrimage sites on the way, with the spiritually significant Changlochen as the Cloud’s final destination. Beyond signifying the comfort of the familiar, the choice of Tibetan Buddhist place names invites the Tibetan reader to interpret the Cloud’s journey itself as a pilgrimage.

However, it is not merely the geographical locations along the Cloud’s path that evoke Buddhist pilgrimage associations throughout *Trinki Phonya*. Sometimes it is the descriptions of the metaphorical ‘path’ itself. Verse 8 describes the Cloud as reaching “a skillful path” (*mkhas lam*).⁴⁷ A few verses later (Verse 13), the Cloud is urged to listen to the *yakṣa*’s words, which are described as the means (*thabs*) by which the Cloud will progress on this ‘path’ (*lam la bgrod pa’i thabs*).⁴⁸ Similarly, in Verse 20, the Cloud is instructed to “Go to the water on the other side and proceed quickly, progressing along another path. (*lam gzhan du...bgrod pa na*)”⁴⁹ On the literal level, this “means to progress on the path” appears to be a set of verbal directions through the Indian landscape to his lover’s house. However, the use of the word “means” (*thabs*, *upāya*) in such close proximity to descriptions of a path (*lam*) additionally evokes—for a Buddhist

⁴⁷ *khyod ni dri bzhon bzhon ba dang ldan mkhas lam gshegs pa’i dbang gis lam bgrod mdzes ma rnams*|

⁴⁸ *kā ye chu ’dzin re shig khyod ni lam la bgrod pa’i thabs kyi gtam ni mnyan par mdzod* |

⁴⁹ *de yi pha rol chu la thon nas mchog tu myur bas lam gzhan dag tu gshegs shing bgrod pa na*|

scholastic reader, especially of the immediately post-Sakya Paṇḍita fourteenth century—
connotations of progress along a spiritual path.⁵⁰

This metaphorical use of ‘path’ continues throughout *Trinki Phonya* with interesting
implications for the Cloud. In Verse 29, the Cloud is advised to take a detour through Ujjayana’s
palaces while ignoring the women’s flirtatious looks:

Then, heading northward, you will take a roundabout path;⁵¹
Without turning back, rest inside the royal palace of the city of Ujjayana;
There the city women have flirtatious sidelong-glances, moving [like] streaks of
Lightning;⁵²
If [those] glances should not embarrass you, [going there] would be fruitless, and would
be a disappointment!⁵³

This is a curious choice of metaphor. In the first foot of the verse, we are told that the Cloud will
take a ‘roundabout path’ (*'khyog po'i lam*) which involves stopping (presumably overnight) in
the palaces of Ujjanaya. It is unclear what kind of disappointment is meant by the last foot of the
verse: Will the cloud mistake the women’s glances for his own lover, Lightning? Or is it the
flirtatious actions more generally that would bear no fruit for the Cloud and thus disappoint him?

⁵⁰ For more on Sakya Paṇḍita’s thirteenth century contribution to Path Literature (*bstan rim*), *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*, see Roger Jackson, “The *bsTan Rim* (‘Stages of the Doctrine’) and Similar Graded Expositions of the Bodhisattva’s Path,” in *Tibetan Literature : Studies in Genre*, vol. 1st USA., Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996), 229–43. For an English abridged translation of the same, see Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtshan, Geshe Wangyal, and Brian Cuttillo, *Illuminations : A Guide to Essential Buddhist Practices* (Novato, CA: Lotsawa, 1988). See also Ulrike Roesler et al., *Stages of the Buddha’s Teachings: Three Key Texts* (Somerville, MA: Wisdom, 2015).

⁵¹ Literally “when you will enter a circuitous path, going northward,” (*'khyog po'i lam la zhugs pa'i tshe*); however, the English is unbearably clunky. Given the context, it makes more sense to eliminate the “when” marker and use the more common English phrase “take the scenic route.” Alternately, the “roundabout path” would work as well. Or curved/crooked path.

⁵² Here the streaks of lightning are figuratively the eyes of the Cloud’s lover, Lightning.

⁵³ *yang gi byang gi phyogs su bgrod cing gang zhig khyod ni 'khyog po'i lam la zhugs pa'i tshe | grong khyer udzda ya na'i rgyal po'i pho brang nang du phyir phyogs min par gnas par mdzod | de na grong gi dga' ma rnams kyi rol sgeg zur mig glog gi phreng thag g.yo ba ni | skyengs byed mig gis gal te khyod ni ma mihong 'bras bu med cing bslus pa nyid du'ang 'gyur || Sanskrit = M28/V27/D27.*

What seems to be the implication in the Tibetan is that if the women don't look at the Cloud (and thus there are no glances to embarrass him), going there would be pointless and hence a disappointment. Whatever the case, the Cloud is cautioned against being unduly affected by these flirtatious women—literally it is fruitless (*'bras bu med cing*). This is interestingly an example of translation serving as commentary. Mallinātha's commentary—which as we recall post-dates the Tibetan translation—says here “The meaning is that going would be pointless (*janma-vaiphalyam bhavedityārthah*).

Upon reading the final foot, however, the reader retrospectively realizes that the phrase ‘roundabout path’ (*'khyog po'i lam*) is figurative as well as literal. A secondary (figurative) connotation of *'khyog po* as ethically “curved” or “crooked” emerges. In addition to the geographical detour, the Cloud is presented with a mental detour—a distraction—from his goal: to reach Changlochen and deliver his message to the *yakṣa*'s lover. Throughout *Trinki Phonya*, the only mention of a “crooked” path is associated with the distraction provided by the sensuality of women.

The geographical frame for *Trinki Phonya* is subtle, yet significant. While implicit, rather than overt, Buddhist connotations associated with the path imagery and with Changlochen and Gyalpö khab predominate, creating a path for the Cloud that is subtly Buddhist—both geographically and metaphorically. In the introduction to this dissertation I suggested that (vis-à-vis Poucha) the familiarity of the landscape in *Cloud Messenger* is the most compelling of the potential explanations offered by Pavel Poucha for why translators Jangtsé and Namkha Pel may have chosen this particular piece of Kālidāsa. Now we see that it is perhaps not merely the landscape itself which was compelling for these translators, but also the capacity of this

landscape—and the intimate and detailed descriptions surrounding it—to be subtly transformed into a new landscape, evocative of a Buddhist pilgrimage path.

A question now remains: what happens to a Cloud who follows this path? In the next section I treat the Cloud as a literary figure, exploring the ways in which the Cloud is depicted at the onset of the poem and how depictions of this character change throughout *Trinki Phonya* to craft a figure that, through a pilgrimage to Changlochen, undergoes a process of purification. As I will articulate, though the Cloud begins its journey by alleviating the suffering of others, mostly through its rain, once in Changlochen, the Cloud’s capacity to alleviate suffering will be manifested through the messages to be delivered to the *yakṣa*’s lover—that is, through its thunder or “roar.” The pilgrimage from Rāmagīri to Changlochen thus can be seen as a path which purifies the Cloud’s already compassionate nature, transforming its “roar” into something capable of conveying messages of compassion for the welfare of others.

4.4 “What is a cloud, but a mixture of smoke, light, water, and wind?”

The first sixty-five verses of *Trinki Phonya* describe the Cloud—including its nature, qualities and so forth—and its journey to Changlochen. The remaining fifty-two verses describe Changlochen, the *yakṣa*’s lover, and the message that the Cloud is asked to deliver to her. While *Trinki Phonya* does not indicate a separation of the poem into sections, like many of the *Meghadūta*’s Sanskrit commentators I found this binary demarcation useful for the purposes of literary analysis. For this reason, I will divide the poem into distinct sections for the purposes of this analysis.

In the first section, the first five verses of *Trinki Phonya* introduce the *yakṣa* and the Cloud to us through the voice of a third-person omniscient narrator. Upon first seeing the monsoon rainclouds, in Verse 4 the narrator tells us that the *yakṣa* welcomes the rainclouds with smiles—which are actually *kuṭaja* lotus blossoms—and affectionate words of welcome, imagining that this propitiation might convince the clouds to deliver his words to his beloved.

Verse 4 reads:

When the second month of summer had come, desirous for life for [his] beloved;
 For [her] well-being, as if the rainclouds would convey the words, “Are you well?”
 He made an offering with blooming *kuṭaja*-lotuses, as if to please [them];
 He expressed words conveying affection, as if to welcome or greet [them].⁵⁴

The *yakṣa* thus interacts with this Cloud (or in this case multiple clouds in the Tibetan), imagining it to be a deity, worthy of propitiation and capable of delivering messages. However, this capacity is immediately challenged by the narrator, though seemingly not by the *yakṣa* himself, in Verse 5:

What is [found] in a rain cloud?— a mixture of smoke, light, ocean water, and wind;
 And where is the capacity for the skilled and the living to [deliver] eloquent speech
 [found]?
 Because of intense affection, that *Yakṣa* had no comprehension of this;
 For the sake of desire one would make requests [of objects] whether [they are] skilled or
 unskilled, sentient or non-sentient.⁵⁵

From this verse, we see that *Trinki Phonya*'s *yakṣa*—unlike the omniscient narrator—appears to be so deluded by his affection for his beloved that he was incapable of realizing that a cloud is

⁵⁴ *dbyar dus zla ba gnyis pa 'ongs par gyur tshe brtse ldan ma yi ched du srog changs ba | bde la char sprin dag gis rang nyid bde 'am zhes pa'i tshig 'di khyer nas 'jug pa bzhin | ku ṭa dza yi chu skyes 'dzum pa rnams kyis de la mchod pa'i ched du dga' byed bzhin | mdza' ba mngon du gyur pa'i tshig ni de la legs par 'ongs sam dga' bzhin brjod pa bzhin | Sanskrit = M4/V4/D4.*

⁵⁵ *gang du du ba gzi ldan chu gter myur 'gro rnams kyi tshor ba las ni char sprin te | gang du mkhas pa'i byed pa rnams dang srog rnams kyis ni legs bshad ched du thob par byed | ces pa mchog tu dga' bas gsang ba pa ni de la yongs su mi shes gang gis ni | 'dod pa'i don du mkhas dang mi mkhas rnams dang sems ldan sems med rnams la zhu bar byed | Sanskrit = M5/V5/D5*

not sentient and is thus unable to deliver messages. The narrator disappears from the poem after the verse, and subsequently all events are depicted through the eyes (or the imagination) of the *yakṣa*. This initial narrative framing is also consistent with that of most extant Sanskrit and Indic messenger poems.

From one perspective, the remaining verses of this first section of *Trinki Phonya* can usefully be understood as a way of poetically depicting for the reader the Cloud’s qualifications for the ‘job’—that is cheering up the *yakṣa*’s beloved—not unlike a poetic version of a cover letter and résumé. After all, the descriptions of the Cloud’s travels across the North Indian landscape reveal that the Cloud has many characteristics that make him a good fit for the position. In Verse 6, we learn that the Cloud has an impressive background and previous experience taking care of others:

I know that you are of a supreme lineage, the chief minister of Indra; [your] nature is wish-fulfilling;
[You] see the boundaries of the three realms, and are the great Cloud which has gone on for eons.
Because of that, for those who are striving, you alone through your fortune will obtain the not-low desired thing;
[Since] I am living far away [due to] a fruitless sacrifice, you, whose qualities are supreme, please approach my companion.⁵⁶

This verse is where *Trinki Phonya*’s Buddhist influence begins to gain prominence. In this verse we learn that the Cloud’s very *nature* is wish-fulfilling; fulfilling the desires and goals of others is not merely something the Cloud does, but is an intrinsic part of its nature. By contrast the Sanskrit here reads “able to change your form as you wish” (*kāma-rūpaṃ*).⁵⁷ This theme is

⁵⁶ *khyod ni rigs mchog dang ldan mchod sbyin brgya pa'i blon po mchog ste 'dod 'jo'i ngo bo nyid | sa gsum mtha' dag rig cing bskal par 'jug pa'i che ba'i chu 'dzin nyid du bdag gis shes | des na khyod ni don gnyer nyid la skal pa'i dbang gis dman min 'dod pa 'thob pa nyid | mchod sbyin 'bras med bdag gi ring gnas gnyen 'dun dag tu yon tan mchog dbang khyod gshegs mdzod | Sanskrit = M6/V6/D6*

⁵⁷ See Mallinātha, Vallabhadeva, and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha Verse 6.

echoed later in Verses 17-18, where we learn that the Cloud has a history of performing similar services, also because of this altruistic intention:

...For, great beings, on account of good deeds done previously, [do the same] for a good friend;
Because of things like this, not even a low, wicked person would turn their back on whoever [had come] to rest.

and

O Cloud, when you are tired on the path, that mountain known as ‘Variously Peaked’—
You should stay there on the wide flat-surfaced peak, going back and forth on the forward-facing side;
That spring fire also, pacified by your nectar, will reliably become a beneficial thing!
Immediately in response to consider the benefit of great [beings], it is wet with excellent fruit!⁵⁸

Apart from the Cloud’s considerable pedigree (the lineage of Indra!) and job history, it is clear that there are several notable qualities, identified throughout *Trinki Phonya*, which render the Cloud the only suitable candidate for the job. It is these qualities and characteristics of the Cloud that thematically frame this Tibetan version of the poem.

Like a good job applicant, the Cloud also comes with good references. He is revered by all creatures he encounters along the path, animal and human alike (Verses 8, 9, 11, 12, 23, 24, 35, 38, 42, 49). However this reverence is not unqualified. *Trinki Phonya*’s cloud is revered, in part, for his capacity to alleviate the suffering of others, in particular the sensual suffering experienced by women.

⁵⁸ ...gang phyir che ba'i skye bo dang por legs byas rgyu mtshan thob pa'i grogs bzang la | de lta'i bya bas gnas ched ci yang gyur la phyir phyogs ngan pa'i skye po'ang 'byung ma yin | kā ye chu 'dzin khyod ni lam la ngal tshesna tshogs rtsegs pa zhes pa'i ri bo ni | ngos ldan rtse mo yangs la bsdad nas phan tshun sngon du phyogs pa'i bsnyen ni byed bzhin pas | khyod kyang de yi so ka'i me ni bdud rtsis zhi bya de yang phan pa'i dngos po'i brtan du 'gyur | chen po mams la phan btags lan du 'phral la 'bras bu dam pas brlan pa nyid |

In Verse 7, we learn that the Cloud is selected for this position, in part, because of his history of being a refuge for those in anguish:

O water-bearer, you are the refuge for those in anguish;
Thus, please compose a message to my love from me, roaming and separated [from her]
because my life-long master⁵⁹ is extremely angry.
You must go to the place where the palaces are illuminated by the moonlight from the
crown of head of Indra who is in the outer gardens:
The place known as Changlochen, the great abode of Vajrapāṇi.⁶⁰

In Verse 56 we learn that the Cloud's thunder and lightning occasionally prevent some beings from acting in arrogant and fruitless ways:

There, greatly arrogant eight-legged [deer] are unable to stand your great roaring;
Thinking they will jump up on top of you, [yet] not jumping, they injure their own limbs;
Destroy them with your fierce thunder and lightning, mocking them!
For what is the point of those with a low base beginning efforts that bear no [good]
fruits?⁶¹

However in Verse 55, it is the Cloud's *rain* that has the capacity to alleviate the suffering of other beings:

There, if the warmth and the sparks from the fire that arose
from the battle between the tree-branches, blown by the wind,
Should singe the hair of the 'brong;
In order to quell this, O cloud, you should rain down many thousands of rains.

⁵⁹ *gtan gyi bdag po* is a curious phrase here. *gtan gyi skyabs* is seen indicating a permanent refuge, unfailing refuge, lasting refuge, constant refuge, etc. It can also be used with *grogs* (friend) to indicate a friend for life, husband, etc. In this context, the colloquial phrase "life-long" while imprecise, connotes better the sense of *gtan gyi* in this verse.

⁶⁰ *ka ye chu ldan khyod ni shin tu gdungs gyur skabs nyid de phyir bdag gi dga' ma la | gtan gyi bdag po ches cher khros pas 'khyams shing bral ba bdag gi phrin ni mdzad du gsol | phyi rol skyed tshal mchog gnas 'phrog byed gtsug gi zla ba'i 'od kyis snang byas khang bzang can | gsang ba'i bdag po'i [bsti gnas] lchang lo can zhes bya ba'i gnas su khyod gshegs mdzod | Sanskrit: saṃtaptānāṃ tvam asi śaraṇam tat payoda priyāyāḥ | saṃdeśaṃ me hara dhana-pati-krodha-viśleṣitasya | gantavyā te vasatir ālakā nāma yakṣeśvarāṇāṃ | bāhyōdyāna-sthita-hara-śiraś-candrikā-dhauta-harmyā || Sanskrit = M7/V7/D7*

⁶¹ *der ni khyod kyis sgra chen bsgrags la ma bsod che ba'i dregs pa kun du ldan pa'i rkang brgyad pa | khyod kyi steng tu mchong bar bya'o snyam nas ma chongs rang gi yan lag kun du rmas | de rnams dag la rab tu bzhad ldan thog ser char pa drag phab mang pos gzhom par mdzod | rang bzhin ngan pa'i gnas pa dag gi 'bras med rtsom pa'i 'bad pa rnams ni ci yang min | Sanskrit = M57/V54/D54.*

For destroying suffering has many fruits that benefit great beings!⁶²

In Verse 55, the Cloud's rain alleviates the suffering of yaks whose hair has been singed by forest fires. While the example in this verse is literal, the Cloud's rain metaphorically alleviates the suffering caused by other kinds of heat as well.

One way in which the Cloud's rain provides relief is through alleviating the suffering caused by sexual desire, as in Verse 33 of *Trinki Phonya*:⁶³

Where the loudly voiced maddening songs of swans—a captivating sound—resounds,
At daybreak, the bitter taste becomes appealing, producing the delightful fragrance of
blooming lotuses;
The wind, sprinkling water drops, removes the tormenting affliction of lust of the women
and is in harmony with [their] bodies,
As an excellent lord speaks pleasantly and causes delight in order to provide for what
[they] desire.⁶⁴

In each of the first three feet of the verse, something considered unpleasant is made pleasant or agreeable by the wind. In the first foot, the maddening sound of cranes is made more aurally pleasant, implicitly by the breeze. In the second foot, the bitter taste present at daybreak⁶⁵ is transformed, also implicitly by the breeze, into an appealing flavor, delightful because of the

⁶² *de la gal te rlung gis rab bskyod thang shing lag pa kun du 'thabs pa las byung ba'i | me yi dugs dang me stag dag gis 'brong gi dga' ma'i spu tshogs mang po sreg byed na | khyod kyis de rnams zhi ba'i ched du chu 'dzin stong phrag mang po'i char ni bya bar 'os | gang phyir chen po rnams kyis phun tshogs 'bras bu mang po'i sdug bsngal zhi bar byed pa nyid | Sanskrit = M56/V53/D53.*

⁶³ This verse was previously discussed in Chapter 3 as an illustration of translation choices made to emphasize the depiction of women tormented by desire.

⁶⁴ *gang du bzhad rnams myos pa'i gdangs snyan che bar sgrogs [Narthang, Golden: sgrog] cing yid 'ong sgra ni gsal bar byed | nyi gzhon gyis rgyas chu skyes dri bzang dga' skyed bska ba'i ro ldan yid du 'ong gyur cing | chu thigs kyis bran dri bzhon bud med chags gzir gdung ba 'phrog byed lus kyis [Coné, Dergé: phrog byed lus kyī] rjes mthun pa | bdag po mchog ni 'dod don gnyer bar byed la snyan par sgrogs [Narthang, Golden: sgrog] cing dga' bar byed pa bzhin | Sanskrit = M32/V31/D31.*

⁶⁵ This is a specifically Indic reference to the smell/taste emitted by a certain kind of lotus in the monsoon season. The Sanskrit reads: “fragrant thanks to friendship with the fragrance of fully blooming lotuses every dawn” (*praty-ūṣeṣu sphuṭita-kamalāmōda-maitrī-kaṣāyāḥ*).

fragrance of blooming lotuses. In the third foot, the wind—sprinkling rain from the Cloud—removes the women’s tormenting affliction of lust (*bud med chags gzir gdung ba*). The rainwater carried by the breeze metaphorically relieves not their exhaustion, or even their torment, but rather their lust, effectively “cooling them off” sexually. Thus it is the Cloud’s rain that alleviates the women’s lust, and subsequently their suffering.

Similarly, in Verse 37, sexual pleasure—and its related phenomena in Sanskrit *kāvya* such as nail-marks, exhaustion, and so forth—is implicitly associated with heat, which is then relieved by water from the Cloud’s rain:

Then, as you plant your feet, from their lower-garments comes a melodious sound;
Their beautiful bodies are glittering with jewelry sensuously moving; their hands fatigued
from holding *chamaras*;
Tormented by fresh nail-marks, the female attendants are relieved by your rain drops!
Like a row of bees, they look at you with quick side-long glances.⁶⁶

Through these verses we see that both sexual desire and the fulfillment of sexual desire (through intercourse) cause suffering, which the Cloud alleviates for these women. When possible, it seems the Cloud’s rain acts as a “cooler,” removing the sexual desire that ‘afflicted’ these women in the first place. In the case where sexual acts have been completed, the Cloud’s rain alleviates the suffering caused by the aftermath of sexual acts (painful nail-marks).

Later, in Verse 63, the Cloud is advised to release his rains rather than frighten flirtatious women with his thunder and lightning:

⁶⁶ *de nas rkang pa bkod par gyur tshe 'og pag dag las sil sil nyan pa'i sgra 'byung zhing | rol sgeg g.yo ba'i rin chen 'od 'phros lus mdzes rnga yab 'dzin pas ngal ba'i lag pa can | tshogs kyi mdzes ma sen rjes gsar pas gdungs la khyod las char thigs thob na tshim byed pa | khyod la sbrang rtsi byed pa'i phreng ba bzhin du g.yo ba'i zur mig ring ba dag gis lta bar 'gyur | Sanskrit = M38/V35/D35.*

Surely, after forcing out your waters into that place of lineage,⁶⁷ if you have nothing left inside,
The young divine maidens will try to imprison you through sorcery in their palaces.
Oh my good friend, for the sake of those tormented by the heat [of passion] if you don't release [your rains],
With your great sounds, harsh to the ear, you will frighten those beautiful sensuous women!⁶⁸

Although the Cloud was previously advised to use his thunder and lightning to discourage deer from arrogant and wrathful actions (Verse 56), here he is requested to avoid frightening these women. In both verses, the Cloud is under attack by external beings: the deer wrathfully attempt to physically attack the Cloud, and the lustful, flirtatious women attempt to restrain the Cloud, by trapping him in their palaces. Thus, while the Cloud's thunder and lightning is considered an appropriate tool to dissuade arrogant deer, it is somehow inappropriate for use against flirtatious women, to the extent that the *yakṣa*, ostensibly focused on delivering a message to his abandoned lover, makes an effort to forewarn the Cloud to save some of his rain for these women. These women, intent on tricking and imprisoning the Cloud in their palaces, are described as tormented by heat—implicitly the heat of passion or lust. Accordingly, the Cloud is encouraged to use his rain—in fact to save some of his rain for that place—in order to cool off these women.

As we learned earlier in the poem (Verses 6, 17-18), the Cloud's very nature is wish-fulfilling; through past actions the Cloud has shown again and again he wishes to benefit others. These depictions were offered as proof that the Cloud would accept the *yakṣa*'s request to deliver

⁶⁷ The Sanskrit here reads *tatrāvaśyam*, or “There, by all means...”. There seems to be no Sanskrit equivalent here for *rīgs gnas* (place of lineage) either in the root text or in any of the commentaries, which might suggest another Tibetan geographical interpolation. See Mallinātha 64, Vallabhadeva 61.

⁶⁸ *rīgs gnas der ni khyod kyis chu rnams skyugs par byas pas nges par nang na med pa na | lha yi na chung rnams kyis khyod ni 'khrul 'khor gyis bzung khang bzangs nang du 'khyer bar byed | kwa ye grogs bzang tsha bas gdungs pa de rnams ched du gal te khyod ni mi gtong na | rol sgeg g.yo ba'i mdzes ma de rnams rna bar rtsub pa'i sgra chen bsgrags pas 'jigs par bya | Sanskrit = M64/V61/D61.*

a message to his lover in Changlochen. As we have seen, however, the Cloud's compassionate actions are not limited to past interactions with other sentient beings. Along the journey to Changlochen, the Cloud's thunder and rain provide numerous services. As in the Sanskrit versions, the Cloud's thunder and lightning scare those who need to be scared (Verse 56) and serve as drums for rituals services as needed (Verses 36, 58). Likewise the Cloud's rains nourish various flora and fauna and put out forest fires. Along the way, *Trinki Phonya's* Cloud puts out metaphorical fires as well, alleviating the tormenting heat of lust of various groups of women.

In Verse 57, the Cloud is urged to participate in purifying actions that seem to have greater implications for those who observe his actions:

There, clearly affixed to a large rock is the Crescent-moon god's footprint;
Siddhas are continuously making offerings there; you should prostrate and
circumambulate as well!
Whoever sees and does this will have removed their past evil deeds;
Those who maintain that devotion are able to become part of that [god's] retinue and will
attain steadfastness.⁶⁹

Here the Cloud is urged to prostrate and circumambulate this rock as though it were a sacred place. Beyond this, we are told that all who witness the Cloud performing this act will have their past evil deeds removed. It is here that we can begin to see *Trinki Phonya's* Cloud as fulfilling the role Jñānaśrīmitra requests of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in his poem:

Grant, oh teacher, only for a moment
that purest of all pure states,
by which you take away
the visible manifestations of my bad deeds (*me 'ghavisphūrjitāni*)!

⁶⁹ *der ni che zhing gsal ba'i rdo la gtsug na zla phyed 'dzin pa'i rkang bkod rjes la ni | rtag tu grub pa rnams kyis gtor ma mchod do khyod kyis gus pas phyag dang bskor ba mdzod | gang zhig mthong na byed pas byas pa'i sdiḡ pa rnams ni shin tu ring bar 'dor byed cing | gus pa 'dzin pa rnams ni de yi 'khor du gnas pa thob byed brtan pa thob par 'gyur | Sanskrit = M58/V55/D55.*

While here it is the Cloud’s circumambulation of a rock associated with Śiva that instigates this purification, as we will see later, it is primarily through the Cloud’s voice, that is through his “roaring” (*visphūrjita*) in order to deliver a message, that he accomplishes his primary act of compassion and purification in the poem.

We have so far seen how *Trinki Phonya*’s Cloud, consistently described as compassionate by nature and concerned with the welfare of others, traverses the sacred landscape of the text in a way that purifies other beings, removing the sufferings and bad deeds of those who observe the Cloud’s actions. Along this journey to Changlochen, *Trinki Phonya*’s Cloud additionally makes efforts to purify himself, or rather, his water, as in Verse 51:

Abandon that liquor, marked by the eyes of Rohiṇī,⁷⁰ as [his] intoxicatingly flavorful woman;
Like Balarāma turned his back on war out of love for his kinsmen.
But when you reach the peaceful Sarasvati river, drink up, o [Cloud]!
Though your body will darken, your inner thoughts will become bright!⁷¹

The Cloud is urged here to abandon impure liquids, such as intoxicating liquor—as *though it were a woman*—and instead drink the water of the Sarasvati river which will by contrast purify his thoughts.

⁷⁰ The Tibetan here *Snar ma* (Red one) is clearly Rohiṇī, rather than Revatī as the Sanskrit reads. This is curious given that while Revatī is Balarāma’s wife, Rohiṇī, was his birth mother. I’m not certain what significance this shift may have for the flavor of the Tibetan or whether it is an intentional divergence. Nordrang’s commentary glosses *Snar ma* as the wife of Balarāma, but seems to take the liquor as metaphor for his wife’s *words* (reading *tshig* instead of *mig*. Tibetan: *stob bzang dga' ma chang ni snar ma'i tshig gis spong*). See Nor brang O rgyan, *Sprin Gyi Pho Nya'i 'grel Pa Ngo Mtshar Dga' Ston (Marvelous and Festive Commentary on the Cloud Messenger)* (Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2004), 96.

⁷¹ *myos par byed pa'i ro ldan dga' ma snar ma'i mig gis mtshan pa'i chang ni spang byas nas | rang gi gnyen la dga' bar gyur pas [g.]yul las phyir phyogs stobs bzang gang de blta bar bya | kwa ye zhi[ng] ldan sā ra swa ti'i chu la mngon par phyogs tshes khyod kyis 'thungs byas nas | lus kyi kha dog dag ni nag por 'gyur zhing nang gi bsam pa yang ni dkar ba nyid | Sanskrit = M52/V49/D49.*

At other parts of the journey it seems the Cloud’s self-purification has unexpected effects.

In Verses 42-44:

In the depths of the water—profound, like [the depths of] a faithful mind—
Naturally auspicious, your reflection will shine;
Because of that, white *kumuda* flowers will honor and revere you [as if displaying white
smiles!];
Noting this, for the sake of doing something meaningful, the fish [too] will watch you,
jumping up!⁷²

[As if] the blue water-garment [waves] of that river|ocean had stolen the backside
[garment of the River], when it had ceased,
It is as if being held up in the middle by her hands, which are tree branches, [she cried]
“Don’t take [my garment!];
O friend, having drunk up water, puffed up and heavy, how will continue on the path?
If you know the taste of the beautiful [treasure] chest of a lover, how can you bear to toss
it away?”⁷³

As you approach Devagiri, a gentle breeze will blow;
This cool breeze embraces the fruit of the *Udumbara*⁷⁴ trees, delighting them;
After your great rain, the scent of the earth and the immaculate vapor will be collected;
Elephants drink up through their trunks; through their snouts they make an auspicious
sound!⁷⁵

⁷² *rab tu dang ba'i sems bzhin shin tu zab mo dang ldan mtsho yi chu yi nang du ni | khyod kyi gzugs brnyen yang ni rang bzhin skal ba bzang po bdag nyid 'char ba thob par 'gyur | de slad de yi ku mu ta ni dkar po rnams kyis khyod la bkur sti bsnyen bkur byed | brtags pas don yod bya ba'i ched du g.yo ldan nya rnams gyen du 'phar zhing lta bar byed | Tibetan Verse 42; Sanskrit = Verse M43/V40/D40.*

⁷³ *de yi chu gos sngon pos chu yi ngogs kyi tshang ra 'phrog par byas nas spangs pa na | ma 'phrog ces ni shing chen yal ga'i lag pa dag gis dbus su chung zad 'dzin pa bzhin | kwa ye grogs po chu 'thungs lho khengs lji nas lam du 'gro bar yang ni ji ltar yin | mdzes ma'i [mdun] sgrom mdzes pa'i bro ba shes na ji ltar 'dor ba'i nus pa yod pa yin | Tibetan Verse 43; Sanskrit = M44/V41/D41.*

⁷⁴ The *udumbara* in Sanskrit has been identified as *Ficus glomerata*, which is in the fig family. See page 135 in Rhys Davids, T.W., and Stede, eds., “Udumbara,” *The Pali Text Society’s Pali–English Dictionary* (Chipstead: Pali Text Society, May 1921), <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/pali/>.

⁷⁵ *khyod ni de pa'i ri las nye bar 'gro tshe dal bu dal bu'i rlung ni ldang 'gyur zhing | bsil ba'i rlung gis bsgos pa'i udumwāra'i nags kyi 'bras bu 'chang zhing rol rtsed byed | khyod kyi char chen phab pas nor 'dzin ma yi dri dang rlang pa gtsang ma tshogs pa ni | so ldan rnams kyi sna yis rngub cing bu ga'i nang du skal bzang glu dbyangs sgrogs par byed | Tibetan Verse 44; Sanskrit = M45/V42/D42.*

Whether by his own inner nature, or through absorbing this ‘profound’ water, the Cloud’s auspicious (*skal ba bzang po*) nature shines, inspiring flowers and fish to revere him (Verse 42). So auspicious and pure is the Cloud that when confronted with the temptation of the ‘naked’ body of the River (Verse 43)—a temptation which apparently others could not so easily “toss away”—he is able to continue along the path, providing rainwater for elephants in Devagiri to consume. The auspiciousness of the Cloud’s water is apparently conveyed to the elephants as well: after drinking, they make an auspicious sound themselves (*skal bzang glu dbyangs sgrogs par byed*). Thus even the Cloud’s own acts of self-purification provide a service to others by purifying them and inspiring their reverence.

Throughout the first half of *Trinki Phonya*—the section approximating the *pūrva-megha* in the Sanskrit, we see that the Cloud acts primarily to alleviate the suffering of others, primarily through the use of his rain. He is compassionate, auspicious, purifying, provides ritual services, and alleviates the sensual suffering of those across his path. As if on a pilgrimage to Changlochen, he additionally undergoes a process of purification—including various delays and obstacles, a common trope for pilgrimage stories—which additionally yields purification services for others. As we will see in the next section, however, once in Changlochen, the Cloud’s focus shifts to alleviating the suffering of the *yakṣa*’s lover. In doing so, the Cloud’s “roar,” that is his thunder, becomes predominant as a means for alleviating suffering. Likewise, compassion as the motivation for the Cloud’s actions becomes predominant, crafting a figure not unlike a Bodhisattva.

4.5 A Bodhisattva-messenger

As in the Sanskrit versions of this poem, throughout the second half of *Trinki Phonya*, the Cloud’s imagined interactions with the landscape and the inhabitants of his destination—here, Changlochen—is the focus. After a series of verses describing the city of Changlochen and its inhabitants, verses that remain largely faithful to the Sanskrit versions, when the descriptions shift to the *yakṣa*’s lover and her pitiable condition due to love-sickness, they take on a decidedly Buddhist thematic bent, focusing instead on compassionate motivation for the alleviation of suffering.

We see this thematic emphasis on compassionate motivation emerge starting in Verse 80, when the Cloud is first urged to hurry quickly in order to “take care of” the *yakṣa*’s lover: *yongs su skyong byed*). In Verse 80:

Hurry quickly in order to take care of [my] beloved! With your body diminished to that of a small elephant,
Resting on the front of that hill, make first a pleasant sound!
When you enter my house, you will be split into small [pieces] like rows of fireflies;
It is fitting that you should look at [her], lovely, playfully winking her eyes [like] Lightning.⁷⁶

In the verses that follow we learn that the *yakṣa*’s lover is particularly tormented, but more significantly we learn that the Cloud is expected to respond to this suffering with acts designed to alleviate her suffering. From Verses 81-83:

My beloved: her body is thin; her complexion beautiful; her lips delicate and colored like a bird ...
...As for this, the fact that many days have already come does not stick in her mind;
Like a lotus is destroyed by a winter frost, I know she will have attained a different form.

⁷⁶ *mdzes ma de ni yongs su bskyangs ched myur du gshegs nas glang phrug lus bzhin chung ba yis | mdzes pa'i ri bo de yi ngos la gnas nas dang por legs bshad snyan pa'i gsung gleng mdzod | bdag gi khang nang 'jug tshe me khyer phreng ba lta bu'i chung shing chung ba ni | mdzes shing rol pa'i smin ma g.yo ba'i glog gi mig ni byas nas khyod kyis blta bar 'os | Sanskrit = M21/V78/D14.*

She might be making offerings, or perhaps bent over due to [our] separation; or
sketching an image of me, constructed in her head;
She sits with sweet-voiced *sharika* [bird] who is sitting in a cage,
Asking again and again, “Dear friend, do you remember his love [for you]?”
When you see this [scene] before yourself; go and cheer her up!

During the day, busy with activities she is not tormented;
But during the long nights, oh friend, with nothing to do I know she will suffer greatly;
My love, unable to sleep during these long nights; when she sleeps on the ground, go near
the window;
You will see her; If you read her messages from me, you’ll be able to cheer her up!⁷⁷

The Cloud is expected to act in a way that will alleviate the suffering of the female lover.

Moreover, it is clear that the *specific* act that is expected to alleviate this suffering is the aural
delivery of messages, that is, through the Cloud’s roar.

While previously in the poem, the Cloud’s rains have figured nearly as often as its
thunder, from here onward the Cloud’s thunder, or perhaps its “roar,” is what is predominant: in
Verses 92-93:

Her friends will [try] to console her for even a moment;
When one sees her thin body, thoroughly surprised will try;
For that lovely sleep-deprived woman, to help to get sleep during those sad nights, oh
cloud, staying nearby, come near the window and cheer her up;

...Again and again wiping away [her hair] on her side on top of the bed
She hangs; at the end [of the night], tears fall like a broken strand of pearls;

⁷⁷ *de na bdag gi dga' ma lus phra mdog mdzes gnyis skyes bkra ba'i phra lam mchu dag ni | bimpa smin pa bskyed pa phra zhing 'dren byed g.yo ba'i ri dwags mig can lte ba dma' | ...'di la nyin zhag mang po 'ong ba rnams su yid la gcags pa med pa nyid du gyur | dgun smad pad ma can ni kha bas nyams pa bzhin du gzugs gzhan thob par bdag gis shes | gtor ma byed pa'ang bral bas btud par gyur pa bdag 'dra yid kyis rtogs bya 'dri ba'am | snyan pa'i tshig gis smra ba'i sha ri ka ni gur gyi nang na gnas shing gnas pa la | kwa ye grogs mo de yi dga' ba dran nam zhes pa'i dri ba byed pa bdag kyang ni | khyod ni mthong bar gyur pa na ni nga ni mdun du 'ongs shing dga' bar byed par 'gyur | ...nyi mo'i bar la bya ba dang ldan bdag dang bral las de ltar shin tu min na yang | mtshan mo shin tu ring las khyod kyi grogs mo bya med gdung ba che bar bdag gis shes | legs ma mtshan ring rnams la gnyid bral snyan med sa la nyal tshe dra mig nye bar ni | gnas nas blta bya bdag gi phrin rnams bzlas pa rnams ni bde ba'i ched du nus pa nyid | Tibetan 81 corresponds to Sanskrit M22/V79/D15; Tibetan 82 corresponds to Sanskrit M23/V80/D16; Tibetan 83 corresponds to Sanskrit M24/V81/D17.*

She rests, moving as if hanging on; When you see this, tell her something comforting!⁷⁸

We see here that *Trinki Phonya*'s Cloud is encouraged to use his voice, or rather his thunder, to comfort her by delivering messages from her lover. The second of these two verses is not preserved in most Sanskrit editions of *Cloud Messenger*. The commentator Vallabhadeva includes it, but only as an alternate (*prakṣipta*) verse, clearly believing it to not be authentically written by Kālidāsa.⁷⁹ What is significant about this inclusion in *Trinki Phonya* is that Sanskrit commentaries routinely debate whether or not to include verses contested for their authenticity; often when these verses are included in commentaries they are marked as potentially unauthoritative. By contrast, when these *prakṣipta* verses are included in *Trinki Phonya*, they are included without being marked as alternate verses. Rather, their inclusion is unmarked, thus they appear to the Tibetan reader equally authoritative to any other verse attributed to Kālidāsa.⁸⁰

We have so far seen that *Trinki Phonya*'s Cloud is impelled to use his roar to alleviate the suffering of the *yakṣa*'s lover. We have additionally seen that the Cloud is expected to respond to the sight of suffering with his roar. However, while the Cloud's motivation may have been implied earlier in the text, it is not until Verse 94 that the connection between the Cloud's

⁷⁸ *dga' ma de ni nyin par mdza' bo'i grogs mo rnams kyis skad cig kyang ni gtong min bzhin | lus phra ma la gcig ni blta tshe kun gyi rmad byung blta bas 'jug par 'gyur ba nyid| mtshan mo skye bo rnams ni nyal bar gyur la mdzes ma gnyid bral kwa ye chu 'dzin khyod | dra mig dang ni nye bar gnas nas nyal sar nye bar 'ongs te de ni dga' bar mdzod | ...yang dang yang du sel bar byed cing sa yi gzhi yi mal gyi steng du gzhogs gcig ni | ltung bar gyur cing de yi mtha' na mchi ma rnams ni 'bab pa do shal chad pa dag | g.yo zhing ltung bar gyur pa bzhin du gnas pa de mthong nyid kyis dal gyis brjod par bya | Tibetan 92-93 correspond to verses listed as *prakṣipta* in Vallabhadeva.*

⁷⁹ Listed as alternate verse in Vallabhadeva appendix: XI. See E Hultsch, *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta : Edited from Manuscripts with the Commentary of Vallabhadeva and Provided with a Complete Sanskrit-English Vocabulary* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1998): 63.

⁸⁰ Unfortunately we have no way of ascertaining what precise version of the Sanskrit these translators may have read with Sumanaśrī. While today there exists no version of Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* in Sanskrit independent of a commentarial tradition, we do not know if that was the case in 1356.

motivation and his response is made explicit. We now see that not only is the Cloud motivated by compassion, it is part of his very nature:

That beautiful woman, leaving behind her ornamentation, her body having grown thin;
Suffering in anguish, when she tosses and turns again and again on the bed,
You too, whose essence is water, will certainly quickly become [like] a trickling tear;
Most people's nature being moist [with compassion]—they would engage in most any
[form of] compassion [at such a sight].⁸¹

Verse 94 is significant because it directly articulates the motivation for the Cloud's actions. Seeing the female lover experiencing suffering, the Cloud is motivated to act. As the verse claims, just as most people have a nature "moist with compassion," the Cloud too has this kind of nature, motivating his actions. While 'compassion' is given as a gloss in Mallinātha's commentary, this imagery of moisture is absent in all Sanskrit versions of the poem, suggesting that this phrase is a uniquely Tibetan interpolation.

Having seen her suffering, in verses 99-102, the Cloud is imagined "speaking" to the *yakṣa*'s lover. The effect of the Cloud's thunderous roar is apparently pleasing, not just to the *yakṣa*'s lover, but to other women as well, temporarily alleviating their experiences of suffering:

...To that woman [now] puffed-up [like a peacock], you should compose pleasing words expressed [through] your dragon-sound:

"O [friend], know that I am a good friend of your husband's by the name of a young cloud;
Keeping his pleasant messages in my heart I have come before you;
When my voice resounds, those weary, traveling on the road are caused to flee indoors;
My pleasant sounds cause the braids of women to be undone, indicating their being tormented by desire."

⁸¹ *mdzes ma de ni rgyan rnams yang dag bzhag cing lus ni shin tu phra la 'dzin byed cing | gdung ba'i sdug bsngal dag gis mal stan steng na yang dang yang du 'dre ldog byed pa na | khyod kyang 'phral la chu yi rang bzhin mchi ma 'dzag pa nyid du 'gyur ba gdon mi za | phal ches thams cad nang gi bdag nyid bstan pas snying rje ci yang 'jug par 'gyur pa nyid | Tibetan Verse 86 corresponds to Sanskrit M33/V91/D26.*

Once you have said this, Like the daughter of Maithili did to the son of the wind
(Hanumat),
She will looking upon you in person, with a heart full of bliss (*dga' bde'i snying*), this
much is certainly true;
My friend, [she] will then sit there comfortably, desiring to listen to [your] words.
Words of husbands, conveyed by good friends such as myself are merely the leftovers,
short of a [true] reunion.

O venerable one, by just my words, in order to help her, say this [to her]:
“Your King is is alive and living at the supreme King Rama’s mountain residence.
Having abandoned you, O beautiful one, he asks if you are well.”
For, towards people whose activity has declined, assurance is given first.⁸²

The *yakṣa* anticipates that the Cloud will alleviate his lover’s suffering in several ways. The
Cloud’s words (imagined by the *yakṣa*) are described several times as “pleasing” and “pleasant”
(*snyan pa'i brjod pa, 'phrin snyan, snyan pa'i sgra dbyang*). Further, the *yakṣa* imagines that his
lover will receive these messages from the Cloud with a heart full of bliss (*dga' bde'i snying*), her
suffering—at least for the moment—alleviated by the Cloud. Finally, it is expected that “just by
[the *yakṣa*’s] words” (*bdag gi tshig dang nyid*⁸³ *kyis kyang ni*) the Cloud will be able to help the
yakṣa’s lover (*de la phan pa'i ched du ni*).

We have so far seen that throughout *Trinki Phonya*, while the Cloud’s lightning, thunder,
and rain generally have cooling and alleviating effects on the passersby, while in Changlochen it

⁸² ...*khyod ni glog gi 'dren byed g.yo zhing g.yo ba khyod mdog dang mtshungs gnas su gnas nyan nas | khengs ldan ma la 'brug dbyangs tshig ni snyan pa'i brjod pa khyod kyis yang yang rtsom par mdzod | ka ye khyod ldan chu gzhon ming can bdag ni rje yi grogs bzang yin par shes par mdzod | de yi 'phrin snyan yid la bzung nas khyod kyi drung du nye bar 'ongs par gyur pa nyid | bdag gi sgra ni bsgrags tshe lam bgrod dub pa'i tshogs rnams sgo yi nang du 'bros par byed | snyan pa'i sgra dbyang rnams kyis bud med lan bu 'grol zhing 'dod pas gzir bar mtshon par byed | ces pa de skad bshad tshe dri bzhon bu ni mi thi la yi bu mos mthong ba bzhin | de ni dga' bde'i snying gis khyod la mngon phyogs blta zhing bden pa nyid du 'ang nges pa nyid | kwa ye grogs bzang de nas legs par gnas la gzhan yang nyan 'dod sgra ldan ma rnams ni | bdag po'i tshi ni snying grogs bdag gis khyer 'ongs gyur las phrad ltar lhag mar lus pa nyid | ka ye tshe ldan bdag gi tshig dang nyid kyis kyang ni de la phan pa'i ched du ni | khyod kyi rgyal po mchog gi rgyal po rā ma'i ri yi gnas shing 'tsho ba nyid | khyod ni spang par gyur pa la ka ye mdzes ma dge'am 'dri zhes de ltar smra bar mdzod | gang phyir ske bo rnams ni byed pa nyams la dang por 'dra'i dbugs dbyung byed pa nyid | Tibetan Verses 99-102 correspond to Sanskrit M 38-41, V 95- 98, D 31-34.*

⁸³ Here *dang nyid* seems to be filler for metrical purposes.

is the Cloud’s thunder—metaphorically his words, his “roar”—which produces the desired effect of alleviating suffering (Verses 80, 83, 93, 99-102). We have also seen that it is specifically compassion (*snying rje*)—that is, the “arising of a mental state that wishes for those full of suffering to be free from suffering”⁸⁴—which motivates the Cloud; this is indicated both directly (Verse 94) and implicitly (Verse 80-1, 92-3, 102).

As is the case for most extant messenger poems,⁸⁵ *Trinki Phonya* is in part also a poem focused around the experience of separated lovers, which might seem an unlikely vehicle for Buddhist messages of compassion. Verses 111-12 of *Trinki Phonya*, however, give us some guidance as to how we might reconcile this apparent contradiction: this can be seen as a Buddhist cautionary tale against the suffering inherent in the experience of separation:

[But], considering the nature of counting the many days [apart], I know it will not end;
 Oh excellent one, you also should not [trouble yourself] with [so] many sufferings;
 For who is there with absolute happiness, and who is there also with absolute suffering?
 These things are [like] spokes of a wheel: after going a little down, they go up again, as if
 alternating in a circle.

My lord’s angry command will be finished when Vishu rises from sleep, resting on a
 serpent;
 Until then, like the moon, rest with your eyes closed;
 After that, our desired enjoyment arising from long separation will be attained;

⁸⁴ Recall from Chapter Three on the discussion of *nying-jewa* (*snying rje ba*) the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* defines *nying-jé* in this way: “An arising of a mental state that wishes for those full of suffering to be free from suffering. [Example]: Assisting through merely compassion [generated] towards those suffering from cold and starvation.” *sdug bsngal can rnams sdug bsngal dang 'bral 'dod kyi blo skyes pa* | [Example]: *'khyag ltogs kyi sdug bsngal yod mkhan tshor snying rje ba tsam gyis cang mi phan* | See *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1003.

⁸⁵ E.P. Radhakrishnan, “Meghadūta and Its Imitations,” *Journal of Oriental Research* X (1936): 269–74. See also Chintaharan Chakravarti, “Origin and Development of Dūtakāvya Literature in Sanskrit,” *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (1927): 286-7. For further descriptions of common thematic and poetical content in Sanskrit messenger poems, see Yigal Bronner and David Shulman, “‘A Cloud Turned Goose’: Sanskrit in the Vernacular Millennium,” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 43, no. 1 (2006): 11-12. Hopkins, Steven P., “Lovers, Messengers, and Beloved Landscapes: Sandesakavya in Comparative Perspective,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 8, 1–3 (2004): 29–55.

The desired enjoyment will be found in the attributes of a spring full moon.⁸⁶

The *yakṣa*'s message in this version is laden with Buddhist overtones. We are told that the sufferings have no end. The wheel metaphor, prevalent throughout Buddhism, supports this idea, affirming that the very situation of separation itself is impermanent and, like all things in *samsāra*, is conducive to suffering. From this perspective, neither the pain from separation nor the joy of reunion would be an ideal situation. This theme is seemingly confirmed by the following verse, which in the Tibetan version above seems to indicate that the enjoyment to be experienced is derived from experiencing attributes and qualities of the natural world rather than from the reunion of lovers. There is in fact no direct indication in *Trinki Phonya* that the lovers will ever be reunited! Thus, unlike in other messenger poems, it is not the promise of reunion that is meant to console and alleviate the suffering of the *yakṣa*'s lover. In place of the promise of reunion there appears a Buddhist sermon on the nature of impermanence. The roar of the Cloud thus takes on a new meaning. Like the “lion’s roar” commonly referred to in numerous Buddhist texts,⁸⁷ the Cloud’s roar likewise brings to the *yakṣa*'s lover the message of *Dharma* to alleviate her suffering.

⁸⁶ Also possibly “The desired enjoyment will be found in the full-moon spring nights” (*mtshan mo* for *mtshan ma*). Full Tibetan: *bdag ni zhag grangs mang po'i bdag nyid bgrang zhing nang gi bsam pas mi 'chi bar ni shes | kwa ye dge legs ldan ma khyod kyang mya ngan mang po shin tu bya ba ma yin te| bde ba mtha' gcig ldan pas su yin rtag tu sdug bsgal mtha' gcig pa yang su zhig yin| de dag 'khor lo'i rtsibs ni cung zad 'og tu 'gro zhing steng du'ang rim gyis bskor ba bzhin| khyab 'jug lag 'gro'i gnas na gnyid las langs tshe rje bo khros pa'i bka' lung rdzogs pa nyid| de la zla bzhin yod de bar mig ni zum par byas nas khyod ni gnas par mdzod| phyi nas bdag cag gnyis ni yun ring bral bar las byung 'dod pa'i longs spyod de thob ste| ston ka'i zla ba rdzogs pa'i mtshan ma rnams la 'dod pa'i longs spyod de dag ldan par 'gyur|* Tibetan verse 111 corresponds to Sanskrit M49/V111/D42; Tibetan Verse 112 corresponds to Sanskrit MD50/V107/D43.

⁸⁷ See, for instance, the opening stanza of Sakya Paṇḍita's *Gateway to Learning* (*Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo*) (Translation by Jonathan Gold): “...For one’s own sake and that of others: realization abandonment, and Buddhahood—[With these qualities] they declare the Buddha’s dharma with a lion’s roar;” Jonathan C Gold, *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers: Sakya Pandita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007): Appendix B, 153.

Finally, the last three verses of *Trinki Phonya* (Verse 115-117) describe the Cloud's alleged goals and motivations for delivering this message:

By these [concrete] things, that friend who is experiencing the torment from first separation, may her suffering be relieved!
You should then turn back from the Kailash mountain, white as the three-eyed one's bull,
And bring to me your good attributes; explain them to me;
Come quickly, encouraged by the quick movements of filaments of Kunda flowers!

Oh my good friend, having made your home with my relative for just a bit,
Moreover, I think that this news from you will certainly be steady;
I think even the chātaka birds, are *soundlessly* given water [by you];
Since accomplishing the desire of beings in need is [in itself] an answer.

O Cloud, having taken care of me, *conveying the words of me, tormented;*
Whether you are being kind [to me, showing] heaps of affection, or whether you are of a
compassionate mind;
May you attain your desired object, may you be glorious with heaps of beautiful rain
clouds, and May you never be separated from Lightning, and *likewise may all of*
[us] also receive virtue and blessings! (emphasis mine)⁸⁸

Whether or not we should take this translation as an allegory, or even a cautionary tale against the suffering that arises from desire (and how it necessitates compassion as a medicine), what seems clear is that the focus of the poem appears to be not the *yakṣa* or his lover but the Cloud: a Bodhisattva-like figure who out of compassion for the welfare of others stays in the abode of various desires ('*dod ldan nyams kyi gnas*) and is concerned with removing bad deeds through a purified state of being.

⁸⁸ 'di rnams kyi ni dang por bral bas gdungs par gyur pa'i grogs mo de ni dbugs dbyung mdzod | mig gsum pa yi khyu mchog lta bur dkar ba'i kai lā sha yi ri las slar ldog bya | de la'ang rang gi dge ba'i mtshan ma khyer 'ongs de dang de ni bdag la bshad par bya | khyod ni kun de'i ge sar g.yo ldan myur 'gro rnams kyi bskul byas myur bar 'ong bar bya | kwa ye grogs bzang khyod kyi bdag gi gnyen 'dun dag tu cung zad gnas pa 'di byas nas | slar yang 'phrin rnams brtan pa khyod las nges par bdag la 'ong bar 'gyur zhes bdag sems so | tsā ta ka rnams sgra med par yang chu ni sbyin par mdzod ces khyod la zhu bar sems | gang phyir skye bo rnams la 'dod par gyur pa rnams kyi bya ba'i don nyid lan gyi tshig | ka ye chu 'dzin gdung ldan bdag gi brjod pa bdag gi sems la don gnyer dga' ba yi | tshogs 'di byams par gyur pa'am rjes su [rab tu] brtse ba'i bslos ni 'di rnams kun byas nas | khyod kyang 'dod pa'i yul ni thob cing mdzes pa'i char sprin tshogs 'dzin dpal dang ldan pa dang | glog ma dang yang nam yang mi 'bral gyur cig de bzhin kun kyang dge zhing shis gyur cig || Tibetan Verse 115 corresponds to M 53. Vallabhadeva and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha both omit, but include as *prakṣipta*. Tibetan Verse 116 corresponds to Sanskrit M54/V110/D46; Tibetan Verse 117 corresponds to Sanskrit MD55/V111/D47.

As was discussed in Chapter Three, *Trinki Phonya* evidences a subtle Tibetan Buddhist reinterpretation of at least two of the Sanskrit *rasa*-s. The theme of separation of lovers, though traditionally classified within Sanskrit literature, and within messenger poetry more specifically, as *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra* (erotic mood), is here read through a lens of compassion, suggesting instead *karuṇa-rasa* or *nying-jé nyam* (compassionate mood). Further, as we have seen in this Chapter, Buddhist themes more generally predominate in *Trinki Phonya*. The landscape is subtly transformed into a Buddhist pilgrimage, and even the Cloud becomes a Bodhisattva-like figure, motivated to alleviate the suffering of others by his compassionate nature.

What I want to suggest is that ultimately these transformations craft a poem that reflects a uniquely Tibetan approach to messenger poetry with distinctly Tibetan Buddhist themes and sensibilities. We first considered the translators' colophon in Chapter Two for the purpose of determining the translators' division of labor, and again in Chapter Three in discussing the themes of compassion and discipline that emerge in *Trinki Phonya*. Given the conclusions drawn from the analyses in this chapter, however, the colophon's message now bears new implications:

Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* is now finished. By the command of the great chief Namkha Tenpa—adorned with immeasurable excellent qualities such as intelligence (*blo gros*), compassion (*snying rje*), discipline (*brtul ba*), ascertainment (*nges pa*), renunciation (*gtong ba*), and so forth—the great Kashmiri poet-*paṇḍit* Sumanaśrī, the famous Zhuchen Lotsāwa Gelong Jangchub Tsemo and the expounder of scripture and philosophy among Lotsāwas, Namkha Zangpo, at the great Sakya temple translated, revised, and edited it.

*By completely purifying whatever thoughts
 Encouraging these [qualities], favorable conditions are achieved;
 By whatever merit we accomplish through effort,
 May we cross over Samsāra and attain the three bodies of the Buddha.
 From the auspicious speech of the lord of the North
 This poetry, into Tibetan—
 By the Kashmiri Paṇḍit, along with
 Gelong Jangchub Tsemo—was translated.*

*By this [translation] may there be benefit to immeasurable beings, and may there be virtue and blessings (emphasis mine).*⁸⁹

However we might approach *Trinki Phonya* as a text—whether as a translation of a Sanskrit poem, foreignized or domesticated, or as a Tibetan piece of literature—our understanding of the text, and of the text’s ‘authors’ is fruitfully approached through the above translators’ colophon. Whether *Trinki Phonya* was approached as a translation or as a Tibetan piece of literature, it was clearly viewed by Jangtsé and Namkha Pel as, in part, an exercise in purifying one’s thoughts in order to generate (Buddhist) merit. Jñāśrīmitra’s *śleṣa*-rich invocation to Mañjuśrī (“regarding the *Meghavisphūrjita* meter..”) to “Grant, oh teacher, only for a moment| that purest of all pure states,| by which you take away| the visible manifestations of my bad deeds (*me 'ghavisphūrjitāni*)” adds yet one more layer to the possible hermeneutic approaches to *Trinki Phonya*, suggesting the possibility of it being usefully read simultaneously—perhaps bitextually—as *both* a Tibetan translation of Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger* and also as a consciously crafted piece of Tibetan *nyen-ngak* and contribution to the genre of messenger poetry. To refashion Borges’ words in response to the (fictional) Pierre Menard’s composition of Cervantes’ *Don Quixotes*, “Shall I confess that I often imagine that they finished it and that I am reading *Cloud Messenger*—the entire work—as if Jangtsé and Namkha Pel had conceived it?” Yet here we see that the analogy breaks down. While *Trinki Phonya* may indeed read as if

⁸⁹ All extant colophons for the Tibetan *Cloud Messenger*, including editions appearing in recent Tibetan commentaries, appear to be identical: *snyan ngag mkhan chen po nag mo'i khol gyis mdzad pa'i sprin gyi pho nya rdzogs so || blo gros dang snying rje dang | brtul ba dang nges pa dang | gtong ba la sogs pa'i yon tan phul du phyung ba dpag tu med pas spras pa'i dpon chen nam mkha' brtan pa'i bka' lung gis | kha che'i paṇḍi ta snyan ngag mkhan chen po su ma na shrī dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba mang du thos pa'i dge slong byang chub rtse mo dang | lo tsā bar gtogs pa lung rigs smra ba nam mkha' bzang pos dpal sa skya'i gtsug lag khang chen por bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa || gang zhig thugs dgongs rnam par dag pa yis || 'di la bskul zhing mihun rkyen bsgrubs pa dang || bdag cag 'bad las bsod namgs gang bsgrubs pas || 'khor ba las rgal sku gsum thob par shog || byang gi bdag po'i gsung bzang las || snyan ngag 'di ni bod skad du || kha che paṇ chen dang lhan cig || dge slong byang chub rtse mos bsgyur || 'dis 'gro ba dpag tu med pa la phan thogs nas bkra shis shing bde legs su gyur cig||*

Jangtsé and Namkha Pel had conceived it, it is not because of faithfulness to even an imagined word-for-word translation, let alone to a precise replication of words as in the case of Borges' piece. It is rather because of the many subtle yet salient translation choices that make *Trinki Phonya* a work which reads as something closer to an Indic, but nonetheless Tibetan poem, than simply an interlingual translation.

While it this and other Buddhist readings of *Trinki Phonya* are possible, it is not clear Tibetan commentators on *Trinki Phonya* have not been not equally comfortable with reading the poem in these ways, nor are they equally as comfortable with the themes of the poem as translator-authors Jangtsé and Namkha Pel appeared to be. In Chapter Five, I will examine the complexity of Tibetan responses to *Trinki Phonya* in the twentieth century via recent commentarial tradition and contrast this with the various responses indicated by Tibetan imitation poems (sixteenth century through the present).

Kālidāsa in Tibet: Messenger Poetry in Translation

Chapter Five

Authors, Authority, and Imitation: The modern Tibetan reception of Kālidāsa

It would seem that the author's name, unlike other proper names, does not pass from the interior of a discourse to the real and exterior individual who produced it; instead, the name seems always to be present, marking off the edges of the text, revealing, or at least characterizing, its mode of being. The author's name manifests the appearance of a certain discursive set and indicates the status of this discourse within a society and a culture. It has no legal status, nor is it located in the fiction of the work; rather, it is located in the break that founds a certain discursive construct and its very particular mode of being. –Michel Foucault, “What is an Author?”¹

5.1 Introduction

In his seminal response to Rolande Barthes' “The Death of the Author,” Michel Foucault discusses the issue of the author in literary and other works. Distinguishing this from the idea of a writer of a work, he proposes the notion of an author as something more than a mere name: a function that inspires, creates, and limits discourse. In Chapter Three we saw ways in which *Trinki Phonya* challenges a traditional understanding of the work a translation does. If the conclusions drawn from these chapter can be said to resist the limits of our understanding of a translation, then the conclusions drawn in Chapter Four break down the category of translation altogether, leaving its delimitations broken, jagged, and perhaps irreparable. If *Trinki Phonya* is understood not as a translation but as a *transformation* of Kālidāsa's original, which fully and

¹ Michel Foucault, “What Is an Author?,” in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 141–60.

intentionally participates in the genres of both Tibetan *nyen-ngak* and Indic *sandēśa-kāvya*, how does this change our understanding of the author-function of this work? How does *Trinki Phonya* participate in, and influence the genre of Tibetan messenger poetry? I will argue that, as a poem and a translation, *Trinki Phonya* serves two functions in the modern Tibetan scholarship discussed: (1) it serves as the first model for Tibetan messenger poetry, in response to which modern commentators and poets alike will craft their own imitations; and (2) it participates in and engenders discourse regarding what counts as a translation in modern Tibetan literary circles.

This chapter will focus on an analysis of the complexity of Tibetan responses to *Trinki Phonya* from the sixteenth through early-21st centuries via three discrete moments: poet Rinlung Ngawang Jigdrak's sixteenth-century imitation poem *Zhutrin Rigzin Phonya*, late-twentieth century Tibetan commentaries on *Trinki Phonya*, and modern Tibetan imitation poetry. While the pieces I consider throughout this chapter occupy a literary space reserved primarily for elite (and male) Tibetan scholarly circles, the influence of *Trinki Phonya*—both as a formal style and as a reservoir of topoi and Buddhist themes—extends far beyond this limited literary space.

The primary focus for this chapter will be on the work of the commentators. Through their readings of *Trinki Phonya* (and Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*) each modern commentator is inspired to explore his own approach to messenger poetry, albeit within the confines of an apparent 'translation.' As I will argue, the commentaries support a method of reading and translating foreign texts, such as Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*, which prioritizes faithfulness to the Sanskrit originals to a degree not present in *Trinki Phonya* as a translation. On another level, these commentators can be said to be participating in—and in some ways defining or even

redefining—the genre of Tibetan messenger poetry through imitation. The degree of metrical flexibility and the willingness of these commentators to participate in the translation or retranslation act—something uncommon for Tibetan commentators of non-Buddhist texts—allows commentators Nordrang and Rakra to participate in the messenger poetry genre as something other than mere observers. As we will see, the author of *Trinki Phonya* is not dead—rather he is a fully living entity that continues to shape and influence the literary and scholarly output of modern Tibetan writers who participate in this discourse.

5.2 Early Tibetan readership of *Cloud Messenger*

Tibet House editor E. Gene Smith famously writes, “Poetics in Tibet begins and ends with the *Kāvyaśāstra* of Daṇḍin.”² While it might be tempting to state that similarly Tibetan interest in the *Cloud Messenger* begins and ends with its fourteenth-century translation, this is clearly not the case. As now extant Dunhuang manuscripts confirm, Tibetan interest in non-Buddhist Sanskrit literature was present at least as early as the ninth century, from which we now have fragments of Tibetan translations of *Rāmāyana* stories.³ Tibetan readership of Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger* predates the *Trinki Phonya* translation by at least one century. Twelfth-century Tibetan scholar Sakya Paṇḍita, in his *Gateway to Scholarship*, advocates reading Kālidāsa’s works in particular: “...poetry treatises: *Jātaka*[-*mālā* of Āryaśūra], the three great [poets] and

² Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal, *Encyclopedia Tibetica : The Collected Works of Bo-Doñ Paṇ-Chen Phyogs-Las-Rnam-Rgyal*, ed. S. T. Kazi, vol. 6, Tibet House Library Publications (New Delhi: Sole distributors: Tibet House, 1970), 8. Although S.T. Kazi was the editor, Matthew Kapstein finds it more likely that E. Gene Smith wrote the introductions for this series.

³ Matthew Kapstein, “Indian Literary Identity in Tibet,” in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 795-799.

the three small [works of Kālidāsa], and so on.”⁴ In the notes to his translation, Jonathan Gold glosses this reference to the “three large” (*chen po gsum*) and “three small” (*chung ngu gsum*) works as pertaining to Kālidāsa’s poetry, but he also glosses them as translations of the Sanskrit technical terms *bṛhatrayī* and *laghutrayī* “of Sanskrit poetry.”⁵ These Sanskrit terms however, more typically refer to classifications of triads of Sanskrit *medicinal* texts. I find it more likely that the Tibetan here refers to the “large” and “small” works attributed to Kālidāsa at this time (not all of which were likely composed by him). The “large” works would refer to the longer poems such as *Birth of Kumāra* (*Kumārasaṃbhava*) and the *Lineage of Raghu* (*Raghuvamśa*); the “small” would refer to Kālidāsa’s shorter poems, which would include *Cloud Messenger*. If this is the case, it is evidence that Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger* was considered sufficiently important for the study of Sanskrit poetry in Tibet to be included in a list of recommended readings two centuries prior to its rendering as *Trinki Phonya*.

Tibetan interest in reading *Cloud Messenger* did not wane entirely after its formal translation in the fourteenth century. Half a century after its translation, Jangtsé’s great-nephew, the famously prolific scholar, author, teacher, and commentator Bodong Choklé Namgyal, was known to have made extensive notes on *Cloud Messenger*. The earliest-known source attesting this is the *Feast of Miracles*, a biography of Choklé Namgyal compiled by Jigmé Wang in 1453.

Diemberger’s English translation of this passage reads as follows:

In his [Choklé Namgyal’s] youth he had mastered poetry....When he devoted himself to great poetic works such as the *Kāvyaḍarśa* by Daṇḍin, *Jātakamālā* by Āryasūra, the

⁴ Jonathan C Gold, *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers: Sakya Pandita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 154. Tibetan reads *snyan ngag gi bstan bcos skyes pa’i rabs dang | chen po gsum dang | chung ngu gsum la sogs pa dang |*

⁵ Gold, *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers*, 232 fn 10.

Bodhisattvāvadhānakalpalatā by the great poet Kṣemendra, the *Meghadūta* by Kālidāsa, he could understand and keep them in mind very easily. He composed detailed notes on the *Meghadūta*, requested by the Religious Lord Namgyal Dragpa.”⁶

A bibliography (Tib: *tho yig*) of rare Tibetan texts compiled by a nineteenth-century scholar from Amdo, Akhu Rinpoche Sherab Gyatso, likewise attests this work’s existence, citing its name as: *An Annotated Explanation of Kālidāsa’s Cloud Messenger (requested by the Learned one, the famous Namgyal Grakpa)*.⁷ Citing Akhu Rinpoche’s work, the *Encyclopedia Tibetica*, published by Tibet House in the 1970s, likewise attests the title of the text.⁸ Unfortunately, the work itself is not included among the texts preserved by the Tibet House Collection.

5.3 The Beginnings of a Genre: Imitation and Commentary

We have extant one remaining indicator of continued Tibetan readership of *Cloud Messenger*—or rather, *Trinki Phonya*—prior to the modern era: an imitation poem written by the sixteenth-century poet Rinpong Ngawang Jigdrak (Rin spung ngag dbang 'jigs grags). Rinpong’s work is the earliest *Trinki Phonya* imitation poem I have been able to identify. Entitled *Zhutrin Rigzin Phonya (The Knowledge-bearing Messenger)*,⁹ it is written in the form of a letter from the

⁶ Dkon mchog 'bangs et al., *Feast of Miracles: The Life and the Tradition of Bodong Chole Namgyal (1375/6-1451 A.D.) according to the Tibetan Texts “Feast of Miracles” and “The Lamp Illuminating the History of Bodong”* (Clusone (Bergamo): Porong Pema Chöding Editions, 1997), 55.

⁷ Tibetan: *nag mo'i khol gyis nyan ngag sprin gyi pho nya'i mchan bu shin tu gsal ba (byang ba rig ldan rnam rgyal grags pas bskul ba)* | For me on Akhu Rinpoche’s work, see Dr. Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part 3*, vol. 30, Śata-Pitaka Series: Indo-Asian Literatures (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1963), 9-10. For the *Tho yig* itself, see *Ibid.*, 503-602. For the list of the text itself see entry 12994 in *Ibid.*, 581.

⁸ See Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal, *Encyclopedia Tibetica*, 12-13.

⁹ *Rig 'dzin pho nya*. The full title is *Rang gi yab la phul ba'i zhu 'phrin rig dzin pa'i pho nya*, which in Sanskrit would be something like *Sandēśa-vidhyādharma-dūta*.

poet to his father about the journey to Shambala.¹⁰ The poem exists in two different modern publications. The earliest is a collection of folios, published in Dharamsala in 1974.¹¹ The second is part of a collection of essays and poetic compositions published in China in 1988.¹²

Rigzin Phonya—like *Trinki Phonya*—is unusually long for a Tibetan poem, containing approximately 287 verses of varying metrical length.¹³ The precise length of the poem is difficult to ascertain as the length of each verse varies from seven-syllables per foot to fifteen-syllables per foot, with the most common meter being nine syllables per foot. Accordingly, verses composed of four fifteen-syllable feet are twice as long as verses containing four seven-syllable feet. There are also a few brief prose sections embedded within the poem which I have not included in the total verse count. Altogether, *Rigzin Phonya* is comprised of approximately 10,500 syllables over 75 folios, which is equivalent to 138 *Trinki Phonya*-length (nineteen-syllables per feet) verses. Thus *Rigzin Phonya*, while structured differently, is of comparable length to the 117-verse *Trinki Phonya*. In addition to the inclusion of shorter verse lengths,

¹⁰ Edwin Bernbaum, in his 1985 dissertation writes in various sections about the Shambala myth-based aspects of this poem, comparing these elements with present in various other Tibetan Buddhist works, including the *Vimalaprabhā* and the *Kālacakratantrarāja*. See Edwin Marshall Bernbaum, “The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism: A Study of the Development of Buddhist Guidebooks to Sambhala in Relation to their Antecedents in Hindu Mythology” (University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 34-35, 109-154, 165, 177.

¹¹ Rin spungs pa Ngag dbang 'jig rten dbang phyug grags pa, *Rang gi yab rje rigs ldan chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam par rgyal ba la zhu 'phrin du bya ba rig pa 'dzin pa 'i pho nya zhes bya ba bzugs so* (Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1974).

¹² Rin spungs pa Ngag dbang 'jig rten dbang phyug grags pa, “Chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam par rgyal ba la phul ba'i zhu 'phrin rig 'dzin pho nya,” in *Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsom yig gser gyi sbram bu*, by Blo bzang chos grags (Xining: mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988).

¹³ This calculation was made based on the assumption of four metrical feet per verse. While neither extant editions of this piece demarcate verse boundaries, the metrical changes that occur throughout give us the opportunity to make an educated guess as to the preferred length of a given verse. Given that groupings of four or six feet per verse is typical for Tibetan meter, and given that all instances of 7-, 11-, 13-, and 15-syllable lines can be divided evenly into groups of four, it seems this hypothesis is strongly supported by the text itself. Likewise, for the 9-syllable lines—which are the most predominant meter—all but two subsections (out of the 14 distinct sections of 9-syllable meter) evenly divide into groups of four.

Rinpung's poem—like Rakra and Nordrang's retranslations of *Trinki Phonya*, which will be examined in a later section—conforms to the syllabic groupings common to classical Tibetan meter. By conforming to these standards for Tibetan meter, and by conforming to the thematic topoi common for Indian messenger poetry—while still exploring distinctly Tibetan themes—*Rigzin Phonya* can be said to exemplify the first independent Tibetan messenger poem for which we have evidence. Additionally this work remains the only extant example of a Tibetan messenger poem that adheres to the length of poetry modeled by Kālidāsa's piece and the only one of comparable length and complexity to *Trinki Phonya*.

Given their topical similarities and lengths, it is likely that Rinpung had *Trinki Phonya* as an intertext. While the confines of this project do not allow me to do so here, I am confident that further examination of *Rigzin Phonya* will reveal further intertextual elements. For the purposes of this project, suffice it to say that *Trinki Phonya* as a poem enjoyed a limited literary readership in Tibet—one that inspired at least one major imitation poem.

Tibetan scholarly interest in *Trinki Phonya* either as a poem or as a translation seems to have mostly waned after the sixteenth century until the twentieth century, in which Tibetan commentarial literature first evidences a resurgence of interest. The earliest of these commentaries, written by Parī¹⁴ Dorzhi Dongdruk Nyempé Lodrö (b. 1935/6) published first in Beijing in 1988¹⁵ and again in Lanzhou in 2003, is also the most sparse.¹⁶ The editor's preface to

¹⁴ Parī (Tibetan *dpa' ris*, short for *dpa' ris rdzong*) refers to a region in modern-day China (*Tianzhu*) located in the Gansu province, thus is likely simply an indicator of where the author Dorzhi is from.

¹⁵ Kālidāsa and Dpa' ris Dor zhi gdong drug snyems blo, *Snyan ngag sprin gyi pho nya'i tshig 'grel go bde ngag rig kun da'i zla zer* (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988).

¹⁶ Dor zhi gdong drug snyems blo, *Snyan ngag sprin gyi pho nya'i 'grel ba kun da'i zla zer* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003).

the 1988 edition explains that this commentary is based on a 1957 Chinese translation of *Cloud Messenger*.¹⁷

The preface briefly discusses the organization of the Mongolian collections of drama and poetry—which include a Mongolian version of *Cloud Messenger*—and then continues to explain that while the author of this commentary (Dorzhi) used the Tibetan Tengyur version for the root text, “the method used for translating [the Tibetan translation itself] and the manner in which it is expressed are extremely difficult to understand.”¹⁸ By contrast, the editor asserts:

“Regarding those difficulties, Dorzhi Dongdruk Nyemlo, Assistant Professor at the Northwest Nationalities College, based on the regular instruction [on the text] that he had prepared for the instruction of [his] students, this commentary [on] *Trinki Phonya* is easy to comprehend, abbreviated, and composed in a clearly articulated [way].”¹⁹

Despite this assertion that the root text is difficult to understand, both verse-ordering and word-choice in this commentary’s root text is identical with that of the fourteenth-century translation as well as that included in the other two Tibetan commentaries. This fact is significant. Sanskrit commentarial traditions by contrast have long disputed both the ordering of verses and the question of whether a verse was actually composed by Kālidāsa himself. This dispute over, and assertion of, verses as belonging to Kālidāsa is a part of the Sanskrit commentarial tradition on

¹⁷ The end notes for Dorzhi’s 1988 edition, composed by Dorzhi himself, echo the editor’s attestation that the commentary is based on a recent Chinese commentary. See Dpa’ ris Dor zhi, 85-7. According to Kapstein the commentary is largely based on a Chinese 1950’s study of Mallinātha’s commentary on the Sanskrit. See Matthew Kapstein, “Indian Literary Identity in Tibet,” in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 789 fn120.

¹⁸ A sentiment with which I wholeheartedly agree! Tibetan reads: *de dag thad bsgyur gyi bsgyur thabs bed spyod stabs brjod bya shin tur togs dka' ba zhig red* | See page 2 of the Editor’s preface (*dpe skrun gsal bshad*) in Dpa’-ris dor-zhi 1988.

¹⁹ *dka' gnad de la dmigs nas nub byang mi rigs slob grwa'i slob dpon gzhon pa dor zhi gdong drug snyems blo mchog gis slob mar bshad khrid mdzad pa'i khrid rgyun gzhir bzung nas <<sprin gyi pho nyar>> 'grel pa rtogs slab a dang mdor bsdu pa| kha gsal ba zhig mdzad cing* | See page 2 of the Editor’s preface (*dpe skrun gsal bshad*) in Dpa’ ris dor zhi 1988.

Cloud Messenger, as is evident in the commentaries written by Mallinātha, Vallabhadeva, and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha.²⁰ By contrast, within the Tibetan commentarial tradition—as Dorzhi’s commentary demonstrates—the authenticity of an individual verse does not seem to have been contested. Rather, the authenticity of the fourteenth-century Tibetan translation as an authentic historical document seems to be the predominant emphasis in this commentarial tradition, as all extant Tibetan commentaries either include, or refer to phrasing from, the fourteenth-century translation preserved in the Tengyur.

The second of these modern commentaries was written by Rakra Thubten Chödar (b. 1925) and published in Dharamsala, India in 1998.²¹ This commentary is published within a larger work, which includes a short history of Kālidāsa but also a commentary on the eight grammatical cases (Skt. *kārika*-s) of Tibetan grammar. Both the structure and content of Rakra’s commentary evidence his larger interest in Tibetan poetics more generally. The commentary itself, like Parī Dorzhi’s, is fairly sparse. Most *Trinki Phonya* verses are not cited in their entirety, but are referred to by their first line in Tibetan as it appears in the Tengyur translation. For several of the verses Rakra includes his own translation, rendered in a shorter fifteen-syllable

²⁰ Kālidāsa., Mallinātha. Sañjivinī., and M. R. (Moreshvar Ramchandra) Kāle, *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa : Text with Sanskrit Commentary of Mallinātha, English Translation, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and a Map*, vol. [9th] (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1979). See also Kālidāsa, 10th cent Vivṛti 1998 Vallabhadeva, and E. (E Hultzsch, *Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta : Edited from Manuscripts with the Commentary of Vallabhadeva and Provided with a Complete Sanskrit-English Vocabulary* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1998). See also Kālidāsa et al., *Meghasandēśa of Kālidāsa: With the Commentaries, Pradīpa of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Vidyullatā of Pūrṇasarasvati, Sumanoramanī of Parameśvara* (Delhi, India: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1987).

²¹ Thub bstan chos dar, Rak ra Rin po che, *Gnas brgyad kyi 'grel pa tha snyad rig pa'i thi gu dang sprin gyi pho nya'i 'grel pa glog phreng* (Dharamsala, H.P.: Rigs lam slob gnyer khang, 1998). The introductory section of Rakra’s piece explains that the original commentary, “known as the *Garland of Lightning* (*glog 'phreng ma*), or *Saudāmanī*, was written by an Indian master named Śrī Kedarānātha Śārma” whereas the original *Trinki Phonya* comes from the Tengyur edition translated by Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo in collaboration with Sumanaśrī.

per foot meter, which is metrically more common in modern Tibetan poetry and which admits for the more common metrical phrasing into sub-groups of two or four syllables. Sometimes the entirety of the commentary for a single verse consists of such a re-translation. An analysis of these alternate translations will be covered in the following section.

The third of the commentaries was written by Nordrang Ogyen and published in 2004.²² Nordrang Ogyen's commentary is by far the most complex and evidences perhaps the greatest degree of interest in the poetics of *Trinki Phonya* as a translation. For each of the 117 Tibetan verses, Nordrang includes the full nineteen-syllable translation by Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo. Following his own prose of varying lengths, Nordrang subtly—without explicitly labeling it as such—provides a re-translation of each verse in the same nineteen-syllable meter. However, additionally—as if to indicate that even a nineteen-syllable meter would not do the poem justice—for each re-translated verse Nordrang provides two additional alternate translations: one in the more common eleven-syllable per foot meter and one in the nine-syllable per foot meter. As a result, Nordrang's commentary contains three alternate translations for each *Trinki Phonya* verse. Like Rakra's commentary, Nordrang's translations conform better to common Tibetan metrical patterns. Nordrang's commentary also includes an elaborate set of *maṅgala* verses that illustrate different Tibetan sound-ornaments (most of which do not have direct Sanskrit equivalents).

Given the centuries-long dearth of apparent Tibetan scholarly interest in the *Cloud Messenger*, this plethora of commentarial response in the modern era is all the more significant. Additionally, since the publication of those commentaries we have seen an increase in other

²² Nor brang O rgyan, *Sprin gyi pho nya'i 'grel pa ngo mtshar dga' ston (Marvelous and Festive Commentary on the Cloud Messenger)* (Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2004).

Tibetan scholarly responses to the *Cloud Messenger*. This is in contradistinction to the trend identified in Chapter Two, that Tibetan biographical writers and compilers from the late spread (eleventh through fourteenth centuries) tended to prioritize historical and biographical data, a trend that conforms to the claim that the title *Lotsāwa*, or translator, is earned only through the translation of works that are considered sufficiently ‘Buddhist’ in content. Over the centuries following the fourteenth century rendering of *Cloud Messenger* into *Trinki Phonya*, Tibetan readerly interest in *Cloud Messenger* has waxed and waned, reaching a new peak in the modern-era commentaries and other scholarly works of the past century.

5.4 Discursive Commentarial Responses to *Trinki Phonya*

We have seen that Tibetan scholarly and literary interest in *Trinki Phonya* has been sporadic over the centuries—though far from negligible—culminating in several commentaries, as well as the critical edition produced by CUTS, all of which were published in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. I argue that what characterizes these commentaries is not merely an increased scholarly interest in poetics, but rather a distinct discursive approach to *Trinki Phonya*. Analysis from the previous chapters shows that the efforts of the fourteenth-century translators Jangtsé and Namkha Pel transformed *Cloud Messenger* into a Tibetan poem, rich with Buddhist geographical, cosmographical, and renunciative themes. As I will show, however, the commentaries written by Tibetan scholars Dorzhi, Rakra, and Nordrang evidence—to varying degrees—a sense of discomfort with these same transformations, which in turn raises for modern readers of *Trinki Phonya* the question, “Who is the author of *Trinki Phonya*?”

Foucault’s concept of the commentary-function will be relevant here. James Chandler, in his essay on Foucault’s Letters from the Collège de France, states that Foucault’s commentary-function is a principle which “names a kind of relation among speech-acts within discourse, a hierarchy of primary and secondary texts.” He continues:

Whereas the commentary principle is effectively universal, the author principle decidedly is not. There are many societies, clearly, where commentary functions in the absence of the author principle. And yet it seems entirely fair to observe that in the hierarchy constructed by the commentary principle, something we might want to call “authority” is invested in the primary text.²³

As we will see, there is something of the author principle, an “authority,” which remains present in the translated *Cloud Messenger*—though perhaps not in *Trinki Phonya*—for these Tibetan commentators. As I will argue, it is the authority of the Sanskritic origins of *Cloud Messenger* itself which motivates and ultimately influences the commentarial and translation choices of these modern interpreters.

5.5 Commentarial responses to geography in *Trinki Phonya*

When we examine the commentaries for *Trinki Phonya* verses which evidence geographical shifts, we see two main trends. The commentators will often undermine these shifts by either (1) removing Buddhist qualifying information or (2) inserting additional descriptions for the locations which more closely match those in the original Sanskrit version(s). These two trends are best exemplified by the four verses describing Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī.

²³James Chandler, “Foucault and Disciplinary Authority,” in *Authority Matters: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Authorship*, ed. Donovan, Stephen, Danuta Zadworna-Fjellestad, and Rolf Lundén (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 58.

Dorzhi’s commentary actively resists *Trinki Phonya*’s Buddhist interpretation of *Cloud Messenger*’s geography. This is exemplified in verses 26 and 32. As explained in the previous Chapter, the phrase *gyalpö khab* can refer either to the specific city of Rājagṛha—a common Buddhism pilgrimage site—or, more generically, to a royal palace. Dorzhi’s commentary on Verse 26 chooses the latter of these two interpretations. By inserting the extra modifier *gyal* (king, royal) between the words *gyalpö* and *khab*, Dorzhi clarifies that he reads *gyalpö khab* as a royal palace, thus adhering to the first trend identified above. Even more directly, Dorzhi’s explanation, following the second of these trends, eliminates the ambiguity of *gyalpö khab*, glossing the verse as saying: “Go quickly, north of there to *that king’s palace* (*rgyal po’i rgyal khab*), renowned as Vidisha, of the king of weapons. There you’ll get your mistress, the great fruit of your desire (emphasis mine).”²⁴

In Verse 32 where the Buddhist pilgrimage site Vaiśālī (*yangs pa can*) is mentioned, Dorzhi’s commentary interprets the phrase *yangpa chen* as describing the location, rather than naming it:

The design [has] the glorious merits of beauty: pleasure groves, ponds, roads and so forth; it is large—that is, expansive (*che zhing yangs pa can*). The people of that very place are [like] the remainder, in the realm of the gods, of the merit from a previous birth.²⁵

²⁴ *de’i byung phyogs bi di sha zhes grags pa’i mtshon cha’i rgyal po’i rgyal khab der myur du song zhig dang | der khyod kyis shin tu che ba’i ’bras bu ste khyod kyis ’dod pa’i mdza’ na mo ’phral du ’thob par gyur te | Dpa’ ris Dor zhi, 20.*

²⁵ *bzo bkod mdzes sdug gi dpal phun sum tshogs pa | skyed tshal dang mtshe’u dang khrom srang sogs che zhing yangs pa can de ka’i mi rnams sngon chad lha yul du skyes skabs rang gi bsod nams kyi lhag ma | Dpa’ ris Dor zhi, 24.*

Thus Dorzhi’s commentary appears to undermine Jangtsé and Namkha Pel’s interpretation of the word Vaiśāli as a Buddhist geographical location, glossing it instead as the adjective “expansive.”

The only exception to this trend is in Dorzhi’s treatment of Changlochen. For the first verse (Verse 7) in which Changlochen is referenced, Dorzhi’s commentary does not disambiguate the location of Changlochen. Taking the reference to Vajrapāṇi to be literal, he glosses Changlochen as follows: “Changlochen is the great dwelling place of the Lord of Secrets, Vajrapāṇi; also well-known as Alakā. Go there!”²⁶ Thus for this verse, it appears Dorzhi is confirming the Buddhist aspect of this location. However, the second time that Changlochen is mentioned (Verse 65) Dorzhi mentions nothing about Vajrapāṇi and instead glosses Changlochen as the home of the Yakṣa.²⁷ Given the inconsistency with which Dorzhi treats Changlochen, it is difficult to ascertain whether Dorzhi is making any sort of claim in his commentary or whether he is simply following the language of the translation (or of the 1957 Chinese commentary) word-for-word.

Rakra’s commentary likewise resists *Trinki Phonya*’s Buddhist reinterpretation of the Sanskritic geography. We see this is in Verse 26 of *Trinki Phonya*, the verse that attests Rājagrha (*gyalpö khab*). Rakra’s commentary for Verse 26 reads: “When you reach Vidisha—the royal palace (*gyalpö khab*) of Dashāṇa—the desirous beings will attain the instruments of delight.”²⁸ By construing the phrase *gyalpö khab* with Dashāṇa, Rakra correctly understands

²⁶ *gsang bdag phyag na rdo rje'i bsti gnas chen po lcang lo can te a la kā zhes grags pa'i gnas der gshegs par mdzod* | Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 9.

²⁷ *kwa ye rang gi 'dod pa bzhin du rgyu byed chu 'dzin khyod ni ri bo de brgal tshé lcang lo can ma (gnod sbyin gyi gnas lcang lo can dang| mdzes ma lan bu can gnyis sgra sbyar bar snang) de khyod kyis ngo shes par 'gyur* | Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 47.

²⁸ *khyod da shā ṇa'i rgyal po'i khab bi di shar slebs pa na | 'dod ldan skyé bo rnam kyis bde ba'i yo byad stob par 'gyur la* | Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 43.

gyalpö khab to refer to the capital city of Daśarna, rather than the Buddhist pilgrimage site. In Verse 32, where Vaiśāli (*yangs pa can*) is mentioned, Rakra’s commentary likewise challenges *Trinki Phonya*’s interpretative strategy by omitting the phrase *yangpa chen* from the commentary altogether: “... After [you reach Avanti], when you go to Ujjayinī, you will see that those beings whose little remaining merit landed them in the higher realms, will leave their attained fruit behind on the ground.”²⁹ With the Buddhist qualifying information removed from these commentaries, the interpretive force of *Trinki Phonya*’s use of *yangpa chen* as the city of Vaiśāli has been undermined.

This trend is even more apparent in Rakra’s treatment of the verses referring to Changlochen. In Rakra’s retranslation of Verse 7 (this is one of the only fifteen verses he retranslates in his commentary, making it a rarity in and of itself), he eliminates the Vajrapāṇi reference: “Go to the home of the Lord of Yakṣas, Changlochen.”³⁰ The commentary further explains that it is a city which has a pleasure grove and that inside this grove is the Yakṣa’s house, which is white like the half-moon on the forehead of Śiva.³¹ Thus while the name of the city is rendered as Changlochen, Rakra’s explanatory information obfuscates the reference to Vajrapāṇi’s abode, which is explicit in *Trinki Phonya*. By emphasizing the city’s function as the home of the *yakṣa* and his lover while omitting the Buddhist qualifying information present in *Trinki Phonya*, Rakra effectively undermines the force of ‘Changlochen’ as a Buddhist city. For

²⁹ *khyod awanta'i grong du slebs pa na ...slar ujje ya ni la song na | skye bo gang dag mtho ris la spyod pa'i bsod nams kyi cha shas lhag ma cung zad thob pa'i 'bras bus sa gzhi der lus pa mthong bar gyur to ||* Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 45.

³⁰ *lcang lo can zhes bya ba gnod sbyin dbang po rnams kyi gnas su 'gro bya ste |* Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 36.

³¹ *gang du lcang lo can zhes bya ba gnod sbyin dbang po rnams gnas pa'i grong khyer gyi phyi rol gyi skyed mos tshal na bdag cag gi khyim ni legs ldan lha chen po 'phrog byed kyi gtsug gyi zla ba tshes pa ltar dkar zhing 'tsher ba yod do |* Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 36.

the latter verse which describes Changlochen (Verse 65), while Rakra does not provide a retranslation, his commentary clearly and directly describes Changlochen’s physical appearance in a way that more closely corresponds to what is found in the Sanskrit recensions: “The city of Changlochen—like a mistress reclining in the lap of her lover—looks [as if] the garment of the Gangā, the daughter of Jahnu, is resting in the lap of Kailāsa.”³² Comparing this to the descriptions in the extant Sanskrit commentaries, we see that Rakra’s commentarial explanation of *changlochen* uses language that corresponds more closely to that of the Sanskrit versions of this verse than what is preserved in *Trinki Phonya*:

Sanskrit Cloud Messenger Verse 66/63³³

Having seen Alakā, with her garment hanging down from the Ganges on her lap, as if it were the lap of a lover, you, moving as you please, are sure to recognize it: that [place] containing lofty palaces, which in your season carries heaps of clouds showering water, as a woman does her hair, inlaid with strings of pearls.

Trinki Phonya Verse 65

Oh [cloud], as you roam to your heart’s desire and cross there, you will recognize Changlochen;
 Surely you will once again see that mountain—lord-like, wearing the moving waters of the Ganges as his garment;
 When, on sight, you release your great rains on top of the temple,
 Those beautiful women [too] will appear to have waves from the lattices of pearls in their braids.³⁴

³² *lcang lo can gyi grong khyer ni brtse ldan ma'i phang du nyal ba'i mdza' mo bzhin du kai la sha'i phang par dza hu'i bu mo gang gā dū ku la'i gos phud (gang gā'i gos phud) ces pa gang gā kai la sha nas 'bab pa'i don dang) cing gnas so|... (lcang lo can gyi khang brtsegs shin tu mtho ba la sbyar ba'o) lcang lo can gyi khang brtsegs rim pa bdun ldan rnams kyis ni| bar snang mthon po nas | Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 60.*

³³ See Mallinātha and Vallabhadeva’s commentaries for Verse 66 and 63 respectively: Kālidāsa., Mallinātha. Sañjīvinī., and M. R. (Moreshvar Ramchandra) Kāle, *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa : Text with Sanskrit Commentary of Mallinātha, English Translation, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and a Map*, vol. [9th] (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1979), 108. and Kālidāsa, 10th cent Vivṛti 1998 Vallabhadeva, and E. (E Hultsch, *Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta : Edited from Manuscripts with the Commentary of Vallabhadeva and Provided with a Complete Sanskrit-English Vocabulary* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1998), 35.

³⁴ *kwa ye 'dod bzhin rgyu byed khyod ni des las rgal tshe lcang lo ldan ma shes par 'gyur| slar yang ri de g.yo ldan gang gā'i chu gos ldan ma'i bdag po bzhin du mi mthong min| mthong ba'i gzhal med khang steng char sprin che*

Of the three commentators' approaches to geographical content, Nordrang's is the least predictable. For Verse 26, Nordrang allows the ambiguity between *gyalpö khyab* as 'Rājagrha' and 'royal palace' to remain:

To the city north of Tamsha, is *gyalpö khab* [either the location or a royal palace], which has implements known as Vidisha. There, o white cloud, you should quickly go! Remaining there, you will attain a great fruit: the supreme station. Moreover, it is expansive, broad, and vast.³⁵

Nordrang's retranslation of this verse likewise contains the same ambiguity: "You should go quickly north of Tamsha to Rājagrha/royal palace (*gyalpö khab*) where the implements are known as Vidisha."³⁶ In Nordrang's commentary, the phrase *gyalpö khab* can be read either as Rājagrha or as a royal palace—or perhaps even simultaneously as both. In Verse 32 where Vaiśāli (*yangs pa can*) is mentioned, Nordrang breaks from the trend of his fellow commentators, interpreting *yangpa chen* as the Buddhist city Vaiśāli. His retranslation for this line is as follows: "As soon as this [well]-known place is visible, after you go, [you will see] the splendor and merit [of this place]: Yangpachen (*yangs pa can*)."³⁷ Nordrang's commentary elaborates: "In addition to being well-known in India, the city is expansive/extensive, or large (*yangs shing che ba*). Then, after you go there, [you will see] one of the six great cities [of

las khyod kyi chu byas skyugs byas dus su ni | gang zhig 'dod ldan ma ni len bu mu tig dra bas bsgrigs pa'i phreng ba ldan pa bzhin| Tibetan verse 65, corresponds to Sanskrit M66/V63/D63.

³⁵ *grong khyer tam sha'i byang phyogs kyi sa gzhi la bi di sha zhes bya ba mtshon cha rgyal po'i khab yod pa der sprin dkar khyod nyid myur bar gshegs te bzhugs pa'i tshes khyod la shin tu che ba'i 'bras bu mchog gi go 'phang 'phral la thob pa de yang yangs shing rgya che ba'i kha zheng dang ldan pa |* Nor brang O rgyan, 52.

³⁶ *dam sha'i byang phyogs bi di sha zhes mtshon cha rgyal po'i khab tu khyod nyid myur song nas |* Nor brang O rgyan, 53. Corresponds to Sanskrit M25/V24/D24.

³⁷ *shes pa'i yul bkod bstan ma thag pa de nas song rjes dpal 'byor phun tshogs yangs pa can |* Nor brang O rgyan, 64.

ancient India] (*grong khyer chen po drug*), full of great merits; it is called Yangpa-chen.”³⁸

Nordrang, seemingly agreeing with Dorzhi that the city is vast (*yangs pa chen*), nevertheless asserts not only that it is named Vaiśālī but that it is one of the six sacred Buddhist pilgrimage sites of ancient India.

By contrast, for the first verse in which Changlochen is referenced (verse 7), Nordrang’s commentary and retranslation describe Changlochen simply as the Yakṣa’s home, undermining the Buddhist force indicated by reference to Vajrapāṇi present in the original translation.³⁹ For Verse 65 however, while Nordrang’s retranslation likewise does not mention Vajrapāṇi, the commentary this time elaborates. Nordrang establishes that Changlochen is the home of the Lord of Yakṣas or, alternately, “the one with braids” (likely a gloss for *alakā-vat*), which is consistent with both Rakra’s and Dorzhi’s interpretation of this verse. Like Rakra, he also describes the garment-like effect of the Gangā and Kailāsa (*gangs it se*), but consistently uses the Tibetan word Tisé in place of the Sanskrit Kailāsa,⁴⁰ thus emphasizing the Tibetan-centeredness of Changlochen, though not affirming its Buddhist credentials.

Given the significant role that regional geography has played historically across almost all extant examples of messenger poetry, one might have expected that the Tibetan commentaries would confirm this trend. What we see instead is a reluctance by modern Tibetan commentators

³⁸ *rgya gar la yongs su grags pa dang sbyar ba de lta bu'i grong khyer yangs shing rgya che ba de nas song rjes de bas rgya che ba'i yon tan dang ldan pa'i grong khyer chen po drug gi ya gyal grong khyer yangs pa can zhes bya ba...*Nor brang O rgyan, 64.

³⁹ *gnod sbyin rje bo'i bsti gnas chen po lchang lo can der rings pa'i 'gros kyis gshegs par mdzod* | Nor brang O rgyan, 18.

⁴⁰ *gnod sbyin bdag po'i gnas lchang lo can nam lchang lo ldan ma de nyid khyod kyis ngo shes par 'gyur la lchang lo can nas phyir bltas tshe gangs dkar ti se'i dbus su chu gos lta bu rba rlabs g.yo ba ldan pa chu bo ganga'i bdag po'am yab ti se rab tu dkar 'od 'phro ba de ni slar yang mi mthong ba min* | Nor brang O rgyan, 126.

to accept the Tibetan-centered and Buddhist-centered changes made to Kālidāsa’s original poem. This reluctance will become more evident in the following sub-section.

5.6 Commentarial responses to themes of renunciation and compassionate mood

Recall that in Chapter Three we discovered that Jangtsé and Namkha Pel handled the theme of *viraha* (separation) in a curious way. In all cases but three (verses 1, 2, and 102 in the Tibetan), when the Sanskrit word *viraha* or other separation-related words were present in the Sanskrit, the Tibetan word chosen for the translation was a form of *'bral ba*, which is a passive verb connoting “being separated.” However, in all three cases when the Sanskrit word *viraha* was construed with the male *yakṣa* as the grammatical subject and his lover as the grammatical object, the translation team chose instead the active Tibetan verb *spang*, which has the stronger connotation of “to abandon” or “to leave behind.” Nowhere in *Trinki Phonya* is the male *yakṣa* himself described specifically as *separated from his lover*; rather, he is depicted in an active role as *leaving her behind* in some way, thus crafting a poem that emphasizes the act of renunciation among its themes.

This is not the case in the modern Tibetan commentaries, which, rather than emphasizing the active sense of his renunciation, emphasize the *yakṣa*’s *passive* experience of separation. For two out of the three instances in which Jangtsé and Namkha Pel translated *viraha* as the active verb *spang*, Dorzhi in his commentary omits the word *spang* altogether, glossing it as *dang bral ba* (separated from), hence minimizing *Trinki Phonya*’s emphasis on active renunciation. In Verse 1, Dorzhi elaborates: “Exiled according to law due to [his] lord’s anger, [he] was

separated from [his] beautiful lover...’’⁴¹ and “The radiance of his body became diminished due to the suffering he experienced *from being separated from* his beautiful lover (emphasis mine).’’⁴² In Verse 102, the reluctance to use *spangs* is even clearer. Dorzhi explains the phrase “Having abandoned you, o beautiful one, he asks if you are well’’⁴³ as follows: “Now after [I] am separated from you, surely you must ask [her], ‘O beautiful one, are you well?’’’⁴⁴ Not only is the active sense and the renunciative force of *spang* removed from this explanation, but Dorzhi’s explanation additionally obscures both the subject and the object of the separation. It is unclear from this explanation who the referent of the first instance of ‘you’ is: the Cloud or the female lover. Is the *yakṣa* imagining a separation between the Cloud and the *yakṣa* in order for the Cloud to deliver the message? Or does Dorzhi mean something more like, “Now, given that [your lover, the *yakṣa*] is separated from you, are you well?” In either case, the renunciative force is minimized, if not entirely removed, from this explanation. Only for Verse 2 does Dorzhi admit the possibility of *spangs* as the best fit, glossing the phrase “having left behind [his] lover, that very desired object’’⁴⁵ as follows: “Having left behind his beautiful lover, the person he desired, he went to Rāmagiri, going for some number of months.’’⁴⁶ This is also the only time the word *spangs* occurs at any point in Dorzhi’s commentary.

⁴¹ *rje bb de khros nas khrims kyis yul spyugs byas te mdzes sdug dga' ma dang bral zhing* | Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 4.

⁴² *mdzes sdug dga' ma dang bral ba'i gdung bas lus kyi gzi brjid nyams par gyur to* | Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 4.

⁴³ *khyod ni spang par gyur pa la kwa ye mdzes ma dge'am 'dri zhes de ltar smra bar mdzod* | *Trinki Phonya* as preserved in Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 74.

⁴⁴ *khyod dang bral ba'i rjes su kwa ye mdzes ma khyod bde mo yin nam zhes 'dri yin 'dug ces smros shig* | Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 74.

⁴⁵ *'dod ldan de ni mdzes ma spangs shing* | Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 4.

⁴⁶ *'dod ldan gyi skye bo de rang gi mdzes sdug dga' ma spangs nas rā ma ri bor phyin nas zla ba 'ga' song ba na* | Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 5.

Rakra’s commentary likewise evidences a discomfort with the connotation of *spangs*; however, the way he resolves this discomfort ultimately results in an increased emphasis on renunciation as a theme. His commentary for Verse 1 explains: “He was careless because of [distraction by] desire for his wife; therefore, it was as if the Lord of wealth cast a curse due to anger [such that] he would be tormented by suffering due to separation from his wife.”⁴⁷ While the word “to abandon” is omitted from the commentary, Rakra’s explanation leaves no doubt as to how he interprets the moral message of *Trinki Phonya*. The *yakṣa* is depicted here not as a faithful servant who renounces his wife, but rather as a weak man who succumbs to desire and is accordingly punished. The theme of renunciation is thus present in Rakra’s account, but only implicitly as a moral to be learned. Rakra’s retranslation for this verse additionally omits *spang*, rendering the phrase as “separated from his lover,”⁴⁸ without the renunciative import. Rakra’s treatment of Verse 2 (which does not include a retranslation) likewise omits *spangs*, explaining instead that “His body became emaciated because of torment due to separation from his wife.”⁴⁹ Rakra’s commentary for Verse 102, which is short and likewise contains no retranslation, also omits *spang*. Unlike Dorzhi, Rakra seems to read the referent of the first instance of ‘you’ as the *yakṣa* himself: “That spouse, separated from you while you stay at the Rāmagiri mountain, asks about your well-being, [if] you are well, staying [there].”⁵⁰ Thus the emphasis on the *yakṣa*’s

⁴⁷ *rang gi chung ma mdzes ma la chags te bya ba g.yel ba las | nor gyi bdag po khros pa'i dmod pa btab te chung ma dang bral ba'i shin tu gdung bas non bzhin du |* Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 34.

⁴⁸ *mdzes ma dang 'bral* Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 34.

⁴⁹ *chung ma dang bral ba'i gdung bas lus skem por gyur te |* Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 34.

⁵⁰ *khyod dang bral ba'i mdza' bo de ni ri bo ri mo'i phung por rā ma'i bsti gnas su bde bar 'tsho shing gnas pa des | kham s bde ba'i tshig 'dri ba ni |* Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 77.

choice to leave behind his lover, which is strongly implied in *Trinki Phonya*, is entirely absent from Rakra’s explanation. In Rakra’s telling—as in the Sanskrit versions of *Cloud Messenger*—the *yakṣa* does not choose renunciation as *Trinki Phonya* implies; instead the *yakṣa* is a passive agent, forced to be separated as a punishment—explicitly for dereliction of duties, and implicitly for desiring his wife in the first place.

As in the case of geography, Nordrang’s interpretation of these verses is more thematically complex than that of his contemporaries. In his commentary, like Rakra, he explains the separation as a punishment due to affection for his lover. For Verse 1 he explains:

“Separated from [your] beautiful lover-spouse, [you] must live, as a prisoner for one long and full year in the South in Rāmagiri. As if threatened by a severe and burdensome command by the lord of *yakṣas*, that *yakṣa* had to live his life without (literally ‘separated from’) autonomy.”⁵¹

And,

“While he lives as a prisoner, exiled from his land, he experiences suffering due to his lack of autonomy; moreover, [her] beauty is pleasing. [Thus,] tortured and unable to bear the torment of being separated from his lover, bound together by the tight chains of affection, the radiance of [his] body has become diminished.”⁵²

Nordrang’s framing, through omitting *spangs* and through emphasizing the *yakṣa*’s punishment and suffering as being due to his attachment to his lover, prepares the reader for a poem different in tone than the opening words of *Trinki Phonya* alone would convey. Of the three retranslations that Nordrang provides, only one (the 19-syllable version) includes the word *spangs*. It is clear

⁵¹ *mdzes sdug ldan pa'i dga' ma'i zla dang bral bar lho phyogs rā ma ri bor lo 'khor mo gcig ring btson pa'i spyod pas gnas par gyis shig ces gnod sbyin rje bo'i shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung btsan pos sdigs pa bzhin gnod sbyin de ni rang dbang dang bral ba'i 'tsho ba skyel dgos pa byung | Nor brang O rgyan, 5.*

⁵² *rang yul nas bskrad de btson pa'i gnas skabs rang dbang dang bral ba'i sdug bsngal myangs pa dang | lhag par mdzes sdug yid du 'ongs shing | mdza' brtse'i 'ching zhags dam pos lhan du bcings pa'i rang gi dga' ma dang bral ba'i gdung ba mi bzad pas kun nas mnar bas lus kyi gzhi brjid dag kyang nyams par gyur to || Nor brang O rgyan, 5-6.*

that even for this verse Nordrang didn't find the phrasing of *spangs* essential; rather, his emphasis is on the suffering experienced by the *yakṣa* due to the separation. Nordrang's de-emphasis of *spangs* is further emphasized in his commentary on Verse 2:

That *yakṣa*, bound by the chains of passion, separated from (*bral ba*) his lover, or having left (*spangs*) her, he went alone to the Rāmagiri mountain. During his time living there, tormented by memories of his lover, the flesh of his own body also began to grow emaciated...⁵³

Not only does Nordrang continue to highlight his prior emphasis on the *yakṣa*'s suffering caused by passion—by memories (*dran pa*) of his lover—but he minimizes the renunciative force the use of *spangs* conveys by explicitly glossing it as identical with *bral ba* (separated from). It should be unsurprising then to discover that in none of Nordrang's retranslations for this verse does he include the word *spangs*, consistently using *bral ba* instead (or omitting the word altogether).

This idea of being tormented by *memories* of a lover—rather than by separation itself—is a theme which Nordrang picks up again in Verse 102. In each of the three retranslations, Nordrang skillfully omits *spangs* and in each instance uses the phrase *dran pa* (recall, memory) as follows:

“...While I am staying [here], Are you well noble one? [For] you too have gone under the influence of memories!...”⁵⁴

...“You who have gone under the influence of memories...” ask her in that way! ⁵⁵

⁵³ 'dod srid kyi 'ching bas bsdams pa'i gnod sbyin de ni rang gi mdzes ma dang bral ba'am mdzes ma spangs nas rang gcig pur zla ba 'ga' zhig ring rā m'i ri bor phyin te gnas bcas bas bsdad pa'i tshe | dga' ma dran pa'i gdung nas rang nyid kyi lus sha yang rid par gyur nas... | Nor brang O rgyan, 7.

⁵⁴ bdag nyid gnas 'dir bde bar 'khod kyang bzang mo dran pa'i dbang du song zhing khyod kyang ni | Nor brang O rgyan, 191.

⁵⁵ ...khyod nyid dran pa'i dbang gyur gang yang de lta bur | gnas sam 'tshams 'dris... Nor brang O rgyan, 191.

...A lover, gone under the influence of memories, you also!..”⁵⁶

Nordrang’s depiction of the female lover likewise centers on her experience of memory (*dran pa*), something which is never addressed explicitly in *Trinki Phonya* itself. The connection Nordrang sees between memory and abandonment (*spangs*) is explained in his commentary as follows:

“You, my wife, while needing to leave me behind (*spangs*) because of being separated (*kha bral*) from me, o beautiful one, are you well?” Clearly tell [her] that you were commissioned by me to need to give that greeting. For beings whose actions have declined, or when they are in a sad state, first, it is convention to give greetings along with words of assurance of that sort.⁵⁷

Here we see that Nordrang includes *spangs* in his explanation, but construes it with the female lover instead of the *yakṣa*, implying that the separation itself is forcing the female lover to mentally (or emotionally) abandon her husband. The commentary itself does not make explicit reference to the memory of either lover. However it is clear by the omission of *spangs* in all three retranslations and the presence of *dran pa* with the female lover, that Nordrang here aims to emphasize the idea that the female lover is being tormented by her memories.

As we have seen, in all three commentaries, the authors express a discomfort with the use of the active word *spangs* (abandonment). In most cases, they revert back to the passive word *'bral ba* (separation), which more closely corresponds to the Sanskrit word *viraha*. Both Rakra and Nordrang work to emphasize the suffering experienced by the *yakṣa* in these verses, making it clear to the reader that desire or passion for a lover is the cause of this suffering, a theme which

⁵⁶ *dga' ma dran pa'i dbang gyur khyod kyang ngo* | Nor brang O rgyan, 191.

⁵⁷ *dga' ma khyod ni bdag dang kha bral nas bdag nyid spangs dgos byung ba de'i ring kwa ye mdzes ma khyod dge bar gnas sam | zhes 'tshams 'dri de ltar bya dgos pa bdag gis mngags byung zhes gsal por smra bar mdzod cig | gang phyir skye bo rnams ni byed pa nyams pa'am skyo ba'i gnas skabs su gyur bar dang por de 'dra ba'i dbugs dbyung ba'i tshig dang bcas te 'tshams 'dri byed pa ni rgyun srol nyid do* | | Nor brang O rgyan, 190-1.

is present, but not as heavily emphasized in *Trinki Phonya* in absence of a commentary. All three commentators thus evidence a discomfort with the emphasis on the *yakṣa*'s act of renunciation (or here, abandonment, *spangs*) present in *Trinki Phonya*.

This discomfort is likewise evident in the commentators' treatment of the verses I flagged in Chapter Three as strongly evidencing the increased thematic emphasis on *nying-jé* (compassionate mood). In Chapter Three, I examined the ways in which the male *yakṣa* himself is described as experiencing the suffering due to "separation" (*'bral ba*) in *Trinki Phonya*. In the three verses (7, 8, and 110) in which the word *'bral ba* is used to describe the *yakṣa* rather than his female lover, the language used to describe the male *yakṣa*'s experience of suffering and torment due to separation is intensified in *Trinki Phonya* compared to the Sanskrit original.

Recall that for all three verses of *Trinki Phonya* in which the words pertaining to "separation" (here *bral ba*) modify the male *yakṣa*, the *yakṣa*'s mental and emotional suffering are depicted as a result of his inability to alleviate the suffering of his separated lover, rather than due to love-sickness. In this reinterpretation, it is the *yakṣa*'s inability to alleviate the suffering of his lover which prompts his emotional duress, rather than his emotional attachment to his lover. This emphasis however is absent in the Tibetan commentaries. This is best exemplified in the latter two of the three verses.

As I argued in Chapter Three, Verse 8 of *Trinki Phonya* makes it clear that the sight of the Cloud would apparently be a relief, delighting those women whose lovers are abroad and inspiring their reverence towards the Cloud. In turn, this relief of the female experience of suffering likewise compels the *yakṣa* (and other male travelers) to revere the Cloud.

While the male travelers are described as tormented by suffering, what appears to inspire their reverence or devotion to the Cloud is the temporary alleviation of the suffering of *others* (in this case, their women). Thus implicitly, this torment is due to the male lovers’ inability to alleviate the suffering of their women themselves. This interpretation is accomplished in part by Jangtsé and Namkha Pel’s choice to translate the Sanskrit verb $\sqrt{upekṣ}$ using the alternate meaning of “attending upon” or “revere” (*gus pa*). This interpretation is not challenged by Dorzhi’s commentary, whose explanations for this verse are quite terse and unilluminating. Rakra’s commentary, however, neither includes the portion of Verse 8 in which the reinterpreted word “revere” (*gus pa*) appears, nor does this word appear in the commentary. Instead, Rakra asserts:

When you arrive—no need to mention to me who is dependent on another!—what person is there who would contemplate abandoning (*yal bar 'dor ba'i bsam pa can*) their wife who is in anguish due to separation?⁵⁸

Rakra’s commentary here reveals his knowledge of the Sanskrit. The Tibetan verb he uses (*yal bar 'dor ba*) is a compound verb which is not common in classical Tibetan, let alone in poetic forms of classical Tibetan. Its meaning, however, is more precisely aligned with that of the original Sanskrit use of $\sqrt{upekṣ}$, which can mean either “to abandon,” or “to attend to.” Given that *Trinki Phonya*’s use of *gus pa*—a much more common word in classical Tibetan—only bears the latter of those meanings (“to revere” or “attend upon”), Rakra must have consulted another source: either the Sanskrit original itself or a Sanskrit commentary (or both). In either case, it is clear that Rakra’s interpretation of this verse resists the kinds of interpretation *Trinki Phonya* crafts, which make the Cloud a sort of Bodhisattva-figure who inspires devotion through his compassionate acts.

⁵⁸ *khyod 'ong ba na gzhan dbang can bdag lta ci smros | gang dag 'bral ba'i gdung bar gyur pa'i chung ma yal bar 'dor ba'i bsams pa can gyi skye bo su zhig yod | Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 37.*

Nordrang’s commentary, however, maintains *Trinki Phonya*’s interpretation of *√upekṣ* as “to revere,” but shifts the emphasis away from the *yakṣa*’s devotion to his boss, construing the metaphor of “like a servant” as the relationship between the *yakṣa* and his lover, as in the Sanskrit original:

Likewise when you o cloud arrive happily, is it fitting that there is a person, who, under the influence of another beautiful woman, like I [am]—I [who am] tormented by the pain of separation from one’s beloved, who am under the influence of desire, like a servant who is under the power of another’s body—[who] would revere you, o cloud? There is no one who wouldn’t be delighted by this devotion!⁵⁹

Nordrang’s commentary thus seems to confirm the devotion to the Cloud present in Verse 8, but in a way which slightly minimizes the emphasis on the compassionate mood and reframes the *yakṣa* as primarily devoted to his lover, not to Kubera as *Trinki Phonya* suggests.

The final verse of *Trinki Phonya* that I examined in Chapter Three regarding the use of the compassionate mood (Verse 110) describes the *yakṣa*’s experience of suffering as being due to his inability to take care of his lover while in separation, rather than due to love-sickness. In Chapter Three I argued that in the Sanskrit versions, the reader experiences pity (*karuṇa*) towards the *yakṣa* for his emotional state. *Trinki Phonya* conveys neither his desire nor the degree of his torment in this verse, and subsequently his torment is depicted only in so far as it causes him to become mentally unstable (*brtan par min par byas*), implying that the act of separation is what causes the *yakṣa* to be made unstable. This *yakṣa* is depicted as a devoted caretaker for his lover, a role which he is (pitiably) prevented from fulfilling. Thus it is not the

⁵⁹ *de bzhin sprin dkar khyod rang nyams dga' ba'i tshul du 'ongs pa'i tshe snying sdug ma dang bral ba'i gdung bas mchog tu nyen cing | rang lus gzhan dbang du gyur pa'i bran g.yog bzhin du 'dod pa'i dbang du gyur pa bdag dang | bdag 'dra ba dang gzhan mdzes ma'i dbang du gyur pa'i skye bo su zhig yin rung sprin dkar khyod la gus shing | shin tu mos pas dga' ba rgya cher mi byed mkhen su yang med do | Nor brang O rgyan, 19.*

emotional torment of separation itself, but rather the torment from being unable to act compassionately towards one who is suffering that produces the instability.

Dorzhi, as in Verse 8, provides little additional clarification, except to explain that this destabilizing of the *yakṣa*'s mind is akin to “losing emotional strength.”⁶⁰ Rakra's commentary makes no explicit mention of mental or emotional instability at all, nor does it make reference to the *yakṣa*'s mental efforts (*bdag sems don gnyer*). Instead, Rakra offers an alternative metaphor which implies that the *yakṣa* is so deluded by his desire that he acts as though he has no ‘protector’ (*mgon pa, skyob pa*): “I, wishing I could attain my desired object (you) in that way, intensely feeling separated from you, I act [as though] without a protector; [that is,] I act without a protector.”⁶¹ This interpretation clearly affirms the emphasis we have seen throughout Rakra's commentary on adverse impacts of desire. But, unlike in *Trinki Phonya* itself, it does so without emphasis on the *yakṣa* as someone motivated by compassion for others.

Nordrang, however, clearly reads this verse as expressing the *yakṣa*'s mental instability or mental illness:

As if experiencing something like the suffering which is impossible to bear in me, it's as if although striving towards you, my fortune has become too low to bear the load of desire. Is it the result of engaging in a way that was evil in a previous life? Unable to bear separation from you, henceforth my mind is as if insane; it has become unstable.⁶²

⁶⁰ *sems kyang brtan pa min par byas pa ste snying stobs shor ro/ Dpa' ris Dor zhi, 80.*

⁶¹ *tshul 'di ltar du rang gi don thob pa la re ba bdag ni | khyod dang 'bral ba'i tshor ba drag pos mgon med du byed cing | skyob pa dang bral bar byas so | Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 80.*

⁶² *bdag la mi bzad pa'i gdung ba de lta bu byung ba myong bzhin du khyod nyid don du gnyer yang bsam don thog tu mi 'khel ba skal pa dman pa 'di 'dra ba ni tshe sngon ma las ngan ji 'dra zhig spyad pa'i 'bras bu yin nam | khyod dang bral ba'i gdung ba mi bzad pas da cha bdag gi yid ni brtan pa dang bral ba'i smyo bla can zhig tu gyur to || Nor brang O rgyan, 204.*

In this reading, the *yakṣa*—from his own point of view—is thus rendered insane due to suffering. This emphasis on insanity (*smyo bla can*)⁶³ is echoed in all three of Nordrang’s retranslations of this verse:

“Know that my mind, greatly tormented by separation from you, has become unstable, as if insane.”⁶⁴

“Know that my mind has become unstable, as if insane.”⁶⁵

“Know that out of suffering, [my mind] has become unstable, as if insane.”⁶⁶

Nordrang’s account, however, does not frame this as a compassionately motivated mental instability. In place of *Trinki Phonya*’s phrasing “your mental efforts” (*bdag sems don gnyer*) Nordrang glosses this as “striving towards her” (*khyod nyid don du gnyer yang*), so that the only possible reading of the *yakṣa*’s cause of mental illness via Nordrang’s commentary is love-sickness.

5.7 Authors, Authority, and Tradition: Finding the Limits of a Translation

What do all these commentarial ‘corrections’ indicate? For most instances of major poetic and thematic innovation in *Trinki Phonya*, modern Tibetan commentators undermine *Trinki Phonya*’s interpretive force. *Trinki Phonya* as a translation evidences the degree to which Jangtsé and Namkha Pel emphasized Buddhist themes such as renunciation and compassion

⁶³ While it may strike a read that the phrase *smyo blo can* is more likely here than *smyo bla can*, since in each instance in Nordrang’s commentary (four separate occasions), it is rendered as *bla*, I take this to be intentional.

⁶⁴ *khyod dang bral ba’i gdung ba che ches bdag yid brtan bral smyo bla can bzhin gyur ‘dir dgongs* || Nor brang O rgyan, 204.

⁶⁵ *bdag yid brtan bral smyo bla can bzhin gyur ‘dir dgongs* | Nor brang O rgyan, 205.

⁶⁶ *gdung bas smyo bla can bzhin gyur ‘dir dgongs* | Nor brang O rgyan, 205.

(*karuṇa rasa* or *nying-jé nyam*) in lieu of erotic themes predominant in the Sanskrit (*śṛṅgāra rasa*, *gekpé nyam*). The de-emphasis of these themes in modern commentaries—and their tendency to revert creative reinterpretations back to the Sanskrit original—thus implies a reluctance to accept *Trinki Phonya* as an authentic translation. Perhaps for these writers the ‘author’ of the translated work *Trinki Phonya* is no longer Kālidāsa himself, but translators Jangtsé and Namkha Pel. Thus, these corrections reveal something of a limit to the poetic flexibility of Tibetan translations; a limit which highlights the importance of the source text and praises translations for their ‘faithful’ adherence to the source text and the tradition from which it originates.

If we consider for a moment Tibetan translations as a genre, and the methods of translation and commentaries on translation as participants in a discourse surrounding this genre, it is clear that these modern scholars can be said to be participating in a Foucauldian discourse—a discursive “truth game”⁶⁷—a discourse that is in fact more rigidly controlled than that engaged in by their fourteenth-century predecessors. For Jangtsé and Namkha Pel, perhaps a translation can also be an original piece of poetry; but for scholars invested in the discourses surrounding Tibetan translations as a genre (and the authority inherent therein), the very act of crafting a poem out of a translation would be a category violation. Such a poem is neither truly a translation nor independent poetry. Bound by the authority, not of the ‘author’ Kālidāsa but rather of the translating method itself, the creative output of fourteenth-century translators

⁶⁷ For more on the concept of “truth game” see Chandler, James, “Foucault and Disciplinary Authority,” in *Authority Matters: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Authorship*, ed. Donovan, Stephen, Danuta Zadworna-Fjellestad, and Rolf Lundén (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 47–63.

Jangtsé and Namkha Pel is perhaps not permissible within the limits of the traditional Tibetan translation discourse.

This tension between creativity and authenticity has been at the very heart of most Tibetan scholarly discussions regarding the authority of a translated text, dating back to at least as early as the ninth-century translators' edict found in the *Two-Volume Grammatical Treatise*. The question clearly remains relevant today: if the authority of Tibetan translations as a genre depends on accuracy and faithfulness to the original (Sanskrit) text, then what room is there for literary or poetic innovation within translations? For commentators Rakra, Dorzhi, and Nordrang, there exist limits to permissible thematic and topical innovation within a translation. There remains however one area of literary creativity explored by several of these commentators which warrants further examination: the use of metrical fluidity in retranslation.

5.8 Commentary is the Sincerest Form of Flattery

We have seen that modern Tibetan commentators resisted the trend initiated by fourteenth-century translators to craft *Trinki Phonya* as a Tibetan poem. These commentators participate in the discourse of Tibetan translations, reifying the limits of the genre, yet their works also serve as contributions to another discourse: the 'genre' of messenger poetry. If not to confirm the uniqueness of *Trinki Phonya* as a Tibetan messenger poem, how do the Tibetan commentarial writers participate in the genre? For this section I choose to explore Nordrang and Rakra's re-translations of *Trinki Phonya* as examples of imitation poetry.

Imitation as a literary practice is found in various languages and literary cultures. The entirety of the South Asian messenger poetry genre can be described as a form of imitation

poetry insofar as the poets were consciously engaged in creating poetry that contains similar topical and poetical features to Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*. Within the European literary tradition, eighteenth-century poet Alexander Pope is particularly well-known for composing works that imitated famous Roman and English poets including Homer and Dryden. As scholar Reuben Brower explains:

Feeling no nineteenth-century compulsion to be merely original, he took pleasure in imitating poets he read and admired, one and all. Speaking years later of his youthful epic *Alcander*, he remarked to Spence,

'I endeavored, [said he, smiling] in this poem, to collect all the beauties of the great epic writers into one piece: there was Milton's style in one part, and Cowley's in another: here the style of Spenser imitated, and there of Statius; here Homer and Virgil, and there Ovid and Claudian.'⁶⁸

Pope's poetry shows us how imitation as a literary practice contributes to, and in some ways defines the features of, a genre. But there is one body of Pope's writings which bears particular relevance to *Trinki Phonya*—Pope's translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Through his intentional exploration of the heroic style, Pope created a translation of the *Iliad* which itself serves as an imitation work and thus blurs the boundary between a 'translation' and an original work. As Brower writes,

Pope's version offers one of the most interesting specimens of the process of translation, of what happens when a writer, especially a poet, attempts to bring over a literary experience from one language and culture to another. For the poet-translator must do more than reproduce his own private experience of the text, more than set down what he regards as the 'literal sense' of the words. He must also satisfy his readers by giving them the experience of poetry.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Brower, Reuben Arthur, *Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1.

⁶⁹ Brower, 86.

It is precisely this kind of emphasis on the “experience of poetry,” which we have seen present throughout *Trinki Phonya*, that places it precariously on the line between translation and original work. Like Pope’s translation of the *Iliad*, Jangtsé and Namkha Pel’s translation serves doubly as a translated work and a poetic piece in its own right⁷⁰ and—as we have seen through commentarial response—is accordingly scrutinized by modern Tibetan commentators implicitly for its failure to adequately conform to either category. Not unlike Pope himself, commentators Rakra and Nordrang participate in the genre of translation by providing re-translations of *Trinki Phonya*. We have already seen how their commentaries (and in some cases retranslations) challenge some of the interpretive choices made by Jangtsé and Namkha Pel. This section will explore the ways in which Rakra and Nordrang challenge metrical and other poetic choices made by the fourteenth-century translators. As I will argue, translators Rakra and Nordrang participate in the genres of both Tibetan translation and Tibetan messenger poetry through imitation.

Recall that Nordrang’s commentary contains three different retranslations for each verse, only one of which uses the same nineteen-syllables per foot meter used by Jangtsé and Namkha Pel. Additionally—as if to showcase his skill at concise poetic writing—Nordrang provides retranslations in the more common (and considerably shorter) eleven-syllable- and nine-syllable-per foot meters. Rakra, by contrast, only retranslates select verses (fifteen out of the 117 total verses),⁷¹ and only provides one alternate translation for each verse, almost always in the slightly

⁷⁰ Chapters Three and Four respectively explore ways of approaching *Trinki Phonya* as (1) a translation and (2) an original poetic work.

⁷¹ The verses Rakra retranslates are as follows: 1, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15, 38, 52, 58, 62, 67, 73, 74, 115, 117.

shorter Tibetan meter of fifteen-syllables per line.⁷² For the most part I will restrict my analysis to the verses for which both Rakra and Nordrang provides alternate translations in order to address their differences in approach.

It is clear that Nordrang's interests in retranslation are primarily metrical. While he faithfully includes a nineteen-syllable alternate translation, the mere inclusion of eleven- and nine-syllable translations suggests an interest in exploring the varieties of metrical expression as well as his skill at concise yet ornate language. However, even Nordrang's nineteen-syllable translations challenge the metrical choices of Jangtsé and Namkha Pel. If we compare Jangtsé and Namkha Pel's translation for Verse 4 with If we consider Nordrang's nineteen-syllable meter using the more-common principles of Tibetan meter,⁷³ we find something striking:

Trinki Phonya Verse 4 in Tengyur

*dbyar dus zla ba | gnyis pa 'ongs par | gyur tshe brtse ldan | ma yi ched du | srog chags
ni⁷⁴ |
bde⁷⁵ la char sprin | dag gis rang nyid | bde 'am zhes pa'i | tshig 'di khyer nas | 'jug pa
bzhin |
ku ṭa dza⁷⁶ yi | chu skyes 'dzum pa | rnam kyis de la | mchod pa'i ched du | dga' byed
bzhin |
mdza' ba mngon du | gyur ba'i tshig ni | de la⁷⁷ legs par | 'ongs sam dga' bzhin | brjod pa
bzhin||*

⁷² The exceptions to this are few. Rakra's retranslation for Verse 7 contains four lines of 17-syllables each. Additionally, Verses 11 and 15 each contain one 17-syllable line and three 15-syllable lines. All other verses Rakra translated conform to the 15-syllable pattern.

⁷³ For more on principles of Tibetan meter see Chapter Four.

⁷⁴ Peking, Narthang: *'chang ba*. This seems like a later Buddhist reinterpretation, therefore a spurious reading.

⁷⁵ Peking, Narthang: *de*

⁷⁶ Dergé, Coné: *kun da'i zla*. Since sandalwood and moons are among the typical imagined offerings made in Tibetan Buddhist rituals, this alternate reading strikes me as a later interpolation by Tibetan editors who didn't know what a *kuṭaja* flower is.

⁷⁷ Dergé, Coné: *tshig de*

Nordrang's translation

*dbyar dus zla ba | gnyis pa 'char skabs | brtse ldan ma yi | ched du srog 'chang | gnod
sbyin der|
lang long g.yo ba'i | char sprin dag gis | khyod nyid bde 'am | 'tshams 'dri byed par | 'ong
ba bzhin|
kun da'i zla bo | chu skyes me tog | 'dzum pa rnams kyang | rab tu dga' bas | sprin de la|
'di gar phebs sam | khyod nyid re zhid | bde bar bzhugs zhes | de nyid mchod phyir | smra
ba bzhin||*

Reading Nordrang's translation according to Tibetan metrical phrasing minimizes the syntactical issues that arise from awkward phrase breaking in Jangtsé and Namkha Pel's translation. The Tibetan reader is free to pause at the end of words, phrases, and particles as will feel more natural. All of Nordrang's nineteen-syllable translations (and his eleven- and nine-syllable translations) in fact conform to the more standard Tibetan metrical phrasing used in classical poetry. Thus it seems that it is not only Nordrang's alternate-meter translations that challenge the metrical preferences of our fourteenth-century duo. Even when Nordrang attempts a translation using the same 'meter' as Jangtsé and Namkha Pel, he can't resist conforming to Tibetan methods of reading poetry.

As for the content, while there are a few minor lexical changes in this retranslation,⁷⁸ most of the differences between the two versions appear to pertain to either word-order or metrical considerations. In both *Trinki Phonya* and the extant Sanskrit versions, the grammatical subject of this verse (the *yakṣa*) is absent, elliptically inferred from the previous verse.⁷⁹ Thus the

⁷⁸ Such as *'char skabs* for *'ongs par gyur tshe* and *smra ba* for *brjod*.

⁷⁹ Nordrang clearly takes the Peking/Narhang reading as correct, reading *de* for *bde* in the second foot, which Nordrang elaborates in his translation as *gnod sbyin de*, clearly marking it as the subject with the demonstrative particle *de*.

primary difference between *Trinki Phonya* and Nordrang's translation for these verses appears to be metrical.

Verses 14 and 15 in *Trinki Phonya* provide us with further data for metrical analysis of commentarial retranslations. Taking the Peking edition of *Trinki Phonya* as authoritative, we have the following:

*ni tsu la ni gsar pas | gnas 'di las ni khyod long⁸⁰| mkha' la byang du gdong phyogs
mdzod |
phyogs kyi glang po rnam kyi | lag pa che bas bcings pa'i | lam ni yongs su dor bar gyis/
ri yi rtse mo phrogs nas | dri bzhon 'gro ba'am chu 'dzin | langs nas 'gro ba'am⁸¹ ci zhes
the tshom du |
gyur nas grub pa'i bud med | rnam kyis gyen phyogs bltas te | 'jigs shing skrag pas
rmongs par 'gyur |
rin chen 'od kyi⁸² snang ba | bzhin du rab mdzes mchod sbyin | brgya pa'i gzhu yi dum bu
ni |
che ba'i grog mkhar rtse las |byung ba de ni mdun du | yang dag mthong par 'gyur |
khyab 'jug glang rdzi'i tshul gzung | rma bya'i sgro yi 'od kyi⁸³ | khyab par gyur pa bzhin |
khyod sku mchog tu mdzes pa | mthing nag gang gis kun tu | khyab par byed pa thob par
'gyur |*

As becomes evident the moment one attempts to read these verses aloud, there are metrical errors in both verses. In all extant editions of *Trinki Phonya*, the third foot of Verse 14 has two additional syllables, rendering this line twenty-one syllables in length. In Verse 15, however, the second and third lines are each two syllables short, rendering these feet only seventeen syllables in length. Given these errors, even using the Sanskrit metrical principles, the phrase-breaks are

⁸⁰ Dergé, Coné: *langs*

⁸¹ Dergé, Coné: *'gro ba'i*

⁸² Dergé, Coné: *kyis*

⁸³ Dergé, Coné: *kyis*

awkward. Rakra and Nordrang's retranslations not only fix these errors, they conform to Tibetan principles for reading poetry:

Verse 14

Nordrang's 19-syllable retranslation

*ni tsu la ni | gsar pas yongs gang | ri bo 'di las | byang du kha phyogs | gshegs pa'i
tshe |
phyogs kyi glang po'i | mel tshe'i lam ni | yongs su dor cig | myur bar smon pa'i | gnas
su brtol |
gangs ri'i rtse mo | bcad pa khyer nas | rlung gzhon 'gro ba'am | yang na chu 'dzin |
'gro ba ci |
som nyi'i rgyar tshud | grub pa'i bu mos | mkha' la bltas te | skrag snang 'dzin par | dogs
mi 'tshal⁸⁴*

Rakra's 15-syllable retranslation

*khyod la ri bo'i | rtse mor rlung gis | 'phral te rgyu'am | ci zhig ces |
grub pa'i myos byed | dga' mas ya mtshan | 'phrul ldan mig gis | lta bar 'gyur |
rlan ldan ni tsu | la ni ljon pa'i | nags na phyogs kyi | glang po rnams |
mtho ba'i sna ljags | brdeg pa'i lam nas | byang du phyogs te | 'gro bar bya ||⁸⁵*

Verse 15

Nordrang's 19-syllable retranslation

*rin chen 'od kyis | phyogs kun snang bzhin | rab mdzes gzha' tshon | mig la rab dga'i |
dpal ster ba |
rā ma'i ri bo | che ba'i grogs mkhar | rtse mor 'khyud gang | khyod gshegs mdun der |
mthong bar gyur |
glang rdzi'i tshul bzung | khyab 'jug mgrin sngon | rma bya'i sgro mdzes | 'od kyi gong
bu | dang mthugs pa |
rngul chus brlan pa | khyod sku rab mdzes | mthing nag gang gis | nam mkha'i khyon
kun | khyab par gyur ||⁸⁶*

Rakra's 15-syllable retranslation⁸⁷

mdun du phyogs tshe | rin chen tshogs kyi | 'od 'phro bzhin du | lta bar 'os pa yi |

⁸⁴ Nor brang O rgyan, 31.

⁸⁵ Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 39.

⁸⁶ Nor brang O rgyan, 33.

⁸⁷ The first line contains seventeen syllables, however the remaining three contain fifteen syllables each.

*grog mkhar rtse nas | dbang po'i gzhu yi | dum bu'i mdzes pa | dang ldan pa |
de dang yang dag | 'grog na khyod lus | mthing nag rab tu | yid 'ong ba |
rma bya'i sgro 'dzin | khyab 'jug ba lang | rdzi yi gos can | bzhin du 'gyur ||*⁸⁸

Just as in his treatment of Verse 4, Nordrang's retranslation, while adhering to the 19-syllables-per-line pattern chosen by *Trinki Phonya* translators, better conforms to the traditional Tibetan poetic reading practices, thus again implicitly eschewing Jangtsé and Namkha Pel's unusual poetic phrasing. Rakra's retranslation here also implicitly critiques the *Trinki Phonya* translators' metrical renderings. As is the case for all but one of Rakra's retranslations, Verses 14 and 15 conform to the more common (and shorter) Tibetan meter of fifteen-syllables per line. The first line of Verse 15, containing seventeen syllables, appears to be an exception. Remarkably, in both verses the word changes are few and minor in impact; rather it is the word-order (and meter) that appears to be the predominant difference between *Trinki Phonya* and all subsequent retranslations.

The commentators themselves do not appear to be interested in explaining these translation choices. Nordrang's commentary never explicitly explains any of these choices, leaving the reader to deduce that Nordrang's interest in (re)translation was in part to showcase his talent for writing that employs flowery and ornamental language in a variety of (traditional) metrical styles. While Rakra occasionally supplies a reason for retranslating a verse—such as explaining that he needed to make minor corrections⁸⁹—for the two verses referenced above the

⁸⁸ Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 40.

⁸⁹ Out of the fifteen verses Rakra retranslates, four are explained as minor corrections. For example, Verse 38's retranslation is explained as follows, "This is based on the root text, but corrected a little" (*rtsa tshig la gzhi byas te cung zad bcos*), Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 49. Similarly, for Verse 52: "This is written with corrections" (*cung zad bcos nas bris so*) Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 54. In Verse 62 Rakra writes, "This has been revised a little" (*cung zad zhus dag par byas*) Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 57. Similar language is used in Verse 74: "This has been corrected a little" (*cung zad bcos 'gyur byas pa'o*) Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 65.

commentary itself consists only of a reproduction of *Trinki Phonya*'s translation followed by Rakra's translation.⁹⁰ This is in the fact the more common way in which Rakra frames his retranslations. A few of Rakra's translations are labeled as "my translation" (*rang 'gyur*)⁹¹ which marks these as retranslations for the reader; however out of the fifteen retranslated verses, four are curtly labeled as merely corrections or revisions and six are completely unmarked as retranslations at all.⁹² This apparent de-emphasis on the mimetic qualities of Rakra's retranslation, however, is somewhat mitigated by the fact that in nearly half of the verses retranslated by Rakra, the retranslation serves as the commentary for that verse. Beyond their being labeled as either "my [Rakra's] translation" or "a minor revision," no additional explanation accompanies these particular marked retranslations.⁹³

Even more curious is Rakra's treatment of Verse 11 and its retranslation. As if expressing reluctance for retranslating it, Rakra says, "This verse quoted above is an extremely beautiful one...". Further, after the retranslation he adds: "The types of words [used in the retranslation] are strictly controlled to be like those that occur in the root text."⁹⁴ For Verse 11 in particular, Rakra seems to express a discomfort with the aesthetics of his own retranslation. This leads us to the interesting question of what translation choices were considered important enough to risk a loss of aesthetic beauty—or semantic content!

⁹⁰ Labeled respectively as "old translation" (*'gyur rnying*) and "my translation" (*rang 'gyur*).

⁹¹ Verses 14, 15, 115, and 117 alone are labeled explicitly as "my translation" (*rang 'gyur*) Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 39-40, 82.

⁹² See Verses 1, 7, 9, 58, 67, 73 Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), p. 33-4, 36, 37, 56, 61, 64-5.

⁹³ See Verses 9, 14, 15, 58, 67, 115 Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 37, 39-40, 55-56, 61, 82.

⁹⁴ *rtsa tshig yod pa ltar tshig sna bstungs* | Thub bstan chos dar (Rakra), 38.

Verse 11

Tengyur version

*gang zhig khyod kyi 'brug sgra bsgrogs pa de ni skal bzang⁹⁵ rna bas thos byas nas |
mchog tu rgyas pa'i me tog dag gis sa gzhi'i ched du gdugs dag byas par gyur pa nyid |
khyod ni nam mkha' dag la gshegs tshe dga' ba'i yid kyis⁹⁶ mtsho dang gangs can bar la
ni |
padma'i tsa ba lo ma'i lam rgyags ldan pa'i ngang pa'i rgyal po rnams kyang grogs su
'gyur |*

Nordrang's 19-syllable retranslation

*chu 'dzin khyod las 'brug sgra snyan byung des kyang char rgyun char pa yis kyang sa
gzhi brlan |
de las me tog des kyang sa gzhi'i ched du gdugs byas gang dag khyod las ma byung ci |
dal bur khyod gshegs mtsho dang gangs can bar gyi mkha' la pad rtsa lo ma'i rgyags
dang bcas|
ngang pa'i rgyal po gser gyi gdub khrol dga' ba'i yid ldan khyod kyi grogs su 'gyur ro
kye ||*

Rakra's 15-syllable retranslation

*khyod kyis sprin sgras sa gzhi shīlin dha ras kun tu 'gebs gyur cing |
gang de thos pas ma pham mtsho nyid yid la byed pa'i skal bzang can |
ngang pa'i rgyal po padma'i rtsa ba'i lam rgyags ldan pa rnams kyang mkha' lam du |
kaila sha ri'i bar du khyod la lam grogs yang dag byed par 'gyur||*

[Hearing that thunderous roar of yours—that glorious sound;
Flowers bloom wildly, making parasols for the ground;
As you travel through the sky, until you reach the captivating Lake Mānasa and the
Himalayas,
Geese—sprouting lotus stalks as their provisions—will accompany you.]

One plausible answer to this question is that Rakra's focus for this verse was grammatical simplicity and semantic directness.⁹⁷ Rakra's retranslation here is less poetically elaborate. In the original *Trinki Phonya version*, the first foot focuses on describing the sound of the thunder; the

⁹⁵ Peking, Narthang: *kyis 'brug sgra bsgrogs pa de ni bskal bzang*

⁹⁶ Beckh reads this as *kyi* which should be corrected as *yid kyi mtsho*, or Lake Mānasa.

⁹⁷ These are stylistic approaches to writing Tibetan poetry which became popular in the 1980s onward. More on modern Tibetan poetry and their characteristics will be explained in the following section.

second line depicts the sight of blooming flowers. As if fearing wasted space, Rakra condenses these two feet into one foot, simply and directly emphasizing instead that the ground was covered with flowers. By contrast, the last line of *Trinki Phonya* is succinct, yet rich, elaborately describing the geese and their provisions accompanying the Cloud. However, in Rakra's retelling this description occupies the entirety of last two feet of the verse in which the geese, their journey through the air, and their actions as companions to the Cloud on his path to Kailāsa are all simply described without further poetic elaboration. Even given this simplicity, Rakra appears to run out of space in the second half of the verse; the third foot—which feels clunky and unnecessarily long to the Tibetan reader—contains seventeen syllables. Thus Rakra's translation appears to prioritize concise and unadorned semantic lucidity. Nordrang's nineteen-syllable retranslation follows the same pattern of his previous retranslations: without significant change to semantic content, it contains the same type of poetic language, but uses the syllabic groupings more common in Tibetan poetry. For this verse however, Nordrang supplies an additional nine-syllable retranslation, thus offering a total of four distinct re-translations in three different meters for this verse.⁹⁸ There is very little semantic difference between the two nine-syllable translations; the last foot is identical in both and the first three feet differ primarily in word-order.

While some minor changes to the semantic content of the translations occur (as in Verse 11), it appears that overall both Rakra's and Nordrang's retranslations appear primarily to offer alternate metrical readings without significantly changing the semantic content of a given verse except occasionally to render it more semantically direct. It can therefore be argued that the

⁹⁸ Nor brang O rgyan, 25-26.

commentaries support a method of reading and translating foreign texts, such as Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*, which prioritizes faithfulness to the Sanskrit originals to a degree not present in *Trinki Phonya* as a translation. Nonetheless, the degree of metrical flexibility and the willingness of these commentators to participate in the translation or retranslation act—something uncommon for Tibetan commentators of non-Buddhist texts—allows Nordrang and Rakra to participate in the messenger poetry genre as something other than mere observers. Through their readings of *Trinki Phonya* (and Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*) they are inspired to explore their own approach to messenger poetry, albeit within the confines of an apparent 'translation.' On another level, these commentators can be said to be participating in—and in some ways defining or even redefining—the genre of Tibetan messenger poetry through imitation.

5.9 Imitation and the Invention of Tibetan *sandēśa-kāvya*

We have seen how, through imitation, these poet-commentators participate in this new poetic discourse: creating poetry which imitates, but does not entirely replicate, the *Trinki Phonya* original. Their work thus serves as contributions to this newly emerging genre of Tibetan *sandēśa-kāvya*. These commentators, however, are neither the first nor the only imitators of *Trinki Phonya*. Rather, they serve rather as the first (extant) scholarly attempt by Tibetans to respond to this emerging and varied poetic genre. On the literature side of the spectrum, modern Tibetan poets also have begun to respond to this emerging genre. As we will see, while these modern imitation poems are collectively diverse in meter, length, and thematic content, there are

some definitive trends which mark these as contributions to what can be called Tibetan *sandēśa-kāvya*.

All imitation poems I have examined firmly belong in the era of “New Tibetan Literature,” a style of writing which began in the early 1980s after the production of Tibetan-language literary magazines enabled poets the space to explore the poetic and metrical boundaries of Tibetan literary forms.⁹⁹ Even then, Tibetan writers often resorted to Indian literary conventions out of habit. Döndrup Gyel, a prolific Tibetan poet and author of the first known Tibetan free-verse poem, “The Waterfall of Youth” (1983), used many Indic conventions, including Indian imagery and Sanskritic uses of metaphor and other poetic ornaments.¹⁰⁰ Prior to the twentieth century, while much of Tibetan literary culture remained heavily influenced by Tibetan indigenous folksongs and oral traditions, in terms of formal structure and poetic conventions, Indic models remained predominant for both formal and ornamental features.¹⁰¹ The use of classical meters, the (considerable) length of many poetic works, and the emphasis on Indic formal *kāvya* theory (via Daṇḍin’s *Mirror of Poetry*) in these works, all originate from these Indic influences. In the early twentieth century, the well-known Tibetan poet-scholar Gendün Chopel began experimenting with poetry on various Tibetan-centered topics. From Buddhist teachings to criticism of the monastic institutions; from Buddhist and Hindu pilgrimage sites to his sexual experiences with women, Gendün Chopel’s works are topically diverse.

⁹⁹ Lauran R. Hartley and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani, eds., *Modern Tibetan Literature and Social Change* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), xx.

¹⁰⁰ Hartley, xx. See also Nancy G. Lin, “Döndrup Gyel and the Making of the Tibetan Ramayana,” in *Modern Tibetan Literature and Social Change*, ed. Lauran R. Hartley and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 86–87.

¹⁰¹ Hartley, xvii.

Chophel was also highly competent in Sanskrit poetry and poetics, translating Kālidāsa's famous play *Abhijñāna-śakuntala* into Tibetan, along with portions of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹⁰² His poetic works, however, as diverse in content though they may be, still adhere to the classical Tibetan metrical scheme of four-line stanzas, comprised of lines of equal length.¹⁰³

By contrast, what we begin to see in the 1980s onward is an unprecedented degree of poetic freedom in secularly-educated Tibetan literary circles. Inspired by the folk (*mgur* and *glu*) genres of indigenous poetry, and the new writings of Chinese authors from the 1950s onward, Tibetan poets begin experimenting with writing shorter poems—consisting, for instance, of one to twenty stanzas rather than the Sanskrit-preferred multi-hundred stanzas. These poems, however, continued to adhere to Sanskrit-influenced fixed-foot meters and generally employ Indian imagery. Regarding the meter used in these works, scholar Nancy Lin writes:

The metrics observed in song-poetry (*mgur*) are more relaxed: stanzas can vary in their number of lines, lines within stanzas can be of equal or unequal length, and the number of syllables for a line can be even or odd...¹⁰⁴

Beginning in the 1980s we begin to see prose works and poetic works composed in either mixed meter or free-verse, often centering on Tibetan imagery and themes.¹⁰⁵ Nancy Lin writes about these trends in the works of Döndrup Gyel, who, despite his focus on Indic topoi, is well-known

¹⁰² Dge 'dun chos 'phel, *In the Forest of Faded Wisdom: 104 Poems By Gendun Chopel, a Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. Lopez, Donald S. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 5.

¹⁰³ For more on Gendün Chopel's poetry, see Dge 'dun chos 'phel, *In the Forest of Faded Wisdom: 104 Poems By Gendun Chopel, a Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. Lopez, Donald S. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁴ Lin, 102.

¹⁰⁵ Hartley, xx-xxi.

in part for his use of varied meter and clear poetic style. During this period Döndrup Gyel proposes a new classification of literary styles into ‘direct style’ (*kha gsal ba'i lug*) and ‘indirect/concealed style’ (*kha dam pa'i lugs*), the latter of which corresponds more closely to the heavily ornamentalized Indic *kāvya* approach to poetry. On the use of flexible use of meter, Lin writes:

Döndrup Gyel’s work on the prosody of song-poetry suggests that he considers this flexibility an advantage. He asserts that when translating Indic poetry into Tibetan, “if unequal-syllable forms are used, the aesthetic experience (*nyams*) of the original composition can be maintained.”¹⁰⁶

It is not insignificant then that Rakra and Nordrang as late-twentieth-century poet-scholars chose classical Tibetan metrical and poetic styles for their retranslations. Given Döndrup Gyel’s encouragement to deviate from equal-syllable forms in order to enhance the aesthetic quality of poetic translations, Rakra and Nordrang’s choice to conform to the standard equal-syllable forms clearly affirms and reifies the more traditional approach to translating texts into Tibetan. This adherence to traditional metrical patterns also characterizes many, though not all, modern imitators of *Trinki Phonya*.

By scouring Tibetan-language poetry journals, magazines, and collections of poems published both in China and India since the 1980s, I found various examples of poems that seem to participate in this newly emerged genre of Tibetan messenger poetry. One distinguishing feature to note is that all of these poems which contain words for both “cloud” (*sprin*, *sprin dkar*, *chu 'dzin*, etc.) and “message” or “messenger” (*pho nya*, *'phrin*) in the title use an equal-syllabic metrical form. One example of this is “White Cloud-Messenger” (*Sprin dkar gyi pho nya*),

¹⁰⁶ Lin, 102.

written by Walshul Gedar and published in the February 2002 issue of *Tibetan Literary Arts*.¹⁰⁷

This short poem is comprised of eleven stanzas of four-line eleven-syllable groupings.

Thematically, clouds and messengers remain primarily in the background of the poem as subtext; a young woman is told that a white cloud-messenger, moving about in the sky, is sending a “message of love” to her.¹⁰⁸ Even in this short poem, descriptions common to Indic *kāvya* predominate, especially in the first two stanzas:

An oily black braid of hair, hanging against the shoulder
Is tossed to the side of the ear of this delicate girl;
Honey liquor from her lips spreads the sweet-scented speech;
In order to fulfill the wishes of me, a young boy, she gives without restraint.

In a garden of flowers at an auspicious time
In which there is light rain—youthful like me, and [filled with] nectar from pollen,
Taking pleasure from happiness and joy, playing as I wish,
I lose control of the senses like a wild horse.¹⁰⁹

Features common to the Indic erotic mood (*śṛṅgāra-rasa*), such as depictions of flowers, youthfulness, ‘nectar’ from pollen rain—not to mention descriptions of the young woman’s beauty: her black braided hair and honey-filled lips—fill these stanzas. Another example of the use of Indic metrical features is “Loving Message Conveyed to a Cloud” (*Chu 'dzin la bkur ba'i mdza' 'phrin*), written by Palden Lhundrup and published in 2009 as part of a collection of

¹⁰⁷ Dbal shul dge dar, “Sprin dkar gyi pho nya (White Cloud),” *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal (Tibetan Literary Arts)*, February 2002.

¹⁰⁸ *lha lam dbyings su rgyu ba'i sprin dkar gyi pho nyar| brtse ba'i 'phrin zhig bu mo khyod nyid la springs yod* | See Dbal shul, 31.

¹⁰⁹ *gnag snum mgo skyes lan bu sog 'dabs su dpyangs pa'i | gshis 'jam bu mo'i sgra 'dzin 'di phyogs su gtong dang| zhim mngar dri bsung 'thul ba'i mchu sgros kyi sbrang chang| bu nga'i re 'dod skong phyir 'dzem med du gnang rogs| skal ba bzang po'i dus kyi me tog gi tshal du| sbrang chung gzhon nu nga yang ze'u 'bru yi bcud la| dga' skyi ngang nas rol te gang 'dod du rtsen par| bdag blo'i rta rgod ma thub dbang med du shor song* | Dbal shul, 30.

poems, titled *Sounds of Youth (Lang Tsho 'i Gom Sgra)*.¹¹⁰ This piece is comprised of two short sections titled “Message one” and “Message two.”¹¹¹ The first section is comprised of eleven stanzas of four-line eleven-syllable groupings; the second section has sixteen stanzas of the same four-line eleven-syllable grouping.

Other Tibetan poets writing about clouds and messages varied the length of their equal-syllabic meter. In the June 2008 issue of *Tibetan Literary Arts*, Rigzhöl Puchung’s poem “Message Conveyed to a Cloud” (*Chu 'dzin la skur ba'i 'phrin pa*) contains an impressive fifty stanzas of eight-syllable couplets.¹¹² Other modern poets chose to organize equal-syllabic lines without the use of stanzas. One example of this is “Messenger of Joy” (*Dpyid kyi pho nya*), written by Zung Chukyi and published as part of a collection of poems in 2003.¹¹³ This poem is comprised of fifteen lines of fifteen-syllables each. Diverging from other imitation poems, this piece does not contain the word “cloud” in the title, though clouds and monsoon rains are referenced throughout the poem. Instead this short poem centers topically on the erotic aspects of the summertime; the messenger appears to be a cloud, its message conveying the Eros associated with the season. Thus, while some of these messenger poems employ stanzas of four lines (of equal syllables), the more common trait of all the above-mentioned poems is their use of equal-syllabic lines and their topical descriptions of love messages.

¹¹⁰ Dpal Idan lhun grub, *Lang tsho 'i gom sgra* (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2009).

¹¹¹ *'phrin dang po* and *'phrin gnyis pa* respectively.

¹¹² Rig zhol bu chung, “Chu 'dzin la skur ba'i 'phrin pa (Message Conveyed to a Cloud),” *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal (Tibetan Literary Arts)*, June 2006.

¹¹³ Gzungs phyug skyid, “Dpyid kyi pho nya (Messenger of Joy),” in *Jags mi srid pa 'i bzbur rgyun* (Dharamsala, Distt. Kangra, H.P.: Shes bya kun 'dus rtsom sgrig lde gnas, 2003), 29–30.

For comparison, I also examined several modern poems that focus topically on clouds but do not include a “messenger” theme, either in the title or in the poem itself. One example of this is “Hope and Desire Entrusted to a White Cloud” (*Sprin dkar la bcol ba'i re smon*), originally published by Tsewang Dorjé in 1996 and later republished in a compilation of excerpts from the Tibetan literary Magazine *Seasonal Rains (sbrang char)*.¹¹⁴ This poem is a clear example of the above-mentioned Döndrup Gyel’s preferred approach to poetic metrical composition. While stanzas are organized primarily by groupings of four lines—excepting the last stanza, which includes six—each line contains a different number of syllables, forming a mixed-meter poem. Döndrup Gyel himself composed at least one poem about clouds, titled “Leaves of White Clouds” (*Sprin dkar gyi 'dab ma*), which likewise exemplifies the modern Tibetan preference for mixed- or free-verse poetry.¹¹⁵ This poem contains fifty-six lines of length varying from six to sixteen syllables with no stanzaic breaks. Within the first few lines of the poem it becomes clear that syllabic groupings are not the formal structure that comprises this poem; rather, it is the visual pattern produced by the precise arrangement and alignment of the text of these lines that is predominant; it creates a flowing wave-like visual pattern that permeates this free-verse poem.

This emphasis on visual patterns is not uncommon in modern Tibetan poetry. We see it also in Tibetan literary magazines. The February 1986 issue of *Tibetan Literary Arts* contains an example of this in the poem “Cloud” (*Sprin*) by Kunthar.¹¹⁶ The first three lines are staggered,

¹¹⁴ Tshe dbang rdo rje, “Sprin dkar la bcol ba'i re smon (Hope and Desire Entrusted to a White Cloud),” in *Snyan rtsom co ka'i drug 'gyur | <<Sbrang char>> rtsom sgrig khang gis sbrigs (Collection of Poems Excerpt from Sbrang Char Journal)* (Zi-ling: Mtsho-sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2001), 294–95.

¹¹⁵ Don grub rgyal, “Sprin dkar gyi 'dab ma (Leaves of White Clouds),” in *Dpal Don grub rgyal gyi gsung 'bum (Pod Dang Po)*, ed. Phur kho, Karma rdo rje tshe ring, and Tshe ring mtsho mo, vol. 2 (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 231–33.

¹¹⁶ Kun thar, “Sprin (Cloud),” *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal (Tibetan Literary Arts)*, February 1986.

creating a visual wave; the next four lines align perfectly with the first line of the poem. The staggered arrangement of lines continues throughout the remainder of the twenty-line poem. The length of lines here also varies—this time from one syllable to nine at the climax of the poem. At first glance it appears to be entirely free-verse; however, upon reading it aloud, it is clear that while there is no repeatable pattern, the length of each line aurally flows with the lines preceding and following. Metrically more stable than Döndrup Gyel’s piece, Kunthar’s piece appears to be mixed-verse rather than free-verse.

Other poems about clouds do not appear to use visual patterns and focus instead on thematically and descriptive content, in particular the contrast between suffering and freedom from suffering. One such example is Wangchuk Tseten’s piece “White Cloud” (*Sprin dkar*), found in the January 1991 issue of *Tibetan Literary Arts*,¹¹⁷ in which the darkness of monsoon clouds is described alongside mental forms of suffering; white clouds by contrast are described alongside descriptions of mental happiness. Jangchub Drolma’s poem “White Cloud” (*Sprin dkar*)¹¹⁸ follows a similar theme:

Night-time without the sun,
 Darkness without the moon,
 Pitch-black without the stars,
 White cloud!
 The white cloud rises above the sluggish heaps of clouds,
 My mind is the essence [what is] underneath;
 ...
 White cloud!
 Goal of our conscious thought,

¹¹⁷ Dbang phyug tshe brtan, “Sprin dkar (White Cloud),” *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal (Tibetan Literary Arts)*, January 1991.

¹¹⁸ Byang chubs grol ma, “Sprin dkar (White Cloud),” in *Bzho Lung: Deng rabs bod kyi bud med rtsom pa po'i snyan rtsom gces btus*, ed. Dpal mo (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), 253–54.

May [we] dwell in you!¹¹⁹

For Drolma, the white cloud represents the goal of contemplative practice, the rare mental state of clarity which arises free from the surrounding darkness.

Lobgya Tsering in his two companion poems “Resting on My Heap of Clouds” (*Nga rang sprin tshom gyi 'og tu 'geng bsdad*) and “Moving like a Night-time Cloud” (*Mtshan mo sprin bzhin 'phyo*)¹²⁰ likewise contrasts emotional states through the use of cloud imagery.

Women and their beauty (*lang tsho dang 'jo sgeg*) are described as dream-like, like a “night-time cloud,” which is implicitly contrasted with the descriptions of daytime clouds as being completely free from sadness and torment (*skyo gdung yang med pa*). By contrast, Ogyen Dorjé, in his poem “Transcending Beyond Dark Clouds” (*Smug sprin dkyil gyi 'du bral*),¹²¹ uses dark clouds to illustrate the human experience of suffering, but crafts this as a negative experience that can be transcended by experiencing the kind of love that is shared between lovers:

I and you—
Traversing the same foot-path,
[We] met within dark clouds;
We have no suffering,
No heartache;
...
I and you—
Traversing the same foot-path,
Transcending beyond the dark clouds;
We have no doubts,

¹¹⁹ *nyi ma med pa'i mtshan mo | zla ba med pa'i mun pa | skar ma med pa'i smug rum na | sprin dkar | sprin phung gi khrod na lang long du 'phyur ba'i sprin dkar | nga'i sems gting gi srog shing | ... sprin dkar | bdag cag rnam shes kyi gtad sor | khyed rang rtag tu bzhugs rogs* | See Byang chub sgrol ma, “Sprin dkar (White Cloud),” 253-4.

¹²⁰ See Lo brgya tshe ring, “Phyi dro der | Nga rang sprin tshom gyi 'og tu 'geng bsdad” and “Snying nye ma | Mtshan mo sprin bzhin 'phyo,” in *Sems kyi bzhur rgyun*, ed. Bsod nams dar rgyas (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), 230-1.

¹²¹ O rgyan rdo rje, “Smug sprin dkyil gyi 'dug bral (Transcending Beyond Dark Clouds),” in *Sems kyi bzhur rgyun*, ed. Bsod nams dar rgyas (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), 89–90.

No sadness; ...¹²²

Thus for Ogyen the experience of love is one of emerging from and transcending the “darkness” of these clouds.

Zompa Lhamo’s poem “The Melodious Song of the Cloud-Girl” (*Chu 'dzin bu mo'i glu dbyangs*)¹²³ explores a different theme altogether, describing clouds in the sky as playfully flirtatious:

Alas, how clouds drift in all directions—as if walking about free!
As [I] write, [I] arise from the bed which is the mountain, [and see] the waning moon at dawn
And the thousand-rayed sun making a union—like [that] between the lips of me and a lover;
My mind is embarrassed; [the sun] leaps up in the sky as if freely showing off the red tinge of youth.¹²⁴

We see thus that clouds can have a variety of figurative meanings within modern Tibetan poetry. While the themes emphasized in Indic messenger poetry—such as geography—are not necessarily the focus of Tibetan messenger poems, let alone Tibetan poetry about clouds, we do see—contrary to what we see in *Trinki Phonya*—a tendency to portray dark (monsoon) clouds as indicators of suffering and light clouds as indicators of happiness or freedom from suffering.

¹²² *nga dang khyed | rang rang ki rkang lam brgyud nas | smug sprin gyi dkyil du 'dzoms | nga tshor sdug bsngal med la | sems nad kyang med | ... nga dang khyed | rang rang ki rkang lam brgyud nas | smug sprin gyi dkyil nas bral | nga tshor the tshom med la | skyo snang yang med |* See O rgyan rdo rje, “Smug sprin dkyil gyi 'dug bral,” 89-90.

¹²³ 'Dzoms pa lha mo, “Chu 'dzin bu mo'i glu dbyangs (The Melodious Song of the Cloud-Girl),” in *Bzho Lung: Deng rabs bod kyi bud med rtsom pa po'i snyan rtsom gces btus*, ed. Dpal mo (Pe-cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), 279–80.

¹²⁴ *e ma rang dbang gom stabs bsgyur bzhin phyogs kun bskyod pa'i chu 'dzin bdag | zhogs pa'i skya rengs dbang phyogs sa 'dzin mal las lang par rtsom skabs su | 'od zer stong gi nyin byed dga' mas bdag mas bdag la mchu sbyor nyer mdzad pas | bdag yid skyengs te lang tsho'i dmar mdangs ci dgar ngoms bzhin mkha' la 'phags||* 'Dzoms pa lha mo, “Chu 'dzin bu mo'i glu dbyangs,” 279-80.

Trinki Phonya, firmly set in the monsoon season, similarly describes a scene of intense suffering; however, in *Trinki Phonya* it is the cloud itself that alleviates the suffering of others.

5.10 Clouds, Convention, and Creativity

While the formal features of Tibetan poetry in the modern era differ from those of both *Trinki Phonya* and Rinpung's sixteenth-century imitative poem, I argue that modern Tibetan poets have begun to create something of their own genre of *sandēśa-kāvya*, for which Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*—or, rather Jangtsé and Namkha Pel's *Trinki Phonya*—remains the original inspiration.¹²⁵ We see also that from the fourteenth century to the present, Tibetan literary and scholarly interest in *Cloud Messenger* has waxed and waned—waning after Choklé Namgyel's notes in the fifteenth century until Rinpung in the sixteenth and then Nordrang Ogyen's work in the early twentieth century. The apparent disjunctions between classical Tibetan *nyen-ngak* and modern Tibetan poetry, which became prominent from the 1980s onward, have obscured some of the traces of *Trinki Phonya*'s ongoing influence. Through unearthing and exploring both modern commentaries on *Trinki Phonya* and examples of modern Tibetan messenger poetry, this chapter has shown that *Trinki Phonya*'s influence on the waters of Tibetan poetry and poetics, though subtle, continues onward visible as ripples in the ocean.

¹²⁵ While it is clear that *Trinki Phonya* serves as the inspiration for these poems, it is significant that it does not serve as intertext in the same way that we see Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* function for the Indian-authored *sandēśa-kāvya*. See Conclusion for more on this.

Kālidāsa in Tibet: Messenger Poetry in Translation

Conclusion

Trinki Phonya's Contribution to the 'Genre' of Messenger Poetry

The object that is being looked at is Kālidāsa's achievement.... [Jinasena's imitation poem] really is a celebration of Kālidāsa's achievement. His poem is interwoven with Kālidāsa; there is something about Kālidāsa. And so then what the phenomenon in South Asia is in some sense is the praise of Kālidāsa, different ways of praising. Another way that the object of what we're looking at might be construed is, we're seeing a model that maybe Kālidāsa set in motion but is not limited to him. And this is where all the language of imitation comes in.

--Charles Hallisey at *Sanskrit Summer Academy III*, August 16, 2013¹

Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* is the last of the Sanskrit belles-lettristic literature—and the only piece of non-Buddhist Sanskrit belles-lettristic literature—to be translated into Tibetan prior to the modern era. Over the past five chapters I have shown various ways in which *Trinki Phonya*, the Tibetan translation of *Cloud Messenger*, evidences a choice that the fourteenth-century translators and editors Jangchub Tsemo and Namkha Zangpo made to reinterpret and re-imagine the *Cloud Messenger* story and topoi in a new Tibetan cultural and religious context.

We saw this first in Chapter Two, which highlights the fact that late-spread Tibetan discourses regarding what counts as a 'Lotsāwa' (translator) prioritize Buddhist teachers and Buddhist texts. As I argued, this resulted in the production of historical materials which de-emphasized translators—such as Jangtsé and Namkha Pel—who translated primarily non-

¹ This text comes from a transcription of an oral presentation given by Charles Hallisey on the final day of the *Sanskrit Summer Academy III: Mapping the World through Courier Poems*, held at the Institute for Advanced Studies of The Hebrew University in Jerusalem, August 4-16, 2013.

Buddhist texts. *Trinki Phonya* is thus significant in part because it is the only extant non-Buddhist piece of Sanskrit *kāvya* that these Late-period editors and compilers of Tibetan translations chose to preserve.

As we saw in Chapters Three and Four, this tension regarding the Buddhist identity of a Lotsāwa may have had unintended effects on the translating process itself. In Chapter Three I demonstrated that *Trinki Phonya* can be usefully considered a Tibetan Buddhist re-interpretation of the Sanskrit recensions, particularly with regard to the Sanskrit mood ornaments of *śṛṅgāra rasa* (*gekpé nyam*) and *karuṇa rasa* (*nying-jé nyam*). When the presence of the erotic and pitiful Sanskrit mood ornaments might have failed to encourage Buddhist themes, Jangtsé and Namkha Pel's translation diverges from the Sanskrit recensions, creating a work that supports a (Tibetan) Buddhist reinterpretation of these very mood ornaments. Chapter Four, however, challenges the notion of *Trinki Phonya* as a translation altogether, examining the poem for its uniquely Tibetan (Buddhist) characteristics. Chapter Four showed that the translators' work ultimately crafted a poem that reflects a Tibetan approach to messenger poetry with distinctly Tibetan Buddhist themes and sensibilities. Buddhist pilgrimage paths and the Cloud as a Bodhisattva-like figure remain the most salient examples of this. Examination of the fourteenth-century translation and other Late-Spread historical and biographical materials has shown us that the Buddhist identity of a Lotsāwa was significant, possibly spreading into the translation process itself. Though translating a non-Buddhist poem, these translators—perhaps unconsciously—produced a Buddhist poem.

If Chapters Three and Four assert and articulate *Trinki Phonya* as an independent Tibetan poem, the findings from Chapter Five seem to emphasize the opposite—namely that *Trinki*

Phonya is merely a translation, and an unfaithful one at that. The extent to which modern Tibetan commentators work to rewrite and reinterpret *Trinki Phonya* in an attempt to de-emphasize the ways in which Tibetan translators made the poem Buddhist is considerable. Why would modern Tibetan commentators want to reinterpret a (now) Tibetan Buddhist poem? This seeming contradiction reveals a tension in the Tibetan-language scholarly discourse surrounding Tibetan translations: Where does the line between a translation and a created work lie? How ‘faithful’ need a translation be to be called a ‘translation’? From these commentaries we can infer that the primacy of the source text (Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger*) and its related Indic elements are what warrant applying the label ‘translation’ to *Trinki Phonya*. To the extent that Sanskrit and Indic features in *Trinki Phonya* are obscured—by either Buddhist or Tibetan elements—this work is less acceptable to these writers as an authentic translation. Despite modern Tibetan commentarial attempts to revert *Trinki Phonya* back to its Sanskrit origins, the very commentaries that resist creative reinterpretation themselves participate in and engender this new genre of Tibetan literature. *Trinki Phonya*, as a translation and as a work, marks the beginnings of a genre in Tibetan literature: Tibetan *sandēśa-kāvya*. It is to this phenomenon that I turn my final reflections.

Messenger poetry as a genre

While so-called “messenger poetry” may not constitute a formal genre of South Asian literature, the array of tropes, themes, and stylistic structures associated with Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger* has been a popular mode for creative poetic expression throughout South Asia since Kālidāsa’s time. Many examples of this type of poetry exist in Sanskrit and in various South

Asian vernaculars, inspired in part by interlingual translations of Kālidāsa’s work. A 1968 survey found 155 different translations of *Meghadūta* into South Asian vernaculars including Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Maithili, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu.² Beyond translations, there are numerous examples of poems written in Sanskrit and in various South Asian vernaculars in imitation of Kālidāsa’s *Cloud Messenger*.³ This genre of messenger poetry—though unnamed as such—flourished in the twelfth through eighteenth centuries throughout South Asia and remains a poetic mode used even today.⁴

More relevant to the Tibetan context are examples of messenger poetry from the predominantly Buddhist nation of Sri Lanka. As Anoma Pieris notes, between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries numerous⁵ messenger poems were composed in Sinhalese. Typically written by Buddhist monks, these poems “record the geography of Lanka through descriptions of the journeys of birds across the island landscape.”⁶ Unlike the protagonist of Kālidāsa’s poem—and some other messenger poetry—the Sri Lankan messenger is always a bird. In the case of Sri

² V. Raghavan, “A Bibliography of Translations of Kalidasa’s Works in Indian Languages,” *Indian Literature*, Sahitya Akademi, 11, no. 1 (March 1968): 5–35.

³ The earliest studies of these include: Aufrecht, Theodor. 1900. “Nachahmungen des Meghadūta.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 54:616–620. See also Chakravarti, Chintaran. 1927. “Origin and Development of Dūtakāvya Literature in Sanskrit.” *Indian Historical Quarterly* 3:273–297. and Radhakrishnan, E. P. 1936. “Meghadūta and Its Imitations.” *Journal of Oriental Research Madras* 10:267–274.

⁴ Hopkins, Steven P., “Lovers, Messengers, and Beloved Landscapes: Sandesakavya in Comparative Perspective,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 8, 1–3 (2004): 29.

⁵ Scholar Punchi Bandara estimates at least 114 are extant from that time period. See Punchi Bandara Sannasgala, *Sinhala Sandesa Sahitya* (Colombo: Lake House, 1949). and Anoma Pieris, “Avian Geographies: An Inquiry into Nationalist Consciousness in Medieval Lanka,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 3, no. 3 (2010): 345–6. See also See Godakumbura, C. E. 2010. *Sinhalese Literature*. Battaramula: Department of Cultural Affairs (third edition).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 345–46.

Lanka, it seems that the geography of these poems is often both politically and religiously motivated. As Pieris elaborates:

In the *sandēśa*-s, descriptions of Lanka's pre-colonial cities and kingdoms present a version of Buddhist kingship and geographic sovereignty that is utopian and undoubtedly exaggerated. As with the poem *Meghadūta*, they are virtual maps of an extensive territory governed by the reigning monarch, written for his glorification and under his patronage....

The ultimate goal of every journey is a shrine or temple where a message is delivered to a deity or an incumbent monk. The message asks for the protection of the king and the kingdom and frequently requests a specific boon—a husband or son for a princess or, in some of the later *sandēśa*-s, cures for specific ailments. Indeed the message itself appears not to contain a deeper ideological purpose. It is merely a vehicle to elucidate the political geography of a particular monarch.⁷

The Buddhist geographical content that is only subtly present in *Trinki Phonya* is by contrast explicit and predominant in these Buddhist-authored Sinhalese messenger poems.

Given our limited samples of data, it is difficult to assert something equivalent regarding Tibetan *sandēśa-kāvya*. While there is a sense in which *Trinki Phonya*, as both a translation and reinterpretation of Kālidāsa, paved the way for a Tibetan approach to the form of messenger poetry, it is not yet clear, apart from metrical tendencies, what kinds of defining characteristics this genre may have produced. For the time being, then, I will base my conjecture on the metrical characteristics of *Trinki Phonya*. Given the emphasis on and adherence to classical Tibetan meter in *Trinki Phonya*, I posit the following: In terms of formal structure, Tibetan *sandēśa-kāvya* beginning with *Trinki Phonya* is highly influenced by a classical Tibetan metrical and poetic style. Both the meter and the word-choice of imitation poetry in this genre is likely to conform closer to features of classical Tibetan poetry than to modern Tibetan poetry. The brief examination of selected Tibetan imitation poetry from Chapter Five seems to confirm this initial

⁷ Ibid., 351.

hypothesis. By comparison, Tibetan poems that feature clouds without a messenger adhere to neither the metrical nor the linguistic model provided by *Trinki Phonya*.

The significant finding, however, is the degree to which *Trinki Phonya* as a mere *translation* exemplified such diverse Buddhist themes as to emphasize Buddhist teleological concerns. As illustrated in Chapter Three, the Sanskrit concept of *viraha* (separation of lovers) is a trope that—within the Tibetan poetic system—is neither clearly *gekpa* (passion) nor *nying-jé* (compassion). Thus, the predominance of this trope in the Sanskrit *Cloud Messenger* required a creative re-interpretation in the Tibetan context. This resulted in a Tibetan Buddhist re-interpretation of *Cloud Messenger* that heavily emphasizes several distinct Buddhist themes: renunciation, compassion, discipline, and service to others.

Teleology was not the only way in which Buddhist themes emerged in *Trinki Phonya*. As Chapter Four illustrated, the thematic focus of the poem appears to be not the *yakṣa* or his lover but the Cloud: a Bodhisattva-like figure who out of compassion for the welfare of others stays in the abode of various desires (*'dod ldan nyams kyi gnas*) and is concerned with removing bad deeds through a purified state of being. This Bodhisattva-like Cloud figure then traverses the land that is subtly transformed into a Buddhist pilgrimage landscape. Given Sinhalese messenger poetry's tendency to depict “a version of Buddhist kingship and geographic sovereignty,” this emphasis on Buddhist landscapes is not surprising.

What we don't yet know is the extent to which these Buddhist thematic and geographical descriptions remain features of Tibetan messenger poetry. Given the Sinhalese example, it seems fit to posit that at least some features will be reproduced in the Tibetan case. However, given the relative paucity of Tibetan examples—and the relative shortness of each poem (less than 20% the

size of messenger poems in other languages, including Sanskrit)—it seems unlikely that Tibetan messenger poetry would be equipped to demonstrate such a quantity, let alone quality, of imitative features.

Given the historical and literary significance of *Trinki Phonya*, this project has afforded only a cursory examination of other Tibetan messenger poetry, including the famed *Rigzin Phonya*, and modern imitation poems. What Chapter Five revealed is that in the modern era, for poetry about clouds, but not explicitly about messengers or messages, the formal features of composition, such as length and linguistic register, have changed, following the trends of modern Tibetan poetry established over the twentieth century by poetic forerunners Gendun Chopel and Dhondrup Gyal. By contrast, in the Tibetan poetry specifically about clouds *and* messages/messengers, the formal features of classical Tibetan poetry remain predominant. Much more remains to be done regarding formal compositional analysis, let alone the thematic content of this newly emerged, and fully modern, genre. Future research will undoubtedly need to consider the influence of Chinese literature on Tibetan poetry in the modern era and look for potential Chinese counterparts to this genre, if such poems can be found.

Kālidāsa in Tibet: Blurring the Borders of Translation Studies

It is clear that Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* has been highly influential and significant for the study of literature of South Asia, but it is also clear that its significance and influence has extended far beyond the geographical boundaries of the Indian subcontinent as well as the temporal boundaries of its creation. Beyond the (not insignificant) fame of its author, Kālidāsa, this poem is important historically because of the genre of literature that it inspired.

This dissertation has explored the translation, transmission, and impact of Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa’s poem *Cloud Messenger* (*Meghadūta*) in Tibet as a case-study for understanding the Tibetan reception of Sanskrit poetics. Given that Sanskrit poetical tropes, such as the “separation of lovers” (*viraha*) found in *Cloud Messenger*, did not exist in the Tibetan imaginaire prior to the influence of Sanskrit, I had previously hypothesized that an analysis of the way Tibetan translators conveyed such tropes in translation might reveal a distinctly ‘Tibetan’ interpretation of Sanskrit poetic conventions.

My analysis in this direction proved fruitful—it led me to explore developments I had never anticipated, including the metrical variances within Tibetan literary translations and Tibetan classical poetry and the extent to which Buddhism shaped the Tibetan translation of non-Buddhist texts during the fourteenth century. My analysis of *Trinki Phonya* has shown how cross-cultural literary encounters—between India and Tibet—that is, *translations*, engendered a new sense of poetic consciousness that began among fourteenth-century Tibetan literary scholars and translators and remains present in Tibetan literary scholarship of the twentieth century.

In light of *Trinki Phonya*, what do we make of the notion of a translation? The way Euro-American scholarship approaches literary translations as unauthored texts is in many ways challenged by *Trinki Phonya*. The boundary between translation and created work breaks down at various junctures of this piece. Thus in a field such as translation studies concerned with the mechanics and theory of translation, it can be asked: can a translation reproduce, or in some cases, even *produce* a genre? The case of *Trinki Phonya* would suggest the affirmative. It is these kinds of questions that I hope future scholarship on translation will begin to address.

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**Appendix I
Concordance of phoeneticized Tibetan names and terms**

Tibetan term (using Lhasa dialect pronunciation)	Wylie transliteration	Equivalent Sanskrit term	English equivalent
<i>chi-dar</i>	<i>phyi dar</i>	N/A	Late Spread [of teachings]
<i>chüi gekpa</i>	<i>phyi'i sgeg pa</i>	N/A	External/outer passion
<i>chöki gekpa</i>	<i>chos kyi sgeg pa</i>	N/A	passion for dharma
<i>Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas</i>	<i>Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas</i>	N/A	<i>Origins for a Scholarly Dictionary</i>
<i>Dag-yig Sar-drig</i>	<i>Dag yig gsar bsgrigs</i>	N/A	<i>Newly Compiled Lexicon</i>
<i>Dra-jor bam po nyi-pa</i>	<i>Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa</i>		
<i>gawa</i>	<i>dga' ba</i>	<i>rati</i>	pleasure, delight
<i>gek/gekpa</i>	<i>sgeg/sgeg pa</i>	<i>sṛṅgāra</i>	passion, eros
<i>gekpé gyen</i>	<i>sgeg pa'i rgyan</i>	<i>*sṛṅgāra-alamkāra</i>	passion-ornament
<i>gekpé nyam / gekpé ronyam</i>	<i>sgeg pa'i nyams/ sgeg pa'i ro nyams</i>	<i>sṛṅgāra-rasa</i>	passionate mood
<i>jesu gyurpa</i>	<i>rjes su 'gyur pa</i>	<i>anubhāva</i>	indicators [of a mood]
<i>Khepa Jugpé Go</i>	<i>mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo</i>	N/A	<i>Gateway to Scholarship</i>
<i>lamdré</i>	<i>lam 'bras</i>	N/A	path and fruit
<i>luwa</i>	<i>bslu ba</i>	<i>vipralambha [sṛṅgāra]</i>	seductive deception
<i>nang-ki gekpa</i>	<i>nang gi sgeg pa</i>		Internal/inner passion
<i>nejé</i>	<i>gnas byed</i>	<i>sthāyibhāva</i>	underlying emotions [in <i>rasa</i>]
<i>nga-dar</i>	<i>snga dar</i>	N/A	Early Spread [of teachings]
<i>nyam/ ronyam</i>	<i>nyams/ ro nyams</i>	<i>rasa, bhāva</i> (depending on context)	mood
<i>nyamden</i>	<i>nyams ldan</i>	<i>rasa[vat]</i>	mood

Tibetan term (using Lhasa dialect pronunciation)	Wylie transliteration	Equivalent Sanskrit term	English equivalent
<i>nyamden gi gyen</i>	<i>nyams ldan gyi rgyan</i>	<i>rasa[vat]-alamkāra</i>	mood-ornament
<i>nyen-ngak</i> <i>Nyen-ngak Melong</i> <i>nying tsewa</i>	<i>snyan ngag</i> <i>snyan ngag me long</i> <i>snying brtse ba</i>	<i>kāvya</i> <i>Kāvyaḍarṣā</i>	[formal] poetry <i>Mirror of Poetry</i> loving-affection; compassionate affection
<i>nying-jé</i> <i>nying-jé gyen</i>	<i>snying rje</i> <i>snying rje'i rgyan</i>	<i>karuṇa</i> <i>*karuṇa-alamkāra</i>	compassion, pity compassion-ornament
<i>nying-jé nyam</i> <i>nying-jé nyamgyän</i>	<i>snying rje'i nyams</i> <i>snying rje'i nyams rgyan</i>	<i>karuṇa-rasa</i> <i>karuṇa-rasa-alamkāra</i>	compassionate mood compassionate mood-ornament
Taklung <i>thukjé</i> <i>tongwa</i> <i>Trinki Phonya</i> <i>tsewa</i> <i>Tshig dzö Chenmo</i>	Stag lung <i>thugs rje</i> <i>gtong ba</i> <i>Sprin gyi pho nya</i> <i>brtse ba</i> <i>Tshig mdzod chen mo</i>	N/A <i>Meghadūta</i> N/A	N. of monastery compassion renunciation <i>Cloud Messenger</i> kindness, affection <i>The Great Lexicon</i>
<i>zhiwa</i> <i>zokpar longchö/ zok longchö/</i>	<i>zhi ba</i> <i>rdzogs par longs</i> <i>spyod/ rdzogs longs</i> <i>spyod</i>	<i>śānta</i> <i>saṃbhoga</i> <i>[śrngāra]</i>	peaceful complete enjoyment/fulfillment

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Appendix II

**English translations for selected *Trinki Phonya* verses with corresponding Tibetan verses
and concordance for Sanskrit verses**

M = According to Mallinātha's commentary
V = According to Vallabhadeva's commentary
D = According to Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's commentary

Verse 1 (M1/V1/D1)

*rje bo khros pas¹ shin tu lci ba'i bka' lung dag gis gzi brjid nyams par byas 'gyur cing |
gnod sbyin 'ga' zhig la ni rang nyid bag med dbang gyur mdzes ma spong la lo yi bar |
yid 'ong skyed byed bu mo'i khros bya bsod nams chu bor nams² dang shin tu rab mdzes pa'i |
rab bzang ljon shing grib ma dang ldan rā ma'i ri bor³ song la spyod pas gnas par gyis |*

His splendor was destroyed by the grave order, due to his lord's anger.
A certain *yakṣa*, careless towards his duties, was commanded to abandon his lover for the
duration of a year
And go to the Rāma mountain—its waters auspicious from the bathing of the beautiful daughter
of Janaka and extremely beautiful, with lovely trees full of shade—and endure, making it his
home.

Verse 2 (M2/V2/D2)

*'dod ldan de ni mdzes ma spangs shing⁴ zla ba 'ga' yis ri bo der ni phyin byas pas |
lag pa phra bar gyur nas gser gyi gdu bu dag ni dbung pa'i bar du rgyu bar byed |
chu stod zla ba rdzogs pa'i nyin la sprin rnams ri shor ri steng nyal bar gyur pa ni |*

¹ Dergé, Coné: *pa'i*

² Dergé, Coné: *che ba rnams*

³ Dergé, Coné: *dra ma'i dri bor*

⁴ Peking, Narthang: *zhing*

mchog tu rol cing mdzes par gyur pa⁵i glang chen yin nam snyam du rtog cing mthong bar gyur/

That passionate one, from abandoning his lover, and from having been forced to go to that mountain for several months,
His arm had grown thin, causing his golden bracelets to slip towards the middle.
On the first day of the month of the rainy season, there were clouds resting on the peak of a mountain.
He saw these clouds, and wondered if they were beautiful elephants, reveling in sport.

Verse 3 (M3/V3/D3)

*nor sbyin⁶ rgyal po'i rjes 'brang de ltar gnas te mdun du ke ta'i me tog rgyas stobs kyis /
nang du⁷ yid la rab tu gdung ba'i mchi ma yun ring dag tu ci yang byung gyur te /
mgrin par 'khyud bya dga' ma ring na gnas par gyur pa'i skye bo'i sems la ni /
chu 'dzin mthong na bde ldan yang ni rnam pa gzhan du gdung ba ci yang 'jugs par 'gyur /*

That follower of King Kubera remained standing in that way. [Seeing] the *keta*[ka] flowers blooming before him,
Tears of anguish flowed for a long time; he was lost in thought.
The heart of a person who remains far from his lover, whose neck he longs to embrace,
Even if happy otherwise, when he sees a cloud, he becomes enveloped by anguish.

Verse 4 (M4/V4/D4)

*dbyar dus zla ba gnyis pa 'ongs par gyur tshe brtse ldan ma yi ched du srog chags ni⁸ /
bde⁹ la char sprin dag gis rang nyid bde 'am zhes pa'i tshig 'di khyer nas 'jug pa bzhin /
ku ta dza¹⁰ yi chu skyes 'dzum pa rnam kyis de la mchod pa'i ched du dga' byed bzhin /*

⁵ Peking, Narthang: *pa'i*

⁶ Dergé, Coné: *nor cing*

⁷ Narthang, Golden reads *mang du*, but Peking agrees with Dergé and Coné: *nang du* (which also corresponds best with the extant Sanskrit).

⁸ Peking, Narthang: *'chang ba*. This seems like a later Buddhist reinterpretation, therefore a spurious reading.

⁹ Peking, Narthang: *de*

¹⁰ Dergé, Coné: *kun da'i zla*. Since sandalwood and moons are among the typical imagined offerings made in Tibetan Buddhist rituals, this alternate reading strikes me as a later interpolation by Tibetan editors who didn't know what a *kuṭaja* flower is.

mdza' ba mngon du gyur ba'i tshig ni de la¹¹ legs par 'ongs sam dga' bzhin brjod pa bzhin /

When the second month of summer had come, desirous for life for [his] beloved;
For [her] well-being, as if the rainclouds would convey the words, “Are you well?”
He made an offering with blooming *kuṭaja*-lotuses, as if to please [them];
He expressed words conveying affection, as if to welcome or greet [them].

Verse 5 (M5/V5/D5)

*gang du du ba gzi ldan chu gter myur 'gro rnams kyi tshor ba las ni char sprin te /
gang du mkhas pa'i byed pa rnams dang srog rnams kyis ni legs bshad ched du thob par byed /
ces pa mchog tu dga' bas¹² gsang ba pa ni de la¹³ yongs su mi shes gang gi¹⁴ ni /
'dod pa'i don du mkhas dang mi mkhas rnams dang sems ldan sems med rnams la zhu bar byed /*

What is found in a rain cloud?— a mixture of smoke, light, ocean water, and wind;
And where is the capacity for the skilled and the living to deliver eloquent speech
found?
Because of intense affection, that Yakṣa had no comprehension of this;
For the sake of desire one would make requests [of objects] whether [they are] skilled or
unskilled, sentient or non-sentient.

Verse 6 (M6/V6/D7)

*khyod ni rigs mchog dang ldan mchod sbyin brgya pa'i blon po mchog ste 'dod 'jo'i ngo bo nyid /
sa gsum mtha' dag rig cing bskal par 'jug pa'i che ba'i chu 'dzin nyid du bdag gis shes /
des na khyod ni don gnyer nyid¹⁵ la skal ba'i dbang gis dman min 'dod pa 'thob pa nyid /
mchod sbyin 'bras med bdag gi ring gnas gnyen mdun dag tu yon tan mchog dbang khyod gshegs
mdzod /*

I know that you are of a supreme lineage, the chief minister of Indra; your nature is wish-
fulfilling.
You see the boundaries of the three realms, and are the great Cloud which has gone on for eons!
Because of that, for those who are striving, you alone through your fortune will obtain the

¹¹ Dergé, Coné: *tshig de*

¹² Dergé, Coné *ba'i*

¹³ Dergé, Coné: *las*

¹⁴ Dergé, Coné: *gis*

¹⁵ Dergé, Coné: read *gnyis nyid*

not-low desired thing;
[Since] I am living far away [due to] a fruitless sacrifice, you, whose qualities are
supreme, please approach my companion.

Verse 7 (M7/V7/D7)

*ka ye chu ldan khyod ni shin tu gdungs gyur skabs nyid de phyir bdag gi dga' ma¹⁶ la |
gtan¹⁷ gyi bdag po ches cher khros pas 'khyams shing bral ba bdag gi phrin ni mdzad du gsol |
phyi rol skyed tshal¹⁸ mchog gnas 'phrog byed gtsug gi zla ba'i 'od kyis snang byas khang bzang
can |
gsang ba'i bdag po'i [bsti gnas]¹⁹ lcang lo can zhes bya ba'i gnas su khyod gshegs mdzod |*

O water-bearer, you are the refuge for those in anguish!
Thus, please compose a message to my love from me, separated from her due to roaming
because my life-long master²⁰ is extremely angry.
You must go to the place where the palaces are illuminated by the moonlight from the crown of
head of Indra who is in the outer gardens:
The place known as Changlochen, the great abode of Vajrapāṇi.

Verse 8 (M8/V8/D8)

*khyod ni dri bzhon bzhon ba dang ldan mkhas lam gshegs pa'i dbang gis lam bgrod mdzes ma
rnams |
bsam pa dga' bar gyur te lan bu'i rtse mo rgyab²¹ tu byas nas blta zhing gus par byed |
khyod 'ongs tshe na bral bas mchog tu nyen cing g.yog bzhin gzhan dbang gyur pa bdag 'dra
dang |
gang zhig gzhan yang mdzes ma'i skye bo su zhig gus pa rgya cher byed mi 'gyur²² |*

¹⁶ Dergé, Coné: *ba*

¹⁷ Dergé seems to read *gtam* here which Nor brang's commentary picks up. All other editions read *gtan*.

¹⁸ Dergé, Coné: *skyed mos* (no *tshal*)

¹⁹ Missing from Peking and Narthang.

²⁰ *gtan gyi bdag po* is a curious phrase here. *gtan gyi skyabs* is seen indicating a permanent refuge, unfailing refuge, lasting refuge, constant refuge, etc. It can also be used with *grogs* (friend) to indicate a friend for life, husband, etc. In this context, the colloquial phrase “life-long” while imprecise, connotes better the sense of *gtan gyi* in this verse.

²¹ Peking, Narthang: *rgyag tu*

²² Dergé, Coné: *gang zhig gzhan yang mi yi skye bo su zhig gus shing dga' ba rgya cher byed mi 'gyur*. While this reading fits the meter better (and is a smoother translation), *mi yi skye bo* strikes me as a possible bowdlerization for *mdzes ma'i skye bo* (rendering the *arthāntaranyāsa* as a more Buddhist message). In the presence of two readings, I

Because you—riding along with the wind—come via the skillful path, the women of travelers
 Thinking joyful thoughts, hold back their hair and look upon you with faith!
 When you arrive, what other person is there who, having a lover like me—oppressed by
 separation, and under the power of another like a servant—would not greatly revere you?

Verse 9 (M10/V10/D9)

*dal bu dal bus bskyod pa'i dri bzhon dag gis khyod la rjes²³ mthun zhabs tog byed pa bzhin |
 myos pa'i tsa ta ka 'di'ang khyod la snyan pa'i bstod pa'i²⁴ bstod pa g.yon nas sgrog²⁵ pa dang |
 chu skyar mdzes ma rnams kyang skal bzang mig gis mkha' la khyod mthong phreng bar byas
 nas brten²⁶ |
 nges par mngal ni rab tu 'dzin pa yongs su gsal ba nyid du bya ba bzod²⁷ par nus |*

Gently, gently a breeze stirs, as if providing a service fitting for you;
 Likewise, an intoxicating *cātaka* bird calls out from your left, sweetly praising you!
 Female geese also, with their beautiful eyes watch you, as they form a line in the sky to honor
 you;
 Surely they are able to endure making visible their mating!

Verse 10 (M9/V11/D10)

*bdag gi mdzes ma de yang nyin zhag grangs bzhin bdag po gcig pu yid la 'dri bar ni |
 gdon mi za bar myur du gshegs te bdag ni ma shi ba nyid khyod kyis bstan par mdzod |
 gang phyir 'phral la chu skyes²⁸ phal cher phreng bas bcings pas lhung ba med par gyur pa
 bzhin |
 lha mo'i snying gi dga' ba bral las lhung ba 'phral la 'gog cing mdza' bas 'ching bar byed |*

think the less ‘Buddhist’ of the two is more likely to be prior. Nor brang’s commentary takes the phrasing of the longer Dergé/Coné edition, but curiously splices the Peking/Narthang’s *mdzes ma'i skye bo* in place of *mi yi skye bo*. While Nor brang’s is a much more attractive reading, I doubt its historicity, therefore I chose the Peking/Narthang reading here.

²³ Dergé, Coné: *mdzes*

²⁴ First *bstod pa* missing from Narthang, Peking, Golden

²⁵ Dergé, Coné: *sgrogs*

²⁶ Peking, Narthang: *bsten*

²⁷ Peking, Narthang: *brjod*, Golden, Dergé, Coné: *bzod*

²⁸ Dergé, Coné: *skyed*

My beloved too—as if counting the days [til my return]—she asks only after her husband;
 Please, without doubt you should go quickly—tell her that I haven't died.
 For like lotuses bound in wreaths do not fall immediately,
 The joy of women's hearts prevents their collapse, imminent due to separation; affection keeps
 them supported.

Verse 11 (M11/V12/ D11)

*gang zhig khyod kyi 'brug sgra bsgrogs pa de ni skal bzang²⁹ rna bas thos byas nas /
 mchog tu rgyas pa'i me tog dag gis sa gzhi'i ched du gdugs dag byas par gyur pa nyid /
 khyod ni nam mkha' dag la gshegs tshe dga' ba'i yid kyi³⁰ mtsho dang gangs can bar la ni /
 padma'i tsa ba lo ma'i lam rgyags ldan pa'i ngang pa'i rgyal po rnams kyang grogs su 'gyur /*

Hearing that thundrous roar of yours—that glorious sound;
 Flowers bloom wildly, making parasols for the ground;
 As you travel through the sky, until you reach the captivating Lake Mānasa and the Himalayas,
 Geese—sprouting lotus stalks as their provisions—will accompany you.

Verse 12 (M12/V9/D12)

*ra ghu'i bdag po'i zhabs kyis mtshan pa'i ri ngos rnams la skye bo kun gyis phyag byed pa'i /
 che ba'i ri bo 'di ni khyod kyi dga' ba'i grogs bzang khyod long³¹ 'khyud pa sngon 'gro ba'i /
 mdza' ba gsal byas yun ring 'bral las byung ba'i mchi ma'i³² dro ba'ang 'byung ba yongs mthong
 la /
 khyod dang gang de dus dus dag tu yang dag 'jal³³ 'gyur zhes ni byas nas khams bde mdzod /*

Seeing this great mountain, worshipped by all, slopes marked by the footprints of the lord of
 Raghu—
 Your dear loving friend who embraces you, whose affection in seasons past
 Was revealed by warm tears shed due to long separation;
 Tell her you'll see her again someday, and wish her well.

²⁹ Peking, Narthang: *kyis 'brug sgra bsgrogs pa de ni bskal bzang*

³⁰ Beckh reads this as *kyi* which should be correct as *yid kyi mtsho* is Lake Mānasa.

³¹ Dergé, Coné: *lang* I suspect *longs* is actually correct.

³² Peking, Narthang : *mchi ma dro*

³³ Dergé, Coné: *mjal*

Verse 13 (M13/V13/D13)

*kā ye chu 'dzin re shig khyod ni lam la bgrod pa'i thabs kyi³⁴ gtam ni mnyan par mdzod |
de yi rjes su bdag gi phrin³⁵ ni rna ba'i bde skyes khyod kyi rna bas³⁶ gzung bar mdzod |
shin tu ngal zhing rab tu ngal tshe ri bo'i rtse la rkang bkod ngal ba³⁷ bsal nas gshegs |
gang du skom zhing shin tu skom na nyung ngu'i chu dang che ba'i mtsho la'ang btung bar bya |*

O Cloud, listen for a moment to these words, the way to progress along the path;
After that, grasp with your ears my message, pleasant to the ears:
Whenever exhausted, go and set your foot on the mountaintops—it will remove your exhaustion;
Whenever thirsty, vast oceans and small streams will be your drink.

Verse 14 (M14/V14/D14)

*ni tsu la ni gсар pas gnas 'di las ni khyod long³⁸ mkha' la byang du gdong phyogs mdzod |
phyogs kyi glang po rnamс kyi lag pa che bas bcings pa'i lam ni yongs su dor bar gyis |
ri yi rtse mo phrogs nas dri bzhon 'gro ba'am chu 'dzin langs nas 'gro ba'am³⁹ ci zhes the tshom
du |
gyur nas grub pa'i bud med rnamс kyis gyen phyogs bltas te 'jigs shing skrag pas rmongs par
'gyur |*

Arise from this place with the young *nicula* tree; turn your face northwards in the sky!
Leave behind the path which is grasped by the trunks of the elephants of the quarters!
The doubt caused by what is happening—has the wind taken away the mountain peaks; or have
the clouds risen [and obscured them]?—
Causes the women of the Siddhas looking upwards to become frightened, deluded by their fear.

Verse 15 (M15/V15/D15)

rin chen 'od kyi⁴⁰ snang ba bzhin du rab mdzes mchod sbyin brgya pa'i gzhu yi dum bu ni |

³⁴ Dergé, Coné: *thabs kyis*

³⁵ Dergé, Coné: *'phrin*

³⁶ Dergé, Coné: *bde ba skyed khyod rna bar*

³⁷ Peking, Narthang: *ngal bas*

³⁸ Dergé, Coné: *langs*

³⁹ Dergé, Coné: *'gro ba'i*

⁴⁰ Dergé, Coné: *kyis*

*che ba'i grog mkhar rtse las byung ba de ni mdun du yang dag mthong par 'gyur /
khyab 'jug glang rdzi'i tshul gzung rma bya'i sgro yi 'od kyi⁴¹ khyab par gyur pa bzhin /
khyod sku mchog tu mdzes pa mthing nag gang gis kun tu khyab par byed pa thob par 'gyur /*

The beautiful fragment of Indra's bow is as if illuminated by glittering jewels;
Visible in front, arising from the top of a great ant hill;
As if filled with the lustre of a peacock's tail-feathers: the way they are held by the cowherds of
Vishnu;
Your beautiful body becomes completely filled by this blue-black color.

Verse 16 (M16/V16/D16)

*khyod 'ongs tshe na grong khyer na chung dga' zhing chags pa'i mig rnams kyis ni smin ma yi/
rnam 'gyur mngon par mi shes bzhin du blta zhing 'bru rnams kun ni 'phel bar byed pa'i phyir/
khyod ni cung zad nub tu bskyod cing gnas bya 'phral la smos kyi rol gyis⁴² dga' ba yi /
gnam chu sgugs pa'i zhing la gru char rgyas bya slar yang byang du myur bar dal gyis gshegs/*

When you arrive, the city-women, delighted, with passion-filled eyes
Will be gazing at you, [though] clearly ignorant in the use of eyebrows! In order to increase all
[the harvest of] grain,
Heading a little to the west, you should remain there a little while. Playing [as if] with a plough,
On the field awaiting the delightful rain, you should spread rain again! Then go north with a
quicker pace!

Verse 17 (M17/V17/D17)

*lam du yongs su ngal tshe ngos ldan a mra⁴³ rtse gnas pa'i ri rtser gnas bya ste /
khyod kyi nags nang shing skam rnams ni char gyis bran par byas nas legs par mdzod⁴⁴ /
gang phyir che ba'i skye bo dang por legs byas rgyu mtshan thob pa'i grogs bzang la /
de lta'i bya bas gnas ched ci yang gyur la phyir phyogs ngan pa'i skye po'ang 'byung ma yin /*

When you are exhausted along the way, you will rest on the mountain peak split open, of the
Āmrakūṭa peak, which has a slope;
Its dry trees will be moistened with your rain and restored;
For, great beings, on account of good deeds done previously, [do the same] for a good friend;

⁴¹ Dergé, Coné: *kyis*

⁴² I suspect here *smos* is a mistake for *rmos* (plough) for *smos*. Dergé, Coné: *'phrin la smon gyi rol la*.

⁴³ Golden, Narthang *smra*

⁴⁴ Dergé reads *ngal ba'i tshe na ngos....char gyis brlan par byas bzhin legs*. "...As if moistened by your rain."

Because of things like this, not even a low, wicked person would turn their back on whoever [had come] to rest.

Verse 18 (M19/V&D prakṣipta)

*kā ye chu 'dzin khyod ni lam la ngal tshe sna tshogs rtsegs pa zhes pa'i ri bo ni |
ngos ldan rtse mo yangs la bsdad nas phan tshun sngon du phyogs pa'i bsnyen⁴⁵ ni byed bzhin
pas |
khyod kyang de yi so ka'i me ni bdud rtsis zhi bya de yang phan pa'i dngos po'i brtan du 'gyur |
chen po rnam la phan btags lan du 'phral la 'bras bu dam pas brlan pa nyid |*

O Cloud, when you are tired on the path, that mountain known as ‘Variously Peaked’—
You should stay there on the wide flat-surfaced peak, going back and forth on the forward-facing
side;
That spring fire also, pacified by your nectar, will reliably become a beneficial thing!
Immediately in response to consider the benefit of great [beings], it is wet with excellent fruit!

Verse 19 (M18/V18/D18)

*khyod ni g.yo med rtse mor ngas tshe a mra'i nags kyi 'bras bu rgyas par smin pa ni |
phyogs kun khyab par bkram par dga' ma'i rnam mdzes lan bu dag dang mtshungs pa bzhin du
gyur |
sa gzhi'i mdzes ma'i nu rgyas lhag ma dkar zhing dbyas kyi thig le sngon pos mdzes pa bzhin |
'chi med khyo shugs dag gi ya mtshan nges pa thob pa'i mig gis rab tu lta bar byed |*

While you rest on the unmoving [mountain] peak, rich with fruit from mango trees ripening;
Like beautiful plaits of women’s hair, spread in all directions;
Like the vast breasts of the maiden of the earth—white on the outside, and a dark drop in the
center—
The eyes of immortal powerful men will surely see it as wondrous!

Verse 20 (M19/V19/D19)

*de nas ri dwags⁴⁶ bdag po'i chung ma'i nags kyi khang pa de la yud tsam gnas byas nas |
de yi pha rol chu la⁴⁷ thon nas mchog tu myur bas lam gzhan dag tu gshegs shing bgrod pa na|*

⁴⁵ Beckh corrects *bsnyun* (illness, found in all versions) to *bsnyen* (resorting, resting).

⁴⁶ Dergé, Narthang: *dags*

⁴⁷ Dergé, Coné: *las*

*drang srong bu mo'i chu bo 'big's byed ri yi zhabs ni rtsub pa'i rdo la 'og tu 'bab ldan ma |
so gnyis yan lag mchog la⁴⁸ sa dkar tshon gyis legs bris bzhin du khyod kyis mthong bar 'gyur |*

Then, stay for a bit at the forest houses belonging to the women of the lords of deer;⁴⁹
Go to the water on the other side and proceed quickly, progressing along another path;
The “Daughter of the Sages” (Drang srong bu mo) river⁵⁰ [lies] at the foot of the Bikjé (Vindhya)
mountain, which has a stream beneath the jagged rock;
It will appear as colored lines of pale earth on the limbs of a two-tusked [elephant].

Verse 21 (M20/V20/D20)

*khyod kyis thog mar char pa skyug bya de yi chu ni 'thung nas bgrod par bya ste phyin nas ni |
nags kyi glang po myos pa'i tig ta'i ro dang 'dzambu shing gis chu de'ang myur du 'gengs |
kwa ye sprin stug khyod ni nang gi snying po ldan na dri bzhon dag gis g.yo mi nus |
gang phyr thams cad stong na yang bar 'gyur zhing yongs su gang na kun kyang lci⁵¹ ba nyid ||*

Water, discharged by you as rain on top, will be soaked up and continue onward;
Quickly fill up from [that water], fragrant with the flavor of Jambu trees and of ichor from forest
elephants in rut!
O thick cloud, when inwardly filled with substance [you will be] unable to be shaken by the
wind;
For all [who are] empty become light, and whoever is full becomes heavy.

Verse 22 (M21/V21/D21)

*dang por kanda li yi me tog kha 'bus rnams ni shun pas bsgrigs pa byung ba dang |
'dab ma ljang zhing ge sar dkar ser phyed ldan bstan pa rnams kyi chu skyes me tog mthong nas
kyang |
'brog dgon rnams su mes bsregs sa gzhir dri 'dzin⁵² mnam bya dri bzang mang po byung ba
na |
chu 'dzin dal bus char bsgrun khyod la sārām ga⁵³ rnams lam ni ston par byed par 'gyur ||*

⁴⁸ Dergé, Narthang: *las dkar mo*

⁴⁹ Possibly mistake for *ri dags*, on the slope of the mountain.

⁵⁰ in Zahor accord to Nordrang's commentary. See Nor brang O rgyen, 42.

⁵¹ Dergé, Coné: *lji ba*

⁵² Narthang: *mdzin*

⁵³ Dergé, Golden: *sā rigs rnams ni ston..Narthang, Coné: sā rig rnam la ni stan par..* Beckh reading from Peking edition!

Obscured by the buds from the first blossoms of Kandali flowers,
 The lotus blossoms—with their green petals and light yellow stamens displayed—when you see
 them,
 In solitary places—the ground burnt by fire—there will be many fragrant smells to be smelled!
 O Cloud, gently rain down; the *sāraṃga* will show you the path.

Verse 23 (M22, not in V/D)

*khyod ni legs par 'ongs tshes snyan pa'i sgra bsgrags dus na grub pa rnams kyi mchod byed cing /
 tsā ta ka rnams chu yi thigs pa bzung nas dga' bas 'thung la lta bar byed bzhin dang /
 chu sgrogs⁵⁴ rnams ni phreng bar bsgrigs rnams yongs su bgreng zhing ci zhes nges par blta
 bzhin dang /
 mchog tu 'dar byas dga' bas dga' ma la ni dam du 'khyud pa rnams ni byed pa yin //*

Your welcome, at the time of your melodious thunder, will inspire Siddha's to revere you;
 Watching the cataka [birds] catching drops of water and joyfully drinking;
 As if trying to ascertain why they are raised up, forming lines in the sky;
 [The Siddhas] tremble with excitement for their women, embracing them tightly!

Verse 24 (M23/V22/D22)

*kwa ye grogs po khyod ni bdag gi dga' ba'i don la myur du 'gro snyam yod na yang /
 ka ku bha yi dri ldan ri bo ri po rnams la yun ring thogs par bdag gis shes /
 gtsug phud⁵⁵ can gyis 'dren byed chu⁵⁶ dang bcas pas legs par 'ongs sam byas nas yun ring gnas
 par 'dod /
 de slad khyod ni shin tu myur ba 'gro bar 'gyur ba dag kyang ji lta yin /*

O friend, though you may think to go quickly for the sake of my beloved,
 I know the mountains with their *ka-ku-bha* scent will delay [you] for a while!
 The peacocks—eyes filled with tears—will welcome you or want you to stay a while;
 After that, may you somehow go quickly!

⁵⁴ Beckh gives *chu skyar*

⁵⁵ Narthang, Dergé, Peking: *pud*

⁵⁶ Golden, Narthang, Peking: *mchu*

Verse 25 (M24/V23/D23)

*khyod 'ongs tshe na ngang pa rnams ni de nyid cung zad gnas nas 'gro zhing 'bras bu ni |
yongs su smin pa ljang sngon dang ldan 'dzambu nags kyis bskor dbus dkar po'i 'od ldan che ba
yi|
nags kyi 'khri shing ke ta'i⁵⁷ chu skyes ge sar gsal bar rgyas shing grong dang mchod rten gyis|
bskor ba'i khang par gtor len tshang⁵⁸ skyes rtsom pa'i grong khyer tam⁵⁹ sha zhes pas mchod
par 'gyur|*

When you arrive, the geese will stay for a little while before going;
White in the center and surrounded by Jambu trees bearing ripe blue and green fruit,
The forest vines are visibly covered with blossoms of the *Keta* lotus;
That city known as Tamsha—composed of nests of crows, surrounded by villages and caityas—
is worthy of reverence!

Verse 26 (M25/V24/D24)

*de yi byang phyogs gzhi la bi di sha zhes mtshon cha⁶⁰ rgyal po'i khab tu myur song nas |
der ni khyod kyis shin tu che ba'i 'bras thob mchog gi go 'phang 'phral la thob 'gyur zhing |
che ba'i kha zheng dang ldan mtha' nas lung lung skad snyan sgrogs shing dang zhing bsil
ldan pa |⁶¹
g.yo ba'i rlabs phreng gdong la smin ma g.yo bzhin pa 'dri'i⁶² mtsho de'ang skal bzang khyod
'thung 'gyur |*

To the north of there, go quickly to the capital named Vidisha, the King of Weapons;
There, you will obtain the great fruit—you will immediately attain an extraordinarily
high position;
Flowing from the expansive shore, melodious, and delicious,
You will drink from that auspicious *Vita* ocean, waves moving like the movement of a
eyebrows on [a woman's] face!

⁵⁷ Dergé *ka pa'i* (scribal error)

⁵⁸ Dergé, Coné: read *tshangs*, Peking, Golden, Narthang: *tshangs*

⁵⁹ Dergé, Coné: read *tam*

⁶⁰ Dergé, Coné: *mchod cha*, Peking, Narthang, Golden and later Tibetan commentaries: *mtshan pa*

⁶¹ Peking, Narthang, Golden: *sgrog dang ro zhim dang ldan pa*

⁶² Peking, Narthang, Golden: *bzhin bi ta'i*

Verse 27 (M26/V25/D25)

*gang zhig ni tsa zhes grags ri bor khyod 'ongs thob las der ni ngal bso'i⁶³ ched du gnas /
ka dam pa yi me tog dga' bas spu long rgyas shing ge sar 'dzum par byed pa bzhin /
grong khyer rnams ni smad 'tshong ma rnams dga' bar byed pa'i dri bzang dag gis gang ba
rnams /
rdo yi brag phug rnams kyis mchog tu mdzes pa'i lang tsho ma rnams smra ru 'jug pa bzhin /*

From there you will reach a mountain called Nicha, where you should go to rest;
The Kadampa flowers are like smiling full-blown blossoms bristling with joy;
The city is full with fragrant scents from the love-making of courtesans;
[It is] as if the rock caves [themselves] announce [the presence of] the extremely beautiful
maidens!

Verse 28 (M27/V26/D26)

*ngal sos gyur na bgrod bya gsar skyes rnams kyi⁶⁴ me tog gsar pa'i⁶⁵ dra ba mdzes pa rnams /
chu bo chu ngogs skyes pa rnams ni chu thigs rnams kyis bran pa 'phral du 'ongs 'gyur zhing /
chu skyes thog ma'i gdong gi 'gram pa'i rngul thigs sel la rna ba'i utpala ngal ba dang /
rnyings gyur la ni nyid kyis skad cig bde ba'i grib bsil yongs su gnang par mdzad cig kye /*

When you are rested, travel onward; these beautiful lattices of newly sprouted golden flowers
Produced on the shore of the river, come and moisten [them] quickly with drops of water!
The wiping away the beads of sweat from the cheeks of those lotus-gatherers exhausts the
lotuses [worn] on their ears;
O [Cloud], with those same aged [lotuses], create—for a moment—a cool and comfortable
shade.

Verse 29 (M28/V27/D27)

*gang gi byang gi phyogs su bgrod cing gang zhig khyod ni 'khyog po'i lam la zhugs pa'i tshe /
grong khyer udzda ya na'i rgyal po'i pho brang nang du phyir phyogs min par gnas par mdzod /
de na grong gi dga' ma rnams kyi rol sgeg zur mig glog gi phreng thag g.yo ba ni /
skyengs byed mig gis gal te khyod ni ma mthong 'bras bu med cing bslus pa nyid du'ang 'gyur /*

⁶³ Peking, Narthang: *bso'i*

⁶⁴ Peking, Narthang, Golden: *kyis*

⁶⁵ Peking, Narthang, Golden: *ser po'i*

Then, heading northward, you will take a roundabout path;⁶⁶
 Without turning back, rest inside the royal palace of the city of Ujjayana;
 There the city women have flirtatious sidelong-glances, moving [like] streaks of
 Lightning⁶⁷;
 If [those] glances should not embarrass you,⁶⁸ [going there] would be fruitless, and would be a
 disappointment!

Verse 30 (M29/V28/D28)

rlabs phreng g.yo ldan snyan par sgrogs⁶⁹ cing 'dab chags phreng ba'i rked ska rags sil sil can |
dal gyis dal gyis 'gro zhing lang ling mdzes pa'i skal bzang 'khor lo'i lte ba dang ldan pa |
ro mchog dang ldan chu bo'i na chung bi rbendha ni khyod ni lam na mngon zhugs nas |
dga' ma rnams kyis mdza' bo rnams la rol sgeg thog mar ston cing rked rgyan 'grol 'dra mthong |

Moving like waves, rows of birds making beautiful sounds form her jingling waistband;
 Moving slowly, drifting as if around the center of an auspicious wheel
 Is *Birbendha*, the maiden of the sweet-tasting river; resting on the path, you will see
 It is as if women are loosening their belts, displaying their first flirtatious movements to their
 lovers.

Verse 31 (M30/V29/D29)

de rgal sin dhu'i chu ni lan bu⁷⁰ bzhin du lus ni rab tu phra bar gyur pa can |
ngogs su skyes pa'i⁷¹ shing ni rnyings pa'i 'dab ma lhung ba rnams kyis khyab par bsgribs⁷² pas
dkar |
ka ye skal bzang khyod dang bral bar gnas pas lus kyi gnas skabs 'di 'drar 'gyur |

⁶⁶ Literally “when you will enter a circuitous path, going northward,” (*'khyog po'i lam la zhugs pa'i tshe*); however, the English is unbearably clunky. Given the context, it makes more sense to eliminate the “when” marker and use the more common English phrase “take the scenic route.” Alternately, the “roundabout path” would work as well. Or curved/crooked path.

⁶⁷ Here the streaks of lightning are figuratively the eyes of the Cloud’s lover, Lightning, hence the deception!

⁶⁸ The implication in the Tibetan is that the if the women don’t look at the Cloud (and thus there are no glances to embarrass him), going there would be pointless and disappointing.

⁶⁹ Peking, Narthang: *sgrog*

⁷⁰ Dergé, Coné: *len bu*

⁷¹ Dergé, Coné: *dgos su rgyud pa'i*

⁷² Dergé, Coné: *bkram*

gang gi chung ma spangs nas che ba'i gnas skabs mdzad dam khyod mkhyen de ni rjod par byed/

Crossing that, the Sindhu river—her body quite thin like a braid of hair;
Obscured by the falling withered leaves from trees growing on the side, she is quite pale—
O fortunate one! Being separated from you, the condition of her body has become this way!
Having abandoned your wife, will you create a good situation [for her]? Only you know if [you
can create a better situation].

Verse 32 (M31/V30/D30)

*a wanti'i yul thog nas⁷³u da ya na'i gtam ni grong gi rgan mos shes pa yod /
de rjes grong khyer sngar bstan khang bzang⁷⁴ yangs shing dpal dang phun tshogs che ldan
yangs pa can /
'dzam gling sa gzhir mtho ris mdzes ldan dum bu bsod nams lhag ma rnams kyis skabs gsum pa'i/
legs bshad 'bras bur gyur pas nyung shas 'ga' zhid dag ni phrogs nas 'ongs par gyur pa bzhin /*

From the peak of Avanti, in which the village elderly women know the tales about Udayana.
Then go to the city palaces previously described—that greatly splendid and excellent Vaiśali;
It is as if the gods came and—with their remaining merit—stole a beautiful piece of heavenly
earth
That had become the fruit of their good sayings.

Verse 33 (M32/V31/D31)

*gang du bzhad rnams myos pa'i gdangs snyan che bar sgrogs⁷⁵ cing yid 'od sgra ni gsal bar
byed/
nyi gzhon gyis rgyas chu skyes dri bzang dga' bskyed bska ba'i ro ldan yid du 'ong gyur cing /
chu thigs kyis bran dri bzhon bud med chags gzir gdung ba 'phrog byed lus kyis⁷⁶ rjes mthun pa /
bdag po mchog ni 'dod don gnyer bar byed la snyan par sgrogs⁷⁷ cing dga' bar byed pa bzhin /*

Where the loudly voiced maddening songs of swans—a captivating sound—resounds,
At daybreak, the bitter taste becomes appealing, producing the delightful fragrance of blooming
lotuses;

⁷³ Dergé, Coné: *thog na*; Peking, Narthang: *thob nas*. Both Tibetan commentators read *thog nas*.

⁷⁴ Dergé, Coné: *khang pa*

⁷⁵ Narthang, Golden: *sgrog*; Dergé, Coné, and Peking: *sgrogs*.

⁷⁶ Coné, Dergé: *phrog byed lus kyis*

⁷⁷ Narthang, Golden: *sgrog*; Dergé, Coné, and Peking: *sgrogs*.

The wind, sprinkling water drops, removes the tormenting affliction of lust of the women and is in harmony with [their] bodies;
Like an excellent lord speaks pleasantly and causes delight in order to provide for what [they] desire.

Verse 34 (M35/V32/D32)

*de yi nor ldan khang pa rnam na lan bu⁷⁸ spos kyis bdugs pa'i dri bzang⁷⁹ dra ba nas |
thon⁸⁰ pas khyod lus cher 'gyur khyim gyi⁸¹ gtsug phud⁸² can ni dga' bas gnyen mthong gar gyis
ni |
mchod 'bul chu skyes dri bzang⁸³ ldan pa bud med rol sgeg ldan pa'i rkang pa'i tshon rnam
kyis |
mtshan pa rnam [su lam⁸⁴] gyi⁸⁵ dbus su dub par gyur pa'i rang nyid sdug bsngal bsal bar
bya |*

Inside its wealthy houses, through the lattices fragrant with perfume for hair;
As you emerge and grow larger, the peacocks—joyfully dancing, looking upon their
companions—
Make an offering [to you]; In the midst of the path marked by the charming colors from the feet
of women, scented by lotuses,
The suffering of your fatigue will be removed!

Verse 35 (M36/V33/D33)

*yang ni srid pa gsum gyi bla ma dpal mgrin gnas su bsod nams ldan khyod bgrod par bya |
'khor gyi tshogs kyis⁸⁶ khyab bdag mgrin 'od mtshungs bzhin zhes ni⁸⁷ gus dang bcas pas lta*

⁷⁸ Dergé, Coné: *len bu*

⁷⁹ Dergé, Coné: *bzangs*

⁸⁰ Dergé, Coné: *'thon*

⁸¹ Peking, Golden, Narthang: *gyis*

⁸² Peking, Golden, Narthang: *pud*

⁸³ Dergé, Coné: *bzangs*

⁸⁴ Dergé, Coné: *su lam* missing

⁸⁵ Narthang: *gyi*

⁸⁶ Dergé, Coné: *'khor tshogs chos kyis*

⁸⁷ Dergé, Coné: *ni* omitted

*byed de*⁸⁸ /
yid 'od dri ldan chu la lang tsho ma rnams rol sgeg khru ni byed pa'i dri ldan zhing /
*utpala ge sar ldan pa'i dri rnams kyis bsgos rlung gis*⁸⁹ *skyed tshal g.yo bar byed pa yod /*

Once again, you—full of merit—should go to the abode of Vishnu, lord of the triple world;
[His] attendants will look upon [you] with devotion because you resemble the radiance
of their lord's neck!

In the captivatingly fragrant water maidens playfully bathe; a fragrance which is made
By the wind, perfumed by the fragrant *utpala* blossoms, [by which] the pleasure grove is shaken.

Verse 36 (M37/V34/D34)

kā ye chu 'dzin nag po chen po'i gnas su bgrod nas nyin zhag gzhan pa'i dus la yang /
nyin mor byed pa 'dren byed yul du 'ongs par gyur gyi bar du khyod ni gnas par mdzod /
rtse gsum can la thun mtshams la ni gtor ma rnga chen bsgrags shing bstod dbyangs byed pa
bzhin /
khyod kyis 'brug dbyangs bsgrags tshe ma tshang med pa'i 'bras bu thob pas kun gyi don yang
byed /

O Cloud, having reached the abode of the blue-necked one—although it is not yet another
day—

For as far as the eye can see the sun's rays, you should make that your abode,
Making offerings at sunset to the three-peaked one, with the sound of a big drum as if reciting
prayers!

Achieving complete fruition at the time of your dragon-sound, you will accomplish your goal
as well!

Verse 37 (M38/V35/D35)

de nas rkang pa bkod par gyur tshe 'og pag dag las sil sil nyan pa'i sgra 'byung zhing /
rol sgeg g.yo bo'i rin chen 'od 'phros lus mdzes rnga yab 'dzin pas ngal ba'i lag pa can /
tshogs kyī mdzes ma sen rjes gsar pas gdungs la khyod las char thigs thob na tshim byed pa/
khyod la sbrang rtsi byed pa'i phreng ba bzhin du g.yo ba'i zur mig ring ba dag gis lta bar 'gyur/

Then, as you plant your feet, from their lower-garments comes a melodious sound;
Their beautiful bodies are glittering with jewelry sensuously moving; their hands fatigued from
holding *chamaras*;

Tormented by fresh nail-marks, the female attendants are relieved by your rain drops!
Like a row of bees, they look at you with quick side-long glances.

⁸⁸ Dergé, Coné: *lta bar byed*

⁸⁹ Dergé, Coné, Peking: *gi*

Verse 38 (M39/V36/D36)

*phyugs bdag glang chen pags rlon 'dod bzhin gyon nas gar ni rtsom pa 'phrogs par gyur pa
bzhin /
khyod 'ongs snga dro'i thun mtshams nyi gzhon dmar ba'i 'od kyis dmar ba'i chu skyes 'dzin byed
cing/
rgyab nas mtho ba'i lag pa zlum po'i nags kyi shing chen dag gis brgyangs nas 'dzin cing gnas/
zhi ba'i char rgyun 'bab tshe ri yi sras mos g.yo med mig gis gus pas lta bar byed/*

Shiva, dressed as if desiring a still-moist elephant's hide, begins his dance, as if captivated;
[For], arriving at dawn, the red light of the rising sun turns your water red!
With tall branches, forest trees stretch out in circles from behind, embracing [you]!
As [your] rain peacefully falls, the daughter of the mountain with unmoving eyes looks upon you
with reverence.

Verse 39 (M40/V37/D37)

*des na bdag po'i gnas su mchog gi btsun mo rnams ni rab dga' sgeg par byed pa na /
mtshan mo'i mun pa stug po rnams kyis mi yi bdag po'i lam gyi nang ba 'gog byed pas /
khyod kyi glog 'od gser mtshungs 'od kyi snang bas sa gzhi'i lam ni kun nas bstan par mdzod /
chu char 'brug dbyangs sgra chen mang po ma byed mdzes pa de rnams skrag cing 'chi bar
'gyur /*

Then, when the excellent queens in [their] lords' place are made amorous,
And the light showing the way to their husbands is blocked by the thick darkness of night,
Reveal the right path with your brilliance, by the golden rays of your lightning!
[But] please do not make too much of a thunderous sound as you rain—or else they will fear for
their lives!⁹⁰

Verse 40 (M41/V38/D38)

*de rnams kyis ni khang bzangs phug nor nyal sa steng gi rgya phubs 'ga' zhig dag tu ni /
yun ring 'ongs las dub pa'i rang gi dga' ma glog ma'i don du mtshan mo gnas byas nas/
nyi ma mthong tshe khyod ni slar yang lhag ma'i lam dag shin tu mgyogs pas bgrod par bya /
gang phyir snying grogs dag gi don du 'bad pa byas pa nges par bya ba byas pa nyid /*

Their palaces—with balconies over top the pigeons' nesting place;
For the sake of your lover, Lightning, who is exhausted from traveling for a long time, you
should make [this place] your home for the night;
When you see the sun[rise, however] you should quickly continue along the path;
After all, it is certain that great effort should be done for the sake of close friends!

⁹⁰ Literally the Tibetan reads “fear dying.”

Verse 41 (M42/V39/D39)

*de yi dus su nyin mor byed pa'i lam ni dor nas de nas myur du 'gro bar bya |
'od zer rab tu 'phro ba bsgribs na khro ba chung ba min pa khyod la byed par 'gyur |
mtshan mo bdag po song ba'i bud med mig gi mchi ma sel la bdag po 'ong ba bzhin |
padmo'i yum gyi chu skyes gdong gi mig chu de yang rab tu sel ba byed par 'gyur |*

At that time, you should leave the path made by the morning [sun] and quickly go [ahead];
When you obscure the [sun's] rays of light, he will be quite angry with you!
The tears of the women whose husbands have gone at night [to others] will be cleared away [by
the sun] as if their husbands had come!
The tears on the face of the lotuses as well will be cleared away.

Verse 42 (M43/V40/D40)

*rab tu dang ba'i sems bzhin shin tu zab mo dang ldan mtsho yi chu yi nang du ni |
khyod kyi gzugs brnyen yang ni rang bzhin skal pa bzang po bdag nyid 'char ba thob par 'gyur |
de slad de yi ku mu ta ni dkar po rnams kyis khyod la bkur sti bsnyen bkur byed |
brtags pas don yod bya ba'i ched du g.yo ldan nnya rnams gyen du 'phar zhing lta bar byed |*

In the depths of the water—profound, like [the depths of] a faithful mind—
Naturally auspicious, your reflection will shine;
Because of that, white *kumuda* flowers will honor and revere you [as if displaying white
smiles!];
Noting this, for the sake of doing something meaningful, the fish [too] will watch you,
jumping up.

Verse 43 (M44/V41/D41)

*de yi chu gos sngon pos chu yi ngogs/dogs? kyi tshang ra 'phrog⁹¹ par byas nas spangs pa na |
ma 'phrog ces ni shing chen yal ga'i lag pa dag gis dbus su chung zad 'dzin pa bzhin |
kwa ye grogs po chu 'thungs lho khengs lji nas lam du 'gro bar⁹² yang ni ji ltar yin |
mdzes ma'i [mdun]⁹³ sgrom mdzes pa'i bro ba shes na ji ltar 'dor ba'i nus pa yod pa yin |*

[As if] the blue water-garment [waves] of that river had stolen the backside [garment of the
River], when it had ceased,

⁹¹ Dergé, Coné: *tshing ra 'phrogs*

⁹² Peking, Narthang: *lho 'phyang rdzi na 'gro bar nus pa*

⁹³ Dergé *mdun* missing

It is as if being held up in the middle by her hands, which are tree branches, [she cried] “Don’t take [my garment!];

O friend, having drunk up water, puffed up and heavy, how will continue on the path?

If you know the taste of the beautiful [treasure] chest of a lover, how can you bear to toss it away?

Verse 44 (M45/V42/D42)

*khyod ni de ba'i ri las nye bar 'gro tshe dal bu dal bu'i rlung ni ldang 'gyur zhing |
bsil ba'i rlung gis bsgos pa'i udumwāra'i nags kyi 'bras bu 'chang zhing rol rtsed byed |
khyod kyi char chen phab pas nor 'dzin ma yi dri dang rlangs pa gtsang ma tshogs pa ni |
so ldan rnams kyi sna yis rngub cing bu ga'i nang du skal bzang glu dbyangs sgrogs par byed |*

As you approach Devagiri, a gentle breeze will blow;

This cool breeze embraces the fruit of the Udumbara⁹⁴ trees, delighting them;

After your great rain, the scent of the earth and the immaculate vapor will be collected;

Elephants drink up through their trunks; through their snouts they make an auspicious sound!

Verse 45 (M46/V43/D43)

*der ni skye mched nyi ma las lhag gzi ldan sreg zla las skyes son du phyogs pa can |
gtsug na zla ba rin chen mang gi dmag tshogs bsrung pa'i don du bskos pa de ni gnas |
kyod kyi mkha' yi ganga'i chu las sprin gyi me tog gsher ba mang po rnams kyis ni |
me tog gru char bdag nyid phab pa rnams kyis gang zhig de ni khurus ni byed par 'gyur |*

There, the source—whose seed is born of the fire god, whose brilliance exceeds that of the sun;

The many troops of Shiva who are entrusted with its protection reside there;

Who, by your many cloudfuls of flowers, is moistened with water from the Heavenly Ganges;

Who, by [your] showers of flowers falling, he is bathed.

Verse 46 (M47/V44/D44)

*gtsug phud ldan de chu 'thungs dga' bas phyin nas ri gzung snyan pa'i sgra sgrogs gar dag byed |
mig zur dkar ba'i zer gyis 'phrog byed gtsug gi zla ba'o 'od kyi zer ni skyengs byed kyang |
gang gi che ba'i mjug sgro mdongs 'od tshon rtsis bris bzhin mdzes pa lhung ba⁹⁵ 'od gyur pa |*

⁹⁴ The *udumbara* in Sanskrit has been identified as *Ficus glomerata*, which is in the fig family. See page 135 in Rhys Davids, T.W., and Stede, eds., “Udumbara,” The Pali Text Society’s Pali–English Dictionary (Chipstead: Pali Text Society, May 1921), <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/pali/> .

⁹⁵ Dergé, Coné: *mdzes pa 'ong gyur pa*

u ma'i sras ni dga' dga' bar byed pa chu skyes 'dab ma bzhin du rna bar byed pa yod /

The peacock will be gladdened drinking your water; making a beautiful sound
he will dance;
Though the white light from his side-long glances rival those of the light from the moon on
Shiva's head,
And the light from his large tail-feathers fall beautifully as if painting a picture;
Like a lotus blossom, Uma made one an ear-ornament to delight her son.

Verse 47 (M48/V45/D45)

*smig ma'i tshal na skyes pa'i lha de yang dag mchod nas slar yang lam ni brgal bar mdzod /
grub pa'i khyo shug dag gi lag pa'i pi wang chu thigs brlan la 'jigs pas lam ni ster |
khyod kyis mthong bar 'gyur ba'i sa bdag dga' ba'i lha yi sras po chu gter gzugs 'dzin ni |
sa yi gzhi la byung zhing lhun po 'dod 'jo'i bu mos 'ongs nas mchod pa byed par 'gyur |*

Make an offering to the god born in fields of sugar cane, and continue again along the path.
Siddha couples holding lutes, afraid of getting wet from rain drops, will cross [your] path.
Seeing the son of the beloved god—the king of the land—take on the form of the Sea,
You should fall down to the earth and make an offering to the bountiful maiden of Meru.

Verse 48 (M49/V46/D46)

*khyod kyis⁹⁶ de yi rlabs ldan mtsho yi chu 'thungs 'ongs pa'i tshe na thag ring mthu las ni |
chen po yin yang phra mo dang ni sbrang rtsi'i bu yi kha dog bskus/brkus par gyur pa dang |
chen po'i⁹⁷ sa la in dra nī la mu tig do shal dag ni gcig tu bkod pa bzhin |
mkha' la bgrod pa rnams kyi mig rnams dag gis 'og tu blta zhing nges par mthong bar 'gyur |*

When you come from afar to drink from the waters of that river,
Although it is large, it is thin; it is as if it stole Shiva's complexion;
On the large ground it is as if there is *indranīla* with a pearl necklace inlaid;
The sky-goers watching from below will surely see with their eyes!

Verse 49 (M50/V47/D47)

*de rnams brgal nas bgrod tshe smin ma 'khri shing gzhon nu rol pa rnams kyis mdzes pa can |
dkar nag 'od zer dang ldan rnams kyi rdzi ma steng du bskyod par gyur pa'i mdzes pa dag |
kun da'i me tog g.yo ba'i rjes 'gro sbrang rtsi byed pa'i dpal gyi mdzes pa bzhin du ni |*

⁹⁶ Dergé, Coné: *kyi*

⁹⁷ Peking, Narthang: *che ba'i*

mdzes ldan da sha zhes bya'i grong khyer na chung mig gis blta 'dod la ni rang lus bstan par mdzod/

As you cross and pass those [places], the women twist their eyebrows in youthful play;
The beautiful women [sensually] move their eyelashes, which are filled with white and black light,
Like the beauty of bees following after the waving Kunda flowers;
This beautiful city is called Dasha; the young women want to see [you] with their eyes—please show them your form.

Verse 50 (M51/V48/D48)

dang por tshangs pa 'jug pa zhes bya'i ljongs la khyod ni bgrod bya 'og tu grib bsil bya/
de nas rgyal rigs bcom pa'i dur ldan ku ru ba yi zhing ni khyod kyis bsten/bstan par bya |
gang du srid sgrub mda' rnon brgya phrag dag gis rgyal rigs [ming po'i?]mang po'i mgo bo
bcad pa ni |
khyod kyi gru char chen po rab tu mang po phab pas pad ma rnam ni chad pa bzhin |

First you should go to the region called Brahmavarta, and create shade below.
Then you should resort to the field of the *Kuruva*-s, where the graves of those conquered by the kingly lineages [lie]—
Where Arjuna, the chief of the many kingly lineages, downed them with many thousands of sharp arrows—
As you down lotuses with the fall of your many rains.

Verse 51 (M52/V49/D49)

myos par byed pa'i ro ldan dga' ma snar ma'i tshig gis mtshan pa'i chang ni spang byas nas/
rang gi gnyen la dga' bar gyur pas [g.]yul las phyir phyogs stobs bzang gang de blta bar bya/
kwa ye zhi[ng] ldan sā ra swa ti'i chu la mngon par phyogs tshes khyod kyis 'thungs byas nas|
lus kyi kha dog dag ni nag por 'gyur zhing nang gi bsam pa yang ni dkar ba nyid/

Abandon that liquor, marked by the eyes of Rohiṇī,⁹⁸ as [his] intoxicatingly flavorful woman;
Like Balarāma turned his back on war out of love for his kinsmen.
But when you reach the peaceful Sarasvati river, drink up, o [Cloud]!
Though your body will darken, your inner thoughts will become bright!

⁹⁸ The Tibetan here *Snar ma* (Red one) is clearly Rohiṇī, rather than Revatī as the Sanskrit reads. This is curious given that while Revatī is Balarāma's wife, Rohiṇī, was his birth mother. I'm not certain what significance this shift may have for the flavor of the Tibetan or whether it is an intentional divergence. Nordrang's commentary glosses *Snar ma* as the wife of Balarāma, but seems to take the liquor as metaphor for his wife's words (reading *tshig* instead of *mig*. Tibetan: *stob bzang dga' ma chang ni snar ma'i tshig gis spong*). See Nor brang O rgyen, 96.

Verse 52 (M53/V50/D50)

*de nas bgrod pa'i phyi nas kan kha la yi grong yod dza hnu'⁹⁹ bu mo ri rgyal gyi /
ngos la bgrod pa dug can rgyal po'i bu ni mtho ris de yi them skas bgrod pa bzhin /
gang gi dbu ba'i phreng ba rnams kyis gau rī'i zhal gyi khro gnyer rnams la dgod¹⁰⁰ pa bzhin /
bde 'byung skra nas rlabs kyī lag pa dag gis bzung nas zla phyed 'phrog par byed pa bzhin /*

Then, continue on to the daughter of Jahnu in the city of Kankhala.

Go before the king of mountains as the son of the evil king ascended the stairs to the higher realms.

With her *mala* of foam she is as if mocking the frown on Gauri's face!

Grasping Shiva's hair with hands that are waves, she is as if trying to steal his crescent moon!

Verse 53 (M54/V51/D51)

*khyod ni gal te de yi chu 'thungs bsams na lus phyed snga ma mkhar las 'phyang ba ni /
hla yi glang po bzhin te chu de'i zhing ni dri med dkar ba'i shel bzhin snang ba nyid /
chu bo de la khyod khyi grib ma babs pas¹⁰¹ 'phral la yang dag 'byung 'gyur mdzes pa ni /
ya mu na yi chu dang ganghā 'grogs pa'i mdzes pa las 'ongs gyur la gnas ma yin |*

If you think of drinking the water of that [river], half your body will be as if hanging down from a castle of old.

Like the god's [Shiva's] bull, that field of water will be like a stainless white crystal.

Your dark [rain] falling into that river causes it, beautiful, to quickly change

[As if] coming from, but not remaining in, the Yamuna and the Ganges.

Verse 54 (M55/V52/D52)

*rdo leb steng du ri dwags gnas pas ri dwags lte ba'i dri bzang 'dzin pa'i rdo ldan zhing /
ganghā nyid kyī yab gyur kha bar¹⁰² dkar ba'i g.yo med gangs ldan de nyid thob byas nas /
lam gyis ngal ba rnam par 'dul ba'i ched du de yi rtse la slebs nas 'dug pa yi /
mdzes pa mig gsum pa yi bzhon pa dkar ba'i khyu mchog rwa yis 'dam ni blangs pa bzhin /*

Because of the deer resting on the rocky flat, the rocks there emit the scent from the deer's navel;

The scent that has pervaded the Ganga will lead you to that unmoving white snowy place;

When you reach the peak, in order to conquer your exhaustion from the path, the beautiful scent

⁹⁹ Dergé, Coné: *dza hu*

¹⁰⁰ Peking, Narthang: *rgod*

¹⁰¹ Dergé, Coné: *glag ma bsam pas*

¹⁰² Peking, Narthang: *kha bas*

Will [arise] as though it were mud being dug up by the tusks of the chief bull, the Three-eyed god's white mount!

Verse 55 (M56/V53/D53)

*de la gal te rlung gis rab bskyod thang shing lag pa kun du 'thabs pa las byung ba'i |
me yi dug dang me stag dag gis 'brong gi dga' ma'i spu tshogs mang po sreg byed na/
khyod kyis de rnams zhi ba'i ched du chu 'dzin stong phrag mang po'i char ni bya bar 'os/
gang phyir chen po rnams kyi phun tshogs 'bras bu mang po'i sdug bsngal zhi bar byed pa nyid/*

There, if the warmth and the sparks from the fire that arose from the battle between the tree-branches, blown by the wind, should singe the hair of the 'brong;
In order to quell this, O cloud, you should rain down many thousands of rains.
For, destroying suffering has many fruits that benefit great beings!

Verse 56 (M57/V54/D54)

*der ni khyod kyis sgra chen bsgrags la ma bsod che ba'i dregs pa kun du ldan pa'i rkang brgyad pa/
khyod kyi steng tu mchong bar bya'o snyam nas ma mchongs rang gi yan lag kun du rmas/
de rnams dag la rab tu bzhad ldan thog ser char pa drag phab mang pos gzhom par mdzod/
rang bzhin ngan pa'i gnas pa dag gi 'bras med rtsom pa'i 'bad pa rnams ni ci yang med/*

There, greatly arrogant eight-legged [deer] are unable to stand your great roaring;
Thinking they will jump up on top of you, [yet] not jumping, they injure their own limbs;
Destroy them with your fierce thunder and lightning, mocking them!
For what is the point of those with a low base beginning efforts that bear no [good] fruits?

Verse 57 (M58/V55/D55)

*der ni che zhing gsal ba'i rdo la gtsug na zla phyed 'dzin pa'i rkang bkod rjes la ni |
rtag tu grub pa rnams kyis gtor ma mchod [do khyod]¹⁰³ kyis gus pas phyag dang bskor ba mdzod |
gang zhig mthong na byed pas byas pa'i sdig pa rnams ni shin tu ring por 'dor byed cing |
gus pa 'dzin pa rnams ni de yi 'khor du gnas pa thob byed brtan pa thob par 'gyur |*

There, clearly affixed to a large rock is the Crescent-moon god's footprint;
Siddha's are continuously making offerings there; you should prostrate and circumambulate as

¹⁰³ Dergé, Coné: missing *do khyod*

well!

Whoever sees and does this will quickly remove their past evil deeds;
Those who maintain that devotion are able to become part of that [god's] retinue and will attain
steadfastness.

Verse 58 (M59/V56/D56)

*dri zhim rnams kyis khengs par gyur pa'i khang pa nang nas¹⁰⁴ snyan pa'i yid 'ong sgra 'byung
zhing |
mi'am ci mo rnams kyis grong khyer gsum rgyal 'gyur las yang dag dga' bas glu dbyangs
sgrog¹⁰⁵ |
mga zlum snyan pa'i sgra bzhin gal te khyod kyis rdo yi gtsug lag khang der sgra snyan ni |
bsgrags par gyur na nges par phyugs bdag drung du gsum 'dus dbyangs snyan don gyi tshogs pa
'byung/*

From within the temple—filled with the pleasant aroma [of incense]—there emerges a
captivating sound;
Gandharva women—from the city where the three-[peaked one] was victorious—sing out of joy!
If you produce your delightful roar like a beautiful drum in that stone temple,
Resounding—in the presence of the guardians of the quarters—certainly those three beautiful
sounds will emerge together!

Verse 59 (M60/V57/D57)

*gangs kyi ri la nye ba'i thang la rkang pa bskyod tshe de dang de yi khyad par la |
krauñca'i¹⁰⁶ ri yi lam la rab grags bhrī gu'i bdag po'i mda' shugs¹⁰⁷ ngang pa'i sgo gang¹⁰⁸ yod |
de nas nor sbyin phyogs su khyod ni rjes su 'dro tshe 'khyog por 'gro ba'i mdzes pa ni |
stobs ldan bslu¹⁰⁹ ba'i ched du khyab 'jug 'jal rkang pa sngo bsangs yang dag bkod pa bzhin//*

When you set foot on the plateau near Kailash and [see] all the [wondrous] things there,

¹⁰⁴ Peking, Narthang: *dri gzhon rnams kyis khengs par gyur pa'i smyig sbom nang nas*

¹⁰⁵ Dergé, Coné: *sgrogs*

¹⁰⁶ Peking, Narthang, Golden: *krauñca'i*

¹⁰⁷ Peking, Narthang, Golden: *phug*

¹⁰⁸ Peking, Narthang, Golden: *can*

¹⁰⁹ Dergé, Coné: *slu*

On the well-known Krauṇa path, which has entrances for the geese [previously made] by strong arrows;

Then, in the direction of Kubera [north], you—when following [that path]—will be beautiful as you wind around;

In order to trick Bala (*stobs ldan*), when you reach Vishnu's (*khyab 'jug*) abode, [your] feet are as if moving on air.

Verse 60 (M61/V58/D58)

*mgrin bcu'i lag pa'i bskyod bya ri ngos spangs pa¹¹⁰ dang ldan shel kyi kai lā sha yi ri |
skabs gsum mdzes ma'i me long¹¹¹ bstan bya'i steng du'ang song ste cung zad gnas par bya |
gang gi rtse mo shin tu mtho ba ku mu ta ltar mkha' la khyab par gnas pa ni |
mig gsum pa yi¹¹² rab tu rgod¹¹³ pa phyogs bcu dag nas gcig tu spungs par gyur pa bzhin ||*

Leaving the mountain where Ravana (*mgrin bcu*) went [to kidnap Sita], the crystal-[white] mountain of Kailash,

Go to the upper part also, which displays a mirror for [the face of] the lover of Rahu (Skabs gsum); stay for a little while;

Its tall peak, pervades the sky like *kumuda* [flowers];

It's as if the [teeth from the] menacing laugh of the three-eyed one (Śiva) were piled [there, visible] in all directions.

Verse 61 (M62/V59/D59)

*de yi ri ngos dag la khyod ni 'gro tshe snum pa'i mig sman¹¹⁴ dag dang mtshungs pa dang |
de ni gnyis 'thung¹¹⁵ so ni 'phral la bcad par byas pa lta bur dkar zhing mdzes pa de |
mdzes pa'i ri bo la ni g.yo ba med pa'i mig gis¹¹⁶ blta bya nyid du 'gyur ba dang |
stobs ldan dkar ba'i dpung pa dag la gos sngon bkod par gyur bzhin 'byung ba bdag gis shes ||*

¹¹⁰ Dergé, Coné: *yangs pa*

¹¹¹ Dergé, Coné: *gdong gi me long*

¹¹² Dergé, Coné: *yi*s

¹¹³ Dergé, Coné: *rgad*

¹¹⁴ Dergé, Coné: *sman mchog*

¹¹⁵ Golden: *'thungs*

¹¹⁶ Peking, Narthang, Golden: *gi*

When you are in front of that [mountain], you will resemble glossy [black] eyeshadow;
[The mountain] is beautiful, white as if the [ivory] tusks of an elephant had suddenly cut through [it];

This mountain is so beautiful that it will [only] be gazed upon by unmoving/transfixed eyes;
[With you there] I know it will appear like a blue-black garment arranged on the white shoulders of Bala (*stobs ldan*).

Verse 62 (M63/V60/D60)

der ni bde 'byung sbrul gyi gdu bu dor nas gau ri'i lag pa¹¹⁷ 'dzin byed cing |
gal te yang¹¹⁸ ni rol rtsed ched du zhabs kyis 'gro bas ri la de dag dal 'gro na |
khyod bgrod lus ni 'khyog por 'gro zhing nang na gnas pa'i chu chen dag ni spang bya zhing |
skams par¹¹⁹ byas nas steng du 'gro ba rnams la rkang pa'i bde ba reg par bya ba mdzod ||

There, Śiva will leave behind his snake bracelet and take Gauri by the hand;
When [they] meander to that mountain, since [they are] going there by foot to play,
With your body wandering about, you should release your great inner water;
Having made [yourself] a footstool for those going up, please have them reach there comfortably.

Verse 63 (M64/V61/D61)

rigs gnas der ni khyod kyis chu rnams skyugs par byas pas nges par nang na med pa na/
lha yi na chung rnams kyis khyod ni 'khrul¹²⁰ 'khor gyis bzung khang bzangs nang du khyer bar
byed |
kwa ye grogs bzang tsha bas gdungs pa de rnams ched du gal te khyod ni mi gtong na/
rol sgeg g.yo ba'i mdzes ma de rnams rna bar rtsub pa'i sgra chen bsgrags pas 'jigs par bya |

Surely, after forcing out your waters into that place of lineage,¹²¹ if you have nothing left inside,

The young divine maidens will try to imprison you through sorcery in their palaces.

¹¹⁷ Dergé, Coné: *lag pa dag la*

¹¹⁸ Dergé: *kyang*

¹¹⁹ Dergé, Coné: *bkab par*

¹²⁰ Possibly a mistake for *'phrul*

¹²¹ The Sanskrit here reads *tatrâvaśyam*, or “There, by all means...”. There seems to be no Sanskrit equivalent here for *rigs gnas* (place of lineage) either in the root text or in any of the commentaries, which might suggest another Tibetan geographical interpolation. See Mallinātha 64, Vallabhadeva 61.

Oh my good friend, for the sake of those tormented by the heat [of passion] if you don't
release [your rains],
With your great sounds, harsh to the ear, you will frighten those beautiful sensuous
women!

Verse 64 (M65/V62/D62)

*chu thigs dag gis bran pa dang ldan dri bzhon gyis bskyod dpag bsam shing¹²² la g.yo bzhin du /
khyod kyi grib 'od shell tar dkar ba'i gos¹²³ kyis rid bang de ni yongs su g.yogs¹²⁴ bya zhing/
yid 'ong chub o bzhi yi rgyun nig ser¹²⁵ gyi chu skyes gsar pa ltar de'ang¹²⁶ 'thung ba dang/
sa srung bu yi gdong pa'i gos ni ci 'dod spyad cing dga' ba'ang skad cig bya bar mdzod/*

The wind—moist with [your] drops of water—moves as if to agitate the wish-fulfilling trees;
Your light—as if it were a crystal-like garment—pervasive, will cover that Lord of mountains
[Airavatā].¹²⁷
You should drink at the continuous four streams¹²⁸ [whose waters] are like fresh golden lotuses;
Serving as a garment for the face of Indra's mount, although pleased, you should cry out!

Verse 65 (M66/V63/D63)

*kwa ye 'dod bzhin rgyu byed khyod ni des¹²⁹ las rgal tshe lcang lo ldan ma shes par 'gyur/
slar yang ri de g.yo ldan gang gā'i chu gos ldan ma'i bdag po bzhin du mi mthong min/
mthong¹³⁰ ba'i gzhāl med khang steng char sprin che las khyod kyi chu byas skyugs byas dus su
ni¹³¹ /
gang zhig 'dod ldan ma ni len bu mu tig dra bas bsgrigs pa'i phreng ba ldan pa bzhin/*

¹²² Peking, Narthang: *zhing*

¹²³ Peking, Narthang: *'od*

¹²⁴ Peking, Narthang : *ri dbang de ni g.yogs*

¹²⁵ Peking, Narthang : *yid 'ong mtsho ni gser*

¹²⁶ Peking, Narthang : *chu skyes ge sar ldan de'ang*

¹²⁷ This is a reference to Airavatā, Indra's elephant mount.

¹²⁸ This refers to Lake Manasā.

¹²⁹ Peking, Narthang: *de*

¹³⁰ Peking, Narthang: *mtho*

¹³¹ Peking, Narthang: *khyod kyis chu skyug byas dus ni*

Oh [cloud], as you roam to your heart's desire and cross there, you will recognize Changlochen;
 Surely you will once again see that mountain—lord-like, wearing the moving waters of the
 Ganges as his garment;
 When, on sight, you release your great rains on top of the temple,
 Those beautiful women [too] will appear to have waves from the lattices of pearls in their braids.

Verse 66 (Uttaramegha begins for M, D: M1/V64/D1)

*khyod la glog 'od ldan bzhin sgeg pa'i mdzes ma dang dbang po'i gzhu bzhin bkra bar ldan/
 snyan pa'i dbyangs ni zab pa bzhin du glu dbyangs dag dang rol mo'i dbyangs snyan rnams dang
 ldan/
 chu yi snying po can bzhin sa gzhi nor bu'i rang bzhin mtho bzhin rtse mo mkha' la reg/
 gang du khyad par de rnams kyis ni khyod dang khang bzangs mtshungs pa'i ched du nor bur¹³²
 ldan /*

Like you have your [lover] Lightning, [Changlochen] has graceful women (*sgeg pa'i mdzes ma*)
 who are colorful[ly decorated] like a rainbow;
 Like your profound and lovely voice, [Changlochen] is endowed with the beautiful sounds of
 songs and music;
 Like you— beautiful with water— [Changlochen] is endowed with tall roofs inlaid with jewels
 that reach the sky!
 There, one is able to compare all the differences between you and the temple.

Verse 67 (M2/V65/D2)

*gang du na chung rnams ni lag pad mdzes shing lan bu'i kun da gzhon nu'i skra ni 'ching/
 gdong gi chu skyes 'dzum zhing dkar ba'i ge sar dpal ni gsar pa dag gis mdzes byas shing/
 gtsug phud ku ru ba ka'i me tog zhags pas bcings pa mdzes shing rna bar utpal can/
 skra mtshams bkra ba'i me tog dag dang ldan pa'ang khyod ni nye bar 'ongs las skyes pa¹³³ yin/*

Where the young maidens have lovely lotus-like hands, their hair bound in braids;
 The lotuses that are their faces are smiling; the brilliance of the fresh white lotus blossoms
 creating beauty;
 Peacocks (gtsug phud) beatifully bound with a string of *kuruva* flowers, which they wear as ear-
 ornaments;
 The parts in their hair are decorated with the multi-colored flowers that your arrival has
 produced!

¹³² Peking, Narthang: *nus par*

¹³³ Peking, Narthang: *skye ba*

...
Verse 71 (M8/V68/D5)

*gang du chu 'dzin sa steng gnas rnams 'dren byed rtag 'gros gzhal med khang nang ded pa na /
gang zhig rang gi chu thigs dag gis bkra ba'i ri mo rnams la 'phral du skyon byung nas /
ngo tsha¹³⁴ reg pa bzhin du khyod 'dra dum bu dum bu dag tu 'thon par byed pa ni /
dra mig rnams kyi nang nas du ba zhugs pa 'thon pa rnams kyi rjes su byed pa bzhin /*

Where, oh cloud, those resting on the ground are led, chased by the wind, into the palace;
Where the multicolored paintings are quickly ruined by your water drops,
And, as if embarrassed, like you leave [the palace]!
[Clouds of] smoke [from incense] emerges from inside the window-lattices, as if following
[you].

Verse 72 (M9/V67/D6)

*gang du bud med mchog rnams bdag pos¹³⁵mchog gis¹³⁶ kun nas 'khyud pa rnams ni btang ba
na/
lus ni kun nas gdung bar byed la zla ba chu shel srad bu'i dra ba 'phyang ba can /
khyod kyis bsgribs pa med cing dkar ba'i zla ba'i 'od rnams gsal bar mthong bar gyur pa na /
chu thigs 'bab pa kun nas byugs pas zhi bar byed cing mchog tu dga' ba skyed pa nyid /*

Where, when the husbands of excellent women release their firm embrace,
These bodies are in complete torment; since the moon, hanging down in lattices of crystal,
Is not obscured by you, if you should see the clear white beams of the moon,
Clearing away [their torment] by spreading water drops all over, [you] will delight [them]!

Verse 73 (M14/V71/D7)

*gang du gnod sbyin bdag po'i grogs bzang lha nyid mngon sum nyid du gnas pa shes byas nas /
'jigs pa mang las yid srubs gzhu ni rkang drug pa yi gzhu rgyud can de dor bas chog /
bdag po'i 'ben la mdzes ma'i smin ma 'khyog po'i gzhu la zur mig g.yo ba dag gi mda' /
rol sgeg g.yo ba rtsom par byed pa nyid kyis de yi 'bras bu nges par grub pa nyid /*

Having realized that the god [Shiva]—good friend to the lord of *yakṣa*-s—lives there,
Out of much fear, Kāmadeva may discard his rainbow-bow;

¹³⁴ Peking, Narthang: *ngo tshas*

¹³⁵ Peking, Narthang: *bud med rnams kyi bdag po*

¹³⁶ Peking, Narthang: *gi*

For, [his] target being the lord's [heart], [his] bow[string] the beautiful curve of eyebrows and [his] arrows the movements of her sidelong glances;
Beginning these sensual movements, he surely makes his mark!

Verse 74 (M15/V72/D8)

*de na nor gyi bdag po'i khang bzangs las ni byang gi phyogs na bdag gi grong khyer ni |
mtho ris bdag po'i gzhu dang dra ba'i rta babs mdzes pas ring nas mtshan¹³⁷ par byas pa ste |
gang gi skyed tshal¹³⁸ manda ra dang ljong shing gzhon nu bdag gi mdzes ma'i bu ltar ni |
bskyangs pa'i mthu las 'phel¹³⁹ ba'i me tog chun 'phyang thur du 'phyang ba lag pas thob bya
yod/*

There, to the North of this master's palace, is my city;
The upper areas have long beautiful archways colored like Indra's rainbow;
Where there is a garden with a young *mandara* tree that is like a baby to my lover;
There are heaps of flowers hanging down, reachable by hand, due to [my lover's] care.

Verse 75 (M16/V73/D9)

*bkod ma bzang mo'i chu ni ma ra ka ta'i rdo yi phreng ba bsgrigs pa'i lam skas can |
'di nas¹⁴⁰ mdzes pa'i gser gyi padma rgyas pa rin chen rtsa ldan rnams kyis khyab pa ste |
gdung ba dang bral nang pa'i tshogs rnams dag ni ganghā'i chu la gnas par byas pa'i tsho |
khyod nyid yang dag mthong bar gyur kyang nye bar gnas pa'i yid 'ong mtsho las 'gro mi 'gyur |*

There is a water fountain around which the steps are inlaid with rows of *marakata* [emeralds];
It is surrounded also by jewels that actually are lotuses, beautiful and golden in color;
When the geese—free from torment—[go to] make their home at the Ganges River,
Though they see you, they will not budge from the nearby Lake Mānasa.

Verse 76 (M17/V74/D10)

*kwa ye grogs bzang khyod ni glog gi dga' ma g.yo bzhin nye bar mthong bar gyur pa na |
mtsho de'i ngogs na mdzes pa'i ri bo yid 'ong mchog gi in dra nī la rnams kyis ni |*

¹³⁷ Dergé, Coné: 'tsham

¹³⁸ Peking, Narthang: gang gi skied tshal nas manda ra

¹³⁹ Peking, Narthang: bskyangs pa'i 'phel

¹⁴⁰ Peking, Narthang: 'di na

*rtse mo mdzes par byas par gsar gyi bskor ba rnams¹⁴¹ kyis bskor ba khyod kyis blta bya ba /
bdag gi dga' ma dga' byed dang bcas de nyid sems gdungs bdag ni shin tu dran par gyur/*

O friend, if you should see the movement of your lover, Lightning,
It is because on the shore of that lake there are beautiful mounds with captivatingly choice
indranīla [stones]!
The peaks are made beautiful, surrounded by fresh trees! You will see
My lover there with a *cadamba* tree; I am tormented recalling this.

Verse 77 (M18/V75/D11)

*de la ku ru ba ka'i shing gis bskor ba'i yal ga'i khang bzangs dang ldan nye ba na /
mya ngan med shing dmar dang ke sa ra yi shing chen yal 'dab g.yo ba mdzes pa yod/
gcig la khyod kyi grogs su gyur pa'i dga' ma bdag¹⁴² dang bcas pa'i g.yon pas bsgrun 'dod cing /
gzhan la gdong gi chang 'thungs me tog 'byung ba'i don du dga' ma de ni bdag 'dod gyur /*

Nearby there is a house whose branches are surrounded by *kuruvaka* plants;
It is beautiful with red Ashoka trees and large foliage from *kesara* plants swaying [in the breeze];
The former wants to be kicked by the left foot of my lover—along with me—who has become
your friend;
The latter wants to drink wine from her face—along with me—in order to produce flowers.

Verse 78 (M19/V76/D12)

*de yi dbus na rab dkar shel gyi gzhi la gser gyi sdong po che zhing mtho bar gnas /
rtsa rin chen phreng bas bcings pa rdo rje pha lam che ba min pa 'od 'phro ba /
gang la khyod kyi grogs bzang mgrin sngon gnas nas nyin phyed song tshe rol sgeg gar byed
cing/
bdag gi mdzes ma rin chen gdu bu 'thab pa'i dbyangs snyan skal bzang mchog tu mdzes pa yod/*

On a flat slab of white crystal in the midst of that, golden flowers grow, stretching tall;
A peak, decorated with rows of jewels, radiates light from even the not-large diamonds!
Your good friend the peacock lives there; when the day has half gone, he is made to dance
sensibly,
[Inspired] by the pleasant and extremely meritorious sound my beloved makes with her jewel-
studded bracelet!

¹⁴¹ Peking, Narthang: *mdzes par byas pa gser gyi ljon pa rnams*

¹⁴² Peking, Narthang: *grogs su gyur ma bdag*

Verse 79 (M20/V77/D13)

*de rnams kyis ni legs par mtshan pa kwa ye legs pa'i thugs 'dzin khyod kyis blta bar bya/
sgo yi mtha' dang nye ba dag na dung dang padma'i gzugs bris mthong bar byas pa na/
da lta bdag dang bral bar gyur pas nges par mdzes pa dman pa nyid du gnas par nges/
nyi ma nub par gyur pas nges par padma dag gis mdzes pa nyams par gyur pa nyid/*

Because of those things—being well-marked and fixed in your mind—you should look
Near the door frame! If you should see images of conch shells and lotuses painted there,
Being separated from me now, surely [its] beauty will have gone into decline;
[Just as,] after the sun has set, the beauty [of] lotuses is sure to be ruined!

Verse 80 (M21/V78/D14)

*mdzes ma de ni yongs su bskyangs ched myur du gshegs nas glang phrug lus bzhin chung ba yis /
mdzes pa'i ri bo de yi ngos la gnas nas dang por legs bshad snyan pa'i gsung gleng mdzod /
bdag gi khang nang 'jug tshe me khyer phreng ba lta bu'i chung shing chung ba ni /
mdzes shing rol pa'i smin ma g.yo¹⁴³ ba'i glog gi mig ni byas nas khyod kyis blta bar 'os /*

Hurry quickly in order to take care of [my] beloved! With your body diminished to that of a
small elephant,
Resting on the front of that hill, make first a pleasant sound!
When you enter my house, you will be split into small [pieces] like rows of fireflies;
It is fitting that you should look at [her], lovely, playfully winking her eyes [like] Lightning.

Verse 81 (M22/V79/D15)

*de na bdag gi dga' ma lus phra mdog mdzes gnyis skyes bkra ba'i phra lam mchu dag ni/
bimpa¹⁴⁴ smin pa bskyed pa¹⁴⁵ phra zhing 'dren byed g.yo ba'i ri dwags mig can lte ba dma'/
ro smad sbom zhing dal gyis 'gro mkhas 'o ma 'dzin pa dag gi bar dag mchog tu mdzes/
na chung dag gi yul la mngon du zhen par¹⁴⁶ byed po tshangs pas dang po nyid du gyur¹⁴⁷/*

My beloved: her body is thin; her complexion beautiful; her lips delicate and colored like a bird;

¹⁴³ Peking, Narthang: *rol ba'i g.yo*

¹⁴⁴ Dergé, Coné: *bil ma*

¹⁴⁵ Peking, Narthang: *skyes pa*

¹⁴⁶ Peking, Narthang: *mngon du zhen par* missing.

¹⁴⁷ Peking, Narthang: *nyid du spros pa nyid du 'gyur.*

Her waist is thin, [like] ripe *bimpa*¹⁴⁸ fruit; her eyes are the eyes of deer, darting about; her navel is deep;

Her hips and buttocks are full, and she is skilled at slow [sensual] movement; [From there] up to her breasts, she is quite beautiful;

It is as if all the creators of the source of maidens had created her first!

Verse 82 (M23/V80/D16)

*gzhon ma de ni bdag gi srog ni gnyis par shes par mdzod cig*¹⁴⁹ *dal gyis smra bar bya |*
bdag dang lhan cig spyod la shin tu ring bar gyur te ngang mo gcig par gyur pa bzhin|
*'di la nyin zhag mang po 'ong ba rnams su yid la gcags*¹⁵⁰ *pa med pa nyid du gyur|*
*dgun smad pad ma can ni kha bas nyams pa bzhin du gzugs gzhan thob*¹⁵¹ *par bdag gis shes|*

Recognize this young woman as my second life, and speak to her soothingly;
[Though] joined to me, I am very far; [She] has become like a lone female goose!
As for this, the fact that many days have already come does not stick in her mind;
Like a lotus is destroyed by a winter frost, I know she will have attained a different form.

...

Verse 84 (M25/V82/D18)

*gtor ma byed pa'ang bral bas btud*¹⁵² *par gyur pa bdag 'dra yid*¹⁵³ *kyis rtogs bya 'dri ba'am |*
*snyan pa'i tshig gis smra ba'i sha ri ka ni gur gyi nang na gnas shing gnas pa la*¹⁵⁴ *|*
*kwa ye grogs mo de*¹⁵⁵ *yi dga' ba dran nam zhes pa'i dri ba byed pa bdag kyang ni*¹⁵⁶ *|*
*khyod ni mthong bar gyur pa na ni nga*¹⁵⁷ *ni mdun du 'ongs shing dga' bar byed par 'gyur|*

¹⁴⁸ Probably mistake for *bilpa*

¹⁴⁹ Dergé, Coné: *ces*

¹⁵⁰ Peking, Narthang: *bcags*

¹⁵¹ Narthang: *thos*

¹⁵² Peking, Narthang: *rdzud*

¹⁵³ Peking, Narthang: *gis*

¹⁵⁴ Peking: *gur gyi nang gnas pa la|* Narthang: *gur gyi nang na gnas pa la|*

¹⁵⁵ Peking, Narthang: *grogs mo rje bo de*

¹⁵⁶ Peking, Narthang: *dga' ma dran nam zhes pa'i dri ba byed kyang ni|*

¹⁵⁷ Peking, Narthang: *de*

She might be making offerings, or perhaps bent over due to [our] separation; or sketching an image of me, constructed in her head;

She sits with sweet-voiced Sharika who is sitting in a cage,

Asking again and again, “Dear friend, do you remember his love [for you]?”

When you see this [scene] before yourself; go and cheer her up!

Verse 85 (M26/V83/D19)

*kwa ye grogs bzang dri ma'i gos dang bcas pa'i rang gi pang par pi wang bzhang byas nas/
bdag gi ming nas bod¹⁵⁸ pas mtshan cing 'dod pa'i sbyangs snyan cher sgrogs snyan par gyur
pa'i tshe¹⁵⁹ |*

*rang gis byas par gyur kyang dbyangs snyan dum bu dum bur bcas nas¹⁶⁰ sems zhing yang yang
ni/*

mig chus brlan pa'i rgyud mangs cung zad phyi bar byas nas kyang ni de ni 'ong bar 'gyur/

Oh friend, her *vina* with a dirty cloth over it will be placed in her lap;

Calling out, marking my name in song, when she is beautifully singing lovely melodies of longing,

Although written by herself, [as if forgetting] her lovely voice breaks in pieces, in anguish again and again;

The instrument is wet from her tears; though she wipes off some, still they keep coming.

Verse 86 (M27/V84/D20)

bdag ni 'ongs pa'i nyin nas brtsams te nyin zhag dang ni zla ba song ba'i lhag ma rnams/

sa la rnam par 'god cing sgo yi nang du gangs kyi me tog rnams ni skyur bar byed |

*bdag cag¹⁶¹ nam ni phrad par 'gyur ram snyam pa snying la sems pa'i rtsom pa mang po byed |
phal cher bud med rnams ni bdag po bral bas yid kyi las kyis¹⁶² gdung ba mang po nyid |*

Counting the remaining days and months that have passed since the day I arrived [at Rāmagiri],

Creating a representation on the ground, in the doorway she tosses flowers [to keep tally];

She begins many times to imagine in her mind, thinking about when we will meet again;

¹⁵⁸ Peking, Narthang: 'bod

¹⁵⁹ Peking, Narthang: tshig

¹⁶⁰ Peking, Narthang: dbyangs snyan dum bur bcad nas |

¹⁶¹ Dergé, Coné: can

¹⁶² Dergé, Coné: gi

For most women, because of being separated from their lords, the mental activity is full of torment.

Verse 87 (M28/V86/D21)

*nyi mo'i bar la bya ba dang ldan bdag dang bral las de ltar shin tu min¹⁶³ na yang/
mtshan mo shin tu ring las khyod kyi grogs mo bya med gdung ba che bar bdag gis shes/
legs ma mtshan ring rnams la gnyid bral snyan med sa la nyal tshe dra mig nye bar ni/
gnas nas blta bya bdag gi phrin rnams bzlas pa rnams ni bde ba'i ched du nus pa nyid/*

During the day, busy with activities she is not tormented;
But during the long nights, oh friend, with nothing to do I know she will suffer greatly;
My love, unable to sleep during these long nights; when she sleeps on the ground, go near the window;
You will see her; If you read her messages from me, you'll be able to cheer her up!

Verse 88 (M29/D22, not in V)

*bral bas lhag par gdungs pas sa yi gzhi la gzhogs gcig brten¹⁶⁴ te nyal bar gyur pa ni/
tshes gcig zla ba shar ba cha gcig lhag ma rtsa bar gnas pa'i lus bzhin du ni gyur/
bdag dang lhan cig gnas tshe 'dod pa'i dga' ma rnams kyi¹⁶⁵ mtshan mo skad cig bzhin du song/
dang de da ltar bral ba las skyes mchi ma dron mo rnams bcas shin tu ring ba nyid/*

Because of suffering due to separation she will be sleeping on one side on the ground;
Slightly more than a sliver of the waxing moon, her body [thin] as if resting in a complete line;
When we were together, nights in which lovers were desirous passed like an instant.
But now, full of hot tears born from separation, they pass slowly.

Verse 89 (M31/V88/D23)

*khrus kyis dag¹⁶⁶ cing yangs shing rtsub pa'i skra yi len bu 'gram pa dag las 'phyang na rnams/
dbugs kyi rlung gis sel bar byed pa rnams la mchu yi 'dab ma dag ni dal bar nges/
gnyid ni 'dod pa med cing bdag dang phrad pa las byung gnyid ni cung zad 'byung 'gyur zhes/*

¹⁶³ Peking, Narthang: *shin tu gdung min*

¹⁶⁴ Peking, Narthang: *brtan*

¹⁶⁵ Peking, Narthang: *kyis*

¹⁶⁶ Peking, Narthang: *bdag*

dga' ma de ni 'dren byed mchi ma dang bcas shin tu gdungs pa mthong bas¹⁶⁷ 'gog par byed/

Her braids of hair [usually] clean from bathing are [now] harsh, hanging down against her cheeks;
She blows [the strands] away from her face, but [eventually] her lips will certainly tire;
Not wanting to sleep [either out of torment or not wanting 'restful' sleep!], thinking she will get little sleep due to dreaming about union with me;
Tormented, her tear-filled eyes will block her vision [of me].

Verse 90 (M32/V85/D24)

*bdag gis bcings pa'i spyi gtsug len bu bral ba'i nyi ma dang po nyid la dor byas nas/
len bu rnams ni gcig gyur reg pa rsub pa mi bzad 'gram pa dag la gnas pa las/
sen mo ring ba'i lag pas reg pa'i nyon mongs ldan pas lan cig min par sgyur¹⁶⁸ byed ma/
rje bo khros pa'i bka' lung rdzogs pa¹⁶⁹ gdung bral gyur pa bdag gis gang bde dgrol¹⁷⁰ bar bya/*

The braid I tied on top of her head the first day has been left alone;
Her braids have become unbearably harsh to the touch, hanging against her cheek;
As she pushes back a braid, her hands with long fingernails afflict [her face, scratching it].
When the master's command due to anger is finished, free from torment I will undo [her braids].

...

Verse 94 (M33/V91/D26)

*mdzes ma de ni rgyan rnams yang dag bzhag cing lus ni shin tu phra la¹⁷¹ 'dzin byed cing /
gdung ba'i sdug bsngal dag gis¹⁷² mal stan steng na yang dang yang du 'dre ldog byed pa na/
khyod kyang 'phral la chu yi rang bzhin mchi ma 'dzag pa nyid du 'gyur ba gdon mi za /
phal ches¹⁷³ thams cad nang gi bdag nyid bstan pas¹⁷⁴ snying rje ci yang 'jug par 'gyur pa nyid /*

¹⁶⁷ Peking, Narthang: *gdungs pas mthong ba*

¹⁶⁸ Peking, Narthang: *skyur*

¹⁶⁹ Peking, Narthang: *rdzogs che*

¹⁷⁰ Peking, Narthang: *de bgrol*

¹⁷¹ Peking, Narthang: *phra ba*

¹⁷² Peking, Narthang: *gi*

¹⁷³ Peking, Narthang: *phal cher*

¹⁷⁴ Peking, Narthang: *brlan pas*

That beautiful woman, leaving behind her ornamentation, her body having grown thin;
 Suffering in anguish, when she tosses and turns again and again on the bed,
 You too, whose essence is water, will certainly quickly become [like] a trickling tear;
 Most people's nature being moist [with compassion]—they would engage in most any [form of]
 compassion [at such a sight].

Verse 95 (M34/V90/D27)

*kwa ye grogs po khyod kyi grogs mo bdag la mdza' ba mang du 'dzin pa bdag gis shes/
 de phyir de ltar gyur pa rnams ni dang par bral la de ni bdag la sems par byed/
 skal bzang nang gi bsam pa dag gis brjod pa nges par brdzun min bden par shes pa ni/
 bdag gis gang gang brjod pa ma lus yun ring min par khyod la mngon sum nyid du 'gyur/*

I know that your good friend has much affection for me
 Since that is the case, she has thought of [only] me since the first day of separation;
 Know [all] this to be true—not lies—auspicious inner thoughts that are conveyed;
 Whatever I am saying right now, you will swiftly and completely comprehend.

Verse 96 (M35/V92/D28)

*len bu rnams kyis mig zur gnyis po g.yo ba 'gog cing mig sman byug pas gtong ba dang/
 nyes par byed pa nam yang med par gyur las smin ma'i rnam 'gyur brjed par 'gyur na yang/
 khyod ni yang¹⁷⁵ la ri dwags mig can 'dren byed steng ni g.yo bar byed par bdag gis shes/
 gang zhig nya yis bskyod las chu skyes g.yo ba'i dpal ni 'dzin par byed pa nyid dang mtshungs/*

Her braids block both her sidelong glances; she has given up applying eye makeup;
 And although from disuse she has forgotten the [flirtatious] movements of eyebrows;
 I know when you come it will cause her to show you the movements of her deer-like eyes;
 And cause her to [once again] understand this, which will be beautiful like lotuses waving from
 the movements of fish.

Verse 97 (M36/V93/D29)

*de yi bdag gi lag pa'i sen mo'i rjes ni med cing mu tig rnams kyi dra ba ni/
 yun ring nyid nas 'dor bar byas par gyur cing longs spyod nyid kyis¹⁷⁶ rdzogs pa'i mtha' ru ni/
 bdag gis¹⁷⁷ lag pa rnams kyis mnyes par byas pa med kyang khyod 'ongs skal bzang dbang gis ni/*

¹⁷⁵ Peking, Narthang: *yongs*

¹⁷⁶ Peking, Narthang: *kyi*

¹⁷⁷ Peking, Narthang: *gi*

de yi chu shing gsar pa'i sdong po¹⁷⁸ brla yang g.yon pa g,yo ba nyid ni thob par gyur/

The nailmarks from my hand are no longer present; The string of pearls
Have been long abandoned; At the end of sexual enjoyment
My hands not being able to stroke her, because of your kind messages
Her left thigh, like a yellow [plaintain tree] will start to quiver.

Verse 98 (M37/V94/D30)

*kwa ye chu 'dzin de la de yi dus su gal te bde ba'i gnyid ni thob gyur na/
de tshe khyod ni thun tshod bar du sgra sgrogs min par lhan cig dag tu gnas par mdzod/
de yi bdag por gyur pa bdag la dka' tshegs chen pos thob par 'gyur ba'i rmi lam ni/
mgrin par lag pa'i 'khri shing dag gis che bar 'khyud pa'i mdud pa 'phral la gtong bar byed/*

Oh friend, if she should happen to get some restful sleep at that time,
Until a later time, refrain from making too much of your dragon-like sound;
[In her] dreams she will attain me with great difficulty;
[So that] the tight embrace by [my] vine-like hands around her neck, [will not be] released too
quickly.

Verse 99 (M38/V95/D31)

*rang gi chu yi thigs pa bsil bas bsgos pa'i rlung gi mā la ta ya rnams kyis¹⁷⁹ ni/
shin tu gzhon pa'i me tog bcas pa de ni bsld¹⁸⁰ nas kyang ni de yi dbugs dbyung mdzod/
khyod ni glog gi 'dren byed g.yo zhing g.yo¹⁸¹ ba khyod mdog dang mtshungs gnas su gnas nyas
nas/
khengs ldan ma la 'brug dbyangs tshig ni snyan pa'i brjod pa khyod kyis yang yang rtsom par
mdzod/*

By your cool water drops, with wind perfumed by sandalwood blossoms,
Containing young flowers, Cause her to awake again;
She will be like your complexion, you, moving your lightning-eyes;
To that woman [now] puffed-up [like a peacock], you should compose pleasing words expressed
[through] your dragon-sound.

¹⁷⁸ Peking, Narthang: *sdong po dkar ba'i*

¹⁷⁹ Peking, Narthang: *rlung gis ma la ti yi rnams kyis*

¹⁸⁰ Peking, Narthang: *slad*

¹⁸¹ Peking, Narthang: *glog gi 'dren g.yo*

Verse 100 (M39/V96/D32)

*ka ye khyod ldan chu gzhon ming can bdag ni rje yi grogs bzang yin par shes par mdzod /
de yi 'phrin¹⁸² snyan yid la bzung nas khyod kyi drung du nye bar 'ongs par gyur pa nyid /
bdag gi sgra ni bsgrags tshe lam bgrod dub pa'i tshogs rnams sgo yi nang du 'bros par byed /
snyan pa'i sgra dbyang rnams kyis bud med lan¹⁸³ bu 'grol zhing 'dod pas gzir bar mtshon par
byed /*

“O [friend], know that I am a good friend of your husband’s by the name of a young cloud;
Keeping his pleasant messages in my heart I have come before you;
When my voice resounds, those weary, traveling on the road are caused to flee indoors;
My pleasant sounds cause the braids of women to be undone, indicating their being tormented by
desire.”

...

Verse 102 (M41/V98/D34)

*ka ye tshe ldan bdag gi tshig dang nyid kyis kyang ni de la phan pa'i ched du ni /
khyod kyi rgyal po mchog gi rgyal po rā ma'i ri yi¹⁸⁴ gnas shing 'tsho ba nyid /
khyod ni spang par gyur pa la ka ye mdzes ma dge'am 'dri zhes de ltar smra bar mdzod /
gang phyir skye bo rnams ni byed pa nyams la dang por 'dra'i dbugs dbyung byed pa nyid /*

O venerable one, by just my words, in order to help her, say this [to her]:
“Your King is is alive and living at the supreme King Rama’s mountain residence.
Having abandoned you, o beautiful one, he asks if you are well.”
For, towards people whose activity has declined, assurance is given first.

Verse 103 (M42/V99/D35)

*lus kyi nang nas shin tu phra bas phra gyur dang ni shin tug dung bas gdungs gyur dang /
mchi ma 'dzags pas mchi ma 'dzag gyur che bar phrad 'dod nyid kyi¹⁸⁵ phrad 'dod mchog tu
gyur /
dbugs dron shugs rings lhags pas dbugs dron shugs rings mchog tu lhags gyur ring nas 'jug pa
can /
bsod nams chom rkun dag gis lam bkag gyur cing de rnams yid la sim zhing 'jug pa yin /*

¹⁸² Peking, Narthang: *phrin*

¹⁸³ Dergé, Coné: *len*

¹⁸⁴ Dergé, Coné: *ra ma yi ri*

¹⁸⁵ Peking, Narthang and Golden: *kyis*

As your body grows thin, so does [his]; As [you] suffer torment, so does [he];
 As your tears fall, so does [his]; As your desire to meet increases so does [his];
 As you heave deep, warm sighs, so does [he];
 Because of merit diminished as if robbed, the road to meeting being blocked, [he] joins you in
 sorrow.

...

Verse 110 (M48/V105/D41)

*thun gsum [mun pa] can ma thun ring gyur pa skad cig bzhin du bsdus pa ci ltar yin /
 nyin par yang ni gnas skabs kun tu cung zad gdung ba'ng ji ltar gyur pa yin /
 ka ye 'dren byed g.yo ba de ltar gyur pas bdag sems don gnyer skal pa dman par gyur /
 khyod dang bral ba'i gdung ba [mang bo] rnams dang che ba'i sdug bsngal rnams kyis brtan par
 min par byas /¹⁸⁶*

How did the long, [dark] nights pass like an instant?
 In the days too, how did all the occasions pass with so little suffering?
 O trembling-eyed one, just like that, my mind has low fortune [regarding its] efforts;
 The torments and great [many] sufferings from being separated from you cause me to be
 unstable.

Verse 111 (M49/V111/D42)

*bdag ni zhag grangs mang po'i bdag nyid bgrang zhing nang gi bsam pas mi 'chi bar ni shes /
 kwa ye dge legs ldan ma khyod kyang mya ngan mang po shin tu bya ba ma yin te /
 bde ba mtha' gcig ldan pas¹⁸⁷ su yin rtag tu sdug bsngal mtha' gcig pa yang su zhig yin /
 de dag 'khor lo'i¹⁸⁸ rtsibs ni cung zad 'og tu 'gro zhing steng du'ang rim gyis bskor¹⁸⁹ ba bzhin /*

[But], considering the nature of counting the many days [apart], I know it will not end;

¹⁸⁶ In the Peking and Narthang recensions *mun pa* is missing; In the Dergé/Coné recensions *yun ring* is used in place of *thun ring*. These differences are curious since the descriptor *mun pa* (darkness) does not occur in any of the Sanskrit editions of this verse. However, *thun ring* is an older form than *yun ring* and thus more likely to be prior indicating that the Peking/Narthang recension here may be more accurate. However, *pāda* four of the Peking/Narthang recension of this verse additionally includes the word *mang bo* (missing from Dergé/Coné) editions. The addition of these two syllables to the fourth *pāda* brings the total to 21 syllables—two more than the typical meter for this translation, therefore I find it likely this is an interpolation.

¹⁸⁷ Peking, Narthang: *ldan pa*

¹⁸⁸ Dergé, Coné: *lo*

¹⁸⁹ Peking, Narthang : *'khor ba* (as in *samsāra*)

Oh excellent one, you also should not [trouble yourself] with [so] many sufferings;
For who is there with absolute happiness, and who is there also with absolute suffering?
These things are [like] spokes of a wheel: after going a little down, they go up again, as if
alternating in a circle.

Verse 112 (M50/V107/D43)

*khyab 'jug lag 'gro'i gnas na gnyid las langs tshe rje bo khros pa'i bka' lung rdzogs pa nyid/
de la zla bzhin¹⁹⁰ yod de bar mig ni zum par byas nas khyod ni gnas par mdzod/
phyi nas bdag cag gnyis ni yun ring bral bar¹⁹¹ las byung 'dod pa'i longs spyod de thob ste/
ston ka'i zla ba rdzogs pa'i mtshan ma¹⁹² rnams la 'dod pa'i longs spyod de dag ldan par 'gyur/*

My lord's angry command will be finished when Vishu rises from sleep, resting on a serpent;
Until then, like the moon, rest with your eyes closed.
After that, our desired enjoyment arising from long separation will be attained;
The desired enjoyment will be found in the attributes of a spring full moon.¹⁹³

Verse 113 (M51/V108/D44)

*yang ni brjod pa sngon ni bdag dang khyod ni mal stan gnas na mgrin 'khyud gnyis song bas |
bdag ni phral la rab tu sad par gyur nas ci yang ngu bar byas par gyur pa na¹⁹⁴ |
nang nas rgod pa dang bcas lan ni cig min par khyod kyis bdag la dri ba brjod pa na |
kwa ye g.yo ma 'ga' zhig dang yang dga' byed rmi lam mthong zhes¹⁹⁵ bdag gis khyod la'o |*

He further said, “Once before when you and I had gone to sleep, lying together in bed
embracing,

I woke up suddenly; [you] were crying for some reason;
Agitated from this, you asked me not just once, saying,
‘In a dream I saw [you] having fun with some cheating woman!’”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ Peking, Narthang: *zla ba bzhi*

¹⁹¹ Peking, Narthang: *ba*

¹⁹² Peking, Narthang: *mtshan mo*

¹⁹³ Also possibly “The desired enjoyment will be found in the full-moon spring nights” (*mtshan mo* for *mtshan ma*)

¹⁹⁴ Peking, Narthang: *ni*

¹⁹⁵ Peking, Narthang: *rmi lam du mthong zhes pa*

¹⁹⁶ *yang ni brjod pa sngon ni bdag dang khyod ni mal stan gnas na mgrin 'khyud gnyis song bas | bdag ni phral la rab tu sad par gyur nas ci yang ngu bar byas par gyur pa na* [Peking, Narthang: *ni*] / *nang nas rgod pa dang bcas*

Verse 114 (M52/V109/D45)

*de las*¹⁹⁷ *bdag ni khyod la mtshan ma bzang po sbyin par byed pa yin par rig byas nas |*
ka ye 'dren byed dkar min skye bo ngan pa'i tshig las bdag la mi gus 'os ma yin |
gang phyir bral bas gdungs pa longs spyod bral la de rnams mdza' bo'i brjod pa ci zhid yin |
*dngos po rnams ni mthong tshe mchog tu dga' ba'i ro ni mang ba'i*¹⁹⁸ *phung po nyid du 'gyur |*

Rather, realizing that I am generous, [and have] excellent characteristics,
O dark-eyed one, the words of wicked people are not worthy of respect;
For, a friend would say: “torment due to separation is free from enjoyment”
[But] when [she] sees these concrete things, [her] taste for love will become many heaps.

Verse 115 (M53/D includes in parenthesis after 45, V omits)

'di rnams kyis ni dang por bral bas gdungs par gyur pa'i grogs mo de ni dbugs dbyung mdzod/
mig gsum pa yi khyu mchog lta bur dkar ba'i kai lā sha yi ri las slar ldog bya|
de la'ang rang gi dge ba'i mtshan ma khyer 'ongs de dang de ni bdag la bshad par bya|
khyod ni kun de'i ge sar g.yo ldan myur 'gro rnams kyis bskul byas myur bar 'ong bar bya|

By these [concrete] things, that friend who is experiencing the torment from first separation, may
her suffering be relieved!
You should then turn back from the Kailash mountain, white as the three-eyed one's bull,
And bring to me your good attributes; explain them to me;
Come quickly, encouraged by the quick movements of filaments of Kunda flowers!

Verse 116 (M54/V110/D46)

kwa ye grogs bzang khyod kyis bdag gi gnyen 'dun dag tu cung zad gnas pa 'di byas nas/
slar yang 'phrin rnams brtan pa khyod las nges par bdag la 'ong bar 'gyur zhes bdag sems so |
*tsā ta ka*¹⁹⁹ *rnams sgra med par yang chu ni sbyin par mdzod ces khyod la zhu bar sems/*
gang phyir skye bo rnams la 'dod par gyur pa rnams kyi bya ba'i don nyid lan gyi tshig|

Oh my good friend, having made your home with my relative for just a bit,
Moreover, I think that this news from you will certainly be steady;

lan ni cig min par khyod kyis bdag la dri ba brjod pa na | kwa ye g.yo ma 'ga' zhid dang yang dga' byed rmi lam
mthong zhes [Peking, Narthang: rmi lam du mthong zhes pa] bdag gis khyod la'o |

¹⁹⁷ Dergé, Coné: *de la*

¹⁹⁸ Dergé, Coné: *ri ni mang bo*

¹⁹⁹ Some versions seem to typographically render this as *tsū ta ka*.

I think even the chātaka birds, are soundlessly given water [by you];
Since accomplishing the desire of beings in need is [in itself] an answer.

Verse 117 (M55/V111/D47)

*ka ye chu 'dzin gdung ldan bdag gi brjod pa bdag gi sems la don gnyer dga' ba yi |
tshogs 'di byams par gyur pa'am rjes su [rab tu]²⁰⁰ brtse ba'i bslos ni 'di rnam kun byas nas |
khyod kyang 'dod pa'i yul ni thob cing mdzes pa'i char sprin tshogs 'dzin dpal dang ldan pa
dang|
glog ma dang yang nam yang mi 'bral gyur cig de bzhin kun kyang dge zhing shis gyur cig |*

O Cloud, having taken care of me, conveying the words of me, tormented;
Whether you are being kind [to me, showing] heaps of affection, or whether you are of a
compassionate mind;
May you attain your desired object, may you be glorious with heaps of beautiful rain clouds, and
May you never be separated from Lightning, and likewise may all of [us] also receive virtue and
blessings!

[Colophon]

*snyan ngag mkhan chen po nag mo'i khol gyis mdzad pa'i sprin gyi pho nya rdzogs so /// blo
gros dang snying rje dang / brtul ba dang nges pa dang / gtong ba la sogs pa'i yon tan phul du
phyung ba dpag tu med pas spras pa'i dpon chen nam mkha' brtan pa'i bka' lung gis / kha che'i
paṇḍi ta snyan ngag mkhan chen po su ma na shrī dang / zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba mang du thos
pa'i dge slong byang chub rtse mo dang / lo tsā bar gtogs pa lung rigs smra ba nam mkha' bzang
pos dpal sa skya'I gtsug lag khang chen por bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa //*

*gang zhig thugs dgongs rnam par dag pa yis //
'di la bskul zhing mthun rkyen bsgrubs pa dang //
bdag cag 'bad las bsod namgs gang bsgrubs pas //
'khor ba las rgal sku gsum thob par shog //
byang gi bdag po'i gsung bzang las //
snyan ngag 'di ni bod skad du //
kha che paṇ chen dang lhan cig //
dge slong byang chub rtse mos bsgyur //*

'dis 'gro ba dpag tu med pa la phan thogs nas bkra shis shing bde legs su gyur cig.

²⁰⁰ *rab tu* missing from Peking, Narthang editions.

Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger* is now finished. By the command of the great chief Namkha Tenpa—adorned with immeasurable excellent qualities such as intelligence (*blo gros*), compassion (*snying rje*), discipline (*brtul ba*), ascertainment (*nges pa*), renunciation (*gtong ba*), and so forth—the great Kashmiri poet-ṣaṅḍit Sumanaśrī, the famous Zhuchen Lotsāwa Gelong Jangchub Tsemo and the expounder of scripture and philosophy among Lotsāwas, Namkha Zangpo, at the great Sakya temple translated, revised, and edited it.

By completely purifying whatever thoughts
Encouraging these [qualities], favorable conditions are achieved;
By whatever merit we accomplish through effort,
May we cross over Samsāra and attain the three bodies [of the Buddha].
From the auspicious speech of the lord of the North
This poetry was translated into Tibetan
By the Kashmiri Ṣaṅḍit, together with Gelong Jangchub Tsemo.

By this [translation] may there be benefit to immeasurable beings, and may there be virtue and blessings.

**Kālidāsa in Tibet:
Messenger Poetry in Translation**

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