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Тезисы и доклады секции

ТИБЕТСКАЯ ПИСЬМЕННАЯ ТРАДИЦИЯ И СОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ

25–29 июня 2014 г.



The 6th International Conference
“Issues of Far Eastern Literatures”

Abstracts and papers of the panel

MODERNIZING THE TIBETAN LITERARY TRADITION

June 25–29, 2014

САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ

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MODERNIZING THE TIBETAN LITERARY TRADITION

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Tibetan Literature on the Rise: a Bibliographic Survey of Recent Publications

The Tibetan literary tradition is one of the largest in the world. Beginning with the earliest documents found in the caves of Dunhuang it comprises such giant collections as the Bkav-vgyur and Bstan-vgyur (Kanjur and Tanjur) translated from Sanskrit. A multitude of works of other literary genres — many but not all of them religious in character — have been produced by Tibetans for over a millenium. In spite of this remarkable creativity it does not seem to have happened before the twentieth century that the phenomenon of a Tibetan literature in a more modern sence can be observed, comprising things such as fiction, novels, short stories, lyric poetry, or essays. The paper will give a general survey of literary works published in both China and India since 1950. The survey is based on the Tibetan-language holdings of the State Library in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz) which represent a relatively extensive collection of post-war publications thanks to largely uninterrupted book collecting activites for a good sixty years. While the fifties, sixties and seventies were rather dire times for the publication of literary art in China, the nineteen-eighties saw the publication of about a hundred works that may be classified as literary works in the modern sense. For the nineties a remarkable rise

in numbers can be observed, followed by an even stronger increase in publication figures since the turn of the millenium. On the Indian side, exile Tibetans started to publish literary works around the same time, seemingly with some delay, and of course in smaller publication figures.

Bhoil Shelly (Panjab University)

Lotus Fields and the Budding Flowers: The Engagement of Tradition and Modernity in the Evolving New Tibetan Literature in English

Tradition and modernity, often seen as dichotomous concepts in the Western world-view, exhibit a rather dialectical relationship in the contemporary Eastern literatures. The communities in the East, especially the post-colonial nations, have nativized the Western modernities such as the English language and literary forms to suit their own emotional make-up and subjective histories. In the case of the dispossessed and aspiring national communities such as the exiled Tibetans, the embrace of modernity is as necessary as the urgency to preserve the tradition. This paper is a study of the engagement of tradition and modernity in the evolving New Tibetan Literature in English. A cross-cultural analysis of the context and content of the new literary writings in Tibetan exile illustrates that modern languages and literary forms are harnessed for the vocalization of the antiquity of the Tibetan national identity. What lies at the locus of the enunciation of these new writings is the precarious state-lessness of the Tibetan nation in Exile after the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959. The modernity as the agent of the national identity and tradition as the substance of this identity (as evident from the New Tibetan Literature in English) establish that tradition and modernity are contending instead of competing dualities in the case of Tibetan exile.

Butsyk Polina (Saint-Petersburg State University)

Tradition and Innovation: Tibetan Treatises on Music¹

Tibetan society till the middle of the 20th century had been very closed, traditional and strongly affected by Buddhist thought and culture. Tibetan art and traditional sciences had reflected these peculiar circumstances with accuracy and liveliness, so

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition

that all spheres of the people's cultural activities were permeated by the religious spirit and Buddhist thought. Music as a part of Tibetan Buddhist religious tradition was perceived by the Tibetans as an auxiliary spiritual practice that would be helpful for those who want to accumulate merit, to gain omniscience and Buddhahood and to benefit others. Among the learned monk-officials and intelligent Buddhist scholars popular music was left without much attention for the very reason of being the cause of distraction and wandering mind.

In the middle of the 20th century the dramatic developments of the “peaceful liberation of Tibet” in 1951 and Lhasa uprising in 1959 led to the fundamental changes in the social, cultural and political life of the Tibetans. Two Tibetan communities — in China and in India — began to acquire new ways of thinking, to accommodate themselves to new circumstances, to reevaluate their traditional culture in a whole, to construct new scientific approaches (in the modern paradigm) to understanding and preserving their cultural heritage. The policy of retaining cultural identity in India and the political line of providing cultural autonomy to national minorities in China helped to preserve many of the most important and unique traditions, customs, arts and religious practices of the Tibetans. In such a political environment music (religious as well as secular) became a worthwhile sphere of cultural activity and scientific research.

Taking this into consideration, we can carry out a comparative analysis of two Tibetan musical treatises of different historical epochs: “Treatise on music” written by the eminent Buddhist scholar of 13th century Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyeltsen and “Treatise on music — the song of gandharvas” written in 2005 by Jigme Wangchug Darshab, a modern Tibetan musician, and Jampel Kelden Darshab, a scholar of Tibetan language and culture.

“Treatise on music” by Sakya Pandita is almost the only theoretical writing on music in the history of medieval Tibet. Being the prominent Buddhist scholar of the so called Neoconservative movement, Sakya Pandita tried to realize an ideal of a learned Buddhist and to protect the true Doctrine from corruption and deterioration. His views were remarkable for their width and sound common sense, his knowledge was extremely broad and included different traditional sciences and arts. To reveal and to demonstrate his scholastic achievements to his contemporaries, and to help others to gain omniscience and Buddhahood, he wrote a lot of treatises, “Treatise on Music” being one of them. This composition is believed to have been written in 1204. It is a comparatively small theoretical writing on music consisting of three chapters: 1) On Melody; 2) About Words; 3) On the Way of Combining Words and Melody. Most likely, this writing is dedicated to musical activities, which were practiced in monasteries, rather than popular musical tradition, although there is a description of overall effect of music on social life and on a given personality.

“Treatise on Music — the Song of Gandharvas” is a pioneer work by contemporary Tibetan scholars and is dedicated to traditional popular music of the Tibetans.

Having received modern education in the European scientific paradigm, Jigme Wangchug Darshab and Jampel Kelden Darshab in this writing try to describe secular musical tradition, which has been handed over from century to century from one generation of professional musicians to another. In its structure this treatise follows closely the pattern of Sakya Pandita's treatise, but the inner information, the main purpose, the ways of presenting the information are entirely different from the medieval treatise. "Treatise on Music — the Song of Gandharvas" pretends to be a comprehensive description of traditional popular Tibetan music with tables and schemes, lyrics and notation examples, and a list of musical terminology and illustrations. No matter how innovative it is, this work is based on the traditional Tibetan treatises and dictionaries, and the references to writings by famous Tibetan scholars appear quite often in the text.

These two treatises clearly reflect the different epochs in which they have been written. Analyzing them one can gain deeper insights into the historical processes of cultural development of the Tibetan people and can understand the changes of the people's attitude toward music.

de Heering Xénia (EHES-CECMC, INALCO-ASIEs)

Breaching and Bridging Literary Traditions? A Few Observations about a Text "Written in *kha skad*" and Its Translation into Literary Tibetan

Both inside Tibet and in the international academic community, few studies have been devoted specifically to the use of vernacular in Tibetan literature.¹ This paper offers some insights on this topic, primarily through the case of *Joys and Sorrows of the Nagsang Boy*,² a recent Amdo best-seller often described as "written in *kha skad* (spoken language)". The original text was indeed difficult if not impossible to read for people unfamiliar with Amdo dialect, and in 2008, the book was adapted

¹ Notable exceptions include: Mog chung 2010, Cham tshang 2013, Norbu 1995 and Rona-Tas 1995. At the 3rd International Conference on Tibetan Language (New York, Dec. 9–14, 2011), Françoise Robin presented a paper entitled "Amdo Tibetan in Contemporary Tibetan Literature: a Preliminary Enquiry" which has not been published. I thank Françoise Robin (INALCO-ASIEs) for her helpful remarks on an earlier version of this paper; as well as Camille Simon (Paris 3) and Noyöntsang Lhamokyap (INALCO) for their insights on the translation of *Joys and Sorrows* into "standard" Tibetan. All responsibility for inaccuracies is my own. Tibetan terms are given in Wylie transliteration. For the sake of readability, place and people's names in the body of the text are transcribed phonologically.

² Nags tshang 2007. An English translation is to be published by Duke University Press in 2014.

into literary Tibetan and published in India. Such translation of a text from one variety of Tibetan into another is in itself quite a novelty¹.

We will first consider how the relative proximity of *Joys and Sorrows* to the oral pole breaches dominant literary norms and seek to specify what is particular about Nülo's use of language in the context of the Tibetan literary tradition. Secondly, seeking to ponder how far *Joys and Sorrows* stands from "standard" written language, we will compare the original text with the literary Tibetan version that was published in exile.²

A unique historical testimony about 1958 in Amdo, *Joys and Sorrows* relates in various ways to the historical Tibetan autobiographical tradition, including its more recent developments (Henrion-Dourcy 2013, Travers 2013, McMillin 2001). This paper focuses not on history or literary genre, but on the language(s) used in writing. While the novelty and social significance of *Joys and Sorrows* reach far beyond this particular question, such an approach may in turn shed light on some of the book's receptions and on the very wide circulation it has enjoyed.

Breaching dominant literary norms

It is commonly said that throughout the Tibetan linguistic area a common language designated as literary Tibetan (*bod yig*, *yig skad*) is used in writing. The oxymoron of being "written in *kha skad*", as *Joys and Sorrows* is often qualified, indicates that it dwells closer to the oral than most of the texts readers think of when expressing such judgement. In fact Nülo's book intertwines the oral and written registers which, from the linguistic perspective, "are best considered as two poles" (Tournadre 2003: 26). In *Joys and Sorrows*, the dialogues quite faithfully transcribe the way Tibetan is spoken; the chapter titles and a short passage of prayers at the end of chapter 54 are versified, whereas the rest of the text is in prose. The orthography is somewhat instable, but many unusual spellings actually reflect the local pronunciation. The spoken languages written down include varieties of pastoral Amdo and Kham dialects.

While it is often lamented this makes the book hard to understand for non Amdo readers, and difficult to read even for some Amdo agriculturalists, intercomprehension

¹ The only such translations that I am aware of are those of Gungtangpa Könchok Tenpé Drönmé's *Mgon po rdo rje 'i ja mchod* and *Phal skad zab chos* by Mokchung Purkho (Mog chung 2010: 43–66). Although neither Serta Tsültrim, responsible for the Indian edition of *Joys and Sorrows*, nor Mokchung Purkho use the term translation (*yig bsgyur*), I retain it in English given the purpose of editing and the fact that changes are introduced directly in the text (and not, e.g., using annotation devices). Mokchung Purkho refers to the edited texts as *mchan yig* or *go bde 'i bu yig* (as opposed to the original *ma yig*), "made easier to understand" (*go bder phab pa*) for Ü and Kham Tibetans. *Mchan yig*, which usually means "explanatory notes", here refers to the entire edited text. Serta Tsültrim uses the term *bcos*, "to modify, to correct".

² Nags tshang 2008.

between speakers of different Tibetan dialects is a little-explored subject. The results of one study focussing on the understanding of language used in audiovisual media (Green 2012)¹ found that oral comprehension was limited among poorly educated subjects when the language register was literary. This suggests that for little-educated readers Nülo's text is probably more accessible than texts governed by a purely literary register. On various occasions, Nülo indeed insisted on the accessibility of his book—both cheap and easy to read—for ordinary pastoralists (*'brog pa*).

The evaluation of Nülo's writing, however, has to do not only with how understandable the text is for a particular reader, but also with ideas about correct or beautiful literary expression. Several well-educated readers in Amdo complained less about the use of colloquial language than about the spelling mistakes.² One editor and writer compared *Joys and Sorrows* to the writings of Döndrupgyel (1953–1985). He insisted that while the latter also used some vernacular in his short stories, his texts were very well-written, whereas Nülo's book was not. The use of *kha skad* was deemed excessive: “For instance, he'll write *khyo 'gyo rgyu yin na 'gyo rgyu min* (will you go or won't you?). It's too long. He could have simply written *khyod 'gro rgyu e yin*. It's just as clear, and it looks better.”³

While explaining his use of *kha skad* by an insufficient knowledge of literary Tibetan, Nülo—who is not a professional writer but a retired government official born in 1948—also stressed the advantages of vernacular. Easily understood by people regardless of their education level, it also has a particular capacity to touch them. It creates a feeling of authenticity and closeness. Additionally, for Nülo, writing dialogues in *kha skad* also had to do with being true to the way people actually spoke.⁴ This peculiar writing choice is thus one of the ways the author honors his promise of telling the story of his childhood precisely as it happened (*ji ma ji bzhin*) (Nags tshang 2007: 5). Using *kha skad* was thus ultimately less a makeshift solution than a deliberate choice.

Set against the dominant literary tradition, this choice may perhaps also be read as a statement: the *phal skad* of ordinary folks is worthy of “unaltered” transcription. Mokchung Purkho, himself a writer from Amdo, also emphasizes the familiarity and affection associated with *phal skad* (Mog chung 2010: 203). Some readers appreciate Nülo's writing choice from a purely literary point of view. The poet Noyöntsang Lhamokyp, for example, considers that Nülo deploys a particular art and virtuosity in the use of vernacular language (*sgyu rtsal gyi rang bzhin ldan pa'i*

¹ The sample population included over 100 men and women of different ages, with education levels ranging from 0 to 6 years of school.

² Concern for orthography is also evident on Tibetan blogs, where users frequently point out spelling mistakes to each other.

³ Personal communication, Xining, 06/03/2009.

⁴ Personal communications, Xining, 09/03/2009; Rma chu, 21/08/2012.

phal skad), including sayings and turns of phrase that are no longer used by writers of younger generations.¹

While breaching dominant literary traditions, Nülo's narrative thus reconnects with the aesthetic, emotional and evocative power of orality. The oral and the written poles are neither entirely distinct nor historically unchanging entities.² In written works more or less influenced by regional dialects, Tibetan writers indeed combine them in a variety of ways. A comprehensive overview of vernacular usages in Tibetan literary works is beyond the scope of this paper, but a few observations must be made to contextualize the case of *Joy and Sorrows*.³ Péma Lhündrup gives many examples of contemporary writers from Amdo and Ü-tsang using vernacular in short stories and free verse poetry published in the literary journal *Sbrang char* (Cham tshang 2013). Mokchung Purkho draws our attention to vernacular appearing in different types of literary productions from Amdo between the 17th and 20th centuries (Mog chung 2010), and Gene Smith also mentions such practices in 16th and 18th century Tsang (Smith 2001: 67–68, 172). Moreover there exist, within the Tibetan literary tradition, texts composed entirely in spoken or colloquial language (*kha skad*, *phal skad*). *The best known case of colloquial Amdo language used in writing is perhaps the Phal skad zab chos* [The Profound Dharma given in the Vernacular] by Gungtangpa Könchok Tenpé Drönmé (1762–1823).⁵ which Mokchung Purkho considers as the ancestor of Tibetan play scripts (Mog chung 2007). Such texts have the particularity of being meant primarily for oral performance.⁶

Evaluations of written language registers, as noted above, rely on readers' ideas about what correct or beautiful written expression should be like. We have already mentioned Mokchung Purkho's affection for vernacular. Péma Lhündrup, on the other hand, considers that with the increasing use of *kha skad* modern literary Tibetan is becoming hard to read. He calls for the standardization of spellings and the inclusion of new terms in dictionaries (Cham tshang 2013). It seems plausible that attempts to standardize written language, such as those described by Kragh (Kragh 2013), called for by Péma Lhündrup or implemented by Kawa Karpo, may have always coexisted with other literary tendencies. May such practices of writing *kha skad* be read as an

¹ Personal communication, Paris, 26/05/2009.

² Mokchung Purkho (Mog chung 2010: 175–185) describes how a number of vernacular terms were included in the *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* dictionary for the first time in 1979, thus receiving a “passport” for the written world.

³ Assessing the relative importance of *phal skad* in the Tibetan literary tradition is complicated by cases of editing out of vernacularisms contained in original texts (Kragh 2013).

⁴ These terms are used as synonyms in Cham tshang 2013 and Mog chung 2010.

⁵ For an introduction, transcription and linguistic analysis of this text, see *Norbu 1995 and Rona-Tas 1995*.

⁶ This does not imply that all texts meant to be vocalized are written in vernacular. A case in point are religious texts, meant for recitation and composed in *chos skad* (language of Dharma).

attempt to modernize the written Tibetan tradition? What is their relation to each writer's particular skills or aesthetics? Answering such questions would imply analyzing different writers' biographies (education, skills, experience, place in the literary field,...) as well as the constraints related to different networks and forms of publication (official publishing houses, privately published books and journals, websites and blogs).

These observations nevertheless suffice to make clear that Nülo's written use of *kha skad* is not entirely new.¹ The particularity of *Joys and Sorrows* appears to be its *relative* proximity to the oral pole. The most colloquial forms are found mainly in passages of direct speech, which represent a considerable proportion of the text. In chapter 49, for example, direct speech represents one third of the text. Outside the dialogues, "borrowings" to the vernacular are mainly lexical (e.g. *thon* for "to arrive", *rtsib* for "next to"), while verb forms remain governed by literary usage.

Bridging diverse writing practices and styles

Serta Tsültrim, who was responsible for editing Nülo's book, writes that "hard to understand regional language" (*go dka'ba'i yul skad*) was replaced with "literary language" (*yig skad*) in order to transform the original text into "a written language that everyone could understand" (*spyi yongs nas go thub pa'i yig skad*).² However, beyond the editing out of vernacularisms, a closer examination of the Kawa Karpo edition also reveals the extent of editorial intervention and the weight of stylistic considerations.

The following observations are based on an exhaustive inventory of differences between the original and Kawa Karpo editions of *Joys and Sorrows* in two randomly selected chapters (ch.4 and ch.49). Counting recurring lexical modifications only once, I found 116 changes in chapter 4 (p. 22–26) and 184 in chapter 49 (p. 246–251). The main difficulty in analyzing this data is defining the standard written forms we may refer to in order to distinguish between different types of changes introduced in the text. Turning to modern Tibetan dictionaries such as the *Dag yig gсар bsgrigs* or the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* is a possibility, but leaves us with a number of terms whose status is unclear, as they are defined in the first but not in the latter. Currently in the process of analyzing this data, I can at present only make a number of general observations following a tentative typology.

Lexicon

A number of vernacularisms were quite straightforwardly replaced with their equivalents in written Tibetan. Thus *a khu* (monk) is replaced by *grwa ba*, *thon* (to arrive) by *slebs*, *rtsib* (next to) by *'gram*. Other Amdo-isms have been replaced somewhat inconsistently. The word *zhi lu* (boy), glossed in the editor's introduction,

¹ On the notion of tradition see Lenclud 1987.

² Nags tshang 2008: XI-XII.

is generally retained (namely in the title), but once replaced by *bu*. Similarly, *a ye*, also spelt *a yas* (grandma; old woman), is either replaced with *rgan mo* or *rmo mo*, or left unchanged. Was the retained vernacular meant to give the text local colour, or did it simply escape the editor's vigilance? In the case of swear words, too, changes are not systematic. For example, *'di dag yum shes na* (by the Prajnaparamita, how could I know!) is edited into *'di yum shes na*. In contrast, the phrase *da yum yang yur zhig ni thug thub gi na* (by the Prajnaparamita, it'll be a long time again before we can meet, won't it!) is changed to *da yang rgyun ring po zhig la thug thub kyi ma red*. Here *yum* is simply edited out, perhaps to avoid ambiguity as in this sentence *yum* could have been understood as the honorific of "mother". One could have imagined using the common expression *dkon mchog gsum*, to render the fact the speaker is swearing, but the editors did not make that choice.

In the original text, outside the context of direct speech, Nülo's father is always referred to as *pha drin can* (benevolent father). In the Kawa Karpo edition this term was systematically replaced by *pha* or *a pha*. In Amdo the expressions *pha drin can* and *ma drin can* (benevolent mother) are often used to refer to one's deceased parents. Were the Kawa Karpo editors unaware of this subtly implied meaning? Why was it considered that *drin can*, a term listed in both the *Dag yig* and the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, was not standard enough?

Spelling

Obvious orthographical and grammatical mistakes were corrected. Many spelling changes concern standard terms whose non standard spelling in the original text reflected local pronunciation, e.g. *yas* (to have done) for *byas*, *'gyo* (to go) for *'gro*, or *ring bo* (long) for *ring po*. For reasons that are not always clear, the spelling of some proper nouns was also changed. The name of Nülo's father *'Dur kho* is spelt *'Dul kho* in the Kawa Karpo edition (perhaps as it is a diminutive of *Dgra 'dul*), the name of Uncle *Mgur grags* is spelt *'Gu grags* by Kawa Karpo.

Verb forms

Colloquial verb forms, appearing mainly in direct speech, have also been standardized. Thus *yod khu* (testimonial copula/there is) is replaced with *'dug, thon tha* (arrived) with *slebs song, yin ni min na* (could it be that) with *min nam*, etc. These choices are quite understandable given that these verb forms are typical of spoken Amdo Tibetan. In one case, *'jug gi* (that's good) is replaced by *bzang gi*, where in "standard" one would rather have expected something along the lines of *yag po 'dug*. In other cases, however, such as in the systematic replacement of the present continuous form verb+*kyin 'dug* in the narrative sections by verb+*bzhin 'dug* or verb+*bzhin yod*, it appears the modification has more to do with literary register than with making the text understandable to non Amdo readers.

Literary style

A number of other modifications also pertain to style. By this somewhat vague, provisional, category I refer to changes that as far as I can judge were not, strictly speaking, necessary to ensure comprehension of the text by non Amdo readers, such as the systematic editing of the pronouns *nga rang* (I) into *nga* and of *nged tsho* (we) into *nga tsho*, or the replacements of 'ga're (a few) by 'ga', or of *mchod me* (offering lamp) by *mar me* (butter lamp).

Stylistic intervention also concerns punctuation and the general architecture of the text. For example, in the Kawa Karpo edition chapter 4 is divided into two paragraphs only whereas in the original the same text is distributed in eight paragraphs.¹ In other instances, the changes introduced manifest adherence to social conventions. In the passage describing the child's meeting with Alak Gungtang, the verbs used in the original text were replaced by the corresponding honorifics. The text was thus not only translated but also brought closer to the editor's idea of what proper literary expression should be like.

Conclusions

Nülo's unusual written use of vernacular made the text easy and pleasant to read for little-educated readers unaccustomed to literary Tibetan, which is famous for being convoluted and very distant from spoken forms of Tibetan. Contrasting evaluations of *Joys and Sorrows* are informed by each reader's particular skills and ideas about what proper written expression ought to be like. The proximity of the text to the oral pole played a decisive (albeit by no means exclusive) role in the formation of its area of reception. The aggregate print run of the original edition of *Joys and Sorrows* numbered in tens of thousands of copies, which were distributed mainly in Amdo. Despite such success, however, to my knowledge this example of "writing in *kha skad*" has not been emulated as yet.² To what extent may the use of non-standard, regional language in *Joys and Sorrows* be regarded as a literary modernization? Modern literary Tibetan already includes a notable amount of regionalisms (Cham tshang 2013), and colloquial forms are increasingly used on the web and in text messages. The originality of *Joys and Sorrows* lies less in the mere presence of vernacular than in its relative proximity to the oral pole, and in the influence this proximity had on the book's area of reception.

¹ Similarly, whereas the original book is divided into five parts, the Kawa Karpo edition has six parts.

² Bya mdo rin bzang n. d. [2009] a and b are collections of transcribed interviews. Here we may perhaps see a burgeoning trend of writing spoken Amdo Tibetan, but there is no indication that Rin bzang's choice to retain *kha skad* in the published interviews was related to *Joys and Sorrows*. We may however suppose that Rin bzang's choice, like Nülo's, had to do with questions of authenticity and with the Amdo readership he was addressing.

The translation of *Joys and Sorrows* into literary Tibetan by Kawa Karpo calls for further analysis. The preliminary observations made in this paper shed problematic light on issues related to the nature and definition of a “standard” written Tibetan. Should the definition of such a “standard” be based on a set of predefined abstract rules, or should it also take into account the diversity of actual past and present practices? These complex questions need not be cut short in order to observe that differences between the two existing Tibetan versions of *Joys and Sorrows* have to do not only with dialect-specific lexicon, spelling, and verb forms, but also with differing linguistic registers and literary styles.

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Engelhardt Isrun (Germany)

The Perils of Innovation: Tharchin’s Troubles Arising from his *Tibet Mirror* and Other Publications

The Tibetan newspaper *The Tibet Mirror (Melong)*, by the publisher, author, editor and printer Dorje Gergan Tharchin from Kalimpong (1890–1976), is known to have been praised as “the only Tibetan newspaper in the world and a strong bridge between India and Tibet” and “probably the only vehicle of world news to most of the people of that land”, and that its innovative content had a great “significance as a new medium of cultural formation and construction of national identity.” Tharchin also continuously developed further new and innovative ideas in publishing.

However, a closer look at Tharchin’s extensive correspondence in the Tharchin Collection at Columbia University, New York inspired me to examine this public acclaim from a completely different perspective. This paper will thus focus on the problems and consequences which confronted Tharchin personally as a result of his publications and which he was forced to address.

These problems can primarily be identified as:

1. Problems relating to the publication of the *Melong*:

1.1. Financial problems

The most consistently occurring problems, hampering Tharchin to the greatest extent and accounting for the majority of his correspondence, were financial difficulties, lack of funds and lack of public financial support. The paper was never self-supporting, for various reasons that were exacerbated by distribution difficulties. Although the British had supported the *Melong* in World War 2, after India’s independence their successors did not continue to do so.

A further problem was the infrequency of its subscribers’ payments. In fact, making payment was often simply impossible — particularly after the Chinese

invasion of Tibet and, later, the prohibition of the *Melong* in Tibet. As a result, Tharchin's financial situation grew steadily worse and he was repeatedly forced to expend efforts on writing long, moving begging letters, which were unfortunately all too seldom rewarded with success.

From 1960, the "*Tibet Mirror*" received further competition as newspapers were published by exiled Tibetans, all receiving financial support from various sources.

1.2. Content:

1.2.1. Conflict with Christian superiors:

In the first two decades of the *Melong's* existence, when Tharchin still needed the goodwill of the missionaries of the Church of Scotland in order to print the newspaper, he must have had to exert extreme tactical caution, manoeuvring between the missionaries and his own aims to inform the Tibetans of world affairs. Despite his care, he frequently incurred the displeasure of his Christian superiors because of his overly secular style of reporting; this led to his dismissal in 1946 and to the foundation of the independent *Tibet Mirror Press*.

1.2.2. Problems with the Chinese after the invasion of Tibet

In the late 1940s, Tharchin had already begun to alert the Tibetans to the imminent danger of Chinese invasion. After China's invasion of Tibet he shifted the focus of his reporting and strove to supply both Tibet and the Western world with information on current events in Tibet and to open their eyes to the situation there; as a result, his newspaper was attentively followed both in Beijing and in Washington and Delhi, which earned him troubles from both sides, particularly the Chinese — who attempted to bribe him. As he consistently maintained his stance against the Chinese communists, the Chinese prohibited any further distribution of the *Melong* in Tibet. In fact, Tharchin's unflinching writings appear to have brought him into mortal danger.

2. Problems with other publications

In addition to various minor problems with further publications, two disappointments evidently hit Tharchin particularly hard:

2.1. Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary:

From around 1930 Tharchin began to work on an extensive Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary, which he envisaged as becoming his opus magnum. Geshe Chodrak, who was employed by Tharchin in the early 1930s and whom Tharchin repeatedly helped throughout the years, had received suggestions and advice from Tharchin and learnt the method of compiling a modern Tibetan dictionary, probably also collecting terms for the work. In 1949 he published his own Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary in Lhasa with financial assistance. Praised from all quarters as the first modern and innovative Tibetan dictionary, the work was notable for the complete absence of

Tharchin's name. Tharchin regarded this as theft of intellectual property and was extremely disappointed by the perceived ingratitude.

2.2. English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary

However, he appeared to be the most devastated by the monstrous plagiarism of his English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary in 1967; the work was published in Delhi as a pirated copy omitting any details of the author and publisher, just as Tharchin had virtually completed the revised version.

Given that Tharchin had demonstrated such innovative strength in the specific area of publishing, the correspondence also reveals the astonishing degree of belief and, above all, expectations vested in Tharchin in areas *other* than his primary field of prowess.

Conclusion

A partial cause of Tharchin's difficulties is likely to have been that he was ahead of his time — a kind of pioneer who, despite his extensive attempts as an intermediary, ultimately ended up between two worlds — but perhaps also that he showed outstanding courage and tenacity and a directness and openness that was astonishing for a Tibetan.

A further cause may have been his exceptionally modest, almost subservient behaviour, as evinced in his frequent references to “I my humble self”.

Garri Irina (Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies, SB RAS)

Tibetan Writer Tsering Woeser: Literary and Political Activity

Tsering Woeser was born in Lhasa in 1966, and was brought up in Eastern Tibet in Kanding. At school she couldn't learn Tibetan, only Chinese was used for reading and writing. At a university in Chengdu she studied Chinese literature and that is why she became one of a not small group of Tibetan intellectuals writing exclusively in Chinese. After graduation she worked as a reporter in Kanding and as an editor of the journal of the Tibetan Branch of the Chinese Writers' Association in Lhasa “Xizang wenxue”. She published one volume of poetry, then a prose collection of essays on Tibet that was finally banned, and Woeser was dismissed from her position. After that she moved to Beijing and became together with her husband, famous Chinese writer and dissident Wang Lixiong, a campaigner for the rights of Tibetan people and other national minorities of China. While in Beijing she published the “Shajie” (Forbidden memory: Tibet during the Cultural revolution, 2006) and “Xizang jiji”

(Memories of Tibet, 2006) on Tibetan history. The presentation will examine her blog on a website <http://woeser.middle-way.net>, which she runs since 2008. In her blog postings she comments on the contemporary situation in Tibet beginning from the wide unrest in the Tibetan areas in 2008 to Tibetan self-immolations nowadays. Now she is the only Tibetan who can openly inform the Chinese and foreigners about the genuine situation in Tibet.

Grokhovskiy Pavel (Saint-Petersburg State University)
A Corpus of Modern Tibetan Literature¹

There are several Tibetan corpora being developed by the working group including students and professors of the Chair of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies of the Department of Asian and African Studies of Saint-Petersburg State University, as well as experts in the field of corpus linguistics and programming.

One of them is The Basic Corpus of the Classical Tibetan Language with a Russian Translation and a Lexical Database, which was supported by the private Russian Foundation for Fundamental Linguistic Research and which represents various genres of the Classical Tibetan literature (in form — both prosaic and metric; in content — historical, biographical, epic, folklore, philosophical, didactic, doctrinal, as well as dedicated to medieval sciences) and has the volume more than 30.000 words.

Another corpus which is to be created in 3 years is planned to include grammar treatises, which are valued at the most by the Tibetan grammar tradition itself: 1) the first two treatises *Sum cu pa* and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* (proposedly 7–8 c.), 2) grammar by Smṛtijñānakīrti “Gate of Speech, similar to a sword” (11 c.), 3) the Situ Mahāpaṇḍita’s commentary on the first two treatises “The Wonderful Pearl Garland — the Wise Man’s Necklace” (18 c.), 4) the Dngul chu Dharmabhadra’s commentary on the first two treatises “Oral Instructions on the Treatise of the Great Scholar Situ” (19 c.), 5) the anonymous author’s commentary on the first two treatises “The Precious Garland of Good Sayings” (18/19 c.), 6) the Skal bzang ‘gyur med Tibetan grammar “An introduction into Tibetan grammar — The Clear Mirror” (20 c.), and 6) by Dpa’ ris sangs rgyas and a selection of other modern works.

In 2013–2014 I have been also involved in the work upon the British project “Tibetan in Digital Communication: Corpus Linguistics and Lexicography”,

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition. The principles for the present research were developed with financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research as a part of the research project 13–06–00621 “The Pilot Version of Tibetan Grammar Texts’ Electronic Corpus”

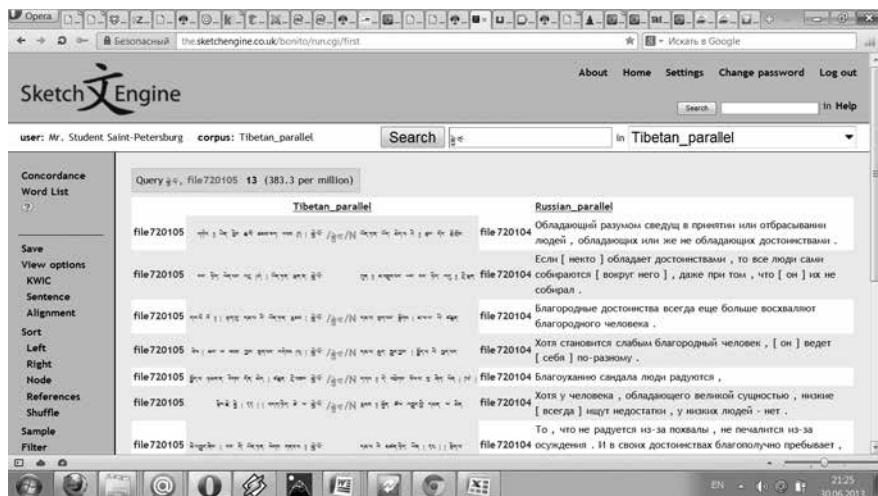


Fig. 1. A fragment of data retrieval for the query for the *skye bo* 'human being' from The Basic Corpus of the Classical Tibetan Language with a Russian Translation and a Lexical Database

in SOAS, London University, as an external expert and consultant, which allowed me to broaden my perspective of possible approaches to the Tibetan corpus linguistics.

Having recently become interested in the modern Tibetan literature (both poetry and fiction and scholarly writing, mainly in philological and historical spheres, as well as media), I began to encourage the inclusion of these subjects in the formal curriculum of the Chair of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies of the Department of Asian and African Studies of Saint-Petersburg State University.

We had very scarce information about the modern Tibetan publications before 2008, but nowadays we have collected a comprehensive collection of modern Tibetan literary and scholarly writings, and it is good time to think about creating a more user-friendly interface to these textual materials.

The developing Tibetan OCR projects (at Moscow Rime Buddhist centre and at Universities of Virginia and California (Berkeley)) allow to proceed with optical character recognition of modern printed Tibetan texts with an approximate 90–95% accuracy, which produces digital versions of the texts, which can later be subjected to semi-automatichal sentence and word segmentation and parts of speech tagging, as well as to markup of meta information (author, title, date, publishing house, place of publication, genre, metric form, volume and inner structure etc.).

The resulting marked up textual files are to be loaded into a unified corpus with the help of a corpus manager (exemplified by www.sketchengine.co.uk or like),

which possesses a built-in search interface, which allows users to make queries of lexical material and grammatical annotation, to sort and filter the results of queries as well as to create subcorpora for these queries using metatags).

The priorities for building such a corpus of modern Tibetan literature (including the principles of selection for the authors, genres and works, principles of tagging and metatagging) should be determined by a community of specialists in the field, and the original authors' copyright should be respected.

The proposed corpus should be useful for multidisciplinary research on the modern Tibetan literature (including the study of content, literary style and linguistic features).

Hartley Lauran (Columbia University)

Resources for the Study of Modern Tibetan Literature at Columbia University

In this presentation, I will 1) introduce the Tibetan Studies Collection of the C. V. Starr East Asian Library at Columbia University and the many unique holdings of modern Tibetan literary works, 2) provide an overview of our vast collection of Tibetan-language literary journals, and 3) demonstrate the open-source *COLUMBIA ONLINE RESEARCH GUIDE FOR MODERN TIBETAN STUDIES* and its new "Language and Literature" section (to be published online in honor of the conference) — a far-ranging bibliography of resources for the study of Modern Tibetan Literature, including western-language secondary research, translated works, and a union list of journals and holdings at Columbia University.

I will also give a separate 25-minute presentation on my current project to propose a revision to the Library of Congress Tibetan Romanization tables, and related issues.

Hladíková Kamila (Palacky University Olomouc)

The Exotic Other and Negotiation of Tibetan Self: Representation of Tibet in Chinese and Tibetan Fiction of the 1980s

Proposed paper examines the representation of Tibet in Chinese and Tibetan short narrative fiction written during the 1980s. Because of specific socio-historical and cultural conditions, modern literature in the Western sense has

not emerged in Tibet until the second half of the 20th century. The emergence of modern Tibetan literature was, as in case of genesis of other Asian modern-style literatures, initiated by an encounter with another culture (i. e. “Western”, “rational”, ‘scientific’ worldview, which was in case of Tibet introduced through the communist China). In the beginning of the 1980s, this process was de facto enforced by the need (of Chinese as well as Tibetan elites) to establish this literature as an authentic Tibetan voice, affirming their will to modernization through Tibet’s belonging to the PRC. At the same time, modern Tibetan literature emerged in a period of certain liberalization after the Cultural Revolution, which in Tibet manifested as a kind of “national revival”, oriented specifically on restoration of religion and related cultural heritage. During that period this literature thus served two seemingly contradictory interests. In Tibetan society it played mainly enlightening and didactic role. It on one hand served to assert Chinese dominance in Tibet, but on the other hand it served to Tibetan nationalist efforts in the sense of affirmation of a distinctive Tibetan cultural and national identity, independent on the inclusive Chinese identity.

Proposed study, based on comparative analysis of three kinds of literature associated with Tibet, is specifically focused on the question of modern Tibetan identity and its reflection in modern Tibetan literature. In this paper, the literature about Tibet written by Han Chinese authors is viewed as one of important sources of influence for Tibetan literary self-representations in the beginning of the 1980s. This literature (similarly as Western colonial literature) used certain stereotypical strategies of representation that are rooted in domestic Chinese tradition of representing other, namely subject cultures, which reflect the inferior position of Tibet within dominant Chinese social discourse. Through the comparative analysis of literary style and technique, motifs, and symbolism of Chinese and Tibetan short stories about Tibet from the 1980s, an analysis that is inspired by postcolonial theory of literature and by theories derived from Said’s critique of “orientalism”, this study attempts to define the “Chinese image” of Tibet in opposition to the “Tibetan perspective”, which is reflected in literary works of Tibetan authors.

The “Tibetan perspective” provides certain insight into modern Tibetan identity as it is represented in the works of contemporary Tibetan writers. As shown in this study, such a discursively constructed identity reflects, appropriates and negotiates various influences, the most significant probably being the Chinese representations of Tibet and the stereotypes related to it, together with appropriated influences from the domestic tradition, from the Buddhism-influenced worldview, through traditional Tibetan identity concept based on common religion, language, and inhabited space, to specific cultural patterns rooted in traditional style of life. The relation of modern Tibetan literature — be it its Tibetophone part, inspired by modern Chinese literature of the May Fourth era, or its Sinophone part, influenced

by Chinese ‘avant-garde’ literature of the 1980s — to tradition, namely to Buddhism, is rather critical, and modern literature’s primary aim is to show a path to modernity without losing the distinctive Tibetan identity. In this sense, modern Tibetan literature played during the 1980s a significant role in the formation of a secular intellectual discourse about modern Tibetan identity.

Ilyina Anastasiya (Saint-Petersburg State University)

Tradition and Innovation in Poetic Writings of Dhondub Gyel¹

From the moment of its appearance Tibetan literature has undergone many changes until the moment of creation of the so called Modern Tibetan literature after the end of the Cultural Revolution. Yet the question of how “modern” the Modern Tibetan literature is still remains.

In search for an answer to this question, several works of one of the best-known modern Tibetan poets were analysed, the poet’s name being Dhondup Gyel (1953–1985). Born into a poor family in Amdo, fighting for the right to a fair education and trying to keep hold of his job in teaching — Dhondup Gyel had a life full of trials and difficulties. In spite of life’s constant blows, he became and still remains in the minds of Tibetans — a “Modern Tibetan hero”. His poems, especially the free-versed ones — “Waterfall of Youth” and “Here Too is a Heart Alive Strongly Beating” are hymns of the new generation. Their content is defiant and provocative, even offensive to some. But how new is the actual writing technique?

Tibetan poetry, referred to as “snyang ngag” was heavily influenced by the Indian ornamental poetry — *kāvya*, its most influential treatise in Tibet being the “*Kāvyaḍarha*” (tib. *snyan ngag gi me long*) by Dandin.

While exploring poetic works of Dhondup Gyel, we can see that the poetic images used are often quite traditional, although they are used for characterizing non-traditional objects. There are also some new poetic techniques like directly addressing the reader or nature, not to mention the non-traditional free verse forms in a few poems.

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition. The materials for the research were collected with financial support of the Russian Foundation for Humanities. as a part of the research project 12-34-09004 “Tibetan Literature in the Contemporary Literary Process in the People’s Republic of China”.

Kramskova Anna (Saint-Petersburg State University)

Tibetan Graphological Tradition: Tradition and Modernization¹

Tibetan writing has two main distinctive types: an uncial *ucen* and cursive *ume*, with the latter generally believed to be a transformed version of the former. While *ume* has been used almost exclusively for personal correspondence and administrative paperwork, *ucen* has become the usual hand of religious manuscripts, xylographic or printed books. Such splitting in usage can be explained by the fact that *ucen* (initially not exactly fit for handwriting) came to be thought of as the proper form to convey the Dharma itself — one of Three Jewels in Buddhism — during the later spreading of Buddhism in Tibet. To produce the right ideas in minds of the readers, writing was thought to have to be accurate, well-balanced, and beautiful. This is why a famous calligrapher of that time Khyungbo Yutibar wrote a treatise, which summed up the ideas about writing that existed at the time and described the exact proportions of every letter in Tibetan alphabet. The XI century was a time when Tibetan Buddhist art and literature were taking their final, canonical form, and writing (in the context of religion) was no exception. This treatise described the right ways of rendering letter proportions in *ucen* script in the same manner in which other treatises described proportions of sculptures, thangkas, stupas etc. Moreover, Khyungbo Yutibar's work became a foundation for all future Tibetan studies on writing and a cornerstone of what nowadays can be called 'Tibetan theory of writing' (a theoretical view on basic principles of a writing system and its components). This interesting theory regards graphemes as combinations of 'black' and 'white' shapes with a unique set of characteristics, and has a lot in common with the modern ideas on typography and calligraphy.

All in all, a "Magical Lantern" by Khyungbo Yutibar started a deeply-rooted graphological tradition in Tibet that, although somewhat improved and distorted at the same time, again and again survived periods of political instability in Tibet, hardships of Cultural revolution and years of building a new society as a part of the Peoples' Republic of China. Nowadays this tradition faces new problems of modernization and integration in the world: computerization of Tibetan writing, Tibetan text optical recognition, creation of types and fonts that can do justice to the manifold calligraphy of Tibet, applying modern technologies at teaching Tibetan writing at school etc. Many of these are being solved and while Tibetan people work on a piece for a calligraphic conference or write a textbook for Tibetan-teaching schools, the first thing they appeal to is the tradition they grew in, which is why the latter is gaining even more influence.

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition. The materials for the research were collected with financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research as a part of the research project 13-06-00621 "The Pilot Version of Tibetan Grammar Texts' Electronic Corpus".

Lebedeva Yuliya, Smirnova Mariya, Grokhovskiy Pavel
(Saint-Petersburg State University)

Modern Tibetan Grammars¹

The origin of linguistic tradition in Tibet dates back to the creation of the first grammatical treatises “Sum cu pa” (probably 7th c.) and “Rtags kyi ‘jug pa” (probably 9th c.), generally attributed to Thonmi Sambhota (his authorship is not certain), who was believed to have been sent to India in the 7th c. by the Tibetan king Srong btsan sgam po in order to study Indian writing. These brief root grammars have become the frameworks for almost all later grammatical works. Despite the fact that since 7th c. the Tibetan language has undergone significant changes modern Tibetan grammars still continue the tradition of grammatical description of the first treatises, covering anyhow a wider range of grammatical topics.

Basing on the content of 38 modern prose Tibetan grammars, published between 1962 and 2010 in China and India, it is possible to divide them into three main groups. The first group contains modern commentaries on the root treatises. The authors of these works make references to “Sum cu pa” and “Rtags kyi ‘jug pa”, provide quotations from the treatises and explain the whole grammars or some of their parts. The commentaries have a similar structure and describe the Tibetan alphabet, types of graphemes, different functional words and morphemes.

The second group is represented by small independent grammatical works, which explore the Tibetan alphabet; possible combinations of graphemes; functional words and morphemes, related to case grammar; or study one or two topics of the Tibetan grammar (the origin of the Tibetan script, etymology, verb forms, sentence, word order, tones etc.).

The third group unites the most detailed works. Except for the fore-mentioned topics these modern grammars contain the description of Tibetan parts of speech (primarily noun, pronouns, verbs and four verb forms), notion of sentence in the Tibetan language, masculine and feminine genders and their grammatical markers and many other topics.

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition. The materials for the research were collected with financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research as a part of the research project 13–06–00621 “The Pilot Version of Tibetan Grammar Texts’ Electronic Corpus”.

Maconi Lara (INALCO & CNRS)

Unofficially Writing. Popular Literary Activities in Lhasa Since 2000

The word “unofficial” — hence “unofficially” — is one of those umbrella terms that uses a single common category to cover a broad range of meanings and nuances. As the dictionary defines it, “unofficial” is any activity which “has not got official authority or sanction”, which “has not been officially established”; yet in diverse Western cultural contexts — in the field of “unofficial literature” for instance — the word “unofficial” is often associated, at least implicitly, with the idea of tension between state and society (or a segment of society, a group of citizens), and it often echoes notions of contestation, militancy, subversion, and political resistance (revolutionary literature), “underground-ness” (underground literature), clandestinity (clandestine literature), and dissidence (dissident literature).

Within the PRC socio-cultural environment, however, the sphere of “unofficiality” is named, defined and understood in ways which greatly differ from the Western one. In the PRC, it is commonly assumed that any activity that is not *guanfang de* 官方的 (that is, not “official”), is *minjian de* 民间的 (“popular”), in other words originating among the people, created by people’s own initiative and efforts, conceived and realized by the people outside the formal and official structures of the State and the Party. In this sense, in both ordinary speech and more specialized discourses, “unofficial” is equated with “popular” (stemmed from the people), and its association with the idea of challenging established institutions is neither determinant nor crucial. It can be implied, yet it is not a defining feature of what is commonly taken as “unofficiality”. Thus, many “unofficial” cultural activities are actually openly accomplished within the structures of “officiality”, with the blessing and support of those structures, and, at times, in collaboration with them.

This paper builds on previous long-term researches in Tibetan contemporary literature and is based on oral and written literary materials collected during research *séjours* in Lhasa and Central Tibet carried out between 2012 and 2014. After defining the changing contours of “officiality” and “unofficiality” in China and Tibet (notably in the field of literature), I describe the evolution of Tibetan “unofficial” literary activities in Lhasa since 2000 and the results of those activities, so as to analyze their specificities and significance in the present-day Tibetan political and cultural environment. I more specifically focus on the phenomenon of student literature, which experienced a revival starting from 2000, and which has subsequently undergone a slowdown phase following the tightening of the Tibetan political environment since 2008 in general, and 2012, in particular. My aim is to bring to

the forefront a popular literary environment where liveliness and potentiality still exist — in spite of the present-day Tibetan socio-political context — but is virtually unknown. This is a fragile environment where dynamic “unofficial” spheres of literary activity can abruptly and unexpectedly become “forbidden zones” (*jin qu* 禁区). My talk is about frontier zones of creativity, it particularly deals with people who are passionate, active and young: they may be few, literature may not be very trendy in present-day Lhasa, yet they are there, and they have been experimenting alternative ways to have their creative voices heard, in spite of everything.

Mikhaylova Natalia (Saint-Petersburg State University)

Formation of Tibetan Political Discourse in Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long¹

Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long (literally “The Mirror of News From Various Countries” or, as it was called by its editor, “The Tibet Mirror”) is one of the few early periodicals in the Tibetan language that was published in Kalimpong, West Bengal, India, during 38 years (1925–1963) by the Tibetan religious and public leader Dorje Tharchin, who has tried to change the conventional Tibetan world outlook within Tibet and at the same time to preserve Tibetan culture in this culturally-mixed border region.

The Tibet Mirror not only supplied international and local news for residents of the Kalimpong area, it served as a major media channel between Tibet and the rest of the world and, therefore, enjoyed a relatively high demand among the most advanced representatives of the Tibetan aristocracy at that time, who had almost no other means to acquire any information about things happening outside their country. Apart from subscribers of the periodical from the above mentioned Tibet-India border territories and Tibet proper, the range of Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long distribution spread as far as along areas of the Mongolian trade route at Amdo and along the East Tibet-Assam border at Sadiya.

Besides its informative function, the newspaper also focused on providing practical data for Tibetan businessmen and published some educational and entertainment materials (riddles, cartoons etc.), advertisements and articles devoted to religious topics (Christian and Buddhist).

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Both British officials in India and Chinese authorities showed interest in Yul phyogs so so'i gсар 'gyur me long and either side attempted to exert its influence over the publication business, with the former having a certain success with that and, in fact, occasionally providing some financial support to the edition of the periodical. However, as for the latter, due to the fact that the newspaper editor Dorje Tharchin was an ardent anti-Communist agitator, the Chinese representatives did not manage to establish any kind of cooperation with him.

Obviously, Tharchin's views could not have avoided affecting the articles he published: these propaganda materials set a type of political discourse that was unfolded in the Tibet Mirror after the Chinese Communist Party had declared the goal of Tibet's "liberation" in 1949. The echo of that discourse even reached international press and already in 1950 was termed there as "A Long Battle with Mao".

Considering the historical conditions of the turbulent time in the Tibetan region when the newspaper was issued with the official establishment of the communist rule in Tibet in 1950 and taking into account the stance of the editor, this paper aims to explore Yul phyogs so so'i gсар 'gyur me long from the perspective of its input in the formation of Tibetan political discourse and its possible role in the mode of Tibetan-Chinese relations.

The Tibet Mirror is examined based on the content analysis of selected articles of the periodical (Vol.18 and Vol.19) dating from 1949–1952. Overall time period of the publications to be reviewed during further research has been set a limit at 1949–1963 (the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949 and the last Yul phyogs so so'i gсар 'gyur me long issue respectively). Newspaper materials of the indicated time period have been selected according to their thematic relevance, i.e. the articles have to cover news connected with the particular events in Tibet and China, Tibetan-Chinese relations or the establishment of the Chinese rule in Tibet, and analyzed according to the modified M.A.K. Halliday model of textual analysis, which examines texts in three categories: "field of discourse", "tenor of discourse" and "mode of discourse".

Mitruiev Bembya (Saint-Petersburg State University)

Modern Zhangzhung — Tibetan Language Dictionaries¹

This paper will present and look into modern Zhangzhung language dictionaries. Basing on materials dispersed among Bonpo texts modern researchers create new dictionaries of Zhangzhung language. Though Zhangzhung language is extinct

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition

today the lexicographic tradition of Zhangzhung language still continues in Tibet as well as in countries outside of Tibet. Using as one of the main sources Zhangzhung dictionary of Nyima Dragpa and other Bonpo texts modern scholars create new Zhangzhung -Tibetan dictionaries this way modernizing Zhangzhung-Tibetan lexicographic tradition. The paper will examine the Zhang-zhung-Tibetan-English Contextual Dictionary of Dagkar Namgyal Nyima and Ancient Zhangzhung -Tibetan Dictionary of Gatsha Lodro Tshultrim (*ga tsha blo gros tshul khrim/s/ mna' bo'i zhang bod tshig mdzod*), as well as some others.

Repo Joona (University of Helsinki)

Twentieth-century Texts of the Ganden Hearing Lineage

This paper will present and discuss the development of the Gelug textual corpus during the twentieth century in relation to the Ganden Hearing Lineage or *dga ldan snyan brgyud*, as transmitted by the controversial Phabongkha Dechen Nyingpo (*pha bong kha bde chen snying po*, 1878–1941) as well as his immediate teachers and students. The subjects of Phabongkha's writings, and of others in his lineage are diverse, reflecting both the conservative continuation of Gelug tradition as well as a unique reformation of the same. This paper will build on existing understandings of this important historical figure's writings to give a more complete view of his work, largely encapsulated by his *Collected Works (gsung 'bum)*, the compilation of which will be discussed. Apart from presenting this body of material itself, the patronage, influence and popularity of these texts will also be explored.

Rikey Thupten K. (University of Helsinki)

Internet and Tibetan Language: the Role of Technology in Modernising Tibetan Language

This paper presents a discussion on the Tibetan writings that had appeared in different websites of Tibetan language. It exclusively focuses on the secular writings and presents them in subject-wise categories, such as political campaign, social issue, family welfare, women's right and so forth. One reason why this paper focuses on secular writing is the fact that Tibetans have a strong tradition of regarding their written language as something very sacred, as a clause of the precepts of "taking refuge" (*skyabs 'gro*) demands «even a letter 'na' must be respected as true dharma». This tradition has had some influence in the output of Tibetan literature, as it has

to a great extent discouraged people to produce secular literature. However, in the recent decades, it has become apparent that this trend is taking a new turn, especially with the advent of Internet.

Ever since the computer programmes for Tibetan language became available, there came into being in the global network hundreds of websites in Tibetan language. Several of those sites function as forum for public discussion, and allow the writers to freely publish their writings. Also in the recent years, the bloggers in Tibetan language have increased to a great extent. All in all, one may say that the Internet literature in Tibetan language is in rife.

By studying the bulk of those writings, this paper observes that the advent of Internet has played a significant role in “modernising” Tibetan literature.

Robin Françoise (INALCO)

Self-anthologizing Tibetan literature

When modern Tibetan literature emerged in the early 1980s, it was obviously heavily monitored by the Chinese cultural and literary authorities, in many aspects (content but also publication, and timing). Gradually, with the privatisation of the economy on the national level, Tibetan writers began to emancipate themselves from this top-down structure.

Beyond the explosion of private magazine, privately-run literary websites and the regular publication of books without an ISBN, one side effect of this autonomization of the literary field is the publication of monographies arranged and edited by private individuals, and dedicated to contemporary Tibetan authors, not elected by the official establishment, but by writers themselves, for a number of reasons. For instance, such authors as Don grub rgyal, Tshe ring Don grub, and Skyabs chen bde grol have become the subject of book-length studies in Tibetan language, either in the form of yearly books (Don grub rgyal), MA thesis (Tshe ring don grub), collection of articles (Zhogs dung) and monographies (Tshe ring don grub, Skyabs chen bde grol). These books show a distanciation from the official rhetoric, as they have authors who are not always favored by the regime: Tshe ring don grub’s latest book has been confiscated, Zhogs dung was arrested for 6 months upon the publication of his analysis of the 2008 crisis in Tibet, Skyabs chen bde grol has been evicted from his position as a school master after 2008.

In this article, I will enquire into a selection of such books, their topics, their authors, and their approach to literature. After a description of these works and the dynamics of recognition at work, I will reflect upon Bourdieu’s notion of « auton-

omy » as analysed in *Les Règles de l'art*, to enquire whether the current Tibetan literary field is engaged in a process of autonomization.

Sabernig Katharina Anna (Medical University of Vienna, the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Austria academy of Sciences)

Development of Tibetan Anatomical Literature¹

The *Rgyud bzhi*, commonly translated as ‘Four Tantras’ is the central text in Tibetan medical literature. The fourth chapter of the second part of this treatise, the ‘Explanatory Tantra’ (*Bshad rgyud*), contains information on different kinds of anatomical structures. The information found in this metrical text is mainly quantitative and difficult to understand without further commentaries or illustrative materials such as medical *thangkas*. In many cases the terms are rather metaphorical descriptions such as ‘red eye’ (*mig dmar*) or ‘deer horn’ (*sha ru*). In the seventeenth century the organisation and curriculum of Tibetan medical education in general and anatomy in particular has been reformed. The skilled physician Dar-mo sman-rams-pa Blo-zang chos-grags, personal physician of the Fifth Dalai Lama, dissected human corpus to bring light into anatomical structures mentioned in older commentaries. His progressive analysis written on Lhasa’s eve of modernity is remarkable, nevertheless it does not seem that it played a decisive role in later medical education. Gzhang-smam Ye-shes bzang-po, another famous physician who lived in the eighteenth century who was a former head at Lcags-po-ri Medical College, became the first medical instructor of in the Medical College at Labrang monastery. However, regarding anatomical thinking he favoured the orthodox view of the older commentaries although he mentions the findings of Dar-mo sman-rams-pa. We do not know much about new Tibetan anatomical notions in the following centuries but at Atsagat monastery, near Ulan-Ude in Buryatia, beautiful anatomical paintings where detected by Buryat scholars, which show an integration of modern anatomical aspects into classical depictions in Tibetan and Mongolian language. In recent years a series of books including anatomical depictions have been published. With increasing scientific exactitude of the images Tibetan terminology of anatomical structures has changed and noticeable rapprochement towards biomedical terms translated into Tibetan language can be observed. This paper presents an survey of the development of classical Tibetan anatomical knowledge and its illustrations from its beginning up to the modern times.

¹ The preliminary results are based on a project supported by the Austrian Science Fond: P 26129-G21.

Sawerthal Anna (University of Heidelberg)

The Round World in Early Tibetan Language Newspapers

According to the third chapter of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* the world is flat. Relying on sources like that, the traditional conception of the geography of the world in the Tibetan cultural sphere is also that of a flat world. "Modern" scientific concepts from the West have entered imaginations in texts already in the 19th century, very prominently for example through the *'dzam gling rgyas bshad*, authored by 'Jam dpal bstan 'dzin 'phrin las in 1830. With the formation of a Tibetan-language press in the early 20th century, this modern perception was taken up, and editors set out to spread it manifold through their newspapers and/or magazines. Very famously, the Amdo scholar and monastic enfant terrible dGe 'dun Chos 'phel published on the Round and Spherical World ("'jig rten ril mo 'am zlum po") in 1938 in the *Melong (yul phyogs so so 'i gsar 'gyur me long)* published from Kalimpong between 1925 and 1963. Yet, contrary to common knowledge, the *Melong* has covered this discourse in earlier issues of the *Melong*, before dGe 'dun Chos 'phel had arrived in Kalimpong. It is also in the *Melong* that parts of the *'dzam gling rgyas bshad* are reprinted. And also in earlier Tibetan language publications, such as the *La dwags ag bAr* (1904–09) and its followers *kye lang ag bAr* (1926–?) and *la dags pho nya*, (1937–?) this topic is already discussed. The "Round World"-discourse is taken up again by publications that started after the *Melong* as well, such as the *shes bya*-publishing house.

Tracing the articles on the "round world" opens up a window into the flow of information through different Tibetan-language newspapers, and the entering of Western scientific knowledge into the pantheon of traditional Tibetan conceptions. On one hand, it tells a lot about the functions of newspapers and the flow of information within a public sphere in Tibetan language. On the other hand, the intermingling of modern and traditional concepts within a Tibetan cultural sphere can be highlighted.

Shakya Tsering (University of British Columbia)

Why Didn't Tibetans Write Novels?

Tibet has a long tradition of literary culture and production. It has become a cliché to see the body of Tibetan literary works as confined to religious works. My paper will explore why secular forms of narratives never became popular. While novels have become the premier form of literary production in most cultural settings, the Tibetans have not shown much interest in adopting the novel as a literary form. My paper explores why secular forms of literature and particularly why Tibetans did not embrace the novel as literary practice.

Smirnova Maria (Saint-Petersburg State University)

Modern Tibetan Literature in the Internet¹

Modern Tibetan literature is spread in the Internet in all forms of literature websites: digital libraries, electronic publications, personal websites, blogosphere etc. Some works of modern Tibetan writers are available online at Internet portals on Tibet, the Tibetan language and culture — Tibetan Himalayan Library (www.thlib.org); Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (www.tbrc.org); Nitartha international (www.nitartha.org, www.nitartha.net).

Works of modern Tibetan writers are mainly available as electronic versions of paper publications in online shops and digital libraries — global (www.books.google.com, www.amazon.com) or specializing on Tibetan books (www.tibetbook.net).

Many modern Tibetan writers have personal websites, author's pages in theme-based websites with free posting or online literary magazines. Blogging platforms or standalone blogs are also widely spread. The most popular blog hostings among the Tibetan writers are www.blog.daqi.com, www.sangdhor.com, www.sohu.com, www.khabdha.org, www.blog.voc.com.cn.

The biggest Internet portals are Offering Lamp (mchod me, www.tibetcm.com) and TWAPEN (www.tibetanpen.org). Offering Lamp is a literary magazine with free posting, created by Tibetan and English teacher *Dkon mchog tshe 'phel* and young Tibetan poet *Skyabs chen bde grol* in Amdo in 2005. TWAPEN or Tibetan Writers Abroad P.E.N. Center currently has 68 members, mostly based in India but also spread across Europe and USA. As a Centre in exile, their priority is to preserve the written and spoken Tibetan language.

With the Western growing interest in Tibet a large amount of translations are published in websites about Tibet and Tibetan culture. There are also sites, created to translate Tibetan language resources, blogs and online magazines — The Tibet Web Digest Project (www.tibetwebdigest.com), a non-profit artistic association Tibet Writes (www.tibetwrites.org), a multi-language portal High Peaks Pure (Earthwww.highpeakspureearth.com) and others.

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*Toloknov Vyacheslav (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology
of Russian Academy of Sciences)*

The Role of the Literary Tradition in Preserving of Ethnic Identity of the Tibetans in the Diaspora

Along with keeping the religious traditions, classical Tibetan education, Tibetan language, one of the factors in the preservation of ethnic identity is the preservation of the Tibetan literary tradition. This is important especially for the Tibetans living in the diaspora, as both the successive link with previous generations of Tibetans and link with modern compatriots worldwide are very important for them. The rich Tibetan literary tradition is also used to provide this connection, which is now being transformed due to a change of world perception both of Tibetans in China and of Tibetans in the diaspora.

In consequence of keeping the literary tradition from generation to generation the artistic experience is transmitted. Nowadays, conventional genres of Tibetan literature are combined with new genres, whose appearance is due to changing conditions of life of the Tibetan diaspora representatives in the modern globalized world.

Taking into account the fact that the Tibetan literary tradition organically incorporates the genres of Tibetan religious literature, and due to the special place of religion in general and religious literature in particular in the life of Tibetans, we can be sure that the Tibetan literary tradition will not be lost in the foreign cultural environment.

There is the task of preserving the purity of the Tibetan language, both written and spoken, standing before members of the Tibetan diaspora (especially in Western countries). In this regard, the role of the Tibetan literary tradition can hardly be overestimated.

Literary tradition is the tangible support for the people risking to lose their national and ethnic identity.

High level of publishing activities of Tibetan diaspora and a variety of electronic projects for the preservation and dissemination of Tibetan spiritual and secular literature both in the Tibetan language and in other languages also add optimism for preserving the Tibetan literary tradition as one of the foundations of ethnic identity of Tibetans.

It is important for the modern Tibetan youth not to lose the understanding of literary tradition as one of the foundations of the existence and survival of the people in the world today.

Vasko Yekaterina (Saint-Petersburg State University)
**Authoritative Treatises in the Development
of the Tibetan Medical Literature¹**

The origins of the Tibetan literature trace back to the Indian literature. After adoption of Buddhism and after invention of Tibetan writing in the VII century the process of translation started in Tibet. Later, huge work on translation of Buddhist treatises and formation of the Buddhist canon was made. Tengyur (*bstan 'gyur*) — second part of the canon — includes treatises devoted to traditional realms of knowledge, one of which is medicine.

One of the most important source of Indian origin on medicine in the canon is *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* (in Tibetan *yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po bsduṣ pa*) by Vāgbhaṭa. It is a fundamental treatise on Indian medicine — Ayurveda. This treatise comprises information about each of the eight branches of Ayurveda and about mode of healing.

Another important treatise on Tibetan medicine is *The Four Tantras* (*rgyud bzhi*), which is ascribed to G.yu thog-pa. This treatise has been regarded as the most authoritative treatise, even though it belongs not to canonical texts but to *gter ma* texts. The origins of *Rgyud bzhi* is still a question for the scholars. There are two suggestions on this problem: one suggestion is that *Rgyud bzhi* was translated from a no longer extant Sanskrit work, another one is that it is an original Tibetan treatise. The second suggestion seems to be more plausible. Among scholars, who adhere to the second supposition, are C. Vogel, R. Emmerick, E. Obermiller. However, it should be pointed out that the author of *Rgyud bzhi* was familiar with some foreign medical treatises and with that of *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*. It is quite possible that *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* had been used as one of the main sources of *Rgyud bzhi*, because of the common terminology and similarity in main statements of both treatises.

Thus, it can be seen as an example of another way of developing the Tibetan literary tradition by taking an influential foreign work to serve as the basis to develop an even more authoritative indigenous text.

Virtanen Riika (University of Helsinki)
**Views on Literary Characters
in Contemporary Tibetan Critical Writings**

Since characters usually have a central function in fictional prose, it is worth paying attention to Tibetan theoretical writings concerning them. Although some

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition

attention has already been paid to the emergence of modern Tibetan literary criticism and especially to critical discussion about poetry in the 1980s, there is a need to pay more attention to the concepts and theories used by Tibetan critics to analyse prose. The number of Tibetan literary critical writings examined in this paper is rather small, only ten articles written in Tibetan by authors with Tibetan names. In addition to discussing what kind of views on characterization are presented in Tibetan critical writings, the presentation will pay attention to such questions as are these views innovative to some extent and/or of indigenous Tibetan origin or do they come from other literary critical traditions or have they been influenced by them.

The Tibetan term normally used to speak about characters is *mi sna* ‘person’, the same word which can also be used to refer to non-fictional persons. The reference to a character normally becomes clear from the surrounding context attributed to it, for example, a name of a literary genre or a literary work. The longer term for a character is *mi sna'i snang brnyan* or alternatively *mi sna'i gzugs brnyan*, which literally translated would mean ‘image or a shape of a person’, thus making a distinction between a literary character and real world persons. All the writings examined in this article have the word *mi sna* in their title and are about characters in literature. They were published in Tibetan literary, cultural or educational magazines between the years 1992–2007. Most of them appeared in *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal* (*Tibetan Literature and Art*), three articles in *mTsho sngon slob gso* (*Qinghai Education*) and one in *Bod ljongs sgyu rtsal zhib 'jug*.

Several Tibetan critics have discussed or made use of the concept *dpe mtshon mi sna*, ‘typical’ or ‘model characters’ or alternatively ‘*tshab mtshon mi sna*’, ‘representative characters’, which seem to have the same meaning. The concept of typical characters can be found in the writings of Engels and Gorki. Their names often appear in Tibetan critical writings which can contain quotes from their views on various issues related to characters and literature. Sometimes the tone adopted in some of the articles sounds instructive or normative. Although one of the articles focuses on the qualities of typical characters without reference to literary works, the other articles contain discussions of one or more short stories or novels. The concept of a typical character is also found applied retrospectively to characters in traditional Tibetan literature like, for example, to mDo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal’s 18th century work *gZhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud*.

The focus or views of critics vary. sNyan bzang Yum skyabs rgyal (1995) writes about descriptions of characters’ eyes. To illustrate the importance of depicting eyes, he cites from both A. Tolstoy and Lu Xun and quotes an excerpt from Leo Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina*. He then discusses the depiction of the characters’ eyes

and their expressions in several Tibetan works, most of which are contemporary stories, for instance dBang phyug's "Yal med rtag pa'i 'dzum mdangs" and mGon po bkra shis's "'Gran bsdur las rgyal ba'i rta'i rmig sgra". Some theoretical views or concepts come from other theoretical traditions, although the way in which Tibetan critics apply them to analyse Tibetan materials can be viewed as partially innovative.

Some of the theoretical observations seem to rise directly from the critic's own close reading and literary analysis of the works. In Lo bha's article (2006) special attention is paid to the perspective of the first-person narrator in Alai's *Red Poppies*. In Pad ma dbang chen's article (2006) the characters are divided into positive (*dkar phyogs kyi mi sna*) and negative (*ldog phyogs kyi mi sna*) ones, and the function of the latter type in traditional works such as *Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar*, *sNang sa 'od bum gyi rnam thar* and Gesar stories is discussed through analysing their behaviour and speech. 'Brug mo rgyal (1995) writes about the tensions between characters, thus laying the central emphasis on the relationships between characters. Her views are based on her analysis of *sNang sa 'od 'bum gyi rnam thar* and contemporary literary works, as in Don grub rgyal's "Sad kyis bcom pa'i me tog" and dPal 'byor's "Me tog ldum ra'i nang gi klan ka", in which most of the characters are flowers who can speak. Rin chen bkra shis suggests in his article (1992) new ways of combining the emotions to form the personality of a character and supports combinations of seemingly contradictory emotions with views from aesthetics (*mdzes rig pa*). The concept of emotion (*nyams, bhāva*) is of Indic origin and, as pointed out by Gold (2007), was introduced to Tibet in the 13th century by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan in his *mKhas 'jug*.

The authors of Tibetan literary critical articles have discussed characters in a variety of works from both traditional and modern Tibetan literature and also the literature of other cultures. The stories and views on literature of the Chinese writer Lu Xun, especially his short story "Kong Yiji", are often referred to and some of the articles also contain discussion of the works or views of some famous Russian writers, such as Leo Tolstoy, Chekhov and Gogol. References to Indian literature were few, but for example, a mention of the Indian classic work Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* was found. Thus it seems that whereas in the centuries before Tibetan literature, and especially poetry, received influences from India in the modern period, other influences have arrived from different directions and been applied to discuss Tibetan works. However, the articles also demonstrate how Tibetan insights rise from the critics' careful readings of Tibetan literature.

Zavarzina Vera (Saint-Petersburg State University)

**Activities of the 9th Panchen Lama During 1925–1937
(according to the newspaper “Yul phyogs so so’i gsar ‘gyur me long”)¹**

The Yul phyogs so so’i gsar ‘gyur me long (The Mirror of News from Different Regions) edited by the renown Tibetan religious and political activist Dorje Tarchin was published in 1925–1963 in Kalimpong. It is one of the first periodicals in the Tibetan language, which contains a large amount of information on the political, economic and cultural history of Tibet, China and India.

The most part of the surviving issues of the newspaper is available at Columbia University library website from May 2009. It has been still poorly studied and requires further research. During the present research all articles concerning the activities of the Panchen Lama Chokyi Nyima Tubden IX in the period under review were selected and translated. The conflict with the Dalai Lama XIII, which entailed the Panchen Lama’s flight to China and his close cooperation with the Nanking government, influenced not only the internal situation in Tibet, but also its international status. Therefore, the task of studying the activities of the Panchen Lama during his visit to China does not lose its relevance today.

The purpose of this research is to analyze newspaper materials published in the named period, and to assess whether the key moments in the political and religious activities of the Panchen Lama in the context of Tibetan–Chinese relations in the period 1925–1937 were reflected fully and promptly in the newspaper and also to recover the new information not available otherwise. Analysis of newspaper materials suggests both historical and linguistic approach, so the results may be valuable for those who study both the history of Tibetan language and Tibetan history in general.

Issues of the Yul phyogs so so’i gsar ‘gyur me long, published from October 1925 to January 1938, were used for this work. Of the surviving 103 issues published during this period only 93 publications were used (dual issues considered as 2), 10 of them remained inaccessible. One of the main difficulties we encountered during the study was the variation of the language materials. Since Tarchin in his newspaper actively used different kinds of contracted writing, it was sometimes a problem to identify proper and geographical names. In addition to borrowing proper names from foreign languages, he adopted and recorded in Tibetan some terms, which had no Tibetan counterpart at his time. Poor quality of print or scans also entailed some difficulties.

¹ The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition

Section of news about the Panchen Lama is the second largest one in the newspaper. It includes articles about his life in China, his religious and political activities and relations with the Tibetan Government. Articles entitled «PaN chen rin po che», and those whose titles mention Panchen Lama, belong to this section. There is a lot of reports of his numerous trips to Mongolia, which Panchen Lama performed with the aim to fulfill his religious duties and to seek financial support and patronage of the Mongol princes. Notes about the Panchen Lama's plans to return to his homeland are very frequent as well. During the time the Panchen Lama was in exile, many adherents of Buddhism from various regions of China and Inner Mongolia invited him to conduct ceremonies of Kalachakra initiation. Tarchin often describes in detail these religious trips. The section "Panchen Lama" also includes publications on the activities of agencies that Panchen Lama established in many parts of China, which functioned as his personal representative offices and were included into the structure of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission.

Studying of the newspaper materials published during this period requires an analysis of the political relations of Tibet at that time, and confirms that the Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long contains data on all kinds of the Panchen Lama's activities during that period, and therefore, this newspaper is a valuable source of information about this matter.

Zavidovskaya Ekaterina (Taiwan Nanhua University)

Ethnic Identity and Other Features of Modern Sinophone Tibetan Literature

The paper discusses literary features of sinophone Tibetan literature produced during recent decades by Tibetans and Sino-Tibetans and attempts to outline methods employed by these authors to express their ethnic identity under the circumstances of state control over sensitive issue of the Tibetan nationalism and separatism. The papers aims to figure out what makes this prose written in Chinese different from Han Chinese literature of the similar period, since this has been one of its claims. Two collections of short stories published during different periods were chosen: 1. *Selected Contemporary Short Stories by the Tibetans* 当代藏族短篇小说选, Tao Lifan 陶立璠, Mo Fushan 莫福山, Liu Wanqing 刘万庆 eds, Beijing: Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1985, it includes stories written by older generation of writers mainly in realistic style; 2. *Silence of the Sage. Short Stories Volume* 智者的沉默: 短篇小说卷, Sebo ed. 色波主编, Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe 四川文艺出版社, 2002, this collection being a part of a four volume series (the other three are novels, poetry and essays) features writers born after 1950s and displays

wider range of narration and composition techniques. Close reading of both volumes reveals considerable influences produced on the Tibetans' writings by various trends of Han Chinese literature and Latin American "magic realism" and proves that authors mainly refer to well-known symbols of their culture, e.g. monks, monasteries, pilgrimages, mantras, *mani* stones and landscapes to depict uniqueness of their motherland. As representatives of ethnic minority 少数民族 Tibetan writers are imposed with obligation to portray specific realities of their nation, but being sinophone makes them responsible for creating an image of mysterious "other" able to attract wide Chinese readership.

Завидовская Е. А. (Тайваньский Университет Наньхуа)

Отражение этнического самосознания и другие черты современной тибетской литературы, написанной на китайском языке¹

1. Значимые произведения тибетской литературы последних десятилетий.

В этом исследовании мы попытаемся выделить основные черты тибетской литературы, написанной на китайском языке. Это очень большой пласт произведений, охватить который полностью сможет только внушительное издание. Несмотря на свою молодость современная тибетская литература может гордиться десятками, в возможно и сотнями писателей, ряд которых завоевал всемирную славу или известен внутри КНР. Появление значительного числа тибетских писателей, пишущих на китайском языке, это проявление непростой языковой ситуации, сложившейся в областях, населенных тибетцами. В результате более чем полувековой политики КНР значительная группа тибетцев утратила навык самовыражения и литературного творчества на родном языке. Получив образование на китайском языке, тибетские писатели избрали язык «колонизаторов» для выражения своих идей и представлений, которые, тем не менее, отличны от преобладающих в китайской литературе того же периода². Одна из задач будет состоять в выявлении сути этих различий.

Этническое самосознание, как правило, зарождается вследствие некоего потрясения или конфликта, коренным образом меняющего жизнь этноса. Это может произойти в результате взаимодействия этнических групп с разной культурой. В случае Тибета это конечно контакты с ханьцами, результатом

¹ Статья написана в рамках научно-исследовательского проекта РНГФ «Тибетская литература в современном литературном процессе КНР» (12-34-09004), СПбГУ.

² Подробней о формировании тибетской литературы на китайском языке см. Schiaffini 2013.

которых стало крепнущее национальное самосознание тибетцев. Ханьцы в Тибете реализуют инициированную государством модернизацию и даже выступают проводниками глобализации, эта сила, врываясь в жизнь Тибета, безвозвратно меняет традиционный образ жизни обширнейшей высокогорной области. Тибетские писатели, как выразители чаяний своего народа, стремятся запечатлеть как можно больше специфических реалий, которые могут исчезнуть под натиском этих перемен. Поэтому основная часть этих произведений обращена к прошлому, которое было самобытно, в то время как будущее видится все более унифицированным. Ностальгия по прошлому и старине оказывается настроением, вызванным натиском глобализации.

На чем зиждется национальная идентичность тибетцев? М. Голдштейн и Капштейн в своей книге дают следующее определение: «Помимо народного представления о том, что тибетцы это те, кто говорят на тибетском языке, употребляют цампу (высушенную ячменную муку) в качестве основной пищи, можно указать географическое единство тибетского мира (включая естественные границы и священную географию), чувство общей для всех тибетцев истории, общий литературный язык (включая его значение для формирования образованной элиты, воспитанной на единой литературе), а также аспекты генеалогии, мифа и фольклора, — все это помимо исповедуемой тибетцами религии» (Goldstein, Kapstein 1998:140). Авторы отмечают, что религия занимает важное положение, но не является единственным компонентом национальной идентичности современных тибетцев, велика также роль истории, географии и образования. Другой западный исследователь С. Кармэй добавляет, что важными факторами формирования национальной идентичности современных тибетцев являются эпическая литература и «секулярные» культы богов гор, не связанные с буддизмом. Российская исследовательница А. Д. Цендина считает, что на самосознание тибетцев оказывают влияние кочевой или оседлый образ жизни, древняя автохтонная религия бон, безусловно, ламаизм, монастырская система организации социума, язык (Цендина 2002).

Необходимо помнить о том, что выпячивание национальных различий, акцентирование своего этнического самосознания не приветствуется властями КНР, они видят в этом проявления национализма, который в экстремистских формах стал главнейшим фактором дестабилизации в современном мире. В этой связи публикация произведений, отражающих национальные конфликты, в Китае маловероятна.

Наше исследование преследует цель определить, каким образом выражаются особые черты национального характера тибетцев, в современной китайской прозе. Мы берем во внимание произведения писателей первого ряда, которые определялись китайскими и западными специалистами по тибетской литературе. В частности, У Вэй и Гэн Юйфан в книге «Литература Тибета» (吴伟, 耿予方。西藏文学, 北京:五洲传播出版社, 2002), имеющем целью

ознакомление китайских читателей с тибетской литературой, выделяют следующие произведения современной прозы, которые можно назвать ключевыми для современной литературы, среди них написанные на китайском и тибетском языках:

1. Еще Тензин (кит. 益西单增) и его роман «Оставшиеся в живых» (幸存的人, 1980), главные герои крестьянка и ее сын младенец, чудом выжившие после кровавой резни в деревне, после чего молодая женщина ищет способы отомстить рабовладельцу за смерть родственников, события происходят до 1953 г.

2. Джамьян Гьямцо (кит. 降边嘉措, р. 1939, уезд Батан 巴塘 провинции Сычуань, в составе частей НОАК попал в Тибет), его реалистический роман «Калсан Меток» (格桑梅朵, 1980 г. на кит.яз, 1982 г. на тиб.яз) описывает события 1950-51гг., это серия историй, отражающий перемены в тибетском обществе после прихода войск НОАК в Тибет и реакцию разных прослоек общества на это событие.

3. Палджор (кит. 班觉, р.1941, Лхаса), «Камень сунэр» (松耳石, 1985), первый современный роман на тибетском языке, повествующий о том, как судьбы многих людей поменялись после обретения драгоценного камня *сунэр*, роман насыщен этнографическими и культурологическими деталями.

4. Таши Дава (кит. 扎西达娃, р.1959) «Душа, привязанная на кожаном ремешке» (西藏, 系在皮绳结上的魂) и «Разъяренная Шамбала» (骚动的香巴拉), это произведения течения «новый тибетский роман», которое привлекло к Тибету внимание читающей публики в Китае.

5. Сэбо (кит. 色波, тиб. имя Gsal po, р. 1956, авт.округ Ганьцзы 甘孜州, уезд Батан 巴塘, провинция Сычуань, врач по образованию, позже стал писателем и критиком), в повести «Круглые дни» (圆形的日子, 1991) использованы модернистские композиционные приемы.

6. Янгдон (кит. 央珍, р. 1963, Лхаса, окончила Пекинский университет, работает в Центре исследования тибетской литературы 西藏文学研究中心, один из редакторов журнала на кит.яз «Тибетская литература» 西藏文学), ее повесть «Бесполое божество» (无性别的神 1988, расширенная версия 1994) о роли женщины и религиозных традициях Тибета.

7. Лхапка Пунцог (кит. 拉巴平措, р. 1942, уезд Цзянцзэ 江孜, ТАР, окончил магистратуру Центрального института национальностей в Пекине, в 2008 г. избран депутатом собрания ВК НПКСК 11го созыва), повесть «История трех сестер» (三妹妹的故事, 1981) рассказывает о трагической судьбе трех сестер, каждая из которых подверглась насилию и обману наделенных властью и влиянием мужчин, будь то молодой феодал или нечистый на руку *тулку* из монастыря. Другое значимое произведение «Лес после дождя» (雨后的森林) написано на тибетском языке.

8. Дэци Цому (德吉措姆, р. 1946, занимала высокий пост в отделе пропаганды ТАР, член редколлегии журнала «Тибетская литература», прошла ста-

жировку в пекинском отделении Союза писателей КНР), ее рассказ «Медленно шагая по дороге» (慢慢转经路, 1980) трагическая история, которая в частности показывает мирное соседство ханьцев с тибетцами.

9. Таши Палден (кит. 扎西班丹, р.1962, работал в газете «Ежедневник Тибета» 西藏日报), повесть «Завтра погода будет лучше, чем сегодня» (明天的天气一定会比今天好, 1980-е гг.) о тяжелой трудовой жизни крестьян.

Сборник переводов наиболее репрезентативных повестей и рассказов в переводе на английский язык вышел в США в 2001г. (Batt, Shakya 2001)¹. В него вошли знаковые произведения китайских и тибетских писателей: представителей течения экспериментальной прозы в современной китайской литературе Ма Юаня (马原, р. 1953), Гэ Фэя (格非, р. 1964), представителей тибетского «нового романа» тибетского и сино-тибетского происхождения Таши Давы, Сэбо, Алая (阿来, р. 1959, уезд Маэркан 马尔康, тибетского автономного района Абэй 阿坝 провинции Сычуань), тибетских женщин писательниц Гэян (кит. 格央, р. 1972), Янгдон. Это авторы, представляющие Тибет китайскому и западному читателю, все произведения переведены с китайского языка. В предисловии к этому сборнику известный исследователь тибетской литературы Церинг Шакья (Tsering Shakya) обозначает, что наконец-то Тибет стал источником вдохновения для китайских писателей, но этот всплеск творческой активности стал слабее после 1990-х годов. П.Скьяффины связывает такой быстрый упадок с усилением контроля над ТАР и отъездом оттуда ведущих писателей модернистского направления. Ц.Шакья отмечает, что основная часть современной тибетской литературы пишется на родном языке, наиболее популярен среди писателей тибетцев метод реализма, который воспринимается, как оптимально подходящий для отражения реалий современного Тибета (Batt, Shakya 2001: XIV). Далее он добавляет, что предпочтение, какое писатели тибетского происхождения отдают реализму, неслучайно, т. к. им ближе метод критического отражения окружающей жизни. Мы добавим от себя, что представление Тибета в мистическом свете с использованием модернистских техник письма и композиции — это прерогатива китайских писателей, отражающих тем самым неведомое «киное» (как антитеза «я» самого писателя). То, что для писателя тибетца — обычная привычная жизнь, для китайца — экзотика, жизнь «иног». Церинг Шакья четко формулирует главную проблему современной тибетской литературы: «психология и сознание тибетцев не могут быть выра-

¹ К числу других переводов с китайского и тибетского на английский язык можно отнести: *Song of the Snow Lion: New Writing from Tibet*. ed. F. Steward, Herbert J. Batt, Tsering Shakya, Special issue of *Manoa*, 12, no. 2 (2000); *Weise, Tibet's True Heart*, trans. A. E. Clark, Ardsley: Ragged Banner, 2008; *Jangbu, Nine-Eyed Agate*, trans. Heather Stoddard, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010; *Alai, Red Poppies: An Epic Saga of Old Tibet*, trans. Howard Goldblatt, Sylvia Lin-chuan Lin, Methuen Publishing Ltd, 2003; *Alai, Tibetan Soul*, trans. Karen Gernant and Chen Zeping, Hawai'i University Press, 2012.

жены с помощью китайского языка, и такие попытки приведут только лишь к искаженной передаче реальности» (Batt, Shakya 2001: XIX). П.Скьяффини также подтверждает, что китаезыязычный тибетский писатель никогда не будет считаться ни полностью ханьцем, ни тибетцем.

Далее рассмотрим несколько сборников рассказов тибетских писателей, чтобы проследить изменения в формах отражения национальной специфики на протяжении последних десятилетий. Был выбран именно рассказ, так этот жанр развивался наиболее динамично и пользуется наибольшей любовью тибетских писателей.

2. Сборники рассказов тибетских писателей разных лет.

Предисловие к «Избранным рассказам тибетцев» (当代藏族短篇小说选, под ред. Тао Лифань 陶立璠, Мо Фушань 莫福山, Лю Ваньцин 刘万庆, 民族出版社, Пекин, 1985) занимающий высокие посты в органах по делам литератур нацменьшинств монгольский писатель Малчинкуу (кит. Мала Циньфу 玛拉沁夫, р. 1930) начинает с того, что упоминает о тесной связи этнического самосознания монголов с Тибетом по причине общности вероисповедания (ламаизм) и обычаев. В конце краткой статьи он выражает надежду на то, что качество рассказов тибетских писателей не будет отставать от количества. В сборник вошло 24 произведения, вышедшие в период 1979–1983 годов, из четырех регионов, населенных тибетцами. В их числе писатели, положившие начало современной тибетской прозе: Еше Тензин (益希单增, р. 1940), Идам Церинг (伊丹才让, р. 1932), Рабгьял Палсанг (绕阶巴桑, р. 1935), Джамьян Гьямцо (降边嘉措, р. 1938), Калсанг Дордже (格桑多杰, р. 1936), Таши Дава (扎西达娃, р. 1959), Еше Долма (益希卓姆, р. 1925), Еше Церинг (意西泽仁, р. 1952), Цзидэ Цома (德吉措姆, р. 1946). В Послесловии редакторы сборника указывают, что рассказ как жанр тибетской литературы получил развитие после исторического XX съезда ВСНП 1978 года. Написанные в реалистической манере эти рассказы отражают главным образом пережитое тибетцами в годы «культурной революции». Редакторы признают, что некоторые произведения могут показаться наивными и незрелыми, но они являют собой важный этап в развитии тибетской прозы. Немалая часть этих рассказов получила различные литературные премии общегосударственного и провинциального уровней.

Первый рассказ сборника малоизвестного автора Тудэн Цзимэй 土登吉美 «Нарушение клятвы» (破戒) — это бытописание о жизни семьи плотника в первые годы реформ. Местный колорит передают диалоги персонажей, в которых много присказок, форма приветствий носит религиозный оттенок, нередко иероглификой записаны тибетские слова: например, *синьсо* 辛索 тиб. «плотник», *эци* 哦吉 тиб. уважительное приветствие. Упомянута традиционная пища тибетцев — топленое масло и высушенное мясо. Подробно описана работа по украшению близлежащего храма деревянной резьбой. Главный герой — потомственный краснодеревщик, который подвергся гонениям во время «культур-

ной революции», ушел из дома и поклялся бросить свое ремесло, но вот его находит старый товарищ, ставший партийным секретарем уезда, и уговаривает вновь взяться за работу, на которую возник большой спрос. Этот рассказ очень напоминает деревенскую прозу, написанную ханьцами в тот же период начала 1980гг. В прозе этого направления множество диалектизмов создает местный колорит. В рассказе Дондруп Ванбума (丹珠昂奔, р. 1955) «Лепестки под дождем» (雨中的花瓣) речь идет о трех мальчиках пастухах. Двое решили изловить орла, который утащил ягненка у их сестры, они смогли добраться до гнезда хищника и, рискуя жизнью, утащили двоих птенцов. Тем временем на оставшегося сторожить коров подростка напал вор, который пытался угнать скот, он повесил ребенка верх ногами на дереве и убежал. Мальчик выжил, а злодея другие подростки загнали в ловушку. В рассказе нет топонимов, указывающих на место действия, поэтическое название кажется мало связанным с самим сюжетом (развязка происходит во время сильного ливня). Можно отметить только суровый нрав жителей гор: бесстрашие мальчишек, свирепость угонщика скота. Но можно признать, что ровно такой же рассказ мог быть написан и о жизни ханьцев. Рассказ писателя Чан Цина 长青 (вероятно это псевдоним) «Омmani падме хум» (唵嘛呢叭咪吽, слова известной мантры на санскрите om maṇi padme hūm) повествует о старой монахини, которую в возрасте шестнадцати лет старший брат лама привел в монастырь. Упомянуты гонения на монахов и разрушение монастырей в годы «культурной революции», но до и после этих событий монахиню почитали местные жители. Читатель узнает о том, как подвергались перевоспитанию и критике монахи, так один из них перестал считать себя «живым Буддой» и отрекся о религии. Монахиня совершает ритуальный обход храма, читает мантры, вспоминает недавние гонения, думает о том, как достичь просветления. История завершается описанием тихой смерти старушки монахини в больнице. Этот рассказ обладает гораздо более яркой тибетской спецификой, знакомя читателя с жизнью священнослужителей и религиозными традициями. В рассказе «Эй, Минмай Доцзи» (哦, 名麦多吉) писателя Чжа Дэна 扎登герой слышит, как его старший брат напевает в одиночестве песни на лирические стихи шестого Далай-ламы и известного поэта Цангьяна Гьямцо (仓央嘉措, 1683-1706). Отметим, что в некоторых рассказах повествование ведется для осведомленного о реалиях тибетской жизни читателя, а в других автор словно поясняет для читателя чуждого это культуры некоторые явления, так применительно к разным предметам быта используется эпитет *цзан* 藏 «тибетский», речь может идти о костюме, обычаях и проч. Отметим, что носителями традиционной религиозности в этих рассказах являются представители старшего поколения, они читают мантры, крутят барабанчики и совершают паломничества в храмы Лхасы.

Рассказ писательницы Еше Долма «Прекрасное и отвратительное» (美与丑) написан в русле «литературы реформ», которая являлась мейнстримом

китайской литературы в начале 1980 годов, и повествует о внедрении новых знаний, технологий в различные отрасли хозяйства. В ее рассказе речь идет о работе героя по введению современных методов разведения и селекции овец, в конце повести он восклицает «наука это и есть прекрасное!» (кит. 科学就是美). Рассказ Еше Тензина «Настоящее золото» (真金) отражает сумятицу, отсутствие порядка и ситуацию потери контроля властей на местах вследствие кампаний «культурной революции», когда район, занимающийся золотодобычей, отказывается вести переговоры с партсекретарем уезда, превратившись в вооруженный лагерь. В конце рассказчик выражает восхищение мужественными коммунистами, которые вели работу в сложных условиях «культурной революции».

Отметим, что все рассказы из этого сборника написаны в реалистической манере, в них последовательно излагаются сюжет, поступки и высказывания персонажей; описания явлений природы и пейзажей составляют важное содержание этих произведений, что показывает желание писателей воспеть красоты родных мест. В китайской литературе мейнстрима того периода также доминировал подобный метод изложения.

А теперь обратимся к относительно недавнему сборнику из серии «Камни маны и тибетская земля» (玛尼藏地文丛, 四川文艺出版社, Чэнду, 2002¹), главным редактором которых является писатель Сэбо. В оглавлении сборника рассказов «Молчание мудреца» (智者的沉默) помимо имен авторов указаны и их годы рождения, почти все они родились в 1950–1960-е годы, писателей более раннего поколения в сборники не включили. Предисловие редактора позволяет лучше понять, какого рода произведения стали ядром современной тибетской литературы, которую адресуют китайским и западным читателям. В начале 1980 годов группа молодых людей после окончания ВУЗов покинула Китай, связав свою жизнь с «загадочным Тибетом». Там они встретились с горячо интересующимися литературой местными молодыми людьми, создали кипучую и оживленную литературную среду. Благодаря усилиям самих тибетцев, давно живущих в Тибете ханьцев и китайских студентов, присланных «помогать Тибету», новая тибетская литература преодолела грань, исконно разделявшую литературы китайскую и нацменьшинств. Молодые тибетские писатели быстро усвоили прогрессивные методы письма, это был период небывалого взлета и расцвета тибетской литературы. К сожалению, об этом славном периоде остались лишь отрывочные воспоминания, и Сэбо видит задачу этой серии в том, чтобы представить наиболее яркие произведения двадцати одного писателя, работавшего в основном в тот период. Все они этнические тибетцы, выходцы из трех диалектных областей

¹ В серию вошло еще три сборника: повести «Серебряных дел мастер на луне» 月光里的银匠, поэзия «Четки предопределенности» 前定的念珠, бессюжетная проза и эссе «Где ты сочиняешь стихи на ходу» 你在何方行吟.

(У-Цанг, Амдо и Кхам). Многие из этих произведений были переведены на иностранные языки.

Тибетская литература, написанная на китайском языке, прошла первый этап развития уже в период 1950–1970-х годов. При отборе произведений составители руководствовались двумя критериями: 1) в нем должно содержаться неповторимое понимание и восприятие окружающей действительности. Новое поколение писателей обнаружило, что окружающая их жизнь даже более таинственна и наполнена удивительным, чем литературный вымысел? Так «мистическая реальность» и «реалистичность мистики» Тибета стали для них источником вдохновения; 2) эти произведения хотя и написаны на китайском языке, но они должны отличаться от китайской литературы. Непросто было добиться этой цели — писать на китайском языке иначе, чем пишут ханьцы.

В результате оказалось, что отобранные в сборники произведения пусть и не относятся к одному направлению, но обладают рядом общих черт: 1) много произведений насыщено культурно-историческими кодами, залогом успеха является мало известный интересный сюжет. Такие работы находятся в диалоге и взаимодействии с мировой литературой, подобной же стратегии «диалога с миром» следует и современная китайская литература; 2) только в диалоге с мировой литературой в полной мере может быть выражена национальная идентичность. В 1980-е годы такого рода произведения китайской литературы обладали определенной степенью авангардности (речь идет о направлении «поиска корней» и «экспериментальной прозе» — *прим. Е. 3.*). Подобного же типа произведения о Тибете пользовались наибольшим спросом у иностранного читателя, и лишь позже были приняты и читателями тибетцами (возможно, связано это с тем, что такой экзотизм может претить коренным жителям Тибета — *прим. Е. 3.*); 3) работы, в которых прослеживается связь с китайской культурой, чаще это заметно в работах писателей из пограничных областей, которые ближе и понятней китайскому читателю; 4) группа произведений более позднего периода, которые вышли из-под пера авторов с сильным чувством привязанности к родному языку. Рассмотрим особенности выражения национальной специфики в этих избранных произведениях китаезычной тибетской литературы.

Соланг Эрчэн (索郎仁称, р. 1956 г. уезд Абэй 阿贝, провинция Сычуань, первое произведение было опубликовано в 1979 г. в журнале «Тибетская литература») представлен рассказом «Сонный бред Черной реки» (黑河呓语), начинающейся с фразы, которая вряд ли могла появиться в рассказах начала 1980 годов: «В день, когда старый слепнувший пастух почувствовал, что сегодня умрет, он нашел в траве подкидыша, после чего играючи прожил еще десять лет...», тут есть мотив предвидения будущего и власти рока, какие пришли в китайскую литературу после ее знакомства с латиноамериканским магическим реализмом. Главный герой молодой человек по имени Агэнь 阿根, выпасая

овец, встречается красивую женщину, муж которой серьезно заболел в дороге. Упоминаются традиционные тибетские снадобья, лама советует женщине почитать «мантру из шести слов» у чудодейственной горы камней *мани*, взять оттуда горсть земли, смешать с горячей водой и дать больному, упоминается и пение отрывков из классического эпоса о царе Гэсере. Отношения между мужчиной и женщиной также менее консервативны, чем в рассказах раннего периода, эротика (особенно на лоне дикой природы) стала одной из ведущих тем и китайской литературы с конца 1980 годов. После внезапно возникшей обоюдной страсти и соития женщина говорит Агэню, что может быть родит от него сына. Но тут раздается выстрел из ружья ее мужа, пуля попадает в голову юноши, но Агэню показалось, что выстрелил тот его предок — подкидьш, сидящий верхом на баране, которого вопреки запрету заколол отец Агэня.

Рассказ Сэбо «Призрачное пение» (幺J鸣) начинается с такой фразы: «У обочины дороги росло два «дьявольских дерева», когда мы, люди народности монпа, двигались на восток, кто-то из наших взмахнул ножом и отсек ветку одного из деревьев, из раны тут же потекла красная кровь, раздались человеческие стоны. Пройди еще вперед, там будут твои родные места. Жалко, что я забыл имя твоего отца. Цзюэр Дэн? Или Дун Дэр? Или еще как-то его звали, никак не могу вспомнить. Но на свирели он играл очень хорошо...». Рассказ можно назвать образцом «тибетского мистицизма», так критики обозначили модернистскую прозу с тибетскими мотивами, которая сформировалась под влиянием творчества Маркеса и латиноамериканского «магического реализма». Он состоит из маленьких глав, каждая из которых предваряется зачином, а после него следует повествование, напоминающее ночные кошмары, либидозные видения или галлюцинации, возможно, прорывается наружу что-то из подсознания. Поведение странных персонажей нелогично, их реплики обрывочны, они нападают на рассказчика, обнаженные красавицы вдруг меняют обольстительную внешность на устрашающую. Лейтмотивом является доносящийся откуда-то звук отцовской флейты. Диковатой предстает распространенная в тибетском обществе традиция, когда у братьев одна общая жена. В подобном же мистическом стиле построен другой рассказ Сэбо «История человека по имени Среда» (星期三的故事) о мяснике, который всю жизнь резал баранов, но вот обрел просветление, оставил свою профессию и стал чуть не божеством, в этом рассказе интересны аллегорические приемы, отражающие размышления о путях достижения духовного просветления. Рассказ «Август — хорошее время года» (八月是个好季节) использует прием «роман в романе», в качестве одного из персонажей фигурирует сам писатель Себо, который пишет рассказ, взяв за основу криминальную хронику. Такая же игра с участием самого себя как героя встречается в рассказе «Норбу Церинг» (诺布次仁), который начинается так: «В те времена Норбу Церинг был еще врачом, это потом он поменял имя на Себо и стал писателем».

В сборник вошло несколько рассказов Алая, первый из них «Агудуньба» (阿古顿巴) также имеет волшебную завязку и обладает чертами мифа о рождении культурного героя. Рождение Агудуньба сопровождалось чудесными явлениями, к сожалению, его появление на свет отобрало жизнь у его матери, он рос одиноким сиротой в доме богатого землевладельца. Покинув отчий дом, он попал в тюрьму и должен был погибнуть, но желая убежать из тюрьмы, изобрел пилу, которой до того не знали в Тибете. Слава о его мудрости и справедливости распространилась повсюду, его почитали за спасителя и пророка. Судьба связала его с голодающим кочевым племенем, он нашел свою мать — вечно голодную старуху (у китайского читателя это вызовет ассоциации с голодным духом умершего — ведь мать героя умерла при родах), она же — его Судьба 命运. Однажды он придумал способ, как спасти несчастное племя от голода, они вспомнили, как заниматься земледелием и насытились. Тут читатель может увидеть аллюзии на типовой фольклорный сюжет о культурном герое (Гильгамеше, Прометее, Кришне, Шэнь-нуне 神农) и даже ветхозаветную притчу о спасении евреев из египетского плена. В конце старуха умирает, пропадает созданный благодаря мудрости героя красивый сад и пашни, Агудуньба вновь уходит скитаться по освещенной луной дороге. Можно с уверенностью говорить о том, что рассказ Алая своей необычной композицией и канвой может вызвать интерес читателя, мало знающего о жизни тибетцев, т. к. Тибет как таковой не является главным. Богатая фантазия писателя позволяет ему творчески оперировать символами традиционной тибетской культуры. Следующая повесть Алая «Снежный человек» (野人) вызывает ассоциации с одноименной повестью нобелевского лауреата по литературе за 2000 г. Гао Синцзяня (高行健, р. 1940), в ней также звучит печальная тема человеческой алчности и жестокости по отношению к природе и диковинному существу.

Главный герой известной повести Алая «Стая танцующих ос» (群峰飞舞) по имени Санмудань 桑木旦 находится в поисках знания и мудрости. Он обладает чертами мифического героя, оставляет работу учителя математики, чтобы постигать каноны и сутры в монастыре, но отказавшись от статуса «живого Будды», уходит оттуда и получает ученую степень доктора философии, пишет научный труд о системе религиозных диспутов в тантрическом буддизме. Этот персонаж живет в современном обществе, отсюда и любопытный диссонанс между его сверхчеловеческими качествами и окружающей обыденностью. Сильная привязанность связывает Санмуданя с наставником монастыря Гэси 格西 и «живым Буддой». Гэси в состоянии медитации видит стаю танцующих ос, он обретает просветление. Эту историю рассказывает сам автор, поселившийся в келье, некогда занятой Санмуданем. Тот возвращается в монастырь, но это уже светский ученый, который смотрит на ламаизм со стороны.

Написанный в реалистической манере рассказ «Веселое путешествие» (欢乐行程) о двух мальчиках построен на парах противоположностей, один

мальчик — безотцовщина, веселый, беззаботный грязнуля, другой — отпрыск крепкой семьи, напротив, мрачный и скованный. Из глухой деревеньки они приходят в районный центр продать зерно, там, в отличие от их родины, есть универмаг, больница, монастырь, забегаловки, а люди разговаривают на китайском языке. В рассказе «Рыба» (鱼) Алай ведет повествование от своего имени и рассказывает, как он ездил проводить полевое исследование табу и религиозных запретов тибетцев, путеводителем ему служит книга профессора из Центрального университета национальностей Дондруп Ванбума (丹珠昂奔, р. 1955). Рыба у тибетцев ассоциируется со смертью и погребением, к ней относятся со страхом. Автор подробно описывает рыбалку и повадки рыб, его беззаботность исчезает, когда начинают происходить странные пугающие вещи — выловленные им рыбы принялись голосить.

Рассказ «Цветы софоры» (槐花) повествует о старике по имени Селабань 谢拉班, который живет в городе в семье сына, ему редко доводится поговорить с кем-то на диалекте родной деревни, невестка у него китаянка, с ней нет общего языка, он уходит из дома и живет как сторож на автостоянке. Мы видим часто встречающийся и в китайской литературе сюжет о том, как переехавшие в город одинокие старики тоскуют по прошлой жизни. Рассказ завершается сюрреалистической сценой, когда немощный старик то ли во сне, то ли наяву, то ли уже умерев соорудил из металлических прутьев лестницу, залез по ней на дерево софоры и собрал много ароматных цветов.

Далее следует рассказ писателя Пин Цзе (平杰 наст. имя Цзими Пинцзе 吉米平阶, уезд Батан, пров. Сычуань, живет в Пекине) «Судьба поджидает в другом месте» (生命是在别处), который повествует о судьбе литературно одаренных тибетцев, которые приехали учиться в Пекин, как их представления о себе как цвете нации с большим будущим, не соответствует действительности, что приводит к серьезному внутреннему разладу. Этот рассказ знакомит читателя с жизненными сложностями тибетцев в китайской столице, к числу которых действительно относится немалое число пишущих на китайском языке литераторов из Тибета¹. В частности, к этой когорте относится и писательница Янгдон 央珍, чей рассказ «Бесполое божество» (无性别的神) уже упоминался выше. В рассказе переплетается несколько линий повествования, одна повествует о женщине, которая жаждет обрести просветление, она провела месяц взаперти в пещере, но ничего не почувствовала. По пути в монастырь, чтобы выразить почтение тамошнему *тулку*, он увидела умершую собаку, сердце ее охватила жалость, она отогнала мух, стряхнул с трупа червей и закопала его. Этот поступок *тулку* расценил как просветление. Нередко упоминается, что герои кормят животных, улучшая тем самым свою карму. Можно утверждать,

¹К литературе о тибетцах в Пекине можно отнести рассказ Тунга 通嘎 «Ты бредишь, а не поешь» (你在呓语, 那不是歌谣), опубли. в журнале «Национальные литературы» 民族文学, № 5. 1993. С. 44–47.

что в центре внимания повести Янгдон находится религиозная жизнь тибетцев, мысли и переживания всех персонажей связаны со стремлением обрести просветление.

Повесть Пема Цедена (万玛才旦, р. 1969, уезд Гуйдэ 贵德, тибетский автономный округ Хайнань/海南, пров. Цинхай, закончил Северо-западный университет национальностей, а также Пекинский институт кинематографии, известный тибетский режиссер, пишет на китайском и тибетском языках) «Сны бродячего певца» (流浪歌手的梦) речь идет о молодом человеке Церинге, который прошел весь заснеженный Тибет в поисках прекрасной девушки, которая с детства навещала его во сне. Отец и дед его были профессиональными сказителями, знавшими наизусть весь эпос о Гэсере и множество народных песен. В детстве мальчика и отца бросила мать, отец воспитал сына музыкантом и скончался в тот день, когда Церинг ощутил, что у него появился божественный дар к пению. К великому горю юноши проходя мимо одной деревни он видит у реки утопленницу, это оказалась девушка из его снов. Язык прозы Пема Цедена простой и ясный, вероятно это связано с тем, что китайский язык для него неродной, его он выучил в школе. Другой рассказ «Искушение» (诱惑) повествует о том, как главный герой с детства испытывал необоримую тягу к свитку с сутрами, увиденному в доме соседской девочки, какая-то сила влекла его к этому свитку, излучающему сильный свет. Поздней оказывается, что этот юноша ни кто иной как «живой Будда», его поселили в монастыре, но монахи ни за что не хотели показывать ему тот свиток, тут мы видим сходство с типовым сказочным сюжетом о стремлении героя нарушить табу: не взирая на запреты он пытается открыть свиток. Отметим динамичный сюжет с неожиданными мистическими поворотами, обилием атрибутов тибетской культуры, быстрая и неожиданная смена событий, сходство описаний с раскадровкой — все это указывает на влияние работы в кино на писательскую деятельность Пема Цедена.

Заключение

Ознакомившись с рядом произведений современных тибетских писателей разных поколений, пишущих на китайском языке, мы можем отметить, что развитие литературы Тибета последних десятилетий проходило в русле тенденций, имевших место и в китайской литературе. Так в сборнике 1985 года собраны рассказы, написанные в реалистической манере, отражающие перемены в обществе после окончания «культурной революции», религиозная тематика выступает одной из главных тем, но в основном применительно к старому обществу, или когда речь идет об уходящем поколении. Рассказы более позднего периода (сборник 2002 г.) гораздо более разнообразны по манере изложения и сюжету. Авторы нередко используют модернистские приемы, чтобы создать

образ мистического, загадочного Тибета, страны, живущей духовными ценностями в отличие от погрязшего в меркантилизме и погоне за богатством Китая. Как от представителей нацменьшинства от тибетских писателей ожидается, что они будут создавать произведения исключительно на национальную тематику, но со скругленными углами. Написанная на китайском языке проза избегает политизированных и острозлободневных тем, в центре ее внимания религиозность тибетцев, их любовь к вольной жизни на лоне прекрасной дикой природы, а также историческое прошлое народа.

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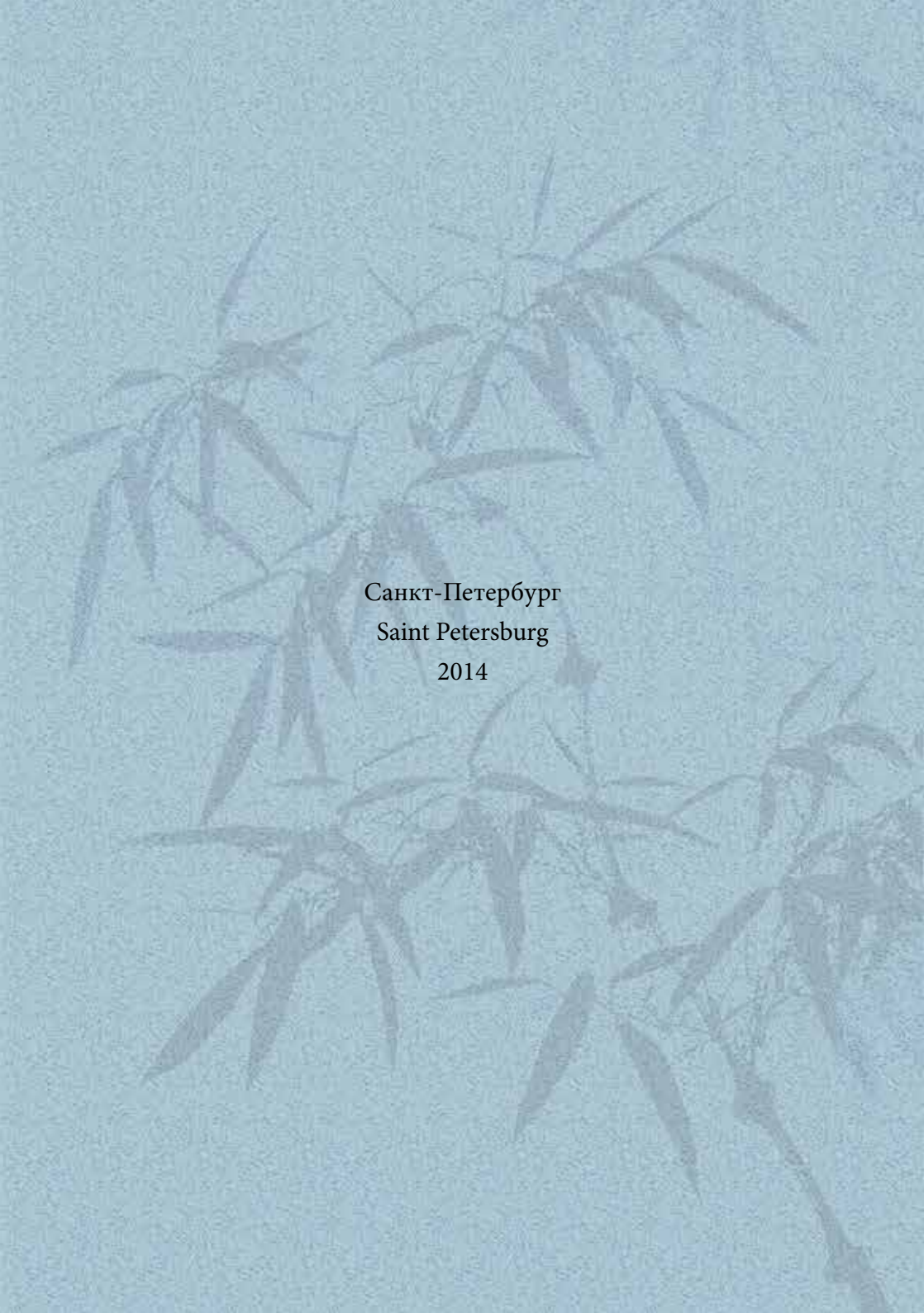
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