*Illustrations of Human Effigies in Tibetan Ritual Texts: With Remarks on Specific Anatomical Figures and Their Possible Iconographic Source**

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Abstract

The ritual use of objects and images designed to serve as effigies or surrogates of specific persons, animals or spirits is more or less universal across cultures and time. In Tibet, recent archaeological evidence attests to the use of illustrated effigies possibly dating from the eleventh century. Other early Tibetan images include anthropomorphic figures inscribed on animal skulls. The practical use of effigies in Tibetan ritual, both Buddhist and Bon-po, was almost certainly derived from much older Indian practices transmitted to Tibet. In this article illustrated effigies, their iconography and ritual use are discussed and the article concludes with the translation and transliteration of a short work by the fifteenth-century treasure revealer (gter-ston) and patron saint of Bhutan Padma-gling-pa (1450–1521), which gives instructions on how to draw a liṅga for a ritual of defence against human adversaries.

The ritual use of objects and images designed to serve as effigies or surrogates of specific persons, animals, or spirits is more or less universal across cultures and throughout human history. Verification of this has been well documented time and again by archaeologists and anthropologists working in disparate fields and in different time periods. Effigies have been and continue to be utilised as mimetic devices in a wide variety of ritual contexts, though they are most commonly found in magical rituals to heal, defend, or inflict harm. In ancient Greece, for example, there is abundant material evidence, from as early as the seventh century BCE, that such objects were used in both public and private ceremonies to bind enemies for the protection of cities or to resolve personal conflicts.[1] Scholars of classical antiquity have come to refer to these ancient devices as 'voodoo dolls', adopting a popular (apparently misguided) term from studies of comparable practices in Africa and

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[1] Christopher A. Faraone, "Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece", *Classical Antiquity* 10.2 (1991), pp. 165–205, 207–220.

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the Caribbean.[2] In India, prescriptions for the use of effigies (*puttalī*), especially for the purpose of destroying enemies, appear frequently in the ancient Vedic texts, above all in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Kauśika-sūtra* (c. eighth century BCE), though such operations are likely rooted in an even more distant Indo-European heritage.[3] Similar figures are known also in China from at least the third century BCE, and much later on from the first centuries of the Common Era in Chinese Daoist and Buddhist rites of sorcery.[4] Moreover, it seems that the same or similar types of objects, used especially in rites of magic to attract and repel spirits, were introduced to Japan from China, and by the end of the eighth century CE, such practices had been adapted and made popular in distinctively Japanese form.[5] And finally in Tibet, recent archaeological evidence attests to the use of illustrated effigies possibly as early (or as late) as the eleventh century. So far the earliest known Tibetan images of this sort are anthropomorphic figures inscribed on animal skulls (Fig. 1).[6] Effigies are also described in the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts dating back to the tenth century, but no illustrated figures of the type examined here have been discovered in

[2]Suzanne Preston Blier, *African Vodun: Art, Psychology, and Power* (Chicago, 1995), esp. pp. 48–51; Esther A. Dagan, *Poupées africaines pour jeux et magie/African Dolls for Play and Magic* (Montréal, 1990); Norman H. Wolff, "The Use of Human Images in Yoruba Medicines", *Ethnology* 39.3 (2000), pp. 205–224.

[3]Maurice Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (Strassburg, 1899), pp. 65–68; Frederick M. Smith, *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization* (New York, 2006), pp. 476 and 531; H.G. Türstig, "The Indian Sorcery Called Abhicāra", *Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde Südasiens* 29 (1985), pp. 69–117 [pp. 83–85]; Teun Goudriaan, *Māyā Divine and Human: A Study of Magic and its Religious Foundations in Sanskrit Texts, with particular attention to a fragment on Viṣṇu's Māyā preserved in Bali* (Delhi, 1978), pp. 314–315, 324, 381.

[4]Donald Harper, "A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C.", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.2 (1985), pp. 459–498; Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu, 2008), pp. 84–89; Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley, 2004), p. 108.

[5]Wang Yucheng, "Ancient Chinese Witchcraft Using Figurines and Its Influence in Japan", *The Humanities Studies Forum: History* (Hong Kong Macao and Taiwan, 2003) http://bic.cass.cn/english (accessed 31 January 2010); Herman Ooms provides a description of Japanese substitution magic, quoting Article 17 of the Japanese Taihō Penal Codes on Violence and Robbery (legislated in 757): "There are many methods of magic and summoning spirits, so that they cannot all be described. Magic entails the carving of human effigies, binding their feet, tying their hands, and in this way bewitching people. Spirit summoning refers to oracles by them or to engaging wantonly in practices of the Left Way; some use curses or spells to kill people" [*Ritsuryō*, NST 3: 97]. See: Herman Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650–800* (Honolulu, 2009), p. 242. Brief descriptions of Japanese rites using effigies for inflicting harm are given by W.L. Hildbugh, "Notes on Some Japanese Magical Methods for Injuring Persons", *Man* 15 (1915), pp. 116–121 and 140–142.

[6]Xu Xinguo, "An Investigation of Tubo Sacrificial Burial Practices", (eds.) and (trans.) Susan Dewar and Bruce Doar, *China Archeology and Art Digest* 1 (1996), pp. 13–21; Amy Heller, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Excavations at Dulan", *Orientations* 29.9 (1998), pp. 84–92 and "Archeology of Funeral Rituals as Revealed by Tibetan Tombs of the 8th to 9th Century", in *Ēran Ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Il'ic Marsak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, (eds.) Gianroberto Scarcia, Matteo Compareti and Paola Raffretta (Cafoscarina, 2003). http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran (accessed 31 January 2010). Heller had proposed an earlier date for the illustrated skulls, eighth or ninth century, but a reassessment of stratigraphic evidence at the Dulan site in Qinghai province where the skulls were uncovered, as well as stylistic comparison of the Tibetan script with the handwriting of the Dunhuang manuscripts, suggests now the likelihood of a later date (Amy Heller, e-mail correspondence, 21 June 2009; Sam van Schaik and Jacob Dalton, e-mail correspondence, 22 June 2009). On the symbolism and ritual use of skulls in Tibetan practice more generally, see René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (1956, reprint Kathmandu, 1993), pp. 516–517; and Andrea Loseries-Leick, "The Use of Human Skulls in Tibetan Rituals", in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (Narita 1989)*, (eds.) Ihara Shōren and Yamaguchi Zuihō (Narita, 1992), pp. 159–173. For descriptions of comparable substitution practices employing animal skulls in Mongolia and Central Asia, see: Charles R. Bawden, "The Supernatural Element in Sickness and Death according to Mongol Tradition, Part I", in *Confronting the Supernatural: Mongolian Traditional Ways and Means. Collected Papers* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 41–84 [pp. 61–63].

Fig. 1. Anthropomorphic *liṅga* effigies imprinted on the skulls of horses, Kexiaotu mound, Dulan county, Qinghai, ca. eleventh century. Qinghai Archaeological Institute, courtesy of Amy Heller.

these texts.[7] The practical use of effigies in Tibetan rituals, both Buddhist and Bon-po, was almost certainly derived from much older Indian practices transmitted to Tibet.[8] Indeed, references to ritual effigies are abundant in the Indian Buddhist canonical tantras and tantric commentaries that began to be translated into Tibetan from the eighth century onward.

In all cases, the use of effigies in ritual are based on sympathetic assumptions, that persons or things sharing a resemblance can act on one another at a distance; similarity of appearance indicating that the two are linked together by invisible bonds, and thus it is possible for one to be manipulated by the other. In Tibetan practice, effigies sculpted in the likeness of an enemy or figures drawn on paper into which the practitioner directs the power of a deity or demon that he controls are called *liṅga*.[9] Such effigies are employed broadly in Tibetan mimetic rituals targeted against enemies, either demonic or human.[10]

[7]See, for example, IOL Tib J 438, fol. 53v (*Guhyasamāja-tantra*) and IOL Tib J 726 (*Klu'i dam-tshig-gi cho-ga*). References in Jacob Dalton and Sam van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 184–185 and 318. My thanks to Jacob Dalton for pointing me in the right direction.

[8]R.A. Stein cited in Amy Heller, "Early Textual Sources for the Cult of Beg-ce", in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer—Munich 1985*, (eds.) Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung (Munich, 1988), pp. 185–195 [p. 188 n. 22].

[9]The term *liṅga* (syn. *nya-bo*) is defined in the dictionary of Dge-bshes Chos-grags as "whatever serves as a support for the 'liberation' of the one named as intended 'victim' during [the rite of] liberation [by] secret mantra" (*gsang sṅags sgrol ba'i skabs su dmigs yul gyi ming rus can gyi bsgral rten gang yin pa'i liṅga lta bu*). See *Dge-bshes chos-kyi-grags-pas brtsams-pa'i brda-dag miṅg-tshig gsal-ba* (1957, reprint Beijing, 1995), p. 303. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (*Oracles and Demons*, p. 360) gives the names and brief descriptions of four traditional types of illustrated *liṅga*: "In Tibetan books on black magic one often finds drawings of certain special *lingam*, required for performing various ceremonies destined to destroy the life of an enemy; thus a *lingam* showing two entwined and fettered human bodies is called the *wa thod lingam*, the drawing of a bound naked man who has an enormous tongue hanging out of his mouth bears the name *ar gtad kyi lingam*, a shackled human figure is the *bkrad pa'i lingam*, and a drawing showing a human figure being boiled in a cauldron resting upon a hearth is the *'Gong po me brdung ba'i lingam*". For traditional instructions on how to draw *liṅga*, specifically of the *bkrad pa'i lingam* variety, see Appendix to this article.

[10]For further discussion of the mimetic principles of substitution in Tibetan sorcery and practical magic, see Bryan J. Cuevas, "The 'Calf's Nipple' (*Be'u bum*) of Ju Mipam ('Ju Mi pham): A Handbook of Tibetan Ritual Magic", in *Tibetan Ritual*, (ed.) José I. Cabezón (New York, 2010), pp. 165–186.

In India, traditionally, the *liṅga* is the phallus of Śiva, at once the quintessential emblem and support of that fearsome god of destruction.[11] The *liṅga*, as understood and employed in Tibet, however, is not explicitly linked to Śiva or to his worship but does retain the literal Sanskrit meaning of 'mark' or 'characteristic' (Tib. *mtshan*), as well as the symbolism of receptacle open to a host of mundane and demonic entities.[12] For example, in the masked dances (*'chams*) of monastic drama performed in Tibet during the New Year's festivities, the *liṅga* plays a central role as sign and receptacle of the evil forces of the old year.[13] These forces are summoned and bound within the *liṅga* effigy (usually made of dough), placed inside a triangular box (*brub-khung*, *thab-khung,* or *hum-khung zur-gsum*), and 'liberated' (*bsgral-ba*) by the leading actor of the drama, a dancing black hat sorcerer who carries a ritual dagger (*phur-pa*). Like the effigy of the masked dance, in Tibetan rituals of sorcery designed either to repel (*bzlog-chog*) or to harm (*bsad-chog*), *liṅga* embody and make present through sympathetic means the intended target or victim. Paper drawings of *liṅga* used in such rituals usually depict a naked human figure (predominantly male, but occasionally female) or animal hybrid with hair standing on end, its arms tied or chained behind its back, knees bent and joints pierced or broken. Examples are found scattered throughout the extensive cycles of Tibetan ritual literature, typically drawn as 'exempla' (*dpe-ris*) on one or more separate folios placed at the end of a text or inserted between texts.[14]

In most cases the images conform to generic formal models but their composition and style can often vary from text to text, depending on the specific ritual required. Although the significance and use of moulded, three-dimensional *liṅga* in Tibetan masked dramas have been repeatedly investigated, the function and form of two-dimensional *liṅga* drawings on paper have not as yet been properly considered. My primary intention in the following pages, therefore, is to call attention to these types of images, to offer some basic reflections on their distinctive renderings in Tibetan manuscripts and printed texts, and to evaluate the proposition that these figures might in fact have a common iconographic source that can be traced back to a much earlier set of Greco-Persian anatomical illustrations. To begin, let us first review the use of Tibetan effigies in their varied ritual contexts.

1 Basic ritual function of *liṅga*

The steps involved in rites that require the use of *liṅga*, either in the form of sculpted figures or paper images, have already been elucidated in some detail by Rolf Stein, Stephan Beyer, and Richard Kohn,[15] among others; so, briefly in what follows, I wish merely to highlight as

[11] Richard H. Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: Worshipping Śiva in Medieval India* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 120–121.

[12] R.A. Stein, "Le Liṅga des danses masquées lamaïques et la théorie des âmes", *Sino-Indian Studies (Liebenthal Festschrift)* 5.3–4 (1957), pp. 200–234 [p. 201].

[13] René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Tibetan Religious Dances: Tibetan Text and Annotated Translation of the 'Chams Yig* (1976, reprint New Delhi, 2001).

[14] Interestingly, such images are also found embroidered on carpets, presumably to be utilised in the aforementioned ritual of the New Year's dance or similar rites. See Jane Casey, *Tantric Carpets from the Himalayas* (London, 2008), pp. 9–12, examples on pp. 28–31.

[15] Stein, "Le Liṅga"; Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 310–312; Richard Kohn, *Lord of the Dance: The Mani Rimdu Festival in Tibet and Nepal* (Ithaca, New York, 2001), pp. 74–86.

background some of the common components of their descriptions, relying also on details provided in a few representative Tibetan works.

There are six operations basic to all *liṅga* rituals: (1) drawing (*'bri*) an image or molding a figure resembling the intended target; (2) summoning (*'gugs*) the target; (3) causing the target's spirit to be absorbed (*bstims*) into the image or object; (4) separating (*dbye*) the target from its divine protectors; (5) cutting off its life-force (*srog-chod*) to achieve the intended goal; and finally (6) 'liberating' (*bsgral-ba*) the spirit of the target.[16] In cases using an image inscribed on paper, as we shall see in greater detail below, the *liṅga* should be drawn with a weary and exhausted expression, frightened, dried up and emaciated.[17] In the second step of the ritual, the 'soul' (*bla*), 'good fortune' (*phya*), or consciousness (*rnam-shes*) of the victim is summoned and bound within the *liṅga* by four syllables—JAḤ on the figure's right shoulder, HŪṂ on its left shoulder, BAṂ on the right knee, and HOḤ on the left knee, respectively. The seed syllable NRĪ ('human' or sometimes the syllable TRĪ) is inscribed at its heart.[18] To activate the image, the personal and clan names of the target are then written on its forehead, its navel, or its thigh. The *liṅga* is then surrounded by the requisite mantra spells or curses to be recited in whatever specific ritual is being performed. The final actions of 'separating' and 'cutting off' are symbolically accomplished by marking X's inscribed with binding syllables above and below the *liṅga* and sometimes on the joints of the figure itself. In some cases the victim's joints are symbolically broken by folding the inscribed paper at the neck, elbows, knees, and ankles, or by attaching the paper *liṅga* to the shoulder bone of a goat.[19] The target is 'liberated' and the image discarded at the conclusion of the ritual usually by burning it in a ceremonial fire pit as a burnt offering (*sbyin-sreg*) or mutilating it with a ritual dagger if moulded from dough, like in the masked New Year's dances.[20]

Usually, *liṅga* rituals are incorporated as part of a much broader programme that can also include other associated forms of ritual substitution or 'ransom' (*glud*), such as the *gtor-ma* offering and the rite of the thread-cross (*mdos*).[21] Generally speaking, *gtor-ma* are offering cakes made of various substances (dog faeces in rites of sorcery, for instance, but more often something less extreme like dough or butter) and sculpted in a variety of shapes to be either offered to deities or ritually cast out during specific ceremonies. Thread-cross

[16]See, for example, the programme outlined in Smyos-btsun Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1694–1728), *Zhig-gling-gi gter-byon dmag-zlog nyer-lṅga las rgyal-chen mchod-thabs gtor-zlog mdos-rnams nyams-su blang-ba'i lag-len bklag-chog mthong-bas don-rtogs*, in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo*, (ed.) 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul (Paro, Bhutan, 1976–1980), vol. 71, fols. 169–215 [fols. 201–204] (henceforth, *Rgyal-chen mchod-thabs*); cf. also Stein, "Le Liṅga", pp. 224–227. On the notion of ritual killing (*bsgral-ba*) as an act of 'liberation' (*sgrol-ba*), see Cathy Cantwell, "To Meditate upon Consciousness as *Vajra*: Ritual 'Killing and Liberation' in the Rnying-ma-pa Tradition", in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, (eds.) Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher (Vienna, 1997), pp. 107–118; and Carmen Meinert, "Between the Profane and the Sacred? On the Context of the Rite of 'Liberation' (*sgrob ba*)", in *Buddhism and Violence*, (ed.) Michael Zimmermann (Lumbini, Nepal, 2006), pp. 99–130.

[17]Padma-gling-pa (1450–1521), *Liṅga bri-ba'i yig-chung gsod-byed gri-gug rgya-can*, in *The Rediscovered Teachings of the Great Padma-gliṅ-pa* (Thimphu, Bhutan, 1975), vol. 3, fols. 365.6–366.1 (henceforth, *Liṅga bri-ba'i yig-chung*). See Appendix below.

[18]*Liṅga bri-ba'i yig-chung,* fol. 365.2; Stein, "Le Liṅga," p. 202.

[19]Kohn, *Lord of the Dance*, p. 76.

[20]Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Tibetan Religious Dances*, *passim*, esp. pp. 18–19, 41–42, 45.

[21]For descriptions of the use of *gtor-ma* in ritual, see: Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā*, pp. 217–222 and 340–346. On *mdos*, see: Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons*, pp. 369–397; Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā*, pp. 318–330; Anne-Marie Blondeau, "The mKha' klong gsang mdos: Some Questions on Ritual Structure and Cosmology", in *New Horizons in Bon Studies*, (eds.) Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano (Osaka, 2000), pp. 249–287.

rites, on the other hand, require the use of an ornate handmade object called *nam-mkha'* or 'sky', as it represents a type of residential space for particular spirits or demons.[22] The *nam-mkha'* consists of multicoloured threads woven around a frame of wooden sticks like a web. More elaborate frameworks, some built as high as ten feet or more, are also constructed in this basic fashion and are used as a type of cage to ensnare the spirit or consciousness of the intended target. According to the basic instructions for the practice of the thread-cross, the device is to be set up with a triangle as its base. The ritualist is directed to draw a *liṅga* effigy of the victim on paper or cloth. He is then to place it within the triangular foundation and offer it as gift (*yas*) to the 'thread-cross lord' (*mdos-bdag*) — the deity whose presence and assistance is being invoked.[23] Also, while reciting the specified mantra spells, the ritualist is supposed to pelt the thread-cross and its triangular base with various consecrated 'power ingredients' (*thun*), usually mustard seeds.[24] Finally, the entire framework is to be thrown in whatever direction the target is located or from wherever the enemy is expected to approach. This action is supposed to diminish the life-force (*srog*) of the intended target and to turn the enemy away (*bzlog-pa*).

Another practice that operates under similar conditions, but may or may not require the use of *liṅga*, though often part of the same series of activities, is the ritual of hurling *gtor-ma* weapons, or *gtor-zor*.[25] We are already familiar with the term *gtor-ma*, but the term *zor* refers generically to any variety of consecrated objects employed as ritual weapons that are literally thrown (*'phen-pa*) against enemies—these targets can be demonic entities but are more often domestic or foreign armies (*mtha'-dmag*).[26] For this type of programme, the ritualist should imagine a sacrificial fire-pit in front of the enemy's totem deity (*'go-ba'i lha*).[27] Concentrating on the *gtor-ma* as a weapon and taking aim, the ritualist should hurl the *gtor-zor* in the direction of the enemy and imagine that its totem deity's strength and magical powers are annihilated. The ritualist should then imagine that the enemy becomes paralysed or rendered unconscious. At that point, the ritualist should vividly imagine all the spirits (*mi-ma-yin*) fighting in his corner emerging from the hurled *gtor-ma* weapon to strike at the enemy, some eating the enemy's flesh, drinking its blood, devouring its heart, while others bind its hands and feet.[28]

[22] Namkhai Norbu, *Drung, Deu and Bön: Narrations, Symbolic Languages, and the Bön Tradition in Ancient Tibet* (Dharamsala, India, 1995), p. 79.

[23] Zhig-po-gling-pa (1524–1583), *Dmag-zlog nyi-shu rtsa-lnga las spyi-ru zlog-thabs-kyi rim-pa sde-tshan-du byas-pa*, in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo*, vol. 71, fols. 57–72 [fol. 61] (henceforth, *Dmag-zlog nyi-shu rtsa-lnga*).

[24] *Rgyal-chen mchod-thabs*, fols. 201–202; Norbu, *Drung, Deu and Bön*, p. 257 n. 40.

[25] Brag-dkar Sngags-rams-pa Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas, *Gtor-zor 'phen-skabs-kyi dmod-bcol spu-gri dar-ma dug-gi-mde'u-thung*, in *Gsung-'bum/Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas* (Reb-gong, Qinghai, c. 1990), vol. 2, fols. 285–291 [fols. 287–291]; Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons*, pp. 354–356.

[26] To cite a few historical examples: Nebesky-Wojkowitz (*Oracles and Demons*, pp. 493–500) describes the use of such rites by the Lhasa government in the time of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933), and again later in 1950 against the Chinese PLA forces; for an early nineteenth-century account of Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje's (1717–1786) deployment of *gtor-zor* weapons in the service of the Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799) during the Manchu campaign (1771–1776) in Rgyal-mo-rong, see: Dan Martin, "Bonpo Canons and Jesuit Cannons: On sectarian factors involved in the Ch'ieh-lung emperor's second goldstream expedition of 1771–1776 based primarily on some Tibetan sources", *The Tibet Journal* 15.2 (1990), pp. 3–28; on the use of *liṅga* rites to repel Mongol invaders at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see: James Gentry, "Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Explusion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty", in *Tibetan Ritual*, (ed.) José I. Cabezón (New York, 2010), pp. 131–163.

[27] On the Tibetan theory of totem deities, see: Stein, "Le Liṅga", pp. 215–219.

[28] *Dmag-zlog nyi-shu rtsa-lnga*, fol. 62; *Rgyal-chen mchod-thabs*, fols. 208–213.

Lastly, to mention another allied defensive rite that may be performed in conjunction with *liṅga* rituals, there is the procedure for repelling and deceiving human or demonic enemies using a so-called 'wand of invisibility' (*sgrib-shing*).[29] This requires the consecration of certain power ingredients (*thun*), namely mustard seeds, and other magical potions (*rdzas*) — like tiger fangs, the blood of wolves, flesh and bone, and so forth — all placed in small cairns (*tho*) or piles of stone erected on mountain tops and other key geographical locations.[30] The power to become invisible or to cloak a particular area for protection is accomplished by the placement of these cairns filled with empowered materials at specific sites. Clearly, the cairns are employed here to mark territory, to stake boundaries, and in this sense, such activity resonates well with age-old Tibetan notions about the geomantic power of certain constructed edifices (temples, etc.) quite literally to nail down the land as a means to control it. We might immediately recall the famous topographic image of Tibet as a 'supine demoness' (*srin-mo gan-rkyal du nyal-ba*) pinned down (*gnon*) at specific focal points (*me-btsa'*) by the first twelve Buddhist temples erected by king Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c. 605–650) in the seventh century; the central Jo-khang temple in Lhasa staked at the demoness's heart.[31] The same symbolism of violent control and constraint is expressed in some Tibetan illustrations of *liṅga*, in which a demon or human adversary is rendered as a bound anthropomorphic figure with daggers piercing its joints and limbs (Fig. 2). This is a literal depiction of the action of subjugation and destruction of the enemy, the climax, for instance, of Tibetan *phur-pa* rites.[32]

2 Stylistic features of *liṅga* drawn or printed on paper

Effigies may in fact be universal but the stylised anthropomorphic figures that appear in Tibetan ritual texts as hand drawn or woodcut illustrations designed to serve as models for the production of effigies, referred to as *liṅga* by Tibetans, seem to be a phenomenon unique to Tibet and other Tibetan-influenced cultural regions (namely, Nepal, Bhutan, and Mongolia). This type of effigy figure, as far as I can determine, is not found anywhere in India, China, or Japan, where rites utilising effigies, as I noted at the start, are prevalent and predate in most cases similar if not identical practices in Tibet. This raises questions. Is this

[29]Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho (1846–1912), *Las sna-tshogs-pa'i sngags-kyi be'u-bum dgos-'dod kun-'byung gter-gyi bum-pa bzang-po* (Hong Kong, 1999), pp. 33–43; cf. Cuevas, "The 'Calf's Nipple' (*Be'u bum*) of Ju Mipam ('Ju Mi pham)".

[30]*Dmag-zlog nyi-shu rtsa-lnga,* fols. 63–66.

[31]Janet Gyatso, "Down With the Demoness: Reflections on a Feminine Ground in Tibet", in *Feminine Ground: Essays on Women and Tibet*, (ed.) Janice D. Willis (Ithaca, New York, 1987), pp. 33–51; Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, *Thundering Falcon: An Inquiry into the History and Cult of Khra-'brug Tibet's First Buddhist Temple* (Vienna, 2005) pp. 171–215; Martin A. Mills, "Re-Assessing the Supine Demoness: Royal Buddhist Geomancy in the Srong btsan sgam po Mythology", *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007), pp. 1–47. http://www.thlib.org?tid=T3108 (accessed 31 January 2010).

[32]R.A. Stein, "A propos des documents anciens relatifs au *phur-bu* (*kīla*)", in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kōros Memorial Symposium Held at Matrafüred, Hungary, 24–30 September 1976*, (ed.) Louis Ligeti (Budapest, 1978), pp. 427–444; Martin J. Boord, *The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla: According to the Texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition of Tibet (Byang-gter phur-pa)* (Tring, 1993); Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer, *The Kīlaya Nirvāṇa Tantra and the Vajra Wrath Tantra: Two Texts from the Ancient Tantra Collection* (Vienna, 2007). Cantwell and Mayer (pp. 6–12 and 17–20) advocate that the Buddhist *phur-pa* ritual, in which the destruction of *liṅga* effigies is a central component, preserves in symbolic form the ancient pre-Buddhist Tibetan predilection for blood sacrifice, the *liṅga* representing the victim of the once literal violent offering. It is their hypothesis that Tibetans were initially attracted to Buddhist tantric rites of this sort because of the latter's "exceptionally strong emphasis on deeply familiar motifs of sacrifice, dismemberment, and hierarchical sharing" (p. 20).

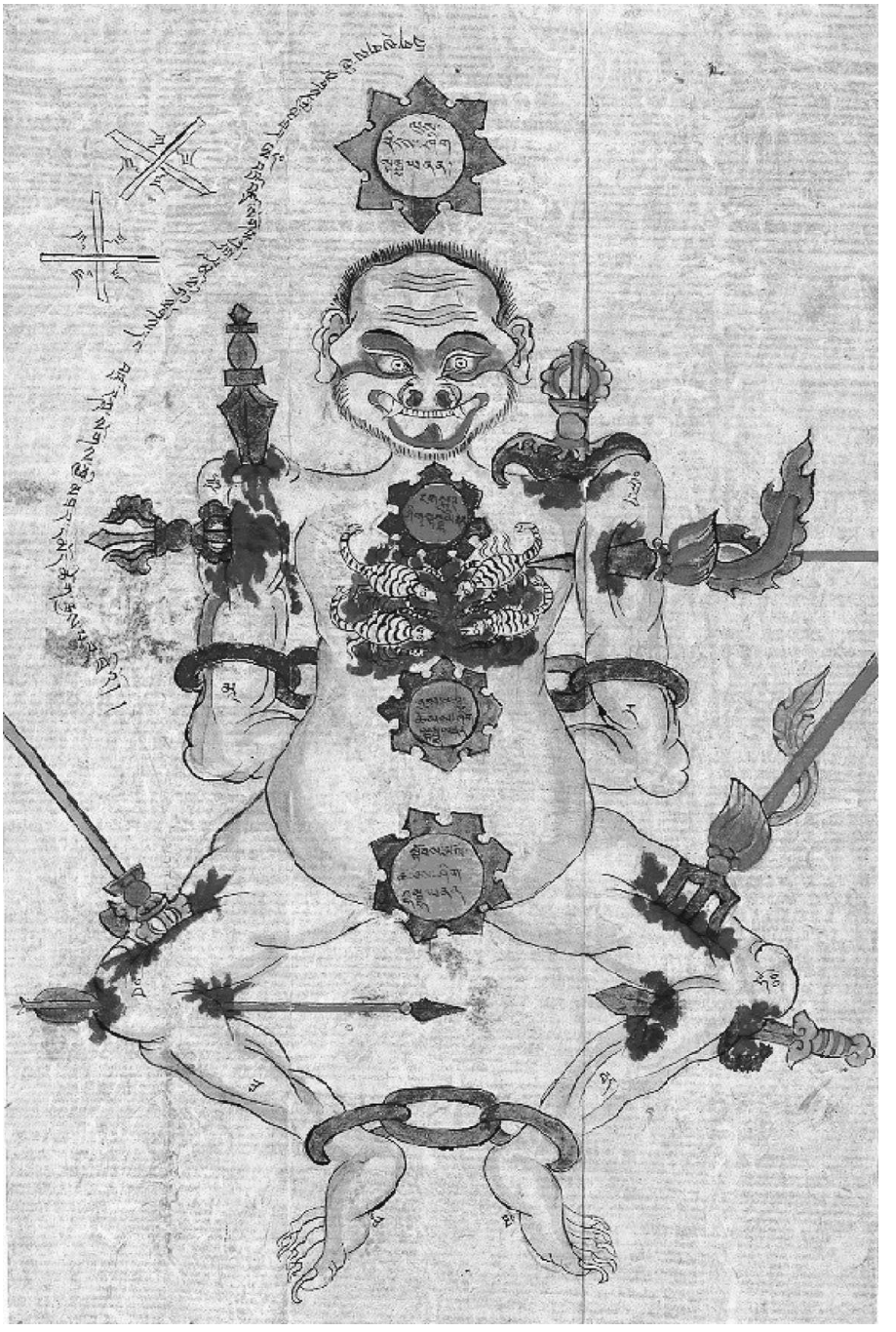

Fig. 2. Manuscript illustration of *linga* for subduing demons (*'byung-po*), from the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Gsang-ba rgya-can dpe-ris dang bcas-pa*, ca. nineteenth century, Tib. B. 9517/9518, illus. 41. Courtesy of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts.

two-dimensional graphic figure, therefore, an expression of Tibetan artistic innovation, or if not, does the figure derive from some as yet unidentified prototype?

In order to address these questions it is necessary to shift our focus from the framework of ritual to the history of art, but even more precisely we would have to take a closer look at the history and function of drawing in Tibet. However, that task is especially difficult since Tibetan sketch illustration and autonomous drawing have not yet emerged as independent subjects for critical investigation by historians of Tibetan art. Fortunately, it is true that in recent decades some exceptional studies have appeared on the fine arts in Tibet and the Himalayas covering a wide range of pertinent issues, for example the styles and composition of the major works of Tibetan and Himalayan sacred art in paintings and murals, features of Buddhist iconography, principles of Tibetan iconometry, and the biographies of Tibet's greatest artists.[33] Yet scholars have still largely remained silent about the position of the graphic arts in Tibet, which do not typically conform to the precise and polished procedures customary in the high art of the temples and monasteries. Here I refer to the many collections of freehand drawings and woodcut illustrations that have come down to us in the pages of ritual texts. The *liṅga* figure is just one fascinating example among many of the types of practical illustration we find in these books. These include naturalistic renderings of a diversity of ritual implements and regalia, as well as technically simple but stylistically expressive depictions of humans of both sexes, assorted animals, and the full array of demons and spiritual creatures that haunt the Tibetan physical and psychological landscape. Marvellous examples of this kind of illustration fill an entire volume in Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa's fourteenth-century anthology, the *Bla-ma dgong-'dus* (Compendium of the lama's intention)—a veritable bible of Tibetan ritual of almost every sort—and also in the more richly embellished black *thang-ka* paintings commissioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) between the years 1673 and 1680 to illustrate his private visions.[34] I am not equipped to tackle the art historical significance of these drawings, but wish merely to underscore the worthiness of the subject for specialists of Tibetan art.

With that objective in mind, I would like to suggest also that, in addition to the illustrated ritual texts, another potentially valuable medium for future consideration is the artist's sketchbook – that is of course if such books can be determined to have existed in Tibet as they certainly existed in Nepal.[35] Concerning the latter, Pratapaditya Pal remarks that "these

[33]See especially: David P. Jackson and Janice A. Jackson, *Tibetan Thangka Painting: Method and Materials* (Ithaca, New York, 1988); David P. Jackson, *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions* (Vienna, 1996); Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter and Christian Luczanits, *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom: Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya* (New York, 1998); Amy Heller, *Tibetan Art: Tracing the Development of Spiritual Ideals and Art in Tibet, 600–2000 A.D.* (Milan, 1999); Robert N. Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art* (Boston, 1999); Robert N. Linrothe, Marylin M. Rhie, Jeff Watt and Carly Busta, *Demonic Divine: Himalayan Art and Beyond* (New York, 2004). For a contemporary Tibetan account of the history of painting in Tibet, including also thorough discussion of artists' techniques, tools, and materials, see Brtson-'grus-rab-rgyas and Rdo-rje-rin-chen, *Bod-kyi ri-mo spyi'i rnam-gzhag blo-gsal 'jug-sgo* (Beijing, 2001).

[34]Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa (1340–1396), *Bla-ma dgongs-'dus: A Complete Cycle of Buddhist Practice* (Paro, Bhutan, 1981–1984), vol. 18; Samten G. Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection* (London, 1988).

[35]M.L.B. Blom acknowledges that in Asia the use of sketchbooks may be unique to Nepal: "Up till now, a model book tradition comparable to that in Nepal has not been discovered in the other countries of South- and Southeast Asia. It is, of course, known that from time-to-time sketches were made as preparatory studies for the production of sculptures and paintings, but this habit evidently never grew to a tradition like that of the model books in Nepal". See *Depicted Deities: Painters' Model Books in Nepal* (Groningen, 1989), p. 1.

books containing artists' models, as well as illustrated manuals for priests, were produced in abundance in Nepal between the fifteenth and early twentieth century . . . The texts often consist of litanies, rituals, eulogies, and devotional poems as well as astrological and iconographical information . . . Although these sketches were meant to serve as the artists' working notes, they were, nevertheless, carefully rendered with great attention to detail".[36] The sustained study of 'model-books' (*exemplum*) in Europe, for example, has had tremendous impact on broadening the understanding of production processes, development of drawing styles, and forms of artistic transmission throughout the European Middle Ages, and I suspect that the same could hold true in the area of Tibet and the Nepal Himalayas.[37]

Illustrations of *liṅga* are themselves 'models' (*dpe-ris*), exemplifying details conveyed in the written texts that usually accompany them, and are designed to be copied time and again for ritual purposes. Also, as noted earlier, they are meant to serve as replicas that imitate the actual shape and expressions of the intended targets of the rites. Other significant collections of similarly explanatory illustration are to be found in the Tibetan medical tradition. The finest examples of such visual aids are, of course, the extraordinary medical paintings illustrating Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho's (1653–1705) late seventeenth-century commentary on the *Rgyud-bzhi* (Four-fold tantra), Tibet's most authoritative treatise on medicine and therapeutic treatment.[38] These lavish paintings reflect the breadth and depth of the healing art as practiced in Tibet from perhaps as early as the second half of the seventh century and depict in naturalistic detail much of the basic medical practices prevalent in the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, notably pulse-reading (*rtsa-lta*), uroscopy (*chab-rtags*), dietetics (*zas-tshod*), bloodletting (*gtar-ga*), moxibustion (*me-btsa'*), herbal medicines, and elementary techniques of surgery, among many other procedures.

There has been considerable effort by a few expert scholars to introduce and contextualise these paintings (all of which have survived in modern Mongolian and Tibetan reproductions) in terms of the history and practice of medicine in Tibet, and some effort to outline the main features of their iconography and artistic style. On the other hand, the important role that these paintings play in visually reflecting the peripheral public, social and religious spheres of everyday life—depicted in detail throughout in the scores of miniature tableaux surrounding the medical subjects proper and many even portraying main topics themselves—has not yet been sufficiently explored.[39] These graphic images show ordinary Tibetans going about their ordinary routines in the towns and villages, monks and lamas performing their customary rituals, the doctors attending to their patients, and so on—simple snapshots of daily life.

[36] Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Buddhist Book Illuminations* (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 123–124.

[37] On the history and significance of artists' model-books in Europe, see Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 – ca. 1470)*, (trans.) Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam, 1995).

[38] Fernand Meyer in *Tibetan Medical Paintings: Illustrations to the Blue Beryl Treatise of Sangye Gyamtso (1653–1705)*, (eds.) Yuri Parfionovitch, Gyurme Dorje and Fernand Meyer (London, 1992), pp. 3–12. For a discussion of the composition of Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho's commentary, the *Vaiḍūrya sngon-po* (Blue beryl), see Olaf Czaja, "The Making of the *Blue Beryl*—Some Remarks on the Textual Sources of the Famous Commentary of Sangye Gyatsho (1653–1705)", in *Soundings in Tibetan Medicine: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives. PIATS 2003: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 2003*, (ed.) Mona Schrempf (Leiden, 2007), pp. 345–371.

[39] See: Janet Gyatso's comments in her introduction to *Body & Spirit: Tibetan Medical Paintings*, (eds.) Laila Williamson and Serinity Young (Seattle, 2009), pp 3–13.

Such pictures are as much a part of the history of Tibetan art as are the more central and perhaps more artistically appealing images of human anatomy, or the subtle channels of the yogic body, the intricate circular diagrams of pulse divination, or the ever popular maṇḍala of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha. All this indicates that there still remains much exciting work to be done and that the future ahead looks promising. But leaving this aside, now that we have come to the topic of medical illustration we are in a position to return to the questions raised above about the source or derivation of the unique stylistic form of the Tibetan *liṅga*. Let us first review its common features.

Fig. 3 shows four typical *liṅga* illustrations in the Tibetan ritual texts. The figures here are detailed from a small collection of such models, the *Liṅga'i dpe-ris skor* (Collection of *liṅga* model-illustrations) included in the works of Brag-dkar Sngags-rams-pa Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas, a little-known seventeenth-century Dge-lugs-pa mystic from Amdo in northeastern Tibet.[40] These *liṅga* are models of the effigies to be deployed in rites against various species of *sri* demon, and thus each one of the naked figures printed on the page is to be viewed as a facsimile of a particular demon in that class.[41] Noteworthy in these examples are the following characteristics, which again are common to all depictions of Tibetan illustrated *liṅga*: a naked, emaciated but slightly musculatured human figure standing (or lying flat) bound in chains with legs open and bent at the knees, feet pointed outward, stomach distended, genitals exposed, arms tied behind the back, hair standing on end, and the face (sometimes human, sometimes animal) grimacing in fear or pain. Dotted lines lead to side captions identifying the class of demon represented. In some cases, inscribed around the figure are brief instructions on how to draw the image or what to do with it in the ritual programme. The requisite mantric syllables and the spells or curses to be recited are often written on the body of the figure as well.

3 Tibetan *liṅga* and anatomical illustration

Recently, Fernand Meyer has drawn our attention to the pronounced stylistic resemblance between this generic Tibetan *liṅga* figure—especially its distinguishing posture—and two

[40]Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas was first in the line of the Brag-dkar Sngags-rams-pa incarnates seated at Rong-po Dgon-chen Thos-bsam-rnam-rgyal-gling near Reb-kong. He was born in Brag-dkar probably in the middle decades of the seventeenth century and spent his youth and early career at the meditation centre at Bkra-shis-'kyil monastery in Amdo. At the age of 30 he travelled to Lhasa and entered the Lower Tantric College at Se-ra monastery where he developed a reputation as a skilled sorcerer and exorcist. In this capacity he was several times called upon to perform rituals for the protection of the Lhasa government. Considered an incarnation of the infamous sorcerer Rwa-lo-tsā-ba (b. 1016), he was said to be a devout and masterful practitioner of the fierce rites of Bhairava/Yamāntaka and especially the cycle of rituals known as the *Lcags-mkhar cho-ga* (Rites of the iron castle), which included special techniques for the suppression of the life-threatening *sri* demons (see note 41 below). The small collection of *liṅga* illustrations detailed here belongs to this group of Yamāntaka rites. A very brief biography of Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas, from which this little bit of information is drawn, can be found in Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas (b. 1801), *The Ocean Annals of Amdo = Yul-mdo-smad-kyi ljongs-su thub-bstan rin-po-che ji-ltar-ba'i tshul gsal-bar brjod-pa deb-ther rgya-mtsho* (New Delhi, 1975–1977), vol. 1, fols. 738.5–740.5. A more extended account of his life is included in the first volume of his two-volume *Collected Works*. See *Gsung-'bum/Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas* (Reb-gong, Qinghai, c. 1990), vol. 1, fols. 31–52.

[41]Depicted here are the *liṅga* of four types of *sri* demon. From top left, they are: (1) the *sri* that harms men (*pho-sri*), (2) the *sri* that causes loss or damage (*god-sri*), (3) the fox-headed *sri* of the charnel grounds (*dur-sri*), and (4) the scorpion-headed *sri* that causes accidents (*nye-sri*). For a descriptive analysis of the wide variety of *sri* demons in Tibetan mythology, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons*, pp. 300–303.

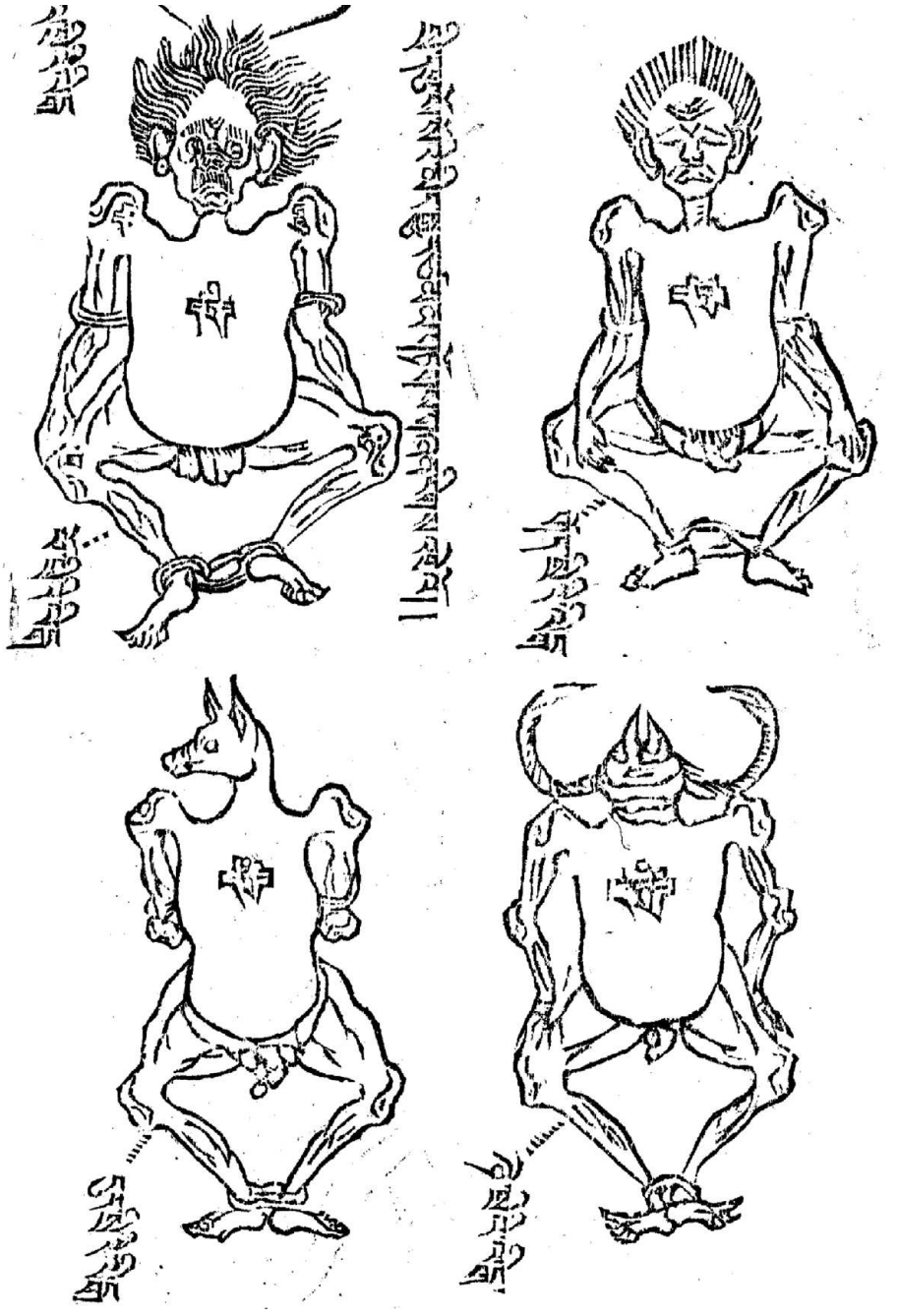

Fig. 3. Details of Tibetan *liṅga* woodblock figures from Brag-dkar Sngags-rams-pa Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas, *Liṅga'i dpe-ris skor*, vol. 2, fols. 5r-6r. Reproduced with permission of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC). Weblink: http://tbrc.org/link?RID=W15404, in vol. 2, scans 333–344.

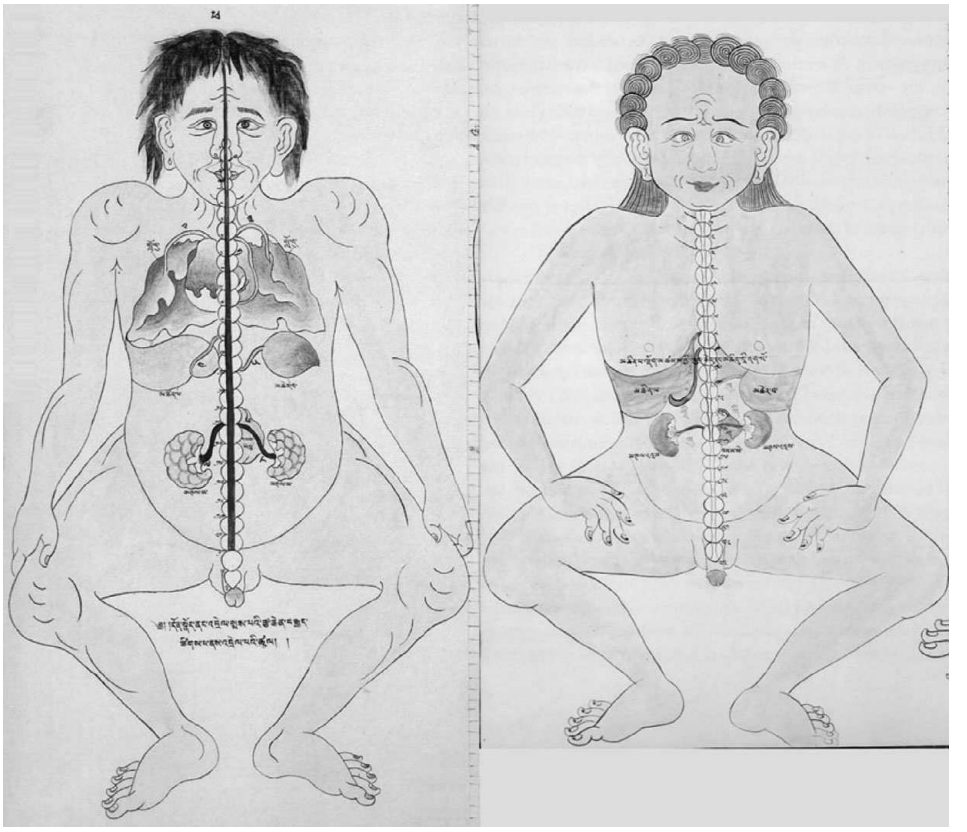

Fig. 4. Detail of two Tibetan anatomical figures demonstrating the viscera and connecting channels, ca. 1920s, from facsimile of the original 1687–1703 *thang-ka* series preserved at the Buryat Historical Museum in Ulan Ude. Parfionovitch et al., *Tibetan Medical Paintings*, 1992, pls. 10 and 47. Reproduced with permission of Serindia Publications.

images reproduced in the Tibetan medical paintings (Fig. 4).[42] The first image shown here depicts the "relationship between the aorta, or channel of life parallel to the vertebrae, and the eight hidden blood vessels [*sbas-pa'i rtsa-chen*] of the viscera", while the second depicts the "channels which connect the solid and hollow viscera at the spinal column".[43] Demonstration of the internal organs and connecting channels above and below the diaphragm is thus the shared objective of both images. Citing the earlier observations of Karl Sudhoff, one of the pioneering historians of medicine, Meyer has also suggested that these two medical figures, and by implication the Tibetan *liṅga* figure itself, may have a common iconographic source that leads back as far as the third century BCE to the ancient

[42]Fernand Meyer, "Introduction à l'étude d'une série de peintures médicales crée à Lhasa au XXII^{e} siècle", in *Tibet civilisation et société*, (ed.) F. Meyer (Paris, 1990), pp. 29–58 [p. 43]; Parfionovitch et al., *Tibetan Medical Paintings*, pp. 35–36 and 109–110.

[43]*Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 109.

Alexandrian tradition of anatomical science.[44] This is a tantalising suggestion and one upon which Meyer opted not to expound further, as the issue was tangential to his main focus. So here I will try to put some of the links together to assess whether such a thesis is tenable, and because I think this issue is important to answering our questions about the distinctive style of the Tibetan *liṅga* form.

Sudhoff's hypothesis, as it relates to specific anatomical illustrations that have survived in medieval Latin manuscripts from the first half of the twelfth century (and in Arabic sources from the fourteenth century), is that the original model for the figures in similar posture reproduced in European and later Persian medical drawings was first developed in Hellenistic Alexandria and transmitted by way of Byzantium.[45] This original model, Sudhoff speculated, consisted of a series of five figures (*Fünfbilderserie*), all in the same position, and each depicting one of the five systems of the body: the arteries, veins, bones, nerves, and muscles (Fig. 5).[46] Medical historians have since accepted an expanded nine-figure series, with the addition of four figures showing the genitals, viscera (stomach, liver and belly), the womb, and the brain and eyes.[47]

Sudhoff was especially compelled by the unusual posture of these figures, notably the open position of the legs, which he described as a 'squatting' position (a position that Fielding Garrison, commenting on Sudhoff's studies, evocatively compared to the position of a 'reflex frog').[48] In considering the explicit didactic function of the European medical figures, however, the noted anatomist Robert Herrlinger advocated instead that they should be more appropriately referred to as "table figures", since their characteristic posture most directly corresponds to "the position of a corpse laid upon a table (*mensa*) for dissection . . . the legs are spread apart in order to make the inside of the thighs and genitals accessible".[49] As Sudhoff, Herrlinger and others have shown, the 'squatting' or open-legged 'table' position of these figures appears repeatedly in medieval Latin and Arabic anatomical illustrations, particularly of the arteries, viscera and related systems, and also in schemata for the medical procedures of cautery and bloodletting (Fig. 6);[50] all of them presumably fashioned exclusively for the purpose of instruction or memorisation. Again, as Meyer has noted, we see this same position in the two viscera figures of the seventeenth-century Tibetan medical paintings

[44] Meyer, "Introduction", pp. 30, 43–44, and 48 n. 7; cf. also Marianne Winder, "Tibetan Medicine compared with Ancient and Mediaeval Western Medicine", *Bulletin of Tibetology (Gangtok), New Series* 1 (1981), pp. 5–22 [pp. 15–16].

[45] Karl Sudhoff, *Studien zür Geschichte der Medizin*, vol. 4*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anatomie im Mittelalter speziell der anatomischen Graphik nach Handschriften des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 28.

[46] Karl Sudhoff, "Anatomische Zeichnungen (Schemata) aus dem 12. und 13. Jh. und eine Skelettzeichnung des 14. Jhrs", in *Studien zür Geschichte der Medizin, vol. 1: Tradition und Naturbeobachtung in den Illustrationen medizinischer Handschriften und Frühdrucke vornehmlich des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 49–65, and Sudhoff, *Studien zür Geschichte der Medizin, vol. 4*, pp. 3–10 and 52–72.

[47] Ynez Violé O'Neill, "The Fünfbilderserie—A Bridge to the Unknown", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 51.4 (1977), pp. 538–549.

[48] Fielding H. Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine. With Medical Chronology, Suggestions for Study and Bibliographic Data* (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 214; Robert Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration from Antiquity to 1600*, (trans.) Graham Fulton-Smith (New York, 1970), p. 10.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[50] For details on the manuscript illustration of the Wolfenbüttel 'bloodletting man' shown in Fig. 6, see: Karl Sudhoff, "Männliche Eingeweidesitusbilder und Aderlaβmännchen", in *Studien zür Geschichte der Medizin, vol. 1: Tradition und Naturbeobachtung in den Illustrationen medizinischer Handschriften und Frühdrucke vornehmlich des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 27–48 [pp. 45–46]; and Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration*, p. 28.

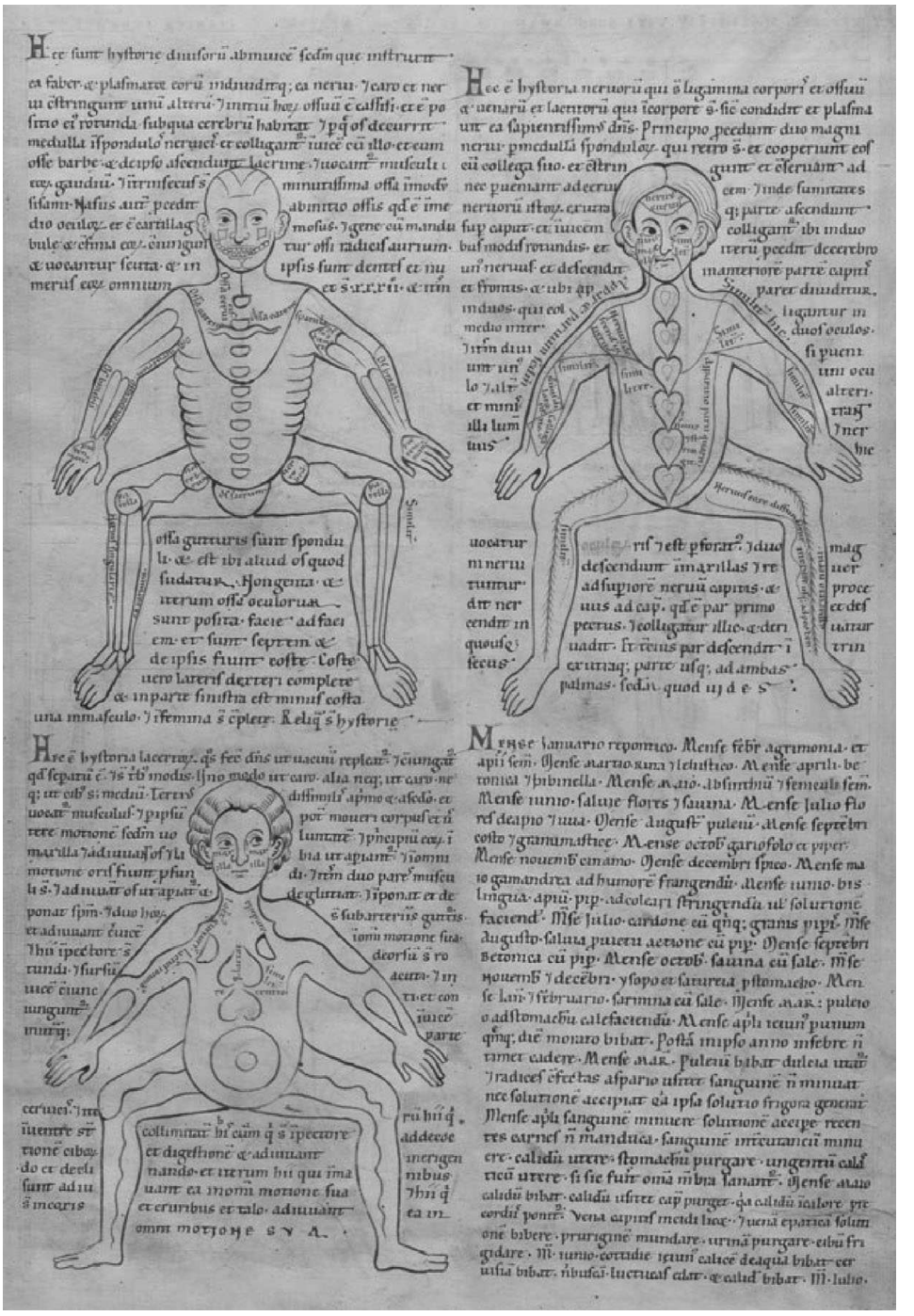

Fig. 5. Examples of Sudhoff's 'five-figure series' (*Fünfbilderserie*) depicting the bones, nerves, and muscles, from a manuscript written and illuminated in 1158 at the Benedictine Abbey of Prüfening, Bavaria and now held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: Cod. lat. Monacensis 13002.

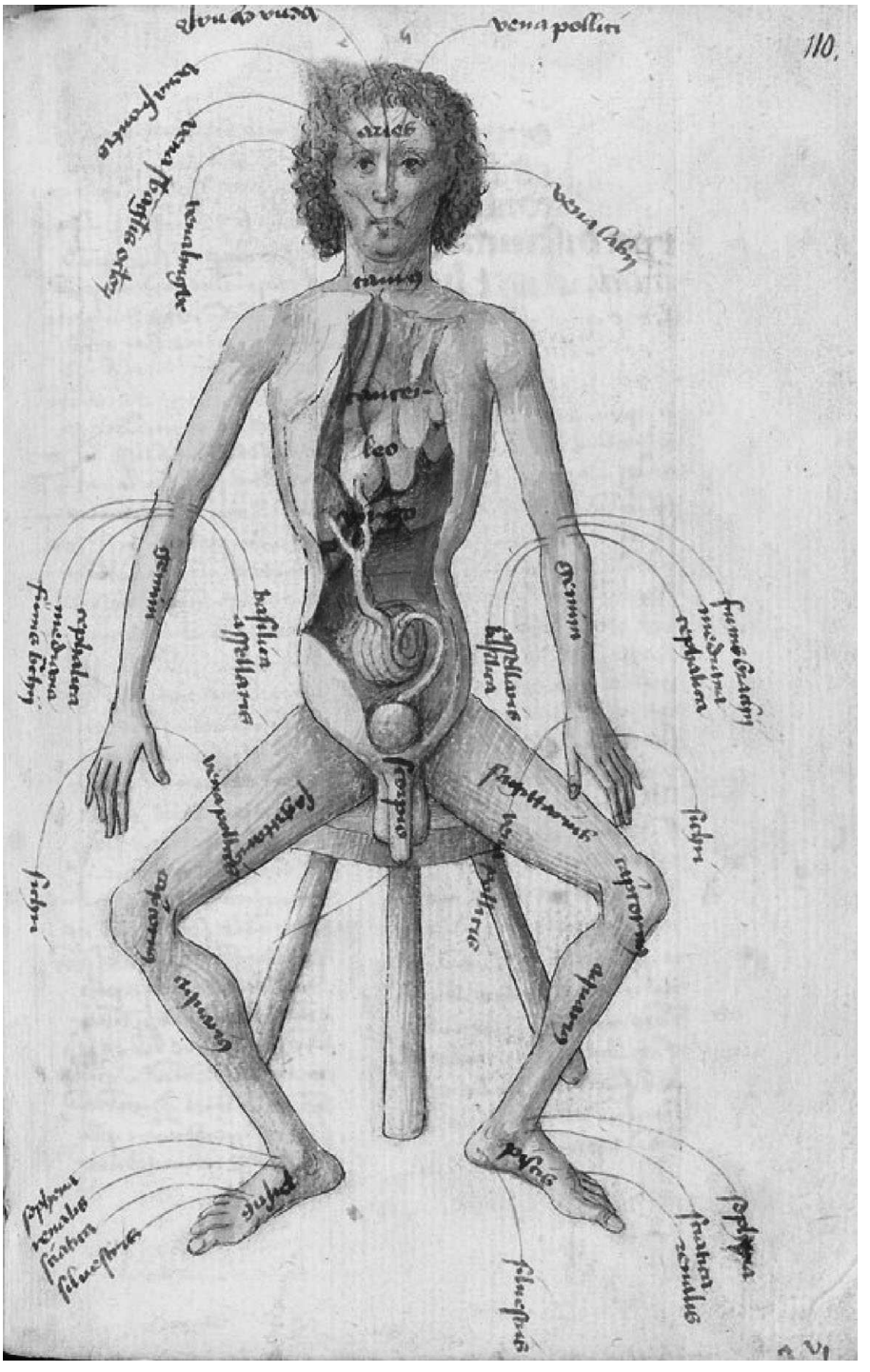

Fig. 6. Manuscript illustration of a 'bloodletting man' linked to the 'five-figure series' (*Fünfbilderserie*), fifteenth century. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Cod. Guelf. 18.2 Aug. 4°, fol. 110r.

of Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho. I should add here that Sudhoff himself was actually the first to acknowledge this comparison after seeing copies of two sets of these Tibetan anatomical figures, one published by E.H. Walsh in 1910 and another obtained in 1902 by Bertold Laufer and subsequently donated to the Field Museum of Chicago.[51] Let us keep in mind that illustrations of Tibetan *liṅga* are also drawn in a posture reminiscent of these medical figures.

Even with Herrlinger's corrective description, he and Sudhoff both had made it clear, however, that none of the *Fünfbilderserie* figures—European, Persian, or Tibetan—seem to have been derived from direct practical observation of the displayed cadaver, but rather, following Sudhoff's thesis, preserved the character of a much older and long copied schematic template. This template, Sudhoff proposed, was expressly tied to the Greek anatomical tradition of Galen (Galenos, 129-ca. 217), second-century physician from Pergamum.[52] Galen's anatomical works which, as often emphasised, were largely argued by analogy from observations of animal dissection, held sway as the authoritative source of anatomical knowledge in Europe until at least the sixteenth century when actual anatomical dissection eventually prevailed as a method of medical instruction—a tradition, apparently, that had already begun to be developed as early as the fourteenth century, primarily in the Italian universities.[53]

The Galenic tradition was also promoted in Persia from about the third century onward based on Arabic translations of Galen's works and continued well into the fourteenth century.[54] At the end of that period, in 1396, the first of the Arab Islamic anatomical works to include illustrations was produced: the *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī* (Manṣūr's anatomy), a summary of Galen's anatomical writings composed by the Shirazi physician Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad

[51]Karl Sudhoff, *Essays in the History of Medicine* (New York, 1926), p. 21; Meyer, 'Introduction', pp. 29–30.

[52]Sudhoff, "Anatomische Zeichnungen (Schemata)", pp. 54–55; Sudhoff, *Studien zür Geschichte der Medizin, vol. 4*, pp. 3–10; Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration*, p. 13. On the significance of Galen as a chief source for knowledge of the Alexandrian anatomical tradition and of its most important pioneers, see James Longrigg, "Anatomy in Alexandria in the Third Century B.C.", *The British Society for the History of Science* 21.4 (1988), pp. 455–488.

[53]David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 126 and 342–345. In China, the legal practice of forensic medicine had begun a century earlier, from the middle of the thirteenth century, though there is textual evidence indicating that the Chinese had already established a tradition of anatomical study going back to the second century, paralleling the period of the Greek tradition. See: Ynez Violé O'Neill and Gerald L. Chan, "A Chinese Coroner's Manual and the Evolution of Anatomy", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 31 (1976), pp. 3–16; Lu Gwei-Djen and Joseph Needham, "A History of Forensic Medicine in China", *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp. 357–400. Still, it seems for knowledge of the internal body the medieval Chinese anatomists did not put as much emphasis on dissection and autopsy as did their western counterparts, instead relying more on traditional religious and cosmological paradigms. See: Catherine Despeux, "The Body Revealed: The Contribution of Forensic Medicine to Knowledge and Representations of the Skeleton in China", in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*, (eds.) Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Georges Métailié (Leiden, 2007), pp. 635–684 [pp. 635–639]. This also held true in Tibet, where Buddhist tantric and Indian Āyurvedic models of internal physiology predominated and the institutional development of anatomical knowledge based on direct empirical observation of cadavers appears only to have been initiated for a fleeting moment at the end of the seventeenth century. See Janet Gyatso, "The Authority of Empiricism and the Empiricism of Authority: Medicine and Buddhism in Tibet on the Eve of Modernity", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24.2 (2004), pp. 83–96; Frances Garrett, *Religion, Medicine and the Human Embryo in Tibet* (London, 2008), pp. 57–84. Nevertheless, Gyatso (p. 85) surmises that Tibetans must have been familiar with the anatomy of the human body much earlier, their firsthand knowledge likely to have been gained through the longstanding practice of 'sky burial' in which corpses are cut up to be fed to vultures. It is uncertain, however, whether there is tangible evidence to substantiate that this sort of funerary practice was actually understood and utilised by Tibetans as an opportunity for anatomical research.

[54]Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science*, pp. 168–180.

ibn Ilyās. The five illustrations that traditionally accompanied the *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī*, known from numerous manuscript copies dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, contain decisive examples of Sudhoff's *Fünfbilderserie*.[55] Assuming these figures were in fact derived from Alexandrian models, Gül Russell has speculated that "they could certainly have been transmitted either in the cultural context of Byzantine-Sasanian relations when Greek medical works were most likely translated into Pahlavi, or in the subsequent translation movement of Greek works into Arabic, where there is evidence of adaptation of Greek figures to Persian iconographic styles".[56] This latter movement in the translation of Galenic texts into Arabic began in the ninth century, though not directly from the Greek but rather from the much earlier translations in Syriac, which date back to the last half of the second century.[57]

Similarly, on the question of the transmission of the Greek tradition to Europe, Ynez Violé O'Neill has established, contrary to Sudhoff, that the source of Galenic knowledge in Europe, and the basis for the European *Fünfbilderserie* illustrations, was not the Byzantine but the Persian tradition, which was transmitted via Latin translations of the Arabic works beginning in the late eleventh century with Constantine the African (ca. 1020–1087) and his students in southern Italy.[58] The pre-eminence of the Greco-Arab or Greco-Persian transmission of Galenic models to both Europe and the Islamic world is significant for our interest.

But let us return briefly to Herrlinger's comments about the five (or nine) Alexandrian "table" figures (Sudhoff's *Fünfbilderserie*) and what purpose they likely served. Herrlinger had made the point that these figures with their peculiar posture should be understood essentially as didactic models demonstrating in abstraction the dissection and exenteration of a cadaver laid out for display—a position adopted also for the demonstration of other related anatomical procedures, such as bloodletting. In my opinion, Herrlinger's point is one we should not pass over when considering possible explanations for the postures of the two Tibetan medical figures first recognised by Sudhoff and later reemphasised by Meyer, and also (to take up Meyer's further observation) those same positions of the anthropomorphic effigies reproduced in the Tibetan ritual texts. The symbolic import of both representations is explicit. The two stylised medical figures are shown squatting in Sudhoff's characteristic pose with viscera exposed illustrating some of the vital blood vessels and central connecting

[55] A series of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Islamic examples associated with the *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī* are discussed by Emilie Savage-Smith, "The Depiction of Human Anatomy in the Islamic World", in *Science, Tools & Magic. Part One: Body and Spirit, Mapping the Universe, vol. 12 of Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*, (eds.) Francis Maddison and Emilie Savage-Smith (London, 1997), pp. 14–24. More recently, an eighteenth-century non-Muslim example preserved in Gujarat has been identified. See Dominik Wujastyk, "Interpréter l'image du corps humain dans l'Inde pré-moderne", in *Images du corps dans le monde hindou, Collection Monde Indien, Sciences sociales, 15–20 siècle*, (eds.)Véronique Bouillier and Gilles Tarabout (Paris, 2002), pp. 71–99 [pp. 81–83] and "A Persian Anatomical Image in a Non-Muslim Manuscript from Gujarat", *Medical History*, 51.2 (2007), pp. 237–242.

[56] Gül A. Russell, "Ebn Elyās, Manṣūr", in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, (ed.) Ehsan Yarshater (London, 1998), vol. 8, pp. 16–20. http://www.iranica.com (accessed 31 January 2010).

[57] Ynez Violé O'Neill, "The Fünfbilderserie Reconsidered", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 43.3 (1969), pp. 236–245 [p. 242].

[58] O'Neill, "The Fünfbilderserie Reconsidered", p. 238; see: also Roger French, "An Origin for the Bone Text of the 'Five-figure Series'," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 68.2 (1984), pp. 143–156. On the works of Constantine the African and the influence of his school in Salerno, see the essays collected in Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (eds.), *Constantine the African and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Magūsī: The Pantegni and Related Texts* (Leiden, 1994).

channels inside the human body. Likewise, as we well know, Tibetan *liṅga* are designed in the same fashion to function not so much as didactic anatomical diagrams but as models (*dpe-ris*) for drawing ritual substitutions of the literal bodies of persons (living rather than dead, of course, human or demonic) who are to be laid out, harried, and then eviscerated and destroyed through sympathetic means in rites of aggression or defence.

The similarities of stylistic design between the Greco-Arab and Tibetan figures are obvious enough, but can we connect them historically? Is there any evidence to suggest that Tibetans would have been familiar with Alexandrian anatomical models? And if so, why then might these schematic medical figures also show up in Tibetan sympathetic substitution rituals, which presumably lie outside the strictly medical arena?

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of Tibetan medical history, but it should suffice for our purposes to call attention to the generally accepted conclusion in both Tibetan and western scholarship that at the inception of medical learning in Tibet during the first half of the imperial age (seventh to eighth century) Tibetan medicine was influenced to some extent by the importation of Greco-Persian traditions, including the transmission of Galenic anatomical and physiological science from the Iranian world. Though the earliest available historical records from the period are silent about these transmissions, and for that matter the history of Tibetan medicine more generally, later works from the twelfth century onward relate a more or less common historical narrative.[59] Here I shall simply accept the basic story at face value, since an attempt to prove the case or even to advance the story would take us too far afield, and besides it is best I leave the issue to historians of Tibetan and Central Asian medicine who are much better skilled to unravel the many historical and linguistic knots involved in such matters.

The gist of the Tibetan historical accounts is that during the reigns of Srong-btsan-sgam-po (r. 629–650), Mes-ag-tshoms (r. 712–755), and Khri-srong-lde-btsan (r. 755–797), a number of foreign physicians had been invited to the court, including among them three or four doctors from Persia or the Arabic world. In the seventh century, the first of these physicians, identified in the sources by the curious name Ga-les-nos, is said to have arrived from Khrom/Phrom (Byzantium) or Stag-gzig (Iran).[60] The name is an obvious reference to

[59]See for example, Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653–1705), *Dpal-ldan gso-ba rig-pa'i khog-'bubs legs-bshad vaiḍūrya'i me-long drang-srong dgyes pa'i dga'-ston* (Beijing, 2004), pp. 108–131 (henceforth, *Khog-'bubs*); De'u-dmar Bstan-'dzin-phun-tshogs (b. 1672), *Gso-ba rig-pa'i chos-'byung rnam-thar rgya-mtsho'i rba-rlabs drang-srong dgyes-pa'i 'dzum-phreng*, in *Gso-rig gces-btus rin-chen phreng-ba* (Xining, 1991), pp. 632–764 [pp. 661–706]; Sman-rams-pa Pa-sangs-yon-tan, *Bod-kyi gso-ba rig-pa'i lo-rgyus-kyi bang-mdzod g.yu-thog bla-ma dran-pa'i pho-nya* (Leh, Ladhakh, 1988), pp. 8–22; Christopher Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99.2 (1979), pp. 297–313; Manfred Taube, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der medizinischen Literatur Tibets* (Sankt Ausgustin, 1981), pp. 10–17; Frances Garrett, "Critical Methods in Tibetan Medical Histories", *Journal of Asian Studies* 66.2 (2007), pp. 363–387; Dan Martin, "An Early Tibetan History of Indian Medicine", in *Soundings in Tibetan Medicine: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives. PIATS 2003: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 2003*, (ed.) Mona Schrempf (Leiden, 2007), pp. 307–325, and the same author's "'Greek and Islamic Medicines' Historical Contact with Tibet", in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, (eds.) Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Aldershot, forthcoming). On other aspects of the influence of Greek-derived medical traditions in early Tibet, see Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, "On Urine Analysis and Tibetan Medicine's Connections with the West", in *Studies of Medical Pluralism in Tibetan History and Society: Proceedings of the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Bonn 2006,* (eds.) Sienna Craig, Mingji Cuomu, Frances Garrett and Mona Schrempf (Halle, forthcoming).

[60]Some of the available Tibetan sources offering an account of Ga-les-nos are reviewed in Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet, pp. 297–301, and in Byams-pa-phrin-las, *Gangs-ljongs gso-rig bstan-pa'i*

Galen, but here of course signifying only that he was probably an envoy of the Galenic tradition or at least perceived as having some affiliation with it.[61] Ga-les-nos was chosen by Srong-btsan-sgam-po to be the chief physician of the king's court and is said to have fathered three sons in Tibet, each of whom initiated three distinct teaching lineages. The medical texts he brought with him were translated into Tibetan, the Tibetan titles of which are usually given (with few minor variants) as *Mgo-sngon bsdus-pa* (Compendium of the anterior[?] head) and *Des-po rma-bya ne-tso gsum-gyi dpyad* (Examination of roosters, peacocks, and parrots). Copies of these works have not survived or at least have not yet been discovered, but from the titles alone it seems safe to speculate, along with Beckwith, that the first work may have dealt with the head or skull, the second with the anatomical dissection of birds.[62] Indeed, both subjects are considered among the hallmarks of Galenic science, but the extent to which the Tibetan works attributed to Ga-les-nos corresponded to any of the actual anatomical writings of the Greek Galen may never be known. On this point, it is worth mentioning Galen's text *De ossibus ad tirones* (On bones for beginners), which in its Arabic versions also included suture diagrams of the head. Roger French has conclusively linked the text and its illustrations to Sudhoff's "five-figure series" and has traced its line of transmission from the Greek directly to Persian.[63] It would certainly contribute much to our case if in addition to the clear indications of iconographic continuity we also had direct textual or material evidence that this Ga-les-nos or any of the other Persian physicians invited to Tibet in this period had brought with them didactic illustrations to accompany their medical books. But alas such evidence is so far not to be found.

The successor of Ga-les-nos at the Tibetan court was the physician Bi-ji (Be-ce) Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha from Khrom, who was invited to Tibet by king Mes-ag-tshoms and later promoted to the position of court doctor by Khri-srong-lde-btsan.[64] The name is clearly not of Tibetan derivation and Beckwith has conjectured that the title "Bi-ji (Be-ce)" is the Tibetan rendering of a Sogdian term, *βγč-*, meaning 'physician', signalling Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha's eastern Iranian pedigree.[65] The sources indicate that he probably arrived in Tibet from Persia by way of China, perhaps following a route well travelled in this period along the Silk Road that may have taken him and the medical books he carried from Samarkand through Kucha, Turfan, then to Dunhuang, and thereafter to China and finally to Tibet.[66] Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha is recorded as having translated a fair number of medical texts not only of alleged Greco-Persian origin but also medical works from China and India. Interestingly, he

nyin-byed rim-byon-gyi rnam-thar phyogs-bsgrigs (1990, reprint Beijing, 2000), pp. 30–33 (henceforth, *Gangs-ljongs gso-rig bstan-pa*). The geographical identity of Khrom/Phrom and Stag-gzig are discussed by them as well.

[61] Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet", p. 300.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 300 and 310 n. 28.

[63] French, "An Origin for the Bone Text of the 'Five-figure Series'", pp. 146–147.

[64] *Gangs-ljongs gso-rig bstan-pa*, pp. 51–54; Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet", pp. 301–305; Garrett, "Critical Methods in Tibetan Medical Histories", pp. 374–377; Martin, "An Early Tibetan History of Indian Medicine", pp. 316–317.

[65] Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet", p. 303. Byams-pa-phrin-las (*Gangs-ljongs gso-rig bstan-pa*, p. 54 n. 1), on the other hand queries whether the name Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha might be of Latin or Chinese origin.

[66] Luce Boulnois, *Silk Road: Monks, Warriors and Merchants*, (trans.) Helen Loveday (2001, reprint Hong Kong, 2008), pp. 255–278. Another physician of Sogdian affiliation said to have been active in the court of Khri-srong-lde-btsan was a certain Sog-po Ha-la-shan-ti (see: Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet", p. 305), though it is unclear whether he also travelled to Tibet via a similar route.

seems also to have been responsible for disseminating a physician's oath similar to the familiar Hippocratic oath of the Greek tradition, which along with other Hippocratic concerns of the Hellenistic age had played such a prominent role in shaping Galen's medical philosophy.[67] The many titles of Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha's works recorded in Tibetan,[68] especially the few that might have concerned the study of human anatomy or general therapeutic notions, only hint at possible Greco-Arab influences.[69] Yet here again, unfortunately, we find no proverbial 'smoking gun'.

What we can take away from all of this is sound assurance that at some point in the development of Tibetan medical science—whether in the seventh and eighth centuries, as the Tibetan histories themselves relate, or perhaps later from the twelfth century when the traditional historical narratives of foreign influence on Tibetan medicine first began to be articulated by indigenous historians—Tibetans came into direct contact with medical concepts, including perhaps anatomical models and therapeutic procedures, derived from or influenced by transmissions of the Greek and Persian medical systems. From this it is not unreasonable, then, to suspect that Tibetans would have also been exposed to the types of didactic or explanatory illustration that so often accompanied the Greco-Persian anatomical works of the sort that have survived in medieval Latin and Arabic manuscripts and connected as prototypes to Sudhoff's *Fünfbilderserie*. This might help to explain the two unique Tibetan medical figures reproduced in the paintings commissioned by Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, since they so closely illustrate some of the same medical subjects and can be plausibly linked historically by confirmed avenues of transmission along the Silk routes. Though these two figures perhaps preserve in visual form the only vestiges that remain of the Greco-Arab influence on Tibetan anatomical knowledge, they are almost certainly related stylistically to the much earlier five- or seven-fold set of illustrations based on the Alexandrian Galenic prototype.

As for the similar continuity of style in the anthropomorphic figures (*liṅga*) that appear as hand-drawn or woodcut models for the production of effigies in Tibetan ritual texts, I can only propose this tentative conclusion in agreement with Fernand Meyer. The form of the *liṅga* figure, and especially its distinctive bent-knee and open leg posture, quite possibly derives from the same anatomical prototype. It is significant that the earliest known examples of this specific *liṅga* form in a 'squatting' posture (though still rather primitively rendered)

[67]Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet", p. 304; Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science*, p. 125.

[68]A long list of titles are reproduced in Byams-pa-phrin-las, *Gangs-ljongs gso-rig bstan-pa*, pp. 51–52 and in Beckwith, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet", pp. 302–303, both of whom cite as their source the list given in *Khog-'bubs*, pp. 111–113. One of Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha's major medical treatises, the *Bi-ji'i po-ti kha-ser* (Bi-ji's yellow book), which deals primarily with the treatment of bodily wounds and general therapeutic remedies, is extant in several editions: (1) a manuscript in Lhasa, housed at the medical research office outside the Jo-khang temple (Frances Garrett, e-mail correspondence, 8 September 2009); (2) a manuscript copy of uncertain date from Nepal that is now in the possession of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre (TBRC) (*Bi-ji'i po-ti kha-ser zhes-bya-ba rgyud-lung man-ngag thams-cad-kyi snying-bsdus*, http://tbrc.org/link?RID=W1CZ1230 (accessed 31 January 2010); and (3) a modern print edition, published in Beijing in 2006 (*Bi-ji po-ti kha-ser*, in *Sman-dpyad zla-ba'i rgyal-po*, pp. 349–481). I am told that still another edition is soon to be published by Tashi Yangphel Tashigang (E. Gene Smith, e-mail correspondence, 7 July 2009).

[69]Martin ("An Early Tibetan History of Indian Medicine", p. 317) suggests the possibility that Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha's *Dbye-ba drug* (Six divisions), for example, might be linked to the "Six Necessities" of Greco-Islamic medicine. It should be noted, however, that this text is not usually attributed to Tsan-pa-shi-la-ha but rather to Ga-les-nos, though I believe the general point is still relevant.

date back possibly to the tenth or eleventh century, inscribed on the skulls of horses or mules uncovered from recent archaeological finds in the Dulan region of Qinghai province.[70] During Tibet's imperial period, coinciding with the Chinese Tang (618–907), the area was a significant trading post situated along the Silk Road.[71] Researchers have discovered numerous artefacts in Dulan of widely distant and varied cultural influence, including materials of possibly Byzantine, Persian, Sogdian, Tibetan, and Chinese provenance.[72] If nothing else, the *liṅga* skulls from Dulan establish a concrete possibility that the unique position and style of the effigy figure in Tibet could have first emerged in this distinctive transnational context, where Greco-Arab and Persian cultural styles met and intermingled with Tibetan and Central Asian traditions. The more fully pronounced iconographic likeness of the later examples of Tibetan illustrated *liṅga* figures to those of the Alexandrian anatomical series reproduced in medieval Persian and Arabic manuscripts reinforces that possibility.

We conclude then by returning to the question of the stylistic distinctiveness of the Tibetan *liṅga* figure drawn or printed on paper. When first devising a design for this anthropomorphic image, at whatever point in history that may have occurred, Tibetans could have just as easily illustrated a figure standing straight like the customary stance of 'voodoo dolls' or other sorts of sculpted effigies known throughout the world, or a figure stretched out flat or in any number of conceivable human physical positions, but they chose instead to render the figure in an unusual stylistic posture that is practically identical to that of the Alexandrian five-figure series. My suspicion is that the Tibetan *liṅga* design was not copied directly from this model, but was more likely derived from anatomical sources closer to home. Still, such likely sources would have themselves been shaped by the diffusion of Greco-Persian pictorial influences and probably would have included images like the two Tibetan anatomical figures we have discussed above.

Though deep rooted in a common iconographic source, the figure that was eventually developed in Tibetan ritual texts displays modifications that must certainly represent the product of Tibetan imagination and artistic creativity. A few notable Tibetan stylistic innovations that we recognise in this generic anatomical figure include the depiction of fettered ankles (sometimes with the feet crossed rather than apart), the cords or chains constraining the arms behind the back, the bony shoulders, arms and legs, and exaggerated muscles of the thighs, the expressive faces conveying fear or pain, and variations of the head and hair. I presume that these are uniquely Tibetan flourishes that could be better explained by art historians. But I think there is more than just a visual comparison and contrast to be noted here; there is also a meaningful symbolic significance behind the recognisable use of medical figures to illustrate the anthropomorphic effigy in Tibetan rituals.

It has long been acknowledged that in so-called traditional or pre-modern societies the boundaries between medicine and magic were very often blurred and that, to modern sensibilities at least, the lines separating their practice cannot always be easily discerned

[70] Xu Xinguo, "An Investigation of Tubo Sacrificial Burial Practices".

[71] Amy Heller, "Lions and Elephants in Tibet, Eighth to Ninth Centuries", in *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology, vol. 2. Roderick Whitfield Felication volume*, (eds.) Judith A. Lerner and Lilla Russell-Smith (Leiden, 2007), pp. 59–67.

[72] China Heritage Project, "New Discoveries in Qinghai", *China Heritage Newsletter* 1 (2005). http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org (accessed 31 January 2010); Heller, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Excavations at Dulan".

(though of course such distinctions are for the most part of our own making). In Tibet the diagnosis and treatment of disease and mental illness, the distinguishing and administering of the healing properties of plants and herbs, the calculation of the stars and planets, the control and manipulation of the energies of mind and body and so on, are all traditional 'medical' or healing techniques that are essentially the same as those for many of the conventional practices of Tibetan Buddhist (and Bon) ritual. Indeed, standard Tibetan medical works frequently contain instructions for all such practices while also including alongside them instructions for the rites of exorcism, divination, the use of talismans, and other 'magical' operations for healing or protection, enrichment, control, or even for harm, and many of these rites require the use of mimetic substitutions.[73] It should come as no surprise then, and is by no means accidental, that Tibetan *liṅga* belong also to the medical tradition and are thus illustrated in both medical and ritual books using the form and posture of anatomical figures. The fact that these figures were originally designed in some distant past as didactic models demonstrating the position of dissected cadavers laid out for the display of the internal organs seems completely appropriate for the image of anthropomorphic effigies set out to be sliced, diced, and eliminated (read: liberated) in the mimetic programmes of Tibetan ritual magic.

I end this discussion of Tibetan illustrated effigies with a translation of a brief work by the famous fifteenth-century treasure-revealer (*gter-ston*) and patron saint of Bhutan, Padma-gling-pa (1450–1521), giving instructions on how to draw the *liṅga* for a ritual of defence against human adversaries. This text is found in Padma-gling-pa's larger cycle of rituals called *Bla-ma drag-po dmar-chen me-lce phreng-ba* (Bright-red wrathful guru, garland of flames) centred on Padmasambhava in one of his wrathful emanations.[74] The text provides an exceptional second-order description of the features of the *liṅga*, the exact materials to be used in drawing the figure, the mental exercises required of the illustrator/ritualist, and the signs indicating the successful activation of the image.

Appendix: "The killer's curved blade: a secret manual on drawing *liṅga*"

[365] Homage to the embodiment of Drag-po Padma.

I Concerning when to draw the *liṅga*

When the lifespan and merits of all sentient beings have degenerated and, facing southwest (*kha lho-nub tu bstan-nas*), the sun fades to black (i.e., sets in the west), that is the time to draw the *liṅga*. Draw it on birchbark (*gro-ga*) or poisoned paper (*dug-shog*). Take (*bya*) the enemy's 'disturbed mind', his 'soul' (*bla*), his 'luck' (*phya*), and his 'consciousness' (*rnam-par shes-pa*) [and with the syllables] JAḤ HŪṂ BAṂ HO summon the soul and cause it to enter [the paper], then dissolve [it all] into the seed syllable NRĪ. Write [in] ink mixed with poison and

[73] See: for example, the authoritative work of the Fifth Dalai Lama's trusted physician, Dar-mo Sman-rams-pa (1638–1710), on the fundamentals of medical instruction, the *Man-ngag bka'-rgya-ma*, which also contains detailed instructions for the practice of a wide variety of Buddhist magical rites, including *liṅga* rituals complete with illustrations. See *Man-ngag zab-mo kun-kyi snying-khu bsdus-pa dar-mo sman-rams-pa'i gdams-ngag bka'-rgya-ma* (Beijing, 2006), esp. pp. 219–222 and 441–445.

[74] See: *Liṅga bri-ba'i yig-chung gsod-byed gri-gug rgya-can*, in *The Rediscovered Teachings of the Great Padma-gliṅ-pa* (Thimphu, Bhutan, 1975), vol. 3, fols. 365–367.

blood. First, draw the navel [while] reflecting on bringing (*chags*) [the figure to] life. Then draw the head and reflect on infusing (*chags*) [the figure with] the senses. Then draw the limbs and think about giving it form just like [the real enemy]. Then write the [syllable] NRĪ at the heart and imagine [the enemy] seized by a greenish-yellow planetary demon (*ljang-ser gza'*). Then on the forehead write the [name of the enemy's] clan (*rus*). If you don't know the [name of] the clan write the [name of the enemy's] town (*khrom*) and imagine [the clan or the town] being destroyed by demons. Alternatively, write the [names of] the five great clans—Skeg (wood), Kung (earth), 'U (water), Rdzi (fire), Shang (iron). On the thigh write the [enemy's] given name (*bla-dwags*). [The figure should] not have the glow of a living being nor [should] it have [the pallor] of a corpse. [Instead it should look like] a living being [who is] weary and exhausted, tied up with [leather] cords and constrained by iron chains. [366] Draw a lone [figure] frightened and trembling, dried up and emaciated.

Then mix the six stains that are truly vile (*zag-rdzas su dri-ma drug*)—snot and spit, faeces and urine (*dri chu gnyis*), [discarded] hair and [dirty] clothes (*gos*)—with the poison and blood [used for the ink]. Warm it over a fire [until the mixture] is soft and smear it on the *liṅga*. Then [with] your own fierce powers meditate on Padmasambhava. Recite "Enemy! RAKTA RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ". Imagine the *liṅga* as a real living being (i.e., infused with blood). [Recite] "Enemy! RAṂ RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ" and reflect on [the *liṅga*] as infused [with] heat. [Recite] "Enemy! YAṂ RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ" and reflect on [the *liṅga*] as infused [with] wind. [Recite] "Enemy! RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ" and reflect on [the *liṅga*] as infused [with] flesh. [Recite] "Enemy! KEṂ RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ" and reflect on [the *liṅga* as] infused [with] bone. [Recite] "Enemy! CITTA RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ" and reflect on [the *liṅga*] as infused [with] mind. Recite "TIṢṬA RAKṢA HLAN" and imagine that the figure itself is [your] actual enemy. Invoke the mantra of summoning the soul. JAḤ HŪṂ BAṂ HO : NRĪ AṂ KU SHA JAḤ JAḤ : Soul Flesh REMATI Wanders! : Soul Flesh REMATI THUṂ THUṂ Summon! THUṂ RIL JAḤ JAḤ.

Then attach the collar bones of a crow and an owl to the *liṅga*, wave it [around][75] and invoke the mantra "Enemy! NRĪḤ KU RU NRĪḤ KU RU : He Himself BAṂ NRĪḤ TRI YAṂ RU TRI YAṂ SE NA MA NA YAṂ : Heart Pieces BAṂ RIL RBAD. Vow Breaker! Whatever supports your soul, your lifespan, your life-force. [367] May it all be quickly summoned [here] JAḤ JAḤ" In each session repeat the mantra one hundred times.

II Signs that the soul has been summoned

As signs that the soul has been [successfully] summoned, if you become frightened, develop goosebumps, or feel pity, this is a sign of a [successful] summoning. After that follow the instructions for parting [the enemy] from its deity. Draw [a line] separating (*phrol*) [the enemy] from [his] protector with no refuge. Above and below that, draw two spikes for cutting off the life-force. [On] the ends write the four letters [of] Viṣṇu/Indra/Mercury (*'phrog-byed*). Draw four cuts on the four limbs. Draw four immutable spikes. Write NRĪ inside the heart. On the thigh write the [enemy's] given name.

[75] Perhaps attaching the collar bones of these birds is meant to break the joints of the figure representing the enemy, as we had described above. See also Kohn, *Lord of the Dance*, pp. 75–78.

Transliteration of Tibetan Text

[365.1] bla ma drag po'i ling+ga bri ba'i yig chung gsod byed gri gug gi rgya can bzhugs : drag po padma'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo : ling+ga bri ba'i dus ni sems can thams cad kyi tshe dang bsod nams rgud pa'i dus : kha lho nub tu bstan nas nyi nag gi nyin nub pa'i dus su ling+ga bri ba'i dus yin no : gro ga'aṃ dug shog la bri'o : dgra bo nyon mongs pa can gyi yid ces kyang bya bla zhes kyang bya phya zhes kyang bya rnam par shes pa de JAḤ HŪṂ BAṂ HO : zhes bla 'gugs gzhug byas la sa bon NRĪ la bstim : dug khrag bsres pa'i snag tshas bri : dang po lte ba bri srid pa chags par bsam : de nas mgo bri dbang po chags par bsam : de nas yan lag bri gzugs ji lta ba bzhin chags par bsam : de nas snying khar NRĪ bri : ljang ser gza' yis bzung bar bsam : de nas dpral bar rus bris : rus mi shes na khrom bris la : bdud kyis gshed byed par bsam : yang na rus chen lnga bris : skeg shing kung sa'u chu rdzi me shang lcags brla la bla dags bris : gson po mdangs yod pa'i rnam pa ma yin no : shi ba ro'i rnam pa yang ma yin no : ngal zhing dub pa gson gyi rnam pa bkyigs thag lcags sgrog gis bsdams [366] pa skrag cing 'dar ba skems shing rid pa gcig bri'o : de nas zag rdzas su dri ma drug ni snabs lud gnyis : dri chu gnyis skra dang gos gnyis te drug po bsres la dug khrag dang sbyar la : 'jam tsam mer bsros la ling+ga la byug go : de nas rang nyid dbang drag padma 'byung gnas su bsgom la : dgra bo RAKTA RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ : zhes brjod ling+ga la khrag chags par bsam : dgra bo RAṂ RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ : drod chags par bsam : dgra bo YAṂ RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ : rlung chags par bsam : dgra bo RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ : sha chags par bsam : dgra bo KEṂ RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ : rus chags par bsam : dgra bo CITTA RAKṢA JAḤ JAḤ : sems chags par bsam : TIṢṬA RAKṢA HLAN : ces brjod pas gzugs de nyid dgra bo dngos su bsam mo : bla 'gugs pa'i sngags 'dren no : JAḤ HŪṂ BAṂ HO : NRĪ AṂ KU SHA JAḤ JAḤ : bla sha REMATI 'grims : bla sha REMATI THUṂ THUṂ khug THUṂ RIL JAḤ JAḤ : de nas pho rog 'ug pa'i dang rus ling+ga la btag la g.yo ba cing : sngags 'dren no : dgra bo NRĪḤ KU RU NRĪḤ KU RU : kho bo BAṂ NRĪḤ TRI YAṂ RU TRI YAṂ SE NA MA NA YAṂ : snying tshal pa BAṂ RIL RBAD : dam nyams khyod kyi bla rten dang tshe rten srog [367] rten ci yod pa thams cad 'di la myur du khug cig JAḤ JAḤ : thun re la sngags brgya bzla'o : bla khugs pa'i rtags la : rang nyid 'jigs pa'am : skyi zing zing byed pa'am : snying rje byung na khugs pa'i rtags yin no : de nas lha dang phral ba'i gdams ngag bya : skyabs med mgon skyabs dang phrol cig bri'o : de'i steng 'og gnyis la srog chod kyi gzer gnyis bri'o : tha ma 'phrog byed 'bru bzhi bri'o : yan lag bzhi la gcod bzhi bri'o : mi 'gyur ba'i gzer bzhi bri'o : snying gar RNRĪ bri : brla la bla dwags bri'o.

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