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学 位 論 文 題 目 The Transformation and Social Functions of the sNang zhig  
Family and its Monastery-An Ethnographic Description of the  
Bon Tradition in Amdo

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## 論文内容の要旨

### Introduction

A description of a brief history of Bon is given, especially that of the spread of Bon in Amdo, north-eastern Tibet. In addition it discusses different arguments concerning the original meaning of “Bon” as well as its classification given by the Buddhists such as “brDol bon, ‘Khyar bon and bsGyur bon”. The question of the *gter ma* texts of the Bonpo tradition, which forms the core of the Bon Canon, is also discussed. A short account of the lives of the three Saints, which have an important bearing on the origin of the sNang zhig Monastery is provided.

### Part I sNang zhig Monastery

#### 1. The sNang zhig Monastery and its relations with Buddhist monasteries

The introduction of the Bon religion to Amdo is said to have taken place in the time of Srong btsan sgam po (d. 649) and its first site is deemed to be the area of rMa rgyal bom ra in north of Amdo, but the sNang zhig monastery itself was founded in the rNga khog region. Later the monastery established its relationship with Buddhist schools in rNga khog. The Buddhist schools like the rNying ma pa and Jo nang pa arrived in rNga khog after the Bon religion was well established there, but it was only with the coming of the dGe lugs pa, the new Buddhist school that better relations started between the establishments of the Bon religion and the Buddhists.

The Buddhist philosophic debate system was later introduced into Bonpo monasteries.

This gradually helped them develop a means of communication with the Buddhists.

In rNga khog the Kirti monastery which is dGe lugs pa and the sNang zhig monastery have the highest level of philosophical debate. The students of these monasteries often meet for debate. This encouraged young monks in the sNang zhig monastery to study better. It has become a very effective channel of communication between the two religions and has created harmonious atmosphere in their relations. .

#### 2. Monastic Organization

The hereditary system (*gdung rgyud*) played a very important role in Bonpo monastic tradition. The sNang zhig family has two different lineages: one system is from father to son (*pha bu 'i gdung rgyud*) and the other from uncle to nephew (*khu dbon gdung rgyud*). The lineage of the sNang zhig family has been the owner of the monastery since it was founded by a man of the family. The head of the monastery has therefore been always a man from the family. This lineage has continued for thirty-nine generations.

The monastery has also a deputy system called rGyal tshab. The deputy of the head of the monastery is chosen from one of the high ranking lamas of the monastery. The main function of the deputy is this: in case the head of the monastery dies or he is too young to take responsibility for the monastery the deputy takes his place.

Under the leadership of the head lama, there is also a rotating system. According to this, one of the high ranking lamas of the monastery must serve the monastery as its temporary head. There

are other positions for administering the monastery such as the disciplinarian, the head teacher, the chief chanter and so forth.

There is also another organization called the Administrative Committee of the monastery which is mainly consisted of men from the local government. It deals with the monastery's external affairs.

### **3. Hierarchical system**

Apart from the lama of the sNang zhig family, that is the head of the monastery, there are also six 'Great residences' known as Nang chen drug in the monastery. The lamas of these have similar functions to the sNang zhig lama, but less important with regard to their position in the monastery. Their lineages are also hereditary. The six are:

Nang chen tshang, dGon gong ma, dGon 'gam ma, Nam mkha' rin chen, 'Phan tsa tshang, rGya 'obs tshang. It is these lamas who take turn to occupy a throne and administer the monastery under the leadership of the head of monastery from the sNang zhig family. However, it is only the last of the six, the rGya 'obs tshang who by tradition can only hold the deputy position.

### **4. Economic Circumstances**

Because of social changes in China in the middle of the twentieth century, the economic system of monasteries also changed completely. However, the sNang zhig monastery is an exception. It was able to keep some aspects of its own economic life, for example, the revenues from bCol 'dug, its common property (*spyi rdzas*), the service of the funeral rite (*shi chos*), the reception of ordinary donation, the pasture lands and, in addition, businesses such as running hotels and shops.

### **5. Education**

The sNang zhig monastery is one of the very few Bonpo monasteries in Amdo that has a good system of studies for the Geshe degree. But, because of the influence of Buddhist monasteries, the studies have concentrated almost exclusively on sutra studies. As a result, other subjects like the tantra and rdzogs chen, which are considered to be the core of the Bon religion, were ignored. However, recently the last mentioned subjects have been added to the curriculum.

### **6. Ritual traditions**

There are various rites that are performed on fixed dates of the annual calendar. These are described and analysed.

### **7. Local deities**

Tibetan people believe that many spirits inhabit the world. Many of these are said to have been converted into religious protectors. The protector of the sNang zhig monastery is thus believed to have been tamed by Nam mkha' blo gros, a lama of the sNang zhig family and who was the head of the monastery.

On a special day, every year the local people make offerings to the protector. They also join with the monks to do the same on a different date. This is done to make sure that the spirit brings

protection to men and environment.

### **8. Daily life of monks**

Monks are a special social group in Tibetan society. Their daily life is strictly regulated by a set of rules. They therefore enjoy high respect from the ordinary people.

### **9. Ritual services for laymen in villages**

The Tibetans believe in the power of people who have practised meditation. Through the supernatural power of these men, they are believed to be able to control the phenomenon of nature. The monastery sends its practitioners to many villages every summer to protect crops from destruction by hailstone and for other services.

## **Part II**

### **1. The sNang zhig Family**

This chapter deals with the history of the sNang zhig family. There are texts that do not always agree one another on matters like the dates. These matters are discussed and analyzed.

### **2. The family and its religious functions**

Religious masters have always been revered by their disciples. But, what do the disciples expect from their masters and what kind of benefit do they gain from their masters? These are the questions one always asks, because death is very important for every one. The period between death and rebirth is the vital period, because it is during that period where one's soul either go to heaven or to hell according to both Bon and Buddhist beliefs. A deceased person is thought to need a guide soon after death. The lamas are considered to be able fulfill this function. The lamas of the sNang zhig family is the first choice by the local people. Their presence is considered always very important for every one. It is the ultimate salvation for his disciples.

### **3. Yi dam of the sNang zhig family**

There are deities considered as special known as *yi dam*, which means tutelary daity. Individuals and a group of people usually choose one or two. In the case of the sNang zhig family, there are three of them: dBal gasas, Phur pa and sTag la. In the chapter, how these deities worshipped is discussed.

### **4. The succession system**

Because of the influence of the Buddhist reincarnation system, the position and reputation of the hereditary succession system of Bonpo tradition in the society has been weakened. As a result of this, many lamas in the hereditary succession system began to take monastic vows and so the succession from uncle to nephew (*khu dbon gdung brgyud*) has developed. Moreover, this succession system has recently been transformed into that of reincarnation.

## 論文審査結果の要旨

本論文は、チベットに仏教伝来以前から存在していたとされるボン教の総本山の一つ、ナンシー寺及びそれを支えるナンシー氏族を中心とする集団に関する詳細民族史研究である。ボン教はチベット文化の基層をなすものとして注目を集めてきたが、調査そのものが困難であったため、従前郷里や歴史についての研究は小数ながら発表されてきたものの、寺院とそれを取り巻く社会やボン教徒集団に関する実態調査・研究は皆無であった。本論文は、チベット人であり、かつ、ボン教徒である申請者が、現地での調査と文献研究を有機的に組み合わせて初めてなした民族史研究の成果として極めて意欲的・生産的であり、今後のボン教研究のモデルの一つとなるべき重要な論考である。

本教には仏教で言ういわゆる宗派は存在しないが、中央チベット（ラサ西方）、ギャロン地方（四川省西北部）、アムド地方（青海省南部及び四川省北部）、の3つの地域にそれぞれセンターとなる寺院があり、そのもとに末寺や独立の寺院が計240を算える。申請者が扱うナンシー寺はアムド地方の中心的な寺院で、四川省阿壩に僧500人を擁する。

本論文は、序章でチベット宗教史でのボン教の位置づけ及び先行研究の批判的レビューをチベット語文献、漢語文献、欧文文献を使って行ったのち、2部からなる民族誌記述・分析が続く。その第1部では寺院内外における宗教的諸活動の詳細な記述、第2部では寺院のパトロンであるナンシー氏族の系譜、社会的意味、寺院との関係が示される。

第1部寺院の記述部分では、1章において、アムド地方でナンシー寺がいかなる意味でセンター的存在であり、どのように機能しているのかを述べる。2章では、ボン教と仏教はアムド地方でどのような関係にあるか、政治的には対立しつつも、相互の相補的關係はどのように担保されているか、を考察した後、現在のナンシー寺の構造と組織を記述する。4章では、寺院がそれを取り巻く社会との関係の中でいかなる経済的位置を占めるか、また、寺院内部の経済はどのように成り立ち、どのように動いているのか、を周到かつ粘り強い聞き取り調査と観察をもとに明らかにする。種々の儀礼へのお布施、活仏への献金、信徒からの寄進、余剰農産物やヤクの繁殖を含む商業活動、寺院維持・営繕の必要経費、僧の生活費などを2年間に渡って追跡し、過去5年間の経済活動を再構成することにほぼ成功している。5～8章においては、教育システムと年間を通して行われる儀礼が記述される。9章においては、ボン教教理体系外の、ボン教や各家庭の守護神となっている神格の扱いについて記述し、その社会的意味を論じる。

第2部はナンシー氏族の歴史とナンシー寺との関係に焦点が当てられる。1～2章において、寺院のパトロンであるナンシー氏族の系譜について、ボン教大倉経論部文献及び写本として民間に流布する文献を駆使して、その15世紀以来の歴史を明らかにする。さらに、それに担ってきた宗教的機能の変遷を葬送儀礼を軸に説明する。3章では、ナンシー氏族の守護神（イーダム）がボン教の神々とどのような関係にあり、どのように整合性が説明されるのかを論部注釈本と学僧からの聞き取りをもとに解明する。4章では、ナンシー氏族の系譜がどのように引き継がれていくのかを、寺に残されている写本と伝承をもとに再構成する。その結果、現在行われているナンシー寺におけるか活仏の継承方式（父方

のオジ→オイ) は一般に考えられているような古い制度ではなく、仏教における活仏制度との対抗上17世紀以降生まれた比較的新しいものであることを指摘する。

本論文はオーソドックスな大蔵経文献から民間に秘匿されてきた写本類まで広い範囲の文献を駆使し、それにフィールドワークでの参与観察から得られた分析を突き合わせて、ナンシー寺宗教的・社会的機能とその変遷を明らかにした、優れた民族史研究である。その記述がアムド地方の歴史的特殊性、アムドにおけるボン教の独自性、仏教とボン教の関係性の中でのナンシー寺の持つ特徴といった広い視点からなされていることが、本論文の意義と独創性を高めている。チベット人研究者としての高い文献読解能力と長年の精緻な現地調査に支えられた結果であり、理論的な派手さはないが、今後のチベット学に確実な貢献をなす労作として学位を授与するに値すると判断する。