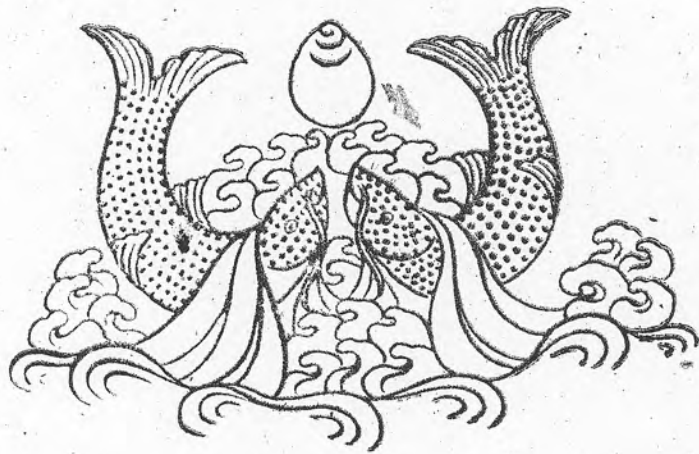


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འབའ་ར་བ་བྱ་བ་ཐོབ་པ་སོགས་སྒྲ་ཁག་རྣམས་རིམ་པར་བྱོན་ཏེ་སོ་སོས་གདན་ས་བདེ་བ་
ཚོས་བརྒྱན་དེ་སྤྲིལ་བཞུགས་པ་ཙམ་ལས་དར་བྱུང་མ་བྱུང་།

འབྲུག་རྩ་ལུང་ནས་འབྲུག་པ་དཀར་བརྒྱན་པའི་ཚོས་ལྷགས་འཛིན་
པ་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཇི་ ངག་དབང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ འབྲུག་པ་ཀུན་ལེགས་ ངག་གི་དབང་
ལྷག་ བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ་ རྣམས་རིམ་པར་བྱོན། ལྷོ་མོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་མཐའ་དབྱུང་
ཀུན་དུ་འབྲུག་པ་དཀར་བརྒྱན་པའི་ཚོས་དར་བྱུང་སྤྲིལ་ ཡུལ་ལུང་རྣམས་སྲུ་གདན་ས
ཁག་མང་དུ་བདེ་བ་པས་... འབས་དུང་ ངག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བྱོན་ནས་བསྟན་པ་སྤྲིལ་བའི་
ཚ་རྒྱུན་དུ་མན་པ་བྱུང་འདུག་ (ལྷོ་འི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་) །

དབྱིན་ལོ་ ༡༦༧༥ ནང་འབྲུག་རྩ་ལུང་གི་སྒྲ་མ་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མའི་
སྲས་འབས་དུང་ ངག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷོ་མོན་ཁ་བཞིའི་ཡུལ་འདྲིའི་བྱོན། སྒྲ་མ་ཁག་
ལྷན་ རོ་རྒྱལ་བྱེད་ཀྱང་འབས་དུང་གིས་མཐའ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྤྲིན་གྱི་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱེས།
སྤྲངས་ཐང་རྫོང་དང་ བཀྲིས་ཚོས་རྫོང་གིས་མཚོན་རྫོང་ཁག་ཆེ་ཆུང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས།
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པ་གོང་འོག་སོ་སོར་བསྐྱོས་ཏེ་ལྷོ་མོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་འདྲི་འབྲུག་དང་ འབྲུག་པར་
བརྒྱུད་པར་མཛད་པའི་ན་ (ལྷོ་འི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་) །

འབས་དུང་ ངག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རང་ཉིད་ཐུགས་དམ་ལ་ ལྷགས་པར་
བཞེད་དེ་ ༡༦༨༠ ལོ་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་གི་སྤྲི་ནང་གི་མཛད་སྤོ་ལྷགས་གཉིས་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་
དུང་དམ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་ སྤོ་སྤོང་དབྱུང་མཛད་བསྟན་འཛིན་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་
ལ་ ལལ་ཆེས་སྤོས་པར་གསུངས་ཏེ་ དབྱུང་མཛད་བསྟན་འཛིན་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ སྤོ་སྤོང་

ཕུག་མཛོད་པ་བསྐྱོས་ཏེ་སྤེལ་སྤྲོད་པར་རིམ་པར་བྱོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆབ་སྲིད་མ་ཉམས་
པར་༡༩༠༧་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་བསྐྱེད་སྤེལ་ཡིན།



༄ །གོང་ས་ཚུན་དབང་ཕུག་ལ་ འབྲུག་གི་མངའ་འབངས་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་༡༩༠༧་
ཡོར་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་མངའ་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐྱོས་པ་ནས་བརྗེད།

ཚུན་དབང་ཕུག་ཡབ་སྐུམ་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱིས་མཛོད་པ་བཟང་པོས་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་
འདི་སྤར་གྱི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་གོམས་གཤམ་བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་མ་ཉམས་པར་འཛིན་སྲོལ་བྱེད་
བཞིན་པ་དང་སྤྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་སྲོལ་གྲུ་བཅུགས་ཏེ་ ཤེས་རིག་གོང་འཕེལ་
ཐོག་ནས་ ཚོས་སྤྲོད་ཡར་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཚུལ་མི་སྟོན་པར་མཛོད་པ་བཞིན་ རྒྱལ་པོ་
ཡབ་མེས་སྐུམ་གསུམ་ལས་ལྷག་པར་དུ་མངའ་བདག་གསུམ་པ་འཛིགས་མིང་རྗེ་རྗེ་དབང་
ཕུག་གི་མཛོད་པ་དེ་གི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀུན་གྱི་མཛོད་པའི་ནང་ནས་ཁྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་
ཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན།

༄ །འབྲུག་གཞུང་གིས་དབང་བའི་ས་གནས་དང་ རྫོང་དང་རྫོང་
ཆེན་རྣམས་ཤར་དེ་ལྷན་གི་རི་ནས་ རྒྱལ་དུ་ཡིང་གོ་བྱིའི་བར་རྒྱ་འབྲུག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ས
མཚམས་ཀྱི་ལས་སྒོ་༡༤་ཡོད། དེ་ལྷན་གྱི་རིའི་རྫོང་དང་ དུ་ཡིང་རྫོང་གཉིས་ལ་
རྫོན་དཔོན་དེ་ཡོད་ གཞན་ལས་སྒོ་ཚོར་རྒྱ་དུང་དེ་བསྐྱོ་སྲོལ་ཡོད། །། ལ་དུགས་
རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་སྐུམ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་བྱུང་བ་ལས་སྟོན་གངས་རི་དེ་སེ་ (ཀུ་ལུ་ཤ་) དར་ཆེན་
ལྷ་བྱང་དང་འཁོར་ཆགས་སོགས་མཚོན་གཞིས་དང་བཅས་པར་གངས་རིའི་ལྷ་མཞེས་
སྤྱད་ཐང་གྲུ་ ཚང་ནས་བསྐྱོ་སྲོལ་ཡོད།

བལ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་བྱུང་སྟེ་བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་སྐྱོ་གོ་གནས་

ཚེན་ཚོས་ཇི་དམ་ཚོས་པད་དཀར་བྱོན་པ་ནས་བལ་ཡུལ་ཁུལ་དུ་འབྲུག་པའི་དགོན་པ་བཏེན་
བ་དང་གྲ་རིགས་ཡོན་བདག་བལ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་སློན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིན་བདག་ཕྱུས་སྤྱུལ་ཚོར་
པ་ལྷུས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཚན་དེན་བྱ་རུང་ཁ་ཤོར་དང་འཕགས་པ་ཤིང་ཀུན་
སོགས་འབྲུག་པས་རང་དབང་གིས་ལོ་གངས་དུ་མར་འཛིན་སྦྱོང་མཛད་པ་ཡང་བྱུང་ཡོད་

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སྟེ་སྤྱིད་བཅུ་པའི་སྐབས་ པོད་རྒྱལ་མི་དབང་དང་མཐུན་འབྲེལ་

དམ་ཟེབ་བྱུང་སྟེ་འབྲུག་གཞུང་གི་སྐྱེ་ཚབ་པོན་འབྲུག་པ་ (ལོ་ཆག་) ཟེར་བ་རྒྱལ་ས་ལྟ་སྟེ་
དྲུག་སྟོད་ལ་པོད་གཞུང་ནས་གོ་ཐོབ་དང་འབྲེལ་སྟོད་གནས་པོག་བབ་སོགས་མཐུན་
རྒྱན་གནང་བཞིན་པོད་འབྲུག་དབར་མཛའ་མཐུན་ཟམ་མི་ཆད་པ་བྱུང་ཡོད་། བསེ་
ལའི་ཚོས་ཇི་བུམས་མགོན་ངག་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འདི་ཉིད་ སྟེ་སྤྱིད་བཞི་པ་བཟུན་
འཛིན་རབ་རྒྱས་སྐབས་ ཁམས་སྟེ་དགོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སངས་རྒྱས་བཟུན་པས་གྱི་ ལྟོ་
འབྲུག་པའི་སྐྱ་མ་ཞིག་དབུ་སྐར་དགོས་རྒྱལ་འབྲུག་གཞུང་ལ་ལྷུས་པ་བཞིན་ཚོས་ཇི་ངག་
དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཁམས་སུ་བྱོན་དེ་ལོ་ལྷ་བཞུགས། (ངག་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྣམ་ཐར་) །

ཚོས་ཇི་ངག་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་

གདན་དྲངས་པ་ལྟར་ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་དུ་བྱོན་ལོ་གངས་འགའ་ཤས་བཞུགས་དེ་
རྒྱབ་སྐྱོགས་ཁ་ཆའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀ་ཤི་མིར་ལ་ཡང་ལ་དུགས་ནས་ལབས་ཐང་གིས་བྱོན།

རྒྱ་གར་གི་ཇོ་ཀི་རྣམས་དང་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཐོག་བསྟོ་བསྐྱིང་མཛད་པས་མཁྱིན་ཡོན་ལ་

ཚད་མེད་པའི་ངོ་མཚར་དུ་འཛིན། ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་མཚན་གཞིས་ཁབ་ཕྱུལ་དེ་དགོན་
པ་བཏེན་འབྲུག་པའི་བཟུན་པ་རྒྱལ་པའི་རྩ་བར་གྱུར། ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐས་

གཅིག་སྐྱོད་མཉམ་ཁྲིད་གནང་སྟེ་སྤྱངས་ཐང་གྲུ་ཚང་ནང་བཞུགས་པ་དེ་ཕྱིས་སྤྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་མཐུན་པོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་ནི་སྤྱི་ལུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། (ངག་རྒྱན་རྣམ་ཐར་)

དྲ་མགོ་འཛིན་ཅི་ཞིག་ལྟར་པ་ཚོ་འབྲུག་སྐོམ་ཡལ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱིས་ བསྐྱེད་ས་པ་ཡིན། ཕྱིས་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལྟེ་གྲུ་ཚང་རབས་རིམ་ཐོར་དུ་སོང་བ་ན། པ་ ཚོ་འཛིན་སྤྱི་ལུ་ འབྲུག་པ་ཀུན་ལེགས་ཀྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ལག་དབང་བསྟན་འཛིན་ དེ་དེ་ སྐྱེས་ཚེ་དབང་བསྟན་འཛིན། དེ་དེ་སྐྱེས་བསྟན་འཛིན་རབ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་རིམ་པར་བྱོན་ པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འབྲུག་པ་དེ་བསྟན་སྲིད་ལ་ལེན་དུ་བཀྲིན་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ཡོད། (བསྟན་འཛིན་ རབ་རྒྱས་རྣམ་ཐར་)

ལྷོ་ཞབས་དུང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ གཙང་མཐུན་ཆེན་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། མཐུན་གྲུ་ཚང་ལྟེ་གྲུ་ཚང་སོགས་ལས་བརྒྱུད་དེ་འབྲུག་རང་གི་ མཐུན་གྲུ་ཚང་མཐུན་ཆེན་པད་དཀར་འབྱུང་གནས། བསོད་ནམས་འོད་ཟེར། དམ་ ཚོས་པད་དཀར། རྒྱ་ཀྱུ་རིན་ཆེན། ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཡོན་ཏན་མཐུན་ ཡས། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས་ཅི་མཐུན་པོ་རྣམས་ རིམ་པར་བྱོན་དེ་བསྟན་པ་ལ་འཆད་ཚོད་ཚོས་གསུམ་གྱིས་བྱ་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་མཛད་པ་རྣམས་ སོ་སོ་དེ་རྣམ་ཐར་དུ་གསལ།

དེ་ལྟར་ཞབས་དུང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་ རྗེ་སྲིད་དབྱུང་མཛད་བསྟན་ འཛིན་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ རྗེ་སྲིད་བཞི་པ་བསྟན་འཛིན་རབ་རྒྱས་ རྗེ་སྲིད་ ༡༢ པ་ཤེས་ རབ་དབང་ལྷུག་རྣམས་ནི་ལྷུག་པར་དུ་ཡང་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདིར་མཛད་ཅི་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། (རྗེ་སྲིད་དབྱུང་མཛད་རྣམ་ཐར་རྗེ་འཛིན་འབྲུང་) (བསྟན་འཛིན་རབ་རྒྱས་ རྣམ་ཐར་) (ཤེས་རབ་དབང་ལྷུག་རྣམས་བཛོད་)

ལྷོ་ཁྱེད་དབང་ཕྱུག་ལ་འབྲུག་ཀྱི་ཡོངས་ཚང་མས་སློ་ཅེ་
 གཅིག་གཏོང་གིས་ ༧༢༠ལ. ༧༣. ༧༤ ལ་ཀྱི་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ་བ་བཞིན་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ལོ་
 ༧༥བར་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དུས་སྡེ་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཐོག་ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་
 བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དུས་སྡེ་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཐོག་ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་
 ཡུལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་དུས་སྡེ་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཐོག་
 ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་ཀྱི་དུས་སྡེ་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཐོག་ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་
 ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་ཀྱི་དུས་སྡེ་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཐོག་ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་
 ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་ཀྱི་དུས་སྡེ་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཐོག་ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་
 ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་ཀྱི་དུས་སྡེ་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཐོག་ལོ་ ༡༠ སྲིད་

What we today call Bhutan was known as Mon, Lho, or Lhomon in the beginning. Till the 6th century, Lhomon had no contacts with Tibet or India. In the 7th and 8th centuries, during the times of King Srongtsen Gampo (557-649), King Thrisrong Detsen (742-804), and King Tri Ralpa Chen (regn. 815-836) of Tibet, Lhomon gradually established religious, cultural, and trade relations with Tibet. Occasionally they had wars as well.¹

In the 8th century, a prince of Sindhu in India was forced into exile by his father, came to Bhutan and made Bumthang his new home. This prince invited Maha Guru Padmasambhava to Bumthang, and this marks the first contact with India. Many Indians migrated to this country and settled in Bumthang and Punakha in central Bhutan.² Gyalwa Lhanangpa of Tibet came to Lhomon in the 12th century and built Chalkha at Paro and Dongon at Thimphu and settled down in this country. Similarly, Phajo Drukgom Shigpo also came in 1232 and made Tago as his seat. His four sons became spiritual as well as temporal heads of the area and established the Drukpa Kargyudpa sect there.³

Lama Kathogpa of the Nyingmapa sect, Lama Nenyngpa of the Gelugpa sect, and Maha Siddha Barawa and others also came to Bhutan and established their own traditions, but they could not propagate their religious sects widely.

From Ralung followers of the Drukpa Kargyud came to Bhutan, one after another, such as Gyalwang Je (1428-1476) in 1460, Ngawang Chogyal (1463-1538) in 1490, Drukpa Kunleg (1455-1529) in 1500, Ngaggi Wangchuck (1517-1554) in 1530, and Tempai Nyima (1567-1619) in 1580, and they propagated the teachings of the Drukpa Kargyudpa sect far and wide throughout the land. They also founded many religious centres. The arrival of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal from Tibet further strengthened the Kargyudpa sect in Bhutan.⁴

In 1616, Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal (1594-1651), son of Lama Tempai Nyima (1567-1619) of Ralung Monastery, came to Bhutan (Lhomon). Five different lamas

1 *Lhoi-chos-jung* ("Growth of Religion in the South"/i. e. Bhutan/)

2 *Sindhu Rajai-namthar* ("Biography of Sindhu Raja")

3 *Phajo-namtar* ("Biography of Phajo Drukgom Shigpo")

4 *Lhoi-chos-jung*

who had their establishments in the country strongly opposed Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal on his arrival, but they were defeated by him. He built many large and small Dzongs in the country including Punakha Dzong and Tashichhodzong of Thimphu. He also created many administrative posts, such as Kalon (Minister), Dzongpen (Governor), Chila or Penlop (Governor), Drungpa (District Officer) and Gyadrung Shar and Nub (Collectors) and posted them throughout the country. As the Drukpa Kargyud sect became the state religion, the country was named after the religion as *Druk Yul*, and the people of the country came to be known as Drukpas.⁵

In 1650, before Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal entered into final deep meditation, he granted his last testament of instruction on ecclesiastical and administrative affairs to Drung Damchos Gyaltsen and Desid Tenzing Drukgyal. He also appointed Tenzing Drukgyal (1591-1656) as the first Desid of the country. From that time up to 1907, a total of 57 Desids had ruled the country.

In 1907, Ugen Wangchuk (1862-1927) was unanimously elected by the nation the first hereditary King of the country. Ugen Wangchuk and his descendants ruled the country with the establishment of modern education and development on the one hand and the preservation of the traditions on the other hand. During the rule of Ugen Wangchuk and his successors, the country made great progress in religion as well as in administration. A golden chapter in the history of Bhutan is the remarkable achievements made during the reign of His Late Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck (1928-1972) the 3rd hereditary King of Bhutan.

From Devan Giri Dzong in the east to Dali Koti Dzong in the west, the territory of Bhutan with India has 18 doars. There used to be one Dzongpon at Devan Giri Dzong and another at Dali Koti Dzong. The rest of the doars used to have Drungapas. With the development of relations with the King of Ladakh, the State Monk Body of Punakha used to send Head Lamas to look after Darchen Labrang, etc., in Tod Gangri (Mount Kailash).

Bhutan also had relations with the King of Nepal. Zarchen Chosje Damcho Pedkar (1636-1708) visited Nepal and established Bhutanese monasteries in Nepal. The King and the ministers of Nepal extended their royal support to the monks, and the temples of Swayambhu and Buddhanath remained under Bhutanese ownership and management for many years in the 17th and 18th century.

More friendly relations between Bhutan and Tibet were established in 1734, during the time of the 10th Desid; and a Permanent Representative of Bhutan to Tibet, called Bondruk or Lochag, was stationed in Tibet, and the government of Tibet extended full diplomatic status to the Representative of Bhutan. In 1688, during the time of the 4th Desid, Tenzin Rabgye, the King of Derge (Eastern Tibet), Sange Tenpa, expressed his desire to invite a Bhutanese Lama as his spiritual teacher, and Chamgon Ngawang

⁵ *Lhoi-chos-jung*

Gyaltshen, the Chosje of Seola, visited Derge and remained there for six to seven years.⁶

At the invitation of King Nyima Namgyal of Ladakh, Chosje Ngawang Gyaltshen also visited Ladakh in the year 1705, and was in the palace of the King for several years. He also visited Kashmir in the west from Ladakh on foot. Being a great scholar, he is said to have often discussed religion with the Yogis of that area in their own language. The king of Ladakh presented lands to him, on which he built the first Bhutanese monastery in Ladakh. He returned with a Prince of Ladakh who joined the State Monk Body of Punakha and in 1738 he became the 8th Jey Khempo under the name of Tenzin Norbu.⁷

Tago monastery was looked after by Phajo Drukgom Shigpo and his descendants, but when this lineage came to end the descendants of Drukpa Kunleg (the reincarnation of Phajo Drukgom Shigpo), such as Ngawang Tenzing (d. ca 1590), his son Tsewang Tenzin (1574-1643) and his son Tenzin Rabgye (1638-1696) did great service to the welfare of the Tago monastery as well as for the Drukpa Kargyudpa sect.⁸

The great services rendered to the literature of the Drukpa Kargyudpa sect by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, the great abbot of Tsang, Jamyang Palden Gyamthso (1610-1684), Lhawang Lhodo Tempa (Sureshamati) and the Jey Khempos of Bhutan such as Pedkar Jungne (1604-1672), Sonam Ozer (1613-1689), Damchos Pedkar (1636-1708), Shakya Rinchen (1710-1759), Tenzin Chosgyal (1700-1767), Kunga Gyamtsho (1722-1772) and others, can be seen in the pages of their autobiographies and biographies.

The remarkable services rendered to this country by the Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, Tenzin Drukgyal (1591-1656), the first Desid, Tenzin Rabgye (1638-1696), the 4th Desid, Sherab Wangchuk (1697-1768), and the 13th Desid, are significant in the history of Bhutan.⁹

In 1907, Ugen Wangchuck was unanimously elected as the first hereditary King of Bhutan by the nation and he ruled for 19 years. His son, Jigme Wangchuck (1902-1952) ruled the country for 26 years. His Late Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, the 3rd hereditary King of Bhutan, succeeded his father and ruled for 20 years. Under his dynamic leadership, the country made great progress in the field of education, as well as social and economic development in friendly cooperation with India. At the same time, the ancient cultural heritage of Bhutan was preserved and the country's distinct identity was retained.

* *

⁶ *Ngawang Gyaltshen-namthar* ("Biography of Ngawang Gyaltshen")

⁷ *Ngawang Gyaltshen-namthar*

⁸ *Tenzin Rabgye Namthar* ("Biography of Tenzin Rabgye")

⁹ *Lhoi-chos-jung, Tenzin Rabgye Namthar, and Sherab-Wangchuck togjod* (Biography of Sherab Wangchuck)

*THE HISTORY OF THE THAKAALI
ACCORDING TO THE THAKAALI TRADITION*

SURENDRA GAUCHAN and MICHAEL VINDING

Kathmandu

PART I: INTRODUCTION

The Thakaali-speaking people of Mustang District of Nepal have been studied by a relatively large number of anthropologists from different countries, but there still seems to be some confusion concerning who are, and who are not, *Thakaali*¹. This confusion exists not only among anthropologists, but also among many Nepalese and others interested in the life of the Thakaali-speaking people.

Thakaali is a language spoken in varying dialects by three separate groups, which are ideally endogamous. The best known of these three groups refer to themselves as *Tamhaang*² or *Tapaang* when conversing with other Thakaali-speaking people, and as Thakaali when speaking with outsiders. The Tamhaang state that a person belongs to their group if that person is a socially accepted child of a man belonging to one of their four patrilineal clans: *Chyoki* (Nep.: Gauchan), *Saalki* (Nep.: Tulaachan), *Dhimchan* (Nep.: Sherchan), and *Bhurki* (Nep.: Bhattachan)³.

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- ¹ For the main contributions to the anthropology of the Thakaali-speaking people, see the Bibliography.
 - ² Thakaali words in this article are all of the Tukche dialect of the Thakaali language. Thakaali words are all italicized the first time they appear in the text. Thakaali contains many loan words from Tibetan, Nepali, and English, which here are classified as Thakaali words, if they are fully integrated into the Thakaali language.
 - ³ We have in this article followed earlier literature on the Thakaali in calling these kinship groups "clans", but Michael Vinding discusses in "Preliminary Notes on Thakaali Kinship and Marriage" (in progress) whether the clans are social groups or merely social categories.

A second group—originally only located in the village of *Mhaarphaa*—is referred to as *Puntan* by the two other groups. But they themselves try to avoid the term, and unequivocally deny that it means “the people of leprosy”, as the two other groups, especially Tamhaang, maintain. The term *Puntan* is today used as a nickname, and was probably originally only a nickname. Pasang Khambache Sherpa, a leading Nepalese authority on Tibeto-Burmese speaking people of Nepal, and who has stayed many years in *Mhaarphaa*, notes that the people of *Mhaarphaa* are called *Punti* according to an old text found in *Mhaarphaa*, and that the word *Puntan* is derived from that word.

The people of the second group, like the Tamhaang, refer to themselves as Thakaali when interacting with non-Thakaali-speaking people. Some confusion remains concerning what they call themselves when talking with other Thakaali-speaking people. *Mhaarphaa* is in the local dialect of the Thakaali language known as *Mhaa*, *Mhaa-ba*, or *Mhaar-che*, according to different informants from that village. It is possible that they originally were known as *Mhaatan*, “the people of *Mhaa*”, as stated by informants.

The people of this group hold that a person belongs to their group if that person is a socially accepted child of a man from one of their four patrilineal clans as follows: *Gumli thowa phobe* (Nep.: Juhaarchand), *Bhuti phobe* (Nep.: Hiraachand), *Rhoten phobe* (Nep.: Laalchand), and *Gulmi chyaangpa phobe* (Nep.: Pannaachand) ⁴.

Chyoki was originally called *Cho-ghyu*. The Thakaali word *ghyu* can best be translated as “clan”. *Cho-ghyu* became later *Chyo-ghyu*, which became *Chyogi* before the present Chyoki. Saalki was originally called *Saal-ghyu*, which became *Saalgi* before the present Saalki. *Dhimchan-ghyu* has according to our informants always been *Dhimchan*. *Dhimchan* is the only one of the four clans with the ending *-chan*, because—according to the Thakaali tradition—the ancestor of *Dhimchan* was the only one of the four ancestors who did not want to change his *Chan* name, when they settled in *Thaasaang*. *Bhurki* was originally called *Bhur-ghyu*, which became *Bhurghi* before the present *Bhurki*.

This definition of a Tamhaang (Thakaali) differs very much from the definition used by the Thakali Social Reform Organization of Pokhara, where membership is limited to “that individual or family who can assure the Managing Committee of being a Thakaali on the basis of language, culture and morals.” (see Manzardo and Sharma 1975). It is first of all a big question what the “culture and morals” of the Tamhaang (Thakaali) is nowadays, i.e. where the marriage and death ceremonies can be performed in totally different ways by different Tamhaang families.

All the members of the Thakaali Social Reform Organization of Pokhara fulfil as far as we know the conditions of our definition.

⁴ For an introduction to *Puntan*, see: Valeix (1974).

The last, and least known, of the three groups is formed by people who were originally—and still mainly are—found in the three villages of *Thinaang*⁵, *Shyaang*, and *Chimaang* (see Part II: Map and Geographical Names of *Thaasaang* and *Yhulnghaa*)⁶. By the two other groups they are known respectively as *Thin*, *Shyaangtan*, and *Chimtan*, terms which they also use to refer to themselves when speaking with people from the two other groups. Like the others, however, they call themselves Thakaali when interacting with non-Thakaali-speaking people. Also like the other two groups membership is defined as being a socially accepted child of a man belonging to a specific patrilineal clan among a number of which we have noted the following clans: *Shyaangtan phobe*, *Batsen phobe*, *Khe phobe*, *Saakaa phobe*, *Tsitsen phobe*, *Gyatsen phobe*, *Chugu phobe*, *Bhal phobe*, *Dantsen phobe*, *Sam phobe*, *Srenan phobe*, and *Bhom phobe*⁷.

From this brief description it can be seen that each of these groups, from certain points of view and in certain situations, claims to be Thakaali. Conversely many people in each of the groups claim that members of the others are not “real” Thakaali. This feeling of exclusivity, however, is certainly strongest among the Tamhaang, who, as the dominant economic and political force, have generally had their point of view represented in the literature on the Thakaali. It is hoped that further research might clarify the evolution of this situation. Here, however, we are only concerned with the tradition of the Tamhaang, and—while some people might object—we will nevertheless follow their tradition applying the term Thakaali only to that group.

Today, as a century ago, the Thakaali form the majority of the population in the area known as *Thaasaang*⁸ (see Part II). A significant number of Thakaali have—mainly in the past three decades—settled more or less permanently outside *Thaasaang*

⁵ *Thinaang* is called *Thin* in the local dialect of that village.

⁶ For an introduction to this group, see: Vinding (1974).

⁷ The people of this group are generally unable to give information about the names of all the clans of their group. Different informants often call the same clan by different names. The distinction between clan and subclan is difficult to make, and certain social groups, as i.e. the section of *Batsen phobe* called *Matsen*, are by some informants classified as a clan, and by other informants as a subclan. This problem is discussed by Michael Vinding in his “Preliminary Notes on Thakaali Kinship and Marriage” (in progress).

⁸ *Thaasaang* is among the Tamhaang also known as *Thaaksaatsaye* (Nep.), “the seven hundred *Thaak* (Thakaali houses)”, *Thaak* or *Thaak Khola*. The people of *Yhulnghaa* and *Baaragaaun* (see below) claim that their areas are parts of *Thaak Khola*, and add the prefix *Thaak-* to their village names. The Tamhaang find this idea and practise wrong and misleading.

where they are engaged in various kinds of business⁹. Major areas of Thakaali settlements are Pokhara, Bhairawa-Butwal, Baglung-Beni, and Kathmandu, but they can also be found in many smaller bazaars throughout Central Nepal.

Non-Thakaali also live in Thaasaang, but they form only small minority groups. The Hindu occupational castes, *Dhuli* (Nep.: Damaai), *Kami* (Nep.: Kaami), and *Sarki* (Nep.: Saarki), who work respectively as tailor-musicians, blacksmiths, and shoemakers, can be found in almost all major villages of Thaasaang.

An interesting group is the people whom the Thakaali call *Aaraansi kaaraansi*¹⁰ but who today also refer to themselves as Thakaali. The people of this group originally came from the regions north of Thaasaang, especially Baaragaun (see below), which was until recently under the economic and political control of the powerful Subbaa families and their patrilineal relatives¹¹. Having fallen into debt to these rich families, many people from the north were forced to settle in Thaasaang in order to work on the various enterprises of the Thakaali creditors. Today these Aaraansi-kaaraansi are found mainly in *Tukche*, the most important Thakaali village, where they look after the houses and fields of those Thakaali who have settled outside Thaasaang.

Finally through the 1960's immigrants from Tibet formed a significant minority group, but most have now moved out of the area and only a few who are integrated into the community remain.

Immediately south of Thaasaang is an area known as *Rhong* by the Thakaali and the people as *Mhon* (for male) and *Mhonshyaa* (for female). The people of this area are known anthropologically as Rohani, and they seem to be closely related to Magar groups¹².

The area north of Thaasaang is known as Yhulnghaa¹³, "the five villages", both by the Thakaali and the local people of the area. Originally there were five villages—Thinaang, Shyaang, Chimaang, Mhaarphaa, and *Chhairo*—but today several more are

⁹ Too many problems concerning migration among the Thakaali-speaking groups are still unsolved, so a complete study of this interesting subject is badly needed.

¹⁰ Aaraansi kaaraansi is according to informants said to come from *Aase Gaase*, "hope-existence", because Aaraansi kaaraansi came—according to the Tamhaang—to Thaasaang with the hope to get a job. Aaraansi Kaaraansi were formerly not allowed to own their own houses or land in Thaasaang, and were therefore not considered as village community members, Kuriyaa (Nep.).

¹¹ For the Subbaa period, see Furer-Haimendorf (1975), and Messerschmidt and Gurung (1974).

¹² See Dobremez and Jest (1974).

¹³ Yhulnghaa is more commonly known as Paanchgaaun (Nep.), "the five villages."



Plate 5
The head of Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo



Plate 6
Sketch of a new image of Lha Ghaanglaa Singi
Karpo as proposed by Mr. Narendra Gauchan

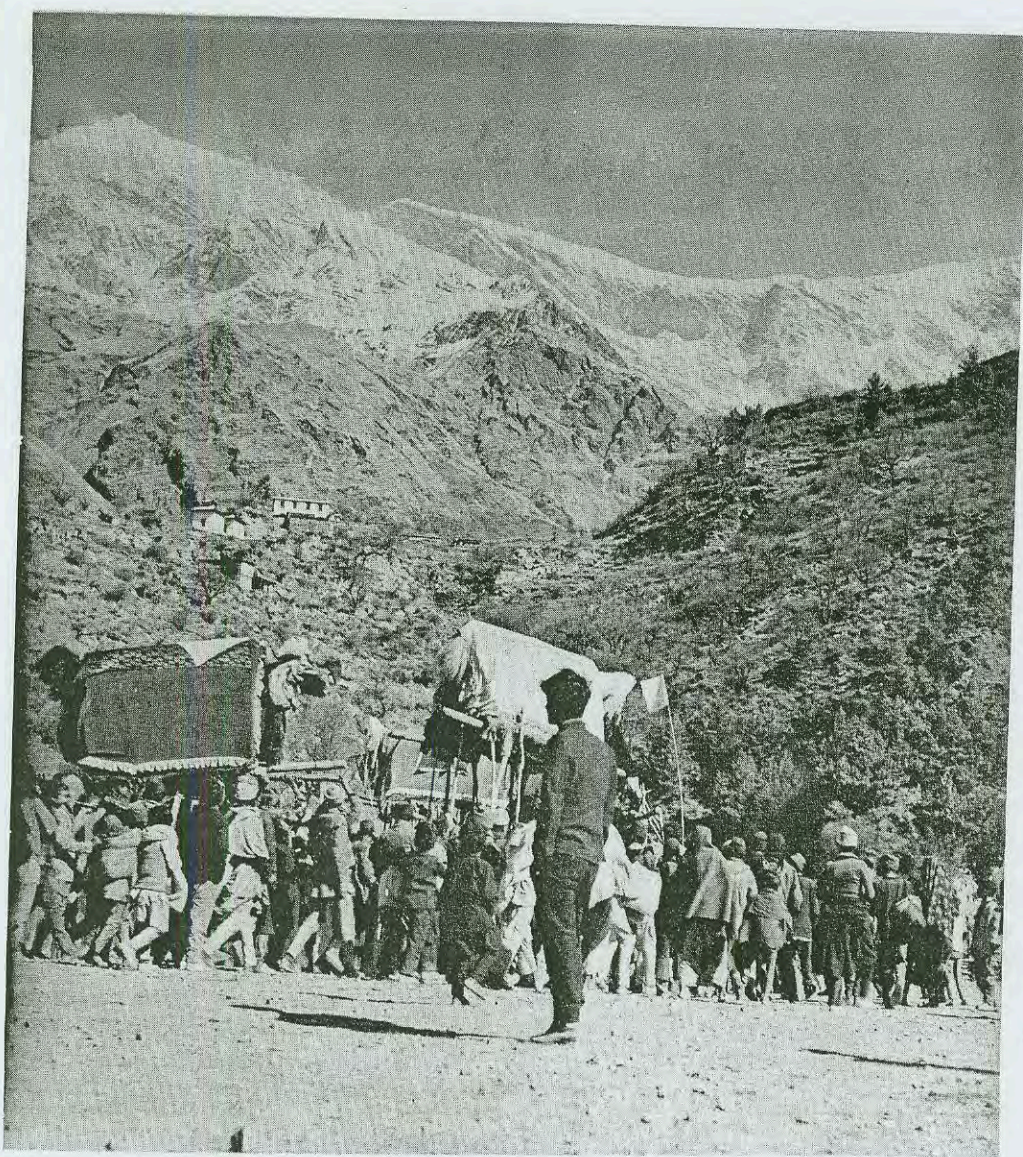


Plate 7
Procession with the four gods at Kyongkor
during the *Lha phewa*, 1968



Plate 8
Chyoki Lha than (the temple of Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu
and Saalki Lha than (the temple of Lha Chhyuring
Gyalmo) at Nakhung Ghaangta near Nakhung



Plate 9
The head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung



Plate 10
Sketch of a new image of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung
as proposed by Mr. Narendra Gauchan

located there (see Part II). The majority of the population of Yhulnghaa belongs to the other Thakaali-speaking groups discussed above, Puntan, and Thin, Shyaangtan, and Chintan. They live primarily in the villages with which they share their names, but Thin can also be found in *Jhongsamba*. A large number of Puntan have settled more or less permanently outside Yhulnghaa during the last decade—particularly in the area around Pokhara. People from the other group migrate in a relatively large number outside Yhulnghaa every winter, but return the next spring. Only very few families from this group have settled permanently outside Yhulnghaa. As with Thaasaang various minority groups can be found in Yhulnghaa but not in great numbers. The only exception to this is *Jhongsamba*, which, as the administrative centre of Mustang District, has a large number of government employees.

The area immediately north of Yhulnghaa is known as Baaragaun (Nep.), “the twelve villages”, by the Thakaali, while the people are known as *Towa* (for male) and *Topshyaa* (for female), terms which the Thakaali apply to all Tibetan-speaking people to the north. As yet no extensive anthropological investigation has been carried out in this area, but preliminary interviews seem to indicate that the people of Baaragaun form more separate groups. The people of the five villages *Chaile*, *Taangbe*, *Tetaang*, *Chhusaang*, and *Gyaka*, speak a language closer to Thakaali than Tibetan, while the people from the other villages speak a language close to Tibetan¹⁴. Further north is *Lo*¹⁵, an area within the Tibetan civilization and once a semi-independent kingdom, known popularly as Mustang¹⁶. Today it is a fully integrated part of the Kingdom of Nepal.

From 1869 A.D., a date which marks the start of what can be called the Subbaa period, the history of the Thakaali people is fairly well known. This period is characterized by the lucrative trade arrangements developed by the leading Subbaa families and their patrilineal relatives. As most of the studies on the Thakaali have concentrated on the role of trade and business in the life of the Thakaali, it is this modern period that

¹⁴ A research on the five villages, which are closed to most foreign anthropologists, should be undertaken. We don't yet know if the people form one or more ethnic groups. Some informants from the villages say that all the five villages form one endogamous group, while others state that there are more endogamous groups. The people of Taangbe are said originally to come from Manang District east of Mustang District, but where the other people came from is at present unknown to us. The five villages seem in many ways to form a link between the Thakaali-speaking people and the Gurung-speaking people of Manang District.

¹⁵ Cf. gLo (Tib.) “south”.

¹⁶ For an introduction to the history of Lo, see: Jackson (n. d.).

has received the most attention. On the other hand, almost nothing is known of the early history of the Thakaali. This is mainly due to the fact that none of the many extant historical documents relating to the early period have yet been published.

The purpose of this article, then, will be to retell the early history of the Thakaali according to their own tradition. Specifically we will retell the *Chyoki Rhab*, *Saalki Rhab*, *Dhimchan Rhab*, and *Bhurki Rhab* which, since they constitute the history of the four clans, are considered to be the most important historical documents of the Thakaali. The *Rhab*¹⁷ focus especially on the origin of the Thakaali which today is a disputed subject not only among scholars, but also among the Thakaali themselves.

As yet the Rhab have not been mentioned in the literature on the Thakaali, but fragments from them are published in Jest (1974), and a resume of the Saalki Rhab is found in Hari and Maibaum (1970). Saalki Rhab was published in 1968 in the Thakaali language in Devanaagari script by Mr. Narsing Bhakta Tulachan for Lha phewa (see below).

The Rhab were originally written in Thakaali, but the script used was Tibetan due to the fact that no Thakaali script was ever devised. They were written on single, large sheets of paper which were rolled up when stored. Then about 100 years ago Baidar (Nep.)¹⁸ Mani Raaj Gauchan made new copies of the Chyoki Rhab, Saalki Rhab, and Dhimchan Rhab. In consonance with the general realignment of Thakaali relationships toward the Hindu world, he substituted the Devanaagari script for the Tibetan and wrote on folios instead of single sheets of paper. The Bhurki Rhab was not copied at that time and remains unchanged up till today.

The Rhab are read and explained on the occasion of *Lha phewa*, "the appearance of the gods", which is the major Thakaali festival celebrated every twelve years¹⁹.

The images of the gods of the four Thakaali clans are four masks (see plates), which are kept in the temples (*Lha thau*) of each of the four gods. The *Chyoki Lha thau* and *Saalki Lha thau* are situated next to each other at *Nakhung Ghaangta* near *Nakhung*, while the *Dhimchan Lha thau* and *Bhurki Lha thau* are situated near to each other at *Kharpaang Ghaang* over *Kobaang*.

The Thakaali wanted according to informants to make new images of the gods for the festival in 1968. A proposal by Mr. Narendra Gauchan (see plate) shows the gen-

¹⁷ Cf. rabs (Tib.), "lineage or history".

¹⁸ Baidar is a government official, in this case working as a secretary in the custom office.

¹⁹ For a description of Lha phewa, see Jest (1964.)

eral realignment of the Thakaali culture towards the Hindu world. New images of the gods were made after another similar proposal and used during the start of the festival in 1968, but the Thakaali found the old masks better, and then used them during the main part of the festival.

Each clan has a *Paande*, usually inherited from father to son, who is assigned by tradition to look after the Lha thau and the Rhab of the clan. During Lha phewa it is usually the Paande who reads and explains the text, but this is not an exclusive function and other learned people are also allowed to recite the texts. This often happens when a Paande is young and inexperienced.

The Rhab were originally kept in the Lha thau, but today are kept in the houses of the Paandes according to our informants. For this article we have not used the original manuscripts, but instead have utilized exact copies reproduced by Mr. Narendra Gauchan, who has kindly spent many months with us retelling the Rhab²⁰. Here we would like to express our deep gratitude for his unstinting help, without which this article could never have been written²¹.

Mr. Narendra Gauchan saw the Lha phewa for the first time in 1932 (1989 V. S.) when he was nine years old. In 1944 (2001 V. S.) he was on a business trip to Kathmandu but returned for the festival in order to help his father, Ditthaa (Nep.)²² Gajendra Bahaadur Gauchan, who had been appointed the *Ghamba* of Gauchan in 1941 (1998 V. S.) Each of the four clans has a Ghamba who together with a working committee looks after all practical arrangements in connection with the festival. Normally a person will hold this position for his lifetime, but the post can be taken away if the clan members are unsatisfied with his work. This had been the case with the Gauchan Ghamba at the festival in 1932, so the clan members had elected Ditthaa Gajendra Bahadur Gauchan as the new Ghamba for the festival in 1944.

Ditthaa Gajendra Bahaadur Gauchan acted again as Ghamba at the festival in 1956 (2013 V. S.), on which occasion he was also assisted by his son. At that time Narendra Gauchan read and explained the Chyoki Rhab and took the opportunity to make his own copy of the text. Surendra Gauchan, one of the authors of this article and the son of Narendra Gauchan, also attended the festival in 1956. After the death of his

²⁰ More Thakaali like Mr. Narendra Gauchan have showed keen interest in Thakaali history and culture, but we have in the Bibliography only mentioned those publications written by Thakaali relevant for this study.

²¹ Michael Vinding would also like to thank the Danish Research Council for the Humanities under the Royal Danish Government, which has sponsored his two years' ongoing fieldwork, as well as an eight months' fieldwork in 1972 in Yhulnghaa.

²² Ditthaa is a government official, in this case working in the custom office.

father, Narendra Gauchan was appointed as the Ghamba of Gauchan for the festival of 1968 (2025 V. S.), where he read and explained the Chyoki Rhab. On that occasion he also made his own copies of the Saalki Rhab and Bhurki Rhab.

During this time Mr. Narendra Gauchan was not able to make a copy of the Dhimchan Rhab because of the fact that the original was missing, and we remain uncertain as to whether any copy of the original is still extant. As a young man Narendra Gauchan heard that the Dhimchan Rhab had been destroyed by fire, so he asked old people to tell him what they could remember of it. On the basis of that information Mr. Narendra Gauchan wrote his own version of the Dhimchan Rhab, which we here have published. The origin of the text is noted in the title: "Dhimchan Rhab—The History of the Origin of the Earth and the Origin and Arrival of Lha Ghangla Singi Karmo—according to Mr. Narendra Gauchan."

As can be seen we have preferred to call our material concerning the Rhabs retelling rather than a translation. This is partly because Mr. Narendra Gauchan edited the Rhab a little when he copied them, so that sections of the originals can be missing in the copies we have used, while others can have been added. More important is the fact that the Rhab are written in a poetic fashion in an old language, and thus are very difficult to understand even for Thakaali-speaking people. Finally as many of the passages have allegorical reference, it is extremely difficult to give an exact translation in English and equally difficult in Nepali.

We are painfully aware of the pitfalls of such an approach, which we have tried to minimize by keeping as close as possible to the manuscripts in our possession. Further, some of our interpretations and notes may well be inadequate, in which case we hope they will be challenged, corrected and supplemented by a more thorough study, particularly of the original Thakaali texts. Nevertheless we felt it very appropriate to undertake the retelling at this time, both as an inspiration to other scholars by making available a history of the Thakaali from their own tradition, and more important, as a useful source for the young Thakaali who would like to know more about their own, traditional culture.

**PART II: MAP AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES
OF THAASAANG AND YHULNGHAA**

The villages and some important places of Thaasaang and Yhulnghaa

THAKAALI NAME

NEPALI NAME

Yhulnghaa:

Paanchgaaun:

Jhongsampa
Thinaang
Samle
Dhumphaa
Shyaang
Mhaarphaa
Chhaira
Chimaang

Jomsom
Thini
none
Dhumphaa
Shyaang
Maarphaa
Chhairaa
Chim

Thaasaang:

Thaaksaatsaye:

Mhaarshyaang Kyu
Tukche
Sauru
Kyupar ghompa
Narsaang
Khanti
Kobaang
Narjhong
Nakhung
Naphrungskhung
Bhudhihghaang
Ghomba Wu
Dhocho
Dhyushyutaa

Chokhopaani
Tukuche
Jhumaagaaun
none
Naarikot
Khanti
Debisthaan (or: Kobaang)
Laarjung
Naakung
Naaprungekot
Bhurjungkot
Lakshmi Odaar
none
none

Kyongkor	none
Narilhedhong	none
Sirkhung	Sirkhung
Chhichaangdhong	Kokhethaati
Chhaakthaang	none
Lhaarkyo	Lhaarkyo
Dhumpu	Dhampu
Tiri	Titi
Taalu	Taaglung
Chhayo	Chhayo
Mlaang Kyu	Kaalopaani
Chha	Chha
Kyula	Lete
Misi	Ghumaaune Thaati
Hhop	none
Ghaiku	none
Nghaapsaang	Ghaasa
Dhyuta	Pahiro Thaaplaa

*The rivers of Thaasaang and Yhulnghaa**THAKAALI NAME**NEPALI NAME*

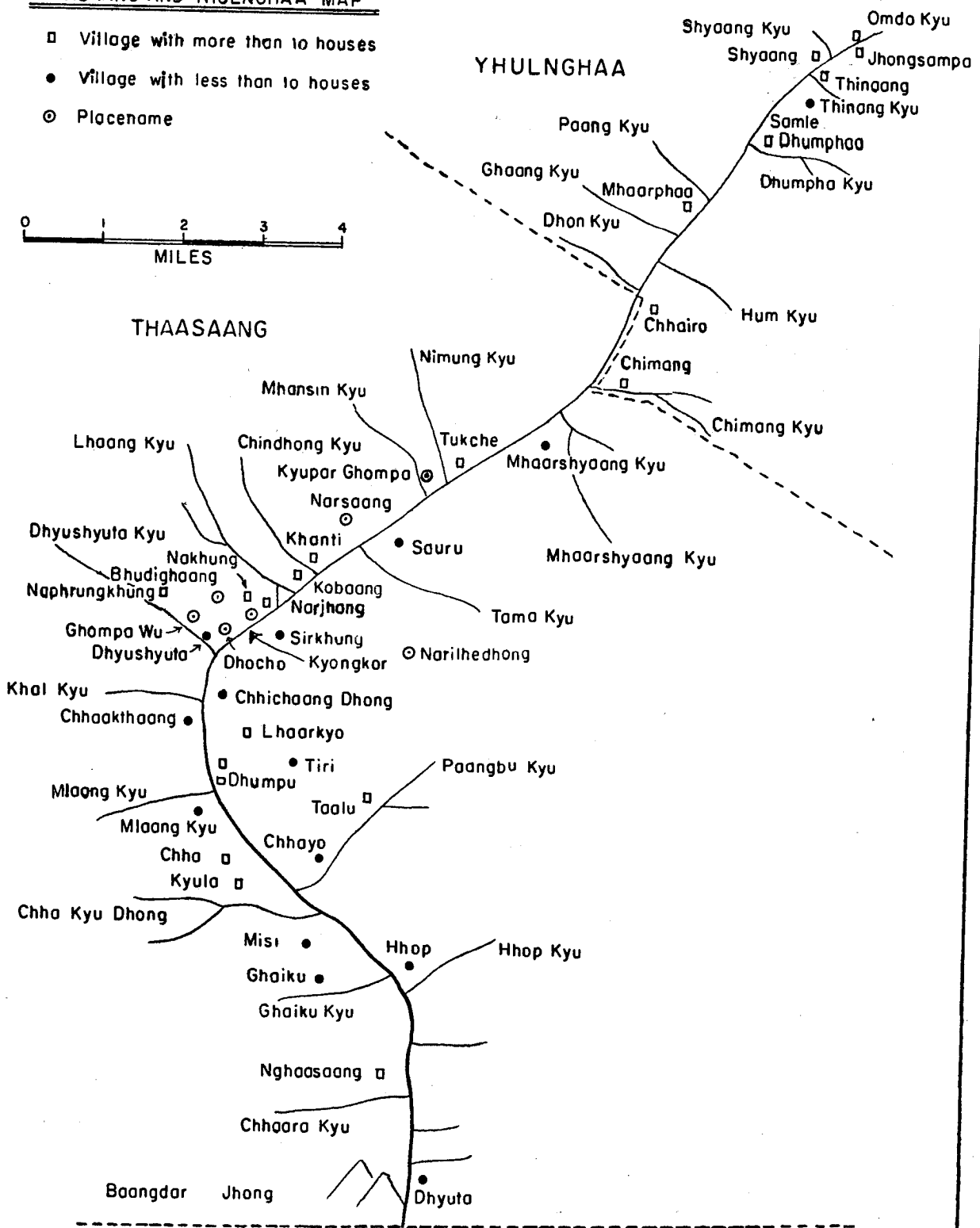
Omdo Kyu	Kaali Gandaki
Thinaang Kyu	Thini Kholaa
Shyaang Kyu	Shyaang Kholaa
Dhumphaa Kyu	Dhumphaa Kholaa
Paang Kyu	Maarphaa Kholaa
Ghaang Kyu	none
Dhon Kyu	none
Hum Kyu	Chim Kholaa
Chimaang Kyu	Chokhopaani
Mhaarshyaang Kyu	Thaapaa Kholaa (or: Thaaro Kholaa)
Nimung Kyu	none
Mhansin Kyu	none
Tama Kyu	none
Chindhong Kyu	none
Lhaang Kyu	Laarjung Kholaa
Dhyushyutaa Kyu	Ghatte Kholaa

Khal Kyu	none
Mlaang Kyu	Kaalopaani
Paangbu Kyu	Chhayo Kholaa
Chaa Kyu Dhong	Lete Kholaa
Ghaiku Kyu	none
Hhop Kyu	none
Chhaaraa Kyu	none

Please note that the names are all in the Tukche dialect of the Thakaali language. Many of the rivers have different names according to the dialects of the people living near the rivers: i.e. Thinaang Kyu is called *Khaa Kyu*, and Shyaang Kyu is called *Saal Kyu* according to the dialect of Thin, Shyaangtan, and Chintan.

THAASAANG AND YHULNGHAA MAP

- Village with more than 10 houses
- Village with less than 10 houses
- Placename



Drawn By= Graphics Rachana



Plate 1
Mr. Narendra Gauchan with the head
of Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu



Plate 2
Sketch of a new image of Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu
as proposed by Mr. Narendra Gauchan



Plate 3
The head of Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo



Plate 4
Sketch of a new image of Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo
as proposed by Mr. Narendra Gauchan

PART III: CHYOKI RHAB [GAUCHAN]

The History of the birth and arrival of Chyoki Khe Aani Airam'.

Oh God, you who know the important things of the past time,
please tell us about the important things of the past time.
Oh God, you who know the important things of the future time,
please tell us about the important things of the future time.
Oh God, you who know the important things of the present time,
please tell us about the important things of the present time.



¹ The category *khe* can here best be translated as "ancestor". Chyoki Khe Aani Airam is thus "Aani Airam, the ancestor of Chyoki".

Khe Aani Airam was born in *Nhubchan* as a member of the Chan family². Khe Aani Airam left *Nhubchan* and reached *Bhalam*³. Khe Aani Airam left *Bhalam* and reached *Tocho Paani*. Khe Aani Airam left *Tocho Paani* and reached *Toulaa Kharka*⁴. Khe Aani Airam left *Toulaa Kharka* and reached *Sinjaa Pati*⁵.

At *Sinjaa Pati* there was a sandalwood tree with three branches. A person tried to fell the tree. When he cut, the roots dispersed and reached the pastures of the *Siryagaai*⁶. Again he cut, and the roots dispersed and reached the pastures of the *Kaamdhyaanugaai*⁷. Again he cut, and the roots dispersed and reached the pastures of *Ekbarnegaai*⁸. Again he cut, and the roots dispersed and reached the pastures of *Dharmaagaai*⁹. Again he cut, and the roots dispersed and reached the pastures of *Maalegaai*¹⁰. Again

² *Nhubchan* refers probably to that area in the west (*nhub*), which belonged to the Chan. The exact location is unknown to us, but our informants think that it was situated in the present *Humlaa District* or north-west of that area. Chan is according to the text the name of a "family", but it is probably the name of a clan. Chan is according to the *Thakaali* tradition identical with the *Thakuri Chand* clan, and the *Thakaali* thus claim that they have a status equal to the *Thakuri* in the caste-hierarchy. It should in this connection be mentioned, that *Messerschmidt* (1976: 17) writes that the progenitors of the *Lamichane Gurung*—who speak a language very close to the *Thakaali*—was called *can*, which is pronounced *chan*.

After they had settled in *Thaa*, the Chan became known as *Thaachan*, "the Chan of *Thaa*", and later as *Tamhaang* due to the fact, as they explain, that they had become so powerful, that they were feared by their neighbours, especially *Puntan*, who called them *Tamhaang*, "horse-tiger", because they were fast as horses and fearful as tigers.

³ *Bhalam* is the first of a number of villages and places mentioned in the *Rhabs*, but unknown to us. We shall in the notes not deal with such villages and places. Place-names found in Part II are usually also not mentioned on the notes.

⁴ *Toulaa Kharka*, now known as *Taaklaa Kharka*, is according to our informants the village *Taakla Kot* (Nep.) in Tibet near the north-western corner of Nepal.

⁵ *Sinjaa Pati* (Nep.: *Semja*) near *Jumlaa* was one of the capitals of the *Malla Kingdom* of West Nepal.

⁶ *Siryagaai* (Nep.) is a cow with a white head, while the body can have any colour.

⁷ *Kaamdhyaanugaai* (Nep.) is a cow with a white head, hooves, and tail, while the body can have any colour.

⁸ *Ekbarnegaai* (Nep.) is a cow of one colour.

⁹ *Dharmaagaai* (Nep.) is a cow with a red mouth and a white blaze in the forehead.

¹⁰ *Maalegaai* (Nep.) is a black and white cow.

he cut, and the roots dispersed and reached the pastures of Pwaalegaai¹¹. Again he cut, and the roots dispersed and reached the pastures of Saanpegaai¹². After that the herdsman found that the grass on the pastures and the milk from the cows decreased. He found that the calves increased by hundreds and thousands. He found that the milk could not become curd, and that the curd could not become butter. Thus it was told by the cowherd.

The cowherd prayed to the gods, and from one of the branches of the sandalwood tree flew a red bird. The cowherd prayed to the gods, and from one of the branches of the sandalwood tree flew a blue bird. The cowherd prayed to the gods, and from one of the branches of the sandalwood tree flew a white bird. The cowherd thought that it was because of the sandalwood tree, that there came no milk. Therefore he cut three times with an axe in the tree, but the tree filled the holes up soon after they appeared. The cowherd could not cut the tree, and sent therefore a message to Khe Aani Airam and asked him to come. Thus it was told by the cowherd.

The cowherdsman got a *Paataang*¹³, and cut the tree in the downwards and the upwards direction. Then a red bird flew from one of the branches of the tree. The cowherd got a *Namchyaatari*¹⁴, and cut the tree in the upwards direction. Then a blue bird flew from one of the branches of the tree. The cowherdsman got a *Lhabe*¹⁵, and cut the tree in the downwards direction. Then a white bird flew from one of the branches of the tree. In this way the cowherd succeeded to fell the tree. Thus it was told by Khe Aani Airam.

Khe Aani Airam went to *Mhutu-e Pompa*¹⁶ to ask him about what the birds symbolized. Mhutu-e Pompa told Khe Aani Airam:

“I saw *Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu* 17”.

¹¹ Pwaalegaai (Nep.) is a red and white cow.

¹² Saanpegaai (Nep.) is a cow of one colour with a white circle around the tail.

¹³ Paataang is a two-edged sword, and the weapon of Khe Aani Airam.

¹⁴ Namchyaatari is a weapon with two heads, and the weapon of *Khe Samledhen Sam lechyaang*, the ancestor of Saalki.

¹⁵ Lhabe is a small *bhoi*, which is a one-edged weapon with one head. Bhoi is the weapon of *Khe Paau Kuti* (who is also called *Khe Dhamchi Dhamru*), the ancestor of Bhurki. Lhabe is the weapon of *Khe Dhaakpaa Ghyalsaang*, the ancestor of Dhimchan.

¹⁶ Mhutu-e Pompa (cf. Tib.: Mo-dpon, “chief diviner”) “the king of divination”, divines with a rosary (*phrama*). For Preng-mo (Tib.), “rosary divination,” see Ekvall (1964: 262).

¹⁷ Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu (cf. Tib. : gLang-ba nor-bu “the jewel elephant god”) is the god of Chyoki. This god is male, his colour is red, his direction is the east, and his element is the fire (*me*). He is the eldest of the four gods, and is therefore referred to by the category *aachyo*, which here best can be translated as “elder brother”.

Khe Aani Airam went to *Chi-e Pompa*¹⁸ to ask him about what the birds symbolized. Chi-e Pompa told Khe Aani Airam:

“I saw *Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo*¹⁹”.

Khe Aani Airam went to an excellent *Mhutu* to ask him about what the birds symbolized. The excellent *Mhutu* told Khe Aani Airam:

“I saw *Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo*²⁰”.

Khe Aani Airam made offerings to the gods. To Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu he offered the milk from the Kaamdhyaanugaa. To Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo he offered the milk from the Siryaagaai. To Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu he offered the milk from the Ekbar-negaai. To Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu he offered the milk from the Dharmyaagaai. To Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo he offered the milk from the Saanpegaai. To *Lha Ongba Gyapchan*²¹ he offered different kinds of milk. To Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo he offered *Lhau mhendo*²². To Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo he offered *Hyaali mhendo*²³. To Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo he offered various kinds of flowers. Then Khe Aani Airam prayed to Lha Ongba Gyapchan and left Sinjaa Pati.

From Sinjaa Pati they reached *Thaasaang*²⁴. Khe Aani Airam called the people

¹⁸ Chi-e Pompa (cf. Tib.: rTsis-dpon, “chief astrologer”) “the king of astrologers”. For Tibetan astrology, see Waddell (1895: 450).

¹⁹ Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo (or *Lha Chhyusing Gyalmo*) (cf. Tib.: Chu-srin rgyal-mo, “the sea-monster queen”) is the god of Saalki. This god is female, her colour is blue or green (the colour of the bird in the Rhabs is blue, but her temple, etc. is today painted green) her direction is the south, and her element is water (*kyu*). She is referred to by the category *aana*, which here best can be translated as “elder sister”.

²⁰ Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo (or *Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo*) (cf. Tib.: Gangs-la seng-ge dkar-mo, “the white lioness of the glacier”) is the god of Dhimchan. This god is female, her colour is white, her direction is the west, and her element is earth (*sa*). She is referred to by the category *pichyaang*, which here best can be translated as “younger sister”.

²¹ Lha Ongba Gyapchan is according to the Thakali tradition the king of the gods, and appears in the Rhabs as a kind of spiritual father and creator of the other gods, and resembles thus in certain ways rNam-par snang-mdsad (Tib.) (Skt.: Vairocana) in the Lamaistic pantheon.

²² Lhau mhendo is a flower found near landslides.

²³ Hyaali mhendo is a flower found high up in the mountains.

²⁴ Thaasaang must be situated between Sinjaa and Mugu (Nep.), but the exact location is unknown to us. This village must not be confused with the area Thaasaang.

of that place *Pangki lhepta*²⁵, because they had bound their long hair around their heads like a turban. They left Thaasaang and reached *Mu*²⁶. They went high up in the mountains to the snow. They intended to cross the mountains, but fog arose. Khe Aani Airam said:

“We cannot find our way in this fog, so it will be impossible for us to cross the mountains.”

The fog came from the east, and they found that it was impossible for them to pass the mountains in that direction. The fog came from the south, and they found that it was impossible for them to pass the mountains in that direction. The fog came from the west, and they found that it was impossible for them to pass the mountains in that direction. The fog came from the north, and they found that it was impossible for them to pass the mountains in that direction. The fog came from the south-east, and they found that it was impossible for them to pass the mountains in that direction.

Khe Aani Airam offered a *dharna*²⁷ to the gods. Khe Aani Airam offered *posi chaangpo*²⁸ to the gods. Khe Aani Airam offered various kinds of *phi*²⁹ to the gods. They asked Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu to stop and send back the fog coming from the east. They asked Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo to stop and send back the fog coming from the south. They asked Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo to stop and send back the fog coming from the west. They asked *Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung*³⁰ to stop and send back the fog coming from the north. They asked Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo to stop and send back the fog coming from the south-east.

Khe Aani Airam struck three times with a Paataang in the ground, but they could not pass the mountains. Khe Aani Airam struck three times with a Namchyaatari in the ground, but they could not pass the mountains. Khe Aani Airam struck three times with a Lhabe in the ground, but they could not pass the mountains. Their teeth were chattering due to the frost. They could not see anything due to the sunshine in the snow.

²⁵ Pangki lhepta is according to our informants a religious specialist who through mantras can control the souls of dead persons.

²⁶ Mu is the village Mugu (Nep.)

²⁷ Dharna is a long, narrow cloth usually red or white.

²⁸ Posi chaangpo, literally “pure foodgrain”, is a grain offering like mChod-'bru (Tib.)

²⁹ Phi is the local barley beer.

³⁰ Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung (cf. Tib.: gYak-ba rang-byung, “the self-created yak”) is the god of Bhurki. This god is male, his colour is black, his direction is the north, and his element is air or wind (nambar). He is referred to by the category *aale*, which here best can be translated as “younger brother”.

They could not walk further on due to the deep snow. Khe Aani Airam then said:

“It is very difficult to pass these mountains. Let us return, because we cannot walk further on.”

So then they returned to Mu, because they could not cross the mountains. They left Mu, and reached the village *Bhargung*. They left *Bhargung*, and reached the village *Raangaa Taaraang*. They left *Raangaa Taaraang*, and reached the village *Chhaarkaa*³¹. They left *Chhaarkaa* and reached the village *Namphre Wu*, which Khe Aani Airam named *Thorchhyaa Khewa*³². A man in that village tried to fell a cypress. Khe Aani Airam asked him about what he was doing. The man did not answer, but showed his clothes to Khe Aani Airam. A man in that village was making a rope. Khe Aani Airam asked him about what he was doing. The man did not answer, but acted dumb.

Then they reached the village *Saangtaa*. They left *Saangtaa*, and reached the village *Phalyaa*³³. Khe Aani Airam named the villagers of that village *Thorchhyaa Khewa* due to their coiffure. Khe Aani Airam found that the village *Phalyaa* was not a good place for them, so they left that village, and reached the village *Thinaang*. Then they went and took a bath in a river, which they named *Mharshyaang Kyu*. Then they went to *Ghyatobhrraa*³⁴.

At *Ghyatobhrraa* fog arose, so that they could not find their way. The fog came from the east. The fog came from the south. The fog came from the west. The fog came from the north. The fog came from the south-east. Then they met Khe Paau Kuti.

Khe Paau Kuti offered a dharna to the gods. Khe Paau Kuti offered *posi chaangpo* to the gods. Khe Paau Kuti offered *phi phui*³⁵ to the gods.

Khe Paau Kuti asked *Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu* to stop and send back the fog coming from the east. Khe Paau Kuti asked *Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo* to stop and send back the fog coming from the south. Khe Paau Kuti asked *Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo* to stop and send back the fog coming from the west. Khe Paau Kuti asked *Lha Hyaawaa Rhangjyung* to stop and send back the fog coming from the north. Khe Paau Kuti asked *Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo* to stop and send back the fog coming from the south-east.

The fog disappeared, and they saw a muskdeer³⁶. They sent their hunting dogs

³¹ *Chhaarkaa* is a village on the way from *Taaraap* in *Dhalpu* (Nep.: Dolpa) to *Jhongsampa* (Nep.: Jomsom).

³² *Thorchhyaa khewa* are persons who have rolled their hair around the head and stuck a needle in the middle of it.

³³ *Saangtaa* and *Phalyaa* are the villages after *Chhaarkaa* on the way to *Jhongsampa*.

³⁴ *Ghyatobhrraa* is a sloping place on the left side of *Omdo Kyu* opposite *Tukche*.

³⁵ See *Saalki Rhab*, note 4.

³⁶ The muskdeer is today known as *lhau*, but the old word *pitaa mindu* is used in the text.

after the muskdeer. Khe Paau Kuti shot two arrows after the muskdeer, but could not hit it. Then the muskdeer came to *Paangpo*. Again they sent their hunting dogs after the muskdeer. Khe Paau Kuti shot two arrows after the muskdeer, but again he could not hit it. Then the muskdeer came to *Thokaangche*. Again they sent their hunting dogs after the muskdeer. The hunting companion of Khe Paau Kuti shot two arrows after the muskdeer, but could not hit it. Khe Paau Kuti shot two arrows after the muskdeer, but again he could not hit it. Again they sent their hunting dogs after the muskdeer. The hunting dogs directed the muskdeer towards Khe Paau Kuti, who shot two arrows after the muskdeer. This time he hit it, and the muskdeer died. Khe Aani Airam saw this, and said that they had killed the muskdeer at *Thokaangche*.

Khe Paau Kuti sent his hunting companion to the river to clean the stomach of the muskdeer. When he had gone the others hid some of the meat, which had to be divided among the hunters. When the hunting companion came back he was very surprised to see how little meat there was to be divided. He therefore gave Khe Paau Kuti the name *Jhyulawa Chan-e Khe*³⁷. And he told them that since they had tried to cheat him, then they would also try to cheat their own relatives in the future. Khe Paau Kuti then gave his hunting companion a share, and told him to leave. Thus it was told by *Syaalapo*³⁸

They left *Thokaangche* and reached *Tamo*. Some of the people of that place had three braids with no hair between the braids. Khe Aani Airam asked:

“Who are these people ?”

Jhyulawa Chan-e Khe answered:

“They take rice of gold and dal of turquoise³⁹.”

Khe Aani Airam then thought that they must be the *mom*³⁰ of *Thaatan*. Some of the people of that place had divided their hair in three parts, but they had not made any braids. Khe Aani Airam named them *Khe Tamo*. Khe Aani Airam said that Khe

³⁷ Jhyuawa Chan-e khe can best be translated as “the grandfather of Chan, who hides things.”

³⁸ Syaalapo means literally “the hunter”.

³⁹ Rice of gold refers to *shaangden*, a porridge made of sweet and bitter buckwheat, and which the Thakaali consider as a healthy, but undelicious dish eaten by people who cannot afford rice. Dal of turquoise refers to a soup or dal made of nettles (*polo*). The Thakaali, who are famous in Nepal for their clean and excellent kitchen, have here again an ironical remark on their neighbours.

⁴⁰ Mom is a category which here best can be translated as “ancestress”.

Tamo had founded *Thaatongkhor*, and was the khe of *Thaatan*⁴¹. Khe Aani Airam said that *Thaatan* first gave their eldest son a house, and then later on the other sons.

They left *Ghyatobhrra* and reached the village *Tiri*. They left *Tiri* and reached the village *Taalu*. Khe Aani Airam named the people of that village by the name *Paaraang Purung*⁴², and said that it was not a good place, so that they should not stay there. They then reached the village *Nghaapsaang*⁴³. They left *Nghaapsaang* and reached the village *Lerpong Chyaang Lerpong Dhen*⁴⁴. They left *Lerpong Chyaang Lerpong Dhen* and reached the village *Ghar*⁴⁵. They left *Ghar* and reached the village *Syu*⁴⁶. They left *Syu* and reached the village *Kalsai*⁴⁷.

At *Kalsai* there were a lot of nettles, which annoyed them. They could not find their way, and therefore asked a man about the way. The man answered:

“Go along the way.”

Khe Aani Airam got very angry, and named the man by the name *Rhongs* *Rhongaak*⁴⁸. He then told the others that they should return. And to the people of *Kalsai*

⁴¹ *Thaatan*, literally “the people of *Thaa*”, seem according to the *Rhab* to have been the original inhabitants of the area where *Chan* later settled. We know unfortunately only the little about *Thaatan* which is mentioned in the *Rhab*.

Thaa is said to have been the main village in *Thaatongkhor*. The exact location of *Thaa* is unknown to us, but we think that it was situated near *Khyongkor* or *Narjhong*. *Kyongkor* is a very important place to the *Thakaali*, and it is at this place the *shyopen* during *Shyopen lhawa* shoot arrows after their ‘enemies’.

The location of *Tamo* (= *Thaa* ?) is also unknown to us.

Thaatongkhor is the area where the present villages and places are situated: *Narsaang*, *Khanti*, *Kobaang*, *Narjhong*, *Kyongkor*, *Nakhung*, *Bhudighaang*, *Naprunghung*, *Ghomba Wu*, *Dhyueshyutaa*, *Dhocho*, *Narilhedhong*, and *Sauru* (see Part II: Map and Geographical names of *Thaasaang* and *Yhulnghaa*). *Thaatongkhor* is according to our informants derived from *Thaatan Tongkhor*, literally “the 1.000 *Thaatan*”, but can also have been derived from *Thaa Kyongkor*. *Thaatongkhor* was originally also called *Thaasaang*, but *Thaasaang* became later the name of the area as shown on the map.

⁴² *Paaraang Purung* refers to the strange sounds in the language of that people.

⁴³ *Nghaapsaang* is the old name for *Nghaasaang* (Nep.: *Ghaasa*).

⁴⁴ *Lerpong Chyaang Lerpong Dhen* is the old name for *Lepaang* (Nep.: *Daanaa*).

⁴⁵ *Ghar* (Nep.: *Ghaara*) is located between *Taatopaani* (Nep.) and *Sikha* (Nep.).

⁴⁶ *Syu* (Nep. *Sikha*) is located between *Taatopaani* (Nep.) and *Gorapaani* (Nep.).

⁴⁷ *Kalsai* (Nep.: *Phalaate*) is located between *Sikha* (Nep.) and *Gorepaani* (Nep.).

⁴⁸ *Rhongs* *Rhongaak* means literally “*Rhong*–*die Rhong*–*black*” and is here used as a curse equal to “go to hell”.

he said:

“The crop you take in the summer shall not be sufficient for the winter, and the crop you take in the winter shall not be sufficient for the summer. You shall be forced to buy grain, although thirty *pyaang*⁴⁹ of grain only cost one rupee. You shall be forced to take the root of the nettle as your food. You shall be forced to use the fibres of nettle for your clothes. And your clothes shall be short; it shall not go below the knees, and not below the elbows. And your language shall be like the *kalyaankolen*⁵⁰.”

They then returned to Syu, Ghar, Lerpong Chyaang Lerpong Dhen, Nghaapsaang, and reached the village Kala Paani. They weighed the water of Kala Paani and found that it was most heavy there. They therefore named the place by the name *Aama Kala Paani*. Then they reached *Sonam Jhong*⁵¹. They left *Sonam Jhong* and reached *Naghung Sompi Sa*⁵². They weighed the soil of *Naghung Sompi Sa* and found that it was most heavy there. Then they reached the village *Narsaang*. They left *Narsaang*, and reached *Narilhedhong*. They weighed the stones of *Narilhedhong* and found that they were most heavy there.

“*Thaatongkor* is a very good place, because it has the most heavy water, the most heavy soil, and the most heavy stones,” said *Khe Aani Airam*, and continued:

“We will earn fame, if we stay here.”

Khe Aani Airam then said:

“It is through the blessings of *Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu* that we can settle in *Nari-*

⁴⁹ The Thakaali use two different kinds of *pyaang*: *sinpyaang* (Nep.: *suse paathi*), which is the old *pyaang*, and *dhwaangpyaang* (Nep.: *dhwaang paathi*), which is the present official *paathi*. One *dhwaangpyaang* is approximately four litres in volume, and approximately 50 per cent bigger than a *sinpyaang*.

⁵⁰ *Kalyaankolen* is the old word for *ngelaang*, the Himalayan crow; their language shall thus be unintelligible for other people like the language of the *kalyaankolen*.

⁵¹ *Sonam Jhong* is the old name for *Najhong*, literally “the nose *jhong*”, which today is called *Narjhong*. The hill on which the *jhong* (cf. Tib.: *rDzongs* “castle, fortress”) was situated was originally according to the Thakaali tradition pointed like a nose. It should in fact have been so pointed that people had to lean their heads back so much, if they wanted to see the *jhong*, that their caps fell from their heads.

⁵² *Naghung Sompi Sa*, which today is known as *Nakhung*, was originally called *Naghung Som Pyaang Sa*, because three *pyaang* of seed was needed for sowing in that place.

lhedhong. Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu is the god who controls *phaamar* and *nambar* ⁵³.

It is through the blessings of Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo that we can earn fame. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo is the goddess who controls the rain, so that it comes at the right time. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo is the goddess who controls the disasters of the mountains.”

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung came to Thaatongkor, and the people worshipped him. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung came to Thaatongkor from *Kompa Chari*⁵⁴.

Khe Aani Airam then said:

“Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung is the god who controls the salt. Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu is the god who controls the evil. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo is the goddess who controls the water, and who can swim in Omdo Kyu. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo is the goddess who controls the grasshoppers. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo is the goddess who controls the mountains, so that they do not move. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo is the goddess who controls the clouds. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung is the god who controls the offspring of all living beings. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung is the god who controls the fertility of the crops.”

The king of the east ⁵⁵ established Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu as his god. The king of the south established Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo as his goddess. The king of the west established Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo as his goddess. The king of the north established Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung as his god. The king of the east established Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu as his god, and Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu settled in the east. The king of the south established Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo as his goddess, and Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo settled in the south. The king of the west established Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo as his goddess, and Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo settled in the west. The king of the north established Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung as his god, and Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung settled in the north. And all the gods settled in the south-east.

The four gods blessed the people, so that they could have *thanggu* ⁵⁶ of gold. The

⁵³ *Phaamar* is the wind blowing from the north towards the south, while *nambar* is the wind blowing from the south towards the north. *Phaamar* blows normally in the early morning, while the very strong *nambar* blows from noon to after it has become dark.

⁵⁴ *Kompa Chari* is a village in Tibet, where Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had some accidents.

⁵⁵ The king of the east is Khe Aani Airam, the king of the south is Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang, the king of the west is Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang, and the king of the north is Khe Paau Kuti.

⁵⁶ *Thanggu* (cf. Tib.: *Thang-ka*) are religious paintings.

four gods blessed the people, so that they could have thangu of silver. The four gods blessed the people, so that they could have thangu of turquoise. The four gods blessed the people, so that they should not suffer.

Khe Aani Airam was proclaimed as the khe of Chyoki. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang was proclaimed as the khe of Saalki. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang was proclaimed as the khe of Dhimchan. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru was proclaimed as the khe of Bhurki.

The four gods thus became the gods of Chan after they had been established in the four directions. And they shared the water in four parts. And they shared the *pherwa*⁵⁷ in four parts. And they shared the people in four parts. And the four clans decided that they should marry each other. And they decided that the relationship between Khe Aani Airam and Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang never should become bad, and that the relationship between Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang and Khe Dhamchi Dhamru never should become bad. All this was decided at the time when they were at Narilhedhong.

They then went to Naghung Somp Sa. Khe Aani Airam prayed at that place to the gods, that his descendants should become numerous. And they made fields at *Sakarche*⁵⁸, and ploughed the soil with a plough of gold.

Khe Aani Airam then said:

“Although our birthplace is not the same, then we shall have the feeling that we are born at the same place, so that we can have good feelings when we meet at the gatheringplace.”

Khe Aani Airam then prayed to the gods that they should stay with their people.

Khe Aani Airam was proclaimed as the khe of Chyoki by Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang was proclaimed as the khe of Saalki by Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang was proclaimed as the khe of Dhimchan by Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru was proclaimed as the khe of Bhurki by Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung.

And the people prayed to the gods:

“Oh four gods, although our birthplace is not the same, let us then live together remembering that our gatheringplace is the same.”

⁵⁷ Pherwa is a large blanket made from the hair of the yak, and used as tent canvas.

⁵⁸ Sakarche, literally “the field of the white soil”, is a place near Nakhung. This white soil is used to colour the houses, and is also used on the roof of the houses, because it is waterproof when rammed.

PART IV: SAALKI [TULACHAN] RHAB

The History of the origin and arrival of Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo.

Oh goddess, you who know the important things of the past time,
please tell us about the important things of the past time.



Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo was the queen among the goddesses, and Lha Ongba Gyapchan was the king among the gods. Lha Ongba Gyapchan established Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo so that she had the power over the earth, the fire, and the air. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo came to the earth at Sinjaa Pati, and lived in a sandalwood tree.

At Sinjaa Pati there was a sandal-wood tree. Its four branches were of different origin but still on the same tree, and had grown out in a period of three years, three months, and three days.

One of the four branches dried out, and from that branch a black bird flew towards the north in the front of *Ghaankar Tisi*¹, where it changed into three hailstones from which Lha Hyaawa Rhaangjyung appeared.

A blue bird flew from one of the branches of the sandal-wood tree, and Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo appeared due to the activities of Lha Ongba Gyapchan. When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo appeared, she was worshipped with the milk of Kaamdhyaanugaai. When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo appeared she was worshipped with the milk from Ekbarnegaai. When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo appeared she was worshipped with the milk from Maalegaai, Pwaalegaai, Dharmyaagaai, and Saanpegaai.

Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo left the soil of Sinjaa Pati and reached Pangki Lhepta due to the activities of Lha Ongba Gyapchan. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo left Pangki Lhepta and reached the village Mu. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo left Mu and reached *Muli Ghaang*². Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo left Muli Ghaang and reached the village Dhocho.

When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo arrived at the village Dhocho, the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho recognised her as Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo and worshipped her with white, yellow, red, and black sugarcane, and did *chhyaaphulwa*³ three times. When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo arrived at the village Dhocho, then the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho offered phi phui⁴ and different kinds of posi chaangpo to her, and did *chhyaaphulwa* three times. When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo arrived at the village Dhocho, then the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho offered her the milk from Kaamdhyaanugaai, Ekbarnegaai, Maalegaai and Pwaalegaai.

The eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho prayed to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo to bless them with jewels, gold, silver, copper, and iron. The eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho prayed to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo to bless them, so that they could become very powerful, and their horses strong and fat. When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo blessed the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho, they said that she was a speak-

¹ Ghaankar Tisi (cf. Tib.: Gangs Ti-si) is Mt. Kailaash.

² Muli Ghaang is a term which the Thakali apply to all high mountains covered with snow, but especially Mt. Dhaulaagiri, which is the biggest mountain of Thaasaang.

³ Chhyaaphulwa is a prostration consisting of cupping the hands in the so-called lotus-bud gesture, going down on the knees, placing both hands on the ground, touching the forehead to the ground, between the hands, and then resuming the upright posture. It is known as Yan-lag Inga-tshogs (Tib.) "five-fold members" among Tibetans, because in this prostration a person touches the ground with the two palms, the two knees, and the forehead (see Ekvall 1964).

⁴ Phui refers to the first of any product—grain, milk, beer, water, etc. — and is often used as an offering to the gods.

ing goddess, and suggested to call her with prayers. When the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho called Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo with prayers, she entered their houses in clothes made of cypress.

The eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho became very powerful at the time when Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo lived in Dhocho. When the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho became very powerful they used to cut the legs of the yaks they saw walking. When the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho became very powerful they used to cut the legs of the sheep they saw walking. When the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho became very powerful they used to cut the legs of the goats they saw walking. When the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho became very powerful they used to catch the loads of the porters they saw.

The khe of Thaachan made a meeting after they had seen the bad ways in which the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho used their power. During the meeting the khe of Thaachan made a plan and promised each other to kill the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho. The khe of Thaachan planned to kill the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho by inviting them to the *Lha Chhyowa* of *kundhin ghyaa*⁵ which was established by their ancestors. The khe of Thaachan planned to put poison in the food, beer and liquor, which should be served during the ceremony. During the meeting the khe of Thaachan promised each other not to betray the secret plan.

After the promise the khe of Thaachan celebrated the *Lha Chhyowa* of *kundhin ghyaa*. When the khe of Thaachan celebrated the *Lha Chhyowa* of *kundhin ghyaa* they invited the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho by sending *phi phum*⁶ to them. After the invitation the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho went to the houses of their *mhaa*⁷.

⁵ *Lha chhyowa* is a ceremony where the family god is worshipped, and corresponds according to our informants to *Kuldevataa puja* (Nep.) *Kundhin ghyaa* refers to an occasion where so many people are invited that nine muris (or 180 *dhwaangpyaang*) of foodgrain is required to feed the invited people. *Dhudhin ghyaa* is a smaller occasion, where only six muris are required.

⁶ *Phi phum* is a wooden beerpot in the form of an egg (*phum*). It is often used in connection with invitations.

⁷ *Mhaa* is a category referring to male persons who have received women from ego's patriline.

On their way they met *Chaabe Dhom*⁸ at *Mhikhilwa*⁹. Chaabe Dhom told the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho that in a dream he had seen the khe of Thaačan putting poison in the food and the drinks, and that they therefore neither should eat nor drink anything. After that the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho reached the houses of their mhaa, and stayed there.

⁸ The religious system of the Thakaali is very interesting, because it is a syncretism of elements from different traditions. We shall here only give a very general picture. The first tradition is *Dhom*, a local version of the "shamanistic" tradition, which once was predominant in Tibet and among the Tibeto-Burmese speaking people of Nepal. This tradition is in many ways similar to the so-called *Mi-chos* (Tib.) and *Bon-nag* (Tib.)

The second tradition is a local version of either *Chos* (Tib.) "Lamaism", mainly *rNying-ma-pa* (Tib.) and *Sa-skya-pa* (Tib.), or *Bon-dkar* (Tib.), which according to most literature on Tibet seem to be very different, but in fact basically are identical.

The third tradition is the Hindu tradition.

The fourth tradition is an atheistic, "scientific" tradition.

Historically, the first tradition seems to have been the only significant tradition in the Thakaali religious system up to around the 14th century, when the second tradition was introduced from Tibet. The first tradition continued to be dominant in the cognitive aspect of the religious system among the majority of the Thakaali with the exception of perhaps a few "Lamaistic" monks and nuns, while the ritual aspect of the religious system became a mixture of the two traditions with the second as the most dominant. The third tradition began less than a century ago among the Subbas to replace the second tradition in the ritual aspect, and this later also happened among those Thakaali who settled permanently outside Thaaasang. The first tradition continued to be dominant in the cognitive aspect. Recently, the fourth tradition has replaced the first tradition as dominant in the cognitive aspect of the religious system among certain Thakaali with "western" education.

The situation today is thus, in very general terms, that the first tradition still is dominant in the cognitive aspect of the religious life among the Thakaali with a few exceptions. The ritual aspect is most often a mixture of the first three traditions, but where the second tradition seems to be dominant among the Thakaali of Thaaasang, and the third tradition seems to be dominant among the Thakaali living outside Thaaasang.

⁹ *Mhikhilwa* is a meeting place in an open place in the courtyard of the houses, or in an open field.

The khe of Thaachan served the food and the drinks to the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho in a very respectful way. The eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho did not eat or drink anything, but took a small piece of food from each dish and gave it to some dogs. Then the dogs died. When the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho saw the dogs die, they returned to their houses. The khe of Thaachan said after that that they had not succeeded to kill the very powerful eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho.

Again the khe of Thaachan called a meeting to discuss how to kill the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho. During the meeting they made a plan to build a bridge of planks at Sonam Jhong. They would cut the wood in pieces at *Lhedhong*¹⁰. They would flatter the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho, tell them to put their hands in the cracked part of the wood, then remove the small stop-blocks, and roll the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho together with the wood. The khe of Thaachan promised each other not to betray this secret plan.

After the promise the khe of Thaachan requested the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho very politely and heartily to build the bridge at Sonam Jhong. They flattered them by saying that they were fat and strong like horses, and very powerful men. Then they very politely requested them to cut the wood into planks for the purpose of building the bridge. The khe of Thaachan requested the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho by giving them *paru*¹¹ of beer, and *khaataa*¹². The khe of Thaachan did *shyowaphulwa*¹³ to the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho, and forced them to go. Then the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho said that they would go.

The youngest khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho said:

“I had a dream. I saw all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho riding on black horses towards the south. We should therefore not go.”

Then *Mom Lhasarphi* said:

“I also had a dream. I saw all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho riding on donkeys sitting with their faces opposite the riding direction. You should therefore not go. The khe of Thaachan plan to kill you, so please do not go !”

“Who can harm us? Whom do we fear? We shall break the head and the mouth of

¹⁰ *Lhedhong* is a short form for *Narilhedong*.

¹¹ *Paru* is a wooden pot for beer or liquor.

¹² *Khaataa* (cf. Tib.: *Kha-btags*) is a scarf of felicitation.

¹³ *Showaphulwa* is a respectful greeting often used together with a gift for requesting something.

those who try to harm us in two pieces like we do with the head of the goat. We shall break the head and the mouth of those who try to harm us in two pieces like we do with the head of the yak," said the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho.

All the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho, from the eldest to the youngest, then went to cut the wood into planks. The khe of Thaachan said that they could not cut the wood into planks even by forcing small pieces of wood into the cracked wood. The khe of Thaachan at Narilhedong then requested the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho to put their hands into the crack of the wood in order to break it. The eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho then put their hands in the crack and said that they would break the wood like they used to break the head and the mouth of the goat, the sheep, and the yak. When all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho had put their hands into the crack of the wood, then the khe of Thaachan removed the small stop-blocks, and rolled the wood. The khe of Thaachan rolled the wood with all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho, from the eldest to the youngest, who then were killed at the same time.

The khe of Thaachan returned with *punti*¹⁴ because they had succeeded to kill all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho. The khe of Thaachan returned with *punti*.

Mom Lhasarphi said to the other mom of the eighteen houses of Dhocho:

"I had a dream. I told them not to go there, but they did not listen to me, and now they are all killed. Let us escape from here, otherwise the khe of Thaachan will kill us."

But the eighteen mom of the eighteen houses of Dhocho did not listen to Mom Lhasarphi, but started to weep and cry. Mom Lhasarphi therefore escaped with *Koncha Bhum*¹⁵.

When the khe of Thaachan returned with *punti* they saw the eighteen mom of the eighteen houses of Dhocho weeping and crying on the ground. The khe of Thaachan searched the eighteen houses of Dhocho in order to find out how the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho had become so powerful. When the khe of Thaachan searched the houses they saw Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo dressed in clothes of cypress. When they took it they said:

"What is this? It is not *kuichyung*¹⁶. It is the reason for the power of the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho, so let us therefore break it, let us spear it, and let us burn it."

¹⁴ *Punti* is a small drum used by *dhuli* during various ceremonies.

¹⁵ *Koncha* is a category which here best can be translated as "grandson".

¹⁶ *Kuichyung* is a small clay pot to have wine in.

The khe of Thaachan tried to spear it with nine spears, but they could not spear it. They tried to break it with nine axes, but they could not break it. They tried to burn it with nine heaps of wood, but they could not burn it. The khe of Thaachan could not find out what it was, which was impossible to spear, to cut, and to burn. Therefore they threw it into Omdo Kyu.

Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo floated in the current of Omdo Kyu and stopped at *Ghayaang Ghaang* after she had been thrown into the river by the khe of Thaachan. When Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo stopped at *Ghayaang Ghaang* then the south-flowing Omdo Kyu changed direction, flowed northwards, and climbed up to *Thaabhricham* and Sonam Jhong. The people of the south asked why the south-flowing Omdo Kyu now was flowing towards the north, and threw a handful of rice into Omdo Kyu as an offering. The people of the north and the people of the south sent letters asking why Omdo Kyu had changed direction.

The khe of Thaachan then consulted Mhutu-e Pompa, but he could not reach any result through his divination. The khe of Thaachan started to discuss what it was all about when Mhutu-e Pompa could not reach any result. They then agreed to consult Chi-e Pompa. They left the village Thaa and reached the village Kaa¹⁷. They left Kaa and reached *Pate Wu*¹⁸, where they met *Thaakke Lama*. The khe of Thaachan prayed to the gods, and requested *Thaakke Lama* to predict for them. *Thaakke Lama* did his astrologizing, and told them that it was due to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo. The khe of Thaachan asked *Thaakke Lama* how they should pray to and please Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo. *Thaakke Lama* told them that Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo needed her own people to worship her. The khe of Thaachan then left *Pate Wu* and reached the village Kaa. They left Kaa and reached the village Sonam Jhong.

The khe of Thaachan started to discuss after they had arrived at Sonam Jhong. They found during the discussion that they had not killed Mom Lhasarphi and Koncha Bhum, and wondered where they had gone. The khe of Thaachan consulted the local Chi to find out who among them was the best person to search after Mom Lhasarphi and Koncha Bhum. The local Chi found that Khe Paau Kuti was the best person for that job among the khe of Thaachan.

Khe Paau Kuti then took his bow and arrows. The mom of Thaachan welcomed

¹⁷ Kaa (cf. Tib.: bKag) is Kaagbeni (Nep.), the main village of Baaragaun. Kaa is thus often used by Tibetan-speaking people to refer to Baaragaun.

¹⁸ Pate Wu, literally "the cave of Pate", is probably located in Lo.

¹⁹ Kelsaang is a small ceremony, where women standing in a row offer a person beer, liquor, milk, etc., to bring that person good luck. It can be seen in the marriage ceremony and other ceremonies.

him with *kelsaang*¹⁹ of beer, and wished him success in whatever he wished. Khe Paau Kuti offered beer in order to get success in his search of Mom Lhasarphi and Koncha Bhum. Khe Paau Kuti prayed that all the flowers should turn into fruits.

Khe Paau Kuti left Sonam Jhong and reached *poloche*²⁰. Khe Paau Kuti left Poloche and reached *Sape Ghyaang*²¹. It was becoming dark at the time when he reached Sape Ghyaang. Then Khe Paau Kuti suddenly saw fire at the holy place at *Ipsaang*²². When Khe Paau Kuti saw fire at the holy place at Ipsaang he took his bow and arrows, stuck his bow in the ground, and pointed an arrow towards the place where the fire was burning. Khe Paau Kuti left Sape Ghyaang in the early morning and reached *Ipsaang Ghaang*. Khe Paau Kuti tied a white, yellow, red and black thread to the branches of a tree when he reached the holy place at Ipsaang Ghaang. Then he offered posi chaangpo and beer, and started to search for the target, where he had aimed the day before. Khe Paau Kuti found a fireplace under a birchtree during his search. After he had found the fireplace he looked up in the tree and down on the ground near the birchtree.

Mom Lhasarphi saw Khe Paau Kuti under the birchtree and thought that all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho had been killed, and that Khe Paau Kuti now had come in order to kill her and Koncha Bhum. When she saw the bow and the arrows of Khe Paau Kuti she thought that he had come to find them, and started to weep. Some of her tears fell on the hand of Khe Paau Kuti. Khe Paau Kuti was very surprised when a drop of water fell on his hand, because there were no clouds in the sky, and wondered what it was. Then he started to search and finally found a piece of Mom Lhasarphi's clothes near the top of the birchtree. When Khe Paau Kuti saw the piece of Mom Lhasarphi's clothes he said:

"Oh, Mom Lhasarphi."

After Khe Paau Kuti had called her Mom Lhasarphi replied:

"You have killed all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho by flattering them," and she continued with tears in her eyes, "and now you have come with bow and arrows in order to kill Koncha Bhum and me."

Mom Lhasarphi did not agree to come down, so then Khe Paau Kuti promised her not to kill or trouble her and Koncha Bhum. But Mom Lhasarphi said:

"A promise is not sufficient, because you have killed all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho by flattering them."

When Mom Lhasarphi did not agree to come down then Khe Paau Kuti swore

²⁰ Poloche is a place near Narjhong.

²¹ Sape Ghyaang, literally "the forest on the riverbank", is a location unknown to us.

²² Ipsaang is situated near Misi.

that he would obey them, and not destroy anything they had.

Mom Lhasarphi came down, and Khe Paau Kuti asked her:

“Where is your *koncha* ?”

When Khe Paau Kuti asked Mom Lhasarphi about her *koncha*, she replied:

“I do not know where he is.”

Khe Paau Kuti then swore that he would not do any harm to *Koncha Bhum*. Mom Lhasarphi then showed Khe Paau Kuti a *paabraa*²³ tree under which *Koncha Bhum* was hidden. Khe Paau Kuti went there and brought *Koncha Bhum* back.

Khe Paau Kuti tried to force Mom Lhasarphi and *Koncha Bhum* to go, but they did not agree to go. Mom Lhasarphi told Khe Paau Kuti:

“You have to keep your promise,” and she then called Khe Paau Kuti by the name *Dhamchi Dhamru*²⁴.

When Khe *Dhamchi Dhamru* saw that they did not want to go he said:

“We found something in the houses of the eighteen *khe* of the eighteen houses of *Dhocho*. It was dressed in clothes of cypress. We took it out and tried to break it, but we could not break it. Then we tried to spear it, but we could not spear it. Then we tried to burn it, but we could not burn it. We then threw it into *Omdo Kyu*, because we could not find out of what it was. When we had thrown it into *Omdo Kyu* the river carried it down to *Ghayaang*, where it stopped. When it stopped there, then *Omdo Kyu* flowed in the opposite direction and reached *Thaabhricham*²⁵ and *Sonam Jhong*. *Chi-e Pompa* found out that it was due to *Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo*. When we asked him about how to worship *Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo* he told us that she needed her own people to worship her. Therefore you should please go. You can choose either the *shyaang shyong*²⁶ full of gold, or the *naki*²⁷ full of silver. Please do go !”

Mom Lhasarphi replied:

“I am happy with neither the *shyaang shyong* full of gold, nor the *naki* full of silver. You should make the boundaries at the holy place of *Ipsaang* for us.”

Khe *Dhamchi Dhamru* then made the boundaries from *Ipsaang Wu* to *Omdo*

²³ *Paabraa* is a tree unknown to us.

²⁴ *Dhamchi Dhamru* means literary “promise to obey”, and refers to a person who has given a promise which he will not break.

²⁵ *Thaabhricham* means literally “the bridge at Lower Thaa”.

²⁶ *Shyaang shyong* is a copper vessel with two handles.

²⁷ *Naki* (Nep.: *naanglo*) is a winnowing tray made of bamboo.

Kyu, and from *Katau Ghaang* to *Kaamdhyaanu Kyu*²⁸.

Mom Lhasarphi then said:

“The relationship between my clan—the clan of Samledhen Samlechyaang—and your clan, Dhamchi Dhamru, shall not break.”

In this way they made an agreement.

Mom Lhasarphi left Ipsaang and reached *Tikabaang*. Mom Lhasarphi left *Tika-baang* and reached *Katau Ghaang*. When Mom Lhasarphi and Koncha Bhum reached *Katau Ghaang* they did not agree to go further. When Mom Lhasarphi and Koncha Bhum did not agree to go further Khe Dhamchi Dhamru gave her a promise:

“Your clan will get the authority to wear *saal-e-tote*²⁹, and the other clans will not be allowed to wear it. Your clan will get the authority to wear *dhar-e-tote*³⁰, and the other clans will not be allowed to wear it.”

Mom Lhasarphi and Koncha Bhum then left *Katau Ghaang* and reached *Kala Paani*. They left *Kala Paani* and reached *Ghayaang Ghaang*. At *Ghayaang Ghaang* Khe Dhamchi Dhamru requested Mom Lhasarphi to pray to *Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo*, but she said:

“We cannot put *tika* on our forehead and *wala rhup*³¹ in our hair during this mourning period for our eighteen *khe* of the eighteen houses of *Dhocho*. I cannot pray to *Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo* during this mourning period of our eighteen *khe* of the eighteen houses of *Dhocho*.”

Khe Dhamchi Dhamru then promised that the *khe* of *Thaachan* would bear the sorrow during the mourning period of the eighteen *khe* of the eighteen houses of *Dhocho*. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru then put *saal-e-tote* on the head of Koncha Bhum. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru gave Mom Lhasarphi a *Palaang Puchu-e-chhilap*³² at *Ghayaang Ghaang*. After Khe Dhamchi Dhamru had given Koncha Bhum a *saal-e-tote* and Mom Lhasarphi a *Palaang Puchu-e-chhilap*, he gave Mom Lhasarphi a *wala rhup* for her hair, and put a *tika* on the forehead of both of them.

²⁸ The location of Ipsaang Wu, *Katau Ghaang*, and *Kaamdhyaanu Kyu* are unknown to us.

²⁹ *Saal-e-tote* is a turban (*tote* is the honorific word. The ordinary word is *pheta*) made of a cloth called *saal*.

³⁰ *Dhar-e-tote* is a turban made of a cloth called *dhar*.

³¹ *Wala rhup* is the old word for *wala dori*, which are red strings the women braid in their hair.

³² *Palaang Puchu-e-chhilap* is a shawl with a print of berries (*palaang*).

Mom Lhasarphi then prayed to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo:

"The khe of Thaachan have not killed the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho by their superhuman power. It is said that the khe of Thaachan flattered them and insisted that they should put their hands in the cracked wood, that the khe of Thaachan then took the small stop-blocks out from the crack, and rolled the wood. They have not done that. They have not killed the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho in this way."

Mom Lhasarphi got tears in her eyes, when she remembered that all the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho, from the eldest to the youngest, were killed. But Mom Lhasarphi continued her prayer to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo:

"Oh Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo, please do come out. The king of *Lochhodhyun*³³ has asked in a letter why the south-flowing Omdo Kyu now is running upwards. And the people of the south have offered a handful of rice asking why the south-flowing Omdo Kyu now is running upwards. So please do come out!"

Mom Lhasarphi held out her shawl and said to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo:

"I, Mom Lhasarphi, and Koncha Bhum shall not make any mistakes, we will obey you, so do please come out. My clan shall obey and serve you, so do please come out!"

Koncha Bhum worshipped Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo with white, yellow, red and black dharnas and with posi chaangpo saying "*chhyoe-chhyoe*"³⁴. Mom Lhasarphi offered the holy beer with tears in her eyes, saying "*chhyoe-chhyoe*" to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo, and prayed Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo to come into her shawl.

After Mom Lhasarphi had held out her shawl and with tears in her eyes had prayed to Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo, then Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo came into her shawl. And after Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo had left Omdo Kyu, then the river again began to flow.

They started from Ghayaang Ghaang and reached Dhocho. When they reached Dhocho, then Mom Lhasarphi said with tears in her eyes, and Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo said in her shawl:

"Though we could not meet at our birthplace, then we can meet at our gathering-place."

³³ Lochhyudhyun, "the seven villages of Lo". Bhurki Rhab mentions "the five villages of Lo", but today there are approximately fifteen villages in Lo, which under the original local administration was divided into eight parts, and after the Panchaayat

System into two village panchaayats.

³⁴ Chhyoe-chhyoe (cf. Tib.: mChod-mchod, "offer") is normally said three times when an offering is made.

And Mom Lhasarphi remembered with tears in her eyes, and Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo remembered in her shawl that Dhocho was the village where the eighteen khe of the eighteen houses of Dhocho had lived. Mom Lhasarphi remembered with tears in her eyes, and Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo remembered in her shawl that Dhocho was the village where the eighteen Mom of the eighteen houses of Dhocho had lived.

They left Dhocho and reached Sonam Jhong. They left Sonam Jhong and reached Naghung Sompī Sa. Among the three things all the three are accessible at Thaatongkhor. The villagers of Thaatongkhor welcomed Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo with prayers, and the goddess, dressed in clothes of cypress, lived in Thaatongkhor. The khe of Thaachan had established Thaatongkhor for their residence, because it was the place where name and fame could be obtained.

Khe Aani Airam established Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu as his god. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang established Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo as his goddess. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru established Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung as his god.

Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu is the god who controls phaamar and nambar. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo is the goddess who controls the rain, so that it comes at the right time. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo is the goddess who controls the disasters of the mountains. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung is the god who controls the salt and the grain, so that there is a sufficient supply. All the four gods lived there in order to prevent tragedies and strife. All the four gods lived there in order to control the *pumi*³⁵ and the *sinti*³⁶. All the four gods lived there in order to keep the pompa in his position.

And the people prayed to the gods:

“Oh four gods, please bless us, so that we can swim in the current of Omdo Kyu. Oh four gods, please control the mountains, so that they do not move. Oh four gods, protect the offspring of all living beings. Oh four gods, please protect us from the *lu*³⁷, so that there will be no harm. Oh four gods, please control the grasshoppers. Oh four gods, please send the rain at the required time.”

³⁵ Pumi (female: *Pumishyaa*) are witches. The Thakaali said that witches formerly formed an endogamous group, according to our informants, but we lack statistical data to verify this. The same is the case with the statement that the people of Tukche, Sauru, Khanti, Kobaang, Narjhong, Nakhung, Naphrunghung, Sirkhung, and Dhumpu formerly ideally formed an endogamous group, and the people of the rest of the villages of Thaasaang formed another endogamous group due to the fact that the people of the former villages considered themselves as “higher” than the Thakaali of the latter villages.

³⁶ Sinti are according to our informants dangerous spirits of dead people.

³⁷ Lu (cf. Tib.: kLu) are serpent spirits, who have a special, jealous proprietary interest in springs, streams, lakes, etc., where they live.

It is Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu who is living in the east. It is Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo who is living in the south. It is Lha Gaanglaa Singi Karpo who is living in the west. It is Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung who is living in the north. It is the four gods, who are living in the south-east.

And the people prayed to the gods:

“Oh four gods, please bless us, so that we can have thangu of gold. Oh four gods, please bless us, so that we can have thangu of turquoise. Oh four gods, please bless us, so that we can have thangu of copper. Of four gods, please bless us, so that we can have thangu of iron.”

PART V: DHIMCHAN RHAB [SHERCHAN]

The History of the Origin of the Earth, and the Origin and Arrival of Lha Singi Karmo—according to Mr. Narendra Gauchan.

Oh God, you who know the important things of the past time,
please tell us about the important things of the past time.

Oh God, you who know the important things of the future time,
please tell us about the important things of the future time.

Oh God, you who know the important things of the present time,
please tell us about the important things of the present time.



In the ancient time there was no earth and no sky. There were no directions. At that time, when there was only emptiness, *Lha Dhaak*¹ originated due to the god. At

¹ *Lha Dhaak* corresponds to *Hiranya Garba* (Nep.), according to our informants.

that time, when there was only emptiness, Lha Dhaak moved to and fro making rolling sounds. At that time, when Lha Dhaak moved to and fro making rolling sounds, then the sky, the wind, the fire, and the water originated due to the god. *Lha Maayaa*² originated due to the god, and Lha Dhaak got peace in his mind. Lha Dhaak got peace in his mind at the time when he saw Lha Maayaa. Creation, maintenance and destruction originated at that time.

A hard substance originated in the ancient time. A hole originated in the hard substance. Water originated in the hole. Blue colour originated over the water. Ice originated over the blue colour. Soil originated on the ice. Wind blew from the upper part to the lower part, and from the lower part to the upper part and carried the soil, which melted together. Grass originated on the soil. The king of the soil originated. The king of the water originated. The king of the fire originated. The king of the wind originated. *Khorlo*³, the king of the sky, originated. *Tapkyaa*, the king of the soil, originated. *Somshur*⁴, the king of the mountains, originated. *Bhlishur*⁵, the king of the directions, originated. Insects originated on the earth, birds in the sky. *Khe*, *aawa* and *jha* originated, *mom*, *aama* and *jhame* originated⁶. The *dhawa* originated as the *lama* originated,⁷ the servants originated as the masters originated. The gods originated in the heaven, the Chan originated on the earth, and the lu originated in the underworld. The roof was full of people, the ground floor was full of grain, and under the earth was full of water.

Lha Ongba Gyapchan, the king of the gods, showed his activities at that time.

² Lha Maayaa according to our informants is the goddess of love.

³ Khorlo (cf. Tib.: 'Khor-lo) is said to be round.

⁴ Somshur (cf. Tib.: gum-zur) is said to be triangular.

⁵ Bhlishur (cf. Tib.: bZi-zur) is said to be square.

⁶ These six categories can here best be translated as grandfather, father, son, and grandmother, mother, daughter respectively.

⁷ The religious specialists among the Thakaali following the "Lamaistic" tradition are divided into two main categories: those who have vowed not to marry, and those who have not taken this vow. To the first category belong monks, who generally among the Thakaali are known as *gelong* (cf. Tib.: dGe slong), but here in the text are called "lama", and nuns, who generally among the Thakaali are known as *jhyomo* (cf. Tib.: Jo-mo). The second category consists of "village priests", among the Thakaali known as *dhawa* (cf. Tib.: Grwa-ba). The second son in families with three or more sons *must* according to the village rules of Shang become a *dhawa*, but such a rule does at not present exist among the Thakaali.

⁸ Lhumlaa is the old name for Humlaa according to our informants.

Among the soils Lha Ongba Gyapchan protected the soil of *Lhumlaa*⁸, the soil of Toulaa Kharka, and the soil of Sinjaa Pati. Among the trees Lha Ongba Gyapchan protected the sandalwood tree.

A cowherd cut a sandal-wood tree with three branches in the upwards and in the downwards directions. The cowherd saw a red, a blue and a white bird fly from the tree which he cut. The cowherd repented, and thought that he had done useless work, when he saw the birds fly from the tree. The birds reached Pangki Lhepta after they had left the sandalwood tree. The birds left Pangki Lhepta and reached the village Mu. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo reached Muli Ghaang after they had left the village Mu. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo left Muli Ghaang and reached *Sangen Chhyungen*⁹.

Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo met Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang at *Sangen Chhyungen*. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo left *Sangen Chhyungen* and reached the village Thaa. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo was worshipped with different kinds of flowers by Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang when she reached the village Thaa. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said that *Thaatongkor* was the village where all the three things among the three things could be found. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said that *Narilhedhong* was the village where they should settle. The khe of *Thaachan* said that although they could not meet at their birthplace, then they could meet at their gathering place. The khe of *Thaachan* said that *Thaatongkor* was the village where they should settle, because it was the place where they could earn fame.

Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang suggested that they should kill *Ghyalte*, the king of *Sonam Jhong*¹⁰. The khe of *Thaachan* suggested to each other that they should try to get the ancestors of *Thaatan* to follow them. Khe Paau Kuti said that he enjoyed the confidence of the ancestors of *Thaatan* with whom he had had contact for the last three years. The khe of *Thaachan* agreed with each other that they should attack *Sonam Jhong*.

The khe of *Thaachan* attacked *Sonam Jhong* together with the ancestors of *Thaatan*. During the fight the khe of *Thaachan* reached *Thaabhri Ghyamsomdho*¹¹, where they fought a battle with the king of *Sonam Jhong* and his army. They fought the whole

⁹ *Sangen Chhyungen* is the original Tibetan name for *Hyaam Kyu*, "all river" (Nep.: *Rupso Chhaharaa*), a big waterfall near *Daanaa* (Nep.). It is known to the Thakaali as *Hyaam Kyu* because it was here that all the ancestors and the gods met.

¹⁰ *Ghyalte*, the king of *Sonam Jhong*, was a Tibetan according to our informants.

¹¹ *Thaabhri Ghyamsomdho*, literally "the place at Lower Thaa, where the three roads are crossing near the bridge".

day and the whole night at Thaabhri Ghyamsomdho. The khe of Thaachan killed Ghyalte, the king of Sonam Jhong, at last. The khe of Thaachan killed Ghyalte, king of Sonam Jhong, his wife and his children. The army of Ghyalte, the king of Sonam Jhong, then escaped from Sonam Jhong. The khe of Thaachan proclaimed on their arrival at Sonam Jhong that the kings's palace belonged to them, and they then established *Chan Dhorchhe*¹². Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said that Thaatongkor was the place where they should eat and gather together.

Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang gave suggestions about the marriage system when the khe of Thaachan went to Nariledhong. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said that they should not marry the people of Thaatongkor, who were inferior to them. Khe Aani Airam suggested that they should establish relations with *Hansa Raajaa* of *Dhuche* by marrying his daughters¹³.

The khe of Thaachan left Nariledhong and reached Dhuche. Khe Aani Airam explained fully about their ancestors and their kinship relations. Hansa Raajaa became very happy, when he heard the description of their ancestors. Khe Hansa Raajaa then

¹² Chan Dhorchhe (cf. Tib.: Dar-po-che) is the red flag of the Chan.

¹³ The following part is very important, because it deals with the origin of the Thakaali—a disputed subject not only among scholars, but also among the Thakaali themselves. The majority of the Thakaali agree that their ancestors originally came to Thaa-saang from Sinjaa (one informant claimed, however, that Thakaali are Rajputs from Chittor in India). The many different histories about their origin are based on two different traditions: one tradition tells about a prince or king called Hansa Raajaa, who escaped from his home at Sinjaa and came to Thaa-saang, where he married Nhima Raani, a princess from Thin Gharu Jhong. The Thakaali are according to that tradition the offspring of that pair, who then are known as Khe Hansa Raajaa and Mom Nhima Raani. The other tradition tells about the four ancestors of the Thakaali and their four gods coming from Sinjaa to Thaa-saang, but does not mention Hansa Raajaa or Nhima Raani. It is probably based on Chyoki Rhab. Mr. Narendra Gauchan gives here a history based on both traditions. He is the only one among our informants to do so. He does not know, however, if this part was found in the original version of Dhimchan Rhab, but he thinks that it should have been there.

He mentions that there originally were twelve houses with Tibetans at *Dhalpuche* above the present Tukche, but that they later shifted down to Dhuche (literally "foodgrain field", because Dhuche originally was an open field, where foodgrain was exchanged), the present Tukche. Hansa Raajaa fought with the Tibetans and became the king of Dhuche.

established the relationship by offering his four daughters to the four khe of Thaachan.

The khe of Thaachan said that there were no sons for the replacement of the father and no daughters-in-law for the replacement of the mother-in-law. The khe of Thaachan said that Hansa married *Nhima*, the daughter of King *Gharhab* of *Thin Gharu Jhong*¹⁴. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said that *Mom Nhima Raani* was not able to give birth to any child. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said that there were thus no persons equal to them.

Khe Aani Airam suggested that they should not mix their blood with other people. Khe Aani Airam said that four birds had flown from the four branches of the sandalwood tree established by the Chan. Khe Aani Airam said that the four birds were the four gods of the five elements. Khe Aani Airam said that it was due to the four gods of the five elements that the water had been separated into four parts. Khe Aani Airam said that the pherwa had been separated into four parts. The people had been separated into four parts after the pherwa had been separated into four parts. The marriage system had then been separated into four parts after the people had been separated into four parts.

Khe Aani Airam said, after the marriage system had been established, that they should not let their relationship of brotherhood disappear. Khe Samledhen Samlechyang said, after the marriage system had been established, that the youngest son in each of the four clans should have the relationship of brotherhood. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said that the youngest son in each of the four clans should not marry each other. Khe Paaui Kuti named each of the youngest sons of the four clans of Thaachan by the name

¹⁴ Thin Gharu Jhong is situated half an hour walk south-west of Thinaang. There are today only a few ruins left of the village, which once was the most important in the whole Yhulnghaa. Thin, Shyangtan, and Chimtan claim that they once lived together in that jhong, and that they among the Thakaali-speaking groups are the oldest inhabitants of the valley. They refer to the jhong as *Jhong Ghaang*, "the hill jhong", or as *Sombo Gharhab Jhong*. *Sombo* is the name Tibetan-speaking people give Thinaang. *Gharhab* is thus used as a part of the name of the jhong by Thin, Shyangtan, and Chimtan, while according to Mr. Narendra Gauchan it is the name of the king of that jhong. The king of the jhong is among Thin, Shyangtan, and Chimtan known as *Gyalpothokarchen* (or short *Gyalpothochen*), "the king with the upper white eye", *Pompachen*, "the big king", or *Gyalpomisomchenpo*, "the king with the big third eye". Some informants state that the king was able to see the past, the present, and the future with his three eyes, while others state that he destroyed everything he looked at with his third eye.

*Dhyaachan*¹⁵. The khe of Thaachan said that they had established the youngest son in each of the four clans as *Dhyaachan*, that they should not break their relationship of brotherhood, and that they had to take the consequences if it should happen.

The khe of Thaachan said, after they had settled in Thaatongkor and had established the four clans, that they had no priests to look after their ceremonies. The khe of Thaachan said that the *Bhompā*¹⁶ was the priest of Thaatan, and that his work was different from theirs. Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang said, during the discussion of the khe of Thaachan, that he had met *Dhom Nhaaraa Bhunjyung*¹⁷. Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang said that he knew that Dho Nhaaraa Bhunjyung had been on this way to *Bhoi Thikor Chungi*¹⁸ in order to popularize his work when they met. Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang said that Dhom Nhaaraa Bhunjyung had met *Lama Jhijhi Mhilaarhewa*¹⁹ in the front of Ghaankar Tisi, when he had gone to Bhoi in order to popularize his work. Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang said that the Dhom and the Lama had compared their spiritual power at *Chho Mhamhaang* and Ghaankar Tisi²⁰. After they had heard about the spiritual

¹⁵ *Dhyaachan*, “the root of Chan”, is today known as *Dhyaatan*. All the four clans had originally a youngest subclan known as *Dhyaachan phobe*, but the *Dhyaachan phobe* of Dhimchan ghyu has died out. Members of the three *Dhyaachan phobe* are still not allowed to marry with each other.

¹⁶ It is here not clear, if *Bhompā* (cf. Tib.: Bon-pa) refers to a religious specialist of the Bon-nag (Tib.) or Bon-dkar (Tib.) tradition, but it is probably Bon-dkar because it is opposed to *dhom*, which basically is similar to Bon-nag. Our informants also state that the *Bhompā* is very similar to the “lama”, but does not use the cymbal (Tib.: sil-snyan) as the “lama” do. Elements from the Bon-dkar tradition can be found in Lubraa, Jhongsamba, Thinaang and also Nakhung and Naphrunghung.

¹⁷ *Nhaaraa Bhunjyung* (cf. Tib.: Na-ro Bon chung) is according to the Tibetan tradition a follower of Bon-dkar, while according to the Thakaali tradition he is a *dhom* following a tradition similar to Bon-nag.

¹⁸ *Bhoi Thikor Chungi*, literally “the twelve Thikor of Tibet”; the meaning of Thikor is unknown to us.

¹⁹ *Lama Jhijhi Mhilaarhewa* is *Mi-la ras-pa* (Tib.), the famous Tibetan saint and poet (1040–1123 A.D.) *Jhijhi* is probably *rJe-btsun* (Tib.), a Tibetan term of reverence and respect given to religious leaders, saints, and great teachers.

²⁰ A description of the contest is found in Chang (1970: 100–109).

Chho Mhamhaang (cf. Tib.: mTsho ma pham, “the undefeated lake”) is *Maanasarowara* (Skt.) near Mt. Kailash. It is according to the Tibetan Tradition—which often is identical with the “Lamaistic” tradition—called “the undefeated lake” because *Na ro bon chung* failed to defeat *rJe-btsun Mi-la ras-pa*.

competition of Dhom Nhaaraa Bhunjyung, the khe of Thaachan established him as guru of a dhom in each of the four clans. The khe of Thaachan observed the activities of the dhom in their villages after they had established a dhom in each of the four clans ²¹. The khe of Thaachan chose Dhom Nhaaraa Bhunjyung as the dhom of Thaa village by making him guru. The khe of Thaachan said that they had got the dhom as priest to look after their ceremonies after they had settled in Thaotongkor. The khe of Thaachan said that their wishes would be fulfilled, and that the flowers would become fruits.

Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang said that they had no festivals where they could gather with their brothers and friends. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said, after the separation in four parts, that they had no ways to worship their ancestors. The khe of Thaachan then suggested that they should establish *Toranla* ²² as their main festival.

The khe of Thaachan informed each other of the start of the festival by saying *ti-ngha* ²³ on *Chhaiwa* 12 in the month of *Toran* ²⁴. The dhom of Thaachan used to bathe

²¹ Each of the four clans have according to our informants a special dhom, but each family or person also has their own dhom known as *jhintaa*.

²² A description of *Toranla* is found in Bhattachan (1975).

²³ *Ti-nghaa*, literally "today five", means that the festival will take place the following five days.

²⁴ The Thakaali have a moon-year with twelve months: (1) Shyusila, (2) *Toranla*, (3) Kubila, (4) Lhula, (5) Prela, (6) Kesala, (7) Dhotala, (8) Phaala, (9) Dhasaila, (10) Nghaatola, (11) Tabla, and (12) Bhumla. The names published by Jest (1974) are basically similar to those found in Valeix (1974) for Puntan, and those we have found among Shyaangtan. We have among Shyaangtan collected the following names: (1) Ala, (2) Tiungla, (3) Kubila, (4) Lhula, (5) Prela, (6) Chela, (7) Khila, (8) Phaala, (9) Bhipla, (10) Laangla, (11) Papla, and (12) Bhumla.

The names of the latter list are basically similar to those of the months of the Tibetan calendar. The names of the former list were originally similar to those of the latter list, but have changed probably due to Hindu influence: Bhipla is now called Dhasaila after the Hindu festival Dasai.

Some of our informants confirm Jest's information that the profane calendar starts with Shyusila and the religious calendar with *Toranla*, while other informants state that the first month of the Thakaali calendar is Prela.

The Thakaali months have 30 days. The first day is called *Chhaiwa* 1, and is the first day after the new moon, which is called *Tong* (*Chhaiwa* 30), while the full moon is called *Mer* (*Chhaiwa* 15).

Chhaiwa 1 in the month Shyusila corresponds in 1977 to the 20th January.

The *Toranla* festival of 1977 will thus start on the 3rd of March 1977, and end on the 7th of March 1977.

in Mharshyaang Kyu together with his god *Ghyakar*²⁵ on Chhaiwa 13 in the month of Toran. The dhom used to perform *Ghyakar chharsi*²⁶ and offer the holy beer and liquor by saying “chhyoe–chhyoe” on the night of Chhaiwa 13 in the month of Toran. The khe and mom used to wear ornaments and new clothes after they had taken a bath on the night of Chhaiwa 13 in the month of Toran. The eldest mom of Thaachan used to offer *kimi*²⁷ after the preparation of various kinds of dishes, beer and liquor. The eldest khe of Thaachan used to offer the holy beer and liquor to the dead ancestors and to the gods by saying “chhyoe–chhyoe”. The khe and mom of Thaachan used to make offerings to their dead relatives: first to their ancestors, brothers, and daughters-in-law, then their sons-in-law and *cheli*²⁸. The khe and mom of Thaachan used to make offerings to their dead servants and slaves near the door by saying “chhyoe–chhyoe”²⁹.

The khe of Thaachan used to invite their *shyaangs*³⁰, mhaa and cheli during the festival of Toranla. Both the young and the old khe of Thaachan used to go three days for hunting, and used to play *dhasha*³¹ afterwards for three days. The old and married mom of Thaachan used to play *kai*³² for three days, while the unmarried mom used to play *pana*³³ for three days. The children used to play *rhanti*³⁴ for three days, and the servants and the slaves used to take a rest for three days, and used to dress in new clothes and to eat sweet dishes. The khe of Thaachan used to finish the festival of Toranla on Chhaiwa 17 in the month of Toran by offering the last dishes to their dead ancestors,

²⁵ Ghyakar is according to our informants the personal god of the dhom.

²⁶ Ghyakar Chharsi is the worship of the god Ghyakar.

²⁷ Kimi is an offering to the ancestors, but also the name of the reliquary and memorial monument of each of the subclans (with a few exceptions), where a bone from a dead member of the subclan is placed.

The most important part of the marriage ceremonies is the *kimi jhuwa*, where the bride's family offer beer and liquor—which they have accepted from the bridegroom's family, and thereby accepted to give their daughter away—to their ancestors.

²⁸ Cheli is a category referring to females born in ego's patriline.

²⁹ Offerings to the ancestors are kept in *dhim dhen*, the main room in the Thakaali house, while offerings to dead servants and (former) slaves are kept in the entrance room near the door.

³⁰ Shyaang is a category referring to males who have given a woman to a man from ego's patriline.

³¹ Dhasha is archery.

³² Kai is a game where persons throw small stones and try to catch them.

³³ Pana is a game played with small white shells, kauri (Nep.)

³⁴ Rhanti is a game similar to tag, usually played by children.

servants and slaves and by telling them to return to their own places.

The khe of Thaachan suggested to each other that they should separate after the establishment of the four clans.

Khe Aani Airam reached *Naghung Ghungti Sompi Sa*, after they had separated from Narilhedhong. Khe Aani Airam established the village *Naghung Ghungti Sompi Sa*, but settled at *Naphrunghung*. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said "*Ten Chan*"³⁵, when Khe Aani Airam settled at *Naphrunghung*. Khe Aani Airam named *Ten Chan* at *Naphrunghung* by the name *Naaprungkot*, when he had settled there.

Khe Samledhen Samleच्याang reached *Dhocho* after they had separated from *Narilhedhong*. Khe Samledhen Samleच्याang established the village *Dhocho*, but settled at *Bhudighaang*. Khe Samledhen Samleच्याang named *Bhudighaang* by the name *Bhurjungkot*, when he had settled there.

Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang reached *Kobaang* after they had separated from *Narilhedhong*. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang established the village *Kobaang*, but settled at *Sonam Jhong*. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang named *Sonam Jhong* by the name *Najhong*, when he had settled there.

Khe Paau Kuti reached *Khanti* after they had separated from *Narilhedhong*. Khe Paau Kuti established the village *Khanti*, but settled at the holy place *Narsaang*. Khe Paau Kuti named the holy place *Narsaang* by the name *Naarikot*, when he had settled there.

The khe of Thaachan separated by establishing four clans among them. The khe of Thaachan established their living places in four parts at the time when they settled. The khe of Thaachan established a *kot*³⁶ and erected *Chan Dhorchhe*, the red flag of *Chan*. The khe of Thaachan used *bholto*³⁷, when they shot arrows with a bow. The khe of Thaachan used to carry sword, shield, quiver and spear. The khe of Thaachan dominated their enemies, but helped in every field those people who sought to establish friendly relations with them.

The khe of Thaachan used to go hunting for their diversion. Once the khe of

³⁵ *Ten Chan*, literally "established by *Chan*", is the name of one of the subclans of *Chyoki*, now known as *Tanchaang phobe*.

³⁶ *Kot* (Nep.) is a frequent ending in Nepalese village names, and signifies that there originally was a fort in that village.

³⁷ *Bholto* is a piece of wood fastened to the wrist of the left hand, so that the string of the bow does not hurt the wrist when arrows are shot. A piece of cloth is used today instead of wood.

Thaachan saw a golden deer at *Chichi Ghyaang*³⁸ where they had gone for hunting. When the khe of Thaachan saw the golden deer, they suggested to each other not to kill it, but to follow it and try to catch it. The khe of Thaachan suggested to each other, after they had followed the golden deer unsuccessfully for two or three days in order to catch it, that they should kill it. All the hunters then encircled the golden deer in the forest. When the khe of Thaachan saw the golden deer, they shot with arrows in all directions. The golden deer hid in the forest, and the khe of Thaachan shot arrows to and fro. The khe of Thaachan shot arrows after the golden deer, which ran to and fro, but they could not hit it, and thus the golden deer escaped from there.

The khe of Thaachan said that they had never missed any deer in the past, when they had gone for hunting. The khe of Thaachan said that they had followed the golden deer for six days, but that they had not been able to hit it with a single arrow. Astonished, the khe of Thaachan asked each other what had happened to their bows, since they had not been able to catch or kill the golden deer. The khe of Thaachan suggested to each other that early the next morning they should wash their weapons in Mharshyaang Kyu.

The khe of Thaachan left Thaotongkor and reached Mharshyaang Kyu, where they took baths and washed their weapons. The khe of Thaachan burned *Saangshyuti*³⁹, breathed in the smoke, and held their weapons in the smoke in order to keep away the bad influences of the pumi and sinti.

The khe of Thaachan left Mharshyaang Kyu after they had taken their bath there, and reached Sonam Jhong. From Sonam Jhong the khe of Thaachan followed the footprints of the golden deer, and then they saw it at Bhudhighaang. The khe of Thaachan followed the golden deer from Bhudhighaang and reached Dhyushyutaa, but the golden deer escaped from there. They searched for the golden deer, and suddenly they saw it coming from its hidingplace under the watermill before it escaped in the forest. After the golden deer had escaped in the forest all the hunters blocked its way by encircling it in the forest. The khe of Thaachan searched for the golden deer in the forest. Suddenly they saw the golden deer, and all the hunters shot arrows after the golden deer, but they could not hit it. The hunters shot, but the golden deer escaped from the circle as fast as an arrow. When the khe of Thaachan saw the golden deer escape from there, they were very surprised.

³⁸ Chichi Ghyaang is the name of a place south-east of Narjhong on a sandy bank, where there is a small forest.

³⁹ Saangshyuti is a kind of cypress (*shyuti*) which is used for incense (*saang*).

The khe of Thaachan decided that they would kill the golden deer on the same day, and therefore started to follow the footprints of the golden deer. The khe of Thaachan followed the footprints along the bank of the river, and in the forest, and finally they found the footprints of the golden deer entering a cave. The khe of Thaachan said that the golden deer had entered the cave, and that they should block the entrance, so that the golden deer could not escape. The khe of Thaachan became very happy, because they found the place very suitable and thought that they could catch the golden deer, and if not then they could kill it. The khe of Thaachan said that they would punish any person who tried to help the golden deer to escape from the cave. The khe of Thaachan blocked the entrance in order to catch the golden deer. When the khe of Thaachan entered the cave to catch the golden deer they got a glimpse of the golden deer in the form of a goddess.

The khe of Thaachan repented their actions when they got a glimpse of the goddess. The khe of Thaachan said that they had given very much trouble to the goddess, and that they had to take the consequences of their sinful action. The khe of Thaachan begged for forgiveness for the sinful action of following and troubling the golden deer. The khe of Thaachan did *chhyaaphulwa* three times, and prayed for forgiveness and said that they had sinned because they had not been able to recognize the goddess. The khe of Thaachan did *chhyaaphulwa* three times begging for forgiveness for their sinful actions of shooting arrows after the goddess and blocking her way in the forest. The khe of Thaachan did *chhyaaphulwa* three times begging for forgiveness for their innocent action. The khe of Thaachan said that when all of them had repented and done *chhyaaphulwa*, then the goddess had smiled.

*Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung*⁴⁰ said that she had moved around as a golden deer in order to show her activities. *Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung* said that she had moved around in front of them so that they could see her activities. *Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung* said that she had appeared as a golden deer in order to make them greedy. *Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung* said that she had made herself attractive, so that the khe of Thaachan would come to her cave and get a glimpse of her. *Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung* said that the prayers and the repentance of the khe of Thaachan had made her very happy. *Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung* said that they should not worry about their past actions. *Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung* said that their loyal feelings had pleased her, and that she would forgive them for their sins they had committed towards her.

The khe of Thaachan did *chhyaaphulwa* three times and prayed to *Lha Jhyo Rhaa-*

⁴⁰ *Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung* is the short form of *Lha Jhyowa Rhaangjyung*, who according to our informants corresponds to the Hindu goddess Mahaa Laxmi.

ngjyung, and begged her to settle in Thaatongkor for their protection. The khe of Thaachan prayed to Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung, and begged her to settle in Thaatongkor in order to abolish all trouble and bad times.

Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung said that she would settle in Thaatongkor if the khe of Thaachan would fulfil three of her wishes. The khe of Thaachan requested Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung to order them the ways, in which they should serve her. The khe of Thaachan promised to fulfil her wishes.

After the khe of Thaachan had made their promise, Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung stated that she wanted to settle at the holy place, where the first ray of the sun comes, and from where Omdo Kyu is directly seen. Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung ordered the khe of Thaachan to be loyal towards her, and to establish her living place towards the north. Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung ordered that she should not meet any orphan, widow, or widower on her way. Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung ordered that thirteen virgin boys of Thaachan should worship and pray to her from chhaiwa 5 to mer in the month of Phaala.

The khe of Thaachan promised that they would fulfil all her wishes according to her orders. The khe of Thaachan did chhyaphulwa and prayed to Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung that she should start from there for the protection of Thaatongkor.

The khe of Thaachan carried Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung with bands of local music in a respectful manner from Gomba Wu on chhaiwa 12 in the month of Phaala. Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung was very happy with the prayers and the loyal feelings of the khe of Thaachan. But at the time when they left Gomba Wu and passed Dhyushyutaa then Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung saw a widow with long, uncombed hair⁴¹. When Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung saw the widow with the long, uncombed hair, who was unclean to her, then she said "*thui*"⁴², turned her head, and after that she stopped speaking.

Chyo-ghyu welcomed Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung with kelsaang and worshipped her and did chhyaaphulwa three times at the time when they reached Nakhung. Saal-ghyu welcomed Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung with kelsaang and worshipped her and did chhyaaphulwa three times at the time when they reached Dhocho. Dhimchan-ghyu welcomed Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung with kelsaang and worshipped her and did chhyaaphulwa three times at the time when they reached Kobaang. Bhur-ghyu welcomed Lha Jhyo Rha-

⁴¹ Certain female relatives of the dead person must among other things keep their hair uncombed usually for 13 days, as a sign of mourning.

⁴² Thui, which is used among Thakaali as well as other Nepalese people, cannot be translated directly into English, but corresponds in some ways to the expression "shit". The goddess did not lose her ability to speak, but she refused to speak after she saw the widow with the long, uncombed hair.

angjyung with kelsaang and worshipped her and did chhyaaphulwa three times at the time when they reached Khanti.

The khe of Thaachan remembered the wishes of Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung about the holy place towards the north at the time when they reached the holy place of Narsaang. The khe of Thaachan remembered the wish of Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung about the holy place where the first ray of the sun comes, and from where Omdo Kyu is directly seen. The khe of Thaachan said that all the wishes of Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung concerning the sun, the water, the place and the direction could be fulfilled at the holy place of Narsaang. The khe of Thaachan then decided to establish the livingplace of Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung at the holy place of Narsaang, which was a suitable place for the protection of Thaotongkor.

The khe of Thaachan named Lha Jhyo Rhaangjyung by the name *Lha Nari Jhyowa*⁴³ after the establishment of her settling place at Narsaang in Thaotongkor. All the Thaachan of Thaotongkor gathered, and worshipped and prayed to the self-created Lha Nari Jhyowa on mer in the month of Phaala. The khe of Thaachan requested Lha Nari Jhyowa to destroy pumi, pumishyaa, *mhaang*⁴⁴, siniti and other bad spirits. The

⁴³ Lha Nari Jhyowa, literally "the goddess Jhyo of Narsaang".

⁴⁴ Mhaang should here be translated as "dangerous spirit".

Jest (1976) mentions that the spirit of the dead takes the form of a man, who can harm the living, and that during man-rawa the drom captures the soul of dead persons. Different Thakaali informants give different interpretations of the *mhaang-rhaawa*, literally "to catch the mhaang", which is the most important part of the death ceremonies. Some of our informants have given us interpretations agreeing with Jest's interpretation, but some have also given us other interpretations. An interesting one is the following: Mhaang are agents of the King of the Dead, and capture on his orders the souls of dead people. The dhom, bhompa or "lama" during call the mhaang-rhaawa the soul of the dead person back. It enters the house together with the mhaang, who tries to hold the soul back. The soul of the dead person is transferred into an effigy of the deceased called *mhendo*, literally "flower", while the mhaang is caught near the door, put into the horn of a goat which is sealed and buried at a place, where three roads meet, so that the mhaang will get confused and not know which way to take, if it comes out. But the chances to come out are few, because the place where the mhaang is buried is well stamped, three stones are put on each other, a fire is burned over the stones, and nine lines are finally drawn near the place to stop the mhaang. This interpretation suggests that the mhaang-rhaawa of the Thakaali is similar to the *mosi teb* (Gurung) of the Gurung as described by Messerschmidt (1976). Mhaang are also persons who make beer bad, if they look at the beer being made. The Thakaali formerly avoided to marry such persons,

khe of Thaachan requested Lha Nari Jhyowa to control the diseases and the bad times. The khe of Thaachan did *chhyaa*⁴⁵ and requested Lha Nari Jhyowa to increase the offspring and the power of Thaachan. The khe of Thaachan prayed for blessing so that they could control their enemies, and have good relations with their allie. The khe of Thaachan said that they would serve Lha Nari Jhyowa according to the rules of the service at the required time and without any mistakes. The khe of Thaachan said that they would pay their hearty loyalty to Lha Nari Jhyowa, who had come to the earth from heaven for their protection. The khe of Thaachan said, that they were very happy, because they could pray to and worship Lha Nari Jhyowa. The khe of Thaachan did *chhyaa* and begged Lha Nari Jhyowa for forgiveness, if they had made any mistakes in the ways in which they should serve her. The khe of Thaachan did *chhyaa* and begged Lha Nari Jhyowa for permission to leave, and said that the khe of Thaachan would never forget their loyalty towards her.

The khe of Thaachan said that at the time when the four clans of Thaachan gathered, they had made a promise to Lha Nari Jhyowa, and that they had begged Lha Nari Jhyowa to settle in Thaotongkor for the protection of that place. The khe of Thaachan said that they should serve Lha Nari Jhyowa through Shyopen lawa⁴⁶, which thirteen virgin boys of the age of thirteen and below should perform every year.

The khe of Thaachan said that they had established the four clans, because there were no persons from other groups with whom they could marry. The khe of Thaachan said that they should marry among themselves in order to increase their own population. The khe of Thaachan said that they should increase their power, so that they could control their enemies if a war between them and the kings in the neighbourhood broke out.

The khe of Thaachan said that Thaotongkor was their gathering and settling-place, and that no Thaachan should leave that place. The khe of Thaachan said that they would neither be friends with nor include in their society those persons who left Thaotongkor and settled in other places. The khe of Thaachan said that in their marriage system they would not include those persons who left Thaotongkor and settled other places.

who according to some informants previously formed an endogamous group similar to *pumi/pumishyaa* among the Thakaali.

⁴⁵ *Chhyaa* is a form of prostration, where a person cups the hands in the lotusbud gesture, and bows the head.

⁴⁶ *Shyopen lawa* is a rite of passage for adolescent boys, and corresponds according to informants to *Kumaar Jaatraa* (Nep.) It was stopped some years back, but now again takes place, although not in the same way as before. Surendra Gauchan attended *shyopen lawa* as a *shyopen* at the age of 13 years, and in a future paper hopes to describe the ceremony.

The khe of Thaachan said that they should protect their power from father to son, and from grandfather to grandson. The khe of Thaachan said that they should not worry about the future, because they had the four gods of the four clans and Lha Nari Jhyowa for their protection. The khe of Thaachan said that they should increase their population in order to protect their power, so that they could control their enemies and help their allies. The khe of Thaachan said that they should become the king of the north if they went there, and the king of the south if they went there, and the king of their own villages.

Khe Aani Airam, the khe of Cho-ghyu, the founder of the villages in Thaatongkor, was born in Nhubchan in the Chan family. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang, the khe of Saal-ghyu, settled in Thaatongkor, was born in Sinjaa Pati in the Chan family. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang, the khe of Dhimchan-ghyu who came to Thaatongkor, was born in Nhubchan in the Chan family. Khe Paau Kuti, the khe of Bhur-ghyu who established friendship in Thaatongkor, was born in Toulaa Kharka in the Chan family.

Khe Aani Airam established Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu, the god of Cho-ghyu, in Thaatongkor. The khe of Thaachan said that Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu had originated from fire. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang established Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo, the goddess of Saal-ghyu, in Thaatongkor. The khe of Thaachan said that Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo had originated from water. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang established Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo, the goddess of Dhimchan-ghyu, in Thaatongkor. The khe of Thaachan said that Lhe Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo had originated from earth. Khe Paau Kuti established Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, the god of Bhur-ghyu, in Thaatongkor. The khe of Thaachan said that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had originated from air.

The khe of Thaachan lived in Thaatongkor praying and worshipping the four gods of the five elements. Thaatongkor was the place where the people faithfully worshipped the gods, and where the gods protected the people who worshipped them. Thaatongkor was the place where the gods and the people who came from Nhub lived together in peace.

PART VI: BHURKI RHAB [BHATTACHAN]

The History of the birth and arrival of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung

Oh God, you who know the important things of the past time,
please tell us about the important things of the past time.



In the ancient time there was no earth and no sky. There were no directions. There were no kings and no battles. There were no lama and no dhawa. There were no servants and no masters. There were no hot season and no cold season.

In the ancient time *Lopon Paima Jyungne*¹ originated. He originated in a lotus flower and ordered that worship should take place. At that time there were preachings by

¹ Lopon Paima Jyungne (cf. Tib.: sLob-dpon Pad-ma' byung-gnas) is Guru Padma Sambhava (Skt.).

*Urgen Paima Jyungne*².

In the ancient time a hard substance originated. A hole originated in the hard substance. Water originated in the hole. Blue color originated over the water. Ice originated over the blue color. Soil originated on the ice. Phaamar carried the soil towards the south, and nambar carried the soil towards the north, so that nine layers of soil originated. Grass appeared on the seventh, eighth, and ninth layer of soil. Phaamar blew towards the south, and nambar towards the north. Soil originated in the upper part as well as in the lower part, and in the northern part as well as in the southern part.

Khorlo, the king of the sky, originated. Tapkyaa, the king of the soil, originated. Somshur, the king of the mountains, originated. Bhlisur, the king of the directions, originated. The directions, the kings, the battles, the lama, the dhawa, the servants and the masters originated. Houses and villages originated. As the houses originated, then aawa, jha and koncha originated. And mom, jhame, and *chaang* originated³. Thus it was told by Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.

“Oh god, we have understood the history of creation. Oh god, please tell us about the birth and arrival of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.”

So Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung explained the history of the birth and arrival of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.

Lha Ongba Gyapchan, the king of the gods, appeared in the human world for the protection of the human beings. Lha Ongba Gyapchan had the power over the earth, the fire, and the wind. Blessings were given, so that the four gods of the five elements⁴ could take incarnations for the welfare of the human beings.

On the earth the soil of Sinjaa Pati was protected. Among the trees the sandalwood tree was protected. In the soil of Sinjaa Pati a sandalwood tree with four branches originated. Blessings were given for the Protection of the four branches, which were of different origin, but still on the same tree.

One of the four branches dried out during a period of three years, three months, and three days. When the branch dried out a black bird flew towards *Jhyaang Thaang*⁵ to

² Urgen Paima Jyungne (cf. Tib.: Ur-gyan pad-ma' byung-gnas) is Uddiyana Padma Sambhava (Skt.), another name for Lopon Paima Jyungne.

³ These six categories can here best be translated as father, son, and grandson; grandmother, daughter, and daughter-in-law respectively.

⁴ The four gods of the five elements, *Chunghaashi* (cf. Tib.: 'Byung langa bizi), are the four gods of the four clans. Each god represents a special element as mentioned in notes 17, 19, 20 and 52 to Chyoki Rhab. The fifth element according to the Thakaali tradition is *mu* “sky”, while according to the Tibetan tradition it is mKha (Tib.), “ether”.

⁵ *Jhyaang Thaang* (cf. Tib.: Byang-thang) is “The northern Steppes”.

protect that area. When the black bird reached Jhyaang Thang three hailstones originated. Due to the activities of Lha Ongba Gyapchan in the north *Lhamo Jhyomo*⁶ stayed in *kun chham*⁷ in front of Ghaankar Risi and behind Chho Mhamhaang. Lhamo Jhyomo prayed to Lha Ongba Gyapchan while she stayed in khun chham. On a day with a clear sky there fell three hailstones in front of Lhamo Jhyomo due to the activities of Lha Ongba Gyapchan. When the three hailstones fell in front of Lhamo Jhyomo she swallowed them. After nine months Lhamo Jhyomo gave birth to a piece of flesh of the male sex. When she gave birth to that flesh she felt ashamed and threw it into Chho Mhamhaang. When she had thrown the flesh into Chho Mhamhaang, then Lha Ongba Gyapchan took incarnation as a white, female fish in order to protect the piece of flesh. *Chan-e Pompa*⁸ took incarnation as a red, female fish to protect the piece of flesh. *Nhub Pompa*⁹ took incarnation as a yellow and black female fish to protect the piece of flesh.

After the god was born as a piece of flesh and thrown into Chho Mhamhaang he started to grow in all directions. When the god was in Chho Mhamhaang bones originated. When the god was in Chho Mhamhaang flesh over the bones originated. When the god was in Chho Mhamhaang skin over the flesh originated. When the god was in Chho Mhamhaang hair on the skin originated. When the god was born very beautiful front legs originated. When the god was born very beautiful back legs originated. When the god was born teeth similar to the teeth of the *Dhimo Aama*¹⁰ originated. When the god was born wool similar to the wool of the sheep originated. When the god was born long ears originated. When the god was born he looked like a one year old after only one day. After the god was born he became like a *hyarwa*¹¹ after only two days. After the god was born he became like a *shepa*¹² after only three days. When the god was born horns on the moving head originated. After the god was born *shyoal*¹³ originated when the god moved his four legs. After the god was born a tail originated. After the god was born a white spot in the front, and a white spot along the back of the god originated. In this way Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung originated without parents.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung went out of Chho Mhamhaang. When Lha Hyaawaa

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- ⁶ Lhamo Jhyomo (cf. Tib.: lHa-mo jo-mo) is literally "the nun Lhamo".
- ⁷ *Chham* (cf. Tib.: mTshams) is a period when a person retires to a solitary place for study or meditation. *Kun* refers to that kind of seclusion where the person is not allowed to see other persons.
- ⁸ Chan-e Pompa is literally "the king of Chan".
- ⁹ Nhub Pompa is literally "the king of the west".
- ¹⁰ Dhimo Aama is a female yak, which has had a calf.
- ¹¹ Hyarwa is a two year old yak.
- ¹² Shepa is a three year old yak.
- ¹³ Shyoal is the especially long hair which the yak has on its legs and abdomen.

Rhaangjyung came out of Chho Mhamhaang, the yakherd of the king of *Ghukul Whor* got a glimpse of the god. The king of Ghukul Whor became very eager to see Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung after he had heard the very wonderful description of the god from his yakherd. The king said, after he had seen the male yak with its white spot in the front, and the white spot along the back, that the yak was self-created, and did *chhyaa-phulwa* three times.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung went to the *Nhaakchimhe* forest and lived there. The yaks of the king of Ghukul Whor increased in numbers of hundreds and thousands. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to drink the milk from the Lu. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to drink the milk from the forest tiger, when he lived in the forest. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to drink the milk from the self-created deer, when he lived in the forest. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to drink the pure water of the lake of the salt mine. The self-created god had a bright face with a white spot in the front. The self created god had a white spot along the back.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to eat *tachham boki* in the pastures of Ghaankar Tisi¹⁴. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to eat *suno kobi*¹⁵ in the pastures of Ghaankar Tisi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to eat *dal boki*¹⁶ in the pastures of Ghaankar Tisi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to roll three times in the pastures of Ghaankar Tisi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to cry “hur-hur” three times in the pastures of Ghaankar Tisi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to eat different kinds of flowers near *Shaangke Khembu* at Ghaankar Tisi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to eat the green grass and drink the green water near *Laangchen Khambu* at Ghaankar Tisi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung used to eat the green grass and drink the green water near *Majyaa Khambu* at Ghaankar Tisi.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung came to the slopes at *Tulachyaa* near *Tachyo Khambu* at Ghankar Tisi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Tachyo Khambu and reached the village *Nhorthyeling*. While Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived at Nhorthyeling he discovered a saltmine with pure salt like crystal. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the phui of the pure salt like crystal, and blessed the people, so that they should have sufficient salt.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Nhorthyeling village and reached the village *Tormaling*, where he took the phui of the salt from the saltmine. After Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangj-

¹⁴ Different kinds of pastures—*paang*, *hyadhen*, and *ya*—are mentioned in Bhurki Rhab. We have here simplified the translation by calling them all “pasture”.

Tachham boki, literary “headhair grass”, grows on landslides.

¹⁵ *Suno boki* (Nep.), literally “golden grass”.

¹⁶ *Dal boki* (Nep.) is a grass with small fruits like dal.

young had taken the phui of the salt he blessed the people, so that they should have sufficient gold.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Tormaling, and reached the village *Bhongpa Sinte Sinme*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Bhongpa Sinte Sinme* and reached the village *Bhongpa Dhose* for the welfare of the people of that village. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung blessed the people, so that they could have valuable mines with jewels, gold, silver, copper and iron.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Bhongpa Dhose* and reached the village *Mharme Chhakha* of *Jhyaang*, where he took the phui of the salt from the saltmine. After Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had taken the phui of the salt he blessed the people, so that they could have sufficient salt.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Mharme Chhakha* and reached *Jhyaang Ngenam Chho* for the welfare of that lake. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung blessed the lake, so that it could have eighteen big and eighteen small lakes. After Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had eaten the green grass and had drunk the blue water near *Jhyaang Ngenam Chho*, he gave blessings, so that the grass could contain many nutrients.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Jhyaang Ngenam Chho* and reached *Nhaakcham* village of *Jhyaang*. *Rhochedhalab*, the owner of the saltmine, got a glimpse of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung while the god was living at *Nhaakcham*. The saltowner thought that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was the god who blessed the world with salt, and did *chhyaaphulwa* three times. After the saltowner had seen the white spot in the front and the white spot along the back, he did *chhyaaphulwa* three times thinking that the god was *Lha Dhong Rhaangjyung*¹⁷. After the saltowner had seen the long legs of the god, he did *chhyaaphulwa* three times thinking that the god was the king of the yaks. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the green grass and drank the green water at *Nhaakcham*, and blessed the place, so that the grass could contain many nutrients, and so that the wild animals and the yaks could increase in numbers of hundreds and thousands.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Nhaakcham* village of *Jhyaang* and reached the village *Hyaruchaangbo*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left the village *Hyaruchaangbo*, crossed the middle of the river, and reached *Tanaaka Thukten* village. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the green grass and drank the blue water, and blessed the place, so that the grass could contain many nutrients.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left the village *Tanaaka Thukten* and reached the village *Rhongchhen Rhongchhyung* for the welfare of the people of that village. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the crops in all the eighty-eight fields of *Rhongchhen Rhongchhyung* village, so nothing was left. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung blessed the fields, so

¹⁷ *Dhong Rhaangjyung* is another name for *Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung*.

that the yield of the crops of the field could increase.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung left Rhongchhen Rhongchhyung village and reached the village *Lhasa Ghaten* for the welfare of the people of that village. At *Lhasa Ghaten Potala*¹⁸ Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung blessed *Gyalpo Chhenpo*¹⁹ to sit on his golden throne, and the lama to sit on his throne for the welfare of the people of *Bhoikham*²⁰. At Lhasa Ghaten Potala Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung blessed *Gyalwa Rhinchhin* to sit on his silver throne for the welfare of the people of Bhoikham. At Lhasa Ghaten Potala Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung blessed Gyalwa Rhinchhin to sit on his turquoise throne for the welfare of the people of Bhoikham. When Hyaawaa Rhaangjung left Lhasa Ghaten Potala he blessed Gyalpo Chhenpo, who worked for the welfare of the people of Bhoikham.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung zigzagged through a river, and reached *Wui Samya*²² for the welfare of the people of that place. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung made blessings by moving his horns, by moving his legs with the shyoal, and by moving his tail with the long hair. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung left Wui Samya and reached Kompa Chari for the welfare of the people of that place.

When Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung reached the pastures of Kompa Chari he could not find his way due to snowfall, and he made a new way crossing nine mountains and nine passes. By eating *chyalu chungto*, the king of grasses, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung walked three rounds at the pastures of Kompa Chari. When Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung was eating *chyalu chungto* he saw mountains beyond any description. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung became fat by eating *chyalu chungto* and rolled three times in the high pastures crying "hur-hur". Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung walked three rounds in the pastures of Kompa Chari eating the green grass and drinking the green water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung ate various kinds of flowers and gave blessings. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung made three rounds of the pastures of Kompa Chari eating *rhongkor*²³ and leaves of various kinds of trees, and gave blessings afterwards. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaang-

¹⁸ *Lhasa* (cf. Tib.: lHa-sa) is the capital of Tibet. We are not quite sure why Ghaten is added to the name. *Ghaten* (cf. Tib.: dGa-ldan) is the name of one of the heavens (Skt.: Tushita), but is also the name of one of the three big monasteries near Lhasa. *Potala* (cf. Tib.: Po-ta-la) was the place where the Dalaai Laamaa used to live in winter.

¹⁹ Gyalpo Chhenpo (cf. Tib.: rGyal-po chen-po) is literally "the big king".

²⁰ Bhoikham (cf. Tib.: Bod Khams) refers to Central and Eastern Tibet.

²¹ Gyalwa Rhinchhin (cf. Tib.: rGyal-ba rin-chen) is rGyal-ba rin-po-che (Tib.), the Dalaai Laamaa.

²² Wui Samya is a place near bSam-yas (Tib.), which according to the Tibetan tradition was the first established monastery in Tibet.

jyung ate *michham boki*²⁴ in the high pastures of Kompa Chari. When Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was going to go away he ate tachham boki in the pastures of Kompa Chari. Lah Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate suno boki in the pastures of Kompa Chari. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate dal boki in the pastures of Kompa Chari. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung rolled three times crying “hur–hur” three times in the pastures of Kompa Chari after he had eaten. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung shook his legs and body three times. Then Lha Hyaawaa ate *sali jhyaangba*²⁵ in the downwards direction in the pastures of Kompa Chari. Then Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate sali jhyaangba in the upwards direction in the pastures of Kompa Chari. Then Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the crops of the fields of Kompa Chari in the downwards direction. Then Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the crops of the fields of Kompa Chari in the upwards direction.

The people of Kompa Chari asked themselves what had happened, since the crops would not grow. Four high people and four ordinary people of Kompa Chari gathered to discuss the matter. The people of Kompa Chari said that it was a bad time, since the crop lodged. The people of Kompa Chari said that it was a bad time, since the yield of the crops was low. The people of Kompa Chari said, that it was a bad time, since the number of houses could not increase.

The people of Kompa Chari shot nine arrows after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, but they could not hit him. The people of Kompa Chari shot with nine guns after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, but they could not hit him. The people of Kompa Chari shot stones after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung with nine slings, but they could not hit him. The people of Kompa Chari shot with nine different kinds of weapons after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, but they could not hit him. Then the people of Kompa Chari threw nine lassos in the downwards direction after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. Then the people of Kompa Chari threw nine lassos in the upwards direction after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. The people of Kompa Chari dug nine holes, and trapped Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung inside the holes. Then they established four *chhyorten*²⁶ over Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung in the four directions painting them white, yellow, red and black. In order to keep Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung in the holes they established nine chhyorten over Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, in the north–eastern direction.

Phaamar and nambar started to blow to the surprise of the people of Kompa Chari after they had established the nine chhyorten over Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. Nambar

²³ Rhonkor is probably a kind of grass.

²⁴ Michham boki is literally “eyelash grass”.

²⁵ Sali jhyaangba is probably a kind of grass.

²⁶ Chhyorten (cf. Tib.: mChod–ten) is a reliquary and memorial monument (Skt.: stupa).

blew day and night like the burning fire pressing the people of Kompa Chari towards the north, and phaamar blew day and night like the burning fire pressing the people of Kompa Chari towards the south.

In their surprise over what had happened, the people of Kompa Chari consulted the Mhutu-e Pompa, who told them that it was due to the activities of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. The people of Kompa Chari went to Chi-e Pompa, who told them that it was due to the activities of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.

When the nine chhyorten were erected over Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung nine tremors took place due to the great anger of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. When the nine chhyorten were erected over Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung and the nine tremors had taken place, then the earth cracked in nine places due to the great anger of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung came out with his front by moving his horns, and came out with his back by moving his tail. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung came completely out by moving his legs with shyoal.

The people of Kompa Chari repented that they had shot nine arrows after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, whom they had not recognized. The people of Kompa Chari repented that they had shot with nine guns after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, whom they had not recognized. The people of Kompa Chari repented that they had shot with nine slings after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, whom they had not recognized. The people of Kompa Chari repented that they had trapped Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, whom they had not recognized, in nine holes.

The people of Kompa Chari prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, who was sitting on a throne of gold, to bless the lama to sit on the throne. The people of Kompa Chari prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, who was sitting on a throne of silver, to bless the king to sit on the throne. The people of Kompa Chari did chhyaaphulwa and prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, who was sitting on a throne of turquoise, to bless the crops in the fields. The people of Kompa Chari prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, who was sitting on a throne of copper, to increase their wealth. The people of Kompa Chari prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, who was sitting on a throne of iron, to let the good times increase.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung decreed, that they had done useless work by shooting with nine guns after him, and that they had to take the consequences. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung decreed, that they had done useless work by shooting with nine arrows after him, and that they had to take the consequences. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung decreed, that they had done useless work by shooting stones from nine slings after him, and that they had to take the consequences. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung decreed, that they had done useless work by erecting nine chhyorten over him, and that they had to take the consequences. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that the place was not suitable for

his living, and that there were no ways to earn fame there. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that the people of that village—having different birth-places, but the same living-place—had done useless work.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Kompa Chari and reached *Komchyaang*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the green grass and drank the blue water in the pastures of Komchyaang. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Komchyaang and reached *Wiri Bharkor*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate various kinds of grasses at the big pastures of Wiri Bharkor. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung drank the pure water at the big pass near Wiri Bharkor. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left the big pass near Wiri Bharkor, crossed the big river in the direction against the current, and reached the soil of *Sakyaa*²⁷. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left the soil of Sakyaa and reached *Jhyaang Thaang*, where he blessed the grass, so that it could contain many nutrients. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Jhyaang Thaang* and reached *Tatum Namgel Lhache*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Tatum Namgel Lhache* and reached *Chhokor Thaang*, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Chhokor Thaang* and reached *Koro Lha*²⁸, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Koro Lha* and reached *Nhama Shyung*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Nhama Shyung* and reached *Maitaang Gyalsha*²⁹.

When Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung reached *Maitaang Gyalsha* he started to eat *sali jhyaangba* of the big fields in the upwards direction so nothing was left. Then Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate *sali jhyaangba* of the big fields in the downwards direction so nothing was left. The people of *Maitaang Gyalsha* shot nine arrows after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung at the time when he ate *sali jhyaangba* in the upwards direction. The people of *Maitaang Gyalsha* shot with nine guns after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung at the time when he ate *sali jhyaangba* in the downwards direction. The people of *Maitaang Gyalsha* started to wonder about who Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was, when they could not hit him with nine weapons. *Dhorchhe Lhadhaa*, the saltowner, arrived from *Jhyaang*, and told the people that it was due to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung that each person had sufficient salt to eat. *Dhorchhe Lhadhaa* then bowed down to *Tashi Shaangpa Mhipon*.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Maitaang Gyalsha* and reached the pastures of *Hircha*, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Hircha* and reached *Jhyoma Ghaldhi*, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Jhyoma Ghaldhi* and reached *Lo*

²⁷ Sakyaa (cf. Tib.: Sa-skya) was a principality west of Central Tibet, and the center of the Sa-skyapa (Tib.) sect.

²⁸ Kora La (cf. Tib.: Gu-ru La) is a pass on the border between Lo and Tibet.

²⁹ Maitaang Gyalsha (cf. Tib.: sMon-thang rgyal-sa), literary "Maitaang, the residence of the king," is the capital of Lo.

Dhaagmar, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung left Lo Dhaagmar and reached *Jhaidhin*, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Jhaidhin* and reached *Ghiling Somdo*³⁰ where he ate sali jhyaangba and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Ghiling Somdo* and reached *Sochhyungpar Ghyamadhen*, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water.

Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Sochhyungpar Ghyamadhen*, and crossed *Omdo Kyu* in the direction of the current. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung reached *Tetaang Kun-ari*, where he ate the phui of the salt like crystal. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung then met the big god of *Chhimi* and started to cry. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung then reached the place where the fire burns over the water, the stone, and the soil.³¹ Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung reached the pastures of *Dhaanggho*, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water, and then left that place. Lha Gyaawaa Rhaangjyung reached the pastures of *Lubraa*³² where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water, and then left that place.

Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung reached the pastures of *Gharap Jhong Thin*, where he ate tachham boki in the upwards direction, and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung then reached *Namhang Khu*, where he ate the green grass and drank the blue water, and then left that place. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung reached *Kantukhan*, where he ate suno boki in the upwards direction, and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung then reached the pastures of *Tiri Chho*³³, where he suno boki. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung drank the blue water of *Tiri Chho*.

Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Gharap* and reached *Pholasa*, where he ate tachham boki and michham boki in the upwards direction, and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung then reached *Maarche Thin*, where he rolled three times crying "hur-hur". Lha Hyaaawaa Rhaangjyung reached *Mharshyaang Kyu* in which he bathed nine times, drank the water nine times, and thought that it was holy water. Lha Hyaaawaa

³⁰ Ghiling Somdo is literally "the place at *Ghiling*, where three roads are meeting". Ghiling is the first village coming from Lo to Baaragaaun.

³¹ Chhimi (cf. Tib.: Chu-mig brgya-rtsa-brgyad, "the 108 springs") is the area around Mukhtinaath, where there are said to be the holy number of 108 springs. Mukhtinaath is "the place where the fire burns over the water, the stone, and the soil", and is visited by many Hindu pilgrims, because it was at Mukhtinaath that the face or mouth (Nep.: mukha) of Paarvati, the wife of Shiva, fell when Shiva was carrying the corpse of Paarvati.

³² Lubraa (cf. Tib.: kLu-bra) is the first village in Baaragaaun on the way from Yhulnghaa to Lo.

³³ Tiri Chho is a big lake high over Thinaang, but also the name of high mountain next to the lake.

Rhaangjyung left Mharshyaang Kyu and reached *Gyatoe Nanamkhor*³⁴, where he ate the green grass. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Gyatoe Nanamkhor* and reached *Paangpo*, where he ate the green grass and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Palaang Blhen*³⁵ and reached a pasture, where he ate the green grass and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung then reached *Tiri Chho*, where he drank the pure water.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Tiri Choo* and reached the pastures of *Nupsaang*, where he ate the green grass and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung then reached *Tengin Tong*, where he ate the green grass and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung then crossed *Omdo Kyu* and reached the pastures of *Pengke Kongke*, where he ate *sali jhyaangba* in the upwards and the downwards direction.

It was Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung against whom nine arrows were shot, but they could not hit him. It was Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung against whom nine guns were shot, but they could not hit him. It was Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung against whom stones from nine slings were shot, but they could not hit him. It was Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung against whom nine weapons were shot, but they could not hit him.

Tashi Shaangpa Mhipon of *Maitaang* said that *Lha Ghompo Rhaangjyung* went to *Thaa*. The people of *Lo Nghaashyaapa*³⁶ offered a handful of salt to *Lha Ghompo Rhaangjyung* when they came to *Thaatongkor* on business.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ate the green grass and drank the pure water of *Saalaang Syulung*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung reached *Bongaadho*, where he ate the green grass and drank the pure water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung reached the pastures of *Ipsaang* and rolled three times crying "hur-hur". Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Ipsaang* and reached *Rasum Jhong*,³⁷ which Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung thought was the border between *Jhyaang* and *Rhong*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Rasum Jhong* and reached the holy place at *Sangen Chhyungen*.

At the time when Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung twice was drinking the water at the holy place at *Sangen Chhyungen*, *Khe Aani Airam* met Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. *Khe Aani Airam* said that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had protected *Jhyaang Thaang* through his blessings. *Khe Aani Airam* said that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had taken the *phui* of the salt from the sodium salt mine at *Jhyaang Thaang*.

At that time Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung met *Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu* at the holy place at *Sangen Chhyungen*. At that time Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung met *Lha Chhyu-*

³⁴ *Gyatoe Nanamkhor* is on the left side of *Omdo Kyu* opposite *Tukche*.

³⁵ *Palaang Blhen* is on the left side of *Omdo Kyu* opposite *Khanti*.

³⁶ *Lo Nghaashyaapa*, literally "the five villages of Lo".

³⁷ *Rasum Jhong* is according to our informants the original Tibetan name for the village *Dhyuta*.

ring Gyalmo at the holy place at Sangen Chhyungen. At that time Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung met Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo at the holy place at Sangen Chhyungen. At that time Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung met Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang at the holy place at Sangen Chhyungen. At that time Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung met Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang and Khe Paau Kuti at the holy place at Sangen Chhyungen.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that Hyaam Kyu was the place where Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu, Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo, Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo, and the four khe had gathered.

Khe Aani Airam said that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung came from Jhyaang Thang, which he had protected through his blessing. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang said, that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had taken the phui of the salt from the sodium salt mine at Jhyaang Thang. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang said, that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had taken the pure phui from the sodium mine. Khe Paau Kuti did chhyaaphulwa three times in front of *Lha Hyaawaa Nhurbu*³⁸ and said that it was Lha Hyaawaa Nhurbu who protected him, and that it was due to the god that they could meet at the gathering-place.

The four khe said that although they could not meet at their birthplace, then they could meet at their gathering place. The four khe said that the gods had come for the protection of Lhe Dhong.

At the time with a clear sky the four khe requested the gods to come to *Hyulpon Dhorchhe*³⁹ for the protection of that place. The four khe and gods left Sangen Chhyungen and reached *Baangdar Jhong*. The four khe and gods left Baangdar Jhong and reached *Nghaapsaang-me* and *Nghaapsaang-ta*⁴⁰. The four khe and gods left Nghaapsaang-me and Nghaapsaang-ta and reached the pastures of Ipsaang. The four khe and gods left the pastures of Ipsaang and reached the holy place of *Bongaa*⁴¹. The four khe and gods left the holy place of Bongaa and reached the pastures of *Baaraa*. The four khe and gods left the pastures of Baaraa and reached *Baaraa Som*. The four khe and gods left Baaraa Som and reached Muli Ghaang.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung rolled three times in the pastures of *Muli-ta Muli-me* crying "hur-hur" three times. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung saw the important village Hyulpon Dhorchhe of Thaa. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung found among the lakes the

³⁸ Lha Hyaawaa Nhurbu, literary "the jewel yak", is another name for Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.

³⁹ Hyulpon Dhorchhe (cf. Tib.: Yul-dpon Dar-po-che), literally "village headman flag", is according to our informants the central place in Thaa, where the flag of Chan was erected.

⁴⁰ Nghaapsaang-me is lower Ghaasa, while Nghaapsaang-ta is upper Ghaasa.

⁴¹ Bongaa is near Misi.

important *Bhutar Chho*⁴². Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that all the three things among the three things could be found in the villages of Thaatongkor. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that it was the place to which Lha Ongba Gyapchan had sent them. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that it was the proper place, where the gods would give their protection. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that Thaatongkhor was the place where they should establish their houses and villages.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived for three years at the big pastures of Muli Ghaang by eating suno boki. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived at the big pastures by eating michham boki. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived at the big pastures by eating dal boki. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived at the big pastures by eating tachham boki. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived at the big pastures by eating various kinds of grass. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived at the big pastures by drinking the holy water. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived at the upper, middle, and lower part of Muli Ghaang by eating the holy grass and drinking the holy water.

Lha Ongba Gyapchan showed his activities to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung at the time when Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was living in the upper, middle and lower part of Muli Ghaang. Lha Ongba Gyapchan ordered that the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung should not die there. After Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung asked Lha Ongba Gyapchan had ordered where the twelfth body and the thirteenth head should die. Lha Ongba Gyapchan ordered that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung should go to the big pastures of the very holy place of *Shyaasen Dhong*⁴³. Lha Ongba Gyapchan ordered that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung should not be seen by men on his way. Lha Ongba Gyapchan ordered that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung should go to Shyaasen Dhong, where various kinds of healthy plants were available. After Lha Ongba Gyapchan had ordered that, then Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung did chhyaphulwa three times in front of Lha Ongba Gyapchan.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Muli Ghaang and reached *Hyaata Ghaang*. Lha Rhaangjyung left *Hyaataa Ghang* and reached *Palaangpoti*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left *Palaangpoti* and reached the pastures of Puntan at *Ngyaalaang Shaang*. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left the pastures of Puntan and reached *Shyaasen Dhong*.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived for three years at the big pastures at *Shyaasen Dhong* without hearing voices of human beings. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived for three years at the big pastures at *Shyaasen Dhong* without hearing the barking of dogs. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung lived for three years at the big pastures at *Shyaasen Dhong* by eating the green grass and drinking the holy water.

⁴² The dhom mentions in a prayer, that "the most valuable lake is *Bhutar Chho*. The most valuable village is *Thaa*." *Bhutar Chho* is situated northwest of *Naaphrunkot*.

⁴³ *Shyaasen Dhong* is said to be above *Maarphaa*.

Namchayaa Gholtok went with his hunting dogs, bow and arrows in order to kill the forest tiger. *Namchayaa Gholtok* took other people with him, saying that they were going in order to kill the deer. *Namchayaa Gholtok* reached *Shyaasen Dhong* at the time when he was following the forest tiger. *Namchayaa Gholtok* got a glimpse of *Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung* at *Shyaasen Dhong*. *Namchayaa Gholtok* said that it was a dangerous, but very beautiful yak, which he would like to kill.

Namchayaa Gholtok sent his hunting dogs after *Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung* in order to kill *Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung*, but they could not catch him. *Namchayaa Gholtok* was bitten by his own hunting dogs, which he had sent after *Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung*, when they returned. *Namchayaa Gholtok* shot nine arrows after *Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung*, but the arrows returned and hit *Namchayaa Gholtok*. *Namchayaa Gholtok* started to wonder what it was, which the hunting dogs could not catch and the arrows could not hit. *Namchayaa Gholtok* started to wonder what it was, which was impossible to catch and to kill. *Namchayaa Gholtok* then returned and said that it had been impossible for him to kill the yak, but that he would try again the following day.

Namchayaa Gholtok made a call to the villagers, when he returned to the village. *Namchayaa Gholtok* suggested that the villagers should gather the following day to kill the yak at *Shyaasen Dhong*. *Namchayaa Gholtok* suggested that people possessing guns should bring their guns with them, and that people possessing bows and arrows should bring their bows and arrows, because they should not fail to kill the yak.

*Ghumtan Khe*⁴⁴ suggested at the meeting that these activities were the activities of a god, and that they therefore should not try to kill the yak. *Ghumtan Khe* said that they therefore should not try to shoot with guns and arrows. *Ghumtan Khe* did *chhyaaphulwa* three times, saying that it was *Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung* whom they could not force to run away, and whom they could not catch.

Namchayaa Gholtok did not agree with *Ghumtan Khe* and said that they should not fail to kill the yak the following day. All *Puntan* then gathered in order to make a plan for the hunt. *Namchayaa Gholtok* suggested that people possessing spears, bows and arrows, guns, and other kinds of weapons should bring their weapons with them. *Namchayaa Gholtok* suggested that they should start early the next morning. The villagers agreed, and they all went hunting led by *Namchayaa Gholtok*.

⁴⁴ *Ghumtan Khe* is later in the text called *Khe Ghumtan Chyaang*, and is later in the text mentioned as the leader of *Ghumtan*, while *Pun Thowa* according to the text is the leader of *Puntan*. It is very interesting to note that the present *Puntan* according to *Bhurki Rhab* is divided into two groups: *Ghumtan* and *Puntan*. *Gumtan* is according to our informants the people of the two present *Gumli* clans, while *Puntan* may originally have been the name of the members of the present *Bhuti phobe*, and then later was applied to all the present *Puntan*.

The villagers encircled Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung at Shyaasen Dhong. The villagers shot with nine guns, nine arrows, and nine different kinds of weapons after Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, but they could not kill Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.

Due to his power, and in order to show his activities, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung cried "hur-hur" three times. Due to his power, and in order to show his activities, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung sent flames from his mouth burning the people surrounding him. Due to his power, and in order to show his activities, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung rolled three times so that the earth shook and all the hunters were thrown on the ground. Due to his power, and in order to show his activities, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung spread his shjol and his tail, so that a heavy hailstorm appeared from the clear sky.

The hunters tried to escape from the place, when the heavy hailstones fell. The hunters trying to escape fell down from the mountains and died. The hunters trying to escape fell down in the forest and died. Some hunters fell when they tried to walk, and the hunters were in such a position, that they could neither stay nor run away.

Namchyaa Gholtok repented after all the troubles and said that it was due to their shooting with arrows, and that they had to take the consequences. The hunters said that it was due to their shooting with guns, and that they had to take the consequences. Namchyaa Gholtok did chhyaaphulwa in front of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung and asked him to stop the hailstorm. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung then swept away the darkness of the sky. Gumtan Khe did chhyaaphulwa in front of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung and asked him what they should do in return for their mistakes, when Namchyaa Gholtok and the other hunters got their senses back. Gumtan Khe did chhyaaphulwa three times and requested Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung to say what they should do. Gumtan Khe did chhyaaphulwa three times and requested Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung to be happy and to shine like nine suns.

When Gumtan Khe repented, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that they could not escape from their sin of shooting with nine guns after him. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that they could not escape from their sin of shooting with nine arrows and nine different kinds of weapons after him. Gumtan Khe did chhyaaphulwa several times and requested Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung not to punish their sinful actions. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered, after Gumtan Khe had done chhyaaphulwa several times, that they should not disobey his orders, and that they had to make a promise. Gumtan Khe then promised that they would not disobey the orders of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung until Omdo Kyu started to flow in the opposite direction. Gumtan Khe promised that they would not disobey his orders until the black crow became white.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said, after the promise of Gumtan Khe, that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung among the four gods of the five elements was the god who had originated from the element of air. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that he was the

incarnation of *Ghombo Nhaakpo*⁴⁵. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that he was the self-created male yak. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that he was the guardian of Khe Paau Kuti. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that he would not disobey the orders of Lha Ongba Gyapchan, so therefore his twelfth body and his thirteenth head should die there. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that the flesh from his body would make them strong, and that they therefore should take it. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered that they should not break their promise for centuries.

Gumtan Khe promised Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung that they would not break their promise for centuries. Gumtan Khe promised that the gods of *Lha Yhul*⁴⁶ should destroy them, if they broke their promise. Gumtan Khe promised that the Chan of this world should destroy them, if they broke their promise. Gumtan Khe promised that the Lu of the *Lu Yhul* should destroy them, if they broke their promise.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that he would go to *Shyaasen Dhong Wu*⁴⁷ to die there, after Gumtan had made the promise by giving witness to the gods. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered Gumtan Khe to take all his flesh and bones, and to distribute the flesh as *jhi lhap*⁴⁸ to the villagers. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered Gumtan Khe to submit the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung to *Khunaraa*, the son of Khe Paau Kuti from the villages of Thaachan.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left for *Shyaasen Dhong Wu* after Gumtan Khe had made his promise. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung went to *Shyaasen Dhong Wu* and died there. Gumtan Khe got a glimpse of the flames over the dead body of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung after the god had gone to *Shyaasen Dhong Wu* and died there. Gumtan Khe did *chhyaaphulwa* three times when he saw a rainbow surrounding the dead body of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. The flames and the rainbow disappeared when Gumtan Khe did *chhyaaphulwa*. Gumtan Khe took the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung and kept it in the cave. The thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was surrounded by flames and a rainbow while it was kept in the cave. Gumtan Khe worshipped Lha Dhong Rhaangjyung with various kinds of water. Gumtan Khe worshipped the god with various kinds of milk. Gumtan Khe worshipped the god with various kinds of flowers. Gumtan Khe worshipped the god with various kinds of food-grain. Gumtan Khe worshipped the god with the holy phi.

⁴⁵ Ghombo Nhaakpo corresponds according to our informants to Kalo Bhaairab (Nep.).

⁴⁶ Lha Yhul (cf. Tib.: lHa-yul) is literary "the village of gods". The Cosmos has according to the Thakaali tradition three levels, as in the text, but heaven is usually known as *sankyae*, and hell as *nyelwa*.

⁴⁷ Shyaansen Dhong Wu is literally "the cave of Shyaansen Dhong".

⁴⁸ Jhi lhap (Nep.: prasaad) is an offering from the gods.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was very pleased by the worship of Gumtan Khe. Because he was very pleased, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung sent a good dream to Gumtan Khe. In the dream Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung told Gumtan Khe that he would protect Gumtan Khe as long as Gumtan Khe did not stop worshipping him. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung told Gumtan Khe that the descendants of Khe Dhamchi Dhamru, the khe of Thaa, and the descendants of Gumtan Khe should obey the promise—otherwise they had to take the consequences. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered that his thirteenth head should be submitted to Khunaraa, the second of the three sons of Khe Dhamchi Dhamru, on Chhaiwa som in the twelfth month⁴⁹ making a good occasion. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered Gumtan Khe to submit the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung to Khunaraa making a good occasion. In the dream of *Gumtan Chyaang*, Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that the descendants of those who disobeyed his orders would disappear, their wealth would be destroyed, and their work would be unsuccessful.

After his dream Gumtan Khe sent a messenger with a letter to Khe Dhamchi Dhamru, who was in Hyulpon Dhorchhe. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru said, after the messenger had reached Thaa, that it was Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung who protected him, and that for the last three years he had not been able to find out where the god had been. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru said, with tears in his eyes, that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had only given orders.

Khe Dhamchi Dhamru worshipped with three pyaang of holy barley in a shyaang shyong of silver on Chhaiwa som in the twelfth month, making a good occasion. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru worshipped Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung with different kinds of dharna. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru worshipped Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung with sodium salt. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru worshipped Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung with different flowers and different kinds of foodgrain. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru worshipped Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung making the sound *ghaarlaang ghurlung* from the front side, and the sound *chaarlaang chirlung*⁵⁰ from the back side. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru worshipped Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung with muttering.

Khe Dhamchi Dhamru and Khunaraa left Hyulpon Dhorchhe and reached *Chhongepar*⁵¹. When they left Chhongepar they met a messenger sent by *Khe Gumtan Chyaang* at *Dhochomghaang*. They left *Dhochomghaang* and reached *Chhairo Che*⁵².

⁴⁹ "The twelfth month" is a direct translation of Da-wa bchu-gnyis (Tib.) in the text.

⁵⁰ Ghaarlaang ghurlung is the sound of the big bells used by mules, *jho*, etc., while ghaarlaang chirlung is the sound of the small bells used by horses.

⁵¹ Chhongepar (cf. Tib.: mTsho gnyis bar) is a place between two lakes.

⁵² Chhairo Che, literary "the field of Chhairo" is on the right side of Omdo Kyu opposite Chhairo.

When they reached Chhairo Che they met Khe Gumtan Chyaang's daughter and mhaa, who were sent by him with eggs and the holy beer to receive them. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru named Ghaang Kyu by the name Dhon Kyu when they meet these persons.

They then left Dhon Kyu and reached the village Mhaarphaa. All the villagers had gathered, and begged for forgiveness for their sinful actions against Lha Hyaawaa Nhurbu saying that they would take the consequences of their actions. The villagers did chhyaaphulwaa three times begging Khe Dhamchi Dhamru for forgiveness for their sinful actions against Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru then said that he would repent on the behalf of the villagers.

Khe Dhamchi Dhamru and Khunaraa left the village Mhaarphaa and reached *Jhongo*. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru left *Jhongo* and reached Shyaasen Dhong. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru left Shyaasen Dhong and reached a cave near Chuksaang. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru and Khe Gumtan Chyaang entered the cave near Chuksaang. When they reached the holy place near Chuksaang then Khe Dhamchi Dhamru got a glimpse of the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung with flames of luck around it. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru saw Khe Gumtan Chyaang making worship. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru got a glimpse of only the thirteenth head of the dead Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru did chhyaaphulwa three times to the god with the long horns asking him where he had gone. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru did chhyaaphulwa three times to the god with the scattered tail asking him where he had gone. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru did chhyaaphulwa three times to the god with the shyoal on the legs asking him where he had gone.

Khe Dhamchi Dhamru became very sad and got tears in his eyes, but Khe Gumtan Chyaang consoled him to make him happy. Khe Gumtan Chyaang said that the body of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was dead, but that the soul still was alive. Khe Gumtan Chyaang told Khe Dhamchi Dhamru that the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung was kept in order to protect Khe Dhamchi Dhamru. Khe Gumtan Chyaang told Khe Dhamchi Dhamru that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung had ordered them not to break their promise. Khe Gumtan Chyaang told Khe Dhamchi Dhamru that he should not weep on this good occasion.

Khe Dhamchi Dhamru stretched out a cloth between his hands, saying that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung should stay for his protection, and that they should obey the orders of Lha Ongba Gyapchan. Khunaraa stretched out a cloth between his hands, saying that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung should go with them to Hyulpon Dhorchhe for their protection. Khunaraa suggested that the four gods of the five elements should gather. When Khunaraa had stretched out his cloth between his hands saying that, then the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung flew into the cloth. Though there were flames around the head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, the flames did not hurt Khunaraa when the head was in his cloth.

Khe Gumtan Chyaang took the thirteenth head of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung from

the cloth of Khunaraa, put it on his own head, and did chhyaaphulwa three times. Khe Gumtan Chyaang prayed by singing blessings to Lhaa Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung, so that they could get the flames of luck, so that they could speak well, and so that they could become rich. Khe Gumtan Chyaang sang three times begging wealth, happiness, and fulfillment of their wishes. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung gave orders after Khe Gumtan Chyaang had prayed by singing. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung said that he would fulfil all their wishes as long as the descendants of Khe Dhamchi Dhamru and Khe Gumtan Chyaang did not break their promise for centuries.

Khe Namchyya Gholtok prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung by singing and dancing that Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung should forgive his sins. Khe Gumtan Chyaang was the leader of all *Gumtan*, and all the *Gumtan* prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung by singing and dancing. *Pun Thowa* was the leader of all *Puntan*, and all *Puntan* prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung by singing and dancing.

Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered, after they had prayed by singing and dancing, that there should be rain at the right time. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered that the crops in the fields should produce well. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered that there should be no troubles with the water and no diseases for the villagers of Mhaarphaa. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung ordered that the flowers should turn into fruits and all the wishes should be fulfilled for the villagers of Mhaarphaa.

They left the holy cave near Chuksaang with singing and dancing, and Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung reached Shyaasen Dhong. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Shyaasen Dhong and reached the village Mhaarphaa. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left the village Mhaarphaa and reached Chhairo Che. A salt trader from Lo got a glimpse of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung at Chhairo Che. The salt trader did chhyaaphulwa three times and made offerings with the phui of salt, and begged for blessings, so that the way of the salt should remain open. A foodgrain trader also got a glimpse of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. The foodgrain trader did chhyaaphulwa three times and made offerings with various kinds of foodgrain, and begged for blessings, so that there should be sufficient foodgrain for all. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Dhochomghaang after taking the phui of the salt and the foodgrain. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left Dhochomghaang and reached Tukche. Hundreds and thousands of traders got a glimpse of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung when he reached Tukche. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left for the holy place Khanti after taking the phui of the salt and the foodgrain.

Khe Aani Airam, Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang, and Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang, who had taken a bath in Mharshyaang Kyu, got a glimpse of Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung when the god reached Khanti. They all danced and sang and said that they would gather in the place where all the three things among the three things were available. The four khe of Thaatongkor worshipped and prayed to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung by singing and dancing. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru made the sound ghaarlaang ghurlung from the

front side, and the sound *chaarlaang chirlung* from the back side, and then Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung left for Salam Byaasi. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung took the phui of the salt three times when he reached *Salam Byaasi*. Various kinds of flowers and food-grain were offered to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung when he reached Salam Byaasi. Salt was offered to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung. Holy Incense, butterlamps and beer were offered to Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.

Khe Aani Airam established Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu as his god. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang established Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo as his goddess. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang established Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo as his goddess. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru established Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung as his god.

It is through Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu that houses and villages are established. Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu controls phaamar and nambar. It is through Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo that fame can be had. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo controls the rain. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi controls the disasters of the mountains. It is through Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung that *Thaatongkor* is established. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung controls the way of the salt, and makes it broad. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung controls the way of the foodgrain, and makes it easy. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung controls the *mhukiwa*⁵³, so that the offspring of all living beings can have long life. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo, who has the power to swim in the current of Omdo Kyu, controls the grasshoppers. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo controls the mountains, so that they do not move. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung controls the fertility of all living beings and of the crops by his control over the Lu.

Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu has his throne in the east. Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo has her throne in the south. Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo has her throne in the west. Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung has his throne in the north. The four gods of the five elements have their thrones in the north-east.

The people prayed to the gods:

Oh four gods of the five elements,
please bless the lama, so that he can sit on his throne.
Oh four gods of the five elements,
please bless the king, so that he can sit on his throne.
Oh four gods of the five elements,
please bless us, so that we can swim in the current of Omdo Kyu.
Oh four gods of the five elements,
please bless us, so that the yield of the crops will increase.
Oh four gods of the five elements,
please bless us, so that the rain will come at the required time.
Oh four gods of the five elements,

⁵³ Mhukiwa are harmful spirits.

please control the *Dhayaar Dhuyaar* ⁵⁴.
 Oh four gods of the five elements,
 please let the way of the salt be broad.
 Oh four gods of the five elements,
 please let the way of the foodgrain be easy.
 Oh four gods of the five elements,
 please control the bad times.
 Oh four gods of the five elements,
 please bless us, so that we can have thangu of gold.
 Oh four gods of the five elements,
 please bless us, so that we can have thangu of silver.
 Oh four gods of the five elements,
 please bless us, so that we can have thangu of turquoise.”

Khe Aani Airam was proclaimed as the khe of Chyoki by Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu. Khe Samledhen Samlechyaang was proclaimed as the khe of Saalki by Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo. Khe Dhaakpa Gyalsaang was proclaimed as the khe of Dhimchan by Lha Ghaangla Singi Karpo. Khe Paau Kuti was proclaimed as the khe of Bhurki by Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung.

The four gods of the five elements ordered the four khe to gather at the meeting place even though they could not gather at the birthplace. The four gods of the five elements ordered them to increase the villages of Thaatongkor. The four gods of the five elements ordered that they should earn fame in Thaatongkor.

⁵⁴ Dhayaar Dhuyaar are harmful spirits.

PART VII:

PRAYER TO THE FOUR GODS OF THE FIVE ELEMENTS

- Oh Lha Laangbaa Nhurbu, please bless us,
so that our wishes can be fulfilled,
let the flowers turn into fruits.
- Oh Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo, please bless us,
so that we can earn fame.
- Oh Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo, please bless us,
so that we can receive many pheta.
- Oh Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjung, please bless us,
so that we can get success in our trade.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please bless us,
so that we can become the kings of the North.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please bless us,
so that we can become the kings of the South.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please bless us,
so that we can become the kings of our own villages.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please bless us,
so that our life can be long as the rivers.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please bless us,
so that our soul can be solid as the mountains.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please forgive us for our mistakes,
which we have made from the front side and the back side.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please forgive us for our mistakes,
which we have made from above and from below.
- Oh four gods of the five elements, please forgive us for our mistakes,
which we have made in the beginning and in the end.

Note: The illustrations at the beginning of Parts III—VI are seals designed for each of the four clans on the occasion of the *Lha phewa* festival in 1968.

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* (M) map; (N) Nepali; (S) Sanskrit; (T) Tibetan

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

- p 98 line 18 "...Gulmi chyaangpa phobe...". Please read: "...Gumli chyaangpa phobe...".
- line 27 "...Bhurhgi...". Please read: "...Bhurgi..."
- p 99 line 9 "...the following clans: Shyaangtan phobe...". Please cancel the whole sentence and read: "...the following clans: Ghelki phobe, Khe phobe (or Kya phobe), Tesitsen phobe (or Jisi phobe), Chhe phobe, Saakaa phobe (or Zaakaa phobe), Srenan phobe (or Sraane phobe), Bhom phobe (or Bham phobe), Shyaangtan phobe (or Syannaam phobe), Batsen phobe (or Paataa phobe), and Sam phobe (or San phobe)."
- p 100 line 16 "...have settled outside Thaasaang." Please add the following: "Different Magar people can be found in Thaasaang, especially in the southern part. The village Lhaarkye is thus inhabited exclusively by Magar people. *Rhongtaa Khampa* is a minority group found in Tukche, Chhairo, Dhumphaa, Samle, and Jhongsampa. They are mainly descendants of Tibetan traders from South-western Tibet, but some are however said to be descendants of Tibetan speaking people of Nubri. It shall strongly be stressed that our classification of Tibetan speaking people of Thaasaang and Yhulnghaa into the categorises Aaraansi kaaraansi and Rhongtaa Khampa should be taken with caution and needs further investigations.
- Both groups write "Thakali" to their personal names in the same way as Thin, Shyaangtan and Chimtan do, while Tamhaang and Puntan write the name of their clan (Nepali name) after their personal name.
- p 101 line 31 "The people of Taangbe are said originally to come from Manang District east of Mustang District,..." Please read: "The people of Tetaang claim to come from Nar in Manang District east of Mustang District,..."
- line 37 "...Jackson (n.d.)." Please read: "...Jackson (1976)."
- p 102 line 21 "...and wrote on folios instead of single sheets of paper". Please cancel that sentence.
- p 102 line 24 "...celebrated every twelve years¹⁹." Please add the following: "...and also during *shoye shoye lawa*, a festival celebrated three years before Lha phewa."
- line 26 "...in the temples (*Lha thau*)..." Please read: "...in the temples (*Lha thaan*)..." Please continue to read Lha thaan instead of Lha thau in the rest of the text.
- line 31 "...festival in 1968..." Please read: "...festival in 1956..."
- p 103 line 3 "...festival in 1968..." Please read: "...festival in 1956..."
- p 104 line 12 "...Narendra Gauchan." Please read: "...Narendra Gauchan²³." Note

- 23: "Michael Vinding got in the spring 1977 during shoye shoye lawa a chance to hear and see that copy of dhimchan rhab, which is said to have been used during Lha phewa 1968. The contents of that copy is basically similar to that found in Chyoki rhab."
- p 106 line 17 "Nghaapsaang". Please read: "Nghaasaang".
- line 28 Please read the following Nepali names for the rivers from Hum Kyu (line 28) to Mhansin Kyu (line 32): "Hum Kyu – none; Chimaang Kyu – Chim Kholaa; Mhaarshyaang Kyu – Chokhopaani; Nimung Kyu – Thaapaa Kholaa (or Thaaroo Kholaa); Mhansin Kyu – none;"
- p 107 line 4 "Chaa Khyu Dhong." Please read : "Chha Kyu Dhong."
- line 11 "...Saal Kyu..." Please read: "...Seel Kyu..."
- line 11 '...and Chimtan.' Please add the following: "Paang Kyu, which is also called Mhaarphaa Kyu, is in the dialect of Puntan called Pom Kyu."
- p 108 Corrections to the map: Sauru and Chhayo have more than 10 houses, while Nakhung and Lhaarkyo have less than 10 houses.
- p 110 line 30 "...Nep.: Semja..." Please read: "...Nep.: Singjaa..."
- p 112 line 3 "...Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo..." Please read: "...Lha Chhyuring Ghyalmo...". Please continue to read Lha Chhyuring Ghyalmo instead of Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo in the rest of the text.
- line 21 "...but her temple, etc. is today painted green..." Please read: "...but her colour is today green..."
- line 31 "...rNam-par snang-mdsad..." Please read: "...rNam-par snang-mdzad..."
- line 35 "...Mugu (Nep.),..." Please read: "...Mukot (Nep.),..."
- p 113 line 2 "...in the mountains..." Please read: "...in *Mulighaang*..." Mulighaang: please see p. 121 note 2.
- line 29 "Mu is the village Mugu (Nep.)" Please read: "Mu is the village Mukot (Nep.) south-east of Dolpo and on the trail from Jumla to ThaaK Kholaa. Mukot is situated above Barbung Kholaa (=the village Bhargung, p. 114 line 5 ?).
- p 117 line 25 "...of the kalyaankolen." Please add the following: "Thakaali refer to the Taamaang of the Middle Hills of Nepal as *Mhon Taamaang*, but also as kalyaankolen."
- line 27 "rDzongs". Please read: "rDzong".
- p 118 line 31 "...had some accidents." Please add the following: "See p. 153 ff."
- p 120 line 1 "...Saalki (Tulachan) Rhab" Please read: "...Saalki Rhab (Tulaachan)"
- p 122 line 16 "...of kundhin ghyaa..." Please read: "...of kudhin ghyaa..." Please continue to read kudhin ghyaa instead of kundhin ghyaa in the rest of the text.
- p 123 line 26 "...among those Thakaali..." Please read: "...among some Thakaali..."
- line 35 "...outside Thaasaang." Please add the following: "The significance of

the first tradition in the ritual aspect of the religious life among the Thakaali should however not be underestimated. It is the most important tradition during the death ceremonies among Thakaali in settlements, where active dhom can be found. While the second tradition is the dominant tradition among the Thakaali of the northern villages of Thaasaang, then the first tradition seems to be the dominant tradition among the Thakaali of the southern villages of Thaasaang."

- p 125 line 31 "It is not *kuichyung*¹⁶." Please read: "It is neither *kuichyung* nor *aari*¹⁶"
 line 36 "...have wine in." Please add the following: "Aari is a wooden tray used for various purposes."
- p 129 line 28 "...unknown to us." Please add the following: "but must be near Ipsaang, where Saalki represented by their paande still holds large areas."
 line 33 "...in their hair." Please add the following: "*Tika* (Nep.: *Tikaa*) is a colour powder, generally red, mixed with rice and curd, put on the forehead."
- p 130 line 3 "...by their superhuman power." Please read: "...by seeing their superhuman power."
 line 27 "...and Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo said in her shawl..." Please read: "...and Lha Chhyuring Ghyalmo in her shawl..."
 line 31 "Lochhyudhyun..." Please read: "Lochhodhyun..."
 line 34 "...village panchaayats." Please add the following: "See Jackson 1976; 54 for the seven tsho (Tib.) of Lo."
 We have in the note translated chho as "village". It is impossible to find an english equivalent to chho, but "part" would have been a better translation than "village".
- p 131 line 2 "...and Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo remembered in her..." Please read: "...and Lha Chhyuring Ghyalmo in her..."
 line 4 same correction as in line 2
 line 13 "...Lha Chhyuring Gyalmo as his goddess. Khe Dhamchi Dhamru...". Please read: "...Lha Chhyuring Ghyalmo as his goddess. Khe Dhaakpa Ghyalsaang established Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karpo as his goddess Khe Dhamchi Dhamru ..."
 line 31 "...Naphrungkhung, Sirkhung, and Dhumpu...". Please read: "...Naphrungkhung and Sirkhung..."
 line 35 "...of the latter villages." Please add: ",who they refer to as *ghaangche marwa*."
- p 133 line 2 "...and Arrival of Lha Singi Karmo..." Please read: "...and Arrival of Lha Ghaanglaa Singi Karmo..."
- p 134 line 23 "...gum-zur..." Please read: "...gsum-zur..."
 line 24 "...bZi-zur..." Please read: "...bzhi-zur..."

- line 33 "...Grwa-ba..." Please read: "...Grwa-pa..."
- p 135 line 32 "...Rupso Chhaharaa..." Please read: "Rupsi Chhaharaa..."
- p 137 line 31 "...or short Gyalpothochen..." Please read: "...or short Gyalthokarchen ..."
- p 138 line 19 "...Bon-pa..." Please read: "...Bon-po..."
- line 24 "...Thinaang and also Nakhung and Naphrungkhung." Please read: "...Thinaang and also Naphrungkhung."
- p 139 line 14 Cancel note 21 and read instead: "Each of the four clans seem originally to have had a particular subclan from which the dhom were recruited."
- p 140 line 1 "...Chhaiwa 13..." Please read: "...Chhaiwa 12..."
- line 3 same correction as in line 1
- line 5 "...kimi..." Please read: "...khimi..."
- line 19 "...Chhaiwa 17..." Please read: "...Chhaiwa 16..."
- line 25 "...kimi jhuwa..." Please read: "...khimi jhuwa..."
- line 32 Please cancel note 30 and read instead: "Shyaang is used about the male members of the lineage of which ego's wife was born (male speaking), and about the male members of the lineage of which ego was born (female speaking-married)."
- p 141 line 12 "...by the name Bhurjungkot..." Please read: "...by the name Bhurjungkot 35a...". Note 35a: "Only few ruins of Bhurjungkot can be found. Some of the households in Narjhong are however known as Bhurjungkot house holds. These have a special status and act at certain times as a separate unit."
- p 145 line 16 "...siniti and other..." Please read: "...sinti and other..."
- line 26 "...during call..." Please read: "...call during..."
- p 149 line 33 "...Byung langa bizi..." Please read: "...Byung-lnga-bzhi..."
- line 35 "...notes 17, 19, 20 and 52..." Please read: "...notes 17, 19, 20 and 30..."
- p 150 line 3 "...Ghaankar Risi..." Please read: "...Ghaankar Tisi..."
- p 151 line 16 "...suno kobi..." Please read: "... suno boki..."
- p 154 line 36 "...mChod-ten..." Please read: "...mChod-rten..."
- p 156 line 25 "...Maitaang Hyalsha..." Please read: "...Maitaang Ghyalsha..."
- p 157 line 34 "...Paarbati..." Please read: "Paarvati..."
- line 35 same correction as in line 34
- p 158 line 5 "...reached Tiri Cho..." Please read: "...reached Tiri Chho ^{35a}..."
Note 35a: "Tiri Chho is here the small lake at the village Tiri."
- p 160 line 18 "After Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung asked Lha Ongba Hyapchan had ordered where..." Please read: "Lha Hyaawaa Rhaangjyung asked Lha Ongba Ghyapchan where..."
- p 164 line 33 "...Da-wa bchu-gnyis..." Please read: "...Da-wa bcu-gnyis..."
Jackson, D. P.;

BROAD, NOETICNESS AND OTHER GUENTHERIANA

Agehananda Bharati
Syracuse

Writing about living masters is a perfectly respectable pursuit in contemporary anthropology. Levi Strauss has elicited much more literature about himself and his work in America and Britain than he has in France. No one seems to be able to be neutral about him—you are either a follower or an opponent, and the degrees of opposition to part of his work, or to the whole corpus, seems incommensurate at times with its place in European thought. Since anthropology is managerially more powerful than Buddhology, Levi-Strauss is of course 'more famous', all over, than Herbert Vighnāntaka Guenther. Not so for Tibetologists, Indologists, Buddhologists. For them, Guenther is as important, as Levi-Strauss is to the anthropological guild. And like Levi-Strauss, Guenther elicits attitudes of submission or of extreme opposition. In this article, I will try to come to grips with the gripes that surround his work. I am writing as an anthropologist who came from a literary Sanskritic scholarly background, but one who has thrown in his lot with the anthropologists, withdrawing his interest, hence his loyalty, from the bookish.

Guenther was my second Sanskrit mentor (my first was the late E. Frauwallner, also at Vienna); but he was my first serious teacher of Indian culture. Just after World War II, he taught me all I knew up until then about ancient and medieval Indian civilization, about Buddhism, and about classical Sanskrit. Before I met him, Guenther had been doing, and doing very well indeed, all the comprehensive things indologists did in those days—Vedic, grammar, comparative philology. His habilitation work was on Old Sinhalese Grammar, a thing which he modestly never again mentioned. But Professor J. Gair of Cornell, the top-man on Sinhalese in North America, often asks me how to obtain a copy of that seminal work of the young Guenther. I don't know how to get it.

Sometime in the mid-forties, Guenther got exposed to depth psychology, under the guidance of a well-known woman scientist in Vienna; I believe this phase left an indelible character upon his later thought. By the mid-forties, however, Guenther switched his total personal allegiance to Buddhism. He first took *sil* from a Sinhalese monk who visited Vienna in 1947-48, but even by that time it was quite evident that Guenther's real interest lay in Northern Buddhism; there just was no Tibetan or other Northern Buddhist around at that time to confer any degree of initiation upon him.

Guenther moved to India in 1951, to teach Russian at the University of Lucknow, then Indology, Tibetology, and Buddhism at the Government Sanskrit College in

Varanasi. It was at about that time that he developed a strong interest in certain forms of modern western philosophy—and if ex-post-facto rumination and my memory do not deceive me, I was in part instrumental to this incipient interest of his, since I taught philosophy at Banaras Hindu University at that time. Whether or not it was I who drew his attention to C. D. Broad I do not remember; but I do remember that Broad did impress me—and everyone else who did serious western philosophy *at that time*—as an important philosopher. I changed by my mind about him many years ago, and this will be part of what I am going to say further down. For a very short time, there might have been a toss-up in Guenther's interest between certain forms of existentialist thought and the general language oriented philosophy which was to establish itself—and had already done so in Britain—as the official professional philosophy in all English speaking countries. In a very general way, of course, Broad belonged to that wide realm of philosophical expansion, but only if we compare this realm with radically different typologies, like, say, existentialism, or the kind of neo-idealist stuff that is still taught at German universities, or Marxist philosophy as taught, not in the socialist countries, but in France, and Italy. Apart from that, Broad fell out of line—hence out of general favour, in a very short time. He was not sensitive to the importance of Wittgenstein, whom he regarded as a fad, and Wittgenstein's followers as faddists rather than as serious thinkers: some more about this later. Broad was the most prolific writer on any philosophical chair in Britain; Wittgenstein's own production does not exceed two-and-a half very slender volumes. Yet Wittgenstein's impact on whatever followed is, as we all know, enormous—whereas Broad is remembered only by historians of 20th century British philosophy. I share, quite consciously, the philosopher's neglect of Broad, and I shall say why.

In course of his class talks between 1946 and 1948, he rebuked scholars who were apologists for one or the other religious system; and he did so consistently. There was a change in the general thrust of his later productions whose number was to be legion. All the criticism, stated, unstated, implicit and explicit, by other orientalists who read and use his work, boil down, it seems to me, to this one stew: that Guenther had become an apologist for Tibetan Buddhism rather than an analyst of Buddhism, Tibetan and other. I cannot say that I disagree with this view, and I will try to elaborate.

I agree with Hugh Richardson, onetime Resident for the British (and then for a short time, for the Indian) Government at Lhasa, who said, "Guenther is a true fortress of Tibetan Buddhism—so large that it seems unassailable". If there are Guentherians as there are Wagnerians, then all of the criticism written about Guenther probably seems to them as so much nit-picking and sour grapes. It may well be, but, if it is, a more general analysis is needed, which I hope to supply in this chapter. I also know that there is not a single Westerner, or in fact any non-Tibetan, who knows Buddhist Tibetan, the language that is, anywhere closely as well as Guenther.

If a scholar had the time, the passion, and the compassion, he could probably attempt an analysis and a retranslation of hundreds of passages which Guenther offers for an explication of his Tibetan texts. It is precisely his vocable proliferation which made a colleague of his muse that a book should be written, captioned *Guenther Without Mystification*. One despairs of this hypertrophic display of terms which he created, and which bespeak what I would call polysemic vanity.

“The equation of noetic being with the magic working yogini is of particular significance. It indicates that however abstract noetic being may sound, when it is actualized and lived, it is far from being a cool abstraction that can be contemplated in detachment. Noetic being is linked with and permeated by aesthetic immediacy, vibrant with life, from which the intellect moves into a world of mere postulates and fictions.” (*Royal Song*, p. 52.)

Noetic being, whatever that may mean, continues sounding terribly abstract when Guenther writes about it. If *shes rab* is “appreciative discrimination”, it sounds not only like a “cool abstraction”, but to the English speaker it is not the least bit permeated with aesthetic immediacy. Wouldn’t a good old warehouse like “intuition” be more “vibrant” since it leaves a slot open for imagination, and for the aesthetic input to be supplied by the user? The trouble is that Guenther wants English speaking readers to agree to his particular idiolect in Buddhist technical diction. His procedure is not descriptive, but recommendatory, as Ch. Stevenson would have said. Also, by sheer anthropological hunch, based on more than sporadic contacts with Tibetan ranking clergy, I do not think that they feel about *shes rab*, as speakers of Tibetan, the way Guenther wants his readers to feel about “appreciative discrimination.” His translations of long passages from Tibetan works into sesquipedalian, recommendatory prose belong in the same niche: I simply refuse to believe that the Tibetan hierophant felt, as a speaker of Tibetan, that he bowed to “ultimate noeticness that never can be divided from the awareness which intuits the real”, (*Royal Song*, p. 84.) the way a learned English speaker or poet feels about “noeticness”,—a feeling which would be quite unrelated to the Tibetan’s feeling for the term Guenther translates by “noeticness” (Guenther doesn’t say here which term that is).

Guenther’s use of C. D. Broad and the persistent quotation from *Mind and Its Place in Nature* throughout his works is something of an embarrassment. First, an audience which may or may not be familiar with modern philosophy, must ask the question, “is that all there is to it?”; or the nastier among them, “is that all Guenther

ever reads on modern western philosophy?" Still, such overly simple charges can be rebutted by claiming—and I suppose this is what Guenther would do were he thus challenged directly—that this was indeed the most important book produced in British philosophy during the past seven decades, for an outside corroborative addendum to Buddhist studies. But, I think this is wrong, and Guenther does not improve Buddhism's chances as an intellectually acceptable corpus of ideas anymore than T. R. V. Murti did by bringing Hegel into his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism*¹ many years ago. For neither Hegel nor Broad, in any of their work, add anything to, or detract anything from Buddhism—nor is their support of any Asian originated doctrine needed. Most importantly, however, reference to them harms rather than aids the representation of Buddhism to western intellects.

It is not that the use of analogous themes in bygone thinkers is redundant. Regardless of whether for praise or blame, philosophers must keep referring to the greats, from the pre-Socratics to this day, much as modern anthropologists still have to quote Frazer, Weber, and Durkheim, and, presumably, historians of physics and even physicists themselves Newton and Galileo. But, the undusting of mediocre or unimportant thinkers is unwarranted, except in one single specialty of philosophical or historical writing, i. e., the history of ideas, such as represented in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, now in its 18th year of publication.² Broad was, in his day, a well appointed philosopher. He held the Knightbridge Professorship of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, a *non-plus-ultra* in British professional philosophical aspiration. He was not sensitive to the upcoming linguistic philosophy, and it seems to me that he simply missed out on it, for reasons I do not know. The most prolific writer among Cambridge philosophers of this century, Broad regarded the new trend as tangential and looked upon it with some scorn. This is probably one of the reasons why he has since been bypassed by the official philosophers of Oxbridge, as well as in the American dependencies. It is one thing to poke fun at Wittgenstein, but it is quite a different matter, and a serious offense, not to take cognizance of him in one's writings.

Crucial to Broad's own ideas as input into Guenther's work, was Broad's notion of physical and psychical substances, succinctly stated in his *Reply to Critics*:

"It (i. e., purely psychical substance) would be a substance which (a) has *some* dispositions which both need an experience to stimulate them, and when thus stimulated (b) has no dispositions which both need a physical event to stimulate them, and when thus stimulated, react (if at all) by producing

1 T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London: Allen & Unwin 1955.

2 Now published from New York University, it had among its illustrious editors Hans Kohn, and Philipp Wiener.

a physical event. A purely physical substance could be defined *mutatis mutandis* in a similar way, viz. by substituting 'no' for 'some' in (a), and 'some' for 'no' in (b). It is evident from the definitions that no substances could be both 'purely physical' and 'purely psychical.'³

If this summarizes an etiology of Guenther's cathexis of Broad, we could leave it there. But, since Guenther co-opts Broad for the purpose of substantiating Buddhist doctrine, the shortcomings of Broad's thesis in modern philosophical and psychological perspective should be pointed out on this occasion. This kind of approach is no longer part of philosophical or psychological work. It is far too impressionistic for the hardcore language analyst, and it is entirely too speculative and unamenable to the kind of material psychologists seek out for testing. In other words, Broad's views are no hypotheses, which makes him irrelevant to psychologists; and they are not analytic in a linguistic sense. He talks about actual or possible entities, about possible functions and about possible concatenations of function stipulated by him. If you take J. L. Austin and all the people after him seriously, you cannot generate any patience with Broad's somewhat ponderous felicitous treatment of somewhat ponderous ideas. I feel that Guenther would have made a much more felicitous choice in support of Buddhism, had he turned to J. L. Austin, or to the lineage from Wittgenstein via Wisdom and Austin to the better among the official philosophers today. Guenther's proliferation of unparsimonious terms may have been partly due to Broad's influence. To make matters worse, *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, first published in 1924, was a reflection of the most highly eclectic phase of Broad's thinking, and hence not his best. If Broad has to be used at all as an external prop to aid Buddhism, it is the Broad of the Schilpp volume, with his own latest statement, the work of his critics, and his reply to the critics, that ought to be quoted and referred to.

It appears quite natural that of all the theories of philosophy since 1900 the sense data theory, of which Broad was some sort of a high priest, should appeal to a Buddhist scholar who, during the formative period of his career, scans the output of contemporary philosophy. Many years ago, in a letter to me, Guenther wrote, "you are, of course, quite right when you say that language philosophy, Wittgenstein, etc., are closer to Buddhism than is existentialism". This is significant. Guenther was never trapped by existentialism, as lesser orientalists might well have been, had they exposed themselves to contemporary philosophical writing in the west. Guenther used 'existential' and 'essential' as a chapter heading in one of his works (*The Royal Song*); fortunately, little if any Sartrean rhetoric attaches to these uses.

³ Paul A. Schilpp, ed. *The Philosophy of C. D. Broad*, New York: Open Court Publishers, 1955.

Had Guenther chosen Austin, a considerable segment in his translational corpus would have undoubtedly been improved. Substantivization of Tibetan and Indian words, as "The Nature of" the occurs just too often. Were an ordinary language philosopher seriously concerned with Buddhist primary languages, one of the first things he would notice with considerable glee was the fact that by intent, Buddhist writing defies substantivization, in line with the non-ontological thrust of Buddhism in its general party line diction. Guenther himself, in his earlier days, in his classroom lectures in Vienna in the mid-forties, constantly stressed that Buddhism was non-ontological. He may still hold it to be, but this does not seem to get through in his later writings which give the awkward impresson of unnecessary substantivization. One of my own emphases for which I am indebted to Guenther as my erstwhile mentor, has been precisely the clear stress on Buddhism as non-ontological as opposed to all other religiophilosophical systems in India. His animadversion to ontological language often feels to me like *Paradise Lost*; here we finally had a teaching that was radically non-ontological, truly nominalistic in cathartic contrast to all other teachings of India. It is not clear to me at all whether Guenther still holds that Buddhism is basically non-ontological, and that there are no ontological implications of the Buddhist experience. Unless I am missing something, I sense a virtual about-face to the ontological, from the *Naropa* book onward. Guenther's translational and expository style does not conduce to a non-ontological understanding of the text.

Broad's autobiographical statement on Buddhism in the Schilpp volume is rather disappointing; he says "the only one of the great religions which makes any appeal to me is Buddhism and that, as I understand it, is rather a philosophy of the world and a way of life for the elite founded upon it, than a religion in the ordinary sense of the word." This 'way of life' talk is one of the most annoying postures of modern Indian apologists for Indian religion in general, not much better than Mr. Nehru's speech to the assembled monks from all Buddhist countries in Delhi at the inauguration of the 2500th anniversary of Buddhism, where he said "Buddhism is good because it is good for peace." Unbeknown to himself, Broad was, of course, right in assuming that the Buddhism he knew about was indeed a thing for the elite, with little bearing in the grass roots of Buddhist societies, for in fact any Buddhism behaviorally seen as by Spiro, Obeyesekere, and other social scientists studying Buddhism as is, and not Buddhism as it should be, by the elitists' decree.

Was it Broad's compound theory of the mind-body relation that impressed Guenther, or was it Broad's parapsychological ramblings, or a combination of the two? ⁴ The psychogenic factor persisting in Broad's ideas is not on the level of professional philosophizing on a par with his other philosophical ideas including the ones propounded

4 C. D. Broad, *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, London, 1924/25.

in *Mind and Its Place in Nature*. It is more like Einstein's skills at the violin; it may have been very good, but it was not what professionals would call violin playing. Broad easily had the largest number of theorems of any modern philosopher at his fingertips. Since Guenther wants Buddhist talk etically corroborated, and since Goldenweiser's law of limited variations applies here as elsewhere, some of Broad's theorems seem eligible enough for such corroboration. To Guenther, the crux of Broad's work, however, seems to be the latter's treatment of the mind-body problem. Though Broad probably cherished the possibility that his theories were empirically testable, none of them ever made their way into experimental or indeed any professional psychology. The original subtitle of MIND was a "Journal of Philosophy and Psychology" and this kind of "psychology" might contain such notions as Broad's "psychogenic factor" and his mindbody analyses. But MIND 'psychology' never invaded anything or anyone on a psychology department's payroll. Broad obviously tried to generate a theory which could essentially qualify as a latter-day psychophysical parallelism in that the thought that brain events were *necessary* conditions of mental events. This would also permit the notion of mental events occurring in disembodied spirits. He thought that minds were agglomerates of two components; the nervous systems and his psychogenic factor which could be modified by experience and would in theory be capable of continuance after physical death. This, of course, can be made to tie in neatly with some degree of karmic theory, although Broad did not seem to be aware of or attracted to this possible nexus, his knowledge of Buddhism being far too rudimentary and inexplicit. Much of it, I believe, toed the Oxbridge line of "parson-skinning", so well stated by Russell—and by the time of Broad's suzerain rule, kind words about Buddhism and other colonial creeds vexed the parson more than a kind word about atheists and Marxists. It must be kept in mind that this phase of Broad's thought happened quite independently, though in temporal overlap with his sense-data theory, which his colleagues attacked with far greater passion than his mind-body doctrines in *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, which the avant-garde at both schools (in power there soon after and until today) regarded as *Infra-dignitatem*, with no comment except embarrassed silence.

Broad did not ascribe any additional properties to his psychogenic factor, and he did not speak of anything pertaining to his schema that could be interesting to neurologists. In the empirical sense, the factor remains unobservable in theory and in practice, a lacuna which Broad hoped to bridge by articulately distinguishing between a philosophical and a scientific, i. e., empirical approach, safeguarding himself by isolating them from each other. Just as his sense-data theory was not to be open to any kind of scientific inspection, but only to the individual's philosophical intuitions, his psychogenic factor was not open to any empirical investigation on principle, and was to be viewed as philosophically introspective *privatissimum* albeit one shared by

philosophers.

Far more serious for the philosophical and the linguistic critic of Guenther's work is his pervasive, freewheeling homology. This gives much of his writing a certain ponderous elegance sensed by sympathizers with Tibetan Buddhism, but it does not elucidate Buddhism in an etic, behavioral sense. Thus when he says "middle is a term for *śūnyatā*, the open dimension of being that becomes less open and vibrant with potentialities to the extent that the fictions and postulates of categorical thinking gain prominence,"⁵ we are asked to believe his intuition that 'middle' is indeed a synonym of *śūnyatā*, unless he quotes chapter and verse that do so say it. Since he doesn't, the anthropologist gets uncomfortable impression that he uses emics which he *wants* to sound like etics. Equivocating any focal terms, when needed, with any other focal term within the Tibetan Buddhist corpus, is permissible of course, for the Mahāyana ecclesiastic, exegete, *ācārya*; but is this really what Guenther has been wanting to do all the while? Does he want to be a western or cosmopolitan humanist who writes Tibetan Buddhism for learned Tibetan Buddhists or does he try to get across Tibetan Buddhism to an intelligent, sympathetic, scholarly non-Buddhist audience which is ideologically neutral about any particular system of thought? Is there such an audience? In an attractive diagram in the same article (p. 7) he at last coordinates his English technical terms with Tibetan originals. This particular student of Guenther would have been happier and less acerbous in his reviews of some of Guenther's books had Guenther proceeded in this manner in his earlier output. It is here that Tibetologists and Buddhists can decide whether his terms really match the Tibetan or Sanskrit original. If we are total, uncritical admirers of Guenther, Guentherians in the manner Wagnerians admire Wagner, we can let it stand as is, regardless of whether he produces or does not produce the original. But whether "*thabs gyi rgyud* lit." "the tantra of the *upāya* section (i. e., the topic of active compassion) as the (emically conceived) salvational effort *means* 'dynamic', as Guenther translates, or whether it *implies* 'dynamic' is a serious question which he does not answer. Do the English terms which Guenther has been generating and ad-libbing for twenty years or so represent *translations* of Tibetan and Sanskrit originals, or are they *recommendations* for use? This belongs to the contrastive set of talking *religion* and talking *about* religion. Talking eruditely does not mean talking about religion rather than talking religion regardless of whether one thus qualified thinks he is talking about religion rather than talking religion. I was never quite sure which of the two Guenther was trying to convey, or whether he felt that the borderline between these must be kept fuzzy, or even obliterated. What I find consistently vexing in Guenther's work of which I have read, on a cautious estimate, about 60%, is precisely that he defends Buddhism as an apologist, and that

5 "Mahāmudrā", in *Tibet Journal*, Vol. 1/1, Sept. 1975, New Delhi, p. 5, sqq.

his main concern seems to be that Buddhism is *right*—philosophically, psychologically, whatever. He sets about to do that by showing that it is *better* than occidental devices of a parallel kind, that western thinkers don't understand the reality about man, woman, the cosmos, as well as the Tibetan teachers did, and that western thought is good inasmuch as it corroborates Buddhism—especially C. D. Broad's *Mind and Its Place in Nature* which for Guenther epitomizes what is good in western thought. Rather than stating what the texts say, one gets the impression that Guenther states what they ought to say, and this, of course, is very much the way of the learned apologist, to whom corpora other than the one defended are available. It is for this reason, I think, that Guenther does not sit at the High Table of Buddhologists, say, with Etienne Lamotte, the late Richard Robinson, La Vallee Poussin, regardless of the fact that his scholarliness matches that of any of these: but rather, that he stands separate and secluded. He stands as a living *hapax legomenon*, an all-time unique figure, with his own High Table. The ire of some of his critics, like Alex Wayman's stems, I believe, from their assumption that Guenther writes as a Buddhologist, and not as a Buddhist.

Another bothersome charge is made by Buddhologists who are either not impressed by Guenther's hieratic status in the world of Buddhist scholars, and/or who see textual and translational clarity as the hallmark of Buddhist research, rather than erudite intuition which characterizes Guenther's work. In an excellent but hitherto somewhat inaccessible journal of recent origin,⁶ Alex Wayman somewhat over-acerbously seems to speak the heart of a much wider range of Guenther's critics:

"The present reviewer has been told on a number of occasions by Western students of Buddhism, including some members of university faculties, that Guenther's works are incomprehensible or useless to them. I know that this is a rather harsh judgment to repeat and prefer that a milder evaluation would be possible for the work under review which should be, and will be, judged on its merits. After all, Guenther in the present book takes up a subject which has been studied for centuries in Tibet—the four systems of Buddhist philosophy (the four *siddhānta*, Tib. *grub mthà*) which are the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra (= Citta-mātra), and Mādhyamika." (339)

"... Guenther has displayed in print a rather virulent antipathy towards the scholarly approach in the scope of his interests." (*ibid.*)

⁶ *Kailash—A Journal of Himalayan Studies*, Vol. I/1, Kathmandu, 1973

Wayman challenges Guenther on the basis of Guenther's own statement that the title of his book does not conform to the content; that it is concerned with theory and not with practice. Wayman implies that Guenther writes as a sectarian with a perjorative view of Gelugpa, and that he does not give due to the Gelugpa, where they have generated identical ideas with those of the school, or schools, which Guenther espouses, by selectively ignoring those Gelugpa achievements. Wayman also suggests that Guenther's translations of some of the texts are ideologically biased, and linguistically faulty. Obviously, Wayman finds himself at loggerheads with Guenther's axiomatic strategy that the philological-orientalist approach is not, or not all that the material requires for proper representation, and that an informed inside philosophical rendition, based on non-discursive insights is needed. He says:

"I cite this one example to show how Guenther's penchant for such terms as 'wishfulness' and 'emotivity' is more important for him than is faithful translation of a passage. Even if we should give him the benefit of the doubt and allow that he may have understood the original Tibetan, it is even more serious that he should convert the well-written Tibetan into English sentences that continually fail to communicate the original sense of the Tibetan." (342)

And in conclusion:

"It is a pity that a fine class of Tibetan treatise, the *grub mthà* (*siddhānta*), should be introduced to Western readers in such a garbled fashion. I hope that some competent translator will accurately render the entire text of the *Jewel Garland* into a European language, with notes and introduction appropriate for this text." (*ibid.*)

There is, however, a more sympathetic and at least equally fruitful way of coming to grips with Guenther's productions. Those passages and terms which Guenther renders into Guentherian may be linguistically, philologically objectionable, but if Guenther translates *dharmakāya*, as "value being"⁷ *lhung* (*vāyu*) by 'motility' 'appreciative discrimination' for *shes rab* (*prajñā*) this is Guentherian idiolect; it is as said earlier, a recommendation, and the critics' chore would be to assess whether this recommendation is consistently acceptable on Guenther's own grounds, whether he uses it consistently, and if not, whether different renditions follow from Guenther's own stance of informed, highly intuitive erudite synopsis of the whole corpus of Tibetan tantrica, and whether Guenther's stance is at all acceptable for an in-depth statement about Tibetan Buddhism. Or, to phrase it anthropologically, can Guenther's

7 *The Tantric View of Life*, Berkeley * London: Shambala Pub., 1972, p. 57.

work be regarded as *emic* commentary on an *emic* corpus? As a Tibetan commentary in English, written about Tibetan work rather than as orientalist's translation? This would be perfectly respectable procedure in this writer's own workshop, since *emic* reports are acceptable, provided it is made clear that they are *emic*. The only caveat is that the *emic* and the *etic* must not be confused, and they certainly must not be mixed in one presentation, lest the result be what G. D. Berreman called *anemic and emetic*⁸.

The ideological complexity of Mahāyāna Buddhist key-terms makes it difficult to appreciate the systemic vagaries in translational attempts. Some attempts may be emically superior. Waddell's and Ekvall's 'phantom body' for *sprul sku* (*nirmāṇakāya*) is stupid on all counts, and the *emic-etic* clause could not even be applied here. But, 'value-body' for *chos gyi sku* (*dharmakāya*) is simply not good, emically or etically. If we ascribe an *emic* strategy to such translation, it does not wash, since 'value' language is not part of the Tibetan Buddhist corpus without any further elucidation; etically, it is inappropriate, because the kind of philosophy from which such terminology is borrowed is out-of-date and shares the criticisms I offered for C. D. Broad. While an *etic* strategy encourages borrowing models from any discipline, it goes without saying that the borrowed element must be accepted within that discipline at the time of borrowing. The Ramakrishna Mission Monks in America still talk about the 'steam engine' when they want to prove that Hindu thought is 'scientific': embarrassing, since the steam engine has long ceased to be a model in sophisticated, technological parlance. This has nothing to do with the age of the model: Aristotle and Kant are models good to borrow from. Broad isn't. Yet, without some such syncretistic generosity, the term 'value' in modern English language philosophy and in anthropology means something much less dignified and far more segmentary than *dharmā* could mean in any Buddhist context. Being a proponent of the 'new ethnography', I would like to extend the scope of ethnosemantics to all bordering fields including oriental studies and philology. Rather than seeking the translation of a term belonging to a corpus that is unrelated to any western tradition, the researcher should find things, persons, objects, etc., that fit *into* the indigenous *term*. This can best be done by an extensive glossary, or even by tabular surveys indicating the maximal and minimal denotations of each term. Thus, *chos gyi sku* (*dharmakāya*) should be listed under *ch* or *dh*, explained at some length in whatever manner the scholar decides, but then the Tibetan and/or Sanskrit term should be used exclusively throughout, as the reader interiorizes the glossary, a semantic gestalt is generated whenever the original term appears, which is an extension of Chomsky's 'linguistic competence'. This would also undercut and eclipse scholarly disagreement about the use of a single translational

⁸ G. D. Berreman, "Anemic and Emetic Analyses in Social Anthropology", in *American Anthropologist*, 68/ 346-65, 1966.

term or phrase—a glossary can be added to or deleted from; a translational term cannot. If Guenther had made a glossary on *dharmakāya*, he could, of course, have included 'value-body' as one of its possible semantic extensions. But, 'value-body', pure and simple, in the text, is just another red flag for critics.

Another thing that has been bothering me throughout reading Guenther's works is his implicit assumption that the Tibetan ecclesiastics *invented* terms and ideas innovative to the Indian Mahāyāna body from which Tibetan Buddhism is unexceptionally derived. I don't think Guenther thinks that the Tibetan language somehow holds better exegetic possibilities than Sanskrit; such a notion would be blatant nonsense, since the first freshman class in linguistics today drills this incontrovertible truth into the reluctant student's brains, that everything can be said in every language; if it hasn't been said, it is no fault of the language, but of the people who speak it. I don't know whether he ever stated this verbatim, but his passionate predilection of the Tibetan over the Indian sphere might make him wish to believe that the Tibetans were innovators *in rebus Buddhicis*. No Tibetan ecclesiastic would have claimed, at any time, that his work was an improvement over the Indian source; in fact, any such suggestion would have caused him considerable concern and consternation. I observed a very saintly, senior lama touch and copy some totally irrelevant passages written in Devanāgarī, with such reverence and such a display of the numinous feeling, that it seems unlikely to me, and to any behavioral analyst of Buddhist societies, that any non-Indian practitioner would have dreamt of claiming that anything Buddhistically worthwhile was not first written in Sanskrit or Pali; so much so, that quite a few Chinese Buddhist *sutras* are established frauds—e. g., the *Śradhotopāda*, where the author claimed his work was a translation from Sanskrit. Now if Guenther does indeed think that something similar has happened in Tibet, i. e., that some Tibetan Buddhist scriptural writings are actually fraudulent in the sense that they are original, and not translations from Sanskrit, or another Indian speech form, he has to state this somewhere in the future (my apologies if he has already done it—I missed it in that case). Originality, if it means innovation outside the Indian corpus, is rejected by all non-Indian Buddhist teachers; far from being a matter of praise, the assignation of 'originality' would be construed as a severe criticism.

Yet another big question that has been on my mind for a while regarding Guenther's work is, may a scholar build a part of his apparatus upon material which he owns, and which is not accessible to others for inspection? My grave doubts about Carlos Castañeda are due to the total inaccessibility of his source, Don Juan.

Those who believe (and I would guess Wayman counts among them) that Guenther cannot write and conduct research in a Buddhologically conservative fashion, are, however, very wrong. When Picasso became famous by becoming what he is known for, critics shook their heads bemused and bewildered at the changes his work had

undergone: here was a man who could paint good stuff, so why does he start painting bad stuff? Why did he switch to the unintelligible? The analogy is apropos, to a point. For while Picasso never reverted to his erstwhile representational style, Guenther showed in his very early, partly German works, and in a very recent publication, that he is indeed capable of the most orthodox, yet the most rigorous research and production. I am referring to his excellent *Philosophy and Psychology of the Abhidharma*, first published by the Buddha Vihara in Lucknow in 1957, and now republished by Shambhala (1974), a house that has undertaken the worthy effort to republish most of Guenther's work in economic paperback editions, accessible to a growing North American audience; and to his entry 'Buddhist Mysticism' in the new *Encyclopedia Britannica III* (Chicago, 1974), not his only entry in this new edition, incidentally. The elaborate *Philosophy and Psychology* volume was based entirely on Indian texts, with hardly any reference to the Tibetan corpus; at that time Guenther had not yet switched his loyalty to trans-Himalayan Buddhism. By the mid-fifties, astonishingly little had been written about the Indian *abhidharma per se*, except for some pious pamphleting by Indian, Ceylonese, and Thai monks who wrote in English. Guenther's book, by no means easy reading even then, gives a fairly exhaustive, though not a critical overview of the *abhidharma* doctrine. In that work (as in his German *Seelenproblem in Aeltern Buddhismus*, abt. 1950) he carefully listed all original Pali and Sanskrit terms with his German and English renditions. The *Britannica* entry is a paragon of sober scholarliness. There is in it not the slightest trace of sectarian fervor or malice, not of any esotericizing, so agonizing in his purely Tibetan-corpus related work. The 'Buddhist Mysticism' entry is a model of succinctness and precision. There are no maeverikish inserts, and his love for psycho-speculative proliferation does not manifest itself. Here, *dharmakāya* is not rendered by a moodily insightful 'value-body', but by 'existence-body'—and no term could be less objectionable than this, since *dharma* (s) is (or are) indeed all that exist(s) in Buddhist emics. *Sambhogakāya* is rendered 'enjoyment body', '*nirmāṇa-kāya*' as 'transformation body'—both equally unobjectionable, since these are literal, and literally correct translations, perfectly intelligible to anyone who reads this entry (p. 417, Vol. III). *Nirmāṇakāya* (*sprul sku*) being the most difficult in the three-body scheme of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Guenther gave it the most complex and varying treatment in his many works; here at long last we find the nitty-gritty of whatever *nirmāṇakāya* did mean since it was invented. The ethnosemanticist's advice, here as elsewhere, is "present any term in any emic corpus with as little interpretation as possible, and let the analysts try out their own skills of further analysis strictly on the basis of such minimal presentation; do not suggest to them what the term *might* mean if you torture it long and hard enough." In his own inimitable way, Guenther had been hedging for a straight rendition of *nirmāṇakāya* throughout his writing before the *Britannica* entry; but this exonerates him. He says "*nirmāṇakāya* is a term for

genuine existence that itself becomes a stimulus for others to discover their own true being. It, therefore, may manifest itself in any guise." Good. This accommodates all living Tulkus in East and West and the bodhisattvas of all times, subsumable under Guenther's sotto voce clause 'in any guise'. But, and we might as well get used to it, Guenther makes no compromise with actual behavior and actual people—he remains strictly normativist. This may be an accident, but it seems to me that whenever he works with Indian terms, he uses straightforward, unexcited, philologically unobjectionable English paraphrase; but when he works with Tibetan material, he Guentherizes, giving the impression of having, or conveying privileged information, manhandling the English medium in an esoteric fashion. He does not use any Tibetan reference in this *Britannica* entry. Since, presumably, the editors of the *Britannica* pick the best man for each field and subfield, we have here a built-in countercheck for Guenther's supreme academic acceptability. Reading this recent entry, or this early *Philosophy and Psychology of the Adhidharma* side by side with, say, *Tibetan Buddhism without Mystification*, one might be disinclined to believe it was the same person writing, were the identical authorship unknown to the reader. But, there are two sides to Guenther—he sees them hierarchially arranged, I would presume, the Tibetan-esoteric surpassing the Sanskrit-Pali non-esoteric, descriptive, non-recommendatory. It was *Tibetan Buddhism without Mystification* that seemed to cause the greatest number of shrugs and frowns in the Buddhological community. I think reaction would have been less agitated, had he chosen a different title, of the *Studies in Tibetan Buddhism* sort. "Mahākala is the black lord of transcending awareness; compassion is achieved in goal attainment which is the communion of the cognitive, communicative and manifestation patterns realized in Buddhahood" (37). Psychology is bad enough in psychological writing, but intolerable in any other genre. Mixing jargon metaphors from various disciplines in this manner is aggravating; 'cognitive' goes with conative, affective, volitional, but it does not with 'communicative', since the communicative is part of the cognitive; and 'manifestation' is a religious-writing term and doesn't wash with any of these. One cannot go on listing terms which are popular and respectable in their specific genre, else the *Bengali Babu* comes to mind who, asking a day off from his boss to attend his mother's funeral stated "the hand that rocked the cradle has kicked the bucket". It is'nt even a good joke. Interpretation of any text, must be of one piece, with the one metaphor-type from any specific discipline for the interpretation : if we decide to handle a religious corpus as psychologists, we must use psychological jargon *only*, and not try to spice it with anthropological, sociological, literary, and religious study terms of equivalent power. On a lower power verbal level, of course, such mixing is innocuous, since that level is shared by all writers, scientific and other. I remember a very bright graduate student in the Religion Department of my University; he sat in on some seminar on modern urban Hinduism, and kept

referring to the ubiquitous swamis' output as 'idolatry'; I soon found out that that was a term coined by some famous Death of God Protestant theologian, in reference to all claims that God was not dead. Now this is OK within the parameter of that kind of writing and talking, but it becomes annoying nonsense when used quasi-etically in anthropology, or in any other science. Again, I don't think 'appreciative discrimination' describes an emic Buddhist term; it is a phrase that might be adequate, say, in modern analytic or aesthetic philosophy, literary criticism, etc., but it is not a Buddhist school term in translation or paraphrase. It simply doesn't fit. What is the meaning of 'unity-bliss with no-thingness'?⁹ Is there no simpler way of saying what Guenther is trying to say? Shadows of Heidegger, 'no-thing-ness.' Heidegger wrote in a pre-critical age, when people's enthusiasm kept their linguistic competence dormant. He once wrote a book *Der Satz von Grunde*, which, to any philosopher, means 'the law of sufficient reason' (in inductive logic). No such thing happens, and the philosopher reading it was kept on tenterhooks until, on the penultimate page, he found out that this whole bit is 'a leap from the ground', i. e., the *literal* meaning of the title—a diction never used in common parlance. How much extra work can you make language do for you, sincerely?

Let me try to speculate on Guenther's own intuitions, and his intentions with regard to his style and approach in his post-*Naropa* years. As I said earlier, there is no doubt in my mind that Guenther views his Tibetan-corpus based works as much more important than his Sanskrit based work of early and most recent vintage; and I have a hunch that he looks upon his non-Tibetan based work with some scorn. Guenther has obtained many initiations (*hlung*) from high Tibetan ecclesiastics, Nyingma and other—probably more than any non-Tibetan ever obtained. He is also a very learned man. Aware of his achievement in the world of oriental studies, Asian languages, and the most complex genres of the literatures involved, he has little patience with people who do not read these languages. In earlier days, he challenged some of the most senior and respected indologists proving to all who wanted to know, that these men had been translating from ponies all their lives.

As the years went by, Guenther converted himself into the most knowledgeable non-Tibetan Tibetan Buddhist, and the set of themes and events that followed esotericized his thoughts, and hence his person. Along with other Tibetan scholars (Tibetans, that is), he resented the general and the special way in which Indians treat, or don't treat, Tibetan culture and lore. At Varanasi, the one Brahmin scholar who, inspired by Guenther, turned his attention to Tibetica, was derided as 'Jaggai Lama' by his fellow pandits. The Varanasi lot, and the whole Brahmanical temper militates against Buddhism, but especially against Tibetan Buddhism—not because it is bad

⁹ H. V. Guenther, *Tibetan Buddhism without Mystification*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966, p. 145.

philosophy (the pandits know nothing about it, nor do they claim to) but because Tibetans, monks and lay, eat everything, sleep everywhere, and don't bathe too often also, because no Tibetan knows Sanskrit; also, because a large unnumber of Tibetan texts were translated from *bad* Sanskrit. When the late Franklin Edgerton taught for a year at Banaras Hindu University, the pandits angrily rejected his findings—his by then established theory that Buddhist Hybrid was a separate idiom, and *not* bad Sanskrit. With all these obsequious things stifling Guenther's enormous potential, he became a loner when he was in India, and he rejected India, his erstwhile scholastic target. And if the India that generated Buddhism, and kept it for awhile, is still a *phags yul* to him, as it is to other Tibetans, the India of today, with its scholars and politicians is anathema to him, as it is to other Tibetans.

If there were to be a succinct radical philosophical (but not Buddhist) and anthropological—etic, not emic—allover critique of Guenther's work, it would have to be formulated in this vein: there is no such thing as privileged information, to wit Wittgenstein *was sich sagen laesst, laesst sich klar sagen—was sich nicht klar sagen laesst, laesst sich ueberhaupt nicht sagen* (whatever can be said, can be said clearly; what cannot be said clearly, cannot be said at all). Now Guenther might think, or hope, that his writings do not claim any privileged information. But, this is not the impression they give to the non-Buddhist scholar, philologist or behavioral scientist. From the inception of Guenther's Tibetan phase (and I would assume that this will remain his consummatory phase) until today, his writings stipulate covertly, if not overtly, that there *is* such a thing as privileged information, i. e., information of the type that is not accessible by purely discursive means. His language of commentary is crypto-esoteric; his language of translation is esoteric and should be that, since the corpus he works with *is* esoteric and does postulate the possibility of privileged information, i. e., the information conferred by initiatory experiences and their individual follow-up by the practitioner. This, however, is a structural impediment, not one that can be corrected by Guenther if he is to remain Guenther. From a learned Buddhist's viewpoint, and emic viewpoint that is, he *must* write as he does, stipulating all the while that there *is* such a thing as privileged information, which can somehow be communicated by discursive language. Since Guenther is more learned than other Tibetologists, and since he is also a practicing Tibetan-school Buddhist, his writings must be 'unintelligible' as Wayman and some of his students suggest. The impossibility of Buddhist (or Hindu, or Scholastic, or any other religious) philosophy *qua* philosophy must be catalytically known to Guenther, but his commitment does not allow him to break loose and say that Buddhist thought cannot be philosophical in the academic discipline sense. All this is what makes the going and the reading tough, tough, tough. There is no way out of this polylemma and denying it is like taking or prescribing palliative rather than therapeutic medicine. Yet we appreciate the importance of palliatives.