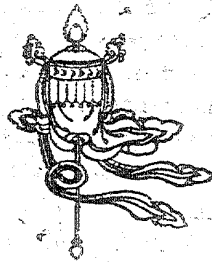


KAILASH

A JOURNAL OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES

PLEASE RETURN TO
HOLMBERG / MARCH



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Editorial

The hazards of starting a journal are considerable, and it is only through the enthusiastic support of scholars and students interested in the Himalayas that *Kailash* at long last is a reality. When we formed our editorial board in the summer of 1972 and announced our intention of starting an interdisciplinary journal of Himalayan studies, we did not realize that the need for such a journal was as great as the response has indicated nor did we anticipate the number of technical difficulties and delays we eventually would have to face.

The basic aims of the journal are to give the younger generation a chance to have their material published and critically discussed along with contributions from the older savants in the field; to serve as a forum for students and scholars from both the East and the West; and to make available in the Himalayas themselves more of the research done on the area. All too often we see researchers from outside doing work on the Himalayan region without the results being made available locally. Similarly, valuable work being done by students and scholars from countries bordering the Himalayas is not always encouraged or made available in the West. We hope to be able to contribute a little bit to breaking down this isolation.

We have tried to make the journal as broadly based as possible, but we would welcome more material on Assam and the Eastern Himalayas, on the Western Himalayas and on the natural sciences.

The journal is named after the 22,000-foot mountain Kailash in the Central Himalayas, a place of great spiritual significance. For the Buddhists, Kailash is the abode of Buddha, the Enlightened, and his five hundred Bodhisattvas as well as of the Guardian Deity Demchog and his consort Dorje-Phagmo. To the Hindus, Kailash is the abode of the all-blissful Lord Shiva, or Pashupati, and his divine Parvati. While we might be a little more modest regarding *our Kailash*, we do hope it will become an enlightening meeting-ground of views and research from the East and the West.

B. M. / H. K. K.

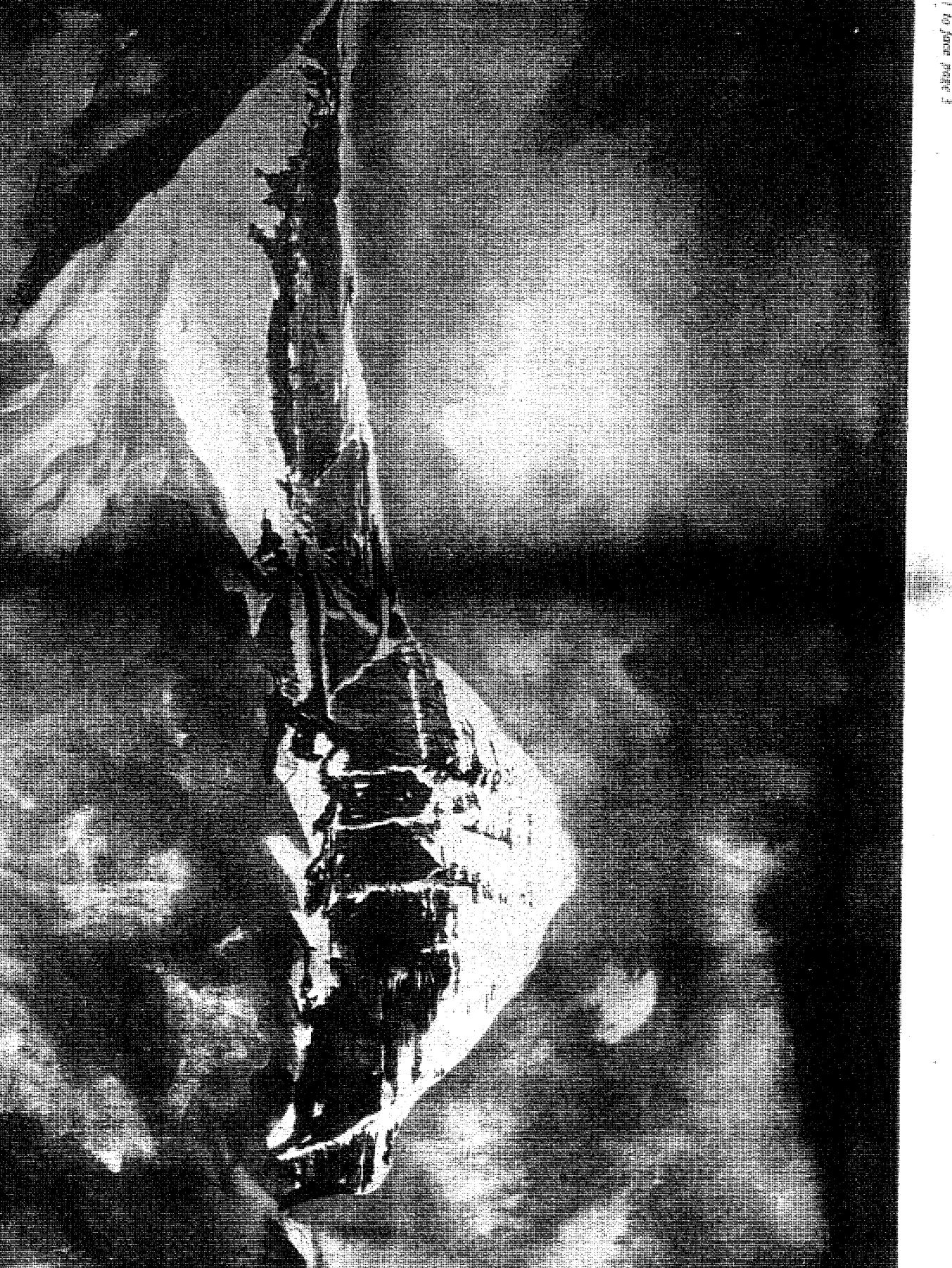


TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Editorial.....	1
2. A Nepalese Copper Plate from the Time of Prithvinarayan Shah's father <i>Alexander W. Macdonald</i>	6
3. Five Nyingmapa Lamas of Sikkim <i>Marilyn Silverstone</i>	9
4. Bonpo Studies: The <i>A khrid</i> system of Meditation. Part 1. <i>Per Kvaerne</i>	18
5. Prêtres Limbu et catégories domestiques <i>Philippe Sagant</i>	51
6. राम शाहको राज्यकाल—एक चर्चा: दिनेशराज पन्त.....	76
7. Cooch Behar and Bhutan in the context of the Tibetan Trade <i>A. Deb</i>	80
8. A Nepalese image of the Sūrya-Nārāyana <i>Theodore Riccardi</i>	89
9. Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. A review <i>Jamyang Namgyal</i>	91
10. SHORT REVIEWS.....	100

*Books

- Ao, A.*: A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland
Barkataki, S. N.: Tribal Folk-tales of Assam
Pal, P.: Vaiṣṇava Iconology of Nepal
Riccardi, T.: A Nepali Version of the Vetālapañcavimśati
Thakur, H.: Nepāl: Des aur Samskrīti

*Reprinted Books

- Das, S. C.*: An introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language
Hamilton, F. B.: An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal
Kirkpatrick, Col.: An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal
Mitra, R.: The Sanskrit Literature of Nepal
Sivasankarsinha and Gunanand: History of Nepal

*Journals, onthologies, etc.

- PINES- Academic and Cultural Quarterly
Ratnam, Perala (ed.): Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture

*Phonographic recordings

- Music from the Himalayas
 Tibetan folk and minstrel music
 The music of Tibet: The Tantric rituals
 Le message des Tibétains

LIST OF PLATES

	Facing page
1. Mount Kailas-the North West face.....	3
2. A Nepalese Copper Plate.....	6
3. The Labrang Gomchen.....	9
4. The Lingdok Gomchen.....	10
5. Dodrup Rimpoche.....	11
6. Khempo Dazar.....	14
7. Khempo Thupten.....	16
8. Gons mjod ri khrod pa rNam rgyal ka ra Ses rab rgyal mchan Rin chen rgyal mchan.....	22
9. Kun bzan rgyal mchan blo gros rgyal mchan bsTan pa 'od zer Ni ma 'od zer.....	23
10. The Siva Temple at Jalpesh The Palace at Cooch Behar.....	80
11. Tashichhodzong, Thimpu, Bhutan.....	81
12. Sūrya-Nārāyana image.....	89



IN THE NEXT ISSUES.....

Simraongarh Revisited. *T. Ballinger*

Etude de la fabrication d'une statue au Nepal. *Marie-Laure de Labriffe*

Mantras on the Prayer flag. *Gelongma Karma Khechog Palmo* (trans.)

Bonpo Studies: The *A khrid* system of meditation. Part II. *Per Kvaerne*

Notes on the Hayu language. *M. Mazaudon and B. Michailovsky*

Kumari. *Niloufa Moaven*

Central Khams Tibetan: A Phonetic Survey. *Robert F. Olson*

Slave trade on the Indo-Nepal border in the Nineteenth Century. *Jahar Sen*

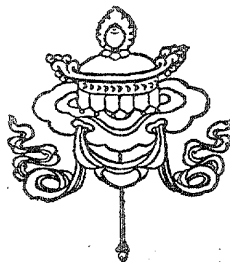
Tantra-An Introduction. *Kiran Shankar*

A Medical-cultural system among the Tibetan and Newar Buddhists: Ceremonial
Medicine. *William Stablein.*

Recently discovered inscriptions of Liccavi Nepal. *Gautamvajra Vajracharya*

Buddhist Tantric Medicine Theory on behalf of Oneself and Other. *Alex Wayman.*

..... AND MORE



A NEPALESE COPPER-PLATE FROM THE TIME OF PRITHVINARAYAN'S
FATHER

Alexander W. Macdonald

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

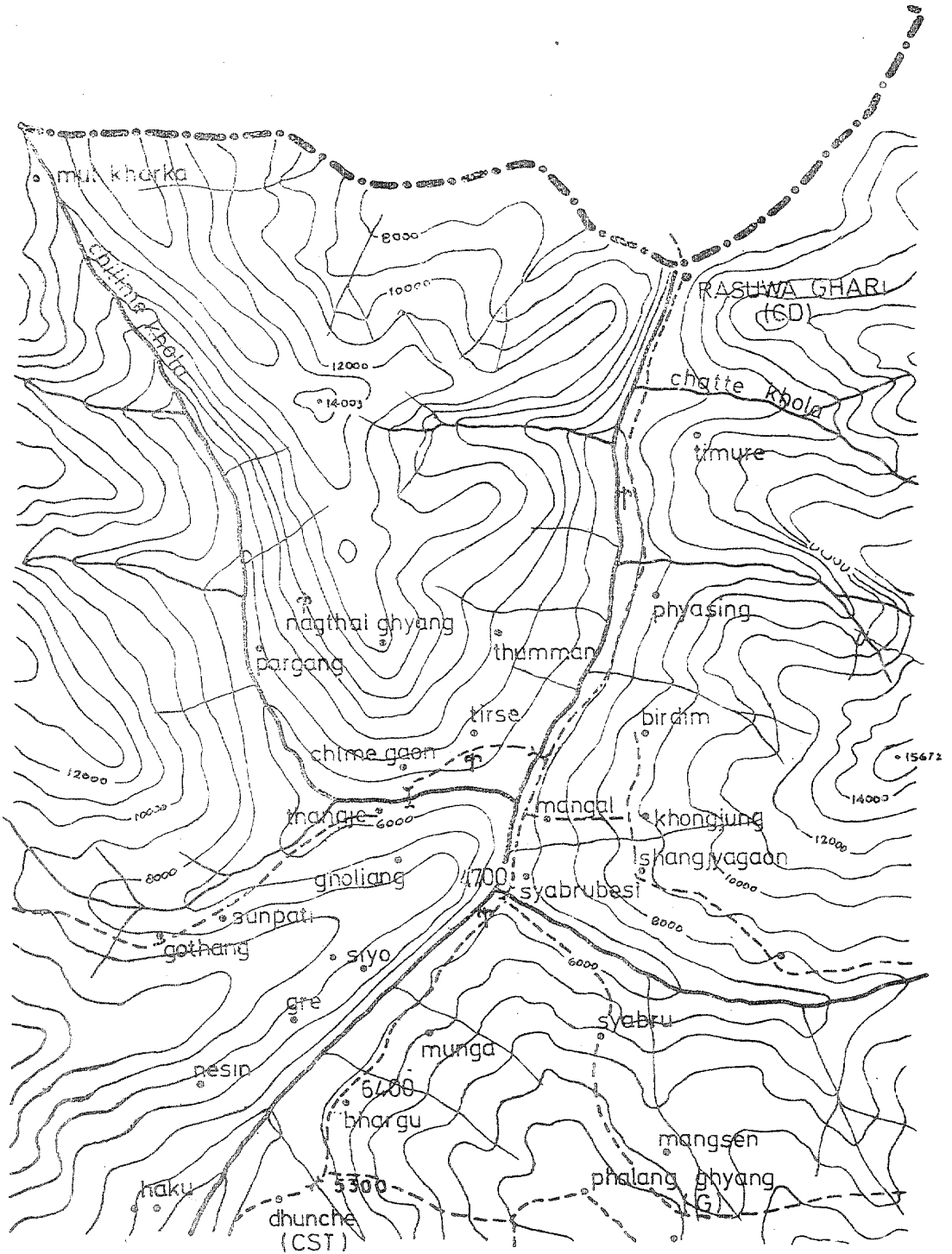
I was able to photograph the tāmā-patra illustrated here in the bazar at Bodhnath in February, 1962. The plate measured 24 x 13.2 cms. It was in good condition without any traces of vert-de-gris. Personally I do not think there can be any doubt as to its authenticity.

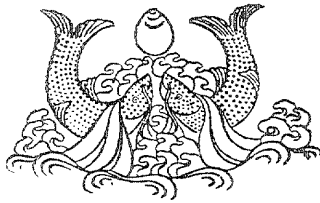
Without giving full value to all the inherent vowels, I would tentatively read the inscription as follows: svasti śrī girirāj cakra cūḍāmaṇi nara nārāyaṇetyādi vividha virudāvali virājmaṇ mānonnat, śrīmanmahārājādhirāj śrī śrī śrīman narabhūpāl Sāhadevānām sadā samara vijayi nām : ———— āge hlopā lāmā kana, nakathaliko ghumvā kuś vṛtti vakas bhayo, dhanajiyale sevā garnu kṣoḍ lāmā kana vaksyāko jajmān sabhai vakas bhayo, thumban goljung ciltimā pājungkā khet dui ghumvā gāum gadlāng eti gāumle yā lāmāle arhāyāko so kām garnu: miti śarībat, 1798 phālgun vadi 5 roj. 7 subham//

On the modern map reproduced on the next page Nagthal ghyang is the Nakathaliko ghumvā of the tāmā-patra; Thumman is Thumman; Gholiang is Goljung; Chime gaon is Ciltim; and Gothang is Gadlāng.

I hesitate in particular over two words, hlopā and kṣoḍ, and hope that someone who sees this note will be able to suggest better readings. Perhaps hlopā is a Nepalese rendering of Tib. lho-pa, "southerner" and might apply to someone from Bhutan. In any case, "Bhutanese" religious activity in the area in question, prior to the date of this tāmā-patra, is certain. Statues of 'brug-pa rin-po-che Nag-dbañ rnam-rgyal stand to this day in Nakathali dgon-pa, and in the dgon-pa above Gadlāng. However, when I visited the area in October, 1972, both of the dgon-pa at Goljung (one is in the village, the other a considerable distance above it) appeared to be straightforward Rñiñ-ma-pa foundations. The village dgon-pa houses a very interesting image of Than-stoñ rgyal-po.

श्वसिभ्रागिरिजवक्त्रमणिनभ्रायणेत्पादिविधिरुतावलि
विरजमानभानोन्नतश्रीमन्मत्सराजाधिरजश्रीश्रीश्रीपद्मरूपाल
साश्वेवाजीसदासमरविजयीनामः
श्रीगोत्रोपात्तामाकनन्तकयलिकोपुष्पाकुशवृत्तिकस्यसोपननि
यलेमेवागर्तुश्रीइत्यामकनवकस्याकीजजमानसनेवकसजयोर्थदन्
गोलजुह्वितिनमाणजुह्वकालेनर्षुवापाईनकस्तीरनिपाठेयात्ता
मारीकद्रायकोसोकमण्डुमिभिरवम्भेत्कालावदिपिभल्लुपी॥





Kailash | to face page 9



Five Nyingmapa Lamas in Sikkim

Marilyn Silverstone

1. The Ven. Chöda Lama (The Labrang Gomchen)

The Ven. Chöda Lama is one of the two respected elderly "Gomchens" ("Great Meditators") of Sikkim, known as the Labrang Gomchen from the name of his birthplace.

He recounts his life quite simply: "I was a bastard; my father didn't care for me—I was put with my uncle." Here also life was hard, and at 13 he ran away to Gangtok and worked for his bed and board. Finally he ran away again, and in Chumbi fell in with a group of lamas for whom he helped to collect alms. With a little money he had earned, the boy bought a maund of rice, and with only this for food, retired to a cave where he says he lived only on this raw rice for six months. A monk found him and persuaded him that this was no way to live, so the boy accompanied him to Tibet. Here his first teacher was the great Tokden Sakya Shri, whose photograph he keeps, even in the old photograph a compelling presence with his Lord Siva-like wound topknot of hair and air of coiled energy. On the death of Sakya Shri, his guru became Ladak Tupen Rimpoche, a disciple of Sakya Shri's, whose photograph shows him a man of calm, impassive strength, broad high cheekbones and centre-parted white hair flowing to his shoulders, looking much like the American Indian chiefs of the same period.

But Ladak Tupen Rimpoche's patron kept him virtually a prisoner in his house to perform religious ceremonies for him. So one night he escaped, and the young disciple stayed on in the house for a year to perform the religious duties of his master. Then he too left and wandered all over Tibet before finding and rejoining his teacher.

At last he returned to Sikkim and has wandered all over, meditating in the forest, living for a while in a hilltop meditation cottage above Taktse, a few miles from Gangtok. Then he found a wife—now he lives, when he is there, in a small house perched Sikkimese style on bamboo poles over terraced

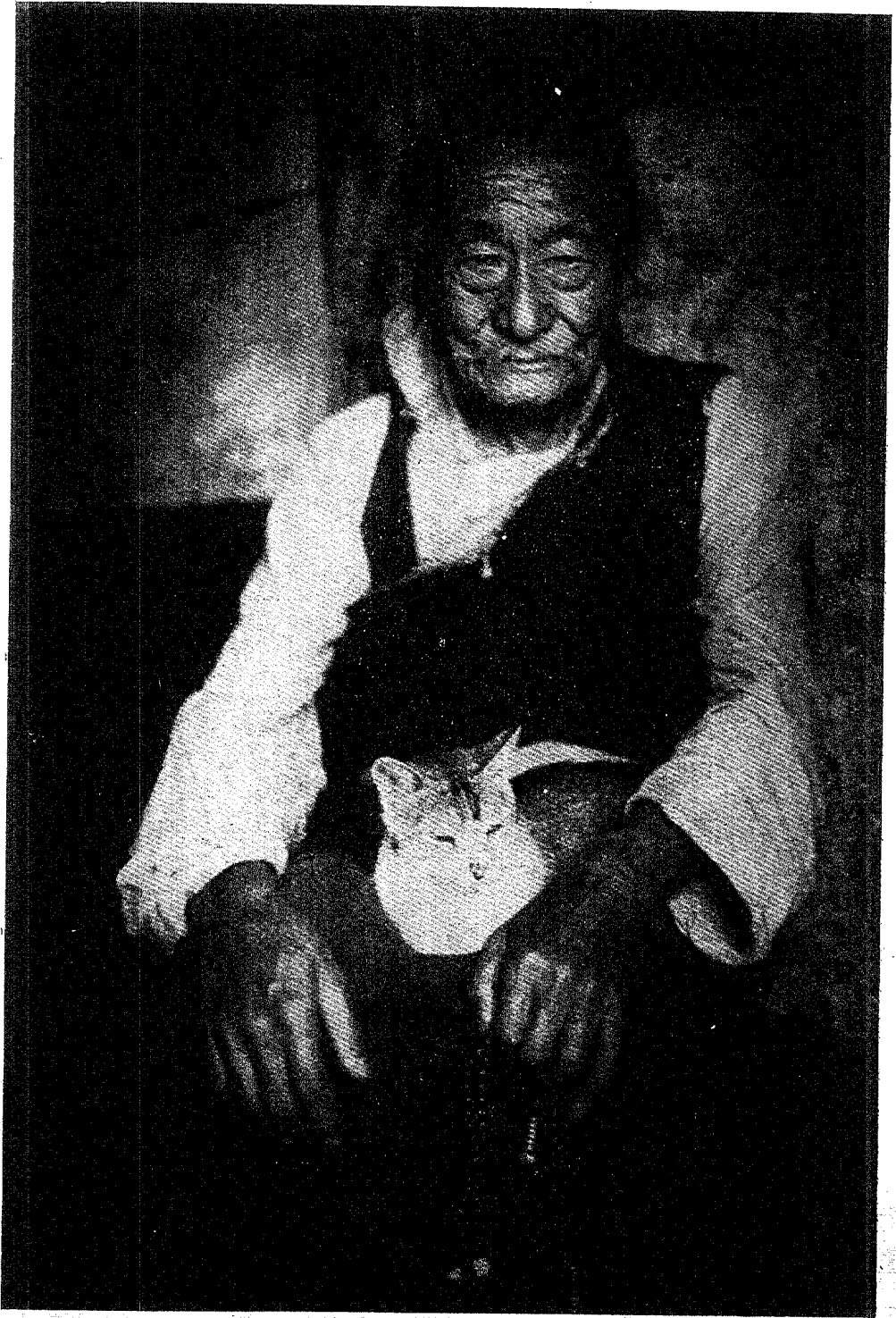
corn and paddy fields high on a hillside facing a changing view of mist, cloud, and mountains, a few miles north of Gangtok.

A humble man with no pretensions, the Gomchen gives the impression of a man of the world and out of it. Recently in Ceylon, as head of the Sikkimese delegation to a Buddhist conference, he would slip off into meditation anywhere—on the platform, waiting at the airport. Once, on another delegation he walked oblivious onto the wrong plane, luckily to the right place, and when asked by perturbed officials at the other end where he had come from, simply pointed to the sky and said “up there!” Active and lively, his energy belies his age, said to be over 80—he walks over the hills to Gangtok faster than most can go the slightly more roundabout way by jeep. He is modest about his spiritual accomplishments, and he says he cannot perform anything very great as his learning is not enough, though he is most popular and respected by the people for his cures and prayers for them—a practical priest well grounded in local lore who uses his powers to help his neighbours. Asked about disciples, he shook his head. There is one who is doing quite well now on his own, but nowadays no one wants to come and stay, and if they do, they don't want to learn—they don't have the patience.

2. The Lingdok Gomchen

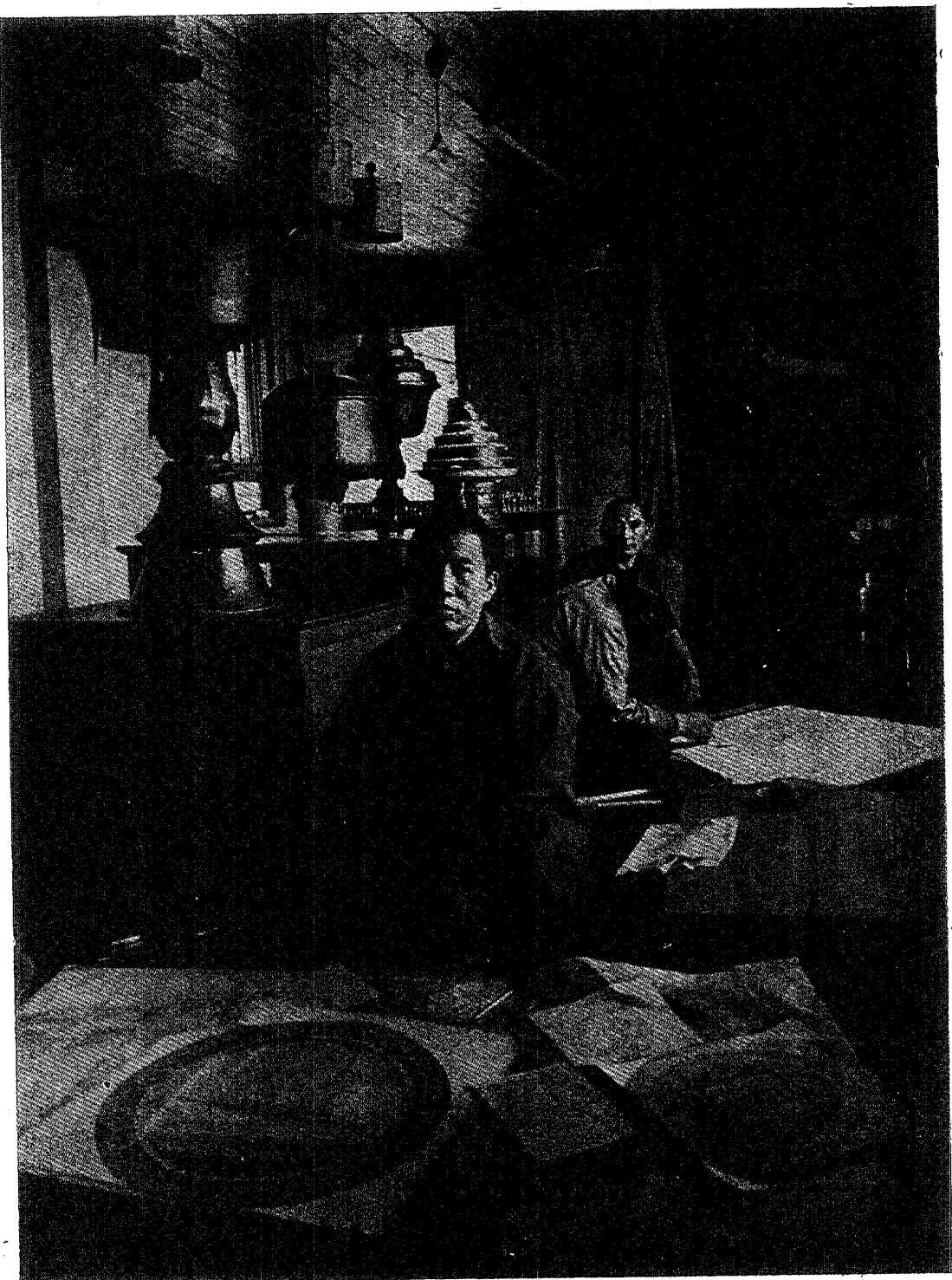
Tall, his stooped frame now frail, the Lingdok Gomchen emanates an aura of serenity and sanctity. The older of the two Sikkimese “great meditators”, the 87-year-old Gomchen is a celibate *gelong*, and for the past 27 years has lived in a meditation cottage on a forested hilltop near Taktse (the cottage once shared by the Labrang Gomchen), where his companions are a fiercely devoted *gelong* monk attendant and a cat. His whole life is meditation—for hours he sits on his meditation seat in a narrow veranda of the cottage facing a window looking out over the treetops of the forest. His wants are little—he lives on the offerings of people who make the pilgrimage up to his hilltop to ask him to pray for them. He is totally deaf. He can speak, which he does in a low, strong voice, but visitors must write their questions on a small slate kept by his side.

The Lingdok Gomchen came to his vocation later in life than the Labrang Gomchen. Oddly, they shared the same guru, but at different times. As a boy, the Gomchen was put to study with his uncle, a lama. “I learned,” he says, “but it did not really move me. I was learning words.” Then, at



THE LINGDOK GOMCHEN

Kailash / so face page 11



DODRUP RIMPOCHE

25, he heard a sermon one day by Ugyen Lama. It changed his life. He realised that meditation was everything, looking inward to examine the soul. He made his way to Tibet and eventually became a disciple of Ladak Tupen Rimpoche. Returning to Sikkim he meditated in caves, at the Lukshama (northeast of Gangtok, the high hilltop which is the royal cremation ground). For a while he was at Enchay, the monastery on a hilltop overlooking Gangtok.

At the foot of the wooden steps to the veranda of the Gomchen's cottage above Taktse is a pan of ashes for visitors to rub on their feet and legs to dispel the leeches gathered during the long walk up through the dripping forest. The faithful *gelong* ushers the visitor into a dim, quiet room with an altar at one end. In a few moments the tall old man enters, his hair braided over his head in old Sikkimese style, rosary in his hand. He sits down and serenity pervades the quiet room. A grey and white cat comes in and curls into his lap, and as he talks, the Gomchen breaks off and feeds it bits of Tibetan biscuit dipped in the tea which the *gelong* has served. This *gomchen's* way is strictly the way of contemplation. He feels that the best way he can serve is to meditate for himself and all sentient beings on the heart of the religion, which is love—the bells and the trappings do not matter—it is the essence which counts. Asked how all that he must have learned over so many years of meditation can be passed on, he said that it was not something to be broadcast around—he was old now, but if anyone really wanted to learn and came to him and stayed, he would teach them.

The sound of the rain pattered against the window and on the tops of the trees below. My companion asked the Gomchen to keep his rosary for a while on his altar. We slipped to the floor in front of his table and asked, in the darkening room, for his blessing.

3. Dodrup Chen Rimpoche

Dodrup Rimpoche, or the Rev. Dodrup Chen, as he styles himself in a booklet-sized biography of Maha Pandita Vimalamitra which he has published in English, was born in Golok, in the Amne Machin range in the Tibetan far east. Born into a poor family, he was recognized as an incarnate and taught to write at five, then studied for 18 years. Trouble between the Chinese and Tibetans — “thrashing”, as the Rimpoche put it—had erupted in Golok, so Dodrup Rimpoche, carrying his old mother on his back, left for Lhasa. Lhasa, he says, was tense, so he came on to Shigatse, still carrying his mother on his

back. At Shigatse he found a man who would carry her the rest of the way. He knew two other lamas from Golok who were then in Sikkim (the late Ken-Tse Rimpoche and Tru-Sik Rimpoche) so he came on here. Now he lives in a long building behind the great Choten at Gangtok, near the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. "I came from nothing," he says. "Now I am happy. I can do my work."

Dodrup Rimpoche's work is most remarkable. A man of bounding energy and ideas, his "workshop" is a long room with a procession down the middle of huge incense burners, mandalas, and trays of butterlamps. The floor is spread with books and papers; two monk assistants, one with a large wooden compass, are plotting a mandala on graph paper. His own place is cluttered with different sized photocopies of other mandalas which he is working on. Knowing nothing about the working of a camera, he has gotten hold of one, and figuring it out himself, has hit on the idea of photographing a mandala which he has drawn large size, then reducing it by making a photographic print the size he wants, then making printing blocks of the reduced-size mandala for mass-producing and giving to the people who ask for them. Writing out the words on the mandala, photographing—he does the whole thing himself. The big mandala on the floor in the photograph is the mandala of Rinzing Lama. He was not satisfied with the result, and had cut out the border to paste onto another sheet and redo the center. Scattered about are smaller diagrams—part of another current project—reproduction of the 100 *sung-wa* of Guru Rimpoche. These are mystic letters in the centers of appropriate diagrams (each in a frame of eight petals representing eight forms of the Guru) to be worn as the talismans against 100 different perils. By reducing them to the size of a 2 1/4 x 2 1/4" negative, they become convenient to wear in modern conditions where no one can easily wear a bag of folded thick papers as in the old days.

Yet another project has been the printing of a set of 27 color reproductions of Padma Sambhava and his 26 main followers. Rimpoche got an artist to copy these from a set of wood block prints from Derge Kathok, part of the Rinchen Ter-mZod, then got the blocks made in Calcutta. Now his ambition is to translate a book on these disciples of Padma Sambhava into English. He has already printed a summary of the life and works of the Guru boiled down to six pages. His briefcase is a file overflowing with scraps of drawings, diagrams, paintings, and 100 ideas for combining old faith with

modern means. His parting gift was a blessed and folded *tak-dol*, a diagram of the *Bardo thö-dol*, to be kept with one for enlightenment at the hour of one's death.

4. Khempo Dazar

Both the Khempos—"learned ones, expert in the five branches of knowledge"—are haunted by the prophecies of the end which perhaps they, as learned and disciplined men, are more poignantly aware of than others, and see in perspective.

Khempo Dazar has been in Sikkim for the past six years as head of the bShad sGra (Sheda), the small Nyingma college attached to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology in Gangtok. A Khamba, he studied at the Rahor Gumpa in Gyalrong, a branch of the great Dzogchen monastery near Derge. He came to India via Bhutan in 1959, and thence in 1966 to Sikkim.

"The government course here is five years," he says, "but you can't learn it all. It used to be 30 years!" The teaching of the Sheda is that of the traditional five great disciplines or branches of knowledge, and the five lesser disciplines. The five major subjects are: So-wa Rigpa (medicine), Da-Rigpa (science of words or language), Nangdeun Rigpa (meditation, introspection, or spiritual knowledge), Tsema Rigpa (dialectics and logic), and Zo Rigpa (mechanical arts—including painting, sculpture, etc.) The minor studies are: Ngon-jeut (synonyms), Deu-kar (dance-drama), Nyengnak (poetry), Kartsis (astrology), and Deb-jor (metric composition).

Nangdeun Rigpa is the "root of the tree" and the most important study in the Sheda: spiritual knowledge. There are two types of Nangdeun Rigpa, Khempo says, or rather two ways to the same destination: there is the Gomchens' way—to get understanding from top lamas and then meditate, and there is the way of reading books and then practicing. The desire is the important thing, whether the way is easy or hard. Even music comes as a branch of Nangdeun Rigpa, as under Nangdeun Rigpa you offer prayers and the five senses come into it.

Khempo Dazar is a quiet-spoken man of a kind of shining, bull-headed straightness and stubbornness. He cannot be shaken from what he thinks is right. He worries that his teaching may be lost when his students go home to their villages. Despite chronic headaches he refuses to give up his Chinese stone spectacles—made of a clear crystal-like substance with wavy white lines

across it. He believes that the cold touch on the vein below the eye helps the eyes despite the fact that his headaches worsen while wearing them (doubtless from the strain of peering through the white squiggles) and refuses to wear a German pair a well-wisher has sent him despite admitting that he does see better through them! He feels somehow that they may damage his eyes. On the other hand, when asked whether there was anything against photographing an image, he replied that "it all depends on your intention"—a very straight and not so orthodox reply.

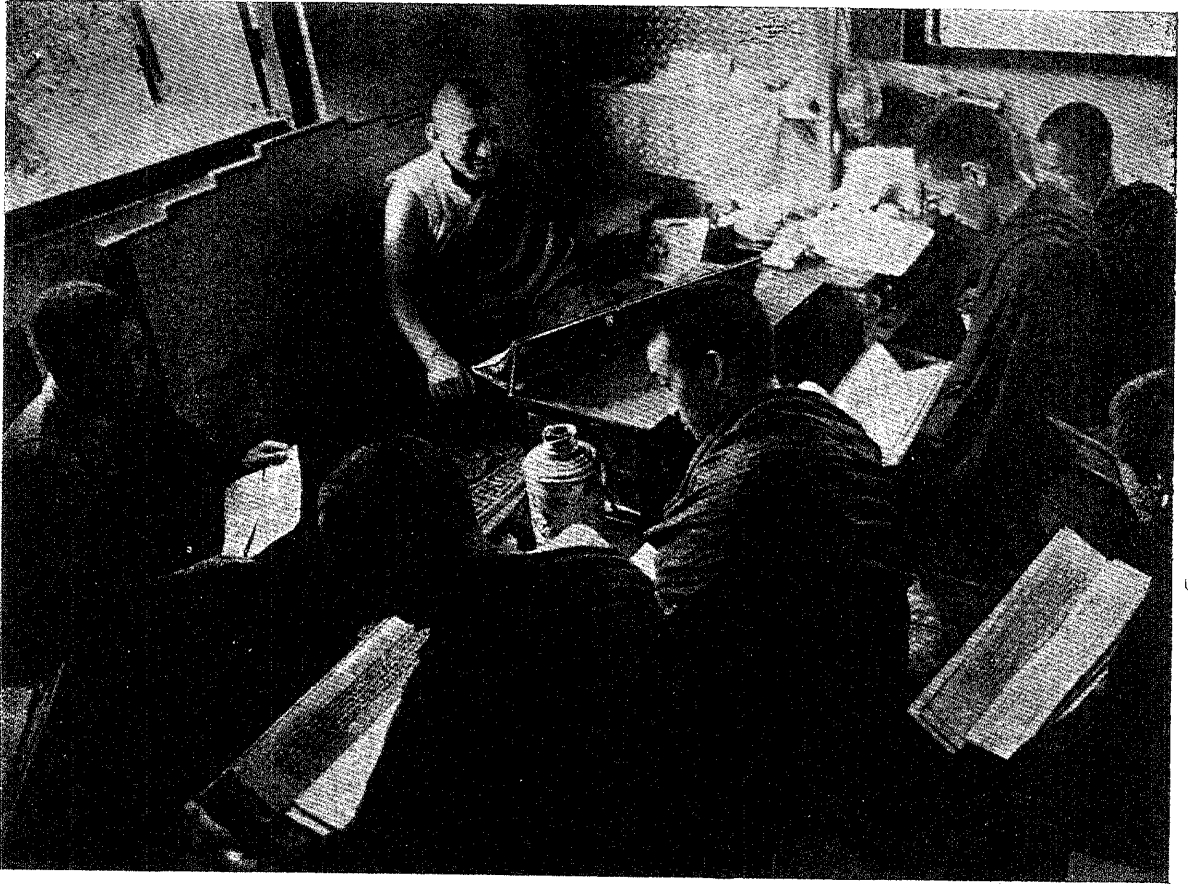
"Chos is the only thing we need. Whatever material things we have at death we will remember the chos . . . We are now in the age of the fourth Sangay Sakya Shoba. This will decline still further—there are still 1000 years to go. We are coming to the bottom. Then it will go up again, in the coming age of Sangay Champa. There is a prediction that the religion will spread to the West. Perhaps that is now happening."

"Americans are just like Khampas." Khempo's worried look left him for a moment. "You are more straightforward, like us—when offered tea you just say yes or no, more free and easy than the Bō-pas (Tibetans from Ü and Tsang, central Tibet) who go through all that ritual and formality of saying no!"

5. Khempo Thupten with His Pupil Dzogchen Pema Rinzing

Ascetic, frail, with a luminous smile and gentle manner, Khempo Thupten has been since January 1970 tutor to the seventh Dzogchen Pema Rinzing, a boy now seven years old, born to Khampa parents settled in Sikkim, and recognized soon after his birth as the reincarnation of the great Siddha especially revered in Kham. It is said that at the boy's birth, the seven cups of water on the family altar turned milky white, and he started speaking about his monastery when he was small.

It was Dodrup Rimpoche who recognized the boy as the reincarnation. It had been the fifth Dzogchen Pema Rinzing who had recognized Dodrup Rimpoche and had been his tutor. Now it was Dodrup Rimpoche's turn to point out his guru's reincarnation. The fifth had indicated his successors by prediction. He had said the sixth would be found in Kham, the seventh would be in the South, and described everything. The sixth Dzogchen died at only 25. Before he died, he told his monks, "Go south and we will meet again." Once recognized, the boy needed a tutor.



KHEMPO DAZAR AT THE SHEDA (MONKS' COLLEGE), NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY, GANGTOK

Dodrup Rimpoche and Khempo Dazar, whose monastery, Rahor Gompa, had been founded by the third Dzogchen, called upon Khempo Dazar's lifelong friend and monastery classmate Khempo Thupten, requesting him to become the boy's tutor. Now the young Dzogchen is Khempo Thupten's responsibility, to be with, to support, to educate, and to form.

Khempo Thupten was himself put into his monastery at seven and never returned home. At the age of 25, he and his friend Dazar left the monastery and wandered together around Tibet, meeting different lamas and learning. By the time they came to Lhasa, the Dalai Lama having already fled to India, the situation was "tense" so they, along with two other monk companions, made their way, hiding, and found themselves finally in Bhutan, whence they were sent to Buxar in the plains which for some years was a special camp for monks, and from there came to nearby Kalimpong and Darjeeling.

The frail Khempo is haunted by the knowledge that the prophecies of the end of the religion are coming to pass. "The religion is now nearing its end. It's like a dream that you are being attacked by wild animals, then you wake and find you are in your bed. Like the dream, you are aware of it, but during the day you don't think about it." It was predicted in Tibet that the Dalai Lama would have to leave—even to the timings, he says. People were doubtful about the prediction but even the fact that the refugees have come to Sikkim was all in the predictions. The Khempo has spent four months at the holiest of Sikkim's holy places, Tashiding. "Sikkim's sacred places are better than others," he says gently. "The way is hard, and you think there will be nothing—but when you reach there you are happy and peaceful. Your mind is not distracted."

"There are two ways to look at the religion," he says. "The scriptures, preachings, to read and practice, and meditation against the desire, anger, and ignorance which govern you. Monks are needed to show the way, to teach. But where are the monks now? They are turned to material things. Of the Rimpoche's monastery (the Dzogchen monastery in Derge) of 1000 monks, only one has come with him." The prediction that the Chinese cannot conquer the "Hidden Land" (Sikkim) and that people would come here, but that the religion would come to an end ultimately—is now coming to pass quite obviously because without monks who can carry it on? Only when the religion comes to an end and Sangay Champa comes, will the religion revive. Even the fact that most of the learned monks seem, like the Khempo, to be ill and

poor, has, he says, been predicted.

In Tibet, the young Dzogchen and his tutor would have lived in their monastery. But here, at least for the present, they are lodged like honored guests, but apart, in a special Lhakang (chapel) in the boy's family's house, the altar wall filled with images and khaos which his followers had brought from Tibet and now, since the boy's recognition, have "returned" to him as "his". Wherever they go now, tutor and charge, they will go with them.

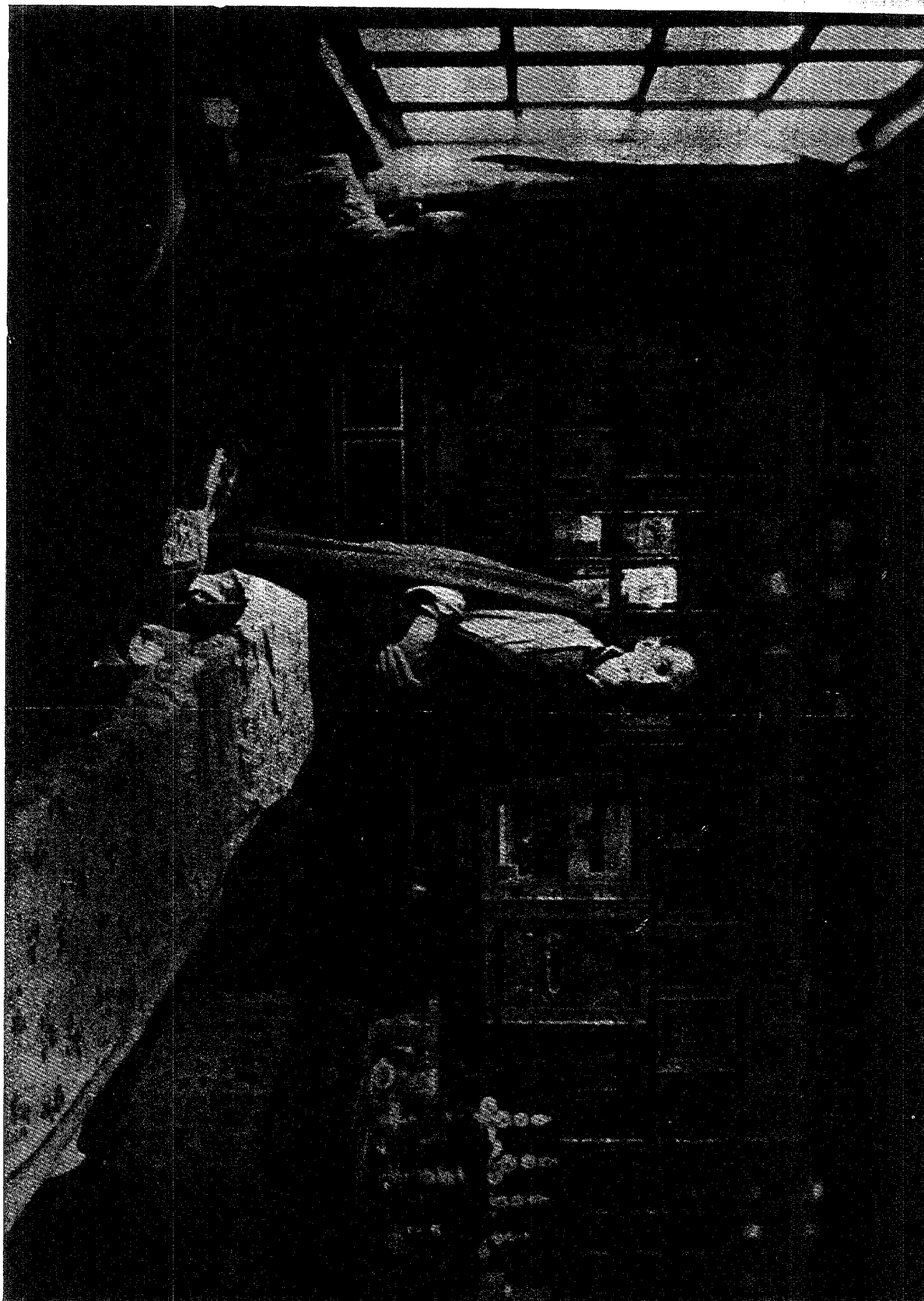
The boy's first lessons are in reading. Already the young Dzogchen has taken his place on a seat of honor during the reconsecration of Sikkim's premier monastery Pemayangtse, reading strongly along with the other monks. Once his reading is perfected, the Khempo will start him on the five minor disciplines, and only thereafter, on the five major ones. The first year, the Khempo says, the boy was so brilliant, his progress was phenomenal. Then the Khempo had to go to India and in his absence the boy slipped up—now his learning has picked up again. "Just now his thinking power is still small," so it has to be checked on. The pace of study depends on the ability of the pupil and the judgment of the tutor. Once the boy is proficient in his own studies, the Khempo will find him a tutor for English.

Study hours are 6 AM to 9:30 AM and again from 3 PM to 5 PM. The rest of the time the little monk plays around, writes or draws. "Sometimes," his tutor gently smiled, "we call some other children for him to play with—football or archery, to make him happy." A toy train on the sideboard was evidence. Before Khempo took over, he says (and others agree), the boy was so wild, people said he was an incarnation of a devil, but since Khempo started teaching him he has become so "mild" everyone is astonished.

The unusual problems presented by their living in the boy's house are mitigated by the parents staying away during teaching hours, but the aim of the tutor is for them to have their own place to stay and ultimately to have their own monastery. The awkwardness of staying as strangers in the house of the boy's parents is evident.

The Khempo is as gentle with the boy as a mother; his affection and concern show in his voice and hands as he tutors the boy on how to sit, how to respond to the greeting of visitors who prostrate themselves or present scarves, how to read, to stand, and adjusts the folds of his dress. His worry is how to support the boy now given to his charge. Skilled in the monkly fine arts of drawing, painting, writing, modeling of images, carving, sewing,

KHEMPO THUPTEN WITH HIS PUPIL DZOGCHEN PEMA RINZING, GANGTOK



patchwork, and embroidery, he unrolled an exquisite "Nam-Chu-Wang-Den" which he had made by embroidery and applique on a brocade cloth for his charge. Innocent of the business world, the frail monk hopes that now with a little encouragement and backing to start, they may be able to organize a small community, which could support itself on its arts, at the same time preserving for a while longer these visible aspects of the religion from the encroaching darkness of the prophecy.

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Bonpo Studies

The A Khrid System of Meditation

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present work is to provide a basis for a more detailed study of the nature and history of the system of meditation and spiritual realization peculiar to the Bonpo lamaist tradition, called *A khrid*, i.e. "The teachings (*khrid*) concerning the Unconditioned (*a*)".

I have made use of two texts, both published in the volume entitled "A-TRI THUN-TSHAM CHO-NA DAN CHA-LAK CHE SHUK-SO"¹ (Tibetan Bonpo Foundation, Delhi 1967, 224 p.):

- A. rTogs ldan nams brgyud kyi rnam thar rin chen phrin ba (p. 5-64).
- B. Man nag khrid kyi rim pa lag len thun mchams dan b'as pa (p. 64-117).

The English foreword to the "A-TRI THUN-TSHAM" gives a few basic facts concerning the history of the *A khrid* system:

"The *A khrid* collection is one of the most important compendia of the "Great Perfection" (*Rdzogs chen*) teachings of Bon. The *Rdzogs chen* doctrine, shared by the Rnying-ma-pa and the Bon-po, is the basis of a profound system of meditative philosophy.

The original teachings of the *A khrid* are attributed to the great Dgongs-mjad Ri-khod-chen-po (b. 1038), who extracted them from the *Khro rgyud* and added to them from his own *dgongs gter* (teachings concealed in the superconscious mental state of a great religious teacher for rediscovery at a future time). These teachings were later arranged into a religious system by Bru-chen Rgyal-ba-gyung-drung (b. 1242)."

Text A gives the biographies of 21 lamas, from *-rMe'u dGoñs mjod ri*

*khrod chen po*² (1038-1096)³ to 'Gru *Ñi ma 'od zer* (1562-1637). The text thus deals with a considerable stretch of time, almost exactly six hundred years. However, it has been thought most fruitful to concentrate on the period between *dGoñs mjod* and *Bru chen rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ* (1242-1290), for two reasons:

(a) It is this period which is formative as regards the *A khrid* system, *Bru chen* being responsible for its final codification, contained in text B.

(b) It seems evident, judging from its structure, that text A originally concluded with the biography of *Bru chen*; the following biographies (which are referred to as *lo rgyus*, the preceding ones being referred to as *mam thar*) are simply added one by one without any attempt at integration with the structure of the first part of the text. This is clearly shown by the table of contents preceding the translation.

Accordingly, I have given a translation *in extenso* of the biographies of *dGoñs mjod*, his disciple and successor *sGom chen 'bar ba*, and of *Bru chen*. The position of *Bru chen*, however, is complex. According to the colophon of text B he is the author of this text and thus responsible for the codification of the *A khrid* system. The colophon runs as follows⁴:

"Thus this (text, bearing the title) "*Mam ñag khrid kyi lag len go rim thun mchams ñañ bñas pa*"⁵—(which contains) the practice⁶ of the Venerable Hermit and the disciples of his lineage—has been composed in order to obtain the Example and Meaning⁷ in accordance with scripture (*iññ*) and oral instruction and elucidated by personal experience (*nams myon*), at the monastery of *mKhar sna*, (which is similar to) a heap of jewels, in accordance with the instruction and practice of the peerless '*Dul ba rin po che*⁸ who is the spiritual essence of '*Gro mgon g-Yor me* and the illustrious *bLo gros rin po che*⁹, the worthless *Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ* having been exhorted by '*Dru sgom sByin pa 'od zer* whose spiritual effort is without distraction."

However, the Bonpo tradition also includes a second system of *rJogs chen*, called *Ñañ zuñ sñan (ò)rgyud*. A comparison between the *A khrid* and the *sñan brgyud* remains to be undertaken, but as a first step in this direction I have given (Part II, App. 1) an analysis of the contents of the first 80 fol. of a text entitled "*sñan brgyud kyi sñon 'gro'i rim pa mams*" (Bonpo Foundation,

New Delhi 1964, 119 fol.)¹⁰. The first 80 folios constitute a complete work, concluded by a colophon in which it is stated that the work has been composed by *Bru'i bcun pa rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ* at the repeated request of the (*kalyana-*)*mitra* (*bšes gnen*) *bKra šis rin čhen* at the monastery of *g-Yas ru dBen sa kha*¹¹. Thus *Bru čhen* is connected with the *sÑan brgyud* as well as *A khrid*. However, in fact he belongs to the very lineage of *sÑan brgyud*, as well as to that of *A khrid*. The "*rJogs pa čhen po Žañ žuñ šhan rgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma rnam thar*"¹², a collection of biographies of the lamas of the spiritual lineage of *sÑan brgyud*, includes that of *Bru čhen* (fol. 49b-52b).

A comparison between the latter text and text A is instructive¹³. The first section, which deals with the background, childhood and youth of *Bru čhen*, is, with a few occasional and insignificant exceptions, identical in both texts. The "*sÑan rgyud*" then has a long passage of almost two and a half pages which deals with how he was instructed in the doctrines of *sÑan brgyud*. This passage is entirely omitted in text A, which merely states that he studied, among other works, texts concerning "*rJogs pa čhen po sÑan rgyud*". The remainder of both texts have approximately the same length, and are, to a large extent, identical. Text A, however, devotes several lines to the composition of the "*A khrid*" (=text B), while the "*sÑan rgyud*" simply gives the title in an enumeration of the various texts he composed¹⁴.

We can therefore conclude that there must have existed a biography of *Bru čhen* previous to the composition of either text and made use of by both authors; for it is not likely, in view of the considerable differences wherever the texts do not coincide, that the author of the one has copied from the other; for the same reason, it is clear that the two traditions of *A khrid* and *sÑan brgyud* were considered as quite distinct, despite the fact that *Bru čhen* belonged to both lineages.

The biographies of the *A khrid* lamas in text A are, on the whole, rather disappointing. We learn nothing of possible contacts with other lamaist sects, and next to nothing regarding their social and religious background. However, a few facts can be gleaned, in particular concerning the geographical location of the system. The *A khrid* is traditionally connected with the *Bru ža* family (*Bru chañ*) in spite of the fact that *dGoñs mjod* belonged to *rMe'u chañ*¹⁵. However, *Bru čhen*'s predecessor '*Dul ba rgyal mchan*' (= '*Dul ba rin po čhe*) belonged to *Bru chañ*, as did, of course, *Bru čhen* himself; succeeding the latter, the next four lamas all belonged to *Bru chañ*. The fifth, however,

*Rin Chen blo gros*¹⁶, was connected with *Bru chañ* only through his mother, *Bru za za rGyal mo*. He was succeeded by his pupil *Šes rab rgyal mchan* (1356-1415), who was a native of *rGyal mo ron*¹⁷. *Šes rab rgyal mchan* was the founder (1405) of the monastery of *sMan ri* in *gCañ* and thereafter the spiritual lineage of *A khrid* was passed on through the abbots of *sMan ri*; the last abbot who belonged to the *A khrid* lineage was *sGu Kun bzañ rgyal mchan* (abbot 1464). The line of *sMan ri* abbots and the *A khrid* lineage thereupon diverge.

It is also evident that the *A khrid* system—at least to the extent that text A permits us to grasp its history—originated in *gCañ*, where it was developed and finally codified by lamas native to the region. With *Šes rab rgyal mchan* this tradition is broken, and of the following six lamas, at least four were, like him, natives of the eastern part of Tibet. The above outline will become clearer when compared with App. 1 in Part I.

At this stage I would like to make a few remarks concerning the relations between the Bonpos of the period in question (11th—17th century) and another contemporary lamaist tradition, that of the Nyingmapas. The English Introduction quoted above states that *rJogs Chen* teachings are “shared by the Rnying-ma-pa and the Bon-po”, but leaves it at that. That we are here dealing with a problem which is, in fact, of the greatest importance to a fuller understanding of the nature not only of *rJogs Chen*, but also of the very nature of the Bonpo tradition, is, I think, evident, and Professor Snellgrove very rightly states: “Fundamental to this interesting problem (viz. the difference between *bonpos* and *rñin-ma-pas*) is a comparative study of the tantras and the *rDzogs-chen* (‘Great Perfection’) literature of these two oldest ‘Tibetan Buddhist’ groups.”¹⁸

In a larger perspective, the study of the *rJogs Chen* literature may hold the clue to a fuller understanding of the troubled centuries following the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (8th—11th cent.); this is precisely the period in which the Bonpo as well as the Nyingmapa sects were formed. Professor Tucci (“Die Religionen Tibets”, Stuttgart 1970, p. 19) points to the importance of the hitherto unexplored *rJogs Chen* literature: “The development of Tibetan Buddhism in its initial phases is by no means as uncomplicated as the orthodox tradition would have us believe. Only systematic research in the history and beginning of the *rDsogs c'en* may permit one to judge the extent to which the tradition must be revised as regards these events.”



1. dGons mjod ri khrod pa



2. rNam rgyal ka ra



3. Ses rab rgyal mchan



4. Rin chen rgyal mchan



5. Kun bzau rgyal mchan



6. blo gros rgyal mchan



7. bsTan pa 'od zer



8. Ni ma 'od zer

I do not at present dispose of material for a full treatment of this problem. However, it is clear that the *A khrid* system did, in fact, develop in contact with the Nyingmapa school. A study of volume KA (“*gTer ston rnam thar*” of the “*Rin Chen gter mjad*”, i.e. the volume which contains the biographies of the principal Nyingmapa ‘Treasure-Discoverers’ (*gter ston*), shows that a number of Bonpo ‘Treasure-Discoverers’ are included. Among them is *A ya bon po Lha ’bum* alias *Gu ru rnon rce* who is characterised as *bon snags*, “a Bonpo tantricist”, and who was a considerable ‘Treasure-Discoverer’ in *gCarñ* where he was born, according to a Bonpo source, in 1136¹⁹. Thus he would seem, both geographically and historically, to be fairly close to the milieu we are studying.

A far more important indication, however, concerns *dPon gsas Khyuñ thog rcal*, who likewise is styled “a Bonpo tantricist” (*bon gyi snags ’chañ*). The “*gTer ston rnam thar*” also calls him *Rig ’jin rgod ldem* and states that he is called *dPon gsas Khyuñ rgod* by the Bonpos. He is thus at once identifiable with *dByil ston dPon gsas Khyuñ rgod* (text A gives his name as *Khyuñ rgod rcal*, p. 39 l. 21) alias *Rig ’jin rgod kyi ldem ’phrul* (b. 1175)²⁰, the teacher of ‘*A za bLo gros rgyal mchan*’; the latter belongs to the *A khrid* lineage.²¹ A nephew of *dPon gsas*, *dByil ston Nam mkha’ bsod nams*, was one of the teachers of *rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ* himself (text A, p. 40 l. 1). On the other hand, *dPon gsas Khyuñ thog* is of considerable importance in the Nyingmapa tradition, being the author of ‘Treasures’²², and is even considered to have incarnated himself in a later lama, *dPal ldan ’jam dbyañ bla ma*²³. We thus see a lama, important both in Nyingmapa and Bonpo traditions, playing a significant part in the development of the *A khrid* system.

Another case, directly relevant to this study, is *bsTan gñis gliñ pa Padma che dbañ rgyal po* (second half of the 15th century)²⁴, of whom the “*gTer ston rnam thar*” says: “He brought to light the Great, Medium, and Small ‘Oral Transmissions of *Ta pi hri ca*’ and other Bonpo works.”²⁵ *Ta pi hri ca*, however, is a quasi-historical *Žañ žuñ* lama belonging to the Bonpo *sÑan rgyud* tradition of *rJogs Chen*²⁶; he lived in the 8th century, being the guru of *Gyer spuñs Chen po sNañ bžer lod po*, a contemporary of king *Khri sroñ lde bcarñ*²⁷. We have already noted the close contact between the *A khrid* and *sÑan rgyud* systems; it is therefore interesting to note that *sÑan rgyud* texts were accepted as authoritative by Nyingmapas.²⁸

As regards text B, I have translated the *mūla (dños gži)* (p. 79-100), i.e.

Ch. 5—10 inclusive. This section deals with the actual obtaining of liberation once the preliminaries—contemplation of impermanence, the bodhisattva's vow, acquiring of merit, etc.—have been accomplished. I have tried to give a translation as close as possible to the Tibetan text, without taking into account the general background of Buddhist thought as it presented itself to the Tibetans of the 13th century. To take this background into consideration would necessitate a much more comprehensive study. As for the immediate sources of text B, the only other work mentioned in text A and explicitly qualified as *A khrid* is the “*g-Yas ru'i A khrid Chen mo*” by 'Gro mgon g-Yor po me dpal, born in 1134. This text, like text B, is stated to have been composed in accordance with the practice of *dGoñs mjod*²⁹. The *A khrid* system must therefore, in fact, have been codified in the second half of the 12th century, i.e. a century before the composition of text B by *Bru Chen*.

The ultimate sources of the *A khrid* system cannot be clearly discerned at this stage. However, the English Introduction quoted above states that *dGoñs mjod Ri khrod Chen po* extracted the teachings from the “*Khro rgyud*”. This is certainly identical with the “*Khro bo rgyud kyi skor*” which together with the “*Ži ba don gyi skor*” forms the “*sPyi spuñs yan lag gi skor*”, one of the collections of texts which are included in the tantric section of the Bonpo *bKa' gyur*.³⁰ The teachings of the “*Khro rgyud*” are thus ultimately attributed to *sTon pa gñen rab* himself.

The “*bKa' gyur brten gyur*” (p.8 1.21 et seq.) states that although “The Six Tantras” of the *gŠen-Treasure* (*gñen gter rgyud drug*), which were hidden as ‘Treasures’ when the ‘Knowledge-Holders’ flew to the West³¹, disappeared due to a curse, they are, according to *mKhas grub sKyabs ston rin po che*, identical with “The Six Great Tantras” (*rgyud Chen drug*)³² found by *Khu cha Zla 'od 'bar* in the Earth-Male-Tiger Year (i.e. 1038) at *sPa gro phug gZal*.³³ The context makes it clear that “The Six Great Tantras” correspond to the “*Khro rgyud*”.

dGoñs mjod being born in the same year that the “*Khro rgyud*” was discovered (1038), there would seem to be no reason why he should not, as the Introduction states, have based his *A khrid* system on it. It is also interesting that this text was found at *sPa gro phug gZal*, a site which, as mentioned in note 28, is of considerable importance to the Nyingmapas as well as the Bonpos.

The text published in New Delhi and on which the present study is based is stated (p. 117) to have been edited on the basis of three copies:

- (a) A copy of *A khrid* included in a collection entitled *gSari rgyud*.
- (b) A copy originating from *Dol po* (Nepal).
- (c) A copy from *sTod Tre pa dgon pa*.

As I have not been able to consult these three copies, I have felt that it is preferable to postpone a full philological discussion of a number of difficult passages.

Both texts A and B have been read together with the Bonpo *dge bšes* (now abbot of *sMan ri gzar pa* in Himachal Pradesh) Sangye Tenzin Jongdong (ST) during the autumn of 1968, in Oslo. His patient help has been indispensable for a full understanding of the text. A number of difficult passages have been translated with the help of *dge bšes* Samten Gyaltzen Karmay (SG) during a visit to London in June 1969. Both Tibetan scholars have given invaluable assistance for which I am deeply grateful. I am also indebted to Mme. A. Macdonald, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, who has read the first two biographies and provided a number of valuable suggestions, as well as much encouragement. Finally I must thank my teacher, Professor Nils Simonsson, Oslo, who from the start has encouraged my studies and given freely of his time and advice.

Oslo, November 1969

"Bonpo Studies" was presented at the University of Oslo in 1969 for the degree of *magister artium*. Since then, several important works have been published, among which particular mention must be made of Samten Gyaltzen Karmay's, excellent book "The Treasury of Good Sayings, A Tibetan History of Bon", London, 1972. A number of useful texts have also been published by the Bonpos themselves. However, as it is hoped that the present study has retained its usefulness, it is reprinted without any significant additions or alterations.

Bergen, July 1972

Notes to Introduction

1. I.e. *A khrid thun mchams bč'o lña dan čha lag bčas bžugs so*.
2. I have adopted the spelling *dGoñs mjod* which is the one found in text A; however, text B, like the foreword, has (twice) the spelling *dGoñs mjad*.

3. All dates are based on information found in "*Saas rgyas kyi bstan rcis no mchar nor bu'i phren ba*" published (p. 23-40) in "*Tibetan Zang Zung Dictionary*" (Tibetan Bonpo Foundation, New Delhi 1965). A translation of this text ("*A Chronological Table of the Bonpo: The bsTan rcis of Ni ma bstan 'jin*") has been accepted for publication by *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen.
4. The colophon has the following text (p. 115 1.4-11):
 "de ltar man nag khrid kyi lag len go rim thun mchams dañ bčas pa 'di ni/ rje Ri khrod pa yab sras bryud par bčas pa'i mjad srol lo/ 'Gro mgon g-Yor me dañ mchan ldan blo gros rin po che'i thugs bčud mñam med 'Dul ba rin po che'i žal gdams phyag len ji lta ba la/ luñ dañ man nag gi skabs sbyar ñams myoñ gis gsal btab nas čuñ zad gsal žin go bde bar dpe' thob don thob gyi chul du sñigs ma'i Bru bsgom rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ la rce gčig gi ñams len pa 'Dru sgom sByin pa 'od zer gyis bskul nas rin čhen spuñs la mKhar sna'i dgon du bkod pa'o/""
5. A slight variation from the title as given on p. 64: °*khrid kyi rim pa lag len thun*°.
6. *mjad srol* is erroneous for *mjad srol*, cf. p. 41 1. 2 where text B—as in the colophon—is stated to have been composed in accordance with *Ri khrod pa yab sras kyi mjad srol*; precisely the same words are employed to qualify the "*A khrid čhen mo*" by *g-Yor po me dpal*, p. 26 1. 1.
7. "Example" (*dpe*) and "Meaning" (*don*) would seem to refer to the triad *dpe riags don* which is dealt with on p. 52.
8. One of the gurus of *Bru čhen* and his predecessor in the *A khrid* lineage.
9. Two lamas of the *A khrid* lineage (12th cent.); the latter was the guru of '*Dul ba rin po čhe*', cf. Part I, App. 1.
10. This title is, in fact, simply that of the first section (vol. KA) of the work which in a printed letter from the Tibetan Bonpo Foundation (Jan. 2nd, 1966) is referred to as "*rJogs čhen sñan bryud rgyal ba'i phyag khrid*", which surely is the correct title.
11. The text (vol. ČHA fol. 10a-10b):
 "de ltar rjogs pa čhen po Žañ žuñ sñan bryud kyi phyi nañ gsañ ba yañ gsañ dañ bčas pa'i gnad bsdus/ zab mo'i gdams pa du ma'i bčud dril ba/ grub čhen goñ ma rñams kyi žal gdams mthar thug pa 'di ni/ Bru'i bcun pa rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ la/ [unclear] . . . pa'i bšes gñen bKra žis rin čhen gyis yañ nas yañ du bskul ba'i don du/ lag len go rims, bžin du/ g-Yas ru dBen sa kha'i dgon du sbyar ba'o/""
12. Published in "*History and Doctrine of Bonpo Nišpanna-yoga*", Śatapitaka Series No. 73. New Delhi 1968.
13. See Part I, App. 2.
14. Id.
15. *Bru čhañ* is one of the five *čhañ* of the Bonpos, the others being *rMe'u .aPa*, *Žu*, and *gŠen* (ST). On p. 5 1. 13-14 *A khrid* is qualified as *Bru čhañ gi*; it is further stated to form one of the three sections of *gDams pa skor gsum*, the other two being *Bon žig gi Lhan skyes* and *rMe čhañ gi Khrid rim gsal sgron*. Thus systems similar to *A khrid* have been associated with the family-lineages of *Bon žig* and *rMe(u)*. This information is contained in an interlineary note.
16. All the *Bru čhañ* lamas, including *Rin čhen blo gros* are stated to originate from *g-Yas ru dBen sa kha*. This can hardly be the monastery of *dBen sa kha*, but presumably the region surrounding it.
17. He is frequently given the title *rGyal ba gñis pa*, i.e. he is considered almost equal to *sTon pa gšen rab*. It is remarkable that he was not only almost exactly contemporaneous with *gCon kha pa* (1357-1419) but also, like him, a considerable scholar inclined towards scholastic systematization rather than yogic mysticism, an ecclesiastic renovator and the founder of the monastery which thereafter became the centre of the sect.

18. "Nine Ways of Bon" p. 15.
19. "gTer ston rnam thar" fol. 43a4-43b3. "Ni ma bstan 'jin" (96) gives his year of birth as 1136, while the gTer ston rnam thar" states that he was contemporary with 'Brom ston (1008-1064).
20. In this case, too, there is a problem of chronology. "Ni ma bstan 'jin" (103) gives his date of birth as 1175. The "gTer ston rnam thar" fol. 227a, however, states that he was a contemporary of Lha bcun Byañ chub 'od (active 1042) and Jo bo Dī pam ka ra (i.e. Atīsa). His biography is found on fol. 50a6-51a4.
21. Cf. Part I, App. 1.
22. "gTer ston rnam thar" fol. 78a5 et seq.: "Mañ yul Ri bo 'che dbal 'bar nas Rig 'jin rgod ldem gyis yañ gter du sbas pa'i Phag mo za brgya'i skor mams . . ."; fol. 91b4 et seq.: "dPon gsaas Khyuñ thog gi Che sgrub ye 'ses srog thig . . ."
23. Id. fol. 124b3.
24. Id. fol. 78a5-82a1. He is stated to have lived in the 7th rab byuñ (fol. 228b), i.e. AD 1447-1507.
25. Id. fol. 81a3: "Ta pi hri ca'i sñan brgyud 'che 'briñ 'chuñ gsum sogs bon sde . . . spyan drañs . . ."
26. "Bon-po Niṣpanna Yoga" p. 15.5-15.6, p. 26.5-27.4 (where the name is given as dPon 'chen Ta pi ra ca).
27. Id. p. 27.4-31.5 gives an abridged version of the two episodes translated from the "Zaṅ zūñ sñan rgyud" by Professor Snellgrove in "A Cultural History of Tibet" p. 101-102 and p. 103-104.
28. A fuller representation of the information contained in the "gTer ston rnam thar" would exceed the scope of the present study. However, it should be mentioned that not only are a number of gter ston-lamas stated to have been born as Bonpos (which would, in fact, in no case be surprising), but a considerable number either discovered Bonpo 'Treasures', studied Bonpo texts, or had Bonpo pupils. It is interesting that one of the most important 'Treasure'-sites of the Nyingmapas, sPa gro 'cal is likewise of some importance in the Bonpo tradition, and particularly in the formation of the A khrid system. Cf. "Ni ma bstan 'jin" (76, 108); "bKa' 'gyur brten 'gyur" p. 4 l. 11, p. 7 l. 8, p. 8 l. 23.
29. Cf. note 6. The text is considered by S.G. to have been rare in Tibet, if, indeed, it has at all survived to the present day.
30. "bKa' 'gyur brten 'gyur" p. 8 l. 16 et seq.
31. This refers to the expulsion of the Bonpos from Tibet during the reign of king Khri sron lde bcan, according to "Ni ma bstan 'jin" (54) in 749. Cf. "A Cultural History of Tibet" p. 107.
32. "The Six Great Tantras" are as follows ("bKa' 'gyur brten 'gyur" p. 8 l. 25 et seq.):
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|------|------|------|-------|----|------|
| 1. Ita ba khyuñ 'chen | g-yun | drun | gsan | ba'i | rgyud | 24 | le'u |
| 2. rJu 'phrul dra ba | " | " | " | " | " | 30 | " |
| 3. dBal mo las kyi thig le | " | " | " | " | " | 33 | " |
| 4. 'Gu ya srog 'jin | " | " | " | " | " | 29 | " |
| 5. gSañ ba dgu 'phar | " | " | " | " | " | 19 | " |
| 6. gSañ ba thabs 'zabs | " | " | " | " | " | 16 | " |
33. "Ni ma bstan 'jin" (76).

PART I

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE A KHRID SYSTEM

rTogs ldan ŋams brgyud kyi rnam thar rin čhen phriñ ba

p. 5-64 in "A-tri thun-tsham cho-na dañ cha-lak"

The complete contents, with page numbers, of the text in "A-tri thun-tsham" from which excerpts are here translated, are:

Introduction	p. 5—8
I. dGoñs mjod ri khrod čhen po (A)	p. 8—14
A. bla ma	p. 8
B. dños	p. 8—14
1. sku'i khruñs lugs	p. 8
2. lam la dka' ba spyad chul	p. 8—11
3. gžan don šes rgyud grol chul	p. 11
4. dbyiñs su mya ñan 'das chul	p. 11—12
5. rje bžag bstan pa spel chul	p. 12—13
6. ma 'oñs luñ bstan 'jin chul	p. 13—14
C. sras bži	p. 14—42
1. sKye med drañ sroñ	p. 14
2. Pho sgom	p. 14
3. sGom 'bar gyi rnam thar (B)	p. 14—42
(a) dños	p. 14—19
(b) sras drug	p. 19—42
1. sÑa Phar phyin	p. 19
2. dBu brag pa	p. 19
3. gÑam mcho do pa	p. 19
4. Jo gduñ	p. 19
5. Jo g-yuñ	p. 19—42

(a) dños	p. 19—21
(b) brgyud pa	p. 21—42
1. Žaň Dam pa chul šes	p. 21—24
2. g-Yor po me dpal	p. 24—28
3. 'Gro mgon bdud rci	p. 28—31
4. 'A za Blo gros	p. 31—35
5. 'Dul ba rin po čhe	p. 35—39
6. rGyal ba g-yuň druň (C)	p. 39—42
II. (Succeeding lamas)	p. 42—63
Nam mkha' 'od zer	p. 42—44
bSod (nams) blo (gros)	p. 44—47
rNam rgyal ka ra	p. 47—48
Rin čhen blo 'gros	p. 48—50
mŇam med Šes rab rgyal mchan	p. 50—52
Rin čhen rgyal mchan	p. 53
Nam mkha' ye šes	p. 53—54
Kun bzaň rgyal mchan	p. 54—55
sGo jo ba bLo gros rgyal mchan	p. 55—56
bsTan pa 'od zer	p. 59—63
Postscript	p. 63—64

The following are excerpts in translation, with page references (in parentheses) to the original Tibetan text in "A-tri thun-tsham":

A.

(RME'U DGOŇS MZOD RI KHROD PA)

(p. 8) The biography of that saint has three topics :

(a) his gurus,

(b) himself,

(c) his four sons.

(a) As for the first (topic) :

the great *Žu skyid mkhar ba* (*Žu skye se ba*),

rMe'u Lha ri gñan po,

Bru rje bcun g-Yuň druň bla ma,

Žu sGrol ba gšen rgyal,
mCho bcun Nam mkha' rgyal mchan,
g-Yu sgro legs pa,
 the adept *Tre ston sGo cha,*
 the venerable *Khro chañ ('Brug lha)*—

in all eight; those lamas were indeed the manifestations of Buddhas come for the welfare of beings.

(b) The second (topic): the biography of the saint himself has six parts:

- (1) first, the manner in which he was born;
- (2) how he experienced difficulties on the Way;
- (3) how for the welfare of others he set free their consciousness (*šes rgyud*);
- (4) how he passed beyond sorrow in the Unconditioned (*dbyiñs*)¹;
- (5) how his disciples to whom he had given the Word were set free;
- (6) how prophecies were fulfilled.

(1) First, the manner in which he was born:

At *Šaṅs kyi Gur žogs* in *g-Yas ru*, he is said to have been the eldest of four sons of *rMe'u Sag bstan*, the father, and *rDo rje mcho*, the mother. Now, although he had from his childhood on without effort remained free from the evil defilement of being visibly present (in the world)²—the power of actions performed in previous lives being good—his parents forced him to marry when he was eighteen; having become separated from his wife—being disgusted with (being) a worldly person—by means of numerous ways of escape like (absentation from) sexual union³ etc., he went forth in order to cut off (Ignorance) in one (life)⁴: the first (part).

(2) Secondly, how he experienced difficulties on the Way:

Thereafter, having brought a few goods, undertaking a course of studies (*thugs sbyoñ mjad*)⁵, he requested numerous precepts concerning *tantra* and (precepts) concerning Mind (*sñags sems kyi bon mañ du žus*)⁶ from his guru *Žu sKye se*. His guru having at that time said: "You must study under *Bru g-Yuñ druñ bla ma* and the noble (*sras*)⁷ (*Žu*) *sGrol ba gšen* (p. 9) *rgyal* whose mental capacities and skill in explanation are greater than mine!" he heard the "*Gab pa*" and the minor precepts of "*Sems phran*"⁸ from the lamas

of Bru and Žu respectively, and learnt tantric rituals from these two (*gnis bar nas*).

Thereafter, when having joined those two he heard the science of logic from *Nāñ stod sTag pa kha che*, reflecting carefully he thought: "As for those two, they will exercise the abbatial function (*mkhan sa*), so the teaching of the Word is firmly established. However, in this there is no profit for me; I require the spiritual realisation (*dge sbyor*) resulting from the full comprehension of the (esoteric) Sense of the Word." Having requested a consecration and the vow of an *upāsaka* from the two *ācāryas* of Žu and Bru (respectively), he was given the name of *g-Yuñ druñ rgyal po*.

Having thereafter gone to *dKar po brag*, he saw and understood the precepts and mind-issued instructions of *Tre ston Go čha* and the venerable *Khro chañ*; the instant traversal (of all the stages of meditation) (*thod brgal*)^o having arisen in his mind through intense effort in meditation for a few years, a limited number of insights (*rtogs pa sna 'ga'*) arose.

Having at that time thought, "As my insight and reflection (*lta dgoñs*) thus are excellent, it will be of greater benefit to beings if I become a monk (*rten bcun pa žig byas na*)", he went to *dBus*, bringing two loads of molasses which he offered to the *āchārya Jo g-yuñ*; the *ācārya* said: "In general, weariness (with worldly life) in a strong youth among those called 'men' is overhasty. As from among them you people from (*gCañ*) profess the greatest faith but have least faith in your hearts, you will not obtain monkhood; go back!"

As he entreated him again and again, he said: "Well, as the *upādhyāya* lives in retreat, ask him to come!" As he was going to the (hermitage of the) *upādhyāya*, the latter said to his servant-disciple that evening: "As I had an auspicious dream last night, whoever comes today, bring him to me!" When he (i.e. *Ri khrod Chen po*) arrived, the servant-disciple reported his request and brought him (to the *upādhyāya*). (The latter) leaving his solitary seclusion, the *ācārya* said when (p. 10) he and the *upādhyāya* met: "There is no reason for you to live in seclusion (as you leave it) every other day!" The *upādhyāya* said: "Do you not see? He will become a saint who upholds the spiritual lineage of the *vinaya*." As the *ācārya* said: "Tell me a sign (that occurred) at that time (in support of your claim)!" (the *upādhyāya* replied): "As in my dream I dream that a tree, a *so ma* plant, growing by my door became higher than my dwelling, spreading out with leaves and

fruit and flowers, he will become an upholder of the spiritual lineage of the *vinaya* and a propagator of the Doctrine." Later, the meaning (of the prophecy) being fulfilled, he became one who upheld the 'life' of the Doctrine.

At that time, at the age of 24, he took a monk's vows. The name which had been given to him by (the lamas of) *Bru* and *Žu* was not changed. The *ācārya* thereupon gave him the injunction: "Live as a hermit in *gCañ* and strive towards sainthood and success in meditation!" Having accordingly gone up (to *gCañ*), he visited the hermitages of *g-Yas ru dkar po brag* etc.; through doing away with every doubt and through study, mind and insight (*ñams rtogs*) became united without distinction, and spiritual delusions were dissolved in the Unconditioned (*bon ñid*).

Thus that holy saint had eight gurus, transmitters of the Word, full of grace:

full of grace regarding training of consciousness and (instruction in) mantras and Mind—the great *Žu sKye se* and *rMe'u Lha ri gñan po*;

full of grace regarding the opening of the Way, the preaching of the Doctrine and the giving of consecrations—*Žu sGrol ba (gñen rgyal)* and *Bru g-Yuñ druñ bla ma*;

full of grace regarding the guarding of vows and the *vinaya*—the *upādhyāya* and the *ācārya*;

full of grace regarding the precepts of the Oral Transmission (*ñan rgyud*), giving their blessing although he did not meet them personally—*Tre ston Go čha* and *Khro chañ 'Brug lha*: in all eight or six.

As, saluting the feet of the above lamas, he studied and (p. 11) mastered the entire Bon of Cause and Effect, excellent insight arose in his mind:

Thus, at *sKyor mo luñ* he saw the faces of (the gods of) the *rNam dag* (cycle, complete) with sons, mothers, chief gods and their entourage, and having in one instant ascended all the Stages, he strode forth in the sky, went through mountains without being impeded, and, firm stone becoming like mud, the master left clear imprints of his hands and feet at *Brag spyañ thag mo*. He also showed other signs of spiritual perfection and feats of magic. He boasted many shining accomplishments. He established the tradition of attainment in meditation (*sgom sgrub*). He propagated the Doctrine of Mahāyāna so that it spread.

(3) Thirdly, how for the welfare of others he set free their consciousness:

When the Saint accordingly went to *bLon po steṅs* in *Šaṅs*, his entourage, lay patrons and disciples, gathered in great numbers; his four special spiritual sons, his two 'wives', his eight 'younger brothers', etc. gathered in the four groups:

in general (*spyir gyi*), the entourage of masters of meditation, who have obtained the Sense (of the Scriptures), inseparably connected with insight and contemplation;

the entourage of practitioners of tantras, who reach sainthood through adoration and realization;

the entourage of pure monks who reach sainthood through the rules of the *vinaya*, through renunciation and insight;

the entourage of those who, having taken the bodhisattva's vow of prayer and of entering¹⁰ (on the bodhisattva's course), pray for those who suffer and are poor.

Further, as for the instruction left behind, composed by himself, he composed:

"*sGom rim che 'brin čhuṅ gsum*",

"*Gegs sel*",

"*gČod*",

"*sPyir gdams*",

"*bKa' 'khor chig bži pa*",

"*Sems la grol 'debs*", and many other works.

Further, the excellency of his greatness (*sku čhe ba'i yon tan*), the deeds (*phrin las*) he performed etc., what he did by means of many activities (*mjad spyod rnam thar du ma*), are known from his Detailed Biography.

(4) Fourthly, how he passed beyond sorrow in the Unconditioned:

Having reached his 59th year, (he performed) his last (deed) for the welfare of beings while being visibly present (in this world.) When he was invited by *Khro chaṅ rGyal mchan* (p. 12) to *Byaṅ 'Dab ('Dam)* in order to consecrate (a new copy of the) "*Khams čhen*", he said to his attendants:

“Although I do not wish to go at this time, I must go.” Giving for one summer many sermons and admitting many to the state of monkhood, a feeling of indisposition taking a turn for the worse (*ma dag pa'i snañ ba log tu byuñ nas*), the lama said when he was offered sweet and savoury food by *Khro chañ bsTan pa'i jo mo*: “It is not proper that I drink this!” Repeating this three times, he is said to have said (to himself), the food being offered (again): “When somebody wants (one to eat), one should be indifferent to the taste; (therefore) I should do that (i.e. accept the food)”¹¹. Thereupon he said: “As I will soon wish to go, let me terminate the final rites connected with my instructions!”

Going to *sñiñ druñ bon gnas*, having said while on his way: “I shall make this my burial-place,”¹² a votive cairn (*tho*) is said to have been erected in a valley meadow. He rode round (the cairn) three times, saying: “The expanse (*dkyus*) of the Unconditioned (*bon ñid*) has been utterly cut (*thag čhod*)! The attachment of *saṃsāra* has been utterly cut! The illusion of *bar do* has been utterly cut!”

Thereafter, at the end of fourteen days' halt during which he was ill, in the Fire-Male-Rat Year (1096)¹³, at the appearance of the first light of dawn on the fourth day of the second winter month, sound, light and rays, (those) three (signs of death) having appeared¹⁴, he passed beyond sorrow in the Unconditioned.

(5) Fifthly, how the Doctrine was spread through his disciples:

Although in general his flock (*gdul bya*) and his disciples were numerous beyond comprehension, those particularly noble ones who, having good *karma*, strove for the welfare of beings were: his four Spiritual Sons to whom he had entrusted his Word; his two 'Wives'; his eight 'Younger Brothers'; and his two 'Youngest Sons'.

Thus, as for the four Spiritual Sons:

he gave the unborn Word of (right) action to *gñal sKye med drañ sroñ* in the west;

he gave the miraculously formed Word of insight to *Žabs (bŽag) sGom čhen 'bar ba* in the east;

he gave the meditation-Word of *samādhi* to *Pho sgom žig po* in the north;

he gave the Word of power over the illusion of literal sense and real sense to *Yar 'brog Me ston* in the south, (p. 13).

As for his two 'Wives' they were:

Jo mo rgyal mo of 'O yug sgo luñ and
bCun ma Dar sgron of 'O yug.

As for his eight 'Younger Brothers' they were:

the *devaputra rGya Ye šes sñiñ po* of *Khoñ lam*,
sTag lo 'dul ba of *sTod luñ*
'*U zañs (sañs) sgom dkar* of *Gram*,
Lañ 'Gro'i jo gšen,
the *devaputra Čog lha jo dad* of *Lha steñs*,
the abbot *Chul khrims 'od zer* of *Šañs*,
sTon pa grub pa of *rGyañ ro*, and
Dam pa pho bcun of *rŠiñ mo čhe*.

As for the two 'Youngest Sons' they were:

gNas rten Jo sogs of *rŠiñ mo čhe* and
the *devaputra Tor rjin (ga rji) jo sras* of *sPra ba lun*.

In addition to these, 508 siddhas. Generally staying in the hermitages, about 300 followers-in-attendance appeared. Being like a lamp of the Doctrine—all the (subsequent) hermit adepts spreading from him—he was extremely gracious towards his followers. As for those from among his disciples who, striving for the welfare of beings, being particularly noble ones endowed with good *karma*, were like lamps of the Doctrine, (they were): *sGom (čhen) 'bar(ba)* and *Yar ('brog) Me (ston)*.

(6) Sixthly. from the events foretold by prophetic utterances (will here be mentioned):

(a) From the "Dul ba gliñ grags":

"As for the manifestation of *gSer thog lče 'byams*, he will belong to the family of *rMe'u* and bear the name of 'Dul ba. The (continued) power

of actions performed in previous lives becoming active, on his accepting the monk's rules, a prophecy will be made. Having obtained spiritual instruction from *mCho* (*bcun Nam mkha' rgyal mchan*) and (*Bru rje bcun*) *g-Yuñ* (*druñ bla ma*), the monastic rules will be spread everywhere." Thus it is said.

(b) Further, from the "'*Gro mgon gyi 'phrul lde*'":

"As for the manifestation of *Sad ne ga'u*, the 'lifetree' of *Bon* will be firmly planted by *rMe'u g-Yuñ druñ rgyal mchan* (i.e. *Ri khrod čhen po*) through his meditating in *g-Yas ru Šaṅ* on the Sense of Ultimate Nature (*gnas lugs don*). For him *Māra*, creator of impediments, will be turned into a disciple. Thereafter he will guard the doctrine of the *rMe'u* (lineage) for three generations (p. 14). Thereupon he will become one who does not return (to *samsāra*)."

(c) From the "*gNad byañ drug ču pa*" by *rKyañ 'phags*:

"As for the manifestation of the mind of *Chad med 'od ldan*—(he will be called) '*rMe ston Dam pa ri khrod*'. His bodily stature will be small, his eyes bright. His skin will be dark and of an even hue. He will possess the spiritual insight *Kun tu bzañ po*. Hundreds of disciples will obtain buddhahood. His ten lineage-holders will work for the welfare of beings. His lineage will last to the end of the world. Those who bow down before his feet will obtain buddhahood in the course of one rebirth. He has opened the way to salvation for five hundred thousand (beings)."

As it is thus written, that holy lama accordingly was a *mahāsattva*, come for the welfare of beings.

* * * *

B.

(SGOM ČHEN 'BAR BA)

The biography of his Spiritual Sons has four parts:

1. *sKye med druñ sroñ*;
 2. *Pho sgom*;
- their biographies are found elsewhere.

3. *sGom 'bar*;

—his biography has two parts:

- (a) himself
- (b) that of his six Sons.

(a) Firstly, as for the biography of *sGom 'bar* himself :

(As for) the adept (?) *gCañ gi Se bo*¹⁵: His native land was *Ñañ ro rGyañ mkhar ba*; his family were bonpos of (the lineage of) *Žabs (bŽag)*; he was the second of three brothers.

Being from his childhood full of faith, he is said to have heard the Doctrine explained by *Lha rje rgyal mchan (chab)*. Upon growing up, he travelled to India and all the border areas to trade. Once, when together with one called *Žug dkar* the two went trading, enemies (i.e. robbers) appeared and they became miserable (i.e. destitute); accordingly they both swore an oath to turn towards religion. Thereafter *Žug dkar* requested the Hermit Lama for (instruction in) meditation.

sGom 'bar, however, went trading again and obtained about fifty strings of coins¹⁶; (p. 15) as he went to trade them, at that time the venerable Saint, having met his guru, the great *sKye se*, at *sKyi mkhar*, was on his way (home); at that time desire for deliverance (*ñes 'byuñ gi dad pa*)¹⁷ was born in the man from *gCañ* (i.e. *sGom 'bar*).

As he begged: "O Saint! I too will come in the entourage of your holiness," the Saint said: "How much food have you got? Make preparations (for travelling)!" Replying: "I will go just like this," he came.

Upon arriving at the bank of the (river) *Ñañ čhu*, violent disgust (with *samsāra*) was born, and he threw his trousers and (bamboo) carrying-frame¹⁸ in the water and said: "Go down from here! I will go upwards—our period of companionship has been (too) long!" Thereafter, acting as servant to the Saint at *'U yug yor po*, he asked for (instruction in) meditation, and a wonderful (feeling of spiritual realization) arose.

At that time, all (the disciples) went to beg alms. As the man from *gCañ*, having asked for permission to go, also went (begging), spiritual realization (*dge sbyor*) did not arise in the way it had done before. Abandoning the alms-begging, he returned to the Saint and said: "I have not had spiritual realization!" He answered: "That is the result of begging." As he (i.e. *sGom 'bar*) became angry, saying: "Very well, you did not say that the other

day!" the Saint replied: "I will let you have instruction." But although he gave him a few precepts (*gdams nag 'ga' zui*), (spiritual realization) did not arise; although, further, he even gave him the instruction contained in the "*mThar thug rgyas bzhi*" and other volumes, it did not arise.

Then *sGom chen ('bar ba)* said: "Those who have some wealth, perform religious offerings (*chogs 'khor*); I have no wealth to perform religious offerings.

Those who have insight and meditation retain spiritual experience (*ñams myon*); I have no realization to retain spiritual experience."

This is called 'The Lament of *sGom 'bar*'. At that occasion *sGom 'bar* (really) said that as absolute non-existence (of spiritual realization) did not exist, there existed (spiritual realization), (but only to a certain degree) like the sun (from time to time appearing) between the clouds¹⁹. In this manner he passed three years at that very place in indolence and indifference.

Thereafter, one autumn as all (the disciples) were dispersing, on his asking the Saint for a consecration (p. 16), he (i.e. the Saint) said, placing a vase on the top of his head: "*sGom 'bar!* As you are very loud in your laments, you are one in whom the rust (which covers the mirror of your mind) and the obscuration of forming the concept of object and subject must now disappear. See whether there (in your mind) is clinging to the (notion of) ego or not!" At that time his spiritual realization is said to have increased.

Again, having gone to *dBus* to procure food, and having stayed a few years as a servant at *mCho sman lha khañ*, he (again) went up (to *gCañ*). Coming to his guru, he said: "When one's guru's grace is great, one meets with spiritual realization; (even) when it is small, he gives (his disciples) sacrificial cakes to eat; as you do not act thus towards me who ask to be firmly placed in the retaining of spiritual realization, my realization, having now vanished, does not exist."

As he wept, the venerable one said: "For seeking spiritual realization which has been lost, there is advice.

"For making manifest that which is hidden, there is advice.

"For breaking that which is hard, there is advice.

"For giving birth to faith if you do not believe, there is advice."

Having spoken, he gave religious discourses for a few days.

Thereafter, having said one day: "Come up from here!" and having brought him to a grassy bog, he said: "'Bar ba! As you are said to have been very strong when you were young, make a leap here!"

'Bar ba, acting accordingly, having slipped, fell, and his body tumbled down very violently. Spiritual realization arising at that instant, he cried and laughed without stopping.

The Saint said: "Has spiritual realization dissolved 'hardness' (*dge sbyor 'thas pa bšig pa 'am*)? If you seek that which has been lost, act in this way. You (now) know the precept given by *Se thuñ pa*." By then his spiritual realization is said to have been without interruption.

Thereupon the Saint is said to have said: "Until I die, you shall stay here. When I have died, *Khyuñ po bon po'i dgon pa* at *sñi mo phag pu* will be given to you. (p. 17) Go there! Through you there will be welfare for living beings."

As he himself thus had had many hindrances and faults in his own realization, he was skilled in setting things aright when faults arose in the spiritual realization of others.

Later, when his guru had died, (*sñi mo pha(g pu ?)*) was given to him by *g-Yuñ (druñ) rdo (rje)*; at *sñi mo ša sñi'i dgon pa*, *Jo mo gañs* and several other hermitages he made his meditation (*thugs dam*) like the flow of a river; his contemplation (*ñams rtogs*) becoming manifest, he was endowed with many miraculous powers, namely:

When *g-Yuñ (druñ) rdo (rje)* came to meet him, not finding his wealth through gain by means of . . .²⁰, he said: "Go to sleep without numerous unfulfilled wishes!"

Further, as he was staying at *Ra mañs*, on his saying: "Here in the direction of our country there issues a great clamour of people being driven out from their country—see (what it is)!" (his disciples) looking, saw a beggar shaking off lice and dust. As he heard the sound of the insects, he had the clairvoyancy of sound.

His mind being free from anxiety, further, as he was staying at *Phag zer*, a *nāginī* actually listened to his instruction.

Further, as he was staying at *gDoñ chuñ*, as a demon (*bcan*) was going up and down the country-side, it made an oblique salutation in the direction of the *ācārya*; having bound the demon of *Chu ma phug* in an oath, (it promised to perform) whatever (the lama) wished, (merely) on hearing

(the wish). This and many other stories are told of his binding ghosts (*mi ma yin*) by an oath.

Further, whatever was given to him of food and goods, he gave it to the blind, to beggars and to the helpless. He performed no rude act; not sitting on yellow cushions (himself), he is said to have showed great respect to the monks²¹.

In reality, although that lama had the appearance of a tantric adept (*sñags pa*), he was adorned by the Triple Vow. Thus (p. 18) there were many deeds arising from his innate nature (*gñis 'byuñ gi rnam thar*); they may be found in his detailed biography.

Finally, having reached the end of his life, in his 77th year, showing the manner of the passing away of that which is impermanent, he said: "By disease the body is weakened, by discursive thought the mind. As for the pain of illness, it is without self-nature. As for the quiescent (*spros bral*) mind, it cannot die. I am one who has realized the Void. Carry my corpse on the mountain. Even if it is burnt, no miraculous signs will appear."

In short, as he had obtained control over his mind and contemplated *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* without distinguishing between the two, he obtained buddhahood in the Unconditioned (*dbyiñs*), with rainbowlight as sign of realization.

As for his followers and disciples, although there were many adepts (*rtogs ldan gañ zag*) in all directions, from among them the most eminent were the six spiritual sons of *sGom 'bar*:

in *Khams*, *sÑa Pha rol tu phyin pa* and *dBu brag pa*;

at the border between *dBus* and (*g-Yas*) *ru*, *Žañ gNam mcho do pa* and *Khyuñ sgom Jo g-yuñ*;

in *gCañ*, *Mar ston rGyal legs (sMan goñ ba)* and the *siddha Jo gduñ*.

Although (there were these) and many others, the ones who effected the welfare of beings and carried on the lineage through their instruction in philosophy and meditation (*lta sgom*) were the Precious *sMan goñ ba* and *Khyuñ sgom Jo g-yuñ*.

Further, as for the events mentioned in prophecies:

(a) The " 'Gro mgon gyi 'phrul lde" says:

"To the place called *sÑi mo ša sñi*, one bearing the name of *sGom čhen 'bar ba* will come. Through the Sense of Mahāyāna he will guide

living beings. The doctrine of *Ri sgom* will spread somewhat. Thereupon for three rebirths he will effect the welfare of beings in the land of *U rgyan*. Thereafter, not taking birth in the Palace of Knowledge-Holders, he will attain perfect buddhahood." Thus it is said.

(b) The "*lDe mig 'briñ po*" of *db Yil (ston Khyuñ rgod rcal)* says: "One who will carry on the lineage of his doctrine, called *sGom pa 'Od khyim 'bar ba*, will appear on the borders of *dBus* and *gCañ* (p. 19). He will cause the doctrine of *Ri sgom* to spread." Thus it is said.

This lama, who by natural disposition had become a yogin through the power (of former acts) as he was a saint, free from the rejecting (of sin) and amassing (of virtue), the hindrance (of evil) and the realization (of good), was a manifestation of the *sugata*, come for the welfare of beings.

C.

(BRU ČHEN RGYAL BA G-YUÑ DRUÑ)

(p. 39) Sixthly, as for the biography of the excellent *rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ*:

His native land was *g-Yas ru dBen sa kha*²²; he was born as the son of *Bru ža bSod nams rgyal mchan*²³; he was the third (*tha ltag*)²⁴ of four brothers.

Now, being an incarnation come for the welfare of beings, from his youth onwards he possessed many excellent qualities. At the age of eight he expounded the "*mChan ñid srid pa'i mjod phug*"²⁵. Thereafter he took the pure vows of a *drañ sroñ*²⁶ from *'Dul ba rin po čhe*. Being given the name of *rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ*, he acted in conformity with the substance of the teachings of the discipline.

Further, requesting the external, internal and secret texts (*bon sde*) together with their initiations, ritual texts, and benedictions, he purified his mind (*thugs rgyud sbyañs*). Requesting in particular (initiation into) the Great Vehicle of Ultimate Nature (*gnas lugs theg čhen*), he exerted himself spiritually—one-pointedly and without wavering.

The lama himself has said: "Firstly, having requested the teachings concerning the vows of discipline, I kept them without either secrecy or ostentation; intermediately reflecting on the boon of studying, I wholly did

away with all doubts; finally, having requested the immaculate Ultimate Nature, knowledge of the Self arising, this entering, too, into the midst of men both in this (life) and the next—(all this is) the blessing of the holy lama (whose activity is) threefold²⁷”.

Further, from *dByil ston Nam mkha' bsod nams*, (p. 40) the nephew of *dByil ston Khyuñ rgod rcal*; from *Luñ sgom bKra šis rgyal mchan*, of the lineage of *Luñ bon Lha gñan*; from *rMa ston Drañ sroñ*, of the lineage of *rMa ston srid 'jin*, and others, he requested initiations, ritual texts, precepts, and benedictions. In particular, having requested—bowing down at the feet of *rTogs ldan Dad šes* of *La stod*²⁸, and of *Žañ ston bSod nams rin čhen* of 'Jad, and other lineage-lamas—the cycle of “The Oral Transmission of the Great Perfection” (*rJogs pa čhen po sñan rgyud kyi skor rnams*) together with its initiations, conferring of ritual texts, benedictions, spiritual attitude (?) (*ñams*), lineage, and permission (to practice the instruction received), he performed the chief of spiritual exertions (i.e. the Great Perfection).

Thereafter he studied (*ñams len mjad*) at *g-Yas ru mKhar sna'i brag*, *Ra goñ yon po*, and various other hermitages.

The lama himself has said: “Through the grace of showing adoration and respect towards the exalted *siddhas*, a sensation of faith and unshakeable resolution arose (*yid čhes thag čhod spros mtha' čhod pa čig byuñ*)²⁹”. Accordingly, the basis of knowledge without discrimination appearing from within, the stream of the defilement of distinguishing between subject and object was cut off; the Foundation, Spontaneous Luminosity, appearing without interruption, the Way, characterised by Sound, Light and Rays, was set free (dissolved) on its own plane (*rañ sar*); Liberation, the Fruit of the Three *Kāyas* becoming manifest, the Great Bliss, the very plane of the *Dharmakāya*³⁰, was grasped; further, he beheld the entourage of his chief tutelary deities; the meditation (*dgoñs pa*) consisting in the projection and reabsorption of *utpatti(krama)* and *nišpanna(krama)* was set free (dissolved) on its own plane—the setting free (i.e. dissolution) of these and countless other mental experiences was born in his mind.

As for the works (*bkā' brten*) composed by himself:

the “*Lag len pod čhuñ*”, a summary of external, internal, and secret ceremonies;

the “*gZuñs bsduš*”, a precious summary of all ‘essences’;

the "Guide to the Ceremonies (*lag len dmar khrid*) of the Oral Transmission of the Great Perfection";

further, the "Manual (*lag khrid*) of the (Worship of the) Fierce Deities (*dbal gsas*)";

"Precepts Concerning Psychic Veins, 'Wind' and Bindu";

various epistles (*yig sna*) concerning relative truth and the physical world (*snod bčud*);

"Instruction in the Recitation of (the mantra styled) 'The Emptying of the Pit of the States of Woe'";

"The Volume of Songs of Spiritual Instruction";

"Prayers to the Lineage-Lamas", and other works. (p. 41)

In particular, as regards this jewel-precept, the cycle of texts dealing with "A *khrid*", he composed the "*Thun mchams bčō lña pa*"³¹ and the "*rGyab skyor rin čhen gsal 'debs*"³² in accordance with the spiritual practice (*thugs dgoñs*) of 'Gro mgon g-Yor po Me dpal and the illustrious *bLo gros*³³.

The above works were not proclaimed³⁴ as if to tamper with (the Doctrine) or from a (vain) delight in scholarship³⁵, but only to aid his own memory and to arrange (the teachings) in order to facilitate the understanding (of them) for inferior minds.

Being thus simultaneously scholarly, noble, and good, he obtained the dignity of the abbacy (*bla ma gdan sa bzun*)³⁶, and having turned the wheel of the Word of listening, explaining, meditating, realization etc., he effected the welfare of beings beyond reckoning; being a lamp of the precious Doctrine, he established beings beyond reckoning who were to be converted on the way of ripening and (ultimate) liberation.

Finally, at the age of 49, he displayed the manner of passing beyond sorrow and transitoriness. As for the signs of his *siddhi*, he left behind many relics—*rin srei*, rainbow-light etc.

As for his disciples, although there are, nowadays³⁷, many *kalyāṇamitras* and adept-saints in Upper, Middle and Lower (Tibet), there are (in particular) the (veritable) essence of the Doctrine, (namely) his younger brother *Bru Nam mkha' 'od zer* and his nephew *Bru ston bSod nams rgyal mchan* and many others.

As for the events foretold by prophetic utterances:

(a) the “*gNad byañ drug ču rca gčig*” of *rKyañ 'phags* says:

“As for the emanation of the mind of *sNañ ba mdog čan*, there will be one called *Bru ža rje bcun*. The fourteen *svastikasattvas* of his spiritual lineage will guide living beings. *rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ*, the manifestation of all the *sugatas*, the noble healers, (p. 42) will come for the welfare of beings. Those who bow down at his lotus-feet, being freed from the five *skandhas* of birth, will be established on the path of liberation. He will open the door of liberation for three hundred thousand beings.”

(b) The “*Nañ rgyud gliñ bsgrags*” of *rMa* says:

“Thereafter, as for the members of the family of *Bru*, there will be many bearing the name of *g-Yuñ druñ nam mkha'*³⁸ who will spread the Doctrine.”

Accordingly, the distinguished lama, his brother and his nephew thus were all manifestations of the *sugatas*, come for the welfare of beings.

[Part II of this article, “The Essential Teachings of the *A Khrid* System” will appear in the next issue of *Kailash*—Ed.]

Notes to Part I

1. *dbYiñs* is used in the sense of *čhos dbyiñs* (*bon dbyiñs*) (*dharmadhātu*), or *boñ ñid* (*dharmatā*), cf. p. 18, l. 7: *grub rtags gža' 'od dañ bčas nas dbyiñs su sañs rgyas pa lags so*
2. *dños snañ* ‘being visibly present’ (ST), cf. p. 11, l. 21: *dños snañ 'gro don tha ma*.
3. The meaning of *mje bsdu* would seem to be ‘sexual union’, but this only makes sense in the present context if one supposes that a negative has been lost, i.e. **mje mi bsdu*, ‘abstention from sexual union’.
4. I follow ST’s explanation of the somewhat elliptical *gčig čhod du thon pa*.
5. *Thugs sbyoñs/ blo sbyoñs* is said to be a technical term particular to the *bKa' gdams pa*, cf. Blue Annals p. 926, and TPS p. 98-99 where *blo sbyoñ* however is defined as a “particular class of mystic handbook of the Kadampa” and as precursors of the later *lam rim* literature. According to my Tibetan informants however, the expression simply means “to study”.
6. For *bon* in the meaning of ‘precept’, cf. Snellgrove “Nine Ways of Bon” p. 226 l. 9 where *bla med theg pa'i bon 'di dag* is translated “the religious truths of this Supreme Way”.
7. *sras* is used as an honorific title for young laymen (SG). That it cannot mean “son” is obvious as *Grol ba gšen rgyal* belongs to *Zu chañ* while *g-Yuñ druñ bla ma* belongs to *Bru chañ*.
8. The “*Gab pa*” has been published by the Bonpo Foundation; the other text might be the “*Sems phran sde būn*” (SG).
9. *Thod brgal* is not, as Snellgrove seems to suggest (“Four Lamas of Dolpo”, p. 139), a specifically *rjogs čhen* term. It translates sk. *vyutkrānta* in the term *vyutkrnātaka-samādhi*, tib. *thod (b)rgal gyi sñoms par 'jug pa*. It likewise translates *viškanda* in *viškandaka-samādhi*, tib. as above. See Hobogirin p. 353, l. (fasc. IV, Paris 1967) where J. May translates the entire phrase by

- 'Accès à l'Égalité en Sautant'. In the light of this article, which provides a full discussion of the term and numerous references, Ruegg's translation of the sentence *šes rab thod rgal pa rñams su mi čhug pa*, "they must be attentive inasmuch as his supreme knowledge was superb" (*thod rgal* seems to be translated by 'superb') ("The Life of Bu ston rin po che" p. 76), can now be corrected. *Thod rgal* is dealt with by Tucci, "Die Religionen Tibets" (Stuttgart 1970), p. 103-5.
10. *Sems bskyed smon 'jug*. *Sems bskyed pa* has two stages: the prayer (*smo lam*) that one may effect the welfare of beings, and the actual entering (*'jug pa*) on a bodhisattva's course (ST).
 11. '*Dod dus zas kyi ro šñoms de la gyis* | Is there an allusion to the *eka-rasa* (*ro šñoms*) doctrine?
 12. '*Cher sa* : the interpretation "burial-place" is given by my Tibetan informants. Might there be some confusion with *mched* "place for burying the dead" (Das p. 1041)? The *Dag yig* has "*mches dur du mčhod*" with the interlinear note : "*ši dur mčhod pa*" (p. 101, 1. 2). However, I am indebted to Mme Macdonald for another interpretation "dwelling-place, encampment" with the following references: *Si ru bka' čhems* fol. 144a : *cher sa 'résidence*'; *gCañ smyon rnam thar* fol. 28b : '*cher du 'chez lui*'. Cf. *Ch. gr.* p. 716, 1 : '*cher sa—mcher sa 'brog sa'am*; p. 711, 2 : '*mcher sa—ba lañ gnas sam thas rva dañ sdod sa 'brog sa*. The translation given by Jā. p. 460 ('an old deserted settlement or dwelling') is clearly quite insufficient.
 13. The same year is given in "*Ńi ma bstan 'jin*" (89).
 14. *sGra, 'od* and *zer* are treated (separately) in *Bras bu rañ sa bzuñ ba sku gsum dmar thag bčad pa'i khrid* (publ. Delhi 1966), fol. 3a - 4a.
 15. *Don rtags kyi* is possibly a mistake for *don rtags*. *sGom 'bar* is commonly known as *Don rtags gCañ pa se bo* (SG).
 16. *Duñ 'phreñ* : 'a string on which are threaded a certain number of coins of small value' (ST). Cf. *doñ ce* 'coin . . . esp. a small coin' Jā. p. 258.
 17. *Ńes 'byuñ gi dad pa* "a feeling of sadness resulting from the contemplation of the misery of *samsāra*." (SG).
 18. *Tog ma* 'trousers'; *phu lu* 'carrying frame' (SG).
 19. The reason for inserting an explanation which seems both unnecessary and erroneous, is probably an unwillingness to admit that this famous lama was entirely bereft of spiritual realization, even at this early stage in his career.
 20. Does *sel nags* mean 'forest', thus: "gain by means of (the produce of?) the forest"? Or is there a reference to cattle, cf. *nag čhags* 'cattle' ? The whole passage is obscure.
 21. Thus explained by ST. However, the translation: "(although) he did not sit on yellow cushions, his share of (the) homage (shown by the lay community) was greater than that of the (other?) monks" would seem to be more accurate.
 22. The "*sŃan rgyud*" adds : "His family (*gduñ rus*) was *Bru*."
 23. Interlinear note: "Also called *Srid thub*."
 24. ST.
 25. Found as a Treasure in 1108. Published by Tenzin Namdak, Delhi 1966 ("Mdzod phug: Basic Verses and Commentary by Dran pa nam mkha" 125 p.) Further information concerning the text is found in the introduction to this edition (on the pages marked 127—129, but actually p. 3—5).
 26. *Drañ sroñ (rši)* is the Bonpo term for *dge sloñ* (*bhikṣu*). Cf. Snellgrove "Nine Ways of Bon" p. 10.
 27. *gSum ldan gyi bla ma*, i.e. a lama whose threefold activity is as follows (ST):
(a) *dbañ bskur ba* — 'conferring of initiations'

- (b) *luñ gnañ ba* — 'imparting of ritual texts'
 (c) *rgyud bśad pa* — 'explaining of tantras'.

28. His biography is found on p. 94.2–98.2 of "Bon-po Niṣpanna Yoga".
29. The *varia lectio* given here found in "Niṣpanna Yoga" (p. 102, 4) is preferable.
30. It is fair to underline that my Bonpo informants objected to the translation 'dharmakāya', pointing out that *dharma* translates *chos*. As *bon* is, nevertheless, synonymous with *chos* (as far as Buddhist metaphysics is concerned) I have retained the translation, the term 'dharmakāya' having, after all, won for itself a place in Western idiom.
31. A part of which is translated in Part II of the present study.
32. I.e. the "*No sprod rin Chen gsal 'debs rgyab skyor gyi gdams pa*", p. 117–185 of the "A-TRI THUN TSHAM CHO-NA DAN". On p. 184 l. 13–20 of this text we find the following colophon:
 "Da (emend : de) ltar "No sprod rin po che'i gsal 'debs rgyab skyor gyi gdams pa"/ bla ma dam pa rnams kyi dgoñs chul dañ/ mñam med 'Dul ba rin po che'i žal gdams/ phyag len dañ mi 'gal bar/ dus sñigs ma'i Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yun drun la/ phyogs med kyi ñams len pa/ 'Bru sgom sByin pa 'od zer gyis bskul te/ gab pa bton/sbas pa bśigs/ bskuñs pa phyuñs te/ chig don gsal bas spros nas/ Rin Chen spuñs pa mKhar sna'i dgon par sbyar . . ."
33. Cf. Part I, App. 1. 'The illustrious *bLo gros* is 'A ža *bLo gros rgyal mchan*.
34. The texts were, of course, *dictated* to his pupils.
35. Acc. to ST, *ra žhod* means 'to tamper with, emend, (the scriptures)' and thus carries a strong pejorative sense (*bka' la ra žhod*—ST).
36. Presumably the abbacy of *g-Yas ru dBen sa kha* is meant; cf. p. 26 l. 10–14 (speaking of *g-Yor po Me dpal*):
 "de nas Bru ston Ńi rgyal gyi gdan sa / g-Yas ru dBen sa khar lo 'ga' bžugs te/ mkhas pa gños Chul khirms rgyal mchan dañ gñis/ bstan pa'i rgyal thebs mjad cñi/ bka' gžuñ bśad ñan gyi 'khor lo rgya Chen po bskor bas/ gdan sa rin po che la yañ bka' drin šin tu che ba lags soj"; p. 29 l. 16–17 ('A ža *bDud rci rgyal mchan*): "khoñ gi bstan pa'i rgyal thebs mjad cñi/ bka' luñ ñan bśad kyi 'khor lo bskor. . ."; p. 32 l. 12–16 ('A ža *bLo gros rgyal mchan*); p. 36 l. 13.
37. If the *din san* (the passage is found only in the *A khrid* version) should, in fact, as SG suggests, be translated "nowadays", this would seem to indicate that the present biography, and indeed probably the entire text A up to this biography, is written by a pupil of *Bru Chen*, i.e. in the first half of the 14th century. Needless to say, it would be extremely important for a correct evaluation of the information text A contains if its date of composition could be fixed.
38. *g-Yun druñ nam mkha'* is probably to be understood, or has at least been interpreted as, (*rGyal ba*) *g-Yuñ druñ* and (his brother) *Nam mkha'* ('od zer).

Bru ʒa rGyal ba g-yuñ druñ (1242—1290)	g-Yas ru dBen sa kha
↓	
Bru ʒa Nam mkha' 'od zer (younger brother of GY)	”
↓	
Bru ʒa bSod nams rgyal mchan (nephew of GY, 1268—1321)	”
↓	
Bru ʒa bSod nams blo gros (1277—1341)	”
↓	
Bru ʒa rNam rgyal ka ra	”
↓	
(?Bru ʒa?) Rin čhen blo gros	”
↓	
mÑam med Šes rab rgyal mchan (<i>sMan ri</i>) (1356—1415)	rGyal roñ gi čhu čhen rGyal mo dñul čhu
↓	
Go Rin čhen rgyal mchan (<i>sMan ri</i>) (b. 1360)	mDo khams Lha thu
↓	
gÑa' Nam mkha' ye šes (<i>sMan ri</i>) (abbot 1446)	rMa pom ra'i smad/čhu 'khrug (rMa čhu khrug)
↓	
sGa Kun bzai rgyal mchan (ab. 1464)	sTa 'u mdo skya
↓	
sGo jo ba bLo gros rgyal mchan	rGyal roñ stod kyi Sogs tiñ spo za
↓	
'Gru bsTan pa 'od zer	dGe sdiñ bon groñ
↓	
'Gru Ñi ma 'od zer (1562—1637)	dGe sdiñ gnas snañ

Appendix 2

Specimen of the Text of the Biography of
Bru čhen Compared with the Version Found
 in the *rJogs pa čhen po Žaň žuň sňan rgyud*
kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar ("Bonpo
 Nišpanna-Yoga", p. 98 1.4 et seq.)

The beginning of the Biography of *Bru čhen* as found in text A and in the "Bonpo Nišpanna Yoga", the variants found in the latter text being given in the notes. This short passage will suffice to show the near-identity of the two texts.

(p. 39 1.6 et seq.) . . . drug pa mchan ldan rgyal ba g-yuň druň gi rnam thar la¹/ yul ni g-Yas ru dBen sa khar²/ yab Bru-ža bSod nams rgyal mchan (interlinear note: Srid thub yaň zer) gyi sras su/ sku 'khruňs te/ sku mched bži yod pa'i tha ltag yin³/ de yaň sprul sku 'gro ba'i don la byon pa yin pas/ čhuň nas yon tan⁴ du ma daň ldan te/ dguň lo brgyad la⁵ mChan űid⁶ "Srid pa'i mjod phug"⁷ bšad/ de nas 'Dul ba rin po čhe'i druň du/ dag pa draň sroň gi sdom pa blaňs te/ chul miň rGyal ba g-yuň druň du mchan gsol žiň/ bslab pa chul khrims kyi⁸ don daň ldan par mjad/ gžan yaň phyi naň gsaň gsum gyi bon sde la/ dbaň luň byin rlabs daň bčas pa žus šin/ thugs rgyud sbyaňs/ khyad par gnas lugs theg čhen gyi űo sprođ žus pas⁹/ rce gčig yeňs med kyi thugs dam mjad de/ bla ma űid kyi gsuň las kyaň/ bdag gis kyaň daň po sruň sdom gyi bslab pa žus nas űo lgog¹⁴ med par bsruňs/ bar du thos bsam kyi bka' drin mnos nas sgro 'dogs¹¹ legs par bčad/ tha ma¹² yaň dag pa'i gnas lugs žus nas¹³ raň űo šes pa cam byuň¹⁴ bas/ 'di phyi gňis kar¹⁵ mi khyur chud pa cam byuň ba 'di yaň¹⁶/ gsum ldan gyi bla ma dam pa de'i bka' drin lags so/ žes gsuňs so/ gžan yaň dByil ston Khyun rgod rcal gyi dbon po dByil ston Nam mkha' bsod nams sam¹⁷/ Luň bon Lha gňan gyi brgyud pa Luň sgom bKra šis rgyal mchan nam¹⁸/ rMa ston Srid 'jin gyi brgyud pa/ rma ston Draň sroň las sogs rnam las kyaň¹⁹/ dbaň luň gdams pa byin rlabs daň bčas pa žus/

1. Bru čhen po rGyal ba g-yuň druň gi lo rgyus la lña/ daň po gcaň ma mi lus thob pa yab daň yum gyi lo rgyus ni/
2. kha/ gduň rus Bru yin/
3. yab ... rgyal mchan la/ sras sku mched .../
4. sbyaňs pa'i yon tan
5. brgyad pa la

6. mchan nid omitted
7. phugs
8. kyi omitted
9. žus nas
10. mñon lkog
11. sgros 'dogs
12. tha mar
13. žus nas omitted
14. byas
15. gñis ka
16. ... cam byas pa 'di ni/
17. ... bsod nams dañ/
18. ... dañ
19. la yañ

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- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
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| “Nine Ways of Bon” | “The Nine Ways of Bon”, Excerpts from <i>gZi-brjid</i> edited and translated by D.L. Snellgrove, OUP, London 1967. |
| “Ni ma bstan 'jin” | “Sañs rgyas kyi bstan rcis no mchar nor bu'i phreñ ba”, published in “Tibetan Žañ Žuñ Dictionary”, Tibetan Bonpo Foundation, New Delhi 1965. |
| “A Cultural History of Tibet” | “A Cultural History of Tibet” by David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, London 1968. |
| “bKa' 'gyur brten 'gyur” | “bKa' 'gyur brten 'gyur gyi sde chan sgrig chul bstan pa'i me ro spar ba'i rluñ g-yab bon gyi pad mo rgyas byed ñi 'od”, published by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi. (31 p.) |
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PRETRES LIMBU ET CATEGORIES DOMESTIQUES

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Summary

It is difficult to formulate clear-cut differences between the *phedangma* and the *bijuwa*, the two main categories of Limbu "priest" in Eastern Nepal. This article suggests a possible method of analysing the problem. Can an understanding of the way space is organized in the Limbu household lead us to a better grasp of the difference between the two sorts of priests and their complementarity?

The Limbu house is built parallel to a river. The inside is divided lengthwise into two parts: the "upper part" (*tho*) being closer to the rising ground behind the house, and the "lower part" (*yo*) being closer to the river. Another line bisects the house into the "front" (*tagaang*) and the "back" (*egaang*). The inside pillars, the hearth, the water-storage point, the two doors, etc, are always oriented in a similar way to one another, whatever the orientation of the main front of the house may be. Thus Limbu house-space is organized into two (groups of) categories whose opposition is founded on four cultural determinants: (a) up-stream and down-stream water (b) the hill-crest and the river (c) right and left, and (d) the cardinal points.

Household life, i.e. the activities of a married couple, takes place in a space which is organized in the following manner. The man's domain is the "upper part" and the "front"; the woman's the "lower part" and the "back". When the two categories combine there is mediation: the woman like the man has access to the hearth and the water-storage area at any time. However, in case of ritual impurity (consequent on pregnancy, delivery, menstrual periods, or purification of a child before putting it into a cradle), the normal techniques of mediation cease. Everyday life is changed. Man and woman are placed, so to speak, back to back; each is confined to the part of the house ritually assigned to him or her: the man to the "upper part", the woman to the "lower part".

As in everyday household existence, similar mechanisms operate in social and religious life: the numerous symbolical aspects of these being also expressed in terms of household categories. A few examples are given: the rules of hospitality; the accompanying of the soul of the dead into the beyond, and other rituals.

An examination of the roles played by the two main types of Limbu priests

highlights the opposition and complementarity of their functions in terms of a symbolism which is now clear after the study of the household organization. Three examples are given: the "upper part", "the front", "the right" are linked to the *phedangma*; the "lower part", "the left", "the back" are linked to the *bijuwa*.

It would seem therefore that space-organization in the Limbu household and the differences between the activities of the two sorts of priests are based on a classification by cultural categories. The study of the complementary activities of *phedangma* and *bijuwa* should possibly be undertaken in the light of this system of classification.

* * *

Au Népal oriental, les Limbu ne sont ni hindouistes, ni bouddhistes, même si de nombreux éléments synchrétisés apparaissent dans leurs croyances. Ils ont une religion qui leur est propre, une religion "sans nom", traditionnelle, qu'on aurait appelée "animiste" autrefois. Elle possède son propre corpus mythologique; son propre panthéon, son propre ensemble de "prêtres" dont les deux principaux sont le *phedangma* et le *bijuwa* (1). Elle fonctionne, aujourd'hui encore, comme un tout.

Sur le terrain, la distinction entre *phedangma* et *bijuwa* n'est pas évidente dès l'abord. Souvent, pour des raisons contingentes, les fonctions des deux prêtres interfèrent. Bien plus, leurs différences semblent difficiles à exprimer selon nos concepts occidentaux.

Ce que nous proposons dans cet article, c'est de poser le problème de la distinction entre les deux prêtres, et de formuler un point de méthode. Partant de l'organisation de l'espace domestique, nous chercherons à savoir si les principes qui la fondent ne peuvent servir à éclairer ce qui oppose *phedangma* et *bijuwa*.

Qu'on ne nous demande pas d'être exhaustif. Cette étude demeure une ébauche, une éventuelle direction de recherche.

A. LES FONDEMENTS STATIQUES

La maison limbu, étudiée par ailleurs (2), est liée aujourd'hui au champ en terrasse. Elle se compose d'une cour intérieure, souvent close, de diverses dépendances, et du bâtiment d'habitation. Ce dernier est une construction en dur. Les matériaux qui le composent sont de pierre, de bois, de terre, de bambou et de chaume. Il est de plan rectangulaire. Il repose sur une fondation de pierres qui émerge du sol comme une plateforme et détermine une marche tout autour du rez-de-chaussée : elle élève la maison par rapport à la cour intérieure.

La maison peut comporter un rez-de-chaussée et un grenier, ou bien, un rez-de-chaussée, un étage et un grenier. Que l'étage soit ou non présent, le rez-de-chaussée est la pièce importante. On y cuisine, on y prend ses repas; on y reçoit; on y travaille; on y dort, le plus souvent.

1. PRINCIPES QUI FONDENT L'ORGANISATION INTERNE DE L'ESPACE DOMESTIQUE.

L'organisation interne de l'habitation repose d'abord sur un ensemble de quatre principes complémentaires dont on peut, ultérieurement, faire découler tous les autres. Ce sont : les points cardinaux; l'amont et l'aval; le haut et le bas; la gauche et la droite. Avant de voir comment ces diverses catégories s'inscrivent dans la pièce d'habitation, donnons ici quelques aperçus des idées dont ils sont l'objet.

a) Les points cardinaux.

L'est, en nepāli *purba*, se dit *naamget* en limbu. Ce mot désigne à la fois le soleil levant et l'endroit où le soleil se lève. L'ouest, en nepāli *pascim*, se dit *naamthau* en limbu. Soleil couchant et ouest sont également désignés par le même mot. Ces deux points cardinaux connaissent une nette valorisation l'un par rapport à l'autre. L'est est considéré comme haut, l'ouest comme bas. Le centre du monde pour les Limbu est le *phoktaanglung-maa* (L), montagne que nous désignons sous le nom de Jannu : il se situe à l'est dans la mythologie. C'est l'un des points les plus élevés de la chaîne himalayenne dans le Népal de l'est. Dans tous les mythes limbu, il y a toujours, à un moment ou à un autre, un va-et-vient entre les dieux et les hommes, la terre et le ciel. Monter vers les dieux, c'est s'enfoncer à l'est, vers le centre du monde. Enfin la nuit est basse par rapport au jour.

L'est est lié à la vie, l'ouest à la mort. Les rituels de *naahaangmaa* (L), celui de *tongsing* (L) consistent à redonner une nouvelle "vigueur" aux "âmes" des vivants : on va vers l'est. Au contraire *khemaa paangphe* (L), le village des morts, est à l'ouest. Le rituel de *tongsing* (L) se fait au petit matin. Il est lié au soleil levant, au jour, à la vie. Celui de *saam saamaa* (L) qui consiste à accompagner l'âme du mort dans l'autre monde, se fait le soir, dès que le soleil a disparu derrière la crête, que l'ombre s'allonge sur le village, annonçant la nuit.

Enfin l'est est auspiceux, l'ouest inauspiceux. Les Limbu saluent le soleil levant. Ils ne saluent pas le soleil couchant, mais le feu ou la lampe, qu'ils viennent d'allumer.

A l'est sont donc associés la lumière, le haut, la vie, l'auspiceux. A l'ouest ce sont la nuit, la mort, le bas, l'inauspiceux.

Les deux autres points cardinaux, le nord et le sud ont des caractères en apparence moins tranchés. Le sud se dit *temen* (L) le nord *thaangget* (L). Tous les deux, à prime abord, sont considérés comme plats (*naa*) (L). Toutefois, pour eux également, une valorisation apparaît. Le nord est associé à l'est par son caractère auspiceux; le sud, à l'ouest dans l'inauspiceux. On ne peut par exemple, dans une maison, coucher la tête au nord : c'est regarder vers le sud, direction qu'empruntent les morts pour se rendre dans l'autre monde. Dans tous les villages de la Mewā Kholā (sauf un) les cimetières sont situés au sud des habitations. Dans l'orientation de la maison, les données culturelles l'emportent parfois sur celles de l'adaptation au terrain : l'exposition au nord peut être choisie, après divination, pour son caractère auspiceux.

b) *L'amont et l'aval.*

L'amont se dit *waabung* (L) qui désigne à la fois la source de la rivière et l'endroit où elle coule. L'aval se dit *waame* (L) qui signifie l'embouchure, en même temps que la direction vers laquelle la rivière court.

L'amont est nettement valorisé. La source, c'est la pureté. On a besoin d'eau de source ou d'eau de pluie dans certains rituels. Cette eau est alors appelée *si jongwaa*, l'eau pure.

Au contraire, l'aval c'est le pollué. Pour boire dans la rivière, on tente toujours de monter plus haut. De même pour tirer l'eau. Ces notions sont fortement vécues. Elles se combinent avec celles qui relèvent des points cardinaux. Dans la Mewā, orientée nord-sud, on utilise peu les mots désignant ces deux points cardinaux. Pour parler du nord on dit *waabung* (L), l'amont; pour le sud, *waame* (L), l'aval. Dans le langage courant, *kereii* (L), "il est monté", signifie "il est allé au nord ou à l'est". Au contraire *kuteii* (L), "il est descendu", signifie "il est allé vers l'ouest ou le sud". L'amont présente les mêmes caractères auspicioseux que le nord; l'inverse pour le sud et l'aval.

c) *Le haut et le bas.*

Sur un chemin plat (*naa*) qui s'enfonce de l'aval vers l'amont, il y a toujours un côté crête et un côté rivière. Le premier est désigné comme "haut" (*tho*) (L), le second comme "bas" (*yo*) (L).

Il y a une nette valorisation du haut par rapport au bas. Tout rêve de montée est auspicioseux; de descente inauspicioseux. Si l'on rêve de serpent, cela signifie une querelle. On s'enquiert alors immédiatement de la position du rêveur par rapport au serpent. Montait-il? Le serpent descendait-il? : il gagnera son procès, il battra son adversaire.

d) *La gauche et la droite.*

La gauche se dit *phengwaa* (L), la droite *cukwaa* (L). La droite est nettement valorisée par rapport à la gauche. On mange de la main droite; on se nettoie de la main gauche, etc.

Voyons comment ces divers principes s'inscrivent dans l'organisation interne de la maison.

2. ORGANISATION INTERNE DE LA MAISON.

La maison est d'abord divisée en deux par un axe longitudinal, qui est donc toujours parallèle à la rivière. Cet axe sépare la maison en deux parties; l'une du côté de la crête est appelée haute (*tho*) (L); l'autre, côté rivière, est basse (*yo*) (L). Cette distinction est valable quelle que soit la rive, droite ou gauche, sur laquelle la maison est établie. Elle ne relève pas de l'orientation de la façade principale. En fonction des données statiques on a donc quatre structures possibles, symétriques deux à deux.

La différenciation apparaît dans la terminologie. Les murs des deux petites façades sont considérés comme "plats" (*naa*) (L). Ils sont appelés *naa lung thaak* (L). Par contre, le mur côté crête est appelé "mur du haut" (*tho lung thaak* ou *tho haang lung thaak*). Celui qui domine la rivière est appelé "mur du bas" (*yo lung thaak*, ou *yo haang lung thaak*) (L).

Un second axe, perpendiculaire au premier, sépare également la maison dans le sens de la largeur. Cette fois la dénomination ne se fait pas simplement par rapport à la crête et à la rivière; elle fait intervenir l'orientation de la façade principale: c'est par rapport à cette dernière que la maison est séparée en devant (*tagaang*) (L) et derrière ou fond (*egaang*) (L). Cette distinction apparaît également dans la nomenclature. On différencie les deux murs "plats" des petites façades en les appelant "mur du fond" (*egaang lung thaak*) (L) et "mur du devant" (*tagaang lung thaak*) (L).

En fonction des diverses orientations, compte tenu de l'implantation sur une rive droite ou une rive gauche, on peut donc avoir quatre organisations possibles uniformément symétriques les unes par rapport aux autres (fig.1).

C'est ici que l'on voit apparaître la contradiction entre faits "naturels" et faits culturels. Quelles que soient les orientations réelles des façades principales, les villageois s'entendent pour insister sur le fait que chaque maison est ouverte à l'est.

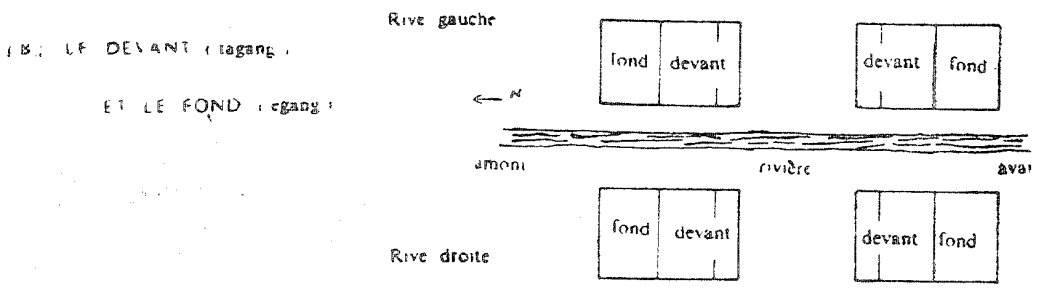
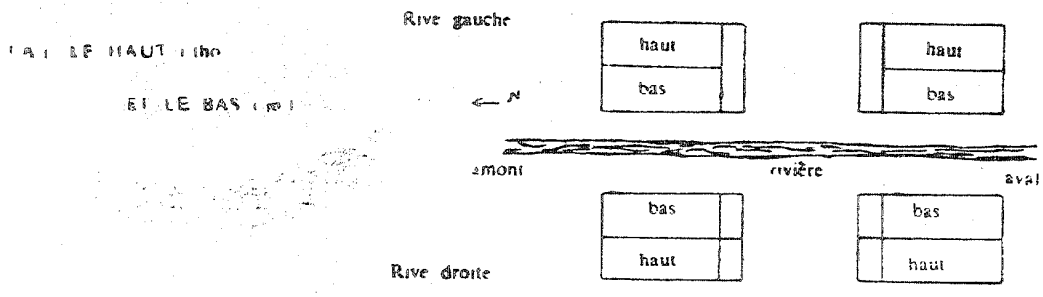
Il faut tenir compte de cette idée symbolique : la séparation en "haut" et "bas" faisait intervenir les deux principes corollaires de crête/riivière et de amont/aval. Celle qui concerne le "devant" et le "derrière" est liée à l'orientation par rapport aux points cardinaux, identique, abstraitement, d'une maison à l'autre. Des quatre principes de base énumérés plus haut, seuls ceux qui concernent la droite et la gauche n'apparaissent pas encore: on les verra intervenir bientôt.

Dans la maison un certain nombre d'emplacements sont privilégiés. Leur importance relève avant tout du quotidien. Elle apparaît également cristallisée dans le rituel. C'est ainsi que les quatre coins, les trois piliers, sont au coeur des cérémonies qui concernent le choix du site et la fin de la construction. Il en est de même, à des titres divers, pour le foyer et l'eau, les deux portes, la panne faîtière, la projection du toit sur le sol, la marche qui sépare en deux le rez-de-chaussée. Examinons successivement la situation de chacun de ces emplacements en fonction des diverses catégories de "haut" et "bas", de "devant" et "derrière".

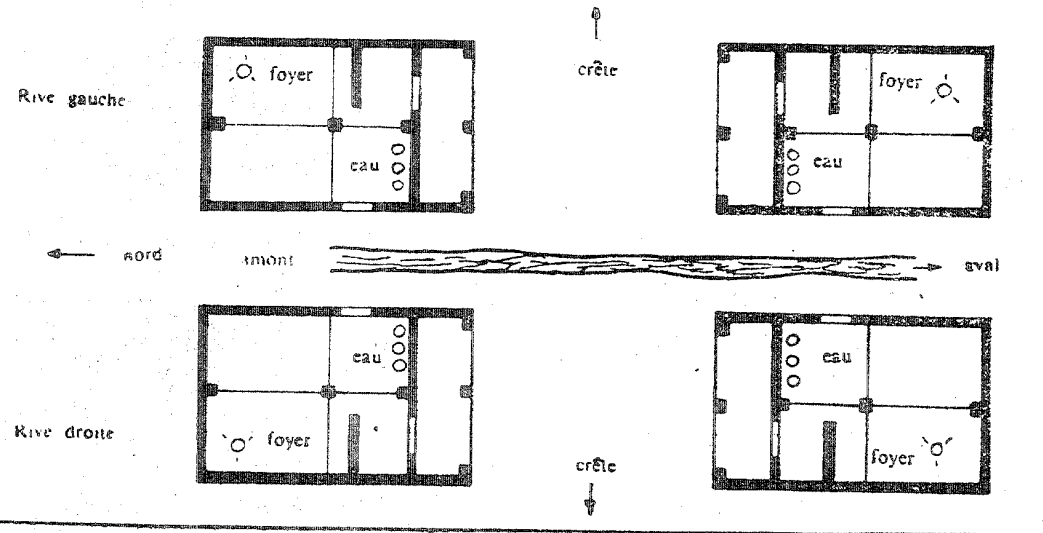
Les piliers intérieurs sont aux intersections des diverses catégories de l'organisation. Ce sont eux qui déterminent concrètement les structures internes. L'axe longitudinal qui sépare en "haut" et "bas" passe par les trois piliers. Celui qui divise la maison en devant et derrière, perpendiculaire au précédent, passe par le pilier central. Ce dernier se trouve donc à l'intersection des deux axes. Il est le centre de la maison. On ne peut le "battre". On ne peut y poser les pieds. C'est devant lui que s'effectuent nombre de cérémonies. On lui fait des offrandes.

FIGURE 1

ORGANISATION INTERNE DE LA MAISON EN FONCTION DE LA RIVE ET DE L'ORIENTATION



C) ORGANISATION INTERNE



Une marche intérieure surélève de quelques centimètres l'ensemble du coin foyer jusqu'à la murette qui fait face à la porte principale. Elle est la représentation matérielle, partielle, de la séparation entre haut et bas au rez-de-chaussée.

La poutre faitière, lors des offices religieux, est l'ultime étape, dans la maison, qu'atteignent les "âmes" avant de gagner l'autre monde. Elle possède donc une fonction de nette séparation entre l'espace socialisé et celui qui ne l'est pas. Elle est également à l'étage ce qu'est l'axe des piliers au rez-de-chaussée. En d'autres termes, c'est l'ensemble de la maison qui est séparé en deux parties "haute" et "basse".

Le foyer, lui aussi, apparaît dans le rituel. On ne peut en "battre les pierres". On lui fait des offrandes. Quelle que soit la situation de la maison, le foyer se trouve toujours à la fois dans le fond (*egaang*) (L) et dans le haut (*tho*) (L).

Les caractères de la réserve d'eau sont moins marqués. De même sa position, qui peut varier. Toutefois, dans la majorité des cas, l'eau se trouve diamétralement opposée au foyer. C'est-à-dire qu'elle se situe dans le devant (*tagaang*) (L) et le bas (*yo*) (L).

Quelle que soit, également, la vraie situation de la maison, les deux portes sont toujours dans une position identique par rapport à la structure interne. Toutes les deux sont dans le devant (*tagaang*) (L). La porte principale, toutefois, est toujours dans la partie haute (*tho*), la porte secondaire, dans la partie basse (*yo*). Ces situations opposées ne souffrent pas d'exceptions.

C'est en fonction des catégories internes de la maison que le *phedangma*, lors du choix du site, différencie nettement chaque coin de la maison. Il appelle les coins de la façon suivante:

- Le coin du fond, côté bas (*yo, egaang*),
- le coin du devant, côté bas (*yo, tagaang*),
- le coin du fond, côté haut (*tho, egaang*),
- le coin du devant, côté haut (*tho, tagaang*).

Lors du rituel qui précède l'excavation, l'énumération n'est pas faite au hasard: elle est identique à celle que l'on vient d'employer. Elle est auspiciuse. Dans d'autres rituels, on agit de façon inverse. Ces énumérations impliquent également des façons de se mouvoir. La première, que l'on tourne dans le sens des aiguilles d'une montre lorsqu'on se trouve dans le "haut"; dans le sens inverse pour le "bas". Et la réciproque si l'on emploie la seconde façon d'énumérer.

Enfin, notons que toute la maison est "haute", dans son ensemble, par rapport à l'espace qui l'entoure et demeure "bas". Toutefois ici une précision s'impose: ce n'est pas le soubassement de pierre qui fait de l'habitation un site naturellement élevé, comme on pourrait le penser. Ce qui est appelé haut, c'est toute l'aire de projection du toit qui déborde nettement au-delà de la marche courant sur les quatre faces de la maison.

Ainsi, quelle que soit la situation d'une habitation sur une rive droite ou gauche, quelle que soit l'orientation de sa façade, à l'amont ou à l'aval, on trouve toujours les

quatre possibilités d'organisation interne que montre la figure 1 et qui se ramènent à deux types symétriques d'un même modèle structural.

B. DYNAMIQUE DU SYSTEME

Pour étudier le mécanisme du système, nous examinerons successivement, en fonction de l'organisation interne de la maison: les activités du couple conjugal, d'abord dans la vie quotidienne, puis à l'occasion de l'impureté rituelle; certains aspects de la vie sociale, en prenant deux exemples, l'hospitalité et la veillée funéraire; enfin quelques exemples liés à la vie religieuse.

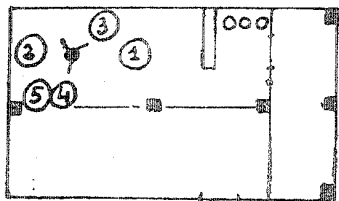
1. LE COUPLE CONJUGAL.

Dans quelle mesure la symbolique de la maison joue son rôle dans la vie quotidienne? Si mari et femme se trouvent ensemble dans la maison, lorsque cette dernière s'occupe de la préparation du repas, le couple, d'ordinaire, est installé près du foyer, c'est-à-dire dans la partie "haute". La mère, ses filles, ses brus, se trouvent vers le "fond", les hommes, au contraire, vers le "devant" par rapport au foyer. D'une maison à l'autre cette disposition est constante. Le repas se prend le plus souvent dans la partie haute. La figure 2 présente les positions de six familles prises au hasard, soit au moment du déjeuner, soit au moment du dîner. Les positions de chacun des membres sont remarquablement homogènes. Elles sont sensiblement les mêmes qu'à l'occasion de la préparation du repas. La mère et ses filles sont dans le fond (*egaang*) (L), par rapport au foyer. Le père et ses fils adolescents, entre le pilier central et le foyer. Les enfants en bas âge semblent ne pas avoir de place attribuée. Dans certains cas le père se trouve contre la murette, dans la partie du devant, (*tagaang*) (L), tout le reste de la famille se situe toujours dans le fond par rapport au père. Père et mère se trouvent toujours dans des positions extrêmes.

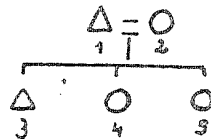
L'homme a tendance à utiliser la porte principale, la femme, la porte secondaire. Les activités de la femme près de la réserve d'eau l'amènent à franchir fréquemment le seuil de la petite porte, pour faire la vaisselle, déverser les eaux usées, etc. C'est par la porte principale que père et fils adolescents passent, pour se rincer la bouche, à l'issue du repas. Les femmes, au contraire, en cette occasion, utilisent l'ouverture qui domine la rivière. Cette tendance s'affermi lorsque des invités sont installés sous la véranda. Alors les femmes évitent d'emprunter la grande porte qui y mène. C'est donc en termes de l'organisation interne, la relation haut/bas qui joue ici. Aux femmes, la porte du "bas" (*yo*) (L); aux hommes, la porte du "haut" (*tho*) (L).

La figure 3 présente diverses positions, relevées au hasard dans 8 habitations, pour dormir. En fonction de ces exemples ainsi que d'informations générales obtenues par ailleurs, on peut dire que les tendances sont les suivantes: on dort généralement dans la partie haute (*tho*) (L), plutôt que dans la partie basse (*yo*); dans le fond (*egaang*),

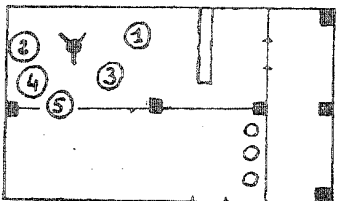
FIGURE 2. LE REPAS ET LES CATEGORIES DOMESTIQUES



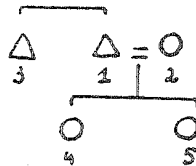
crête
SE
rivière



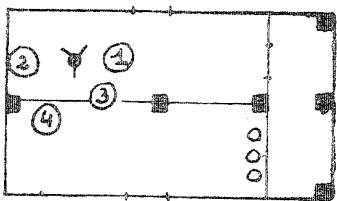
Maison n° 1



crête
S
rivière



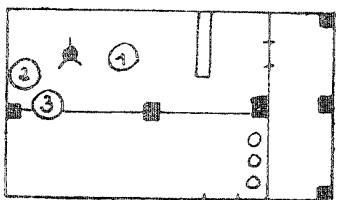
Maison n° 2



crête
SE
rivière



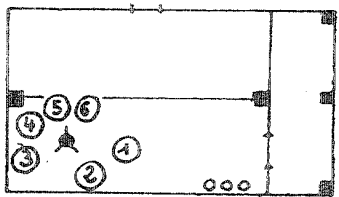
Maison n° 3



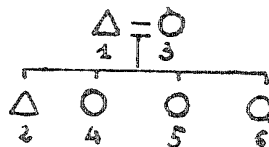
crête
SW
rivière



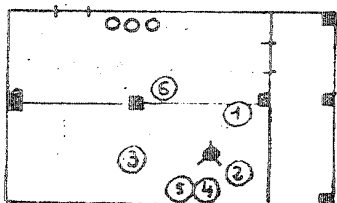
Maison n° 4



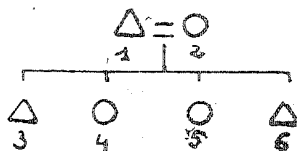
rivière
N
crête



Maison n° 5



crête
SW
rivière



Maison n° 6

que dans le devant (*tagaang*). On recherche en général une disposition de la tête vers l'est. On évite l'ouest, et systématiquement le nord. Parfois, en raison de l'orientation de la maison, ce n'est pas possible. Alors l'orientation réelle ne semble plus jouer : on s'installe la tête près du pilier central, les pieds vers le fond, ce qui semble ramener à une orientation symbolique vers l'est. Les enfants en bas âge dorment près de leurs parents, les filles, du côté de la mère, les fils, du côté du père. Plus grands, ils s'écartent du couple conjugal et s'installent dans la partie "basse" de la maison ou sous la véranda. Il en est de même semble-t-il pour les personnes âgées. Les fils mariés, s'ils habitent encore la maison, dorment à l'étage.

Un autre point, beaucoup plus systématique, apparaît partout : la femme dort toujours à gauche de son mari. Cette dernière distinction l'emporte systématiquement sur celle de haut et bas, de devant et de fond.

Au rez-de-chaussée, il arrive fréquemment que bien de la femme et bien du mari ne soient pas nettement différenciés et, d'autre part, n'aient pas de place attitrée. Il n'en est pas de même au grenier. Les coffres qui contiennent les richesses du mari se trouvent toujours dans la partie haute (*tho*) de la maison, parfois vers le devant (*tagaang*). Ceux de la femme, sa dot, ses propriétés personnelles, ses bijoux, ses vêtements, dans la partie basse (*yo*), toujours vers le fond (*egaang*). Dans le cas d'une famille où père et mère cohabitaient avec deux fils mariés, le coffre de la mère, puis celui de l'épouse du fils aîné, enfin celui de la femme du cadet, se succédaient, dans le bas, à partir du fond.

On nous a dit que les vêtements mis à sécher, soit dans la cour intérieure, soit dans la pièce d'habitation, respectaient la séparation entre hommes (dans le haut) et femmes (dans le bas). Nous n'avons pu vérifier. Par contre, dans le rituel, on évite nettement, dans la plupart des occasions, de mélanger les vêtements des hommes et ceux des femmes, des enfants et des parents : on craint l'inceste.

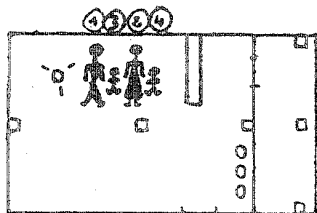
La vie quotidienne ne nous permet donc de déterminer que des tendances. Il faut chercher ailleurs une cristallisation plus nette des faits.

Voyons ce qui se passe lorsque la bonne marche de la vie domestique se trouve perturbée par l'impureté. Lors des règles, la vie s'arrête. Rêver que l'on a des relations sexuelles avec une femme qui a ses règles, c'est signe de mort. L'homme est prévenu, car alors sa femme ne cuisine plus, ne va plus chercher de l'eau. Il continue de coucher dans le "haut" (*tho*) ; sa femme ne vient plus l'y rejoindre, et va s'installer dans la partie basse (*yo*). C'est là également qu'elle prend ses repas. Elle ne peut avoir accès, ni au foyer (dans le haut), ni à l'eau (dans le devant).

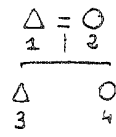
Pendant la grossesse, la femme continue de cuisiner et d'aller puiser l'eau. Toutefois, deux points paraissent importants : dès que son mari entre dans la maison, elle lui abandonne la partie haute, pour s'installer dans le bas. Elle dort au même endroit que lors de ses règles.

L'accouchement se fait à l'intérieur de la maison. Il ne peut prendre place ni dans le haut (*tho*) de la maison, ni dans le devant (*tagaang*) : la femme, là encore, est installée

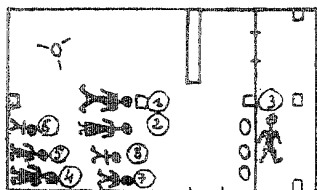
FIGURE 3 LE SOMMET ET LES CATEGORIES DOMESTIQUES



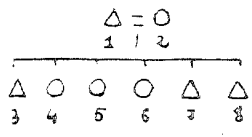
S →



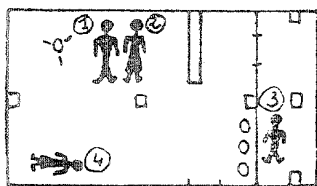
Maison 1



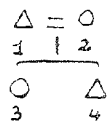
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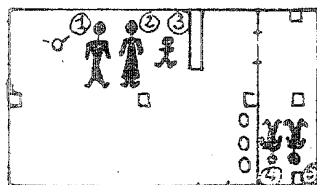
Maison 2



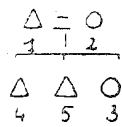
SW →



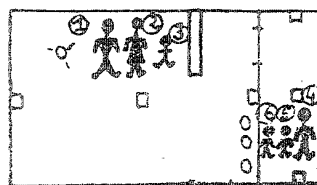
Maison 3



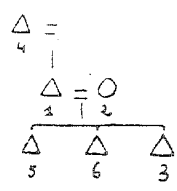
SW →



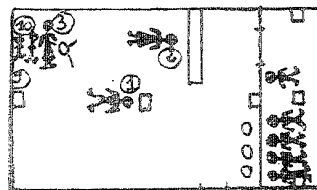
Maison 4



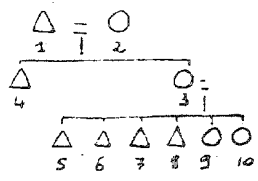
S →



Maison 5



S →



Maison 6

dans le fond (*egaang*), en bas (*yo*). A la suite de la naissance il ya une période d'impureté, qui dure trois ou quatre jours, selon qu'est né une fille ou un garçon. C'est à ce moment-là que s'effectue la plus nette séparation des deux sexes. Un complet dédoublement apparaît. Le foyer en *tho* (L) est conservé par le mari, pour cuisiner son propre repas. Un autre foyer est installé en *yo* (L) pour la mère, l'enfant et la sage femme. La réserve d'eau est pareillement dédoublée. L'utilisation des portes est systématiquement réglementée. La femme ne peut sortir que par la porte du bas; l'homme par celle du haut. Pendant ces trois ou quatre jours, mari et femme sont constamment séparés. L'homme se tient constamment dans le haut (*tho*); la femme dans le bas (*yo*), sans qu'ils aient la possibilité d'empiéter sur leurs territoires réciproques.

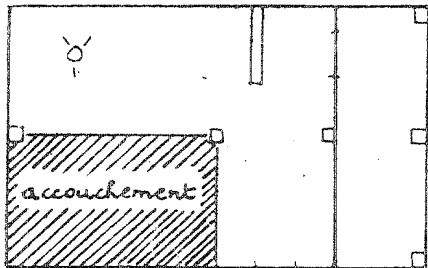
Enfin, à l'issue de cette période, se passe une petite fête, la "mise au berceau" (*yaangdaang pokmaa*). Lors de ce rituel, deux points nous intéressent. Tout d'abord le *phedungma* vient purifier la maison. Il procède comme indiqué sur la figure 4 b,c. Il entre dans la maison par la porte principale avec un récipient d'eau lustrale et un "goupillon" de feuilles. Restant dans la partie basse (*yo*) il se dirige vers le fond de la pièce. Il arrose le pilier central, puis le foyer de la femme, puis la mère elle-même. Alors, partant du pilier du fond de la maison, (*egaang sit laang*), il remonte vers la porte secondaire en arrosant le mur. Il "chasse" l'impureté par cette porte. Il pénètre de nouveau dans l'habitation, va jusqu'au pilier de façade (*tagaang sit laang*) et recommence la même opération, demeurant toujours dans la partie basse. Il recommence exactement les mêmes gestes pour l'homme, mais cette fois il demeure constamment dans la partie "haute" et "chasse" en deux fois les impuretés, par la porte principale. Un peu plus tard, dans un but identique de purification, on passe un enduit d'eau, de terre rouge et de bouse de vache, sur le sol battu du rez-de-chaussée. Pour toute naissance, le mouvement est le même. On part de l'extérieur de la maison, de la véranda, pour aller vers l'intérieur, le fond de la maison (figure 4 d). C'est exactement l'inverse qui se passe à l'occasion des rituels funéraires.

Ainsi la femme est associée, dans l'organisation interne de la maison, au fond (*egaang*), au bas (*yo*) et à titre secondaire à la gauche et aux deux points cardinaux de l'ouest et du sud. L'homme, au contraire, au devant (*tagaang*), au haut (*tho*), à la droite, à l'est et au nord. Tant qu'aucune impureté ne vient perturber la bonne marche de la vie quotidienne les deux couples d'opposition haut/bas, devant/derrière assurent, par leur combinaison, une médiation, et permettent à la femme d'avoir accès à tout moment à l'eau et au foyer. Toutefois, dès que des circonstances particulières apparaissent, dès que la vie s'arrête, les médiations ne peuvent plus jouer et chacun des deux sexes est renvoyé dos à dos, la femme en *yo*, l'homme en *tho*.

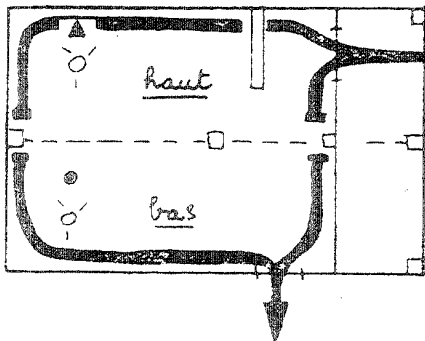
2. LA VIE SOCIALE

Le mécanisme des catégories s'inscrit également dans le cours de la vie sociale. Nous allons le voir à partir de deux exemples: l'hospitalité d'une part; certains aspects

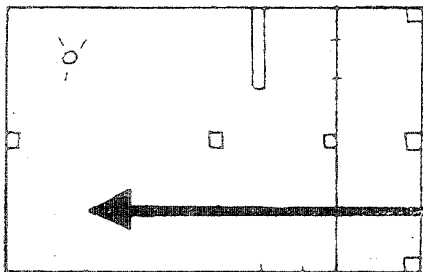
FIGURE 4. LA NAISSANCE ET LES CATEGORIES DOMESTIQUES



a) place de l'accouchement



b) purification et dédoublement



d) enduit

de l'extérieur
vers l'intérieur

des rituels funéraires, de l'autre.

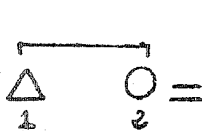
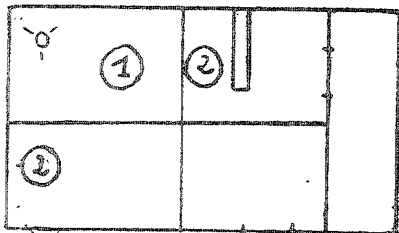
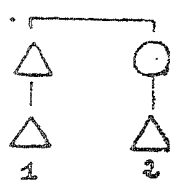
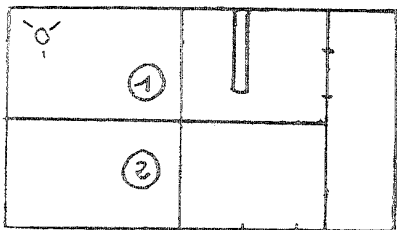
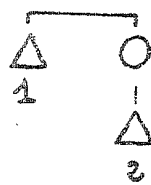
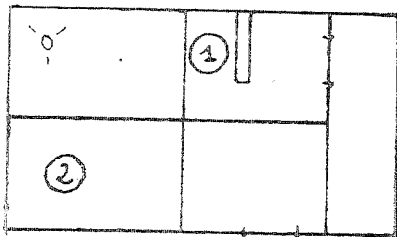
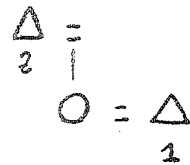
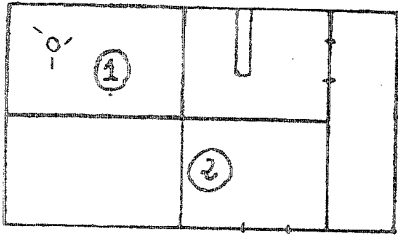
a) *L'hospitalité.*

En pays limbu, comme ailleurs au Népal, les règles de l'hospitalité sont très élaborées. Le formel de l'institution n'est cependant qu'une trame qui disparaît sous la générosité et la chaleur de l'accueil. Il s'agit, d'une part, de donner toutes commodités à l'hôte qui s'arrête au moins une nuit, parfois deux ou trois jours. D'autre part, de préserver l'intimité de la famille qui reçoit. Enfin si l'hospitalité est la même pour tous, l'étiquette veut que l'on distingue l'appartenance au groupe social d'abord; ensuite que toujours soit indiquée la hiérarchie de l'hôte par rapport à son invité.

C'est le clan qui est déterminant dans la reconnaissance du groupe social. Dans le cadre de l'ethnie, deux inconnus s'abordent en s'appelant cousins (*lungwaa*) (L). De clans différents, ils sont des alliés en puissance. L'inconnu et l'allié réel ont donc même statut. Reçus dans la maison, on les installe dans la partie basse (*yo*) de la pièce d'habitation. Ce sont des invités (*tarebaa*) (L). Au contraire, le membre d'un même clan s'assied près du foyer, dans la partie haute (*tho*). Il ne jouit pas du statut d'invité. C'est un frère. Seule exception à la règle, l'oncle maternel (*kwa*) est chez lui dans la maison du fils de sa soeur. S'il est présent à l'occasion d'une fête, d'un rituel, d'une quelconque réception, il peut disposer des réserves, donner des ordres. Lui non plus n'est pas un invité. Lui aussi a accès au foyer. Ainsi la distinction entre membre du clan et allié, entre nous et les autres, se fait très concrètement, dans le cadre de la maison, en fonction des catégories du haut et du bas.

La hiérarchie entre deux individus dépend de leur position réciproque dans le réseau de parenté (chaque relation est nettement hiérarchisée), de leur âge, et, moins facilement perceptible, de la puissance politique et économique de chacun. Dans le cadre de l'hospitalité, la hiérarchisation se fait par de multiples détails. Pour s'asseoir, par exemple, on peut avoir droit à une simple natte (*gundri*) (N), à une natte et une couverture, ou bien à une natte, une couverture et un tapis tibétain. Les invités, en général, dorment sous la véranda. Lorsque la nuit tombe, le maître de maison s'assure, en personne, que chacun dispose d'un matériel de couchage suffisant. S'il se trouve dans une position de supériorité hiérarchique, il demande directement ce qui manque; il distribue oreillers, nattes, couvertures; les invités s'installent eux-mêmes. Dans la situation inverse, c'est indirectement qu'il s'enquiert des besoins, le plus souvent en observant: il arrange lui-même l'endroit où chacun dort. Selon sa position, également, on parle le premier, on pose des questions, on aborde les sujets que l'on veut; ou bien au contraire, on ne fait que répondre, souvent par monosyllabes; on attend que l'on vous parle. Le repas, les boissons offertes, tiennent compte, eux aussi, du même souci: la fréquence de l'alcool ou de la bière; la façon dont ils sont servis; le nombre d'"amuse-gueule" (*acaar*) (N), qui les accompagnent; la qualité du repas, avec ou sans riz, avec ou sans

FIGURE 5. HIERARCHIE ET HOSPITALITE



viande; la manière de présenter l'eau; le fait que l'on dîne avec, ou avant, le maître de maison: tous ces détails sont nettement significatifs. C'est cependant par le biais du mécanisme des catégories internes de la maison que s'effectue l'essentiel de la hiérarchisation. En deux occasions l'invité est amené à pénétrer dans la pièce d'habitation: souvent, pour discuter avec son hôte devant une boisson qu'on lui offre; et toujours, pour prendre son repas.

Prenons quelques exemples (fig. 5).

Un gendre reçoit son beau-père. D'abord se manifeste la distinction des clans: le gendre, maître de maison, demeure dans le haut (*tho*), son beau-père, dans le bas (*yo*). La relation de parenté est nettement hiérarchisée: le gendre, inférieur, s'installe dans le fond (*egaang*) par rapport à son beau-père qui demeure dans le devant (*tagaang*) (fig. 5a).

Un frère de mère (*kwaa*) (L) reçoit un fils de soeur (*laamsaa*) (L). La figure 5b montre leurs positions réciproques: le neveu est dans le fond de la maison (*egaang*), l'oncle, dans le devant (*tagaang*): cela, c'est pour la hiérarchie. Le neveu est dans la partie basse (*yo*), l'oncle, dans le haut (*tho*) c'est la différenciation des groupes sociaux.

Parfois les changements de statut ou bien le manque d'une nette hiérarchisation de certaines relations de parenté, amènent à l'embarras ou à la plaisanterie.

Un homme reçoit sa soeur aînée mariée dans un autre village: il tente de la faire asseoir dans le haut de la maison, vers le devant. C'est courtoisie: il reconnaît ainsi l'aïnesse et l'appartenance au même groupe. La soeur parfois s'esquive. Mariée depuis longtemps, elle est censée ne plus appartenir au clan de son frère, mais à celui de son mari. En même temps la position de ce dernier, "preneur" de femme et non "donneur", le met dans une position d'infériorité: sa femme va s'installer dans le bas (*yo*), vers le fond (*egaang*) (fig. 5d).

Deux cousins croisés (*lungwaa*) du même âge sont dans une relation d'égalité marquée par la plaisanterie. Souvent ils jouent à celui qui se retrouvera le plus loin vers le devant (*tagaang*). Au bout du compte ils se trouvent, riant, l'un en face de l'autre, de part et d'autre du pilier central (fig. 5c).

Dans la vie sociale, les catégories de haut et de bas marquent l'appartenance au clan, la distinction entre l'os et la chair, les frères et les alliés, "nous" et "les autres". Au contraire c'est en fonction du devant et du fond que s'effectue la hiérarchisation. Elle est également valable pour les gens d'un même clan: un père, vrai ou classificatoire, un frère aîné, se trouvent toujours dans le devant de la maison par rapport au fils, au frère cadet.

b) *Les rites funéraires.*

Lors des funérailles, toutes les catégories sociales sont réunies, toutes les croyances liées au destin de l'homme sont fortement ressenties. Les unes comme les autres apparaissent dans le rituel. La nuit qui précède l'enterrement, on veille à l'intérieur de

la maison. C'est en fonction de l'organisation interne que chaque idée trouve son expression concrète.

Le mort ne peut être placé dans le "haut" (*tho*) de l'habitation. Comme le nouveau-né, comme la femme, comme l'allié, il appartient au domaine du "bas" (*yo*). Toutefois il conserve son caractère humain : on ferme les portes ; poulets, chiens et chats, tout le monde animal qui pourrait, en temps ordinaire, être parfois toléré à l'intérieur, est tenu à l'écart : la maison devient "haute" dans son ensemble, par rapport au reste du monde et le mort en fait toujours partie. La tête du mort se trouve, en général, vers le fond de l'habitation, les pieds dirigés vers le devant, où sont les portes. C'est ainsi qu'il franchira le seuil, qu'il sera porté vers le cimetière. Ce symbolisme du départ s'inscrit également dans le rituel de purification qui suit la levée du corps (*saam yungmaa*) (L) : à l'inverse de ce qui se passe lors de la naissance, c'est de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur que l'on étale l'enduit sur le sol du rez-de-chaussée. En même temps le cadavre doit avoir la tête au nord, c'est-à-dire regarder vers le sud, vers le cimetière, vers l'aval, vers le chemin qu'il va prendre pour gagner l'autre monde. Plusieurs principes semblent donc ici en cause, parfois en contradiction les uns avec les autres : on tente de concilier les vraies orientations avec les dispositions contingentes à la structure interne de la maison. La symbolique des deux portes n'entre pas en ligne de compte : homme ou femme, mort naturelle ou malemort, c'est par la porte principale que l'on fait sortir le cadavre. Par contre la différenciation sexuelle s'exprime, comme à l'occasion de la naissance, par le symbolisme répété des chiffres trois et quatre.

Dans le cas le plus fréquent d'une façade exposée vers l'aval, le corps se trouve donc étendu dans le bas (*yo*), allongé parallèlement à la poutre faitière, la tête vers le fond et le nord, les pieds vers l'aval et le sud. Les assistants à la veillée funèbre s'installent autour de lui comme s'il figurait un arbre généalogique. La distinction des générations se fait en fonction des parties du corps : les grands-parents sont repoussés au-delà de la tête ; les parents s'installent à hauteur du visage ; les frères et cousins, aux épaules ; les enfants, aux jambes ; les petits enfants, au-delà des pieds. Les vieux, comme le mort, ont donc le visage tourné vers le sud ; les jeunes, comme le nouveau-né, vers le nord. Si l'on demande justification d'une telle disposition, le Limbu répond que tout est selon le "sens du respect" : "vous ne saluez (*namaste*) (N) ni le sud, ni votre propre petit-fils". En fonction du corps, également, la disposition des parentés de l'os et de la chair. Si le mort était célibataire, son père et les siens s'installent à ce que l'on appelle son flanc droit ; le frère de la mère et sa famille, sur son flanc gauche. Mais dans une maison ouverte, vers l'aval, sur une rive gauche, ces positions sont en contradiction avec celle du haut, domaine du clan, et du bas, celui des alliés. C'est finalement le second principe qui semble l'emporter. Mais la terminologie droite et gauche est conservée. Si le mort était marié, le père, l'oncle maternel se retrouvent ensemble sur la droite (ou le haut), opposés au beau-père qui se tient avec les siens sur la gauche (ou dans le bas). Enfin quelles que soient les contingences des orientations, les femmes, en général, sont à gauche des hommes.

Ainsi, lors de cette veillée funèbre, de multiples représentations s'enchevêtrent. On a l'impression que cette nuit-là, il faut tout exprimer. Toutefois c'est dans le cadre très simple de l'organisation interne de la maison que se traduit concrètement chaque symbole.

3. ASPECTS DU RITUEL.

Le mécanisme des catégories, par des détails infiniment répétés, se prolonge jusqu'au plus profond du domaine religieux.

Chaque année, les rituels de *naahaangmaa* (L), *maangennaa* (L), et *lumaaeppaa* (L) s'effectuent ensemble, avec ceux de *tongsing* et des planètes (*graha*) (N), à deux reprises dans chaque maison. Une première fois en novembre-décembre, lors de la saison "descendante", une seconde, en mars-avril, au début de la saison "montante".

Le premier, *naahaangmaa*, se fait au nom du seul chef de famille : on fait une offrande à une divinité guerrière qui siège dans un pays mythique appelé *co lung* (L). En échange, le prêtre qui officie restitue au maître de maison une "âme" (*mukumaa saam*), restaurée de ses qualités guerrières. Le rituel de *maangennaa*, lui, associe, sous la direction du père, toute la famille dans un même culte. On offre un poulet à la divinité du groupe migratoire de clan. *Lumaaeppaa*, enfin, concerne les ancêtres. Ces trois rituels sont liés à la filiation clanique. Ils se transmettent en ligne patrilinéaire. Lorsque les femmes y sont associées, c'est de façon marginale. Le mythe récité évoque les liens de descendance du maître de maison avec le héros fondateur du clan ou du groupe de clan.

Le caractère de ces cérémonies, nettement marquées au sceau des hommes, trouve son expression dans les catégories de la maison : les trois autels sont toujours installés dans la partie "haute" (*tho*), l'un à côté de l'autre. Pendant toute la durée du *naahaangmaa*, la femme ne peut avoir accès au foyer. Elle demeure dans le bas (*yo*) et le fond (*egaang*) de l'habitation. Lors du *maangennaa* le mari et son épouse, une coupe d'eau dans chaque main, sont amenés à faire des offrandes au pilier central, au foyer, enfin au seuil des deux portes. Pour ces deux dernières, la succession des opérations fait apparaître une nette distinction entre l'homme et la femme. Cette dernière se présente d'abord au seuil de la petite porte, celui de la partie basse de la maison, pour finir par la porte du haut. C'est l'inverse pour l'homme. En plus de l'association des portes aux deux sexes, on retrouve ici une façon de se mouvoir que l'on avait évoquée en décrivant les quatre coins de la maison.

D'autres cultes concernent plus particulièrement les femmes. Ils se transmettent de mère en fille. C'est pourquoi, très fréquemment, les femmes enceintes cherchent à retourner dans leur village pour accoucher. Elles craignent que chez leur mari les prêtres ne sachent pas propitier les esprits qu'elles ont reçus de leur mère.

Ces derniers sont multiples (*dung-dunge*, *miku*, *kembaa*, *paaiunglung*, *kebo*, etc.). Aucun de ces rituels ne peut se faire à l'intérieur de la maison. Tous s'effectuent dans la

cour intérieure, dans le champ le plus proche déterminé comme bas (*yo*), par rapport à la maison, haute (*tho*).

En d'autres termes, les rituels dont la transmission est patrilinéaire sont liés à la catégorie du haut (*tho*) de l'habitation. Ceux qui se transmettent par les femmes, à la catégorie du bas (*yo*).

La même distinction apparaît entre rituels domestiques et ceux qui relèvent d'une offrande aux forces de la nature. Parmi les premiers on peut compter *yumaa*, la grand-mère, qui représente sur terre le dieu créateur, et pourrait passer pour héros civilisateur des Limbu; *okwaanamaa* (L) également, qui siège dans le pilier central de la maison et supporte le poids du monde. Tous deux s'effectuent dans la maison "haute" (*tho*). Au contraire toutes les propitiations concernant *taampungmaa* (L) (maître de la forêt), *toksongbaa* (L) (des crêtes), *sengaa* (L) (des fonds de vallée), *waarokmaa* (L) (des lacs), *koccomaa* (L) (la chienne), etc., se font hors de la maison, dans un champ en terrasse "bas" (*yo*).

Dans ces diverses occasions, les distinctions haut et bas ne sont pas les seules à intervenir. Les autres catégories leur sont étroitement mêlées et d'un constant recours. Arrêtons-nous un peu plus longuement pour examiner ce qui distingue les vivants et les morts.

A l'issue des funérailles, au cours d'une cérémonie appelée *saam saamaa* (L), le prêtre limbu accompagne l'âme du mort jusqu'à *khemaa paangphe* (L), le village des ancêtres. Après avoir fait appel à ses esprits maîtres, c'est depuis la maison qu'il entreprend son voyage dans l'autre monde. Il traverse telle rivière, longe tel chemin bordé de tel arbre, atteint telle montagne. Il finit par se trouver au "carrefour des huit routes" (*yet laamdomax*). Alors il s'enfonce vers l'ouest, jusqu'à un lac proche du "village des morts" où il donne congé à l'âme, que sont venus attendre les ancêtres, sur l'autre rive. Il regagne ensuite la maison par le même chemin.

Le "voyage" que suppose le culte de *naahaangmaa* ou de *tongsing* qui concerne, lui, les vivants, se déroule selon le même scénario. De la maison le prêtre gagne le "carrefour des huit routes". Jusqu'à cette étape, le chemin est le même, que pour accompagner l'âme du mort. Mais à partir des huit routes, c'est vers l'est que se dirige le prêtre officiant pour les vivants. Ce qu'il y a de très particulier, c'est qu'à l'intérieur de la maison, les itinéraires empruntés au départ diffèrent, selon qu'il s'agit des morts ou des vivants, comme ils diffèrent, dans l'autre monde, à partir du carrefour des huit routes.

Dans tous les rituels qui concernent les morts (*lumaappaa*, *saam saamaa*) (L), les étapes intérieures sont successivement le foyer, la flamme, la fumée, le crochet au-dessus du feu, l'étagé; au contraire pour les vivants, (*naahaangmaa*, *tongsing*) (L), c'est le pilier central et ses divers niveaux qui servent de point de départ. Les deux chemins, celui des morts et celui des vivants, ne se rejoignent qu'à la poutre faîtière.

On trouve ici la coïncidence entre les structures de l'espace habité et celles de

l'autre monde. Si l'on considère que *yet laamdomaa* constitue une sorte de rose des vents, elle a sa correspondance dans l'organisation de la maison (fig. 6). Si la façade principale est symboliquement ouverte à l'est, alors le foyer, comme *khemaa paangphe* (L), se trouve à l'ouest par rapport au pilier central. Et l'on obtient les associations suivantes:

- est— devant (*tagaang*),
- ouest— fond (*egaang*),
- nord— haut (*tho*),
- sud— bas (*yo*).

Le pilier central étant alors considéré comme l'axe du monde dans le rituel de la même façon qu'il est l'axe central de la maison. Notons enfin que l'autel de *lumaaeppaa* (L) se trouve toujours vers le fond de la maison par rapport à celui de *naahaangmaa* (L), dans le devant, quelles que soient les orientations vraies. *Lumaaeppaa* se trouve donc à gauche et *naahaangmaa* à droite. La succession de l'office se fait dans l'ordre: *lumaaeppaa*, *maangennaa*, *naahaangmaa*, considéré comme auspiceux. On retrouve alors une façon de se mouvoir qui rappelle celle qui concernait les quatre coins de la maison dans le rituel à *okwaanaamaa*. Mais cette fois ce ne sont plus hommes et femmes, qui sont en cause dans l'auspiceux, mais vivants et morts.

Ainsi, dans le rituel, ce qui concerne les vivants se trouve inscrit de multiples façons dans l'espace concret de la maison en liaison avec les catégories du haut, du devant, de l'est et du nord, du mouvement auspiceux, de la droite. A l'inverse, aux morts correspond le fond, le sud et l'ouest, la gauche, l'inauspiceux, le bas.

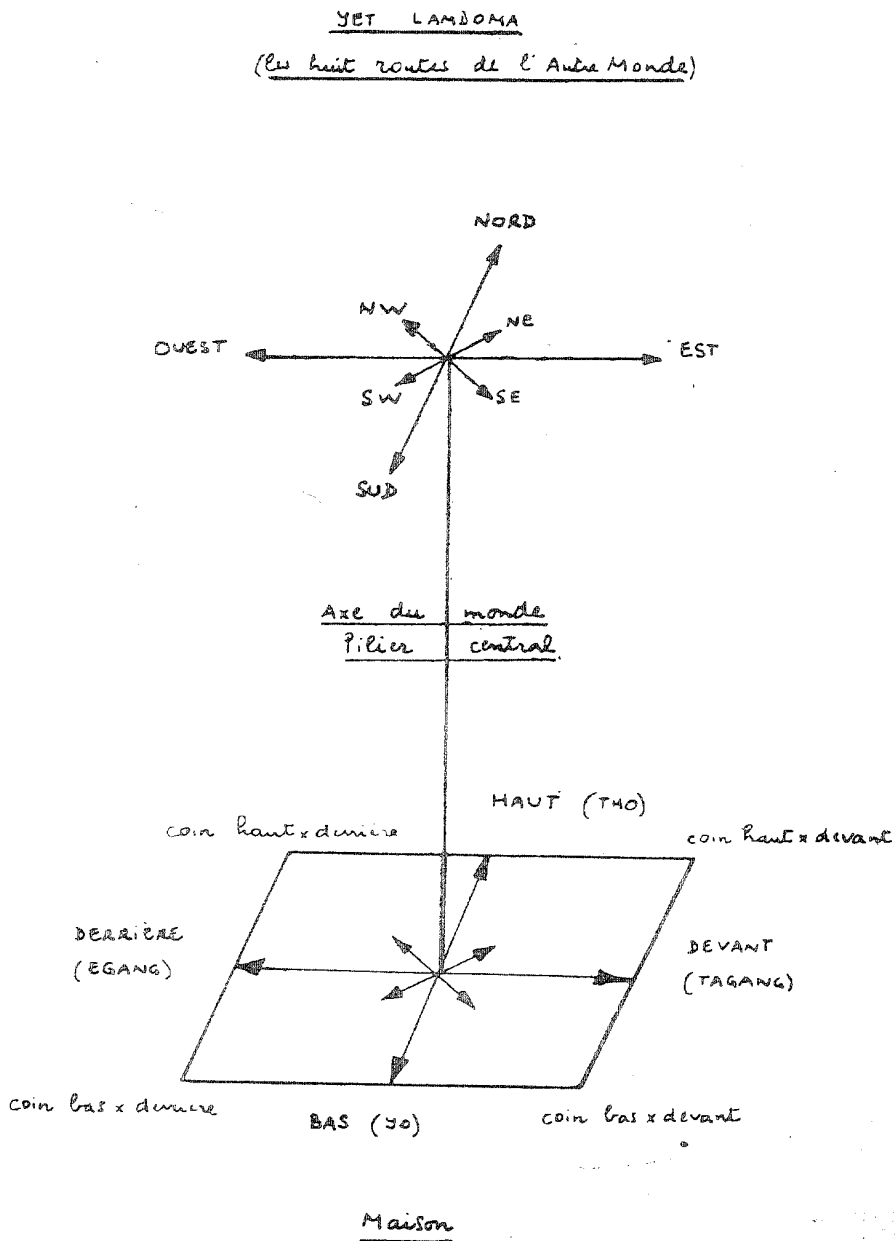
C. DISTINCTION ENTRE PHEDANGMA ET BIJUWA

En quoi peut-il exister un rapport entre les catégories domestiques et les deux principaux prêtres limbu, le *phedangma* et le *bijuwa*? Ces derniers sont tous deux indispensables à la vie de la communauté. Toutefois leurs fonctions sont différentes. Elles se distinguent et se complètent selon un jeu d'oppositions et de médiations constantes qui demeure ambigu à l'observateur étranger. Ce qui nous paraît intéressant, ici, c'est que certaines de ces oppositions, après l'étude de la maison, nous sont devenues familières. Nous examinerons ce qui a trait à trois d'entre elles.

Dans la maison, *phedangma* et *bijuwa* ont tendance à se différencier en fonction des catégories du haut (*tho*) et du bas (*yo*). Le haut relève du *phedangma*; le bas, du *bijuwa*. On le voit en observant les emplacements où se tiennent les deux prêtres lorsqu'ils entreprennent un rituel qui leur donne accès au "carrefour des huit routes" (*yet laamdomaa*). L'un comme l'autre, à cet égard, au début de leur "voyage" utilisent un support matériel qui est toujours nettement déterminé dans l'organisation de l'espace domestique.

Ceux du *phedangma* sont au nombre de quatre. Pour célébrer *naahaangmaa*, il utilise le pilier central. A l'occasion du culte des ancêtres (*lumaaeppaa*, *themaang*), ainsi

FIGURE 6. LA MAISON ET L'AUTRE-MONDE



que pour acheminer l'âme du défunt vers le monde des morts (*saam saamaa*), il part, on l'a vu, du foyer. Pour accomplir enfin le rituel de lignée (*tongsing*), il peut emprunter indifféremment, soit le pilier central de l'auvent, soit un mât dressé dans la cour intérieure. Celui-ci il est vrai, matériellement parlant, appartient au domaine du bas (*yo*). Toutefois, en cette occasion, on nous a toujours répondu qu'il équivalait au pilier central de la pièce d'habitation. Quoiqu'il en soit, ces divers chemins, y compris le dernier, passent tous par l'intérieur de la maison, que les Limbu considèrent alors comme haute (*tho*) par rapport à l'espace qui l'entoure. Le *bijuwa*, lui, lorsqu'il est amené à officier dans l'espace domestique, n'a pas accès à l'intérieur de la maison. Il demeure dans la cour intérieure: le mât qui s'y dresse est marqué à son nom (*yaagesing*). Son itinéraire, dans les premières étapes, relève des catégories du bas. Ce n'est qu'au bord du toit que les deux chemins, celui du *phedangma* et du *bijuwa*, se rejoignent, pour mener au "carrefour des huit routes".

Si l'on se place maintenant dans le cadre de la pièce d'habitation, organisée elle aussi selon la classification du haut et du bas, on relève qu'il s'y déroule un certain nombre de cérémonies. Certaines sont célébrées dans la partie haute (*tho*). C'est contre le mur du haut (*tho haang lung thaak*) que sont édifiés par exemple les autels de *naahaangmaa*, *maangennaa*, *naahaangdingmaa*; *lumaueppaa* et parfois *yumaa*; contre le pilier central, celui d'*okwaanaamaa*. Tous les rituels qui se déroulent dans la partie haute de la pièce d'habitation ne peuvent être accomplis que par le seul *phedangma*. Bien plus, ce sont les seules cérémonies où les fonctions des deux religieux, par ailleurs si souvent entremêlées, ne peuvent interférer. Jamais le *bijuwa* ne peut officier dans la partie haute de la pièce d'habitation.

Le *phedangma*, selon qu'il officie pour les vivants ou pour les morts, édifie ses autels dans le fond ou le devant du rez-de-chaussée. Le *bijuwa*, lui, en règle générale, n'a pas accès à l'intérieur de la maison. Il ne peut donc s'intégrer, dans le cadre de l'espace domestique, à la classification du devant (*tagaang*) et du derrière (*egaang*).

Toutefois il nous faut remarquer que ces deux catégories apparaissent ailleurs que dans la maison. Elles conservent, alors, la fonction de hiérarchiser l'espace. Sur le chemin, les hommes marchent devant, les femmes, derrière. Le phénomène se prolonge également dans la conception du temps et selon les mêmes principes; pour opposer, par exemple, l'aîné au cadet, comme elles le font d'ailleurs dans l'espace domestique. C'est ici que l'on retrouve la distinction entre *phedangma* et *bijuwa*. La justification de cette classification est donnée par le mythe d'origine des deux prêtres: les premiers hommes (*yet haang*) tombaient malades. Ils délèguèrent l'un des leurs pour demander secours à *ningwuaa phumaa*, le dieu créateur. L'envoyé demeura une nuit chez ce dernier. Il eut un rêve. Il voyait le premier *phedangma* officier, au carrefour des trois chemins (*sum laam domaa*), au nom d'un malade qui guérissait. Au matin, l'envoyé raconta son rêve. Le dieu créateur l'écouta, puis lui donna congé: en redescendant vers les hommes, il trouverait le *phedangma* qui l'attendait au carrefour des trois chemins. Qu'il le ramène parmi

les siens, et agisse avec lui comme il l'avait vu faire en rêve. Pendant un temps, les maladies des hommes furent ainsi guéries. Mais bientôt, il s'avéra que le *phedangma* était impuissant devant certaines formes de souffrances. L'envoyé retourna chez le dieu créateur. De la même façon il revint avec le premier *bijuwa*. Le *phedangma*, aîné, appartient à la catégorie du devant (*tagaang*); le *bijuwa*, cadet, à celle de l'*egaang*.

Très fréquente enfin est l'association du *phedangma* à la droite (*cukwaa*) et celle du *bijuwa* à la gauche (*phengwaa*). Donnons-en un exemple. Lorsqu'une vocation religieuse se déclare au village, on s'interroge sur le destin du futur prêtre: sera-t-il *phedangma*, sera-t-il *bijuwa*? Si on appelle le *phedangma* pour déterminer le caractère de cette vocation, ce dernier commence par accomplir une offrande à *naahaangmaa*. Au nom de son client dont il s'agit de déterminer le "chemin" (*laam*), il sacrifie un poulet. Puis, par le pouvoir du verbe mythique, (*mundhum*), il gagne l'autre monde. Partant du pilier central (*haang sit laang*), étape après étape, il accède au carrefour des huit routes (*yet laamdomaa*). Il s'enfonce alors vers l'est pour rejoindre le "monde des vivants" (*co lung*). Il s'arrête au carrefour des trois chemins (*sum laamdomaa*). Il s'y installe pour divinisier. Devant lui s'étend le domaine de *naahaangmaa* qui préside au destin des vivants. Celui des adolescents, d'abord, représenté par des champs de fleurs; et, au loin, celui des adultes. Devant le *phedangma* donc, trois routes bifurquent. Toutes les trois, par des chemins différents, rejoignent le lieu où se tient *naahaangmaa*. Celle de gauche est appelée "le chemin des *bijuwa*" (*yaabaa laam*); celle du centre, le "chemin des laïcs" (*tumiaahaang laam*), celle de droite le "chemin des *phedangma*" (*phedaangmaa laam*). Le *phedangma* fait d'abord appel à ses esprits maîtres, pour l'aider dans sa tâche. Puis, successivement, il tente d'acheminer l'âme (*saam*) du poulet offert, par l'une des trois routes. Si *naahaangmaa* reçoit l'offrande par le chemin de droite, l'homme sera *phedangma*; par le chemin de gauche, *bijuwa*. C'est en fonction de la droite ou de la gauche qu'on détermine la vocation d'un futur prêtre.

Cette notion se retrouve bien souvent pour différencier les deux prêtres. Il arrive que les "sorciers" (*sire*) réputés, que sont la buse et le chat sauvage, investissent une maison et s'attaquent à ses habitants. Ce sont les principaux esprits-maîtres du *bijuwa*. On fait appel à ce dernier pour les chasser. Après avoir construit son autel autour du mât *yaagesing*, le prêtre gagne l'autre monde. Arrivé au carrefour des trois chemins (*sum laamdomaa*), c'est par le chemin de gauche, celui des *bijuwa*, qu'il raccompagne ses esprits maîtres. Il ferme alors la route derrière eux, (*laam saakmaa*), et revient, par les mêmes étapes, d'où il était parti.

Nous ne serions pas capables, actuellement, de prolonger bien loin cette étude. Il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'en abordant, ultérieurement, la description de la religion limbu, notre hypothèse de travail sera la suivante: l'organisation de l'espace domestique d'une part, et la distinction entre les deux principaux prêtres d'autre part, participent, l'une comme l'autre, d'un même système de référence, celui d'une classification en catégories, propre à la culture.

Certes, de l'extérieur, il est toujours possible de distinguer les deux prêtres à partir de l'analyse de leurs fonctions.

Au *bijuwa*, tout ce qui relève de l'inauspicieux. Il "tue l'esprit du feu" (*mi saam sepmaa*), qui vient de dévaster une maison. Il "tue les esprits de la malemort" (*soghaa, sugut sepmaa*), qui menacent la communauté; il accomplit les cérémonies qui doivent être faites après l'inceste (*lungdhung kaai pokmaa*): elles ont pour but de restaurer un ordre bouleversé qui, dans la vie quotidienne, peut se traduire par le déchaînement des éléments: le vent, la pluie, la grêle, la foudre, les tremblements de terre. Il intercède, au nom des villageois, auprès de ses esprits maîtres, la buse et le chat sauvage, "sorciers" féroces dont il sait s'assurer le concours.

Au *phedangma*, au contraire, tout ce qui est du domaine de l'auspiceux, de la normalité, tout ce qui a pour fonction de s'assurer la bonne marche du quotidien: propitier *maangemaa* et *okwaanaamaa* à l'occasion des mariages; assurer l'accès normal au monde des morts après les décès de mort naturelle (*saam saamaa*); les propitiations annuelles des ancêtres (*lumaeeppaa, themang*); les purifications après la naissance, le jour de la mise au berceau (*yaangdaang pokmaa*); les rites agraires lors des premiers labours (*yobaa taamaa*), comme à l'occasion des moissons (*thi sok, thok sok*). La propitiation des forces de la nature: la forêt *taampungmaa*; les crêtes (*toksongbaa*); les fonds de vallée (*sengaa*); les eaux (*waarokmaa*), etc.; celle des divinités domestiques (*yumaa, okwaanaamaa*).

Formulées dans ces termes, l'opposition et la complémentarité des deux prêtres demeurent imprécises parce que partielles. A la limite, ses prolongements risquent de mener à l'erreur. Enfin, elles ne permettent pas de trouver une solution à bon nombre de questions qui demeurent posées.

Pourquoi en effet la fonction de *phedangma* ne peut être assurée que par des hommes alors que le *bijuwa* se recrute chez les deux sexes? Pourquoi, lors du rituel, le premier conserve des habits masculins alors que le second est vêtu d'une longue robe? Pourquoi les rêves sexuels du *phedangma* demeurent sans grande signification, interprétés selon les règles des laïcs, alors que pour le *bijuwa* ils sont d'une importance considérable et d'une interprétation spécifique?

Pourquoi le *phedangma* assure l'essentiel des cultes qui se transmettent en ligne paternelle alors que le *bijuwa*, pour justifier de sa vocation, doit rechercher des ascendances en ligne maternelle?

A notre sens, ces questions, et d'autres avec elles, ne pourront être résolues qu'à la condition de faire un constant appel à la classification qui est le fondement de la culture limbu. Remarquons qu'au Népal bon nombre des populations tibéto-birmanes connaissent, comme les Limbu, deux catégories de prêtres complémentaires. Pignède (3) chez les Gurung a fait un rapprochement entre les prêtres et les points cardinaux. D'un autre côté, MacDougall (4) a décrit l'organisation de l'espace dans la maison rai: elle est très proche de celle que nous venons de voir, de même que la notion de verticalité étudiée par Nick Allen (5), également chez les Rai. Se pourrait-il que

les faits limbu, dont la religion semble mieux préservée qu'ailleurs, puissent avoir leurs correspondants chez les populations voisines? (6).

NOTES.

1. Sur les Limbu, cf. L. Caplan, *Land and Social Change in East Nepal*, London, 1970. Pour une bibliographie sur les prêtres limbu, cf. Ph. Sagant "Tāmpuñmā, divinité limbu de la forêt", *Objets et Mondes*, 9, 1969, note 22, p. 121. Les termes *phedangma* et *bijuwa* ont été francisés. Les mots nepāli sont suivis du sigle (N). Pour leur translittération; nous avons utilisé Turner (R. L.), *Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, London, 1931. Les mots limbu sont suivis du sigle (L). Nous les avons orthographiés selon Chemjong (I. S.), *Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*, Kathmandu, n.d. (?1961), tout en connaissant les dangers de la sanskritisation. N'étant pas linguiste, nous n'avons pu mieux faire.

Nous avons effectué deux missions en pays limbu: l'une d'août 1966 à juin 1967; l'autre, d'octobre 1969 à juin 1971. Ces deux missions étaient financées par la R.C.P 65 du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris), que nous tenons à remercier, ainsi que le professeur Millot et C. Jest, qui en furent responsables. Nous avons travaillé plus particulièrement dans la vallée de la Mewā Kholā, au nord de Taplejung.

2. Pour une description de la maison limbu, cf. Sagant, *Le Paysan Limbu, sa maison et ses champs*; Paris, 1972, dact. Le présent article, dans sa majeure partie, est un extrait remanié de cette étude.

3. Cf. Pignède (B.), *Les Gurung*; Paris, 1966, pp. 293, 335, 385.

4. Cf. MacDougall (Ch.) *The Rai of Kulung*, dact. Nous remercions Ch. MacDougall qui nous a donné accès à son manuscrit.

5. Cf. Allen (N.), "The Vertical Dimension in Thulung Classification", *J. Anthropol. Soc. Oxford*, 3, 1972.

6. A ce sujet, cf., principalement:

Macdonald (A. W.), "Les Tamang vus par l'un d'eux", *L'Homme*, 6, 1966, 1.

Macdonald (A. W.), "Notes préliminaires sur quelques jhām̄kri du Muglān", *Journal Asiatique*, 1962, pp. 107-139.

Macdonald (A. W.), *Le Monde du Sorcier*, Paris, 1966, pp. 281-304.

रामशाहको राज्यकाल—एक चर्चा

—दिनेशराज पन्त

Summary

According to Nepali Vamsavalis composed a century ago, Chatra Shah ascended the Gorkhali throne in 1605 A. D. and reigned only seven months. In 1606 A. D. Ram Shah succeeded him. Ram Shah reigned for 27 years. In other words Ram Shah's rule extended from 1606 to 1633 A. D. In 1633 A. D. Dambar Shah succeeded Ram Shah.

Mr. Dinesh Raj Pant re-constructing Ram Shah's chronology in this paper checks these dates against contemporary records and finds them inaccurate.

We can stretch Chatra Shah's rule up to 1609 A. D. as we have a document for his rule dated 1609 A. D. Ram Shah's first and last documents obtained so far are dated respectively 1614 and 1636 A. D. Dambar Shah's first authentic document as a King is dated 1644 A. D. The author reconstructs the chronology of Ram Shah to be from 1614 to 1636 A. D. and concludes that Ram Shah's kingship before 1609 A. D. and after 1644 A. D. was not possible.

नेपालको शुद्ध र सम्पूर्ण इतिहास तयार पार्न हामीले निकै प्रयत्न गर्नुपरेको छ । विभिन्न कारणवश चाहिदो मात्राको परिश्रम नपुगेकोले नेपालको इतिहास राम्रो तयार भएको छैन । नेपालको जुनसुकै कालको इतिहासमा पनि अन्धकार विद्यमान छ तापनि विशेष गरेर पूर्वका सेन राज्य र पश्चिमका बाईसी चौबीसी राज्यहरूको इतिहास त अझ गहन अन्धकारमा छ । अरू कुरा त छोडौं वर्तमान नेपालराज्यका संस्थापक श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहभन्दा पहिलेको गोरखाराज्यको इतिहास पनि यस्तै गहन अन्धकारमा छ ।

गोरखाली राजाहरूमा रामशाह प्रसिद्ध छन् । द्रव्य शाहले वि. सं. १६१६ मा खडा गरेको गोरखा-राज्यलाई राम शाहले नै विशेष उन्नतिमा पुऱ्याएका हुन् भन्न हामी निर्धक्कसँग सक्छौं । तर दुर्भाग्यवश त्यति प्रसिद्ध राजा राम शाहको पनि जन्म, मृत्यु आदि अरू घटनाको त कुरै छोडौं, राज्यकालको पनि राम्रो निर्णय भएको छैन । यस कारण प्राप्त सामग्रीको आधारमा राम शाहको राज्यकालको बारेमा प्रकाश पार्ने उद्योग यस निबन्धमा गरिएको छ ।

जङ्गबहादुरको पालामा नेपालस्थित ब्रिटिश दूतावासमा डाक्टर भई आएका डनियल राइटको नेपालको इतिहासमा राम शाहको शासनकालको विषयमा तलको कुरा लेखिएको छ—

श्रीछत्र शाह शाक १५२७ रेन्ड ७ मन्थस् ।

श्रीराम शाह शाक १५२८ रेन्ड २७ यर्स् ।

छत्र शाह ह्याभइड नो इस्'यु, हिज् ब्र'अर् रामशाह सक्'सीइइड हिम् । छत्र शाह रेन्ड घोन्'-
लि सेभ'न् मन्थस् । . . .

श्रीदम्बर शाह शाक १५५५ (ए. डी. १६३३)

(ई. सं. १८७७ (वि. सं. १९३३) मा क्याम्ब्रिज विश्वविद्यालय लण्डनबाट प्रकाशित डेनियल राइटको हिस्टोरिकल नेपाल (नेपालको इतिहास) का २७८-२७९ पृष्ठबाट)

[श्रीछत्र शाहको राज्यारोहण संवत् शाके १५२७ (वि. सं. १६६२), राज्यकाल ७ महीना ।

श्रीराम शाहको राज्यारोहणसंवत् शाके १५२८ (वि. सं. १६६३), राज्यकाल २७ वर्ष ।

छत्र शाहका सन्तान भएनन् । छत्र शाह पछि उनका भाइ राम शाह राजा भए । छत्र शाहले ७ महीना मात्र राज्य गरे ।

श्रीडम्बर शाहको राज्यारोहणसंवत् शाके १५५५ ईसवी संवत् १६३३ (वि. सं. १६९०)]

वि. सं. १९३५ मा (१) भाषावशावली एकसरो लेखी सिद्ध्याउने बुद्धिमानासिंहको विचार पनि यस प्रसङ्गमा उल्लेख गर्नु चाखलाग्दो नै हुनेछ-

अस्य (पुरन्बर शाहका) पुत्र शाके १५२७ (वि. सं. १६६२) मा छत्र शाह राजा हुँदा भया । . . . (राज्य) भोग महीना ७ सम्म गर्दा भया ।

तनका (छत्र शाहका) पुत्र नहुँदा भाइ राम शाह शाके १५२८ (वि. सं. १६६३) मा राजा भया । राज्यभोग वर्ष २७ सम्म गर्दा भया ।

यिनका (राम शाहका) पुत्र शाके १५५५ (वि. सं. १६९०) मा डम्बर शाह महाराज हुँदा भया ।

(वि. सं. २०२५ मा जगदम्बा प्रकाशन ललितपुरबाट प्रकाशित नयराज पन्त, देवीप्रसाद भण्डारी, गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्य, विनेशराज पन्तद्वारा सम्पादित श्री ५ पञ्चीनारायण शाहको उपदेशका ५५५, ५५८, ५९२ पृष्ठबाट)

यसरी यी बुद्धि जनाको भनाइअनुसार वि. सं. १६६२ मा छत्र शाह राजा भए; छत्र शाहले ७ महीना राज्य गरे; यसपछि छत्र शाहको मृत्यु भयो र उनका भाइ राम शाह वि. सं. १६६३ मा राजा भए; राम शाहले २७ वर्षसम्म राज्य गरे; राम शाहको मृत्युपछि वि. सं. १६९० मा उनका छोरा डम्बर शाह राजा भए भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

राम शाहभन्दा झण्डै अढाइ शय वर्षपछिका यी बुद्धि जना भएका हुनाले हामीले झट्ट यिनको भनाइमा भर परिहाल्नु ठीक हुँदैन । यस कारण तात्कालिक सामानतिर पनि हामीले दृष्टि दिनुपरेको छ ।

सबभन्दा पहिले हामी छत्र शाहको पालाको सामग्रीतिर ध्यान देऔं ।

गोरखादरबारको रङ्गमहलको छिडीको कुनामा छत्र शाहले राखेको नगरा पाइएको छ । त्यहाँ यो अभिलेख कुँदिएको छ-

श्रीशाके १५३१ मासे ५ श्रीमहाराजछत्रशाहस्य कृतिः

(वि. सं. २०२९ मा नेपाल अध्ययन संस्थान त्रिभुवन-विश्वविद्यालय कीर्तिपुरबाट प्रकाशित तुलसी-राम वंश र धनवज्र वज्राचार्यद्वारा सम्पादित गोरखाको ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीको १५ पृष्ठबाट)

[शाके १५३१ (वि. सं. १६६६) भाद्र महीनामा श्रीमहाराज छत्र शाहले यो बनाउनुभएको हो ।]

यताबाट वि. सं. १६६६ मा छत्र शाहको राज्यकालको उल्लेख पाइसकेकोले छत्र शाहको मृत्यु भएपछि वि. सं. १६६३ मा राम शाह गद्दीमा बसे भनी लेखेनै राइट र बुद्धिमानको लेखाइको खण्डन हुन आउँछ ।

अब हामी राम शाहको राज्यकालको सामग्री हेरौं ।

राम शाहले गोरखा पोखरीथोकको मुरलीधरनारायणमन्दिरमा अभिलेख राखेका छन् । सो अभिलेखमा यस्तो लेखिएको छ—

श्रीशाके १५३६
विद्युगिरिरसपृथ्वीचिह्निते विक्रमाब्दे
गतवति नृपरामो मानदः सज्जनानां ।
मठमधिकविधिज्ञो दिक्षु विक्षिप्तकीर्ति—
गणपतिप्रभृतीनां देवतानामकार्थीत् ॥१॥
शुभं

[शाके १५३६ वि. सं. १६७१ मा सज्जनहरूको मानमर्यादा गर्ने, देशविदेशमा कीर्ति फैलिएका, धेरै विधिविधान जान्ने राजा राम शाहले गणेश आदि देवताहरूको मठ बनाउनुभयो । कल्याण होस्]

(श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेशको ५७२ पृष्ठबाट)

यताबाट वि. सं. १६७१ मा राम शाह राजा भइसकेका थिए भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

यसपछि राम शाहको पालामा लेखिएका प्रामाणिक तिथियुक्त पुस्तकहरू पाइन्छन् । ती पुस्तकहरू वि. सं. १६७५, वि. सं. १६७८, वि. सं. १६७९ मा लेखिएका पाइएका छन् (२) ।

गोरखा पोखरीथोकको रामेश्वरमन्दिरमा राम शाहले अभिलेख राखेका छन् । सो अभिलेखमा यस्तो लेखिएको छ—

(बायाँपट्टि)
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
वसुबाणशिवाननचंद्रयुते नृपशालिवाहसमये विगते ।
विदधे नृपराम मठं कुतुकात् शुचिदशमीयुक्तरवौ नभसि ॥१॥

(दायाँपट्टि)
श्रीशाके १५५८
रामशंकरसेहतीतसमये श्रीविक्रमार्कस्य वं
शुद्धे श्रावणमासि भानुदिवसे युक्ते दशम्यां तथा ।
चक्रे रामभहीपतिमठमसावानंदसंदोहनं
श्रीमच्छंकरपादपद्मरजसा पूतः सदा शङ्कुजित् ॥१॥

[श्रीगणेशलाई नमस्कार

शाके १५५८ श्रावण महीनामा आषाढ दशमी आदित्यवारका दिन (धर्ममा) चौथो भएका राजा राम शाहले मठ बनाउनुभयो ।

त्यस्तै शाके १५५८ वि. सं. १६६३ चोखो श्रावण महीनामा दशमी आदित्यवारका दिन श्रीशिवजीका पाउरूपी कमलका धूलाले पवित्र भएका सधैं शत्रुलाई जित्ने उहाँ राजा राम शाहले आनन्द दिने मठ बनाउनुभयो ।]
(श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेशका ५५८-५५९ पृष्ठबाट)

यताबाट वि. सं. १६६३ मा राम शाह राजा थिए भन्ने उल्लेख पाइएकोले राम शाहपछि वि. सं. १६६० मा डम्बर शाह राजा भए भन्ने उल्लेख पाइएकोले राम शाहपछि वि. सं. १६६० मा डम्बर शाह राजा भए भन्ने राइट र बुद्धिमानको भनाइमा केही तार छैन भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

वि. सं. १६७१ देखि वि. सं. १६६३ सम्म राम शाहको राज्यकालको प्रामाणिक उल्लेख पाइएको हुनाले २२ वर्षसम्म राम शाहले राज्य गरेको कुरामा केही सन्देह रहँदैन । वि. सं. १६६६ मा छत्र शाहको राज्यकालको उल्लेख पाइएकोले त्यसभन्दा अघि पनि राम शाह हुन सक्तैनन् । यताबाट वि. सं. १६६६ देखि वि. सं. १६७१ सम्मको ५ वर्षभित्रमा गोरखाको राजगद्दीमा राम शाह बसेका देखिन्छन् । वि. सं. १७०१ मा गोरखामा डम्बर शाह राजा थिए भनी देवप्रयागका पण्डा तेवारीको खाताबहीमा लेखिएको छ (३) । यताबाट वि. सं. १६६३ देखि वि. सं. १७०१ सम्मको ८ वर्षभित्रमा राम शाहको मृत्यु भएको देखिन आउँछ ।

यो माथिका प्रमाणको आधारमा राम शाहको राज्यकाल वि. सं. १६६६ भन्दा अघि र वि. सं. १७०१ भन्दा पछि हुन सक्तैन, राम शाहको राज्यकालको अहिलेसम्म प्राप्त प्रामाणिक मितिचाहिँ वि. सं. १६७१-१६६३ हो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

राम शाहको राज्यकालको निश्चित मितिको नजीकमा मात्र पुग्न हामी सकेका छौं । राजा राम शाहको राज्यकालको निश्चित मिति भेट्टाउन अरु बढी अन्वेषणको खाँचो छ । अन्वेषणको प्रक्रियालाई बढाउँदै लगी निश्चित मिति भेट्टाउने आशा राख्दै यो निबन्ध यहाँ टुङ्ग्याइन्छ ।

१. वंशावली काठमाडौं मञ्जेश्वरी टोलमा बस्यो गोर्खाली खरीदार बुद्धिमानसिंहले धेरै वर्षसम्म सङ्ग्रह गरी बहुत मिहिनेत गरी आफ्ना बुद्धिले अट्टायासम्म तयार गरी संवत् १६३५ साल मिति भाद्रवदि १ रोज ३ मा गाईजात्राका दिन लेषी सिद्धियाको हो ।
(भाषावंशालीबाट)

यस दिनको पञ्चाङ्ग यस प्रकारको छ—

गते	वार	तिथि	घडी	पला
श्रावण ३१	मङ्गल	प्रतिपदा	६.०	०

(पात्रोबाट)

२. श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेशका ५६०-५६१ पृष्ठ ।

३. वि. सं. २०२९ मा संशोधन-मण्डल काठमाडौंबाट प्रकाशित भएको पूर्णिमा २७ अङ्कमा छापिएको बाबुराम आचार्यको देवप्रयागका पण्डा तेवारीको खाताबहीमा भन्ने निबन्ध । सो अङ्कको १६२ पृष्ठ ।

COOCH BEHAR AND BHUTAN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TIBETAN TRADE

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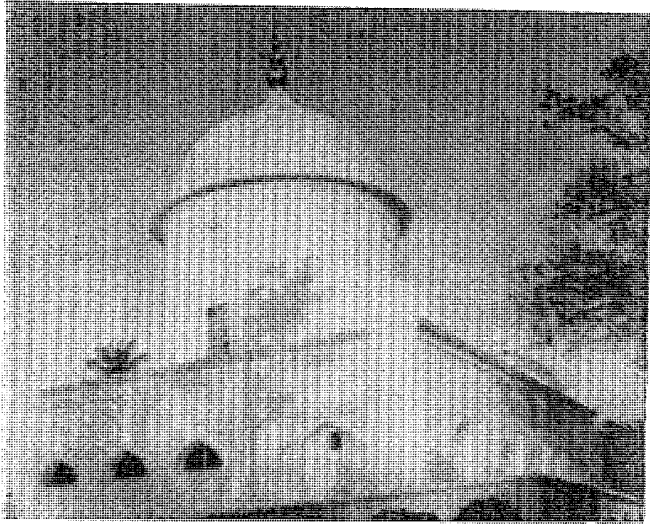
Cooch Behar¹ or the "land of the Koches" once formed part of the ancient kingdom of Kamrupa. It was so named after the Koches had established their political predominance under Biswa Singh in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. The English merchant and traveller Ralph Fitch arrived at Cooch Behar in 1583 and wrote about her trade relation with the distant lands of Tibet, China, Tartary and Muscovia². Among items of trade Fitch mentions musks, blankets, turquoise (agates), silk, pepper and "saffron of Persia". Fitch did not enter the Bhutan hills but his description evidently shows the commercial importance of the route from Tashilhunpo through the Paro Penlop's territory to Buxa and Chamurchi north of Rangpur. Markham takes this description as a "correct account of the intercourse which then prevailed between India and Tibet though the passes of Bhutan and through Nepal"³.

Cacella and Cabral, who were the first Europeans to penetrate the mountains of Bhutan in 1626, throw light on Bhutan's trade not only with the plains of Bengal and Assam but also with Tibet and China. Cacella noted that in those days Hajo (Ajo) in Assam was very "populous and rich". One factor which explains the importance and prosperity of Hajo was that it was at the terminal of two important trade routes through the Manas Valley and Towang. The latter did not pass through Bhutanese

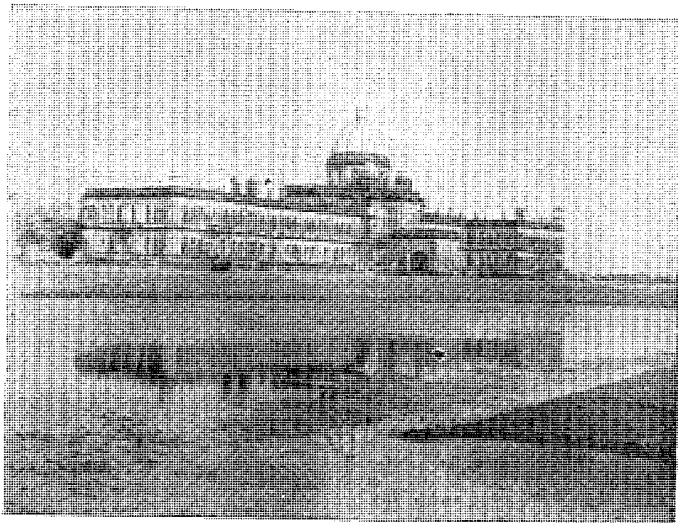
1. *The state of Cooch Behar was ceded by its ruler to India under the arrangement known as the Cooch Behar Merger Agreement (Aug. 28, 1949). The state was merged with West Bengal in January, 1950. The present district of Cooch Behar has an area of 1289 Sq. miles. Its northern frontier is about 20 miles south of the Bhutan range of hills. On the east it is bounded by the Goalpara district of Assam. The southern limit is determined by the international boundary between India and Bangladesh. The district forms an "irregular triangle" with mostly artificial boundaries.*

2. *Hakluyt, The Second Volume of Principal Navigators' Voyages, p. 257. London, Anno 1599.*

3. *Markham, Clements R. Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, 1876, Reprinted by Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971. introduction, p. liv.*

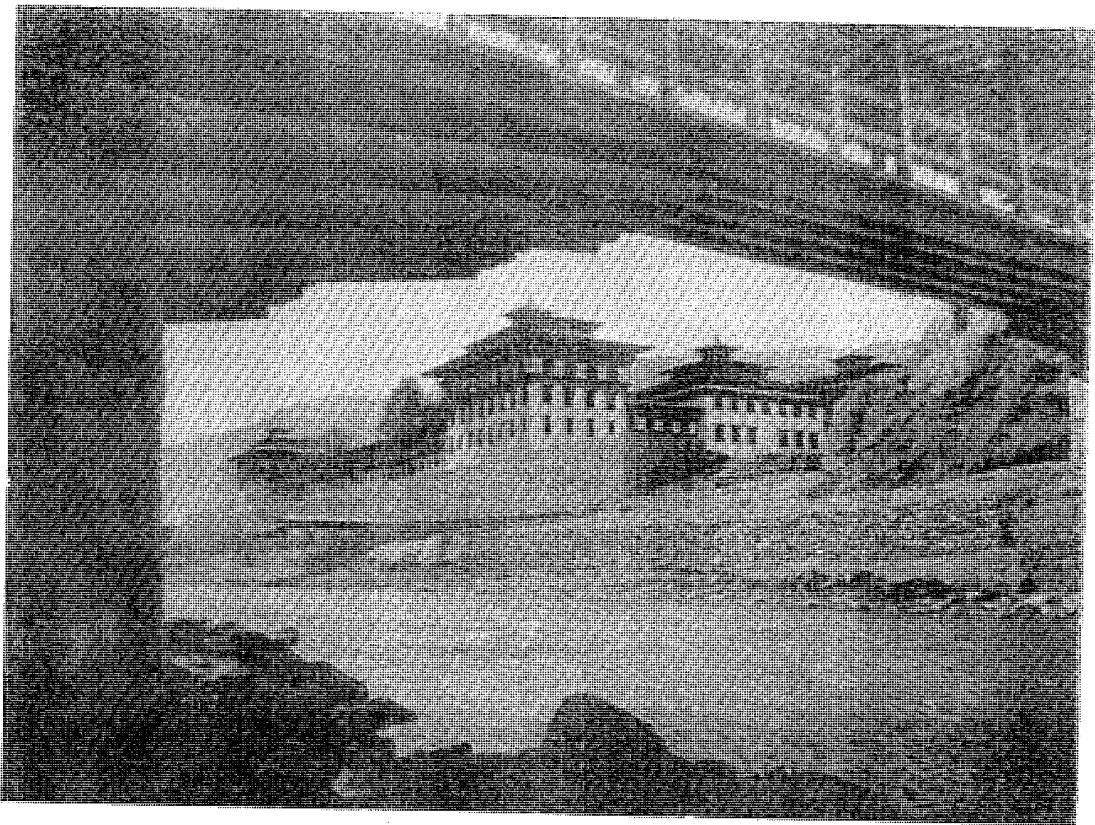


The Siva Temple at Jalpesh



The Palace at Cooch Behar

Kailash to face page 81



Tashichhodzong, Thimpu, Bhutan

territory and was a direct commercial artery with Tibet. Pemberton found (1838) the Khampas of eastern Tibet carrying on traffic along these two routes. In Cacella's description Cooch Behar appears as a flourishing trade mart. The town was "very populous and plentifully provided with things which the country itself possesses and those which came from Patna, Rajmahal and Gaur⁴". In the 17th century the navigability of the Torsa, which flows past the town of Cooch Behar, has been emphasized by the late H.N. Chaudhuri, one of the official historians of Cooch Behar. Both Hajo and Cooch Behar were undoubtedly focal points of Bhutan's trade with the plains. At the court of the Dharma Raja, the missionaries were entertained with Chinese tea and were lodged in a tent "lined with Chinese silk and adorned with a canopy"⁵. Cacella says that Bhutan was "well provided with Chinese merchandise such as silk, gold and porcelain". It is noticeable that in Turner's list (1783) of the articles of trade flowing from Tibet to Bhutan tea is mentioned as second to gold dust⁶, whereas English broadcloth was the first item of Bhutan's export to Tibet.

In the 18th century the route through Bhutan and the Chumbi Valley gained a new importance when the rising Gurkha power in Nepal blocked the passes through Morung and Demijong (Sikkim). The road through Mustang was uneconomical and distant. The disastrous effects of the great famine of 1770 accelerated new commercial ventures in the north. The famine caused "enormous financial losses especially in the export of grain and the cotton industry on which the economy of Bengal so much depended"⁷.

In 1771 the court of Directors enquired about the "possibility of the northern trade and of sending explorers to Bhutan and Assam"⁸.

By the time of the transference of the Dewani (1765) Bhutan's trade in the plains extended to Rangpur and annual Bhutanese caravans to that place were already ancient custom. Further, the Bhutanese had gained control of large parts of the Western Duars which traditionally belonged to Koch chieftains and made a bid to conquer

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4. Wessels, C., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603-1721*, The Hague, 1924. pp. 127, 128.
 5. *Ibid.* p. 138.
 6. Turner, Samuel. *Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, London, 1800, reprinted by Manjusri, New Delhi, 1971, p. 374.
 7. Cammann, Schuyler. *Trade through the Himalayas: The Early Attempts to Open Tibet*. Princeton, 1951 p. 25
 8. Sarkar, S. C. "Some Notes on the Intercourse of Bengal with the Northern Countries in the second half of the Eighteenth Century". *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, Jan.-June 1931, p. 121.

Cooch Behar. The Bhutanese king Desi Shidariva (Bogle's Deb Judhur) took prisoner Maharaja Dhairjendra Narayan of Cooch Behar at Buxa in 1770. This incident set in motion a train of events which led to the outbreak of the First Bhutan War (1772-74) and the collision between the Bhutanese and the English.

The merit of Shidariva's project has so far drawn scant attention for the simple reason that it failed. The project envisaged, in the first place, ensuring Bhutanese control of the Western Duars, which in its turn called for holding Cooch Behar. Secondly, the Bhutanese ruler visualised an extension of the Bhutan-Rangpur trade and was anxious for its safety. It appears that in the isolation of his mountain kingdom, Shidariva had not grasped the significance of the cannonade at Plassey (1757) and the transference of the Dewani (1765). He had to pay the price and the Anglo-Cooch Behar treaty of 1772 sealed his fate. Captain Jones won the battle for Cooch Behar and the Bhutanese were driven out. The issue was decided through the resistance of the Sannyasis⁹ and the Bhutanese continued in the Duars till 1774.

Petech has shown from the autobiography of Palden Yeshe, the Third Panchen Lama, that the great Lama statesman was urged by the two Nepalese representatives, Braahmcari Bhagirathi and Jayas Ram Thapa, to mediate between the British and the Bhutanese¹⁰. Palden Yeshe's letter was received on 29th March, 1774. It kindled Hasting's imagination of the prospect of commercial relations with Tibet through Bhutan. The Anglo-Bhutan treaty of 1774 which ended the First Bhutan War secured the northern frontier of Bengal against Bhutanese incursions. Simultaneously it struck up a friendship with the Bhutanese for the promotion of trade with Tibet. Consciously or not, it was the first step to bring the hill kingdom of Bhutan within the periphery of Indian interests. In political acumen Warren Hasting's policy towards Bhutan is unsurpassed in the annals of the North-East Frontier of India. Immediately after the war with Bhutan was over George Bogle led the first British mission to Bhutan and Tibet for a commercial reconaissance. Bogle's letter from Tashichhodzong dated 11th Oct. 1774, shows that the trade between Bhutan and Rangpur was conducted by the Deb Raja and the provincial governors. In return for tangan horses, musk,

9. *The link-up of the Sannyasis and the Bhutanese in the First Bhutan War has so far been hardly noticed. In British Official records the Sannyasis have been described as "lawless banditti" who levied contributions by violence under pretence of charity. They had great hold over the people in the Duars. They put up a stiff resistance to the expanding British power in the foothills of the Himalayas between the Tista and the Sankos at the end of the Eighteenth Century.*

10. Petech, L. 'The Missions of Bogle and Turner According to Tibetan Texts', *T'oung Pao*, VXXXIX, Leiden, 1950, pp. 339-340.

cowtails, red blankets and woolen cloth the Bhutanese traders secured broadcloth, spices, dyes and Malda cloth for the Tibetan market. From Tibet the Bhutanese used to import tea, salt and wool in great quantity. The English envoy was hopeful of success with the Deb Rajs "unless his dependence upon China should stand in the way"¹¹

Regarding Bogle's achievements, Claude White disagrees with Aitchison and says that it would be "unfair" to describe his mission as "unsuccessful". Bogle concluded a treaty with the Raja of Bhutan in May, 1775 at Tashichhodzong which provided for the transit trade of Tibet through Bhutan by means of a native agency besides ensuring expansion of Bhutanese trade with the plains of Bengal. These were remarkable achievements compared with the failure of later missions to Bhutan under R. B. Pemberton (1838) and Ashley Eden (1864). On the retirement of Warren Hastings his style of Trans-Himalayan diplomacy was rejected, and the Sino-Nepalese war of 1792 closed the doors of Tibet to the south.

Forrest wrote: "So completely was the policy of opening commercial intercourse between India and trans-Himalayan regions abandoned that the very history of Hastings's negotiations was forgotten and most of the valuable records of Tibet and Bhutan missions have been lost"¹²

Once British paramountcy was ensured over Cooch Behar (by the Anglo-Cooch Behar Treaty of 1772), Warren Hastings went out of his way to win the "good disposition" of the Bhutanese. His treaty with Bhutan in 1774 illustrates this. A reputed historian of Cooch Behar, Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, has shown that large tracts of territory belonging to Cooch Behar Raj were transferred to Bhutan, in many cases without even a survey¹³. The fertile tracts of Maraghat and Chamurchi became a bone of contention between Cooch Behar and Bhutan and alienated these neighbouring states. The most peculiar transaction which sheds light on the character of the commercial diplomacy of the time was the cession by Bhutan of the territory known as Ambari Falakata and Jalpesh. These areas were inhabited by the Rajbansis (Koch) and belonged to the Raikats (Zemindars) of Baikunthopur under the Cooch Behar Raj. A temple dedicated to Shiva stands at Jalpesh today which was built by Maharaja Pran Narayan of Cooch Behar (1625-65). Alexander Hamilton, who led two missions to Bhutan in 1776 and 1777, recommended the cession of these tracts so that he could

11. *Markham, Op. Cit.* p. 10

12. *Forrest, G. W. Selection from State Papers of the Governors-General of India, Vol. I.* 1910, pp. 313, 314.

13. *Khan Chaudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, History of Cooch Behar, (in Bengali), Cooch Behar, 1936.*

"induce the Deb Raja to fulfil his agreement with Mr. Bogle and only to levy moderate transit duties on merchandise". Ashley Eden failed "entirely to comprehend the reasons" for this transaction, and wrote: "I am afraid on this occasion the friendship of the Bhutanese was purchased at the expense of the Baikunthpur Zemindar". According to Dr. David Field Rennie, Ambari Falakata was ceded to Bhutan by Captain Turner in 1784¹⁴. But a representation in the Bhutan Political proceedings for October 1865 states, "In the year 1787 A. D., Ain Falakata and Julpesh and certain talooks belonging to the Zemindar of pergunnah Bykantpur were against the consent and in the face of reiterated remonstrances of the Zemindar ceded to the Deb Raja of Bootan by order of the Right Honble Charles Earl of Cornwallis". The Renunciations of Jalpesh and Ambari Falakata were territorial concessions to Bhutan made in the interest of the Tibetan trade. It is also on record that in compliance with a request from the Panchen Lama, Warren Hastings "granted to him hundred bighas of land of the bank of the Ganges opposite Calcutta"¹⁶. Gour Das Bysack observed it was "for the first and last time" that a "living divinity" in Tibet "condescended to accept Sannad from the representative of the British power in India and to become his jagirdar a hundred and thirty years ago".

The territorial disputes between Cooch Behar Raj and Bhutan which kept the frontier in a state of permanent tension right up to the Duar War (1864-65) have been copiously recorded in Cooch Behar state publications. These disputes often led to armed conflicts and occasional attempts at mediation by British representatives at Cooch Behar were of no avail as long as the frontier remained undefined and as long as means of making the central Bhutanese government amenable were not available. Tibet had been closed more effectively by the Chinese since 1792, and this fact alone explains a good deal of the dithering in British North-East Frontier policy in the first half of the 19th century. Clements R. Markham observes that the policy of "constant and watchful vigilance" gave way to "one of indifference and neglect, varied by occasional small but disastrous wars, which are waged not for any broad imperial end, but on account of some petty squabbles about boundaries"¹⁸.

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14. *Rennie, Dr. D. F. Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War*. 1866, reprinted by Manjusri, New Delhi, 1970, p. 36
15. *Bhutan Political Proceedings, Oct. 1865, p.2. State Archives, Government of West Bengal.*
16. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. V, Calcutta, 1930, p. 31.*
17. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol.LIX, Part, 1, 1890, p. 73.*
18. *Markham, Op. Cit. p. LXXX.*

Maharaja Harendra Narayan of Cooch Behar. (1783-1839) was an able ruler. In his dealings with the English he was circumspect and firm. He made a determined bid to preserve his civil jurisdiction and the right of issuing Naryayani coins¹⁹. With the help of the Raikats of Baikunthopur he recovered from the Bhutanese the lands of Chamurchi and Ranghamali in the Duars. Subjects of Bhutan and Cooch Behar were entangled in armed clashes on the Maraghat frontier in 1808. Mr. Digby, the British Commissioner at Cooch Behar, mediated and gave his verdict in favour of Cooch Behar for the possession of Maraghat.

Digby's decision was reversed by Mr. David Scott, who made over to the Bhutanese the tract locally known as Gird Maraghat. in 1817. It appears that these fertile lands were transferred to the Bhutanese as a reward for their proclaimed neutrality in the Angolo-Nepalese War (1814-16).

In 1815 Babu Krishnakanta Bose and Rammohan Roy²⁰ were sent to Bhutan by David Scott. Krishnakanta Bose undertook the journey ostensibly to settle boundary disputes between Cooch Behar and Bhutan. Scott also hoped that "he would open up a line of communication with Tibet, via Bhutan"²¹. The political nature of this mission, dubbed as "unofficial" is also apparent from Dr. S. N. Sen's collection of old Bengali letters. Krishnakanta and Rammohan secured an assurance from the Deb Raja that Bhutan would not entertain any representation from the Nepalese for a joint offensive against the Company²². In Bhutan Krishnakanta collected a lot of information about the country and the people. His account of Bhutan was translated into English by David Scott and is still an eminently helpful study. The Bhutanese trader, according to this account, imported from Rangpur and Cooch Behar "swine, cattle, pan, betel, tobacco, dried fish and coarse cotton cloth". Among the articles they used to export to Tibet from the plains were grain, indigo, sandal and coarse cotton cloth. From Tibet they imported tea, silver, gold and silk goods. Like Tibet Bhutan was a good market for Chinese tea and silk goods in those days. Krishnakanta observed that besides the "officers of government and their

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19. *These coins were struck by the rulers of Cooch Behar. They are so called from the title "Narayan" borne by the Maharajas of Cooch Behar. After the establishment of British paramountcy in Cooch Behar (1772) the issue of these coins was restricted. The coin ceased to be legal tender in Cooch Behar in 1866.*
 20. *It is impossible that he was any other than Raja Rammohan of renaescent Bengal, who was at Rangpur with Digby and who settled in Calcutta in 1816.*
 21. *Barooah, Nirode K. David Scott in North-East India. p. 34*
 22. *Sen, Dr. S. N. Prachin Bangla Patra Samgraha (A Collection of old Bengali Letters with English Synopses). Received Nov. 12, 1815, postscript.*

servants no person can trade with a foreign country" and trade in horses and blankets was monopolised "at a low price" by the officers²³. The account leaves the impression that the trade between Bhutan and the lowlands of Cooch Behar and Rangpur was extensive while the trade between Bhutan and Tibet was conducted on a limited scale. Pemberton recorded (1838) that the Bhutanese traders to Tibet were "rigorously restricted" to a few principal routes and the efforts of Kashmiri merchants at Lhasa to revive the trade with Bengal through Bhutan were frustrated by the "jealousy of the Deb Raja and the Paro Pilo"²⁴. Krishnakanta's account is perhaps the first to ascribe political instability in Bhutan to the ambition on the Tongsa and Paro Penlops.

The British conquest of Assam (1826) projected Bhutan as a major factor affecting peace on the North-East Frontier. For the first time the Bhutanese hierarchy in the Duars of Kamrup and Darrang, where the boundary was now coterminous, became apprehensive of British intentions. Continuous records are available from this period to the "resumption" of the Assam Duars in 1841. They reveal British anxiety to reach the foothills of Bhutan. Still more interesting is the idea moulding the "united influence" of the Dharma and the Deb Rajas and the Bhutanese officials "in favour of reopening communications between British and Tibetan authorities" which had been so abruptly cut off since the Sino-Nepalese war of 1792. In 1836 the Governor General's Agent to the North-East Frontier wrote, "Our subjects have been excluded from the trade of Tibet and Bhutan through the jealousy and influence of the Chinese Government against the wishes of the Lamas and inhabitants of either country and though the favourable commerical treaty settled by Mr. Bogle in 1775 and subsequently admitted in 1785 by the Deb Raja has never been abrogated yet it has been rendered of no benefit and virtually set aside through the interference of the Chinese government"²⁵. The proposal for sending a new mission to Bhutan was discussed in the same year and the draft of a letter addressed to the Dalai Lama was prepared. This draft is dated Fort William the 27th June, 1836, and runs:

"Events having recently occurred on the frontier of Assam which rendered it desirable that a personal negotiation should be held with the Bootan government, I have despatched an envoy to that court.

Upwards of 53 years have now elapsed since a mission was despatched on the part of the British government to the court of Thibet and I am anxious to avail myself of the favourable opportunity which the presence in Bootan of my envoy affords to renew to Your Highness, after so long an interval the expression of regard and attachment which are still entertained towards you by the British government. When so long an interval has been suffered to elapse without the renewal of friendly demonstrations on either side, it is not surprising if suspicion of neglect or

23. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol- XV, p. 145.

24. Pemberton, R. B. - *Report on Bootan*. 1835, reprinted Calcutta, 1961. p. 78.

25. *Foreign P: C.*, June, 1836, No 52. *National Archives of India, New Delhi*.

cause of misunderstanding should have arisen. My sole motive in making this overture is to perpetuate and consolidate a friendship, the foundation of which was laid a so happily and so long ago, and as I think that by the presence of my envoy he will be able to explain all matters to your satisfaction, I shall be very glad to hear that you have honoured him with an invitation to attend you"²⁶.

The "motive" obviously was to reopen the overland trade route to Tibet through Bhutan and the Chumbi valley. In fact, as Bogle had observed earlier, "the Company's view- in a communication with Tibet are only to an extension of commerce"²⁷. The previous mission which the letter mentions was that of Samuel Turner (1783), although Turner never saw Lhasa. It is possible that the new envoy to Bhutan, R. B. Pemberton, took such a letter addressed to the Dalai Lama with him, but there is nothing to show that the letter reached its destination. Pemberton found the Bhutanese most determinedly opposed to "reopening of a communication between the British and Tibetan authorities"²⁸. They "shrunk from the very discussion to send a letter to solicit leave to advance (to Tibet) as his predecessor Capt. Turner did in 1783 in Tibet"²⁹.

Pemberton's mission (1838) to Bhutan was a political fiasco only less dramatic than the later mission under Ashley Eden (1864). The Court of Directors admitted its failure though they commended it for the collection of "valuable miscellaneous information"³⁰. In his Report Pemberton recommended the attachment of the Assam Duars. He thought it "perfectly practicable" either to open a dialogue with the Tibetan authorities or to dictate terms to the Bhutan government "as long as the Duars continued attached".

The opposition of the Tongsa Penlop frustrated the plan for a formal treaty with Bhutan. The idea of placing a British representative in Bhutan was given up. The pervading distrust and jealousy in Bhutan ruined hopes of securing the co-operation of the Bhutanese hierarchy in reopening communication with Tibet. In fact, the fate of Cooch Behar after 1772, the territorial losses sustained by Nepal and Sikkim in 1816-17 and the annexation of Assam in 1826 had deeply disturbed the Bhutanese mind. The Bhutanese officials on the border from the Penlop down to the Zinkaff reacted in a manner which British officials described as "delinquency". The ceaseless disturbances on the Cooch Behar- Bhutan frontier was the result of their fear of British intentions.

The endemic political strife in Bhutan and its repercussions in the Duars under Bhutanese control adversely affected the Bhutan-Cooch Behar-Rangpur trade. The value of exports and imports in this trade as quoted by Pemberton³¹ gives an index of

26. *Foreign Political, June 27, 1836. No. NAI*

27. *Markham, Op. Cit, p. 199*

28. *Pemberton, Op. Cit, p. 98*

29. *Foreign P. C. March 27, 1839, Robertson's note No 81, NAI*

30. *East India Company. Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 13 of 1839*

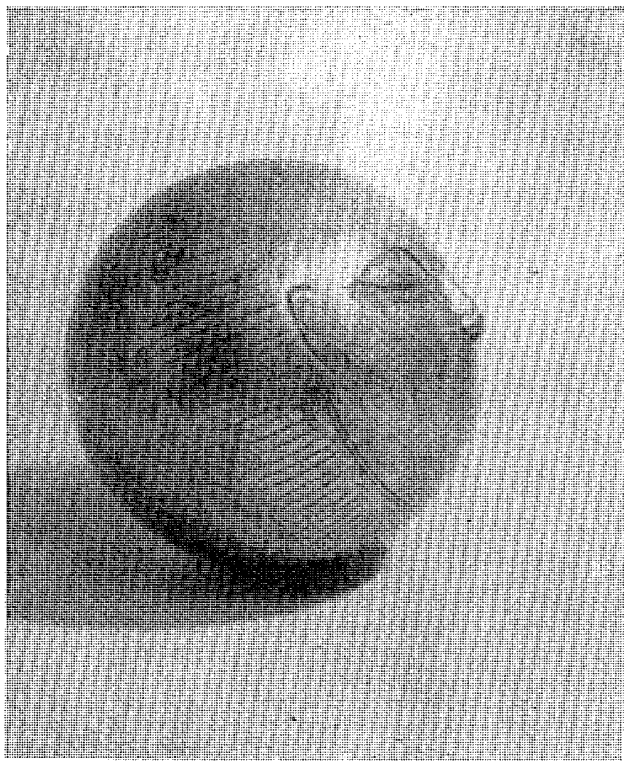
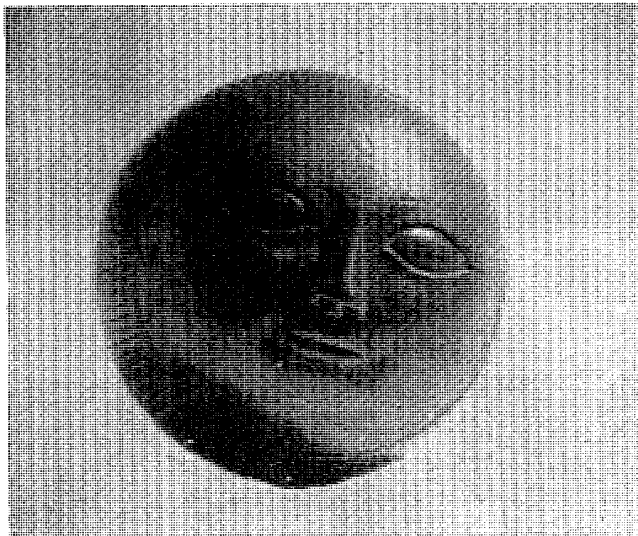
31. *Pemberton, Op. Cit, p. 77*

this decline. William Bentick's measures for economy also seriously affected the trade. Under his orders the customary privileges extended to Bhutanese traders in Rangpur and Dinajpur were withdrawn. Dr. A. Campbell, the renowned Superintendent of Darjeeling, started an "annual fair" at Titalya where Bhutanese traders were encouraged to come with their merchandise. Later, Titalya was included in Rangpur district and the annual fair languished. In Dr. Rennie's time (1865) it was "one in name only".

Since the annexation of Assam no efforts were spared in opening a channel of regular communication with the central authority in Bhutan. Pemberton failed to accomplish this very important task. The transit trade of Tibet through Bhutan could not be received without Bhutanese co-operation which was not available. In 1845 Bhutan and Cooch Behar were entangled in what is known as the Chakla Kheti dispute which lasted till 1849. These disputes focuss the persistent uncertainty in the relations between Bhutan and British India described by Dr. Campbell as "disgraceful". Campbell mediated in these disputes and seized the only alternative of negotiating with Bhutanese Subahs on the frontier. This new approach was remarkably successful. His letters leave the impression that matters were allowed to drift in this part of the frontier till they seriously jeopardised peace. That is to say, there was a lack of policy on the part of the "paramount power" in Cooch Behar. Little wonder that much of the good hard work of Dr. Campbell was undone. After 1850 there were new men with new ideas. Major Jenkins succeeded Campbell in charge of the Bhutan frontier. In 1851 he recommended that "there ought to be no interference unless we are called upon to settle a dispute and then only as to the particular case in question". This was patently a negative attitude. The policy was dangerous since it did not envisage a settlement of the entire boundary through negotiations with Bhutanese authority, central or local. In fact, the very idea of negotiations on which Dr. Campbell relied so much, receded and the idea of retaliation against Bhutan gained ground. This in turn led to war and more annexations.

In 1861, after a military expedition, Sikkim accepted the principle of free trade by the treaty of Tumlong. The failure of Ashley Eden's mission to Bhutan in 1864 directly led to the outbreak of the Duar war. The unpublished correspondence of Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy, and Sir Charles S. Wood, the Secretary of State, reveal the strategy of economic blockage enforced against Bhutan. It was eminently successful. The Paro Penlop and the Western Bhutan chiefs who monopolised the lucrative trade with Cooch Behar and the plains became apprehensive. The peace party and the Deb Raja, the *de facto* central authority in Bhutan, accepted the terms offered by Col. Bruce at Sinchula. By the treaty of Sinchula (1865) Bhutan surrendered the Eighteen Duars bordering the districts of Rangpur, Cooch Behar and Assam and accepted the principle of free trade. The way to Tibet was still closed.





Sūrya Nārāyana image

A NOTE ON A NEPALESE IMAGE OF
SURYA-NĀRĀYANA

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In a recent monograph, Pratapaditya Pal and Dipak Chandra Bhattacharya have presented an interesting study of astral divinities as they appear in the sculpture of Nepal.¹ The most important of these is Sūrya and the authors distinguish three kinds of images: 1. those which conform to the description in the Matsyapurāna and the South Indian tradition; 2. a second variety in which Sūrya is shown dressed in the udīcyaveśa (northern costume) riding in a chariot accompanied by members of his parivāra; and 3. a pure Nepalese type which has no parallel in India, of more complex composition and iconography.²

These are all what may be called anthropomorphic images of the god: Sūrya is represented in human form with the iconographic items appropriate to each type: lotus, boots, dhoti, etc. The authors also note symbolic representations of the sun (the wheel, the disc) which occur alone and also in conjunction with various anthropomorphic images.³ These symbolic representations are found very early in Indian art and are common representations in Nepal also.⁴ The image which I present here falls wholly into neither of these categories for it is in part anthropomorphic and in part symbolic.⁵

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1. Pratapaditya Pal and Dipak Chandra Bhattacharya, *The Astral Divinities of Nepal* (Varanasi: Prithvi Prakashan, 1969).
 2. *Ibid.* p. 19.
 3. *Ibid.* pp. 8, 14, 27-8, 31. See also note 51.
 4. The disc as a representation of the sun in India is known from Vedic times. For discussions of the development of Sūrya images in India see Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1956, pp. 36-107 and pp. 385-444). The disc for the sun and the crescent for the moon are common representations of this in Nepal. They occur, for example, atop the great caitya of Svayambhunath.
 5. The image was brought to me in 1968 by a dealer from Patan. I could learn little about its provenance. The dealer claimed that it was privately owned by someone in Patan and used in private religious ceremonies there.

The image consists of a sphere, almost perfect in form, made of bronze with a heavy copper content, It is six inches in circumference and weighs 1435 grams or about 3.3 pounds. The copper gives it a deep reddish colour, the prescribed colour of the sun. The sphere carries a human face: the eyes, nose, mouth and ears of a man. The eyes, eye-brows and ears are indicated by lines incised in the surface. The nose, mouth and cheeks are modelled on the surface. On the forehead appear three incised lines (concentric, u-shaped) which represent the *ūrdhva-pundra* or Vaishnava sectarian mark. The entire face is contained within a circle consisting of two incised lines which are about 1/32 of an inch apart. Around this circle and emanating from it are a large number of incised lines varying from one-half to one inch in length set about 1/16 of an inch apart. These represent the rays of the sun. The back of the "head" or sphere is smooth, but not as perfect in conformation as the front. There are no other marks, but it should be mentioned that the combination of metals used in the alloy has produced many marks and lines on the surface, which give the entire image a beautiful texture.

All Nepalese to whom the image was shown, both Buddhist and Hindu, were unanimous in their identification: all spontaneously called it *Sūrya-Nārāyana* and there is little doubt that this is who it represents. *Sūrya-Nārāyana* images of the anthropomorphic type are common in India and though Pal and Bhattacharya list none for Nepal it is probable that such images do exist there. The close connections between Vishnu and *Sūrya* are well-known.⁶ Here, of course, we are dealing with another aspect of *Sūrya* also: a representation of the "man in the sun". Indian belief projects a man or god in the sun rather than in the moon, and it was to this belief that the Nepalese responded when questioned.⁷ It should be remarked also, that in Nepal, as elsewhere, the sun plays an important role in the Buddhist pantheon. The Buddha is sometimes called *Sūrya* in early Buddhist literature and both *Sūrya* and *Candra*, the moon, are considered Bodhisattvas.



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6. For a discussion of the relationship between *Visnu*, *Nārāyana* and *Sūrya*, see J.N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-444. Pal and Bhattacharya mention the identification of *Sūrya* and *Visnu* in the *Visnupurāna* (*op. cit.*, p. 14). They mention also the close relationship between *Indra* and *Sūrya*, *Ganeśa* and *Sūrya*, and the god *Śivabhāskara* as these occur in Nepalese inscription (*ibid.* pp. 6-8).
7. The moon contains a rabbit, not a man. See M. Monier-Williams: *Brahmanism and Hinduism* (London: John Murray, 1891) p. 342 n.
8. Pal and Bhattacharya, *op.cit.* pp.27 and 53.

VIE ET CHANTS DE 'BRUG-PA KUN-LEGS LE YOGIN, A REVIEW

Jamyang Namgyal

New Delhi

VIE ET CHANTS DE 'BRUG-PA KUN-LEGS LE YOGIN, TRADUIT DU TIBETAIN ET ANNOTE. By R. A. Stein. 443 p. 3 plates. Collection UNESCO d'oeuvres représentatives. Published by G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris, 1972. Price: 80 F.

The appearance of a new monograph by Prof. R. A. Stein is always a major event in the Tibetological world. No exception is this long-awaited translation of the autobiographical reminiscences of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, one of the most popular cultural heroes of the Lamaist world. In two previous works Prof. Stein has dealt with the greatest epic of Tibet and Mongolia, the adventures of Ge-sar, King of Gling. In 'Brug-pa Kun-legs he has the opportunity to elaborate some of the themes set forth in his earlier works. Prof. Stein is no gatherer of minutiae; his interests focus on the significant cultural patterns and structures.

If Stein's translation of the Holy Madman sounds occasionally wooden, the fault should be sought in the differences between Tibetan and French. No doubt other reviewers will have something to say about his theory and practice in rendering philosophical terminology: the translator has set forth his views in a superb "à propos de la traduction" following his learned historical and cultural introduction. One of the admirable characteristics of Prof. Stein's works is that he invariably examines any text he chooses to study in a relevant historical and cultural context. He eschews mystification. I think that the present effort shows that he has learned a good deal about esoteric Buddhist thought. No one, I think, will dare to call Prof. Stein's present effort one of the "pseudoscholarly translations of Buddhist philosophical texts by linguists who deliberately close their eyes to the fact that an etymological dissection of an isolated word is not a meaningful proposition...¹"

Prof. Stein acknowledges the help in preparation of this translation of Jhampa Gyamtshog (Dwags-po Rin-po-che Byams-pa-rgya-mtsho). The "Rs" scattered throughout the footnotes are evidence of an active collaboration that must become more and more the rule rather than the exception as Tibetan studies develop.

1. H. V. Guenther, *The Royal song of Saraha; a study in the history of Buddhist thought.* Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1969, p. 18.

The introduction includes a concise and useful survey of the various schools of Tibetan Lamaism, a breakdown of the subjects of the Bka'-brgyud-pa, and a detailed account of the Rgya-lineage of Rwa-lung into which 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was born. The author touches, one might think too superficially, upon the significance of the holy madman (*smyon-pa*) in the Indo-Tibetan tradition. He describes the historical background against which 'Brug-pa Kun-legs lived and sets forth some of the chronological problems. He points out some of the inconsistencies and difficulties of the sources which were at his disposal.

Prof. Stein registers perplexity over an account of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' adventures in Bhutan, published some five or six years ago in a mimeographed form. A corrected version of this rather interesting work appeared last year in a moveable type edition. This text was written by one of the most competent Bhutanese scholars on 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Geshe Chaphu (Dge-bshes Brag-phug Dge-'dun-rin-chen) in 1966 at Kundga' chos-gling, a lovely hermitage on the ridge below Gsang-chen chos-'khor above the Spa-gro Valley. The mimeographed publication was intended for limited circulation to elicit comments and criticism. A comparison of the two versions of this text (*'Gro ba'i mgon po chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po mthong ba don ldan*) gives an interesting insight into the traditional methodology of Lamaist scholarship. Geshe Chaphu received suggestions from a number of Bhutanese savants including Lupon Nado, Lupon Pema, and Lupon Kunleg. Lupon Nado was responsible for the printing of the revised text in Kalimpong. Most of the points which puzzled Prof. Stein have been corrected or deleted in the printed edition.

For example, the crucial statement in the mimeographed version regarding 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' place in the Rwa-lung genealogy, which leads Prof. Stein to observe, "L'incertitude qui règne au sujet de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs vaut aussi pour sa proche famille," reads (ff. 3v-4r):

.../brög sde chen po zhig gi khrod du/ yab rgya'i rus can zur po tsha pe dang/
 yum ma bza' dar skyid gnyis la rgyal srid kyi nor mchog lta bu'i sras bdun 'khrungs
 pa'i tha chung srid na' gran zla dang bral ba gangs can gyi nyi ma lta bu 'gro ba'i
 mgon po gdung dang na bza'i mtshan can dpal ldan 'brug pa rin po che 'di nyid
 rab byung gsum pa'i nang tshan khyu mchog ces pa lcags mo sbrul gyi lo da sku
 bltams pa dang/ de'i sku mched 'bring po jo tshul gyi gdung rabs las byon pa
 yab nang so rin chen bzang po dang/ yum mgon mo skyid la sras nyi zla lta bu
 gnyis 'khrungs pas/ che ba dpal ldan ra lung par grags pa ngag dbang chos
 kyi rgyal po dang/ tha chung 'gro ba'i mgon po chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i dpal
 bzang po 'di nyid 'phags yul grub brgya'i gtsug rgyan sa ra ha pa dang shā wa
 ri pa zung du 'jug pa'i skye mithā' bzung nas rab byung brgyad pa'i nang tshan
 na tshod ldan zhes pa shing mo phag gi lo la sku 'khrungs so/.

In the new edition (f. 3 r-v) the same passage has been revised and expanded:

.../'brog sde chen po zhid gi khrod du/ yab rgya'i rus can zur po tsha pe dang/ yum ma bza' dar skyid gnyis la rgyal srid kyi nor mchog lta bu'i sras bdun 'khrungs pa'i tha chung srid na 'gran zla dang bral ba gangs can gyi nyi ma lta bu chos rje 'gro ba'i mgon po gdung dang na bza'i mtshan can dpal ldan 'brug pa rin po che 'di nyid rab byung gsum pa'i nang mtshan khyu mchog ces pa lcags mo sbrul gyi lo la sku bitams pa dang/ de'i gcen po lha' bum gyi sras las slob dpon dbon stag 'khrungs shing/ de las rdo rje gling pa sengge shes rab dang spos skya pa chen po sengge rin chen gnyis 'khrungs/ phyi ma spos skya pa chen po las bcu gsum pa chen po sengge rgyal po 'khrungs/ de las 'jam dbyangs kun dga' sengge 'khrungs shing/ de'i sras blo gros sengge las gcen chos rje shes rab seng ge dang/ gcung 'jam dbyangs sprul pa ye shes rin chen gnyis 'khrungs/ phyi ma ye shes rin chen las gsang bdag sprul pa nam mkha' dpal bzang dang spyen ras gzigs sprul shes rab bzang po/ tha chung drung pa rdo rje rgyal po bcas gsum 'khrungs/ phyi ma rdo rje rgyal po las nang so rin chen bzang po 'khrungs/ de lta bu'i gdung rabs dri ma med pa las byon pa'i yab nang so rin chen bzang po dang yum mgon mo skyid gnyis las rab byung brgyad pa'i nang tshan shing phag gi lor chos rje kun dga' legs pa 'di nyid sku 'khrungs pa'o/.

The statement on f. 56v of the mimeographed issue:

.../sras 'di physis su ngag dbang rnam rgyal lho la chibs kha bsgyur dus phyag phyir yod pa las/ physis lho mon kha bzhi la dbang bsgyur ba'i sde srid gnyis pa sa skyong bstan 'dzin 'brug sgra zhes pa de sras dam de nyid yin skad do// de'i brgyud pa drug song ba'i tha ma da lta phag ri bsam grub lha khang na yod pa'i sde pa gsol dpon pa de tsho yin ces zer ro/

has completely been deleted in the printed edition (cf. f. 36 v). It is upon the basis of this statement that Prof. Stein postulated the date of 1786 for the composition of this work. One would speculate that this was a statement occurring in one of the sources used by Geshe Chapu and that the revisers saw that it was misleading and consequently eliminated it from the printed edition.

Another of the difficulties observed by Prof. Stein (pp. 15—18) centers around the question of the identity of the Rdo-rje-gdan-pa, Father and Son, and the implications for the dating of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Prof. Stein apparently had access to the biography of the Rdo-rje-gdan-pa (*Chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs kyi yan lag rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug dpal rdo rje gdan pa'i rnam par thar pa* in 34 ff.) This text is a supplement to the full length *rnam-thar* of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal (1594-1651) by Gtsang Mkhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs Dpal-ldan -rgya-mtsho (1610-1684). The blocks were carved at Punakha (Spungs-thang Bde-ba-can) during the abbacy of the 18th Rje Mkhan-po 'Jam-dbyangs-mtshan (1743-1802), i. e. 1797-1802. They

are apparently no longer extant, having been burned in one of the many fires that destroyed the great religious center.

Bhutanese tradition records that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs took as a *mudra* one Nor-bu-'dzom, who bore him a son at Bkra-shis-rgyas-pa Phal-sna in the Stod-pa-lung-pa Valley between Thed and Thim.² Prof. Stein has erroneously located this place in Central Tibet (p. 16, fn. 1: "Vallée de l'affluent du skyid-chu (sic!), à l'Ouest de Lhasa. C'est aussi au pays de sTodluñ, dans le grand stüpa d'argent de Lam'-phar que les restes de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs étaient conservés"). This locality is in Bhutan to the east of the Thim-phu Valley on the way to Dbang-'dus Pho-brang. The biography of Bstan-'dzin-rab-rgyas (*Mtshungs med chos kyi rgyal po rje rin po che'i zman par thar pa bskal bzang legs bris 'dod pa'i re skong dpag bsam gi snye ma*, 383 ff. 1) notes that the birth of this son, Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin, took place at the end of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' life.

Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin met 'Brug-pa Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug (1517-1554) when the latter was visiting Bhutan and became his disciple. We know that Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin founded Rta-mgo Ri-khrod in his 50th year and that towards the end of his life he produced two children. The eldest, a daughter, died in her youth after manifesting remarkable signs of an accomplished yogini. The son was Mi-pham-tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin *alias* Pha-jo Rta-mgrin-rgyal-mtshan (1574-1643). Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin died when his son was 17 (*ca.* 1590). It would appear that he was born between 1520 and 1529.

Mi-pham-tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin received his monastic vows at the age of 17 at Rwa-lung from Mi-pham-chos-kyi-rgyal-po (1543-16043). He also received teachings from Ngag-dbang-lhun-grub, Grub-thob Rin-po-che (the rebirth of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs), Pha Dam-pa Ngag-dbang-'brug-rgyal, Zangs-dkar Ras-chen, Lha-dbang-blo-gros Suresamati), and Stag-rtse-pa Sprul-sku Pad-dkar-dbang-po (regarded to be a rebirth of 'Brug-pa Gcung Rin-po-che Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug (1517-1554). Prof. Stein has, in error, identified the last with the Fourth 'Brug-chen Padma-dkar-po (p. 16: "Parmi ses maîtres figure s Tag-ree-pa Padma dkar-po (1527-1592, voir le Tableau)").

Mi-pham-tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin produced two sons and a daughter. His eldest child was Mi-pham-tshe-dbang-rgya-mtsho *alias* Dpon-slob 'Brang-rgyas-pa Sbyin-

2. *The biography of the Rdo-rje-gdan-pa reads (f. 6v): thed thim gyi mtshams| stod pa lung pa'i sa'i cha| bkra shis rgyas pa phral sna zhes bya ba'i yul du khrungs|; the rnam-thar of Rgyal-sras Bstan-'dzin-rab-rgyas states (f. 9r): sku tshe'i mtha' dang nye ba'i skabs su nyi 'og lho phyogs kyi thed yul gzhung du stod pa khyags nags nang zhes bya bar nor bu 'dzom zhes pa'i bud med mkha' 'gro... The latter work was written by the 6th Rje Mkhan-po Ngag-dbang-lhun-grub (1673?-1733?).*

3. *The dates given by Prof. Stein for Mi-pham-chos-kyi-rgyal-po are 1543-1606.*

pa-rgyal-mtshan. The two younger children were born of a different mother, the daughter of the Cang Sgang-kha lineage, Dam-chos-bstan-'dzin (b. 1606). This lady had previously been the *mudra* of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal, who for some re-passed her on to Mi-pham-tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin. She gave birth to two children, Rje-btsun Drung Rin-chen-dpal-'dzom (1634-1708) and Rgyal-sras Bstan-'dzin-rab-rgyas (1638-1798). This branch of the House of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs died out when Bstan-'dzin-rab-rgyas failed to produce a male heir. One daughter, however, was born in 1691. This personage was known as Lcam Kun-legs and is regarded to be the first of the Rtamgo Bla-ma incarnation line.

The dating of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs still presents us with problems. Most of the available sources, past and present, are in agreement that his birth took place in the Wood-Pig year corresponding to 1455. Prof. Stein has noted the difficulty in accepting the date of 1455 given in Geshe Chaphu's life of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (p. 17):

“Selon ce texte, le préfet Rin-chen bzañ-po et sa femme mGon-mo-skyid auraient eu deux fils, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, né en 1455, et son frère aîné, le glorieux abbé de Ra-luñ, Nag-dbañ chos-kyi rgyal-po (No XIV du Tableau). Or selon les sources anciennes, celui-ci est né en 1463 et il n'est pas le frère aîné, mais le cousin de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs.”

With the revision of the family affiliations in the printed edition there is no problem: Ngag-dbang-chos-kyi-rgyal-po (1465-1540)⁴ is no longer described as the elder brother of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Geshe Chaphu cites an oral tradition current in Bhutan that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs passed away in 1570 at the age of 115 but notes that this dating was a subject of dispute. There seems to be no reason not to accept the traditional date of 1529 for the death of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. It is not impossible that he sired Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin in his sixth decade of life and that Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin produced his heir Mi-pham-tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin when he was over 50. Mi-pham-tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin was sixty-four when he sired Rgyal-sras Bstan-'dzin-rab-rgyas. Late fatherhood and prolonged fertility seem characteristic of the later princes of Rwa-lung.

'Brug-pa Kun-legs' style is charmingly colloquial yet elegant. He introduces himself:

/de la ding sang Inga brgya pa nmams kyi nang du skye ba blangs pa'i/ 'brug
pa kun legs nga'i byung tshul cung zad bshad na/ dga' la ngu bro ba skyid la gu
yangs pa/ 'dzom tsa na ya cha ba/ ma 'dzom tsa na 'tshol ba/ sdod bsam tsa nal'
'gro ba 'gro bsam tsa na sdod pa/ su'i kha la yang mi nyan cing/ su dang yang mi
mthun pa/ don dang mthun la khad la/ mi mthun pa mang ba/ brtag par
dka' ba de'i rus ni rgya/...

⁴. The dates given by Prof. Stein are 1463-1538.

This Prof. Stein cleverly renders in French (p. 42):

“Si j’expliquais maintenant un peu de quelle manière j’ai pris naissance, moi,
 ’Brug-pa Kun-legs, au milieu de nos âges actuels de cinq cents ans, c’était:
 dans la joie, j’éclatais en pleurs,
 dans le bonheur, tranquille et à l’aise,
 quand j’étais riche, je m’émerveillais,
 quand je n’étais pas riche, je cherchais,
 quand je pensais rester, je parlais,
 quand je pensais partir, je restais,
 n’écoutant les paroles de personne,
 avec personne je n’étais d’accord,
 dès que tout s’accordait avec l’affaire (de ma vie),
 d’innombrables affaires ne s’accordaient plus du tout.
 De cet homme difficile à comprendre, le clan paternel était rGya.”

One may, of course, find inadequate his explanation of *lnga-brgya-pa-rnams* as “de nos âges actuels de cinq cents ans”, which he footnotes “périodes de déclin du bouddhisme qui s’aggrave de plus en plus.” The usual Lamaist scholastic explanation for this expression is *snyigs-ma lnga, tshe-lo brgya*. The five *snyigs-ma* (kaśāya) are: 1) *tshē’i* (āyuh); 2) *lta-ba’i* (dṛṣṭi); 3) *nyon-mongs-pa’i* (kleśa); 4) *sems-can-gyi* (sattva); 5) *dus-kyi* (kalpa). During this degenerate age, the life of man is no more than a hundred years.

One also has the feeling that the translator is missing something when he renders the expression *ya-cha-ba* as “je m’émerveillais”. The term is applied to behaviour done in an extraordinarily free-handed and capricious manner without a thought to the future. It is this behaviour which provokes amazement in others. Such expressions which are not to be found in the dictionaries deserve a footnote or at least an entry in a glossary of unusual words and expressions.

The notes occasionally contain factual errors. On page 49 (fn. 2), the *Zab mo nang don*, the famed synthetic study of the Anuttarayoga tantras by the Third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284-1339) is curiously attributed to the Second Karma-pa Karma-pakshi (1206-1283). The translator refers the reader to p. 489 of Roerich’s English rendering of the Blue Annals where there seems to be no mention whatsoever of the *Zab mo nang don*.

The mention of the *Snying thig* precepts on p. 57 gives rise to a footnote: “Cf. le Kloñ-chen sñiñ-thig de Kloñ-chen rab-’byams-pa (1308-1363).” The *Snying thig* teachings of which ’Brug-pa Kun-legs speaks are the *Snying thig ya bzhi*, a collection of five sets of precepts which were transmitted by Kloñ-chen Rab-’byams-pa Dri-med ’od-zer. This collection contains: 1) the *Bi ma snying thig* precepts of Ldan-ma Lhun-

rgyal; 2) the *Bla ma yang thig* teachings representing the essence of the *Bi ma snying thig* by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa; 3) the *Mkha' 'gro snying thig* group rediscovered by Padma-las-' brel-rtsal (Rin-chen Tshul-rdor); 4) the *Mkha' 'gro yang thig* precepts, an elaboration of the *Mkha' 'gro snying thig* by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa; 5) the *Zab mo yang thig* teachings containing the essence of the four previous sets (*ya-bzhi*) as expressed by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa. In addition to the *Snying thig ya bzhi*, there were current at the time of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs a number of rediscovered Rdzogs-chen teachings which were called *Snying thig* precepts. The *Klong chen snying thig* cycle was a much later development; it was delivered by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa in a vision to Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1729/1730-1798). The *Klong chen Snying thig* teachings are the most widely used Rdzogs-chen practices of our time.

In attempting to identify the Lha-btsun-pa who was the most important guru of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Prof. Stein was wisely hesitant about equating him with Lha-btsun Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1473-1557), the disciple of Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507). An interesting manuscript biography of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' teacher, Lha-btsun Kundga'-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho (1432-1505), has recently become available in India. This work (85 ff.) bears the title *Grub pa'i dbang phyug ('Brug smyon Kun dga' legs pa'i rtsa ba'i bla ma) Lha btsun Kun dga' chos ky'i rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa rmad byung yon tan rgya mtsho 'jigs zab skal bzang dga' ba bskyed pa'i dod 'jo* and is the work of Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje alias G.yung-mgon-rdo-rje (b. 1721), regarded to be the 4th or 5th in the series of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs incarnations of Gnyal Dre'u-lhas. G.yung-mgon-rdo-rje, the son of the extraordinary Sle-lung Bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje (b. 1697), began his work at the behest of Kah-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1698-1755) and completed it after a lapse of some years in 1768. He relied heavily upon the *Ngo mtshar utpa la'i do shal byin brlabs ky'i zil mngar 'ba byed* a bulky biography of Lha-btsun by Snyug-la Pañ-chen Ngag-dbang-grags-pa (1458-1515), the biographer of Dbus-smyon Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1458-1532).

Kun-dga'-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho was born into the Gle-ma-kha branch of the Lha Btsad-po, the clan of the ancient kings of Tibet. Thus, he was entitled to the epithet Lha-btsun applied to all monks of the royal lineage of Lha. This title is comparable to the Mongolian *toyin/toin*, applied to monks of royal descent. His chief gurus were Mon-rtse Rtogs-ldan Kun-dga'-dpal-ldan (1408-1475?), Rgyal-dbang Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor (1428-1476), and Bsod-nams-mchog-ldan.

His two chief disciples were 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and Drung Grags-pa-mtha'-yas. Grags-pa-mtha'-yas was the master of Chos-sku Nam-mkha'-rin-chen and of Jo-nang-pa Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507-1566). The lineage passed from Kun-dga'-grol-mchog through Brag-stod-pa Lha-dbang-grags-pa to the great Tāranātha (b. 1575). A bulky *rnam-thar* and *mgur-'bum* of Lha-btsun's other disciple, Grags-pa-mtha'-yas (*Rnal*

'byor gyi dbang phyug grags pa mtha' yas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mgur' bum ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba, a xylograph in 242 ff.) exists, but the present reviewer never had the opportunity to study it at length.

The dating of the compilation of the several parts and the carving of the blocks for the Dre'u-lhas edition are further unsolved problems. Prof. Stein has outlined his findings (pp. 24-26) and would identify Mon-ban Smyon-pa, the personage responsible for the four part Dre'u-lhas edition with the Sde-pa Grub-thob Rin-po-che, an incarnation of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs mentioned in Lha-rtse-ba Ngag-dbang-bzang-po's (1546-1615) supplement to the biography of 'Brug-chen IV Padma-dkar-po. This Sde-pa Grub-thob Rin-po-che is mentioned under the entries for 1591 and 1592, in the latter instance in association with Lo-chen Sprul-sku 'Phrin-las-dbang-phyug and the Lo-ro Dol Dmag-sde. Stein would tentatively date the Water-Dragon year in which these blocks were carved to either 1592 or 1652. The reviewer would tend to disagree: the style of the blocks and the oral tradition point to 1892.

The few Dre'u-lhas monks in India unfortunately do not have their *chos-spyod*, nor are they able to reproduce a list of the incarnations of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. They are aware of the eight or nine volume *gsung-'bum* of G.yung-mgon-rdo-rje, of which there is reputedly a set in Bhutan. One of these monks has also shown the reviewer two works by one 'Gro-'dul-rdo-rje, either G.yung-mon-rdo-rje's predecessor or successor in the Dre'u-lhas incarnation series (*Bde mchog lhan skyes kyi sgo nas slob ma rjes bzung gi rim pa nag 'gros su bkod pa nyung ngu rnam par gsal ba'i brjed byang*, a xylograph in 20 ff., and *Btsan gyi rgyal po srog bdag a bse chen po gdug pa snying 'byin gyi byung khungs lo rgyus mdo tsam snying por dril ba gcig shes kun grol*, a manuscript in 17 ff). The latter work was written in a Wood-Rat year and mentions the *ger-ma* rediscoveries of Stag-sham Nus-ldan-rdo-rje. Because it does not mention Sle-lung Bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje's masterful *Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjed pa sngon med legs bshad* (1734) and seems to have been one of the sources inspiring Sle-lung Rje-drung, one would tentatively date this Wood-Rat year to 1684. The informants state that a number of lamas of the Dre'u-lhas and Bhutanese tradition have produced works about 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. It is sad that many of these works are up to now unavailable.

One could point out a few other minor questionable translations and explanations. On p. 162, he translates the term *hor-'dra* as "cruel brigands" with a footnote "*hor-'dra*, ici les collecteurs d'impôts". The dictionary of Chos-grags defines the term: *chen po'i bkas dpya khral sdud byed mngag gzhug pa*. The sixth of the Thirteen Laws (*Zhal lce bcu gsum*) bears the title *Hor 'dra za rkang gi zhal che*. *Hor-'dra* probably originally meant "belonging to or pertaining to the Mongolicised administrative class" rather than with the current pejorative connotation seen in the 1963 *Kratkii Tibetski-Russkii slovar* where the term is defined "konfiskatsiia", i. e. confiscation.

There are occasional typographical errors which may give rise to considerable confusion, e. g. the footnote (p. 43, fn. 2) identifying Kun-tu-bzang-po of Rin-spungs which reads "Chef (rjoñ-dpon) de Rin-spuñ in 1246..." These are fortunately few indeed.

Prof. Stein's translation of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, autobiography is a work of significance. He has chosen a text that will have an interest not confined to simply the Tibetologist. U.N.E.S.C.O. is to be commended for including this title in its series of Representative Works. Maisonneuve, the publisher, is also to be commended for the classical layout.

How much more useful would have been this study had he been able to discuss the problems, historical, cultural, linguistic, and geographical, with the Bhutanese scholars who have been working along somewhat parallel lines. It is sad that Prof. Stein seems to have been forced to produce this monograph without access to many of the essential parallel sources such as the complete *Rwa-lung gser-'phreng*.

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SHORT REVIEWS

*Books

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF NAGALAND. By M. Alemchiba Ao. 22½ x 14½ cm. 11+261 pp., 16-ht. plates, 2 maps, index. Published by the Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, Nagaland, India, 1970. Price: Rs 18/—

It is a pleasure to note the recent appearance of several historical accounts of peoples of North-Eastern India. These works have been written by historians who have spent much of their lives among the people about whom they write. Our knowledge of the history of the North-East is generally based on two categories of sources. First, the accounts by British administrators and semi-scholars who could gather a prodigious amount of material over relatively short periods of time, and second Bengali scholars who hardly moved out of Calcutta, but who contributed a new and valuable perspective by extensive use of Sanskrit and Bengali or Assamese records.

Both the above sources, as well as the occasional missionary, have contributed significantly to our knowledge of the people of the North-East, but we are still in great need of the perspective of the people themselves through their own historians and writers. Thus, the writings of people like Hamlet Barth of the Khasis, Iman Singh Chemjong of the "Kirats", Alemchiba Ao of the Nagas, etc., are very valuable.

Dr. Alemchiba Ao's account of the historical development of the Nagas is the only easily available chronological account of Naga history, a good half of the book being devoted to the Twentieth Century. While the author may have relied too much on J.H. Hutton and secondary sources such as Mackenzie, W.C. Smith, B.C. Chakravarty, etc., he has managed to present an intelligent review of Naga history up to the present time. It is conceivable, however, that Mackenzie's accounts of the British occupation of the Naga Hills would not stand a close scrutiny even from a detailed study of available official records, not to mention Naga accounts in whatever forms still available. It is hard to believe that so few historical facts can be traced through the rich Naga folklore, legends, etc., and that one needs to rely so heavily on secondary sources such as Mackenzie. (This is not to suggest, however, that Mackenzie was so unreliable and misleading in his reports as, for example, Sir Ashley Eden was regarding his Mission to Bhutan or Claude White in his dealings with Sikkim). Perhaps a good deal of original research can still be done. All in all, however, the book is well researched and documented. It includes a comparative vocabulary of the seven Naga dialects and English compiled by Shri P. K. Bhattacharya of the Naga Institute, and an index which is somewhat limited. A detailed bibliography would have been much appreciated. We are looking forward to further publications by Dr. Alemchiba and the Naga Institute.

H.K.K.

VAISNAVA ICONOLOGY IN NEPAL.

By Pratapaditya Pal. 186 +xxxiii pp., 110 b/w *plates*.

Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. d. Price: Rs. 50/—

Vaiṣṇavism has had an important place in the religious life of Nepal from at least the fourth century A. D., but its exact importance, its decline in medieval times and subsequent re-emergence in a strong Kṛṣṇa cult, and its present state of relative decline, have never been clear to even closest students of Nepali religion. In a country where Śiva and the Buddha have been dominant from the medieval period, Viṣṇu's position has been ambiguous, alternating between what Pal refers to as "bias and fusion" (p. 127), with Viṣṇu at times supreme, and at times fused completely with Śiva. Today, Śiva remains the supreme deity for a Hindu in Nepal, yet Viṣṇu's presence cannot be denied. The shrines dedicated to him, particularly those of Buḍha Nilkanṭha and Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ, have preserved their sanctity and bear witness to the power he once had by their antiquity and the quality of the art which they possess.

What has been lacking until now has been systematic discussion of the physical products of Nepali Vaiṣṇavism—the icons, shrines, and painting—in conjunction with epigraphical sources and Vaiṣṇava literature. This is what Pal has done in this monograph. And his book is not only a specialized discussion of Vaiṣṇava iconography as it is found in Nepal but an attempt as well at an historical reconstruction of the religion there through the investigation of its art.

Following a general discussion of Nepali Vaiṣṇavism in the first chapter, Pal discusses the vibhava images of the god, his para and vyūha aspects, the cult of Kṛṣṇa, Vaiṣṇava tantric icons, temple forms, and finally composite icons. The detailed iconographic discussions are illuminated by reference to appropriate literary sources. His discussion of the famous Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ sculpture of the Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu as a representation to the Viśvarūpadarśanam in the Bhagavad Gita is the most remarkable example of how effectively he uses the traditional literature. Pal points out outside influences where they exist, discusses the differences in the Indian conceptions of the same iconic forms, and demonstrates the striking originality of certain of the Nepali images even while they are based on traditional Hindu themes.

Several important conclusions result from this study. First, the obvious point is made that no understanding of religion in Nepal can be reached without a thorough examination of Vaiṣṇavism and its relations with Śaivism and Buddhism; second, that Vaiṣṇavism was influenced by tantrism to a much greater extent in Nepal than in India; and third, that while religious art in Nepal has found in India a source of inspiration, it has never merely imitated it. More than any recent author Pal, I think, makes clear the kind of syncretism which makes Nepali art and religion unique:

"Although both for their religion and their art the Nepalis were always dependent on India, it would be a mistake to presume that they were mere imitators. Rather the study of Nepali art is important to the art-historian precisely because it demonstrates the remarkable capacity of the artists for assimilation. Exposed constantly to influences from India, the Nepali artist has displayed his truly artistic aptitude and inventive genius in absorbing what was essential and then giving form to his ideas following his own aesthetic intent. We have time and again seen how a Vaiṣṇava icon or a particular motif was modified by him according to his needs and norms. That is why despite the origin of the style in India we cannot cite any example for India where forms such as those seen in the Varāha image (Fig. 5) or the stupendous sculpture of Kāliyadamana (Fig. 51) could have originated. Isolated though they were in their mountain-girt valley, the artists of Nepal must have realised fully that artistic creativity is an experience where complete isolation leads to the inevitable stagnation of art. Their southern windows were therefore always open."

This is certainly one of the most important books on Nepali art and religion to appear in recent years. It is clearly written and logically argued. It is, in addition, well produced and the plates are clear. There are several misprints and typographical errors in addition to those listed in the errata, but nothing bothersome enough to mention here. This reviewer finds it surprising, however, that the Asiatic Society has not included anywhere the publication date of such an important book. From the author's preface we learn that the book was written in 1966. The preface itself is dated March, 1970."

T. R.

A NEPALI VERSION OF THE VETĀLAPANĀCĀVIMŚATI. By Th. Riccardi, Jr. ix + 206 pp. Published by the American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1971. (American Oriental Series vol. 54).

Nepali is as yet but little taught in foreign universities (in Paris it has been taught regularly since 1965) although much practical knowledge of the language has been acquired by past and present members of such organisations as the Peace Corps. The death of T. W. Clark was a great loss to Nepali studies in the Anglo-Saxon world; but it is to be hoped that the impetus given by the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University to linguistic studies in Nepal will eventually provoke more regular teaching of Nepali in Europe, America and perhaps even Japan. The present work contains the romanized text (p.49-113) of a Nepali translation of Kṣemendra's Sanskrit Vetālapāṇcaviṃśati, as it subsists in a bilingual (Sanskrit and Nepali) manuscript purchased in Benares by Professor W. Norman Brown, and at present in the University of Pennsylvania Collection under No. 764. Mr. Riccardi also gives us an

annotated English translation of this version with a short but useful introduction and a grammatical sketch of the language of the manuscript. The author claims (p. ix) that this is "the first study of a Nepali work and its connection with the Sanskrit tradition". It is certainly the first study of its kind in English, and as such marks an important date in Himalayan Studies.

In his introduction, the author lists the known Nepalese versions of the *Vetāla*°, discusses the date of the manuscript he is editing (early nineteenth century) and then furnishes some notes on Kṣemendra and the date of his *Vetāla*° (c. 1037 A. D.). He suggests that the translator and/or scribes of the Pennsylvania manuscript were perhaps Newars (p. 9, n. 36). He remarks that "the Nepali is an attempt at an almost literal rendering into prose of Kṣemandra's slokas. It is almost twice as long as the Sanskrit. Little is omitted and much is added; the scene in the burning ground in the frame-story, in particular, contains many comparisons and images which are not in the Sanskrit, but nothing substantive has been added or changed. The language is good literary Nepali." It is interesting to read that "many of the forms in the manuscript can still be heard in some of the dialects spoken in the hills of Nepal" (p.11). This seems to be particularly so with regard to Western Nepali. Again one is struck by the absence of the honorific Second Person pronoun *tapāim*, which, interestingly enough, does not occur once in the entire manuscript." Mr. Riccardi concludes his introduction by some observations on the Sanskrit of the Pennsylvania manuscript and the possible connections and relationships between this and other manuscripts. The 'Nepali' translator, faced with an example of Kṣemendra's early style, sometimes translated, sometimes commented "by adding metaphors and similes which explain very little" (p. 13). However, "the stories are clearly, if not always elegantly, told and are not lacking in drama and humour."

The Grammatical Sketch occupies pages 15-48 and is divided into three main parts: Phonology, Morphology and Notes on Syntax. The material has been organised *grosso modo* on the lines of Clark's *Introduction to Nepali* so as to be more easily coordinated with the modern language. The section on verbs is particularly important.

The English translation (p. 120-188) is precise and is followed by notes to the text and to the translation, a glossary, a bibliography and an index. The book is very well produced with remarkably few misprints. I only regret that in this solid piece of work, it was not deemed possible to print the English translation opposite or alongside the Nepali text. The constant turning back and forth of the pages, imposed on the serious student by the layout of the book, will not only try his patience but will also sorely try the binding. Perhaps some oral indigenous versions of these stories may yet turn up in the Nepalese hills.

A.W.M.

NEPĀL: DEŚ AUR SAMSKRTI. By Śri Harināndan Thākur.
pp. 16+3 page bibliography. 15 b/w plates. Patna: Bihār
Rāṣṭra-bhāṣa-pariṣad, 1969. Price: Rs. 8.50

The number of books written in Hindi about Nepal is very small. This one relies perhaps a bit too heavily on traditional puranic accounts and a very limited number of secondary sources for its discussion, but it does present a useful popular account of the country and its culture for the Hindi speaker. There are some errors: in chapter eleven the alternative name of Bhaktapur is given as bhatgāvṃ and the twelfth chapter is entitled Pāṭan athavā Devpattan. An interesting but unsupported statement appears on p.67: "Pāṭan kā śilalekh bhī aśok ke nepāl āne kā pramāṇ detā hai" ('A stone inscription of Pāṭan also gives proof of Aśoka's coming to Nepal'). It would be interesting to know to which inscription the author is referring.

The book has a pleasant appearance and is well printed.

T. R.

* Reprinted books

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF THE TIBETAN
LANGUAGE. By S.C. Das 2,2, xxvii, 62, 50 vi, 88,5,2,27,2,35 pages.
Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1972, Rs. 40,—

Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass, the well-known orientalist booksellers of Delhi, Varanasi, and Patna, are to be congratulated for reprinting the Tibetan grammar of Sarat Chandra Das (1849—1917), one of the significant Tibetological classics. The quality of this work, which first appeared in 1915, and its reproduction is several cuts above the average for the reprints which now flood the market in India.

The same publishers have also brought out the author's monumental *A Tibetan English dictionary, with Sanskrit synonyms* (1902; repr. 1970). In 1965 Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay reissued his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*. Indian Studies: Past and Present has published the author's articles which were originally published in the *Modern Review* in 1908 and 1909 under the title *Autobiography; narratives of the incidents of my early life* (1969). Mañjuśri Publishing House have recently done the *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* (1902; repr. 1970) and *Contributions on the religion and history of Tibet*, a collection of the author's articles which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1881 and 1882.

Sarat Chandra's *An Introduction to the grammar of the Tibetan language* is a book whose value has diminished little in the almost six decades that have passed since its appearance. It is a work intended for somewhat advanced and highly motivated students of Tibetan. The student who patiently goes through this collection of miscellaneous texts will be well prepared for reading the more difficult genres of Tibetan literature.

The appendices to the first book, a presentation in English of the principles of classical grammar, contain a varied selection of Tibetan documents: patents of recognition, marriage deeds, road letters (*lam-yig*), letters, etc. Of special interest are Sarat Chandra's own account of his journey of 1882 to Lhasa rendered in Tibetan, an account of the previous incarnations of the Dalai Lama, the so-called Love-songs of the 6th Dalai Lama, and the "Song of the precious reed", a Sikkimese drinking song. These appendices are followed by a detailed analysis. Following the analysis of the appendices one finds an account of Ekai Kawaguchi's pilgrimage to the great religious sanctuaries of Tibet rendered into Tibetan.

The second, third, and fourth books reproduce three important Tibetan works on grammar and orthography. The first text is the famed *Si tu'i sum rtags*, a detailed presentation of Tibetan grammar by Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774), with an index by Ekai Kawaguchi. The third book contains the *Dag byed gsal ba'i me long*, a verse orthographic dictionary. The last book contains Dngul-chu Dharmabhadra's (1782-1851) commentary on the *Si tu'i sum rtags*, the *Si tu'i zhal lung*.

Jamyang Namgyal

AN ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF NEPAUL. By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Bibliotheca Himalayica Series I Volume 3. Pp. 386+ two page index. New Delhi: Mañjuśrī Publishing House, 1969 (reprint). First published 1811. Price: Library Edition: Rs. 60; Deluxe: Rs. 96

AN ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL. By Francis Buchanan Hamilton. With an introduction to the 1971 edition by Marc Gaborieau. Bibliotheca Himalayica Series I Volume 10. Pp. 364. New Delhi: Mañjuśrī Publishing House, 1971 (reprint). First published 1819. Illustrated with engravings with VIII additional plates at the end. Price: Library edition: Rs.66; Deluxe: Rs. 96

These two early accounts were unobtainable for a long time and Bibliotheca Himalayica is to be commended for reprinting them faithfully and attractively. Much of what they contain is out of date, but they are still of great value to the scholar (1) because it is almost impossible to read intelligently the work of later historians (e. g. Lévi) without constant reference to their predecessors, and (2) because they contain information which still has not been fully exploited by modern scholars.

William Kirkpatrick first went to "Nepaul", or as he puts it characteristically (p. 169), "more correctly Nypaul", in 1793 as an emissary of the East India Company. He spent only seven weeks in the country, but this was sufficient time for him to gather extensive information on the 'Nepaulians', including brief accounts of land tenure, revenue systems, agriculture, weights and measures, and detailed descriptions of routes and distances in the Himalayas. He also includes an historical account of the valley and samples of the Nepali and Newari languages. His orthographic system, despite its peculiar appearance, is fairly consistent and one easily recognizes after a little practice

the Bhagmutty, the shrines of Sumbhu-nat and Pusspatnat, the heights of the Himma Leh, the kings Bhoomy Gupt, Jye Ekshah Mull, Roy Mull, and the great Purthi Nerain.

Hamilton's work stands out as the best of the early accounts. Written in a pleasing and lucid style, it is the only work which discusses the entire country of Nepal and does not limit its discussion to the Kathmandu Valley. As Mr. Gaborieau remarks in his introduction: "It would perhaps be no exaggeration to say that his is still the only book which treats Nepal as a whole." Even Lévi, the value of whose work no one can deny, concentrated almost entirely on the Kathmandu Valley.

Hamilton visited Nepal only once in 1802-3. He remained there for almost a year, gathering information from travellers and people who had played a part in the events which led to the formation of the new Gorkha empire. He visited the territories to the south of Nepal, although he was unfortunately never able to enter the western parts of the kingdom itself.

With reference to the history of the valley and to the ethnology of the country, Hamilton's work is now out of date. Yet his chapters on the hills, in Mr. Gaborieau's words, "are still unsurpassed".

T. R.

THE SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE OF NEPAL. By Rajendralala Mitra. Introduction by Dr. Alok Ray. Pp. liii + 341 +iv
Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar. 1971 (reprint). Rs. 40

In this reprint, the original work has been re-set, but the publisher's note indicates that some attempt has been made to improve on Rajendralal's spelling: "Transliteration of Sanskrit proper names were extremely ill-assorted in the original edition. Though we had tried to square them all, some slips, we are aware, are still there. For these and other errors, the publisher craves the indulgence of the erudite readers." Many errors are still present and it is not clear which occurred in the original. The book is printed on a variety of different papers and the cover has no writing on it, either on the spine or the front.

Dr. Ray's introduction rambles a bit ("His synoptic approach did not help him achieve a viable synthesis in his multifarious inquiries which were rooted in inter-related disciplines", p. viii) but nonetheless it does give information about Rajendralal's family, his education, and his scholarly interests.

Rajendralal's own preface is included. It describes the career of Brian Hodgson and how he collected Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal. With the aid of several Calcutta pandits Rajendralal summarized the contents of eighty-five of these manuscripts and produced the present work. Many of his remarks are out of date, e. g. on p. 27 his discussion of the poet Kṣemendra attributes the *Bohdhisattvāvadānakālpalāta* to the fifth century A. D., six hundred years too early. A general weakness is his preoccupation with proving that the Mahāyāna works were older than the Pāli canon.

Despite these criticisms, however, the reprint is to be welcomed for the book is still useful to the scholar of Buddhism and related subjects.

T. R.

HISTORY OF NEPAL. By M. Sivasankarsinha and P. Gunanand. Edited by Daniel Wright. Pp. 208. Calcutta: Sushil Gupta, 1958 (reprint). Rs. 15.00.

Despite its age, this book is reviewed here because of what it represents. It too purports to be a reprint, but is really a member of an ever increasing class of works which might charitably be called "edited reprints." Here the original work is re-set in very small type with illustrations omitted and printed on very cheap paper. Another step is then taken to destroy further the dignity of the original. Editors appear mysteriously—they may be the printers or publishers or somebody else, we are not told—who set about changing the text in order "to bring it up to date". This deliberate re-wording is not indicated in any way either in footnotes or in the text itself. The reader, therefore, has no way of knowing what portions belong to the original and which parts have been added by the editors, unless he happens to have beside him a copy of the original which is usually unavailable; the reason the book was supposedly reprinted in the first place. The most delightful example of this process in the present work occurs on the first page where Wright, writing during the latter part of the the last century, states that Nepal shares the subcontinent with India and Pakistan.

In the unlikely event that the few original copies of Wright's work were to disappear and the many copies of this reprint were to remain in circulation, scholars of the future would be faced with problem similar to that of the Sanskrit specialist when dealing with Indian manuscripts: the re-creation of the original text from a set of emended and distorted versions made later by anonymous authors. Reprints such as these merely confuse the studies they were meant to illuminate.

T. R.

* * *

* *Journals, anthologies, etc.*

PINES—Academic and Cultural Quarterly, vol 1. part 1, March 1970. Edited by B. Shastri. 16x 25 1/2 cm. 106 pp. 5 h. t. plates, vignettes. published by the Literary and Cultural Cooperative Society, Laitumkhrach, (Cottage of Dr. I. B. Roy). Shillong-3, Meghalaya. Price: per copy Rs. 2; Per year Rs. 8/—

This journal is one of the welcome happenings in the area of North-East Indian studies in 1971. While we have not seen any further numbers, we hope that the journal will continue for a long time. The former Garo Hills, and United Khasi and Jainta Hills districts of Assam now form a separate state, Meghalaya, and this journal attempts not only to cover social and cultural aspects of life in Meghalaya, but includes short articles on the Mizoram or Lushai Hills (the former Mizo District of Assam), Aruna-

chal Pradesh (formerly North East Frontier Agency) and the Assam and Bengal foothills. Particularly fascinating is C.C. Sanyal's article on the Totos, a tribe of some 371 members (1960), Milton Sangmai's note on Garo inheritance, J. B. Thanga's note on an episode from the history of the Mojos and J.B. Rajkumar's article "Traces of early history of North Eastern India in Kachari Dimacha and Tipra Languages". It is rather interesting to note that while K. Zadeng in "Customs and Cultural life of the Mizos" maintains that Christianity has wrecked the old Mizo social order and caused a deterioration in the quality Mizo life, E. M. R. Syiem in the article "The Social Organization of the Khasis" claims Christianity has brought little social change among the Khasis and that the missionaries "established the new faith on the foundation of the Khasi society itself".

A. K. Das has written a delightful eulogy to the *gamocha*, the multipurpose head-gear of Assam, and Nilmoni Barooah a thoughtful essay on the *pocha* system, or indigenous cooperative system of Assam. He concludes that "had the (modern) cooperative been grafted on this ancient stem (the *pocha* system) it is sure it would have thrived much better than the sophisticated modern institution imported from outside and imposed from above." There are many more articles and stories—most of them too short, but still worthwhile.

We hope that readers will encourage and support the P I N E S journal, as it represents a good initiative to encourage understanding and study of these relatively little known areas.

H.K.K.

STUDIES IN INDO-ASIAN ART AND CULTURE, VOLUME I.

Edited by Perala Ratnam. 22 x 28½ cm. 270 pp. 16 h. t. plates, 32 line drawings. Published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, J—22 Haus Khas Enclave, New Delhi-16, 1972. Price: Rs. 40/—

This anthology on Indo-Asian culture forms Volume 95 of the Sata-Pitaka series and is sponsored by the Acharya Raghu Vira Memorial Committee. It is a Commemoration Volume on the 96th birthday of the late Dr. Raghu Vira, the founder of the International Academy of Indian Culture as well as the well-known Sata-Pitaka series of scholarly publications.

This brief note cannot hope to do justice to the publication. It contains some twenty-five articles by leading scholars of the world, ranging from Y. Rinchen of Mongolia and Pentti Aalto of Finland to Juan Francisco of the Philippines and Professor J. W. de Jong of the Australian National University. Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Dr. Raghu Vira's son and present director of the International Academy, has written a fascinating article of Gaṇeśa in Japan, illustrated with line drawings. He traces the worship of Gaṇeśa in Japan back to 806 A. D. and analyses the Gaṇeśa manifestation in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala as well as other manifestations of Gaṇeśa

in Japanese esoterism. John G. Huntington of Ohio State University comments (too briefly) on Avalokiteśvara and the Namaskaramudra in Gandhara, and G. P. Malasekera (Ceylon) writes on Buddhist socialism.

This review must also mention Hugo Munsterberg's contribution on the dragon in Chinese art, and Dr. Sarkar's interesting note on the fictitious and historical treatment of the port of Tamralipti on the Bay of Bengal.

The book is extremely well printed on excellent paper, and the binding, except for weak stitching, is far above average for Indian books. Unfortunately, pages 148 and 149 have been printed upside down. Still it is an excellent effort and a good beginning for what promises to be an interesting series.

H.K.K.

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** Phonographic recordings*

MUSIC FROM THE HIMALAYAS. Recorded by Deben Bhattacharya. ARGO No. ZFB 40, 33 1/3 rpm, 12", The Decca Record Company, 115 Fulham Rd., London, U. K. (1967)

This recording contains a lively and imaginative collection of mostly secular music of the Himalayas. The recording includes seven Naga ballads and dances, two Khampti tunes from Arunachal Pradesh (formerly NEFA), two Tibetan dance-dramas and one Tibetan prayer with instrumental music, one folk song from Jammu, two dances and one lone song from Bussahir in Himachal Pradesh. Last, but not least, a vigorous *chholia* dance from Pithoragarh in the Uttar Pradesh hills. The recordings are of even quality, although sometimes the stereo separation is too marked. It would have been helpful if the notes, particularly the description of the various instruments, had been more detailed.

TIBETAN FOLK AND MINSTREL MUSIC. Recordings and notes by Peter Crossley Holland. Lyricord stero LIST 7197 (Mono LL 196). 33 1/3 rpm. 12" Lyricord Discs Inc., 141 Perry Street, New York 14, USA (1967).

Little research has been done on the secular music of Tibet proper until quite recently, but some significant work in his field has been by Peter Crossley-Holland. The present recording presents folk music from Kham and Eastern Tibet, Central Tibet (Gyantze) and Sakya in West Tibet as well as a fascinating selection of Tibetan minstrels or semi-professional musicians recorded in Ladak. The folk-music was recorded among Tibetan refugees in Sikkim, Darjeeling and Kalimpong in 1961, and this recording represents an interesting cross-section of Tibetan folk-music. The notes accompanying the record are very thorough and comprehensive, and the quality of all the recordings is very good.

THE MUSIC OF TIBET: THE TANTRIC RITUALS. Recorded by Dr. Huston Smith, Anthology AST 4005, 33 1/3 rpm., 12". Anthology Record and Tape Corporation, 135 W 41st Str., New York 10036, U. S. A. (1970).

LE MESSAGE DES TIBETAINS: MUSIQUE SACREE TIBETAINE. Recorded by Arnaud Desjardins. BAM LD 5731, 33 1/3 rpm. 12". Disques BAM, Paris, France (1971)

Both these recordings contain Tibetan religious ritual music, and technically they are both of high standard. While Mr. Desjardin's recordings cover the major Tibetan Buddhist sects (Gelugpa, Nyingmapa, Kargyudpa) at various places in Sikkim and in India, Dr. Smith's recordings were all done at Dalhousie (Chamba district, Himachal Pradesh) at the tantric Gelugpa Monasteries (or Colleges) Gyuto and Gyume.

The Anthology recording contains some verses from the Guhyasamaja and some songs to Mahakala Lha-mo, and it is accompanied by extensive explanatory notes on the religious meaning of the chants (by Professor Huston Smith), on the acoustics of the chanting (by professor Kenneth Stevens) and on the historical background (by Ngawang Lekden, former Abbot of Gyume, and Mr. Brian Cutillo). The most detailed and enlightening documentation is provided by Dr. Crossley-Holland in a commentary titled "The Music of the tantric rituals of Gyume and Gyuto".

Mr. Desjardin's recording is well produced and edited, but the lack of precise explanatory notes detracts somewhat from its usefulness.

Printed in Nepal at Jore Ganesh Press Pvt., Ltd. Balaju Industrial District, Kathmandu.

SOME ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS

1. A Catalogue on Nepal	: M. L. Bajracharya	20.00
2. Folk Tales of Nepal	: K. K. Vaidya	6.50
3. History of Nepal	: Daniel Wright	60.00
4. Lore and Legend of Nepal	: Kesar Kal	10.00
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10. The Kiratarjuniye by Bharavi	: Kaisher B. K. C.	22 50
11. Nepal 1972-73 : Trade & Information Directory	: M. L. Bajracharya	60.00

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