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ILLUSTRATIONS

THE NEPALI SYSTEM OF HONORIFIC REGISTERS

Ruth L. Schmidt
Islamabad

1. INTRODUCTION

Analyses of South Asian honorific systems usually make two assumptions. The first is that honorific categories can be identified on the basis of pronominal morphology. The second is that these categories (usually considered to be three in number) can be ranked along a single dimension of verbal respect. [1]

For example, Das distinguishes between three grades of address forms in Bengali, corresponding to the three Bengali second person pronouns:

> The first important thing to be noticed in Bengali forms of address is in its use of second personal pronouns. Bengali has three forms in second person: apni, tumi and tui all meaning *you*, the difference being 'honorific', 'ordinary' and 'inferior or intimate' respectively. [2]

All treatments of the Nepali honorific system known to this writer fall within the above tradition. That of T. W. Clark, which is the most complete, distinguishes three honorific grades based on the three second person pronouns *tã*, *timi* and *tapāĩ*:

> *tã* is a low grade honorific; *timī*, a middle grade honorific; *tapāĩ*, a high grade honorific. *tã* is used in familiar speech to children and junior servants. It should not ordinarily be used by foreigners. *timī* is used among friends and to more senior servants. *tapāĩ* is the form regularly used in polite conversation. The beginner is advised always to use it except when addressing persons known to be servants, when he may use *timī*. [3]

Although the honorifics are ranked in terms of a single continuum, their usage as described by Clark implies two criteria: social ranking, and familiarity,

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[1] I do not disagree with the position that a single complex dimension (i. e. social distance) may contain diverse aspects such as power and solidarity (see Dhanesh Jain 1973). The real issue is whether we are justified in making a universalistic distinction of three ranked categories.

[2] Das, p. 19

[3] Clark, p. 71

or solidarity. [4] *timī* is used among friends, whereas *tapāī* is used in "polite conversation"–and is recommended to foreign speakers of Nepali, whose relationships with Nepalese would tend to be tend to be relatively formal (non-solidary). Thus the threefold ranking, if applicable, would seem to require additional elaboration.

Moreover, if the verbal morphology of Nepali is taken into account, the picture becomes even more complex. A special set of inflections (the *garibaksios* forms) occurs in addition to the three honorifics listed by Clark. These forms, which are not associated with any second person pronoun, are "used in court and high social circles with reference to senior persons. *hoibaksincha* ('is') is higher in the honorific scale than *hunuhuncha* (also 'is")...." [5]

There are also two types of infinitive constructions which function as request forms, and which appear to occupy a position intermediate between Clark's middle and high grade honorifics. These are the infinitive ending in *–nū* (V–*nū*), and the infinitival participle ending in *–ne* (V–*ne*). [6] If both the *garibaksios* forms and the infinitives are taken into consideration, it may be necessary to distinguish five or more grades of honorifics in Nepali.

2 The Survey

As it was apparent that a threefold distinction of ranked honorifics could not predict all the sactual occurrences of Nepali honorific usage, a survey was conducted in Kathmandu in order to obtain empirical data. [7] The sample consisted of 47 Nepalis, most of whom were men ranging in age from 18 to 34. It was varied with respect to caste and place of origin, but there were no low caste speakers and no speakers who did not have at least a high school education. Thus the typical respondent is an educated middle class male. The speaker's mother tongue varies as a concomitant of other factors and these languages include Nepali, Newari, Hindi and on one case, Limbu.

Each respondent was provided with a list of six types of sentence, representing

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[4] Defined on p. 222.

[5] The *garibaksios* forms, which are associated with the highly respectful title *hajur,* are restricted to the speech of Kathmandu Chetri for the most part. See Clark, p. 271 for a description of these forms.

[6] "(V–*nū*) is not high grade honorific; it is a variant of the second person plural forms given above, i.e. *gara,* āū (middle grade honorifics) etc., but in use it is felt to be somewhat politer or less familiar than they are." See Clark, p. 125; also Schmidt pp. 45, 49–50.

[7] Survey conducted during December 1967.

the six possible honorifics. The questionnaire presented fifty different categories of addressed individuals, and the respondent was asked to choose one of the six honorifics as a suitable address styles for each of the hypothetical addressees. When this task was completed he was asked to review the questionnaire and recommend appropriate usage for foreign speakers of Nepali (generally American and European visitors to Nepal. [8]

The purpose of the questionnaire was to provide a general description of the way in which an educated Nepali of medium socio-economic status uses honorifics in speaking to the types of persons listed in the questionnarie. We did not wish to account for specific deference relationships, but for factors responsible for variation in a range of spossible usage in idealized dyadic situations.

Table I classifies the fifty categories of individuals according to the level of honorific predominantly assigned to them. Although there is a good deal of variation in usage, a fairly clear pattern of agreement emerges with regard to 45 of the 50 categories, with over half of the respondents [9] assigning one of the six possible forms to those categories. In 29 out of 50 categories, the agreement is 66% or higher.

There is also a clear tendency to use either middle or high grade honorifics (hereafter referred to as Levels B and C), in preference to low grade honorifics (Level A), *garibaksios* (Level D), or V–*n*ū and V–*ne*. 43 out of 50 categories were classified by the respondents as suitable for one of these two levels.

Variation is also unlikely to occur between these levels, whereas it occurs frequently between Levels A and B, or Levels C and D. The basic choice in assigning honorifics thus appears to be a binary one, with Levels B and C forming the core of the system. [10]

While these data do not seem to contradict Clark's generalizations about the use of middle and high grade honorifics, they do not provide a basis for establishing a threefold classification of honorifics in the traditional manner. I shall argue that

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[8] Supplement I, p. 15. See p. 14 for a list of sample sentences.

[9] That is, over 50% of those responding to a particular category (total responses in that category) agree on assignment of one of the six possible forms. I would like to thank Frank Southworth for suggesting this method of analyzing the data.

[10] This resembles the binary distinction between T and V forms described by Roger Brown for European languages. p. 254

TABLE I: DISTRIBUTION OF HONORIFICS (Total=47)

	A tã gar	B timī gara	V-*nū* garnū	V-*ne* garne	C tapāī gar-nūhos	D hajur gari-baksios	Predominant Response % of Total
1. Animals	47						100
2. Servant who cleans in one's home	25	21					54
3. Friend of own age (informal conversation)	19	22		1	2	3	47
4. Dhobi	17	25	2	1	1		54
5. Porter	17	25	1	1	2		54
6. Cows	17	29				1	62
7. 2–3 year old brother or sister	17	28			1		61
8. Younger brother	16	30			1		64
9. Younger sister	15	31			1		60
10. Friend, younger (informal conversation)	13	27	1	1	5		57
11. Rickshaw puller	11	32		2	2		68
12. Servant who cleans hotel room	11	31	4	1			66
13. Bearer in hotel where one is living, whom one calls by name	10	32	2	3	2		68
14. Chaukidar	8	34	1	2	2		72
15. Cook in one's own home	8	31	1		4		70
16. Ayah (one'sown home)	4	33	4	2	3		72
17. Younger nephews and nieces	3	32	8	2		1	70
18. Hotel bearer (place where one has gone for dinner only)	2	35	6	1	3		74
19. Yonger sister-in-law	1	36	2	3	5		77
20. Restaurant waiter	1	35	3	3	5		74
21. Cook in friends' home	1	29	6		11		62
22. Ayah, home of friends		25	4	2	15		54
23. Fruit or vegetable seller		25	3	3	16		53
24. Younger brother-in-law	1	20	2	2	14		43
25. Friend, younger (during work)	4	23	2	1	17		49
26. God	10	10			13	12	29
27. Tailor	2	17	1	4	22		48
28. Bus conductor		14	3	5	23		51
29. Friend, older (informal conversation)	2	12	3	3	24		55

* Not all respondents answered all 50 items in the questionnaire.

TABLE I (continued)

	A	B	V-*nū*	V-*ne*	C	D	% of Total
30. Friend own age (during work)	5	11		3	27		59
31. Elder brother-in-law	1	2			28	15	61
32. Father's sister		3	1	1	30	12	64
33. Mother's sister		3		2	30	12	64
34. Parents		1			30	13	68
35. Elder sister		5			31	11	66
36. Elder brother		4			31	11	67
37. Father's brother		3			31	13	66
38. Mother's brother		2			32	13	68
39. Friend, older (during work)	1	8	3	1	34		72
40. Policeman	1	9	2	1	34		72
41. Elder sister-in-law		4			35	8	74
42. Clerk, bookshop		4	2	3	38		81
43. Proprietor, cloth shop		5	1	2	39		83
44. Clerk, post office		2	2	3	39		85
45. Clerk, bank		2	1	2	42		89
46. Proprietor, bookshop		3	1	1	42		89
47. Proprietor, medical hall		2	1	1	43		91
48. Officer at checkpost on Tribhuvan Rajpath		2	1		44		94
49. Airline booking girl, RNAC			1		45	1	96
50. Teacher or professor					46	1	98

in fact the Nepali honorfic system consists of four distinct *honorific registers* [11] which are developed by means of a two step process of binary distinctions. The first distinction bifurcates the system into two *basic registers,* and the second one produces a set of *secondary registers* in each basic register (see Diagram, P. 218.)

In addition, it will be argued that V–*nū* and V–*ne* are not part of the honorific system at all, but nuetral or impersonal forms which provide a means of avoiding the necessity of using any honorific.

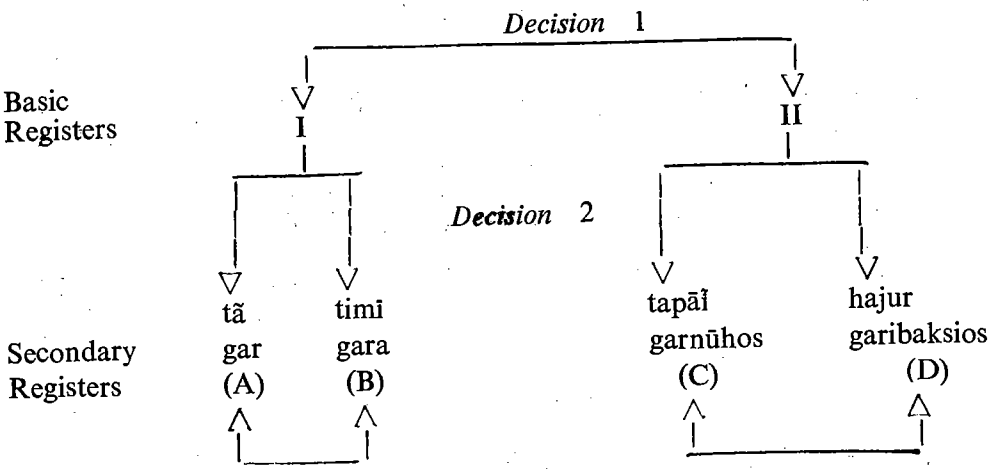
[11] The term "honorific register" refers to a hierarchy of associated morphological categories — in this case, of associated pronoun and verb forms. A speaker chooses to perfokm in a certain register in response to a given sociocultural situation. The term is adopted here in order to distinguish the Nepali system from other honorific system which rely mainly on the use fo titles (such as "Mr.", "Sir" and the the like).

Finally, the factors governing the use of honorifics toward matched sets of categories (identical except for one characteristic) will be examined, in order to determine the socio-cultural dimensions of the system.

3. The Basic Registers

The decision to distinguish basic and secondary registers is based primarily on the pattern of predominant responses to the questionnaire categories. These indicate for greater agreement with respect to distinguishing between Levels B/C than between A/B or C/D. This is the pattern we would expect to find if the decision making process for choosing an honorific is binary in nature. In effect, the speaker sorts individuals into categories which might loosely be labelled "*gara* and lower" versus "*garnuhos* and higher"; and then he further sorts these categories.

The following diagram describes this process. Switching between A/B or C/D is possible, as indicated by the arrows.



There is an additional justification for distinguishing between basic and secondary registers, in that a reduced system, consisting mainly of Levels B and C, is recommended by the respondents for foreigners. Levels A and D appear in this light as residual categories, specific to culturally unique situations in which foreigners are unlikely to find themselves.

4. V–nū and V–ne

These in finitives are widely distributed, with either V–*n*ū or V–*ne* occurring in 34 out of 50 categories. However, they occur infrequently, accounting together for more than 10% of total responses only in 13 categories (Table II). These include a number of cases where there is variation between assigning Registers I and II (Categories No. 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28 and 29). This provides one clue to the function

of the infinitives: they serve as a means of handling ambiguous cases—individuals who for one reason or another do not fit neatly into an arbitarary binary calassification.

TABLE II: DISTRIBUTION OF V-nū and *V-ne*. (Total =47)

	V-*nū* and *V-ne* (No. of occurrences)	% of Total Responses
12. Servant who cleans hotel room	5	11
16. Ayah, own home	6	13
17. Younger nephews and nieces	10	22
18. Hotel bearer (gone for dinner only)	7	15
19. Younger sister-in-law	5	11
20. Restaurant waiter	6	13
21. Cook in friend's home	6	13
22. Ayah, friend's home	6	13
23. Fruit or vegetable seller	6	13
27. Tailor	5	11
28. Bus conductor	8	18
29. Friend, older (informal conversation)	6	14
42. Clerk, book shop	5	11
44. Clerk, post office	5	11

It has also been suggested [13] that neutral forms are more impersonal than ranked forms. Category No. 26, God, supports this: although responses are almost evenly distributed among Levels A, B, C, and D, no speaker uses *V-nū* or *V-ne*.

Another way of analyzing impersonal situations is to describe the participants as relating to each other in terms of roles. Impersonal situations tend to involve people as relative strangers, not as solidaries. Categories Nos. 12, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27, 28, 42, and 44 represent individuals who would not be solidaries (from the speaker's standpoint).

These criteria point to one of the sources of ambiguity in assigning honorific registers. This is *structurally created* ambiguity, where the intersection of two competing factors complicates the speaker's choice of an honorific. For example, when a person speaks to a friend his own age in the formal setting of the office (No. 30), the factor of solidarity is modified by that of social context. Likewise, the factor of status is modified by impersonality of context (absence of solidarity) when a person speaks to the cook in another person's home. (No. 21). These cases will be discussed further in section 5, below.

[13] Clark, p. 125, Southworth, p. 70 (with reference to Hindi)

Finally, the used of neutral forms is not distributed evenly among Nepali speakers, but is much more common among some types of speakers than others. Table III, p. 9, separates the following groups: Chetri from Kathmandu, Newar[14] and speakers from the Hills or the Terai. This table makes it clear that while the categories listed are ambiguous ones for all speakers, the response to the ambiguity differs from group to group. Chetri tend not to use *V-nū* and *V-ne*. Newar use them occasionally, and speakers whose home is outside the Kathmandu Valley use them most frequently. Thus neutral forms emerge as an optional, dialectally varying response to impersonal situations, situations in which status cues are lacking, or ambiguities of structural origin.

TABLE III: DISTRIBUTION OF HONORIFICS AMONG CHETRI, NEWAR AND SPEAKERS FROM HILL/TERAI

	Register I (A/B)			*V-nū* and *V-ne*		Register II (C/D)		
	Chetri	Newar	Hill/ Terai	Chetri	Newar	Hill/ Terai	Chetri	Newar	Hill / Ter
21. Cook, home of friends	7	4	13	3	5	1	4	6	
22. Ayah, home of friends	6	4	9	3	4	2	4	10	
23. Fruit or vegetable seller	5	4	13	3	3	3	4	8	
27. Tailor	4	3	8	2	4	3	5	12	
28. Bus conductor	3	3	7	4	5	3	3	12	
29. Friend, older (informal)	5	2	6	3	4	3	4	13	

5. The Dimensions of the System

A satisfactory account of the Nepali system of honorific registers must be able to predict not only the regularities of the system, but also its structurally created ambiguities–cases in which elements of the system itself operate at cross purposes, as for example when the factors of solidarity and status compete with each other (No. 29, person speaking to an older friend in an informal setting). In order to pre-

[14] There are 11 Newar in the sample, of whom only 2 come from home areas outside the Kathmandu valley. There are 24 Hill/Terai speakers of Nepali, and 8 Chetri. The other four speakers were Brahmin from Kathmandu.

dict ambiguities of this type, the description must isolate the basic elements of the system and classify them in terms of their relative importance. Those factors which have the greatest value in predicting actual occurrences of honorifics will be termed the basic *dimensions* of the system. The survey data suggest that the following factors are involved in assigning honorifics.

(A) *Social Distance*

For the purposes of this survey, social distance may be analyzed in terms of age status and economic status (i. e. power of employer over servant). The data indicate that registers I and II tend to be exchanged non-reciprocally between the following types of persons: [15]

1. Friends of different ages (Nos. 10, 25, 29 and 39). Friends older than oneself receive Register II; younger friends receive Register I. The choice of register is modified somewhat by the formality or informaslity of the social setting.

2. Family members of different ages. Elder siblings, parents, and aunts and uncles all receive II; younger siblings and younger nephews and nieces receive I. The situation with in-laws (who possess institutionalized status irregardless of age) is somewhat abmiguous: younger sisters-in-law (No. 19) are addressed predominantly with I, but 5 respondents said they would use II, and 5 said they would use *V-nū* or *V-ne*. Younger brothers-in-law receive both I and II, with I barely predominating.

3. Servants and employers. Servants in one's own home receive I; the survey provides no data about usage by servants toward employers, but recorded conversational data indicates that servants use II toward their employers. If the servant works for someone else than the speaker—for example, the hotel bearer, the cook in a friend's home (Nos. 18 and 21) he sometimes receives II, or a neutral form.

The above three types of usage are usually cited to support a classification of honorifics purely on the basis of verbal respect, with respect being shown to the older or more powerful by the younger or subservient through use of Register II towards them. As far as the data listed above are concerned, this analysis is generally adequate. The use of registers in almost all of the above cases in non-reciprocal, indicating a relationship between non-equals, the distinction between persons receiving I and those receiving II is clearcut. These kinds of non-reciprocal usage

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[15] While the usage in actual dyads is reflected rather abstractly in the survey data, the fact of non-reciprocality can be determined by examining the data for matched sets (older/younger friend, older/younger sibling, etc). The conclusions obtained are supported by those obtained from recorded conversational data.

can be treated together as one dimension of the honorific system, termed *social distance.*

(B) *Solidarity*

Social distance cannot account for all of the data in the survey. When matched sets of categories of servants, differing only in one respect — whether the servants works for speakers or another person—are shown to respondents, the respondents say they use a lower grade of honorific for servants employed in their own households than they do toward servants employed by someone else. [16] An additional clue is provided by the example of the hotel bearer. As along as he is an anonymous employee of a hotel in which the speaker does not actually live, he receives a higher level of honorific than he does once the speaker has begun to reside in the hotel semi-permanently and to address the bearer by name.

The term *solidarity,* as defined by Brown, [17] accounts for this phenomenon. Solidarity is the existence of a symmetrical relationship in a dyad, in which both members share something in common, and exchange the same address form reciprocally. While the dyad consists ideally of "power equals", in practice this dimension applies to everyone, so that one's superiors and inferiors, as well as one's peers, may be either solidary or non-solidary. The "old family retainer" is an example of a solidary inferior.

Other things being equal, a lower level of address (Brown's T, our I) is exchanged between solidaries; a higher (Brown's V, our II) between non-solidaries. Thus Register I indicates intimacy as well as inferior status.[18] These generalizaions hold true when applied to the Nepali data. To be sure, servants tend not to use Register I reciprocally with their employers, but we are talking here not of absolute solidarity, but of relative solidarity. The data suggests that the more effectively solidarity is established, the greater the tendency to use Register I reciprocally in dyads.

Table IV summarizes the data for matched sets of servants. Because the servants, whether solidary or non-solidary, tends to receive I more than II, it is necessary to break the data down into terms of secondary registers. As Brown points out, the dimensions of solidarity and power come into conflicts:[19] a Nepali

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16 In one case the "household" is postulated as being temporarily located in a hotel, where the speaker has established personal rapport with a particular bearer.

17 Brown, pp. 256–7.

18 See also Bean, pp. 562–4. Social distance operationally expresses two things: intimacy and deference.

19 Brown, pp. 257–9.

TABLE IV: DISTRIBUTION OF HONORIFICS: SERVANTS

	Register I (A): *gar*		Register I (B): *gara*		Register II (C): *garnūhos*	
	Solidary	Non-solidary	Solidary	Non-solidary	Solidary	Non-solidary
Cook	8	1	31	29	4	11
Bearer	10	2	32	35	2	3
Ayah	4	—	33	25	3	15
Cleaner	25	11	21	31	—	—

employer may use Level A (*gar*) to his cook of much younger age (accompanied by a brotherly pat on the shoulder) [20] but he expects to receive II from the cook. If the cook is very senior, however, and the employer is young, they may exchange II reciprocally.

Some of the data discussed in Section 4, *V-nū* and *V-ne*, yield to analysis in terms of conflict between the dimensions of power and solidarity. When one speaks to an older friend (a solidary who has higher status than oneself) in the informal setting of a picnic, the solidarity aspect is emphasized and comes into conflict with the power aspect (Table I, No. 29). When one speaks to an ayah in someone else's home, her lower socio-economic status is minimized and her non-solidary status is emphasized (No. 22). This points to another function of *V-nū* and *V-ne*, which is to neutralize conflict between separate aspects of the honorific system.

6. Sample Sentences

Level A, *gar: tyahã bas,* "sit there"; *tarkāri kinna ja,* "go buy vegetables".

Level B, *gara: basa na,* "sit down"; *malīā cāu cāu ek plet deū* "give me one order (plate) of chow chow".

V-nū, garnū: hos garnū, "be careful"; *kothāmā phlit charnū* "spray the room with Flit".

V-ne, garne: cārjanālāi kaphī lyāune "bring coffee for four people".

Level C, *garnūhos: basnūhos na !* "please sit down"; *malāī tyo kitāp dinūhos,* "plase give me that book".

Level D, *garibaksios: la ! basibaksios, hajur* "well, please be seated sir". *malāi tyo kitāp baksios,* "please give me that book".

[20] Personal observation.

SUPPLEMENT I: RECOMMENDED USAGE FOR FOREIGNERS

(Total—46)

	A tã gar	B timī gara	*V-nū* garnū	*V-ne* garne	C tapāĩ garnū-hos	D hajur gari. baksios
1. Animals	42	2				
2. Servant who does cleaning in one's home	5	32	2	2	5	
3. Friend own age (informal conversation)	3	23		3	14	
4. Dhobi	3	32	1		8	
5. Porter	4	36	1		4	
6. Cows	11	32				
7. 2–3 year old brother or sister		–not asked–				
8. Younger brother		–not asked–				
9. Younger sister		–not asked–				
10. Friend, younger (informal conversation)	2	33	2	1	7	
11. Rickshaw puller	2	29	1		4	
12. Servant who cleans hotel room	11	36	3		5	
13. Bearer in hotel where yow are living	2	34	2	1	7	
14. Chaukidar	2	31	3	1	9	
15. Cook in one's own home	1	29	2		12	
16. Children's ayah (one's own home)	1	29	5		11	
17. Younger nephews and nieces		–not asked–				
18. Hotel bearer (gone for dinner only)	1	24	5	1	15	
19. Younger sister-in-law						
20. Restaurant waiter		24	4	1	17	
21. Cook in friend's home		25	3	1	17	
22. Children's ayah (friends' home)		17	7	1	20	
23. Fruit or vegetable selle		10	3	2	30	
24. Younger brother-in-law		–not asked–				
25. Friend, younger (during work)		20	3	3	19	
26. God	7	10			19	8

	A tã gar	B timī hara	*V-nū* garnū	*V-ne* garne	C tapāī garnū-hos	D hajur gari. baksios
27. Tailor		9	4	2	31	
28. Bus conductor	1	8	3	2	32	
29. Friend, older (informal conversation)	1	13		2	28	
30. Friend own age (during work)	1	10	2		27	1
31. Elder brother-in-law		–not asked–				
32. Father's sister		–not asked–				
33. Mother's sister		–not asked–				
34. Parents		–not asked–				
25. Elder sister		–not asked–				
36. Elder brother		–not asked–				
37. Father's brother		–not asked–				
38. Mother's brother		–not asked–				
39. Friend, older (during work)		4	2	1	38	
40. Policeman		2	2	2	40	
41. Elder sister-in-law		–not asked–				
42. Clerk, book shop			5		41	
43. Proprietor, cloth shop		1	3	1	41	
44. Clerk, post office		1	3		42	
45. Clerk, bank			2	1	43	
46. Proprietor, book shop			2	1	43	
47. Proprietor, medical hall		1	2	1	42	
48. Officer at check post, Tribhuvan Rajpath		1	1		44	
49. Girl who makes ticket bookings, RNAC			2		44	
50. Teacher or professor		1		1	44	

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THE RESTORATION OF THE CYASLIM MANDAP IN BHAKTAPUR

Niels Gutschow
Darmstadt

INTRODUCTION [1]

Since 1972, when UNESCO first became involved in the restoration of the Hanuman Dhoka Royal Palace,[2] the uniqueness of Nepal's vast national heritage of historic buildings has become well known and acknowledged throughout the world.

Valuable experience was gained in 1971–72 when the Pūjahari Math in Bhaktapur was restored with the financial and technical aid of the Federal Republic of Germany. [3] This was the first attempt at the conservation of a historic building making use of ancient Newar building techniques. The result was so encouraging that a large-scale, long term project was launched by the FRG in Tacāpal tol,

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1 Thanks to the energetic activity of the chairman of the *Vereniging Nederland-Nepal,* Dr. Noordijk, the organisation of the whole project could be made possible. Without his enduring patience the restoration project would not have been carried out. Thanks are expressed to the Department of Archaeology under its director Ramesh Jung Thapa for cordial cooperation. The project was guided with devotion by Krishna Prasad Shrestha from the National Art Gallery in Bhaktapur. Mr. Shrestha had already gathered experience during the restoration process of the Pūjāhari Math and through extensive studies of preservation projects in Western Germany and neighouring countries. Due to his active help the project was able to be completed. It is hoped that in the future he will be of further service to his beloved hometown.

2 The first phase of the reconstruction of the Hanuman Dhoka Palace was completed in January 1975. See: *John Sanday:* The Hanuman Dhoka Royal Palace Kathmandu – Building Conservation and Local Traditional Crafts. AARP (*Art and Archaeology Research Papers*), no 6., London, December 1974.

3 The restoration of the Pūjāhari Math was made possible through a grant from the Federal Republic of Germany on the happy occasion of the wedding of His Majesty the King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah in February 1971.
Due to the active help of Dr. Rau, president of the Max Muller Bhavan of India and Dr. Seemann of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Kathmandu, the restoration project was sorted out. Mr. Wolfgang Korn managed the survey of the building complex in summer 1971. And the reconstruction work was carried out by a team of German architects: Gerhard Auer, Hans Busch, Niels Gutschow, and Wilfried Kröger. On 28th June 1972 the finished building was officially presented to Her Majesty Queen Aishwarya Rajya Lakshmi Shah Devi.

Bhaktapur. This project was conceived as an integrated effort at both urban development (infrastructure, economic development) and the preservation of historic buildings in important monument zones.

The restoration of the Cyāsilim maṇḍap, however, has proceded somewhat differently from these government-sponsored projects. In this case sponsorship has come through a private association, the Vereniging Nederland-Nepal, which is made up of individuals, mostly Dutch, who have come to love Nepal in a more personal way. Returning year after year, they have been fascinated by the Newar towns and villages in the Kathmandu Valley—those countless communal spaces which form the framework for an abundant festival life. For them Nepal has become a rich and lasting experience.

These experiences and feelings created a sense of obligation towards the ancient monuments, which in this age are so threatened by decay. It was therefore decided that the Association would make a contribution to the restoration of an historical building from the limited funds available to the group.

Relying on private sources, funds were in fact extremely limited-nonetheless it was believed that even a small scale project would serve as an example to incite similar ventures. Responsibility, in addition to financial support, was handled entirely by those involved directly with the restoration. The Association hopes that similar ventures be undertaken by other institutions, and that funds could be raised on a much wider scale. The members were extremely pleased to be able to contribute to the preservation of such a national monument on the auspicious occasion of the coronation of His Majesty, King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva. The project symbolizes one goal of the progressive cultural policy of His Majesty, that of the preservation of the ancient art and architecture of the many traditions represented in Nepal.

II Structural and Functional Importance of the Cyaslim Mandap

Having resided and worked in Bhaktapur on numerous occasions, the author was in a position to recommend a suitable project to the Association. He recommended the Cyāsliṃ maṇḍap (pronounced "chashin" in Newari, meaning "eight-cornered"; maṇḍap in Sanskrit means "pedestal."), which was located on the Yahsiṃkhel near Chupin ghāt, at Bhaktapur. This site was compatible with the project, which was intended to be small in scale and completable within two months. The maṇḍap is a freestanding one-storied building on a two-stepped pedestal (2.40 m above ground level). As such it was considered to be suitable for a pilot project, which could test the capability of the new approach to organized restoration work.

The building stands at the outskirts of Bhaktapur, at a point where the enclosed space of the built-up town begins to open out, funnel-shaped into the country. The opening is rendered dynamic by the noticeably sloped character of the ground. The inclination is at first fairly steep, easing off after a short distance; and at the bottom of the inclination which also markes the end of the town, a panorama of countryside will open to the observer. From this point the river running below is not visible. The maṇḍap is placed on the lower third of the inclination, below the point where the path is paved with bricks. Above it an elevated paved path partitions the lower section of Yahsiṃkhel. It leads past the maṇḍap and a circular mound to the Vaisṇavi pith. The mound is made from builders which are piled up to form the base (Yahsiṃpava, "hole of the linga") of the big pole which is annually erected at Bisket Jātrā, the New Year Festival.

The maṇḍap has been placed at a point which marks the end of one of the most important roads leading out of town to the riverside. The main road of Bhaktapur, which forms the axis of the city, runs in an east-west direction parallel to the Hanumante river. At irregular intervals the road widens to form squares, the most important of which are Dattatreya square in the east (in Tacapol tol) and Taumāḍhī square in the west. The latter is joined to an extension in a southwesterly direction, called Gah hiti, and only a narrow lane connects it with the royal palace in Lasku Dhoka. From Taumāḍhī the road down to the riverside is filled with temples and shrines, each with a particular ritual meaning for one of the many groups and castes in town. No procession fails to move through this area.

The complex, integrated system of spaces which form the axis between Taumāḍhī and Chupin ghāt should not be considered only an aesthetic creation. Space, time and ritual action each played an important role in its construction, and the resulting creation forms a unique indivisible whole.

Examination of a cross section of the Taumadhi–Chupin ghāt area reveals how the height of buildings and their degree of elaboration decreases with the distance from the Nyatapola pagoda, the pinnacle of which marks the highest point of the town. Comparing this arrangement to Newar Settlement patterns shows clearly an ordered sequence, not only in space but also with respect to the social structure. The social status of inhabitants is expressed by the greater or lesser proximity to the center of the city. Thus near Taumāḍhī we find Chathariaya (high caste Newars following Hindu tradition) whereas at Yahsimkhel there are untouchables (Pore), who earn their livlihood as sweepers, fishermen, and basket-makers.

Celebration of Bisket jātrā (the New Year Festival in April) includes performances which are of interest in attempting to understand the function of the axis described above. The festival starts four days before the New Year on Taumadhi

square. The god Bhairava is taken from his permanent residence and is placed in his chariot, which is then pulled through the town by crowds of Jyapus (traditionally farmers) on either side. The progress of the chariot is timed so that it reaches Yahsiṃkhel late in the evening on the last day of the year. The moment the chariot arrives, the lingam is erected to mark the beginning of the New Year, and Bhairava is placed in the Cyāsiliṃ maṇḍap. A few hours later at dawn the people of Bhaktapur flock to Chupin ghāt to take their ritual bath on the first day of the year. Having performed the necessary rituals at the ghat, the people begin to enter the Cyasiliṃ by climbing up the ramp from the southeast. They wait in a long queue until it is their turn to perform the ritually prescribed puja, then leave the maṇḍap by stepping down towards the northeast.

The Cyāsiliṃ maṇḍap is utilized only during this festival, its sole function being to house Bhairava during the important New Year puja. Thus for only few hours of the entire year does the system, within which the building forms an integrated part, become readily perceptable. From this it is clear that, like so many of the buildings of the Newars, it can only be understood in the context of space and time.

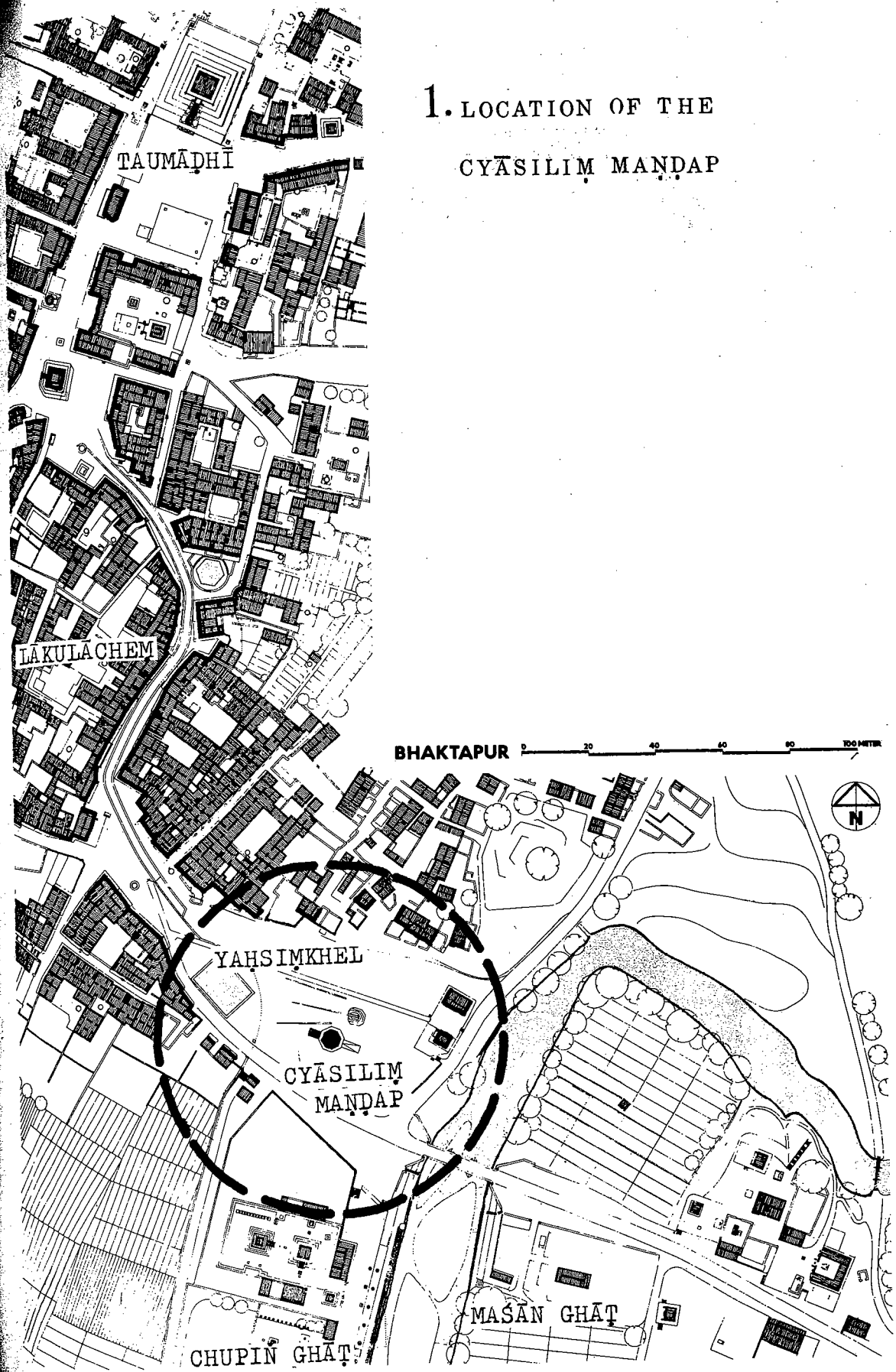
The Building. In former times the Cyāsiliṃ maṇḍap was a three-tiered pagoda constructed on an eight-cornered pedestal. After the devastation of the 1932 earthquake it was restored, but it was reduced to its present one-story shape. The building marks the place where the god Bhairava appears once a year. As described above, having bakhed in the holy waters of the Hanumante, the devout worship the god in this place and make their way around the building. Ramp, open hall, and steps illustrate the notion of movement as the temple absorbs the procession. With the completion of their rites for Bhairava, the worshippers return to Bhaktapur entering the town as if "new-born."

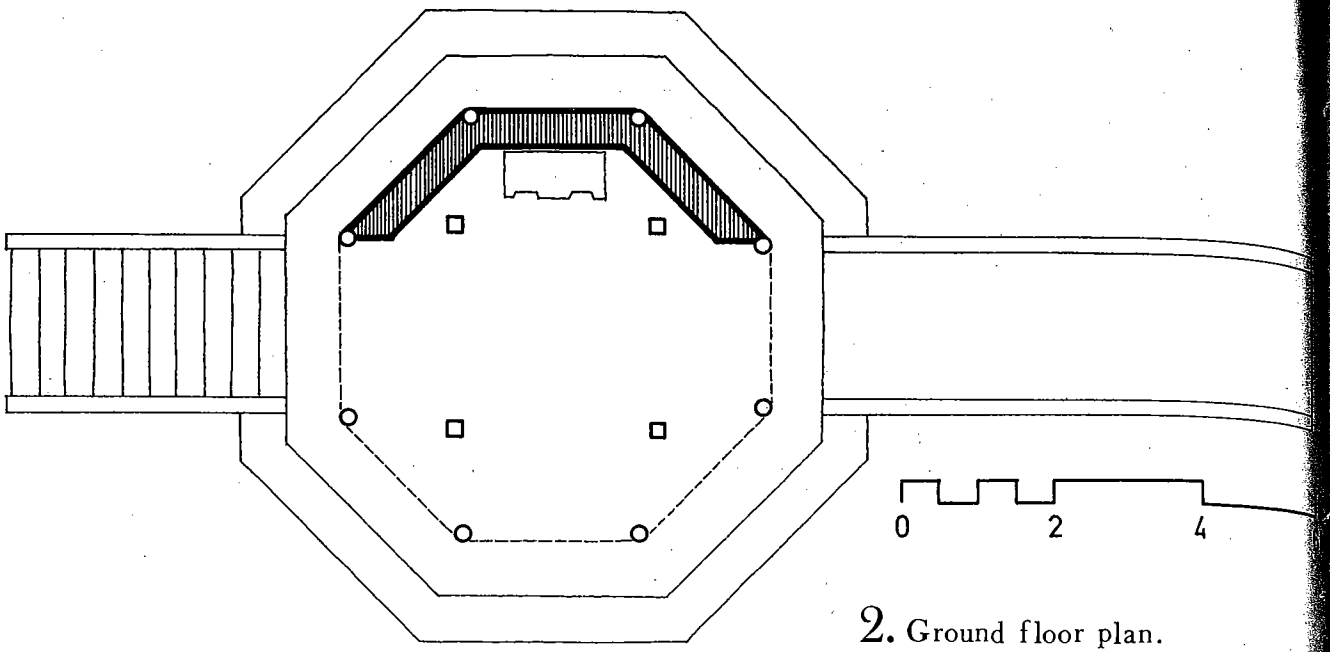
Such a combination of location (spatial component) and pathway (component of movement) is rather unique in architectural history. With some allowance it may be compared to the situation of the holy boats of ancient Egypt, which rest on pedestals on the way from the Amun Temple of Karnak to Luxor. In this sense the Cyāsiliṃ maṇḍap pedestal marks a raised "station" in the course of the ritual procession. Above the "station" the three level structure dominates the scene and clearly marks the holiness of the place.

The raised platform is closed to the northeast. The enclosing walls do not have a support function and the wooden pillars are embedded into the brickwork. The design as a whole is somewhat confusing and leaves open to question what the former structure of the ground floor was. The roof which projects out 90 cm formerly had the usual slope of 30 degrees.

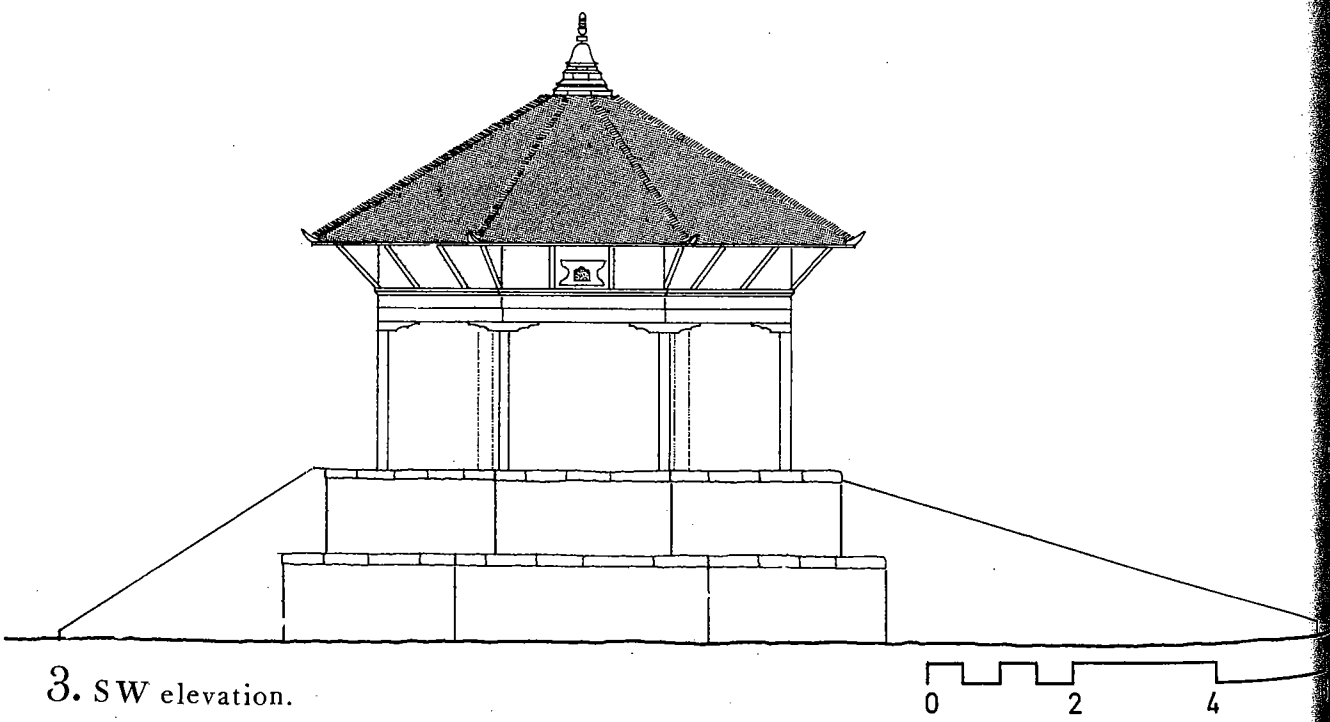
The earlier three-tiered pagoda probably was built c. 1725, when the King

1. LOCATION OF THE CYĀSILIṂ MAṆḌAP





2. Ground floor plan.



3. SW elevation.

of Bhaktapur, Bhupatindra Malla, introduced the Bisket jātrā in its present form. Influences from India seem to have been active during the introduction of the jātrā (note the rath-yātrā festival of Jagannath in Puri, Orissa), and the patterns are similar. In order to accomodate properly the different stages of the festival, the King had various other buildings erected within the Taumāḍhī-Yahsiṃkhel area.

III Process of Restoration

Condition of the Building in 1974. Although dilapidated the Cyāsiliṃ maṇḍap was not threatening to collapse when the project began in 1974. With its important function in the religious life of the people, a certain minimum amount of maintenance was assured and had, in fact, been carried out since the post-earthquake reconstruction. The building was nevertheless in poor condition. The roof timbering consisted of a jumble of rafters which supported the roof at a slope of 18 degrees. The supporting beams above the eight pillars were severly gnawed by insects, a phenomenon well known from the other recent restoration projects. Whereas 200-year old rafters and beams are still unimpaired (e.g. the case of the 1971/72 restoration of the Pūjāhari Math), young wood of inferior quality was generally affected by insects.

The floor, which was renewed only a few years ago, was also undermined and several holes were broken into it. The severe monsoon of 1974 caused the collapse of the supporting walls on the southeastern side of the pedestal. Thus for the first time it was possible to examine the inner core of the raised platform. Inside, the supporting walls proved to be rather weak, backed only by 30 cm of brick rubble. Whereas the ramp still served its function, the steps were also threatening to crumble. It was therefore decided to take down the supporting walls and begin a complete renovation of the building from the ground up.

Aims of Reconstruction Work. The immediate aims of the reconstruction work were to renew the supporting walls, and for the ramp and steps to be made passable. The most important decision, however, was to replace the ugly tin roof with a traditional tile roof sloped to 30 degrees.

There remained the issue of whether to restore the maṇḍap to its pre-earthquake condition. This would be aesthetically pleasing, and the former shape of the pagoda could be positively identified from a 1928 photo. Nevertheless, it was decided to restore the building in its reduced shape, not only for the obvious reason of limited resources. The maṇḍap had existed for over 40 years in its present shape, and with the passage of time this provisional form had to be evaluated as a condition accepted by the society. The conditions in 1934 forced them to choose a provisional reconstruction to ensure a needed religious function. Since

then a whole generation in Bhaktapur has not felt inclined to replace the provisional arrangement. Thus its was decided that in this situation an initiative coming from the outside should not be an ostentatious attempt to restore the "grandeur" of the past.

In the process of restoration all our efforts should be guided by the aim to help enhance what could be called "structural improvements" within precisely limited urban spaces. These improvements should then stimulate further environmental changes on the part of the people themselves. In the end the fabric of certain zones can be preserved, even at the cost of all too theoretical adherence to the past.

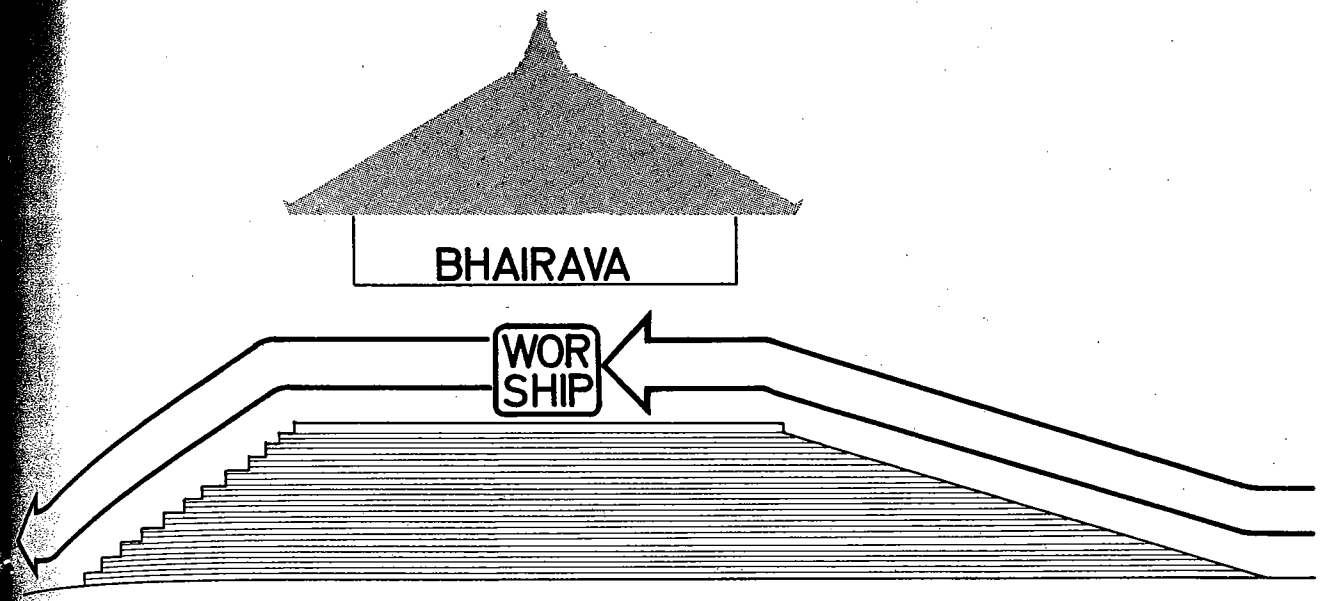
Demolition. In early February, 1975 the existing structure could be pulled down. Ramp, steps, and supporting walls were totally removed. Not a single brick was left in situ. The supporting wall proved to have no foundation.

Reconstruction. Supporting walls were built 50 cm strong (2.5 stone breadth) on a foundation of 40 cm depth. The Newar type of brickwork shows only stretchers. Previously, masons used to insert only brick rubble behind the front couse of bricks. Therefore the horizontal joints received mortar of a threefold composition.

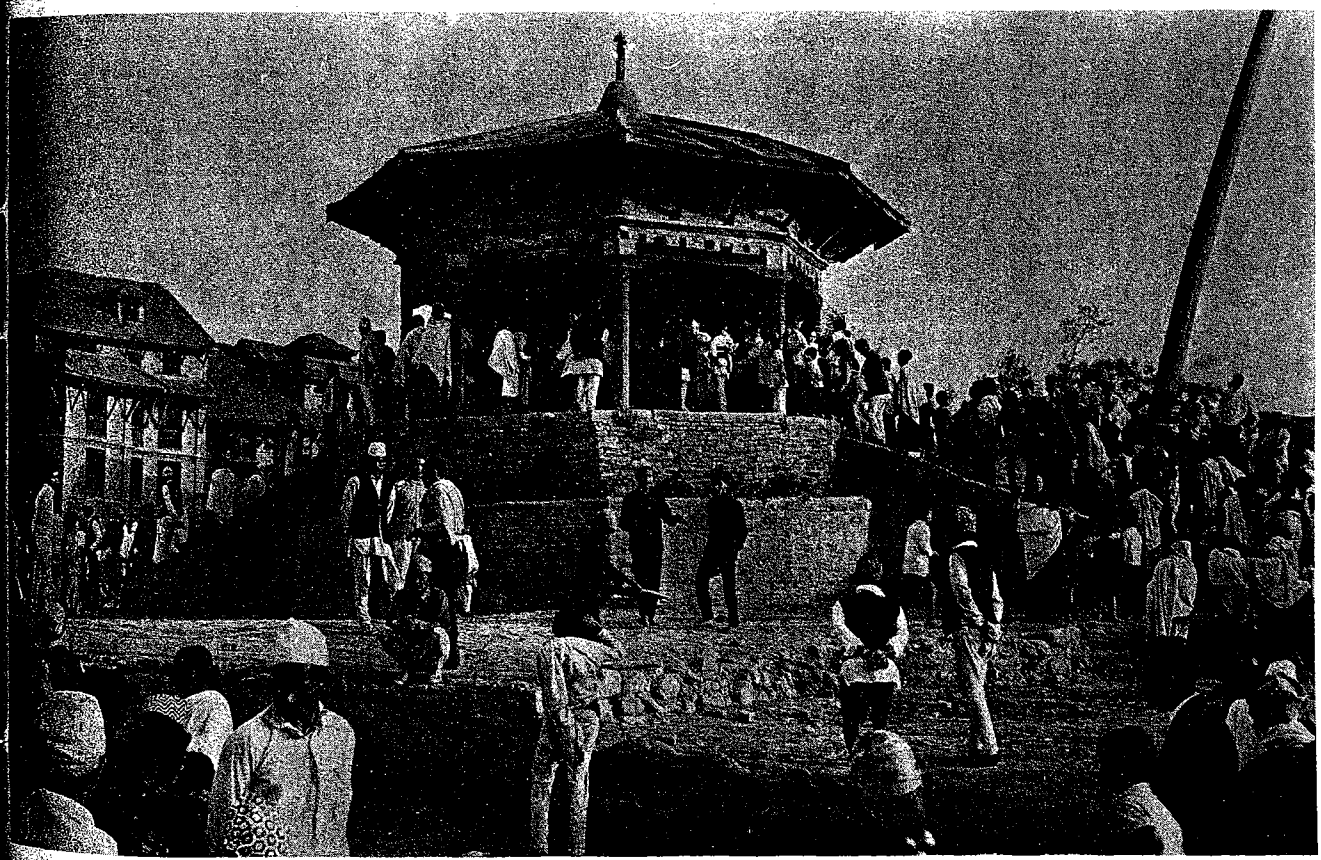
In the restoration, new local klin-burnt bricks (sized 20^5x 12^5x5) were laid in fine yellow mud (3 cm fairfaced joint). The layer of mud is followed by cement on a range of 30 cm (see Fig. 10). The facing front layer therefore received a solid joint with the second brick in depth. The third brick in depth, however, was laid in black mud to save cement (prices of cement increased sharply in 1974). Front bricks were followed by brick rubble 40 cm in depth, while the core of the structure was left as it was, consisting of solid black mud.

The ramp was extended for 90 cm which, as it had proved to be too steep, was the firmly expressed wish of the population. The steps leading down from the pedestal were totally removed and the natural stones fixed again on a foundation of bricks in cement. Four out of eight pillars were replaced by new ones made by local wood carvers, who had already been trained on the Pūjāhari Math and Hanuman Dhoka projects. The brackets above the pillars were replaced as well. The ring joint consisting of eight parts was nearly totally renewed.

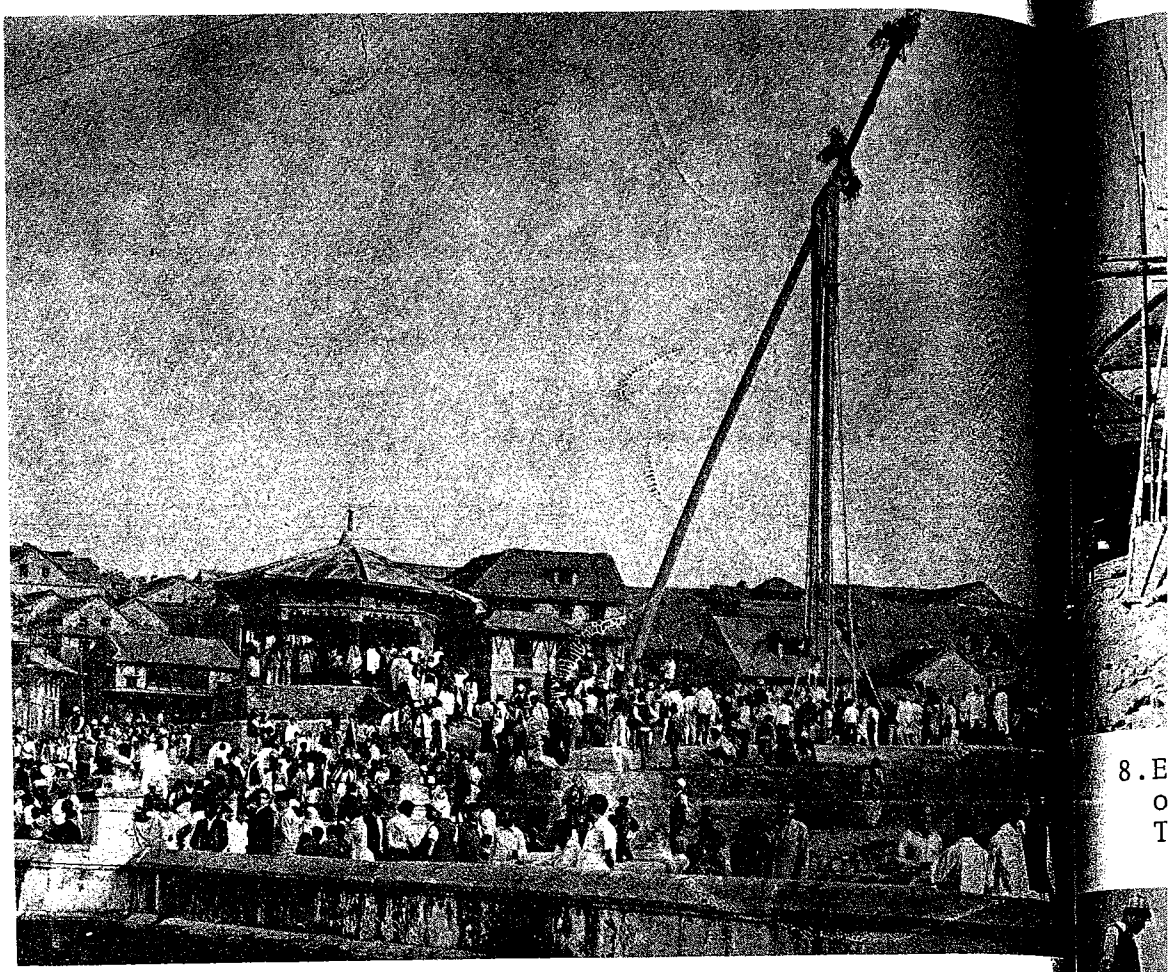
The roof structure was completely renovated. Eight angle ridges meet at the top (7.70 m above ground level), where they are joined with the central post. The other rafters are placed vertical to the eaves and are jointed with the angle ridges. The spacing of these rafters is regulated by a 22 cm long "lower" roof tile. With a span of 3.10 m the angle ridges are extremely heavily loaded, but the system as just described saves considerable wood in comparison with the traditional roof design.



4. Flow of worshippers.

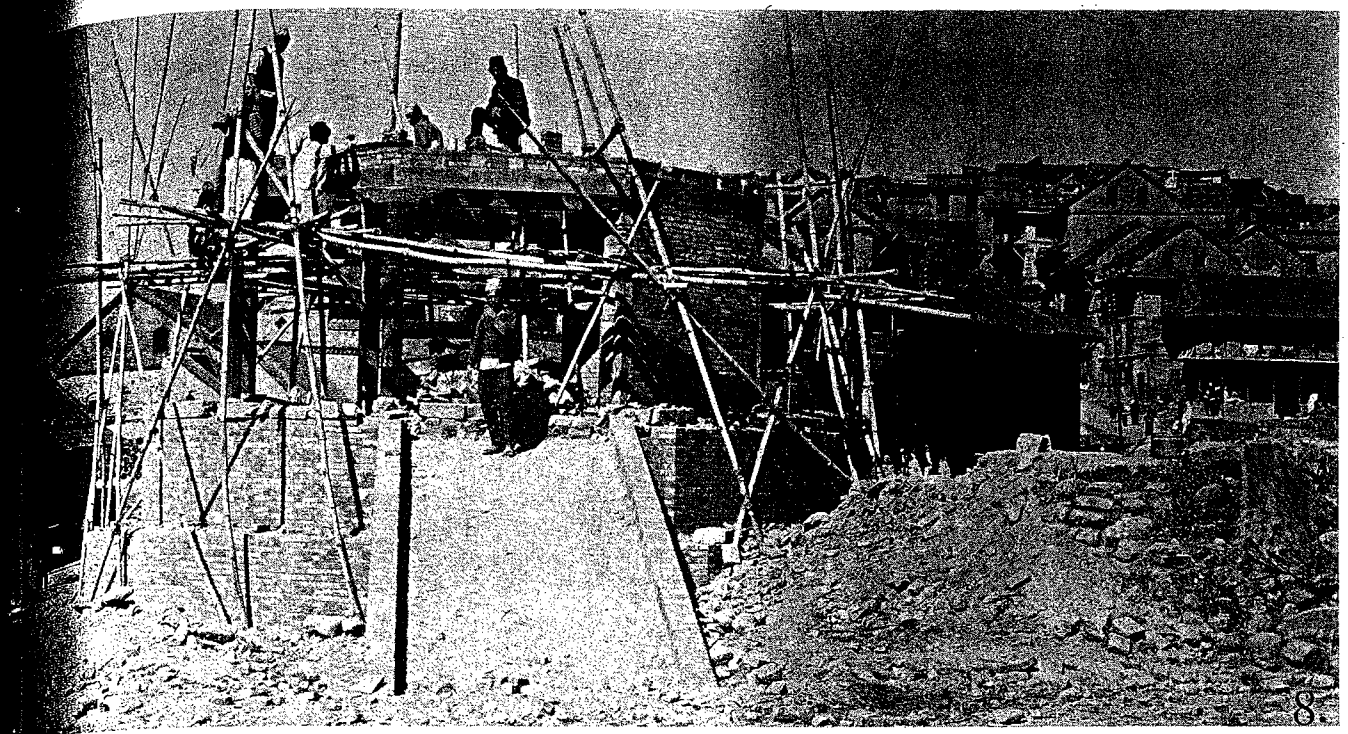


5. April 1974. People are moving up the ramp, worshipping Bhairawa, and descending the steps.

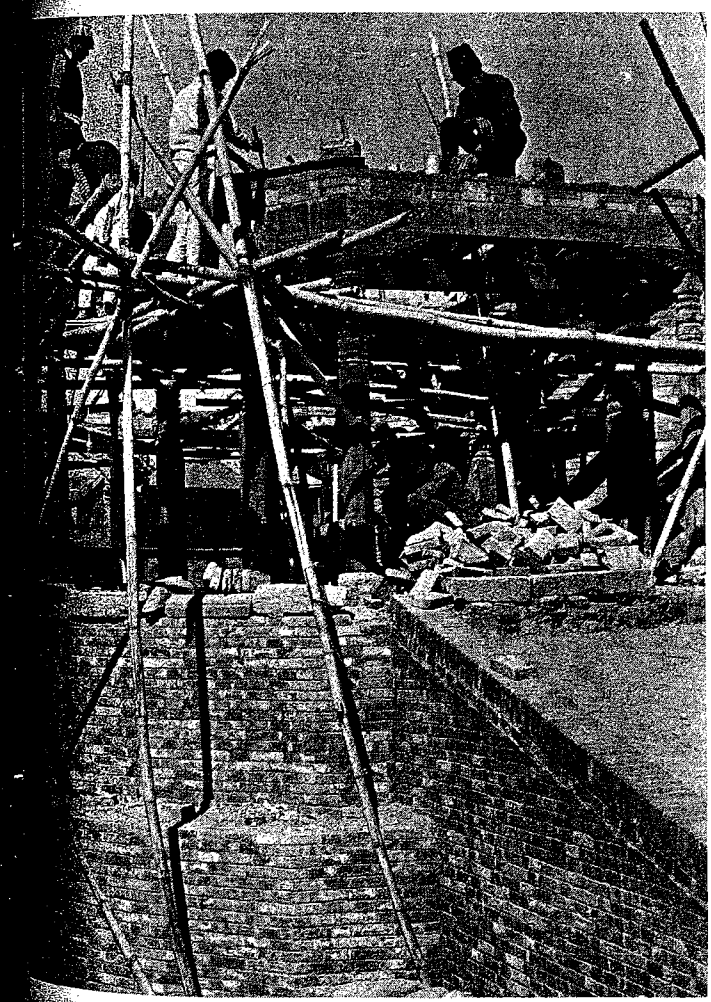


6. April 1974. The raised pole (lingam) marks the first day of t
new year. In the night people climb the pole and place a pa
coin at the cross-beams. At dawn, thousands of people flock
the Hanumante river to take a ritual bath before worshipp
Bhairawa on the raised pedestal of the mandap.

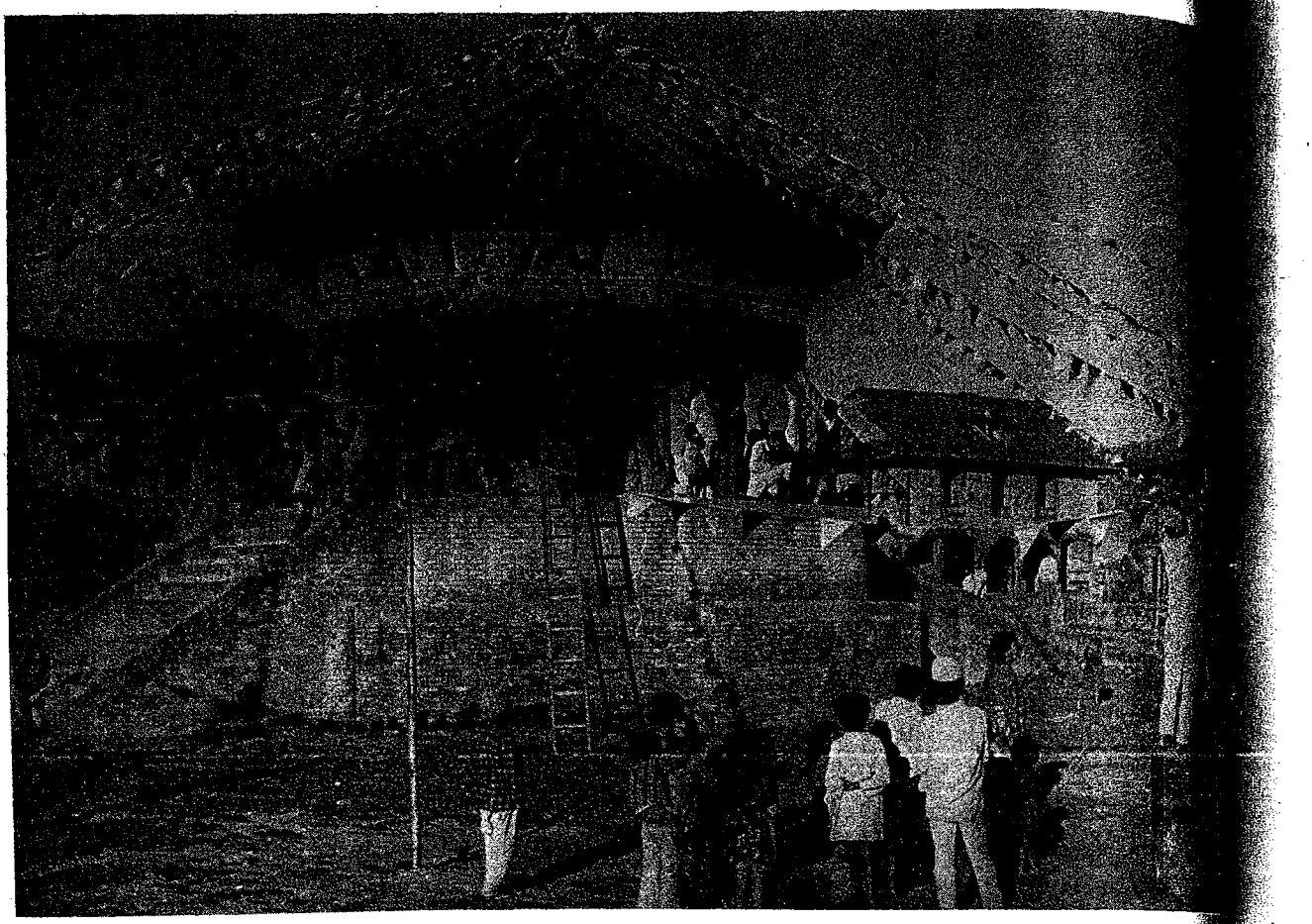
7. Process of restoration, early February 1974. The encircl
brick walls of the pedestal are removed step by step and
placed by a 50 cm. brick wall.



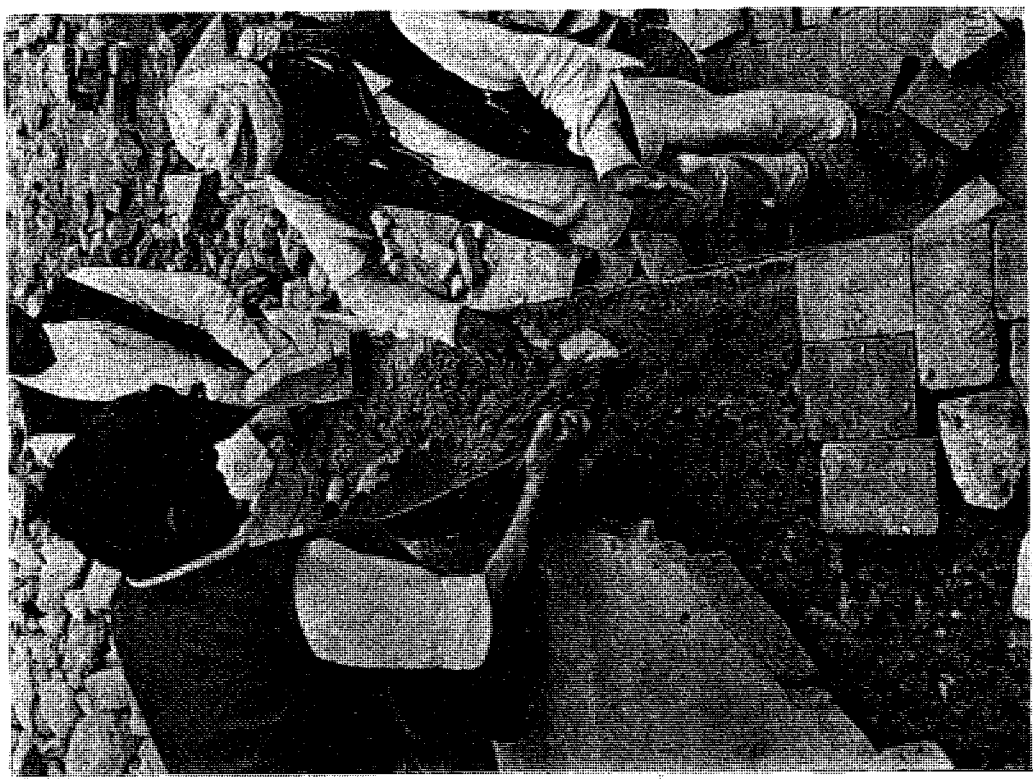
8.Early March 1974. View from south-east. The pedestal and the open hall of the eight-cornered building is already restored. The roof is ready to be assembled by the able Newar carpenters.



9.Early March 1974. Masons (avali) and carpenters (silpakar) prepare to install the roof.



11.Cyasilim mandap after reconstruction.(October 1975)



10.Construction of the encircling walls of the pedestal.Kiln-burnt bricks (local production in traditional size)are laid in three types of material.First, two inches of yellow mud to ensure smo-

The layering of the roof follows the traditional pattern with a lower tile, a 6 cm mud layer and a covering roof tile with threefold overlap. Old roof tiles from demolition sites were used, as a new production of traditional roofing has not yet been undertaken. A rather ugly structure of cement was pressed into service as provisional pinnacle. The rising of further funds should ensure its replacement by a traditional pinnacle of silvered tin.

IV Costs

A. *Wages.*

Carpenters	Rs. 14/day	Rs.	2546
Masons	Rs. 14/day		2275
Stone masons	Rs. 12/day		112
Watchman	Rs. 8/day		440
Unskilled labour	Rs. 8/day		4384
Total		**Rs.**	**9657**

B. *Material.*

Wood	Rs.	8698
Cement (62 sacks, Rs. 90 Rs. 10/ sack)		5580
Special tiles		45
Floor tiles (25 ps. each)		400
Lower roof tiles (30 ps. each)		564
Bricks (16 ps. each)		4149
Nails, ropes, misc.		188
Total	**Rs.**	**19634**

C. *Commissioned Work*
(transport, sewing, etc.) Rs. 1760

Grand Total **Rs. 31051**

The most striking figure is the relatively high (nearly 15%) share of the cost of cement. Inflation has hit countries like Nepal very hard, and prices of goods which had to be imported by truck seemed to rise without end. By the spring of 1975 Nepal had begun production of its own cement, but even existing needs will hardly be fulfilled.

The share of the cost for wood (20 % of the total cost) seem to be about normal, based on comparison with other similar projects.

Regarding wages, the high share of costs for unskilled labour was due to the total demolition of the building. It would seem reasonable for further projects of the type advocated here to plan action long in advance, and to incite people of the surrounding area to provide unskilled labor free of charge. Daily wages for skilled workmen have risen from Rs. 10 to Rs. 14 between 1972 and 1975, and other wages have risen correspondingly.

It still seems to be the rule of thumb that cost for materials is about double the cost of labour. This proportion corresponds closely to previous experience.

V Conclusion

Several lessons were learned in the restoration of the Cyasilim mandap, which might well be applied to other similar projects. Future work should be well planned in advance, to ensure the participation of the local community with respect to unskilled labour and certain materials like mud and sand. The process of work should be divided into two campaigns. The first campaign should be devoted the an analysis of a chosen building, estimation of cost and discussion of the scope and nature of restoration measures. The necessary materials should be supplied in time to ensure smooth progress during the second campaign, that of the restoration work itself. Foreign assistance seems to be still necessary for the first campaign in order to facilitate a thorough analysis and a careful discussion of the proposed work.

In conclusion, a quotation from the preliminary draft recommendations of UNESCO would seem suitable. These recommendations concern the safeguarding of historic towns, quarters and villages and their surroundings, and their integration into contemporary life (II, 5):

> "Every historic town, quarter and village should be considered in its totality as a homogeneous whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organization and the surroundings. All valid elements, even the most modest, should thus have a significance in relation to the whole which must not be disregarded."

The General Conference of UNESCO will hopefully adopt these recommendations in October, 1976, and member states will be asked to coordinate all the necessary legal, technical, economic, and social measures for its implementation,

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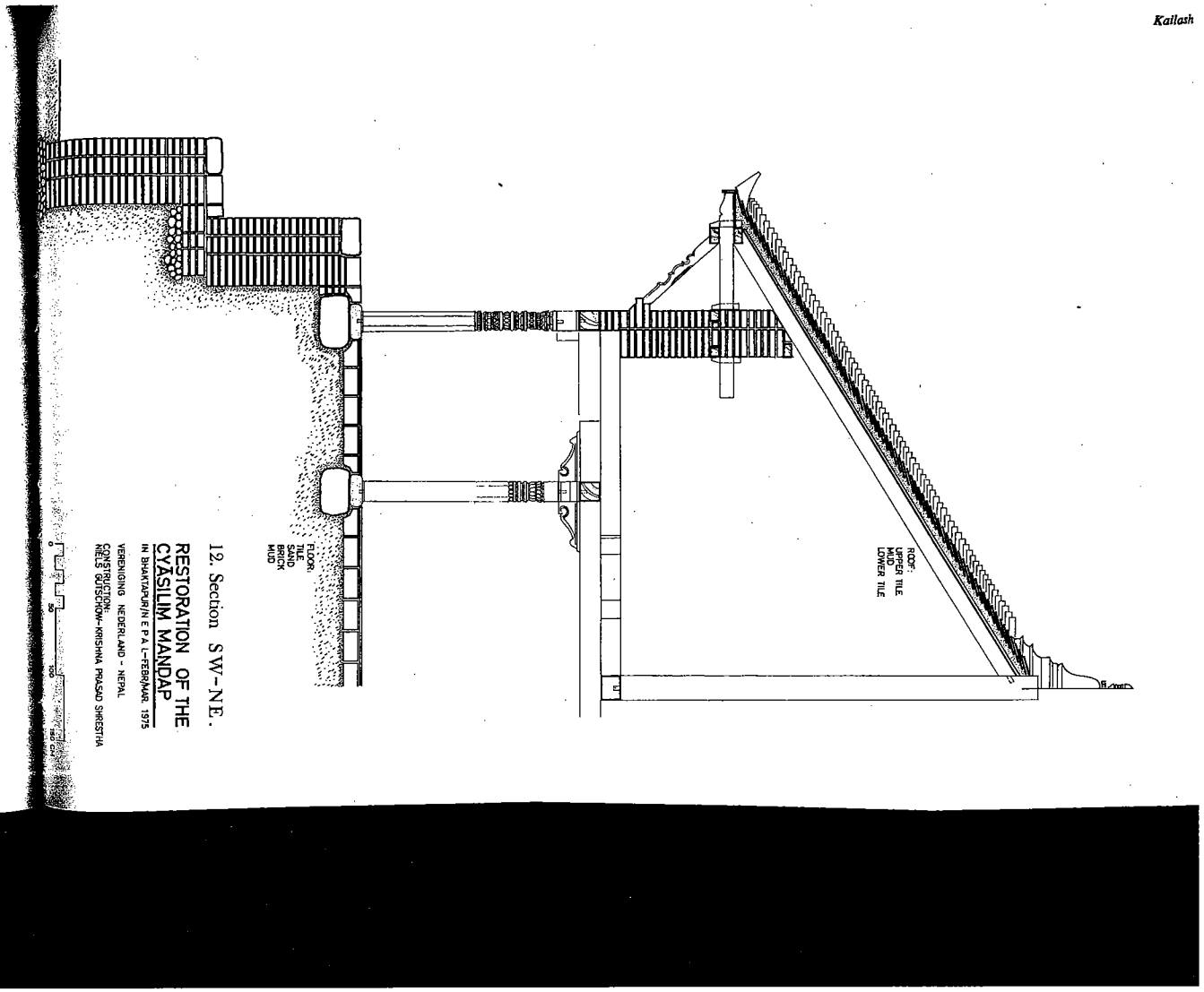
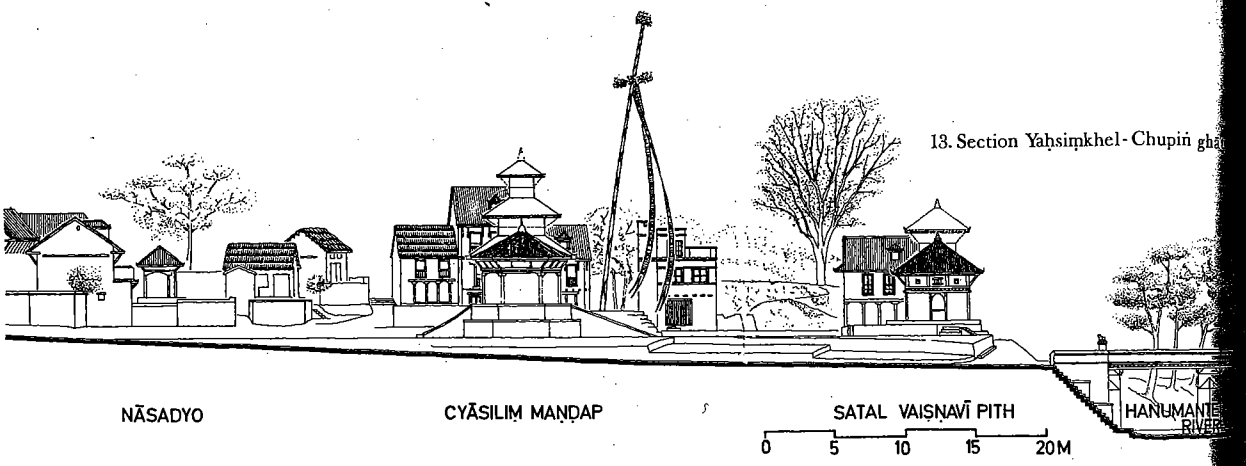


12. Section SW-NE.

RESTORATION OF THE CYASILIM MANDAP
IN BHAKTAPUR/NEPAL-FEBR/MAR 1975

VERENIGING NEDERLAND - NEPAL
CONSTRUCTION:
NIELS GUTSCHOW-KRISHNA PRASAD SHRESTHA



13. Section Yaḥsiṃkhel-Chupiṅ ghā

Realistically, it will take a long time for Nepal to follow up the UNESCO recommendation, but it would be helpful to develop a national policy towards historical monuments, keeping in mind that isolation of restored monuments provides only a museum-type of atmosphere. Rather than this, a view should be encouraged which is helpful in enhancing wider environmental preservation.

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A REVIEW OF *OPUSCULA TIBETANA*

Josef Kolmaš
Prague

The hillsides of charming Tobelweid, high above the hamlet Rikon in Toesstal near the town Winterthur in North Switzerland became since 1968 the refuge and centre of a relatively numerous diaspora of Tibetan refugees in Switzerland.[1] The institution has a meaningful name— *Chos-'khor-dgon* or the Monastery of the Wheel of Doctrine, which stands for the symbolic "place where Buddha's faith is taught". An attractive building in a quasi-Tibetan style with perfect modern facilities shelters a small group of Tibetan monks of various Lamaist denominations headed by the Ven. geshe Ugyen Tseten Phulotshang, abbot of the monastery (replaced, in 1975, by the Ven. geshe Rabten), who besides looking after the spiritual bliss of the local Tibetans also indulge in publicity and scholarly activities. fruitful work is largely due to the well equipped library of Tibetan texts (over 1000 titles) and special literature on Tibetology in European languages (over 5000 volumes). Most credit for these useful doings and over-all prosperity of this institution is coming to Mr. Peter Lindegger-Stauffer and his wife Susanne, who are the actual *spiritus movens* of the whole establishment (they were recently joined by Mr. Thomas Hürsch who since 1975 took over the management of the Tibet-Institut).

The versatile and profound activities of the Tibet-Institut in Rikon, i.e. scientific and editorial, publicity, informative or spiritual ones, are readily reported in a carefully arranged annual edition of *Jahresbericht* bearing exhaustive references (to date seven issues since 1968/69, about 20 pages each). [2]

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[1] The presence of the Tibetan refugees in Switzerland, where they began to settle in ever increasing numbers in the beginning of 1960s, creates a complex of grave problems both the for federal, cantonal and local authorities and for the domestic population. Nor is the impact of Western civilization on the Tibetan newcomers and their gradual acculturation without serious problems. These and other questions are treated in a comprehensive documentary book by a Swiss ethnographer Anna Elisabeth Ott-Mart, *Tibeter in der Schweiz – Kulturelle Verhaltensweisen im Wandel* (Eugen Rentsch Verlag, Erlenbach-Zürich 1971, 192 pp., 46 photos), partially based on field research among the Tibetans in Rikon.

[2] Cf. also Peter Lindegger-Stauffer, "Das Klösterliche Tibet-Institut in Rikon/Zürich" (*Asiatische Studien* XXV, 1971, pp. 377-385, 5 illustrations). Appeared also separately, illustrated, in the publishing house Francke Verlag, Bern 1972.

In the present report I wish to point out merely the editorial activity of the Institute during the past five years (1970–74) and comment on the most important scientific works of the Institute already published or those being prepared for print.

The first work published in May 1970 is the monograph *Historical facts on the religion of the Sa-skya-pa sect* compiled by Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa, which draws on many original sources. This work deals above all with the origin and spread of the Sa–skya–pa doctrine and biographies of prominent Masters of this Order. A valuable supplement to it are the data on the monastic rules and examination curricula of the Sa–skya–pa monks, as well as the list of the well–known Sa–skya–pa monasteries in Tibet. [3]

In the following year 1971, an edition was started of separate series of scientific monographs called *Opuscula Tibetana* subtitled "Arbeiten aus dem Tibet–Institut, Rikon–Zurich". While the first "Fasciculus" of the above series called "Zur tibetischen Namengebung" has failed yet to appear due to extensive preparatory work, we can already avail of four neatly arranged volumes. [4]

As "Fasciculus 2" a minor work by Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) was published in June 1971, called *Yon-tan gzhir - gyur-ma* or Foundations of Good Qualities which had been prepared for print (i.e. original text, transcription and commented translation) by Lobsang Dargyay and Tenzin Chhophel (a Lama of Hungarian extraction, Stefan Palos by civil name). This text dealing with the interpretation of basic degrees of spiritual life enjoys the utmost popularity for recitals by monks and laymen in Tibet. [5]

In October 1972, "Fasciculus 3" of *Opuscula Tibetana* appeared, the topic of which was the spoken language of Central Tibet – *Kleine Phraseologie der tibetis-*

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3 The full title of the work: *Rgyal-bstan spyi dang bye-brag rje-btsun sa-skya-pa'i bstan-pa bstan-'dzin dang bcas-pa byon-tshul-gyi rnam-par thar-pa shin-tu mdor-bsdus-pa Ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho'i chu-thig ces-bya-ba bzhugs-so. Historical Facts on the Religion of the Sa-sKya-pa Sect.* Compiled by Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa. Rikon/Zürich 1970. v + 67 pp. (in Tibetan, Preface and Table of Contents also in English).

4 According to the latest information, the work of Peter Lindegger–Stauffer "Das Klosterliche Tibet–Institut in Rikon/Zurich" (see note 2 above) was included in the *Opuscula Tibetana* series forming its "Fasciculus 1" (published in October 1974). Cf. Tibet–Institut Rikon, *Jahresbericht* 1974/75 (dated June 30, 1975), p. 1.

5 Lobsang Dargyay–Tenzin Chhöphel, *Yon-tan gZir-Gyur-ma* (*Fundament der Guten Qualitaten*). *Ein Tsongkhapa-Text. Opuscula Tibetana,* Fasc. 2, Tibet–Institut, Rikon 1971, 13 pp. The second unaltered edition, *ibid.*, 1973. Translated also in French ("Fondement des Bonnes Qualités") and published in *Cahiers Bouddhistes,* no. 10 (July 1972), pp. 4 et seq.

chen Umgangssprache by Champa T. Jongchay (Rdzong-rtse Byams-pa Thub-bstan). This very useful German-Tibetan conversation manual includes 21 topics (pp. 8–88) and is supplemented with a German-Tibetan and Tibetan-German glossary (pp. 89–134). Each sentence in German is furnished with a translation in Tibetan in the *dbu-can* script, pronunciation, and the same Tibetan text in transliteration. [6]

The fourth title of this series is *Katalog der Sekundarliteratur am Tibet-Institut Rikon/Zurich* giving about 4000 references relating to work on Tibet available in the Western Section of the Institute's library (as of March 31, 1973). [7] The catalogue is arranged according to the subject-matter which is very simple and practical. In 19 main groups marked by letters A–U (omitting 0 because of a possible confusion of zero) and a number of subgroups, the respective works are classified according to the authors and library signatures are also given. The catalogue will find much appreciation mostly with those who want to make their studies right in the Institute's library but it will be of good service to anybody interested in the rich Tibetological literature on which the catalogue brings reliable and comprehensive information. The object of the two compilers, Thomas Hürsch and Peter Lindegger-Stauffer, is to issue a *suo tempore* edition of a Supplement to this catelogue, which will undoubtedly be welcomed.

Finally, in June 1974, a long-expected catalogue of about 1000 Tibetan texts preserved in the Tibetan Section of the Institute's library prepared by the Ven. Champa N. Lodro Dahortshang appeared under the serial number 5 of *Opuscula Tibetana.* [8] It is divided into two main sections ("Manuscripts and Blockprints",

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[6] Champa T. Jongcay, K., *Kleine Phraseologie der tibetischen Umgangssprache. Deutsch-tibetisch, mit Glossarien. Opuscula Tibetana,* Fasc. 3, Tibet-Institut, Rikon 1972, 134 pp. Preface in German and Tibetan. The text of the conversation phrases was played on tape and is available in a special case.

[7] Thomas Hürsch/Peter Lindegger-Stauffer, *Katalog der Sekundarliteratur am Tibet-Institut Rikon/Zurich* (Stand 31. Marz 1973). *Opuscula Tibetana,* fasc. 4, Tibet-Institut, Rikon 1973, 189 pp. In addition, a 20-page alphabetical list of authors, *Autorenregister zum Katalog der Sekundarenliteratur am Tibet-Institut Rikon/Zurich* by Thomas Hürsch was released in June 1974 as a supplementary "Fasciculus 4a" of *Opuscula Tibetana.*

[8] Champa N. Lodro Dahortshang (Blo-gros Byams-pa Rnam-rgyal), *Tibetan Manuscripts, Blockprints and Modern Editions in the Library of the Tibetan Institute at Rikon/Zurich* (Sud-si ri-kon chos-'khor-dgon-du bzhugs-pa'i bod-kyi dpe-deb-rnams-kyi dkar-chag gzigs-bder bkod-pa Blo-ldan padmo'i dga'-tshal zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so). *Opuscula Tibetana,* fasc. 5 Tibet-Institut, Rikon 1974, 856 pp. (in Tibetan, Preface, Introduction and Table of Contents also in English).

pp. 11–416; "Modern Editions", pp. 417–856), each of them being further divided into eleven divisions according to the subject-matter.

Of other works of this series which will appear in the near future, let us mention the following ones: a monography by the abbot of the Rikon monastic community the Ven. geshe Ugyen Tseten Phulotshang titled "Titel, Rang and Amtsbezeichnungen in der tibetischen klerikalen Hierarchie" with a German translation and commentary by Miss U. Baumgardt; a study by Peter Lindegger-Stauffer "Zur tibetischen Namengebung" with an onomastic Lexicon; and a "Breviarium der tibetischen Orthographie auf der Basis des Lhasaer Dialekts" by Tenzin Phuntsog Jottotshang. [9]

Of other works of the Tibet-Institute Rikon not included in the *Opuscula Tibetana* series mention should be made of the following ones: in August 1973 appeared a richly illustrated book by Peter Lindegger-Stauffer called *Tibet*. [10] It is intended for youth of twelve upward. In February 1974 a Textbook of colloquial Tibetan language by the Ven. Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa was published, containing the Alphabet and Pronunciation, Introductory Grammar, Vocabulary and Applications, Phraseology and Glossaries. In spite of its limited scope, the book will certainly be of use to those who are interested in studying the Tibetan language. [11] Also published in 1974 was "Karte von Tibet" compiled from various sources by Peter Kessler. The reader will find information and useful data about these and many other projects of scholarly and editorial activities of the Tibet-Institut Rikon in the aforementioned regular annual publication of the *Jahresbericht*.

The Tibet-Institut in Rikon may perhaps stand rather out of the way of the main transport communications and even in the shadow of the renowned University and Academy centres, but its activity and remarkable achievements obtained during a relatively short period aim at pursuing the actual problems of the present-day Tibetan studies throughout the world. And to stress this fact and bring it to the reader's attention was the purpose of this bibliographical annotation.

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[9] Cf. Tibet-Institut Rikon, *Jahresbericht* 1973/74 and 1974/75.

[10] Peter Lindegger-Stauffer, *Tibet*. Schweizerisches Jugendschriftenwerk Zurich Nr. 1250, (1973), 37 pp., illustrations, 1 map. The English version, according to *Jahresbericht* 1973/74, is planned for edition by the Tibet Society of the United Kingdom.

[11] Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa, *Dbyin-bod skad-g is slob-deb Blo-gsar nin-' byed. Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan Language*. Tibetan Institute, Rikon/Zurich 1974, X + 97 pp.

༄༅། །དག་ཡིག་མདོར་བསྡུས་པད་དཀར་ཆུན་པོ་ བྱིས་པ་དག་འབྲི་རྣ་རྒྱན ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ཐཱུགས་སོ། །ཤཀྱབས་རྗེ་བདུད་འཛོམས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་

CONCISE TIBETAN GRAMMAR AND READER

Dudjom Rimpoche

༄༅། །སྤྱན་གྱུར་བསྟན་པའི་བདག་པོ་ཤཀྱབས་རྗེ་་་་
བདུད་འཛོམས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གསུང་རྩོམ་བྱིས་པ་དག་ཡིག་་་་
བལྟ་བའི་དོན་ཚང་འདི་ཉིད་དང་བོད་ཡིག་ཀློག་ལུ་བཅས་་
བློ་གསར་ཡོངས་ལ་ཕན་ཕྱིར་བལ་ཡུལ་དབེ་འབྲིམ་ཁང་དུ་་་
སྦྱར་འདི་བས་ལུ་བ་ཡི་ནི་ཆོས་དཔལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི། །ཀུན་ལ་
སྨན་པའི་བཅས་སུ་འགྱུར་བར་སྨོང་ནས་སྨོན་ནོ།།

His Holiness Dudjom Rimpoche, Supreme Head of the Nyingmapa Sect, is an eminent scholar who has written many books on Tibetan Philosophy, and volumes on different branches of science. His Holiness has now composed this CONCISE TIBETAN GRAMMAR AND READER, which is simple to understand for all those who are interested in studying Tibetan. He ardently prays that it will be of benefit to all.This complimentary introduction was composed by Chophel Namgyal.

1

།། །ཨོཾ་སྭསྟི། །མཁའ་མཉམ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འདོད་པེར་རེའུ་
ཀྲིས། །འགྲོ་བའི་རྩོངས་སྤུན་མཐར་མཛད་པ། །འཇམ་
དཔལ་སྐུ་བའི་ཉི་མ་དེས། །བདག་ཐྲིའི་ཁང་ཚལ་རྒྱུང་བར་
མཛོད། །གང་འདིར་ཡོན་ཏན་ཀུན་ཀྱི་གཞི། །ཡི་གེའི་
སྒྲོར་བ་ལས་བཙམས་ཏེ། །བྱིས་པ་གསར་བྱའི་འཇུག་སྒོ་
རྣ། །དག་ཡིག་ཉུང་གསལ་གོ་བདེར་འཆད། །དབྱངས་
རེ་ཞེ་ཕྱུ་ཅེ་ཚོར་ཞེས། །གཞུ་ཞལ་བསྟུ་འགྲེང་བྱ་དང་།།
ན་རོ་རྣམས་ཏེ་ཐེ་སྟེད་པའི། །ཡི་གེ་ཀུན་ལ་སྒྲོར་བྱ་ཡིན།།
གསལ་བྱེད་ཀ་སོགས་སུམ་རྟའོ། །དེ་ལས་ཡ་བཏགས་
ཕྱོང་པ་བདུན།(ཀ་ཁ་ག་ང་ཙ་ཚ་ཛ་ཝ་)།ར་བཏགས་བཅུ་གཅིག
(ཀ་ཁ་ག་ང་ད་ན་ཕ་བ་མ་ཤ་ཧ་) ལ་བཏགས་དུག(ཀ་ཁ་ག
ཆ་ཇ་ཉ་) །ཕྲ་རྟུར་བཏགས་པ་བཅུ་གཉིས (ཀ་ཁ་ག་ཅ་ཏ་
ཐ་ད་ན་པ་ཕ་བ་མ་ཙ་ཚ་ཛ་ཝ་)དང་། །ར་མགོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ (ཀ་ཁ་ག་ང་
ཅ་ཆ་ཇ་ཉ་ཏ་ཐ་ད་ན་པ་ཕ་བ་མ་ཙ་ཚ་ཛ་ཝ་)ལ་མགོ་དཀྱ།(ཀྵ་ཛྙ་ཤྲ་ལྷ་ཧྲ་ཡ་ཡ་
ཤྲ་ཤྲ་) །ས་མགོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ (སྐ་སྒ་སྤ་སྟ་སྦ་སྣ་སྨ་སྲ་སྷ་སྐྱ་
རྣམས་ཤེས་བྱ། །ཀ་ང་ད་ན་མ་འ། །ར་ལ་ས་རྣམས་
རྗེས་འཇུག་བཅུ། །དེ་དང་ས་གཉིས་ཡང་འཇུག་སྟེ། ।
ད་ནི་ན་ར་ལ་གསུམ་དང་། །ས་ནི་གང་བ་མར་ཐོབ། ।

2

གཏད་བ་མ་འགྲོན་འཚུག །རྗེས་འཚུག་མིང་མཐའི་ཡི་གེ་
ལ། །ན་ངོ་སྨྲར་བ་རྗོགས་ཆོག་སྟེ། །དཔེར་ན་མཆོག་གོ་
རྒྱུ་བཟང་ངོ་། །ཡོད་དོ་ཡིན་ནོ་དོན་གྱུབ་བོ། །འཛོམ་
སོ་དག་འདོ་ངོ་མཚར་ངོ། །གཞལ་ལོ་ཤེས་སོ་སྐྱེ་བྱ་དང་།།
དྲག་ཡོད་མཐའ་དྲུ་ཏོ་དང་ནི། །མཐའ་མིད་རྣམས་ལ་འོ་
སྐྱོར་ཏེ། །རྗེས་སུ་དྲན་ཏོ་གཞན་ཟེར་དོ། །སྣུལད་
ཏོ་བདེའོ་སྐྱ་བྱའོ། །དྲིས་སམ་སྟུད་ཆོག་སྐབས་སུ་ནི། །
མཐའ་ཏེན་རྣམས་ལ་མ་སྨྲར་ཞིང་། །སྐབས་འགར་ར་ལ་
ཏམ་དང་ནི། །འདོགས་ཅན་རྒྱང་བར་འམ་སྟེ་དེས། །
འདུག་གམ་བྱུང་ངམ་དེ་ཡོད་དམ། །ཡིན་ནམ་གྱུབ་བམ་
ལམ་བསྐྱེམ་མམ། །འདའ་འམ་འགྱུར་ར་མ་དོན་འཆལ་
ལམ། །ཤེས་སམ་ཟེར་ཏམ་གཏམ་གོའམ། །ཁའམ་ཞེས་
པ་སྐྱ་བྱའོ། །ད་བ་སྟ་གི་ག་ང་གི །ན་མ་ར་ལའི་རྗེས་སུ་
གྱི། །འ་དང་རྒྱང་པ་མཐའ་མེད་འི། །ཀང་པ་སྐྱོང་ཆེ་
ཡི་སྟེ་དེས། །ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་གཡས་ཀྱི་ཆ། །བདག་
གི་གངོང་གི་ངོས་ན་མཆིས། །མདུན་གྱི་རྡུམ་གྱི་སྐོར་གྱི་ནི།
མངལ་གྱི་སྐོ་དེ་བདག་ལ་སྟོན། །རྩེ་དགའི་དགའ་བ་བདེ་
བའི་མཆོག །ལྷ་ཡི་བདེ་བའི་དཔལ་ལྡན་ངོ། །གཅད་

3

དྲག་ཅན་མཐར་ཏུ། །ང་དེ་ན་མར་ལ་དུ། །སྡུག་འ་་་
དང་འདོགས་ཅན་དང་། །ཀུང་པ་དུ་སྐྱེ་དེའི་རིམ་བཞིན།།
རྟག་ཏུ་རབ་ཏུ་ཀུན་ཏུ་དགའ། །ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་བགྲང་དུ་
མེད། །བཅུད་དུ་འབྱིལ་འདི་བསྟེན་བཞིན་དུ། །གམ་་
དུ་སྐྱུར་དུ་མཛལ་དུབ་གྲོ །གཏས་སུ་མཐའ་ཅུ་འདོད་འཇོ་་་་
ཏུ། །ཁ་ཅུ་ཞེས་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ། །དེ་དེ་ན་ར་ལ་ས་ཏེ། ।་་
གཅང་བ་མ་འ་རྣམས་དང་། །འདོགས་ཅན་ཀུང་ཐར་སྐ་་་་
སྟེ་དེའི། །གྱས་པས་བཏུད་དེ་ལག་བཀན་ཏེ། ।་་་་་
བསྐུར་ཏེ་གཞལ་ཏེ་ཆས་ཏེ་བྱུང་། །སྐྱག་སྟེ་གསང་སྟེ་་་་་
གོས་བཀབ་སྟེ། །འཁོམ་སྟེ་དམའ་སྟེ་ཡིབ་ནས་གདའ། ।
སྟིང་ཡང་རྩེ་སྟེ་ཉམ་ང་སྟེའོ། །གཏ་བ་སའི་རྩེས་སུ་ཀྱང་།།
ང་འ་ན་མ་ར་ལ་དང་། །འདོགས་ཅན་ཀུང་མཐར་ཡང་་་
སྟེ་དེའི། །བདག་ཀྱང་འབད་ཀྱང་དེ་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་། ।་་
དེས་ཀྱང་འོན་ཀྱང་གྲངས་མང་ཡང་། །འགའ་ཡང་་་་་
གཞན་ཡང་དུས་ནམ་ཡང་། །སྣར་ཡང་མཐའ་ལ་ཡང་་་་་
ཐུགས་མགུ་ཡང་། །ང་ཡང་ཡིད་ལའང་དེ་འདྲའོ། ।་་
གཏ་བ་དང་དབྱག་མཐར། །ཅིང་ཅེས་ཅེ་ན་ཅིག་དང་ནི།།
ས་མཐར་དམིགས་བསལ་ཤིང་ཐོབ་དེའི། །གནག་ཅིང་་

4

ཚོད་ཅིང་གཏིང་ཟབ་ཅིང་། །མཁྱེན་ཅིང་མཚར་ཅིང་།
བཀའ་སྩལ་ཅིང་། །མཛེས་ཤིང་ཡིད་འོང་བག་ཡེབས་
ཤིང་། །རྒག་ཅེས་ཡོད་ཅེས་གྲུབ་ཅེས་པོས། །བཙུན་
ཅེས་ཟེར་ཅེས་ནོར་སྩལ་ཅེས། །སྐུ་འདུག་ཅེ་ན་བླ་མ་
སྟེ། །ཅི་མཛད་ཅེ་ན་དབང་བསྐུར་རོ། །སྐས་པོབ་ཅེ་ན་
ཕྱག་ཡོ་ཆོས། །ཤོག་ཅིག་སྟོད་ཅིག་དལ་ཕེབ་ཅིག །སྐོད་
ཅིག་གྱུར་ཅིག་མྱུར་སྩལ་ཅིགོ །ང་འི་ན་མ་རལ་དང་།།
འདོགས་ཅན་རྒྱང་ཐ་རྣམས་ལ་ནི། །ཞིང་ཞེས་ཞེ་ན་ཞིག་
པོབ་དེབར། །དྲང་ཞིང་དགའ་ཞིང་རབ་སྟེན་ཞིང་། །
འཇམ་ཞིང་དང་ཞིང་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཞིང་། །བདེ་ཞིང་ཟ་་་་་
ཞིང་བྱང་ཞེས་པོས། །གངས་ཞེས་དྲན་ཞེས་འདི་ཙམ་ཞེས། །
འགྱུར་ཞེས་འབྲལ་ཞེས་བསྡུ་ཞེས་ཟེར། །མཁས་བ་ཞེས་་་
བྱས་སྨྲ་ཞེས་བ་ཕབ། །སྐུ་བྱང་ཞེ་ན་ཏོར་འབྲ་སྟེ། །ཀུ་་་་
གངས་ཞེ་ན་མང་ཚོའོ། །སྐས་ཡིན་ཞེ་ན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྟེ། །
ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་དབེན་ནམ་ཞེ་ན་དབེན། །ཅི་བསྐོར་ཞེ་ན་་་་
རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཏེ། །གང་འཚལ་ཞེ་ན་ནོམ་ཐའོ། །ཅི་བགྱི་་
ཞེ་ན་སྐྱེལ་བ་སྟེ། །སྐུ་ལ་ཞེ་ན་སྐད་འཆོང་ལའོ། །ཅུང་་་
ཞིག་འགའ་ཞིག་གཞན་ཞིག་ཏུ། །ནམ་ཞིག་སྨོན་ཞིག་ངལ་་

5

ཞིག་གསོ། །རེ་ཞིག་འདུག་ནས་ཉ་ཞིག་ཉོའོ། །སངས་ཐང་དམིགས་གསལ་ཞེས་མ་གཏོགས། །ཤིང་ཤིག་ཤེ་ན་ཐོབ་སྟེ་དཔེར། །མཇེས་ཞེས་ཐོས་ཤིང་ལྷོས་ཤིག་བྱས། །དེ་ཅིས་ཤེ་ན་འདོད་གཏུང་གིས་སོ། །གཏ་བས་ན་མར་པ། །ང་འར་ལ་འདོགས་ཅན་དང་། །ཀུང་མཐར་པ་བ་ཅི་རིགས་ཀ། །ཀློག་པ་བཤད་པ་ལེགས་སློབ་པ། །ཤེས་པ་འཛིན་པ་དོན་བསམ་པ། །ཁང་པགང་བ་མདའ་པ་དང་། །མཛའ་བགྱིར་པ་རབ་འབར་བ། །འབྲལ་པ་སྒོལ་བ་དོན་བསྟུ་བ། ། ཞི་བ་ཚ་བ་ལྟ་བུའོ། །གཞན་ཡང་དཔྱད་ཀ་ཐད་ཀ་དང་།། མོན་ཁ་སེར་ཁ་རལ་ཁ་དང་། །མཐིང་གསྐྱིང་གག་བྱང་མ་དང་། །ལྟད་མོ་སྟོན་མོ་སྐག་མོ་སོགས། །བརྟེད་བའི་་་་འཇེན་པ་ཤེན་ཏུ་མང་། །ཅི་ཇི་སྲུགང་སྨྱི་སྐ་སྟེ། །ཅི་ནི་་་ཅི་ཞིག་ཅི་སྟེ་དང་། །ཅི་སྐད་ཅི་འབྱུ་ཅི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །ཇི་ནི་་ཇི་སྐྱེད་ཇི་སྲིད་དང་། །ཇི་ལྟར་ཇི་བཞིན་ཇི་ཙམ་མོ། །་སུ་ནི་གང་ཟག་ཀུན་ལའོ། །ཆོགས་པ་ཆོགས་ཆེན་ཐུན་་་་་ཆོགས་དང་། །ཐྲིན་ལས་རིམ་གྱི་སྐུ་ཁམས་ཁྲིས། །ཐུམ་ཐུག་དོག་ཐུམ་ཙམ། །ཆོན་ཙི་ཁྲིན་པ་ཐུར་དང་ཐོད། ། སྐད་ཅིག་ཐང་ཅིག་ཡུད་ཙམ་ཅིག །ཁ་ཅིག་སོགས་ལ་་་་་

འཕུལ་ཡིག་སྦྲང་། །ལྷ་བཙུན་ཆེ་བཙུན་ན་བཟའ་དང་།།
ལྷ་རྡེ་ལྷ་ཇས་ང་རྒྱལ་དང་། །བྱ་ཐོད་རྐོ་རྡེ་མི་ཏོག་དང་། །
རྒྱ་མཆོ་སོགས་ལ་མཐའ་འཁྱེན་སྦང་། །རྒྱ་ཆེར་དཔང་ས་···
མཐོང་ཉེར་བསགས་ཀ། །བྱང་ཆུབ་རྒྱུར་བསྟོས་ཤར་ཕྱིན་
རྫོགས། །དབྱིར་མིད་སོགས་ལ་མཐའ་འཁྱེན་ཏེ། །ལྷག་
པའི་ཆེ་ན་མི་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་། །ཆིགས་བཅད་སྟེབས་སྦྱོར་སྐབས་
སུ་སྦྱོར། །ཀྱིང་ངེ་འཛོན་དང་གཞོན་ནུ་དང་། །ཆུང་ངུ་
ཉུང་ངུ་ལ་སོགས་པར། །ཕྱི་མའི་ཆོག་ཤུགས་ཕན་པས་···
སྦྱོར། །གཞན་དུ་བརྗོད་ཆོགཀ་ང་ཡང་རུང་། །བྱ་བྱེད་
ལས་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསྡུས་པའི། །བྱ་བ་བྱས་རྗེན་འདས་པ་ཀྱི་
དང་། །བྱ་བ་བྱེད་འགྱུར་མའོང་ས་དང་། །བྱེད་བཞིན་
པ་ནི་དལྷ་བར། །ངེས་ཕྱིར་བདག་གཞན་དབྱེ་བ་ཡིས། །
འདས་ལ་འཕུལ་དང་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །དལྷ་བ་ལ·····
གཅིས་ཀ་མེད། །མ་འོངས་འཕུལ་ཡོད་ཡང་འཇུག་མེད། །
བསྒྲུལ་ཆོག་འཕུལ་མེད་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །དེ་རྣམས་རིམ་
པར་དཔེར་མཆོན་ན། །བསྒྲབས་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་ལ་བརྟེན་
ནས། །བདག་ཉིད་སྒྲུབ་ལ་འབད་པར་ཐུ། །ཐུབ་ཀྱང་དེ་
བཞིན་བསྒྲུབ་བྱས་ནས། །སྐལ་ལྡན་འཆི་མེད་སྒྲུབས་···

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མཛོད་ཅིག་ཟོ། །རྣམ་དབྱེ་གང་ལ་སྦྱོར་ཡུལ་དེས། །གང་
ཏུ་བྱ་བ་ཞིག་བྱས་ན། །བྱེད་པའི་སྒྲ་ཞེས་སམཔའ་ཐོབ། །
དཔེར་ནཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བདག་གིས་མཛོད། །ངས་ཐོས་.....
མཁས་པས་བཤད་ལྟ་བུའོ། །བྱ་བ་གཏན་ནས་མི་བྱེད་པར།
སྐྱེ་ཕྱི་འབྲེལ་བྱེད་ཙམ་སྟོན་ན། །འབྲེལ་བའི་སྒྲ་སྟེ་ས.....
མཔའ་སྟང་། །འགའ་ལ་ཞི་དང་ཡི་སྦྱོར་ཏེ། །ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་
གྲོགས་དེ་བདག་ཡིན་ཀྱི། །ངའི་ཚོས་མཁས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་
ལྡན་ངོ། །དཔྱད་ཡོད་དང་མེད་པའང་། །འདས་དང་
མ་འོངས་དབྱེ་བས་ཤེས། །དཔེ་དཔོན་ཕྱི་དུས་.....
འདིར། །འབྲི་སྟེལ་མེད་ཀྱང་དོན་ཐོབ་ངེས། །ལྷག་པའི་
དོན་མང་མིང་མཚམས་དང་། །དོན་འབྲིང་འབྱེད་དང་..
དོན་ཉུང་རྣོ་གས། །ཆོག་བཅད་མཐའ་མར་ཆིག་ཤད་བྱ། །
རྣོ་གས་ཆོག་མཐའ་ཅན་ལྷག་པ་དང་། །ཆོག་བཅད་ཀང་
མཐར་ཉེས་ཤད་ཐོབ། །དོན་ཚན་ཆེན་པོ་རྣོ་གས་པ་དང་།།
ལེའུའི་མཚམས་སུ་བཞི་ཤད་དགོས། །ང་ཡིག་མ་གཏོགས་
ཤད་གོང་དུ། །ཆོག་མེད་བོན་ཀྱང་འགའ་ཞིག་ཀྱིས། །
ཆོག་བཅད་དཀྱུས་སུ་ཚག་ཤད་རེ། །ང་མཐར་ཤད་ཀོང་
ཆོག་གཉིས་རེ། །འབྲི་བའི་ལག་རྒྱུན་དག་ཀྱང་སྣང་།

ཀཱ། །དེ་ལྟར་དག་པོའམ་སྤྲུ་ཡི་ཆིངས། །གལ་
ཆེ་བགས་བསྲུས་ཙམ་བཤད་ནས། །དཀའ་འབྲལ་མས་ཤེས་པ་
ཡི། །ཚིག་སྒྲིའི་དབྱེ་བ་ཅུང་ཟད་འགྲེལ། །རྒྱལ་བའི་
བཀའ་ནི་བཀའ་ཡིན། །ངལ་བའི་དཀའ་བ་དཀའ་
ལ། །རོ་སྐྱ་བ་ནི་སྐབས། །རི་དྭགས་ཆོ་བར་ཆོ་ཡིན། །
ཁང་པའི་སྒོ་ནི་སྒོ་ལ། །གོས་བགོ་བ་ནི་བ་བགོ་སྟེ། ། །
བཀའ་བསྒོ་བའོག་ས་བསྒོའོ། །ཀ་ཚོད་ཆས་པ་ར་ཁ་ཡིན།།
རྟ་ཡི་སྒྲ་ནི་ས་སྒྲ་ལ། །ཡིད་དགའ་བ་ནི་དེ་དགའ་སྟེ། །
སྨན་གྱི་ལྷ་ནི་ལ་ལྷའོ། །བཞོན་པའི་རྟ་ནི་ར་རྟ་ཡིན། །སྟ་
རེར་སྟ་ནི་ས་སྟ་ལ། །ལྟ་སྟངས་ལྟ་བྱབ་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། །མིག་
གིས་བལྟ་བ་བ་ལ་བལྟའོ། །དུས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་བ་ས་སྐྱ་ཡིན། ། །
གྲངས་ཀྱི་ལྔ་ནི་ལ་ལྔ་ལ། །བརྒྱང་བའི་ཏ་ནི་ར་ད་སྟེ། །
ཞེས་པའི་མངའ་ནི་མ་མངའ་འོ། །ཅི་དུའི་གཅེན་ནི་གཅེན་
ཡིན། །སར་བདག་གཅེན་ལ་འགྲེང་བྱ་མིད། །རིགས་བྱ་
མཆེན་པ་མ་མཆེན་ཏེ། །བསྟེན་ཐག་བའོག་ས་བསྟེན་
ཆོ། །ཐུགས་མཆེས་པ་ནི་མ་མཆེས་ལ། །དངོས་གྲུབ་
བརྟེས་པ་བ་རའི་བརྟེས། །བརྟས་སྟོང་འགྲེང་བྱ་མིད་
པའོ། །ཆ་བར་སྟེགས་པ་ས་སྟེགས་ཡིན། །ཆོས་མཆེན་པ་ནི་

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མ་མཉན་ལ། །གཟུགས་བརྙན་བའོག་ར་བརྙན་ནོ། །རོ་གཅིག་འདྲེས་པ་དང་འདྲེས་ཡིན། །རིགས་མཚུངས་འགྲེས་སྦྱོར་གཅིས་ཏེ། །ཞི་འགས་ལ་ནི་འཕྲོང་བྱ་མེད། །ཤད་ཐག་ཏུ་རྒྱས་ཏེ། །བསྟན་པ་ཡང་ཞི་བ་ནས་བསྟན། །ཚས་གཟབ་པའང་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ། །ཕྱག་ཀྱི་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཐག་ཏུ་ཡིན། །གདོང་བའི་སྟན་ནི་སུ་སྟན་ལ། །དམ་ཆོས་བསྟན་པ་བ་སུ་བསྟན། །མི་འགྱུར་བརྟན་པ་བར་བརྟན་ནོ། །ཡོད་མེད་གདའ་ནི་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡིན། །ཞིམ་པའི་བདའ་ནི་བ་བདའ་ལ། །སྟོན་པའི་བརྡ་ནི་བར་བརྡའོ། །མིད་པའི་ཕྱལ་ནི་ལ་ཕྱལ་ཡིན། །སྐལ་ལྡན་སྐལ་ཐོ་བསྐལ་ཏེ། །དུས་ཀྱི་བསྐལ་པ་བ་སའི་བསྐལ་པོ། དྲི་ཡི་བདུག་པ་བ་བདུག་ཡིན། །དབུབ་པའི་གདུགས་ནི་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡིན། །མ་རྟུང་གདུག་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་མེད། །ནུས་པ་རྟུགས་པ་ར་རྟུགས་ཏེ། །ཉོན་མོངས་སྤྱག་བསྟལ་ས་སྤྱག་གོ། །ཆོགས་པའི་གྲ་ནི་གཅིག་ཡིན། །ཆེམ་པོའི་དྲ་གྱུབ་ད་དྲ་ལ། །སེམས་སྟོར་སེར་སྟ་བ་བྷ། །སྦོག་ཆགས་བྱ་བ་འང་དེ་དང་འབྲའོ། །མི་གཙང་གཅིན་ནི་གཅིན་ཡིན། །འབྱར་བྱིད་སལ་པ་བཏགས་སྦྱིན་ནོ། །

བློ་ཡིས་དཔྱད་ནི་དེ་དཔྱད་ཡིན། །བྱ་སྤྱད་སར་ཁ་པ་བཏགས་
སྤྱད། །དུམ་བུར་བཅད་པ་བ་བཅད་དོ། །ཚུ་ཡི་ཅ་རྟྭབས་
ར་ཏུ་ཡིན། །མི་མངོན་སྤྲས་པ་ས་སྤ་ལ། །མགུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བ་ལ་
ཐྲབ་ཏེ། །དབང་པོའི་མིག་ནི་མིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན། །ཡིད་ཀྱི་ ་་་་་་
དམིགས་པ་དང་དམིགས་ལ། །དུད་འགྲོའི་རྣིག་པ་ར་རྣིག་གོ། །
སྐང་བའི་དགྲ་ནི་དང་དགྲ་ཡིན། །སྟན་པའི་སྤྱ་ནི་ས་སྤྱ་ལ། །
འབྱབ་སྤྱ་ས་ལ་བ་བཏགས་སྤྲའོ། །ནགས་ཚལ་དགའ་ཚལ་ཚལ་ཀྱང་
ཡིན། །ཕུག་འཚལ་ཞེས་འ་འཚལ་ལ། །ཆོན་ཀྱི་མཚལ་ནི་ས་
མཚལ་ལོ། །བཏུང་བའི་ཆང་ནི་ཆང་ཀྱང་ཡིན། །འཇོན་པའི་ཉཆང་
ནི་འ་འཆང་ལ། །ཐུར་དུ་འཕྱང་བ་ཕ་འཕྱང་ངོ་། །ཡན་ལག་
མགོ་ནི་མ་མགོ་སྟེ། །ཐོག་མའམ་འཕེལ་བ་འ་འགོའོ། །རྩེ་་་་་
བཅུན་རྩེ་བོ་ར་རྩེ་ལ། །སྐྱེས་པའི་ཚོ་མཆན་མ་མཇའོ། །མཁྲིན་
པའི་ཞེས་མ་མཁྱལ་ཏེ། །གཡོ་བའི་འགྱལ་ནི་འ་འགྱལ་ལོ། །
ངག་གི་གསུང་ནི་གསུང་ལ། །སྤུང་སྐྱེབས་ས་ལ་ར་བཏགས་ ་་་
སྤུང་། །ཞན་པའི་རྡིན་ནི་ར་རྡིན་ཏེ། །ཉོ་ཚོང་སྐྱེན་པ་བ་བྱིན་་
ནོ། །སྟན་པའི་གྲགས་པ་གཀྲགས་ལ། །རི་རྟོའི་བྱག་ནི་བ་་
བྱག་སྟེ། །ཚར་གཅོད་དྲག་ནི་ད་དྲག་གོ། །རིན་ཆེན་དཌལ་་
ནི་དང་དཌལ་ཏེ། །ལུས་ཀྱི་རྟུལ་ཆུ་ར་རྟུལ་ལོ། །སྐྱར་བ་འདི་བས་

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པ་སར་སྐྱང་ཀེ། །བསྟོད་བསྔགས་བཀྱང་སྟེ་བ་འཕྲལ་བཀྱང་ངོ། །དང་པོའི་སྟོན་ནི་སར་ཅིན་ཡིན། །མིག་གིས་མཐོང་བ་མ་མངོན་ལ། །དེ་དག་ག་སོད་པ་ར་རྟོག་ནོ། །ཉམས་མྱོང་ཉམས་དགག་འཁྲུག་ཨེད། །ཉམ་ཐག་ཉམ་ལ་ཡང་འཚུག་མེད། མང་བའི་སྒྲ་ནི་སངས་ཏེ་དེ། །གསར་དུ་རྟེན་པར་རྟེན་དོ། །ཁ་ཡི་ལྷེ་ནི་ལ་ལྷེ་ལ། །ཇ་ཅེའི་ཅེ་ནི་ཅེ་ཀྱང་ངོ་། །སེམས་བྱུང་བློ་གྲོས་བ་བློ་སྟེ། །ཀ་ཡི་གྲོ་བ་གཞོའོ། །ནང་ཁྲལ་མཁལ་མ་མ་མཁལ་ལ། །འགེལ་བའི་ཁལ་མཁལ་ཀྱང་ངོ་། །དོན་རྟོགས་གོ་བ་ར་རྟོགས་ཡིན། །རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་ལ་ཡང་འཚུག་མེད། ། ཁོང་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་གཏོགས་ལ། །བཀྲིས་པའི་ལྷོག་ནི་ལ་ལྷོག་གོ། །ཇི །ཏུ་གནོན་པ་གནོན་ཡིན། །མང་དུ་གཏོང་བ་སྟོན་ནོ། །མཆོག་ཆ་རྟོ་བ་ར་རྟོ་སྟེ། །བསམ་མནོ་གཞིག་པ་མ་མནོའོ། །ལུས་ཀྱི་དཔྱི་ནི་ད་དཔྱི་ལ། །ཐུན་མོང་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་སྤྱིའོ། །སྟོང་ཉིད་གཉུག་མ་གཉུག་སྟེ། །སྐྱེས་པའི་མདའ་སྐྱུག་སུས་སྐྱུག་གོ །གཞན་སྟོག་གཅོད་པ་གསོད་དེ། །དགེ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་བ་བསོད་དོ། །གཉིད་དུ་མནལ་བ་མ་མནལ་ཡིན། སྐྱམ་བྱའི་སྐལ་མ་ས་སྐལ་ལ། །རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྣལ་ནི་ར་རྣལ་ལོ། །གཡ་ད་དྲག་ཏུ་ཀྱང་སྟེ། །བྱད་མེད་མོ་མཚན་ས་སྟུའོ། །ཤུགས་

བརྡའི་ཚོད་ནི་རྟོད་ལ། །གདམ་མོ་བཀའ་པ་དང་དགོད་དེ། །
ཆོམ་བྱུང་དགོད་པའང་དེ་དང་འདྲ། །འོད་གསལ་བ་ནི་གཡས་ལ་
ལ། །དམིགས་ཀྱིས་གསལ་བའང་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ། །སྐྱོན་བསལ་
བ་ནི་བ་བསལ་ལོ། །སེམས་ལ་དྲན་པ་དང་དྲན་ལ། །གཉིག་གི་
བྲན་ནི་བ་བྲན་ནོ། །གཞན་ལ་རྣག་པ་ར་རྟུང་སྟེ། །ཁང་པའི་
གདུང་མ་གཏུང་ངོ་། །ལོག་འཇིན་བདུད་ནི་བ་བདུད་ལ། །
དབང་དུ་སྡུད་པ་སྡུད་དོ། །བཟང་ངན་མཉམ་པ་མ་མཉམ་
སྟེ། །ཡིན་ནམ་སྟམ་པ་ར་སྟམ་མོ། །ཐད་ཀ་ཐད་དྲང་ཐད་
ཀྱང་ལ། །བྱ་བ་འཐད་འོས་འཐད་དོ། །གཏོད་པས་གཅོ་
བ་གཏོ་ཡིན། །རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་བ་ར་རྩེ་ལ། །སྟིང་བརྩེ་བ་འོག་
ར་བརྩེའོ། །ཐོད་གཏུག་གངོང་གདུག་ཀ་གཏུག་ལ། །མི་
གཅང་རྟུག་པ་ར་རྟུག་གོ། །གཞན་ལ་སྟིན་བ་སོ་སྟིན་ལ། །མི་
ཟད་གཏེར་ནི་གཏེར་རོ། །མྱུན་པའི་སྨྲ་ནི་སོ་སྨྲ་ལ། །
གཡུལ་གྱི་དམག་དཔུང་དམག་གོ །གཅན་གཟན་སྟག་ནི་སོ་
སྟག་ཡིན། །མི་འགྱུར་རྟག་པ་ར་རྟག་ལ། །ཕྱི་མར་འཐག་
པ་བ་བཏགས་ཏེ། །བརྟག་དཔྱད་བ་འོག་ར་བརྟག་གོ །དོན་
ལས་མི་འདའ་འ་འདའ་ཡིན། །མྱ་ངན་འདའ་བའང་དེ་བཞིན་ལ།
ལུང་པའི་ཕྱ་མདའ་མ་མདའ་སྟེ། །འཕེན་པའི་མདའ་ཡང་དེ་····

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དང་འདྲའོ། །བྱ་བ་མངགས་པ་མ་མངགས་ཏེ། །སྒྲིག་པའི་སྟེན་དངགས་དང་དངགས་སོ། །བྱ་བ་བཅོལ་བ་བ་བཅོལ་ལ། །ཐོང་པའི་གཅོལ་མདའ་གཱ་གཅོལ་ལོ། །དུས་ཀྱི་སྔ་ཕྱི་གཱ་གཟོ་དེ། །བཟོ་སྐན་ཆེ་བ་བ་ཟོ་དོ། །ཆན་གྱི་འབྱུལ་བ་དཱ་འབྱུལ་ལ། །ལམ་གྱི་འགྲུལ་ནི་གཱ་འགྲུལ་ལོ། །ཟབ་པའི་གཏིང་ནི་གཱ་གཏིང་ཡིན། །རྡེས་མའོ་ཀང་རྟིང་ར་རྟིང་ལ། །གདན་སོགས་བཏིང་བ་བ་བཏིང་ངོ་། །སྨིན་པ་གཏོང་བ་གཱ་གཏོང་སྟེ། མེད་པའི་སྟོང་པ་སོ་སྟོང་ངོ་། །གྲང་བའི་བསིལ་གྲིབ་བ་བསིལ་ཡིན། །དུམ་བུར་བསིལ་བའང་དེ་བཞིན་ལ། །དྲིལ་བུ་གསིལ་བ་གཱ་གསིལ་ལོ། །ཤིང་གི་སྟོང་ཙོ་སྐ་སྟོང་ལ། །སྟོང་གྲོགས་སྟོང་ཡང་དེ་འདྲ་སྟེ། །བསྟོང་སྐ་བཀྲན་བ་འཕུལ་ཡང་འཆུག་ཡོད། །ངོ་གངོང་གངོང་འཕྲད་གཱ་གངོང་ངོ་། །ཞེ་སའི་མཛད་ནི་མ་མཛད་དོ། །ཟད་པའི་འཛད་ནི་འཛད་དོ། །མངོན་སུམ་སྣང་བ་སྐ་སྣང་ཡིན། །ཟས་ཀྱིས་བརྟན་ནི་བ་ར་བརྟན་ཏེ། །དུས་ཀྱི་གནང་ཉིན་གཱ་གནང་སྟེ། །གཞན་ལ་སྟེར་བའང་གཱ་གནང་ངོ་།། ནམ་མཁའི་མཁའ་ནི་མ་མཁའ་ལ། །ཁ་དོག་ཁ་མཆུ་ཁ་ཀུང་སྟེ།། འདབ་ཆགས་གྲ་ལ་ལྟ་རྟེན་ཡོད། །མང་བའི་རྣམས་ནི་ར་རྣམས་ལ། །དུས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་ཡང་འཆུག་མེད། །ཐང་སེམས་ཐང་ནི་

ཐང་ཀྱང་ལ། །གནམ་འཕང་འཕང་ལོ་འ་འཕང་ངོ་། །དུག་
ལྟའི་ཉེན་མོང་སམ་མོང་ལ། །ཐུན་མོང་མོང་ལ་ཡང་འཚུག་་་
མེད། །དྲི་མ་མནམ་པ་མ་མནམ་སྟེ། །ཕུག་ན་བསྒམས་པ་བ་་
ས་བསྒམ་མོ། །ནམ་མཁའི་གནམ་ནི་གཏི་ནམ་ལ། །གོས་ཀྱི་་
སྒམ་བྱ་ས་སྒམ་མོ། །ཁིང་ས་པའི་སྐྱིང་ནི་ས་སྐྱིང་སྟེ། །ཆས་ནས་
ཟད་པ་ར་སྐྱིང་ངོ་། །རྗན་པའི་གྲྭ་ནི་གཏྲྭ་ཡིན། །རི་དྭགས་གྲྭ་
བའང་དེ་དང་འདྲ། །སྨོག་ཆགས་ཉ་ནི་ཉ་ཀྱང་ལ། །ཀང་པའི་
ཉ་ལ་ལྟ་རྟེར་ཡོད། །ཐྲ་མིད་ཐྲ་མ་བཐྲ་སྟེ། །ཆོགས་མིད་ལས་
སྨ་ས་སྨ་ལ། །བ་འོག་ར་བཆ་ཀང་པའི་བཆའོ། །དོད་ཀྱི་ཆུངས་
ནི་ར་ཆུངས་ཡིན། །གྲང་ཙོ་ཆེ་ནི་གཏྲང་སྟེ། །ཐྲང་དོར་ཐྲང་་
ནི་བ་ཐྲང་ངོ་། །གཅོད་པའི་སྟེའུ་སྐྱེ་ལ། །རྟ་ཡི་རྟེའུ་ར་་་་་
རྟེའོ། །གྲལ་ལ་བསྒྲིག་པ་གཏྲལ་ཡིན། །དྲལ་རྩོལ་དྲལ་བ་ད་་་
དྲལ་ལ། །སོ་སོར་བྱེས་པ་བ་བྱལ་ལོ། །ཁོག་པའི་གྲོད་པ་གཏྲོད་
ཡིན། །ཚ་བའི་དོད་ནི་ད་དྲོད་ལ། །དགའ་བྲོད་བྲོད་པ་བ་བྲོད་་
ངོ། །སོ་ཁ་སོ་པ་སོ་ཀྱང་ལ། །སོ་ནམ་སོ་ཡང་དེ་དང་འདྲའོ། །
མཆོན་ཆའི་གྲི་ནི་གཏྲི་ཡིན། །སྐྱ་ཡི་ཡུལ་ནི་ད་དྲི་ལ། །གཅམ་
སོགས་དྲི་བའང་དེ་དང་འདྲ། །ཉང་དུ་སོང་བ་བ་བྲི་སྟེ། །ཡི་་
གེ་བྲི་བའང་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ། །རྩི་བའི་གྲངས་ནི་གཏྲངས་ཡིན། །

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རེག་བྱ་གང་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་མེད། །སྣོན་དང་དང་བོ་དང་སྐྱེ། ཚོ་བང་ལུས་བྱང་བ་བྱང་ངོ་། །གྲོགས་དང་འགྲོགས་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ། །སྐག་ནས་འབྲས་པ་དག་འདྲེ་གོ །སྟོབས་ཤུགས་རྩལ་ལ། །བཀའ་སྩལ་སྩལ་བ་ས་སྩལ་ཏེ། །བ་ལོ་གས་བསྩལ་སྟོལ་ཉེ་བའོ། །རྒྱུ་འབྲས་རྒྱུ་ནི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། །ནང་ཁྲལ་རྒྱུ་མའང་དེ་བཞིན་ལ། །གཡོ་སྒྱུ་སྒྱུ་མ་ས་སྒྱུའོ། །མྱུར་བའི་སྐྱེན་ནི་ས་སྐྱེན་ལ། །རྒྱུ་ཀྱེན་འཕལ་ཀྱེན་ར་ཀྱེན་ནོ། །ལུས་ཀྱི་ཞེ་ས་རྣ་སྐྱུ་ཡིན། །མ་བྱིན་ལེན་ཀུ་ར་ཀུ་ལ། །ལུས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་དང་དཀྱའོ། །ནམ་མཁའི་སྐར་མ་སྣ་སྐར་ཡིན། །ཁ་དོག་དཀར་བ་དང་དཀར་ཏེ། །ལོགས་སུ་བཀར་བ་བ་བཀར་རོ། །འཚོ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྨན་ནི་སྨན་ལ། །ངན་པའི་དམན་པ་དང་དམན་ནོ། །ར་བ་ར་མ་ར་ཀྱང་ལ། །མགོ་ཡི་རྟ་ལ་ཁྲ་རྔར་ཡོད། །ངག་གི་ཞེ་ས་ག་ཐུང་སྐྱེ། །དྲི་ངར་བསྲུངབ་བ་བསྲུང་ངོ་། །ལུས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བ་ས་སྐྱེ་ལ། །གཙང་སྐེའེ་སྐེ་བ་ར་སྐེ་སྐྱེ། །ཁོང་ཁྲའི་དམེ་འཁྲུག་དང་དམེལོ། འབྲུ་ཡི་ཁྱོ་ནི་གཁྱོ་ཡིན། །རྟོག་ཀྱི་རྟོ་བ་དང་རྟོ་སྐྱེ། །རོ་ཁྲོ་བ་ནི་བ་ཁྲའོ། །འཕིག་པའི་རྩང་ནི་ར་རྩང་ལ། །ཆུ་ཡི་གཙང་པོ་གཅིག་གཙང་སྐྱེ། །གཙང་མའི་གཙང་ཡང་དེ་འཁྲའོ། །ག་ཆོད་གཞོན་པ་གཅིག་གཞོན་ཏེ། །རྟ་ཡི་བཞོན་པ་བ་བཞོན་ནོ། །མཛེས་པའི་མཚར་

སྟུག་མ་མཚར་ལ། །ཚར་དུ་དང་རྟ་བ་ཚར་ཀྱང་སྟེ། །ཁྱབ་ཀྱི་ཚར་ཡང་དེ་དང་འདྲའོ། །གཡོ་བའི་ལྷུང་ནི་རྟ་ལྷུང་ལ། །འབབས་པའི་ཆུ་ཀླུང་ཀ་ལྷུང་ངོ་། །གསུང་རབ་བློག་པ་ཀ་བློག་སྟེ། །ཐོག་འགྱུ་བ་ནི་གཞོག་ཏོ། །འཇིག་པའི་སྐྲག་པ་སྐྲག་ལ། །བཀྲག་མདངས་འོད་ནི་བ་བཀྲག་ཏོ། །བསང་གསོལ་བསང་དུད་བ་བསང་ལ། །གསང་འོས་གསང་ཆོག་གི་གསང་ངོ་། །གས་ཆག་ཉམས་ཆག་ཆག་ཀྱང་ལ། །འདོད་ཆགས་ཞི་ཆགས་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །བརྟུལ་ཞོད་དཔའ་བ་དཔའ་སྟེ། །མཛེས་པའི་ཐུ་བ་ས་ཐུའོ། །ཁྱི་སྐུན་བཙོན་ཁང་བ་བཙོན་ལ། །སྡིག་བཙོན་བ་འོག་ར་བཙོན་ནོ། །མཆོད་པའི་རྟེན་ནི་རྟེན་ཏེ། །གྲོགས་པའི་ཐུན་སྟེ། །ཐུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཏེ། །ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཁྱོད་ནི་ད་འདིའོ། །ཟླ་གྲོགས་ནོར་གྲོགས་ཏེ། །ཁྲོ་བའི་རྟེན་ནི་ཁྲོ་བ་ཡིན། །ཁྱོག་ཆགས་ཀྱོག་མར་ཡང་འཇུག་ཚེད། །ཁྲོད་བའི་རྟེན་ནི་ད་རྟེན་ཏོ། །ཚང་ལག་ཁ་ཁ་ཀྱང་ལ། །ཐོན་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ནི་ཐོན་ཏོ། །ཁྱུ་ཆགས་ཀྱུ་ཆགས་ཀྱང་ལ། །ཁྱུ་ཆགས་ཀྱུ་ཆགས་ཀྱང་ལ། །

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རྡོ་སྐྱེ། །དཀྱི་བསྟོ་བའོག་སྡ་བསྟོའོ། །ཞེ་སྡང་སྡང་་་་་
སེམས་སྡ་སྡང་ལ། །འཕར་ལྡང་ལྡན་ལྡང་ལ་ལྡང་སྐྱེ། །
ཁ་གདངས་གཏགདངས་ཡང་འཇུག་ཅན། །དབྱངས་ཀྱི་་་་
གདངས་ཡང་དེ་དང་འབྲའོ། །གྲངས་ཀྱི་དགུ་ནི་དཀུ་་་
ལ། །སྐྱེ་ཆུ་ཡོད་ཆུ་མཁོ་ཆུ་སོགས། །མང་བའི་ཆུ་ནི་ར་་་
ཆུའོ། །དབུགས་དབྱུང་གནས་དབྱུང་དེ་བ་དབྱུང་། །
གཡུང་དྲུང་གཡུང་དྲགས་གཡགཡུང་ངོ་། །སངྐོའི་རྡོ་ནི་་
ར་རྡོ་སྐྱེ། །རྡོ་རྗེའི་རྡོའང་དེ་བཞེན་ལ། །ཤུགས་བདོ་བ་་
ནི་བ་བདོའོ། །བྲབ་པའི་ལྷག་ནི་ལ་ལྷག་ལ། །མཆོན་ཆའི་
ལྷགས་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །ཕྱི་ནང་ཟང་ཐལ་ཟང་ཀུང་་་་
ལ། །དོན་ཆེན་ཟངས་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །ཐུན་མོང་་་
མོང་ནི་མོང་ཀུང་ལ། །ཉོན་མོངས་མོངས་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་་་་
ཡོད། །ཆོན་མདོག་ནག་ནི་ནག་ཀུང་ལ། །ཤེང་ཀི་ནགས་ལ་
ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །སྐུམ་ཞག་ཉི་ན་ཞག་ཞག་ཀུང་ལ། །་་་
འཆིང་ཞགས་ཞགས་པར་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །དེང་དུས་་་་
གནས་སྐབས་དེང་ཀུང་ལ། །ཕྱིར་དེངས་དེངས་ཤིག་ཡང་་
འཇུག་ཡོད། །མིང་བརྗོད་གང་ཡང་གང་ཀུང་ལ། །གངས་
རིའི་གང་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །ཤུག་སྡོང་ཤུག་པ་ཤུག་ཀུང་

ལ། །སྟོབས་རྩལ་ཤུགས་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །སེམས་
ཅན་ལུག་དེ་ལུག་རྒྱང་ལ། །ལུགས་སྲོལ་རིང་ལུགས་ཡང་
འཇུག་ཡོད། །ཀང་ལག་ལག་པ་ལག་རྒྱང་ལ། །ཞེ་སའི་
ལགས་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །རབ་མཆོག་རབ་འབྱིང་རབ་
རྒྱང་སྟེ། །ཆོ་རབས་སྐྱེས་རབས་ཡང་འཇུག་ཡོད། །ཟང་
རག་རག་ལས་རག་རྒྱང་ལ། །ཕྱ་རགས་རགས་ལ་ཡང་
འཇུག་ཡོད། །ཆམ་ལ་ཕབ་པ་ཆམ་རྒྱང་སྟེ། །ཁ་འཆམ་
པ་རི་འ་འཆམ་ལ། །བློས་གར་འཆམས་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་
ཡོད། །ལུས་ཀྱི་པང་རི་པང་རྒྱང་ལ། །དཔང་འཇུག་
དཔང་པོ་དཀའ་ཐན། །མཐོ་དམན་དཔངས་ལ་ཡང་
འཇུག་ཡོད། །པར་བྱ་པར་འདེབས་པར་རྒྱང་ལ། །
གན་སྒྲར་ཚོང་སྒྲར་ས་སྒྲར་རོ། །འཆོ་གཞེས་བླུ་གཞེས་གཅ
གཞེས་ལ། །བཞེས་པ་ཞལ་བཞེས་བ་བཞེས་སོ། །ཐ་མ་
ཐ་སྙད་ཐ་རྒྱང་ལ། །ཐོག་མཐའ་མཐའ་ཡས་མ་འཕྱ་ཅན་
ནོ། །དཀོན་མཆོག་དཀོར་ཇས་དང་དཀོར་ཏེ། །འཁོར་
བསྐོར་བ་འོག་ས་བསྐོར་རོ། །ནོར་འཇལ་བ་ནི་འ་འཇལ་ལ།།
ཚོང་མ་མཇལ་བ་མ་མཇལ་ལོ། །ཆུ་ལས་བརྒལ་བ་ར་བརྒལ་
ཏེ། །རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་སྐལ་པ་ས་སྐལ་ལོ། །རི་ཡི་སྐང་ནི་ས་སྐང་

ལ། །སྟོང་དགང་དབྱགས་དགང་དུ་དགང་ངོ་། །རྩ་བའི་
རྩ་ནི་རྩ་ཡིན། །སྤྲུལ་བྱ་རྩྭ་ལ་ཁྱི་ཟུར་ཡོད། །སྐྱེན་ལ་''
བཙའ་བ་བ་བཙའ་སྟེ། །ལྷགས་ཀྱི་བཙའ་ཡང་དེ་དང་འདྲ།།
ངོ་མཚར་རྨད་བྱུང་ར་རྨད་ལ། །བསྟོད་སྨད་སྨད་ནི་ས་སྨད་''
དོ། །ས་བདག་གླུ་ནི་ཀ་གླུ་ཡིན། །སྟན་པའི་གླུ་དབྱངས་''
ག་གླུ་ལ། །རིན་ཀྱིས་ཆོ་བ་བླུ་སྟེ། །གཞན་གྱིས་སྤུ་བ་ས་
སྤུའོ། །ཐུགས་ལ་བཏགས་པ་བ་བཏགས་ལ། །ཕྱི་མིར་''''
བཏགས་པ་འང་དེ་འདྲ་སྟེ། །རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་ལྷག་པ་ལ་ལྷག་གོ །
ལག་ཆ་གདེངས་པ་འཁྲིང་བུ་སྟེ། །དཔའ་བའི་གདིང་ཆེ་གི་
ཀྲའོ། །འབེབས་པའི་ཐྲ་ནི་ཐྲ་ཀྱང་སྟེ། །མགོ་ཡི་སྐྲ་ནི་ས་
སྐྲ་ལ། །བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཀྲ་ནི་བ་བཀྲའོ། །དེ་སོགས་མིང་ཆོག་
སྐྲ་ཡི་གནད། །ཞིབ་ཏུ་བརྟག་ན་མི་འབྲ་བས། །འབྲུལ་པ་
འབྱུང་བར་མི་སྲིད་ཀྱང་། །རྣོང་པ་ཐལ་ཆེར་ཀུ་ཆོམ་དུ།།
རྣར་བར་བྱིས་ཤིང་རྣར་བར་བཀྲག། །ལོག་པར་ཚོ་བས་དོན་
འཆུག་སྲིད། །དེས་ན་བརྗ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། །མ་རྣོ་''
དོན་རྟམས་འཆོལ་བ་གཅེས། །གང་དག་ཡི་གེ་འབྲི་བ་ཙོར།།
སྟོམས་གཙང་འབྲིག་གསུམ་ལྡན་པ་དང་། །ལེགས་མཁྱོགས་
དག་གསུམ་དུག་ཚང་ན། །མཁས་པའི་ཚོ་ས་ཐོབ་པ་ཡིན། །

ཡིག་གཟུགས་ལེགས་པར་མ་སྣང་ཡིང་། །བརྡ་དག་ཞིབ་
ཏུ་མ་བསྟབ་པར། །འབྲི་དང་རྩོམ་པའི་ཁུར་ལེན་པ། །
རང་སྐྱོན་གཞན་ལ་ངོམས་པར་ཟད། །སྐུམ་རྟགས་ལས་གས་
གཞུང་ཆུ་ཆེའི། །གནམ་འཕང་མ་ཆོད་བློ་གསར་རྣམས། །
རང་ཆོད་སར་ཆུ་བསྐོར་བ་ལ། །དག་ཡིག་བཞེན་པ་འདི་འདྲ་
བཟང་། །དེ་ཕྱིར་ཐར་འདོད་རྣམས་ལྟ་ཅི། །འཇིག་རྟེན་
ལུགས་ལ་འཇུག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་། །ཚུལ་འདི་སྟེང་གི་བདུད་རྩི་
ཉ། །ངེས་པས་ལེགས་པར་བསྟེན་འཚལ་ལོ། །དེ་ལྟར་
བརྡ་དག་བསྟན་བཅོས་གཞུང་། །ཇུ་དྲུམ་ཁ་འདི་སྐྱེད་ཚལ་
ལས། །ཉེར་མཁའི་དག་ཡིག་པད་དཀར་གྱི། །ཆུན་པོ་
ཅུང་ཞིག་བྱངས་འདི་ནི། །དཔལ་ལྡན་མི་དབང་བཤད་སྒྲ་
བའི། །བཀའ་ལུང་དོ་ཤལ་ཐོད་བཅིངས་ཏེ། །རང་ལོ་ཉེར་
དགུ་ཆུ་སྟེལ་ལོར། །གཏེར་ཁྲིག་མཁའ་ལྡེངས་དགའ་ཚལ་
དུ། །པད་བཀོད་བློ་གསལ་མང་བསྟུས་ནས། །འབྲི་གྲིག་
བསྟབ་གྲུགས་འཇུག་གི །དག་ཏུན་སྲིད་ལྷུ་ལྷུང་ལེན་སྐབས།།
བློ་གྲོས་གསར་བའི་བྱིས་རྣམས་ཀྱི། །རྣ་བའི་ཆུན་དུ་སྐུབས་
ཤིག་ཅེས། །དོན་གཉེར་ཅན་འགས་བསྐུལ་བ་བཞིན། །གོ་
བར་སྐྲ་ཞིང་འཇུག་བདེ་བར། །འཇིགས་བྱལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྡོ་རྗེས་

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སྦྱར། །བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་བྱེད་བའི་འོད། །འགྲོ་བློའི་པད་ཚལ་ལ་ཕོག་པས། །ཤེས་རབ་འདབ་རྒྱ་ཡོངས་གྲོལ་ཏེ།། རྣམ་གྲོལ་གཅིག་སར་འཛུམ་བྱེད་ཤོག །སྒྲི་བི་ཌ་ཡནྟྲ། །སརྦ་ད་མངྒ་ལཾ།། ।।

།།།ཞེད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་སྤྲོད་པའི་སྟོན་འགྲོ་ཡི་གེ་ཟློག་
ཚུལ་གྱི་རྣམ་བཞག་ཤེས་བྱའི་སྒོ་འབྱེད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་
སོ།།

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།། །ཨོཾ་སྭསྟི། །ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་
མཛོད། །བྱ་མ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབའ་བོ་ལ། །གུས་པས་
བཏུད་ནས་གང་ཟག་ཅན་པའི། །ཡི་གེའི་སྒོག་ཚུལ་མདོ་ཙམ་
དག་ཀྱི། །གང་འདིར་སློབ་དཔོན་སོ་སོ་ཡི། །བཞེད་ཚུལ་
དབྱེ་བ་མང་མཆིས་ཀྱང་། །དངོས་དོན་གོ་སླ་འཛིན་བདེའི་
ཕྱིར། །རྣམ་གྲངས་གསུམ་དུ་ཟིལ་ཏེ་འཆད། །དང་པོ་
ཡི་གེའི་སྒྲིག་ནས་ལ། །མཁྱེན་པའི་གནས་ལས་སྐྱེས་པཡི།།
གསལ་བྱེད་ཡི་གེ་འབྲུ་བདུན་ཏེ། །ཀ་ཁ་ག་ང་འ་ཧ་ཨ། །
ཀན་ལས་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ནི། །གསལ་བྱེད་འབྲུ་བཅུ་
དབྱངས་ཡིང ེས། །ཅ་ཆ་ཇ་ཉ་ཏ་ཐ་ད། །ཞ་ཡ་ཀ་
དང་ཨི་ཨེའོ །སོ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཡིག་འབྲུ་བདུན། །ཏ་
ཐ་དན་ཟ་ལ་ས། །མཆུ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ལ། །གསལ་བྱེད་
འབྲུ་ལྔ་དབྱངས་ཡིག་གཉིས། །པ་ཕ་བ་མ་ཨྃ་ཨུ་ཨོ། །
སྐྱེ་བོའམ་ལྷེ་རྩེའི་སྟེང་ཕྱོགས་ནས། །སྐྱེས་པའི་ཡིག་འབྲུ་
གཅིག་སྟེ་རའོ། །དེ་ལས་ང་ཤ་ཁ་མ་བཞི། །རང་རང་སྐྱེ་
གནས་ཙམ་མ་ཟད། །སྟ་སྐྲའང་ཅང་ཟད་ལྡན་པ་ཡིན། །
གཉིས་པ་ཡི་གེའི་བྱེད་པ་ནི། །མཁྱེན་དང་མཆུ་ལས་སྐྱེས་
པ་རྣམས། །རང་རང་གནས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་པ་ཅན། །ཀན་བྱང་

རྣམས་ནི་ལྷོ་དབུས་དང་། །སོ་ལས་བྱང་རྣམས་ལྷོ་ཡི་རྩེ།། ར་ནི་ལྷོ་རྩེར་ཉེ་བའོ། །གསུམ་པ་རྩོལ་བའམ་བརྩོན་ཚུལ་ལ། །ཕྱི་ཡི་རྩོལ་བ་ཅན་ཞེས་པ། །ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་འབྱིན་ཏེད་རྩོལ་ཏེ། །དེ་ལའང་ཆེ་ཆུང་དབྱེ་བ་ཡིས། །ཀ་ང་ཇ་ཉ་དན་དང་། །བ་མ་ཇ་ཁྲ་འ་ར། །ལ་ཤ་ཨ་ཨི་ཨེ་ཨོ་རྣམས། །རྩོལ་བ་ཅི་བས་སྒྲུབ་འདོད། །ཀ་བཅ་ཆ་ཀ་ཁ་པ། །ཨ་ཅ་ཚ་ཞ་ཟ་ཡས། །རྩོལ་བ་ཞན་ཕྱིར་སྒྲུ་མེད་དོ། །ཀཞན་ཡང་སྒྲ་ཉིད་ཕྱིར་དབྱང་ཚེ། །དབུགས་ནི་ཅི་ཆུང་ཐུང་པར་གྱིས། །ཁ་ཆ་ཁ་ཚ་ཛ་ཡ། །ས་ཤ་ཨ་ཨི་ཨུ་ཨེ་ཨོ། །འདི་རྣམས་ལ་ནི་སྲོག་ཅེན་དང་། ། ལྷག་མ་རྣམས་ནི་སྲོག་ཆུང་ངོ་། ། དེ་ལས་བཅ་ཏ་ས་ཤ། ། བརྩོད་ཚེ་དབུགས་རིང་ཉུང་བའམ་ཡིན། །ནང་གི་རྩོལ་བའི་ཨ་ཐུད་པར་ནི། །ཨེ་ཡི་ག་མ་གཏོ་གས་སྲོག་ཅེན་རྣམས། ། མཐྱིན་པ་གདངས་ནས་བརྩོད་དགོས་ཕྱིར། །ཕྱི་བའི་རྩོལ་བ་ཅན་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཨ་ཡི་ག་མ་ཕྱི་བཙུམ་པར་བརྩོད། ། ཁྱ་མ་གཏོ་གས་པའི་སྟེ་པ་ལྟ། །ཡི་གེའི་གནས་རྣམས་འདུ་་་་ འཕྲོད་ཀྱི། །རྩོལ་བ་ཅི་ཕྱིར་རྩོལ་བ་ཅན། །ཡ་ར་ལ་ཁྱ་་ རྣམས་ལྟོད་ཕྱིར། །ཆུང་ཟད་ཕྲད་པའི་རྩོལ་བ་ཅན། །དེ་

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རྣམས་སོ་སོར་གློག་པའི་ཚེ། །གནས་དང་བྱེད་རྩོལ་སོ་སོ་
དང་། །མཐུན་པ་ཉིད་དུ་བཀག་བྱ་ཞིང་། །ཡང་ནི་
གསལ་བྱེད་ཀ་ལྟ་བུ། །མཐོན་པའི་སྐྱེ་གནས་ཅན་ལ་ཡང་།།
དབྱངས་ཡིག་ཨི་སྦྱར་གི་ཀུ་ཅན། །བཀག་པའི་ཚོན་ཀ་ཀན་
བྱང་གི། །ཁྲོག་ཆུལ་ལྟ་སོགས་ཤེས་པར་བྱ། །སྦྱོར་གློག་
སྐབས་སུ་འཕྲལ་བཏེག་དང་། །མགོ་སོགས་སོ་སོའི་སྒྲ་
འདོན་ཆུལ། །རྗེ་བཙུན་རྩེ་མོའི་གསུངས་ལྟར་ཏེ། །གང་
དང་གང་ལ་གང་བཏགས་པ། །གོ་རིམ་བཞིན་དུ་གནས་ནས
དབྱུང་། །ར་མགོ་ཅན་ལ་ལྷི་རྩེ་འདར། །ལ་མགོ་ལྷི་རྩེ་ཀུ་
ཡང་བསྐྱེད། །ས་མགོ་སོ་ཡི་བར་ནས་དབྱུང་། །ལྷག་མ་
རྣམས་ཀྱང་དེ་བཞིན་ཤེས། །གལ་ཏེ་མ་བྱིན་གྱུར་པ་ནི། ।
ཡི་གེ་ཕྲལ་ཞིང་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ། །དཔེར་ན་གླ་ལ་གར་འམ།
སྐྱ་ལ་སྐར་རྡེ་བཞིན་བཀག །གས་འཕྲལ་ཕྱོགས་མར་ཀན་
ནས་དབྱུང་། །དས་འཕྲལ་ལྷི་རྩེ་གློད་པ་ལས། །བ་མས་
འཕྲལ་བ་ཕྱོགས་མར་ནི། །མཆུ་བཙུམ་པ་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་སྣ། ।
འས་འཕྲལ་གྱི་བའི་ཕྱག་ནས་དབྱུང་། །འཕྲལ་ཞིང་
བརྩེགས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ཡང་། །གོ་རིམ་བཞིན་དབྱུང་མ་
ཕྱིན་ན། །འདི་ཡང་ཕྲལ་ཞིང་བཀག་པར་གསུངས། ।

གང་ཡང་ཀློག་པའི་སྐབས་ཀུན་ཏུ། ། འཕྲལ་བཏེན་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྣང་རྙེད་རྣམས། ། འཕྲལ་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་འཕྲལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི། ། ཡི་གེ་རང་རང་སྐྱེ་གནས་དང་། ། མཐུན་པའི་སྣང་ཉིད་ཐོག་ཏུ་མཐོང་། ། མཚོ་ཅན་དང་ནི་འདོགས་ཅན་རྣམས། ། སོ་སོའི་གནས་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཡི། ། རང་སྣང་ཐོན་ཙམ་མྱུར་ཞེས་བཀའ། ། དེ་ལས་འཁྲུལ་མཐའ་ཅན་ཕལ་ཆེར། ། མཐའ་བཏེན་སྣང་ཉིད་ཆིར་མི་གསལ། ། དེ་མ་གཏོགས་པའི་མཐའ་རྟེན་ཅན། ། ཡང་འཇུག་མེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ནི། ། སོ་སོའི་གནས་མཐུན་སྣང་རྟེས་དབྱུང་། ། ཡང་འཇུག་ས་ཡིག་ཅན་རྣམས། ། ས་སྣུ་དང་ནས་སྤུ་མི་གསལ་ཡང་། ། སྣུ་དེ་འབྱུང་བར་ཉེ་ལྡར་བཀའ། ། དཔལ་ཡང་འཇུག་ཅན་རྣམས་ནི། ། རྟེས་འཇུག་སྤུ་མའི་སྣུ་དེའི་མཐར། ། དཀྱུ་འབྱུང་ལ་གདོ་ཙམ་དུ། ། སྣུ་ཉིད་མཉན་པ་ལྟ་བུར་བཀའ། ། རྟེ་ལྟར་བཀའ་བའི་ཚུལ་ལ་ཡང་། ། དང་ཡོ་ང་རོ་རྣམས་དང་ནི། ། དེ་ནས་སྨྲོར་ཀློག་ལ་འཇུག་བྱ། ། མ་ནོར་དག་ཅིང་གསལ་བའི་ངག ། རིགས་འདྲའི་སྣུ་ཤན་མ་ཡེར་བར། ། ཤིན་ཏུ་བྱང་བར་ཀློག་པ་གཅེས། ། ཚུལ་བཞིན་རིག་པའི་གདོན་པ་ཡིའི། ། བརྟེད་སྣ་གང་ཡང་ཐ་རོལ་ཡིས། ། ཐོས་ཙམ་ཉིད་ནས་དེ་

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ཡི་དོན། །མ་འདྲེས་གོ་ཞིང་རྟོགས་པར་འགྱུར། །འདིར་
བསྟན་ཡི་གེའི་བཀྲ་ཚུལ་ནི། །བོད་ཡིག་ཁོ་ནའི་དབང་
བྱས་ཀྱི། །ཁྱད་པར་སྦྱགས་ཀྱི་བཀྲ་ཤབས་སོགས། །འདི་
ར་མ་སྤྲོས་གཞན་ལས་ལོངས། །ཇི་སྙེད་ཤེས་བྱར་འཇུག་
པའི་སྒོ། །ཐོག་མའི་ལམ་ཆེན་འདི་ཡིན་ཕྱིར། །ཀུན་ལ་
ཆུང་ལྟར་གསལ་མོད་ཀྱང་། །ཚུལ་བཞིན་སློབ་པ་ཤེན་ཏུ་
དཀོན། །དེང་སང་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཕལ་ཆེར་ནི། །གྲགས་པའོ་ནའི
རྗེས་འཇོག་ཞིང་། །ཤེས་ལོ་ཙམ་གྱིས་ཡིད་མགུ་ན། །ཁྱོག་
དོན་ཞིབ་ཏུ་སྤུ་ཞིག་འཆོལ། །དེས་ན་འདི་ལྟར་ཕན་དཀའ་
ཡང་། །རང་གི་སློབ་བྱས་བསྐུལ་ཕྱིར་དང་། །འགའ་ལ་
དྲན་གསོར་འགྱུར་སྙམ་ནས། །འཇིགས་བྲལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྡོ་རྗེས་
སྦྱར། །ཆུང་ཟད་འབད་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་གང་། །འཕྲོ་
བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡོངས་ཐོབ་ནས། །ཀུན་ཀྱང་ཐམ་ཅད་མཁྱེན་
པའི་གཏེར། །སྨྲ་བའི་སེང་གེ་ཉིད་གྱུར་ཅིག །སརྦ་ཀ་
མངྒ་ལཾ། ། །།

A SURVEY OF TIBETAN PIGMENTS

David and Janice Jackson
Seattle

As students of Tibetan art we had great difficulty finding information in the West on the techniques and materials used by Tibetan painters. Some work had been done on the iconography and stylistic development of Tibetan painting but there was a general lack of information on how paintings were made. This present survey of Tibetan painting materials is a compilation of data gathered through interviews with Tibetan painters knowledgable in the preparation of pigments and still using the traditional methods. Through patient kindness and generosity they opened their doors to us and we were able to get a glimpse of their art and their world.

The Tibetan painter's craft is indispensible for the ornamentation of Tibetan monuments, statues, buildings, furniture and many other objects of religious and secular use. Our study is primarily based upon the usage of pigments in the painting of the *thang-ka,* the famous Tibetan icon-scrolls. But even though the methods for applying the pigments vary for different objects and surfaces, the colors themselves are with few exceptions the same, and hence the following description generally holds true for most kinds of Tibetan painting. Our description of the colors follows the usual order of their application to the *thang-ka.*

The many stages involved in painting a *thang-ka* can be subsumed under two main headings. These are, firstly, the laying down of the colors so as to fill up all areas of the painting surface, and secondly, the finishing through shading and outlining. To these two processes there correspond the two essentially different kinds of paints in the Tibetan palette: mineral pigments (*rdo-tshon* and *sa-tshon*) and organic dyes (*tshos*) respectively. The mineral pigments are not water soluble and must be applied with a glue binder, and therefore we begin first by describing the manufacture of glue.

GLUE (*spyin*)

Glue is made from the skins of yak, sheep or oxen. The yak skin glue is quite strong and that of the sheep has less binding power. To make an even stronger glue, horn can be added during the cooking stage of preparation.

The skin is first washed, the hairs removed, and then boiled a long time. If there is any fat or oil in the skin, it will rise to the surface during the early stages of boiling and this has to be poured off. Through prolonged boiling the skin is rendered

into a gelatinous solution. The solids are strained off and the water slowly evaporated over a low heat until there remains a stiff gel. This can then be cut into strips and strung on a rope until dry. Because glues are not of one standard quality the artist must always rely on a great deal of testing to get the right proportions of glue, water and color. Methods of scientific description sometimes fail even though describing something as technical as mixing paints, because the Tibetan painters themselves do not rely on exact measures or formulas. It was on the basis of years of experience with handling and working with the materials, and then seeing the results of their efforts, that the artists became adept at mixing paints.

The artist usually has a special pot or kettle used for reheating glue. Before the glue is added to the powdered pigments, it is warmed a little with some water in this kettle. Because of evaporation, daily he has to add more water to the pot to keep the proper proportions. With experience the artist can tell by the texture, color, and smell if the glue is dilute enough. It can be tested by putting a little on the palm of the hand or between the thumb and forefinger. By pressing together and pulling apart the thumb and finger, or the palms of ones hands, one can directly determine the tackiness of the glue. After the artist has mixed some paint with the glue, it can be tested more accurately by painting a little onto an unused edge of his primed canvas. By noting the length of time it takes to dry, the artist can gauge the proportion of glue to pigment. If it dries immediately, more glue is needed, and if a very long time elapses the converse is true. Also, glue in excess reduces the covering power of the paint, and the underlying sketches or painting surface will show through. After the paint has dried the next test is to rub the newly painted area with a finger or even scratch it with a fingernail. If it easily rubs off, then the paint obviously lacks sufficient glue to bind the pigment. Finally, a slick, shiny surface indicates an excess of glue, and the long term consequences of this are cracking and peeling.

MINERAL PIGMENTS (*rdo tson*)

MINERAL BLUE AND GREEN (*rdo spang mthing*)

After finishing the sketches (*skya ris*) for the painting, the artist's first task is the filling up of the large areas of sky and landscape with blues and greens. Not only are these two the first colors to be applied, but they also occur together in nature, being the blue and green basic copper carbonates commonly known as azurite and malachite. The main source for these two in Tibet was Snye-mo-thang in Gtsang. Because of its importance, the Lhasa government strictly controlled its mining and distribution, and artists usually got it directly or indirectly through a government office. From this source it was in a sandy form, available in up to three distinct colors: azurite blue (*mthing*) malachite green (*spang*), and sometimes the third intermediate turquoise color (*g.yu-kha*).

Before these can be applied as paints, they have to be cleaned, ground, and separated into several values for each original color. The cleaning is accomplished through repeated scrubbing and rinsing. First the crude sand is poured into a container of warm water and briskly stirred. Allowing it to settle for a few moments, the foam and dirty water bearing the undesirable dust and earth impurities (*sa-shag*) are poured off. A little glue is added to the mineral again, and the earthy mixture is kneaded and rubbed between the hands. To this warm water is added again, and it is agitated, allowed to settle, and the impurities in solution poured off as before. This process is repeated until the water poured off is clear, at which time the mineral may be transferred to the mortar for grinding.

If a great deal of paint is to be prepared, such as when undertaking the painting of whole temples, the grinding pestle can be suspended just above the shallow stone mortar by means of ropes. With such an arrangement, the pestle can be brought to bear on the mortar's surface by lightly pressing down on it, and it can be manipulated for long periods of time with a minimum of exertion on the part of the grinder. But whether supported from above or simply held by hand, the pestle is used to gently grind the mineral which has been put in the bottom of the mortar and slightly colored with water. Before grinding, the crude earthlike minerals are dull and unattractive. But with cleaning and just a little grinding the rich colors appear.

It is not necessary to grind azurite or malachite any more than just enough to reduce the larger particles to fine sand. In fact, it is better to grind it not enough than too much. Unlike lapis lazuli, the ancient source of ultramarine, azurite and malachite become progressively whiter the finer they are ground, and if ground as finely as most pigments are, they lose their original color almost completely. Grinding reduces the original mineral into particles whose size gradation is from fine sand to very fine dust. Because the different values of color correspond to the size of the particles, several lighter and darker values can be extracted through sedimentation. This may be accomplished by agitating the ground powder in water, When most of the heavier, darker particles have settled to the bottom, the water and the lightest particles still in suspension are poured into a separate dish. By adding more water to the darker heavier remains and stirring them up again, the whole process can be repeated several times, with the result that from one mineral at least four distinct shades can be derived, each known by a separate name. The first, lightest suspension of malachite is known as *sngo-si*; the next, sky-blue suspension as *sngo-sang;* the third, medium blue as *mthing-shul*; and the darkest azure bottom remains as *mthing-'bru.* Likewise the four gradations of malachite are, from lightest to darkest: *spang-si, spang-skya, spang,* and *spang-smug.*

In Tibet these two minerals were not extremely expensive per unit of weight, but because they were used in great quantities over the large areas of earth and sky,

and since they had to be applied fairly thickly to achieve the deeper colors, they used to account for a great portion of a painter's expenses. To get, for example, the deepest azure blue, the most coarsely ground azurite pigment is used, and it has to be applied several times, waiting each time for the previous coat to dry before applying the next. When the last coat has dried, the area is moistened very slightly with water, and then rubbed gently with a burnishing tool. This smooths and evens the otherwise thick, granular layer of paint. Also a slightly greater proportion of glue is required for these coarsest of pigments. On the other hand, the lighter, more finely ground shades of azurite and malachite are mixed in the same proportions with glue, and applied in the same way as any other pigment. We are told that the lightest shades of malachite green (*spang-si*) and azurite blue (*sngo-si*) were used in older *thang-ka* painting styles as an under-coat for areas depicting such things as rocky crags, over which afterwards the deeper azurites and malachites are applied. This is seldom, if ever, done today. And in fact, as the last supplies brought out from Tibet become exhausted, and in the absence of any new sources in Nepal or India, the use of these two pigments, whose attractive qualities are lauded by Tibetan painter and discerning foreigners alike, is now in great peril of becoming extinct.

LAPIS LAZULI (*mu-men*)

A myth persists among art historians that lapis lazuli (*mu-men*) was used as a pigment by Tibetans. Both the semi-precious lapis lazuli and azurite blue were known to the ancients, and in fact 'azurite' and 'lazuli' share the same etymology. Their similarity in color contributed in Medieval Europe to the not uncommon adulteration of the precious ultramarine pigment (the purified coloring principle of lapis lazuli) with the less costly azurite. Yet these two can be easily distinguished by a variety of simple tests. The two minerals themselves are of quite different appearance, composition and hardness. Within a single specimen of azurite one also commonly finds traces of the green malachite, while the typical lapis specimen has spots and veins of related white sodalite minerals and the very characteristic gold specks of pyrite. The chemical composition of lapis is complex, being mainly of sodalite minerals, while azurite is the relatively simple basic copper carbonate. Medieval painters knew of the two minerals' chemical differences in that they knew lapis to be stable even at high temperatures while azurite, if heated red-hot, would turn permanently black. In terms of hardness, azurite can be as soft as 3.5 on Moh's scale, while lapis is much harder at 5.5.

Considering that Tibetan painting requires great quantities of blue, it is improbable that Tibetans could have afforded to import lapis in sufficient quantities to meet the demand. Lapis was quite costly when refined into a pigment, because only the pure blue portion was suitable for a pigment. It is well known that in Medie-

val Europe the pigment prepared from lapis cost weight for weight as much as gold. But, as mentioned above, azurite was quite accessible to Tibetan painters and relatively inexpensive. So there is little doubt that azurite was the main blue pigment of Tibet. Yet any remaining sceptics cannot fail to be convinced if they consider that the presence of malachite green in Tibetan painting is unquestionable, since in nature there are no other stone pigments exactly like it in either color or properties. Hence the use of its sister pigment, azurite, with whom it is almost always found in nature, can be safely inferred.

VERMILION RED (*mtshal*)

Tibetan artists use both native and synthetic mercury sulfide for their red. The native mineral, cinnabar, is known as *cog-la* or *mtshal-rgod* in Tibetan and it occurs naturally in some parts of South-East Tibet. It is easily recognizable by its reddish metallic appearance and extremely heavy weight. If the mineral quality has impurities it can be washed after grinding in the same way that the blue and green pigments are cleaned. Although it is metallic it is one of the softest of all the Tibetan pigments and is easily ground into a powder in a mortar or even in a cup. The artists claim that cinnabar has to be very carefully ground because it has the peculiar properties of tending to turn whitish if ground with circular movements and of turning reddish black if ground with an up and down pounding motion. To get a pure red, both methods are used equally. It is best to do the grinding slowly and with only a little water. To make the finely powdered mineral into a paint, only the addition of the proper amount of glue is necessary.

Also available previously in Tibet was a synthetic mercury sulfide called *mtshal* or *rgya-mtshal*, the '*rgya*' signifying that it was from India or China, both which had the technology for synthesizing it since ancient times. This is known as vermilion in the Western artists' palette. It can be obtained either in a powder or an artificial metallic crystal which has to be rendered into a powder just like the native cinnabar. Synthetic vermilion is generally purer than native cinnabar. Yet it is sometimes adulterated with cheaper red coloring matter. But since the pure product has the characteristic brilliance combined with great weight, by these standards alone an artist may be sure of getting a reasonably pure product. However pure the pigment may be chemically, to be of the first rate for Tibetan painting it must possess the brilliant scarlet hue, and some grades of obviously pure vermillion, when mixed with with glue and applied to a surface, instead of being brilliant, become a muted rather dull maroon red, and hence these are not valued so highly. Perhaps such darker vermilion results from improper grinding techniques.

MINIMUM ORANGE (*li-khri*)

For their main orange pigment, Tibetan painters used powdered minimum or

"red lead", a synthetic tri-lead tetraoxide. It was not produced in Tibet but imported as an already powdered pigment from Nepal, India and China. Tibetans also know it by its name in Sanskrit, *sindhur,* and the technology for exidizing lead was known to the world outside Tibet since ancient times.

The purity could be judged by its weight, color and texture. The best and purest qualities are extremely heavy, intensely orange, smooth to the touch and not sandy. The pure powder will squeak when rubbed between the fingers. Its characteristics can not be duplicated by any other orange pigment but the purity can be tampered with. In cases where the artist has to work with grades other than the best, he can wash out the impurities by the same washing processes used for the blues and greens. This powder does not require further grinding, and if pure only the addition of a gluebinder is necessary. First, just enough glue solution is added to saturate the powder and these are rubbed against the side of a small bowl with a wooden stirring stick or with the fingers until they form a smooth putty. Then, a little more glue is added to bring it to a pasty consistency, all the while stirring constantly. Finally, enough glue is added to bring it to the consistency of cream and it is set aside for a short time before testing it on an unused section of the painting surface, as described above.

ORPIMENT YELLOW (*ba-blae*) and REALGAR (*dong-ros*)

The mineral yellow used by Tibetan artists is called *ba-bla.* This is arsenic trisulfide, known in the West as orpiment. It is native to Tibet and the most famous deposits of it are in East Tibet near Chamdo. The pigment is easily identifiable by its yellowish metallic lustre and strong sulphur-like smell. It is also quite heavy and very soft (1.5–2.0 on Moh's scale). There are a variety of qualities, some of the poorer grades being greenish and the best a pure yellow.

Another compound, arsenic disulfide, was the orange-yellow realgar known to Tibetans as *dong-ros.* Like most of the mineral pigments, Tibetans used these two compounds in medicines as well as pigments, in spite of their poisonous naure. They say that an artist new to the trade may experience diarrhea when first using these pigments. But apparently the amounts injested through habitual licking of the brush tip had no other immediately harmful effects. Some painters carefully avoided injesting any at all, while others denied it was a poison.

To prepare the pigments from these two arsenic compounds, first the mineral is ground to a powder in a mortar and then the powder is put into a small crockery paint pot. A little drop of glue is added and worked into the powder until it is absorbed. Little by little more is added until a paste results. At this point the artist can add as much of the glue-water mixture as is required to make a suitable painting consistency. Realgar was not used very often for the *thang-ka* but it has a wider use in

wall paintings. Usually for wood surfaces and monastery walls, a slightly thicker paint is prepared than that used on *thang-ka*. The color of realgar can be easily duplicated by adding yellow orpiment to orange minimum.

YELLOW OCHRE (*ngang-pa*)

Yellow ochre is the western artists' name for yellow varieties of the mineral limonite, a natureal hydrated ferric oxide. This pigment is not used very much as a color in its own right on the *thang-ka*, where the brighter orpiment is preferred. But it has extensive use as an undercoat for gold (*gser-rten*) and also in the painting of walls. In Tibet, a highly prized yellow ochre (*ngang-pa* or *ngang-sang*) was found in Zhwa-la district in the province of Gtsang, hence its name, *zhwa-lu-ngang-pa*. Because of its very soft, earthy consistency, only a little grinding was required in its preparation. To obtain a superior grade pigment some artists would first soak ocher in water and then rub it with their fingers to obtain a silky powder, instead of grinding it.

EARTH COLORS (*sa-tshon*)

Earth colors can be obtained locally almost anywhere in Tibet, and as might be expected, they are of various qualities. Earth colors are used on a large scale for the painting of the outside of monasteries, houses and monuments. Although for such use little preparation is necessary, the qualities used by artists are of a much finer grade and have to be carefully selected and finely ground. For the most part this can be done easily because the earth colors are very soft. Sources of the better qualities are but few, and hence they must be transported to various places in Tibet for artists' use. The two most famous earth colors are the yellow ochre of Zhwa-lu just mentioned, and the following white *ka-rag*. However, other colored earths are also in widespread use, the most common of which is red ochre (*btsag*). Other earth pigments which have little or no use in the fine arts, but which are used extensively for house painting and the like, are dark red ochre (*btsag-smug*), low grade white wash (*sa-dkar* or *dkar-rtsi*), and a kind of bluish mud or clay (*'das-sngon* ?).

In Tibet, where the use of the splendidly intense primary hues strongly prevails, the ochres, umbers, etc., never attained a fraction of the popularity that they enjoyed in European painting. Red ochre, which is a fine-grain earthy form of the natural feric oxide, hematite, is in Tibet mostly relegated to being daubed on the walls of buildings. Red and yellow ochre are chemically identical except for the presence or absence of water in their composition. Yellow ochre, the coloring principle of which is hydrated iron oxide, can be artificially changed to a red ochre, the non-hydrated oxide, by heating. Tibetans know this technique and use it to turn pale yellow ochre a brighter orange shade by heating (literally "burning" : *sreg-pa*) it in a kiln (*thab-kha*). Such artificial dehydration is precisely what is meant in Wes-

tern terminology when we speak of, for example, "burnt" umber.

CALCIUM WHITE (*ka-rag*)

The white paints of Tibetan artists are all calcium minerals, probably consisting mostly of calcium carbonate, the main constituent of limestone, marble and chalk. Whites of this type are available throughout many localities in Tibet, but the most well known and highly prized deposit was in Rin-spungs, a place in Gtsang which in the 16th century ruled Tibet. According to Tibetan nomenclature there are two varieties of this calcium white (*ka-rag*) which they designate masculine (*po*) and feminine feminine (*mo*). The masculine type (*po-rag* or *po-dkar*) is harder and coarser while the feminine type (*mo-rag* or *mo-dkar*) is relatively soft and fine. If the masculine variety is left out to weather in a stream bed or a wet place, it converts to the feminine, becoming lighter and softer. If an artist wishes to affect this change, he soaks the harder form in water for several days. At first the water becomes yellowish, and when this happens the old water must be poured out and replaced with fresh water until no yellowing occurs. This, combined with its greater hardness for grinding make the masculine type more work to prepare, but when finally rendered into a form suitable for painting there is no quality distinction between the two.

This white pigment is not identical with the commercially available chalk of India, and the artists report that similar chalks were available in Tibet and had other use in Tibetan painting, particularly in the techniques used in executing the black *thang-ka*. Nor was this pigment ordinary limestone, which was also quite common. Unlike limestone, which is not a bright white until converted to lime (*rdo-zho*) by firing in a kiln, *ka-rag* is white in its original form. Calcium sulfate, occuring as gypsum and alabaster, has been used by artists of other cultures for a white pigment. Also some Eastern Tibetan artists use a white derived from bone ash, the principal inorganic constituent of which is calcium phosphate. So it seems possible that *ka-rag* may be a mineral of primarily calcium carbonate containing traces of other calcium compounds.

The preparation of *ka-rag* differs little from that of other pigments, except that after grinding both varieties must soak in water as described above in order to leach out any yellowing impurities. After this, poorer grades of this and also all cheaper pigments in general are transferred to earthenware pots which speed the extraction of excess water. For expensive pigments, non-porous containers are used to prevent any pigment being lost into the earthenware vessel. When the pigment has been well cleaned, and ground the artist can use a variety of tests, sometimes including even testing the texture with the tongue and feeling the soaked powdered mineral to detect any undesirable granularity. Finally it is mixed with glue and ready for use. In Tibet, inferior grades were used for priming painting surfaces, since the fine grades

from Rin-spungs were quite expensive, costing as much as butter in the village of one of our informants. And, in any case, its finer characteristics were not required for an undercoat. For this purpose most locally available whites would do. We are told that for making white primer for sizing the *thang-ka* canvas, approximately two measures of *ka-rag* are added to every measure of glue-solution. However, we have not tested this proportion ourselves, and one must keep in mind the variance in glue strengths when combining glue with any of the powdered pigments since it is not a constant.

GOLD (*gser*)

Tibetan artisans use two techniques to apply gold. The first, cold gilding (*grang-gser*), is used both for paintings and clay papier-mâche images and in special circumstances even on metal surfaces. The second method, hot gilding (*tsha-gser*), is used only for metal objects, but because of its interest we have also included a brief description of it.

COLD GILDING (*grang-gser*)

Gold for painting is obtained in three forms: solid ingots of pure gold, gold leaf (*gser-shog*) and finely ground gold dust (*gser-rdul*). A fourth form results when gold dust is mixed with a binder and poured into drops which are dried and kept until needed. But before grinding first the tiny specks of gold must be mixed with mercury (*dngul-chu*) which helps to hold the gold together during grinding. The gold and mercury mixture is poured into a large shallow stone mortar like the ones still in use grinding spices in many parts of Asia. To this is added water and fine pieces of calcite or limestone which act as an intermediate grinding agent. This also facilitates the grinding by preventing the gold from adhering to the mortar or pestle. The crushed calcite must be constantly renewed since it is quickly reduced to a milky paste in the process of being ground between the hard stone mortar and pestle. This milky paste is gently rinsed away with water, while the heavy gold and mercury remain at the bottom of the mortar.

Gold leaf is obtainable from India in books of small squares. Gold leaf is the intermediate step in the preparation of gold paint from solid gold. Commercially prepared gold leaf is so fine that it can be directly converted into a gold paint without having to be ground with mercury. But this, too, is a ticklish process involving first mixing the gold leaf with a little honey and then rubbing it against the side of a cup with the thumb until it becomes a smooth paste. This requires a certain special touch because the natural tendency of the gold leaf is to clump up and not to dissipate into fine particles.

Gold is also available in finely powdered dust. The exact methods for preparing gold powder from solid gold was a closely guarded secret known only

to a few Newar goldsmiths residing in Lhasa who monopolized the business. The names of these establishments, as for example the East Blue Door and West Blue Door (*sgo sngon skar nub*), were well known to the painters of Central Tibet. The process they used for powdering gold reportedly begins in the same way that gold putty for hot gilding is prepared. The gold is beaten into gold leaf which is then cut into very thin ribbons. These ribbons or threads are then snipped into tiny specks with scissors. The crucial step is the pulverizing of these specks into fine dust, a grinding process which is thought to be done in a glue medium. However, this is an exacting undertaking probably involving an even more refined process, a fact which was painfully discovered by the artists painting a recently constructed temple in Baudda, Kathmandu. After blackening twelve tolas of gold they finally purchased the required gold dust from the Newar proprietors of one of the above mentioned shops, which are still in business in Kathmandu. From them gold can be obtained in both powder and as dried drops which have been mixed with a little glue.

Gold in powder form quite often has some dark impurities or adulterants and to obtain the brightest sheen these have to be removed by washing. For this, first a little glue is added to the gold powder in a cup and it is rubbed with the thumb or finger until almost dry. Then a little warm water is added and it is stirred again. The gold dust is then allowed to settle to the bottom of the cup and the dirty liquid poured off. More water is then added and the process repeated until the run-off water is clean.

The clean gold powder can either be stored as such until used, or else it can be prepared into a more covenient form by mixing with a binder and then drying. This type of gold paint in the form of pellets or drops is mentioned above as the fourth form of gold. This form is not only convenient but it is also quite popular with pilgrims and Buddhist devotees. For in this drop form, a pious person can immediately and easily offer a fixed amount of gold to a sacred image or shrine, much in the same way that gold leaf is offered in Southeast Asia. These gold drops are made by Tibetans by mixing powdered gold with some binder. This mixture is then slowly poured, drop by drop onto a smooth surface, and allowed to dry. If quicker drying is required, the drops can be poured onto a smooth board of unfinished wood and the drops will quickly solidify through water being absorbed into the wood as well as through evaporation into the air. For the painter as for the pilgrim, all one needs to do is dissolve some in a little water and it is ready to be applied and, only rarely did extra glue need to be added. Two types of binders are used for the cold gilding method. One is the usual glue which is derived from animal skins. Naturally this has little appeal to those concerned that their offering of gold be a source of the greatest merit and hence be, as much as possible, unsullied by such defiling acts as taking an animal's life.

For this reason, and probably not on account of any weakness of the ordinary glue, a vegetable derived binder is also in use. This seems to be a sort of glutinous extract of sesame (*zar-ma*) which is produced by first soaking it in water and then cooking it. But the use of this binder was mostly restricted to statuary, and its use in *thang-ka* painting must have been quite rare. One slight advantage this binder seems to have is that the proportion of binder to glue is not so critical to get a reasonably stable result, whereas an excess of the regular glue is apt to cause peeling.

Nevertheless the sesame binder was highly unsuited for *thang-ka* painting because the fine gold details of brocades, etc., demand a very thin, runny paint, while the seasame binder tends toward the other extreme of being thick and stringy. Painting surfaces must be prepared before gold can be applied. In the case of metal surfaces this means thorough cleaning, while for most other surfaces on ochre gold-base (*gser-rten*) is applied as an under coat for gold. As a foundation (*rten*) for gold paint (*gser*), ochre was preferred over other paints. Since yellow ochre itself has a subdued golden hue, an undercoat of it lessens the amount of real gold required to achieve the desired effect. And this base coat is also used even for powdered brass imitation gold (*rag-rdul*). Other gold bases are also in use, one of which is a mixture of orpiment yellow (*ba-bla*) and calcium white (*ka-rag*).In addition, some artists prefer to use a flesh-tinted bass coat on the areas designated for gold, on wood or clay/papier–mache statues. This is made by combining yellow (*ba-bla*), white (*ka-rag*) and red (*mtshal*). We also noticed a case where, over a yellow ochre base coat, imitation gold was used and then real gold was painted over it as a final layer.This was done on a mural in a monastery where the use of the imitation gold spared much of the expense and the effect was the same as if completely done with real gold. For *thang-ka* painting the most beautiful results were achieved when the gold is applied in three successive thin coats rather than in just one thick covering.

The use of gold leafing exists mostly in conjunction with woodwork and furniture, but gold leaf is never applied directly to the *thang-ka*. Before applying gold leaf to a surface, on top of the usual ochre base a special glue and sugar adhesive is first applied. This particular mixture is prepared by slow boiling over a long period of time. Sometimes the leaf will be applied in this fashion over other coats of colored paint. Then a design can be scratched into the gold surface with a needle, revealing the colors beneath. This is called 'needle drawing' (*khab-ris*).

HOT GILDING (*tsha-gser*)

A special more permanent method of gilding is used for metal images and metal religious implements. This is the hot method of gilding (*tsha-gser*). Its advantage is that statues and implements so gilded may be cleaned and polished without rubbing off the gold. This is also a practical method used on jewelry and metal work of all kinds.

Preparation of the metal surface consists primarily of cleaning it, either with ashes or nowadays with a chemical solvent. This having been accomplished next a special gold putty is prepared by mixing gold powder with mercury. An alternate and longer process is used to make the gold putty from cheaper solid gold. Then the clean surface is coated with pure mercury until it shines like silver. The gold and mercury putty is then applied over the mercury coated metal. Finally the metal object is slowly heated gilded side up over coals to evaporate the mercury, and the surface is then polished to a brilliant sheen, with a smooth steel rod or another burnisher. If the object is large, as for example a large copper statue, the gilding is done in small pieces, which are assembled afterwards. Often the faces of images are not hot gilded, but the gold is applied by the cold method and left unburnished for a matte appearance. This creates a striking contrast between the softly glowing face and the rest of the brightly gleaming statue.

THE GOLD THANG-KA (*gser-thang*)

Gold *thang-ka*-s are scroll-icons in which the surface is a solid layer of gold paint, upon which the figures are indicated by line drawings with red vermillion (*mtshal*). As might be expected, beneath the gold a layer of ochre gold-base is first laid down, and after that the surface is uniformly coated with a gold paint composed of gold dust and glue. On top of this the artist draws or stencils on the composition, although one of our informants draws an ink sketch on the primed canvas beneath the gold and then traces it on to the gold by holding up the canvas to a source of light. The actual painting of figures is done primarily with red lines and some small areas are covered with dark blue, black and white. Any shading of the gold *thang-ka* and on gold figures in general is done with lac dye (*rgya-tshos*).

Finally it is finished by burnishing and selective etching of designs with the point of a burnishing tool. Nowadays on the ordinary *thang-ka* almost every area of gold paint is burnished to a shine, except where special contrast is required. But we are told that in older *thang-ka* painting styles very little burnishing was done. The shiny polished effect was reserved for the depiction of objects which in real life are shiny gold, such as gold ornaments and jewelry. Otherwise, special effects are achieved by drawing glittering lines with the burnisher tip over areas which are otherwise left matte. Burnishing of the gold on the *thang-ka* surface must be done with care. To avoid gouging the canvas, the artist holds a burnishing support (*gzi-rten*) behind the canvas with one hand as he burnishes with the other. This support may be a smooth, flat piece of glass or mirror or even just a smooth piece of wood. The painter completes all the burnishing of one area before proceeding to the next,and in so doing systematically covers the entire surface. The favourite burnishing tool is the *gzi* stone, a small cylinder of banded onyx. Many folk beliefs exist in Tibet concerning the power,

both curative and magical, of these stones. Hence they are preferred over more common but equally suitable agates. In addition, a smooth tooth, a silicous stone, or even a suitable shaped piece of hard metal can be used as a burnisher. Some artists have elaborately chased retractable *gzi*-stone burnishers, and of all the tools used by Tibetans painters, his burnisher was often his most valuable and elaborate.

ORGANIC DYES (*thos*)

After the mineral pigments have filled the painting area (*tshon-kha-bskang*) the finishing steps (*'jug-rkyong* or *gzhug-rkyong*) of shading and outlining are done. For this second stage, few if any mineral pigments are used, and the colors applied are all dyes, the two most important being lac-dye (*rgya-tshos* or in literary Tibetan: *rgya-skyegs*) and indigo (*rams*). The advantage of dyes at the finishing stages is that they are much thinner, not requiring any glue, and hence are ideal for fine lines and shading washes.

The above description holds true for the main painting technique (*tshon-chen* or *rdzogs-tshon*) in which the shading (*mdangs*) and outlining (*bcad*) are not executed until after the mineral colors have been layed down. However, this neglects to mention a type of wet-shading (*rlon-mdangs*) which is done when applying the mineral pigments. Wet-shading is done by intermingling areas of still wet mineral paints to bring about a gradually shaded transition between the principal colors. This is an easy short-cut technique for the skilled painter, but on finer works most of the shading is reserved for the period following the application of the main coats of color. The latter type of shading is known as dry-shading (*skam-mdangs*) since the point is applied over a dry surface. This is a more time consuming process, where instead of instantly blending two wet colors, the dye or pigment must be applied several times, allowing for drying between each application. Finally, there exists another altogether different painting technique (*hang-tshon*) which consists entirely of black outlining and thin washes of colors. In this, dyes such as indigo and lac dye may be used alone as the principal coloring agents.

LAC DYE (*rgya-tshos*)

Lac dye is a red dyestuff widely used in India and neighboring countries which is produced from resins secreted by the tiny lac insect (laccifer lacca). The lac insect is a species of scale insect, so named bacause the resinous products they excrete are deposited in tiny scales on branches and twigs of several varieties of soapberry, acacia and fig. The name lac derives from the Persian *lak* or the Hindustani *lakh*, meaning one hundred thousand, because of the immense number of insects required to produce a single pound of shellac. Chemically the dye is lacaic acid which is related to carminic acid found in cochineal. Lac dye became commercially important

in the 17th century (even before the introduction of shellac, lac's resinous by product) when the East India Company exported it to Europe.

Tibetan artists sometimes receive the dye in dry pellets, and sometimes from China as wafers of compact cotton which have been saturated with the dye. Otherwise Tibetans know very well the means of extracting the dye from crude forms of lac. Sticks encrusted with insect scales, called stick-lac, are obtained from the Himalayan border regions. Artists can also get the dry insect scales already removed from the twigs. If the stick lac is obtained the artist must first carefully scrape on the scales and remove any debris, because if boiled with the stick it will produce an inferior quality dye. Once removed, cleaned and crushed, the lac-scales are cooked in hot water to melt them and bring the dye into solution. The pot used should not be a metal such as copper because the dye tends to blacken them, presumably in combination with the metal ions. Also, care must be taken not to overheat the lac, because this will blacken it and then spoil the whole batch. If a single leaf of the *zhu-mkhan* plant is added it greatly facilitates the extraction of the dye. They believe that somehow it acts also to fix or make permanent the color, much in the same way as borax (*tsha-le*) which is also added in small quantities if available. The dye soluton is then poured off from the resins and solids, and the water is carefully evaporated over a low heat to yield the dye. This can be reconstituted when needed by mixing in a little warm water, or if needed immediately, the concentrated dye solution may be applied directly without waiting for complete evaporation.

INDIGO (*rams*)

Indigo is a dyestuff obtained until about 1900 entirely from plants, and mainly those of the genus Indigofera. At the turn of the last centrury the development of comparatively cheap synthetic indigo wrought economic havoc in India where huge areas of land were devoted to growing it, and nowadays almost none is cultivated. Tibetans used to import it in slabs or chunks of already prepared dye from Nepal and India. Indigo is available in a variety of qualities. The best is light and easy to break or crumble. If broken, the best grades reflect light from the newly exposed surfaces with a red tinge. If a little is moistened and rubbed between the fingers, it dyes then a dark blue-black which is not easily washed off. Another test is to scratch it on the thumbnail, and the best qualities will leave a dark black streak. A variety which fails the above tests is useful in fabric dying but unsuitable for the *thang-ka*. This is known as *ha-rams*.

In preparing indigo for painting, the most important thing is that it be extremely well ground. Prolonged grinding not only results in a smoother ink-like consistency, but it is also said to improve the color because the longer it is ground the darker it becomes. Strictly speaking, indigo does not require any glue as a dinder.

But if a little glue is added it is said to facilitate the grinding process. To grind indigo, first it is pounded into a powder and then moistened to a dough-like consistency. This is then ground in a mortar until almost completely dry. Next it is moistened again and grinding is resumed. This process is repeated many times and sometimes a batch of indigo may be ground for two days or more. Also, when completely ground the presence of a little glue improves its quality as a paint. This is because the indigo in solution with water tends to coagulate in the paint pot as the water dries out, but this process is arrested and the indigo held in an even suspension much longer if a little glue is added.

As a dye, in painting indigo is well suited for outlining and shading. In almost every instance on a traditional *thang-ka*, where it appears that ink has been used for outlining, in fact it is indigo which has been used. It was superior to China or India ink in that, if properly prepared, it was less prone to running or streaking even if some water spilled on it. Traditionally it was used to reinforce the first sketch (*so-ris*) which was drawn on with charcoal. In the final stages of the painting it is used for outlining and finishing areas of red, green and blue, while lac dye served a similar purpose for areas of orange, yellow, and flesh color. Either lac dye or indigo can be used on white areas, depending on the object depicted.

Lastly, indigo is important in preparing the ground in the black *thang-ka* technique. From the beginning ink is mixed in with the white sizing for the *thang-ka* canvas (*thang-ras*), and if this is not done initially, then a coat of ink is applied over the primed cloth surface. But in either case a final coat of indigo must be applied over the ink to get the optimum rich, colorful black.

OTHER VEGETABLE DYES (*shing-tshos*)

Besides the primary dyes from lac and indigo, a wide variety of other dyes may be used as the need presents itself and as they are available. All dyes, with the notable exception of indigo, require some sort of additive to fix the dye in a mechanism perhaps to that used in making 'lake' pigments, as for example crimson lake. Many popular sayings evolved around the necessity of these additives in dye production, probably the earliest recorded of which is found in one of the first of Sa-skya Pandita's (1181–1251) famous aphoristic sayings (*Sa-skya legs-bshad*). Here he refers to the necessity for soda (*bul-tog*) to be added when dyeing with madder (*btsod*). Another saying we heard concerning the necessity of *zhu-mkhan* is that, "without *zhu-mkhan*, lac dye is weaker than water" (*zhu mkhan med na rgya tshos chu las sla*). Likewise, most other dyes require the addition of a few leaves of the *zhu-mkhan* (literally : "that which makes things melt or dissolve") and or borax (tsha-le). A Tibetan doctor told us that the Nepeli equivalent for *zhu-mkhan* is *tejpat*, a word the dictionary defines as 'leaf of cassia'. Cassia denotes a genus of herbs, shrubs and trees within the family Caesal-

piniaceae. If this identification is correct the main active ingrediant of *zhu-mkhan* is probably cassic acid.

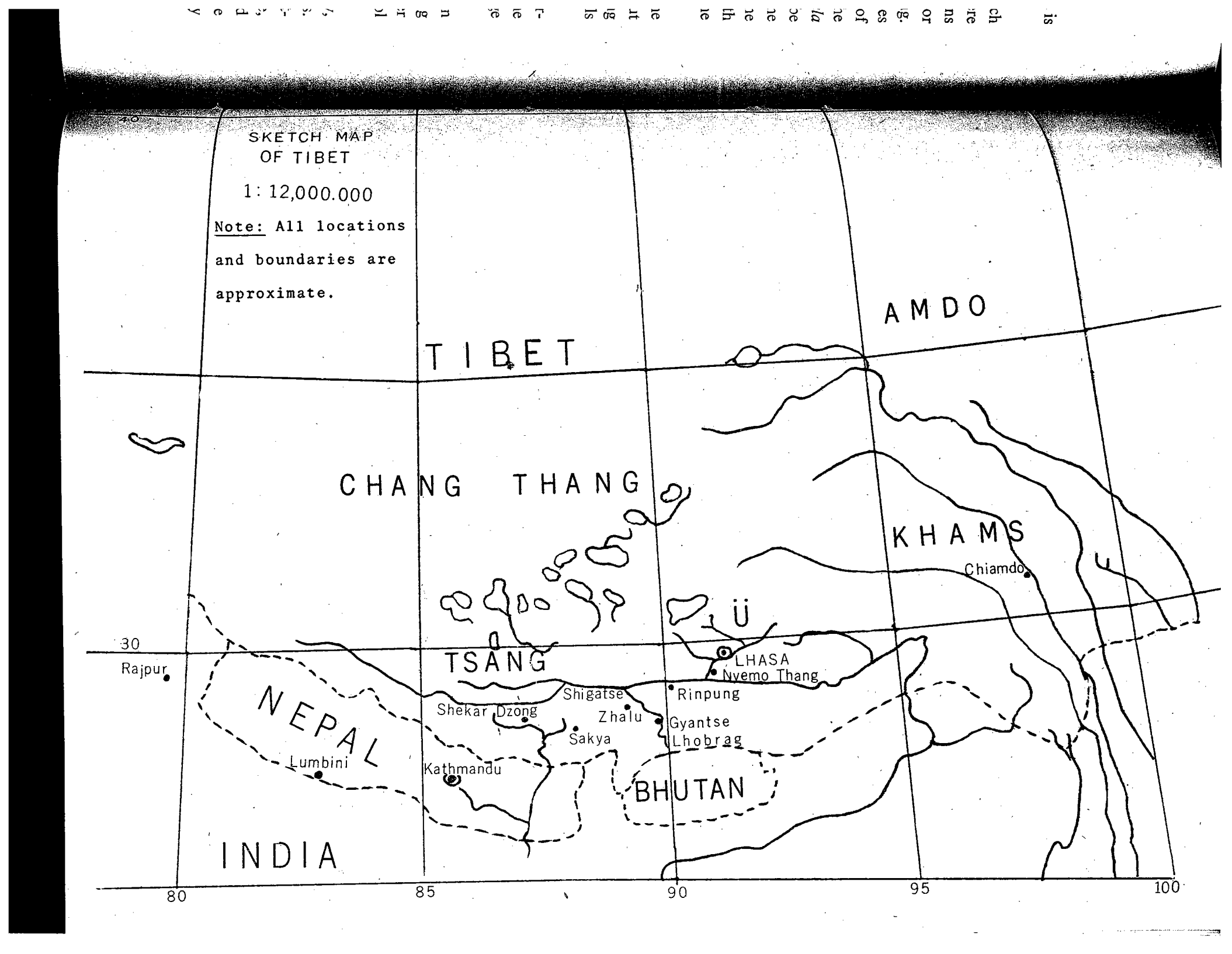
The two mineral salts, soda and borax, were important exports of Tibet which originate from the salty lakes and wastes of the Byang Thang (Northern Plain), where it is said that over the years everything except hair, fingernails, hooves and horns turns into salt. Soda is commonly added to Tibetan butter tea to bring out its color as well as taste, and borax is also important to metal smiths as a flux for soldering. They were also used as mordants in textile dyeing. Most of the secondary dyes were yellow or greenish yellow and were used to brighten and highlight areas of malachite green, such as leaves. The most common of these were derived from the white blossom of a Himalayan wild rose (*se-ba-me-tog*), the petals of the yellow *utpala* (*utpalser-po*) and the root of the *cho-la* plant (*cho'i-rtsa*). The *se-ba* briar seems to be a type of rose, growing as thorny bushes six to eight feet tall in hilly areas. One artist described its flowers as having petals and other parts in fours. After the yellowish-white petals, the source of the dye, fall off, bright red rose-hips ripen with a thick outer flesh. The flower petals are gathered and dried in the shade, and the dye is extracted by soaking in water with a little *zhu-mkhan*.

The petals of *utpalser-po* are yellow and it is found blooming in high alpine meadows and grasslands of the Byang Thang. Its fruiting body is light green and about three inches long, and is described in Tibetan pharmacopias as "resembling the musk gland of the male musk deer," (*utpal ser po gla pho'i gla rtsi 'dra*). Its petals are dried and prepared just like the above "rose" petals.

A third yellow dye was extracted from the rest of the *cho-lo* (or *cho-le*) a flowering plant growing in Tibet's high alpine regions. The root was boiled to extract the dye. The root itself has a very sour taste, and is used in ayurvedic medicine. A large amount of it is still carried down from the Himalayas for medicinal purposes.

Incidentially, *Zhu-mkhan* itself produces a greenish-yellow dye, but it was known to be less permanent than the above three. A similar dye but, also inferior for painting could be extracted from the inner bark of the walnut tree (*star-ka*). These, together with the reddish brown dye, madder (btsod), are seldom if ever used except in wool and cloth dyeing.

In case one of the important dyes is unavailable, as is somethimes the case today, the artists have to improvise with similar paints derived from the mineral colors. But these have to possess the same characteristics as dyes, since for shading and outlining, a thinner consistency is required. In the case of shading gold, for example, this is obviously so because a thick paint would completely obscure the gold and ruin its effect. Hence, when preparing such substitutes, painters carefully take the upper, more watery, portion of the mineral paint. In this way, most pigments may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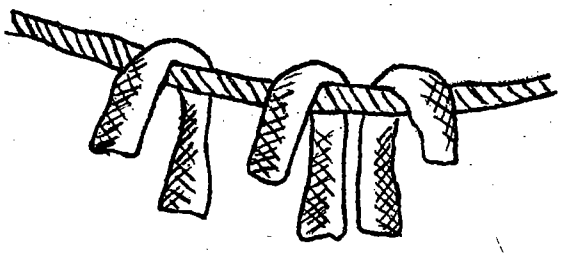
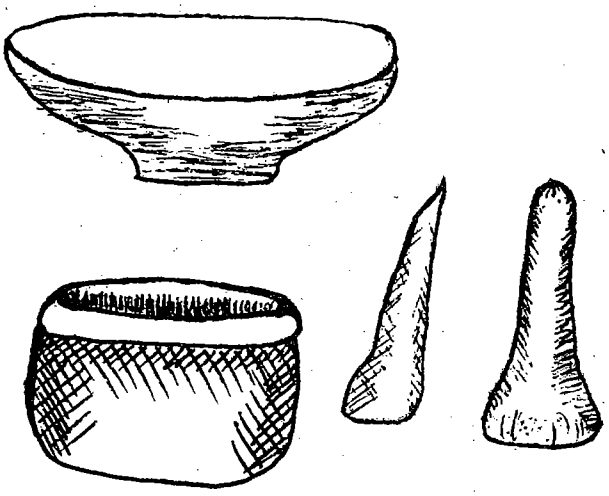
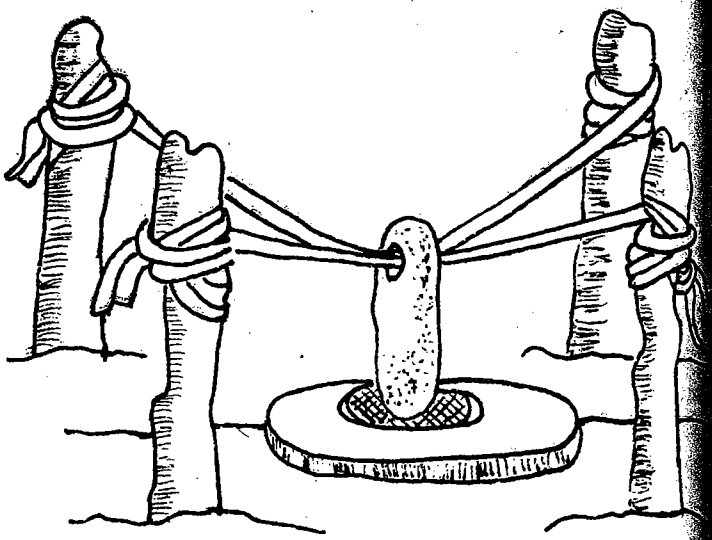


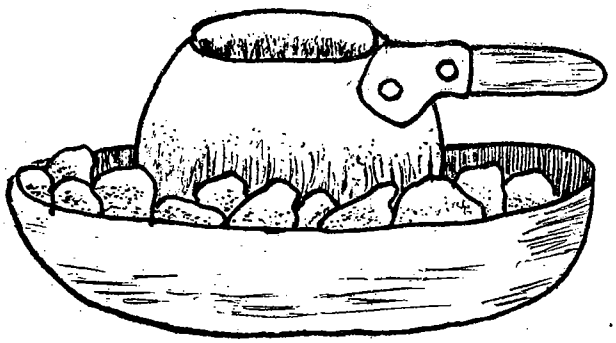
1. GLUE STRIPS DRYING ON ROPE. 2. GZI STONE BURNISHER.

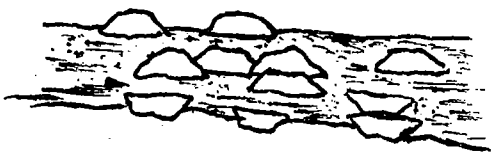




3. CROCKERY MIXING POTS AND WOODEN STIRRERS.

4. PESTLE SUSPENDED ABOVE MORTAR BY ROPES.





5. GLUE REHEATING IN A POT OVER WARM COALS.

6. STICK LAC.

yield a shading pigment, as for example the presently very common substitute for lac-dye, a mixture of thin vermilion and a little ink.

This is not to imply that Tibetan painters are limited to the above coloring agents, although certainly they are the main ones. The Tibetan painter is a resourceful individual, and, for exmple, one artist pointed out to us that a very nice brown pigment can be obtained cheaply and easily from the dregs in the bottom of the brush cleaning jars.

CHARCOAL

One last class of material which should not be omitted from our survey is carbon products, namely charcoal, charcoal dust and lamp black. Charcoal sticks are still used by the more traditional artist for sketching the original compositions of both *thang-ka* and mural paintings (*logs-bris* or *lde-bris*), Charcoal lines could be easily rubbed off and hence both its strength and weakness: any mistakes are easily erased by merely rubbing it lightly, while by the same token any accidental brushing against it might instantly erase much work. To compensate for this, painters when sketching generally work from top to bottom, after first completing the central figure. When the charcoal sketch is completed, indigo is used to again retrace the sketch. If indigo is not available, ink can be used. Any remaining charcoal is then dusted off and there remains a more or less permanent sketch.

Tibetan artists used to make their own charcoal pencils by putting an airtight container packed tightly with willow twigs into a hot fire. Nowadays this has almost disappeared from the painter's worktable in favour of graphite lead pencils. These, of course, give more permanent sketches, but care must be taken to erase all lines which, if drawn with charcoal, would automatically be rubbed off just in course of painting. Many times we have seen the disappointing results where an otherwise fine work has been ruined by the artist's neglect; where he had failed to remove the original pencil line delineating the *thang-ka* vertical axis (*tshangs-thig*), and one could still see the pencil line in the finished painting, visible in the sky, in the main figure's halo, and in the light green for ground. Artists also make use of charcoal dust in another of their main ways of laying down the first outline of the composition, which is essentially a technique of stencilling. The stencil (*btsag-spar*) is made by first drawing a composition on paper and then puncturing all the lines with a series of pin holes. This is held over the painting surface and the design is transferred to it by shaking a powder made of charcoal dust and ochrecous earth through the pin-holes. The red ochre is added to give the mixture weight so that it will be less easily rubbed off or blown away. These designs are then retraced in indigo or ink just as the charcoal sketches were. This is obviously a great time-saver for large projects involving numerous repetitions of a single design, and it has always been used to some extent in *thang-ka* painting.

Ink, some uses of which have already been mentioned, is the last carbon product, being essentially just finely ground black carbon manufactured from lamp black or coniferous wood soot mixed with glue. Tibetans generally obtain it in slabs or sticks from India or China. If none is available, they know the age-old process for producing soot and rendering it into ink.

CONCLUSION

It appears that the Tibetan painting tradition is sinking new roots in Nepal and India, where numbers of Tibetan immigrants have settled in the last two decades. There is every reason to believe that there will continue to be a demand in the Tibetan or other Buddhist communities for the painter's skill. In Tibetan society, when someone dies, one of the main ways to create merit, which is to be dedicated (*bsngo-ba*) for the future welfare of the newly deceased, is to commission a *thang-ka*. Also with the recent boom in monastery construction it is the rare painter who is not yet booked up with orders for many months in advance. Although the painted figures must continue to be drawn around the fixed skeleton of proportions, it is even now almost impossible to find a painter who still uses the traditionally prepared pigments. There is the serious possibility that with this, as with so many aspects of their culture, a superficial resemblance will linger on, while most of the vital roots have long since dried up. This is not entirely the fault of the painters. Not only have most of their original sources disappeared, but also due to communication barriers it is often impossible for them to locate new sources for the old raw materials even if they are available in their new communities. And of course, the commercial paints are all too readily available.

The real hope for the continuance of the tradition lies in the traditional master-apprentice relatonship where a teacher undertakes the prolonged training of promising students, who meanwhile live with the master and assist him. But the present rarity of such apprenticeships is another factor which discourages the use of traditional pigments. In Tibet, a master artist could often rely on his subordinates to prepare the pigments according to his instructions. Now, with the splitting up of this setting, each artist must fend for himself, and many find it too time-consuming to bother with finding, grinding, and mixing the pigments. For these reasons we feel it necessary to record such information while there are still a few artists using these traditional methods and materials.

The number of artists who contributed significantly to this survey are far too many to be mentioned by name. But it would be overly ungrateful not to mention here the names of the three main friends and informants who so freely gave of their time, knowledge and experience.

These are Thargye, from near Sakya now living in Boudha, Nepal; Legdrub Gyatsho from Phenyul in U'now living in Lumbini, Nepal; and Wangdrak from Shekar Dzong now in Rajpur, U.P., India.

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Corrections:

p. 277 – please read "minium" instead of minimum"when reference is made to the mineral pigment made from minium orange (*li khri*).

p. 278 – the correct Tibetan for orpiment orange is "*ba-bla*" not "*ba-blae*"

p. 287 – the reference to "cassia" as a genus of herbs, shrubs, and trees within the family Caesalpiniaceae is incorrect. Here it does not denote any plant of the genus Cassia, but rather is used as the common name for the tree, Cinamomum Tamala, whose three–nerved leaves are also used as a spice.

INDEX OF TERMS

ba-bla	yellow orpiment
bcad	outlining
btsag	red ochre
btsag-smug	dark maroon ochre
btsod	madder
blu-tog	soda
cho'i-rtsa	root used for yellow dye
cog-la	cinnabar
'das-sngon	bluish mud
dkar-rtsi	low grade whitewash
dngul-chu	mercury
dong-ros	realgar
grang-gser	cold-method gilding
gser-rten	foundation for gold
gser-thang	gold *thang-ka*
g. yu-kha	torquoise-colored intermediate between azurite and malachite
gzi	banded onyx used for burnishing
gzhug-rkyong	finishing stage of painting
hang-tshon	technique using only black outlining and thin washes of color
he-rams	inferior grade of indigo used for fabric dyeing
'jug-rkyong	same as *gzhug-rkyong*
ka-rag	calcium white
li-khri	orange minium
logs-bris	mural painting
mdangs	shading
mo-rag	softer variety of *ka-rag*
mo-dkar	same as *mo-rag*
mthing	azurite
mthing-'bru	darkest shade of azurite
mtshal	vermilion
mtshal-rgod	same as *cog-la*
mu-men	lapis lazuli
ngang-pa	yellow ochre
po-rag	harder variety of *ka-rag*
po-dkar	same as *po-rag*

rag-rdul	ground brass imitation gold
rams	indigo
rdo-spang-mthing	general name for azurite and malachite together
rdo-tshon	stone colors
rdo-zho	lime
rdzogs-tshon	technique using first mineral colors over whole painting surface, then shading and outlining with dyes
rgya-mtshal	Chinese or Indian vermillion
rgya-skyegs	lac dye, literary term
rgya-tshos	lac dye
rlon-mdangs	wet shading
sa-dkar	same as *dkar-rtsi*
sa-shag	impurities removed from mineral pigments by washing
sa-tshon	earth colors
se-ba	probably a type of rose, the petals of which are used for yellow dye
se-ba-me-tog	flowers of se-*ba*
shing-tshos	vegetable dyes
sindhura	Sanskrit for minium
skam-mdangs	dry shading
skya-ris	sketching
sngo-sang	second lighest shade of azurite
sngo-si	lighest shade of azurite
so-ris	charcoal sketch
spang	second darkest shade of malachite green
spang-si	lighest shade of malachite green
spang-skya	second lighest shade of malachite green
spang-smug	darkest shade of malachite green
spying	glue
sreg-pa	to dehydrate by heating
star-ka	walnut tree, a source of yellowish dye
thab-kha	oven or kiln
thang-ka	Tibetan icon-scroll
tsha-gser	hot-method gilding
tsha-le	borax
tshangs-thig	central vertical axis of a painting
tshos	dye
tshon-kha-bskang	first step of filling up the painting surface with mineral paints

tshon-chen	same as *rdzogs-tshon*
utpala ser-po	alpine flower, the yellow petals of which are used for dye
zar-ma	sesame
zhu-mkhan	a plant, probably in the genus Cassia used in the preparation of dyes

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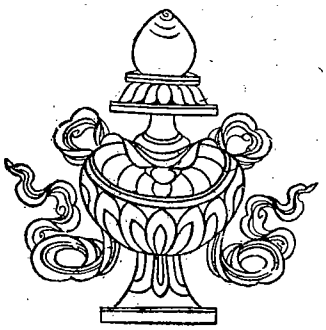

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MANANG DISTRICT *

Nareshwar Jang Gurung
Kathmandu

Manang District is situated in the north central part of Nepal. It borders in the south to Lamjung and Kaski districts, in the north to Tibet, in the west to Mustang and the east to Gorkha districts. The district is surrounded by Himalayan mountains: Annapurna to the south, Muktinath and Damodar in the west, Peru in the north and Manaslu in the east. The elevation of the district ranges from 1830 m (6000 feet) to 8092 m (26,500 feet), and the area of the district is approximately 2,170 sq. km. There are two main valleys made by the Marsyangdi river and her branches. The Marsyangdi river flows from west to east in this district. Most of her tributaries flow from north to south; for instance Jhar khola, Nar khola and Dudh khola, but some tributaries flow from south to north due to the extension of the Annapurna range in the south of the district.

On the basis of the existing ecological variation of the different regions, the district is divided into three micro-ecozones: *Nyesyang* (T), *Nar Phu* (T) and *Gyasumdo* (T).[1] Altitudewise, the district can be divided into three: 1830 m to 2280 m,

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* Data which I will present in this paper were collected during my work in Manang for the degree of MA from Tribhuvan University from May 1974 to July 1975.

[1] (a) In Nepali, *Nyesyang* is called *Manang Chhachhum; Nar Phu* is called *Nar Phu;* and *Ghyasumdo* is called *Tingau.* These terms are related to the previous political division of the district made by His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The Nyesyangba call themselves *Man-O ChhachhumthE* (Ng); Nar Phu people *Narth-E* (Np); and the people of Ghyasumdo call themselves *SyarthE* (Ng). or *NasuthE* (G)
T= Tibetan, N = Nepali, Ng = Nyesyang language, Np = Nar Phu language, G = Gurung.
(b) David Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage.* Oxford/London, 1961. p. 205.
(c) J. E. Dobremez, *Carte Ecologique de la Region Annapurna-Dhaulagiri (Nepal).* Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1973.

2281 m to 3820 m and 3821 m to 8092 m.[2] These three physical divisions closely correspond to the divisions made on the basis of the ecological variations of the district.

Between the elevations of 1830 m to 2280 m it rains heavily in summer; this region is not arid and the natural vegetation is green throughout the year. This area is Ghyasumdo.

The area between 2281 m and 3900 m is arid and dry, it rains only a little in summer, and forests of pine and fir trees are found. These forests are green throughout the year. As the altitude increases, the forest thins out and trees are shorter up to 3900 m. Above this area no trees are found. The snow line is at 5000 m. Human settlements are found below the elevation of 3900 m. Villages in Nyesyang are found from 2281 m to 3820 m; and in Nar Phu from 3820 m to 3900 m.

Nar Phu valley is comparatively less windy than the Kali Gandaki gorge. The Gyasumdo valley is not windy. In Nyesyang and Nar Phu valley snow generally falls from the end of December and remains until February. Occasionally it snows earlier, and sometimes the snow remains until March, while in Gyasumdo it generally snows in January to February, sometimes even earlier.

The total population of the district according to the 1971 census is 7,436 (HMG, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973). Out of that number 4,802 live in Nyesyang valley, 850 in Nar Phu and 1704 in Gyasumdo. Manang district is the least populated district in Nepal. The density of the population is higher in Nyesyang than in the other two areas.

In Nyesyang there are altogether six villages, the names of which are *Khangsar* (N) or Ngache (Ng); *Manang* (N) or Mano (Ng); *Braga* (N) or Pharaka (Ng); *Ngawal* (N) or Bangba (Ng); *Ghyaru* (N) or Khhyaru (Ng); and *Pisang* (N) or Pi or Piso (Ng). All these villages are Nyesyangba settlements.

In Nar Phu valley there are two villages : *Nar* (N) or Chhepru (Np) or Narme (T); and *Phu* (N) or Narpe (Np) or Narthe (T). Both settlements are inhabited by Nar Phu people.

In Gyasumdo, there are twelve villages: *Chame* (N, G); *Thanchik* (N) or Chagyu (G); *Bagarchhap* (N, G); *Taje* (N) or Tas (G); *Dharapani* (N, G); *Ghilanchok*

2 In *Mechidekhi Mahalaki Bhag Tin Pachhimanchal Bikaschhetra* published by HMG of Nepal, 1975 pp. 195–120, Manang district has been divided into three physical divisions (a) *Nadinalale banayako basi* (valleys made by rivers and streams), (b) *Bhot tatha lekalipradesh* (Bhot and higher altitude region) and (c) *Himalipradesh* (Himalayan Region). The physical divisions I have made on the basis of elevation correspond to this division.

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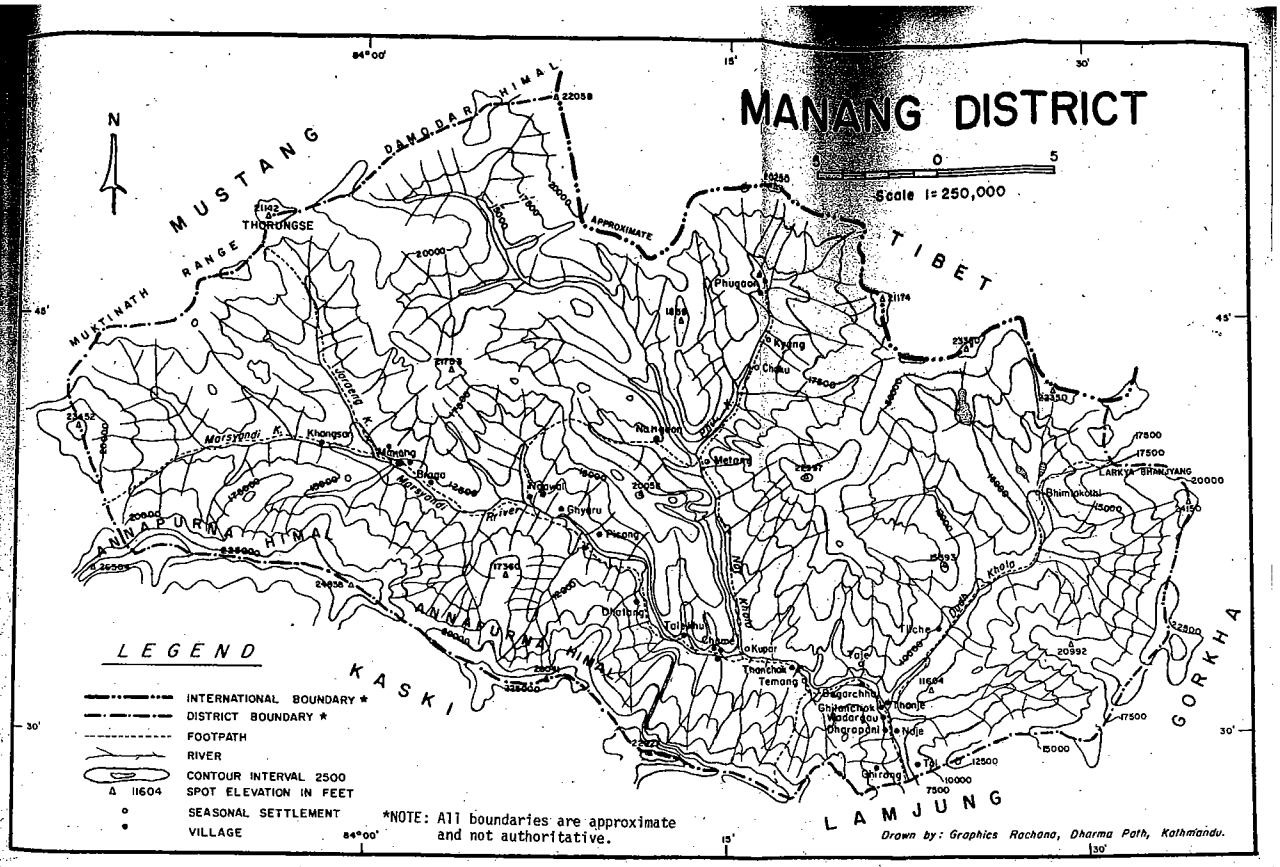


(N) or Khelanchok (G); *Wadrgau* (N) or Rhogu (G); *Thonje* (N) or Thoche (G); *Tilche* (N, G); *Naje* (N, G); Ghirong (N) or Kherong and *Tal* (N, G). In Ghyasumdo, the settlement pattern is mixed Gurung and Bhotiya. Chame, Bagarchhap, Dharapani, Tal and Thonje are the Bhotiya villages. In Tilche, there are more Gurungs than Bhotiya villagers. The rest of the villages in Gyasumdo are inhabited by Gurung and Ghale.

The indigenous inhabitants in Nyesyang valley are called *Nyesyangba* (T), Mano ChhachhumthE (Ng) or Manthe (G). The people of Nar Phu are called *Narba* (T) or NarthE (Ng and G). The people of Ghyasumdo are called *SyarhtE* (Ng) or NasuthE (G). Nyesyangba and Narba are separate ethnic groups. The people of Ghyasumdo are partly Gurung and Bhotiya or Tibetan immigrants who came to the area up to 80 years ago. Nyesyangba and Narba speak different dialects which are close to each other. The Gurung and Nyesyang dialects are closer to each other than Nyesyang and Narba dialects. Tibetan is different from Gurung, Nyesyang and Narba dialects.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The socio-economic structures of the three ecozones have many similarities and dissimilarities. Agriculture, animal husbandry and trade have played a significant role in framing the basic economic structure. Variation in the stages of evolutionary development of these three factors still exists. Sometimes in one area, animal husbandry has been in the primary stage of development, trade the most developed and agriculture secondary, whereas in some other areas, agriculture has been the most developed, trade has been in secondary and animal husbandry in the primary stages of development. However, agriculture, animal husbandry and trade have always co-existed, in different stages of development, in these three ecozones.

In Nyesyang, men are traders and semi-agriculturists. Women are full time agriculturists, and animal husbandry is in the primary stage of development. At the very beginning the Nyesyangba were probably pastoralist, then both pastoralist and agriculturist. Trade was probably in a primary stage of development a century ago.

Nar Phu people are traditionally pastoralists, and agriculture is still in the primary stage. Trade is less developed than agriculture in this valley.

In Ghyasumdo, trade and animal husbandry are now both in the primary stage. Trade used to be highly developed before the failure of the trans-Himalayan trade due to the political changes in Tibet from 1959–60 onwards. Animal husbandry has been in the primary stage of development since the very beginning. Agriculture was developed long before the development of trans-Himalayan trade, and the population of the Ghyasumdo are agriculturists at present. At the same time, these people are the

manufactured goods from other South Asian countries with foreign exchange obtained in Nepal, or with funds obtained from exports of various high value items. The Government of Nepal has given them passports since 1962. Since then, many complicated changes have taken place in their business methods. Their business activities now extend all over South Asia up to Korea. But this increased seasonal migration has adversely affected the development of agriculture and animal husbandry in Manang. Innovation of new business methods is continuing as part of their trading activities. Not having been real trans-Himalayan traders, the decreasing trans—Himalayan trade did not therefore have a severe impact on the economy of the Nyesyang people.

(b) *Nar Phu*

Nar Phu people were trans-Himalayan traders, but their trading activities were limited within Nyesyang, as the most direct trade route between Nar Phu and Tibet was remote and not much used. Hence, the decrease in trade with Tibet did not effect the economic pattern of Nar Phu too severely.

(c) *Ghyasumdo*

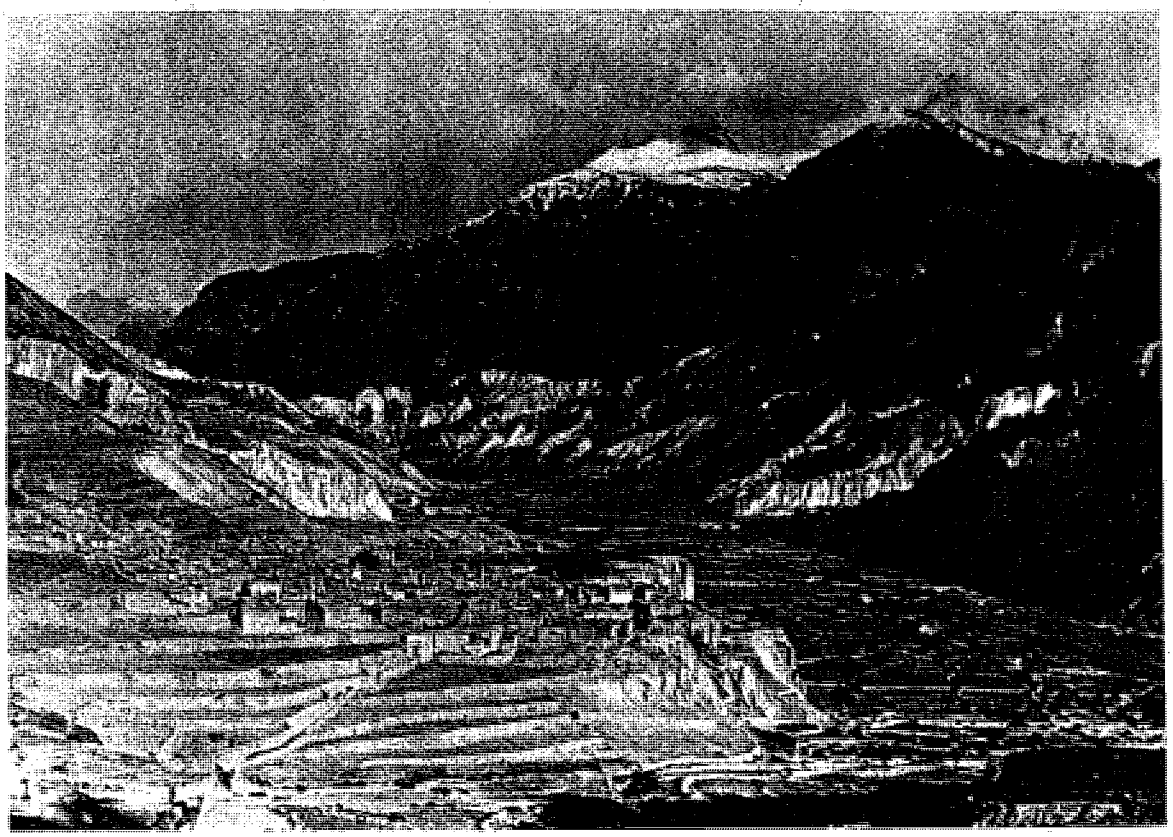
The economic pattern of the people of Ghyasumdo has changed drastically since the failure of the trans-Himalayan trade in 1959—60 AD. This population comprised the real trans-Himalayan traders of the region. [4] The impact has been equally severe on the people of other regions of Nepal who were involved in trading activities with Tibet. The failure of the Tibetan trade has lead to increases in the seasonal migration of Ghyasumdo people to lower altitudes.

TRADE AND MIGRATION

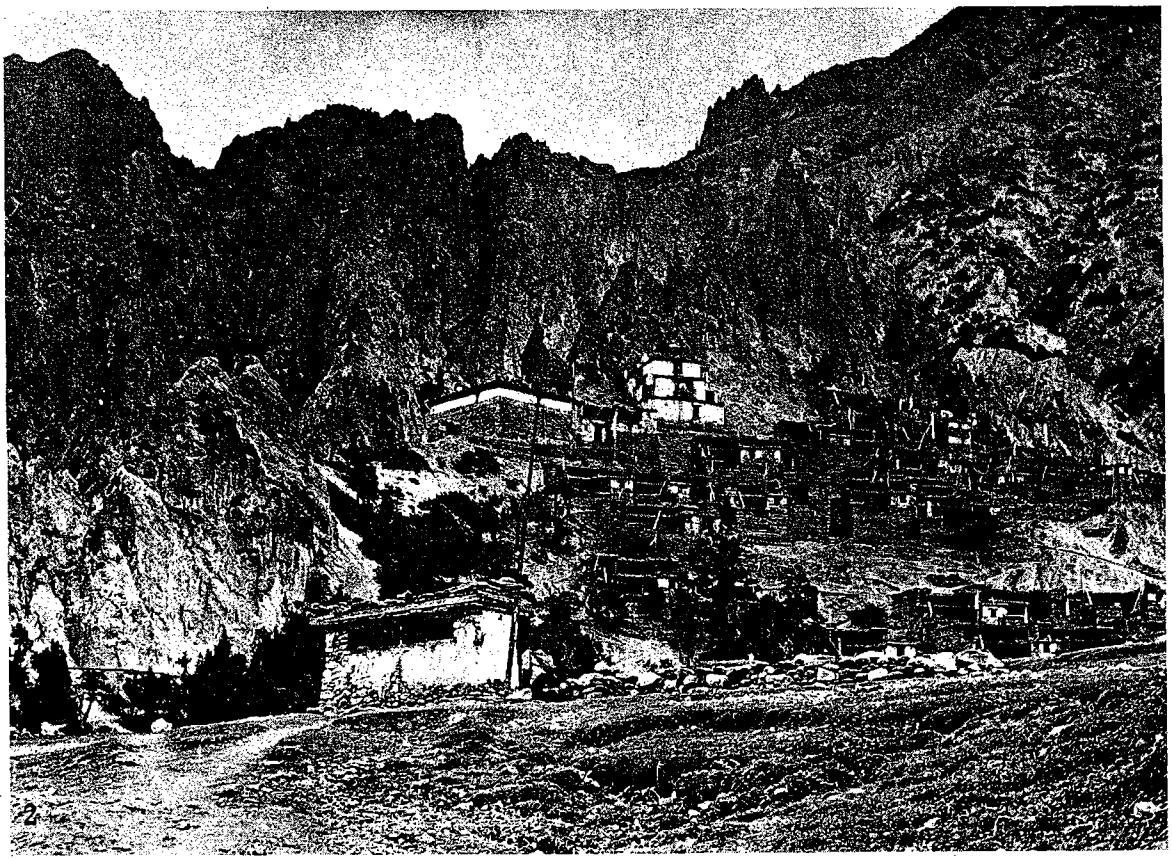
Nyesyang valley has a larger seasonal migration figure than Nar Phu and Ghyasumdo, and in the last two decades the duration of the migration period has increased. The migration of women is also higher than among men. There are very few cases of permanent migration. The permanent migration of some families have been caused by social or legal offences by heads of the households. More than eighty percent of the total Nyesyangba migrants spend the whole winter in Kathmandu. M. C. Regmi writes concerning unpaid labor obligations: "In some Himalayan areas such as Manang on the other hand, which lacked a stable population because of poor agricultural conditions, such labor apperars to have been unknown before the Gorkhali Conquest" [5]. This in fact reveals that the seasonal migration is due

[4] Donald A. Messerschmidt and Naresh Gurung — "Paralell Trade and Innovation in central Nepal" in *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal*. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (ed), London, 1974, pp. 197–231.

[5] M. C. Regmi. *A Study in Nepali Economic History*, New Delhi, 1971 p. 35.



1. Manang village with Annapurna III in the background.



2. Braga village in Nyesyang valley.

3. *Dhaapaa* of Manang village [*left*] with member of the District Panchayat.

4. An old Nyesyangba with his prayer wheel in Manang village.

to poor agricultural conditions. This might have been the cause of migration, whether seasonal or permanent, in earlier periods, and Mr. Regmi's version might be generally concerned with the whole district. Higher seasonal migration, however, has created a problem of labor shortage in the agricultural sector, which has handicapped the development of agriculture in some respect. This problem does not exist in Ghyasumdo and Nar Phu areas at present, but it might have existed earlier. Poor agriculture has been a basic criteria of obtaining special trading privileges from His Majesty the King since before 1841 VS until now. This has been generally recognised by every King. In 2018 VS, 2029 VS these trading privileges were renewed; twice in the time of the late King Mahendra and once by His Majesty King Birendra. These trading privileges will expire by the end of 1976 (2033 VS). Presently, conflicting arguments are brought forth by the Nyesyang and Ghyasumdo people concerning their right to enjoy these privileges. The Nyesyangba argue that these privileges were traditionally just for themselves, whereas the Ghyasumdo people say that since 2018 VS, the privilege exists for the people of the whole district. Nar Phu people are not involved in this conflict.

THE PEOPLE OF MANANG DISTRICT

NYESYANG

As I have already mentioned, the Nyesyangba constitute the largest population group in the district, and is an endogamous ethnic group. Basically, two groups are found among the Nyesyangba : *KhE* (Ng) and *Phalma* (Ng). KhE has higher status in the clan hierarchy, though still KhE and Phalma are endogamous.

(a) KHE has two subclans : *KhE* and *Phraka lam* (Ng), *Chyurpen* (Ng) and *Dzyamlal thapki* (Ng) are not considered KhE in Nyesyang itself, but are considered KhE elsewhere. They are endogamous to each other (Chyurpen, Dzyamal thapki and KhE intermarry). Phraka lam is the local descent group of KhE and does not intermarry with KhE. Chyurpen and KhE are in largest number in Nyesyang valley. *Jutho* (N) (food and drink pollution) among these sub-clans and local descent groups does not exist in theory nor in practice, whereas *jutho* between KhE and Phalma has been avoided in theory but not strictly observed in practice. Chyurpen are said to come from Nhubri khola a long time ago, KhE from the north (Tibet). KhE were previously the Rajas of Nyesyang valley before the Raja of Lamjung. There are still ruins of a KhE Raja palace in Ngawal village. Dzyamal thapki came to Manang village five generations ago from Jharkot (Baragau area in Mustang district). This clan is known as *Baragau kutak* in Mustang. [6]

6 C. F. Haimendorf, *Himalayan Traders* — London 1975, p. 151, 155. *Kutak*

(b) PHALMA is the majority in Nyesyang valley. This groups comprises eight clans, and they have started to call themselves Gurung. These are the clans: *Tonde* (Ng); *Ngarchoba* (Ng); *Ngimachhiring* (Ng); *Bandilam* (Ng); *Samden* (Ng); *Kundendu* (Ng); *Phabai kuki* (Ng) and *Par Phabai*. [7] Each clan is exogamous but all the clans are endogamous. This theory of clan organization may look contradictory and perplexing in view of the socio-political organization in Nyesyang. Nyesyangba and Narba (from Nar Phu) do not intermarry at present. Previously they used to have marriage alliances with the KhE lineage of Pisang (Pi village) and they had wives from Nar valley. They seem to dislike the Narba at present.

NAR PHU

In Phu village I found *Nghochyo* (Np), *Lhata* (Np), and *Om Samde* (Np) clans.

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is considered a superior group among Baragauli groups. This group of people which has migrated to Nyesyang and Ghyasumdo are recognized as *Dzyamal thapki*. The *kutak* who had migrated to Nyesyang has higher social status than the Ghyasumdo people. In Ghyasumdo they are called Dzyamal thapki, and have no marriage alliance with any group of Nyesyang. In Baraguali, the kutak clan can have marriage relations with other Baraguali groups. Some of them do have wives from Nyesyang valley, mostly from Manang and Braga villages. A few people of Nyesyang have kutak wives from Baragauli. The Baragauli kutak are said to prefer Nyesyangba girls for wives, due to the smartness and active nature of the Nyesyangba girls. However, the Nyesyangba girls have no particular preference for the Baragauli kutak.

There are few *Dzyamal thapki* in Ghyasumdo. These people have very few marriage alliances with Baragauli. The Chuyrpen and the Dzyamal thapki of Ghyasumdo have lower social status and no marriage alliances with Nyesyangba, although they are considered to be of the same origin. The Hindu conception of purity and pollution has not been followed strictly to distinguish the social stuatus of Nyesyang clans. Rather, self centered social traditions seem to be more significant. This is the reason of not accepting outsiders, except the kutak of Baraguali. Some oral historical evidence reveals that the kutak clans of Baragauli previously had strong indirect political and economic influence in Nyesyang. The apparently caused creation of marriage alliance between the kutak of Baragauli and the Nyesyangba. In Baragau, the kutak tries to claim Thakuri caste, although the Thakalis disregard this claim (c. f. Haimendorf, 1975, *op. cit* p. 155), whereas the kutak include themselves in the KhE group in Nyesyang avalley.

[7] *Phabai* is the term for clans and descent groups in the Nyesyang dialect. There might be more clans which I have not collected information about.

In Nar village: *Tonde* (Np), *Nhorpa* (Np), *Bandilam*[8] (N, G, Np) and *Manden* (Np). Manden is the local descent group of Tonde and these two clans are the only exogamous clans. Nghochyo and Nhorpa consider themselves as a Ghale (N) or KhE (Ng) clan, and do not intermarry. The marriage alliances between Nar and Phu villages are limited. Each clan of this valley seem to have come from different geographical areas.

GHYASUMDO

Among the Gurung of Ghyasumdo, there are two major groups *Khromai* (G) or *Charjat* (N) and *Tharmai* (G) or *Sora Jat* (N); in other words, four and sixteen jat clans. These two sub-tribes are exogamous but each sub-tribe is endogamous.[9] Minor groups include Tibetan immigrants and some nomads.

(a) KHROMAI in Ghyasumdo comprises three clans: *Klemai* (G) or Ghale (N)or KhE (Ng); *Lebmai* (G) or Lamichhane (N) and *Bandilam* [10] (G) N). Klemai (KhE or Ghale) is in the largest number among the Khromai. There are two sub-clans

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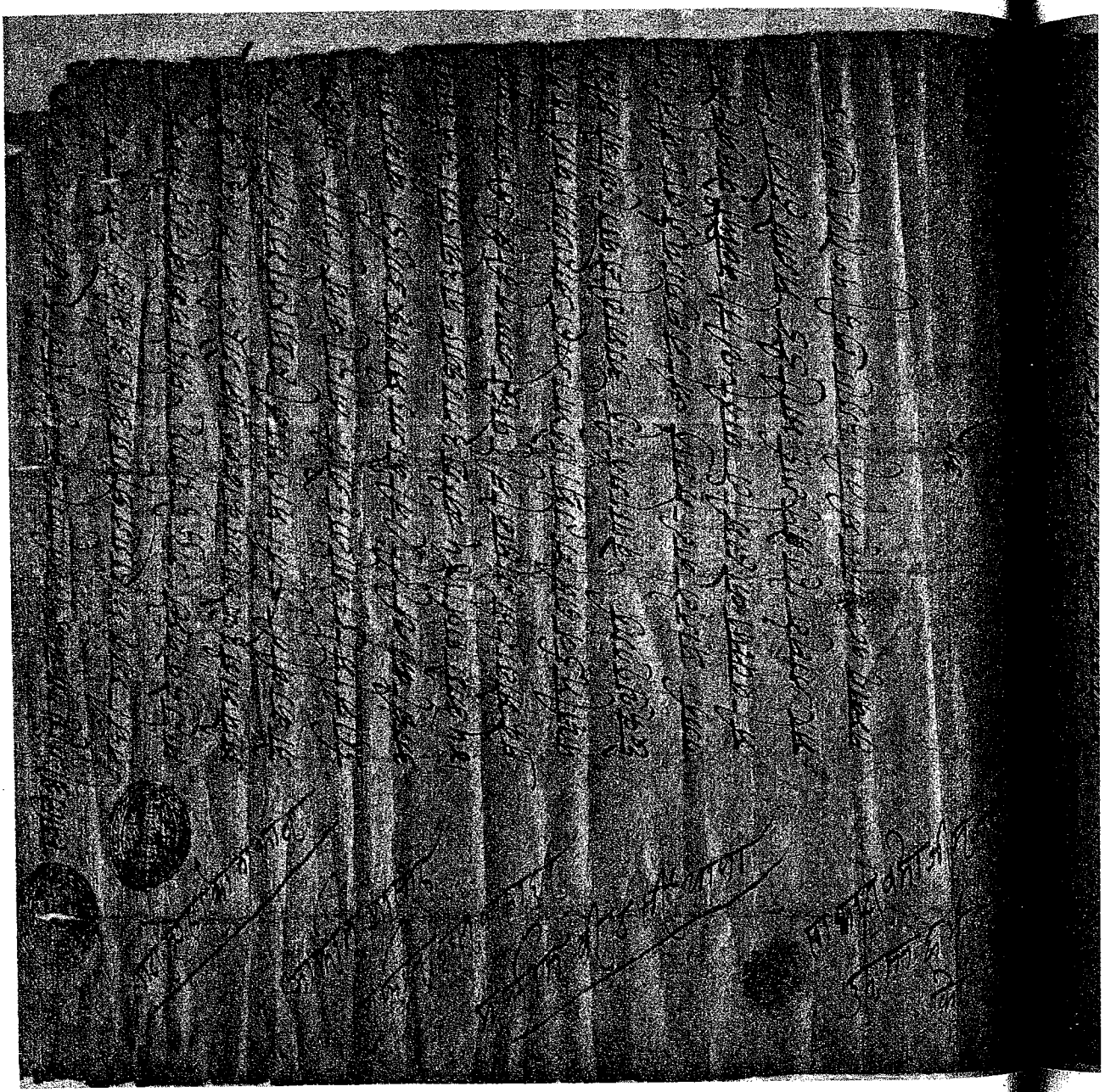
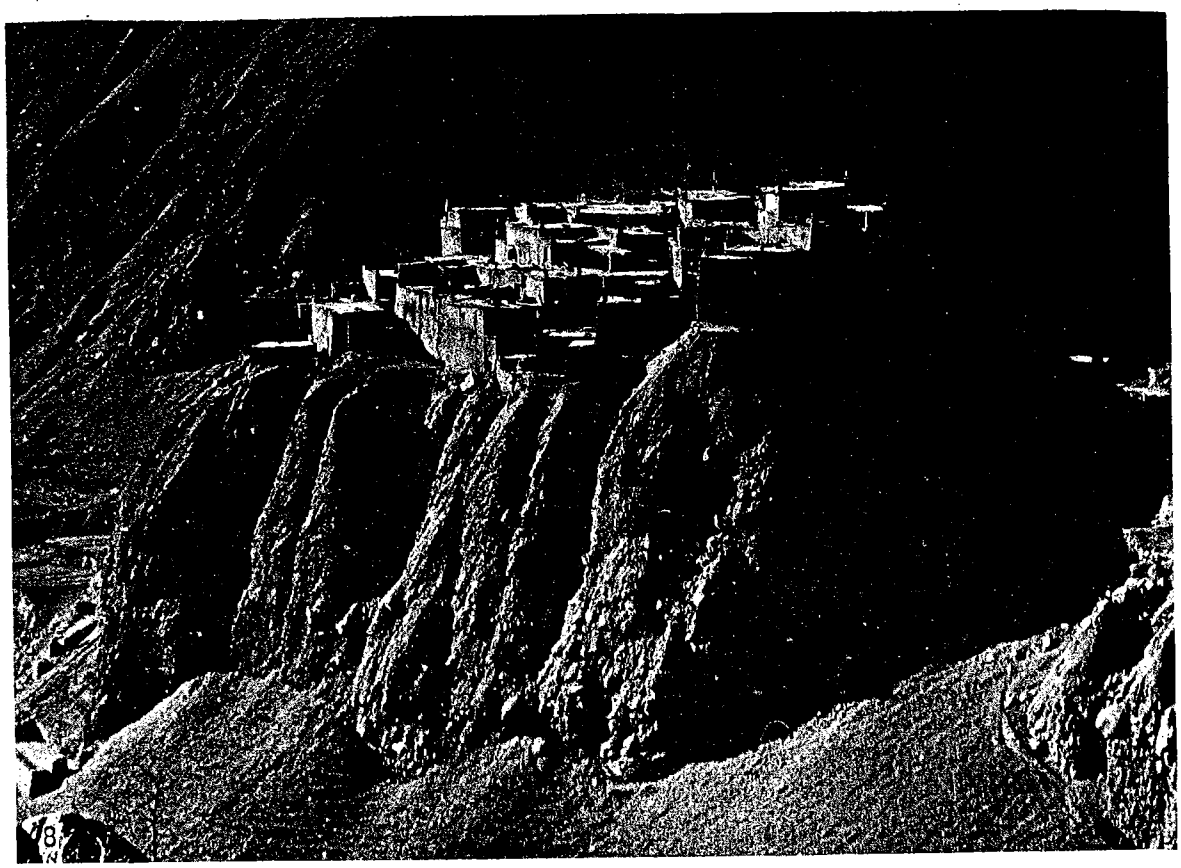
8 *Bandilam* and *Tonde* are found in large numbers in Nar Phu and Nyesyang valley. Nar Phu people claim, and endeavour to equate those two clans of Nar villages with the Nyesyangba, but this the Nyesyangba do not accept. The Baragauli started to call themselves Gurung (c. f. Haimendorf, 1975, *op. cit.* p. 152), and in the same way the Phalma of Nyesyang and Nar Phu and the Bhotiyas of Ghyasumdo have started to call themselves Gurung.

9 Donald A. Messerschmidt — "Social Status, Conflict and Change in a Gurung Community of Nepal", unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Oregon 1974. pp. 3–27.

10 Bandilam is a segmented group of a Lamai clan. The Gurung clan Lamai has three major subclans, *Khrogi, Mhigi* and *Paigi*. There is this legend : Khrogi was the oldest brother, Mhigi second, Paigi youngest. The oldest brother used to be *Khro* (headman) of the village, so his descendents were called *khroqilam*. The second brother was handsome, so he was called *Mhigi* and his descendents were called *mhigilam*. The youngest brother used to work as the assistant of the two brothers, so he was called *Paigi*; later on his descendants were called *paigilam*. Paigi is said to be Khromai also, but in considered Tharmai in the present concept of clan hierarchy. There exist more subclans, *lama* clans, segmented from these three major subclans, and these clans are exogamous. Bandilam is found only in Nyesyang, Nar Phu and Ghyasumdo. The Bandilam of Nyesyang and Nar Phu have no marriage relation with the Gurung of Ghyasumdo, The Bandilam of Ghyasumdo, have no marriage relation with Nyesyangba and Narba. The Bandilam clans of Nyesyang and Nar Phu are not included in the lama clans of the Gurung.



7. Duplicate of a *lalmohor* from Manang village used as a passport by each individual of Nyesyang valley before 1962 AD.



8. Phu village.

9. The south face of Phu village.

(c) In Ghyasumdo, many Tibetan immigrant groups are integrated with the Gurung. There are some *Punel* (N) (a group of Thakali breed), who came to this valley four generations ago from the Kali Gandaki valley. There are also Chyurpen and Dzyamal thapki which are found in Nyesyang as well. These clans came to this area from Baragau four generations ago. Some Bhotiya settlements look indigenous, like the Bagarchhap and Chame villages, but according to the villagers themselves these settlements are not very old. Different groups of Tibetans have migrated to this valley from the Tibetan parts of Nhubri khola, Tingri, Kirong, Dhotang and other parts of Tibet. Some of the Tibetans are recent immigrants, but most of them migrated permanently much earlier than 1960.

Very few Tibetan immigrants have settled in Nyesyang and Nar Phu. There are some *Dropka* (T) nomadic families who move throughout the year. The trade relations between Ghyasumdo and Tibet generally led to migration from Tibet to Ghyasumdo. This pattern has now changed. Most of the territory of Ghyasumdo has been occupied by the Gurungs (and the Ghales). The Bhotiyas are traders and pasturalists and, more recently, agriculturist.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

NYESYANG AND NAR PHU

In Nyesyang and Nar Phu, the *Dhaapaa Shabaa Council* system traditionally operating in each village, is based on an equalitiarian principle. This socio-political council is in a fairly developed stage. It has shaped the socio-political structure of Nyesyang and Nar Phu valleys, and no village panchayats have been organized in Nyesyang and Nar Phu until now.

In a Dhaapaa Shabaa Council, there are from three to fitfteen working members. The size of the Council differs with the size of the village. Khangsar villag has three working members in the Countil, whereas there are fifteen working members in the Manang Council, which is the largest. Manang village comprises half of the total population of Nyesyang valley. In other villages, the term of the members is for one year, whereas in Manang some posts are for one year, and others for two years. The theory of organization of the Dhaapaa Shabaa Council is the same throughout the area.

Each household sends one representative to participate in the succession process for the members of the Dhaapaa Shabaa Council. Only a male member between the age of 18 and 60 years old is allowd to participate in the succession process. This community traditionally have a nuclear family pattern. One must establish a permanent household separately from the parents within one year of marriage. Usually, the head of the family is the representative sent to participate in the succession process.

The succession process is organized on the basis of a rotation system of age seniority among the male members of 18 to 60 years. From the age of 60, a man retires from the socio-political activities of the community, and spends the rest of his life in religious activities. In case of *Dhongba Chha* (Ng) [13] a woman indirectly participates in the succession process for the member of Dhaapaa Shabaa Council. If she is married, then her husband represents her; if unmarried, she will be represented by her closest kinsman or someone else of her choice. This shows that the household is more important than the family in a village organization. However, women still play significant roles in the socio-economic and socio-political life of the community. While each Dhabaa Shabaa Council controls the whole administrative and social activity of the village, the Dhabaa Shabaa Council of Manang generally controls socio-political activities of Nyesyang and Nar Phu areas. This council plays both negative and positive roles in the social activities of the villages. The Council is concerned with social welfare and justice, but most of the time it is used as a source of income for the members, who impose heavy financial penalties for even minor social offences by the villages.

GHYASUMDO

Before the organization of the village panchayat system in Nepal, the mukhya (N) [14] (Government land revenue collector) used to be the political headman of the village in Ghyasumdo, as in other districts of Nepal. Now the members of the village panchayats have assumed the powers of the Mukhyas. The village headman still

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13 The inheritance of the parents is inherited by the daughter when they do not have a son, this called *Dhongba*. If a daughter gets married, and if there is no son, she brings her husband to her parents house; this is called *Dhongba Chab* (Ng). In Nepali, this system is called *Gharjawaipalne*. In such case, a man socially remains in the wife's parent's *phabai* (clan), but he would not lose his original phabai. Their offspring belongs socially in the mother's parents phabai: but originally to the father's original phabai. The original phabai is considered when making marriage alliances with other phabai. Two different phabai can be comprised when someone inherits the wife's parents' inheritance. In such case, a man's lineage will have dual phabai : socially his wife's parents, phabai, and originally his own parents' phabai.

14 Mahesh L. Regmi. *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, Berkeley, 1973, Vol. 1, page 270. He defines Mukhya as "Non-official land tax collecting agents on Pakho land (in the hill districts and Kathmandu valley)". But the predominant status of the Mukhya in the village has helped him to occupy important positions even in the village panchayat.

plays an important role, but at the same time the members of the village panchayats have usually become Mukhyas themselves.

RELIGION

NYESYANG AND NAR PHU

In Nyesyang and Nar Phu, *Bon* religion (T) used to exist along with the *Kargyud* (T) sect of Tibetan Buddhism. All the monasteries and temples of Nyesyang and Nar Phu belong to the Kargyud sect. The largest gompa is in Braga village and is assumed to have been built 500 years ago. It belongs to the Kargyud sect. At present there is a well trained native Kargyudpa Lama, who was trained in a Nhubri Khola monastery. Most lamas of Nyesyang are Kargyudpa. In Nar Phu there are some *Nyingmpa* (T) lamas. The Tashi Lhakang Kargyud gompa of Phu village is considered one of the most important from the religious point of view. It is said that the Lama who built the gompa of Braga built this Gompa also. Bon used to exist in both valleys until about three decades ago, and it has not disappered yet.[15]

Tibetan Buddhism influenced this area from Tibet, Mustang and from Nhubri. Some boys are now studiying at a Kargyud gompa in Kathmandu, and some are sent to Bhutan as well. In Nyesyang, there are very few Nyingmapa lamas at present.

GHYASUMDO

In Ghyasumdo, two or three decades ago a *khepre* (G) priest used to be hired by the Gurungs (both Khromai and Tharmai). But some Ghale lineages have started to preach Tibetan Buddhism. Two decades ago, the Nyingma sect of Buddhism established itself in Ghyasumdo through Nhubri. The Tibetan people are Buddhists, and a number of the Gurung population still practise *Khepre* (G)[16] and a *Phadzu* (G)[17] is also hired by the Gurung people to recite various rituals. Three Ghale families of Tilche have started to employ Brahmin priests to recite home rituals. These families used to employ khepre to recite funeral and *argun* (N) *or pai*, (G)[18] two decades ago, but at present they still do employ Tibetan lamas to recite funeral and other minor rituals.

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15 David Snellgrove. *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, Oxford, 1961, p. 214.

16 *Khepre* is a kind of Gurung Shaman who keeps and uses oral traditions of the Gurung in a religious context. Anthropologists like Pignede (1966) and Macfarlane (1972) say that Gurung Shamanism is derived from Tibetan Bon.

17 *Phadzu* is also a kind of Gurung Shaman which has many similarities and dissimilarities with Khepre in the ritual context.

18 Donald A. Messerschnidt — "*Rotating Credit in Gurung Society. The Dhikur Association of Tingau*". The Himalayan Review, Vol. V, no. 4, 1972, p. 33.

ANNEX I

Comments on the document reproduced as illustration 7.

(1) This document contains a duplicate of a *lalmohor* given to the people of Manang *Tinthapla* (N) (the Nyesyangba) by His Majesty King Rajendra Shaha Dev in 1881 V. S. (1825 A. D.). In this document it is stated that the Nyesyangba has to offer 45 pathi of flour, 45 pathi of rice, 3 large jars of *chhyang* (home-made beer), 3 dharni of ghee and 3 pathi of salt to the Bist of Jharkot Baragau in Mustang whenever the Bist would come to visit Nyesyang. Once the *Dhaapaa Shabaa Councils* of villages of Nyesyang refused to make those offerings to the Bist. Then a court case took place between the *Dhaapaa Shabaa Councils* of the Nyesyang villages and the Bist of Jharkot. His Majesty King Rajendra Bir Bikram Shaha Dev made a compromise and asked both groups to follow traditional rules. His Majesty added that those who would not follow traditional rules would be subject to heavy penalties. Neither group was allowed to suppress the other. His Majesty King Rajendra further stated that the people of Manang Tinthapla (the Nyesyangba) were allowed to do trade all over the country. No restriction would be put on their trading activities. No custom and other kinds of taxes would be imposed on the goods of Nyesyngbas by custom offices, government authorities and individuals as long as the Nyesyangba would pay *harsala* (N) and *nirkhi* (N) taxes once a year to the government. His Majesty added that he had also recognized the traditional rules and regulations regularized by his fore- fathers.

(2) The document also contains a duplicate of a *Khadganisana* given to the people of Nyesyang Valley by Prime Minister Jang Bahadur Rana in 1914 V. S. (1858 A.D.) In this document it is stated that the Bist of Jharkot Baragau in Mustang used to raise *sirto* (N) and other kinds of taxes in the villages of Nyesyang Valley before 1914 V. S. Then this document asks the villages of Nyesyang Valley to pay the *sirto* and other kinds of taxes to the Thapathali (Kathmandu) Darbar through the Lamjung *Amali* (regional tax collecting office) from 1914 B. S. Prime Minister Jang Bahadur Rana ask the villages to follow the rules and regulations which he has now regularized.

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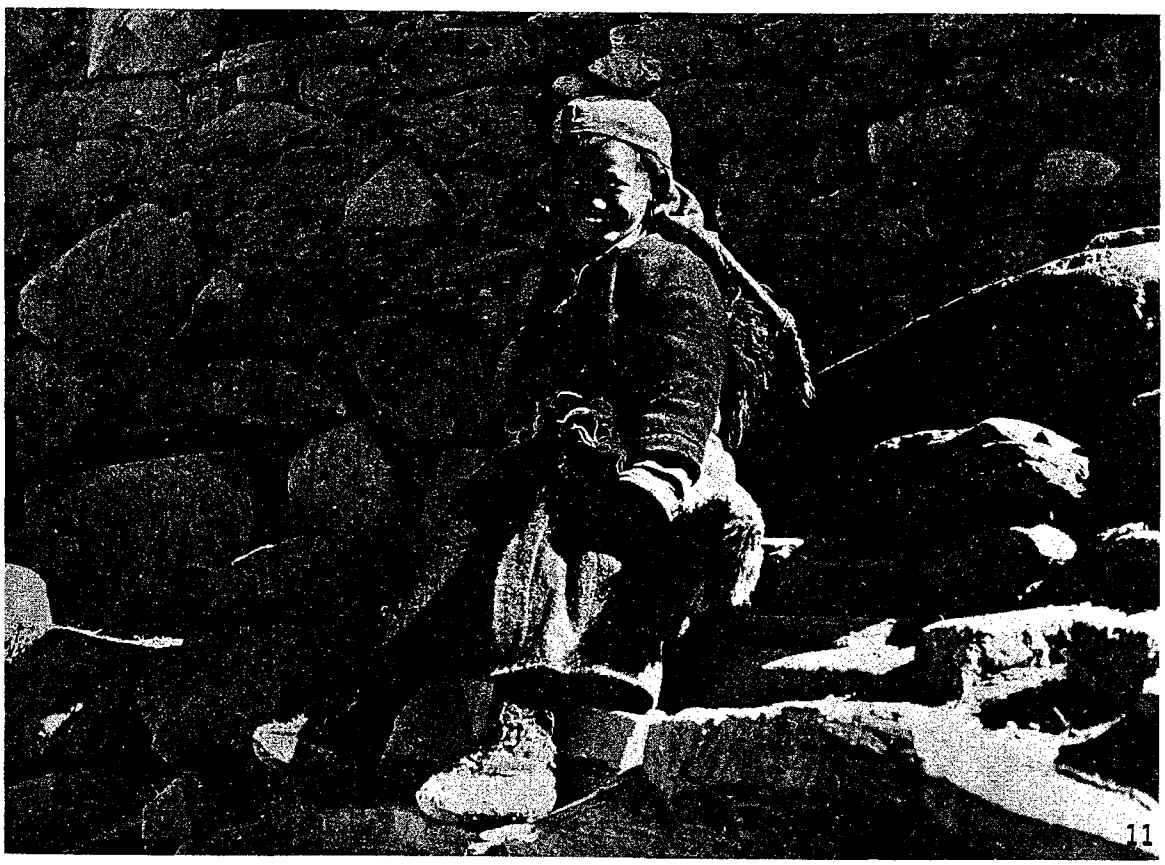
10.Lama dance at Phu on the occasion of the *dzor* ceremony.



11.A young charmer from Phu village.

12. Nar village.

13.Women representing their husbands in the *Dhaupaa Shabaa Council*

SHORT REVIEWS

SKETCH OF THULUNG GRAMMAR with three texts and a glossary. By N. J. Allen. *xii* + 254 *pages*. Cornell University East Asia Papers No. 6/1975. Published by China-Japan Program, 140 Uris Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

N. J. Allen is a social anthropologist, now at the University of Durham in the U. K., who studied Thulung while doing anthropological research on the Thulung Rais during 1969–71. His 'sketch' of the grammar is a mine of detailed information about the language, and the inclusion of texts, chosen for their anthropological interest, should make the book appeal to a wider audience.

The book is organized as follows : Ch. I: Introduction, pp. 1–10; Ch. II: Phonology, pp. 11–38; Ch. III: Personal Pronouns and Verb, pp. 39–94; Ch. IV: Brief Comments on Other Parts of Speech, pp. 96–115; Ch. V: Further Topics, Mainly Diachronic, pp. 116–136; Ch. VI: Texts, pp. 137–187; Glossary, pp. 188–251. The format is a very readable photoreproduced typescript.

Thulung is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the area around the confluence of the Dudh Kosi and the Solu River in the southern part of Solu Khumbu District in Nepal. Allen estimates that there are 8,000 speakers, all of whom also speak Nepali. He says that the nearest linguistic relative of Thulung may be Bahing Rai, its southern neighbor, but that the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Sunwar, to the west, and Khaling, to the north, are also closely related.

Thulung resembles Nepali in word order and overall syntax, but the case marking is more throughly ergative: subjects of transitive verbs are marked in the ergative case (which, like Nepali *–le*, is the same as the instrumental) in all tenses, not just the past as in Nepali; but first and second person pronouns (perhaps only the singulars, as in Sunwar) never receive ergative marking. Objects of transitive verbs, like the subjects of intransitives, are unmarked (the absolutive case, which Allen calls the 'affected case') although there is now some tendency to mark animate transitive objects with the Nepali objectmarker *–lāi*. The pronouns and the verbal morphology and agreement are much more complex than in Nepali: pronouns show singular, dual, and plural number, and there is a distinction between inclusive 'we' ('I and you'— cf. Newari *jhi*) and exclusive 'we' ('we, not including you'— cf. Newari *jipim*.) There

is also a complete set of possessive pronouns (curiously relegated to Ch. IV). Verbal agreement reflects all the pronominal categories of person and number, and transitive verbs agree with both their subjects and their objects. 'It is because of these relationships that the language family to which Thulung belongs has been called pronominalized,' (p. 39).

In the phonology, Thulung's system of initial consonants is remarkably similar to Nepali's, but as is typical of Tibeto-Burman, the system of syllable finals is considerably reduced, including only *p*, *t*, ṭ, and *k* among stops. (The dental / retroflex distinction in Thulung seems to show Nepali influence.) There are ten vowel qualities, with distinctive length, and at least the remnants of a system of tones. Allen believes that there are two tones, which he calls 'tense' and 'lax', but he found that he was generally unable to record the same tone consistently for individual words, except where a word happened to be a member of a minimal pair, distinguished only by tone, and in a few other items, or where tone served to distinguish tense in the verb. He lists the pairs and other items for which a consistent tonal realization was recorded, but does not generally mark tones elsewhere in the grammar. It may be, as he suggests, that the tonal system is going out of use under the influence of Nepali, and thus is only preserved sporadically; if so, it is a case of 'tonoexodus,' balancing the 'tonogenesis' which has been widely observed in Tibeto-Burman.

Allen's first text, 'Baginanda', is the myth of a shaman–hero; the second text contains stories of the Thulungs' relations with their neighbors: the establishment and rupture of marriage relations with the Bahings, the introduction of salt by the Sherpas, a dispute over salt awith the Khalings and the foundation of *Bhume* rites. These texts are in ordinary language; they are presented with an interlinear word-for-word translation, a free translation, and some linguistic notes. The final text is a narrative in 'ritual language.' Nouns are expressed in a 'paired-up form... clearly related to the chanting of rituals'— i. e. for rhythmic effect. For example, the ritual word for 'basket', *siumditophrim salatophrim,* contains an ordinary word for 'basket', *tophrim,* and other elements not normally compounded with it. (Perhaps these are *sal*— 'sift' and *sium*— 'ferment' found in the glossary; cf. *siumdikhundium salakhundium,* for *khundium* 'threshing stick'; and *sidumdikorceom salakorceom pesikorceom,* for *korceom* 'stirrer'). Many Rai languages have such a ritual variant, and much of Iman Singh Chemjong's Limbu material relates to a ritual variety of Limbu. The contents of the final text, too, are closely paralleled in the traditions of other Rai groups. Allen promises to discuss the cultural aspects of the texts in further publications.

The Thulung-English glossary of some 1600 words goes well beyond the vocabulary covered in the grammar and texts, and will be very useful for comparative studies.

In the introduction, Allen explains that the orientation of his anthropological study was diachronic, and the same goes for much of his linguistic work. He carefully notes details of morphophonemic alternation and phonological distribution and points out their significance for internal reconstruction. For example, he gives several pieces of evidence for the derivation of the ten-vowel system of Thulung from an older five-vowel system. He has also made full use of previous studies of Thulung: B. H. Hodgson's unpublished notes from the last century, the grammar in Nepali by Agam Sing Devasa Rai, and an article by S.N. Wolfenden. (These last, incidentally, are indeed both cited in Vol. 2 of Shafer's *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages* (1963), which Allen (p. 3) seems to have missed). Using Hodgson, he is able to show that Thulung once had a system of numeral classifiers based on the shapes of objects, which has since been lost. Perhaps only Newari in Nepal has such a system today; e.g. Newari *chà-pu lha*: ; Old Thulung *ko seol loa*. 'one— CLASSIFIER arm'.

Allen's grammar is a most substantial and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. We must admire his enterprise in crossing linguistic and disciplinary barriers to make it.

B. M.

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ANCIENT PAPER OF NEPAL. 271 *pages*, 239 *b/w plates*, *on Nepalese paper*, 1 *map*. With summary in Danish. By Jesper Trier. Jutland Archaeological Society Publications, Volume X, Copenhagen 1972. Price D. Kr. 140 /- (N. Rs. 280/-)

It has not been the privilege of this reviewer to see a more beautifully produced book on any Nepalese subject, notwithstanding the recent flood of multicolour picture books on Nepal. Not only is the paper used in the book exquisite—as one might expect in a book on paper—but the black and white photographic paltes are all, almost without exception, masterfuly engraved. It is reassuring that there are still block--makers and publishers who keep such high standards in this age of high-speed offset and computerized printing.

This interdisciplinary study attemps to cover a fairly large area, including an introductory chapter on Nepal and its people, the botanical characteristics of the fibres used for paper-making, a summary of the literature on paper-making, the various traditional and modern uses of paper, etc. This is a most welcome—and not entirely unsuccessful—departure from the rather narrow monograph approach to Nepalese subjects we have become accustomed to as far as scholarly works are concerned.

The author visited the Junbesi and Baglung areas in 1964 and 1970 to systematically study the methods of paper-making, and there is a most detailed description, accompanied by excellent photographs, of the different processes. He also studied paper-making in the Kathmandu Valley and describes carefully production as it evolved from being a simple craft to a modern manufacturing enterprise. Chapter 4 further contains details of the various processing stages handmade paper goes through once it reaches the paper merchant or the consumers themselves. This includes parting, dyeing, impregnating and glazing. The manufacture of ink is also covered.

In Chapter II, a detailed description of the various fibres used for paper, their properties and characteristics is provided along with extensive references and quotations from relevant botanical works. For example, to produce high quality paper in the past, the root of *Wikstroemia Chamaejasme* was used, and this is a plant still found in Dolpo and other places at high altitudes in the Himalaya. This is information which could be useful for administrators working to improve economic conditions in these areas. This book should hence also be of great interest to persons concerned with cottage industries and rural development in Nepal.

The most interesting parts of the book,however, deal with the author's field studies on paper-making techniques (chapter 4), the results of the technical investigations of the paper samples brought back to Denmark (chapter 6), and the tables and diagrams (pages 226-248).

Although detailed microscopic,chemical and optical spectographic analyses yield a considerable amount of information regarding the characteristics of the paper,it cannot give precise data on for example the dating of manuscripts. But a good amount of circumstantial data can be collected in this way, so that age and origin of manuscripts can be reasonably determined if one has extensive knowledge of paper properties and treatment processes used from place to place and period to period.

The bibliography is comprehensive as far as paper-making in the Himalaya is concerned, but a more detailed and complete index would have been desirable.

H. K. K.

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