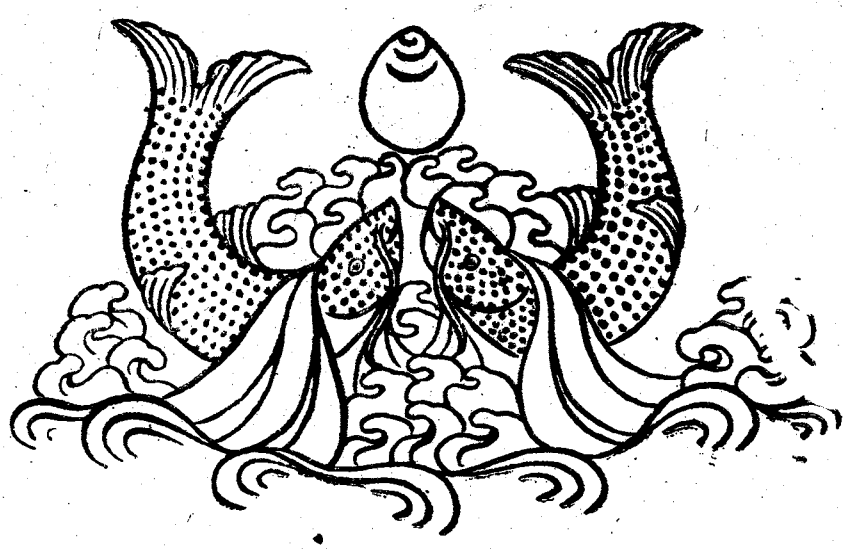
KAILASH

A JOURNAL OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES



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ILLUSTRATIONS

JAMYANG KHYENTSE'S *BRIEF DISCOURSE ON THE ESSENCE OF ALL THE WAYS:* A WORK OF THE *RIS-MED* MOVEMENT

Michael Aris
Oxford

INTRODUCTION

In 1972 my teacher, Dingo Khyentse Rinpoche, asked me to translate into English the *Theg-pa mtha'-dag-gi snying-po* which his own friend and mentor, the late Jamyang Khyentse Chökyi Lodrö (1896-1959) composed shortly before his death in Gangtok. At the same time he requested my friend and colleague in the Government of Bhutan, Mynyak Tulku, Director of the National Museum, to assist me in elucidating some of the technical terms contained within this short work. Although it was not long before a first draft was completed, circumstances have long delayed the preparation of a final version with which I could feel satisfied. In the meantime a translation has already been published by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives under the title *The Opening of the Dharma, A Brief Explanation of the Buddha's Many Vehicles.* The style of this translation is in many respects different from my own and so I have decided not to be deterred from publishing my version. A verse composition of this sort, so terse and fluent in the original, inevitably suffers badly in the process of translation and I can only hope that some of its tone and flavour survives in my prose rendering, which I have tried to keep as literal as possible.*

The work represents, for me at least, a succinct and brilliant synopsis of the whole course of Buddhist history and doctrine in Tibet, spontaneously conceived in a spirit of total dedication. Behind its classical structure and the ordered development of its prinicipal theme is revealed a mind which infuses the work with a strong directive purpose, seeking to outline in a few words that which others have obscured with too many words. Scholarship is here, then, a subtle tool—not the blunt instrument that is so often wielded with such labour and heavy-handedness in other works. It does, however, presuppose a certain corpus of knowledge on the part of the reader, a basic familiarity with Buddhist saints and terms which, with the exception of the most fundamental expressions, I have thought best to assume is mostly lacking. The notes at the end may therefore appear too brief for some and too lengthy for others, but I do

* I am indebted to Marco Pallis and David Ruegg for reading the final draft. Their comments and suggestions have assisted me greatly in resolving certain problems.

not think this be can be avoided. For the sake of accuracy I have retained the orginal orthography of Tibetan names and words in these notes but follow a simple phonetic rendering in the translation itself. For those who can follow the Tibetan, the whole of the text copied from the edition published in Kalimpong by the Mani Printing Press is included—it will always make far more satisfying reading than any attempt at a translation such as this.

The work is integral to the synthesising movement of *ris-med* (lit. 'non-partiality'). As Gene Smith has so ably shown[1], this movement first developed in Eastern Tibet in the 1860's as a reaction on the part of some great Nyingmapa scholars against the sectarian polemics and persecutions which had vitiated the spiritual life of Tibet down to their own day. Although there are many antecedents to this movement which can be pointed out during almost the whole course of Tibetan history, it was the peculiar political and cultural conditions prevailing in the kingdom of Derge in the XIXth century which finally produced this conscious search for harmony and tolerance that continues to influence religious attitudes so strongly today. The first, and still perhaps the fullest, expression of *ris- med* is contained in the monumental treatise of the *Shes-bya kun-khyab* by Kongtrül Lodrö Thaye (1813-1899). This "Encompassment of All Knowledge" is essentially a survey of the entire sweep of Lamaist scholastic knowledge, centred around an analysis of the function of the 'three vows' (*trisamvara*), and it proved an ideal vehicle in which to propound a mingling of schools and traditions. It was written at the behest of Jamyang Khyentse'i Wangpo (1820-1892), another of the great founders of the *ris-med* movement. The author of our present work was born in 1896 and immediately recognised as the incarnation of the "active principle" (*phrin-sprul*) of this great scholar.[2] In early youth he was installed in the monastery of Kathog but in 1910 he moved to the great monastery of Dzongsar in Derge whose lama he remained until he came to Sikkim where, after teaching for a time under the patronage of Sikkim's royal family, he died in 1959. His ashes are preserved in a reliquary chöten in a side-chapel within the Palace Monastery, known as the Tsuglakhang, in Gangtok. Dingo Khyentse Rinpoche, who requested this translation, is the incarnation of the "mental principle" (*thugs-sprul*) of Jamyang Khyentse'i Wangpo and therefore enjoyed a very close relationship with our author throughout the latter's long and active life. venerating him

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1 See his most useful introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture* (Sata-Pitaka Series, Vol. 80), pp. 1-87, also his introduction to *The Autobiographical Reminiscences of the Ngag -dbang-dpal-bzang* (Ngagyur Nyingmay Sungrab, Vol. 1).

2 See Mme Ariane Macdonald's revised diagram illustrating the Khyentse incarnation "family" in *Kongtrul*, p. cit., p. 74.

as one of his principal masters. A few years ago he composed a short biographical work on his life and teachings. Unfortunately I do not have access to this at the moment.

The way in which the author first seeks to establish the validity of all schools of Tibetan Buddhism and then proceeds to outline the basic systems of realisation which they share in common requires little explanation. One of his sources of inspiration, both in regard to the form and content of this work, was undoubtedly the *Shes-bya kun-khyab* itself. But whereas that long and exhaustive study was primarily intended for monastic scholars, this one is clearly aimed at the ordinary Buddhist of today who requires a simple restatement of the fundamentals of his faith and of the path leading to their fulfilment. While the fundamentals of Buddhism appear here as crystal clear as in truth they really are, and while the moral values that underlie them likewise strike a universal chord of response, the methods employed to attain what is described here as "the great enlightenment that does not reside in *saṃsāra* or *nirvana*"[3] are complex, subtle and individually graded to all the potentialities of samsaric existence. It would be difficult, I imagine, to produce a more concise account of the full diversity of the Buddhist faith, and yet one which does not detract in any way from its profundity, than the one contained in this short work. Its final *cri de coeur* further demonstrates the powerful role that human emotions can play in a religion that some would reduce to a dry and stale system of psychological analysis.

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3 line 276.

༄། །ཐེག་པ་མཐའ་དག་གི་སྙིང་པོ་མདོ་ཙམ་བརྗོད་པ་
ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་འབྱེད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།

༄། །བླ་མ་དང་མགོན་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །བདག་ཏུ་ལྟ་བའི་དྲི་བ་འདྲལ་མཛད་ཅིང་། །ཡེ་ཤེས་རལ་གྲིའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་ས་གསུམ་ཁྱབ། །རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་མཁྱེན་རབ་ཕུང་པོ་ཆེ། །མགོན་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །ཐེག་པ་མཐའ་ཡས་ཆོས་ཚུལ་བསམ་མི་ཁྱབ། །བརྗོད་པར་ནུས་མིན་འོན་ཀྱང་མདོ་ཙམ་ཞིག །ཉུང་ངུའི་ངག་གིས་རྣམ་པར་དབྱེ་བ་ནི། །ཆ་ཤས་ཙམ་ཞིག་བདག་གིས་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ། །ཀུན་མཁྱེན་སྟོན་པ་ཤཱཀྱ་སེང་གེ་ཡིས། །ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་རིམ་པ་གསུམ་བསྐོར་བ། །དང་པོས་བསོད་ནམས་མིན་པ་བཟློག་པ་དང་། །བར་པས་བདག་ཏུ་ལྟ་བ་བཟློག་པ་དང་། །ཐ་མཐའ་ལྟ་གཞི་ཐམས་ཅད་བཟློག་པར་གསུངས། །བརྗོད་བྱ་བསླབ་གསུམ་རྗོད་བྱེད་གསུང་རབ་ནི། །ཡན་ལག་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཁོངས་སུ་བསྡུ་བ་དང་། །གསང་བ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ། །ཁ་ཅིག་ནང་གི་མངོན་པ་ཞེས་བཤད་ཀྱང་། །རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་སྡེ་སྣོད་ཅེས་གསུངས་ཏེ། །ལོགས་སུ་བཀར་བ་དེ་ཉིད་ལེགས་པར་བཞེད། །བོད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བ་པུ་སྟི་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་ཙམ། །འོན་ཀྱང་བཀའ་ཡི་ཚད་བཟུང་མི་ནུས་ཏེ། །བཀའ་ཡི་དགོངས་འགྲེལ་བསྟན་བཅོས་རྣམ་གྲངས་ལ། །ཐེག་དམན་བྱེ་བྲག་བཤད་མཛོད་ལ་སོགས་དང་། །ཐེག་ཆེན་དགོངས་འགྲེལ་འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱན་དྲུག་དང་། །སྨད་བྱུང་སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་སོགས་མཁས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །མཛད་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྣམ་གྲངས་མང་པོ་དང་། །གསང་སྔགས་རྒྱུད་སྡེའི་འགྲེལ་དང་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་དང་། །མན་ངག་བསམ་མི་ཁྱབ་པའི་བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས། །སྔོན་བྱོན་ལོ་པཎ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལས། །བོད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བ་གླེགས་བམ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་ལྷག །བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྟན་པའི་གཞི་འཛིན་བྱེད། །འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་གསར་རྙིང་ཞེས་པ་མེད། །བོད་དུ་ལོ་ཙཱ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འགྱུར་སྔ་ཕྱིས། །གསར་རྙིང་དབྱེ་བ་རིན་བཟང་བྱོན་ཡན་ཆད། །འགྱུར་ལ་སྔ་འགྱུར་རྙིང་མ་དེ་ཕྱིན་ཆད། །གསར་མ་ཞེས་དབྱེ་དེ་ཡང་འདུལ་མདོ་མངོན། །གསང་སྔགས་ཕྱི་རྒྱུད་གསུམ་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ། །ཕལ་ཆེར་བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་དུས་སུ་བསྒྱུར། །རྣལ་འབྱོར་བླ་མདེ་བདེ་ཀྱི་དུས་གཞིན་སོགས། །ཕྱི་འགྱུར་ཤས་ཆེ་སྔ་འགྱུར་རྙིང་མ་ལ། །བླ་མེད་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མང་། །དེ་ལ་གསར་མའི་མཁས་མཆོག་འགའ་ཞིག་གིས། །རྒྱུད་ནི་ཚད་མ་མིན་ཞེས་གསུངས་ནའང་། །གཟུར་གནས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཚད་མ་ཉིད་དུ་བསྟགས། །དོན་ལའང་དེ་ལྟར་འཁྲུལ་མེད་གནས་པར་སེམས། །རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཅི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན་བཀའ་དང་ནི། །བསྟན་བཅོས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཟབ་དང་རྒྱ་ཆེའི་དོན། །ཇི་བཞིན་སྟོན་པས་སྤྱི་བོར་བླང་བར་རིགས། །དེ་ལ་གསང་སྔགས་རྙིང་མར་ཐེག་རིམ་དགུ། །བསྡུ་ན་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ཐེག་པ་གཉིས་སུ་འདུ། །རྒྱུ་ཡི་ཐེག་པ་ཉན་རང་བྱང་སེམས་གསུམ། །འབྲས་བུའི་སྔགས་ལ་ཕྱི་རྒྱུད་ཐེག་གསུམ་དང་། །ནང་པ་ཐབས་ཆེན་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་གསུམ་ཡོད་དེ། །དེ་དག་རྣམས་ལ་ལྟ་སྒོམ་སྤྱོད་འབྲས་ཀྱི། །རྣམ་པར་བཞག་པ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་གྱུར་ཀྱང་། །ཉུང་ངུའི་ངག་གིས་འདི་རུ་འབྲི་མི་ནུས། །སྔ་འགྱུར་རྙིང་མར་བཀའ་གཏེར་དག་སྣང་གསུམ། །གསང་སྔགས་གསར་མ་རྗེ་བོ་བཀའ་གདམས་ཞེས། །ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་དང་རྒྱལ་བ་འབྲོམ་སྟོན་པ། །སྐུ་མཆེད་གསུམ་སོགས་བསྟན་འཛིན་བསམ་མི་ཁྱབ། །བཀའ་གདམས་རྙིང་མས་ཀར་ཀུན་ལའང་འདྲེས། །དེ་ཉིད་གཞིར་བཟུང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚོང་ཁ་པས། །འདུལ་མདོ་དབུ་མ་ཕར་ཕྱིན་གསང་སྔགས་སོགས། །རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་ཅིང་དེ་ཡི་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱིས། །འཛིན་མའི་ཁྱོན་ཀུན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱུར། །དེ་ཡི་བཞེད་པའི་མདོ་སྔགས་ཟབ་གནད་ལ། །ལྷག་པའི་ལྷ་དང་རང་གི་རྣམ་དཔྱོད་ཀྱི། །ཤེས་རབ་ཟབ་མོའི་སྒོམ་ལས་ཐོན་པ་ཡི། །ཁྱད་ཆོས་མང་བཞུགས་ལེགས་བཤད་རྣམས

70༄༅། །སྲུ་གསལ། །ས་སྐྱ་པ་ཞེས་རྗེ་བཙུན་གོང་མ་ལྔས། །རྣལ་འབྱོར་དབང་ཕྱུག་བིར་ཝ་པ་ཆེན་པོ། །ན་རོ་པ་དང་རྡོ་རྗེ···
75 གདན་པ་སོགས། །འཕགས་ཡུལ་མཁས་གྲུབ་མང་པོའི་མདོ་སྔགས་ཀྱི། །བཤད་སྲོལ་འཛིན་ཅིང་སྔ་འགྱུར་རྙིང་མ་ཡི། །ཡང···
དག་ཕུར་པ་སོགས་ཀྱང་འཁོན་ལུགས་ཞེས། །ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས་པ་ཉམས་པ་མེད་པར་བཞུགས། །འཛམ་གླིང་མཁས་པའི་གཙུག
80 རྒྱན་ས་པཎ་ཞེས། །སྨུ་ཕྱོགས་རྩོད་པ་བཟློག་ལ་བོད་དུ་ནི། །འདི་ཙམ་ཉིད་ལས་གཞན་དུ་མ་གྲགས་སོ། །དེ་ཡི་བརྒྱུད་འཛིན···
ས་ངོར་ཚར་གསུམ་ཡིན། །བུ་ལུགས་ཇོ་ནང་བོ་དོང་ཞེས་གྲགས་རྣམས། །རྗེ་ན་བཞིའི་རྩ་བ་ས་སྐྱ་པ་ལས་གྱེས། །མདོ་སྔགས···
85 བཞེད་པ་ཅུང་ཟད་འབུར་དོད་ཡོད། །ནཱ་རོ་མཻ་ཏྲི་ལས་འོངས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ། །མར་མི་དྭགས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀུན་གྱི་རྗེ། །དེ
ལས་གྱེས་པ་ཆེ་བཞི་ཆུང་བརྒྱད་སོགས། །མང་ཡང་དྭགས་པོའི་སློབ་མ་ཕག་གྲུ་ལས། །གྱེས་པ་མང་ཞིང་ད་ལྟའང་ཀར་འབྲུག···
90 དང་། །འབྲི་སྟག་བཞི་པོ་མ་ཉམས་བཞུགས་པ་དང་། །གཞན་རྣམས་བསྟན་རྒྱུན་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཉག་ཕྲར་གྱུར། །མཁས་གྲུབ་ཁྱུང···
པོ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཞེས་བྱ་བས། །རྒྱ་གར་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྣམ་གཉིས་དང་། །རཱ་ཧུ་ལ་དང་མཻ་ཏྲི་པ་ལ་སོགས། །མཁས་གྲུབ
95 བརྒྱ་དང་ལྔ་བཅུ་བསྟེན་བྱས་ཏེ། །བོད་དུ་སྤེལ་བ་ཤངས་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གྲགས། །དེ་ཡི་ཆོས་ལུགས་རྐྱང་ཚུགས་འཛིན་པ་མེད།
།ས་ཀར་གཉིས་ལ་དབང་ལུང་རྒྱུན་རྣམས་བཞུགས། །གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱ་གར་དམ་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི། །བཀའ་སྲོལ་ཞི་བྱེད་མ·····
100 གཅིག་ལབ་སྒྲོན་གྱི། །དམ་ཆོས་བདུད་ཀྱི་གཅོད་ཡུལ་ལ་སོགས་པ། །བོད་དུ་གསང་སྔགས་བཀའ་སྲོལ་རྣམ་གྲངས་མང་། །དེ
རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་མིང་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ལས། །དོན་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་དབྱེ་བ་འགའ་མེད་ཅིང་། །མཐར་ཐུག་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྒྲུབ་ལ་གནད
105 གཅིག་གོ། །བཤད་པའི་བཀའ་བབས་ས་སྐྱ་དགེ་ལྡན་གཉིས། །སྒྲུབ་པའི་བཀའ་བབས་ཀར་རྙིང་ཞེས་ཀྱང་གྲགས། །དོན
ལ་སྔོན་བྱོན་མཁས་པས་འདི་ལྟར་གསུངས། །གངས་ཅན་བསྟན་པའི་སྲོལ་འབྱེད་རྙིང་མ་པ། །བསྟན་འཛིན་བྱེ་བའི་འབྱུང·····
110 གནས་བཀའ་གདམས་པ། །ཡོངས་རྫོགས་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་མཛད་ས་སྐྱ་པ། །ཟླ་མེད་གྲུབ་པའི་གསེང་ལམ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ། །
ལེགས་བཤད་སྨྲ་བའི་ཉི་མ་ཙོང་ཁ་པ། །ཟབ་རྒྱས་རྒྱུད་སྡེའི་མངའ་བདག་ཇོ་ཞལ་གཉིས། །ཞེས་སུ་བཤད་འདི་དོན་ལ་གནས···
115 པར་འདུག །རྙིང་མ་གཏེར་མ་ཞེས་གྲགས་ཨུ་རྒྱན་གྱི། །སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་པདྨ་སམ་བྷ་ཝ། །བོད་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་མངའ་བདག
120 རྗེ་འབངས་ལ། །ཐུན་མོང་ཐུན་མིན་མང་དུ་སྩལ་བ་རྣམས། །སྙིགས་དུས་བསྟན་འགྲོ་སྐྱབས་པའི་དཔུང་གཉེན་དུ། །ས་ཡི་
གཏེར་དང་དགོངས་པའི་གཏེར་དུ་སྦས། །དུས་བབས་སྤྲུལ་པའི་སྐྱེས་མཆོག་ཀྱིས་འདོན། །བསྟན་དང་འགྲོ་ལ་ཕན་བདེའི·····
བཙས་སུ་བྱེད། །དག་སྣང་སྙན་བརྒྱུད་ཞེས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་རྣམས། །གསང་སྔགས་གསར་རྙིང་གཉིས་ཀར་མང་པོ་བཞུགས། །
125 མཁས་པ་འགའ་རེས་གཏེར་ལ་རྩོད་བྱེད་ཀྱང་། །དགོས་པ་དགོངས་གཞི་གང་ཡིན་བརྟགས་པ་ལས། །གཏེར་ཆོས་ཚད་མ···
130 གསུམ་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་ལ། །སྐུར་པ་བཏབ་ན་ཆོས་ལ་སྤང་བ་ཡི། །ཉེས་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ལྕི་བས་བག་ཡོད་མཛོད། །འབུམ་པ་ལ·····
སོགས་ཀླུ་སྒྲུབ་གཏེར་མ་དང་། །ཨུ་རྒྱན་ཌྷུ་མ་ཐ་ལའི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ནས། །གསང་སྔགས་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བླངས།།
135 འཕགས་ཡུལ་ལ་འང་དོན་དུ་གཏེར་བྱོན་བཞུགས། །དེ་སོགས་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་མང་ཡང་སྤྲོས་པ་སྐྱུང་། །དེ་ལྟར་བཤད་པའི་བསྟན
པ་མཐའ་དག་གི། །ལམ་གྱི་སྙིང་པོ་ངེས་འབྱུང་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ། །གཞི་རྟེན་སོ་ཐར་རིགས་བདུན་གང་རུང་གི། །ཁྲིམས་ལ·····
140 གནས་ཤིང་དལ་འབྱོར་རྙེད་དཀའ་བསམས། །དལ་བའི་རྟེན་བཟང་འདི་འདྲ་ད་ཐོབ་ནས། །རྙེད་པར་དཀའ་བའི་ཚུལ་ལ·····
ལེགས་པར་བསམས། །རྙེད་པ་དོན་ཆེ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་དང་མཚུངས། །དེ་ཡང་ཡུན་དུ་མི་རྟག་མྱུར་དུ་འཆི། །རྒན་གཞོན···
145 པར་མ་ནམ་འཆི་ངེས་མེད་དང་། །འཆི་བའི་རྐྱེན་མང་འཚོ་བའི་རྐྱེན་ཉུང་ཞིང་། །ནམ་ཟླ་དུས་བཞི་དགྲ་གཉེན་འགྱུར་ལྡོག
སོགས། །ཡང་ཡང་བསམས་ལ་མི་རྟག་དྲན་པར་མཛོད། །ཤི་ནས་ནམ་མཁའི་དབྱིངས་སུ་ཐིམ་པ་མིན། །མི་ནས་མིར་སྐྱེ་ད···

150 ༄༅། །ནས་ཏར་སྐྱིའང་མིན། །འགྲོ་བ་རྣམས་ནི་ལས་ཀྱིས་འཕེན་པ་ཡིན། །སྣ་ཚོགས་འགྲོ་འདི་གནས་རིས་མཐོ་དམན་དང་།།
ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཆེ་ཆུང་མངའ་རིས་དབང་ཐང་རྣམས། །སྐྱེ་གཟུགས་བཟང་ངན་སྣ་ཚོགས་འབྱུང་བ་ནི། །དགེ་དང་མི་དགེ་འདྲེས་
155 མའི་ལས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །སྲིད་པ་འདི་ན་རྣམ་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་མཆིས། །དགེ་དང་མི་དགེའི་ལས་ནི་བཅུ་རུ་འདུས། །རྣམ་སྨིན་རྒྱུ་···
མཐུན་དབང་དང་བྱེད་འབྲས་བཞིས། །དགེ་དང་མི་དགེ་འབྲས་བུ་སོ་སོར་སྨིན། །མ་བྱས་པ་ཡི་ལས་དང་མི་འཕྲད་ཅིང་། །
160 བྱས་པ་ནམ་ཡང་ཆུད་མི་ཟ་བ་དང་། །བྱེད་པོ་གང་ཡིན་དེ་ལ་ངེས་པར་སྨིན། །མཐོང་བའི་ཆོས་ལ་སྨྱོང་འགྱུར་ལས་འབྲས་···
དང་། །སྐྱེས་ནས་སྨྱོང་དང་ལན་གྲངས་གཞན་ལ་སྨྱོང་། །སྨྱོང་བར་ངེས་དང་མ་ངེས་ལ་སོགས་པ། །ལས་འབྲས་རྣམ་བཞག
165 ཞིབ་ཏུ་བསྟན་པ་ཡི། །མདོ་དང་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཁྲིད་ཡིག་རྣམས་སུ་གཟིགས། །རྒྱུ་འབྲས་སྤང་བླང་བྱ་འདི་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི། །
ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་བདེན་བཞི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི། །གནས་ཀྱི་འགག་སྡོམ་ཟབ་མོ་འདི་ཡིན་ནོ། །ལས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་པས་འགྲོ་བ་རིགས་དྲུག
170 འཁྱམས། །ངན་སོང་གསུམ་དང་མཐོ་རིས་གནས་གསུམ་མོ། །མདོར་ན་འདོད་གཟུགས་གཟུགས་མེད་ཁམས་གསུམ་དུ། །ཀྱིན
མེད་རྡུལ་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། །སྡུག་བསྔལ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་འགྱུར་བའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་དང་། །ཁྱབ་པ་འདུ་བྱེད་སྡུག་བསྔལ་···
175 གྱིས་མནར་ཞིང་། །བྱེ་བྲག་རིགས་དྲུག་སྡུག་བསྔལ་སོ་སོར་གཟིར། །མི་དགེ་བ་ལས་འབྲས་བུ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་འབྱུང་། །ཟག···
བཅས་དགེ་བས་མཐོ་རིས་གནས་སུ་སྐྱེ། །མི་གཡོ་འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་ཡི་ཏིང་འཛིན་གྱིས། །བསམ་གཏན་གཟུགས་མེད་གནས་སུ···
180 འཕེན་པར་བྱེད། །དེ་དག་འཁོར་བའི་རྩ་བ་མ་སྤངས་པས། །སྲིད་པར་སྲིད་ཞེན་གྱིས་འཕངས་འཁོར་བར་ལྟུང་། །དེས་ན
འཁོར་བའི་གནས་འདི་མེ་འོབས་དང་། །དུག་སྦྲུལ་ཚང་དང་ལྷན་ཅིག་གནས་པ་འདྲ། །དེ་ཕྱིར་འཁོར་བའི་བདེ་བར་ཡིད་མི···
185 སྨོན། །སྲིད་ལས་ངེས་པར་འབྱུང་བའི་བློ་བསྐྱེད་ཅིག །ཐར་པའི་ལམ་དུ་འཇུག་པའི་རྩ་བ་ནི། །དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་བསྟེན
190 ལ་རག་ལས་པས། །ཐོས་པས་རྒྱུད་དུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྡན་བྱང་སེམས་འབྱོངས། །ཡང་དག་ལྟ་ལྡན་བརྩེ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་མངའ། །སྤྲོ···
འདོགས་ཆེད་ནུས་དབང་དང་དམ་ལྡན་པའི། །བླ་མ་བསྟེན་ནས་ཅི་གསུངས་བཀའ་བཞིན་སྒྲུབས། །དད་དང་མོས་གུས་བསྐྱེད
195 ན་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐོབ། །དེ་ཕྱིར་བླ་མ་བཟང་པོ་བསྟེན་པར་གཅེས། །བླ་མའི་གདམས་ངག་འཆི་མེད་བདུད་རྩི་འདྲ། །ཛེ་ཙམ་ཐོས
པ་ཡལ་བར་མི་འདོར་བ། །རང་གི་ཉམས་སུ་བླངས་ཤིང་བསམ་བསྒོམ་མཛོད། །ཐོས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་ཕན་པར་མི་འགྱུར་ཏེ། །ཆུ
200 མ་བཏུང་ན་སྐོམ་པ་སེལ་མི་ནུས། །དེ་བས་དབེན་པའི་རི་ཁྲོད་གནས་པར་བྱ། །ལམ་གྱི་གཞི་རྟེན་སྐྱབས་སུ་འགྲོ་བ་ནི། །
སྡོམ་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཞི་རྟེན་གསུང་པ་དང་། །ཕྱི་ནང་ཤན་འབྱེད་ལྷ་མི་ཀུན་གྱི་བསྲུངས། །འདི་ཕྱིའི་ལེགས་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ···
205 ཡིས་འགྲུབ། །སྟོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྐྱོབ་པ་དམ་ཆོས་དང་། །འདྲེན་པ་དགེ་འདུན་གསུམ་ལ་བློ་གཏད་ཁོལ། །ཁ་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན···
བསླུ་མེད་ཡིད་ཆེས་བསྐྱེད། །སྐྱབས་འགྲོའི་བསླབ་བྱ་རྣམས་ནི་ལེགས་པར་སྲུངས། །ཐེག་ཆེན་ལམ་གྱི་དངོས་གཞི་བྱང་ཆུབ···
210 སེམས། །དམ་ཆོས་འོ་མ་བསྲུབས་པའི་ཉིང་ཁུ་ཡིན། །འདི་མེད་མདོ་སྔགས་ཉམས་ལེན་གང་བྱས་ཀྱང་། །སྙིང་པོ་མེད་པར་
ཆུ་ཤིང་སྡོང་པོར་མཚུངས། །དེ་ཡང་ནམ་མཁའི་མཐའ་མཉམ་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས། །རང་གི་སྐྱེ་བ་ཐོག་མེད་ལ་བརྒྱུད་པས། །
215 སྐྱེ་བ་གྲངས་མེད་སེམས་ཅན་གྲངས་མེད་པ། །ཕ་མར་གྱུར་ནས་ཕན་བདགས་བསམ་མི་ཁྱབ། །དེ་ཕྱིར་བྱམས་དང་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཆེན
པོ་ནི། །དགྲ་གཉེན་བར་མའི་འགྲོ་བ་ཀུན་ལ་སྒོམས། །ཉེ་རིང་ཆགས་སྡང་བྲལ་བར་བཏང་སྙོམས་བསྐྱེད། །ལུས་ངག་ཡིད
220 གསུམ་དགེ་ལ་རབ་བཀོལ་ཞིང་། །གཞན་ཕན་འགྱུར་བའི་བསམ་པ་བཟང་པོ་དང་། །སྨོན་ལམ་ཁྱད་འཕགས་རྟག་ཏུ་གདབ
པར་བྱ། །ཡང་དག་ལྟ་བ་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱེ་བའི་ཐབས། །བསོད་ནམས་ཚོགས་བསགས་སྒྲིབ་སྦྱོངས་ནན་ཏན་གཅེས། །ཡན་ལག···
225 བདུན་པ་ཕྱག་སྐོར་མདོ་འདོན་དང་། །གཟུངས་སྔགས་བཟླ་ཞིང་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལྟུང་བཤགས་འདོན། །སྟོབས་བཞི་ཚང་བའི་སྡིག་ནས

ཨཱ། །འབད་བྱས་ན། །སྔོག་སྨིན་ཉེས་ལྟུང་ཐམས་ཆད་བྱང་ཞིང་དག །ཚོགས་བསགས་སྡིང་པོ་མཆོག་དཀོན་དབྱལ། །
དེ་ལྟར་དམིགས་པ་དང་བཅས་བསགས་པ་རྣམས། །འཁོར་གསུམ་རང་བཞིན་མེད་རྟོགས་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི། །སྦྱང་ཉིད་དང་
འབྲེལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཚོགས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། །བསོད་ནམས་ཚོགས་ལས་སངས་རྒྱས་གཟུགས་གཉིས་སྐྱེ་དང་། །ཡེ་ཤེས་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་
ཐོབ་འགྱུར། །དེ་ལྟར་བསགས་པ་སྦྱངས་ཤིང་ལས་ངན་པ་དང་། །ཡང་དག་ལྟ་བ་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱེ་ཞིང་། །ཐོག་མར་ཞི་གནས་
བཅས་ལྷག་མཐོང་སྒོམ་པ་ལས། །ཉེས་པ་ལྔ་སྤོང་འདུ་བྱེད་བརྒྱད་བཏུ་ཞི། །རྟེན་ཅན་རྟེན་མེད་རྣམ་པ་ལས། །
བདེ་གསལ་མི་རྟོག་ཏིང་ངེའི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར། །དེས་ནི་ཉོན་མོངས་མཚོ་རྣམ་ཙམ་ཞིག་བྱང་ཆུབ་པ་ལས། །
ལ་དབབ། །ཐོག་མེད་སྡིད་པའི་རྩ་བ་དཔུང་ཁུ་འཇིག། །མ་རིག་པ་འདི་རྣམ་གཞི་ལ་པའི་ཕྱིར། །སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དེ་ངེས་པ་
བསྒོམ་པར་བྱ། །དེ་ཡང་ཕྱང་ཡོད་ཐལ་དུ་མར་ཡེགས་དབྱུངས་ཅིང་། །ཐ་སྙད་དང་འཇིག་པས་བསྟན་
རྣམ་པར་གཞོམ་པ་ལ། །སོ་སོར་བརྟགས་པའི་དབྱུད་པ་རྣམ་པར་གཅེས། །བདག་དང་ལྡང་ཡོ་གཅིག་གམ་ཐ་དད་སོགས། །
དབྱུ་མའི་རིགས་པ་ནས་འབྱུང་ལྟར་དབྱུད་ལ། །ཁང་ཟག་བདག་མེད་གཉིས་ལ་དབབ་པར་དང་། །ཁ་རྒྱང་དང་འཇིག་པས་བསྟན་
པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བདག །ཕུང་པོའི་ཆ་ཤས་དུ་མར་ཡེགས་དབྱུངས་ཅིང་། །བདག་མེད་རིགས་པ་ནས་ལྷག་
དང་ལྡན་ཞིང་ཟབ་ཅིང་རྒྱས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག །ཕུང་པོའི་ཆ་ཤས་དུ་མར་ཡེགས་དབྱུངས་ཅིང་། །
བདག་མེད་རྟོགས་པའི་དབྱུད་པ་རྣམ་པར་གཅེས། །བདག་དང་ལྡང་ཡོ་གཅིག་གམ་ཐ་དད་སོགས། །
དབྱུ་མའི་རིགས་པ་ནས་འབྱུང་ལྟར་དབྱུད་ལ། །ཁང་ཟག་བདག་མེད་གཉིས་ལ་དབབ་པར་དང་། །ཁ་རྒྱང་དང་འཇིག་པས་བསྟན་
པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བདག །ཕུང་པོའི་ཆ་ཤས་དུ་མར་ཡེགས་དབྱུངས་ཅིང་། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག །ཕུང་པོའི་ཆ་ཤས་དུ་མར་ཡེགས་
བསྟན་པའི་ཚོས་ཐམས་ཅད། །རང་བཞིན་སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་པར་གཏན་ལ་དབབ། །ཐམས་ཅད་མཉམ་པ་ཉིད་དུ་འཆར་བ་
དང་། །སྐྱེ་མེད་སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་སྣང་གྲགས་ཀྱི། །ཚོས་རྣམས་འགག་པ་མེད་པར་རང་ཤར་བའི། །ཉེ་ཅབ་
མོའི་རིགས་པ་ཁོང་ཆུད་དེ། །སྟོང་དང་ཉེ་འབྱུང་ཐ་མི་དད་པ་ཡི། །གོ་སྐྱེང་བྱང་ན་འཇིན་གཅིག་པ་ཐམས་མ་བསླད་པར། །རྣམ
མ་ཡི། །སོ་སོར་རྟོགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་དང་ལྡན་པས། །རྩེ་གཅིག་མི་གཡོ་ཞི་བར་གནས་པ་དང་། །ལྷག་མཐོང་ཤེས་རབ་
སྒོམ་པ་ཀུན་བཏུས་ལྡན་པ། །ཡང་དག་ལྟ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་བའི་ཡུམ། །ཤེས་རབ་ཐོབ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་རྣོ་
ཞིང་། །མ་ཡེང་ཇི་བཞིན་ཤེས་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། །རྒྱུ་ལས་འབྲས་བུ་ཤེས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་
ལྟ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། །བདག་ཏུ་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་
སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་
ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །
ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་
པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་
སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་
ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །
ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་
པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་
སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་
ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །
ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྲུ་བ་ཉོན་མོངས་

ཨཱ། །རང་ནས་བཤེག་ཅིས་མདོ་ནས་གསུངས་པ་ལ། །དེན་པ་ཉི་བར་བཞག་ནས་སྐྱངས་སྐྱངས་མཛོད། །ཁྱིམ་ནས་གནས་
རྣམས་དཀོན་མཆོག་མཆོད་པར་བང་། །ཞན་སེམས་དང་ལྡན་དགེ་བའི་ལས་བརྩེ་ན་། །འདི་ཕྱི་ཆེ་རབས་ཀུན་ཏུ་དགེ་བར་
འགྱུར། །བདག་ནི་བཅིངས་ཉེ་ཁྲིད་ཐམས་པས་ཉེན། །སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་ལྡན་ཞལ་གཟིགས་བསམ་བཟང་ཙམ་ལས། །ཞན་ཕྱིས་
པ་གང་ཡང་མེད་ངེས་ཀྱང་། །བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་པའི་སྨོན་ལམ་འདི་བས་ལས་རྣམ་སྨིན་ཁམས། །གཟུང་བྱ་དང་འཛིན
པ་ཉང་སར་སྐྱ་བ། །ལ་སོགས་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྐྱེས་རྣམས་སྐུ་ཚེ་དང་། །མཛད་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཐོག་མེད་ནས་ཀྱི་བར་
འཁོར་བའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེ་འབངས་བཅས་རྣམས། །བདེ་སྐྱིད་རྩོགས་ལྡན་དཔལ་གྱིས་འཇོམས་པ་དང་། །སྐར་ཡང་སངས
རྒྱས་བསྟན་པ་རབ་འཕེལ་ཞིང་། །སྲོ་སྙོད་གསུམ་གྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཉ་ཆེན་སྐྱེས། །སྲིད་རྩེའི་བར་དུ་བྱ་བའི་བག་ཡོས་ཤོས། །དེ་ལྟར
ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོལ་འབྱེད་འདི། །འབྲས་སྦྱི་བློན་ཆེན་བཀས་བསྐུལ་ངོར། །བོད་ཆེན་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ཆར་གཏོགས་པའི། །འཇམ་དབྱངས་
མཁྱེན་བརྩེའི་སྤྱལ་མིང་འཛིན། །ཟླུན་རྩོངས་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བློ་གྲོས་པས། །ལྷག་བསམ་བཟང་པོས་ཤར་མར་བྱིས། །དགེ་བསྟན་བསྟན
འགྲོ་སྐྱབས་ཀྱང་ཅིག

།དགེ་ལེགས་འཕལ།།

A Brief Discourse on the Essence of All the Ways

or

The Opening of the Door to the Dharma

I bow down to the Guru and to the protector Mañjughoṣa.[1] Cutting open the net of the view of selfhood, the light of the sword of wisdom encompasses the triple world.[2] I bow down to the protector Mañjughoṣa who is the great repository of all the Buddhas' wisdom.

Since the nature of the Dharma (as revealed in) countless paths is inconceivable to the mind, it cannot be spoken of. I shall, however speak briefly of just some of its aspects in order to classify it in a few words.

10 The Omniscient Teacher, the Lion of the Śākya,[3] turned the Wheel of the Dharma in three stages.[4] It is said that by the first he confounded those lacking in virtue, by the intermediate one he refuted the view of selfhood and by the last one he refuted the basis of all views. The sacred discourses which speak on the subject of the Three Precepts[5] are collected under twelve branches.[6] The great vehicle of *Mantrayāna*

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1 Mañjughoṣa (Tib 'Jam-dbyangs: 'Gentle Voice') is another name for Mañjuśrī (Tib. 'Jam-dpal) the Buddha of Transcendental Wisdom; he holds the 'sword of wisdom', referred to in this invocation, as his chief emblem. It should be pointed out that while the author was himself considered to be an embodiment of Mañjughoṣa, in this opening passage he invokes him as his own tutelary deity.

2 The 'triple world' refers to the subterranean world of the *nāga* serpent spirits, the earth's surface inhabited by sentient beings and the world above of the gods.

3 'The Lion of the Śākya' is an epithet of the historical Buddha.

4 According to Tibetan tradition, during the first 'turning of the wheel of the Dharma' at Varanasi the Buddha explained the Four Noble Truths (see n. 52 below). During the second, which occurred on the mountain of Gṛdhrakūṭa, he revealed the *Mahāyana sūtras* and during the last of these promulgations at Vaisālī and other places he revealed the *sūtras* concerning the Void and other related subjects. See *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* translated and edited by Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman (The Hague, 1968), pp. 45-49.

5 The 'Three Precepts' pertain to moral discipline (*tshul-khrims*), meditative absorption (*ting-nge-'dzin*) and wisdom (*shes-rab*).

6 The 'twelve branches' of the Buddhist scriptures as contained in the *tripiṭaka* come under the headings of (1) the *sūtras*, (2) devotional songs, (3) prophecies, (4) verse, (5) precedents for creating new monastic rules, (6) biography, (7) discourses of special relevance, (8) history, (9) *jātaka* stories, (10), wonders, (11) extended commentaries and (12) substantiating proofs.

is explained by some people as "inner metaphysics",[7] but generally it is said to be the *piṭaka* of the *Vidyādhara*[8] and this separate division is well accepted. The Tibetan translations (of the Buddhist scriptures) exceed one hundred volumes (in the *Kanjur*) but the sermons of the Buddha themselves, however, are beyond count. As regards the various *shastra* consisting of commentaries on the sermons, in the *Hīnayāna*, there is the *Mahavibhasa Shastra* and other works. In the *Mahāyana* commentaries there are very many different works composed by scholars such as the *Six Ornaments of the World*[9] and other excellent teachers. In the *Mantrayāna* there are innumerable commentaries, rituals and instructions on the *tantras*. All these works were rendered into Tibetan in more than two hundred volumes thanks to early translators and scholars and these writings comprise the basis of the teachings.

In India there were no so-called 'Ancient' and 'New' sects and it was the earlier and later renderings by the translators in Tibet which differentiated the 'Ancient' from the 'New'; the translations made up to the time of Rinchen Zangpo[10] are classified as 'the earlier translations of the Ancients' and those made after him are classified as the 'New'. In that way texts including those of the *vinaya, sūtra* and *abhidharma* (classes) the three lower *tantras*[11] and other works were mostly translated at the time of the earlier flowering of the Dharma. The *Saṃvara, Hevajra, Kālacakra, Yamāntaka* and other *tantras* of the *Anuttarayoga* class generally belong to the later translations but even in the earlier translations of the Ancients there are very many *tantras* of the *Anuttarayoga* class. In this respect some excellent scholars of the new schools have

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7 This phrase distinguishes between what is conceived of as the general or 'outer' metaphysics of the *Abhidharma* and the 'inner' metaphysics of the *Mantrayāna*, which leads to the attainment of enlightenment through yogic training.

8 The *vidyādhara* (Tib *rig-pa 'dzin-pa*; literally 'holders of knowledge') are those sages who obtained high realisation on the path to Buddhahood. Passing beyond the *Hīnayāna* and the *Mahāyāna*, their final goal is revealed in the *Mantrayāna* which is therefore described here as their own special *piṭaka*.

9 The *Six Ornaments of the World* are the early Indian Buddhst scholars Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti. To these are usually added the *Two Excellent Ones*, namely Guṇaprabha and Śākyaprabha. This is the ascription as determined by modern scholarship. Tibetan works, however, usually claim Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga as the *Two Excellent Ones*.

10 *Lo-tsā-ba* ('Translator') Rin-chen bZang-po (958-1055) spent a total of seventeen years in India studying with Buddhist scholars. Under the patronage of the Western Tibetan monarchy he translated many Sanskrit works into Tibetan. These were the first to be introduced after the decline of Buddhism in Tibet during the ninth and tenth centuries.

11 The three lower *tantras* are (1) *bya-ba'i rgyud* (*Kriya-tantra*), (2) *spyod pa'i rgyud* (*Caryā-tan-tra*) and (3) *rnal-'byor-gyi rgyud* (*Yoga-tantra*).

declared there is no validity in these *tantras*. Impartial scholars, however, praise them as truly valid and I too believe that in reality they are thus free from error. If it be asked why, the answer is that one should accept with great respect whatever is revealed of the deep and broad meaning of the Buddha's sermons and their commentaries.

To realise these teachings the Ancient School (Nyingma) of Secret *Mantra* maintains nine ways.[12] Briefly they are subsumed under the two ways of Cause and Effect.[13] The Way of Cause is that of the *Śrāvaka*, the *Pratyekabuddha* and the *Bodhisattva*—these three. According to the Mantra Way of Effect there are the three lower *tantras* which are the three *tantras* of great Buddhist methods.[14] In the pursuit of all these ways the individual results of viewing, meditating and practising became so numerous that I cannot attempt to give here even a short account.

In the Ancient School of the earlier translations we have the original sermons of the Buddha, the discovery of hidden texts and pure revelations in the mind—these three. The New School of Secret *Mantra* is called the Jowo Kadampa[15] and in it there were Atīśa,[16] *Gyalwa* Dromtönpa,[17] the Three Brothers[18] and countless

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12 The nine ways or 'vehicles' of the rNying-ma school are those of (1) prediction, (2) the visual world, (3) illusion, (4) existence, (5) the virtuous adherers, (6) the great ascetics, (7) pure sound, (8) the primeval way and (9) the supreme way. *Bon*, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, also adopted these nine ways which have been distinguished from those of the rNying-ma-pa as follows: "The 'Nine Vehicles' of *Bon* comprise both pre-Buddhist rites and beliefs together with all the main types of Buddhist practice such as had already entered Tibet during the earlier period. The 'Nine Vehicles' of the 'Old Order', however are based mainly on the different categories of *tantras.*'—*A Cultural Histroy of Tibet* by David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson (London, 1968), p. 109. See also Snellgrove's *The Nine Ways of Bon* (London, 1967).

13 The Way of Cause consists of the first four ways mentioned above. The Way of Effect consists of the remaining five.

14 Seen n. 11 above.

15 The Jo-bo bka'-gdams-pa (lit. 'Bound by Command') School was founded by pandit (or *Jo-bo*) Atīśa in the 11th century. Marked by strict austerity, it was the first of the new reformed schools. The dGe-lugs-pa (see n. 19 below) claim descent from this school as the bKa-'gdams gSar-pa (or 'New Kadampa').

16 The great Indian teacher Atīśa (982-1054) was a Bengali by birth. He became abbot of the great monastery of Nalanda and after missionary visits to South-east Asia he arrived in Tibet in 1042 at the invitation of the King of Western Tibet. He died at Nyerthang in Southern Tibet after introducing a restoration of monastic order and providing considerable inspiration for further religious developments.

17 *rGyal-ba* 'Brom-ston-pa (1005-1064) was the chief disciple of Atīśa. He founded the Rva-sgreng monastery near Lhasa in 1056 and is noted for the austerity of his teachings.

other upholders of the Dharma. The Kadampa and the Nyingmapa became intermixed with the Sakyapa, Kagyüpa and other schools.

Holding to this very basis, *Jamyang* Tsongkapa[19] promulgated the *Vinaya, Sūtra, Mādhyamika, Prajñāpāramitā, Mantra* and other texts; his theories on them came to be widely diffused in all directions. Many different teachings on the profound substance of those *sūtras* and *mantras* whose authenticity he recognised are revealed in his own works, composed through the grace of his special deity, *Mañjuśrī*, and from the vessel of his deep wisdom in enquiring with discernment into his own being.

70 The Five Reverend Lords[20] of the Sakyapa adhered to the custom of accepting the *sūtras* and *tantras* of the victorious yogin Birwapa[21], Nāropa[22],

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18 The Three Brothers were (1) *Bu-to-ba* Rin-chen-gsal (1031-1105), (2) *sPyan-sngar-ba* Tshul-krims-'bar (1033-1103) and (3) *Bu-chung-ba* gZhon-nu Rin-chen-gsal rGyal-mtshan 'Brothers' is to be understood here in a spiritual sense as they were the three main disciples of *rGyal-ba* 'Brom-ston-pa and were not related by blood.

19 Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) was the founder of the dGe-lugs-pa school which was first known as the Ri-bo dGa-ldan-pa after the name of the great monastery of Ri-bo dGa'-ldan which he founded in 1409. Like the author of this work, Tsong-kha-pa was regarded as an embodiment of Mañjuśrī and is therefore given the same epithet of *'Jam-dbyangs* here (see n. 1 above). His nephew and disciple, dGe-'dun-grub, the founder of the bKra-shis-lhun-po monastery at Shigatse, was posthumously recognised as the first of the Dalai Lamas.

20 *The Five Reverend Lords* (*rJe-btsun Gong-ma iNga*) of the Sa-skya school were:
(1) Kun-dga' sNying-po (1092-1158)
(2) bSod-nams rTse-mo (1142-1182)
(3) Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan (1147-1216)
(4) Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, Sa-skya Pandita (1182-1251)
(5) Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan, Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa (1235-1280)

Sometimes a sixth, bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan (1312-1375), is added. The first three were not fully ordained monks and are therefore referred to as *dKar-po rNam-gsum* (*The Three White Ones*). after the colour of the robes of the *yogin* in Tibet. The last three were fully ordained monks and are therefore called *dMar-po rNam-gsum* (*The Three Red Ones*) after the red or maroon colour of the monks robes. This lineage of the Sa-skya school extends in an ubnbroken succession from uncle to nephew in the ancient 'Khön family. The school takes its name from the monastery of Sa-skya, founded in 1073 by dKon-mchog rGyal-po, disciple of the famous mystic 'Brog-mi and father of Kun-dga' sNying-po, the first of *The Five Reverend Lords.*

21 Birvapa was one of the eighty-four Indian *mahāsiddhas* known to Tibetan tradition. He is said to have been a monk of the Somapur temple in South India who had a special devotion to the goddess rDo-rje Phag-mo (Varjavārāhi).

22 Nāropa, another of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas,* originally a wood seller by profession, it was only after twelve years of considerable hardship and devotion that Tilopa accepted him as his disciple. Nāropa's *Six Doctrines* entered Tibet through his disciple, Mar-pa *the Translator.* See Herbert V. Gunther. *The Life*

Dorjedenpa[23] and of many other Indian scholar-saints. This most excellent so-called "tradition of the Khön" also accepted the *Vajrakīla* and other rituals of the Nyingmapa - all of which continue undiminished to this day. The Sakya Pandita[24] who was the crown ornament of all the scholars of the world, is the only man renowned for having refuted (in his day) the arguments of heretics in Tibet; no one else is known to have
80 done this. The Sakyapa, Ngorpa[25], and Tsharpa[26] are the three schools which hold to his spiritual lineage. The institutional foundations of the systems of Butön, Jonang and Bodong[27] all issue from the Sakyapa but their individual acceptance of the *sūtras* and *mantras* differ slightly.

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and Teaching of Nāropa (London 1963).

23 Unidentified.

24 The Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (1182-1251) was responsible for establishing strong relations with Godan Khan of the Mongols which later led to Mongal overlordship in Tibet. The 'heretics' referred to here were 'Phrog-byed dGa'-bo and other Indian scholars who upheld Brahmanical teachings. The acceptance of the *Vajrakīla* cycle by the Sakyapa sect, as noted by the author in this paragraph, is due to the Sa-skya Paṇḍita's having himself translated a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Phur-ba rtsa-dum*. This did not prevent the redactors of the Tibetan canon from excluding it from the Tibetan canon together with nearly all of the other rNying-ma-pa *tantras*.

25 The Ngor-pa was a sub-sect of the Sa-skya school and was founded by Kun-dga' bZang-po (1382-1444). It was named after the great monastery of Ngor Evaṃ Chos-ldan which he established.

26 The Tshar-pa sub-sect of the Sa-skya school was founded by Blo-gsal rGya-mtsho (1502–1567). Both he and Kun-dga' bZang-po, mentioned above, were in the spiritual lineage descended from bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan, the sixth Sa-skya hierarch.

27 The traditions established by Bu-ston, Bo-dong and that of the Jo-nang school are here all claimed to be offshoots of the Sa-skya. Bu-ston (1289-1364) was the chief redactor of the *bKa'-'gyur* and *bsTan-'gyur*. A small order was started by this disciple called the Zhwa-lu-pa, named after the monastery of Zhwa-lu, Buston's main monastery. The dGe-lugs-pa school also claim this order as one of its precursors.

Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal (1375-1451) was a contemporary of Tsong-kha-pa. A most prodigious writer, his works number one hundred and three volumes. He founded the monastery of E in Western Tibet near the Nepal border.

The Jo-nang school (named after the monastery of Jo-mo-nang) included the famous historian Taranatha (Kun-dga' sNying-po, b. 1575) This school adhered to the heretical teachings of the *gzhan-stong* ('void elsewhere') theory and was later persecuted by the dGe-lugs-pa at the time of the Vth Dalai Lama.

The Kagyüpa descend from Naropa[28] and Maitrī[29]. Marpa[30], Milarepa[31], and Dakpo Lhaje[32]– these three—are the lords of all the Kagyüpa. From them issued the profusion of four major and eight minor schools[33]. Many of these descend from Phamodrupa[34], the disciple of Dakpo Lhaje, and among them the Karmapa, Drukpa,
90 Drikhungpa and Taglungpa--these four--still remain unimpaired today. The continuity in the teachings of the other schools has become almost extinct.

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28 Seen. 22 above.

29 Maitrī (or Maitripa/Maitripada), another famous Indian *mahāsiddha,* the disciple of Saraha. See H. V. Guenther, *The Royal Song of Saraha* (Seattle and London, 1969).

30 Mar-pa *the Translator* (1012-96) of lHo-brag in Southern Tibet was the founder of the bKa'-rgyud ("Oral Transmission") school. See J. Bacot, *La Vie de Marpa le 'traducteur'* (Paris, 1937).

31 Mi-la Ras-pa (1040-1123), the renowned poet saint of Tibet, Mar-pa's disciple. See Charles Bacot's translation of his biography, *Milarepa. Ses méfaits, ses épreuves, son illumination.* (Paris, New edition, with a preface by Marco Pallis, 1971).

32 Dwags-po lHa-rje, 'The Physician from Dwags-po' (also known as sGam-po-pa) 1079-1153, was the chief disciple of Mi-la Ras-pa. It was through his efforts that the bKa'-rgyud school was established as a separate religious order, no less than six famous sub-schools being founded by his immediate disciples. See his *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation,* translated and edited by H. V. Guenther (London, 1959).

33 The *bKa'-rgyud Che-bzhi Chung-brgyad* ('Four Major and Eight Minor Schools of the bKa'-rgyud') are as follows:
(A) Karma (or Kam-tshang), founded by Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (1110-1193).
(B) 'Ba-ram (or 'Ba-rom), founded by Darma dBang-phyug.
(C) Tshal-pa, founded by Zhang-tshal-pa brTson-'grus Grags-pa.
(D) Phag-mo, founded by Phag-mo Gru-pa *alias* rDo-rje rGyal-po (1110-70).
(1) 'Bri-khung, founded by Rin-chen dPal *alias sKyob-pa* 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon (1143-1217).
(2) sTag-lung, founded by bKra-shis dPal (1142-1210).
(3) Khro-phu, founded by Byams-pa'i dPal, *alias* Kun-ldan Ras-pa (1173-1225).
(4) 'Brug, founded by Gling-chen Raspa, *alias* Padma rDo-rje (1128-88).
(5) sMar-tshang, founded by *mKhas-grub* Chos-rje sMar-pa.
(6) Yer-pa, founded by Sangs-rgyas Yer-pa.
(7) g.Ya-bzang, founded by *Grub-thob* g.Ya-bzang Chos-rje.
(8) Shug-gseb, founded by Ti-shi Ras-pa.
(The name of the 'mother school', i. e. bKa'-rgyud, may be added to the names of all these sub-schools.)

34 Phag-mo Gru-pa rDo-rje rGyal-po (1110-70) one of the chief disciples of sGam-po-pa (q. v.), was the founder of the important monastery of gDan-sa-mthil. His descendants in the powerful rLangs family succeeded in a direct line from uncle to nephew to the abbatial throne of this monastery and came to enjoy a hegemony over Tibet in the XIVth century. The above 'Eight Minor Schools' of the bKa'-rgyud were all founded by Phag-mo Gru-pa's disciples.

The scholar-saint called Khyungpo Nenjor[35] attended on two Indian ḍākinī, on Rahula,[63] Maitrī[37] and on a hundred and fifty other such scholar-saints; his teachings, when introduced into Tibet, were called the Shangpa Kagyü.[38] Today there are no followers who hold to the principle of this school's doctrine; but in both the Sakya and Kagyü the continuity in their line of initiations and authorisations remains.

Furthermore, the doctrine known as *Zhijé* ('Appeasement') of the Indian, Dampa Sangye,[39] is the holy Dharma of Machig Labdrön which cuts down demons. Besides these there are many other different doctrines of the *Mantrayāna* in Tibet. Apart from differences in the names of all those systems mentioned above, there are not in fact many real distinctions between them; the one aim common to them all is the final attainment of enlightenment.

It is also said that the Sakyapa and the Gedenpa[40] are entrusted with the order to expound and that the Nyingmapa and Kagyüpa are entrusted with the order to practise. In actuality, the ancient scholars said it was like this: "The initiators of the tradition of the teachings in Tibet are the Nyingmapa. The source of myriads of upholders of the teachings is the Kadampa. The promulgators of the completely perfect teachings are the Sakyapa. The middle path of the unchallenged teachings is that of the Kagyüpa. The sun that illuminates the doctrinal texts is Tsongkapa. The lords of the profound and broad *tantra* section are both the Jonangpa and the Shalupa.[41]" This explanation is indeed quite correct.

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35 Khyung-po rNal-'byor (978-1097?) is said to have been a *bon-po* first, later converted to the rDzogs-chen and Phyag-chen traditions. He went to India for pilgrimage and study and received teachings from the two *dākinīs* mentioned here. Their names were Niguma and Sukhasiddhi. Returning to Tibet he received full monastic ordination under Glang-tha-pa rDo-rje Seng-ge. The Shangs-pa bKa'-rgyud school descends from him. It is not considered to belong to the main bKa'-rgyud school and therefore does not appear in the list given above.

36 Rahula, one of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas* of India, is said to have attained enlightenment in old age on meeting a *yogin* in a cemetary ground to which he had retired in despair after the death of all of his family.

37 See n. 29 above.

38 See n. 35 above.

39 Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, an Indian *yogin* from a Brahmin family of South India, is said to have lived for one hundred and fifty years. He was active in Tibet during the latter half of the XIth Century at which time he introduced the meditational practices referred to here—*gcod* ('Severance') and *zhi-byed* ('Appeasement'). The teachings concerning these practices were diffused by his disciple *Ma-gcig* ('The One Mother') Labs-kyi sGron-ma.

40 See n. 19 above.

41 See n. 27 above.

The 'treasure'[42] of the Nyingmapa is that which was hidden by the great teacher of Urgyen,[43] Padmasambhava, who having come to Tibet and given many ordinary and extraordinary teachings to the King[44] and his subjects, then hid these treasures in the ground and in the minds (of his disciples) to act as the guardian that would protect the teachings and beinridu sẽng the Age of Degeneration. At the arrival of the appointed time these are revealed by the excellent emanated ones for the welfare of the teachings and of beings. The so-called 'pure revelations in the mind' and the 'oral traditions' abound in both the Ancient and the New *Mantrayāna* Schools. Some scholars argue against this 'treasure'. However, from an examination of what constitutes the need for this treasure and from an enquiry into the basis of the revealer's mind, we can see that this 'treasure religion' is supported by the three kinds of logic.[45] Take care, therefore, not to belittle it since this would entail the grave crime of abhorring the Dharma. The *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Śatā-sahaśrika*) and other hidden treasures were revealed by Nāgārjuna[46] and *tantras* of the Mantrayāna tradition were discovered by sages in the *stūpa* of Dhumathala[47] in the country of Urgyen. In actuality there are many treasure texts in India as well. There are many proofs other than these and I decline to give an extended account of them here.

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42 In Northern Buddhism it is recognised that there is a need for supplementary revelations of the Dharma in order to meet the particular conditions of each age. For this reason Padmasambhava, the renowned *yogin*-sage whom the rNying-ma-pa claim as the second historical Buddha, is said to have hidden texts and objects which are later found by predestined persons. Collectively known as *gter-ma* ('treasure'), they fall into the two main categories of *sa-gter* ('ground treasur e') and *dgongs-gter* ('mind treasure') the latter being first revealed to his disciplesw o, in their later lives would then diffuse them at the appointed time. As may be expected, a good deal of controversy surrounds the cult of *gter-ma* both within and outside Tibet.

43 U-rgyan (or O-rgyan) is the old kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna in the upper Swat Valley region of what is now Pakistan. It was the birthplace of Padmasambhava who is therefore known in Tibet as U-rgyan Rin-po-che (The Precious One of U-rgyan). See G. Tucci. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), pp. 148 & 374.

44 The king referred to here is Khri-srong lDe-btsan (740-c. 798).

45 The 'three kinds of validity' (*tshad-ma gsum*) are:
(1) the validity of quotations from scripture (*lung-gi tshad-ma*);
(2) the validity of visible proof (*mngon-sum-gyi tshad-ma*);
(3) the validity of reasoning (*rjes-dpag-gi tshad-ma*).

46 Nāgārjuna, the famous Indian dialectician from a Brahmin family of South India; together with Aryadeva he founded the Mādhyamika School around 150 A.D. He is said to have recovered the 'treasure' of the *Perfection of Wisdom* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) texts from the realm of the *nāga* serpent-kings in the ocean.

47 I have been unable to find any references to this '*stūpa* of Dhu-ma-tha-la in the country of U-rgyan'.

The essence of the path leading to the realisation of all those teachings mentioned above is the arising in the mind of renunciation from worldly matters. The basis of this renunciation is adherence to the rules pertaining to any one of the seven sets of *Pratimokṣa* vows.[48] Whichever one of these disciplines is adopted we should reflect on the difficulty of obtaining a human birth, on how difficult it will be after death to obtain the favourable condition of human life as it is now. The great significance of gaining human birth is that it is like the Wish-Fulfilling Gem. Being mortal, however, human beings quickly die. The time of death is uncertain for the old, the young and the middle-aged alike and while the conditions on which death depends are many, those on which life depends are few. Enemies and friends are as changeable as the days, the months and the four seasons. In the continuous reflection on all this be sure to recollect impermanence.

After death consciousness does not disappear into the sphere of space. It is not true that a man will be reborn as a man or that a horse will be reborn as a horse because all beings are the offshoot of their own *karma*. The coming into being of the upper and lower divisions of the abodes of various beings[49], of the greater and lesser states of enjoyment, all the powers of dominion, beautiful and ugly physical forms–all these different manifestations–are the karmic results of virtue, evil and of the mixture of both (virtue and evil) by which the different forms in this existence are produced. These virtuous and evil *karmas* each fall into ten categories.[50] There are four kinds of karmic

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[48] The 'seven sets of *Pratimokṣa* vows' (*so-thar rigs-bdun*) consist in observing the oaths of:

(1) temporary vows (*bsNyen-gnas;* Skt. *Upavāsastha*) e. g. fasting.
(2) male lay devotee (*dGe-bsnyen;* Skt. *Upāsaka*)
(3) female lay devotee (*dGe-bsnyen-ma;* Skt. *Upāsikā*)
(4) male novice (*dGe-tshul;* Skt. *Sramaṇera*)
(5) female novice (*dGe-tshul-ma;* Skt. *Śramaṇerikā*)
(6) fully ordained monk (*dGe-slong;* Skt. *Bhikṣu*)
(7) fully ordained nun (*dGe-slong-ma;* Skt. *Bhikṣuṇī*)

This list differs slightly from that given in the *Byang-chub-sems-dpa-i sa* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*); instead of no. 1 above we find *Śikṣamānā*, 'a woman who observes the rules valid for the *Śramaṇerikā*, without being herself a *Śramaṇerikā*'. See Guenther (1959), pp. 106 & 110.

[49] The 'upper and lower divisions of the abodes of various beings' (*gnas-ris mtho-dman*) are as follows: (A) The 'three happy classes of beings' (*bde-'gro gsum*): (1) gods (*lha*); (2) humans (*mi*); (3) demi-gods (*lha-ma-yin*). (B) The 'three evil classes of beings' (*ngan-'gro gsum*): (1) the inhabitants of hells (*dmyal-ba*); (2) tormented spirits (*yi-dvags*); (3) animals (*dud-'gro*).

[50] The 'ten evil actions' (*mi-dge-ba bcu*) are: (1) to kill; (2) to steal; (3) to commit adultery; (4) to lie; (5) to cheat others; (6) to abuse others; (7) to speak foolishly; (8) to covet others' property: (9) to harbour ill will and (10) to possess wrong

result: the maturation of the act, the natural outflow of the existing situation, the general result and the result of the act experienced in the next life.[51] According to this system the results of virtuous and evil actions ripen at different times. One cannot speak on the *karma* of deeds not performed but since the karmic potentiality of deeds actually
160 performed is inexhaustible, it will come to ripen without fail on the perpetrator of the deed, whoever he may be. These karmic results manifest themselves either in the visible conditions of this very life or in any succeeding life. For the certainty, uncertainty or otherwise as to the moment of this experience, you must see the detailed teachings on karmic result in the *sūtras* and *shastras* and in the instructions on these. The essence of the Buddhist religion is contained in the Four Noble Truths[52] and in the Chain of Interdependent Origination[53]; the profound observance of their import consists in the action of accepting or rejecting the virtuous or evil causes together with their concomitant result. By the performance of actions beings are caused to wander in the
17.) six classes of existence[54] which are divided into the three lower and the three higher states. In short, there is not even an atom which has no contributary cause in the world oh sensual desire, in the world of form and in the formless world; and these three are tormented by the suffering of suffering, by the suffering of change and by the suffering of conditioned existence.[55] In particular the six classes of beings are separately troubled by their own particular forms of suffering. As a result of unvirtuous action comes suffering, whereas from virtuous action performed while in a state of misery comes

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views. The 'ten virtuous actions' (*dge-ba bcu*) are: (1) to protect life; (2) to give alms; (3) to be faithful; (4) to speak the truth; (5) to create harmony; (6) to speak gently to others; (7) to speak sensibly; (8) to be easily satisfied; (9) to have loving kindness and (10) to possess right views.

51 For a detailed explanation of these karmic results see Guenther (1959) Chapter VI, "Karma and its Results". However, the 'result of the act experienced in the next life' (*byed-pa'i bras-bu*) is not mentioned by sGam-po-pa in this work.

52 The 'Four Noble Truths' (*bden-pa bzhi*) are: (1) the truth of suffering; (2) the truth of the cause of suffering; (3) the truth of the cessation of suffering and (4) the truth of the path to the cessation of suffering.

53 The 'Twelve Branches of Interdependent Origination' (*rten-'brel*) *yan-lag bcu-gnyis;* Skt. *Pratītya Samutpāda*) consist in the conditioning of (1) ignorance by (2) *karma* formations; *karma* formations by (3) consciousness; consciousness by (4) mind and body; mind and body by (5) the six sense fields; the six sense fields by (6) impression; impression by (7) feeling; feeling by (8) craving; craving by (9) grasping; grasping by(10) becoming; becoming by (11) birth; birth by (12) old age and death. See *Buddhist Texts Through the Ages*, ed. by E. Conze (1954) pp. 65-82.

54 See note 49 above.

55 This triple division of suffering is listed and explained in reverse order in Guenther (1959), pp. 55-73. See also *Kun-bzang bla-ma'i zhal-lung*. ff. 63 a 1.5-65b 1.3.

rebirth in a higher state. Due to his unshakeable *samādhi* a man of the world is thrown into the formless state of pure meditation. Those, however, who have not severed the roots of *saṃsāra* are thrown by their enthrallment with desire into existence and so fall back into *saṃsāra*. To stay in this place of *saṃsāra* is therefore like living in a pit of fire or in a nest of poisonous serpents. On that account do not hanker after the pleasures of *saṃsāra*. Cause renunciation from this world to arise in your mind.

The root of entering on the path to enlightenment depends on attending on a spiritual friend who has a mind disciplined by constant listening to spiritual teachings, is moral, filled with the thought of enlightenment, has right views and great loving kindness, is capable of dispelling one's doubts and has himself received initiations and observes their vows. Attending on a lama who fulfills these conditions, one should act upon his word as if it were a command. If faith and devotion arise, attainment will be gained and for this purpose it is important to adhere to a good lama. The advice of the lama is like imperishable nectar and one should practice whatever one hears without losing mindfulness, contemplating it and concentrating one's attention on it. By hearing alone, however, benefit will not be obtained, just as without drinking water thirst cannot be quenched. On that account one must stay on a solitary mountainside.

Taking refuge in the Triple Gem is the foundation of the path and since it is not only the foundation of all vows but also that which distinguishes 'outsiders' from 'insiders' it is observed by all gods and men. The amassing of virtuous merit for this life and the next is achieved by it. In the Buddha who teaches, in the Dharma which protects and in the Sangha which guides–in these three one should have full confidence. Cause belief to arise which is uncontrived and not merely talk. Observe carefully all these instructions on the taking of refuge.

The main content of the *Mahāyāna* is the mind of enlightenment. It is the butter that comes from churning the milk of the holy Dharma. Whatever *sūtra* or *tantra* you practice without it is like a log or driftwood that has no substance.

Furthermore, since countless beings as incalculable as the sky's extent have been our parents in the sequence of our innumerable previous lives, the benefits derived from them are so many as cannot be conceived in the mind. We should therefore meditate with great loving kindness and compassion on all beings—whether they are friends, enemies or in between—and cause equanimity to arise in the love and hate of those both close to us and remote from us. Fully directing one's body, speech and mind towards virtue, one should always have a good propensity and special aspiration to benefit others.

One should earnestly strive to remove defilements by acquiring merit. This is the method by which one causes right views to arise in the stream of one's very being.

If one exerts oneself by means of all four powers [56] in reciting *The Seven Elements of Religious Practice,* [57] and in prostrations, circumambulations and in teaching the *sūtras*, in murmuring *mantra* and *dhāranī* and in reciting the *Confession of a Bodhisattva,* then all the crimes and transgressions of evil deeds and defilements will be removed and one will become pure. The *maṇḍala* should also be offered since this is the essence of acquiring merit. The joining together of all one has gained by means
230 of such visualisations as these with the wisdom of the void in realising the unreality of the three worlds is called 'the collection of transcending awareness'. The *Rūpakāya* is gained by means of the collection of transcending awareness. In order to strive in that manner both towards the acquisition of merit and the cleansing of evil and also for the purpose of causing a pure view to arise in the stream of one's being, firstly quiescence (*śamatha*) is sought on the nine stages of mental development.[58] Having discarded the five defects (which prevent the attainment of *samādhi*)[59] and adhered to the eight aggregates[60] (necessary to the state of *samādhi*), one gains the meditative absorption

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56 The 'four powers' (*stobs-bzhi*) are: (1) the power of a 'support', i. e. a visualised deity (*rten-gyi stobs*); (2) the power to renounce one's sins (*nyes-pa sun-'byin-gyi stobs*); (3) the power of using all remedies (*gnyen-po kun-tu spyod-pa'i stobs*); and (4) the power of taking a vow not to commit sins (*nyes-spyod sdom-pa'i stobs*).

57 *The Seven Elements of Religious Practice* (*Yan-lag bdun-pa*) is the title of a prayer contained within the *Kun-tu bzang-po'i smon-lam* (*Prayer to Samantabhadra*). It extols the following actions: (1) to make prostrations; (2) to make offerings; (3) to confess sins; (4) to delight in the virtue of others; (5) to cause others to spread the Dharma; (6) to make supplications not to be delivered from *saṃsāra* and (7) to dedicate one's merit to the goal of enlightenment.

58 The 'nine stages of mental development' (*sems-gnas dgu*) are those experienced on the path leading to full 'collectedness' or meditative absorption. They are depicted allegorically in a chart showing the 'taming of the elephant of the mind', published as *Samatha: Mental Quiescence Meditation* (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala). For a full explanation see the XIVth Dalai Lama's *The Opening of the Wisdom Eye,* (Bangkok, 1968) pp. 56-61 and, even more detailed, the reprinted edition of Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam-rim chen-mo* with interlineal commentaries by four scholars: *mNyam-med rje-btsun tsong-kha-pa chen-pos mdzad-pa'i byang-chub lam-rim chen-mo'i dka'-ba'i gnad-rnams mchan-bu bzhi'i sqo-nas legs-par bshad-pa theg-chen lam-gyi gsal-sqron zhes-bya-ba-las zhi-lhaq gnyis,* vol II, pp. 93 (1. 3)-96 (1.4).

59 The 'five defects (which prevent the attainment) of *samādhi'* (*ting-nge-'dzin-gyi nyes-pa lnga*) are: (1) laziness (*le-lo*); (2) to forget the meditational instructions (*gdam-sngag brjed-pa*); (3) mental dullness and agitation (*bying-rgod*); (4) 'non-association', (*'du-mi- byed-pa*); and (5) 'association' (*'du-byed-pa*). See the XIVth Dalai Lama. op. cit. pp.55-56 for a full explanation.

60 The 'eight agregates necessary to the state of *samādhi'* (*'du-byed brgyad*) are: (1) love (*'dun-pa*); (2) effort (*rtsol-ba*); (3) faith (*dad-pa*); (4) watchfulness (*shin-tu sbyangs-pa*); (5) mindfulness (*dran-pa*); (6) awareness (*shes-bzhin*); (7) confidence

of 'nonconceptual clear happiness' after achieving a one-pointed visualisation which is either supported or unsupported (by an image). At this stage only the head of conflicting emotions is subdued After it one should sustain in oneself the cultivation of insight (*vipaśyana*) and meditate with certainty on the void in order to destroy from its roots the ignorance of clinging to the self which is the primordial root of samsaric existence. Furthermore, one should carry out carefully a discriminating examination in order to destroy completely this clinging to 'I' which is the thought of 'I' born together with and dependent on the assemblage in the body of the five constitutents[61] of the personality. Having examined whether the self and this bodily complex are united, separate or otherwise, in accordance with how it is explained in the *Mādhyamika* teachings, one should sustain in one's being the idea that there is no selfhood in persons and also carefully enquire as to whether within the various constituents of the bodily complex there exists any selfhood of distinct elements assembled by means of consciousness or by the content of consciousness. When one then attains to the certain knowledge of the absence of self, one will sustain the experience spontaneously that all entities assembled by worldly and divine existence are unborn. The sameness of everything arises in the mind and the knowledge of the profound causation of all that is seen or heard is fully understood, shining unimpededly and spontaneously from the state of the unborn void. Once the unity of the void and causality has been understood and realised one should rest in equanimity for as long as possible in the *mādhyamikadhātu,* without being corrupted by attachments, without conceptual thought and motion. In short, the purpose of the *Prajñāpāramitā* meditation known as 'the pure view' is the coalescing of the alternating examination and practice of discriminative wisdom, unmoving from a single point and immersed in a state of quiescence, with the transcendental wisdom of insight (into voidness). Having attained the attitude that is free from all motion of the eight extremes,[62] having meditated with proper attention and practised well the good path of the *bodhisativas*, the result will be that, reaching the final limit of the ten stages[63] and the five paths,[64] one will attain to the great enlightenment

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(*sems-pa*); *and* (8) equanimity (*btang-snyoms*).

61 The 'five constitunts of the personality' (*phung-po lnga*) are: (1) form (*gzugs*); (2) feeling (*tshor-ba*); (3) perception (*'du-shes*); (4) mental phenomena (*'du-byed*) and (5) discriminating awareness (*rnam-shes*).

62 The 'view that is free of all motion of the eight extremes' (*mtha'-brgyad spros-pa kun-bral lta-ba*) means: (1 & 2) no cessation and no becoming (*'gags-pa med-pa skye-ba med-pa*); (3 & 4) no perpetuity and no interruption (*rtag-pa med--pa chad-pa med-pa*);(5 & 6) no coming and no going (*'ong-ba med-pa 'gro-ba med-pa*); and (7 & 8) no variety and no unity (*tha-dad med-pa don-gcig min-pa*).

63 The 'ten stages of a *bodhisattva*' (*sa-bcu*) are: (1) The Joyful (*rab-tu dga'-ba*); (2) The Stainless (*dri-ma med-pa*); (3) The Light-maker (*'od byed-pa*);(4) The

that does not reside in *saṃsāra* or *nirvana* and thus spontaneously fulfill one's own and others' intentions towards Buddhahood.

Alas ! At this time when the waxing of the five corruptions is[65] at its last stage some of the great beings who uphold the teachings have passed away to heaven and the world is full of people like myself who speak nonsense. The evil spirits are laughing and the good deities, having fled far away, are dispersed. May all those of great compassion give thought to the fact that the Buddha's teachings have now become like a lamp in a drawing. May all those who hold the teachings as precious strive to make effort in the actions of discarding prejudice and of studying the explanations of the doctrines and their realisation. Without ever losing attention from the ten spiritual actions,[66] be assiduous in making supplications and offerings and in the acquisition of merit. Cause harmony to arise in the monastic community and discard verbal sectarianism. Do not cut the Dharma into divisions and sections. Do not cause inconsistencies in any of the teachings. Discard blasphemies against the Dharma. Having understood

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Radiant (*'od 'phro-ba-can*); (5) The Invincible (*shin-tu sbyang dka'-ba*); (6) The One Which is Present (*mngon-du gyur-pa*); (7) The Far-ranging (*ring-du song-ba*); (8) The Unshakeable (*mi-g.yo-ba*); (9) The One Having Good Discrimination (*legs-pa'i blo-gros*); and (10) The Cloud of the Dharma (*chos-kyi sprin*). See Guenther (1958), pp. 239-256 and also the XIVth Dalai Lama (op. cit). p. 85.

64 The 'five paths' (*lam-lnga*) leading to enlightenment are: (1) The Path of Preparation (*tshogs-lam*); (2) The Path of Application (*sbyor-lam*); (3) The Path of Seeing (*mthong-lam*); (4) The Path of Practice (*sgom-lam*;) (5) and The Path of Fulfillment (*mthar-phyin-pa'i lam*).

65 The 'five corruptions' (*snyigs-ma lnga*) are those pertaining to: (1) life (*tshe*); (2) conflicting emotions (*snyon-mongs*); (3) sentient beings (*sems-can*); (4) time (*dus*); and (5) views (*lta-ba*).

66 The *Chos-spyod thams-cad-kyi man-ngag mngon -par rtogs-pa'i rgyud* enumerates the 'ten spiritual actions' as follows:

/yi-ge 'bri mchod sbyin-pa dang/
/nyan dang klog dang 'dzin-pa dang/
/'chang dang kha-ton byed-pa dang/
/de sems-pa dang sgom-pa ste/
/spyod-pa 'di bcu'i bdag-nyid-ni/
/bsod-nams phung-po dpag-tu-med/

"To write, make offerings and give alms;
To listen to, read and hold to (teachings);
To keep these in mind and recite them by heart;
To reflect and meditate on them;
The substance of these ten actions (causes)
An infinite heap of merit."

The *Mahā-vyutpatti* (909) has *rab-tu ston- pa* in place of *'chang-ba,* which may therefore be taken as erroneous for *'chad-pa,* 'to explain'.

that all aspects of the teachings, which are themselves as borad as the ocean, are present in a mind that has been tamed, then practice it. By always cultivating peace, discipline and relaxedness in one's body, speach and mind one should attend to the knowledge so acquired and to care in one's actions.

In accordance with the prophetic dream of King Kriki,[67] the eighteen divisions of the *śrāvakas* in India caused the teachings to fall into discord.[68] On account of that they gradually declined and were then spread to Tibet in the north. There the Sakya, Geluk, Kagyü and Nyingma schools were established by the devil of philosophical systems. The teachings were agitated by disputes and so became disturbed. As a result of partiality both one's present and future lives are wasted and oneself and others brought to sin. As there is essentially no meaning in this at all one must give it up with certainty and guard the teachings of the Buddha which, on account of the fact that he attained to the stage that is without fear, cannot be destroyed by anyone from outside. As it explained in the *sūtras* the teachings can only be destroyed from withi n, like a lion killed by the ravages of worms in its stomach.

Keeping one's recollection close to this, one should take care in practising abstention from evil and adherence to virtue. If householders make offerings to the Triple Gem and strive to make effort in virtuous actions with a mind to benefit others. then in this and all other lives happiness will arise. As I am near to death and burdened by old age, although it is certain that good devotion alone is not sufficient to further the teachings of the Buddha yet shall I still try hard in making aspirations towards the increase of these teachings.

May Tendzin Gyamtsho (the XIVth Dalai Lama) live long as the excellent source of beneficial happiness in the Land of Snow. May the Panchen Lama the protector who is the emanation of *Amitābha*, the Karmapa, the Sakyapa who is the emanation of *Mañjuśrī* and other great beings who uphold the doctrine—may they prosper in all their lives and actions and may the rulers, ministers and subjects of India come to the happiness like that of the first *kalpa*. May the teachings of the Buddha

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67 The dreams of King Kṛiki (Kṛkī Raja) were explained to him by the Buddha Kāśyapa as a sign that evil things would befall the Dharma during the *kalpa* of Buddha Śākyamuni. In one of his ten dreams the king had seen eighteen men fighting for a roll of cloth and each tearing a piece for himself. Yet despite this the roll remained miraculously intact. The Buddha Kāśyapa explained the dream as indicating that Śākyamuni's doctrine would split into eighteen schools (see below), each possessing the means of obtaining enlightenment; despite this division the path to Buddhahood would remain intact.

68 For a full discussion of the eighteen schools into which early Buddhism is traditionally reckoned to have been divided, see A. Bareau *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Vehicule* (1958), I, pp. 571-606 and also E. Conze *Buddhist Thought in India* (1962) pp. 119-120.

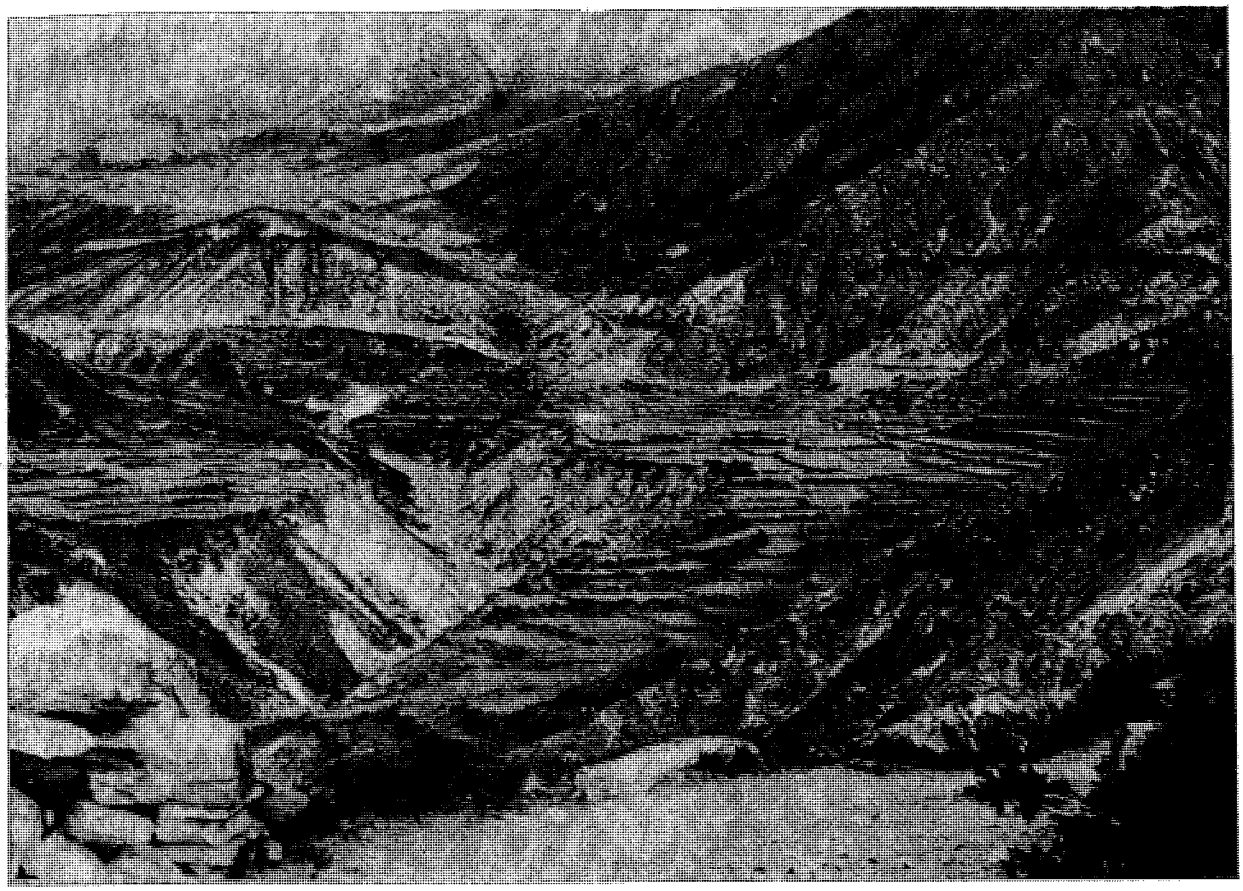
once more be widely spread and may the sound of the Dharma-drum of the *tripiṭaka* penetrate up to the peak of *saṃsāra*. May all these blessings be fulfilled.

Thus this *Opening of the Door to the Dharma*
was written quickly with great devotion by
a man from the great land of Tibet, the
foolish and ignorant Chökyi Lodrö who holds
the name of the incarnation of *Jamyang*
Khyentse, on the exortation of the Political
330 Officer of Sikkim[69]. By its virtue may this
work come to be like a medicine for the
teachings and for living beings.

Sarbadā Maṅgalaṃ !

69 Although *'Bras-spyi Blon-chen* means "Prime Minister of Sikkim," it is the title which was previously used by the Indian Political Officer in Sikkim. The incumbent of that time was Apa Saheb Pant.

JANYANG KHYENTSE CHOKYI LODRO, 1896–1959



1. Nar Village on the right with barley fields below.

2. Phu Village.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTE ON NAR—PHU VALLEY*

Nareswor J. Gurung
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INTRODUCTION

Nar-Phu valley is surrounded by the Peru Himalaya to the north, the high mountains called Gangla (NP) and Gangru (NP) to the east, and the Damodar Himalaya to the west. It borders on Tibet to the north, Nyesyang and Gyasumdo to the south, Gyasumdo and Larke to the east, and Mustang to the west. The valley ranges between 3820 m. and 8092m. in elevation.[1] Pine and fir trees are found around the elevation of 4000 m. As altitude increases, fewer trees are found. The valley looks dry, but nevertheless it is less windy than the Nyesyang valley. It is covered by snow from mid-December to the beginning of February.

Nar-Phu is the most remote part of Manang District. There are three routes into the valley, depending upon the season. The routes from Nyesyang and Mustang are open from March until the beginning of December, and the route from Gyasumdo is open from December to March. This last route is the one most utilized by the villagers of Nar-Phu. Travellers along this route must cross more than 15 plank-bridges over the Nar Phu Khola, which runs through the middle of the valley.

There are two villages in the valley: Nar (NP and NG.; T: NarmE) and Phu (NP and NG.; T: NarthE). Phu village is situated about 10 km. north of Nar. The total population of the two villages in 1971 was 850.[2] The people of Nar-Phu belong to an ethnic group locally called Nar-PhuthE (NP, NG, and G) Their dialect is different from the dialects of the Nyesyangba. Gurungs, and Tibetans.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Nar Village

Nar Village comprises approximately 55 households. In 1958 when David Snellgrove visited the village, there were approximately 30 households.[3] The village is

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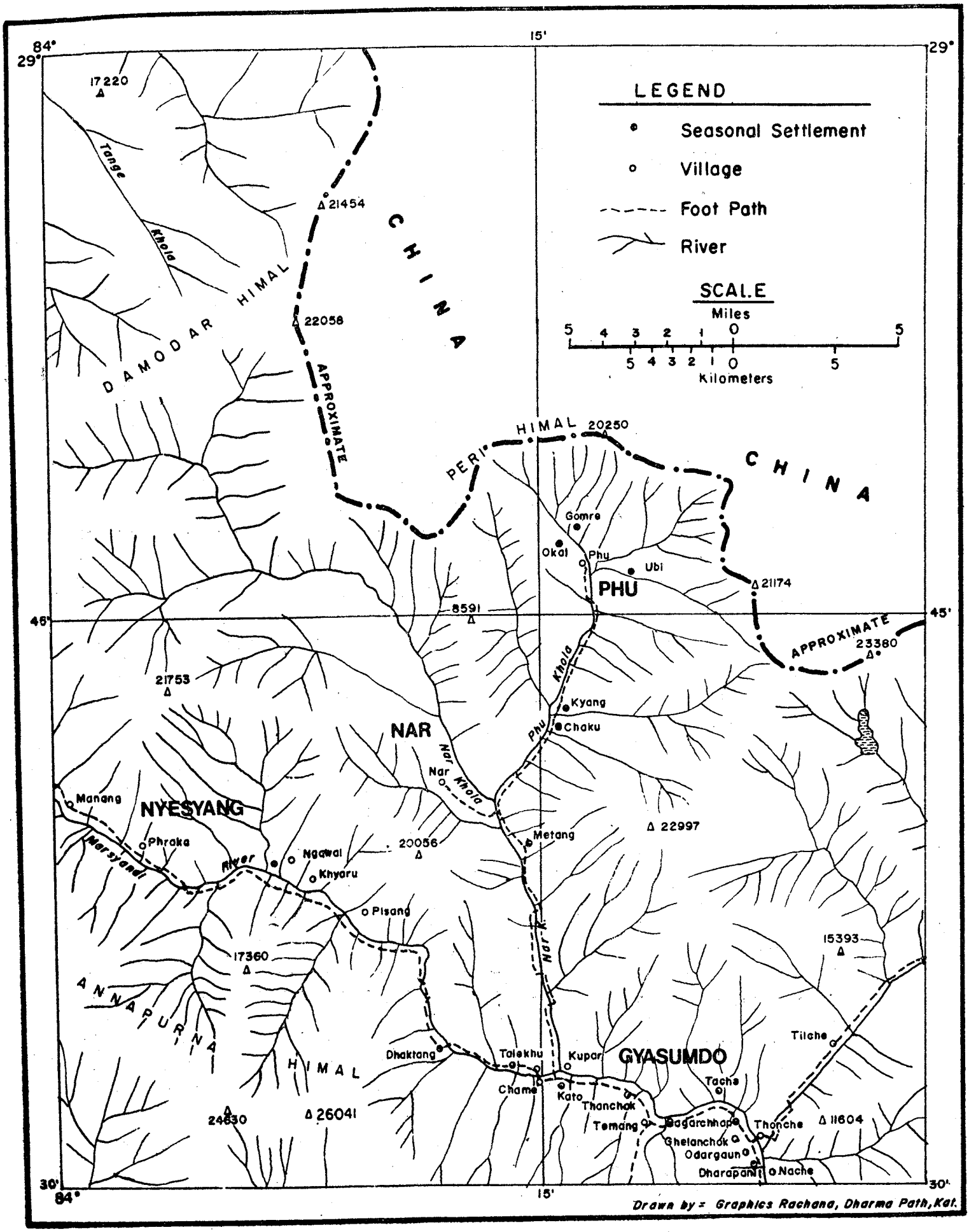
*Data presented in this paper were collected during fieldwork in Manang sponsored by the Institute for Nepal and Asian Studies of Tribhuvan University.
The languages or dialects for words and place-names cited in the text are abbreviated as follows: NP: Nar-Phu dialect; NG: Nyesyangba; G: Gurung; T: Tibetan; N: Nepali.

1 Nareswor J. Gurung, "An introduction to the socio-economic structure of Manang District", *Kailash* IV, 3: 295-6 (1976).

2 Central Bureau of Statistics, HMG, *Population Census of Nepal 1971.*

3 David Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage,* London, 1971.



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF NAR AND PHU IN MANANG DISTRICT

situated in the middle of a small valley. A stream called Semtang (NP) flows to the south of the village. The houses are clustered together like the houses of the villages of Nyesyang. All the houses are similar in design and much less decorated than the houses of Nyesyang. Most of the houses are two-storied. The second storey is used for the kitchen, storeroom, and sleeping room. The ground floor is used to keep cattle and for storing grass and firewood. The flat roof is used as a courtyard. The house is entered from the roof. Only a few houses are single-storied.

There are three Buddhist monasteries of the Nyingmapa (T) sect located in the fields close to the village. Flat land around the village is cultivated.

Phu Village

Phu Village is situated in a corner of a small valley. Streams called Lhodal (NP) and Phu (NP) flow through the middle of the valley.

The village comprises 48 households altogether. The houses of Phu are more tightly clustered together and less decorated than those of Nar. The sizes and designs of the houses of Nar and Phu are similar.

One large Buddhist monastery of the Nyingmapa sect is located right in the middle of the village. The other, larger Buddhist monastery, called Tashilhakang (T), is located across the Lhodal stream.

Pattern of Seasonal Settlement

Nar Village

In addition to the land around the village, Nar has arable land in Chaku (NP) and Metang (NP), where the villagers keep their cattle in winter. Part of the land of Chaku and Metang is under cultivation. Persons who own cattle stay at these places in the winter.

Most villagers migrate from Nar to lower altitudes in mid-December and remain there until mid-February. But old people and one or two others from each household stay in the village in winter. Those who stay in the village or in Chaku and Metang during the winter take care of the cattle and houses.

At the time of sowing (from March to May) and of harvesting (October to November), villagers who own land in Chaku, Metang, and other surrounding areas stay at these places until the work has been completed.

Phu Village

Kyang (NP), Okal (NP), Ubi (NP) and Gomre (NP) are the seasonal settlements of Phu Village. At the time of sowing (March to May) and of harvesting (July to November) the villagers are scattered in all of these places. All Phu villagers migrate to lower altitudes from the end of December. First, the villagers move to Khyang. Old people,

children, herders, and cattle stay at Kyang from the end of December to mid-February. At least one or two persons of each household stay at Kyang in order to look after the cattle and houses.

ECONOMY

Traditionally, the economic structures of Nar and Phu are similar. Thus, they confront similar economic problems and requirements.

The economy is oriented towards agriculture and animal husbandry. Due to the high elevation and the lack of arable land, agricultural production is rather poorer than in the Nyesyang and Gyasumdo Valleys. The yearly agricultural production is only sufficient to meet food requirements for four months. Traditionally, animal husbandry is the major economic activity which contributes to sustaining the economy. The contribution of trade is meager. Even when trans-Himalayan trade flourished elsewhere, it never played a vital role in Nar-Phu. Thus, the reduction in trans-Himalayan trade since 1960 has had no serious negative impact upon the economy.

In order to meet their food requirements, Nar and Phu import grain from Nyesyang, Gyasumdo and Central Lamjung in different seasons every year. From Nyesyang they bring buckwheat, wheat, and barley; from Gyasumdo, maize and barley; and from Lamjung, rice, maize, and millet.

Nyesyang Valley has suffered from a shortage of labour for the last two decades because of a relatively high rate of seasonal migration. Thus, some Nar villagers find employment on the farms of Nyesyangba at the times of sowing and harvesting. They usually accept payment in kind rather than in cash for their labour. In Nyesyang a labourer is usually paid one pathi (about 4 litres) of grain or Rs. 8 in cash, plus two meals and liquor each day. Many Nar villagers work one to two weeks at a time for the Nyesyangba, and then take all of their earning in grain and in cash back to Nar. Few villagers from Phu go to work in Nyesang.

Nar village has a larger population than Phu, and at the same time it is closer to the Nyesyang Valley. As a result, Nar is more dependent on Nyesyang than Phu is.

Nyesyang is the main market for the dairy products of Nar-Phu. I could not collect data on the proportion of the dairy products of Nar-Phu which goes to Nyesyang in exchange for grain, but so far as I know it must be more than half. This trade continues throughout the year, except in winter when the valleys are de-populated. In addition to dairy products, each year Nar-Phu supplies the Nyesyang Valley with approximately forty *phyarpa* and *lue* (NP: blankets of yak and goat wool. The *lue* is smaller in size than the *phyarpa* and of a different pattern.) These are sold for cash; the average selling price is Rs. 70 in Nyesyang and Rs. 60 in Nar-Phu. Thus, in a year the Nyesyangba purchase about Rs. 2,800 worth of blankets from Nar-Phu. But the

supply and demand of these goods fluctuates. More than half of the cash derived from the sale of these blankets is spent on purchasing grain in Nyesyang Valley itself. The rest is spent on purchasing grain in Lamjung and Gyasumdo.

Trade and Migration

Nar and Phu villagers are not international traders like the Nyesyangba although in theory the international trading privileges of the Nyesyangba are supposed to cover them as well. The Nar-Phu villagers are economically unable to take advantage of these privileges, and they have no interest in international trade. Their trading activities have been limited traditionally to Lamjung, Kaski, and Gorkha Districts.

During the winter, more than 70 per cent of the total population of Nar and Phu migrates to central Lamjung. They do not settle in any one place, but rather they keep moving from one place to another. During this time they conduct their traditional business activities in the villages and small towns of Lamjung, the northern part of Tanahu, the eastern part of Kaski, and the western part of Gorkha. While visiting villages they exchange their *jimbu* (NP and N: an onion, Allium wallichii), *banlasun* (N: wild garlic), *sikridhup* (N: fir leaves) and other herbs for grain. There is no fixed rate of exchange for these commodities.

In addition, Nar-Phu villagers sell handicrafts like *phyarpa*, *lue*, and *syoba* (NP: rope made of yak and goat wool) and goatskins in the places they visit during the winter. The average selling prices are Rs. 80 for a *phyarpa*, Rs. 60 for a *lue*, Rs. 20 for a *syoba*, and Rs. 20 for a goatskin. The cash realised from the sale of these goods, together with any cash brought down from Nar-Phu, is all invested in small-scale trade to generate additional income. This trade begins with the purchase of chilli in the southwest of Lamjung and the southeast of Kaski districts. The chilli is then exchanged for grain in central Lamjung and in Manang, where the consumption of chilli is high. Rice is also purchased in Lamjung and supplied to Manang, where there is good demand, since neither rice nor chilli is produced in Manang. Thus, trading with Manang brings a good profit margin. Nar-Phu villagers conduct this business between mid-December and March; the profits are spent on grain and other goods for household consumption, which are taken to Nar-Phu.

While they are at lower altitudes, the Nar-Phu villagers meet their needs by begging and small trading. Begging is a part of their tradition, engaged in even by families that are relatively well-off economically. Begging is important in meeting the daily budget because the income from small-scale trade is meager and unreliable. The Nar-Phu villagers prefer to save all of their income from trading for the purchase of grain and other goods for household consumption.

During the winter, the lamas of Nar and Phu villages traditionally perform various household rituals in the houses of Gurungs. There is a saying among the Gu-

rungs of Lamjung that a person can not be a lama unless he has been trained in Nar. In Lamjung, Nar is still regarded as the traditional place for training Gurung lamas. The Gurungs of northeast Lamjung, especially, are much influenced by the Lamaism of Nar-Phu. The lamas of Nar-Phu still have pupils in the villages of this area[4] .

The Economy and the Khambas

After 1960, the Nar-Phu area became a place of interest for the Khambas who were staying in Mustang and Nyesyang. But they did not penetrate the area until 1963. They settled in the valley in 1964. At the beginning they stayed at Kyang of Phu village. Two years later, they moved into Chaku, which belongs to Nar village. Those two places are flat and good for agriculture and cattle raising. In addition, they are safe from the point of view of security. Khambas settled in those two places without the permission of the villagers; the villagers of Nar-Phu could not confront the powerful Khambas. The Khambas cultivated all arable land in the area, and produced quite a large amount of wheat and barley on land which had never before been cultivated by the Nar-Phu villagers. In addition, the Khambas used all of the pastures of the two villages for their yaks, dzos, goats, sheep, and horses without permission. As a result, the villagers suffered from a shortage of grass for their livestock.

The Khambas mistreated and threatened the local people, who could not defend themselves alone. In 1966, Nar and Phu villagers took their complaint to Manang village. Later in the same year, Mano and Chhachhum villages rid themselves of the Khambas and from that time on the Khambas were unable to increase their exploitation of Nar and Phu and refrained from creating disorder there. But they continued to use the Nar-Phu land and pastures until 1975. In July, 1975, all of the Khambas were removed from Nar-Phu as well as from Nyesyang and Mustang. Only then did Nar and Phu villages recover their land and pastures. Two Khambas had married girls of Phu Village, and they tried to settle in the village with their wives. But they could not get permission from His Majesty's Government. Their wives and children have remained in Phu.

In 1968, an internal struggle for power took place between the Khambas of Nyesyang and Mustang. From that time until 1975, the Khambas of Mustang lived in Nar-Phu Valley. The Khambas of the two areas avoided visiting each other's areas out of fear. Thus the Khambas of Nar-Phu Valley and Mustang completely stopped going to the Nyesyang Valley.

The people of Nar and Phu suffered many disadvantages from the presence of the Khambas. However, this presence had some consequences for trade. Since direct trade relations between Nar-Phu and Tibet had been completely broken in 1960, the villagers used to have to go themselves to Mustang in order to get salt, which was

4 Donald A. Messerschmidt, *The Gurungs of Nepal,* London, 1976, pp. 6, 80,82.

still imported on a small scale from Tibet. After the arrival of the Khambas in Nar Phu, the Khambas became the intermediaries of the trade between Nar-Phu and Mustang. The Nar-Phu villagers exchanged dairy products with the Khambas in return for salt. The Khambas would accept either grain or dairy products, but few Nar-Phu villagers had surplus grain.

The Khambas thus became a second market (in addition to Nyesyang) for the dairy products of Nar and Phu villages. The Khambas used to pay a good price, either in cash or in grain, for these dairy products. Thus the gross income of Nar-Phu appears to have increased somewhat due to the presence of the Khambas.

The presence of the Khambas in the valley taught two lessons to the Nar and Phu villagers. The first lesson was that they were vulnerable to exploitation by outsiders besides the Nyesyangbas if they were not active in protecting their own villages and territories. The second was agricultural. Nar-Phu villagers were quite surprised to see the Khambas produce large quantities of wheat and barley on land which they had left uncultivated. The Khambas sold their excess grain to the villagers every year. Thus the villagers learned the value of their land and became jealous of the Khambas for cultivating it. Now the villagers have divided up the land of Chaku and Kyang equally among themselves. But I do not think that they will adopt the cultivation techniques of the Khambas, because they do not want to confine themselves only to agriculture.

Since the removal of the Khambas from Nar-Phu, salt is supplied from Mustang by *Dhokpa* (T: nomads). But the quantity supplied by *Dhokpas* is insufficient, so some Nar-Phu villagers go themselves to Mustang to exchange grain and dairy products for salt.

Clan Organisation

The villagers of Nar and Phu constitute an exogamous group divided into seven endogamous clans, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Clans of Nar and Phu villages

NAR:		*PHU:*	
Clan:	*No. of Households*	*Clan:*	*No. of Households*
Bandilam	10	Omsamja	16
Nhorpa	15	Lhata	20
Tonde	20	Ngochyo	12
Manden	10		
Total	55	Total	48

Marriage between two members of the same clan is strictly prohibited.[5] Even sexual relations between two members of the same clan is regarded are incest and taken

5 Gurung, *op. cit.* p. 302 f.

as a serious social and religious offense. The Tonde and Manden clans traditionally regard themselves as lineage brothers, so marriages between members of these two clans are also avoided. Otherwise, members of any two clans may intermarry.

Marriage between cross-cousins is the most widespread kind of marriage in Nar-Phu, as it is among Gurungs and Nyesyangba. However, marriage by capture and arranged marriage are also practiced.

There is no great difference in social rank between the clans.

All of the clans state that their ancestral home was Tibet. None has any idea how long ago their ancestors settled in Nar and Phu villages.

Village Organization

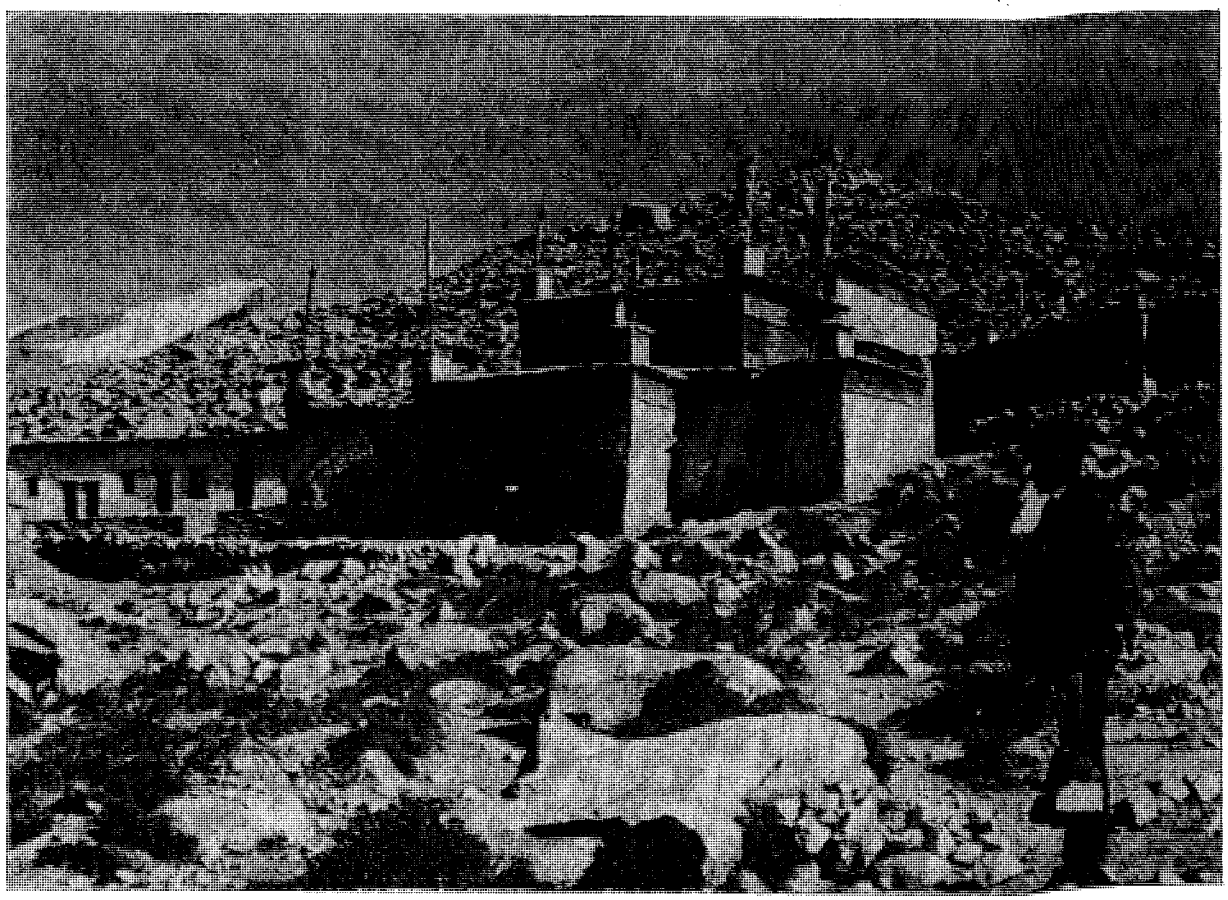
Nar and Phu villages have separate village administrative councils called Dhaapaa Shabaa (NG, NP). The two Councils are independent of each other. The traditions regarding the organisation of the village councils in Nar and Phu are similar to those in the villages of the Nyesyang valley. But the Dhaapaa Shabaa Council of Manang village is at a more developed stage than the councils of other villages of the two valleys.[6]

There are two classes of working members of Dhaapaa Shabaa Council, Dhaapaa, who have a higher political status, and Sherpaa. In Nar and Phu, both types of members serve one year terms. All of the indigenous clans of each village are represented, as shown in Table 2.

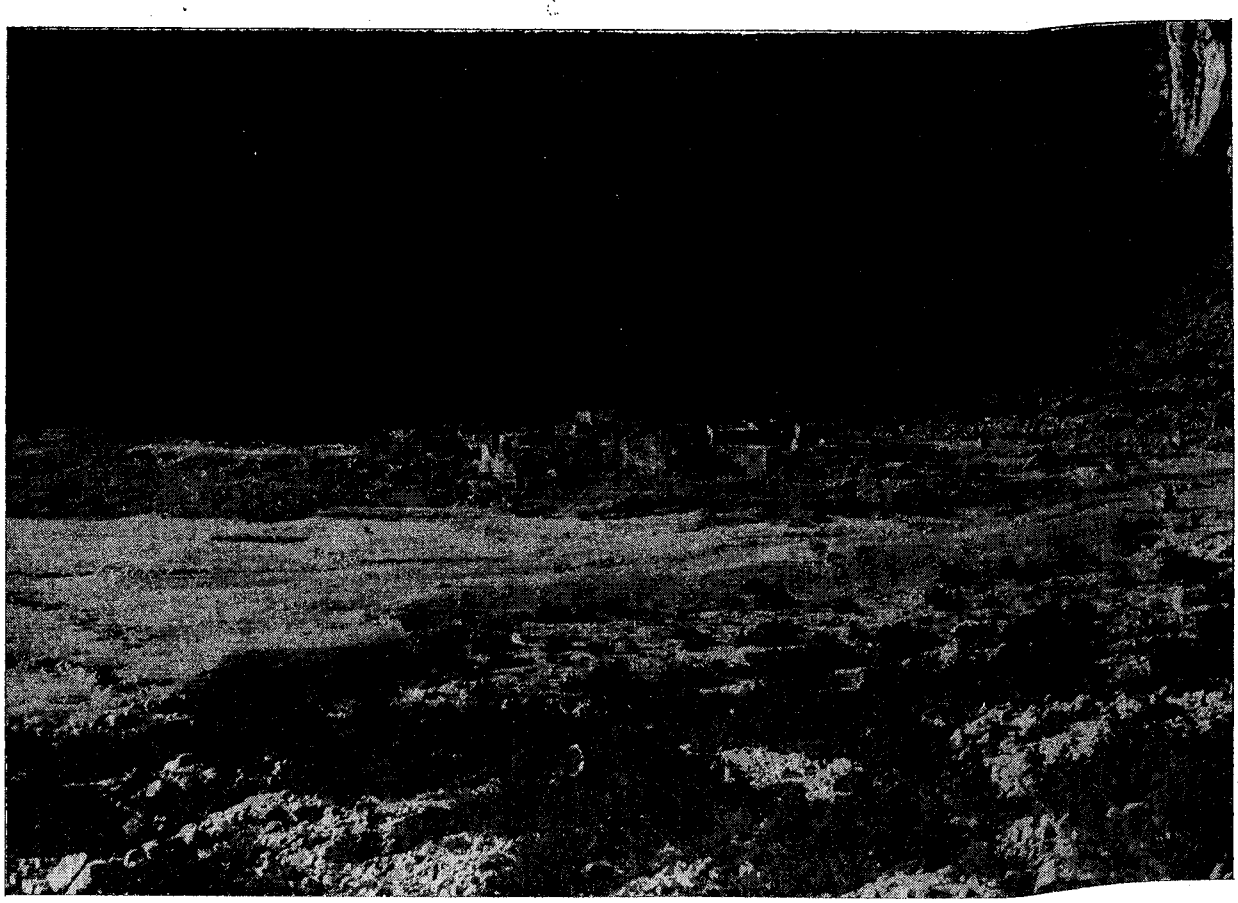
Table 2: Clans and Dhaapaa Shabaa Councils

Village	*Clan*	*No. of Households*	*No. of Council Members.* *Dhaapaa*	*Sherpaa*
NAR	Bandilam	10	1	1
	Tonde and Manden	30	2	1
	Nhorpa	15	1	1
	Total:	55	4	3
PHU	Omsamja and Lhata	36	1	2
	Ngochyo	12	1	1
	Total:	48	2	3

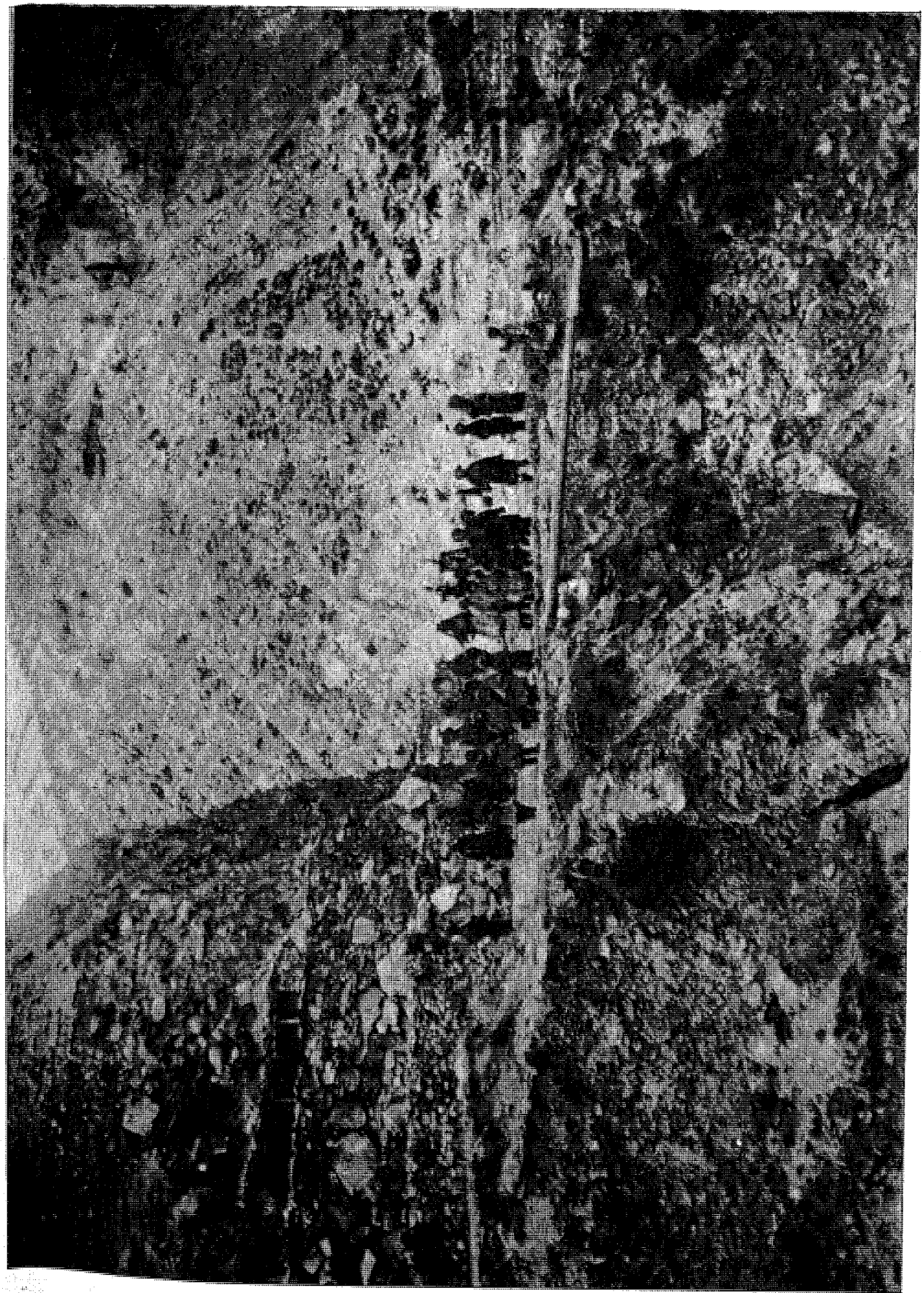
6 *Ibid.* p. 205 f.



3. Tashi Lhakang Monastery, Phu.



4. Kyang, seasonal settlement for Phu Village.



5. Dances at the Jor festival, held each December in Phu Village.

Dhaapaa are like chairmen of the Council, and thus have higher status than Sherpaa, who are ordinary members. The councils of Nar and Phu do not have any additional posts such as are found in the Councils of the villages of Nyesyang. These posts are Bhaladmi (N), Mukhya (N: mediator), Kathali (Ng: peon) and PoyO (Ng. clerk). Perhaps the small and peaceful villages of Nar and Phu never felt the need of these additional posts in order to administer the villages.

Succession

Dhaapaa Shabaa Council members are changed in March of every year. Each clan independently has a roll of succession which determines its representative to the Council. One male member between the ages of 15 and 60 represents each household in the clan on the roll of succession. Terms of service on the Council rotate among these household representatives in order of seniority. A council member in his first term of office is a Dhapaa; in his second term he is a Sherpaa. No member can be a Sherpaa without having first been a Dhaapaa. This differs from the system in Nyesyang, where a member serves first as Sherpaa, then as Dhaapaa.

Functions of the Council

The essential function of the Council is to enforce traditional rules and regulations and to maintain peace and order in the village. In addition, it administers any development programmes in the village. It is the key administrative organisation of the village.

Origin

Neither the Nar-Phu villagers nor the Nyesyangba could give any account of the origin of the Councils. Such Councils are found only in Nar-Phu and Nyesyang, not in Mustang, Gyasumdo or Nhubri, the closest neighbouring areas, which have a rather undeveloped system of village organisation.

The Council may have first developed in Manang over 300 years ago, with the other areas of Nyesyang and Nar-Phu following the example of Manang. In a Lalmohar (N. royal decree, especially a grant) given by His Majesty King Ran Bahadur Shah in 1841 B. S. (1789 A. D.)[7]. concerning the trading privileges of the Nyesyangba and a dispute between the leaders of Baragau in Mustang, the term *Dhaapaa* has been used to address the representatives of Manang village and other villages of Nyesyang and Nar-Phu.

The Nyesyangba have a free and aggressive society, and traditionally believe in an egalitarian society, not one based on rank. Perhaps villages could not have been ruled by a family, lineage, or individual on the basis of heredity. The Dhaapaa Shabaa Council must be the result of their egalitarian political ideology.

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7 Ibid. p. 299. See Bal Chandra Sharma, ed., *Nepali Sabdakos,* Kathmandu, 2019 V. S. p. 916.

Marriage alliances bwetween Nar and Phu villages are limited in number. This is largely because of the distance between the two villages.

Nar-Phu and Gyasumdo

Nar and Phu villages have close relations with the villages of Gyasumdo, as well as with those of Nyesyang. Among the villages of Gyasumdo, they traditionally have the closest relations with Thanchok (N) and Tache (N). These two villages supply the largest quantities of grain to Nar-Phu, and they also serve as moneylenders to Nar Phu. In the winter, the villages of Nar-Phu store all the grain they obtain from Lamjung in Thanchok and Tache until they are able to take it to Nar-Phu.

The Bandilam lineage of Thanchok claims Nar as its ancestral home, although most recently they migrated from Khyaru village in Nyesyang. Nar villagers confirm this claim.

The Ghale clan of Thanchok and Tache still employ lamas from Nar village to perform funerals and household ritual. [8] Traditionally, the Nar lamas only perform funerals of those Ghale lineages who identify themselves as the descendants of Khhe (Ng) of Ngawal village.

Nar-Phu and Nyesyang

Nar and Phu villagers traditionally have closer relations with the villages of Nyesyang than with those of Gyasumdo. Nar has closer economic and political relations with Nyesyang than Phu. Both villages belong to the Mano-Chhachhum Khuwa (Ng). This political union has brought the villagers of Nyesyang and Nar-Phu into closer contact in the economic, social, and political fields.

Economic Relations:

I have already given some clues about the economic relations between Nar Phu and Nyesyang above. I will elaborate on some of those points here.

The villagers of Nar and Phu get half of their total yearly grain requirements from the Nyesyang valley. In return, Nyesyang is the main market for their dairy products and for their labour at sowing and harvesting times. The Nyesyangba leave their yaks with the Nar-Phu villagers, because Nar-Phu has better pasture-land. For this, the Nyesyangba pay a nominal salary in grain to Nar-Phu villagers.

Nar-Phu exports yak, goats, sheep, and handicrafts like *phyarpa* and *lue* to Nyesyang. Table 3 gives an idea of this trade, with its cash value in 1976-1977.

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8 HMG, *Mechi dekhi Mahakali,* Kathmandu, 2031 V. S., Part 3 p. 128.

Table 3: Estimated Annual Exports from Nar-Phu with 1976-7 value.

Item	*Unit Value (Rs.)*	*Annual Supply*	*Total Value (Rs.)*
Yak	900	9	8,100
Goat	250	20	5,000
Sheep	250	25	6,250
Blankets	70	40	2,800
			Total 22,150

It is hard to determine the exact quantities of grain and dairy products exchanged between Nar-Phu and Nyesyang each year. However, a general study of this trade suggests that the value of the grain that goes from Nyesyang to Nar-Phu is greater than that of the dairy products that go from Nar-Phu to Nyesyang.

The Nar-Phu villagers spend about half of their income from the trade shown in Table 3 buying grain in Nyesyang itself. The rest is spent buying grain in Lamjung during the winter.

The increase in income in Nyesyang has apparently led to an increase in the demand for livestock and dairy products from Nar-Phu. The Nar-Phu villagers estimate that the demand has doubled in the last decade.

The Nyesyangba monopolized the trade of Nar and Phu until ten years ago, and fixed the prices of livestock and dairy products. Thus the villagers of Nar-Phu were forced to sell these items to the Nyesyangba at low rates. The Nyesyangba imposed heavy fines on any villager of Nar-Phu found selling livestock or dairy products elsewhere for a higher price. [9] But these restrictions on trade were lifted ten years ago, and now the Nar-Phu villages may trade as they please.

The Nyesyangba are also traditionally moneylenders to the villagers of Nar and Phu. I found seven households of Nar village in debt to villagers of Ngawal and Khyaru in Nyesyang in December 1975. This relationship has given the Nyesyangba the opportunity to dominate Nar-Phu economically and politically.

The methods by which the villagers of Nar-Phu exploit their economic resources are traditional and extensive. As the marginal productivity of these resources diminishes, they are unable to meet the requirements of a growing population. Hence, the economic condition of the two villages, like that of neighboring regions, is deteriorating each year. In order to improve the economy, it is essential to innovate scientific methods in the exploitation of economic resources.

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9 Snellgrove, *op. cit. p.* 227.

Nar-Phu is the most backward area of Manang district. But no developmeut programmes except schools have been introduced in the area by the district panchayat. Development programmes have been concentrated only in Nyesyang and Gyasumdo.

Social Relations:

Although the Nyesyangba consider themselves socially superior to the people of Nar and Phu, the latter claim the same origin as the Nyesyangba and equal clan status. They say that the far superior economic condition of the Nyesyangba also led them to claim social superiority as well. New claims of social status appear frequently among communities which are emerging from a backward condition. For example, the Tibetans of Gyasumdo and Baragau in Mustang call themselves Gurungs instead of identifiying themselves as Tibetans.

The villagers of Nar and Pisang agree that they had marriage relations until thirty years ago. Since then there have been no marriage alliances between the two villages. The improved economic status of the Pisang villagers led to the break in marriage relations with Nar.

Except for Pisang, the villagers of other villages of Nyesyang valley deny that they ever had marriage relations with Nar-Phu. But the villagers of Nar disagree.

The Bandilam (NG, NP) clan of Khyaru village is an offshoot of the Bandilam clan of Nar.

Nar-Phu villagers claim common ancestry with the Gurungs.

Political Relations:

Traditionally, Nar and Phu villages are members of Mano-Chhachhum Khuwa. Thus, they can never divorce themselves from the politics of this organisation. The political life of Nar-Phu had been heavily dominated by the villages of Nyesyang valley. Among the villages of Nyesyang valley, Manang plays the dominant role in the politics of Mano-Chhachum Khuwa.[10]

Every village of Mano-Chhachhum Khuwa must offer a goat or a sheep or cash equivalent to the Dhaapaa Shabaa Council of Manang village every year. This offering is called *sepur* (NG). Nar village also offers Rs. 100 as *sepur*, but Phu village is traditionally exempt from this obligation, nor does it have to share the expense with Nar. But Phu is also a member of the organisation. *Sepur* is offered to the Dhaapaa Shabaa council of Manang for its leadership in the politics of Mano-Chhachhum Khuwa.

The Dhaapaa Shabaa council of Manang traditionally supervises the politics of Nar-Phu and settles disputes which the Nar-Phu villagers themselves are unable to settle. For example, a dispute between two families of Phu village in 1966-67 could

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10 Gurung, *op. cit.*, p. 5f.

not be settled in Nar-Phu . It was later resolved by the Dhaapaa Shabaa Council of Manang.

The villages of Nyesyang also protect Nar-Phu from external invasion. In 1965 there was a dispute between Nar and Phu and the Khambas in the Nar-Phu valley. The Nyesyangba joined together and suppressed the Khambas for the sake of the Nar-Phu villagers.

Nar and Phu villages pay Rs. 254.92 and Rs. 83.54 respectively as *sirto*[11] to the land revenue office of His Majesty's Government at the district headquarters. Traditionally the Dhaapaa Shabaa council of Manang must lead all the small villages which belong to Mano-Chahachhum Khuwa when they go together to pay *sirto*. None of the villages can pay *sirto* individually, according to the rule adopted by His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

These are more or less positive aspects in the relations of Nar and Phu with the villages of the Nyesyang valley. But in Mano-Chhachhum Khuwa the two villages of Nar-Phu lack political independence from Nyesyang. By tradition, they must report any serious conflict to the Mano-Chhachhum Dhaapaa Shabaa Council; they cannot report directly to agencies of HMG without the permission of the Council. If they broke this rule, the Council would impose a heavy fine. Thus the villages of Nyesyang interfere in the internal affairs of Nar-Phu, and Nar-Phu also traditionally endured such ill-treatment because it does not have the power to counter it.

There are two reasons for the domination of Nyesyang over Nar-Phu: geographical and economic. The geographical remoteness of Nar-Phu contributes to its economic backwardness, and both together make it dependent on Nyesyang. However, the villagers of Nar-Phu are still making every effort to escape from the political and economic domination of Nyesyang.

Nar-Phu and the Gurung Subbas

The trading activities of the Gurung Subba families of Lamjung Ghanpokhara expanded into the northern part of Lamjung and Gyasumdo, beginning in the early 19th century. By the middle of the century these trading activities extended all over Manang district, Thak Khola, and Lamjung. Previously, the Thakali Subba families of Thak Khola had monopolized the trade of Manang. With regard to the competition between the Gurung and the Thakali Subba families, Messerschmidt and Gurung have written:

"Certain Lamichhane Gurung clansmen of Ghanpokhara village in

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11 Sirto means "tribute payable by a few categories of vassal states to the government". Mahesh C. Regmi: *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, University of California, Vol. I, Berkeley, 1963, pp. 272.

> northern Lamjung entered the trade scene in the 1890s. They rose in a few short years to entirely dominate the economy, politics, and social life of the Bhot Khola and northern Lamjung regions. Their leaders challenged not only the Thakali agent in Tingaun and drove him out, but seriously threatened the relative autonomy of the Thakali Subbas in their own Thak Khola."[12]

The Gurung Subbas maintained their political influence on the people of Gyasumdo, Nyesyang and Nar-Phu valleys by their monopolistic trading activities. They still retain some political influence in these areas.

PANCHAYATS

There have been no village panchayats in Nar-Phu so far. But this year His Government has designated both Nar and Phu as village panchayats. Elections are to be held in March, 1977.

Between 1962 and 1967, the zonal commissioner of Gandaki Zone used to nominate one person to represent the two villages as a member of the Manang districts assembly. The same individual, a man of Nar village, was nominated during all of this time. In 1967, he was elected as a member of the district panchayat as well. He got the opportunity to become a member of the district panchayat in the absence of the Nyesyangba, who did not participate in the organisation of village panchayats in their villages due to political disputes among themselves. But he did not last long, because of his inactivity on the district panchayat.

In 1970, a new political trend emerged in Nyesyang valley with regard to the organisation of village Panchayats, and Nar and Phu were influenced by these developments. Although it was not possible to organise village panchayats in these areas at that time, the zonal commissioner nominated five members to represent them on the district assembly where previously there had been only three. One of these members was from Nar. In addition to the nominated members,the villagers were allowed to nominate an alternate village-level member from each village of Nyesyang and from Nar and Phu. The function of the village-level alternate members was to assist the official district assembly members in implementing development programmes in the villages. These posts were maintained until 1976, but the structure will change with the election of village panchayats in 1977.

From the beginning, Nar and Phu villages wanted to have two separate village panchayats. They also believed that if they had village panchayats, they could escape

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12 Donald A. Messerschmidt and Nareshwor J. Gurung, "Parallel trade and innovation in Central Nepal" in C. Von Fürer-Haimendorf, ed., *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal,* London, 1974, p. 202.

from the political domination of Nyesyang. But the Nyesyangba opposed the establishment of village panchayats in Nar and Phu, and for some time the villagers of Nar and Phu were forced to give up the idea because they feared the Nyesyangba.

Relations Between Nar and Phu Villages

Nar and Phu traditionally share common economic, social, and political problems and requirements. Neither village usually interferes in the internal problems of the other. But if a serious problem occurs in one of the villages, both cooperate to settle it. The two villages unite to confront external forces.

However, the fact that a man from Nar was continuously nominated to represent the two villages in the district assembly created some friction between the two villages. The villagers of Phu were not happy to be represented only by a man from Nar. But this problem will be solved with the election of village panchayats in both villages, since each village will have the right to send two representatives to the district assembly.

The political and economic pressure of the Nyesyangba led the villagers of Nar-Phu to establish close political and economic ties with the Gurung Subba families from the mid—19th century. The Nyesyangba could not interfere in the relations between Nar-Phu and the Gurung Subbas because they themselves had good relations with the Gurung Subbas. The Gurung Subba families had assisted the Nyesyangba on several occasions in the mid—19th century in their struggle with the Thakali Subba families of Thak Khold to gain free trading privileges.

Until the mid 19th century, the villagers of Nar-Phu had to pay *nirkhi* (N: sales tax[13] called *harsaala* (N: each year) to His Majesty's Government of Nepal through the Dhaapaa Shabaa council of Manang village. This tax was paid by the villages of Mano-Chaachhum Kuhwa in return for free trading privileges. But since the Nar-Phu villagers were not active or mobile traders like the Nyesyangba, they did not benefit from these privileges for which they were taxed. They did not dare approach the government themselves for relief. Subba Man Lal Gurung (1857-1907) assisted them greatly in this matter. He lent them Rs. 300 to go to Kathmandu and present their case, and at the same time he used his influence with the contemporary Rana Prime Minister on their behalf. As a result, the Nar-Phu villagers were relieved of the obligation to pay *nirkhi*. In return, they built a house in Thonje and nominated Subba Man Lal Gurung as their *Jimuwal* (N) [14] The Nyesyangba raised no objection in the matter, but HMG never recognized him officially as *Jimuwal* of Nar-Phu. After his death, his two sons, Subba Nar Jang (1878-1941) became *Jimuwal* of Nar village, and Subba

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13 Mahesh Chandra Regmi, *A Study in Nepali Economic History 1768-1846*, New Delhi, Mañjuśrī, 1971, p. 205.

14 Messerschmidt and Gurung, *op. cit.* p. 205.

Dilli Jung (1907-1965) became *Jimuwal* of Phu village. But they were never officially recognized either. Since their deaths, the villagers of Nar and Phu have not nominated any Gurung Subbas to succeed them. But the Gurung Subba families still retain political influence in Nar-Phu, and they are still consulted, particularly with regard to problems which cannot be settled by the Mano-Chhachhum Dhaapaa Shabaa council.

Social and Political Change in Nar-Phu

The villagers of Nar-Phu have been in favour of holding village panchayat elections since 1968, because they believe that it will give them independence from the politics of Mano-Chhachhum Khuwa. But in 1968, the villages of Nyesyang were opposed to the holding of elections, although they did want to increase the number of village panchayats from one to nine. This was because rivalries within Nyesyang made the holding of elections seem undesirable. The Nar-Phu villagers could not express their desire for elections for fear of offending the Nyesyangba.

The active involvement of the Nyesyang and Nar-Phu villages in the organisation and election of village Panchayats is the most recent political development in these valleys. The current elections and the organisation of village Panchayats will certainly affect the traditional political structure of Mano-Chhachhum Khuwa, which Manang and Pharaka villages apparently do not want changed. Nevertheless, all are actively participating in the organisation and election of village Panchayats at present. Some of the Nyesyangba are participating in order to get their traditional international trading privileges, which were cancelled in September 1976, renewed by HMG. Nar and Phu villagers hope to gain independence from the Nyesyangba through the village Panchayats. However, it is not clear that any immediate social and economic changes can be anticipated in Nar and Phu villages.

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THE GODDESS SARASVATI — FROM INDIA TO TIBET

Alex Wayman
New York

In the Vedic period there was a river called Sarasvatī in North-west India on the banks of which Vedic lore and learning developed. This river once flowed to the sea, but in time disappeared in the desert sands, as though to bring the Vedic period to an end. Thereafter the goddess of the same name, Sarasvatī, would convey this learning, and as the inspirer of eloquence became called by the Hindus Vāgdevī or the goddess of speech.

Swāmī Prajñānānanda (*Historical Development of Indian Music*)[1] conveniently presents the essentials of the Vedic worship of this deity. She was one of a triad of goddesses who, according to the commentator Sāyana, were conceived as three blazing flames of fire (*agni*), and Sarasvatī in time became preeminent as a fire by which there was communication with the gods. This author writes (p. 51): "In the mytho-historical literature, *Devī Sarasvatī*, the presiding deity of learning and all arts, was described as the tongue of the sacrificial fire (*agni-jihvā Sarasvatī*)". And again, "The ancient authors on music conceived and deified the primal sound, *Nāda*, as a symbol of the goddess *Sarasvatī*." He refers (p. 56-57) to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 2.4.1-7), for the legendary association of the goddess with the Gandharvas, the celestial musicians. The Gandharva Viśvāvasu had stolen the nectar Soma from Gāyatrī (which is a certain meter, and also the charm, *vidyā*, addressed to the Sun deity at dawn). When the *Devas* learned of the theft of Soma, they sent the beautiful maiden *Vāc* or Vāgdevī to rescue Soma. The Gandharvas are said to be fond of women and beauty, so when Vāgdevī approached, they went to the gods (the devas), and said, "Let yours be the Soma and let Vāc or Vāgdevī be ours." Since the Gandharvas had thus secured Sarasvatī for their ranks, from that time they excelled in music. This author also mentions that Śrī or Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune, was gradually separated from Sarasvatī though frequently paired with her.

J. N. Banerjea (*The Development of Hindu Iconography*)[2] provides the main details for the classical Hinduism period. As known by the *Purāṇas*, Sarasvatī is sometimes connected with Brahmā, both as his daughter and his consort, and sometimes with Viṣṇu as one of his consorts, Puṣṭi (who thrives). The Jains put her at the head of the Śrutadevatās and the Vidyādevīs. As an independent goddess (i. e. not a consort),

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1 Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960.

2 Published by the University of Calcutta, 1956.

she is usually described in such texts as the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as four-armed, white colored, dressed in white garments and decked with many ornaments, holding in her four hands any four of the following objects, manuscript, white lotus, rosary, musical instrument, water-vessel, and so on. The musical instrument is possibly the oldest emblem associated with her, although the manuscript is also old. A late Gupta form shows her in association with Brahmā, she is four-armed, with gift-bestowing gesture (*varamudrā*), the rosary (*akṣamālā*), the musical instrument (vīṇā), and the water-vessel (*kamaṇdalu*) in her four arms. One of her names is Śāradā, which means "she who is autumnal," also the autumn moon; and the name also stands for a kind of Vīṇā or lute.

B. Bhattacharya (*The Indian Buddhist Iconography*)[3] summarizes the forms of Sarasvatī in the late Buddhist period, namely four types of the two-handed goddess, and a form with three faces and six arms. From his work,

(1) Mahāsarasvati, resplendent like the autumn moon, rests on the moon over the white lotus, shows the gift-giving (*varada*) gesture in her right hand, carries in the left the white lotus with its stem. She has a smiling countenance (*smeramukhi*), is extremely compassionate, wears garments decorated with white sandal decked in many ornaments; she appears a maiden of twelve years, and her bosom is uneven with half-developed breasts like flower-buds; she illumines the three worlds with the immeasurable light that radiates from her body. She is surrounded by four goddesses who are apparently facets of herself: Insight (prajñā) in front, Cleverness (medhā) to her right, Memory (smṛti) to her left, and backed up by Intelligence (mati).

(2) Varavīṇā Sarasvatī. She is distinguished by carrying in her two hands the Vīṇā, and she plays upon it.

(3) As Vajraśāradā (deification of the autumn), she has a crescent in her crown; is three-eyed, and two-armed, carrying the book in the left hand, and the lotus in the right.

(4) Āryasarasvatī is also called Vajrsarasvatī, a common name of Sarasvatī among the Buddhist tantrics. She is a maiden of sixteen, in the prime of youth, has white complexion, and in her left hand holds a lotus stalk on which rests the Prajñāpāramitā book. No mention of what is in her right hand.

The other form which Bhattacharya found is Vajrasarasvatī, with three faces and six arms, in pratyālīdha āsana (this means right foot bent forward, left retracted), on the red lotus. She is red in color, with right face blue and left face white. In her three right hands she carries the lotus on which is the Prajñāpāramitā book, the sword and curved blade; and in the three left, the skull bowl of Brahmā, the jewel and the wheel (*cakra.*) An alternate description has a simple lotus (no mention of book on top) and a simple skull bowl (no mention of it being Brahmā's).

Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958.

Passing to the Tibetan tradition, I have used the collection *Sgrub thabs kun btus,* Vol. Kha,[4] which is mainly given over to rituals of the three insight deities, Mañjuśrī and the white Acala. The Sarasvatī section has seven works occupying consecutive folio side numbers 394-546, or about 150 folio sides, which I have surveyed for this paper. First some general remarks may be made.

(a) Since there is only one goddess, namely Sarasvatī, among the three 'insight' deities, it follows that Prajñāpāramitā (who is occasionally depicted iconographically)[5] is here incorporated in the Sarasvatī treatment. The reason is suggested by a Mahāyāna scripture that was popular in both Tibet and China, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra,* which devotes a chapter to Sarasvatī setting forth her *sādhana,* together with the rite of expanding insight (*prajñā*) and cognition (*buddhi*).[6] At several places in the Tibetan materials, e. g, at f. no. 472, there is a dicussion of the nature of *prajñā*. At f. no. 524, the *Prajñāśataka* is cited:[7] "Prajñā is the root of all merits, whether seen or unseen. Since it accomplishes both, first one should endeavor to promote insight". And the same folio side states: "Among the numerous means for promoting insight, the one that is best is the reliance on Devī Sarasvatī."

(b) There were numerous *sādhanas,* or evocation rituals of deities, translated into Tibetan, and the iconographical descriptions are not always included in Bhattacharya's pioneer and still invaluable work. Thus, he did not include a four-handed type, but in this Tibetan collection the Sarasvatī of the Bo-doṅ school is a four-handed one embraced by a four-handed Mañjughoṣa, although not having in her four hands the four hand symbols of the Gupta form previously mentioned. Both Purāṇic legends are represented in the collection: The white Sarasvatī of the Brahmin Kīla[8] school is called 'Brahmā's daughter', although also referred to as a metamorphosis of Ārya Lokeśvara's great tooth, a legend contained in *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras.*[9] The Sarasvatī in the lineage from Bo-doṅ paṇ-chen phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal makes her an emanation from Viṣṇu (in Tibetan, khyab 'jug).

(c) It is of interest that where the age was given I could not find in the iconographical descriptions of this Tibetan collection the age 'twelve' that was prevalent in the types Bhattacharya presented. The preference for the 16 yeared Sarasvatī in these sādhnas is also evidenced by the description of the breasts, usually 'round, firm, high, and

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4 Dehradun. G. T. K. Lodoy, N. Gyaltsen and N. Lungtok, 1970.

5 See frontispiece in Edward Conze, *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom* (The Buddhist Society: London, 1955).

6 Cf. Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (Mouton: The Hague, 1968), p. 111.

7 This work is included in the Tibetan Tanjur, and attributed to Nāgārjuna.

8 Sanskritized from the Tibetan name, Bram ze phur bu.

9 See note 6 above.

large'. There is some significance in this switch, because as the *Guhyasamājatantra,* Chap. XV, 66, suggests, the twelve-yeared girl, and body boy as well, was employed as a vessel for divination of ritual success.[10] The 16-yeared form loses the possible divination connection, and by the suggestion of nubility fits the form of Viṣṇu's consort, called Puṣti ('thriving') Also, the age of 16 agrees with the well-known Buddhist association of 'insight' (*prajñā*) with the sixteen voidnesses (*śunyatā*); and Sarasvatī's epithet Vāgdevī agrees with the sixteen vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet.

(d) These Tibetan materials help solve a problem alluded to by Madame Mallman[11] in her study of Mañjuśrī's iconography where she mentions (p. 16) that Mañjuśrī's assoication with Sarasvatī was previously pointed out by A. Foucher and by S. Lévi (the latter in his *Le Népal*), but that so far she has not found this in the Sanskrit text she consulted. In the esoteric sādhana of the red Sarasvatī descended from the Kashmirian paṇdit Bhiksaparma, the statement is made (at folio no. 521. 2): "Now, here the esoteric evocation of the red Sarasvatī is explained according to the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantra.*" This indicates that the association of Sarasvatī with Mañjuśrī is in the tantra devoted to his angry form called yamāri or yamāntaka. Therefore, it should be in such a Sanskrit text that Sarasvatī would be thus set forth.

(e) These Tibetan sādhanas bring up some of their own problems. Thus, the divorce from the orginal association with the Sarasvatī river seems complete by such remarks as frequently occcur, "Sarasvatī dwells at the shore of the southern ocean." More fully (f. no. 480).' "on the shore of the southern ocean, the dwelling of the gandharva maiden, in the pleasure grove of the Vidyādharas." The term 'gandharva' should be understood by the previous explanation, namely, heavenly musician'. The Vidyādharas seem also to be flying spirits; cf. Kramrisch's illustration 'Flying Vidyādhara'.[12]

The Tibetan materials at f. no. 444 call Sarasvatī the wife of the Gandharva Tambura. Now Prajñānānanda when discussing (p. 384) the varieties of *vīnās*, says: "*Tumbura, tamburā* or *tānapurā* is known as the *tumburu-veenā*". Thus, the name 'Gandharva Tambura' probably means 'Gandharva who plays the tumburu-vīnā'. In Mallman (p. 94), Pañcaśikha, king of the Gandharvas, is playing a *Vīnā*; and this entry is followed immediately by reference to 'Sarvārthasiddha, king of the Vidyādhara,' thus pairing the Gandharvas and Vidyādharas, as in the Tibetan text cited above.

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10 The reasons, as pointed to in Tson-kha-pas' annotation of the *Pradīpoddyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, in the Japanese Photo edition, Vol. 158, p. 126-3-4,5, is the sexual isolation, hence, 'puberty crisis' unmixed with the other sex. Chap. XV of the *Guhyasamāja* especially concerns dream and other auspices.

11 Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Etude iconographique sûr Mañjuśrī* (Ecole française d'Extreme–orient: Paris, 1964.)

12 Stella Kramrisch *The Art of India* (Phaidon Publishers Inc.: London, 1954), Pl. 68.

An unsolved problem of the Tibetan sādhanas is the epithet of Sarasvatī at f. no. 520-3,4, 'messenger of Sāla'.[13]

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As to the descriptions of the goddess in this Tibetan collection, there are three basic forms: 1) the independent white goddess; 2) the independent red goddess; 3) the goddess as a consort.

(1) Here there is the white Sarasvatī of the Brahmin Kīla school, f. no. 413: The officiant goes through the various preliminaries, such as bathing, taking a comfortable seat, taking refuge, generating the mind of enlightenment) and contemplating the four boundless states. Then he purifies the void with the mantra 'svabhāva' etc.[14] Thereupon he contemplates that from the realm of the void appears a temple inhabited by the gods and the host of accomplished ṛṣis and gandharvas, surrounded by delectable herbs of a Mt. Meru grove, within a white and pure ocean of milk. From a PAM appears a trunk of white lotus with large petals; and from an A a moon disk, and thereon a white HRIH from which arises Vāg-devī Sarasvatī, with white body, one face, two-armed, her face calm, smiling, and lovely with charming youth of sixteen years, breasts firm and high, narrow waist, in squatting posture; with her hand holding an instrument of many strings of lapis lazuli, and evoking it with the fingers of her right hand, producing an ocean of sounds. The back half of her black glistening hair is tied together, and the remainder freely hangs down. She is beautified on the crown of head with a crescent moon, and on her head is tied a garland of white lotuses; and her tresses of hair are beautified with various jewels. The upper part of her body is covered with white silk, and the lower part wound around in variegated fashion like a rainbow. She is adorned with strings of gems and jewels and with nets having small bells. Her body, lacking self-existence, emits light rays without end and has in back a shining curtain in the form of a moon. The officiant contemplates in his own heart a lotus stalk with flowers that had been suspended downwards, that becomes directed upwards and takes on the aspect of a red lotus opening up; that within the flower is a moon, and on it a white OM. And that while he hardly breathes out, the *nāda*[15] of the OM (meaning the small circle on top of the OM) emits white rays, which pass out through his right nostril, and enter the left nostril of Sarasvatī like the one he has contemplated (in front) but dwelling in the entrancing glade of the Vidyādharas on the shore of the southern ocean, and there entering her heart, attracts Sarasvatī in the

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13 The name 'Sāla' was transcribed into Tibetan phonetically.

14 The mantra is given fully on f. no. 541: / Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāh sarvadharmāh svabhāvaśuddho'ham / "Oṃ. All dharmas are intrinsically pure. I am intrinscially pure".

15 Compare the previous mention of *nāda* as a symbol of the goddess Sarasvatī.

gnosic form together with retinue, blazing with light, which leaving via her right nostril, like the rising moon of autumn, in an instant appears in the sky in front (of the officiant), filling the heavens with offering clouds. He offers flowers, etc. with the appropriate mantras, and then invites the goddess, while muttering with barely audible sound, while he holds breath within. He contemplates that the shining circle enters by his left nostril and merges with the OM in his heart. Then the OM transforms into a white eight petalled lotus with Sarasvatī and retinue.. (and so on down to) pervades his whole body with light, which dispels the darkness of ignorance and expands the light of intelligence directed without hindrance on all the knowable (and so on, for the concluding part of the ritual).

(2) There is the secret evocation of the red Sarasvatī in the lineage from the Kashmirian pandit Bhikṣaparama (f. no. 505). The aim is to expand the fulfilment of *prajñā*. After the various ritual preliminaries, much the same as in the case of evoking the white Sarasvatī, the officiant meditatively ascends to the void contemplating all dharmas as void and without self. He contemplates that from the realm of the void there appears an eight-petalled lotus, that upon it his own mind changes into a red HRIH, which sends out rays that make offering to the nobles, chase away the darkness of nescience of the sentient beings, and amount to the light of *prajñā*; then returning, change into a knowledge mirror. That melts into light, and himself (i. e. the officiant) imagines that he becomes the Devī Sarasvatī with body red like the color of coral, with one face, two hands, the right hand holding the wish-granting jewel (*cintāmaṇi*) and the left hand holding the knowledge mirror (*jñānādarśa*), with right leg bent forward and left retracted, breasts firm and large, with head ornament of various jewels, earrings, necklace, hand bracelets, a girdle belt of pearl, a garment of variegatd silk that flares out, the maiden aged exactly sixteen, countenance calm, smiling, and charming, (body) sending out innumerable rays; and he imagines that appearances are devoid of self-existence, like reflections on the mirror; and imagines on the head a white OM, on the neck a red ĀH, and in the heart, a black HUM. (Then the officiant, as in the earlier rite attracts from the shore of the southern ocean Sarasvatī in the gnosic form just as he has imagined her above).

In explanation of the meditation procedures in the above cases of the white and the red Sarasvatī, the officiant first evokes the deity, here the goddess Sarasvatī, as the symbolic being (*samayasattva*)—a conventional representation; then attracts the knowledge being (*jñānasattva*)—usually from the sky, but here from the shore of the southern ocean, perhaps meaning the Milky Way; and the entrance of the knowledge being or circle into the officiant to be lodged in his heart, is held to establish the lineage of the deity in that person, who thus unifies the symbolic and knowledge beings.[16]

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16 Cf. Lessing and Wayman, *Mkhas grub rje's* index, under 'Beings', Symbolic Being and Knowledge Being.

(3) Here, for the red Sarasvatī as a consort in the Bo-doṅ lineage,the officiant follows preliminaries somewhat along the lines of the preceding evocation of the red Sarasvatī,leading (f. no. 542) to the officiant's becoming meditatively Vajradevī Vāgīśvarī, the venerable Sarasvatī, whose color of body is red, with one face, four arms, of which the two basic ones embrace the male deity; and with the two remaining ones, in the left holds a precious musical instrument of many strings that is resting on her left side, which with the fingers of her remaining right hand she slowly plays, producing an ocean of musical sounds with the full gamut of notes, gratifying all the Buddhas; while her two feet are in the lotus intertwine. Next to her is the Lord, the venerable Mañjughoṣa, with body red-yellow, one face, and four arms, with the two basic arms embracing the goddess; and with the two remaining ones, in the right wields a sword that blazes with light rays, and in the left holds a blue lotus on top of which is the Prajñāpāramitā book. Both of them have bodies wondrous to see, adored with all manner of jewels, and dwell amidst a furious light display. On the petal to their East is Insight (Prajñā), on the southern one is Intelligence (mati), on the western one is Memory (smṛti) and on the northern one is Cleverness (medhā). Each of these have one face, two arms, hold a sword with the right and a white lotus with the left, are each adorned with silk and jewels, and stand with their two feet together. The central deities and the retinue all have on their forehead an OM, on their neck an ĀH, in their heart a HUM.

In this case, there was no indication of the goddess's age, although the presumption is that she is here also sixteen years old.

Finally, the elaborate ritual of the white Sarasvatī in the lineage from Bo-doṅ paṇ-chen phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal mentions a role of the goddess's *vīnā* in the yoga of the watches (at f. nos. 473-474). This has to do with the yoga procedure of evoking the the goddess at the *sandhis,* especially dawn and dusk, taking rest with the goddess's blessing, and being aroused by the sound of her *vīnā*. The text says: "The great music from the sounding of the *vīnā*, of the profound and far-reaching dharma, awakens him from all the inner and outer sleep, and he sees directly her face".

In conclusion, the powerful goddess personality of Sarasvatī that had developed in the Vedic period continued unabated through the many centuries, even though the iconographic details varied and despite the adaptation of the goddess to later tantric meditation procedures The goddess's ability to promote insight and inspiration did not suffer serious detraction even when she advanced from twelve to sixteen years.

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SHORT REVIEWS

THE SHERPAS OF THE SOLU DISTRICT. A Preliminary Report on Ethnological Field Research in the Solu District of North-Eastern Nepal. By Hans Guldberg Axelsen. *71 pp.* Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. 47,7, Copenhagen 1977. Price: D.kr. 70.—

The author has spent some four months in 1972-73 in the Solu district. An ethnological study of the Sherpas of Solu would have been most welcome. The present work, however, is a disappointment. In some 55 pages of text, the author attempts to touch on all aspects of Sherpa culture in Solu—monastic life, religious festivals, archaelogical remains, social structure, material culture and economic development, to mention but a few of the major topics. The result is that nothing is achieved, the information provided being much too fragmentary, brief and incidental to be of any real value. There are hardly any references to existing literature on the Sherpas. Although expressly stated to be "preliminary", this report would rather seem to be premature. The price, approximately US $ 12.—, is entirely out of proportion with the dimensions of the book.

P. K.

ORDERED SPACE, CONCEPTS AND FUNCTIONS IN A TOWN OF NEPAL. By N. Gutschow and B. Kölver, *59 pages, 16 plates and 3 maps.* Published by Kommissionverlag F. Steiner GMBH, Wiesbaden, 1975. Price: N. Rs. 50.

This study appeared after a previous book by Auer and Gustchow about Bhaktapur (*Bhaktapur. Gestalt, Funktionen und religiose Symbolik einer Nepalischen stadt im vorindustriellen Entwicklungsstadium*, Technische Hochschule, Darmstadt, 1974) which was a general presentation of the town. One particular aspect of the town is studied more deeply in this latest work: the spatial organisation and the present function of the religious buildings are compared to abstract concepts concerning a Hindu town. We should perhaps remind readers that from 1971 onwards part of Bhaktapur has been restored in the framework of a German-Nepalese project: several maps and plans of the town and of its monuments and buildings have been drawn up on this occasion and this has made possible the study of the town's religious organisation. Gutschow was one of those responsible for the restoration of the Pujari *Math* and he published an article on the subject ("Pujari Math in Bhaktapur", *Deutsche Kunst and Denkmalpflege,* Deutscher Kunstverlag, München, 1972, p. 103-118).

In the first part of this most recent publication, after an introduction concerning the economic stituation of the town, which is described as "pre-industrial", the authors discuss the "concept of a town" in the Newar context. In their view, the implications of the concept are determined by the religious organization of such towns. The main difference between Patan and Bhaktapur is that from its foundation the former town was planned and its space organised in a certain manner whereas at Bhaktapur the territorial limits were grafted on a pre-existing structure: "While we have evidence

to believe that ritual delimitation was an essential feature of Patan from its very beginning. analogous delimitations have in Bhaktapur been imposed onto a structure that already existed" (p. 21). The 'Eight Mothers' shrines, which occupy positions around the town, aimed 'to raise the status of what came to be a royal settlement, raise it to the level of other royal cities" (p. 21). Perhaps it should be stressed that this religious organisation of the town corresponded to a cetain administrative and political organisation. The authors note: "We think it is the very point of Hindu notions about towns that the distinctions between the religious and political history—or more generally between the religious and secular interpretation of one and the same set of facts—is irrelevant. In the Hindu system of Bhaktapur, political history is, as it were, expressed in terms of religion and ritual" (p. 22).

In the second part of their work, entitled "Ordered Space", they analyse the links between the soical and the religious organisation of the southern part of the town, that is to say, the part lying between Taumadhi Square and the Masan Ghat area. This approach is an innovation, for up till now researchers had described the monuments without taking into account their religious function. Moreover the authors show that Newar houses are situated in function of their position in the social hierarchy: "the social status of inhabitants is expressed by their greater or lesser proximity to the centre of the city" (p. 34). This is true not only for Bhaktapur but also of Kathmandu and Patan where untouchables previously lived outside the town limits. It is particularly impossible to study the social organisation of Newars, particularly those who dwell in towns, if one does not take account of their religious buildings and their religious organisation. Our hope is that studies similar to this one will be undertaken in other Newar localities and thus enable comparisons to be drawn with Bhaktapur and so lead to a better understanding of Newar civilisation as a whole.

Anne Vergati-Stahl

THE HIMALAYAN WOMAN. A study of Limbu women in marriage and divorce. By Rex L. Jones and Shirley Kurz Jones. *155 pp., photos, glossary, index.* Published by Mayfield Publishing Co. Palo Alto, California, 1976. Price: $ 3.95

The authors want this little book to be a contribution to the current dicussion on the status of women. It is about the place women occupy in a society dominated by men. But they intentionally keep the debate free from passion. The book aims mainly at insisting on the diversity of the feminine condition in South Asia: to show, based on material collected from the Limbus of the Terhathum region, that women in Eastern Nepal are not as submissive as might be supposed.

A method derives from this initial project. Describing kinship and marriage does not serve to explain social mechanisms; nor is the intention to show that a woman's marriage helps to cement the bonds between groups of men. The question is to know

if the Limbu woman has the possibility to make for herself the fundamental choices of her life: to choose her husband; to break up a union that does not suit her; in other words, is she capable of deciding her own destiny ?

Certainly, this is a very Western way to tackle the problem. Indirectly the authors justify the soundness of their approach. In presenting the Limbu, they show how the fight for more land increases in importance, how Limbus migrate in search of money and how the economy is expanding. All these factors modify the local outlook profoundly. The individualism typical of the Western world is taking hold in Asia.

Shirley and Rex Jones start out from the initial observation that divorce among the Limbu is frequent: 20% for all marriages they studied. At first sight, then, Limbu marriages seem unstable, but these statistics are not very helpful if one wants to find out whether the women are satisfied with their fate. But it is to the authors' credit that they do not stop at statistics and that they reason that one must look much more closely if one wants to capture social realities.

The social institutions as described are not much more encouraging either. The authors study successively the rules of inheritance, particularly in real properties; the definition of lineage and of clans; the predominant place of the homestead in the ritual and the three types of Limbu marriages: by arrangement (*magi biha*), by choice (*chori biha*), and the marriage that results from adultery (*jari*). Every one of these institutions is marked by male dominance: patrilinear succession, patrilocal residence, and the importance of male initiative and decision-making.

At first a very positive point in favour of the position of women becomes apparent with the study of the dances (*dhan nac*). Thanks to these dances, the young girl has the opportunity, in her village and outside far away from adults, to meet many boys whom she could possibly marry. Contrary to what other Nepalese often believe, these dances do not imply sexual liberty. But it is true that they are all oriented to exalt amorous sentiments. Long before her marriage, the Limbu girl may have a boy-friend in every hamlet of her valley. This institution allows the girl to choose her mate.

In their study of marriage, Shirley and Rex Jones show that even here customs are marked by the pre-eminence of men. The Limbus of Terhathum, contrary to their brothers who live farther north, mostly practice marriage by arrangement. The young girl is consulted regarding the choice of her husband, but the initiative remains with the boy. The marriage itself is not easily faced by the young girl. It means a time of psychological tension which the ritual tries to overcome with symbols. And later on the condition of the married woman turns out to be a traditional one. The authors try to prove this with their description of pregnancy, childbirth, the care of the baby and the part the woman has in the child's education. The role and the functions of the mother are enhanced in importance.

Nevertheless, before this comes about, there is the problem of studying where the young bride will live after the first months and sometimes even years after her

marriage. The answer is sometimes with her husband, sometimes with her father. This particular study makes a second point in favour of the condition of woman. The social rules authorize the young Limbuni to return home if she does not want to stay with her husband. There is a kind of fluctuating period the length of which the woman can determine at will and during which she can alternate between two possible choices. She will decide according to her own preference whether to choose the residence of her husband—if she is satisfied with him—or that of her father, if she is not. This transition period may in some critical cases last several years. Once back in her home village the young girl has all the leisure to participate again in the dances and to pick up with her former boy – friends. If this continues, she may go off with another young man.

The authors insist on their observation that the Limbu marriage is a 'trial marriage; the young bride remains the mistress of her choice and of her decisions.

Thus Shirley and Rex Jones have new elements at their disposal in explaining the divorce question: it is frequent but it is not a real divorce in the sense that we understand it. It takes place during the first years, or even the first months, of a trial marriage. The couple does not have any children: the marriage may not have been consummated. This is the third point in favour of the condition of women among the Limbus. Though the men take the initiative in the marriage, the women have all the latitude to accept or not to accept this initiative. True divorces after several years and after several children are rare. The Limbu marriage is therefore much more stable than it would appear at first glance. And it is this stable marriage that is once again the woman's choice.

Shirley and Rex Jones depict very sympathetically one of the most original and often misunderstood features of Limbu culture. At the same time they furnish much hitherto unknown information concerning Eastern Nepal.

Philippe Sagant

TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE KATHMANDU VALLEY. By Wolfgang Korn. *xix, 121, 61 line drawings, 12 sketches, one photo.* Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series III, Volume 11. Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1976. N. Rs. 110.

Any sensitive westerner arriving in Kathmandu Valley is sure to be overwhelmed by the richness, exuberance and exoticism of its traditional architecture. Previous experience of mediaeval Europe prepares the visitor for the human scale, the picturesque street vistas, the crowded bazaars and the varied spatial qualities of its public open spaces. But nothing in the background of a normally acculturated westerner is likely to give such a visitor any anticipation of the first hand impact of the architectural forms themselves, the elements from which urban spaces are built up. An observer who is also a western trained architect is particularly prone to suffer a specific kind of 'culture shock' after the first exhiliration of a stroll through one of the Darbar squares. This culture

shock is most intense with respect to 'the pagoda form' and it resolves itself into an urgent need to find the answer to the questions posed by its pervasive presence, namely, why ? whence ? how ? and so on.

As in all traditional cultures, the 'highest' or most developed art forms are reserved for the service of the gods, the second class for the aristocracy and the third for the common people. Any architect can observe in Kathmandu the relationship between the Newari house and a palace such as the Hanuman Dhoka. It is equally obvious that some secular features of such a palace as the Vasantapur Tower, are idealized in the typical 'pagoda style' temple.

An architect may guess that features of functional origin such as widely overhanging roofs to protect walls below from monsoon rains (walls of weak brick and mud mortar) are taken over into an architectural language and used rhetorically as a means of expression. The piling up of such roofs in the pagoda form is already anticipated however, in the four storey Newari house where a projecting eaves occurs at the third floor In fact such umbrella-like functions of roofs and projecting canopies are clearly the corollary of the wood lattice windows (which never framed glass). Large bay windows of this type tilted outwards and covered are a logical response to the need for good ventilation, view and rain protection. The above mentioned Vasantapur Tower wraps such a feature all around each storey to become a 'pagoda' of a sort but one in which the delightful quality of the *interior* spaces leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the *exterior* form that results.

It is not so in the temples. Here the stacked roofs are symbolic only and as Wolfagang Korn points out in his book *The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley* the spaces behind these temple roofs are usually not used and contain no floors.

The beautifully precise measured drawings which are by far the most valuable feature of this book confirm and reinforce most of the points made above. Architects as well as art historians and other scholars will welcome a book on 'high culture' traditional Nepali architecture written and drawn for professionals. Until now their only resource has been to the guide books which rarely include any building plans and never any sections. Herr Korn's section drawings alone are worth the price of the book and a masterpiece such as Kasthamandap cannot be explained or understood without such a drawing.

The book is organized into chapters on the main building types and the general descriptions of these types provide an adequate background to any serious student who wishes to visit the valley's cities fore-armed with a basic understanding of what will be seen.

When it comes to particular monuments however, the same student will encounter a problem. The book is not nearly clear enough in *locating* the buildings it discusses on the city map. There are good plans of the Darbar squares but even they are not clearly keyed to the text and other drawings and are marred by misprints

(e. g. the Vasantapur Tower is wrongly keyed on the Kathmandu Darbar square map). Printers errors in the text also occur with regrettable frequency throughout. The graphic and written information in the book is valuable enough to be presented to the community of scholars in a second edition which is properly proof-read and and includes some clear system of reference keying the buildings it describes to their locations.

No pioneer work in any field can be expected to answer every question. But this reviewer regrets that one simple construction detail is not included by the author. In the last chapter a detail is shown (p. 105) of a long peg which connects column, bracket and beam. This is clearly not a moment type of joint and must depend on other elements in the building to stabilize it against horizontal forces such as wind. Yet there are some structures where these elements are absent and the posts must necessarily develop bending moment. The clearest examples of these are the Mandaps on pages 92 and 93. One cannot help but ask: how can these buildings stand up ?

David Dobreiner

LE PAYSAN LIMBU: SA MAISON ET SES CHAMPS. By Philippe Sagant. *404 pages.* Published by Mouton, Paris/La Haye, 1976. Price: n.a.

For some time, anthropology has tried to escape from the static or synchronic view of its own task. This had been a vision to which it was once led by the need to escape from the excessively abstract 19th century evolutionary schemata. These, by being overconcerned with the total history of the human race, had been far too removed from the immediate and real factors which affect the concrete lives of men. Real, on-the-ground changes, or stabilities for that matter, cannot be explained by pinning a society to some point or other of the global evolutionary ladder (even if we knew how to identify and rank the rungs on that ladder). But the shift to the concrete was (by means of a fallacious though natural reasoning) associated with a tendency to see societies as *stable.* The tacit assumption used to be—if you were no longer an evolutionist you had to be some kind of functionalist. Given that the stability assumption is false for very many, perhaps for most societies, this increasingly led to a feeling of unease amongst anthropologists.

Some of those ill-at-ease with the stability assumption deliberately turned to conspicuous and dramatic cases of soicial change, such as Cargo Cults. It will be ironic if the real death-blow to the static vision will come not from studies which turned to the superficially most spectacular cases of change, but those which looked at very profound, but less immediately visible, changes amongst Asiatic peasants—or those who have recently become Asiatic peasants and who now conform to the stereoty peof the rice-growing peasant.

This is the general context of Monsieur Philipe Sagant's extremely interesting and valuable study of the Limbus. The bulk of it is, indeed, as the title implies, taken up with an impressively detailed and painstaking account of Limbu agricultural practices, calendar and habitat. But the material is organised in a manner which is inspired by an over-all question—just when, how and why was Limbu ecology transformed so radically? There is no doubt whatever in the author's mind—and his case is convincing—that a very fundamental change indeed has occurred in Limbu-land in the past two centuries, and that this change is part of an uneven process encompassing the rest of Nepal and the Himalayas. The work is thus highly comparable to Dr Macfarlane's recent study of Gurung demography and ecology, with which it has many points of similarity. The central theme is *change* in each case. Interestingly, studies such as these—to which one could add the work of Dr David Seddon and his collegues around Pokhara and along the British-built road in the Terai—inspire in turn some very general questions, which are themselves rather global-evolutionary in character. If these authors are right in their fear that recent agricultural development has been pushed close to, or beyond, the point of acute danger, is it just a coincidence that this perilous culmination of the agricultural evolution has almost coincided with the industrial revolution ? One has the impression that Nepal is not the only place in the world where this is so.

Monsieur Sagant does of course have to face the methodological problems inherent in the diachronic study of a society which, through not illiterate, is poor in historic documentation. ('Static' anthropologists liked to invoke these problems and their great difficulty—as if, beacuse it is hard to know the past, it followed that it was probably similar to the present !) Curiously enough, he says he prefers to solve the problems by the functionalist method:

> ....pour décrire l'ancien genre de vie, nous nous sommes heurté à l'absence de documents détaillés....pour suppléer à ce manque d'informations, il eut été possible de recourir aux données disponibles sur d'autres essartants proches....Nous avons répugné à un tel procédé....une autre voie était ouverte. Celle qui consistait, au détriment d'ailleurs de l'équilibre de l'ensemble de l'étude, à détailler le plus possible les techniques d'aujourd'hui. Ce faisant, il était facile, alors, de mettre en lumiére les implications socio-économiques qui leur sont liées.

I am puzzled by this argument. No doubt Monsieur Sagant is right to say that one cannot relieably argue *from* the social condition of neighbours of the Limbus, even if their techniques resemble those of which in his view were employed by the Limbus in the past, *to* the past social condition of the Limbus themselves. No doubt, an inference would have to be tentative, and require additional corroboration before being accepted. But why does he think that the (admirably detailed) account of the present techniques of the Limbus allows one to trace the interdependence between them

and the rest of Limbu society to the point of thereby understanding the Limbu past ? We know what now co-exists, but this does not immediately tell us what is inter-dependent. Why does he assume 'functionalist' interdependence in one case (present conditions of the Limbus) but not in the other (present or recent condition of the neighbours)? It is true that amongst contemporary Limbus we can, by observation, note all the aspects of social life; but it is not so obvious that this always tells us of the mutual links. To give a simple example: I am quite prepared to believe that houses on stilts went out at the same time as terracing came in. It sounds plausible. But *must* it be so ? Could not a population which does not build terraces, nevertheless take the trouble to find or to set up flat bases for their houses ?

So, when the author says

> Nous avons cru qu'en développant ainsi, largement, le tableau du genre de vie actuel, nous parviendrions à surmonter les problèmes qui s'élevaient à l'évocation du genre de vie ancien.

I find it hard to be convinced by this. The detailed account of the contemporary mode of life is well worth having for its own sake, and its present inter-connections must contain many clues to the past. If feature A is visibly linked to B, and we know that A was new in the 19th century, we may at least suspect that B was also absent in the 18th, and then look for confirming evidence. But the accurate account of the present does not on its own solve the problem of reconstructing the past, and whatever solutions this problem may have can only benefit from that comparative method Sagant seems to dismiss. The earlier functionalists said: observe present connections, and do not speculate about the past. Sagant seems here to be saying: observe present connections *in order to* reconstruct the past.

As he himself observes in the passage quoted, this also leads him to devote a very large part of the study to description of contemporary Limbus' agricultural and architectural techniques. This of course is very much worth having, and his thoroughness compels admiration. In this field, clearly his knowledge is so great that a reviewer who has not even visited Limbu-land can make no comment. But the commentator faces a further difficulty: the author tells us that this is only part of a much larger work in progress.

> ....cette étude socio-historique de l'intégration des Limbu à la jeune nation népalaise, plus tard, nous espérons la mener à bien.

Happily, in a truly fascinating final chapter, Monsieur Sagant gives us a tantalising foretaste of what that completed study may say.

The changes in Nepal in the last two centuries have no doubt been staggering. They have occurred in the areas of ecology, demography, culture, politics and religion. Mobile, not so populous and relatively self-contained tribal populations have been replaced by a sedentary, intensive rice-growing peasantry, populous enough to

be pushing the use of resources to the available limits; and an ethnic-linguistic patchwork is combined with the imposition of a relative cultural homogeneity and political centralisation. Is agriculture the consequence of stability and political centralisation, or is the Nepalese state the reflection, the superstructure of the ecological revolution ?

No doubt it is too early for a clear answer. There is an interesting difference in stress between Monsieur Sagant and his predecessor in this area, Lionel Caplan. Where Sagant stresses the profound nature of the change, Caplan did not consider it so radical:

> ....Hindu invaders introduced relatively little innovation into the areas they came to dominate. (They) may have brought more sophisticated techniques ..but there was no mystery about these techniques and the Limbus apparently adopted them without difficulty ....both communities have enjoyed access to the same material standard of living....the difference has been confined to magnitude and not kind.
>
> (*Land and Social Change in East Nepal,* London, 1970. p. 202)

Perhaps the difference between the two authors springs mainly from the fact that Kaplan explicitly takes as his standard of comparison the impact of European colonial conquest, especially in areas where there was a 'total failure even to comprehend the white economy', which then was liable to lead to violent, millenarian reactions. There was nothing of the kind in the case of the Gurkha conquest.

Monsieur Sagant's provisional conclusions are that the transformation of the Limbus has been so complete that one can no longer speak of a distinctive Limbu way of life. Like Macfarlane, he singles out demographic pressure (adding economic constraint) as the major factor in this. He also singles out the Newars and Bhotias as the only local groups which succeeded in maintaining their idiosyncrasy.

> Dans les collines du Népal Oriental, toutes les populations (quelles que soient leurs origines, pratiquent la même agriculture.... à l'exclusion (des)....Newar et Bhotiya (et) construisent leurs habitations à peu près de la même façon.

This centralisation (whether by demography-economy or by polity) has led to a multi-ethnic society with a tendency towards class formation. These new classes are, says the author, loosely attached to the ancient caste hierarchy. (But is the caste hierarchy ancient *for the Limbus*?—or is its importation, if imported it was, part of the transformation?) Unlike the Gurungs, the Limbus do not appear to have any internal caste stratification to preoccupy them. At the same time, customary Limbu institutions seem intact, says Sagant. But this is a deceptive cultural facade:

> Nous nous trouvions devant une forme d'organisation sociale intacte, intéressante, préservée mieux qu'ailleurs; mais rongée de l'intérieur: vidée d'une partie de son sens....Il ne faut pas accorder une importance absolue à la façade, belle, mais trompeuse pour l'ethnographe..

So the Limbu culture which *does* persist is a kind of deceptive survival. But if such functionless or even dysfunctional survivals are possible, what happens to that functionalist interdependence of institutions which were for Sagant to be the basis for understanding the present, *and* the past, and the transformations which have led from one to the other ? (In practice, Monsieur Sagant, when reconstructing the past, does rely on traveller's reports and similar sources, rather than simply argue on the lines he promised; and he also reluctantly looks over his shoulder at other groups, disclaimers notwithstanding. This tension between precept and practice is interesting.)

No doubt there are good answers to these questions. Perhaps they are connected with the author's interesting distinction between 'crystallised' institutions and others, i. e. those which are fully conceptualised and acknowledged and those which have not yet reached that status (if ever they will). Apparently the Limbus have clung to their own tribal *pays légal* whilst adapting to a new ecological and politically centralised *pays réel* which dominates their effective lives. The *pays légal* responds to anthropological methods—which are therefore deceptive—whilst the *pays réel* is articulated by Sagant in somewhat Marxist language. Perhaps indeed this is how things are. One can only look forward with very great impatience to the continuation of Monsieur Sagant's work, in which book the methodological and the substantive argument will be carried further.

Ernest Gellner

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF LADAKH. By David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *144 pp; 147 photographs, 20 colour plates, maps and diagrams.* Published by Aris and Phillips Ltd. Warminster, 1977. price: n.a.

Ladakh was an independent Tibetan kingdom until 1884, when it was taken over by the rulers of Jammu and Kashmir. Thus it eventually became a part of modern India; however, strategically situated between Pakistan and China, it remained for security reasons an area virtually inaccessible to foreigners until 1974. In that year the ban on travel was suddenly lifted, and Professor Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, already on their way to India and intending to work in Nepal, quickly changed their plans and went to Ladakh as the first Western scholars to visit that country since India's independence.

It is hardly necessary to point out the unique interest of Ladakh. With the radical changes of traditional scociety in Tibet itself, Ladakh remains, together with Bhutan, the only sizeable area in which Tibetan culture still flourishes in an indigenous setting. In spite of the frequent ravages of invasions by Mongol or Muslim armies, and by the Western Tibetan rulers, Ladakh has preserved an impressive artistic and architectonic heritage, first and foremost, of course, in the form of numerous temples and monasteries. This extremely rich cultural heritage has hardly been explored since

A. H. Francke published his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (2 vols, Calcutta, 1914 and 1926) and the later travelogue of Marco Pallis, *Peaks and Lamas* (London 1939). Guiseppe Tucci's monumental *Indo-Tibetica* (Vols. I-IV, Rome, 1932-1940) is, of course, invaluable for the history of Buddhist art in Tibet and of Western Tibet generally, but does not, strictly speaking, deal with Ladakh. Thus the present volume is the first major study of the culture of Ladakh to have appeared for almost forty years; it contains much important new material and is profusely illustrated.

Professor Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski stayed in Ladakh during the winter months of 1974/75. Although the winter in Ladakh is bitterly cold, and the road from Leh to Srinagar is blocked by snow, this does have the advantage of rendering mass tourism impracticable. At the same time, this is the season during which most of the great monastic feasts and mask dances take place, and as people have more leisure in winter, they are more accessible to enquiries.

The book is organised in three major sections, in which the main artistic and architectonic monuments are grouped according to historical criteria. The first and most important section, constituting almost one half of the book, is the one dealing with "Early Monasteries of the Time of Rin-chen bzang-po" (pp. 19-80). There are a number of remains of monasteries and temples said to be founded by Rin-chen bzang-po, hence dated round 1000 A.D. But in addition, there is at Alchi a complete temple compound, consisting of several buildings, partly in a rather tumble-down state but still intact, the oldest parts of which may be, as Professor Snellgrove demonstrates, confidently dated to the 11th-12th century. "We have dated all the earlier work noted in the *'Du-khang*, on the walls and alcoves on the groundfloor of the Sun-tsek, and in the entrance-chotens, as 11th-12th century. The Lotsawa and the Mañjuśrī temples were probably early additions and may be safely dated to the 12th century. The Lhakhang Soma was added later, as its name the 'new temple' suggests, but its iconography can scarcely suggest a date later than the 13th century. We consider that none of this earlier work has been touched through the centuries" (p. 79).

The importance of this can hardly be overrated, and Professor Snellgrove is entirely justified in stating that "Preserved as it is, Alchi Chos-'khor is a fantastic chance survival from the past, and as such truly one of the wonders of the Buddhist world" (p. 80). The greater part of this section of the book is devoted to a detailed description of the lay-out, the statues and murals of this truly unique cultural monument. This excellent description provides invaluable material for the history of Buddhist art, and is by itself amply sufficient to secure for this book a very wide circle of readers.

The second section is devoted to "Citadels and Royal Residences", (pp. 81-104), which date from the period of Ladakhi royal power, i.e. from the 15th to the 18th centuries "after which the rulers of Ladakh finally begin to lose control over their own destiny, and no more great works can be undertaken on their initiative" (p. 82).

A third section deals with "The Later Monasteries" (pp. 105-133), i. e. "those

monasteries which have come into existence or which have been revived since the 15th century" (p. 105). These monasteries provide the focal point of present-day religious life, but on the whole do not offer as much of interest to the historian as the earlier establishments.

Finally, a chapter discusses the problems and prospects of "Present-day Ladakh" (pp. 135-14). This chapter is short, but exceedingly penetrating and thought-provoking. As an economic unit, present-day Ladakh is entirely dependent on the presence of the Indian army and the financial aid provided by the Indian civil administration. The trade routes from Central Asia and Tibet, which were formerly the basis of the relative prosperity of Ladakh, are now completely closed. What will happen if international tension in the area eases and Indian interest in Ladakh correspondingly diminishes ? Perhaps it is true that "The only hope for Ladakh rests with the possibility of a relaxation of the present Chinese hold on Tibet and Central Asia and the restoration of normal trading and cultural relations between neighbouring countries" (p. 138). But such a development is at best a thing of the distant future. The Chinese presence in Tibet may also have serious consequences for the cultural identity of Ladakh, effects which are already beginning to become manifest. Cut off from Tibet, of which Ladakh formed a cultural extension, and with the transformation of Tibetan culture in Tibet itself, Buddhism in Ladakh is faced with an uncertain future: the number of competent Ladakhi scholars and monastic heads is extremely limited, and the economic and cultural pressure from Ladakhi Muslims, and, backing them, a vast Muslim world, is unrelenting. Under such circumstances, oblivion and neglect, which previously preserved some of the early cultural monuments of Ladakh, and above all Alchi, may now become the cause of their rapid and total decay unless adequate steps to prevent this are taken.

Visiting the monastery of Hemis, Professor Snellgrove notes that "It seems to attract far more visitors than any monastery in Ladakh, and very few have any idea of what they are looking at" (p. 128). The present volume should be carefully studied by every prospective visitor to Ladakh. It is a pure pleasure to read—being detailed and scholarly, but never tedious, written, as are all works by Professor Snellgrove, in a free and easy, yet elegant style. Each monument is dealt with in turn, carefully described and placed in its proper historical context. Thus the book is both an impressive scholarly achievement and a convenient work of reference. The notes, index and in particular the critical bibliography (p. 143) add to its usefulness.

The authors have rendered Buddhist and Tibetan studies a great service in presenting, competently and sympathetically, a coherent and detailed study of the cultural herritage of Ladakh, and the publishers are to be congratulated on having brought out a truly scholarly and attractive volume in their Central Asian Studies series.

P. K.