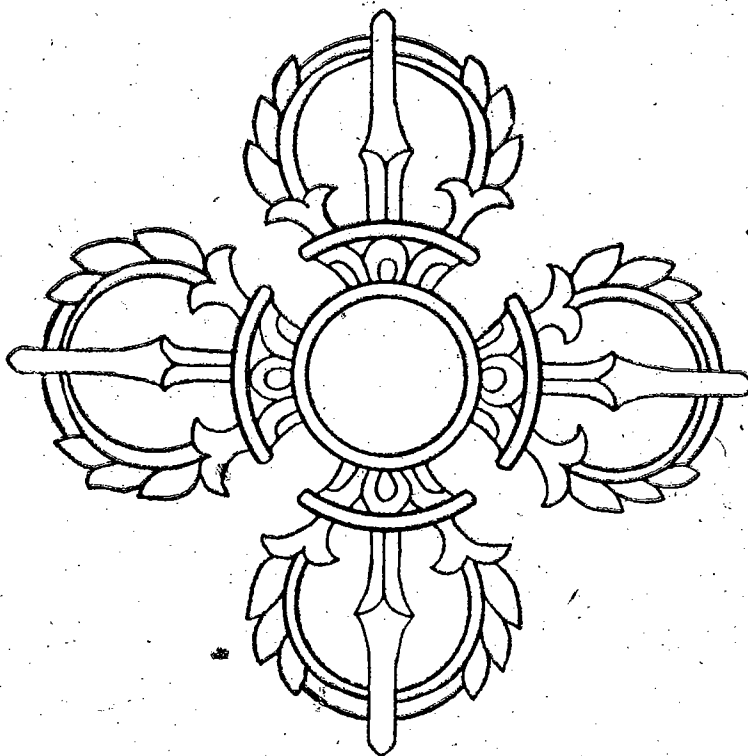


KAILASH

A JOURNAL OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES



VOLUME VI

1978

NUMBER 1

C O N T E N T S

1. Khembalung: The Hidden Valley
Johan Reinhard.....5
 2. Some Interesting Nepalese Rust Fungi
Halvor B. Gjæram and Erik Steineger.....37
 3. Religion in Tibetan Society: A New Approach
Part One: A Structural Model
Geoffrey Samuel.....45
 4. SHORT REVIEWS.....69
Harirāma Joši: Uttarprācīn Kālīn Mudrā
- HMG Ministry of Forests: Flora of Langtang and Cross Section Vegetation Survey Central Zone*
- Royal Nepal Academy: Paryāyavācī Śabda-Koś*
- Mireille Helffer: Les Chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de se-sar d'après le livre de la Course de Cheval*

KAILASH — An independent, interdisciplinary Journal of Himalayan Studies.
 Published three / four times a year by Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Bhotahity, Kathmandu,
 Nepal.

Editorial Board

Dor Bahadur Bista
 3/213 Pulchowk
 Patan, Nepal

Hallvard K. Kuloy (editor)
 Box 1188
 Kathmandu, Nepal.

Per Kvaerne
 Relig. hist. Institutt
 Blindern, Oslo, Norway.

John K. Locke, S. J.
 Box 50
 Kathmandu, Nepal

Alexander W. Macdonald,
 Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique,
 Paris, France

Boyd Michailovsky,
 Dept. of Linguistics, University of California,
 Berkeley, U.S.A.

Theodore Riccardi, Jr.
 Kent Hall, Columbia University,
 New York, N. Y. 10027, U. S. A.

Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma,
 Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies,
 Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

General Information

- * Authors retain copyright to their published material. The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editorial Boards.
- * Material may be submitted to any of the editors (two copies), and should be typed in double space, with complete references as follows:
 - (a) References to books should include author's name, complete and unabbreviated, title of the book, volume, edition (if necessary), place of publication, publisher's name, year of publication and page number(s) cited.
 - (b) References to articles in periodicals should include author's name, title of the article, name of the periodical, volume, issue number, year and page number cited.
- * Material in Tibetan, Chinese and Russian as well as musical scores must be neatly and clearly prepared on white paper with black ink, and the size of the written area should be 5" x 7½".
- * The following diacritics are at the moment available in 10 pt. light, only:
 Ā ā ā à Č č ç d è é ē ē ê ε h i ī j k m n Ñ Ñ
 ñ ñ ñ ñ ô p r Š š š s j t t θ ü ü û ù Ž ž æ ö 3
- * Authors will receive free thirty offprints of their published contributions. Additional copies at NRs. 0.30 per page must be ordered when submitting the material.
- * All business correspondence should be addressed to the publisher. Books, periodicals, records, etc. submitted for review should be sent to the Editor, Kailash, Box 1188, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- * The subscription rates for surface mail are as follows:

Nepal.....	NRs.	60	per year.
Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, India, Pakistan.....	IRs.	60	per year.
Other countries.....	the equivalent of US.	13	per year.

Air mail: the equivalent of US \$18.50 per year.

11N
 5
 85
 16
 13
 6
 978

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Facing Page
1. Dobatak and the Chhoyang River group.....	6
2. Overhang under which pilgrims prepare to enter the cave.....	6
3. Crossing the Chhoyang River below Dobatak.....	6
4. Retreat houses for lamas above Helangkarka.....	7
5. Poles with prayer flags (right centre of photo) mark the entrance of the Khembalung cave.....	7
6. Passages in the cave are often narrow.....	7
7. Lamas performing a ritual at the altar in the cave of Khembalung. (Left: Norbu Lama, Right: Da Tsering).....	10
8. Lamas and villagers during a ritual at the entrance of the Khembalung cave..	10
9. Wood statue in Norbu Lama's house of Guru Rinpoche, the founder of Khembalung.....	11
10. The shaman Da Tshering of Dobatak during a seance.....	11
11. Chamlang, the mountain which dominates the Chhoyang River Valley.....	11

Line drawings:

Fig. 1 <i>Puccinia brachypodii</i> var. <i>arrhenateri</i> : a. uredinial paraphyses, b. teliospores.....	39
Fig. 2 <i>Puccinia brachypodii</i> var. <i>poae-nemoralis</i> , uredinial paraphyses.....	40
Fig. 3 <i>Uredo alpestris</i>	41

KHEMBALUNG: THE HIDDEN VALLEY

Johan Reinhard

Kathmandu

PART I

THE LEGEND AND THE JOURNEY

There are few people in the West who have not heard of Shangri-la, the peaceful and prosperous valley hidden from the outside world among snow-capped peaks high in the Himalayas¹. The book *Lost Horizon*² first brought it to the public's attention, and since then movies have been made about Sangri-la and everything from hotels to pin-ball machines named after it. Not many people, however, are aware that the story of Shangri-la is based upon a tradition centuries old among the people of Tibet and bordering regions³. One of the most famous of these "hidden valleys", Shambhala, almost exactly fits the conception of Shangri-la held by so many westerners. Recently, even Shambhala has been written about in the popular literature as, for example, in Tomas' sensationalized account⁴.

Much less well known, however, is the fact that Guru Rinpoche, the Indian Buddhist yogin accredited with firmly establishing Buddhism in Tibet⁵ is thought

-
- 1 Research in Nepal was supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Social Science Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to these organizations. I would also like to thank the Thyangboche Rinpoche and Norbu Lama of Shedua for kindly allowing me to make copies of texts in their possession.
 - 2 James Hilton, *Lost Horizon*, New York: Macmillan, 1933.
 - 3 This brief report is based upon the quite limited data collected during only a few days spent in the area of Khembalung. In addition none of us were scholars of Tibetan Buddhism, and thus this report should by no means be considered the final word on the topic. The subject is, however, one which is bound to interest many people, nothing has yet appeared in the western literature about Khemblaung, and if it stimulates scholars to do more detailed research on the topic, or publish material they have already collected, it will have more than served its purpose. In addition, the text might also prove of value to Tibetan scholars since such documents are not easily obtainable.
 - 4 Andrew Tomas, *Shambhala: Oasis of Light*, London: Sphere Books, 1977.
 - 5 Guru Rinpoche (Padmasambhava) is renowned in Tibet for establishing Buddhism there in the eight century A. D. He overcame the resistance of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, and is thought to have been largely responsible for the founding of Samye temple and monastery, the first in Tibet (see the text). He became deified and is closely identified with Chenrezig (Avalokitesvara),

DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

6 / Kailash

to have established several "hidden valleys" (beyul)⁶ while he traveled through the Himalayas. It is believed that when war and evil envelop mankind these valleys will serve as refuges for Buddhist doctrine and followers of Buddhism.

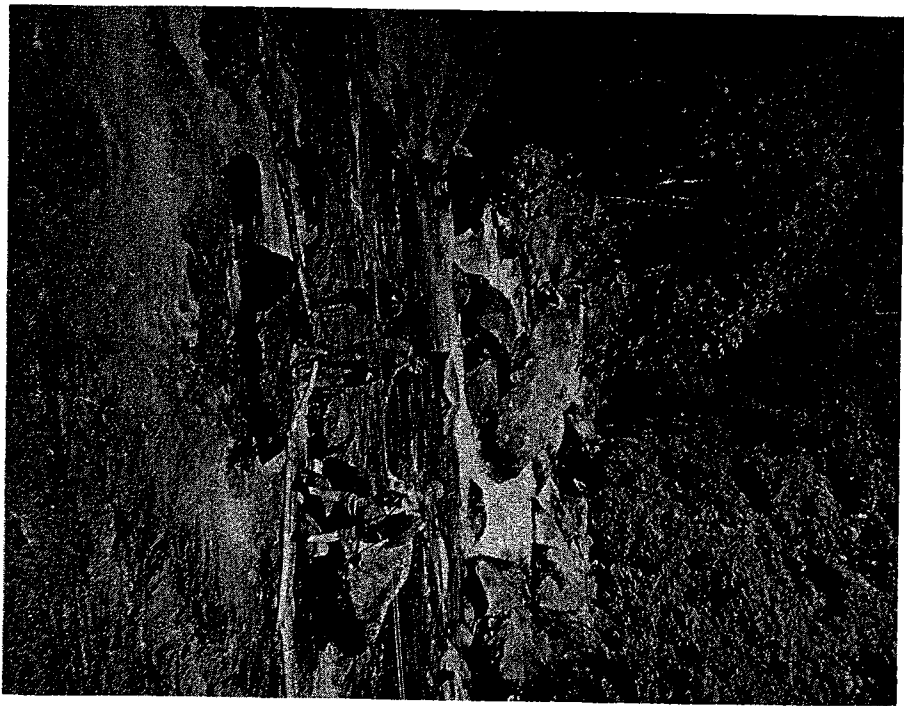
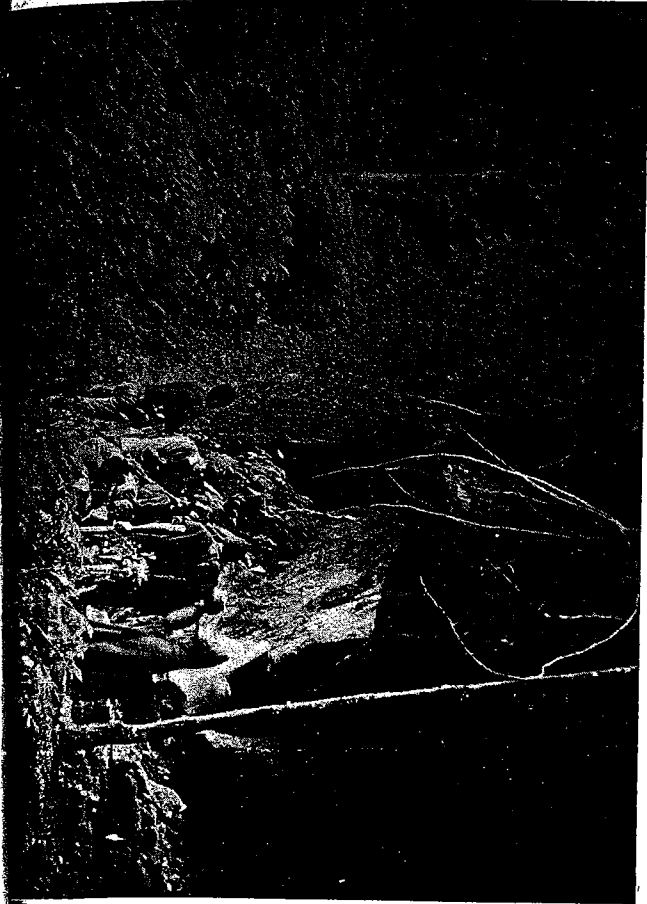
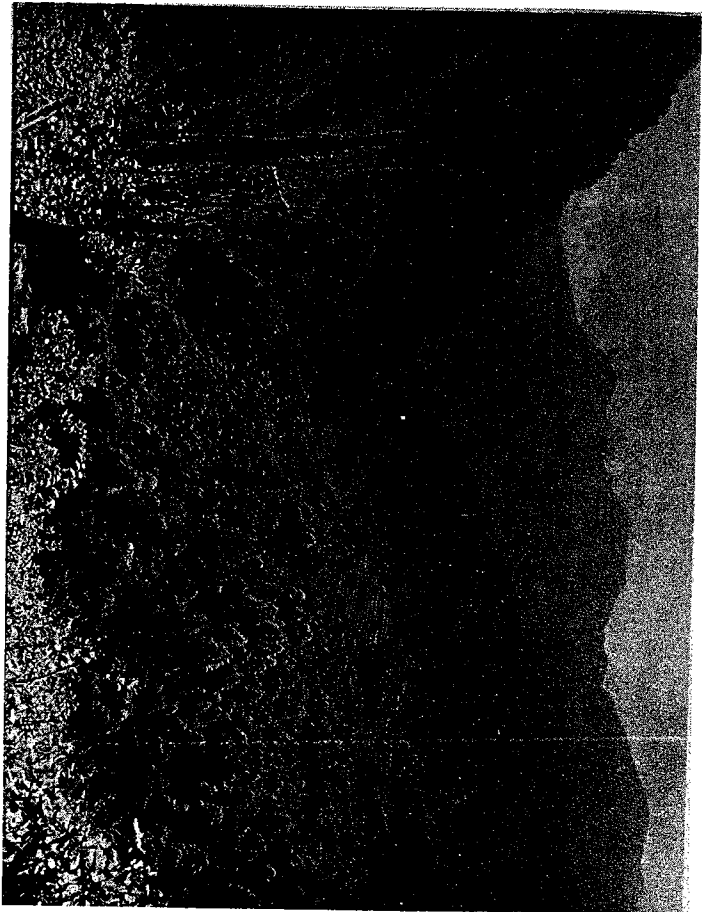
The number of these beyul is uncertain. One anthropologist, Janice Sacherer, heard of seven beyul, which were said to be located in Khumbu, Helambu, Rongshar, Lapchi, Dolpo, Nubri and Sikkim. Bhutan is thought to contain several. The Rinpoche of Thyangboche Monastery (near Mt. Everest) felt that there might be as many as twenty beyul scattered through the Himalayas. Furthermore, the possibility exists that some beyul have not as yet been revealed as such⁷, while in some regions there may be several contenders to the appellation of beyul, as we will see later.

Few beyul have become widely known outside the area in which they are located⁸. Pema (Padma) Kod is one of the more famous of these and is said to be located in southern Tibet near the Assam border.

Of those beyul thought to exist in Nepal, Khembalung must be one of the best known among Buddhists, although few people familiar with its legend could determine its exact location. Indeed, Khembalung has not to our knowledge been mentioned in the Western literature, nor were we aware of any Westerner who had managed to locate it⁹. However, rumors that Khem-

the great protector deity of Tibet. He is the only major tantric divinity to have a semblance of historical reality in a definite period. (See David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, London: G. Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968, pp. 171-2.) In his various divine manifestations he is the center of a number of tantric rituals. Many household shrines contain an image of Guru Rinpoche and the miracles described in his popular biographies are well known. (See Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibet: Land of Snows*, London: Elek Books, 1967, p. 78.)

- 6 Tibetan words have been written in broad phonetic renderings. The reader more knowledgeable in Tibetan can refer to the text for the Tibetan spellings.
- 7 For example, Beyer notes that a protector deity might hold on to a text for several hundred years before passing it on to a "text revealer". See Stephen Beyer, *The Cult of Tara: Magic and Ritual in Tibet*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973, p. 399.
- 8 A beyul was recently discovered in north-central Nepal. See Michael Aris, "Report on the University of California Expedition to Kutang and Nubri in Northern Nepal in Autumn 1973", in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, II, 2: 45-87, 1975.
- 9 Even after having heard at Khembalung of people who had been in the area in the past (the Slick/Johnson expedition in the late 1950's and a Japanese expedition in the 1970's), it was still unclear whether any of them had been to the cave and were aware of the hidden valley legend. However, upon returning from Khembalung to Kathmandu, we found that Michael Aris, Alexander Macdonald, and Michael Oppitz were planning to jointly publish material on beyul and that one of these scholars, Michael Oppitz had visited Khem-



- 1-Dobatak and the Choyang River gorge.
View to the southeast.
- 2-Overhand under which pilgrims prepare
to enter the cave.
- 3-Crossing the Choyang River below
Dobatak.

1
e
-
l,
e
e,
of

ry
id

ne
its
ur
ny
n-

—
to
ll-
G.
ms
ain
io-
n:

der
s.
ral
er,
nia

ort
ern
'5.

t in
edi-
the
ling
der
rial
em-

ILIN
DS
185
HG
<13
+
16
1978



4-Retreat houses for lamas above Helangkharka.

5-Poles with prayer flags (right centre of photo) mark the entrance of the Khembalung cave.

6-Passages in the cave are often narrow.

balung might be found along one of the tributaries of the Arun River in East Nepal were occasionally heard in Kathmandu. In the course of research in that area in October—November, 1977 we decided to gather information concerning this hidden valley and locate it if at all possible¹⁰.

We soon found that Khembalung certainly deserved that designation "hidden valley"¹¹. The most sacred place is a cave located at about 2,210m. (ca. 7,251'). This lies about six miles upstream from the confluence of the Arun and Chhoyang Rivers¹². The site of the cave is nearly 420 m. (ca. 1,378') above the river on the west side of the gorge. Due to a bend in the river, the section of the river valley in which the cave is located cannot be fully seen from the main north-south trail which runs along a ridge above the east bank of the Arun. One must go off main trails and on to ridges on either side of the Chhoyang in order to obtain an unobstructed view.

This is assuming good weather, something found all too infrequently in this region. Often one finds the valleys shrouded in grey mist. The great massif of Chamlang (7,317m. or 24,006') stands as a major weather break, with the result that there is considerable precipitation south of the mountain. The river valleys, such as the Chhoyang, which extend down from the south and southeastern slopes of Chamlang have a wide variety of vegetation including dense subtropical forests. We discovered all too late that a much easier trail to Khembalung existed along the ridge on the west side of the river. Instead, we found it necessary to cut a trail down to the river once we had ascended the ridge on the east

balung with the anthropologist Charlotte Hardman. Mr. Oppitz has gathered information of considerable interest regarding the role that Khembalung plays in the religious beliefs of the Rai and its importance to the Hindus who also visit the cave on pilgrimage. Edward Bernbaum has also gathered information on beyul, particularly Khembalung. Hopefully the information collected by these scholars will soon be made available.

¹⁰ Members of our party included: Joe Brown, Robin Chalmers, Yvon Chouinard, Andrew Dunn, Gordon Forsyth, Peter Hackett, Hamish MacInnes, Elizabeth Rogers, Bal Krishna Sharma, Adolphe de Spoelberch, and Cynthia Williamson.

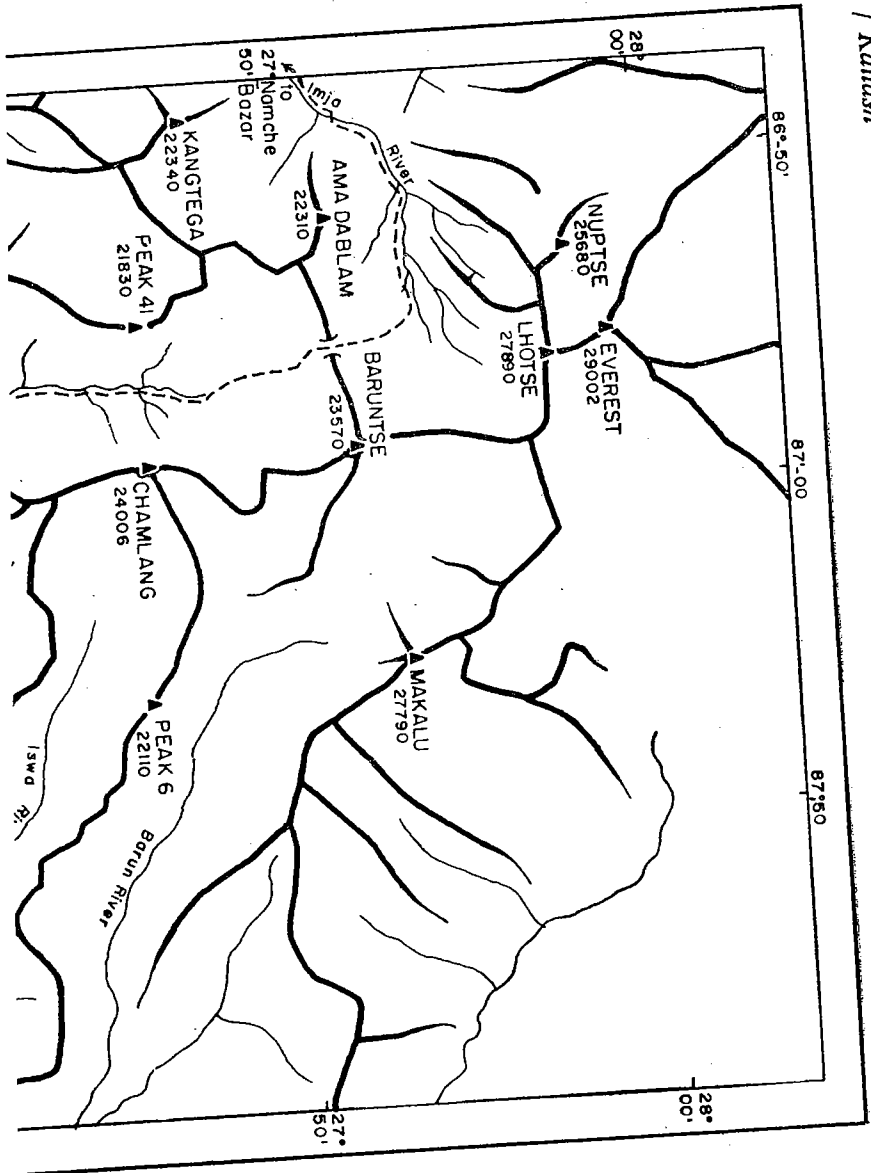
¹¹ Khembalung (or Khambalung—the terms are used interchangeably in the area) is the pronunciation of the word spelled "Khenpa lung" in Tibetan. The Tibetan translator of the Text that follows, Chopel Namgyal, thought that the word "khenpa" might refer to a type of grass (which may be used in making incense) found in the hidden valley. People in Khembalung were certain that the term did not refer to "Khambas" (Tibetans in a general sense, or more specifically Tibetans from the province of Kham). "Lung" simply means valley. "Be" means hidden and "yul" means country.

¹² The Chhoyang River, as it is listed on some maps, is called the Apshuwa or Khembalung River in this area.

bove
ight

OLIN
BS
485
HG
K13
+
V6
1978

8 / Kailash



side of the gorge. We then had to construct a bridge across the river at about 1,790m. (ca. 5,873') before ascending directly up to village of Dobatak. Khembalung had proven itself, to us at least, to be well hidden indeed.

Dobatak is the closest village to the cave and consists of only a few Sherpa families. These Sherpas claim to be decedents of those who migrated into this area several generations ago from Solu, a region to the south of Everest. We were told that members of the Thakto, Paldorje and Chewa (Chiawa) clans (all found in Solu-Khumbu)¹³ lived in Khembalung and the nearby village of Helangkharka. The villagers here are agriculturalists and maintain some livestock.

There are a few lamas at Dobatak, and although there is no monastery in the area, fine altars and collections of Buddhist texts can be seen in the homes of two of the lamas, Lakpa Gelu and Da Tshering. We were told that Lakpa Gelu (referred to often as the Kancha Lama) is the man most concerned with Khembalung and worship at the cave, but unfortunately he was not present when we arrived. This was especially to be regretted as he is said to have a Khembalung text in his possession. Da Tshering is a lhawa, i. e. shaman, and he not only assisted us in our visit to the cave, but also held a seance to find the cause of the illness of one of our members. Although prior to reaching Dobatak some people claimed that the lamas of Dobatak went to worship at the cave at every full and new moon, we found worship there to be more on an *an hoc* basis, taking place only occasionally when people came on pilgrimage.

Pilgrims may go to the cave simply to gain merit, but many are said to go to have their wishes granted. For example, women may go with the hope that their fertility will be increased. It is thought by some that by having made the pilgrimage, obstacles, which might have otherwise blocked the journey of their souls after death, will be removed.

Lamas may also go to the cave to meditate or will meditate in special retreat houses built near the village of Helangkharka. This village lies about two hours walk beyond Dobatak and is the last permanent settlement on the way towards Chamlang. Lamas come here for meditation primarily in the summer months, none being present when we arrived in November.

We were told before reaching Khemblaung that there were two trails leading to the cave. Sinners would take the difficult one until they eventually would fall into a lake, while the trail for non-sinners was said to be easy. The path leading from Dobatak to the cave proved to be both easy and short. After passing by a small unkept *chorten* (sacred tower) and wall of *mani* stones

13. See Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *The Sherpas of Nepal: Buddhist Highlanders*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964, p. 19.

28°
00'27°
50'27°
40'27°
30'

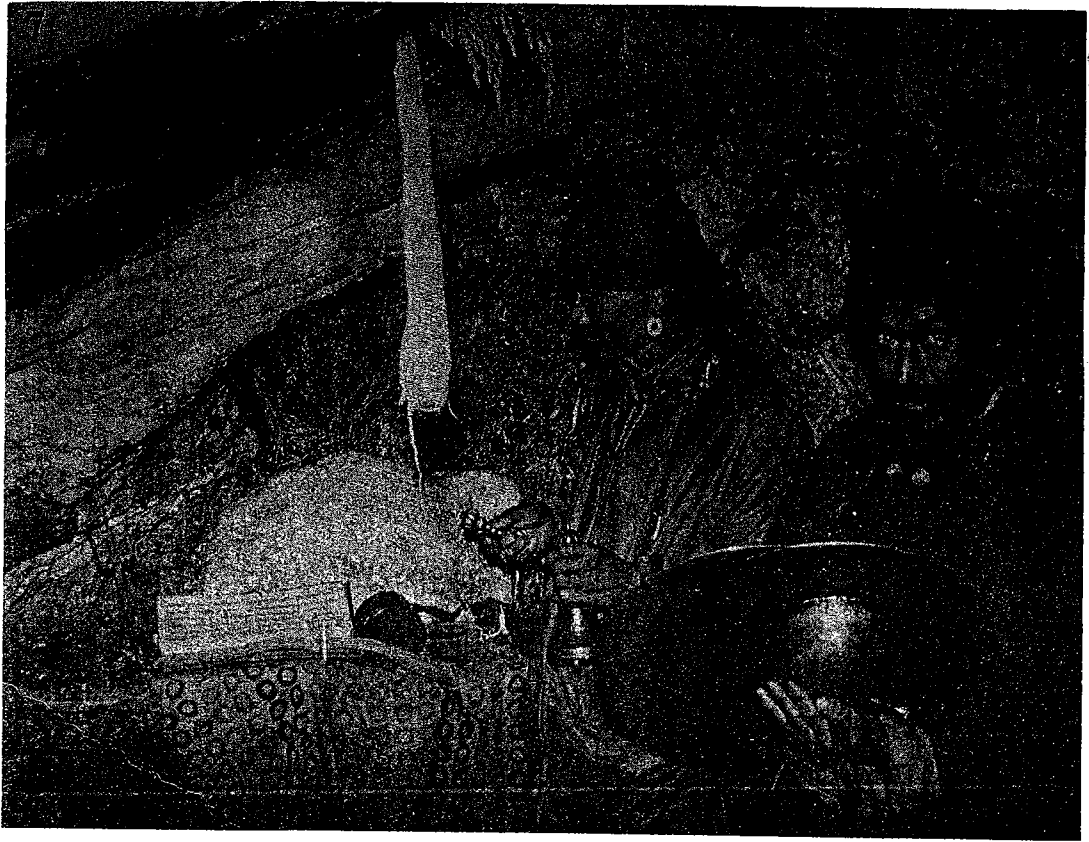
(stones with prayers inscribed on them) at the edge of the village, we continued for a short distance uphill where the trail then levelled out. People picked juniper along the way and placed flowers on a cairn. A further ten minute walk brought us in front of the cave entrance where there is an overhang with an inscription in Tibetan. It is at this point that people remove their shoes before entering the sacred place. A small stream is crossed and one passes between a number of poles with prayer flags and enters the mouth of the cave. There is room here for perhaps twenty people before the cave begins to descend and become considerably narrower.

Worship at the cave often consists of simply lighting a lamp, making offerings of incense, rice, and cloth, making prostrations, and chanting a prayer. Occasionally lamas from Dobatak may go with pilgrims and a more elaborate ceremony will be held, with texts being recited along with the accompaniment of ritual musical instruments (cymbals, conch shell, horns, and drums). The presence of the lamas is certainly not mandatory, however, and anyone knowledgeable in a ceremony may conduct it. Rituals at the cave vary depending upon the wishes and skills of the participants and are said not to have specific names. The common element is the respect shown to Guru Rinpoche before one continues on into the cavern. When we went to the cave, a lama from Shedua (a village two days walk from Dobatak) accompanied our party and performed the ritual.

A small shelf has been constructed to the side of the cave's entrance room, and it is here that rituals are performed. A Tibetan inscription is carved in stone above the shelf, and two small tridents are set to one side. Norbu, the lama from Shedua, placed a cloth on the shelf, then opened two texts (one relating to Khembalung and the other to prayers to Guru Rinpoche) on it. The usual lighting of a butter lamp, offering of incense, etc., followed. Norbu held a dorje-bell and dorje-sceptre¹⁴ while men chanted and traditional musical instruments were played. Villagers prostrated themselves before the altar, after which they began to descend into the cave.

A short distance into the cave is a large trident with a bell which pilgrims ring as they continue by. Although we had been told before reaching Khembalung that natural stone formations in the cave had been molded by deities to represent themselves or animals, we found only one such figure in the cave. This is located near the trident in a recess in the rock and is thought to resemble the udder of a cow.

¹⁴ The dorje-bell and dorje-sceptre together symbolize skilful means and the wisdom with which Enlightenment is won. The bell is held in the left hand and the sceptre in the right while performing various mudras (symbolic gestures made with hands and fingers) which form a part of most rituals. See John Blofeld, *The Tantric Mysticism of Tibet*, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1970 p. 118.

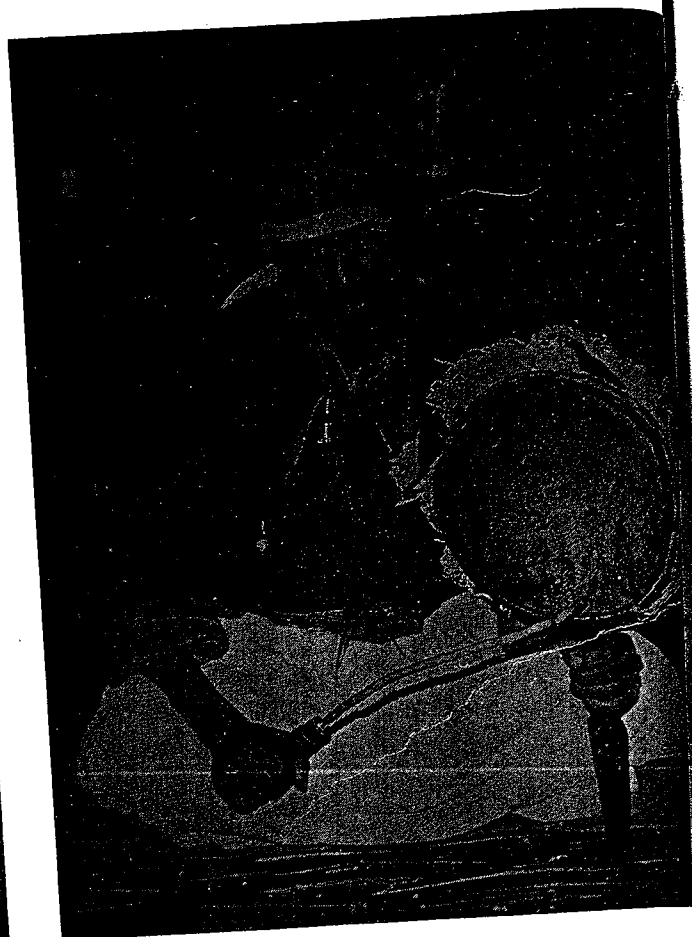


7-Lamas performing a ritual at the altar in the cave of Khembalung. (Left: Norbu Lama, Right: Da Tsering)



8-Lamas and villagers during a ritual at the entrance of the Khembalung cave.

JLIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V6
1978



9-Wood statue in Norbu
Lama's house of Guru
Rinpoche, the founder
of Khembalung.

10-The shaman Da Tshering
Dobatak during a seance

11-Chamlang, the mountain which dominates the
Chhoyang River Valley.

The pilgrims take burning torches and move quickly through the cave to its exit, located a few hundred feet downhill from the entrance. After moving by the trident, there is a passage off to the side through which sinners are said to be unable to pass. The opening is divided into two sections by a rock, and it is thought that the size changes to block even the thinnest of sinners who might try to squeeze through. Fortunately, it was not necessary for us to go through this side passage and we continued on a short way to a point where a small stream begins flowing through the cave. This stream continues on for some distance before once again disappearing out of sight. As we made our way through the cave, we repeatedly asked if there were any features of religious significance, only to receive negative replies. However, just before the exit of the cave there is a moderately large chamber. As pilgrims crawl out the exit opening, they often take some of the white clay found there. We were told that this may be eaten as a medicine or kept on one's person to protect him from danger.

One climbs from here up a path to the entrance of the cave. While crossing back over the stream mentioned earlier, the water is drunk and tossed over the head, as it is thought to have great purifying properties. Upon returning to Dobatak, a further simple ceremony was held in the home of Da Tshering at his altar for Guru Rinpoche.

* * *

Passing through the length of the cave is seen as being like a circumambulation of a holy place, and thus whoever completes it gains merit. The cave is not of great length, perhaps taking ten minutes or less for one who has completed the journey previously and knows the way. We looked for side passages, but discovered none that continued for any great distance. However, some people we met believe that learned lamas can enter the cave and, depending on which passage they take, come out at Gaya in India (where Buddha gained Enlightenment) at Bodnath in Kathmandu, at a lake, or at a cave in the upper Chhoyang basin.

We were also told that people live underground in the cave, but cannot be seen. They were placed there by Guru Rinpoche and will only appear when disaster strikes the outside world and the hidden valley is needed. In the event that all mankind in the outside world is destroyed, these people will come forth to perpetuate the human race. Until then they simply bide their time, but one man said that their voices can occasionally be heard by pilgrims while they are passing through the cave.

Several people informed us of a large "cave" (overhang) near the headwaters of the Chhoyang River at the foot of Mt. Chamlang. One man even thought that this was part of Khembalung. Most, however, denied this, but

Norbu
Guru
ounder

Tshering
a seanc

ULIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

12 | Kailash

did feel it was connected to the cave at Dobatak via a secret tunnel. A common story has it that 1,000 Tibetans once hid in this cave from Nepali soldiers during a war between Nepal and Tibet. They were said to have been kept alive by provisions given to them by lamas from Dobatak, who went to the upper Choyang cave through the connecting tunnel. Lamas are said to have visited this cave often in the past and used it as a place of meditation.

A common belief about beyul is that only a special, learned lama can "open" these valleys to allow people in, and even then only when it is the right historical time as can be deduced from signs noted in the texts. Without this happening, however, the real beyul cannot be seen with all its treasures. Thus what we and most pilgrims see is not the hidden valley described as it is in the texts, but only a few holy places associated with it¹⁵.

This aspect of the hidden valley belief is one that can give rise to doubts as to which place is the "real" one. Doubtless local tradition plays a role in some cases in identifying a beyul, as inhabitants of an area find caves, oddly shaped stones, etc., which may be attributed to the work of beings with supernatural powers and tied to descriptions of a hidden valley noted in a text. Thus it is conceivable that there may be several candidates for the designation of beyul.

This may help explain why we heard reports of Khembalung existing in the Ishwa and Barun River valleys. Another explanation came from the lama of Shedua who told us that three places together make up Khembalung. One is the cave we visited near Dobatak, one is a cave called Dubitar along the Ishwa River and the third one consists of two caves (called Shengi Duka and Shechi Duka) along the Barun River, about a days walk below Makalu Base Camp. He explained that, just as a person is made up of speech, mind, and body yet remains one person, so too is Khembalung made up of three parts.

According to the lama, the caves along the Barun are especially important. One of the caves is said to be large enough to hold 1,000 people. We were told that a clear imprint can be seen where Guru Rinpoche laid back. When he raised his arms he created the remainder of the cave as it now exists. Many people go there on pilgrimage in the monsoon months.

Most people we talked to, however, felt that Khembalung was only located in the Chhoyang River Valley, the other places being holy, indeed, but unasso-

15 One western scholar thought that a beyul might lose its status as such if it became inundated with tourists, people fought each other, animals were hunted, etc. Buddhists we talked to did not believe this could happen, as beyul have not been "opened" yet, and thus such acts could not effect them. These Buddhists did feel, however, that protector deities of an area in which a beyul might open could become angry if misdeeds occurred there. For the names of the protector deities of Khembalung, see the text.

ciated with it. The Thyangboche Rinpoche believed that Khembalung was really one valley, but that just like a small town near a city may come to be called by the city's name, adjacent valleys may come to be called Khembalung.

He did think, however, that we would probably never know if the Khembalung we visited was the real one or not, for it will only fully materialize in a time of need when disaster strikes mankind. Nonetheless, the journey to "Khembalung" still provides one with a glimpse into one of the more fascinating topics of Tibetan Buddhism. The physical terrain, with its sacred places, its mountains, mists, and lush, subtropical forests leads one to easily understand how it came to be imbued with legends and chosen as a sanctuary for lamas seeking seclusion. Whether this is the "real" Khembalung or not, we left the area feeling that it well deserved its claim to be a "hidden valley".



PART II

TRANSLATION OF TIBETAN TEXT CONCERNING KHEMBALUNG

The following text is actually the combination of two texts (A and B) which appear to have been copied from the same original manuscript. They were written in two different scripts, text B is in khanyig (employed in eastern Tibet) and text A in uchen (used throughout Tibet). Text B was more complete than the other, but in only one place do they seriously disagree, and basically it seems to be a simple case of the copier of the shorter text (A) having omitted some passages.

In presenting the combined text, additional words and passages from text B have been inserted in square brackets [] in the English and in parenthesis () in the Tibetan version. The margin numbers match the English and Tibetan versions and refer to the pages of the original text A. The Tibetan words in the English translation are only very rough phonetic renderings which we feel the majority of readers will find better suited to their needs than the complicated transliteration system employed by specialists. Since the Tibetan text is included, scholars can refer to it for exact spellings.

It should be noted that both texts were full of spelling mistakes and grammatical errors which have been retained in the text presented here. In some cases the translator was unable to understand the meaning of a word due to poor spelling. Occasionally, the sense of an entire sentence was lost. Where this has occurred, it has been noted with the letters NT, "not translated". A single word, for which the meaning is not known, is noted by a question mark. In the English version, brief explanatory notes have occasionally been inserted in the text in parenthesis ().

The translation provided here is not a laboriously exact one, but is intended to provide the non-specialist reader with the gist of the text. It is hoped that eventually a Tibetan specialist will provide a more exact translation with detailed explanatory notes. This text can then be compared with others, and this will doubtless solve some of the translation difficulties we encountered. For the time being, it is hoped that this rough translation will provide some insight into a subject which has captivated the imagination of so many.

- A *A Description of the Route to the Beyul (Hidden Valley) of Khembalung, Which is Called Thongwa Tunden (Meaningful to See) is Contained (herein).*
- B *The Key of Orgyan's (Guru Rinpoche's) Beyul Khembalung, Which is Called Thongwa Rekhpa (Seeing, Hearing and Touching), is Contained (herein).*

Translation by Chopel Namgyal

2 Namu Guru ! (Prostration to the Guru)

At the time that Guru Rinpoche was staying in the middle room of the top floor of Samye temple (in Tibet) his King (Thisong Detsen) had a dream. At the time of the Tshog (food offering) in Chimphu (a small valley near Samye), the King prostrated himself before Guru Rinpoche and said, "The images and Chorten (stupa, sacred towers) and work on the monastery are already finished, but I have had a dream that all of these will be

- 3 destroyed soon. Please tell me what will happen in the future."

Guru Rinpoche said, "If there will be major changes in the Tenba (doctrine), that is because we could not defeat the inauspicious signs (from appearing) on this earth. You, O King, should not worry about the future. The increasing or decreasing of the doctrine is dependent upon the merit of human

- 4 beings. If you think about this, you will become very sad."

Then the King offered him a turquoise Garuda's (sacred eagle's) head (?) and Dorje Thatari (a kind of dress). He then asked about the increasing and decreasing of the doctrine, and the happiness and sadness of beings. So he (Guru Rinpoche) offered three different pieces of advice, "large, medium and small". Most especially he gave three (pieces of advice) about the destruction of Tibet by foreign soldiers and prophecies concerning the happiness and sadness of beings.

- 5 "At the time when the happiness of beings is nearly finished and Tibet is about to be destroyed by foreign soldiers, then it is better to escape to a hidden place which is (located) on the border of southern Tibet.

"Thubpa (Buddha) hid many places. So at that time pray to me, Pemajungne (Guru Rinpoche). [Renounce (your) country, fields, wealth, servants and all people like a wheel of stone that breaks (i. e. something which can never be repaired). If you strenuously strive to reach this place, then you will arrive there." (The King said) "Please tell me at what time people should go there, and at what time it will open." (Guru Rinpoche replied) "At the year of the Water-horse....." (Remainder of sentence and next two sentences NT) "Beyond eight Paktset (4,000 arm-spans), there is a hidden valley called Khembalung, which is similar to Dewachen (the land where Amitaba resides)

- 6 and to Potala (the land where Avalokitesvara lives). (Next sentence NT). To the west of Demet Snow Mountain and to the east of Khumbu Snow Mountain lies

LIN
25
85
16
13
t
6
978

(this hidden valley)". This is the first chapter showing the directions to the hidden valley. Again (the King) asked, 'Great Guru Rinpoche, when in the future beings go there, what is the time that they should go and what is the sign for the opening of its doors?'

7 The Guru said, "The sign of the time for the opening of the door is when the large and small mountains of Tise (Kailash) are destroyed. This is the sign. The six great holy places of Tibet will become washrooms. That is the sign. If the Rasa temple falls apart, if the Samye temple becomes old and falls down from old age, and if the offerings of the three kinds of images (to Avalokitesvara, Manjusri and Vajrapani) on the top floor of Samye are not made, then this is the time to open (the hidden valley). [When the laws within the country have been broken this is an indication that the hidden place will open]. When fighting breaks out in the area near Shrirri, that is the time of opening (the Beyul). If Tin Tsang (in West-Central Tibet) the general law is destroyed (and its provinces secede) then this is the time to open (the Beyul).

8 If the lineage members of the King of Mangyul (province in west Tibet) are killed by a knife, then it is time to open. If there is fighting within the border of Din (then it is time to open)."

"These are outer signs. The inner sign is when in the last and worst 500 year period people lose their teeth at 50 years of age. This is the inner sign. [In Tibet there will be no king and the subjects will fight among themselves. In the country there will be monks who do not keep their vows. There will be tantric yogis caring nothing for virtue or sin, who will go about the town like dogs. There will be people with no shame (Next sentence NT). The false Bonpos will get money and food by Nangsem (deception ?) and they will become careless about the preciousness of their own lives]. At that time the people from upper Tsang in particular should go there (to the Beyul). When they go there, they should depart at the time of Yurma (when crops are weeded) in the summer."

9 At the time of the harvest after the full moon when there was a clear sky Guru Rinpoche spoke again, "Listen carefully, O King. At the time when people go to this place (the Beyul). you should practise the meditation of Dorje Namjom (name of a deity) for one month on Kamchung Mountain. You will see a snow mountain to the south, called Mentsum Yutilpuchen. To the west of that mountain you will see a rock mountain (i. e. not covered with snow) pointing to the sky. On the other side of this rock mountain
10 there is a deep and narrow valley, filled with jungle. You should do the Sang (incense) offering for half a month and then you should perform a

Dod (string) offering for the eight groups of protector deities. You should also offer food for Mentsun (female protectors), set seven red Gyangbu (sticks used in worship) and offer seven black chickens.

- 11 "In that cave there is a female Lu (serpent-deity), so you should do a Lu Tor (Puja, i. e. act of worship, for Lu) and Chu Tor (water puja), and offer Danggye (a type of Torma-figure made of butter and dough) Put Turru (?) of black sheep and say a prayer (of the type which is used for witnessing a truth), 'You should not make obstacles for yogis who are going to search for the (hidden) place.' Then offer Serkyem (a liquid offering to protector deities)."

"Next follow the river, praying to me, Pemajungne. A river runs against a rock mountain. There are three brothers of Traktsen (a protector deity) living on a rock which looks like a Torma of the protectors. Offer them red Torma and red Gyangbu. Place also the Turru of red sheep.

- 12 "At the time of the opening of this land (i. e. hidden valley), this rock mountain will collapse and will form a bridge across the river. If you go across this bridge, the first rock door is three arm-spans wide. When you arrive there, pray and offer Serkyem and say, 'Do not make obstacles', and then continue on. You climb up to a jungle covered pass and come to a wide valley filled with jungle. The outer part of this is wide and the inner part is narrow.

- 13 "In that valley are many wrathful Lu and Nyen (demons). Therefore, you should do the Sidpa Khanyom ritual (making equal offerings to all beings in Samsara). You should also do the Lama Drupa (Guru devotion) puja for seven days, offer the Lu puja, and do the offering puja for Mamo (a female protector deity).

- 14 "In the center of this valley is a boulder, which looks like a Torma, with a large evergreen tree (covered with) thousands of lotuses. From that (tree) if you go to the southeast, there is a valley of medicine (i.e. medicinal plants grow there) which looks like a dancing area (flat, cleared land). If you cross this meadow on the west side, (you will find) a river and a rock joined such that you cannot cross. There is a blue rock mountain which looks like a snow lion leaping towards the sky. On this rock there are Sa and Du (types of demons) with Tramen (female deities) and the spirit Surarakye, who is the gatekeeper (protector deity of Khembalung). Thus you should do the Tekpa Wangdu puja (a puja to control the power of wrathful deities) for three days. Then you should take Lado (an object consecrated for a deity.)

- 15 "Offer the Torma to the protector deities. Offer three red and three black Torma and also place red and black Gyangbu. Also put the Turru of

DS
485
HG
<13
+
16
978

red and black sheep. Offer Serkyem and pray to me, Guru Rinpoche. Then ask the protectors, 'Do not create obstacles (for me) to go to the holy places'. Then you will get prophecies (signs) from the Shidea (protector deities of the land.)

16 "There is no direct route to take when crossing rivers and rocks. You should explore the route exactly (carefully). There is no access due to a rock face which is like a curtain. There is a rock where there are many Penma (a kind of tree). If you search the road for this, (you will see) a rock which looks like a stairway. If you climb that, then (you will find) a very narrow red rock, (which looks) like a Kampa (fire thongs).

If you go through this narrow rock for half an arm-span, you will be able to pass through. On top of this rock, there is a clump of trees.
17 After passing by this clump of trees, there is a rock which looks like an unrolled length of cloth. This rock is long and flat. It is as long as you can throw a lasso. You will arrive there.

"If you look from the top of this rock, will you see a pattern of valleys and trails, and there is the sound of water falling on rocks. The shape (i. e. central depression) on this valley faces southwest and is dark green. The face (higher, back portion of the valley) is turned (towards) the northeast. Inside the valley it is wide, like an upside-down frying pan. Surrounding the valley of the outside there is a narrow gorge that looks like the root of the Upala flower. It also looks like the hand-crossing mudra.

18 "The mountain inside the valley resembles a king sitting on a throne. The mountain behind the valley looks like a tree-pointed Dorje (stylized), ritual thunderbolt) pointing towards the sky. The mountain south of this valley looks like it is bowing down to the mountain of the three-pointed Dorje. The northern mountains look like hanging curtains. The eastern mountain looks like a king sitting on his throne. The rock mountains look like a curtain hanging from the sky.

"The floor of this valley looks like a sea of blue Bendruya (a kind of jewel). The grass is nutritious, therefore the livestock survive. The green vegetation is healthy also for wild animals who come to eat. There is also Kuktse (?) of brown sugar. A great variety of crops proliferate. There is Khenpa (a kind of grass) which has a strong essence. Also there is the treasure of five different kinds of precious gems.

"If you arrive in this place of 300 villages, it is like arriving in Dewachen. All people who arrive there have long lives, are free from illness, and have all wishes fulfilled, as if one is holding a wish-fulfilling gem in one's hand. The beings
20 who live in this place will all be born in Dewachen (in their next lives).

“Because Chenrezig (Avalokitesvara) blessed this valley, it is purified. The crops grow without anyone planting and tending them. There are many fruits: Ranbu, Rupa. Towa, etc. The inside of the valley is wide and smooth. There is a river running through the northeast section which looks like a straight line.

“You will attain the level of Changchub Sempa (Bodhisattva, an Enlightened Being) as soon as you arrive there.

- 21 If you stay in this place for three years, you will be born in Dewachen in the next life. [In the next life you will be born inside a lotus. People who doubt this, do so for these reasons: Long ago in the Ganden (one realm of the gods) there were Chenrezig (Avalokitesvara) and Tronyerma Dolma (one of 21 Tara, female deities). At this time the king of the gods, Gyajin (Indra) offered 500 Upala flowers to the “heart-centers” of the (two) Phakpa (Arya, literally ‘nobles’ here referring to Avalokitesvara and Tronyerma Tara). One flower landed on the heart and the remainder went south (to Khembalung). These flowers went through the sky. At that time Gyajin asked the Phakpa, ‘Why did my flowers go through the sky?’ The Phakpa replied, ‘Listen, Gyajin, flowers will land in Dzambuling (earth). Wherever these flowers fall there will be my manifestation and disciples. One flower will land on a place which will be (in the future) the stepping-stone for going to Dewachen.’

“Thus that flower fell down onto a large rock on the border of Palyal (Nepal), Pu (Tibet) and Gyakar (India). This flower adhered to the rock, and the rock became like an Upala flower. At that time the Phakpa made a prophecy: ‘At the end of the Kalpa (vast time period) called Tsutden (the current Kalpa), everything will be destroyed in the snow-country (which has been) covered by the teachings of Chenrezig. At that time all the disciples of the Phakpa (Chenrezig) will run away wherever they like to be safe from those demons. Gyajin offered pure flowers. This (Khembalung) is the place of the gods. This is the place of pure prayers. This is the natural Dorje Den (‘Dorje realm,’ the name of Bodh Gaya, here indicating Khembalung is as important as the place where Buddha gained Enlightenment).

“This is surrounded by a natural fortress of snow and rock mountains. This is called Khembalung. All beings will go to Dewachen simply because they came to this place. This also is the prayer of the Phakpa. The people who do Dharma practise in this place will attain Enlightenment in Ogmin (the highest level of the Dharmakaya). All these (people who came) are Dharma students’. At that time (when the flowers were offered) the Phakpa told Gyajin these statements (i. e. those above). Again Gyajin prostrated

to the Phakpa and prayed to them in this way, 'By the compassion of the Phakpa and by this prayer, may many sentient beings be liberated from the demons who create conflict at the end of time (i. e. the end of the Kalpa)'.

"At the time of the middle Kalpa, Dolma blessed this place and made prophecies. There is no deception concerning the prophecies made by the Phakpa. The Tibetans should not go to this place until Buddhism vanishes (from the earth.)] When you are searching for this area, then 40,000 pure (unsinful) people should go there. Those people should be friendly with one another and keep pure vows with each other. These people should also not fight with each other. You should make laws for Rig-gya (prohibiting hunting) within the (upper portion of the) valley. Lower down the valley there should be laws of Nya-gya (prohibiting fishing).

22 "Build temples, in the center of the valley and do auspicious pujas for the temples. Then offer (pujas) to the white land protectors. There are black and red protectors who have blood-matted hair, so offer Torma ornamented by flesh and blood. And make offerings to the gate protectors whose names are Surarakye and Dorje Legpa. If one does this, the livestock will increase. In the lower part of the valley there is a female Lu called Karchyam. Do the Lu puja called Pan Gom. If you do these, the livestock will increase.

23 "This valley is the place of Chenrezig (Avalokitesvara), so you should increase white (good) Dharma. You should not annoy the spirits who live in the jungle and rocks. Within this valley there is another valley which looks like an open lotus. You should do the Pema Wangdu puja. You should also build a Pema Bumpa (style) Chorten. If you do this, your Bodhicitta (state of mind of an Enlightened Being) will naturally increase. In the next life you will attain the level of a Chimi-Dogpa ("Nonreturner").

24 "In this way I have told my Tampa Nyingtam ('holy heart speech'), but you should not be lazy. If you say I will go next year or after next year (i. e. keep putting it off), then you will be oppressed by a load of suffering and will lose your life of happiness. Because of these conditions, not many people (will) get to this place (Khembalung). The Dharma person becomes attached to his books. Small-minded people are attached to Titi (Samsara, the round of birth and death). That is sad. But the few people who have good Karma might heed my 'heart speech' and possibly they will apply themselves. This path should be written down and kept."

25 Guru Rinpoche said this. When Guru Rinpoche returned to Urgyan (Uddiyana, the kingdom in Swat, Pakistan where he was born), he hid (the book) in the rock of Sangsang Lhotak (?). Then the Ter ("treasure", here a book hidden for discovery at a later appointed time) was removed by (the lama,

DS
485
H6
K13
+
V.6
1978

22 | Kailash

“text-revealer”) Rinzing Godki Demtrukchen. Samaya Gya Gya Gya (“The vow is stamped”, referring to the conclusion of this section of the text.)

Namo Guru! *The Key to the West Door [of the Hidden Land of Khembalung.]* The place which is a half month distant from (the country) Lhatod Gelgi Shiri.

26 “There is a valley called Khumbu Khangirawa (Khumbu ‘ringed by snow mountains’), which looks like the body of a horse. The head of the horse is turned to the west and the tail faces east. The valley is divided into two or three different valleys. If you go in a western direction, there is a valley called Khandro Rolpalung. If you go through the eastern exit of the valley, there is a snow mountain that looks like the saddle of a horse. If you go past the mountain, inside of the valley there is a Gelmo Mentsun (Queen protector goddess) called Meyu Losangma.

27 “On the east side (of the valley) there is a small pass. After crossing this pass you (should) make offerings to the five Tsering Chetnga (five sister protectors) and to Shida. Do an incense puja for Dege (Degyed, eight groups of protectors) and pray to Guru Rinpoche.

28 “The eastern border of this valley is (made of) rock and slate. Northeast of that valley there is a snow mountain that resembles the saddle of a horse. On the upper part of the mountain is a red peak. On top of this mountain you should offer Torma to the Dharma and land protector deities. Make offerings to Dorje Legpa diligently. Then continue walking along the snowline. This valley is like the outer curtain which one hangs on a door. If you go on the other side of the mountain to the northeast, you will see a black slate mountain that resembles black hair hanging free. There is snow both outside and inside (?). If you look from there you will see a small pass.

29 “This snow pass is very important. If you look from the top of this pass you will see the valley of Khembalung like looking in a mirror (i. e. very clearly). Pray to Guru Rinpoche, offer white Torma to the Khandro (protector goddesses) and make offerings to the Shida. After that you will arrive in Khembalung. Generally this is inside Munyul Kulung (name of a valley). You should be skilful (in following) the directions of the valleys. (Guru Rinpoche) commanded the Tenmachuni (twelve protector goddesses), Nyenchen Thangla (a protector deity) and Dorje Legpa to protect the valley. That is the reason why making offerings to them is very important.

30 “The path of the West Door alternates between having stones and black rocks. This Khembalung is difficult to open but easy to keep (i. e. difficult to find, but easy to stay). All of the outer valleys are facing towards Mon (the southern, middle hills). Getting accustomed (skilled) to the directions is important. This completes the key to the West Door.”

31 Namu Guru ! "I, Pemajungne, hid the Khembalung of King Kikaratu (possibly the king who ruled the area at the time Guru Rinpoche arrived) with (his) palace, servants, friends and 'sons and mothers', because it is a natural fortress. This valley is like the wish-fulfilling gems. This (valley) is more special than all the other valleys. During the time of the decline (of Buddhism), the soldiers of Hor (China or Mongolia) will come to the center of Tibet. They will destroy all Tibetans. At this time, may we find this valley". Guru Rinpoche said this and presented the Lamyik (guide book).

32 "The design of Khembalung is roughly like a bearskin spread on the ground. The east looks like an iron chain. The south looks like Sogpo Tagthi (a style of drawing). The western mountains are like white drapes. The northern mountains look like a king sitting on his throne. In the center it resembles a large basin filled with melted butter. [The four doors look like Gyatang Kyongmo (?). The King's palace is like an iron fortress. The four corners are like a golden Mandala (sacred circle, i. e. a ritual design used in meditation)]. The land protector deity is Surarakyé, and there are also seven blood sisters of Mamo (female protector deity). [It looks like a wolf lying in wait for a sheep.] The floor of the valley is like Danggye (a kind of Torma). Inside the valley it looks like the face of a peacock. Outside the valley it looks like Hung Khun (a triangular shaped vessel used in rituals) used by tantric practitioners. [The inner valleys look like they are turning in upon themselves.] The center of the valley looks like a wooden tea bowl set in the earth.

33 "(Within the valley) one could house a family of 500 people. There are the ruins of 300 houses. Northeast of that valley there is a triangular shaped valley that resembles a collar-bone. This valley is surrounded by rock mountains. In this valley the walls of the King's palace and some walls of old brick (can be seen). Between them there is a boulder of Zangkar (?), which looks like a tortoise. Behind that (there is) a stone like Cholong (?). In
34 the center of the stone is my handprint. Receive blessings from this ! Prostrate (yourself) before this and think, 'I receive these blessings.' Then no obstacles can harm you.

"In the four directions radiating from this stone there is mud. The water which has moistened the mud is Dudtzi (nectar). Dig into the mud with an iron stake and inside of this you will find some of my favorite Terma
35. (hidden documents): 'The Teaching of the Six Nyelphen and Pergukhen (?) and the Four Treasures of Wealth and the Essence of the Heart Terma'. All of these collected into one (volume) may be found there. Use them.

"Outside of that palace there is a field which yields approximately 300
36 Tok (?). (Next four sentences NT). There are four fields which previously

belonged to the King. The grains that you can grow in this country are: barley, wheat, millet, Indian beans, small and large beans, Te (?), sesame seeds, rice, and soyabeans. The time of planting the crops is at the same time (as that) of Bumthang (name of a valley). [The vegetables will grow on the mountain and in the valley.]

37 "On the west [east] side of the palace there is a Chungsi (crystal or quartz) mountain. The water falling from this mountain freezes in the winter and becomes medicinal water in the summer. Drinking the water maintains one's youthful appearance and has healthful effects upon the growth of young children. All people will be healthy. The water purifies all diseases.

"On the west side of this valley lies another valley called Sangbulungba. In this valley there are many hot springs and medicinal waters. The animals which can live there are: male and female yaks, cows and oxen, goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, horses, Dzo (cross-breeds of cattle and yaks), and Tule (calves of Dzo).

38 "(In) this valley is the King's palace which is called Yangze. The people of this valley are in the Bumthang Chambalung (valley) (i. e. they moved from this valley to Bhumthang Chambalung). [They are the kings and ministers of that place. At the center of that valley there are 300 villages with 500 inhabitants apiece. Inside the valley go towards the Bumthang Chungkor country.] On the northwest of this valley there is a small valley. In the center of this valley is the handprint of Guru Rinpoche and the treasure of the King of Taktsang. This valley can hold 300 houses and 5,000 animals.

39 Yaks, goats, and sheep can live in this valley. This valley is surrounded by slate and snow mountains which are jagged and peaked.

"At the edge of the valley there is a rock in the shape of a bucket. [If you look at that, there is a hidden place that has two levels.] On this rock is a red spring. Steam issues forth days and nights from this spring. Torma and medicinal plants are offered to this spring. Place Lugchi Karten(?) and then offer three kinds of white food and three kind of sweets to the Throma (female deity) of Khembalung.

40 "This valley is the way one goes to Tibet. Through the upper southern part near hot springs, snow-mountains are found to the right and left sides of this road. On the right side of the valley there is a stretch of mountains. Following the south road beyond the stretch of mountains, there is a valley called Tsho.

41 To the left of the valley is a road (remainder of sentence NT). On the other side of the road there is a rock that looks like Lachak(?), that is used to place on the roof of a house. Another rock is in the shape of a fireplace. There is a road which resembles Kidengyatrang (?). After crossing this road, a stone's throw away is a road composed of mixed rocks and dirt. The

DS
485
H6
K13
+
V.6
1978

road goes in the direction of a lake of melted snow water. You should go to the east side of the lake.

42. "Following the snow lake to another valley, there is a throne and a footprint of Guru Rinpoche's. The next valley you will come to is Sangphug Valley. Here there are many hot springs and medicinal waters. The guide book of Khembalung is finished".

[Namo Guru. "I, Pemajungne, will reveal to you the secret guide to the Beyul and (you should) write it down." This guide book was given to Karchenza (a consort of Guru Rinpoche) and Nanglon (a close adviser to King Thisong Detsen). One should understand the meaning of these 'treasure books'. "May people who have good Karma receive (these books) at the end of the Kalpa. Go to the secret place without remaining attached to one's own country.] If you cannot go there because of rain or avalanches, then you (should) make smoke of black dog dung and the hardened sap of a tree (i. e. these will have the power to stop the rain and avalanches). At the same time you (should) say mantras of the Trochu (ten wrathful deities) which will destroy all wrathful (demons). You (should) also make incense of sulphur.

43. "Pray to Guru Rinpoche. [This road is similar to the route to Yolmo Kangri (Helambu). I prostrate (myself) before the boundless Ku (bodies).] This (hidden place) is called Gyelki Khembalung. You should have a guide from the lineage of a king to lead you into the valley. You need lineage holders (i. e. people who continuously practise the teaching) of Guru Rinpoche; the yogi (who does) Mahamudra, who completely (uses all) the images of Dorje Phurba; the lineage holders of Bon; people who can make offerings to the old protectors of this valley; lineage holders of doctors; lineage holders of knowledge; and you also need all kinds of tools.

44. "You need seven Norkyongden (?), seven tantric yogis who have kept good vows, seven monks who have kept vows, seven skilful men, household items, Dharma ceremonial and ritual items, carpentry tools, farming equipment, and Dharma-offering medicine.

"First pray to the lama, then (go) in the winter or spring months of any year on Thursday on the Go star day. This is the most favorable day.

45. On this day, guided by a man descended from a king, go along the upper road that is Chuklam (one on which domestic animals can travel). Otherwise take the middle road Pharmawa Tragpo(?) or take the lower road called Golchung (?). Any road taken will lead you to the valley called Monkhareng. Then pray. Do the water puja and Serkyem and offer Danggye to the seven
46. Menstsun. The Di Khammo (?) (of Khembalung) is the female diety, Gomakha. Offer Danggye to her and one black chicken decorated by five colored

ribbons around (its) neck. Its (the offering's) effect is to prevent rain and snow.

“Continuing upward there is a pass called Sateg Tangkila or also Lagod. Continuing beyond this (pass), there is a Tom (?) on the Yarola (name of a pass), Going further upwards, there are three wide valleys called Kothang, Lungthang, and Dathang. These are as far wide as one can see.

47 “After crossing to the other side of these areas, look in the direction that water runs. Then go towards the left side of the water. You (should) go towards Chekarlung (name of a valley). Look from the left side of the top (of the valley?). There is a (rock ?) which looks like a Lachak of a protector deity that was placed there. Above this area there is a pass called Pho Ropola. Climb up to the summit of this mountain.

48 “On top of that (mountain) there is rock (which looks) like a horse's saddle. If you go (towards) the horse's saddle, there is a pass. That is the pass of Tromen (?). You should not take this pass, but (rather should) go to the left three arrow-shots (i. e. as far as an arrow can be shot three times). There is a lake called Dudscho. After you arrive at the lake offer Chang (beer) and the blood of a human being, dog and horse. (Also offer) jewels and three brown goats decorated with colored ribbons to Surarakye.

49 “You should then follow the left side of the river from that lake as far as three Gabge (?). You will find a path. On the right side of the road only human beings, goats and sheep may pass. If you go as far as three Gabge, then there is a jungle path. If you go as far as an arm-span (?), the road comes to an end in a waterfall. That is Dipshing (magically hidden). Between the rock and the water people can walk single file. If you go through that, go down the mountain path three rope lengths, then there are two paths. Take the path that goes up as far as ten rope lengths, and (there) this river turns into another rock. There is Pama (a kind of tree), evergreens, and Langma (another kind of tree). If you go through that you will arrive inside Khembalung.

51 “In Khembalung there is a white boulder as big as a yak. The route past this boulder goes by a tree with a thousand branches. If you go through that, there is a lake. If you go past the left side of the lake, then turn right, and there is a Mepak (?). That is a lower treasure place, (where there is) the ‘treasure of barley’. You can grow five types of grains (in this valley). You can eat this barley (i. e. the treasure) for two years and feed 10,000 people. In order to mitigate the danger of becoming ill from the grain, add salt, 52 eat it hot and in small amounts. Most of these grains are very solid (packed with essence). [In this valley you will have a long life and you will attain many good qualities.]

“On the right side of this valley, it (a mountain ?) looks like piles of jewels. In the center of the upper side of this valley there is a boulder that looks like a yak. Underneath that stone there is a treasure of water as big as Tsha Ngar (?). If you dig seven arm-spans you will strike water. This
53 water is called Tsunmo Jangchu (Well-mannered Queen). If you drink that, you will become well-mannered and able to cure diseases.

“If you continue down the watercourse, there is a place with three rivers joined together. If you go down through this valley as far as seven arrow-shots, you (will see) a mountain that resembles a turquoise snake heading downwards. This mountain is to the left of the river and to the right of the valley. On the route there is a big, blue boulder. Under that (boulder) there
54 is a mud-puddle three arm-spans deep. If you dig in the center of that you will get a blue Kham (?). Underneath that you will find a yellow rug approximately two feet long. If you continue to dig, you will find water which rises up to the neck. Do one hundred water pujas. Then the water will come continuously (like a spring). This water is called Gyaling Tegobchu. If this water is drunk by a man, then his body will become healthy, strong and
55 capable. If drunk by a woman, she will become pregnant. If drunk by a horse, it becomes Gyaling Thogchok (a kind of horse ?).

“If you proceed down, there are Khenpa bushes, Palu bushes, Langma bushes, bushes, and Tagma bushes. If you cross these, then there is a rock that looks like the nose of Senmo (a female spirit). In this area there are many goats, female yaks, and yaks which have turned white. The animals are fat and they will not get Sheldu (a kind of disease), because there are thousands of medicinal plants growing there. People also will not catch diseases in this
56 land. If you settle there, your livestock will greatly multiply. (Next sentence NT).

“If you go outside the valley, there is (another) valley called Lumen Jongtsel which is surrounded by Langma and Kherpa (Khyelpa) bushes. This area is as big as two arrow-shots. At this place there is a country which is called Togma Luyul. If the Bonpos stay there, they will be wealthy. If Ngapas (tantric practitioners) stay there, they will obtain all realizations and great power. Their wishes will be fulfilled according to their desires.

57 “Then there is another valley, the floor (of which) resembles a wash-basin right side up and has a great expanse of sky. The sun shines for a long time. The water in the river looks as if it is flowing upstream. The center of this valley has a blue cave which looks like a female tiger that is 3-dimensional.
58. The upper side of that (cave?) there is three tiered rock. (In this rock) there are 18 different Ter (hidden ‘treasures’ or documents) with a detailed Karchag (guide book). There are also four famous turquoises. There is on full bag of Zhi (long back stones with white markings). The Karchag is in the upper

ULIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V6
1978

Kailash / 28

cave. Inside the center of the cave is a puja room which contains my (i. e. 59 Guru Rinpoche's) hat, necklace, Dorje and bell, brown cloth, golden Dorje, Yeshe Tshogyal's (a consort of Guru Rinpoche) bracelet and necklace, a turquoise called Odbar ('shining bright') and a drum of Singdin (a kind of wood). All these are on the Mandala inside the tent of Se (?). This Karchag is in Monkanareng (name of a valley). This is under the boulder that looks like a horse's saddle.

60 "Inside the upper cave there are particularly profound Dharma treasures. Firstly, (there are) the profound meditation teachings, which enable you to attain Enlightenment in this life, and the nine iron stakes of the protector deities. There are also mantras for repelling the advances of enemy armies from other countries. The Ter will be removed by people born in the year of the Sheep or Monkey. The time of removal of the Ter will correspond with the year when Kunting temple (in Tibet) will be destroyed by enemy soldiers.

61 "If you wish to remove these Ter, then you must remain in this country. If you stay in this valley, then you can take out this Ter and the Pukiter (treasure of Tibet). May this door of Khembalung be opened again and again. This is the end of the Karchag.
Samaya Gya Gya Gya.
Sarwa Mangalam.

* * *

SOME INTERESTING NEPALESE RUST FUNGI

Halvor B. Gjørnum¹ and Erik Steineger²

Norway

Judging from the literature, the fungal flora of Nepal is poorly known. In his paper dealing with Himalayan fungi, Balfour-Browne (1955) published records of Nepalese fungi, among them also new species, belonging to different orders. Later Khadka & Shah (1967, 1968) and Khadka, Shah and Lawad (1968) recorded plant diseases in Nepal, mainly on cultivated plants, while Singh (1968) reported on parasitic fungi from the Kathmandu Valley. Recently Durrieu (1975) described two new rust species of the genus *Hemaspora*, and he (Durrieu 1975 a) also gave an account on the biogeography of the Nepalese fungal flora.

Information given here is on material collected by one of us (ES) during a visit to the Rolwaling Valley in East Nepal in 1973. The specimens are preserved at the Botanical Museum of Oslo.

Aecidium montanum Butl. Indian Forester 31: 676, 1905. On *Berberis* sp.
Rolwaling, between Beding and Nangaon, 3800 m, 26 IX 1973 (E. S. 177/1), 0+I.

This rust species occurs in two different forms, one with pycnia and aecia in localized infections, and one with pycnia and aecia developing from a systemic mycelium. Joshi and Payak (1963, see also Cummins 1971) showed from infection experiments that the localized type belonged to *Puccinia brachypodii* Otth var. *poae-nemoralis* (Otth) Cumm. and H. C. Greene. Jörstad (1959) indicated that the systemic type belonged to the var. *arrhenatheri* (Kleb.) Cumm. and H. C. Greene. Both types are common in the Himalayas where they occur on several *Berberis* spp. Balfour-Browne (1955) reported it on *B. chitra* Lindl. from Dozam near Simikot in Nepal. In the material considered here, pycnia and aecia occur in small, localized groups and thus belong to the var. *poae-nemoralis*.

1 The Norwegian Plant Protection Institute, N 1432 Aas-NLH, Norway.
2 Botanical Laboratory, University of Oslo, Blindern, Norway.

ULIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

38 / *Kailash*

Gymnosporangium cornutum Kern. Bull. N. Y. Bot. Gard. 7:444, 1911.

On *Sorbus ursina* Decasine.

Rolwaling, near Beding, 3800 m, 20 IX 1973 (E. S. 97/1) 0+I.

The rust is widespread in North America and Europe, and also in Siberia, China, Japan and Korea. Sharif and Ershad (1966) reported the rust from Iran, but from other areas south of the Himalayas we have seen no record on this rust. Kern (1973) also mentioned Africa in the distribution area without giving a more exact locality. The rust species is new to Nepal, and the host seems to be new for this rust.

Compared with aeciospores from the same species on *S. aucuparia* L. from Norway, the aeciospores in the Nepalese specimen are more delicately verrucose.

Phragmidium tuberculatum J. Mull. Ber. D. Bot. Ges. 3:391, 1885.

On *Rosa sericea* Lindley.

Rolwaling, between Beding and Nangaon, 3850 m, 20 IX 1973 (E. S. 89/1), III.

This rust, which is common in Europe and Siberia, has been reported from Pakistan by Jörstad (1952) and S. Ahmad (1956 a). It is also known from Kamtchatka and China, and from the Americas, Africa and New Zealand, but has not been reported earlier from Nepal. The host is new for this rust species.

Puccinia brachypodii Otth var. *arrhernatheri* (Kleb.) Cumm. and H. C. Greene. Mycologia 58: 709, 1966.

On *Deyeuxia pulchella* (Griseb.) Hook. f. (syn. *Calamagrostis pulchella* Griseb.)

Rolwaling, Jomoi Gul Chhu, 3850 m, 5 x 1973 (E. S. 238/1), II + III.

Uredinia oval to oblong, light brown to brown. Paraphyses abundant, clavate, straight or curved. 12-18 μ m in diameter (Fig. 1a). Wall hyaline, 3-4 μ m thick, sometimes tapering at the base. Urediniospores ovoid to subglobose, 22-25 (-35) 14-23 μ m. Wall hyaline, c. 1 μ m thick, echinulate. Telia covered by epidermis, dark brown to black, loculate. Teliospores (Fig. 1b) clavate, rounded or truncate, rarely attenuated at apex, the lower cell longer than the upper, mostly 2-celled, but 3-celled teliospores occur, 36-59 13-19 μ m. Wall smooth, light brown, darker at the apex, c. 1 μ m thick, at apex thickened to 4(-6) μ m. Pedicels short, brownish.

The present host represents a new host genus for this widespread rust.

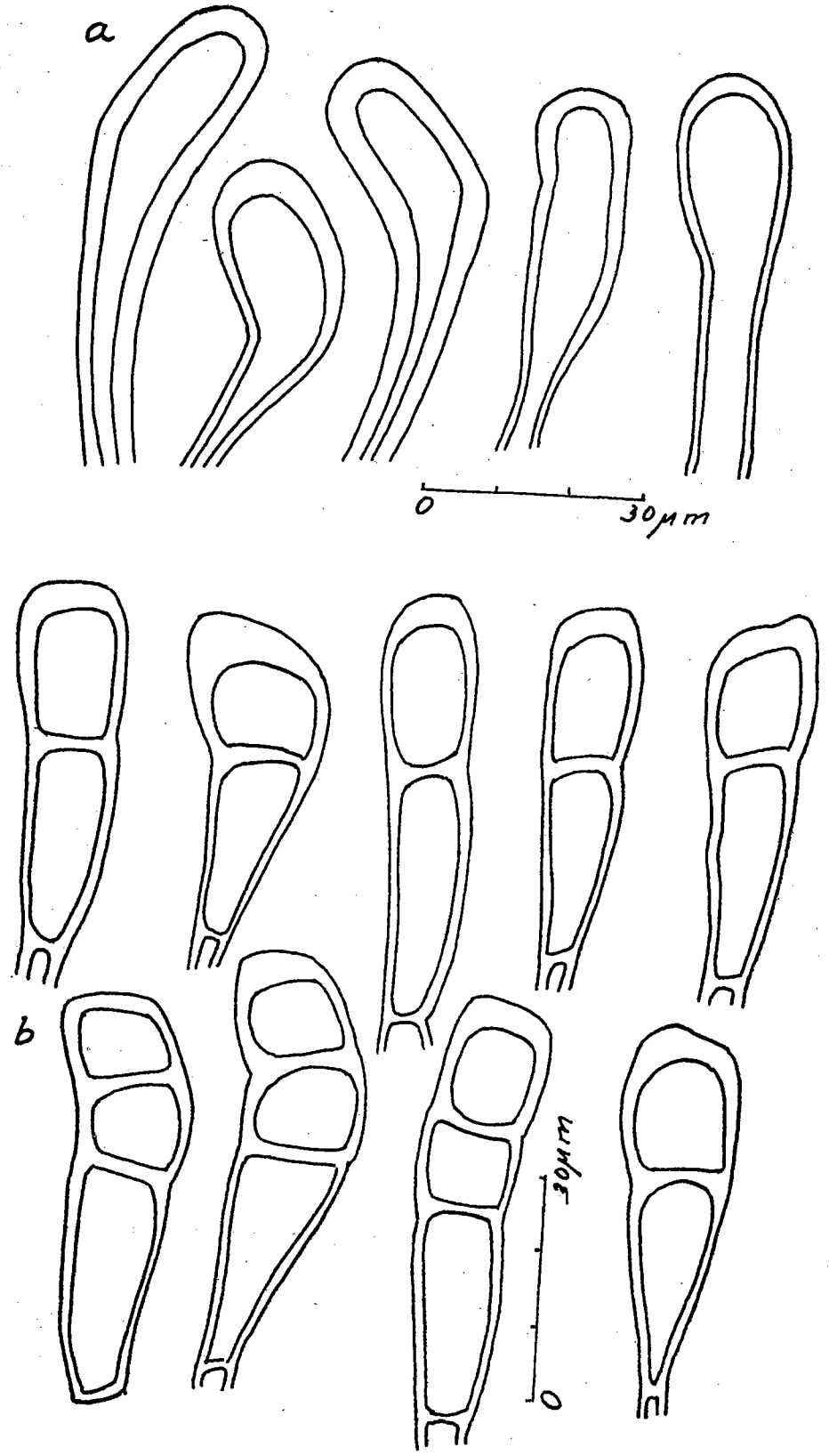


Fig. 1. *Puccinia brachypodii* var. *arrhenateri*; a uredinial paraphyses, b. teliospores.

JLIM
DS
485
HG
<13
+
1.6
'978

Puccinia brachypodii Otth var. *poae-nemorialis* (Otth) Cumm. and H. C. Greene. *Mycologia* 58: 705, 1966.

On *Agrostis munroana* Aitch. & Hemsl.

Rolwaling, Beding, 3700 m, 25 IX 1973 (E. S. 165/1), II.

Uredinial paraphyses (Fig. 2) clavate or capitate, often bent and with a pronounced neck, wall hyaline, 2-4 μ m thick.

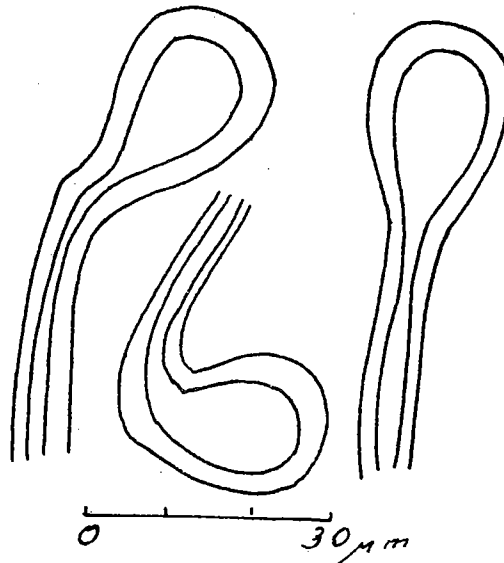


Fig. 2. *Puccinia brachypodii* var. *poae-nemorialis*, uredinial paraphyses.

S. Ahmad (1956) reported this rust on the same host from Kagan Valley in Pakistan.

Puccinia fagopyricola Jorst. *Nytt Mag. Bot.* 6: 137, 1958. Syn. *P. fagopyri* Barcl. (non *P. fagopyri* Haszl. = *P. convolvuli* Cast.) *J. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 59: 107, 1890.

On *Fagopyrum* cf. *tataricum* (L.) Gaerth.

Rolwaling, Simigaon, 2000 m, 26 X 1973 (E. S. 349/1), II.

The buckwheat rust fungus of which *F. esculentum* Moench is the host for the type, has been reported several times from India, China and Korea. On *F. tataricum* it has been reported from Mussoori in India by Sydow, Mitter and Tandon (1937). The rust is new to Nepal.

Puccinia menthae Pers. *Syn. Meth. Fung.* p. 227, 1801.

On *Mentha* \times *piperita* L.

Kathmandu, 8 IX 1973 (E. S. 10), II.

This mint rust which has a world wide distribution is not only found on *Mentha* spp., but also on several species of other genera of the Lamiaceae.

Pandotra and Sastry (1969) have reported *M. × piperita* from Kashmir in the N.W. Himayalas. *P. menthae* is new to the Nepalese flora.

Cruchet (1906) who made cross infection experiments with this rust, found 8 biological forms. *M. × piperita* was infected only by the form occurring on *M. aquatica* L.

Puccinia roscoae Smith. J. Asiatic. Soc. Bengal 58: 237, 1889.

On *Roscoea purpurea* Smith.

Rolwaling, near Dharidunga, 2550 m, 12 IX 1973 (E. S. 30/1), II+III.

This rust has been reported several times from India on *Roscoea* spp., among them also on *R. purpurea* (Sydow, Mitter and Tandon 1937). Sydow and Mitter (1933) also recorded *Globba clarkei* Bak. as a host. From Yunnan in China Tai (1947) reported *R. intermedia* Gagnep. and *Camptandra yunnanensis* Loes. as hosts. The rust is new to the flora of Nepal.

Uredo alpestris Schroet. 53. Jahresber. Schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Kultur p. 117, 1875.

On *viola pilosa* Blume.

Rolwaling, in a meadow near Simigaon, 2700 m, 30 x 1973 (E. S. 372 /1).

In the Central European mountains this interesting rust species is common only on its type host *V. biflora* L.; on this host it also has been reported from the Japanese Rebun Island (Sydow, H. and P. 1913). It has also been reported from Japan on several other *Viola* spp. (e. g. Ito 1950), while in India *V. serpens* Wall. is the only known host (Sydow, Mitter and Tandon. 1937). *V. pilosa* is a new host for this rust species which is new to the Nepalese rust flora.

Dietel (1916) first pointed out that this rust species has two different types of urediniospores, a thin-walled spring and summer type, and a thicker-walled autumn type. In the present material only the latter type occurs (Fig. 3).

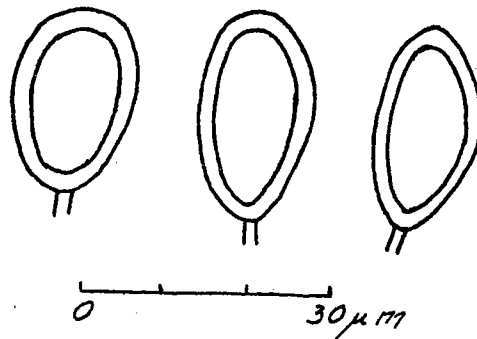


Fig. 3. *Uredo alpestris*.

This dimorphism in the urediniospores indicates relationships to the fern rust genera *Uyalopsora* and *Uredinopsis*.

OLIM
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

42 | Kailash

Uromyces geranii (DC.) Lév. Ann. Sci. Nat. Bot. ser. 3, 8:371, 1847.
On *Geranium* sp.
Rolwaling, Shakpa, NE of Simigaon, 2700 m, 30x 1973 (E. S. 373/1),
(II+) III.

This rust, which is new to the rust flora of Nepal, is widespread in the northern hemisphere.

Urediniospores were scarce so late in the season.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, S. 1956. Uredinales of West Pakistan. *Biologia* 2:26-101.
— — 1956 a. Fungi of West Pakistan. Biol. Soc. Pakistan, Monograph No. 1, Lahore.
- Balfour-Brown, E.L. 1955, Some Himalayan Fungi. *Bull. British Mus. (Nat. Hist.) Bot.* 1:189-218.
- Butler, E. J. and G. R. Bisby, rev. Vasudeva, R. S. 1960. The fungi of India. New Delhi.
- Cruchet, M. P. 1907. Contribution à l'étude biologique et quelques Puccinias sur Labiées. *Centralbl. Bakt., Parasitenk. u. Inf. Krankh.* 2. Abt. 17:212-224, 395-411, 497-505, 674-684.
- Cummins, G. B. 1971. The rust fungi of cereals, grasses and bamboos. Berlin-Heidelberg-New York.
- Dietel, P. 1916. Über die systematische Stellung *Uredo alpestris* Schröt. *Annal. mycol.* 14: 98-99.
- Durrieu, G. 1975. Deux nouveaux *Hamaspora* (Uredinales) de l'Himalaya. *Mycotaxon* 2: 205-208.
— — 1975 a. Les champignons phytopathogènes de Népal. Aspects biogéographiques. *Bull. Soc. Hist. Nat. Toulouse* 111: 112-117.
- Ito, S. Mycological flora of Japan. II Basidiomycetes, No. 3. Uredinales-Pucciniaceae, Uredinales imperfecti. Tokyo.
- Joshi, L. M. and Payak, M. M. 1963. A *Berberis aecidium* in Lahaul Vally, Western Himalayas. *Mycologia* 55: 247-250.
- Jörstad, I. 1952. Parasitic fungi, chiefly uredineae, from Tirich Mir in the state of Chitral, N. Pakistan. *Nytt Mag. Bot.* 1:71-87.
— — 1959. Notes on some Asiatic Uredinales. *Nytt Mag. Bot.* 7:129-144.
- Kern, F. D. 1973. A revised taxonomic account of *Gymnosporangium*. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Khadka, B. B. and Shah, S. M. 1967. Preliminary list of Plant diseases recorded in Nepal. *Nepalese J. Agric.* 2:47-76.
— — 1968. Preliminary list of plant diseases recorded in Nepal. *FAO Plant Prot. Comm. S. E. Asia and Pacific Reg. Tech.*

- Doc. No. 62. Bangkok.
- Khadka, B. B., Shah, S. M. and Lawat, K. 1968. Plant diseases list in Nepal (a supplementary list.) Ibid. Tech. Doc. No 66. Bangkok.
- Pandotra, V. R. and Sastry, K. S. M. 1969. Fungi on medicinal and aromatic plants in the North-West Himalayas-V. Proc. Indian Acad. Sci., Sect. B, 70; 88-97.
- Singh, S. C. 1968. Some parasitic fungi collected from the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal). Indian Phytopath. 21:23-30.
- Sydow, H., Mitter, J. H. and Tandon, R. N. 1937. Fungi indici-III. Annal. mycol. 35:222-243.
- Sydow, H. and P. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der partasitischen Pilzflora des nördlichen Japans. Annal. Mycol. 11:97-118.
- Tai, F. L. 1947. Uredinales of Western China. Farlowia 3:95-139.

RELIGION IN TIBETAN SOCIETY - A NEW APPROACH
PART ONE: A STRUCTURAL MODEL

Geoffrey Samuel

Newcastle, N.S.W.

Over the last few years, the Theravada Buddhist societies of Asia have been the object of much anthropological attention and several major studies (e.g. Spiro 1967, 1971, Tambiah 1970). This work has led to important advances in our understanding of religion in Theravada societies, particularly with respect to the central problem of the relationship between doctrinal and popular religion. While the divergence of opinions still obtaining in this field suggests that we are some way as yet from any definitive analysis, if such be possible (cf. Terwiel 1976), we are very much better informed than, say, twenty years ago about both the religious practices of the ordinary members of these societies, the roles of the various kinds of religious specialists, and the place of scriptural Buddhism.

Anthropological work on the Mahayana Buddhist religion of Tibet is by contrast at a much earlier stage of development. The main reason has been, no doubt, the difficulties of access to most Tibetan populations. As the map shows most Tibetans now live within the boundaries of the Chinese People's Republic, and even the settled populations of Tibetans within India, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan live in areas that have been subject to considerable restrictions of access. The only Tibetan population whose religion could be regarded as well studied by anthropologists is that of the Sherpas (cf. Fürer-Haimendorf 1964, Funke 1969, R.A. Paul 1970, S.O. Paul 1970).

This is not to discount the very considerable amount of material on religion which has been obtained by specialists in other disciplines. This material has been the product of research by orientalist and students of the history of religions, working with both refugee informants and literary texts. It is unfortunately true, however, that this research outside our disciplinary boundaries has so far had little impact on the anthropological understanding of Tibetan religion. By and large, English-speaking anthropologists, if they have looked at Western literature on Tibetan Buddhism at all, have contented themselves with Waddell's outdated study (1967).¹ His book was an important pioneer effort at the time of its

* This article derives from fieldwork which I carried out with Tibetan refugees in Nepal and India between January 1971 and July 1972, supported by an S.S.E.C. studentship. I would like to thank Dr. M.R. Allen and Professor P.J. Wilson for helpful comments on previous versions of some of this material.

1 In a recent paper by Ortner (1975) reference is made to two of Snellgrove's books (1957 and 1967), but the one ritual text discussed in detail by Ortner (1975:157) is a hymn to Tara taken from Waddell rather than, for example, the much more appropriate ritual sequence translated by Snellgrove (1957:245-261), or one of the many texts in Beyer's book (1973). Elsewhere in the same paper, (1975:154-55) Ortner

refer-
Fürer-Ha-
fact I agree
ment could have
tions of appropriate
-case in point is Ekvall's
Consideration by demanding
by all Tibetans to be worth
Christianity without re-
and other religious spe-

Although I concentrate here on structure, a complete understanding of religion in Tibetan society would certainly also involve the study of social processes. As is emphasized below, Tibetan society was in no way static. To the extent that we can speak of a structure at all it is only because this structure has constantly been re-created and never in quite the same form — by the actions of individuals in successive generations. The question of *why* certain institutions, symbols, concepts should be adopted, or used in particular ways, would require explanation in terms of the logic of the situation from the actors' point of view. I have occasionally shifted below to this level of explanation. However my emphasis here is on structure, not process; on the *langue* of Tibetan religious practice, not the individual *parole*.

Tibetan Society

Most of what I am going to say in this paper refers to 'traditional' Tibetan society. This is of course an anthropological fiction. Despite the popular image of Tibet as static, Tibetan society, Tibetan politics, Tibetan religion have been changing ever since our earliest detailed knowledge of them in the 7th century A.D. We can however as a first approximation regard the developments over the period between say 1700 and 1950 as developments within a single system. The people at the top changed, the detailed structure of government might alter, but the overall principles remained more or less the same. The roots of this system go back perhaps to the Sakya rulers of the 13th century and the *Phag mo gru pa* kings of the 14th. By contrast, the effects of the Chinese occupation since 1950, and of the departure of most of the traditional elite in 1959, have been so radical that the difference between contemporary Tibet and pre-1950 Tibet is of another order to the developments of the previous few centuries.

Of the 5 or 6 million ethnic Tibetans in 1950, perhaps two or three million lived within the state ruled by the Dalai Lama from his capital at Lhasa. Two or three million more lived in a variety of other political entities. Most of these were in the eastern part of Kham and in Amdo, two large regions to the east of the Dalai Lama's territory (see Map). Here there was a patchwork of small states over which neighbouring Chinese warlords exerted some kind of general control. For all the subtleties of the China-Tibet dispute, there is no doubt that the Dalai Lama's regime was *de facto* independent of China between 1912 and 1950, and that Chinese control had been nominal throughout most of the 19th century. The precise border between the Dalai Lama's territory and the area under Chinese control was, however, subject to dispute throughout recent times.

The map gives an approximate indication of the total area occupied by Tibetans that is, people linguistically and culturally Tibetan. The modern Tibet Autonomous Region corresponds in general outline to the pre-1950 territory of the Lhasa regime. As the map shows, much of the Tibetan population of modern China falls within the neighbouring provinces of Ch'ing-hai and Ssu-ch'uan (Szechuan). In addition, the map indicates smaller populations of Tibetans within the modern states of India (including Kashmir) and Nepal. The Tibetans of Nepal include the Sherpas, whom I shall discuss at length. Sikkim, recent-

OLIM
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

48 /Kailash

ly occupied by India after a century or so of protectorate status, and Bhutan, could also have been considered, under their traditional systems of government, as Tibetan states, although the situation in Sikkim particularly is complicated by the large number of indigenous and immigrant non-Tibetans.

The Tibetans of all these regions spoke dialects of the Tibetan language which, in the extreme cases, were barely mutually comprehensible. All used the same written language — classical Tibetan — and the same Indian-derived script, and all were either Buddhists or adherents of the quasi-Buddhist Bon religion.³ The only significant exceptions here were the Islamicised Tibetans of the far west (Baltistan), who were Muslims and wrote their own dialect in the Persian script when they wrote at all. There were also a few Tibetan Muslims in Lhasa and other large towns.

The Tibetan population had a sharp hereditary class division into aristocrats (*T sku drag*)⁴ and commoners (*T mi ser*), though movement between the divisions was not entirely closed, and most aristocratic families were of relatively recent origin. All commoners were in theory at least attached to one or another lord (*T dpon po*), though the 'lord' status could be occupied by a monastic estate or by the central government rather than by an aristocratic family. The commoners were traditionally divided into pastoral nomads, agriculturalists and artisans. Most of the population was agriculturalist, though there were large numbers of pastoralists in some areas, particularly on the great plains north of Central Tibet and in Amdo. Artisans were relatively few in number.

Of the various states mentioned above, Tibet proper, that is the Dalai Lama's realm, is the only one for which very much information is available about the traditional political system though there is enough data on Bhutan, Sikkim and the lesser principalities to suggest that the basic organizational principles were similar.⁵ My description refers primarily to the Dalai Lama's realm and follows Goldstein's account in most respects.

The Dalai Lama's realm did not have the degree of centralised control characteristic of a modern state or of many traditional Asian monarchies. 60% or 70% of the population lived on aristocratic or monastic estates which had considerable autonomy with respect to

3 On the Bon religion, which has been a source of considerable confusion among Western scholars, cf. Snellgrove 1961, Stein 1972, Macdonald 1971, Kvaerne 1976a and 1976b. The question of Bon is also discussed briefly in the second of these papers.

4 T followed by italics indicates Tibetan terms in transliteration (following Wylie 1959); S indicates Sanskrit. Tibetan and Sanskrit proper names and some other common words (e.g. lama) are used in the text in phonetic transcription without special indication.

5 For the Dalai Lama's regime, cf. Goldstein 1968 and 1971a-d, Rahul 1969, Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969. The political system of Bhutan is discussed in Rahul 1971. Carrasco 1959 gives a general survey of information on Tibetan polities known at that time.

the central government at Lhasa. This was particularly true of the largest estates such as those of Sakya and Trashilhunpo.⁶ The estate lords collected taxes from their tenants in their own right, and judged such disputes as were brought before them. The central government also imposed taxes, and judged disputes brought before it. It differed from the estates mainly in size, in its function as a final court of appeal, and in its maintaining troops, primarily for external defence. In addition its officials investigated certain crimes on their own behalf, notably murder. The weakness of the central government was reinforced by the fact that most of its officials were either aristocratic estate-owners or closely linked with major monasteries, and so had little interest in supporting the central government against themselves.

The Central Government maintained officials at a number of district headquarters (T *rdzong*) throughout the Dalai Lama's territory. The bureaucracy was in some respects modelled on the Chinese; there were schools for training officials, and a complex system of ranking for various posts. However recruitment to the bureaucracy was entirely from two sources; the aristocracy, who had a hereditary 'obligation' to act as bureaucratic officials, and a few major monasteries. Most important posts had both a lay (aristocratic) and a monk official of the same rank.

While the commoners were internally segregated in status according to a system mostly concerned with tax obligations, there seems to have co-existed with hierarchical aspects of the Tibetan system a marked emphasis on equality in relationships among commoners, particularly within the village community. Most villages were in any case attached to a single 'lord'. Political and ritual offices within the village rotated steadily among the villagers, or at least among those of the higher (T *khral pa* 'taxpayer') status group. In communities such as the Sherpas where (until recent times) there has not been effective control by a central government, this egalitarian emphasis is very noticeable (cf. Furer-Haimendorf 1962, 1964).

Something like a fifth of the male population in traditional Tibet was in the monasteries, the highest proportion in any Buddhist society. The monasteries were grouped into a number of monastic orders — four main orders, with further subdivisions — which differed primarily in questions of ritual practice. These differences were not very important from the point of view of the laymen, who tended to be unsectarian in the lamas and monasteries they respected and made use of, but all monks were attached to one or another order and sub-order. Each of these orders had traditional lineages of teachings going back to the Buddhism of mediaeval India; each had its own ritual texts and its textbooks on doctrine and philosophy, which were duplicated by printing from wood-blocks or metal plates.

6 On Sakya cf. Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969 and also Norbu 1974 which gives a less idealized view. Goldstein 1971d:170-171 suggests that Cassinelli and Ekvall overemphasize both the autonomy of Sakya and the extent to which it differed from other monastic estates.

OLIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

The Dalai Lama was (and is) the most senior lama of the largest of these orders, the Gelukpa, as well as the political ruler until 1959 of a large part of Tibet.

The monasteries of the Bon religion effectively formed a fifth monastic order. This religion contains some indigenous elements, as does Tibetan Buddhism itself, but appears to go back mainly to Indian and Central Asian traditions of the seventh and eighth centuries, reshaped by the Tibetans and strongly influenced by Buddhism itself. The Bon tradition is particularly close in ritual practice to the Nyingmapa, the oldest of the four main Buddhist orders.

I shall refer indiscriminately to inmates of religious communities of all these orders as 'monks', though in fact only a minority were fully ordained *dge slong* (T; S = *Bhikṣu*) and, except in the Gelukpa order, there were some communities of married religious persons. There were also some nuns, in separate communities, though their number was small in comparison to that of the male religious.

Monastic organization, like the rest of Tibetan society, involves both hierarchical, and egalitarian elements. Thus some posts (e.g., abbot) might be reserved for persons of elite rank, here meaning the 'incarnate lamas' to be discussed later, while others rotated through all persons of appropriate status.

Tibetan Religion

Buddhism co-existed in Tibet, as in other Buddhist countries, with beliefs in a whole pantheon of local deities and spirits. Indeed the control of these supernatural beings was one of the principal functions of Buddhist ritual practitioners such as the lamas. One cannot consider Buddhism in Tibet in isolation from this function, but in order to understand how the lamas exercised their control something must be known of the doctrinal and ritual aspects of Tibetan Buddhism.

Buddhism in Tibet is Mahayanist in philosophy and theology, tantric in ritual procedures. The relationship between Mahayana and tantra and other phases of Buddhism and Hinduism is a complex issue; I will restrict myself to what is needed in the present context.⁷ Mahayana and tantra are both of Indian origin, though as noted below there have been some important indigenous developments in Tibet, in particular with regard to the concept of the lama. The normative aim of Mahayana Buddhism is the attainment of Enlightenment, Buddhahood; the prescribed motive for doing so is not (as in Theravada) to escape from the suffering of the world but to become able to free others from their suffering. The philosophy of the Mahayana – at least of that school emphasised by the Tibetans, that is the Madhyamika school – is a kind of antiphilosophy. It holds that all

7 Cf. Samuel 1975, where references are given for all of the discussion following. The issue of the relationship between Tibetan religion and religion in South and South-East Asia in general will be discussed in detail in a subsequent paper.

philosophical assertions about the nature of reality can be shown to be false by logical deduction. The true nature of things (*S paramartha satya*, ultimate truth) is assessible only to the direct transcendent insight of a Buddha. The Buddhist philosophical schools themselves can at best claim to represent provisional truth (*S samvrtti-satya*, literally 'false truth')

As a corollary, teachings, practices, ritual techniques are of value in Tibetan Buddhism in so far as they help to bring the practitioner towards Buddhahood; the teachings are not ultimately true in their own right. Rituals, disciplinary rules, doctrine are *thabs* (T; S = *upaya*), methods, to attain enlightenment.

The pre-eminent methods are those contained in the Buddhist tantras. The tantras generally consist of a basic text of Indian, or in some cases possibly Tibetan, origin, around which has gathered a large corpus of commentarial material and liturgical texts. Each tantra is centred around a particular tantric deity, though all these deities are regarded as manifestations of the same underlying Buddhahood.

Tantric practice involves the acceptance of vows and tantric consecrations from a tantric teacher. This teacher is, in Tibetan tradition, to be regarded by his disciple as being himself a Buddha. The basis of most tantric rituals is the self-identification of the performer of the ritual with the principal deity of the tantra concerned. The repetition of this process, carried out through visualization, recitation, and hand-gestures, enables the disciple gradually to realize within himself the qualities of the deity. Insofar as he carries out the process successfully (and lengthy and arduous training is required for this) he can use the superhuman powers of the deity for specific ends such as restoring the life force (T *bla*) within men, defending them against malevolent deities or spirits, and guiding the consciousness of a person after death so that he receives a good rebirth. While the powers are strictly speaking irrelevant from the point of view of attaining Enlightenment (they may be justified as helping to relieve the sufferings of living beings) they are at the basis of the lama's importance for the lay population of Tibet.

The layman, and even the average monk, cannot hope to attain such powers in his own right. As in Theravadin countries like Burma and Thailand the primary religious duty specified for the layman is the accumulation of 'merit', through performing good actions (such as building or restoring Buddhist shrines, becoming a monk, giving food to monks) and avoiding bad actions. This is explicitly recognized in doctrinal texts as the lowest of a progressive scale of religious motivation.⁸ The first or lowest kind of person attempts to gain a 'good' rebirth as a man or a god, and to avoid rebirth in the hells or as a ghost or animal, through acquiring 'merit'. The second kind tries to escape from samsara, the cycle of rebirth, altogether. The third and highest wishes to become a Buddha in order to save all beings from their sufferings. This last is the motivation of the Bodhisattva, and

8 Samuel 1975:77. The basic scheme is given in Atisa's *Bodhi-pathapradipa* (translated in Chattopadhyaya 1967:525-535). Cf. also Berzin 1972, Guenther 1971.

OLIM
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

everybody must eventually reach this level before they can finally escape from the cycle of rebirth.

The first and second levels are therefore mere intermediate stages, to be eventually gone beyond. However it is acceptable to work with one of the lower motivations and to trust that in a future life, as a result of one's good karma, one will be able to practice religion at a 'higher' level; and this is what most people are presumably assumed to do. It will be noticed that the motivation of 'normative' Theravada Buddhism—Nibbanic Buddhism in Spiro's phrase (1971)—is here to be superseded by the bodhisattva motivation.

It can also be seen that the system has strong elitist implications; only a minority are capable of 'serious' religious pursuits as defined by the system, the rest are in some sense dependent upon them for their salvation, although in Tibetan Buddhism everyone ultimately has to work out their own salvation.

This dependence is expressed in some forms of Mahayana Buddhism through the cult of celestial Buddhas and bodhisattvas, superhuman beings who are capable of intervening to help their devotees or who will guarantee those who rely upon them a safe and happy rebirth in some celestial paradise. Cults of this kind are especially familiar in the Far East, in the so-called 'Pure Land' Buddhism of China and Japan. They are not unknown in Tibet: Avalokitesvara, Padmasambhava and Tara in particular are the object of continual ritual attention as well as specific appeals for assistance. However, the Tibetans' dependence on these celestial and superhuman beings is in general closely linked to their dependence on beings who though perhaps regarded as superhuman are very much physically present; the lamas. Access to superhuman power, either for material assistance or for spiritual ends, is usually mediated through the lamas. Who then are these people?

The Lamas

Many Tibetan religious terms are direct translations of Sanskrit terms. In some of the more interesting cases, however, words which may have Sanskrit equivalents have come to mean something rather different in Tibet, either because of indigenous concepts and practices with which they have become associated, or because of developments within Tibetan Buddhism itself. 'Lama' (*T bla ma*) is a word of this type. Its literal Sanskrit equivalent, somewhat surprisingly at first sight, is *guru*. In fact the word lama is used for gurus in the traditional Indian sense; but those people the Tibetans call lamas are also a number of other things. These can best be taken in turn, beginning with the *guru* meaning itself.

(1) *The lama as guru*. Somebody known as a lama is by definition a guru, a religious teacher. 'He is my lama' means 'I am taking religious instruction from him'. In order to practice religion, as a layman or as a monk, one must have a guru or possibly several gurus. As I have already mentioned, the guru, particularly in tantric practice, is to be regarded as actually being a Buddha. From the preliminary ritual sequences (*T sngon 'gro*) of tantric practice onwards, much of what the student does is centred about

his personal lama. This is true even, in fact especially, when the lama is not present. The student visualizes his guru in the form of a tantric deity, makes symbolic offerings of the entire universe to him, prostrates towards him, and asks the lama to bless him and teach him. He must perform these actions over and over again in his private practice, of ten the number of 100,000 times or multiples of this. Behaviour in the lama's presence is strongly ritualized, and obedience to the lama's requests is of great importance.

Now the lama — any lama — is by definition someone who can act as a religious teacher, and who can thus be seen as worthy of such reverence and ritual behaviour from his students. Most laymen too are in at least a nominal student-guru relationship with one and often several lamas, since lamas often give major tantric initiations at large public ceremonies, which lay people may attend, even if not seriously prepared to perform the practice concerned. The ceremony will still have its effect, perhaps in enabling one to do the practice in a future life, and in any case the empowerments and blessings received in the course of the ritual are worthwhile in their own right, and attendance is a meritorious act. The Dalai Lama's public tantric initiations may be attended by tens of thousands of people, though tantric initiations are also given to small groups of monks or laymen intending to perform the tantric practice concerned, which is the original purpose of the initiation.

(2) *The lama as performer of tantric ritual for laymen:* Mention of these large public initiations brings me to the second main facet of the concept of the lama. The lama is the performer *par excellence* of tantric ritual. The connection between (1) and (2) is logical; someone competent to *teach* tantric rituals is also presumably the most competent to *perform* them. However, the connection does not seem to have been a particularly strong feature of Indian tantric Buddhism; as far as I know the lama's major role as performer of rituals for the benefit of the lay population is a Tibetan development. It is apparent in the development of tantric initiations into occasions for large-scale participation by laymen; it is even more obvious in the 'life-consecration' ceremonies carried out specifically for the purpose of empowering and strengthening the life-force (*T bla tshé*) of those which represent the attraction for laymen who are not going to perform the practice with which the initiation is concerned, are so to speak extracted and made into a separate ritual sequence whose only purpose is to minister to the *this-worldly* interests of the layman.⁹

There are two other classes of tantric ceremony of particular importance in this connection; the rituals concerned with protection against malevolent superhuman beings, and those concerned with guiding the consciousness of a person after death. The first in particular have a wide range of forms and kinds, of which the most spectacular are the monastic dances (*T 'cham*) in which the monks, led by the most senior lama, impersonate and incarnate an assembly of tantric deities. The entire ritual sequence lasts for two or

9 The fullest account of one of these rituals is given by Beyer 1973:375-398. Other descriptions are given by Snellgrove 1961:141-146 and Waddell 1967:444-448.

more days, and is performed annually by many monasteries. Without going into these rituals in more detail here, it should be noted that all depend upon the ability of the lama — as performer of tantric rituals — to become, for the duration of the ritual, the tantric deity and to employ its powers for good.¹⁰

Not all tantric rituals are performed by lamas. In particular, monks participate in many of these rituals, though their function is primarily to 'back up' the lama's central role. There are also minor ritual practitioners such as the village magicians (T *sngags pa*) who specialize in healing ceremonies, control of the weather, etc. Yet the lama is the *prototypical* performer of tantric rituals; anything a *sngags pa* can do a good lama ought to be able to do better. The choice of *sngags pa* rather than lama might be dictated by ease of access, lesser expense or perhaps occasionally, the dubious morality of the ritual to be performed, since some *sngags pa* specialize in 'black magic'.

A more interesting case is that of the hermit-yogi, who has retired to practice tantric meditation in solitude. Tibetans will frequently attempt to get such a yogi to perform major rituals for them, or to assist at their performance. However while the hermit's isolation and lengthy and arduous practice may guarantee for his performance an effectiveness greater than that ascribed to some lesser lamas, his power is of the same kind as the lama's. In fact if such a yogi acquires a reputation for sanctity and tantric attainment he may well attract disciples, and eventually become a lama and head of a monastic establishment in his own right.

(3) *Lama as head of monastery.* This brings up a third major aspect of the lama's role, one closely related to the first, that of guru. A lama is most often, but not always, the abbot (T *mkhan po*) of a monastery, or, in the case of large monastery with several people of this status, a high monastic official. Some lamas may indeed control a whole group of monasteries. (Parenthetically the use of 'lama' in some Western literature to mean simply 'monk' is mistaken and misleading, as has been frequently pointed. The normal Tibetan word for monastic inmates in general is *grwa pa*, literally 'student', and while there are degrees of lama-hood, as it were, lama and monk are contrasted roles).

As director of a monastery or group of monasteries, important lamas are — or were, since this refers mainly to traditional Tibet; it is not so true in those areas where something like traditional Tibetan society still obtains today — controllers of large monastic estates, with numbers of attached peasants. They were also persons of considerable importance in the Tibetan political system. The Lhasa regime was, in a historical sense at least, a kind of monastic estate writ large itself, with the Dalai Lama at its head. The Lhasa assembly (T *tshong 'dus*) under the old regime was dominated by lamas from the three great monasteries of the Lhasa area.

(4) *Incarnate lamas.* Most, but not all, lamas of importance were so-called 'incarnate lamas'. The Tibetan term for them is *sprul sku*, pronounced 'tulku', another example

10 Beyer 1973 gives the best account so far of Tibetan tantric ritual as a whole.

DLIN
DS
185
HG
<13
+
'6
978

of a translated Sanskrit term (*Ś nirmanakaya*, 'physical manifestation of Buddhahood') which has acquired a somewhat modified meaning in Tibetan. In particular most abbots of larger monasteries were such 'incarnate lamas'. The incarnate lama system was in one of its major aspects a way of selecting high monastic officials. According to this system, a dead office-holder is replaced by a person believed to be his reincarnation. Various procedures have been evolved for finding and identifying such reincarnations. This system does not appear to have been used in India. The first recorded Tibetan instance was probably in 1284, but the system only became widely used some centuries later. In recent years the total number of such reincarnating lamas must have been well over a thousand in Tibet and Mongolia, though a closer estimate is difficult. Not all were equal in status. Generally the older a line of incarnations -- the further back to the original lama, frequently the founder of the monastery -- the higher its status, though some quite recent lines have high status because of particularly holy incumbents at one time or another. The most important incarnation lines were traced back retrospectively through earlier Tibetan and Indian teachers. Since someone who was capable of controlling his own rebirth was *ipso facto* very advanced in religious practice, and also able to remember past lives, such a lineage secured for the present incumbent all of the glory, prestige and assumed ability of his past selves. The Dalai Lama's retrospective lineage goes back from the first Dalai Lama (1391-1475; the present Dalai Lama is the 14th) through various famous teachers to include also four of the early kings of Tibet who are particularly associated with the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet (cf. Lange 1967, 1969). Thus the Dalai Lama's claim to rule Tibet, initially dependent on the military defeat of the previous ruling dynasty by the 5th Dalai Lama's Mongol allies, was strengthened by the claim that the Dalai Lamas *were* in fact the greatest of the early Tibetan kings returned to life.

Of course, it was always possible to suggest that an incarnation had been wrongly identified, and many religious disputes in Tibetan history have centred on this point, but it was rarely if ever possible to remove the status from someone to whom it had been given. Frequently two or more claimants might establish themselves as reincarnations, each attracting some of the following of the old lama. In fact a development of the incarnation concept allowed for multiple reincarnations of a single person; body, speech and mind could incarnate separately, for example.

The term *sprul sku*, 'incarnate lama', has another sense more closely related to the meaning of the original Sanskrit term. All lamas, as mentioned above, are to be considered as Buddhas, but some are more particular manifestations of specific Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Thus the Dalai Lamas, and also the Gyalwa Karmapas, who are the oldest of all incarnate lama lines, are both manifestations in this sense of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, who is looked upon as a special protector of Tibet. Both are of course also incarnate lamas in the first sense as well. Avalokitesvara (Chinese Kuan-Yin, Japanese Kwannon) is one of the major figures in the popular devotional Buddhism of the Far East. The fact that in Tibet he is physically present - from the point of view of the Tibetans - in the person of the

Dalai Lama and the other high lamas suggests why it is not possible to consider the devotional aspects of Buddhism in Tibet independently of the cult of the lamas.

Not all abbots of monasteries and heads of monastic orders were chosen through finding reincarnations, even in modern times. In particular, some of the highest posts in the dominant monastic order, the Gelukpa order headed by the Dalai Lama, were elected - or more precisely selected by the monastic authorities in a complex process involving divinatory techniques. While an incarnate lama might be chosen, he was chosen for his ability, not because of his incarnate lama status, and many of these posts were occupied by persons who were not incarnate lamas. Some posts in the older orders were hereditary, including the headship of the important Sakya monastic order which at one time ruled Tibet. Where an incumbent was a celibate monk without children, the succession usually went to a brother or brother's son. However the Sakya heads were at the same time incarnate lamas in the second sense discussed above (manifestations of bodhisattvas).

The Tibetan Pantheon

I propose to divide the Tibetan pantheon into four classes. These are in generally descending order of power, and also of benevolence towards mankind. This classification is in some respects oversimplified; the boundaries are not absolutely strict and all the classes can be subdivided almost indefinitely. The gods of the various classes differ in nature and function; to some extent they are also of different historical origin.

1. *Tantric gods.* These are the forms which are visualized and identified with in the course of tantric meditation. Most are of Indian origin, though further elaborated by the Tibetans. They include the Five Jinas, Amitabha, Vairocana and so on, and their corresponding consorts, related bodhisattvas, and so on, as well as the central deities of the various tantric mandalas and their extensive retinues. Avalokitesvara, Tara and Padma-sambhava fall into this category.¹¹

2. *Protective gods* (mgon po). These deities are mostly 'supreme' Indian deities by origin (Siva, Kali, Viṣṇu in tantric Buddhist versions). Their primary function is as protective deities of monasteries and temples. Unlike those in the following class these gods have 'gone beyond the confines of this world' and reside in the various Buddhist heavens. Some

11 There are some respects in which Avalokitesvara and the other gods who are the object of some popular cult can be regarded as forming a separate group from the patron deities of the tantric cycles (Cakrasamvara, Hevajra etc.) who are of relevance primarily to those who have taken the appropriate initiations. In addition I have not mentioned the peaceful/fierce (*T zhi ba / drag po*) distinction which R.A. Paul (1970, 1976) and S. Ortner (1975) discuss at some length. While both these distinctions are real enough, I would suggest that they are structurally unimportant in comparison with the overall distinction between Buddhist tantric gods on the one hand and local deities on the other.

gods of Tibetan origin are likewise believed to have gone beyond this world, for example Gesar, and these may also be invoked as protective deities in some contexts.

3. *Local deities.* These are indigenous Tibetan deities, such as those associated with the mountains, which were of importance from very early times. They are supposed to have been 'converted' to protectors of the Buddhist teachings by Padmasambhava and other early missionaries, but their good nature is certainly not to be relied upon. In tantric rituals they are commanded to obedience by the celebrant, who takes on the role of Padmasambhava himself, or some other tantric deity, for this purpose. Stone cairns on mountain passes are connected with these deities (being their residence and also in a sense their prison). Some of these cairns are the object of annual offerings by neighbouring villagers. In the form of deities associated with lineages and households, these gods also have shrines inside and on the exterior of houses, and receive daily offerings from members of the household. Details of their cult vary considerably from one part of Tibet to another. If offended they can cause misfortunes of various kinds.

4. *Malevolent spirits.* A large class of unambiguously harmful beings are not strictly *lha* ('deities') at all. They are responsible for most illness and misfortune, and one of the primary functions of tantric ritual is to provide defence against them.

The Meaning of the Pantheon

In terms of Buddhist philosophy the tantric deities of class 1 (forms or manifestations of the Buddha) are at first sight of a totally different nature from the protective deities, and still more from the mountain gods and other local spirits. However there is justification for treating them as part of a single, if sharply stratified, 'pantheon'. For one thing, the Tibetans use the term *lha* — which I gloss as 'god' or 'deity' — for all of the first three classes. Also, while a tantric master will normally take the form of a 'tantric god' (class 1) the same methodology would enable him to assume any other form, such as a protective god or lesser spirit, or for **that matter a human being or animal**. From the point of view of gaining enlightenment there is nothing to be gained from taking on one of these lesser identities, though one might become a protective deity (class 2), as in the monastic dances, to defend against lesser gods and spirits.

Ultimately all these forms are of much the same nature even from the point of view of Buddhist philosophy. The lama *consciously* visualizes and/or takes on the role of tantric deity, while local gods, ordinary men, or animals *unconsciously* act out their own identities. The identity of tantric deity is 'good' for one (enlightening, uplifting), that of a malevolent spirit or an ordinary man is bad for one, but neither is 'true' except to the extent that we create it or accept it.

Here as always with Tibetan Buddhist philosophy it is not possible to give a conclusive statement. The lamas have multiple levels of explanation at their disposal, thanks to the doctrine of *upaya*, and can switch readily from a framework in which Avalokitesvara is real and existent to one in which he is a construct of the meditator's mind. I am not clear

myself how distinct these levels are to most monks, let alone most laymen, though I would certainly not underrate the philosophical skills of lamas trained in the great monastic universities. (Mediaeval scholasticism is alive and well in Tibet, or was until the Chinese took over.) However I am not so interested here in the ontological status of these deities in Mahayana philosophy, but rather with their mutual relationships and their relevance for the everyday life of the Tibetans. Some of this has already been indicated above. An overall picture can most conveniently be given in tabular form, looking here from the perspective of the layman (see Table).

Table: The Tibetan layman and the pantheon.

Motive (goal pursued by layman):	Who carried out by:	Gods and super-human entities involved:	Nature of interaction or ritual:
(A) This-worldly			
1. Health, prosperity in this life	lama (or yogi) assisted by monks	tantric god	lama in form of tantric god conveys strength to layman
(i) Strengthening life-force			
(ii) protection from local deities, malevolent spirits, wandering ghosts etc.	(a) lama assisted by monks or <i>sngags pa</i>	tantric god and local god or malevolent spirit etc.	lama or <i>angags pa</i> in form of tantric god protects against local deities, exorcises etc.
	(b) monks or layman		recitation of scriptures, so increasing merit.
	(c) monks or layman	tantric god	recitation of mantras, thus invoking protective power of tantric god.
	(d) layman, occasionally a village specialist	local god	offerings to local god.

2. Control over environment (weather etc)	<i>sngags pa</i> or lama	tantric god	<i>sngags pa</i> in form of tantric god controls weather
3. Divination	medium	local god	god possesses medium and is questioned.
(B) <i>Concerned with future lives</i>			
4. Obtaining a good rebirth	(a) monks and lamas		offerings to monks and lamas increase good karma.
	(b) lama (assisted by monks)	tantric god	Lama is form of tantric god, guides consciousness of dead man to rebirth
(C) <i>Concerned with salvation</i>			
5. Liberation, Enlightenment	lama	tantric god	by practising non-tantric or tantric meditation, by receiving initiations, by becoming a monk (all under guidance of lama who is Buddha = tantric god).

A similar table could be drawn up from the point of view of the monks or of the lamas themselves. Most of the above items would still apply though their relative importance might be different. The second class of deities, the protective deities, are relevant primarily from the perspective of monks and lamas, since they are invoked as protectors of monasteries, and other religious sites, as a monastic alternative mechanism, one might say, for 1.(ii) in the table above. They are also guardians of the Buddhist doctrine, and as such may punish breaches of tantric vows, etc.

I have not previously mentioned the 'mediums'. These are typical spirit-possession oracles, like those in many other cultures; the god possesses the medium and speaks through him, while the medium is in a state of trance. The most important of these mediums were installed in monasteries and consulted by the state; the gods involved were important local deities. Village mediums would be possessed by minor local gods. Possession by a malevolent spirit can be diagnosed, but the remedy is exorcism, and the person possessed would not normally become a medium. In addition to the mediums, a variety of other divinatory techniques were employed by Tibetans (cf. Ekvall 1964).

OLIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

Lamas and Monks: Discussion

The table above is the core of my presentation of the Tibetan religious system as a series of roles and functions in structural relationship to each other. In the following paper I will attempt to demonstrate the validity and appropriateness of this picture through looking at a particularly well-studied Tibetan group, the Sherpas. First however I shall discuss some aspects of the system I have outlined.

The table given above is essentially a presentation of the Tibetan religious system as the Tibetans view it. While individual Tibetans might not give this listing of religious and quasi-religious functions in their society, they would I think recognize the items in my list. They might not regard them all as 'religious' (i.e., concerned with *T chos, S dharma*), or as of equal religious importance, and they might not know much about some of them – category (C) is very much the preserve of lamas and trained monks – but the categories would be meaningful to them. I would not myself claim that all items on this list are 'religious' – which depends entirely on your definition of religion – only that they are best understood as part of a single total system.

I have not attempted here to explain what any of these things (spirit possession, lamas acting as tantric gods) 'mean' in terms of Western psychology or phenomenology. This would be a valid enough pursuit – the reader is directed to the work of R.A. Paul (1970, 1976) for some plausible Freudian interpretations of Tibetan gods – but it is not my present purpose, which is merely to render these interactions more or less intelligible to the reader so that their functioning as a total system can be appreciated.

The lamas are obviously well entrenched in this system. Their participation is necessary for the pursuit of many worldly and almost all other-worldly aims; salvation (enlightenment) is unthinkable without their teaching. In Tibet it was entirely true that knowledge meant one thing in one person's hands, another in someone else's. Even if a layman had religious knowledge, he needed a lama to tell him what to do with it, because the doctrine of *upaya* meant that religious knowledge had value only in particular contexts. Religious knowledge was not ultimately true, and therefore was valid – i.e., useful – only when someone of sufficiently high attainment stated that it should be used. The fact that lamas were to be seen as Buddhas, and the support to their high religious status given by the incarnate lama concept, meant that Lamas were the only people entitled to make such judgements. A Tibetan layman or monk would not normally even read a religious text without prior sanction from his religious teacher.

Of course, a lama is anyone who establishes a claim to be a lama; but in practice the *de facto* lamas, the heads of the major monasteries, keep the character of the body of lamas as a whole relatively constant. To become a lama you needed training from lamas, even if you then went on to become a solitary hermit–yogi. Even if such a yogi established an autonomous claim to be a lama through attracting his own disciples and founding a monastery, he necessarily patterned his activities and behaviour on the pre-existing model, the 'root paradigm', of what a lama should be, and became a lama like all the other lamas.

The historical development of this religious system is of considerable interest, and I hope to go into it at greater length elsewhere (cf. Samuel 1975). Briefly, before Buddhism came to Tibet, the Tibetan pantheon seems to have consisted essentially of the lowest two of the four classes mentioned above. The local gods, class 3, especially the major gods associated with the mountains, protected the people, if properly approached, against the malevolent spirits and causers of ill-fortune comprising class 4. The early kings of Tibet were incarnations or manifestations of the mountain gods. In the gradual transformation which took place into the modern Tibetan religious system, much of the terminology and functions relating to the kings as manifestations of mountain gods were progressively taken over by the lamas as manifestations of tantric deities.

In the period following the collapse of the early Tibetan kingdom at the beginning of the 9th century, the monasteries seem to have become mediators between the large number of small princely states into which Tibet was then divided, somewhat in the fashion of the saintly houses of some Islamic societies (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1949, Barth 1959, Gellner 1969). At the same time princely patronage led to the growth of monastic estates and the progressively greater influence of the monasteries themselves. Thus it was natural that the abbots of a major monastic order should become mediators between Tibetans and Mongols, and then Mongol viceroys over Tibet itself, and that in the post-Mongol period Tibetan royal dynasties should maintain power only through their alliances with major monastic orders. The culmination of this process was reached when the Dalai Lamas in effect *became* kings of Tibet with Chinese sanction. They completed the transformation from the early royal system by retrospectively identifying themselves with the greatest of the early kings, who were themselves now seen as manifestations of tantric deities.

While the role of the lamas in the Tibetan religious system is clear enough, and has obvious links to their predominant position in Tibetan society in general, the role of the monks is somewhat less clear. A lama — *except* in the Gelukpa order, which was dominant in the Dalai Lama's realm and much of East Tibet — does not have to be a monk. The traditional functions of monks in Theravadin countries, to act as recipients for lay generosity, to aid in the acquiring of merit by reciting scriptures, to carry out minor protective rituals, and in some societies (Burma, Thailand) to act as a *rite de passage* to adulthood, can either be carried out as well in Tibet by the lamas themselves, or, as in the case of the *rite de passage* function, do not apply. However while in those parts of Tibet, such as the Sherpa country and Dolpo in North Nepal, which have not come under significant Gelukpa influence, one certainly finds married lamas, one also finds both celibate lamas who have taken monastic vows, and monasteries with celibate monks, even if the monasteries are not as large as some of those in Central Tibet were.

The 'mediating' function of the monasteries which I mentioned above was still significant in some areas in recent times. Ekvall and others mention lamas mediating between warring nomadic groups (cf. Ekvall 1964). Particularly in nomadic areas, monasteries offered a place to store property and produce safely during the winter or when travelling on long journeys. However it is again not obvious why celibate monks are necessary in

GLI
DS
485
H6
K13
+
V6
1978

these contexts — non-celibate Sufi holy men did well enough for the Berbers, the Bedouin and the Pathans — and in any case this situation obtains mostly in the nomadic regions.

In fact one could reverse Allen's question (1973) about Newari Buddhism, 'How does Buddhism exist without monks? and ask about the Tibetans, 'Why do they need monks at all?' Monasticism is of course the classical way to Buddhahood, but this is no real answer; the Newars do without it, and indeed tantric practice offers the Tibetans a means of working towards enlightenment without celibacy.

In fact celibate monasticism does have several functions within the Tibetan religious system and within Tibetan society as a whole, though I am not certain how to evaluate their importance at present. Removing a significant proportion of males to monasteries, along with polyandry, means that estates and property can in general be passed undivided from generation to generation, a matter of some explicit concern to the Tibetans (cf. Goldstein 1971 b). Population reduction in itself does not seem to have been a major problem; it would in any case be much more efficiently dealt with by imposing celibacy on females than on males. Decreasing fertility of the land may however explain particularly high incidences of monasticism in some areas, such as Spiti and Lahul (cf. Carrasco 1959).

Brand's suggestion about monasticism in Thai society (1975) has perhaps some relevance here. Brand argued that monks were important to the Thai monarchy as a means of indirect legitimation. Monks enabled the king to be the maker *par excellence* of donations to the monastic community. It might be significant that two Tibetan monarchs were critically concerned with the development of monasticism in Tibet. Trisong Detsen in the 8th century arranged for the first Tibetan monastery to be built and the first seven monks ordained, and Yeshe O in the 11th century sponsored Atisa's mission to Tibet explicitly for the purpose of reforming monasticism and reimposing celibacy. In later periods, the Chinese emperors patronised the Kagyupa orders, most of whose lamas were celibate, and the exclusively celibate Gelukpa, who became the rulers of Tibet.

I would suggest that the celibacy of the lama himself, the fact that he has taken monastic vows, is a kind of assurance of his own spiritual purity. Celibacy also leaves the way clear for succession by reincarnation rather than inheritance, and here again there is more prestige attached to being the third reincarnation of Lama X (and so in full possession of all Lama X's accomplishments) than to being Lama X's great grandson. ('Charisma' might be a better word than prestige, though I have not got space here to discuss the application of Weber's sociology of religion to Tibet in general so would prefer to avoid the term). The prestige of a lama is of course important to his monks too. It assures the prosperity of their monastery through a constant influx of lay donations.

Such a view is supported by the recent success of monasteries and celibate incarnate lamas at the expense of hereditary lay lamas in Sherpa country. The growth of monasteries began early this century, according to Furer-Haimendorf's argument probably as a response to the agricultural surplus caused by the introduction of the potato (1964:10). In the 1950's hereditary village lamas were already plainly lower in prestige than the incarnate

abbots of the new monasteries. By 1971 a single monastery headed by a high status incarnate lama, a refugee from Tibet from a monastery with which the Sherpas had traditional connections, had become by far the largest monastery in the region, and was obviously prospering to some degree at least at the expense of other establishments with less prestigious incumbents.¹²

However there are a couple of loose ends in my argument. The hereditary head lama of Sakya, and several high Nyingmapa lamas, all have very high status in the Tibetan religious system although they are not celibate. There is no simple answer here and no reason to expect one. Celibacy is one and only one of a number of ways in which a lama can establish high status; incarnation status of either of the kinds discussed above, personal reputation for sanctity, the importance of the lama's monastic office and the size of his following are other factors that enter the reckoning and may predominate. The most that I would suggest is that celibacy *is* an important factor, and that perhaps explains too why the sexual side of tantric practice, so prominent in some recent Western presentations of tantra ('Enjoy Sex the Tantric Yoga Way!') is not conspicuous in Tibet. The relatively few high lamas who are not celibate doubtless do practice ritual intercourse in the tantric manner (cf. Desjardins 1969), but they do not do it in public, and their wives and consorts form no part of their public persona. Generally speaking the Tibetans today would rather not talk about these matters, though much of this may be a response to Western (and Indian) attitudes. The lamas have shown in recent years that they can be as adept at presenting themselves to their new Western following as they ever were with the Tibetans.

12 Cf. Snellgrove 1957, Fürer-Haimendorf 1964:126ff. and Paul 1970:414-420. For the situation 1971 I am relying on my own observations, though from Paul's account L. Rimpoche (as Paul calls the lama in question) had already gained great influence in the whole region by 1967.

REFERENCES

- Allen, M.R. 1973. Buddhism without monks: the Vajrayana religion of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley. *South Asia* 3, 1-15.
- Barth, F. 1959. *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*. University of London.
- Berzin, A. 1972. *Lam.rim.man.ngag*: A standard intermediate textbook of the graded course to enlightenment. Typescript copy; pp. 1-436 only form an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (same title), Harvard University 1972. Revised version to be published shortly, London: Allen and Unwin.
- Beyer, S. 1973. *The Cult of Tara*. Magic and ritual in Tibet. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brand, A. 1975. Merit, hierarchy and royal gift-giving in traditional Thai society. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 131: 111-138.
- Carrasco, P. 1959. *Land and polity in Tibet*. Seattle: American Ethnological Society.
- Cassinelli, C.W. and Ekvall, R.B. 1969. *A Tibetan principality*. The political system of Sa sKya. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Chattopadhyaya, A. 1967. *Atiśā and Tibet*. Calcutta: Indian Studies, Past and Present.
- Desjardins, A. 1969. *The message of the Tibetans*. London.
- Ekvall, R.B. 1964. *Religious observances in Tibet*. Patterns and function. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1949. *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Funke, F.W. 1969. *Religiöses Leben der Sherpa*. (Khumbu Himal, 9.) Innsbruck and Munchen: Univ. Verlag Wagner.
- Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1962. Moral concepts in three Himalayan societies. In *Indian Anthropology*. Essays in memory of D.N. Majumdar. (eds.) T.N. Madan and Gopala Sarana. London: Asia Publishing House.
1964. *The Sherpas of Nepal*. Buddhist Highlanders. London: John Murray.
- Gellner, E. 1969. *Saints of the Atlas*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Goldstein, M.C. 1968. An anthropological study of the Tibetan political system. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.
- 1971a. Serfdom and mobility: an examination of the institution of "Human Lease" in traditional Tibetan society. *Journal of Asian Studies* 30, 521-534
- 1971b. Stratification, polyandry and family structure in Central Tibet. *Swest. J. J. Anthropol.* 27, 64-74.
- 1971c. Taxation and the structure of a Tibetan village. *Central Asiatic Journal* 15, 1-27.
- 1971d. The balance between centralization and decentralization in the traditional Tibetan political system. *Central Asiatic Journal* 15, 170-182.
- Guenther, H.V. 1971. *Treasures on the Tibetan Middle Way*. Berkeley: Shambhala.
- Kvaerne, P. 1976a. The Bonpo-Buddhist controversy. *Tibetan Review* vol.11 no.3 (March 1976), 9-15.

DLIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V6
1978

- 1976b. Who are the Bonpos? *Tibetan Review* vol.11 no. 9 (September 1976), 30-33.
- Lange, K. 1967. Manifestationen des Avalokiteśvara und ihre Inkarnation in den Oberhäuptern der "Gelben Kirche". *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde*, Leipzig. 24, 66-76.
1969. Über die Präexistenzen der Dalai-lamas. Versuch einer kritischen Analyse tibetisch-buddhistische Quellen. *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde*, Leipzig. 26, 205-228.
- Macdonald, A.D. 1971. Une lecture des Pelliot Tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047 et 1290. Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sron-bcan-sgam-po. In *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.)
- Norbu, D. 1974. *Red star over Tibet*. London: Collins.
- Ortner, S.B. 1975. Gods' bodies, gods' food. A symbolic analysis of a Sherpa ritual. In *The Interpretation of Symbolism* (ed.) R. Willis. London: Malaby Press.
- Paul, R.A. 1970. Sherpas and their religion. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.
1976. The Sherpa temple as a model of the psyche. *American Ethnologist* 3, 131-146.
- Paul, S.O. (= S.B. Ortner). 1970. Food for thought; a key symbol in Sherpa culture. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Rahul, R. 1969. *The government and politics of Tibet*. Delhi: Vikas Publications.
1971. *Modern Bhutan*. Delhi: Vikas Publications.
- Samuel, G.B. 1975. The crystal rosary. Insight and method in an anthropological study of Tibetan religion. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- Snellgrove, D.L. 1957. *Buddhist Himalaya*. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer.
1961. *Himalayan pilgrimage*. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer.
1967. *Four lamas of Dolpo*. (Two volumes.) Oxford: Bruno Cassirer.
- Spiro, M.E. 1967. *Burmese supernaturalism*. A study in the explanation and reduction of suffering. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
1971. *Buddhism and society*. A great tradition and its Burmese vicissitudes. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Stein, R.A. 1972. *Tibetan civilization*. London: Faber.
- Tambiah, S.J. 1970. *Buddhism and the spirit cults in North-East Thailand*. (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, 2). Cambridge: University Press.
- Terwiel, B.J. 1976. A model for the study of Thai Buddhism. *Journal of Asian Studies* 35, 391-404.
- Tucci, G. 1970. Die Religionen Tibets. In *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, G. Tucci and W. Heissig. (Die Religionen der Menschheit, 20.) Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.
- Waddell, L.A. 1967. *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*. (2nd edn, reprinted.) Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.

LIN
55
185
46
:13
+
6
978

66 /Kailash

Wylie, T.V. 1959. A standard system of Tibetan transcription. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22,261-267.

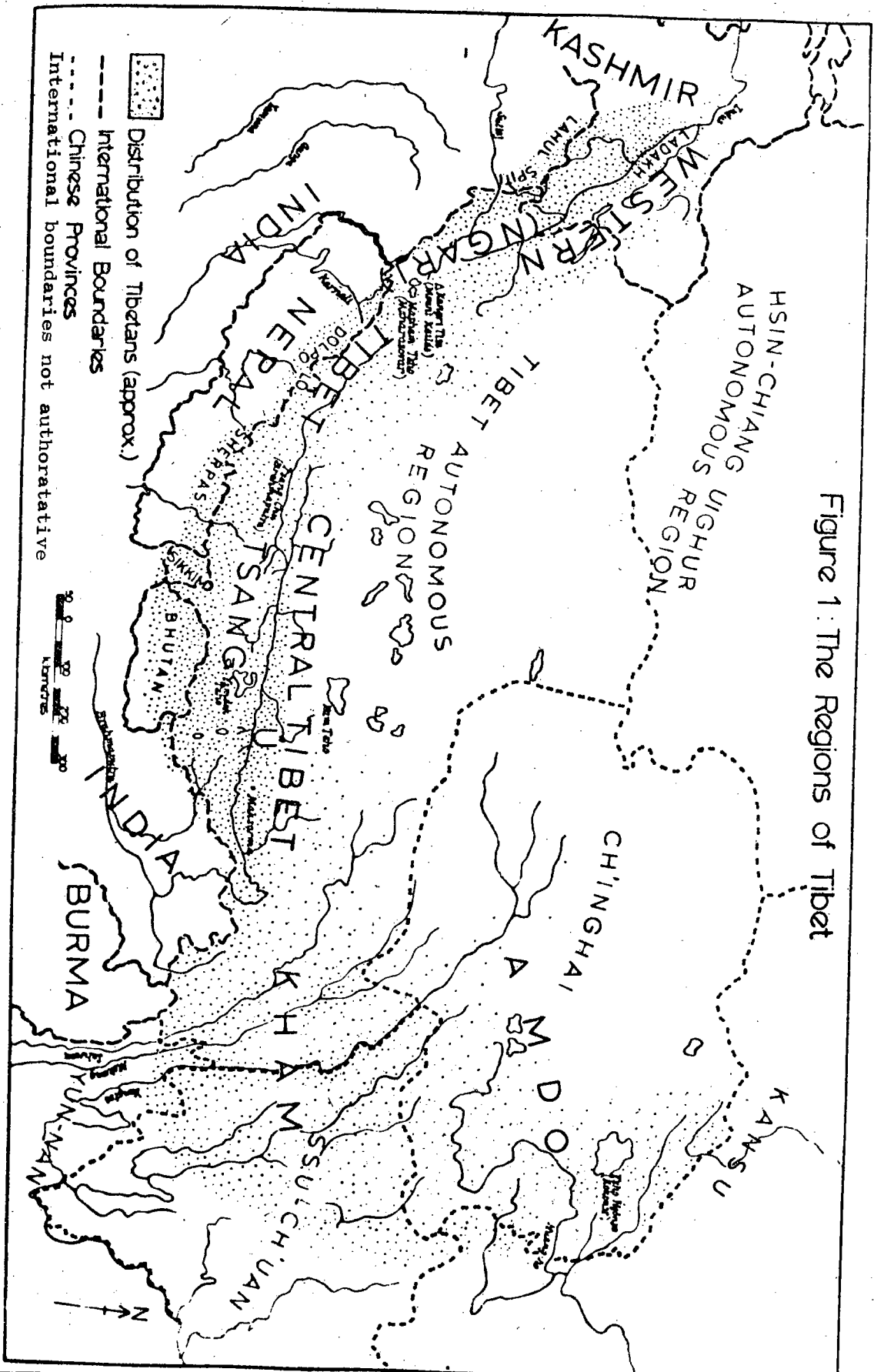


Figure 1: The Regions of Tibet

SHORT REVIEW

UTTARPRACIN KALIN MUDRA [Coins of the late ancient period] by Harirāma Jośi. iii+iv+237 pages; 16 plates. In Nepali. Published by Sajha Prakashan, Kathmandu, B.S. 2033 (1976), Price Rs. 12/15.

Of all the coins of Nepal, those of the Licchavi period are at once the simplest and the most striking in design. The naturalistic figures, particularly of animals, the vase-and-flower motifs, and the vajras, all struck in bold relief on copper, are worthy representatives of the artistic wealth of their time, (namely, according to the author) the fifth through seventh centuries and perhaps later.

The present work gives a thorough survey of these coins. 61 types or varieties are described in detail, with sizes and weights, and 45 are illustrated by photographs of specimens from a large assortment of public and private collections. Many, for example the coin of Jishnu Gupta with right-facing winged horse, have never before been described or illustrated. The author, a veteran scholar, discusses in detail historical, iconographic, and epigraphical questions raised by this material. A solid book, well-produced in a simple and inexpensive format.

B. M.

FLORA OF LANGTANG AND CROSS SECTION VEGETATION SURVEY CENTRAL ZONE,

Bulletin of the Department of Medicinal Plants Nepal, No. 6. xxvii+ 269 pages, with maps and figures. No illustrations.

Published by HMG Ministry of Forests, Department of Medicinal Plants. Thapathali Kathmandu, 1976. Price: NC Rs 50, or US \$ 8.

The present reviewer is not a botanist and this review is made from the point of view of the many non-specialists who for different reasons need to know something about the plants of Nepal. In the past ten years the Department of Medicinal Plants produced a number of books which come very handy to the layman. The *Flora of Langtang*, with its 300 pages in a larger format than the preceding volumes, is the most extensive yet published by the Department.

The book starts with a short presentation of the forest types encountered in Central Nepal from Langtang to the Terai. A sketch map locates the different types of forests. More technical data are compiled in table form in the next 16 pages.

The flora proper covers the area extending from the Langtang Himal to the Likhu Khola between the Trisuli and the Indrawati rivers. This area is much larger than that covered by either of the two preceding floras of the Department: *Flora of*

Pulchoki and Godawari, 1969, and *Flora of Nagarjun*, 1973. More important, the range of altitude covered in the present flora is about 4000m from the Trisuli area to the top of the Langtang Himal. This makes for a great variety of plants and makes the *Flora* more useful than the other two for the general public, since many plants encountered in other parts of Nepal can be looked up in the *Flora of Langtang*.

Each entry includes the scientific name of the plant, with references to the literature, synonyms, the place and date of collection with the state of the specimen (flowering, fruiting), the name of the collector and the collection number of the specimen. All plants are kept in the Herbarium of Nepal, at Godawari. This makes the book a real working tool for people doing research in Nepal. The book ends with two indexes, one of Latin names and one of local names, and a short bibliography.

Descriptions of the plants are limited mainly to the features which will distinguish neighbouring species, and there are no keys of any kind. These lacks can be partly made up by reference to the Department's two volumes *Keys to the Dicot Genera in Nepal*, which include family and generic descriptions. But the amateur botanist especially will miss a key to the local flora. As much as a key, he will miss drawings, which speak so much more to the imagination than any description. Drawings and keys, it is hoped, will be included in the complete Flora of Nepal which is the goal towards which the local floras are progressively contributing. An alternative solution would be to publish selected drawings in a separate booklet.

Two features which may not be so important for the botanist I found extremely commendable from my point of view. One is the inclusion of many scientific synonyms (no claim to exhaustivity is made). In a place like Nepal, where one has to refer constantly to older works which followed different taxonomic systems, and which did not concern themselves with Nepal itself but rather with neighbouring areas in India, this is extremely useful in eliminating possible confusion of terms.

The other specially valuable feature is the inclusion of over 300 local names, mostly Nepali, and occasionally Tamang and Sherpa, both in devanagari orthography and in a roman transcription. This information is not only valuable to linguists or to other scholars concerned with such things as ethnobotany or folk nomenclature, but it can also give the amateur botanist a clue for the identification of plants which the local people recognize and can name for him in Nepali. On this point a warning is necessary. Local names in Nepali vary significantly from place to place. Thus the rubric "local name" should be taken to give the name of the plant near the place of collection and not its Nepali name in general. It is hoped in this respect that the Department of Medicinal Plants when it comes to publish the complete flora of Nepal will include for each plant the different Nepali names collected with the indication of where each name was collected. A complete study of Nepali plant names and their variations should sometime be undertaken, but it is quite out of the scope of a flora.

DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

The roman transcription of local names is not completely systematic; this is a minor defect which could easily be corrected in forthcoming publications. Each devanagari letter should be consistently transcribed by the same roman letter; in particular ष and उ should always be transcribed respectively as *ph* and *u*, as (to take an example from the *Flora* in *phusre* (*Neolitsea umbrosa*) not as *f* as in *fiti fiye* (*Sarcococca coriacea*) or *oo* as in *soonpate* (*Rhododendron anthopogon*). These should be transcribed *phiti phiya* and *sunpate*. This is especially important because the index of local names is in roman transcription. A complete transcription would require the use of diacritical marks (distinguishing long *ā* from short *a*, retroflex *ṭ* from dental *t* etc.) but these are not really necessary since readers who care for an accurate transcription can recover it from the devanagari spelling. As it is the roman transcription is very useful and the authors should be commended for including it along with the no less necessary devanagari.

This book, according to its authors, is part of a work in progress and is meant to be superceded by the *Flora of Nepal*. Such a vast project will take time to complete and in the meantime it is a very useful endeavour to publish materials as they become ready both as a way of improving the final product through the reactions of the readership, and because these materials are impatiently awaited by a large number of people. The *Flora of Langtang* is well worth having.

M. Mazaudon

PARYĀYAVĀCI ŚABDA-KOŚ (Dictionary of Synonyms)

xiv+187 pages; maps. In Nepali

Published by the Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, 2030

B. S. (1973-4). Price Rs. 33/47.

In spite of its title this folio-sized volume is actually a comparative world-list of 2,914 Nepali nouns, pronouns, and adjectives (but no verbs). All of the languages are transcribed in Devanagari. Each page has 14 columns the first containing the Nepali key word and a brief Nepali definition and the rest containing equivalents in the 13 other languages covered. These are Chepang, Gurung, Lepcha, Limbu, Magar, Newari, (Bantawa) Rai, Sunwar, and Tamang (all Tibeto-Burman), and Bhojpuri, Danuwar, Maithili, and Tharu (Indro-Aryan). There are indexes of all 14 languages at the end.

The 13 world-lists were compiled by 23 collaborators, speakers of the various languages. Unfortunately their native villages (or the areas where they collected their data) are not given. Tharu, for example, is spoken across 500 miles of Nepal tarai and inner tarai. As admitted in the introduction, the transcriptions, at least of Tibeto-Burman languages (except Newari, which has a satisfactory orthography), leave much

OLIN
DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

72 | *Kailash*

to be desired phonologically. One of the contributors, the late Iman Singh Chemjong had already devised and used a more satisfactory Devangari transcription for Limbu in his dictionary published by the Academy 15 years previously, but the editors of the present work appear to have rejected the use diacritical of signs.

One of the purposes of the dictionary is listed as being to facilitate borrowing of words among the languages of Nepal. This is thought to justify the puzzling omission of verbs, "since every language has its own peculiarities in the verb, and since when languages borrow from each other, verbs, in general, do not come into play..."

The introduction, by Staya Mohan Joshi, gives a concise general survey of the languages of Nepal, including the number of speakers claiming each one as their mother tongue according to the 1961 census. The rough locations of 30 languages of Nepal are shown on maps.

Despite its limitations, the present work contains much new data: in particular it contains the only extensive published word list of Bantawa Rai. The format, with the indexes, will make it easy for comparative linguists to consult.

This work clearly represents a substantial investment of scholarly effort. One would welcome it more enthusiastically as the first publication in an ongoing project of research. However, it has apparently been produced as an end in itself, with an eye neither to the past nor to the future. One hopes that the Academy, or the various contributors, have not lost interest in these little-known languages

—B. M.

Mireille Helffer, *Les Chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de se-sar d'après le livre la de la Course de Cheval*, Version chantée a de Blo-bzan bstan-'jin; Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Hautes Etudes Orientales, II,9; Librairie Droz, Genève-Paris, 1977; 573 pages. Price not stated.

This book is one of the most important contributions to the study of the transmission of the Tibetan epic of Gesar since the publication of Professor R. A. Stein's great thesis *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* in Paris at the Presses Universitaires de France in 1959. Stein, in his encyclopaedic work, had paid relatively little attention to the oral, musical interpretations of the epic. Madame Helffer's careful, methodical work therefore fills a gap in our understanding of the modes whereby this great epic has been diffused, and has maintained its contemporary cultural relevance in the lands influenced by Tibetan civilisation, throughout many centuries. Paradoxically, the study was undertaken in Paris and in Switzerland. Madame Helffer did well to profit from the temporary presence in Paris of a Tibetan refugee, Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, endowed with a "solid" voice and a good

knowledge of Gesar, and who sang to her all the songs included in a manuscript of "The Horse Race." The six hours which she recorded from the singer in 1963 constitute the material which is analysed in detail in her work.

After an inventory of the previous recordings on tape which were available, and brief description of the manuscript which inspired Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin's songs, the first part of Madame Helffer's work (p 9-377) comprises the edition in romanization of the Tibetan text and a complete annotated French translation. The text is divided into seven chapters each of which is emblematic of one of the Seven Jewels of a Universal Monarch; and the division into verses corresponds to what was actually sung and not the literary text. Syllables indicated in italics were sung by the singer and did not figure in the manuscript. The second part of the volume (p. 381-560) is divided into four chapters. The first concerns stylistics: the vocabulary employed, the figures of style, the techniques of narration, and the proper names are passed in review. The second is devoted to a study of the versification: the seven-syllable verse-model, the clichés and the formulae, the syntactical organisation and the caesura, the role of the intercalated syllables, and the organisation of the strophes are meticulously studied. The next chapter deals with the tunes (in French *timbres* or *airs-types*) and their relationship with the various personages—Ma-ne-ne—'Gog-mo Khro-thung, Rgya-thsa, 'Brug-mo, Jo-ru, etc.—and ends with a analysis of the musical language and its rhythmic aspects. This chapter contains numerous musical notations which exemplify the analysis. The last chapter is concerned with the cultural elements vehicled by this sub-version of the epic. The geographical setting, the figurants, the pantheon, the models for behaviour proposed by the epic, the rituals and the beliefs, not only the general notions current in the Tibetan Mahayanist milieu but also precise ideas concerning the human body and the vocation of the bodhisattva, are carefully enumerated. The volume ends with a brief conclusion a passage from which might be quoted: "...even if the literary tradition attributes to each important personage or to each group of personages a tune (*air-type*), the singers, according to their geographical origin, their degree of culture, or more simply according to their personal taste, have, individually, recourse to a limited number of tunes which constitute the basis of their repertory and which they utilise with a certain liberty. Thus it is that different singers will employ the same tune to characterise different personages and that a singer will, on occasion utilise the same tune for personages which are not linked together in any way. So far as can be determined in the present state of research, these tunes of the epic do not seem to be employed in other contexts, whether it be in religious songs (the meterical structure of which is often identical with those of the epic verse) or popular songs such as the *gzhas* (where the verse-model comprises six syllables)" (p. 562)

There is a good bibliography and a map; and there is a line drawing of one of the Seven Jewels at the start of each chapter of the text. The juxtalinear translation is

DS
485
HG
K13
+
V.6
1978

74 | *Kailash*

sound and much more useful, in the context, than would have been misplaced attempts at elegance. Almost inevitably there seem to me to be a few *contresens*; and there are a few misprints; but these will be easily discerned by specialists and will not trouble the general reader. Altogether this is an original and rewarding piece of research. Madame Helffer has written a most conscientious and interesting work which will mark a date in the musicological study of Tibetan civilisation. While awaiting the constitution of an international team which would agree together to study Gesar, its financing by some Maecenas, and its abstraction from university administration throughout a period of several years, we should be grateful for what has been given to us here, and express the hope that Madame Helffer will have the energy and the courage to pursue her research and teach us more about this fascinating subject

A. W.M.



SOME OF OUR ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS

1. An Introduction to Nepal	: Rishikesh Shah	45
2. An Introduction to Nepalese Economy	: Dr. B. P. Shrestha	25
3. A Short History of Nepal	: N. B. Thapa	15
4. A Tibetan on Tibet	: G. A. Combe	50
5. A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India	: C. Bendall	40
6. Bhutan 1877-1838	: W. Griffith	75
7. Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia	: A. W. Macdonald	60
8. Folk Tales of Nepal	: K. K. Vaidya	9
9. History of Nepal	: D. Wright	60
10. Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal	: P. J. B. Rana	60
11. Lore and Legend of Nepal	: Kesar Lal	10
12. Nepalese Customs and Manners	: " "	7
13. Nepal 2 Vols in One	: P. Landon	175
14. People of Nepal	: D. B. Bista	50
15. Seven Sisters and Other Nepalese Tales	: Kesar Lal	9
16. Saints and Householders: A Study of Hindu Ritual and Myth Among the Kangra Rajputs	: J. G. Campbell	75
17. The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley	: W. Korn	110
18. Tibetan English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan	: M. Goldstein	140
19. The Rise of the House of Gurkha	: L. F. Stiller	30
20. The Judicial Customs of Nepal	: Kaisher, Bahadur K. C.	125
21. The Kiratajuniye Canto I-VI	: " " "	22
22. " " " VII-XII	: " " "	22
23. The Fiscal System of Nepal	: S. K. Singh	24
24. Views of Nepal 1851-1864	: Oldfield & Oldfield	120
25. Wild Animals of Nepal	: H.R. Mishra & D. Mierow	36
26. Among the Himalayas	: A. Waddell	95
27. Travels in Nepal and Sikkim	: R. Temple	50
28. Journey to Mustang	: G. Tucci	75
29. Himalayan Folklore-Kumaon & W. Nepal	: Oakely & Gairola	80
30. Folk Tales from Tibet	: W. F. C'onne	55

RATNA PUSTAK BHANDAR

PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS

Bhotahity, Kathmandu