

A collection of Spiti songs sung at village festivals and private gatherings

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The following five songs have been recorded on various occasions in different villages of central and lower Spiti, Himachal Pradesh (India) and transcribed with the help of the local singers on the one hand and my long-term assistant and interpreter Sonam Tsering from Tabo on the other hand.

The five songs presented here are all very well known in the villages of Spiti and are therefore often sung at dances (the two *shabro*, *caḅrō*, WT *zhabs bro*¹) or at informal gatherings in private houses (the sitting songs, *deṭlū*, WT *bsdad glu*). What links them is the theme of material wealth which is either collected as symbols of the religious path or offered to the lama or god in order to follow the *dharmā*. The natural beauty of the Himalayan environment is also seen as wealth that makes all the sentient being happy.

1. *Shabro*: *Dzambulingna*

Recorded at Tabo (April 2002) and Po (October 2009)²

The first *shabro* presented here might well be the most popular *shabro* song in the villages of lower Spiti. It is a simple counting song³ that enumerates a precious substance in each of its four stanzas. It is set in the human world and is about material wealth on a concrete level.

<i>dzaṃbūlīŋna teṭi paŋdzōt jət</i> <i>dzaṃbūlīŋna sēri paŋdzōt jət</i>	In the human world what is there a store-room of? In the world there is a store of gold.
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¹ In this article the text given in IPA renders the spoken Tibetan dialect of central and lower Spiti, some special terms or names are also given in their Written Tibetan form (WT).

² All the recordings have been put into the Phonogramme Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

³ Cf. Hein, Veronika. 2011.

<i>sēрте теј sēρηḡ māēēna sērtāη rān nī:la ndzəlsō⁴ jət</i>	If you do not recognize the gold of that one, between gold and brass there can be a mistake.
<i>dzambūlīηna tēi paηdzōt jət dzambūlīηna māli paηdzōt jət mūlte теј mūlηḡ māēēna mūldāη sīsō nī:la ndzəlsō jət</i>	In the world what is there a storeroom of? In the world there is a store of silver. If you do not recognize the silver of that one, between silver and aluminium there can be a mistake.
<i>dzambūlīηna tēi paηdzōt jət dzambūlīηna jūi paηdzōt jət jū таη теј jūηḡ māēēna jūdāη towār nī:la ndzəlsō jət</i>	In the world what is there a storeroom of? In the world there is a store of turquoise. If you cannot recognize real turquoise, between real and false turquoise there can be a mistake.
<i>dzambūlīηna tēi paηdzōt jət dzambūlīηna tuηki paηdzōt jət tuηte теј tuηḡ māēēna tuηtāη pasō nī:la ndzəlsō jət</i>	In the world what is there a storeroom of? In the world there is a store of conch shell If you cannot recognize conch shell between conch and ivory there can be a mistake.

Chart 1: First shabro song.

The first precious substance mentioned is of course gold. Gold is very rare in Spiti. It is used in some women's necklaces (in the form of beads) together with coral and turquoise. Otherwise gold is mainly worn in small jewelry such as finger rings.

Gold is so precious that people are warned in the song not to mix it up with brass, which is much more common and cheaper. It is used for plates, vases and jugs.

The second precious substance is silver. Silver is very common in Spiti for head and breast jewelry of the women. But also the men wore amulet boxes made of silver in the old days. Although silver is more affordable than gold, there is also a warning, not to mistake aluminium for more expensive silver. Aluminium is commonly used for cooking pots, ladles and spoons.

The third precious substance is turquoise. This mineral is first of all used in the head ornaments of the women (*perāk*, WT *be rag?*), but also in necklaces and rings of both men and women. The false turquoise which the text warns of is probably just a cheap quality of turquoise sometimes used in jewelry.

The fourth precious substance is conch shell. This substance was

⁴ In Tabo *ḡorsō* is used instead.

also used for ornaments in the old days as it can still be found as part of the costumes of the *Buchen*⁵ (*puṭeēn*, WT *bu chen*), the religious performers of Pin Valley/ Spiti. What is interesting in this stanza is the fact that the substance mentioned as an alternative that should not be mixed up with conch shell is ivory. In western materialistic understanding ivory is more valuable than conch shell. That is why the symbolic meaning of conch must be taken into account. And then, in the Tibetan Buddhist context, conch is the really precious substance, because the conch is one of the eight auspicious symbols. As a wind instrument it is blown at the monastery to call the people or as a signal to the gods at certain moments of a ritual performed by the monks.

The last stanza shows most clearly the fusion of material and symbolic significance of the substances mentioned in the song. Looking at the song as a whole, it starts with the most valuable substance in terms of material value and it ends with the most precious substance in terms of spiritual or religious importance.

2. *Sitting song 1: Hangpa Dela*

This song was recorded and worked on several times:

- in Tabo with Ane Thimet and Ane Phuntsok Dolma (2002),
- in Dhankar in 2003 with a comment by the local singers,
- in Po in 2009 and in Solothurn with Sonam Tsering in February 2011.

The song of Hangpa Dela is a sitting song (*deṭlū*, WT *bsdad glu*). Hangpa Dela is a local young man from Hango, a village in the Hangrang Valley of upper Kinnaur, on the western side of the Spiti River near Liu.

The young man in the song has been given everything he needs for a good life of a family man, but he is more inclined towards a religious life and wants to leave all the worldly wealth and pleasures in order to follow the *dharmā*.

There are a number of parallels between this local sitting song and a similar song about the girl Naksa Oebum⁶.

The beginnings are different, though. In *Hangpa Dela* the situation and beauty of Hango village is praised. It is situated high up in the mountains, well protected by the local deity and rich in sunlight, clear water and young people.

In this place full of natural beauty, the boy Dela sees a white cer-

⁵ Cf. Christiane Kalantari's work on the materials used for the costumes of the *Buchen* of Pin Valley.

⁶ The Naksa Oebum song is another Spiti song sung by the *Buchen*, who also perform a play of the same title.

emonial scarf (*k'ātāk*, WT *kha btags*) in his dream. He reads this as an auspicious sign that he should not settle down as a householder but follow the *dharma*. And he is well equipped for a life away from home, the strong boy with 35 arrows, putting the rope around his waist, getting ready to leave.

The song then enumerates all the gifts the parents give to their boy: a bride, lots of dowry, white conch ornaments, a rich house full of barley, a strong and healthy white horse.

But Dela puts all the presents aside and only wishes that the horse may carry him away to the place where his heart wants to go, to the *dharma*.

<p><i>nijnā cērnai cāra</i> <i>cēri tondzām nijnā</i> <i>nijnī ősēr lāmō</i> <i>jyli tsēla cērdzuj</i> <i>nijnī ősēr lāmō</i> <i>hāṅkār tsēla cērdzuj</i></p>	<p>The sun, which rises from the east The pleasant sun</p> <p>The beautiful light of the sun It rises on the top of the village The beautiful light of the sun It rises on the top of Hango.</p>
<p><i>jyli p'ūru zu:wa</i> <i>jyli jylsā nēnpō</i> <i>hāṅkār p'ūru zu:wa</i> <i>jyli jylsā nēnpō</i> <i>jyldzūṅ tākeēr dzənpā</i> <i>lāi dzujcōṅ zaṭ teik</i></p>	<p>The one who lives at the top of the village Is our very happy protector The one who lives at the top of our beautiful Hango Is our very happy protector The strong youths of the village They may get the protection of the deity.</p>
<p><i>jyli dyntu juwa</i> <i>te'hūmō jērtē'ū taṅ kaṅte'ū</i> <i>hāṅkār dyntu juwa</i> <i>te'hūmō jērtē'ū taṅ kaṅte'ū</i> <i>jyli tākeēr dzənpā</i> <i>sāṅi sīṅte'ū jin</i> <i>jyli tākeēr dzənpā</i> <i>cēmi cēmtē'ū jin</i></p>	<p>What is flowing in front of the village Is the water of summer and snow mountain What is flowing in front of Hango Is the water of summer and snow mountain The youth of the village – Is completely purified water The youth of the village – It is like offering water.</p>
<p><i>ts'hān sūm jāli mīklām</i> <i>k'ātāk kārwō mī:joṅ</i> <i>puṭsā te'hō:la dōwi</i> <i>zaṅji zaṅtā jinḍo</i> <i>dela te'hō:la dōwi</i> <i>zaṅji zaṅtā jinḍo</i></p>	<p>In my night's sleeping dream I saw a white ceremonial scarf</p> <p>For the boy going to the <i>dharma</i> It might be an auspicious sign For Dela going to the <i>dharma</i> It might be an auspicious sign.</p>

<p><i>puṭsā te'ākṭu nāma</i> <i>dq̄m̄ui sūmteū sōṅā</i> <i>cēṭla sātāk nāmkēn</i> <i>puṭsā ṅa rāptēi j̄in</i> <i>cēṭla sātāk nāmkēn</i> <i>dela ṅa rāptēi j̄in</i></p>	<p>The boy holding in his hand Thirty-five arrows</p> <p>The one putting the rope around his waist I am a strong boy The one putting the rope around his waist Dela, I am strong.</p>
<p><i>p'hāmā j̄i:su sāla</i> <i>ts'ērōk maṗteā dzəlmō</i> <i>dzəlmō j̄eru cāktee</i> <i>puṭsā ṅani te'hō:la d̄o</i> <i>dzəlmō j̄ōndu cāktee</i> <i>dela ṅani te'hō:la d̄o</i></p>	<p>What the parents, the two, offered The beautiful life partner</p> <p>Putting the beautiful one to the right side I, the boy, am going to the <i>dharmā</i> Putting the beautiful one to the left side I, Dela, am going to the <i>dharmā</i>.</p>
<p><i>p'hāmā j̄i:su sāla</i> <i>p'hōṅte j̄ap'hōṅ tōṅp'hōṅ</i> <i>tōṅp'hōṅ j̄eru cāktee</i> <i>puṭsā ṅani te'hō:la d̄o</i> <i>j̄ap'hōṅ j̄ōndu cāktee</i> <i>dela ṅani te'hō:la d̄o</i></p>	<p>What the two parents offered Hundreds and thousands of pieces of dowry Keeping the thousands to the right I, the boy, am going to the <i>dharmā</i> Keeping the hundreds to the left I, Dela, am going to the <i>dharmā</i>.</p>
<p><i>puṭsī te'ākṭu nāma</i> <i>tuṅji t'hēplūṅ kārteūṅ</i> <i>t'hēplūṅ j̄eru cāktee</i> <i>puṭsā ṅani te'hō:la d̄o</i> <i>t'hēplūṅ j̄ōndu cāktee</i> <i>dela ṅani te'hō:la d̄o</i></p>	<p>What the boy is holding in his hand White conch ornaments</p> <p>Keeping the conch ornaments to the right I, the boy, am going to the <i>dharmā</i>. Keeping the conch ornaments to the left I, Dela, am going to the <i>dharmā</i>.</p>
<p><i>makāṅ cīpzi: duṅj̄ȳtu</i> <i>osāl naṅtu zu: te'ik</i> <i>got'hēm t'hēmpā j̄ērntsāk</i> <i>sērmō ne:si tēmtēm</i> <i>lōṅcōt te'hāṅla tee:cāṅ</i> <i>sinpā d̄ula miṅdūk</i></p>	<p>Inside the great house Please, let the light stay inside! The doorstep where we climb up from the right It is full of golden barley (Even if) you offer a lot of local beer The grain will not finish.</p>
<p><i>puṭsī jāpteēn sāla</i> <i>tāwōi wuṅcūṅ t̄iṅkār</i> <i>puṭsā sēmpā karsāmtu</i> <i>ly:wō cālṭō nāṅtāṅ</i> <i>dela sēmpā karsāmtu</i></p>	<p>What the boy's father offered A strong and healthy white horse</p> <p>Wherever the boy's heart goes Please, take the body as well Wherever Dela's, my heart goes</p>

<i>ly:wō cālṭō nāṅtāṅ</i>	Please, take the body as well.
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Chart 2: First sitting song.

The song of Hangpa Dela is like a local equivalent to the story of Naksa Oebum, which is well known all over the Tibetan-speaking area. A daughter or a son of devoted parents, who want to give everything to their children to provide for a good future. But the child shows to the world/ the religious community that the most important aim in life is to devote oneself to the religious path and not get distracted by wealth and gifts and not even by well-meaning parents.

3. Sitting song 2: Lari Palkyit Lu

This version of the text was first collected in 2003 at Gyu Village (by Dechen Lundup of Tabo). In 2011 the text was dictated to me and checked in Khar, Pin, by Meme Puchen.

The Lari Palkyit song is about a girl called Palkyit from the village of Lari in lower Spiti. Palkyit's village is praised in the same way as Hango in Hangpa Dela's song above. There is also a connection between the mountains above the village and the local deity residing there.

Then the people in the village are described as having a lot of wealth. And finally, Palkyit herself prays for wealth for the village of her parents and for herself as she has left Lari and moved to Mane (a village higher up in central Spiti) and got married there. But her prayer is for both villages and the people's prosperity and happiness.

<i>nj̄mā cārna cāra</i> <i>cāri ṭondzām nj̄mā</i> <i>cārsūm cārna cāra</i> <i>cāri ṭondzām nj̄mā</i> <i>jāi nē:cēn zaṅpō</i> <i>jārāṅ tsēla cārdzūṅ</i> <i>larī kamēn jal̄mō</i> <i>p^hōṭāṅ tsēla cārdzūṅ</i> <i>jȳli p^hūru zukpi</i> <i>larī kamēn jal̄mō</i> <i>jȳldzūṅ tākēār dzəṅpāla</i> <i>lāi sūṅwā dzəṭ</i>	The sun rises in the east The pleasant rising sun from the east The sun rises from the east The pleasant rising sun from the east The pure holy place above It has risen at the top and above The deity Kamen Gyalmō of Lari It has risen at the top of (her) palace The one who lives at the top of the vil- lage That is the deity Kamen Gyalmō of Lari. To the young people of the small village
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<p><i>lari tākeār dzənpāla</i> <i>kamēn goŋcōŋ dzəŋ</i></p>	<p>Please, give the deity's protection To the young people of Lari Please, give Kamen's protection.</p>
<p><i>mātsi tsīkpāru tsīdzun</i> <i>ts'īkpōi ēildēn tsīdzun</i> <i>guŋkār t'ōnpōi ts'ūcīŋ</i> <i>wō: memē teiktēk</i> <i>guŋkār t'ōnpōi ts'ūcīŋ</i> <i>memē noŋō teiktēk</i> <i>jyldzūŋ taptsyn ja:tāŋ</i> <i>sēr'tāŋ sērpōi jensā</i> <i>ŋurdzīn jūi tsēpūm</i> <i>wō: ūmdzēt teik</i> <i>ŋurdzīn jūi tsēpūm</i> <i>wō: teŋdēn teik</i></p>	<p>We put up a wall We put up the foundation wall The (tall grown) tree of the high sky You, only one old man The tall tree of the high sky Old man, the king, one only (I am) All the monks of the small village They are the golden wealth What we see as a turquoise vase That is our one <i>Umdzet</i>⁷ What we see as a turquoise vase That is our one and only Changden.</p>
<p><i>jyldzūŋ c'ōktōŋ jarāŋ</i> <i>sāŋte'ū kaŋki damō</i> <i>damō sērla jōdōŋ</i> <i>ts'ēwāŋ damdyl ni:wō</i> <i>jyldzūŋ c'īmpā dzompō</i> <i>teate'āŋ omāi loŋcēt</i> <i>lari c'īmpā dzompō</i> <i>teate'āŋ omāi loŋcēt</i> <i>loŋcēt jyntcēt masāl</i> <i>noŋō tāwī mōnlām</i> <i>loŋcēt jyntcēt masāl</i> <i>pālcit tāwī mōnlām</i></p>	<p>All the young people of the small village Are the arrows of the pure snow mountain water Arrow Serla Yödrön The two of us, Tsewang and Dimdrül The small village's gathered married women (are like) Plentiful tea, beer and milk The gathered married women of Lari like Plentiful tea, beer and milk The plenty should not decrease This is my, the girl's prayer The plenty should not decrease This is my, Palkyit's prayer.</p>
<p><i>naŋkā cāŋēn pālcit</i> <i>maŋē dzuŋla cōtsoŋ</i> <i>noŋō mi jylla dōla</i> <i>sēmpā tuŋdūŋ migū</i> <i>raŋsēm tuŋdūŋ migū</i> <i>luhār jītla sōl</i> <i>noŋō mi jylla dōla</i> <i>punōr loŋcēt sōl</i></p>	<p>Palkyit, who is enjoying (her life) She went to Mane Village The girl, I go to a village of other people Don't feel bad! You don't feel bad either! Sing in your heart The girl, I am going to a village of other people Please, give the wealth of plenty of sons</p>

⁷ *Umdzet* (WT *dbu mdzad*) is the monk who leads the recitation of prayers.

<p><i>pālcīt māṅpteā dzəlmōla</i> <i>punōr loṅcēt sāl</i></p>	<p>To Palkyit, beautiful like a peacock Please, give the wealth of plenty of sons.</p>
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Chart 3: Second sitting song.

In the first stanza the rays of the morning sun light up the mountain above Lari, which is also the dwelling place of Kamen Gyalmo, the local deity of Lari Village. The sun rises on the rock which is her castle. The singer of the song then prays for Kamen Gyalmo's protection of the young people of the village.

The second stanza turns to the village, where the people have put up their houses. The link between the high sky (of the first stanza, the realm of the gods) is formed by the tall tree. The tree represents the old man, the local king. He praises the golden wealth of the village, the most precious element symbolizing the monks. And another precious substance is used to describe the first one of them, the *Umdzet*. He is compared to one of the eight symbols of fortune, the turquoise vase.

In stanza three all the young people of the village are described as arrows, fast like another wealth of the village, the pure water coming from the snow mountains.

Now Palkyit prays for plentiful tea, beer and milk, substances which are meant to represent the wealth of married women.

The final stanza reveals some facts about Palkyit's own life. She tells herself to be happy and keep singing, although she has left Lari, her parents' village, and now lives at Mane with strangers, her husband's family. And beautiful Palkyit finally prays for herself and for the wealth of plenty of sons to make her in-laws happy.

4. *Shabro 2: E mola ri (Sipki Angmo)*

This song was recorded in October 2009 at Po Village, Spiti.

The next song presented here is a *shabro* whose text follows a different pattern. The structure has been worked on in the publication of festival (namken) songs⁸ but there is also a connection with the Naksa Oebum song mentioned above. It is also about a girl and her mother, who are seen in the religious and cultural symbolism of their physical surrounding.

The song consists of six stanzas, each of which shows the girl and her mother in one of the most common natural or cultural settings of their Himalayan environment.

⁸ Hein, Veronika (2007) PIATS.

The first stanza sets the girl under the high, blue sky lit by sun and moon. Like this the setting is shown with its cosmic dimension. The second stanza shows the snow mountains as the background for the snowlion to be happy. The snowlion can be seen as the animal that lives in the highest mountains and also represents Tibet. The third stanza mentions the high rocks, where the great vulture lives. The *tearjal gøtpō* is understood to be the king of birds, the eagle, who dominates the air and the high mountains. In stanza four, the setting is a mountain pasture, where a deer family is grazing happily. In this context the deer might also symbolize the spreading of the *dharma*.

After the general mountain scenery, the last two stanza focus on the human realm. In stanza five, it is the monastery with its assembled monks and in the last stanza it is the festival ground, where the young people of the village gather for dances.

Like this the six parts of the song move from the high sky past the mountains with their animal life to the places of human habitation and set the scene for the girl to be happy and enjoy the dance. So she appears to be well settled in her environment and protected by cosmic and natural forces.

<p><i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>guḥjēn t'ōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāḥ āmīla noḡmō</i> <i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>guḥjēn t'ōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāḥ ṣīpkī āḥmō</i> <i>guḥjēn t'ōnpōna</i> <i>nīldā nī:wō t'ōḥwōi</i> <i>t'ōḥsana dīkpa</i> <i>guḥjēn t'ōnpōna</i></p> <p><i>nīldā nī:wō cītpōi</i> <i>cītsāḥna dīkpa</i></p>	<p>He!, you, mother's girl At the high blue sky Please, you, mother's girl, have a look.</p> <p>He!, you, mother's girl In the high blue sky Have a look, Princess Angmo. In the high blue sky The sun and moon, the two They are where we can see them. In the high blue sky</p> <p>The sun and moon, the two, happily Enjoying, they are there.</p>
<p><i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>kaḥtōt t'ōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāḥ āmīla noḡmō</i> <i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>kaḥtōt t'ōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāḥ ṣīpkī āḥmō</i></p>	<p>He!, you, mother's girl On the high snow mountain Please, you, mother's girl, have a look. He!, you, mother's girl On the high snow mountain Have a look, Shipki Angmo.</p>

⁹ The version known at Tabo says *sērki āḥmō*.

<p><i>kaṅtōt tʰōnpōna</i> <i>tarsāṅ kārmō tʰōṅwōi</i> <i>tʰōṅsana dukpa</i> <i>kaṅtōt tʰōnpōna</i> <i>tarsāṅ kārmō cītpōi</i> <i>cīteāṅna dukpa</i></p>	<p>On the high snow mountain The white snow lion He is where we can see him.</p> <p>On the high snow mountain The snow lion is where He can enjoy happily.</p>
<p><i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>ṭaktōt tʰōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ āmīla noṃō</i> <i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>ṭaktōt tʰōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ ṣīpkī āṅmō</i> <i>ṭaktōt tʰōnpōna</i> <i>tearjāl gōtpō tʰōṅwōi</i> <i>tʰōṅsana dukpa</i> <i>ṭaktōt tʰōnpōna</i> <i>tearjāl gōtpō cītpōi</i> <i>cīteāṅna dukpa</i></p>	<p>He!, you, mother's girl On the high rock Please, you, mother's girl, have a look.</p> <p>He!, you, mother's girl On the high rock Have a look, Shipki Angmo. On the high rock The great vulture He is where we can see him.</p> <p>On the high rock The great vulture Is where he can enjoy happily.</p>
<p><i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>pāṅtōt tʰōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ āmīla noṃō</i> <i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>pāṅtōt tʰōnpō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ ṣīpkī āṅmō</i> <i>pāṅtōt tʰōnpōna</i> <i>ṣāwā memēt-tʰōṅwōi</i> <i>tʰōṅsana dukpa</i> <i>pāṅtōt tʰōnpōna</i> <i>ṣāwā memēt cītpōi</i> <i>cīteāṅna dukpa</i></p>	<p>He!, you, mother's girl On the high mountain pasture Please, you, mother's girl, have a look.</p> <p>He!, you, mother's girl On the high mountain pasture Have a look, Shipki Angmo. On the high mountain pasture The deer family Is where we can see them.</p> <p>On the high mountain pasture The deer family are Where they can enjoy happily.</p>
<p><i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>gondzēn teʰēnmō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ āmīla noṃō</i> <i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>gondzēn teʰēnmō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ ṣīpkī āṅmō</i></p>	<p>He!, you, mother's girl The great monastery Please, you, mother's girl, have a look.</p> <p>He!, you, mother's girl The great monastery Have a look, Shipki Angmo.</p>

¹⁰ Variation at Tabo: *jūmō* 'female'.

<p><i>gondzēn te^hēnmōna</i> <i>ṭiptsŷn dzom̄pō t^hōṅwōi</i> <i>t^hōṅsana dukpa</i> <i>gondzēn te^hēnmōna</i> <i>ṭiptsŷn dzom̄pō cītpōi</i> <i>cīteāṅna dukpa</i></p>	<p>At the great monastery The assembled monks Are where we can see them.</p> <p>At the great monastery The assembled monks are Where they can enjoy happily.</p>
<p><i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>toṅrā te^hēnmō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ āmīla nom̄</i> <i>ē: mola ṣī</i> <i>toṅrā te^hēnmō</i> <i>zi:tāṅ ṣīpkī āṅmō</i> <i>toṅrā te^hēnmōna</i> <i>dzom̄qō dzom̄pō t^hōṅwōi</i> <i>t^hōṅsana dukpa</i> <i>toṅrā te^hēnmōna</i> <i>dzom̄qō dzom̄pō cītpōi</i> <i>cīteāṅna dukpa</i></p>	<p>He! you, mother's girl The great performance ground Please, you, mother's girl, have a look. He!, you, mother's girl The great performance ground Have a look, Shipki Angmo. At the great performance ground The assembled youngsters Are where we can see them.</p> <p>At the great performance ground The assembled youngsters are Where they can enjoy happily.</p>

Chart 4: *Shabro 2.*

5. Sitting song 3: *Chhukpo Poloi Lu/ Dhangkar Panma*

The third sitting song was also worked on with Meme Puchen of Khar Village in October 2011. Another version of this sitting song was recorded in Po in 2009 and its text transcribed in Tabo with Sonam Tsering and Ane Phuntsok Dolma.

As the title indicates, this sitting song focuses on Dhangkar Village in central Spiti. The former capital of Spiti is situated on a white rock which is compared to a white lotus flower at the beginning. The song is about different parts of Dhangkar. First, at the top, there is the monastery with the lama who guides the people and lights up their path.

In the second stanza there is another well-built house. This is the castle¹¹ of the local king, who leads the people.

Then there is the house where the brothers and sisters were born. In the second half the song focuses on the eldest sister and her husband, who appears to be like a *Bodhisattva* leading a religious life and helping people on their way.

¹¹ The name Dhangkar can be understood as White Rock (WT *brag dkar po*) or Rock Fort (WT *brag mkhar*).

The song concludes by linking the two, the eldest sister Dawa Putit and her husband with the sun and moon, who never stay in the same place but go round the world and give light to the human beings. And like sun and moon, we should also go around and on our way spread the *dharma*.

The last stanza, which calls upon people to be like the sun and the moon and go around the world, is a very unusual ending of a song. There are a great number of songs that begin with the sun and the moon circling the earth in the high blue sky. From there the songs normally proceed downward towards the realm of the humans as illustrated in this paper with the first sitting song (Hangpa Dela) and the second *shabro* (E mola ri).

By ending the song with the sun the moon circling the world and the appeal to the people to follow their example the whole place (Dhangkar) is set into the well-established cosmic order and the people put under its laws.

<p><i>ṭākār pānmī tāṅna</i> <i>gəndzūṅ d̥e:kār pūṅdā</i> <i>naṅna lāmākun zu: jət</i> <i>d̥əwā d̥enpī lāmā</i> <i>lāmā lōbzāṅkun zu: jət</i> <i>mīnpā sili lāmā</i></p>	<p>On the top of the lotus flower of the white rock There is a small monastery like a heap of white rice Inside the Lama lives The Lama of all the sentient beings Lama Lobzang lives there The Lama who lights up the darkness.</p>
<p><i>k^hate eārla zi:wa</i> <i>rapsāl go ndīkpī naṅnai</i> <i>zīm^hāṅ eārla zi:wa</i> <i>rapsāl go ndīkpī naṅnai</i> <i>naṅna pōnpōkun zu: jət</i> <i>ṅgōnāk cōṅwōi pōnpō</i> <i>ma^kāṅ cīldu cē:wa</i> <i>ṅōzāk pūnla zipō</i> <i>eāptā lyisī tṅmā</i> <i>woi āteē tetktsēk</i> <i>eāptā lyisī tṅmā</i> <i>āteē dāwā puṅt</i></p>	<p>Facing east From well-fitted windows and doors His holy bedroom facing east From well-fitted windows and doors Inside the king lives The king who leads all the people.</p> <p>The ones who were born in the central room We, the four brothers and sisters The one who was born first Is our only elder sister The one who was born first Is our elder sister Dawa Putit.</p>
<p><i>sēm^kār k^hē:wa duṅwā</i> <i>gōltsāk ṭ^hṅlki dīmīk</i></p>	<p>The very skillful blacksmith, what did he make?</p>

<p><i>golteāk naṅi zemā</i> <i>āteē dawā puṅt</i> <i>jāi taṅpōi lāte^hō:la</i> <i>ḍenken nuṅdzām dukpa</i></p>	<p>A key to the magic lock The inside bar of the lock Is sister Dawa Putit To the very true <i>dharmā</i> There are very few followers.</p>
<p><i>mī tā juṅmī noṅsela</i> <i>ḍenken maṅtsām dukpa</i> <i>caṅwō teṅteṅp sēmpā</i> <i>noṅmō ṅōi mākpā</i> <i>caṅwō teṅteṅp sēmpā</i> <i>dcaṅwā ṅōi mākpā</i></p>	<p>The very precious wealth of the people There are many who follow The layman <i>Bodhisattva</i> Is my, the girl's husband The layman <i>Bodhisattva</i> Is my, Dawa's husband.</p>
<p><i>guṅnām tōṅla zu:wa</i> <i>niṅmā dcaṅwā nī:wō</i> <i>kāt teṅk tsāmla mazu:wa</i> <i>ndzaṅmlīṅ kōrtu cōt teṅk</i></p>	<p>The ones who live in the empty sky Are the sun and the moon Do not stay in one place as a word¹² Please, come to look after the world!</p>

Chart 5: Sitting song 3.

5. Conclusion

The five texts presented here are all light-hearted songs for happy occasions like dances or family celebrations. They are all in a cheerful mood and encourage the people to celebrate and enjoy the event. But they also create an atmosphere of a well organized order, in which the people can feel protected and safe in their natural and social environment. An additional dimension comes in with the the Hangpa Dela and the Chhukpo Polo songs. They not only describe the setting of human life in the Himalayan environment, but also remind the people of the metaphysical dimension of life and show examples of how the people integrate spiritual values in their lives.

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¹² People should really go round and spread the *dharmā* like the sun and the moon, which circle the world and give light to us. (Sonam, oral communication, 9/2/2012).

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