Investigations in the History of the Muktinath Valley and Adjacent Areas

Part II

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4. Governmental organisation structures in South Mustang in the 18th century

4.1. Democratic city-states south of Kagbeni

As specified above, by Thak Khola I refer to the district stretching from Baragaon 30 km. south to Gasa. We have already been able to establish that in the 18th century this area enjoyed a certain autonomy or independence from its neighbours, Parbat to the South and Mustang to the North. Politically the area was divided again in the 18th century into three separate units, Thak, Som-bu (Thini) and spwn-khris (Marpha). There exists a comprehensive body of ethnographic research on the Thak Khola, on which I need not report in greater detail here. For the following investigation, attention need only be called to the following:

1. The inhabitants of this region lived mainly by trading between Tibet and Nepal, in addition to agriculture. The Thak Khola owes most of its noticeably above-average prosperity to the lively trading activities of its inhabitants. It thus follows that the largest group of inhabitants of the Thak Khola, known nowadays as the Thakalis, were also prominent as traders in the 18th century.

2. In this century many Thakalis have migrated from the Thak Khola, so this ethnic group has spread across the whole of Nepal. As even the current figures on the size of this ethnic group are very inexact, it is practically impossible to give more precise information on the sizes of the populations of the three political units of the Thak
Khola in the 18th century. If we go by the current figures, it is possible to make a very rough estimate of the maximum population size in the 18th century: for Thaks the population could be given as approximately 2000, whereas sPun-khris and Somba can be estimated to have had 300 - 400 inhabitants each.

In comparison with the numerous ethnological works on the Thak Khola, in the field of historical research there is up to now only one scholarly serious piece of work that contributes to the history of the Thak Khola in question here. It comprises a facsimile edition and translation of a historical document drawn up in Tibetan script and Tibetan language, furnished with a detailed introduction, and published under the title "The Bem-chag Village Record and The Early History of Mustang District", by Charles A.E. Ramble and Michael Vinding.

Ramble and Vinding refer to the text that they worked on as bem-chag, and state that the original is kept in the settlement of Cimang. Many versions of this bem-chag of very similar content are kept in Thani and Marpha. I was able to photograph the versions in Marpha and Shyang myself during my exploration in April 1989. Comparing these versions from Marpha and Shyang with the manuscript from Cimang shows that all the versions are copies of the same text. In the title of their investigation, Ramble and Vinding describe the bem-chag as a "village record". They develop this notion further as a "local account of the history of the kingdom of Sumbo Garabdzong". Elsewhere, we read of a "translation of the bem-chag, village record of Sum Garabdzong". These definitions clearly suggest uncertainty in regard to the meaning of the term bem-chag and the definitions of the different areas of the Thak Khola region as political units.

In attempting to find the meaning of the term bem-chag, I would like to compare the Cimang Text with similar texts from Kagbeni and Marpha. These I was able to photograph in 1986 and 1987. Both handwritten texts are bound in the form of booklets. The Kagbeni text describes itself in its title as yul gyi bem-chags, whereas the Marpha text calls itself in its title mar-chag yul then-kyes [= than-rgyas] gi [= kyi] bem-chag. Both texts contain the basic laws of the two regions. Therefore they can be characterised also as "basic law texts" or "constitutions". The Kagbeni text also deals very briefly, under a chapter headed skag-pa yul-pa'i chags-rabs, with historical events about the foundation of the political order of the area concerned. I have to point out here that the history of the creation of a legal order is of great importance for its justification and continuation.

The term in question here is also found spelt bem-gtag in two 15th century royal decrees from western Tibet. In the first of these royal orders (Schuh 5, document XXXVIII, 1), the term in question is mentioned as the designation for a royal charter and is characterised as a loanword from the Mongolian language (hor kyi skad). The same document (line 15) mentions a bem-gtag-chen-mo, a decree containing prescriptions about payment of taxes and so on. In the second of these documents (Schuh 5, document XXXIX, 15) a bem-gtag rabin-po is mentioned. From this I conclude firmly that the term bem-chag, or bem-gtag, is a loanword from the Mongolian, and apparently corresponds with the Mongolian bićig. It was used - apparently mainly in western Tibet - as the name of a royal charter and a judicial decree or a basic lawbook important for the public.

If we now examine the Cimang bem-chag, it
can be seen that the section containing the historical explanations is much more extensive than in
the Kag Bemchag. Furthermore, it does not fix the legal order or the legal obligations of a certain
place as done by the Kag Bemchag and Marpha Bemchag, but rather describes the inter-state relations-
between the various settlements of the Thak Kholo. In one instance it even gives the entire
text of a treaty that determined the inter-state relations between the three most powerful inde-
pendently ruled units (yul-sgo gsum) of the Thak Kholo in the 18th century, that is, Thags, gSum-po
and sPun-khris (= sPun-khris, Marpha). The fact that the Cimang bem-čag describes the arrange-
ment of the inter-state laws of the Thak Kholo also explains why copies of this text are to be
found in all the settlements of northern Thak Kholo.

This basic features of the Cimang bem-čag lead to the second problem addressed above, that is
how these areas of Thags, gSum-po and sPun-khris are to be treated in the terms of political units.
Considering their participation in interstate peace settlements and looking at the treaties recorded in
the Cimang bem-čag, which settled disputes among these places, the classification as villages as
given by Vinding and Ramble is not acceptable. All three of them should be treated as petty states
that played a particular role in the western Nepal federal union presided over by Jumla. At this point
the comparative small number of inhabitants of these settlement may be used as an argument
against this classification. To ensure that this argument is given sufficient consideration, we shall
have a look at comparable petty states of western Nepal. According to Stiller (p. 83), Nuwakot com-
promised 600 households, Bajhang 700 and Gajur only 140. Viewed thus, Thags, gSum-po and sPun-khris
do not appear to have been of unusually small size.

Out of these three petty states Thags covers the largest area, containing many villages, sPun-khris,
or the present-day Marpha, gained independence when it split from gSum-po, which originally com-
prised all the five settlements (yul-kha lha) north of Thugeche.

Correspondingly, only the petty states of Thags and gSum-po appear as parties of the earliest
treaties, recorded in the Cimang bem-čag. The treaties between Thags and gSum-po were mainly con-
cerned with defining the border between the two states, and with the exchange of serfs and
livestock that had respectively fled or strayed from one territory to the other. The oldest treaty between
Thags and gSum-po, handed down in the Cimang bem-čag partly by a verbatim quotation, concerns
the latter of the above-mentioned treaty topics. The treaty must have been drawn up before 1705, as by
this year, as we know from the above edited and translated Document 6, the northern part of the
Thak Kholo was already divided in two parts. The partial reproduction of the text of the treaty is
headed by the following remark:

thag dān gsum-pa'i rgam-sag la
"In the treaties between Thag and gSum-pa (it is ordered)"

The text of the treaty (Document 8) runs as follows:

3 (thags) nas 'khor-yog gsum-po 'du sleb na,
 kram 1 za-rgyu (yin-no) /

4 rta mde yain kram 1 za-rgyu yin, g.yag bris
 bha mde yain bya'u gnis (yin no), gsum-pa'i
 'khor-g.yog

5 thag 'du 'gro na yain srol 'de ran (yin-no),
Eighteenth-century Tibet and Nepal

Translation

"If a serf (khag-g-yog) (fleeing) from Thag arrives in gSum-po, one Tam is to be charged (for the return)." In the event that one finds a horse, one Tam is to be charged (for the return). If one finds a yak bull, a yak cow or an ox, (the charge) is two Bya'u.

In the event that a serf belonging to gSum-po runs (away) to Thag, the same applies.

The witnesses were the rGan-pa from Thag bSaṅ-la-chos-skyab, and the rGan-pa from Marpha's Cu-ka-li.

The fact that the elder of Thag and of Marpha appear here as witnesses can be taken as an indication that the act of agreeing on certain rules and regulations between the two petty states and its recording in a written agreement were two different activities. It seems to be quite certain that the agreement was reached in an assembly of representatives of the two parties concerned first and thereby officially enacted by swearing an oath and that its recording took place afterwards.

It is interesting to note that gSum-po was represented in the recording of this treaty by an elder from Marpha. This proves clearly that Marpha still belonged to gSum-po at this time.

Another treaty (Document 8), is recorded completely in the subsequent parts of the Cimang bem-chag. It originates from a time when the northern section of the Thak Khola was already divided into two petty states. It was drawn up in a Fire-Ox Year (me-mo-glan), corresponding either with 1637, 1697 or 1757. From the fact that four rGan-pa of Marpha are mentioned here I conclude that 1697 was the year in which the treaty was drawn up.

The treaty deals not only with the return of runaway slaves and cattle, but also with the mutual support of the petty states in case of threats from outside. It also contains a mutual agreement on procedures of negotiation with the rgyal-po, the supreme authority. Obviously this authority was either the King of Jumla or the King of Parbat; Mustang is ruled out by the fact that its rulers were usually referred to as sde-po.

The copy of the text of the treaty found in the Cimang bem-chag is preceded by the following introduction that lists the three parties to the treaty, Thag, mThin (Thin) and s Pun-gri (Marpha).

(bka'-sís) don grub-pa'i lha la phyag 'chal-lo/, thag-khūb-cham mthin-ma-bu-(bdru/s); spung-gri-'on-dag-mo/, gsum gyi chod-yig bris-bdon la/.

"Prostration before the deities, by whom good luck is procured. In regard to the contents of the record of an arbitration treaty between these three, Thag-khūb-cham, mThin-ma-bu, bdru/s and s Pun-gri-'on-dag-mo/.

Text of the treaty (Document 9):

[p. 45]

1 me-mo-glan-lo scr zla-ba'i che gsum la/ yul-
2 go gsum gyi rGan-pa khar-spon bka'-gros

Ancient Nepal
chams nas (yi-go) 'bris bdon la/, gal-te gsum-po yul-
3 pa la/, mi-žen gyis stān-cān 'byed-pa 'byun na/, thag yul-pa dañ, dpun-dgris yul-pas (bgryab)
4 byed-rgyu yin, yaŋ thag yul-pa la stān-cān byed-pa 'byun na/, gsum-po yul-pa dañ, dpun-
gris yul-pas
5 (bgryab) byed-rgyu yin, dpun-dgris yul-pa la, stān-cān byed-pa 'byun na, thag gsum-po gnis kyis (bgryab)
6 byed-rgyu yin/, (rgyal)-po'i bdrűn du sus bẑus-
bdon la phyin kyān/, sus stān la slob kyān spyi-bdon
7 zu dgos čiṅ phra-ma byed-sa med/, yul-phyoq gān 'du yaŋ yul-go gsum la/, gnod-pa'i phra-ma byed-
8 rgyu 'byun na/, yul-go gsum-dkar kyi 1 rgyab čiṅ gis ter dgos so/, yul-go gsum naŋ 'du kyān 1 gis
9 phra-mo 1 gis byed-rgyu mi yon, yul-go gsum kyi bran-g-yog suri car slob kyān 'dam 1 za-rgyu yin
10 būd-gro čhe-chuṅ gān rṅed kyān nas zo (re-re) za-rgyu (yin-no)/, de-la hag-ma bza' zer nas mi log na/
11 sla yaŋ med čiṅ, rgan-pa'i ston nas bcer-rgyu (yin-no)/, sńed nas ma sńed zer na/, suri sug na rkm-
12 mor 'gyur čiṅ/, chal rgan-pa yul-go gsum-pa'i zes-rgyu (yin-no)/, nor-bdag la stār-rgyu (yin-
no)/
13 ra-lug sńed nas (žags) bceu sńo nas/, rcar-čod ma 'byun na za-rgyu (yin-no)/, de la 'a-ru byed-
gyu med-do/, de-ltar
14 byed-pa'i bris-pa'i (yi-go) naŋ ltar suri ma nas-
pa byun na/, gnar-span la čhos kyi čhos-
skyoṅ/, bon kyi bon-skyoṅ
2 sgo gsum, mṅhar-dpon bka'-groč 'chams, yi-
ge bris-don 3 mi-gzhan, šān-cān byed-pa, yul-
pas rgyab 4 šān-cān, 'byun na 5 rgyab byed-
ryu, šān-cān, kyi rgyab 6 drūn du sus zub-
don, sus sñon, spyi-don 7 yul-phyoq gān du, yul-sgo 8 yul-sgo gsum-kā, gćig gis bsterol, yul-
sgo gsum naṅ-du, 1 gi 9 phra-ma, yul-sgo, suri rear 10 dud-'gro 11 gla yaṅ, rgan-pas bton nas
ster-rgyu, bṛṅed nas ma bṛṅed zer na, 12 yul-
sgo gsum-pas bẑes-rgyu, ster-rgyu 13 bṛṅed nas
zag, road-gčod, byed-rgyu 14 de-ltar byas-pas,
sus ma gnas-pa, mna'-dpaṅ, bong gyi

[ p. 46 ]
1 'jig-sten kyis lha klu bźi-bdag/, gaṅ sten kyis pho-lha dgra-lha rams kyis/, rna nas-pa rams la čhad-
2 pa 'drag-po ċod čiṅ/, gnas-pa rams la byin gyi blabs du gsa/ol, de-ltar (g.yig-ga) 'bris-dus/
3 thag kyi rga-pa nes-thed-lcaṅ/, (gal-bu)-(bkra-
śis)/, be-thed-lcaṅ, (bgryal)-njeď-ran/, mis-sna
mar-khus-
4 lcaṅ, nes-thed-grub-śiṅ, kyi-mo-che-rin/, dar-
ma-che-rin, de-rams kyis (tags) Z, gsum-po'i
rgan-pa
5 nes-thed-(bkra-sis)/, padma-(bkra-sis)/, gsum-
thed-lha-bdrag/, mis-sna a-yar-rṣid-gsb/, lha-
sab-
6 (bkra-sis)/, che-sten-(kan-chab?)-(rin-čhen),
(bgryam)-čog-(bkra-sis)/, che-dar-čhos-
skyob/, (togs)-bdri-ga-
7 ra-čhos-skyobs/, čhos-(rgyud)-gsum-thed, (rin-
čhen)-che-dbaṅ, de-rams kyis (tags), Z/, spun-dgris'i rga-pa
8 (khrö-'o)-g.yul-driṅ/, dpon-po-sa-rten/, (rdo-
rje)-che-rin/, ga-cu-lha/, mi-sna ga-ra-(bkra-
śis)/, čan-
9 hu-lcân, gos-che-rin, lha-rungs-bka-si-si, mga'-so-rangs, de rongs kyi (rta-gs)Z,

1 'jig-rten gyi, gzi-brag, gan brten gyi, ma gnas-po 2 drag-po, byin gyis brlab tu, yi-ge 'bri-dus 4 kyi rtags 7 kyi rtags 9 kyi rtags

Translation

"As the rGan-pa and mKhar-dpon of the three countries reached an agreement in a meeting on the third day of the Monkey Month of the Female-Fire-Ox Year, the following document has been recor-ded:

In the event that the inhabitants of gSum-po are attacked by foreigners, the inhabitants of Tshag and of dPun-dgris must support them.

Further, in the event that the inhabitants of Tshag are attacked, the inhabitants of gSum-po and dPun-gris must support them.

If the inhabitants of dPun-gris are attacked, the inhabitants of Tshag and gSum-po must support them.

Whenever anyone goes to address the King, whoever arrives first must bring up forward the concerns of all and not commit slander.

If in (another) country harmful slander is committed towards all of the three states, all three states must give mutual support to each other.

It must not happen within the three states that one (state) commits slander against the other (state).

If a serf from one of the three states arrives in one of the others, (the latter) has to charge a Tam (for the return).

If anyone finds a beast, be it large or small, (the finder) can levy a Zo(-ba-measure) of barley.

If anyone says, "I want more than this," and hands nothing over, he receives no payment, and the rGan-pa must recover (the serf or beast) and return it to (the owner).

If anyone says, "I haven't found anything," although he has found something, the one who is holding it is considered to be a thief. Chak2 is to be collected from the elder of all the three states.

It must be handed over to the owner of the animal.

If anyone finds a goat or a sheep, and within ten days, no search has been made for it, (the one who has found the animal) is allowed to keep it. In this case, no complaint must be raised.

If someone does not behave in accordance with the contents of this letter which was written after (all) enacted (the agreement) accordingly, the witness of the vow, (that is) the Dharmapāla of the (Buddhist) religion, the Bou-protector of the Bou(-religion), the lHa, Klu and gZi-brag of this world and the Pho-lha and dGra-lha, on whom someone relies, will punish those who do not behave accordingly, with harsh punishments.

We request them to bless those who act accordingly.

When this document was written down accordingly, seal of the rGan-pa of Tshag Nges-the-dri-len, Gal-ba-bka-sis, Be-the-dri-len and brGyal-mjed-ram as well of different people (like) Mar-khu-la-len, Nges-the-dri-grub-si-len, Kyi-mo-che-rin and Dar-ma-che-rin.


Seal of the rGan-pa of sPun-dgris Khro-'bo-
As far as the internal organization of these petty states is concerned, I found in Marpha a written law book, entitled "Commonly (enacted) Bem-chag of the country Mar-phag". The value of this book as an important source for the study of the structure of the petty states in the Thak Khola cannot be overestimated.

I photographed the Mar-phag Bem-chag in 1987 in three versions, to which I will refer henceforward as MB1, MB2, and MB3. MB1 and MB2 both contain in their main texts the same law book, passed on the 3rd day of the 7th month in a Fire-Dragon Year by a full assembly of the citizens (yul-mi) of Marpha. It seems highly likely that the Fire-Dragon Year in question is 1796. It is this law book of 1796 that we shall refer to as the Marpha Bemchag.

Out of the two manuscripts, MB1 and MB2, MB1 is probably the older version. MB1, however, is certainly not the original that was passed by the assembly of the citizens in 1796, as according to the introduction to the Marpha Bemchag this has been furnished with seals at the end of the text. MB2 is probably a later 2nd draft of the original text.

Both MB1 and MB2 contain later appendices, setting down amendments to the Marpha Bemchag. These amendments were recorded on pages or half pages of the manuscript that were originally left blank. The appendices in MB2 are generally older than those in MB1. It seems that this is because the amendments to legal regulations were often recorded as special documents, but subsequently added to MB1 and later, when MB1 had no space left, to MB2. This theory is also supported by the fact that, accordingly, no common records of later legal amendments are to be found in MB1 or MB2.

The bulk of the main text of MB3 is an only partially preserved precursor of the Marpha Bemchag of 1796. Besides this it contains pages with numerous supplements. On page 4, the date of one of the old legal agreements integrated into the main text is referred to as Earth-Horse Year, which could indicate the year 1738. Thus the main text may have originated between 1738 and 1796.

The language of the Marpha Bemchag is a combination of the Tibetan dialect of South Mustang and classical Tibetan, in the writing of which the orthographical rules of classical Tibetan were largely disregarded. Inconsistencies in the spelling of the same words are commonplace. This gives rise to particular difficulties in interpreting the text, especially as the text contains many words borrowed from Thakali and Nepali.

On the title page of MB1 and MB2 we find the following remark:

1 Z mar-phag yul lhen-kyes gi bem-chag (zung)-son /
2 yul-chog ldi ru bikri-pa ldon grub-pa zu leg-par shog / bikri-shog /
3 ki-ki so-so lha-(gyal-lo)

"Herein is contained the basic law (bem-cog) of Mar-phag (decided) by the citizen of the country. We request, that in this area, happiness and effectiveness may prevail. May (everything) be good. May luck prevail. Ki-ki, ao-so! May the gods be victorious!"

The particular nature of the bringing into force
of the basic laws is described in the introductory passage of the legal text, which is presented below:

1. **Z med-pho grug-lo zla-ba 7 pa'i che 3 re-za 2 fin / go-n-ma mi-byed chen-po gn**

2. **gan-chen-po nol / reo jes mi-thus kar-ma dan mi-thus chos-(rgyal-chen) dan mi-thus (pedma)-khron dan**

3. **mi-thus bha-stur mi-chen mi-grag mar-phag yul-mi lhan-kyes / ka-gros thog nas / sbon-**

4. **khyun-star / spes-srol na-zin / bem-čag (yig-gi) bris-don la / ban-(čhags) (yig-ge) na-zin la yul-**

5. **mi lhen chang-ma su yin na dbyes-ka dbyun-gri / pha-ka bu-bri 'u-blang-pa byes med-(čhags) zer-pa'i**

6. **yul-mi lhan (phyags)-(rtags) /**

"On the day of the 2nd weekday of the 7th month in the male fire-dragon-year (1796) the assembly of the Mi-chen, the Mi-drag and of all the citizens of the country (yul-mi), headed firstly by the "The Supreme One" (gon-ma), the "great ruler" (mi-rje chen-po), the elder, the great elder (rgan chen-po) Nol and (headed) secondly by the mi-thus Karma, mi-thus Chosldan, mi-thus Padma khron and the mi-thus Bha-lidur took place and subsequently (the following) text, containing the basic law book (bem-čhag) was written down in accordance with the old tradition and the common law. Except for (the obedience to) what is in accordance with this text, the basic law book, none of all the citizen (of Marpha) will be allowed to ascribe what is right to the left or to ascribe the affairs of the father to the son. Pronouncing this, the seal of all citizens (was attached)."

This account of the enactment of the basic laws reveals a very interesting and quite unique democratic structure of the constitution of Marpha. The decision makers in all public affairs were the local people of the region who were also obliged to hold public positions. It appears that women were not allowed to take over public offices and did not take part in political decision making. The citizens (yul-mi) formed one group separated from foreigners, who were referred to as phyi-mi, and who naturally could not exercise any civil rights.

Not all inhabitants of Marpha had the status of yul-mi. Of particular note are the slaves and serfs (khor-g.yog and bren-g.yog) referred to in Documents 5 and 6. The Marpha Bemchag of 1796 mentions (fol. 22r) this group only once as g.yog-po besides the bha-do (Nepali bādha) in a legal regulation, stating that sexual intercourse between women or girls from Marpha and members of these groups was a punishable offense. It has to be mentioned that the same regulation forbids sexual intercourse with foreigners (phyi-mi).

A vital pointer in the assessment of the political significance of the Marpha Bemchag is found in the back page of the front envelope. Here it is stated that each citizen of Marpha has the right to borrow the text against the deposit of a sum of money of one A-nā. Thus it was guaranteed that any citizen who had legal problems could consult the basic laws at any time.

The Marpha Bemchag of 1796 is divided into formally and thematically fairly clearly distinguished sections that we can refer to as paragraphs. There is no particular enumeration of these sections. The individual sections generally begin with a new page. It is also sometimes common to mark the beginning of such new sections with large spacing from the preceding text. Their thematic
Investigations...

orientation is clarified by a suitable introductory remark. Thus the 1st paragraph begins with the words *mi-thus kor-nas," concerning the Mi-thus," the 2nd with the wording, *gan-pa'i kor-nas "concerning the rGan-pa," and the 3rd with *ka-cha kor-nas, "concerning legal disputes."

In paragraphs that refer not to the duties of particular office holders, but contain regulations to be followed by everyone, the terms *kor or *skor are replaced by *srol "practice." Before dealing with the political system of Marpha in a more detailed manner, I shall introduce the contents of the Marpha Bemchag in accordance with the individual paragraphs:

[§ 1, fol. 1v,6] Official duties of the Mi-thus (*mi-thus kor-nas)

Listing of the official duties of the office holders referred to as Mi-thus and of the the penalties to be paid for violations of these duties.

[§ 2, fol. 2v] Official duties of the rGan-pa (rgan-pa'i kor-nas)

Regulations regarding payments and so forth to be furnished to the rGan-pa; regulations concerning legal proceedings against the rGan-pa; general tariffs to be paid in court procedures; in legal proceedings foreign courts of appeal were generally not permitted.

[§ 3, fol. 3v] Official duties of the official referred to as Rol-po (rol-pa'i kor-nas).

[§ 4, fol. 5v] Regulations concerning the use of the forest: regulations concerning the collection of pine-needles and pine-cones, beginning each year on the 20th calendar day of the 4th month and ending on the 20th day of the 9th month (*san rub-pa'i srol).

[§ 5, fol. 5v,4] Regulations concerning the use of the forests: Regulations concerning the felling of trees (*ldan-po ćod-pa'i srol). This paragraph contains a general ban on the felling of trees in specific forest areas, except for house-building. In certain areas only poplars could be felled for house-building. The removal of bark from trees is a punishable offense.

[§ 6, fol. 6v] Regulations regarding the cultivation of fields, usage of the edges of fields, and sending cattle into the fields (*nol stan-pa'i srol).

[§ 7, fol. 7v,3] Regulations concerning the use of the manure of the herds of cattle belonging to Marpha.

[§ 8, fol. 8v] Regulations to fix wages for weaving and fieldwork. Anyone paying more than the wages established here would be punished.

[§ 9, fol. 8v,5] Restrictions to the storage of commodities such as grain and salt by traders from Thags in private households in Marpha.

[§ 10, fol. 8v] Regulations concerning the big animal sacrifice of 17 goats and other religious festivals (*son se srol).

[§ 11, fol. 9v] Regulations concerning the performance of the *sMon-lam-rituals (*ku-rim byes-pa'i srol).

[§ 12, fol. 10v] Ban on the monthly festival being
celebrated at the 10th day of each month.

§ 13, fol. 10r,5 Ban on crossing fields in the period between sowing and harvest by people in whose house someone just had died.

§ 14, fol. 10v Regulations concerning marriage (sna-ma len pa'i srol).

§ 15, fol. 12r Absolutely binding regulations to limit all trading activities in Marpha to the central trading place (gron-khan gi srol).

Trading activities outside the Gron-khan are strictly forbidden. Beasts of burden of all traders must be housed in the Gron-khan. Goods may only be stored there (see also § 9). The citizens of Marpha are not allowed to do business in the central trading places of Šan or Jon-sum.

§ 16, fol. 13r Regulations concerning the payment of cattle herders, who look after the cattle of the citizens of Marpha.

§ 17, fol. 13v Regulations for young men and women, participating in the singing and dancing of the sTo-ran festival.

§ 18, fol. 15r Regulations to fix the prices for the purchase of yak bulls and cows (g.yug gi srol).

§ 19, fol. 15v,3 Ban against the selling of salt to, and its purchase from beer sellers from Thukche and other settlements south of Marpha.

§ 20, fol. 16r People setting out on a journey should not be given beer, etc. on their departure.

§ 21, fol. 16r,4 Ban against foreigners beating drums, singing or dance in Marpha at particular times.

§ 22, fol. 16v Modes of behaviour useful to prevent hail damage.

§ 23, fol. 17r Fees for using certain paths to drive yaks on the mountain Sa-chan ri (lam-rin srol).

§ 24, fol. 17v Regulations for the payment of taxes by the households of Marpha (gron-pa'i srol). The tax burden of a household is to be paid by the parents and devolves on their death on the youngest son.

§ 25, fol. 17v,4 Taxation of beer taverns.

§ 26, fol. 18r,3 Regulations concerning the burial of the dead.

§ 27, fol. 18v Regulations for the payment of a penalty by those who leave the monastery.

§ 28, fol. 18v,3 If someone fails to cultivate the fields belonging to him and situated in more elevated areas of Marpha, then anybody is allowed to cultivate them as long as he pays the taxes.

§ 29, fol. 19r Regulations concerning maintenance of the reservoirs and the usage of water (jin-nu gi srol).

§ 30, fol. 19v,2 Regulations concerning the end of the obligations to assume public offices at the age of 60 years (thar-can ston-pa'i srol).
Investigations...

§ 31, fol. 20r, 4] Additional regulations regarding office of the rGan-pa (rgan-pa'i srol). Obligations of the Rol-po to accompany the rGan-pa on his private journeys. Duty of the rGan-pa to be present personally during the collection of taxes. Special taxes to be levied for the rGan-pa.

§ 32, fol. 20v] Regulations concerning the herding of cattle (dun-grugs gi srol): During the time of the herding of the cattle in the pastures the animals should only in exceptional cases be left in Marpha.

§ 33, fol. 21r] Regulations concerning the distribution of the meat of the annually slaughtered sheep.

§ 34, fol. 21r, 5] Punishments for those who do not take part in the meetings of all citizens.

§ 35, fol. 21v] The obligation to take up public office begins from the age of 18. Regulation concerning the boarding costs of public office holders from public resources during the assemblies.

§ 36, fol. 21v, 5] Regulations concerning the delivery of hay to the rGan-pa.

§ 37, fol. 22r] Prohibition against incest, and ban of sexual intercourse of women with foreigners, slaves and bonded serfs. By-products of spirit distilleries must not be thrown out on the streets.

§ 38, fol. 22v] Rules for the change in office of the Chos-khrims-pa who is responsible for discipline in the monastery (chos-grum pos-pa'i srol).

§ 39, fol. 23r] Obligation to drink beer at the annual festival of the relatives of the father.

§ 40, fol. 23r, 3] Confirmation that the land on which Marpha’s night quarters for travelers were built belongs to the general public.

§ 41, fol. 23r, 6] The state-owned matchlock has to be kept in the custody of the holders of public offices.

§ 42, fol. 23v] Supplement from the Čha-phag Year 1803/04: New regulations on taxes. This concerns the financing of the ceremony for the change in the office of the rGan-čhen (which takes place after three years) and of the Mi-thus (which takes place every year) only.

§ 43, fol. 24r] Regulations concerning the offerings for the God Ka-ton-ko-lon.

§ 44, fol. 24r, 4] Regulations concerning the safekeeping of the land registers by the eight Mi-čhen.

§ 45, fol. 25r] Further regulations concerning the driving of cattle onto harvested fields and the supervision of fields by the Rol-po.

§ 46, fol. 25r] Ban on the cultivation of fields in certain areas. Regulations concerning the collecting of taxes. Obligation of the Mi-thus and the Rol-po to take part in the construction of a bridge over the Kali Gandaki.

§ 47, fol. 26r] Regulations concerning the handing over of bounty to the bride-to-be. Regulations concerning divorce. Conditions for the opening of a beer tavern by foreigners who have settled in Marpha.
Special regulations concerning the collection and felling of wood for the monastery.

The introductory passages of the Marpha Bemchag translated above mention besides the citizen (yul-mi) the highest official of the petty state, the “Grand Elder” (rgan-chen), who was also referred to by the titles gon-ma, “The Supreme One,” and mi-rje-chen-po, “Great Ruler.” Both titles indicate the leading role of the rGan-chen within the Marpha community, especially as the use of the title gon-ma was already within region under the influence of Tibet reserved exclusively for the emperor of China.

The period of office of the Great Elder lasted three years. Before taking up the position he had to swear his oath of office before the assembly of all citizens.

The Bemchag does not give any details to answers the following questions:

-how was the rGan-chen selected?
-what is the rGan-chen selected from a specific social group, or every citizen eligible?
-what was a re-election of the rGan-chen possible after the three year period of office?

In addition to his function as political representative of the petty state, the rGan-chen was also the state’s chief judge. It was possible to register an appeal if anyone disagreed with the decision of the rGan-chen. In this case the matter would be handed over to a third party, and the rGan-chen and the four Mi-thus appeared henceforth as a party opposing the plaintiff. It is one of the most significant features of the legal system of Marpha that external appeals were generally forbidden.

Despite the fact that in 1796, the year of the ratification of the Bemchag, Marpha belonged to the Kingdom of Gorkha, the Bemchag contained explicit prohibition against lodging legal appeals with the King of Kathmandu. Not until 1808 was a new regulation laid down by a citizens’ assembly, that as the only exception to the prohibition against appeal to outside, access to the King of Kathmandu would be permitted.

The outstanding position of the rGan-chen nevertheless in no way meant that he stood outside or above the legal system of Marpha. If he violated the laws of the state, it was the duty of the four Mi-thus to hold a trial against him. In such a case it was their duty to call a meeting of all the citizens of Marpha, who then had to pass judgement on the rGan-chen together.

The duties of the rGan-chen included the appointment of the various officials of the state, namely the four Mi-thus, the Min-kya and ten Rolpo. The citizens of Marpha were called up for public positions in a particular order (rim-po), of which no details are found in the Bemchag. If a citizen had reached the age of 18, he generally did not have the option of turning down a public position. Those who had to take up these duties, and those who had to take part in the citizens’ assemblies were forced to comply by a system of fines. The upper age limit on those required to carry out public duties was 60. The reaching of this age limit was marked by a celebration (thar-chen “Exemption-beer”). It seems, however, that the head of a household (gron-pa) was only made exempt at this age if he had at least one son, who could take over his duties. Anyone not having the Thar-chen celebration at 60 could not attain dismissal from general official duties again until the age of 71, when he could pay a fine of 51 dhoti.”
The Marpha Bemchag collectively names all people holding public office as dMi-stoa. We cannot say here whether the also-mentioned Mi-chen and Mi-dragon referred to officials or people of senior social positions. It is worth noting that they are otherwise hardly mentioned in the Marpha Bemchag.

For clarification of the political structure, I present the contents of the first three paragraphs of the Bemchag as follows:

§1, fol. 1v, 6] Official duties of the Mi-thus (mi-thus kor-nas)

Particular official duties of the officials referred to as Mi-thus and the penalties which they can incur by contravening these duties.

The Mi-thus must all be present at the collection of the tribute (ser-sta, from the Nepali stito) that had to be paid by the state of Marpha. Absent Mi-thus incurred the fine of two dnuil each. Two dnuil was also the fine for any Mi-thus not present at the collection of the taxes (kharal). Should a Mi-thus be absent from a simultaneous collection of both the tribute and the taxes, he incurred the fine of four dnuil.

The Mi-thus have to be present at the restoration of the irrigation canals for both the cultivation of barley and wheat in the spring and the cultivation of buckwheat in the summer. The fine for absence is one tamm. The same fine must be paid if a Mi-thus is absent during the reconstruction of the wooden aqueduct of sNé-ra-paṅ, the reconstruction of the wooden aqueduct of Bhon-ran or the cleaning of reservoirs.

If a Mi-thus wants to leave Marpha to go on a journey, he must first obtain the permission of the rGan-chen. The fine for travelling without this permission is one zo-ba of salt. Out of the four Mi-thus, at least two must be present in Marpha in summer and in winter; otherwise, a fine of one dnuil-to must be paid. Mi-thus setting out on a journey must return to Marpha within 20 days, or incur a fine of one zo.

§2, fol. 2v] Official duties of the rGan-pa (gan-paṅ kor-nas)

Regulations of taxes and so forth to be produced for the rGan-pa.

Three dnuil must be paid to him for wearing the special hat of the rGan-pa (dbu-thod).

To enable his wife (khyim-dags aṅ mo = khyim-dtag dbo-mo) to provide the beer of conduct (kyal-chan = bskyal-chan) three dnuil must be handed over to her.

For the beer of conduct that the officials (smir-ri) must contribute on the occasion of the delivery of taxes (kharal), they receive a reimbursement of three dnuil. These sums are to be provided by the general public (yul thog nas).

Regulations concerning legal proceedings against the rGan-pa:

In the event that the rGan-pa passes a verdict, and the dismayed party maintains that the decision is incorrect, the case has to be handed over to someone else who is not rGan-pa. If the rGan-pa and the four Mi-thus win the case, the law fees (byo-dro ri = Nepali jitsuri) as well as the payment to the judge (bhe-khi = Nepali bhei) must be provided by the general public. If they win more than once, an additional dnuil is to be handed over to the rGan-pa. For the arrangement of the beer of conduct he receives one dnuil. This must be provided by the general public too. Expenses exceed-
If the rGan-pa loses, he must pay the payment to the judge (bhe-khri), and also the penalty (gran-khri = Nepali danda) imposed.

If the rGan-pa has conferred the office of Mi-thus on someone and he doesn’t accept, the fine is one zo. The Mi-thus in question must stay in Marpha. If a Mi-thus doesn’t stay in the state, after 15 days his son must officiate as deputy, and stay in the state as Mi-thus.

In the event that the rGan-pa offends against the law, the legal proceedings are transferred to the four Mi-thus. The Mi-thus must inform the citizens of the state (yul-bo). When the whole state has assembled, the citizens of the state (yul-mi) must pass judgment. In the event that the four Mi-thus do not inform the citizenship, they must each pay a fine of 1/2 zo.

General legal costs:

If anyone brings a legal action and wins it, the law fees (byo-to-ri = Nepali jitaru) to be paid by the winner come to 3 dhuul. If he loses, the fine imposed (gran-gri = Nepali danda) comes to at least 5 dhuul. In matters of greater importance, an additional fine is imposed. The fine must be paid within 15 days. If the fine is not paid within this period of grace, an additional fine of two bya'u must be paid for each day it is overdue. If the rGan-chen or the Mi-thus give respite, they have to pay a fine of 1/2 zo.

If the whole legal action is settled by an agreement, the judge’s fees (bhe-gri = Nepali bheti) come to no more than one dhuul. Unrelated to the fact of whether one wins or loses the case, the Service is one A-na in each case.

Excluding Foreign courts of appeal:

It is not permitted to evade a sentence by leaving the area of Marpha. It is not allowed to lodge appeals against such a sentence with officials such as Bhia-ca-ri (= Nepali becairi), Do-va-ri (= Nepali dvare), A-ma-li (= Nepali amali), dri-Mu-khi (= Nepali mukhiyo), Gri-kha (= Nepali dictah) and Supsa (= Nepali subha). It is not possible to request a verdict (sta-kar = Nepali tak) from Kathmandu (yans-ba) and bring it to Marpha.

In the event that anyone contravenes these rules, the household to which he belongs must pay a fine of three zo.

[§ 3, p.3] Official duties of the Rol-po (rol-pa’i kor-nas)

Attendance duties of the Rol-po:

In summer the Rol-po are not allowed to take time off from their duties. If a Rol-po is not present on the 20th day of the sTo-ren-autumn festival, he is fined two dhuul. This fine must be paid into the public revenue (am-stu-ni = Nepali amdana-ni). For each further day the absentee must pay one Tam. In the period from the reaping of the buckwheat to the 20th day of the sTo-ren festival, the Rol-po are allowed to take time off. If a Rol-po is sick in the summer, he can take time off. He must however pay one dhuul for each month that he is absent. If a Rol-po dies and he has a son who is at least 12 years old, he must be appointed as replacement Rol-po for the dead father. If such a son is not available, the family is charged one dhuul per month. The remaining Rol-po(s) and all other officials receive a share of this sum. A Rol-po must not take more than three days leave of absence from official duties. If he takes more than three days off, the fine for the Min-kya is one Tam.

The rGan-chen can grant the Min-kya leave of
absence for four days. In this case the Min-kyā must deposit a sum (spes-sa) of one A-nya. If the Min-kyā does not remain in Marpha, the fine for each day of absence is one dnuul.

When the rGan-čhen and the Mi-thus have to leave due to conflicts and legal disputes and travel to Khon-pu, Khug-lu, spPo-ko-ra, Stān or Yarbu, the cost of their expenses, and those of the Rol-po who carry their luggage, must be divided equally between the citizens of the State. The Rolpos remaining behind in the State are not obliged to deliver any payment for the raising of those expenses. The remaining Rolpos are not allowed to travel. When this money is raised, the Rol-po(s) must not embezzle it. The Min-kyā must not embezzle deposited sums (spes-sa) and salt. If even 1 dnuul is embezzled, the fine is 1 śa-dan-gyan-bu. If monetary sums (spes-sa) and salt have been deposited and the Min-kyā gives them away, the fine for him is 1 śa-dan-gyan-bu.

So far we have had no access to documents from Thag, lying south of Marpha, so we cannot yet comment on the basic political laws of this area from a historical standpoint. Nevertheless, in Larsung there is a huge archive preserved in a large, modern steel cupboard. It remains to be hoped that the documents will soon become accessible for research. Nevertheless the documents from Ghasa show that the political organization of Thag was similar to that of Marpha.

The documents recently photographed in Thinlu clearly show that this settlement closely followed the model of Marpha in its political organization. Although there are no comprehensive legal texts comparable with the Marpha Benchang, there are many documents in which comparable laws have been found. Approval of these documents by the representatives of all households was testified with thumb-prints.

Notes


2 To this statement I would like to make the following remarks: I have of course noticed more studies dealing with historical aspects of this area, as for instance historical remarks in Gauchan-Vinding and others. But since all of them like Gauchan-Vinding, do not publish their sources, they cannot be used as a base for further research. The publication of sources and their interpretation is indispensable since these sources confront us with extraordinary linguistic difficulties typical for this area. I therefore strongly suggest that evaluations of sources, given mainly as contents analysis, may not be used for further historical research and conclusions.

3 See Bibliography and Abbreviations: Ramble-Vinding. Concerning the date of this text Ramble-Vinding (p.7) give the following remarks: "The text includes a reference to the Central Government of Tibet (Ganden Phodrang) which was established only in the 17 century and the text cannot be therefore earlier than that date." In its first part the Cimang bem-čhang mentions a number of historical figures which are not identified by Ramble-Vinding. First we have to mention a King of Jumla named Šur-ča-pa (Ramble-Vinding, p.36, line 12). This is the king Saradā of Jumla, who according to Pandey (p. 44-) ruled this country between 1618 - 1626. The text names
as another historical figure a King of Mustang (Klo-’o) called Ā-ka bSam-grub (Ramble-Vinding, p. 37, line 1). According to Jackson (p. 134) there were three Kings of Mustang, bearing the name bSam-grub: bSam-grub-rdo-rje, bSam-grub-rab-brtan and bSam-grub-dpal ’bar. All three ruled during the 17 century. Finally the text mentions a ruler of sMu-ga-thar-ba named Khro-skyabs (Ramble-Vinding, p. 37, line 1-2). This person is obviously identical with Khro-bo-skyabs-pa, the founder of the three big castles in the Muktināth valley, who lived in the 16 century. From this we can conclude that the earliest date of the compilation of the Cimang bsm-chag is the second half of the 17 century.

4 Ramble-Vinding, p. 7
5 Ramble-Vinding, p. 6
6 See Bibliography and Abbreviations: Kag Bumchag and Marpha Bemchag.
7 Schuh 6, pp. 307-310; Meisezahl, p. 225. According to the descriptions of Meisezahl, the introductions of Tibetan law books very often contain a detailed history of Tibetan law.
8 Schuh 5, Documents XXXVIII and XXXIX.
9 Regarding the use of the Mongolian term bi-cig as a designation of legal documents of a special type see Schuh 7, p. 7 and Schuh 8, p. 162.
10 In the Tibetan legal system we find the usage of three basic terms: bka’-sog, bka’-gstan etc. for decrees of the ruler, addressed to specific persons and institutions, rca-chig for decrees of the ruler, addressed to the whole country or a parts of it and żal-łee for the criminal law book.
11 For comparison we may look at the Mounthang Bemchag. Unfortunately only a copy of a part of this text is available to me. As far as I can see the text describes the relations between Mustang with its neighbours and lists the tributary to be handed over to Junila and its officials. In its historical descriptions it bears certain similarities to the Cimang bsm-chag.

12 Nowadays Thag comprises 13 villages.
13 Ramble-Vinding, p. 43, line 4.
14 Ramble-Vinding, p. 44, lines 3-6.
15 Ramble-Vinding give here the following translation: “In order to keep Thag and Sum separate (?)”. The term rgam-sag is used even nowadays in southern Mustang as a designation of a treatise.

16 The translation of Ramble-Vinding (p. 17) of this sentence is completely misleading. As a consequence the whole interpretation of this treatise is not understandable.

17 Ramble-Vinding, p. 45, line 1 - p. 46, line 9.
18 Ramble-Vinding, p. 44, line 16 - p. 45, line 1.
19 Ramble-Vinding, p. 18, translates chod-yig as “clear account.” They add to this translation the following commentary (p. 33): “Chod-yig (for chos-yig) does not necessarily mean an religious account, but is probably a pleonasm, since chos is the usual term in Baragvan for literature of any sort.” This proposed translation is misleading. In this respect I only refer to the Bod-rgya chig-mjod (p. 824), where we find the following explanation of this term: rcdog-gzis ’dam-grig byun-ba’ yi-ge ‘treaty for the settlement of a dispute’ or dngag-mchams glog-rgyu’i chod-yig “Treaty, which ends a war.”

20 It is not clear to me who is designated by the term mṅkar-dpon.
21 Ramble-Vinding (p. 18) give the following
4.2. The feudalistic political order of the land of twelve villages (Yul-kha bcu-gis, Baragao)

As we have noted above, up to the 19th century the Muktinath valley and the regions under its political control were ruled over by a family of nobles. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Muktinath valley should have greatly differed in its political organization from its southern neighbours. In the Kagbeni village archives, it so happens, there is a text of the bem-chag genre concerning the history and organization of this region. The document is bound together into a booklet and comprises 15 folios. On the final leaf we find the sealed original of a deed of Khri-thag rDo-rje-thogs-rgyal, issued in 1849 and edited above as Document 1. This is in itself an indication of the document's great age. Without a doubt, the document was drawn up before the beginning of the Gorkha rule - that is, before 1790.

The first point to note is that the date the bem-chag of Kagbeni was put to paper is stated in the document itself:

[fol. 3v,1] "The history of the origin of the country of sKag and its earlier customs were written down in the female fire-ox year, on the 10th day of the third month, on a Sunday, in the 22nd lunar house and on the day of the dragon."

Whoever is familiar with the Tibetan calendrical system will know that, in spite of this information, establishing the writing date with certainty is far from being unproblematic. Possible candidates for the fire-ox year are, for instance, 1577, 1637, 1697 and 1757. The addition of the day of the week to the date might be of some help in identifying the year in question. According to the Tibetan calendrical reckoning I am familiar with,
the 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1577, in all Tibetan calendars I have been able to quantify, was a Friday. The 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1637 was, according to the newer school of the Phug-pa, a Sunday; according to the older Phug-pa school and the calendrical reckoning of the Kalacakratantra, a Saturday; and according to the reckoning of the 'Phags-pa, a Sunday.

The 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1697, according to the new and old Phug-pa schools, was a Monday; according to the calendrical reckoning of the Kalacakratantra and the 'Phags-pa, a Sunday; and the 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1757, according to all calendrical reckonings I have been able to quantify, was a Thursday.

From this it is evident that only 1637 and 1697 are possible years for the writing of the bem-chag of Kagbeni. The contents of the text provide no secure evidence as to which of these two years is, in the end, the correct one.

Historical information is found only in the first part of the bem-chag, where the founding of the village, the location of its borders and its subjection to Jumla is dealt with:

[fol. 3v,2 - 4r,6] "stBu-drin Khro-skyi-pa, having turned his horse south, set up three districts.

First, concerning the mountain pastures and the borders:

The border between Som-po and skKah: the near side of the rGyas-lun-pa, eastward below the dkon-mchog man-than;

The border between the people of sKag, rJon and Pu-ta: what is below the Lun-mo-che belongs to the people of sKag;

The border between Khyin-ka and the people of sKag: below the (cliff) Brag-zur on the near side of the (pass) Dan-sgo-ga-la belongs to the people of sKag:

This side of sTi-ma and above Pan-thag nang-ma and Brag-mo-che is the common land of the people of sKag and of Phan-legs;

What remains was granted (to sKag) during the lifetime of sPu-drin Khro-skyi-ba.

Later, from the time when (Kagbeni) came under the rule of the king of Jumla Bhan-pa, it was said: There is no difference between you, the sixty households of Che-na-šin¹, and the sixty households of sKag. They are the residences of the king (rgyal) and the minister (blon). Accordingly, it [i.e. sKag] was granted for a tax of fifteen dkar-dmar."

Of historical significance is, first of all, the mention of sPu-drin Khro-skyi-pa as the founder of the three southern "districts" (rjon-sgo)², of which the Mukトnath valley of course forms a part. Also significant is the reference to a king of Jumla, spelled Bhan-pa or Bhan-sa, who ruled later than Khro-skyi-pa. Of particular interest is the statement that Kagbeni came under the domination of Jumla during his time. The Jumla king in question is either Bhunadhari (1528 - 1585) or Bahudur dasa (1665 - 1675)³, in my opinion most probably the later one. The allusion here is obviously to Mustang's inclusion in the collocation of states
under Jumla's hegemony in the 17th century, which has been dealt with in detail above (cf. Part I, 3.3).

In the Kag *bem-čhaṅ* the description of the territorial boundaries is followed by a discussion of the penal code [fols. 4r,6 - 6r,1]. Here it is stated that this code was also established by King Bhīṅ-pa. In fact, however, the indications are that the code in question is purely Tibetan in origin. There is first the admonishment that the judges must pass sentence fairly. Then there is the provision that trial by ordeal making use of glowing iron and boiling oil should be outlawed. In order to arrive at the truth, the decision of the "(three) precious objects" should be sought, the reference obviously being to a throw of dice." A list of court fees ensues. The section concludes, finally, with instructions on what steps are to be taken in cases where ordeals are conducted with the use of a hot iron or boiling oil. In such cases, the 'o'-om-pa needs to be present. If the 'o'-om-pa is absent, the presence of the khri-thog-pa is required.

Criminal court rulings are dealt with elsewhere, though only for the case of theft [fols. 11v,5 - 12r,2]. They show that the Tibetan law of compensation applied in Kagbeni. If the thief was a houseowner (*bdag-po*), he was required to pay as compensation a value sixteen times that of the stolen goods. If the thief was a bondman (*gyo-gpo*), only an eightfold compensation had to be paid.

The 'o'-om-pa and the khri-thog-pa were the most important officials of the Muktināth valley. The khri-thog-pa was the representative of the local noble family, and the 'o'-om-pa that of the king of Jumla. As a rule the representative of the King of Jumla remained in the Muktināth valley only for a period of three months. Among his duties was the formal acceptance of the taxes of Lower Mustang (*glo-smad*). It was the duty of the elder of Kagbeni, the steward of the fortress (*mhtar gyi gñer-pa*) and the two stewards from among the ranks of the subjects (*mīa'-tṣabs kyi gñer-pa*) to collect these taxes and hand them over to him through the khri-thog-pa.

When the 'o'-om-pa arrived on his visit from Jumla, firewood and fodder for his mounts and pack animals had to be made ready. If the khri-thog-pa travelled to Char-mi-kha', sMon-than, sMa-smal or Gli-baśi on state business, monks and laymen had to prepare a suitable reception for him along the way.

The elder (rgan-pa) of Kagbeni was not only the seniormost person of Kagbeni, but he also performed this function for the entire territory of the twelve villages. At his installation, he received a turban from the fortress as a token of respect. The elder and the two stewards (*gñer-pa*) were not elected by the people but selected and appointed jointly by the 'o'-om-pa and khri-thog-pa. The elder's authority was evidently considerable. If a person refused to carry out his orders relating to particular activities, he had to pay a certain fine. The six *rol-bo* are mentioned as officials along with the elder.

The people of Kagbeni were divided into six 'cho groups, which were represented on certain occasions by so-called mi-thus. Particular fields were assigned to the 'cho groups; the harvests from them were drawn upon in fullfilment of certain public tasks. The maintenance of paths and the performance of certain rituals may be mentioned here.

The *bem-čhaṅ* of Kagbeni devotes a fair amount of space to the local customs post, which, according to our informants, was located outside the actual village during the historical period. In front of the customs post there was a large open
space, which was used for laying up salt. The customs post was closed in the spring at the time of the Siripaṇcami festival and reopened only in the summer at the time of the first harvest. Trade stopped during this time, and the main gate of Kagbeni was shut. It was the duty of the rol-po to ensure that the pause in trade was observed. The head of the customs post, who was evidently delegated to Kagbeni directly from Jumla, was not present in Kagbeni during this time. Customs on petty trade that nevertheless went on was collected by residents of Kagbeni.

At the time the customs post was closed, the salt storage area was swept out by the rol-po, who evidently were allowed to keep for themselves the amount of salt swept together. The closure was accompanied by the performance of a lha-bsins ceremony by the monks of the monastery. An animal was also possibly sacrificed.

The salt trade was without a doubt the main source of income for the customs office. There is only one reference concerning the collection of customs duties: the need to measure out granulated salt. There is also only one reference, in Document 6, concerning the amount of duty received. There it is noted that the ṣgo-dpon of Kagbeni retained a handful of salt. In comparison to this, the ched-phud duties levied in Thag were greater: if a yak or a majo was used as the pack animal, the customs fee amounted to a double handful of salt; if a goat or sheep, the fee was one handful of salt per animal.

No duties were imposed on certain goods. These were: copper, brass, cotton, woollen stuffs, iron and lead. Butter, comestible oil, tobacco, chewing tobacco, raw sugar, certain dye additives, medicines and chili peppers, however, were subject to duties. The amount of duty owed on these items is not specified in the bem-chag of Kagbeni. Duties also had to be paid on the transport of bamboo boxes, dossers, boards, beams, wooden boxes and tea. The exact customs rates are given in the case of these goods.

Much space is devoted in the Kagbeni bem-chag to a description of responsibilities that arose in connection with the performance of certain festivals and religious ceremonies. Determinations were made as to who supplied what food products (and under certain circumstances sacrificial animals), which officials and participants in the rituals received what portions for carrying out the ceremonies. The following festivals and rituals are mentioned:

1. gSo-sbyon ceremony (fol. 6A,1)
2. Ba-le gsun-pa (fol. 6A,5)
3. Lo-g-yog (fol. 7A,3), evidently in connection with a baño-rim ceremony and a jo offering.
4. Gyal-ras me-tog (fol. 9B,1)
5. dByar-ston (fol. 10A,4)

The Kagbeni bem-chag also defines the numerous community duties of a profane nature to be carried out by households. Among such duties are participation in communal gatherings, the cleaning of water channels and the irrigation reservoir, the observance of the partial ban on slaughtering bulls needed for tilling fields, the responsibility providing mutual assistance during joint trading expeditions etc. For details, the following edition and translation of the Kagbeni bem-chag may be consulted.

It should be stressed that, in spite of the purely Buddhist character of the introduction of the bem-chag, the monastery of Kagbeni and its monks played only a minor role in the ritual life of the village at the end of the 17th century, such as it is
reflected in the *bsum-’chag*. The monastery itself (*chos-sde*), for instance, is only mentioned in connection with a *lha-bsams* ceremony (fol. 4A) performed during the closure of the customs post. The monks (*dge-’dun*) are referred to only in connection with the observance of a *bsno-rim* ceremony (fol. 7A, 9A). The possibility cannot be ruled out that they also performed the *gso-skyon* ceremony mentioned on fol. 6A. The main priestly figure, however, is the a-ya, who had the main role to play in rituals involving animal sacrifice.

The situation as depicted allows conclusions to be drawn about the settlement history of Kagbeni. The inhabitants of the present-day village of Kag speak a Tibetan dialect, and have hitherto been categorized as Bhutias. It is unclear what the historical background to the present situation is. The following fundamental question poses itself: Was the Muktinath valley newly settled by Tibetan settlers from the north and the original population suppressed after the prince *dpun-drun Khrub-bo-sknyal-pa* was deputized there, or was a Tibetan upper class merely superimposed on the preexisting population, resulting in a Tibetanization of the latter? In the case of Kagbeni, this question can now be answered with a fair degree of confidence.

It must be regarded as certain that a village called Kag was already in existence prior to the 15th century. A number of things suggest, however, that it was originally located in a different place from the site of present-day Kagbeni. It may first be noted that, on the basis of studies conducted by B. Schmidt and N. Gutachow, construction of the fortress of Kagbeni was begun only in the second half of the 16th century. None of the houses currently standing in the area surrounding the fortress is likely to be older than the fortress itself. On the other hand, we observe in southern Mustang that easily accessible settlements like Thin and Marpha evidently arose in the 18th century at the earliest, through resettlement from protected sites that were more difficult to reach. The same may be true of the easily accessible villages in Thag to the south. Jomsom is a recent settlement from the 18th century.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the founding of the fortress of Kagbeni was the precondition for people being able to settle in such a militarily exposed site in the first place. Where the *Kag* of the medieval period was located may for the time being remain an open question, though I would rule out an exposed riverine site. More likely candidate is the deserted settlement located near Puseling along the *rjon* River above present-day Kagbeni. Resettlement from old Kagbeni to Kagbeni of the present probably began in the late 16th century, and is hardly likely to have ended before the 18th century.

Northern Mustang came under the full influence of Tibetan Buddhism, in the form of the missionary activity of priests from the Sasa-skya school, in the 15th century at the latest. It is highly improbable that a people who migrated from there to southern Mustang in the 16th century should have practised non-Buddhist rituals involving animal sacrifice. It is also interesting that among the *dkar-’chag* texts dealt with in the next chapter, a work written shortly after the death of *sGrol-ma-rin-chen*, the son of *Khrub-bo-skyabs-pa*, refers to the inhabitants of *Kag* as *mi-nan* ‘bad persons’ who followed bad practices (*srol-kun*), a characterization that may well refer to the non-Buddhist manner in which they exercised their religion.

From what has gone before it may be inferred that the present-day population of Kagbeni is basically the result of the Tibetanization of an origi-
nally non-Tibetan people.

Text and Translation of the Bem-čhag of Kag-beni

1A

1. yul gyi ʰbʰ ʰems-(phyags) ʰgʰ ʰcugʰ gi ʰsʰ ʰnor-bu
2. žes bya-ba bzugs-so,

1 bem-čhag gcu gir nor-bu

"(Herein) is contained the basic law of the land, called Jewel of the Crown of the Head."

1B

1. Z, om sva-sti /, ston-pa bla-med (saṅs-rgyas) rin-po-čhe /, skyobs-pa
2. bla-med dam-čhos rin-po-čhe /, 'dren-pa bla-med dge-dun rin-po-čhe /, bla-med dkon-
3. mchog gsun la phyag-čhal lo /, sku-gsuns yes-'dus rca-(brgyud) la-ma la /,
4. sgo-gsum gub-pas phyag-čhal skyabs-su mči /, (brgyad)-khrigs dus su gsa-ča-
5. sras su ʰkhrusʰ, sde-snod gsun gyi bstun-pa'i (rgyal)-mchen gcugs, 'gro-kun

5 mečhan bcugs

"Om hai! I perform a prostration before the unsurpassable three supreme treasures, the unsurpassable teacher, the noble Buddha, the unsurpassable protector, the noble sacred Dharma, the unsurpassable liberator, the noble community of monks.

I humbly perform the prostration by means of the "three gates" before the direct spiritual teacher and before the spiritual teachers, being in the line of the tradition, (both) uniting in their persons the "three bodies," and deliver myself up to their protection.

Born during the time of the Eighty Thousand as the son of the (king) Zas-geam-(ma) [Śuddhodana], he erected the standard of the teaching of the Tripitaka,"

2A

1. Z, ma-rig mun-pa sel-mjad-pa'i /, mňaams-med šākya'i (rgyal)-por
2. phyag-čhal-bstod /, (rgya)-gar chos kyi (rgya)-mcho čhen-po las /, dam-čhos čhar-(rgyun)
3. bod du 'dren mjad-pa'i /, bod-yul (thams-čad) chos kyi gnih-bar mjad /, mñas-sgrub
4. lo-pa mnams la phyag-čhal-lo /, žes mchod-par brjod-pa sāsum du bta-n nas,

1 mňam-med 3 'dren-mjad-pas , chos kyi

"he removed for all living beings the darkness of ignorance, before him, the incomparable Śākya king, I perform the prostration and extol him.

From the great ocean of India's religious they brought the rainfall of the sacred Dharma to Tibet,
and thereby filled the whole land of Tibet with the Dharma.
(before these,) the learned and wise translators and pandits,
I perform the prostration.
After the words of offering thus had been placed at the beginning:"

5. *si-ri si-ri rgyal-zabs-rin-po-che'i * sa-gzi yin-pa la, thog-mar skag-pa yul-pa'i (chags)-rab bkod-pa

"now the history of the origin of the people of the land of sKag was first put down in writing, (it) being the region of the precious Si-ri Si-ri king."

2B

1. la, me-mo gla'i-lo zla-ba gsum-pa'i ches-bcu, gza'i-si-ma, skar-ma n'er-gnis, 'brug gi
2. sii-ma la, skag-pa yul-pa'i (chags)-rab dan sgon-srol mams yi-ger bkod-pa la, spu-drun kro-
3. skya-pa chibs-kha lho la 'gyur nas, sjo'i-sgo gsum gcugs, thog-mar ri-ga dan sa-me-chams
4. skor la, som-po dañ skakh gi sa-me-chams sring-gyun chur-stabs, jam-'phrañ-mar-mo chur-stabs,
5. stañ-yed kys ri-me-chams, (rgyas)-luñ-pa chur-stabs, šar-(phyogs) nas dkon-méchog-man-than-
6. chad, skag-pa dañ sjo'i-pa pu-ta gsum gyis sa-
(mechams), luñ-mo-che man-chad skag-pa'i yin, khyin-

2 'chag-rabs 3 lho la bsgyur nas, sjo'i-sgo gsum bcugs 4 skag gi 5 stañ-yed kyi 6 pu-ta gsum gyi

"The history of the origin of the country of sKag and its earlier customs were written down in the female fire-ox year, on the 10th day of the third month, on a Sunday, in the 22nd lunar house and on the day of the dragon.

sPu-drun ᐆrdo-skye-pa, having turned his horse south, set up the three districts.
First, concerning the mountain pastures and the borders;
The border between Som-po and sKakh: the near bank of the (river) Srin-gyun and the near side of the Jam-'phrañ mar-mo;
The mountain pasture border with sTan-ye: the near side of the rGyas-luñ-pa, eastward below the dKon-méchog man-than;
The border between the people of sKag, rJon and Pu-ta: what is below the Lun-mo-che belongs to the people of sKag;"

3A

1. Z., ka dan skag-pa'i sa-me-chams brag-zur man-
(chad, dan-gog-la chur-stabs skag-
2. pa'i yin, sti-ma chur-stabs, pan-thag nan-ma
dan brag-po-che yin-chad skag-pa dan phan-
(l Lc-1 gs)
3. gnis mkluñ spis-ma yin, de-man spu-drun khrö-skya-ba'i skur-thog la gnun-ba yin /, (phyis su) 'jun-glañ
4. (rgyal)-po bhan-pa Ls-1 kyi mha'-og tu byun
(chun, che-na-sin groñ-pa drug-bcu, skag
groñ-pa drug-bcu
5. khyed-gnis khyad-med , (rgyal) babs-sa dan slon babs-sa yin gsun nas , phral dkar-dmar beo-lha
6. la gna.n-ba yin , khyad-par du yul-khrims yan gna.n-ba yin , thog-mar yul-khrims skor la /

3 gnis luü spyi-ma 5 rgyal babs-sa dan blon babs-sa , khral dkar-dmar

"The border between Khyin-ka and the people of skag: below the (cliff) Brag-zur on the near side of the (pass) Dan-sgod-la belongs to the people of skag;

This side of sti-ma and above Pan-thag nan-ma and Brag-mo-che is the common land of the people of skag and of Phan-legs;

What remains was granted (to skag) during the lifetime of sti-druü Khro-skya-ba.

Later, from the time when (Kagheni) came under the rule of the king of Jumla Bhan pa, it was said: There is no difference between you, the sixty households of Che-na.sin', and the sixty households of skag. They are the residences of the king (rgyal) and the minister (blon). Accordingly, it [i.e. Kag] was granted for a tax of fifteen dkar-dmar.

First, concerning the law of the land:

3B

1. khrims-mi gzu.n-bša.g , mdä.mo'i ston- (bšags) , ūes-(playogs) , 'dun-(playogs) med-pa (khrims)-spes gsun nas yul-

2. khrims gna.n-ba yin , (lčags)-'dags snum-'dags med , dkon-mchog luü-zus byed (rgyu) , (rgyal)-maghan la
3. dkar-dmar zo-ga.n , pham-maghan la dkar-dmar zo-gsun , sgam-po chig gis spes na , sku-(rgyal) da.n chad-pa
4. gnis btas nas gcod (rgyu) , gal-srid (lčags)-'dags snum-'dags byed dgo.s byu.n na , 'o- 'om-pa'i sku-chabs
5. žu (rgyu) , 'o-om med na , khrig-thog-pa nas sku-chabs žu (rgyu) , pham-maghan la chad-pa zo-gsun , yul-khrims
6. man du , sku-(rgyal) zo-ga.n sku-chabs kyi snum nas do.nas du spu.l (rgyu) yin , yul-khrims skal-pa'n

1 khrims-mis gzu.n-gšag , mdä.mo'i lton-bšag , khrims phyex 2 lčags-ldag snum-ldag 3 pham-maghan 4 lčags-ldag snum-ldag , 'o-om-pas sku-chab 5 nas sku-chab 6 sku-chab kyi Is bsnnas nas go.n du 'bul-rgyu , bskal-pa'n

"Having stated, 'The judge should decide in the middle (i.e. unswayed by outside influences), (even) as the notch is cut in an arrow. Apply the law without regard to the fact that someone is related to (this) person or is close to (that) person,' he instituted the law of the land. (Trial by ordeal requiring) the application of (glowing) iron and immersion in (hot) oil will not be used. Use shall be made of (the custom of) asking the Triratna's decision. The winning party is charged the amount (dkar-dmar) of one zo (as a court fee). The losing party is charged the amount (dkar-dmar) of three zo. In passing judgment with wise words, he must do so after having considered the court fee' and the punishment. Should it prove necessary to make
application of (glowing) iron or to perform immersion in (hot) oil, the 'a-om-pa must function as representative. If the 'a-om-pa is not present, the khiri-thog-pa must function as representative. The losing party is charged a fine of three zo.

In accordance with the law of the land, a court fee of one zo shall be taken by the representative and be passed on to the higher authorities. The law of the land was instituted to continue in force up to the end of the era."

4A

1. Z, bar du gnaṅ-byuṅ , skag mda^-'ni skor la , skag-pa la bri-skul med , ši-rí-pa-n-
2. 'jin-ma la skag-dam dus skag-pa'i chva mda^-'ni * ru * ston (rgyu) yin , skag-pa gal-ma dañ mi dañ bca^-
3. pa phin-phran 'jin mi dgos , aña phyag-dar rol-bo'i byed dgos , rol-bo nas ples zo-ba gañ mda^-
4. ni la , skye-skra rams chañ zo do-ma ster dgos , skag-pa chos-sde lha-bsa^ns la gdan-dren dgos ,
5. rgañ-rol bdun-po la gsol chab-kas , brañ-rce mgo-rce , sgyu-ma sne-chans , kon-pa 1 , das-kar 1 ,
6. khylams 1 , phyag-ma 1 rol-bo rams la ster dgos , skyed-skra chab-ra la 'gro dus , skag-pa'i rol-bo

1 la 'dri dgos med 2 skag 'dams dus 3 phyin phran , phyag-dar rol-bos 5 rgyu-ma sne-chan 6 khylam 1 , chva-rva la 'gro

"Concerning the skag customs post: The people of skag need not be consulted (concerning customs matters). When (the customs post) is closed for the Si-ri-pa-n-fes-tival), the salt belonging to the people of skag should be brought to the customs post. As long as (only) the people of skag together with their pack animals and workers go about (their trade after this point in time), nothing may be confiscated. The sweeping of the courtyard shall be performed by the rol-bo. (The chief) of the customs post shall be given a zo-ba (measure) of ground roasted grain by the rol-bo, and a double zo-ba of beer to those working (in the customs post). (The monks of) the monastery of the people of skag shall be invited to a lha-bsa^ns ceremony. To the rgañ-pa and the rol-bo - these seven (persons) - shall be made available a dresser, a bamboo tray, a shovel and a broom. When the workers (of the customs post first) go to the salt storage site, good omens shall be sought by the rol-bo of the people of skag"

4B

1. chañ zo do-ma khyer nas stem-brel byed dgos , chva-bru gius babs dus mda^-'ni nas rol-bo rams
2. la stem-brel byed dgos , chva han-chun la khyer-sa med-pa rol-bos rzar-gnod byed dgos ,
3. (rgyas)-sgo (rgyab) dgos , mda^-'ni yo-pa dañ chañ ster dgos , ši-rí-pa-n 'jin-ma nas skag-pa'i drag-
4. rce nam-bañ bar la skag-pa'i sgo-dpon ston rgyu , skag-pa dañ som-po gius dam-chig la ren nas
5. sa-gsar gañ yin , som-po kyani skag yul-pa la yur-ri a-sin-cha , zam-pa'i sín-cha , bud-
6. śīn, san, rca phran-bu len-pa sñaḍ-cher med, chva-pa la chva-phes chad byas nas len (gyu) yin

1 khyer nas rten-brel, chva-bru gūis 'bas babs dus 2 rten-brel, 'khyer-sa, rol-bos read-gcōd 3 rgyal-sgo, mdan-nis, 4 sgo-dpon, dam-chig la brten nas 5 som-pos kyaṅ, yu-ra'i 'a'i śīn-cha 6 len-pa la sñaḍ-cher, chva-phye chad byas nas

"by the expedient of taking along a double zo-ba of beer. When salt and grains are stored away (for the first time), good omens are to be sought for the rol-bo by the customs post. The rol-bo must see to it that salt is not transported back and forth (during the time when the customs post is closed). The main gate (of skag) shall be shut. Food and beer shall be provided by the customs post. From the Stiri-pa-'gin-ma festival to the release of the drag-rce (fields for the harvest), the customs shall be collected by the sgo-dpon of the people of skag. No trouble shall be caused to the people of skag by (the people of) Som-po by reason of the agreement between the people of skag and Som-po, when the former collect from the Sa-gsar (regions of Som-po) wood for the irrigation conduits, wood for bridges, firewood, san⁷ and small amounts of grass.

(Customs) shall be collected from salt traders, with measurement being made with granulated salt."

5A

1. Z, zams, rag, ras, sgo-bsnam, (leags), ža-
sne (sogs) la go-ra med, mar, ma-khu, tha-
mag
2. bsur-ti, go-ram, rcood, sman-sna, dmar-rca
   (rmams) la mañ-duṅ la btaś nas go-ra ston-
   (gyu), rog-ma
3. la das-skur 1, kon-pa khur-po la das-skur 1,
   rta l khur-po, sgam, gduṅ-ma khur-po la
   khyems re-re,
4. ja khur la spa-lag 1 yin, phra-bzuṅ skor la,
   mts-dal aṅ, gza l-ma l la zin na (rgyal-
poi yin,
5. grab la go-pa (rgyu) mdan-ni nas ston dgos
   lag-len mkhar gyi gñer-pa'i byed dgos, brag-
6. skras-pa skag-pa'i yin, Z, skag l-ma l-an-pa's
   [2S] skor la, thog-mar dbu-thod phu l-ma l

1 'go-snams, mar-khu, tham-mag 2 bcood sman-
sna 4 bya khur, khra-bzuṅ 5 grabs la dgos-pa'i
rgyu, mkhar gyi gñer-pas

"There is no customs on copper, brass, cotton, wool, iron and lead. Customs shall be collected for butter, vegetable oils, tobacco, chewing tobacco, unrefined sugar, bcood (dye additives), all medicaments and chili peppers, with the amount being according to the quantities (being transported). (The duties) for one bamboo box (rgag-ma) are one bamboo tray; for one dossier load they are one bamboo tray; for one load of boards, for one wooden box or one load of beams they are in each case a shovel; and for one load of tea they are a spa-lag (7).

Concerning the catching of falcons⁸: if they are caught in a foreign region, they belong to the king. The things that are needed for engaging in (the catching of falcons) shall be made available by the customs post. The con-
ducting (of the enterprise) shall be done by the steward of the fortress. (The falcons) of Brag-skras-pa belong to the people of skAg.

Concerning...of the rgan-pa of skAg:

5B

1. phyin, skag gis rgan-pa man, yul-kha bceu-gnis kyi rgan-pa yin gsun nas
2. mkhar nas dhu-thod 1, 'o-om-pa zla-ba gsun (bzung)s dus, 'o-om-pa'i phral 'khar
3. gi gnier-pa dan rgan-pa, mna'-zabs kyi gnier-pa gnis, kho-n-bzi'i lag nas glos
4. smad kyi phral dus nas khri-thog-pa'i phyag tu bul gos, khri-thog-pa'i phyag nas
5. 'o-om-pa la bul-gos, 'o-om-pa dan khri-thog-pa gnis bkav-gros ste'n nas, rgan-
6. pa dan gnier-pa gnis la mna'-zabs nas sral de mgo-'dren gna'n-na yin, yul-

1 skag gi rgan-pa min, yin gsunas nas 2 'o-om-pa'i khral mkhar 3 gyi gnier-pa 4 smad kyi khral bsdud, phyag tu 'bul dgos 5 'bul dgos 6 mna'-zabs nas beal te, gna'n-ba yin

"With the pronouncing of the words, 'From the point in time onwards in which the urban was first presented to you, you are not (only) the rgan-pa of skAg; you are the rgan-pa of the land of the twelve villages (yul-kha bceu-gnis),' a urban shall be presented by the fortress (mkhar). When the 'o-om-pa' is present for three months, (the following shall be undertaken) with regard to the taxes for the 'o-om-pa: the taxes of South Mustang (glo-smad) shall be presented to the khri-thog-pa from the

hand of the steward (gnier-pa) of the fortress, the rgan-pa and the two stewards (gnier-pa) of the subjects (mna'-zabs), after they have collected them. The latter shall be presented to the 'o-om-pa from the hand of the khri-thog-pa. With the mutual consent of the 'o-om-pa and the khri-thog-pa, the rgan-pa and the two stewards (gnier-pa) shall be selected and appointed from among the commoners."

6A

1. Z., sa nas gso-sbyon la zai-phud zo gan-ma, brdar-gyal la zo phyed-ma
2. mar-me re la zo gan-ma re-re, ja kas-sla (gzigs) dus ja phin ga'n, cha'n zo phed-ma
3. 'jam-ma'i kas-sla (gzigs) dus 'jam rag-chu'n gan dan cha'n zo phed-ma gsol che'chu'n
4. (gzigs) du gsol 1 dan cha'n zo phed-ma, agrol-don la rim-chu'n zo gan-ma, bZen-
5. cha'n zo gan-ma, 'jug sa-khod phed mkhar nas gna'n-gos, ba-le gaus-pa me'ho l-d-'-
6. dus mkhar nas dar-cog gna'n gos, zu dus cha'n zo gan-ma, ra-rin yul-pa nas

1 brda'-rgyag 2 ja gar-sla, cha'n zo phyed-ma 3 jam-ma' gar-sla, zo phyed-ma 4 zo phyed-
ma, grol-ston la gzims-chan 5 mkhar nas gna'n-dgos 6 dar-cog gna'n-dgos

"A zo-ba of (barley) shall be (supplied) as the initiatory present by the inhabitants of the land for the gso-sbyon (ceremony). A half zo-ba (of barley shall be supplied) for the convocation. One zo-ba (of barley) shall be (supplied) for each butter lamp offering. When the quality of tea is tested, one full pot of tea and a half zo-ba of beer shall be (supplied). When the
quality of noodle soup is tested, a small brass pot full of noodle soup and half a zo-ba of beer shall be (supplied). When the size of balls of rice is tested, a ball of rice and one half zo-ba of beer shall be (supplied). At the end of the ceremony in the evening, one whole zo-ba (of beer) shall be (supplied) as bedtime beer. One whole zo-ba (of beer) shall be (supplied) as beer to begin the day with. At the end of the ceremony, one half of an animal carcass shall be presented by the fortress.

When an offering is made during the bale-gsum-pa (festival)\(^6\), a flag shall be presented by the fortress. When (the fortress) is asked for it, one whole zo-ba of beer shall be (presented). The cost of the goat shall be (borne) by the inhabitants of the country."

6B

1. lug giis kyi rin chu-thag gsum nas dhuul re-re yin , mkhar du chaan zo gan-ma 1 daa
2. sa-lag 1 bul (rgyu) , rgan-pa la bar-lhu g.yas-pa , rgan-pa-ma la sa-lhu phed , a-
3. ya la bar-lhu g.yon-pa daa sa-lag g.yon , (lpags)-po 1 , mgo-bo 1 , a-ya'i rog
4. la sa-lhu gzi-cha , san-pa la sa-lhu gzi-cha , bul-la daa phur-nas nas zo-ba
5. buu , ras kha giis , rog la ras 1 , san-pa la ras kha 1 daa nas zo gsum , gsal la
6. bras zo dgu , phur nas groh-pa re la nas zin-thog zo-ba re-re , san-pa'yi chaan zo do-ma ,

1 chu-thag 2 sa-lhu phyed 3 a-ya'i rogs 4 sa-lhu bzi-cha , san-pa la sa-lhu bzi-cha , bul-ba 5 rogs la

"One dhuul each as the cost of the two sheep shall be (borne) by the (owners of) the three water mills. The fortress shall be presented with one whole zo-ba of beer and the foreleg (of an animal). The rgan-pa shall be (presented) with the right middle lhu, the wife of the rgan-pa with a half lhu of meat, the a-ya\(^6\) with the left middle lhu, the left foreleg, a pelt and a head. The a-ya's assistant shall be (given) a quarter of a lhu of meat, (and) the butcher a quarter of a lhu of meat. Ten zo-ba of barley and two square pieces of cloth shall be (presented) as remuneration and as the barley for the ritual dagger. The (a-ya's) assistant shall be (given) a piece of cloth, (and) the butcher a piece of cloth and three zo-ba of barley. Nine zo-ba of rice shall be (supplied) for the rice meal. Each household (shall supply) one zo-ba of barley from its own harvest as barley for the ritual dagger. The butcher, taking two zo-ba of beer,"

7A

1. Z , khyer nas rgan-pa daa rgan-ba-mo , rol-po pho-dman maams la zabs la
2. jis nas phyag bul gos , chu-thag gsum-po la yo-pa sgyu-ma sne-chains , g.yan-
3. mjes ster nas ska'g gos , Z , (lo-g-yags) skor la , dar-(phyogs) mkhar nas sna'g gos , zu
4. dus chaan zo gan-ma , rgan-pa-ma giis la pral-btub , cho re nas mi-mthus re-re
5. chaan rgyu la nas bod-khal bzi , sro-rims lo-(g-yags) giis nas yin , jo mishod dus 'bras
6. zo buu giis , dge-'dun (maams) la gsal-dpag sa-lhu gsum nas dkar-sa snag-sa bul

2 bul gos , chu-thag, rgyu-ma sne-chan 3 nas
bka' bāṅ gdoṅ, lo-g.yaṅ, dār-cog, mkhar nas gnaṅ gdoṅ 4 chos re nas 5 bsngo-rim, lo-g.yaṅ, rnam la gsoṅ-spaṅs

"will make an offering of it, after first having touched (with his hand) the feet of the rgyan-pa, the wife of the rgyan-pa, the rol-pa and their wives. The (owners of) the three water mills shall be (presented with) balls of rice and one piece each of all the types of viscera. They shall be satisfied by being offered crocks of beer adorned with butter.

Concerning the annual yak (sacrifice)⁷. A flag shall be presented by the fortress. When (the fortress) is asked for it, one whole zo-ba of beer shall be (presented). An invitation ceremony shall be (performed) for the rgyan-pa and the wife of the rgyan-pa. Four bo-khol of barley shall be (supplied) by each mi-thus from each cho group as ingredients for (producing) beer. Barley shall be (supplied) for the bsngo-rim⁸ ceremony and the annual yak sacrifice. Twelve zo-ba of rice shall be (supplied) at the time of the jo offering⁹. Balls of rice and side dishes (of boiled meat), as well as, from the three thut of meat, meat with bones and pure meat (without bones) shall be (supplied) to the monks."

7B

1. gos, mi-thus drug la dkar-ša mag-ša dan g.yaṅ-mjes 'bul gos, gog-yul-pa la
2. lhas-bdag, rgyan rol dpon-za sji-bo (rnamš) la bag gos, braṅ g.yaṅ-pa mkhar du 'bul-
3. gos, 'bul dus čaṅ zo gaṅ-ma, rgyan-pa'i (g.yaṅs) la sog-dar snan gos, (sogs)-dar snan dus
4. čaṅ zo gaṅ-ma, rgyan-pa la zim-čaṅ zo gaṅ-ma, zan-čaṅ zo gaṅ-ma, (sogs)-leb g.yaṅ-pa rgyan-pa la, g.yon-pa a-ya la gos, ša-lhu gčig gi sum-cha rgyan-pa-ma la, lhu
5. sum-cha a-ya'i rog la, lhu sum-čha šan-pa la gos, rgyan-pa daṅ a-ya gišis la sgyu-ma
6. 1 gos mi-'thus, snag-ša, 'bul gos 2 rgyan-rol dpon-za, rji-bo, bhag bgos 3 'bul gos, rgyan-pas, rgyan-pas g.yaṅ la, gnaṅ ggos, sog-dar gnaṅ dus 4 la gzung-čha, bzen-čha, sog-leb 5 a-ya la ggos, gčig gi ssum-čha 6 ssum-čha a-ya'i rogs, lhu-gsum-čha, šan-pa la ggos, gišis la rgyu-ma

"The six mi-'thus shall be presented with meat with bones and pure meat (without bones) as well as crocks of beer adorned with butter. The inhabitants of Gog-yul shall be (presented with) pieces of (yak) meat. Distribute to the rgyan-pa, the rol-bo, the dpon-za (?) and the cowherds their portion (of meat). The right breast must be presented to the fortress. When this is presented, a full zo-ba of beer shall be (given to the fortress). The rgyan-pa is obligated to give a [red] cloth neck band for the yak. When he gives the neck band, he (shall receive) a full zo-ba of beer. A full zo-ba (of beer) as bedtime beer shall be (supplied) to the rgyan-pa, and also a full zo-ba as beer to begin the day with. The right shoulder blade goes to the rgyan-pa, the left (shoulder blade) goes to the a-ya. A third of a lhu of meat goes to the wife of the rgyan-pa, a third of a lhu goes to the a-ya's assistant, and a third of a lhu goes to the butcher. The rgyan-pa and the a-ya (shall re-
ceive) one piece each of all the types of viscera."

1. Z , sne-cha, llas-bdag che-chaun rgan-pa la (gzigs)-rtog 'bul gos, de dus
2. rgan-pa la chaun zo phed-ma, jo method dus thabs-chaun zo do-ma, brau lpags-ma ston zer nas
3. chaun zo do-ma, dpun-chaun zo do-ma, rol-po-ma sa bla'bs dus zo do-ma, itar-pa byed dus chaun zo ga'i-
4. ma mda'-ni la chaun zo ga'ni-ma, mda'-ni 'bru-
sna ster gos, 'bul-la da'ni phur-nas nas nas
5. zo-ba gcu, a-ya la ras-kha gnis, rog ra ras-kha
1, san-pa la ras-kha 1 da'ni nas zo-ba
6. gsum, yan san-pa'i rgan-rol phe-mo mamis la phyag-bul byed dgos, a-ya'i zo-ba ga'n

"The size of the pieces of meat shall be supplied to the rgan-pa for inspection. At this time the rgan-pa shall be supplied with half a zo-ba of beer. When the words are spoken, provide the breast for the boiled side dish of meat; half a zo-ba of beer shall be supplied. A double zo-ba (of beer) shall be supplied (as beer for the manual labourers). When the wives of the rol-po fetch the meat, they (shall present) a double zo-ba (of beer). When the itar-pa is performed, one zo-ba of beer shall be (supplied). One zo-ba of beer shall be (presented) to the customs post. The customs post is obligated to give various types of grain."

Ten zo-ba (of barley) shall be (supplied) for the offering as barley for the ritual dagger. Two pieces of cloth shall be (supplied) to the a-ya. One piece of cloth shall be (supplied) for the a-ya's assistant. One piece of material and three zo-ba of barley shall be (supplied) for the butcher. Further, the butcher must perform prostration in front of the rgan-pa, the rol-bo and the wives of the latter. One zo-ba (of barley) from the a-ya (and)"

1. Z , san-pa'i la zo-ba ga'n, rol-bo la ster gos, dge'dun la sio-ri-m gyi
2. dus gro'n-pa re-re nas nas zo re-re, gro'n-pa re-re nas gos l-l-j -ph le-s-j [ l '2S] [g]nis-gnis ,
   bru [ l '2S]
3. gnis nas zo- l-ba-l bi'i, re-g-lur phe-phad la nas zo-ba ..., byan-ras lho-ras bum-ras [ 1S]
4. gsum gos, [ l '4S] kha- l-l-j o l-n-j skor la ,
   l-ng-j an-rol l-bj snu d l-u-j s [ 1S] l-ti-j -
5. grag ga'n-drag bya l-s-j na[s] bsru'n go l-s-j ,
   l-yu-lj -ba na[s] [1S]-thas l-lug-j 1, gya-n-
   pa g l-ni-j s
6. [ ]

1 rol-bo la ster dgos, dge'dun la bsio-ri-m 4
gsum dgos 5 bsru'n dgos

"one zo-ba (of barley) from the butcher shall be given to the rol-bo. One zo-ba of barley shall be (supplied) by each household for the monks during the period of the bsio-ri (fes-
tival). Two meals of roasted grain each ..."
Investigations...

From...and grain, these two, four zo-ba...zo-ba of barley for the initiatory present at the rocag-ltar (field stone). Three are needed, (namely) northern cloth, southern cloth and cloth for the ritual bottle.

Concerning the kha-loṅ (square). When it is guarded by the rgan-pa and rol-bo, they shall guard it with all means (at their disposal). One sheep and two gyaṅ-pa (earthen jars of beer) shall be (supplied) by the inhabitants of the territory...

9B

1. phyed 'lus-steṅ du khrims yoṅ, Z, gya-ba me-tog * XXX * sh[ol] ra, yul-pa nas l-ta-l.
2. mkhar nas dar-cog, ū dus chāṅ zo-ba gaṅ, chāṅ gyaṅ-pa giṅs, bras zo bēcu, a- l-yā-l.
3. la ras kha-giṅs, bul-la daṅ phur-nas bēas zo-ba bēcu, a-yā'i rog la ras- l-kha-l.
4. 1, šan-pa la ras 1 daṅ zo-ba gsum, mkhar du ša-lag 1, bul dus chāṅ zo gaṅ-ma.
5. rgan-pa la bar-lhu gos, rgan-pa-ma lhu-phyed, a-yā'i rog daṅ šan-pa giṅs la ša-lhu
6. bzi-cha bzi-cha, a-yā la ša-lag 1 bar-lhu 1, bran-rce go rce sgyu-ma sre-chāṅ gos.

3 bul-ba daṅ, a-yā'i rogs 5 bar-lhu dgos, a-yā'i rogs 6 bran-rce mgo-rce sgyu-ma

"Punishment shall be administered bodily.

Concerning the (sacrificial festival) of buckwheat blossoms. One goat shall be (supplied) by the inhabitants of the territory. When a flag is requested from the fortress, a full zo-ba of beer shall be presented. (The following items are needed:) two gyaṅ-pa (earthen jars) of beer, ten zo-ba of rice, two pieces of cloth for the a-ya, ten zo-ba of barley as a present and as barley for the ritual dagger, one piece of cloth for the a-ya's assistant, one piece of cloth and three zo-ba (of barley) for the butcher. A leg (of meat) shall (be given) to the fortress as the meat (portion). When this is presented, a zo-ba of beer shall be (given). Half a lhu (of meat) is needed for the rgan-pa, a middle lhu (of meat) for the wife of the rgan-pa, a quarter of a lhu (of meat) each for the a-ya's assistant and the butcher. A leg (of meat), a middle lhu, a piece of breast and head, as well as one piece each from all the types of the viscera, are needed as (the portion of) meat for the a-ya."

10A

1. Z, rgan-pa pho-mo giṅs la phral-stabs gos, (lphags)-pa rol-bo la yin
2. Z, kha-loṅ du gya-thaṅ bruṅ-skor la, (lugs) 1 daṅ ra 1, chāṅ gyaṅ-pa gsum, 'bra-zo bēcu
3. lha, rgan-pa la lhu-phed srum gye r gos, rol-bo mams kyi či-drug gaṅ-drug byas nas brun
4. gos, Z, dbyar-ston skor la, (lugs) gsum, gsal bzi nas, yul-pa phed, (dmags)-
5. gyug phed, rgan-pa la 'cho drug-po la gyaṅ-pa giṅs-giṅs, rco dus nas dab-pa la
6. rol-bo 'gro gos, rol-bo la nas zo-ba gaṅ ster gos, gāer-pa la žal-phud cho-re

1 phral-baṅ dgos 2 lug 1 daṅ, 'bras zo 3 gye dgos, rol-bo mams kyi, či-drug, gaṅ-drug 4 dgos, lug gsum, yul-pa phed 5 gyug phed, 'cho drug-po, bco dus 6 rol-bo 'gro dgos, ster dgos
Concerning the guardianship of the buckwheat:

1. If the buckwheat is to be sold, it must be ground and a full-log of buckwheat must be present. The buckwheat must be ground the day before.

Concerning the rotation of the roko (prayer):

- Twenty grains of barley must be ground, and a full-log of buckwheat must be present. The buckwheat must be ground the day before.
- A full-log of barley must be present. The buckwheat must be ground the day before.
- A full-log of barley must be present. The buckwheat must be ground the day before.
- A full-log of barley must be present. The buckwheat must be ground the day before.
Investigations...

1. dar-gyag byas phyin, han-chun la 'gro-sa med, gal-srid gro na čhad-pa zo-ba

2. gsum, de-man stis čhad zo-ba gañ, rgan-pa phebs nas ma yoñ na, phi-čhad zo-
3. ba phed, žiṅ yur-ra la sab-su (nags)-rnams dam phyin, rcalc-čhad-pa byun na čhad-pa dauł
4. re-re, žiṅ nas lud thu-ba dañ, lud-bra nas lud rku-ba dañ, cab-rag nas na rku na
5. lts nas rkm-jal byaṅ (rgyu) yin, Z, rkm-mo’i skor la, phyi-nor nañ-nor gan
6. rku skor kyaṅ, bdag-po’i rkus na mjāl bco-(bgr Yad) skor, g.yog-po’i rkus na mjāl

I brda-rgyag 2 de-min-pa, phyis-čhad 3 ba phyed, žiṅ yu-ra 5 nañ-nor gañ 6 bdag-pos rkus na ‘jal, g.yog-pos

"After (the meeting) has been called, there is no possibility to travel back and forth. In cases where someone departs on a journey, the fine is three zo-ba (of barley). If someone is still absent after the rgan-pa has come, the fine for being late is half a zo-ba (of barley).

As long as the clusters of grass and thorny bushes are protected along the water channels in the fields the fine is one dauł where cases (of infraction) are detected. In cases where dung is collected from the fields, where dung is stolen from compost heaps and where hay is stolen from stacks of hay, compensation shall be made, where this is detected, as in the case of thievery.

Concerning thievery: What is stolen from the external or internal property shall be returned 18-fold as compensation, in cases where a houseowner steals. In cases where a servant
steals, ninefold the amount shall be returned as compensation.”

12A

1. Z, dgyus-skor, gsyl-nor yul-ba la bul gos, dbags-skor
2. gi skor la, sdb-rtsi'i-brag la ra-sor-pa byun na, bdag-mi (myogs) na bdag-po'i
3. ra del (rgyu), rol-po'i (myogs) na rol-po'i ra ded (rgyu), la phar-(rgyab) la zin sa med, snon
4. la zin-pa de-man-pa gzan zin-sa med, (brgya)-zam du non phyin bslu-ba'i khyun-yod
5. ma von che (rgya)-zam du rol-po'i gsd gos/, Z , rgyan-po'i las ga la bkos kyi
6. ma phyin che nas zin-thog zo-ba gsam chad-pa yin, Z, khur-chen skor la, glo la

rgyu-nor, bul dgos 2 bdag-pos 3 ra 'ded
rgyu, rol-bos myogs na rol-pos ra 'ded rgyu,
4 rgya zam 5 rol-bos, rgyan-pas las-ka la bskos

"The possessions in question shall be presented to the inhabitants of the territory. If a goat wanders off to the (cliffs of) Sdb-rtsi'i-brag", the goat shall be driven off by the owner, assuming the owner is quicker. If a rol-po is quicker, the goat shall be driven off by the rol-po. If (the goat) crosses the pass, it shall no longer be captured (by the rol-po). If it is not one which was previously captured, there is no further possibility (on the part of the rol-po) to capture it. If (the owner) overtakes (the rol-po) before the main bridge (over the Kali Gandaki), the custom is that (the goat) shall be retrieved (by the owner). If he does not overtake (him), the rol-po must slaughter (the goat) at the main bridge.

If someone, even though he has been picked by the rgan-pa for a task, does not go (to perform it), the fine is three zo-ba of barley from his own fields.

Concerning the khur-chen tax:"

12B

1. chos la 'gro dus, gas du chos (rgyab) kyan skag-pa la khur-chen mi dgos, Z, dbu-thod skor
2. la, khri-thog-pa 'jum-ka nas (dpags)-ri snoms nas phibs dus, babs-rei dan babs-ki ma-
3. (mtogs), gzan 'bul mi gos, (rgyal)-byus la khri-thog-pa char-mka', smon-tha, sma-
sna, gla-bu mams la phibs dus, lla-sde mi sde
4. gla-bu mams la phibs dus, lla-sde mi sde, gnas kyi phyag 'bul dgos, khri-thog-pa skag du
5. phibs na mchod-pa (gcugs)-don, dam-mchod gan (gcugs)-pa thug phyin, khri-thog-pa la

2 bsams nas phibs 3 tugs, gzan 'bul mi dgos, 4 gnas kyis, 'bul dgos

"When (people from sKag) go to Mustang to trade, the khur-chen tax is not required of the people of sKag, no matter where they carry on the trade.

Concerning sovereign power: When the khri-thog-pa comes (to Kag) from Jumla in the company of an escort, nothing need be presented other than hay and firewood. If the khri-thog-pa travels to Char-mka', sMon-tha, sMgs-nas (= Manang) or Gla-bu (= Dana),

"sMgs-nas (= Manang) or Gla-bu (= Dana),
[The text is in a script that appears to be a form of ancient or historical writing. Due to the nature of the script, a natural text representation cannot be accurately transcribed.]

Այստեղ գրագրված հանրային հերթեր նշված Հայաստանի Հայաստանի Հանրապետության նախագահի կողմից ստորագրվել են քաղաքացուցակների բացահայտումը։ Հատկապես՝ սակայն, այս համաձայն՝ այս փաստաթղթից չհայտնի է, որ այս գրագիրը ստորագրվել է կապերի հետ, որոնք ենթադրվում է, որ սովորական հանրային զարգացումների կապերին կապված են։
西藏苯波文献中的宗教仪式

苯波教的宗教仪式在西藏文化中占有重要地位，这些仪式涵盖了苯波教徒的生活方方面面，从出生、成长到婚配直至死亡，苯波教仪式贯穿其中。苯波教的仪式活动主要由苯波教的僧侣们主持，这些仪式包括祈祷、祭拜、占卜和医学治疗等。

在苯波教仪式中，僧侣们会戴上法帽、法衣和法咒等仪式用品，以示与世俗的隔绝和与神灵的接近。仪式中会使用各种仪式器物，如法器、香火、念珠等，这些器物在苯波教的信仰体系中具有特殊的意义和功能。

苯波教认为，仪式是联系人与神灵之间的桥梁，通过仪式的进行，人可以获得神灵的庇护和指引。仪式不仅仅是宗教活动，也是苯波教徒们表达对神灵敬仰和对人生哲理的追求的载体。苯波教仪式的进行，不仅是一种宗教行为，更是一种文化传承的方式，它承载着苯波教的信仰和智慧，影响着西藏人民的生活和思想。
gifts shall be presented by the monks and laity.

When the *khrul-thog-pa* comes to *skag* and in order to institute an offering, the initiatory present shall be presented to the *khrul-thog-pa* until the *'dam-mchod* (ceremony) has been instituted.*

13A

1. Z, žal-phud 'bul gos, Z, yul gyi kha-thor skor la, bram-l-
2. ma čhos byed-sa med, ba'-mi kha spral-sa med, kha-la le-glus byed-sa med
3. ma'-mi khon du bcu-sa med, dhun-po rocd du bcug-sa med, rkon-mo (phags)-
4. gcod byed-sa med, naṅ du cham phyin chon le-ras gagn dren kha-tang ma-(gtogs) za (rgyu)
5. mi-yon, a-lat las phyin, glus-(phyogs) su yul-(dkhrims) 'gal-yon, phyi-
6. btaṃ naṅ du khug-pa ma-(gtogs), naṅ-(btaṃ) phyi ru skyal na yul-khrims gal-yon

1 'bul gos, yul gyi kha-thor 3 rkon-mo phag, 4 naṅ du 'chams 6 gtan naṅ du, naṅ-gtam phyi ru bskyal, 'gal-yon

"Concerning disunity within the territory:

A *bram-l-ma* must not enter a monastery. Married couples must not be induced to divorce. A mouth must not speak with two tongues. (One) must not create discord among friends. Strife must not be caused between those who are in harmony (with one another).

Theft must not be avenged in secret. If (an argument or theft) is avenged internally, nothing may be kept except a pot of beer and a ceremonial cloth. If money has been accepted (in this case), both parties have breached the law of the land.

News from the outside shall be passed to within. If, moreover, internal affairs are passed to the outside, one is breaching the law of the land."

13B

1. Z, [ ] pha-glaṅ lo-* 3 *-bar ša sil-sa med, ša sil na zo-ba b -l-čo-o- l-lama-l-
2. sa smos phyin phral mi-yon, choṅ la (rogs) braṅ 1 byas nas phin phyin, 1 gis 1
3. brim-sa med, brim phyin 'draṅ-čhad yod, ma cham-pa yul-pa la žus phyin dūnul-
4. 1 čhad-pa yod, jo-bo ri-dga' nas ma bab-ba'i gzn du, 'bru-rnor la bran (rgyu)
5. mi-yon, yi-ge naṅ-ltar la su-thad nas ma gnas na, lo gsum-gsum nas mod
6. gya-pho, de la gnas na bkra-sis sogs,

1 gsil-sa med ša gsil na 2 rmos phyin khral, braṅ 1 byas nas phyin phyin 3 brim-sa, brim phyin braṅ-čhad, ma 'cham-pa 4 mo-lo ri-kha, 'bab-pa', 'bru-smor 5 nas dmod 6 rgyab dgos

"A bull must not be slaughtered within its first three years." In cases where it is slaughtered, but where it has previously ploughed an area of 15 zo-ba (of seed), no tax is levied.

If friends form a trading group and travel abroad, one person must not leave another to fend for himself. If he does so leave him, there will be a 'group fine.' If the fact comes out that
they have not got along with one another, the fine is one dhir. Before the mjo-bo have been driven downhill from the mountain pastures, it is unlawful to pasture (animals) on the (fields of) stubble.

If anyone does not abide by this code of law, he shall be execrated for three years. If a person follows it, may luck come (to him)."

Notes

1 This is Ch himin, the capital of Jumla.
2 For this term see Document 6, line 18 and Part I, 3.3., note 38.
3 See Pandey 1, p. 39-
4 See Schuh 6, p. 292-
5 This is the King of Jumla. As far as this double Šrī is concerned, it has to be mentioned that in legal documents issued by the Gorkha Kings, the intitulatio generally is headed by a triple Šrī.
6 Bod-rgya, p. 1094, quotes under the heading lton-ka the following sentence: bgo-bhags mka'-mo'i lton-ka gšags-pa laar rgyag dgos "distribution should be done in such a way as if you cut a notch in an arrow".
7 sku-rgyal is the court fee to be paid by the winner of a court case. The amount is, as mentioned above, one zo.
8 According to this statement a judge is generally considered to be a representative of the king of Jumla, who is the highest authority in legal matters. The term o'-om is a transcription of Nepali hukum "order, government". O'-om-pa therefore designates "a person who is giving orders".
9 From this we can conclude that the fee to be paid by the winner has to be handed over to the king of Jumla. It is not specifically mentioned whether this is also the case with the fee to be paid by the losing party.
10 a-nā is a transcription of the Nepali ānān "courtyard". Here it means the open space before the customs post, which is possibly identical with the salt storage site (chub-ra) near the customs post.
11 skye-skra is a transcription of the Nepali ketu "servant".
12 san is a common designation for dried pine-needles and pine-cones, which were collected in the forest every year.
13 The whole translation of this section is based on the assumption that the phra mentioned here is a misspelling of khra "falcon". This however is by no means certain and therefore this passage should be quoted only with great care.
14 According to Charles Ramble name of a forest area belonging to Kagbeni.
15 ba-le is a transcription of the Nepalī bal "offering". The festival mentioned here takes place in the second month of the winter, which roughly corresponds with the month January.
16 a-ya is a designation for a bon-po-priest, who need to perform the ceremony of sacrificing the animal in this festival. However, it has to be noted that he did not kill the animal himself. See Ramble 2, p. 54.
17 This is an annually performed ritual that centers about the killing of a yak. The offering ceremony was performed on the bank of the Kali Gandaki river and headed by an a-ya. Between the purchase of the animal and the day of its killing, at least three days had to elapse. Before the ceremony started, a red scarf called srog-dar was fastened to the neck of the animal. For
Further details compare Ramble 2, p. 54.

18 Obviously an abbreviation for bsno-ba dan rim-'gro.

19 According to our local informants the big Stūpa of Kagbeni is either called mchod-rten dbar-po or jo-bo mchod-rten. The ceremony mentioned here is performed in front of this Stūpa.

20 bag is a transliteration of Nepali bhāg “portion”.

21 The meaning of ltar-po is unclear to me.

22 This ceremony is performed in front of the white stones, which are placed in the middle of the fields. These field stones can be found in the fields of all settlements in the Thakkola.

23 This is the cloth to be fastened on the white stone in the directions mentioned here.

24 Name of the place where buckwheat used to be dried. It is a custom in this area to harvest the buckwheat before it is completely ripe and spread it on the floor of this place. It is the duty of the rgyan-pa and the rol-po to protect this place against animals and theft by human beings.

25 Ceremony to protect buckwheat against hail. It is normally performed in August. It comprises the offering of an animal in front of the red Stūpa of Kagbeni.

26 This festival is celebrated by all inhabitants of the Mulkināth at the end of the summer. Our text makes a difference between the local dByar-ston-festivals and the big dByar-ston-festival. For detailed description see Ramble, pp. 149-169.

27 According to our local informants dmags-rgyugs is a group of youth of specific age, which has the duty to carry out heavy labor on behalf of the village, as for instance the transportation of trunks. A similar group with the same designation exists in Northern Mustang up to now. Here this name refers to certain families, who are generally obliged to carry out heavy labor on behalf of the community. It is unclear to me if there is a connection between this group and the rgya-dnag-pa, who play a certain role in the big mDons ceremony (see Ramble 2, p. 53).

28 In connection with the cleaning of the water channels and the reservoir, both the yar-byan-po and the rgyan-byan-po are mentioned. They belong to the six 'cho groups and are responsible for the financing of the cleaning of channels and the reservoir. The 'cho groups have to provide the bear, which is drunk during the work. For the cleaning itself each household has to provide one person.

29 snag is a local term for the sowing of the buckwheat. The channels and the reservoir were cleaned twice a year.

30 The term "external property" obviously refers to animals, harvest etc.

31 This rocky cliff is situated directly opposite to Kagbeni on the western site of the Kali Gandaki. It is strictly forbidden to graze goats on this rock, as falling stones could hurt persons using the path at its base.

32 dbu-thod is a designation for the turban, which is worn by an official as a sign of his official installment. Here it also designates the power vested in him. For this compare the well known two meanings of the term dbyur-rgom.

33 dpag-ri is a transliteration of the Nepali term prahari "solder, escort".

34 The meaning of the term dam-mchod is unclear to me.

35 This interpretation is far from being certain.
The meaning of this term is unclear to me.
This is obviously not referring to the lifetime
of the bull but to the years in which he can be
used for field work. This rule serves the pur-
pose that there are enough animals available for
the necessary field work.
This interpretation is far from being certain.

5. The Rise of the Tibetan Exclave in the
Muktināth Valley and the Lineage of its Rulers
up to the Middle of the 18th Century

The first thing one may do here is to recall the
narrative chronicle of dPal-mgon-khrö-rgyal dealt
with above. According to this narrative, the later
lords of the castle of the Muktināth valley came
from Jumla. They settled in the Muktināth valley,
where the first thing they did was to construct the
fortress of rdo.

Much more reliable information concerning the
origin of the lords of the castle is obtained in the
biography of bsTan-'jin-ras-pa, a priest who was
himself a member of the same noble family, and
who lived in the second half of the 17th century.
Snellgrove was the first person to draw attention to
this priest and to his biography.1 Jackson gives
1646-1723 as his lifetime.2 Of these two dates, it is
only the death year, 1723, that appears to me to be
not subject to doubt. According to the biography of
bStod-nams-dbyan-pi-gyi (1660-1731), which was
edited and translated by Snellgrove, bsTan-'jin-ras-
pa died in the 64th year of that priest - that is, in
the year 1723. One indication of the birth year is
found on fol. 7r of bsTan-'jin-ras-pa's biography.
There it is mentioned that during the war between
the government of Central Tibet and Bhutan all
followers of the Dvags-po bka'-brgyud school in
Tibet wore a thick piece of woolen thread as a
mark of identification, which they had to tie around
their throat. Their freedom of movement was
restricted. Travellers and people having no fixed
place of residence were interned. The same fate
befell bsTan-'jin-ras-pa, even though he belonged
to the Sa-skya school. bsTan-'jin-ras-pa was 16
years old at the time. It is unclear, however, which
of the numerous military conflicts between the
Tibetan government of the Fifth Dalai Lama and
Bhutan is being referred to here. If it is the Tibetan
invasion of 1657, bsTan-'jin-ras-pa's year of birth
would fall in 1642. If, however, the earlier conflict
between Tibet and Bhutan in the years 1644-1646
is what is meant, then bsTan-'jin-ras-pa would
have been born even before 1640.

The following account is found in bsTan-'jin-
ras-pa's biography concerning the origin of his
family (source A):

1v,5 rje-bcun ras-pa de-'ud rigs-rus ni / blo-
1v,6 la sta ba byams-pa thob-rgyal 'zes-pa'i gdon
bza brgyud dpon du grags-pa de yin gaus / mna'
ri gu-than chub-og nas 'chos-rgyal fi-ma-mgon gyi
phyag-g.yog
1v,7 la stod gu ge phibs nas, gu ge-pa'i chu gi
'trog-pa 'zes-par chags so / de nas sde-pa a ma dpal
gyi pos nas smon-than skye-skya-sga gn du bzung /
de-phan
2r,1 dpon-dru skye-skya-sga gn 'zes-pa'i min
'tags / skye-skya-sga gn du bzung-bzin nas dpon-dru
khrö-rgyal rdo-rje sras chu tsa rab-brtan-mgon-pos
Investigations...


1v,6 la mna'-ba, mna'-ris 1v,7 sde-pa a-ma-dpal gyis 2r,2 sde-pas, skya-bpas 2r,5 gcu'i gi 2r,7 dgras khyer, llo goe

"As regards the lineage of this venerable deceased ras-pa, he has said that it is the (lineage) renowned as the dpon-po'lineage of hallowed origin, that of the man called Byams-pa thub-rgyal, who was of (all) ministers (of Tibet) the very first one."

As servants of the chos-rgyal sKyid-sde-fl-ma-mgon, they travelled from the subjects of mna'-ris Gu-ge to sTod and settled down in the region of Gu-ge that is called Phur-'dun gi 'brog-pa.

Having been summoned by A-ma-dpal, the sde-pa of Mustang (blo-bo), they resided in sKyie-skya sgan' in sMon-than. The name dpon-drui sKyie-skya-sgan ba existed from that time onwards.

During the time they resided in sKyie-skya sgan, Rab-brtan-mgon-po, the younger son of the dpon-drui Khro-rgyal-rdo-rje, travelled as the district head (rjon-dpon) of Kar-dun in sPu-ras from Gu-ge. After he had stayed there for six years, he was killed by the sde-pa because he had defiled the queen of sMon-than.

(Thereafter (lit when)) the elder brother, Khro-bo-skya-bpas-pa, came to Lower Mustang (blo-smad) as the district head (rjon-dpon) of Rab-rgyal-re-mo, and (and) they have been there up to the present.

Che-brtan-rdo-rje, the elder son of Rab-brtan-mgon-po, came to Rab-rgyal-re-mo, having been summoned by his uncle Khro-bo-skya-bpas-pa, and (afterwards) was named the a-khu dpon-sa of all dpon-drui. Thus the title dpon-sa of the sKye-skya sgan-ba existed from that time onwards.

rDo-rje-dbang-phug was the son of Che-brtan-rdo-rje. rDo-rje-dbang-phug had three sons, namely rDo-rje, 'Phan-dar and the bla-ma bsTan-pa'i-
rgyal-mchan, rDo-rje was without child.

'Phun-dar had as sons these three, namely bZaṅ-po, Chos-skyon and the bla-ma Chos-bzhos-grub. bZaṅ-po was without child. Chos-skyon had seven sons. Of them, I'Hun-grub and 'Byor-ra increased the lineage. The other five became priests. Of the latter, the bla-ma Chos-jin-dpal-bzan was the one who belonged to a bla-ma tradition.

The son of the dpon-sa I'Hun-grub was Che-dbaṅ-rig-'jin. The son of Che-dbaṅ was bSod-nams-mgon-po. Six sons and daughters were born as children to the dpon-sa 'Byor-ra. I am Che-dbaṅ-rab-brtan, the middle one of them, he said.

When the eldest (son) Che-dbaṅ-rgyu-mgna-rgyal was eleven, I seven and the youngest (son) two years old, (our) father, 'Byor-ra-rgya-mchog died at the age of 32.

During this time a quarrel arose between the king and minister¹⁰, in consequence of which the sde-po seized¹¹ bkag and rldon. When the troops of the king of Junla came to the aid of the dpon-drwa sKyes-skyo-sgan-pa, many men were killed. All external property¹² was carried off by the enemy, and all internal possessions were taken as food for the king (of Jumla) and as rations for the troops. Given that they obtained neither food nor clothing, they all, mother and sons, were made to suffer."

From the information provided by bsTan-'jin-ras-pa, the following structure of his family's genealogy emerges:

Byams-pa-thob-rgyal, the minister (blon) of King gNas-khris-bcan-po (the first king of Tibet, not explicitly mentioned in the biography)

In the retinue of King Ni-ma-mgon they went to West Tibet (10th century) and settled in Guge.

Resettled from Guge to Mustang under A-ma-dpal (first half of the 15th century). Settled in sKyes-skyo-ga, from which the lineage name sKyes-skyo-sgan-pa derives.
It may first be noted that the dpon-drün Khro-bo-skyabs-pa mentioned here is identical with the spu-drün Khro-skyab-pa of the bsem-chag of Kagbeni, spu-drün doubtless being a corrupt form of dpon-drün.

The tracing of the roots of this lineage to a minister of the first Tibetan king, gNa'-khri-bcan-po, and the claimed connection with the rule of King Ni-ma-mgon, who founded a kingdom in West Tibet, are doubtless of utmost significance ideologically for the self-image of the princes of the Muktināth valley.

It should be emphasized that the genealogy following Khro-bo-skyab-pa shows only the dpon-sa line of this princely family. The descendants of Khro-bo-skyab-pa who ruled the Muktināth valley are not mentioned. Further, there is no specific indication in the biography of bsTan-'jin-ras-pa of the lifetime of Khro-bo-skyab-pa, who established the rule of this princely family over the Muktināth valley. It is only from the number of past generations that one can form an approximate idea, by assuming 25 years as the period of one generation. Accordingly, around 1520 Khro-bo-skyab-pa would have been about 25 years old.

The ideologically inflated derivation from a minister of the first Tibetan king is provided in great detail in a dkar-chag text accompanying a manuscript of the bKa'-thāṅ ga'u-ma, a text from Kagbeni whose existence D. Jackson first pointed out. The genealogy given in this dkar-chag is itself based on a more detailed text, which is listed on p. 9 as dKar-chag kun-gsal mè-lon.

The portions of the text concerning the genealogy of the princes of Muktināth are reproduced here in the original and in translation (source B).

[p. 7]

1. rje la mna'-ba gNa'-khri-bcan-po dañ /
2. blo'n la mna'-ba byams-pa thog-rgyal dañ /
3. mkhar la sNa'-ba 'um-bu gnaṅ-mkhar dañ /
4. yul * la * sHa'-ba yar-luṅ so-kha dañ /
5. chos la sHa'-ba sPaṅ-skOn phyag-rgya dañ /
6. mna'-ris chos-bzin skyon-ba rgyal-po de'i /
the first ruler, and
Byams-pa-thogs-rgyal, the first minister, and
'Um-ba-glaṅ-mkhar, the first fortress, and
Yar-lha-so-kha, the first country, and
sPaṅ-skön-phyaṅ-rgyal", the first religious law.
For that king who ruled over his subjects in accordance with the religious law
he was the person who spread the practice of rule according to the two ways of conduct.
Because that minister, in whom Manjughosa had assumed the form of a man,
was able to perform the sovereign duties of the ruler gNa-'khri-bean-po
as desired, without being called upon to do so, he was of great power.
He who controlled the four main parts (glri) of Tibet,
who in everyone's eyes was the first holy chief minister,
was famous in the country of the lHa as 'Od-sde-rgyal and
in the country of the bCan as bCan-po kha-ehe.
Among the dMu and the Klu he was called Rig-pa'i khyi'-čaṅ,
in the country of men Byams-pa-thogs-rgyal.
From the mouth of him who is famed in the Three Worlds came the words...
The gods, the demons and men - all of them he brought under his control.
Investigations...

23 His son was rDo-rje-thog-rgyal, and his son
24 was bkra-sn-ssis-thog-rgyal, (and his son was)
   Rin-chen-thog-rgyal, and
25 (his son was) mGon-po-thog-rgyal, (and his
   son) was called Padma-thog-rgyal.
26 Down to dbzan-cul-thog-rgyal, to each indi-
   vidual father
27 was born one son, wherefore this (lineage) was
   famous as the “white single lineage.”
28 The last-mentioned (person) had three sons.
   The name of the eldest one
29 was Khu-cha-od. Man-cha-od was the middle
   one.
30 sTag-cha-od was the youngest one. They were
   three brothers.
31 Because they were blessed by Rigs-gsum-
   mgon-po,
32 they were well known as “the incomparable
   three ‘Od brothers”.
33 They were the three brothers renowned
   throughout the whole world.
34 To the lone adornment of the world, the glo-
   rious Sa-skya,
35 they came in order to lead the world’s subjects
   to well-being,
36 and controlled the world’s whole territory.
37 The true Mañjughoṣa, the lord of the living be-
   ings Sa-skya-paṅjita,
38 recalling the three times, the past, the future
   and the present,

[p. 8]
1 rigs-bzan mKha’-’gro’i mchan-ltan bu-mo guNis
2 khab du skal-ba guis-pas daN du blaNis
3 roN-mo gser-gyi-go-’co-g-can daN ni
4 mon-mo g yu-yis-go-’co-g-can zEs guNis
5 khab tu bZes-pa’i roN-mor sras drug daN
6 mon-mor sras la yonis su bsdom-pa na
7 gOig-lha lag phyoNs kyI graN-ldan gduN-rgyud
   phel
8 daN zhin rab-rgyas ‘mNha’-mtha’i gsum-brcen
   ‘dran
9 stag-cha-od’i ges bduN-po deN-Nid la
10 mon-ron stag-lha-’od-bar bya-ba khrus
11 de-nas mI-rab*s* gsum nas gnas-bdag gi
12 sprul-pa dpon-bzan-dkar-po bya-ba khrus
13 dpon-po-dkar-po dpal-ltan sa-skya-pa’i
14 rags-lha ’babs ste dmaN-dpon dam-kha gnaN
15 hor daN sogs-po mTha’i mI sduN-pa’-can
16 dpal-po khyed daN khyed kyi rgyud bCa’s gyis
17 ‘dul-skal las-plar yod-pas da-lta raN
18 chaN-pa bkra-sias-mgon gyis pho-Na daN
19 chab*s* gOig smon-tha’i phyoNs su byon (pa)
   dgos guNis
20 khyed klyis mI-rab skal-pa srid-mtha’i bar
21 daN zhin rgyas la phyoNs las mams-par rgyal
22 ma’ON yul der mgo-Nag yonis klyis rje
23 mNha’-baN choS-bZin skyon zes lha-bstan gnaN
24 jam-dbyangs sa-skya’i *bkra’*-brcaN daN du blaNis
25 phyi naN bar gsum hor daN mTha’ yiS dmaN
26 sduN-pa’-can mams ma-lus char-bcad nas
27 lha-bstan bZin du * raN gi * rgyal-srid kyaN*s*
28 skya-rgyal-gaN gis sa yaS thug-ler bZugs
29 de-nas zuN ste skya-rgyal-sgar-paN grags
30 de’i sras ma-saNs-khra-bo-bum zes daN
31 de’i rigs-sras khro-bo-skya-pa te
32 lugs guNis mkhyen-pa’i pad-chal rab-skyped nas
33 raN-sde skyon zin bzan-sde gzil gyis mNuN
34 dge’-dun-sde chugs bstan-jin sku rt*’-stis method
35 sron-byon 'chos-rgyal goñ-ma'i nam-thar skyan'ss / 
36 de-sras sgron-ma-rin-chen de yis stas / 
37 khro-bo-zil-gnon mchan dañ don mthun 'khrus / 

4 g.yu-yi 5 khod tu bses-pas 7 grañs-lan, rgyud 'phel 8 than gsum-reen 'gran 10 mon-roñ, bya-ba 'khrus 14 bab ste 15 gdug-pa-can 16 bças kyi 18 g.yi pho 20 kyi mi-rabs bkal-pa 21 mam-par 22 kyi rje 23 miña-'bañs, skyoñs ñes 24 bka'-scal 25 mtba' yi 27 rgyal-srid bskyans 28 gi sa yi 29 bzuñ ste 30 skya-pa ste 33 g.yis gnon 34 ade bcugs, bkur-stis 35 nam-thar bskyans 36 de yi stas

[p. 8] 

1 granted them as wives two girls of good background, who possessed the features of mKha'-'gro-ma.
2 They accepted them reverentially.
3 After they had married the ones called Ser-gyi-go-'cog-can, who came from the steep-rimmed valleys of the south (Ron-mo), and
4 g.Yu-yis-go-'cog-can, who came from Mon (Mon-mo). To Ron-mo were (born) six sons, and
5 to Mon-mo five sons, so that - if a reckoning is made,
6 with a figure that represents, lacking one, the (twelve) directions of the firmament - they increased
7 and spread the lineage. Thanks to this the (family's) power was equal to heaven.
8 To the youngest one, called stag-chan-'od, 10 mon-roñ stag-lha-'od-'bar was born.
9 Afterwards, three generations later, the incarna-

tion of Vajrapāni,
12 the one called dPon-brtan-dkar-po was born.
13 To dPon-po-dkar-po fell, from the Sa-skya-pa,
14 the mark of a prophecy, and he was granted the seal of a commanding officer.
15 "In view of the Turks (hor) and the Mongols (sog-po), these evil neighbours on the border, it is (sealed) fate and duty that they should be tamed by you,
17 O hero, and your descendants. It is necessary that you immediately
18 travel to Mustang now with the emissaries to (the court of King) Chañs-pa bkra-sis-mgon."
19 Such words were spoken.
20 "Your lineage will spread and grow to the end of this cosmic era
21 and gain victory over all the directions of the firmament.
22 In the future you will reign, as ruler of all men of that country,
23 over the subjects according to the religious law." Thus it was prophesied.
24 He accepted the instructions of the Sa-skyal (pa), the Māñjugbosa.
25 By destroying the Turks (hor) and the evil groups of the border peoples without, within and between,
26 down to the last man,
27 he exercised his own rule in accordance with the prophecy.
28 He resided in the centre of the territory of sKya-rgyal-gon.
29 From then on they were known as sKya-rgyal-sgan-pa.
30 His son was called Khro-bo-bum, and
31 the son from his lineage was Khro-bo-skyab-pa.
32 By generating in himself the lotus grove of
knowledge of the two ways of conduct,
33 he protected his own subjects and subdued the
subjects of the others.
34 He founded monasteries and reverently brought
offerings to the adherents of the (Buddhist)
teaching.
35 He zealously imitated the deeds of the Dharma-
raja who had previously come.
36 His son was sGro-log-ma-rin-chen, and his son,
37 Khro-bo-zil-gnon, was born as one whose
(character) conformed to the meaning of his
name.

[p. 9]

1 de-sras khro-bo-nams-rgyal bya-ba dañ /
2 de-sras che-gnas-rgyal-po deñ sras /
3 ṣag-dbeñ-g.yul-las-nams-*par*-rgyal-*ba*/
4 deñ sras bDe-mchog-nam-rgyal bya-ba 'khrus /
5 de la sras gcig khrus-pa'i dge-mcham ni /
6 dbañ-drag-bar-ba bya-ba'i skyes-mchog byun /
7 deñ sras gcig sa-skron mi'i dbañ-po /
8 chos khyis rgyal-po khro-bo-dpal-mgon byun /
9 de-sras drug gi phu-bo lug*s* guis la /
10 mkhyen-pa'i spyon yang yab khyis srid jin-pa /
11 mi yis dbañ-po zil-moon-nams-rgyal khrus /
12 de-sras phu-byun mkhyen-pa'i gter-njod jin /
13 zal-ras zla-phan sGs+sn+ pho 'dra-ba /
14 srid kyi rgyud-jin mgo-nag mi yi rje /
15 sa-skron khro-bo-khams-gsum bya-ba 'khrus /
16 gzan yas sku-mchod éhe-chun-brin nams kun /
17 Jug-sdom dbañ-chags kun-gsal-me-loi na /
18 legs-par gsal-bas mkhyen-ldam nams gyis gzigs

1 mam-rgyal 3 nam-par 5 gcig 'khrus 8 chos kyi
10 yab kyi 11 mi yi, zil-gnon-nam 13 zla-šun 17
dkar-chag 18 nams kyi

[p. 9]

1 His son was called Khro-bo-rnam-rgyal, and
2 his son was Che-gnas-rgyal-po.
3 Nag-dkan-g.yul-las-rnam-rgyal was born as his
4 The one called bDe-mchog-nam-rgyal was
5 As regards the hallowed signs, that a son was
6 the supreme man resulted, who was called
dBeñ-drag-bar-ba.
7 The ruler and lord over men turned out to be
8 the Dharma-raja Khro-bo-dpal-mgon.
9 Zil-gnon-nam-rgyal was born as the eldest of
10 and assuming the rule of his father
11 (as) the lord of men.
12 His excellent son possessed the treasure of
13 His countenance was like an overflowing glass
14 To him who kept the tradition of rule, the lord
15 was born the ruler of the earth Khro-bo-khams-
gsum.
16 The other elder, younger and middle siblings -
17 all easily determined from the summary dbañ-
18 Thus may knowledgeable persons look into (it).
This results in the following genealogy of the prince of the Muktiniñāth valley:

Byams-pa-thogs-rgyal (minister of King gNi-'khris-bcan-po)

rDo-rje-thog-rgyal

bkra-sis-thog-rgyal

Rin-chen-thog-rgyal

mGon-po-thog-rgyal

Padma-thog-rgyal

dBaN-'dul-thog-rgyal

(At the time of Sa-skya paṇḍita, middle of the 15th century. Two wives from the southern steep-rimmed valleys, called Mon-mo, and Roñ-mo.)

Khu-cha-'od Mañ-cha-'od sTag-cha-'od

mon-roñ sTag-tha-'od-'bar

(three generations)

dPon-beñ-dkar-po

(Sent by the Sa-skya-pa to the court of the king of Mustang Chans-pa bkra-sis-mgon (second half of the 15th century). Resided in sKya-rgal-sgoñ.)

Khro-bo-'bum

Khro-bo-skya-b-pa (16th century)

sGrol-ma-rin-chen

The most important historical inconsistency between this dkar-chag text and the autobiography of bSton-'jim-ras-pa is in the name given to the father of Khro-bo-skya-pa. In the former he is called Khro-rgyal-rdo rje, and in the latter Khro-bo-'bum. A further striking feature is that no mention is made of any connection between the lineage of the princes of Muktiñāth and King Nima-mgon. It is instead the Sa-skya-pa who now play the dominant role in legitimizing the lineage's claim to power.

For purposes of chronology, the fact that dPon-beñ-dkar-po, the grandfather of Khro-bo-skya-pa, is mentioned as a contemporary of the Mustang king bkra-sis-mgon (death year 1489) would appear to be significant. This may validate the above-mentioned dating of Khro-bo-skya-pa. Another indication of the chronology can be found in the work of F.K. Ehrhard on the "Tibetan Sources on Muktiñāth." According to the latter, both the priest
O-rgyan-dpal-bzan and his successor Kun-bzan-klo-'byin-yi were contemporaries of the prince (dpon-drü khris-pa) Che-gnas-rgyal-po, whom both met around 1677/78, and who presumably died around 1680. Che-gnas-rgyal-po represented the fourth generation after Khro-bo-skyyab-pa, from which it may be concluded that Khro-bo-skyyab-pa must have been some 25 years old within the period from 1550 to 1580.

From the dating of Che-gnas-rgyal-po we can also draw conclusions as to the age of the present skar-chag text. Since the text lists six further generations after Che-gnas-rgyal-po, it must have originated in the 18th century. The second and third princes from the end of the present skar-chag text are mentioned as addresses of official documents written by Nepalese kings and filmed in 1985 (cf. above 1.3.1.). Khro-bo-dpal-mgon is the addressee of two official documents from the years 1790 and 1792 (ADSD, documents 2, 3, there are mentioned as Topša Bista) and Zil-gyon-nam-rgyal is mentioned by name as Sīlim (= Sīlim = Sīlim) Namgyal Bista in official documents dating to 1820, 1826, 1827, 1830 and 1834 (ADSD, documents 12, 14, 15, 18, 19).

A further source on the history of the princes of the Muktināth valley has been provided to us in the form of a small skar-chag text attached to a choice manuscript belonging to sGyur-tog-gser-gsam, which was prepared on the occasion of the death of sGrol-ma-rin-chen, the son and successor of Khro-bo-skyyab-pa. This text obviously represents a source that, given its age, surpasses all previously mentioned sources on the history of the princes of Muktināth. The passages in this skar-chag text that deal with the history of the princes of Muktināth are edited and translated in the following (source C):
kun-rig cho-ga khri-char lhag-cam sgrubs //

1 smon-thaṅ 18 mam spyod

"As for the manner in which the lineage of this great ministers (zaṅ-thon) of the King of Mustang (smon-thaṅ) came down like a string of pearls, they firstly separated in order from the god called 'od-sde-dgu-rgyal without being deprived of their divine origin and proceeded successively down to Byams-pa-thog-rgyal. Starting from gnas-khri-rcad-po, the mighty one, who governed the earth, down to the ruler 'bum-sde-mgon, they served successively as ministers. During the lifetime of the chos-rgyal 'bum-sde-mgon (the member of this lineage) was well known as minister dpun-seṅ-dkar-po. One of his descendants, ma-bran Khro-bo-'bum, was the person who served as minister (zaṅ-thon) of the King of Mustang (smon-thaṅ). He occupied the centre of the place skyar-rgyal-gaṅ. From this they became known by the (family) name skyar-rgyal-gaṅ-pa.

Hey! The sun of those who obtained the highest prophesy by the words of the Mañjūśrī, who is the origin of all that is good, of the great religious minister Khro-bo-skyab-pa and his sons, went to the "peak" of the eastern mountain of the "supreme victory" due to the merits accumulated before and drawn by the seven horses, and the rays of (their) good deeds were spread to all directions. Due to this, they appeared as the sun of the pure (Buddhist) doctrine, the Lotus garden of the well-being of their subjects increased and the mass of dark evil opponents was destroyed. That this was done at one time is really miraculous! Although that great religious minister named sGrol-ma, who was furnished with the glory of good deeds, took great measures for the welfare of himself and others, alas! he showed the manner of his passing away. In order to fulfill his intentions completely, the following completely pure virtues were accomplished on a grand scale. Firstly starting from his passing away up to the 40th day, headed by the holy Lama kun-dga'-rgyal-mchan and the holy zaḥs-drun Byams-pa-lisod-nams more than 80 monks performed the Kun-rig ritual more than ten thousand times."

Regarding the fact that source 3 was written in the second half of the 16th century shortly after the death of sGrol-ma, the son of Khro-bo-skyabs-pa, we have to conclude beyond any doubt that Khro-bo-'bum was the father of Khro-bo-skyabs-pa. He was the nobleman who settled first with his family in Mustang and served the king of Mustang.
Beyond any doubt Khro-bo-sknyabs-pa was the first member of this family who ruled as a duke over the Muktināth valley and adjacent areas. If we rightly assume that his father came to Mustang at the end of the 15th century, Khro-bo-sknyabs-pa certainly established his rule in southern Mustang in the first half of the 16th century.

There are two basic questions regarding the fortresses of the Muktināth valley which are yet to be answered:

1. Who founded Rab-rgyal-re-mo, the fortress of Dzong?
2. Who erected the castle of Kagbeni?

According to all historical sources available to me, it was Khro-bo-sknyabs-pa, who "went" or "came" to Rab-rgyal-re-mo, the fortress of Dzong. None of the sources mention directly that he founded it. Therefore it might hold that there was already some kind of fortress in Dzong, when Khro-bo-sknyabs-pa shifted his activities to southern Mustang. If no new historical sources turn up this question can be only decided by archaeological evidence.

Moreover as far as the castle as Kagbeni is concerned, the research conducted by Dr. B. Schmidt and Dr. Niels Gutschow clearly shows that this castle and subsequently the present-day settlement of Kagbeni was founded only in the beginning of the second half of the 16th century. Therefore it is yet to be decided if Khro-bo-sknyabs-pa himself or his son sGro-l-ma were the actual founder of that castle of Kagbeni.

As far as the origin of the family of the dukes of the Muktināth valley is concerned, the claim of their descent from a Thakuri caste emigrating from Jumla to Mustang, as reported in the oral literature analysed above (see Part I, chapter 2), is of course a myth that has no historical foundation. Does that mean that the written sources which claim the descent of this lineage from the first ministers of the first Tibetan king or even from the mythical gods are more reliable? Of course not. It would be a basic misunderstanding if we claim written historical sources to be more reliable only because they are written sources. After the fall of the Mongol rule in China and subsequently after the collapse of foreign Mongol and Chinese power in Tibet in the second half of the 13th century we witness a revival of old Tibetan traditions in Tibet that go back to the times of the old powerful Tibetan empire. Subsequently especially local rulers in Western Tibet claimed their descent from the powerful Tibetan kings of the Yar-klungs dynasty, and noblemen traced their origin back to noble families who were influential at the time of the Tibetan empire. Although ideologically significant and important, in most cases it had no historical foundation.

So where did the dukes of the Muktināth valley come from? When they entered Southern Mustang, they were certainly Tibetan noble men coming from the North and followers of the Tibetan Buddhism. Still, this does not say anything about their ethnic origin. If we follow source Ç, members of the family married women from areas called Mon and Rang. So there was direct intercourse between the people of present day Nepal and Western Tibet. Keeping in mind that the Western Nepalese kingdom of Jumla of the middle ages stretched far into what is now Tibetan territory, the ethnic history of the Tibetans of Western Tibet and the origin of their clans remains an open question.
Notes

1 Snellgrove, pp. 150 and 202. I have been able to use a blockprint of this biography, comprising 17 folios, which was made available to me due to the kindness of Dr. C. Cüppers. The title of this biography is: tNal-byor gyi dbang-phug rje-beun bstan-’jin ras-pa’i mam-thar mjad-pa sman-hu gCig.

2 Jackson 2, p. 220.

3 This is referring to utterances made by bsTan-’jin-ras-po himself.

4 The terms dpon or dpon-po characterize the position of a local ruler, who does not have the rank of a king (rgya-lpo).

5 As can be seen from the source 2 edited below, he is mentioned here as the first minister of the first Tibetan King gNa’ khri-bea-po. This minister was considered to be most prominent ancient forefather of this family.

6 This is one of the well known Kings of the Yar-klu’as dynasty. After the collapse of the power of this dynasty he emigrated to western Tibet in the early 10th century. Cf. Petech, p. 15.

7 This place is situated to the east of the capital of Mustang. According to WD the distance to the capital should not be more than one mile.

8 Most probably he had sexual intercourse with the queen.

9 This is the now ruined fort of the village Dzong in the Mukhinas valley.

10 It is not certain to me, if this refers solely to a conflict between the dukes of the Mukhinás valley and the King of Mustang or to a more general dissent between this King and his ministers. It is only certain that the dukes of the Mukhinas valley formed a party in this dispute opposing the King.

11 In the dictionaries the meaning of phyag ‘behr-pa’ is given as ‘to afflict physical punishment’. This meaning can not be applied here.

12 Cf. chapter 4.2, note 30.

13 See Jackson, p. 152, note 3. I am grateful to Dr. F.-K. Erhard for handing over a copy of this text to me. Title of the text: gu-ru padma’i mam-thar las tham-’yig g’a-u-ma’i diak-chags. The text comprises 13 pages but pp. 5 and 6 are missing.

14 This is one of the first Sutra-texts that came to Tibet by falling from the sky.

15 This the ruler of Mustang in the third generation after the famous A-ma-dpal. According to Jackson, p. 133, he died in 1489.

16 This is one of the great kings of Gun-than, who ruled this kingdom during the 14th century.

17 This refers to the assumption that Khro-bo-skyabs-pa was already prophesied in the Manjushri-lamantra.

18 An allusion to Rab-rgyal-bzre-mo, the fortress of Dzong and main seat of the dukes of the Mukhinás valley.

CORRIGENDA

to the first part of the above article
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p. 47: col. 2, Translation, para. 4, read: As this must not in the future be levied by any dPon, notice...

p. 74: col. 2, penultimate para., read: ...with regard to the delivery of wood to Upper...

p. 74: col. 2, last line, read: ...according to the (old) customs, and without reachery, cloth, ....

p. 75: col. 1, para. 1 read: ...wood for arrows, wood for saddles etc. of good quality.