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Charles Ramble

Demdem and Dachang: The Regulative Rules of Two Archery Festivals from South Mustang (Nepal)¹

Among the most enduring legacies of the Tibetan Empire are the skills of archery and horsemanship. Although their application as truly martial activities is firmly a thing of the past, they continue to flourish throughout the culturally Tibetan world in the context of seasonal festivals and the cult of territorial and clan gods. The degree of competence with which they are pursued is certainly uneven; the equestrian skills of certain nomadic communities on the plateau far outstrip those of many sedentary populations, while their relative unimportance in Bhutan is offset by a standard of bowmanship that would rival that of any other society in the world.

In the enclave—a former dukedom—of Baragaon in southern Mustang, riding and archery are the core activities of two seasonal festivals: the Yartung (*dbyar ston*), or “Summer Festival”, which generally falls in August, and the Dachang (*mda’ chang*), literally “arrow beer”—the Archery Festival, which is held in spring. These two and the New Year form a trio of seasonal festivals expressed in the local maxim *dgun tshong ’gugs / dpyid mda’ chang / dbyar*

¹ Part of the research on which this article is based was carried out in the framework of the Franco-German project “The Social History of Tibetan Societies, 17th–20th Centuries”, funded by the French National Research Agency (ANR) and the German Research Council (DFG).

dbyar ston;² “In winter the New Year, in spring the Archery Festival, and in summer the Yartung” (Ramble 1987: 222).

To say that there were three seasonal festivals is an oversimplification of a rather complex state of affairs. The local aristocracy were the rulers (even after the Gorkha conquest of the late nineteenth century; as long as they received their taxes the emerging nation’s rulers seemed to have cared little about local affairs), and their rule extended to the control of certain areas of the religious life of the enclave. In the case of the Yartung and the end-of-year exorcism that precedes the New Year there were at least two different performances of each. In the absence of documentary evidence, the historical relationship between these variants is a matter of conjecture. It is possible, for example, either that the local aristocracy—Tibetan immigrants from the north—took over an already-existing local tradition and made it their own, or else that the festival was an imported event that was copied by the local population. A seventeenth-century document studied by Dieter Schuh lists the main annual festivals of the settlement of Kag. Some are Buddhist and others clearly “pagan”, but the list distinguishes between a “*dbyar ston*” and a “*dbyar ston chen po*”. The latter, the “Large Yartung”, may refer to what later came to be known as the *dpon po’i dbyar ston*, the Summer Festival of the Nobles, since it is centred on the duke, his Bonpo chaplain and his entourage, although we cannot be sure about this. The text mentions that an archery contest took place on this occasion (Schuh 1995: 36). In the case of the *dpon po’i dbyar ston*, the demonstrations of horsemanship and martial skills (mainly archery) were originally restricted to the aristocracy, but, in the

² The usual Tibetan term for New Year, *lo gsar*, is not used in the region. *Tshong ’gugs* (lit. “bringing in the merchandise”) is so called because it is at this time of year that the men return home from winter trading in India.

course of time, shooting and archery were later abandoned, and participation in riding came to be opened to the general public (Ramble 1987).

Baragaon is a former political enclave of eighteen settlements, and although the ruling aristocracy were represented in at least five communities (which were therefore known as *rgyal sa*, “capitals”) the political centre of gravity was the Muktinath Valley.¹ The valley is locally referred to as Dzar Dzong Yulkha Druk (*dzar rdzong yul kha drug*), “the six communities, [primarily] Dzar and Dzong”, these last two being the names of the “capitals” in the valley. In a parallel valley to the south, the Panda Khola, there is a community of hereditary Bonpo priests called Lubrak (*klu brag*). “Dachang” is now the generic name for archery festivals in the enclave, but for a period of about a century the main context for archery in the Muktinath Valley was a now-obsolete occasion known as the Demdem Chöpa,² which was centred on the community of Dzar but included two neighbouring settlements, Purang and Khyenga. Since at least 1935 Lubrak has had its own archery festival, the Dachang. It is with the Demdem of Dzar and the Dachang of Lubrak that this study is primarily concerned.

Categories of rules: “constitutive” and “regulative”

Although the Demdem festival of Dzar seems to have been abandoned at some point in the 1960s, the Dachang of Lubrak continues to be celebrated annually—as are relatively simple archery festivals in most other settlements of Baragaon. (Dzar does now have an an-

nual archery festival, also known as Dachang, but it is a much less complex affair than its obsolete predecessor.) A brief description of the Lubrak Dachang will be given below, but a detailed account would far exceed the purpose of the present article. Such a task would entail a description of such things as the procedure, the rules of the archery contest, the various ceremonies with which it is punctuated, a study of the accompanying songs and so forth. Although I hope to carry out such a study in the future, the present article will be concerned more narrowly with the history of the rules of the two festivals. By “rules” I do not mean the regulation of the procedures that govern the actual performance of the archery, but the underlying codes that deal with the financial and organisational aspects of the festival, as well as the forms of conduct that are enjoined on the participants. Neither in English nor in Tibetan is there an existing terminological distinction that enables us to draw a clear line between these domains, and the choice of word is often either arbitrary or a matter of convention: the terms *srol* (custom) and *khrims* (law) are often used interchangeably in documents from Mustang, while in England the rules of cricket are referred to as “laws”. The difference between the two levels of regulations involved in the present case corresponds to the distinction made by John Searle between constitutive and regulative rules: the first are intrinsic to a game, to the extent that, without the rules, the game would not exist. Regulatory rules, by contrast, govern the activities or institutions with which the game is framed:

Some [rules] regulate antecedently existing forms of behavior; for example, the rules of etiquette regulate interpersonal relationships, but these relationships exist independently of the rules of etiquette. Some rules on the other hand do not merely regulate but create or define new forms of behavior. The rules

¹ For the history of this principality, see especially Schuh 1995.

² The text *Dzar document 1* gives the name as 'dem 'dem chos pa; while the orthography of “Demdem” remains uncertain, *chos pa* should certainly be read as *mchod pa*, a term that is widely used to denote ceremonies involving offerings to divinities.



Plate 1: The opening ceremony of the Lubrak Dachang

of football, for example, do not merely regulate the game of football but as it were create the possibility of or define that activity...; football has no existence apart from these rules. I call the latter kind of rules constitutive rules and the former kind regulative rules. (1965: 223)

The concern of this article, then, is not with the constitutive rules of the Demdem and the Dachang but with their regulative rules.

Origins of the archery festival

Concerning the origins of the spring archery festival, we are particularly fortunate to have documents from both Lubrak and Dzar. In the case of the latter, the document in question (*Dzar doc. 1*) is part of an archive belonging to the household of the hereditary rulers of Baragaon, in Dzar. There are two copies of the document, one of them older and more battered (*Dzar doc. 1a*) and the other (*Dzar doc. 1b*) apparently a relatively recent copy. *Dzar doc. 1b*—the version to which reference will be made here—consists of three sheets of paper stitched together along the top to form a booklet. The document offers a valuable insight into several ritual and secular institutions that are now largely obsolete, but since its contents are only tangentially relevant to the present study it will not be analysed in detail here.

The very first topic of the document, following a few pious lines eulogising the land and its rulers, is a spring festival involving archery. The document is undated, but we are told that the festival was instituted by a certain Zilnon Namgyal shortly his death. The Bonpo pilgrim Karu Drubwang Tenzin Rinchen, who spent several years in Mustang and Dolpo in first half of the 19th century, mentions Zilnon Namgyal as one of his patrons in 1834 (*Autobiography*, p. 177). Zilnon Namgyal also features in a document from the ar-

chives of Baragaon, dated 1867, in the context of dispute with his younger brother. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the festival was established around the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Demdem festival was not confined to the inhabitants of Dzar but included Purang and Khyenga, two adjacent settlements with which Dzar holds a certain amount of common territory. In certain ceremonial contexts the three form a hierarchically-ordered triad, with Dzar at the top and Purang and Khyenga, in that order, below it. The choreography of the event, as described in the document, evokes this politico-ritual association. The name of the festival, Demdem Chöpa, may be a reference to Pholha Demba, a territorial divinity who is revered by both Dzar and Khyenga. Comments on other points in the document will be given after the translation. (The Tibetan text of all the documents is provided in the Appendix.)

Dzar document 1

Translation

Page 1

Here in the greatest of the four continents, southern Jambudvīpa, in this finest of holy places, Muktināth, in the capital of this delightful land of Dzardzong, in the foremost palace called Trashi[ding], dwells the great line of Jampal Thokgyal, a lineage whose antecedents resided in heaven; before Kushab Zilnon Namgyal of that lineage died, he established the Demdem Festival. On the ninth day of the 4th month, the Saga Dawa, there should be a beer-drinking gathering (*'phral btab*). On the tenth day there should be consecrations [of monuments] and a ritual for longevity. After

midday, there should be archery. On the 11th a *dgra zor* should be performed. This should be done every year without interruption. According to custom, each of the three communities should give money to their close associates, and as the interest they should give five *zo ba* of grain from the harvest. On the 8th day, the *sku zhabs* and the lama shall each be given the first-offering of beer; furthermore, the *sku zhabs* shall be presented with an invitation (*gnyen dang < nyen brda*).

On the 10th day, at the first gun, there shall be a [serving of beer] for clearing the head (*sgob shal < mgo bshal*); at the second gun the long life ritual and the consecrations [of the *mchod rtens*] shall be performed; at the third gun there the archery should commence. Each person should bring a prayer flag, without fail.

On the 11th day at the first gun (*'bam gor*) there should be a [serving of beer] for clearing the head; at the second, food [should be served]; at the third gun, there should be archery, dancing and singing. The *dgra zor* ritual should be performed, and everyone should come; if anyone does not come, he (or she?) will pay a fine of one rupee.

Purang should bring yellow clay; Dzar should bring whitewash; Khyenga should bring black clay. On the 10th day, the people who set up the targets should be given a full bowl of beer (*stam ka < ltam ka*); the three people who paint the (different) *mchod rten* should be given 3 ladles of beer each; When the *dgra zor* is being performed, the Lama and the Lord should receive a beer allowance of first-quality beer (*snying khu*). The people who play the little cymbals shall receive one *zo ba* of chang.

On the 10th day, when you go to request the spear with the flag from the Lama, you should give him a container [of

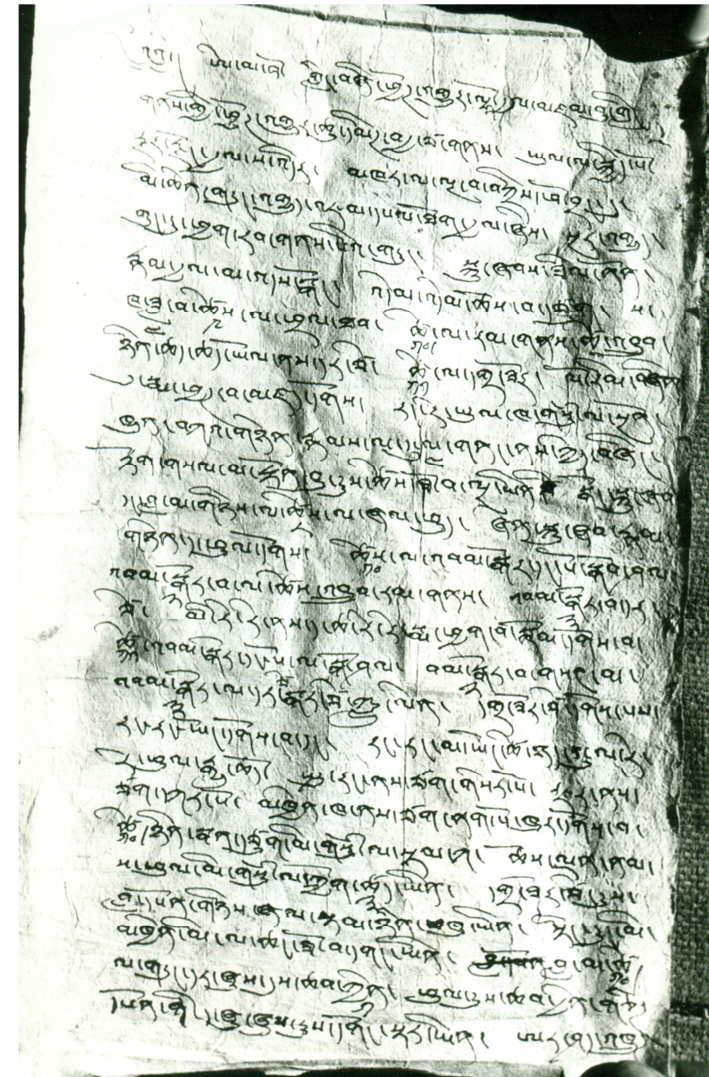


Plate 2: Dzar document 1, page 1 (copy of mid-nineteenth century original)

flour] (*chab rkyan*) and when you return it to him again, another *chab rkyan* container [of flour]. It shall be the same when you request the bow and arrow from the Lord. If there is any angry or quarrelsome

Page 2

behaviour, those responsible shall be fined 8 rupees, with no excuses. On the 9th day, after offering the performance [of songs and dances, each participant] shall receive 6 ladles [of beer]. On the 10th day [each person shall receive] 6 ladles of beer after food (? *gsol skyab*) that does not form part of the allocation (*sma the < ma 'thad*) of beer to accompany the long life ritual (? *tshe phyang < tshe chang*).

The stewards of each of the settlements should also, as above, soak the dry grain; if they do not wet the dry grain, and if they take even a single handful of grain or a small flask of beer home to their own communities; and if any of them is partial: may Chos skyong mGon po ye shes; dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo; the protector E ka ja ti; the protector of the doctrine A bse mdung dmar; dGe bsnyen rDo rje shugs ldan; the holy place of Muktināth: may these swiftly inflict on the upper part of their bodies hot illnesses that are like fire; may the lower parts of their bodies be boiled with cold illnesses like water; and may they inflict on the middle parts of their bodies blood diseases with ferocious pains. If the three stewards are honest and avoid engaging in concealment, partiality or theft as described above, may they be free of hot illnesses in the upper parts of their bodies, cold illnesses in the lower parts of their bodies, and ferociously painful blood diseases in the middle parts of their bodies. May men enjoy long lives and may women be glorious. May

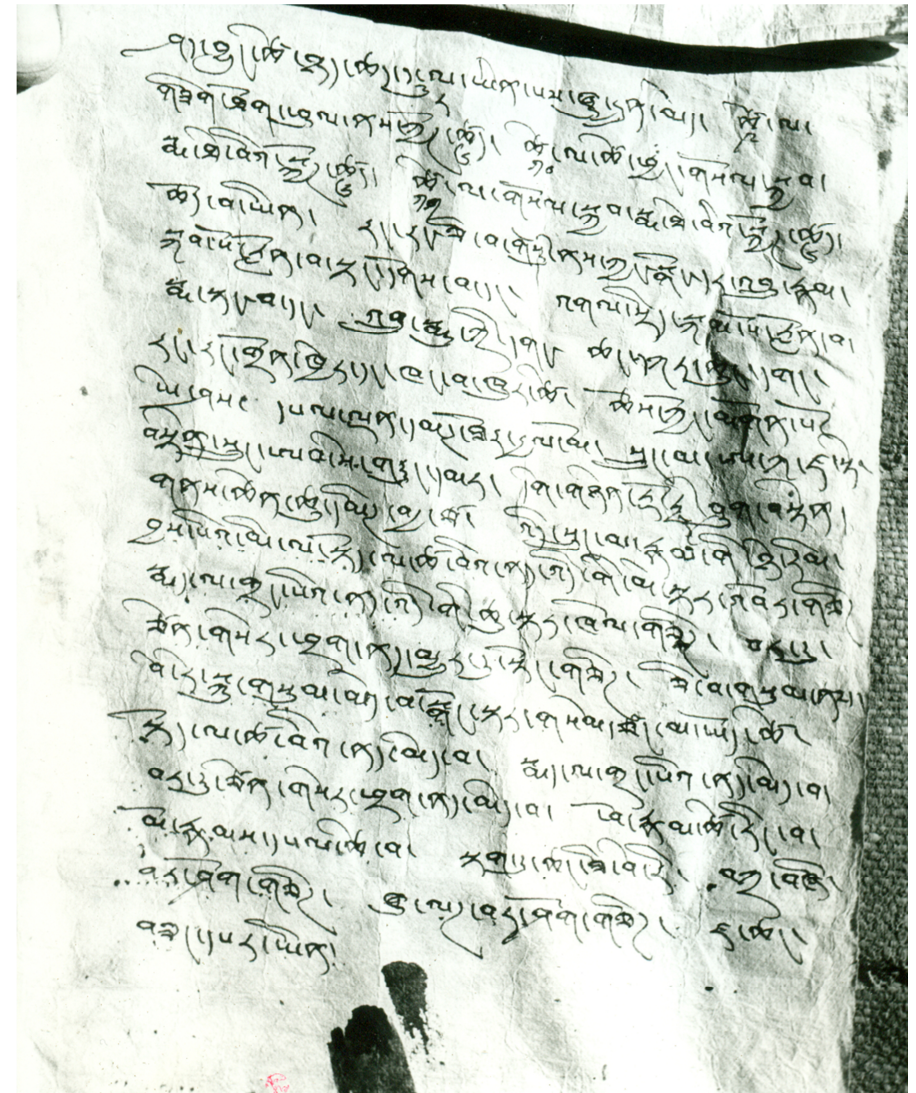


Plate 3: Dzar document 1, page 2 (copy of mid-nineteenth century original)

they be constantly pleasantly drunk. Blessings and good fortune. May the beer from the earthenware jars be excellent.

Page 3

The three stewards must receive a blessing from the hand of the lama with [this?] document and a *zo ba* measure.

If anyone has not arrived by the third gun, they may be too late for the one ladle of beer or for two ladles of beer (of the three servings).

On the 12th day, for the sauce for the meals, the steward of each of the three communities has 3 *tam*,¹ and they should provide sauce equal in value to the interest on those 3 *tam*.

4 *zo ba* of barley (*zhing rtog = nas*). These 4 *zo ba* of barley shall be designated (*dmigs gtad*) for three purposes: for offering-grain, for first-offerings of flour and for the butter decorations. Only household members, but no outsiders, may participate. To accompany the request for the long life ritual, the members of the exalted monastic community shall have beer made from 1 *zo ba* [of barley], as well as one small flask, and when they leave they shall be given one *chab rkyan* container [of flour]. If anyone is unable to attend because of illness, for four full days of absence he shall receive a share of a measure of beer made from one *zo ba* of grain. However, he shall receive no share if he attends on [even] one day. In the case of anyone who is widowed or in mour-

¹ At least during this period and throughout the twentieth century 1 *tam* = half a rupee.

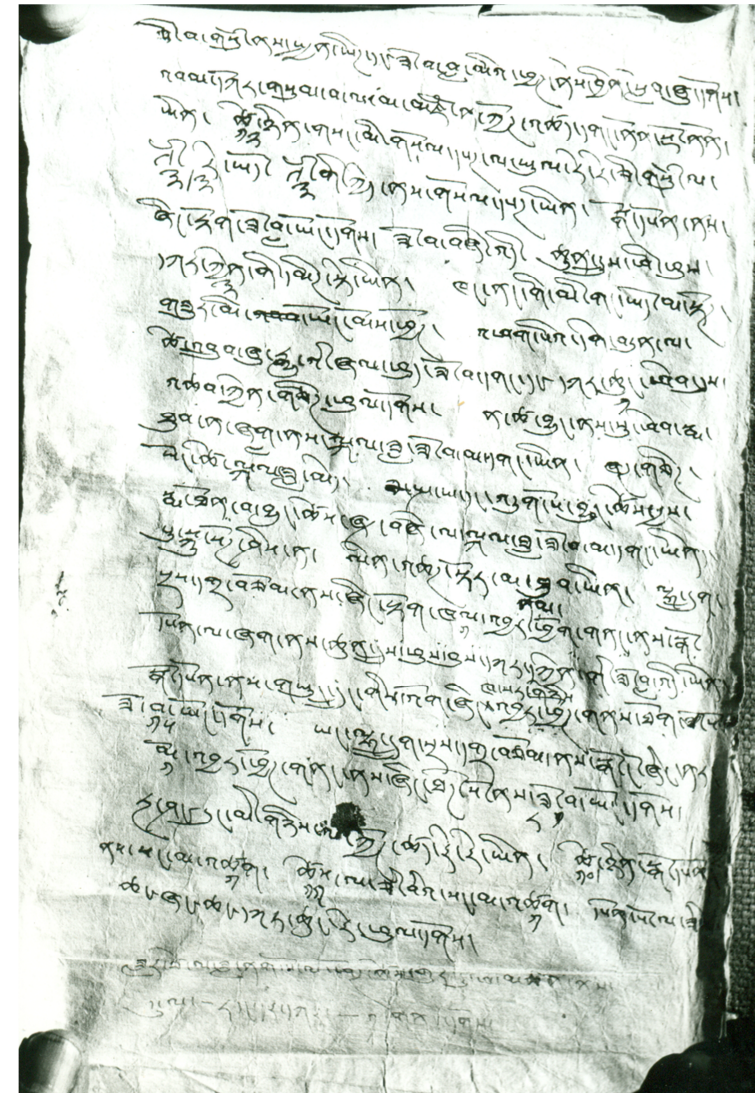


Plate 4: Dzar document 1, page 3 (copy of mid-nineteenth century original)

ning, for four full days of absence he (or she?) shall receive a share of a measure of beer made from 1 *zo ba* of grain. If a child dies [the family's eligibility for a share] shall last until the performance of the *lan chags gtor ma* ritual. The nobleman Dracom of Lhadrug (in Dzar) has made an endowment of 1 *khal* of barley. It has been entrusted to the Lord, and shall yield 4 *zo ba* [of interest] for offering-grain, the first-offerings of flour and for butter decorations. The Lord [himself] has [donated] the yield of his two fields named Kasar that are located below Yungdrung's fields. The Nobleman Dracom of Lhadrug has further donated the 8 *zo ba* of the yield of his one long field in the Go-ngo area. Those who play the drum and the flat bell shall receive one ladleful [of beer] each.

On the 10th day the Lord shall offer one meal. On the 11th day the stewards shall offer one meal. Each of the nobles shall receive beer when he retires to bed and beer when he gets up.

Line 22, different hand

During the archery, if someone's arrow hits the black mark, the Gurdu feasting-group shall give him 8 rupees and a white scarf.

Commentary

Page 1

Line 8, *dgra zor*: *zor* denotes a type of repulsion ritual, in this case directed against generic—that is, this-worldly and otherworldly—enemies. The culmination of the Yartung ceremony at the present day is a performance known as *dgra zor*, in which representatives of the three communities, enact a slow dance in a circle around

the Bonpo chaplain of the duke, who holds a red spear representing the Bon divinity A bse mdung dmar. It is likely that the *dgra zor* in *Dzar doc. 1* denotes a similar dance.

Lines 9–11, *rang re yul kha...Inga yin*, “each...”: The implication seems to be that the participants of the festival should set up a fund in their respective communities with which to finance the festival. This apparently entails making loans to fellow-villagers from whom the annual interest is collected in the form of a grain and put towards the running costs of the Demdem Festival. While the scheme is mentioned here only in vague terms, the documents to be examined below will offer a more detailed insight into how the strategy worked in Lubrak.

Line 13, *bam gor*: the meaning of the term is uncertain but, from the context, denotes some sort of signal to mark intervals in the performances. The term *gor* probably denotes a “round” (< *skor* etc.), while *bam* is defined in Turner's Nepali dictionary as “Bomb, cannonball” (from English *bomb*). Even now, in a number of communities in Mustang, certain ceremonies are punctuated by rounds of musket fire, though this has been largely replaced by the use of commercial fire-crackers. In certain British colonies, the stroke of midday was signalled in military establishments and factories by firing a cannon (the “noon gun”), or detonating an explosive of some sort. In parts of India, at least, this signal was referred to as *bam*.

Line 13, *sgob shal < mgo bshal*, “head-washing”: the usual term for the first alcoholic drink of the morning, the “hair of the dog” that attenuates the deleterious effects of excessive consumption on the preceding day.

Line 20, *pur rang nas...*, “Purang should bring yellow clay...”: the allocation of specific roles to different communities in the enclave is a feature of certain other ceremonies, and can be un-

derstood as an important ritual-political dimension of these events (see Ramble 1992–1993). The colours assigned to the three communities correspond to their social status: Dzar, the “capital” with its aristocratic contingent has white; Purang, a commoner community, has yellow—which is often interchangeable with red in local ritual colour schemes—and Khyenga, which belongs to a lower stratum of commoners—has black.

Line 25, *gdung dar*, “the spear with the flag”: the item in question is a red spear representing the Bonpo protector A bse mdung dmar, “Abse the Red Spear”, who is the chief of the *btsan* class of divinities in the Bon religion. Abse is the clan divinity of the ruling family of Dzar and also of the royal line of Lo. Although the use of the spear in the present context is not specified, in the modern Yartung ceremony it is held upright by the priest while the participants perform a slow dance, the *dgra zor*, around it.

Line 25, *chab kyen* < *chab rkyan*: described in dictionaries as a container for liquids, the term locally refers to a box for flour or tsampa.

Line 26, *dpon gi da zhu zhus dus*, “when you request the bow and arrow from the Lord”: in modern-day archery festivals each participant has his own bow and arrows. The implication of this point is that, at this period, the only bow and arrows to be had belonged to the aristocracy and had to be borrowed from the duke in exchange for a ceremonial offering of grain or flour. The second point—the line that concludes the excerpt—is the emphatic injunction against fighting. As we will see from the Lubrak documents, keeping the peace on festive occasions was a perennial problem on such occasions.

Page 2

Line 2, *gzig thog phul nas*, “after offering the performance”: the festival is said to have included performances of dances and songs, known as *shon*, held in the courtyard in front of the Lord’s palace for the entertainment of the aristocracy.

Lines 4–5, *’bru rnam skam po rlon ba stang*, “wet the dry grain”: that is, soaking the grain prior to boiling and fermenting it in order to make beer. The clause is intended to prevent the stewards from misappropriating grain by failing to process it as beer. The next two misdemeanours specified by the text are the theft of beer and, more generally, partiality, presumably to members of their respective communities.

Line 18, *stag du chang zi be ri*, “may they be constantly pleasantly drunk”: the expression *bere*, translated here as “pleasantly”, is a common epithet for a level of euphoric tipsiness that precedes the antisocial manifestations of more advanced inebriation (examples of which are given below) and, later, complete incapacitation. The term may be cognate with *sbir*, “to be numb”.

Page 3

Line 1: *spyen yigs dang zo ba*, “[this] document and a *zo ba* measure”: *spyen* may have been added here in an attempt to create an honorific form of *yig[s]*. The relevance of the document and the measure in the blessing may be that the former contains the oath that binds the stewards to the honest discharge of their duty, while the latter is emblematic of their role in managing the contributions of grain for the festival.

Line 22, *gur du*: on the occasion of certain festivals, communities sometimes break up into a number of small groups for feasting and drinking. Gurdu was the name of one of these groups, with a

membership that is said to have consisted primarily of aristocrats. Reciprocal hospitality between the groups is normal, but this group is reputed to have preferred to carry on its revels in isolation from the others. It ensured its privacy by means of wedging the door shut using a wooden post with one end fixed to the ground with rocks. The SMT term for such a device, *gurdu*, became the nickname of the group (Angya Gurung, personal communication). The “black mark” is the equivalent of the bullseye, a metal disc some 6 cm in diameter hammered into the wooden target and blackened inside. The prize of 8 rupees offered by the Gurdu group is consistent with the largesse expected of an elite club on such an occasion, but the figure would have been a very generous one indeed at the time the festival was established. The fact that this clause features at the end of the document, and in a different hand, suggests that it was added at a later date.

The Dachang festival of Lubrak

The Dachang festival of Lubrak begins on the eleventh day of the fourth Tibetan month and concludes on the fourteenth. The “core” activity of the festival—archery—is interspersed with various rituals, such as the propitiation of territorial gods at different locations, raising prayer flags and performing fumigation rites. Songs and dances that are unique to the occasion are performed, and ritual processions are made to the main sacred sites on the community’s territory. The day after the festival—the day of the full moon features a liturgical ceremony, the “Root of Virtue” (*dGe rtsa mchod pa*) is held in the community temple.

For the purpose of the archery, two targets (*’ben*) are set up at a distance of some thirty metres apart. They consist of two rough-hewn, thick pine planks planted in the earth and standing about 1.5 metres high. The men of the village are divided into two teams who

take it in turns to shoot at the target. When each person has loosed his allotted two arrows, both teams change ends. The further details of the procedure need not detain us here.

There is some uncertainty concerning the establishment of the Archery Festival in Lubrak. A document from 1935 that will be examined in detail below states that the festival was initiated (*tshug*) in that year, and indeed the text, which deals with such matters as the creation of a fund and the ground rules for participation, gives every indication that this is the case. However, two earlier documents (*Lubrak docs 1* and *2*) mention the festival in a way that can leave little doubt about its existence as an institution at least two decades earlier. The documents concern the abandonment of an estate in 1912 and its reoccupation, in 1924, by the sole surviving son of the former owner, who had also died in the interim. *Lubrak doc. 1* mentions the departure of the householder in question, a certain Tsewang Dondrub, and records the measures that were taken by the community to keep the estate intact and to ensure that it continued to meet its obligations to the community. The brothers of the emigrant were approached, and, when they declined, an overture was made to a more distant kinsman. He, too, expressed his unwillingness to assume control of the estate and gave the community the authorisation to deal with the matter as they saw fit. All estates have commitments to the communities to which they belong in terms of payments in cash or grain (*lag ’gro*, cf. CT *lag ’don*) and the provision of labour for communal projects.¹ In the present case the document specifies that the estate has defaulted on the interest payments from the trust funds it manages for the sponsorship of temple

¹ It should be mentioned that at this time aristocratic estates—of which there are none in Lubrak—were exempted from most material contributions and all communal labour.

ceremonies, for Yartung and for Dachang, and that it has also failed to provide manpower or pay its taxes. Although the community did manage to cover some of these costs by leasing out the fields, by 1918, when *Lubrak doc. 1* was written, the estate was already in debt to a number of people. The problem was solved in 1924 when Tshewang Dondrub's son, Trashi Norgye, returned to Lubrak following the death of his parents and his brothers. He paid off most of the debts for the temple ceremonies, the Yartung and the Dachang, and the community was so delighted by his decision to return that they wrote off his outstanding interest payments and gave him a number of other tax concessions.

Since questions concerning matters such as estate management and indebtedness, interesting though they may be, are of secondary interest here, we need only take the example of the earlier of the two documents, *Lubrak doc. 1*, since they both tell us essentially the same thing about the Archery Festival, viz. that it existed before 1912 and that it was financed by the interest from an investment fund that was managed by the estates (*grong pa*). (For the same reason, *Lubrak doc. 2* is not included among the photographic reproductions of the documents presented below.)

A few preliminary remarks may be made before proceeding to the presentation of the document. The names given in line 6 are those of the lessors who took it in turns to shoulder responsibility of the estate in the six years following its abandonment. The figure in each case represents the cash equivalent of the difference between the quantity of yield the lessor obtained from the harvest and the amount he paid to the community as the leased estates' annual financial obligation. The fact that in each year the lessor suffered a loss indicates that the lease was not a profitable one, and that it may have been necessary to institute an annual roster or to apply a system of lots in order to ensure that the field were leased each year.

Differences in the figures may be explained by factors such as weather conditions, or perhaps the need to raise levies in certain years for community projects or legal battles with neighbouring settlements.

Lubrak document 1

Translation

In the first month 7 rupees were given.

In the Water Rat year (1912) Tshewang Dondrub left the village with his family. From the Ox year (1913) we received no interest from him for the calendrical ceremonies or for the Yartung and Dachang festivals, nor was there any provision of community labour, or of taxes in kind. Accordingly, we told his two brothers, Jamyang and Trashi, to come and occupy the estate. However, they did not come. We then asked his paternal relative Rabgye to pay the temple dues, but he demurred, saying, "You, the village community, should do what you want [with the estate]". All the fields were then distributed on lease, but by the Earth Horse year (1918) [the estate's debts were as follows]: Midor [is owed] 6 rupees; Gyaltsen 3 rupees; Tshewang 3 *ṭam*; Rabgye 3 *ṭam*; Lagdzom 3 *ṭam*; Tagla 2 rupees. The outstanding interest that had accumulated on [*lacuna*] between the Water Rat year (1912) and last year (1917) is 18 'bo *khal* of two-row barley.

The fact that the Lubrak archives contain no reference to the Dachang between 1916 and 1935 suggests that it may, for some unknown reason, have been abandoned before being revived in the latter year. The remaining documents that will be considered here

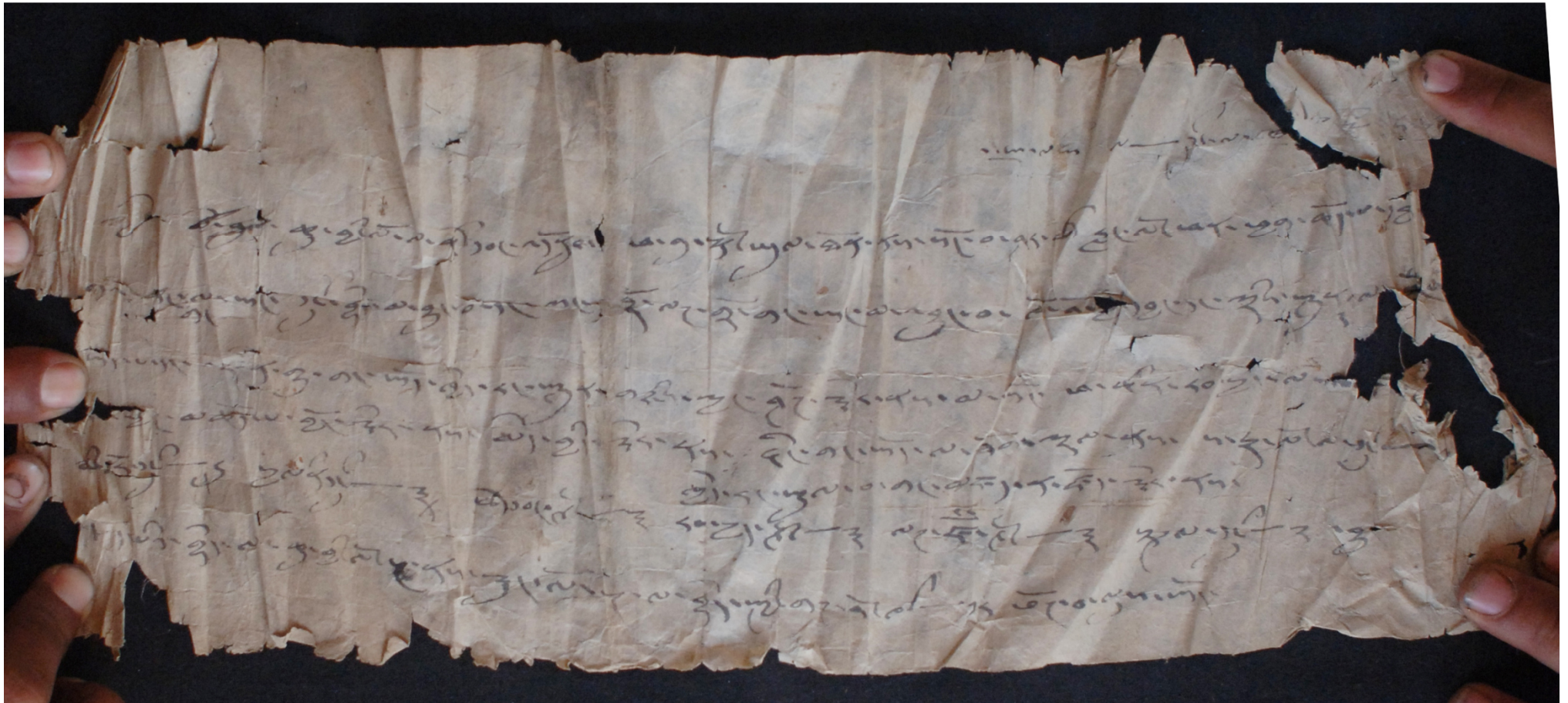


Plate 5: Lubrak document 1 (1912)

relate to the restoration of the Dachang and a number of modifications the festival later underwent.

The “mother document” of the Lubrak Dachang

Lubrak doc. 3 makes it clear that a great deal of careful planning and management went into the resuscitation of the festival. The translation of the document will, as above, be followed by notes on certain specific points, but it may be helpful to preface this with some observations of a more general character.

The document describes itself as a *ma yig*, literally a “mother document”. The term is used in the Lubrak archives to identify documents that deal with the establishment of any ceremony. As mentioned above, Lubrak is a community of hereditary Bonpo priests who perform roughly twenty liturgical ceremonies per year on the basis of interest from investments collected from patrons. Ten per cent of the interest generated from this investment is used to finance the performance (with purchases of grain, oil, butter and so forth) and any additional interest is kept by the priests. The system is described in Ramble 2000, and in more detail in Ramble 1985. Each of these liturgical ceremonies has its own *ma yig*. In principle, *ma yig* are never altered, except to record investments made by new patrons after the occasion when a ceremony was first established. The content of the *ma yig* relating to the collective liturgical rituals is generally limited to investments, since the protocols for their performance are subsumed under more general sets of rules concerning the activities of the temple. Since the Dachang is not a liturgical ceremony, the procedures for its financing and conduct *are* different, and these are included in its *ma yig*.

Lubrak doc. 3 was drawn up in 1935, the year after the fund for the festival was established. Each of the participants—whose identities are not specified, but whom we can reasonably assume to

be heads of households and their brothers—invested one rupee. At some later point the sons of these households contributed half a rupee each. The annual interest on all investments, unless stated otherwise, is ten per cent, and the annual interest on the Dachang endowments is to be paid in the form of barley or rice: six-row barley (*nas*) as the same value as rice, whereas two-row barley (*cikag*) has two-thirds of the value. The quantity of grain that corresponds to one-tenth of half a rupee is one *zo ba* of grain. The grain is to be used for food and beer, and it is clear that the women—who do not take part in the archery—are also included in the feasting. (In fact, they play an important role in the ceremonial songs, dances and processions that accompany the archery.) The text implies that not all the women are included in the feast, but perhaps only the mistresses of each household, since it is permissible for a participant who dies to be substituted by another woman. By contrast, men who die may not be substituted. The reason for this appears to be a wish to develop a fund that is independent of the living members of the fraternity. In the outline of the system of endowment for the liturgical ceremonies given above it was stated that patrons would deposit their donations in a fund from which the interest would be used to finance the annual performance of the ceremony concerned. In this respect the Dachang fund differs from these funds. The document tells us (lines 9–10) that if someone dies “the money [capital] that he had kept for himself shall be taken out and offered [to the fund].” It is clear from this that the principal of 1 rupee each was retained by the members of the Dachang fraternity, who would simply provide goods worth ten per cent of that sum annually to the running costs. However, expressing this in terms of the interest on an endowment meant that, following the death of a member, the family of the deceased would be required to “take out” the 1 rupee (or, in the case of sons, half-rupee) principal and pay it into a fund. In this

way, while the fund would grow with the addition of new recruits, if would not decrease with the death of existing members.

Lubrak document 3

Translation

May all be well and auspicious. Clearly set out below is the mother document of the Dachang fraternity from the third month of the Wood Pig year (1935). The following is the covenant that was drawn up freely and willingly following a discussion among ourselves, the fraternity of the Dachang. In the male Wood Dog year (1934), one rupee per person was collected and invested. Subsequently, each of the sons [of the main investors] contributed one *ṭam* (i.e., a half-rupee) and joined the group. On this matter, it has been decided that: on the ninth day of the third Hor month a beer-drinking meeting shall be arranged, and on the tenth day the *skye sgo mchod pa* shall be performed (lit. offered). As the pecuniary interest (*dngul bed*) for each *ṭam*, one *zo ba* of clean barley per *ṭam* shall be contributed. If rice is given, it should be the same—one *zo ba* per *ṭam*. If a mother should die, there may be a substitute (to eat in her place). If a son should die, there may be no substitute.

The money [capital] that he had kept for himself shall be taken out and offered [to the fund].

If anyone is [unable to attend because he is] ill or feverish, he shall receive beer made from a *zo ba* of grain [at home]. But if someone [fails to attend just because he] is lazy, he shall receive a share of beer made from half a *zo ba* [of barley]. The two stewards shall receive one *zo ba* of *ya lung mar rtsag* each. The

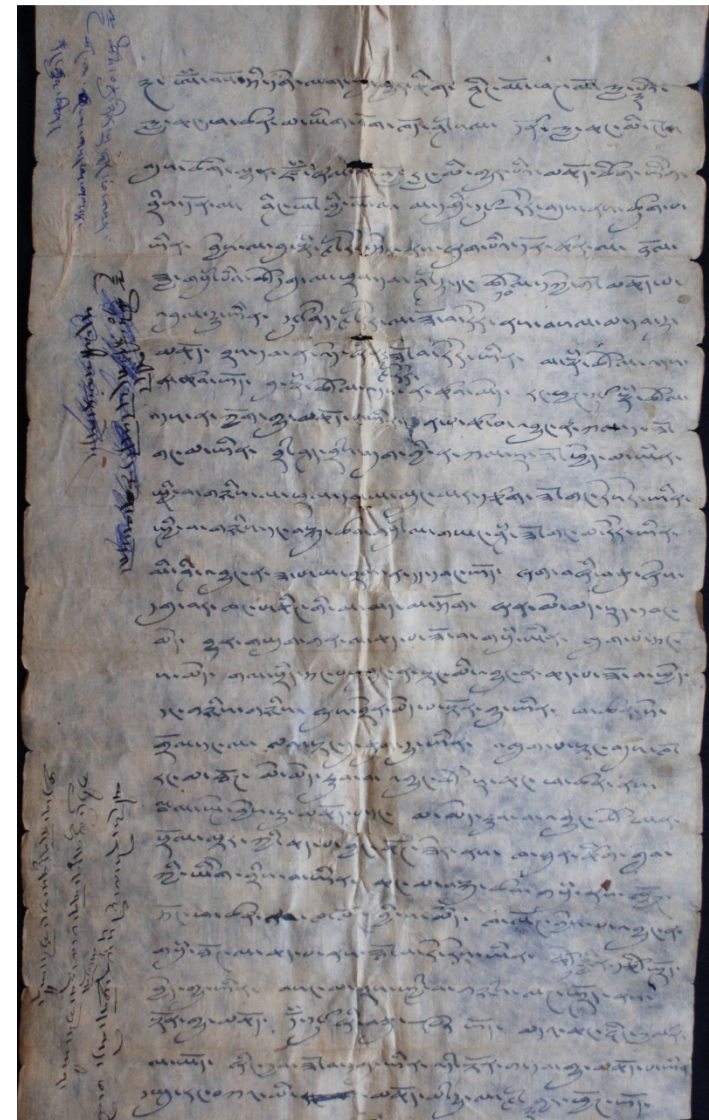


Plate 6: Lubrak document 3 (1935)

two stewards and the *sku tshab*, those three, shall receive one *zo ba* of *g.yang sham* [beer].

If anyone is widowed as a result of the death of a person, they may stay [at home]. For a period of 49 days, only [close] relatives, but no one else, may remain [at home].

Anyone who knocks over one of the targets shall be fined 3 *zo ba* [of barley].

There shall be no fighting. If there is a fight, those involved in the fight shall be fined 1.5 *zo ba* [of barley] without appeals. Members of the fraternity should get the antagonists to engage in conciliatory discussions and soothing words (*la lab*). When a fight does break out, only those [directly involved may fight], whereas if their relatives gang up, the members of the Dachang fraternity should separate them by force; and if the family do gang up, saying that they should be fined in accordance with national and customary law (*an* [*< Nep. ain*] *srol*) a document intended to achieve reconciliation shall be drawn up.

The younger members of the fraternity shall not speak offensively (*kha log*) to the [two] beer dispensers and the *sku tshab*, those three. If it happens that someone does speak offensively, he shall pay a fine of one *zo ba* of barley to the three.

Accounting should be done on the 14th day.

The two stewards should together (*lag sprod nas*) provide rice for the food.

There is a total of 40 rupees. Gyaltsen holds the Dachang field. The rent (? *zhing kyab*) for this field is 9 *zo ba*. He may cultivate the field from this autumn.

Kami from Purang has made an investment of 3 *ṭam*.

Left margin A

A share of food should be given to all the Dachang fraternity on the tenth day.

Left margin B

It is only on the tenth day of Dachang that everyone should receive a share of food.

Left margin C

There should be an increase of no more than 5 *ṭam* per person. If there is any additional money in the fraternity, it should be contributed to the monastery. If there is insufficient money, the monastery will make up for it.

Legal amendments in response to events

We have already seen from *Dzar doc. 1* that there was a concern with the prospect of fights breaking out during the Demdem festival. The same problem is anticipated in *Lubrak doc. 3*, the Dachang *ma yig*. Either because it remained a perennial problem or because of a particularly dramatic incident, the Dachang fraternity took steps to address the issue shortly before the festival in 1952. A few weeks before the event, they drew up a code of conduct that elaborated on the basic guidelines that had been established in 1935. The document in question, *Lubrak doc. 4*, is largely self-explanatory, and the translation requires little comment, but there are a few points that are especially worth noting. First, although it opens with the declaration that “there should be no fighting”, it accepts the inevitability of conflict, and proceeds to lay down a series of rules for brawling that are intended to confine disputes as far as possible. Using weapons or rocks carries a supplementary fine. It is interesting to note that the fine for someone who joins in the fray once it has started is double that for the individual who actually initiated it, while women, too, are liable to be fined for egging on the combatants. Certain rules of etiquette are also laid down: thus, knocking over one of the targets in a fit of pique becomes a punishable form of unsporting behaviour, and penalties for lateness are

also imposed. One of the most interesting innovations is the creation of a new category of official charged with responsibility for maintaining law and order in an impartial manner. And finally, the document specifies the procedure to be adopted in the event of a member wishing to withdraw from the fraternity—essentially, he simply has to stop paying the annual ten per cent interest on his “virtual” endowment.

Lubrak document 4

Translation

24th day of the second month in a Water Serpent year (1952). The purpose of writing this letter: the essential subject of this written agreement, which is based on a meeting of the fraternity (*pha tshan*) of the Archery Festival of Lubrak, is as follows.

There should be no fighting either inside or outside the archery ground. If it should happen that there is a fight, the person who initiated it shall pay a fine of 15 rupees, and if anyone raises his hand [in anger] he shall pay 15 rupees. If anyone should provide support to one side or the other (?) [there will be a fine of] 30 rupees. And moreover (*blad nas*) if women should support their relatives [they shall pay a fine of] 10 rupees. If there is anyone who knocks down the target [he will be fined] 5 *zo ba* of barley or wheat. If anyone should break anything on the archery ground after people have gone back home, he shall be fined 5 *zo ba* of barley or wheat. If anyone has not arrived in time for the lunch of the *sKye sgo gcod pa*, he will not receive his share. On the tenth day two officers should be appointed, and (these?) two judges (*khirms dpon*) should swear an oath, having called witnesses, that they will act properly, without showing any partiali-

ty. And if there should be anyone who answers the judges back, these members of the company of archers who are led by their captains should pay a fine of 10 rupees. And if [the judges?] should treat anyone as higher or lower, they should swear an oath with the Triple Gem as witness, without diverging from the true meaning and without wrongly deflecting the blame. If anyone should leave the fraternity of archers, he may take back his membership investment but he may not say that he should get any other items related to the Archery Festival, or any share of grain. The [two] stewards and the *sku tshab* should receive *dbyang cham* (?) of one *zo ba* each, and the two stewards should also receive one *zo ba* of Yalung Martsag chang. If there should be anyone who bears or holds weapons or rocks he shall pay a fine of 20 rupees.

On the 14th day, if anyone who has incurred any of the penalties listed above (?) does not pay up immediately without making excuses, even if some of his property is confiscated he may not undertake additional legal procedures for the dispute. If the judges should have to travel (lit. extend) beyond the Pandak River, their expenses shall be paid by the fraternity of archers.

The fraternity of archers are named below, in confirmation that they will not diverge from the meaning of this document.

(list of signatories follows)

Further developments

An opportunity to apply these new rules presented itself a few years later when, at the Dachang of 1956, a fight broke out between two members of the fraternity, Tsering and Gyaltsen. In this case, too, we see that the episode became the precedent for a more general

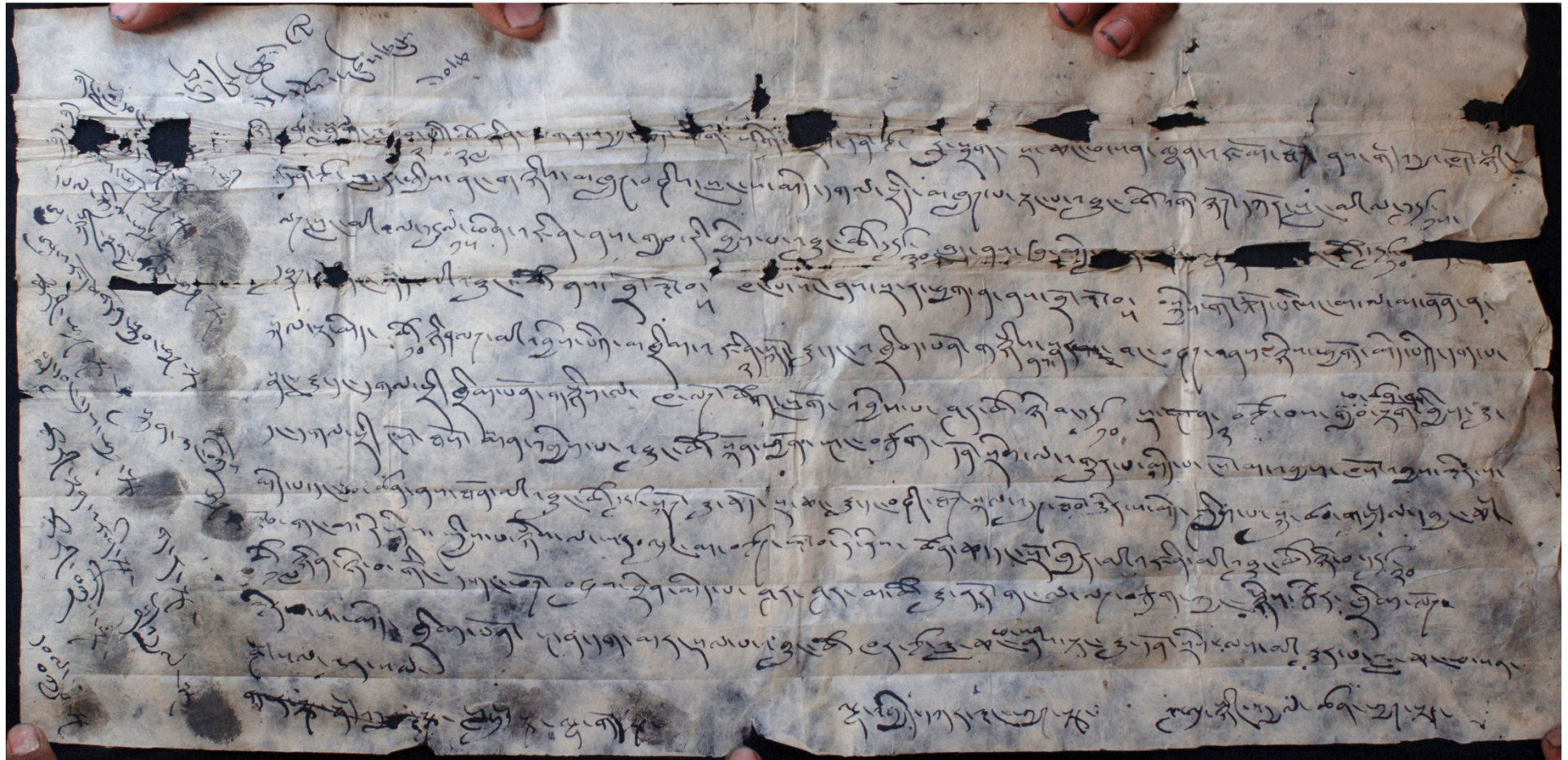


Plate 7: Lubrak document 4 (1952)

legal formulation. The two new officials—who are referred to here not as *khirms dpon* but as *chos khirms pa*—have been held responsible for not preventing or controlling the fight and have been fined accordingly. This action is then cited as the precedent for a new rule according to which the two officials are to be fined as a matter of course if they fail to prevent or stop fights. By implication, one of the guilty parties refused to pay his fine, thereby provoking the specification that any such refusal in the future would be met with a commensurate level of corporal punishment.

Lubrak document 5

Translation

Monday, the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month in a male Fire Monkey year (1956). Following a discussion among the members of the Dachang fraternity, this document of agreement was drawn up. The purpose is as follows. Tsering and Gyaltzen had a minor dispute. With me, Tshewang Hrithar acting as the intermediary, each of them paid a fine of 15 rupees in accordance with the agreement that had been drawn up in the past. The two disciplinarians did indeed pay 9 rupees in the presence of me, Tshewang Hrithar. (*Note that Tshewang Hrithar of Khyenga is also the scribe.*)

In future, whosoever should cause a fight shall pay a fine in accordance with the agreement. Not only this, but the two disciplinarians should pay a fine of 10 rupees [each?]. If anyone fails to pay his fine, for every *tam* owed he should receive two lashes of the whip below the waist. Whoever receives the punishment may not accuse others (lit. “not me but him”). Each person freely and willingly sets the print of his red thumb.

(list of signatories follows)

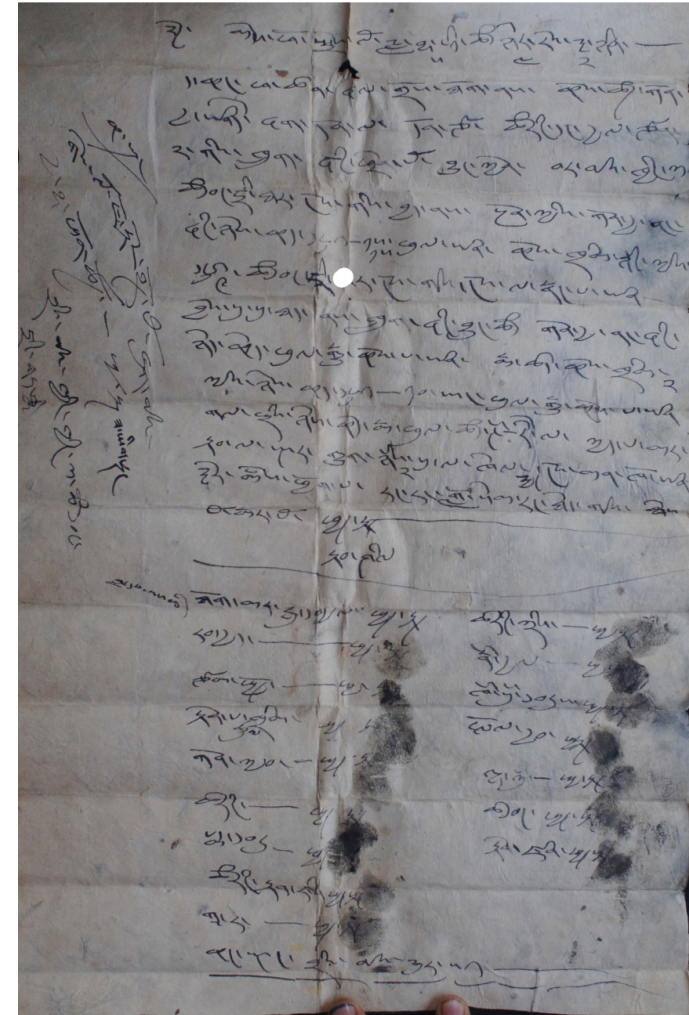


Plate 8: Lubrak document 5 (1956)

Concluding remarks

The seasonal festivals of Mustang are spectacular occasions at which villagers have an opportunity to demonstrate their skills at the martial arts of archery and horsemanship, as well as an impressive repertoire of songs and dances. For the most part these festivals are held in an atmosphere of good humour and celebration that can leave an outsider with an impression of spontaneous revelry. In fact, far from being open and spontaneous, many areas of social life are subject to strict regulation, and the domain of festivals and ceremonies is no exception. Some of the rules that underpin these occasions can be deduced from observation, especially in the case of activities such as archery that have a competitive element. These rules are inherent in the archery contest to the extent that, without them, the contest could not be said to exist at all. For this reason they can be understood in terms of what John Searle has called “constitutive rules”. Beneath this visible level of organisation, however, lies a stratum of regulation that is not evident to the outside observer: a system of rules governing the economic infrastructure and required codes of behaviour for the event, as well as for choreographing the complex of activities—ceremonial beer drinking, symbolic offerings, dancing, consecration of sacred monuments and so forth—that provide the framework for the archery contest. These correspond to Searle’s “regulative rules”, and it is this category with which the present article has been primarily concerned.

One important advantage of having access to an entire community archive, rather than just a single document, is that this might enable us to see both the origins as well as the subsequent evolution of certain institutions over the course of time. In the case of community laws, typically, a given document may record the occurrence and resolution of an unusual or unprecedented offence or crisis. Such an episode may then become the point of departure for a more

general formulation that is seen to be applied in subsequent cases of a similar nature.

Unlike the Demdem festival of Dzar, the Dachang of Lubrak continues to be celebrated every spring, as it has been ever since its establishment in 1935. We know that the tradition has not been interrupted at any point in Lubrak thanks to the presence, in the community archive, of notebooks that record the annual occurrence of the festival with brief entries that contain information about financial matters and provide the names of the officials who were responsible for managing the event in any given year. Since these documents would add little to our understanding of the organisation of the Dachang they have not been considered here. The Lubrak Dachang was established—or perhaps re-established—in 1935 with the drawing up of a “mother document” (the *ma yig*, *Lubrak doc. 3*) that set out the economic basis of the festival and laid down the basic rules for participation and etiquette. As subsequent documents reveal, the system of rules was responsive to unforeseen events, and the original regulations were supplemented with a number of detailed amendments intended to anticipate the recurrence of similar crises.

APPENDIX: TIBETAN TEXT OF DOCUMENTS

Conventions for transliteration

Single underlining: text written above the main line

Double underlining: text written below the main line

Italicised text: reading doubtful

{~~Text in braces with strikethrough~~}: intentional deletion

{1}: specified number of letters intentionally deleted

{2S}: specified number of syllables intentionally deleted

Contracted forms (*bskungs yig*) are romanised in such a way as to represent the contraction, followed in brackets by the expanded syllables.

Conventions for emendation

Italicised text: Nepali term

Underlined text: term in SMT (South Mustang Tibetan) dialect with no obvious equivalent in Standard Tibetan

< : corresponding to (Standard Tibetan term)

{abcd}: material that were better omitted for a more intelligible reading

Dzar document 1**Transliteration***Page 1*

1. § e ma ho / gling bzhi phyogs 'gyur lho rgyal mdzam bu gling
2. gnas gyi phyogs 'gyur chu dmigs brgya tsa gnas / yul la skyid po
3. rdzar rdzong rgyal sa 'dir / mkhar la lnga ba bkris (bkra shis) pho
brang du
4. mi chen gdung 'gyud 'jam dpal thog rgyal zhes / sngar 'gyud

5. gung du phyag rab gnas pa'i gdung / sku zhabs zil non

6. nram rgyal ma 'das sgong / 'dem 'dem chos ba rtsug / sa

7. kha zla 4 ba tshes 9 la phral thab / tshes 10 la ram gnas tshe 'brub
/

8. nyin chad chad yol nas dar tse / tshe 11 la dgra zor / lo rim bzhin

9. du rma phyags ba mdzad dgos / rang re yul kha gsum la sngon

10. khyun bka' gnyen rnam la dngul gnang nas kyed bzhing

11. rtog gsal ma rton *bu dus* tshes zo ba lnga yin / sgong sku zhab

12. dang bla ma gnyis la tshes 8 la zhal phud / zhen sku zhab rnam

13. gnyen dang phul dgos / tshes 10 la 'bam sgor dang po sgob shal

14. 'bam sgor 2 ba la tshes 'brub ram gnas / 'bam sgor 3 ba dar

15. tse / mi re re nas da cha re re sma phyag ba snom (?) dgos /

16. tshe 11 'bam sgor dang po la sgob shal / bam sgor 2 ba gsang
ma

17. 'bam sgor 3 la dar tse sgar tse klu len / dgra zor =e dgos pas

18. rang rang yong dgos ba dang / rang rang ma yong tshe nyad
dngul re

19. re phul rgyu chod / spu rang nas tsag gser po / 'dzar nas

20. tsag dkar po / mkhyen kha nas tsag nag po khur dgos ba

21. tshes 10 nyin 'ben rtsug mi gsum la stam ka / chos ldan nam

22. sa phul mi gsum la kyog tshad 3 yin / dgra zor tse dus

23. bla dpon gnyis {~~na~~} la stam nyin {1} khu yin / sting rdung mi

24. mkhyen mi la chang zo ba dgang yin / {~~bla dpon~~} bla ma tshe 10

25. la gdung dar zhus dus chab kyen 1 / phul dus chab rgyen gcigs /

26. dpon gi da zhu zhus dus dgong star yi / ar shad 'khrud

Page 2

1. shad byung tshe nyad chad dngul 8 yin pas zhu drun med / tshe 9
la

2. gzig thog phul nas kyogs tshad 6 / tshe 10 la tshe phyang gsol
skyab

3. sma the ba'i skyogs tshad 6 / tshe 11/12 la gsol skyab sma the ba'i skyogs tshad 6
4. chod ba yin / rang rang ci ba gsum nas kyang sgong dar 'bru rnam
5. skam po rlon ba stang dgos ba dang / 'gal srid skam po rlon ba
6. sma rtang ba dang / 'bru rmu kri dgang / chang dkar chung dgang
7. rang rang gron khyer dang khang ba khur tshe / chos kyong mgon po
8. ye shas / dpal ldan dmags zor rgyal mo / srung ma a ka dza ste /
9. bsten srung ab se gdung dmar / dge gnyen rdo rje shug bsten /
10. gnas chen chu dmigs brgya tsa / 'di srung ma rnam gi nyi rim
11. byas pa'i mi la stod la tsha ba'i nad 'di ge me star 'bor gcigs
12. smad la grang pa'i nad 'di gi chu star khol gcigs / bar du
14. tsen gser phrag nad myur du stong gcigs / ci ba gsum nas
15. be re sku gsum med ba sgong star gsem tsang (?) ma yod tshe /
16. stod la tsha ba'i nad med ba / smad la grang pa'i nad med ba /
17. bar du tsen gser phrag nad med ba / pho rnam tshe ring ba
18. mo rnams dpal che ba / stag du chang zi be ri / bkra bzhi
19. bar shogs gcigs / zhu lags bar shog gcigs / dza chang
20. bzang dpar yin/

Page 3

1. ci ba gsum nas spyen yigs dang zo ba bla ma'i phyags nes byin sleb zhu dgos /
2. 'bam dkor gsum ba la ma mdzom na kyogs 'tshad dgang non sdo non
3. yin / tshe 12 nyin gsang mi gsol dpags la yul re re ci gsum la
4. ṭam 3/3 re yod / ṭam 3 gi kyed nas gsol dpags yin / sgo dpon nas
5. zhing rtog zo ba 4 yong dgos / zo ba bzhi 'di / chun drus phi phus
6. dkar kyen 3 gi dmigs ste yin / khang nang gi mi gang yod ma stogs /

7. gzur mi {4S} yong mos phyogs / 'phag pa'i dge bdun la
8. tshe 'brub zhu rgyu 'i zhal phud zo ba dgang dang dkar chung 1 phebs dus
9. 'chab kyen gcigs phul dgos / na tsha byung nas su phebs sma
10. thub na zhag 4 nas lkal zla zo ba ma dgang yin / zhags gcigs
11. yong tshe lkal zla med / za spa ya dang 'dug po byung tshes rgyas
12. sma thon ba byung tshes zhags bzhi la lkal zla zo ba ma dgang yin
13. pu sku sogs shis na / len 'chags stor ma (nam) thub yin / lha drug
14. sras dgra bcom nas / zhing stog khal 1 'byar phyogs gnang nas sgo
15. dpon la zhag nas chun drus phus bus dkar dkyen gi zo ba 4 'di yin /
16. sgo dpon nas g.yung drung gis 'og zhing ka sar gnyis 'byar phyogs gnas thog 1S po/so
17. zo ba 15 yong dgos / yang lha drug sras dgra bcom nas sgo ngo zhing nar
18. mo 1 'byar phyogs gnang nas zhing thogs so nas zo 8 ba yong dgos
19. rnga shang dung mi gnyis {4S} kyogs tshad re re yin / tshe 10 nyin sgo dpon
20. nas sang ma 'tshag 1 / tshes 11 la ci ba'i sang ma 'tshag 1 / dpon po la zi[m]
21. chang zhang chang dkar chung re phul dgos /

(different hand)

22. zlar tse la zla nag po la phogs tshes gur du pha mtshan nas
23. dngul—8 dang dar dkar—1 1 gnang dgos /

Emendations

Page 1

1. mchog gyur lho; 'dzam bu 2. mchog gyur chu mig brgya rtsa 3. mkhar la snga 4. gdung rgyud; sngar rgyud 5. 'chag rab (?) 6. 'das gong; mchod pa btsug 7. ga zla; 'phral btab; rab gnas tshe sgrub 8. nyin phyed phyed; mda' rtsed 9. ma chag par 10. rgyun bka' gnyen; skyed zhing 11. tog gsal ma 'don; gong sku zhabs 12. gzhan sku zhabs rnams 13. nyen brda 'bul; *bam* skor mgo bshal 14. *bam* skor 2 pa la tshe sgrub rab gnas; *bam* skor 3 pa mda' 15. rtsed; dar cha; ma chag par 16. tshe 11 'bam sgor dang po la mgo bshal; bam skor 2 pa bsang ma 17. bam skor 3 la mda' rtsed gar rtsed glu len 18. snyad dngul 19. 'bul rgyu; btsag ser po 20. btsag dkar; btsag nag; 'khur dgos 21. 'ben 'dzug; ltam ka ?; mchod rten na 22. bza' 'bul mi; skyogs tshad; rtsed dus 23. ltam snying khu; sting rgyung mi (?) 24. mkhan ? mi; gang yin; tshes 10 25. mdung dar zhu dus chab rkyan; 'bul dus chab rkyan gcig 26. mda' gzhu zhu dus gong ltar yin; 26. 'ar bshad 'khrug

Page 2

1. bshad byung; snyad chad; zhu 'dren; tshes 9 2. gzigs thog; skyogs tshad; tshes 10 la tshe chang; solkyab (see note) 3. ma 'thad pa'i; solkyab ma 'thad pa'i 4. spyi pa gsum; gong ltar 'bru rnams 5. skam po rlon pa gtong; gal srid 6. ma btang; 'bru muṭhi gang; karchung < SMT kera chungwa 7. grong 'khyer; 'khur tshe; chos skyong 8. ye shes; dmag zor; e ka dza ti 9. bstan srung a bse mdung dmar; dge bsnyen; shugs ldan 10. chu mig brgya rtsa; rnams kyi nye ring 11. 'di yis me ltar 'bor zhig 12. chu ltar 'khol 13. btsan gzer khrag nad; thong zhig; spyi ba 15. sbed ring (?) rku gsum; gong ltar sems gtsang 17. btsan gzer khrag nad; pho rnams 18. rtag tu chang zi biri; bkra shis 19. par shog cig; rdza chang; bzang po

Page 3

1. spyi ba; spyan yig (?); phyag nas byin rlabs 2. bam skor; ma 'dzom na skyogs tshad gang snon do snon 3. bsang ma'i gsol spags; spyi gsum 4. skyed nas gsol spags; 'go dpon 5. mchod 'dru phye phud 6. dkar rgyan; dmigs gtad; ma gtogs 7. zur mi; mi chog; 'phags pa'i dge 'dun 8. tshe sgrub; dang karchung phebs 9. chab rkyan gcig 'bul; phebs ma 10. kalda (SMT < skal pa); zo ba gang ma; zhag gcig 11. kalda (SMT < skal pa); sdug po byung tshe dge [ba] 12. ma thon bar; zhag bzhi la kalda (SMT < skal pa) zo ba gang ma 13. phru gu sogs shi; lan chags gtor ma thug 14. zhing rtog; sbyor 'jags; nas 'go 15. bzhag nas mchod 'bru'i phye phud dkar rgyan 16. 'go dpon; sbyor 'jags nas 18. sbyor 'jags; zhing rtog 19. rnga gshang; skyogs tshad; 'go dpon 20. bsang ma; spyi pa'i bsang ma; la gzim 21. bzhangs chang karchung; 'bul dgos 22. mda' rtsed; mda' nag; phog tshe; pha tshan

Lubrak document 1

Note: asterisks signify that the number in question has a diagonal stroke through the descender: it is possible that these strokes, as well as the first line of the document, were added at a later date when the debts in question had been cleared.

Transliteration

1. zla ba dang po la dngul — 7 phul yod
2. {3S} chu byi lo la tshe dbang 'donrub (don grub) / pha bu rnam yul thon nas song ba shar tshe rlang lo phan phyag chod pa dby= (yartung?)
3. *bda' chang* la gang yang dngul bhe ma byung ba dang kangs bro lags gro gang yang ma 'byung ba kho bo =y=ṁ dbyang dang kris (bkra shis) spun 2 la [1–2S]

4. yod pa dang 'dzin gyü gang yod khyed rang spun gnyis kyang shogs zer nas ma yong pha tshan rab rgyad la [±3S]
5. [1–2S] phyags mchod pa byong zer nas med byid zer nas / khyed rang yul ba gang mdzad na dzod zer nas / zhing gang yod la thog kral nas / sa rta lo la dngul [±2S]
6. rmi dor dngul — 6* / rgyal^n (rgyal mtshan) dngul — 3* / tshe dbang tam — 3 / rab rgyad tam — 3 / lags dzom tam — 3 / stags la dngul — 2 / byung
8. =d pa'i bhed la chu byi lo {1S} nas zung lo snga la bhed spyi gags bo khal — 18 phogs ba lus yod

Lubrak document 1: emendations

2. rnams yul; glang lo; phyag mchod 3. mda' chang; dngul bed; rkang 'gro lag 'gro; ma byung 4. 'dzin rgyu; shog zer 5. phyag mchod; sbyong zer; mi byed zer; mdzod zer; thog bkral or sprad 8. bed la; bed cikag 'bo khal

Lubrak document 3

Transliteration

1. om bso ti dge lag =u gyur cig / shing mo phag lo zla 3 pa'i
2. zla chang pha tshan ma yig thog khod sham sal / don^ (don rtse) zla chang mi ngos
3. bdus tshog lhan dzom zhal [1S] blo rlang mi gyur pa'i mchod tshig yige (yi ge)
4. bris don la / shing pho khyi lo la / ma dgui dngul—rere (re re) bdus nas tshug pa
5. yin / byes la bu snam tam re re ter nas zhug pa'i don tshan la / hol
6. zla gsum pa'i tshe dgu la phral dab sham rgyu dang tshe 10 la dkye go mchod pa

7. 'bul rgyu yin / dngul bed tam rer la zo ba rere (re re) nas bsal ma dab rgyu
8. mchod / bras dab na 'de zhin tam (re rer) zo ba rere (re re) yin / ma snam tshe la 'das
9. na tshab yod / bu rnam tshe la 'das na tshab med / rang phyags dngul rnam tshe la
10. 'das na kog gyü mchod pa yin / na pa tsha ba 'byung na kal da zo
11. gang ma yin / bri shad bris bdug byi na kal sda zo phyed ma yin /
12. spyi ba gnyis la phral dab ya lung mar rtsag zo gang resre (res re) yin
13. spyi ba gnyis dang bsku tshab gsum la g.yang sham zo gang ma rere (re re) yin /
14. mi shi 'byung na za pa ya bral na dad dbang yod / zhag bzhi bcu zhes
15. dgu bar khang pa cigs gi ma mad ma tog / zhan me mad sda dbang
16. med / bhan g.yug gan la chad pa zo ba gsum yin / khrug pa tang
17. sa med / gal srid tang pa 'byung na stang mi byung na chad pa zo ba phyed
18. dang gnyis gnyis zhu bren med pa ston gyü yin / pha tshan se
19. grol dang la lab stang du cug rgyu yin / 'khrug pa stang bdus kho
20. rang ma thogs me med rub ba 'byung tshe sda cang pha tshan nas
21. lbal spe byes sgyu mchod pa dang ma med rub ba / 'byung tshe an
22. srol ltar kyî chad pa byang chogs zer nas / kha thun tshig grub
23. kyî yieg (yi ge) bris ba yin / chang ma bsku tshab gsum nas khy-ogs

24. tong pha tshan {ḥa} nas kha logs byi sa med / kha logs byes pa 'byung na
 25. gsum thogs la chad pa nas zo ba re re yin / tshe 14 nyin rtsi sprod
 26. byed gyu yin / bsang ma bras spyi ba gnyis lags sprod nas
 27. ston gyu mchod / dom dngul zhi bcu—40 yod / mda' chang zhing rgyal^n (rgyal mtshan)
 28. la yod / zhing kyab zo ba dgu yin / 'di ston ga dab gyu mchod pa yin /
 29. dspu rang bka mi mchod mi rgyu la ṭam 3 byar phyogs yod /

Left margin A

1. tshes bcu nyin sda chang pha gsan
2. tshang ma la gsang ma kal sta
3. snang rgyu yin

Left margin B

1. tshe bcu nyin mi ngo gang ngo yod sda cang ma tog
2. sang mi kal sta me /

Left margin C

1. mi ngos res la ṭam 5 ma tog par phyog med pha tshe[n]
2. kyi dngul lhag na gon pa la rdab kos yin /
3. phyad na gon pa nas kang ko yin /

Emendations

1. swa sti dge legs su 2. tho 'khod sham gsal; mda' chang 3. 'dus tshogs lhan 'dzoms; blos blangs; chod tshig 4. 'bri don; mar khu'i dngul; bsdus nas tshugs 5. rjes la bu rnams; bster nas zhugs pa'i; la / hor 6. 'phral sdeb? bsham rgyu; skye sgo mchod 7. sdeb rgyu 8. chod / 'bras sdeb na de bzhin; ma rnams 9. bu rnams; rang chags dngul rnams 10. bkog rgyu chod; kalda (SMT < skal) 11. bri shad? dridug (SMT < dred sdug?) byas na kalda (SMT < skal) 12. 'phral

btab yalung martsak 13. sku tshab; yangsham 14. bza' pa; sdod dbang; bcu zhe 15. gcig gi meme ma gtogs; gzhan meme sdod dbang 16. 'ben g.yug mkhan; 'khrug pa gtong 17. gal sri btang; gtong mi 18. zhu 'dren?; 'don rgyu yin 18–19. sedröl (SMT < gses grol?); lalab (SMT < sla lab?) gtong du 'jug; pa gtong dus 20. ma gtogs meme; mda' chang 21. bal pe (SMT < 'byed); byed rgyu chod pa; meme rub pa byung tshe *ain* 22. sbyong chog; kha mthun 23. sku tshab; nas 23.–24. khyog thong pha tshan la {nas} kha log byed; kha log byed pa 25. gsum thog la; rtsis sprod 26. byed rgyu; bsang ma 'bras; lag sprod 27. 'don rgyu chod; zhing kyab?; ston kar sdeb rgyu chod 29. jarchog (SMT < sbyor 'jags); *left margin A* 1. mda' chang pha tshan 2. kalda (SMT < skal) 3. gnang rgyu; *left margin B* 1. mda' chang ma gtogs 2. bsang ma'i kalda (SMT < skal) med; *left margin C* 1. mi ngo; ma gtogs spar chog med / pha tshan 2. dgon pa la 'debs dgos 3. chad na dgon pa nas skong dgos

Lubrak document 4

Transliteration

1. chu sbru{g}l zla ba 2 pa'i tshe 24 nyin gan brgya ch[o]d tshig yige (yi ge) [b]ri don tsa / rlu sbrag sda chang pha san lhan 'dzom thogs nas gaṃ 'rgya khod snying
2. don tsa zla ra phyi nang gnyis mkhrugs bzhis slang sa med / dgal srid mkhrugs pa stang pa 'byung tshe 'go nyogs dkor slang mi la dngul 15
3. lags slang mi la dngul 15 / phen 'jin nas gyab ri byes pa 'byung tshe dngul 30 blad nas bu med [sp]un [nyam] lha[g pa byu]ng? [tsh]e dngul 10 [dang] [1–2S] ['ben?]

4. dbyugs [tshe?] dang skad mi 'byung tshe / nas bro zo ba 5 / khang pa song nas sda ra phyag na nas bro zo ba 5 / bskyes go cos pa'i sang ma la ma non na
5. skal sta med / tshe 10 nyin lags mi 'byes pa'i mkhrim 'dzin 2 skod rgyu dang 'khrim pon gnyis nas snar {~~dang~~} bang bzhags nas nyes phyog med pa'i dag pa
6. snang rgyu dang dgal srid khrim pon gsnyis la / kha logs tsheg slog 'byes pa shar tshe nye ba dngul 10 sda spon 2 btso bas pha tshan nas gyab stog byis rgyu
7. dang dgal srid ngos thos sman 'byes pa 'byung tshe skon phyog spang btsug don sden la gyur pa med ngos ma 'byas khos 'byas zer sa
8. med pa dang / pha tshan nas thon mi 'byung tshe dngul skogs rgyu chod / sda chang rgyu dang bzhing thogs skal 'dugs thob zer sa med spyis pa sku tshab gsum la dbyang cham
9. zo ba gang ma re res spyis pa snyis la yar lung ma btsags zo ba re res / tshon cha dang sdo khyer mi 'dzin mi 'byung tshe nyi ba dngul 20 /
10. tshe 14 nyin nye ba gong gi dgang phogs bzhus bren med pa shar shar ma byang tshe rgyu nor gang la lags bcug kyang snyes tser khrim logs
11. zer sa med / khrim pon span dag mar sdal pa byung tshe khar tsa zla chang pha san nas stang rgyu don sden las mi rgyur ba zla chang pha san
12. sham sal sur sal /

Margin

1. yigs bris spu rang 'drung tshe ring / sa hi
2. gong bla ma dbang rgyal phyags rtags /
3. gong bla ma ...phyags rtags /
4. gong bla ma phon tshogs phyags rtags /

5. dpal dkyes phyags rtags /
6. u snyid sgan tshul khrim phyags rtags /
7. u 'dzod mgon skyab phyags rtags /
8. tshe ring phyags rtags / skun zang bkra shis phyags rtags
9. pad ma dbang dus phyags rtags / ga ra rtags /
10. tshe ring stan 'dzin rtags / snam drgyal rtags /
11. tshe ring bkra shis rtags /
12. dbal bkyab rtags
13. kham sum rtags / lha god stags / lha 'byed dkar zang phyags rtags / au snying 'rgyal tshan phyags rtags /

Emendations

1. gan rgya; 'bri don rtas; klu brag mda' chang pha tshan; thog nas; gan rgya 2. don rtas; mda' ra 'khrug gzhi slong sa; gal srid 'khrug pa gtong pa; nyogkor (SMT = quarrel) slong 3. lag slong; phan tshun; rgyab ris byed pa; slad nas 4. g.yug; nas gro; mda' ra bcag na gro; skye sgo gcod pa'i bsang ma; snon 5. kalta (SMT < skal); tshes 10; lag mi byed pa'i khrims; sko rgyu dang khrims dpon gnyis; mna' dpang bzhag nas nyes phyogs med; nyes phyog = nyes ris phyogs ris 6. gnang rgyu dang gal srid khrims dpon gnyis la; kha log tshig log byed pa shar tshe nyes pa; mda' dpon 2 gtsos pa'i; byed rgyu 7. dal srid ngo mtho dman byed pa; dkon mchog dpang btsug don bden la 'gyur ba; byas khos byas 8. dgog rgyu; mda' chang; zhing thog; koldug (SMT < skal) thob; spyi pa; g.yang chang/'cham *or* yang chang/'cham 9. spyi pa gnyis la yalung martsag (< yar blugs mar btsags?) zo ba re re; mtshon cha; rdo 'khyer; nyes pa dngul 10. tshes 14 nyin nyes pa; gong gi gang phog zhu 'dren; lag bcug; nyetser khrims logs; khrims dpon rdal ba; *khar-ca* mda' chang pha tshan nas gtong rgyu don bden; mi 'gyur ba mda' chang pha tshan; sham gsal zur gsal

*Lubrak document 5***Transliteration**

1. § me pho spre lo zla bha 5 pa'i tshe nyer 4 res za 2 nyin —
2. da chang pha tshan zhal gros thog nas / chos tshigs gon
3. rgya yige (yi ge) zhag don la / don tsa / tshering (tshe ring) dang rgyal tsan
4. 2 gi khrug zhigs phren po byung kyen / bar mis khying ka
5. tshedbang (tshe dbang) hri thar ngos gis byad nas / sngon kyis gon rgya nang
6. zhing nyes chad dngul 15 15 phul yin / chos khrim rnyi kyis
7. dngul 9 tshedbang (tshe dbang) hri thar ngos gis ngos la rnang pa yin /
8. byes su su thad nas khrug zhing byung tshe / gon rgya nang zhing
9. nyed ched phul rgyu chos pa yin / rma tshad chos khrim 2
10. kyi nyes chad dngul —10 yang phul rgyu chos pa yin /
11. gal phris nyes ched rma phul tshe / ṭam ree (re re) la kyad pa mar
12. rtab la spar gyug snyis 2 su la khel kyang ngos man kho yin
13. zer smos phyog pa / rang rang glo sem rang thed gis thes
14. po smar po phyags rtags/
15. rtab shil
16. (*left margin*: bla dbang sas yid) thog mar rlu dbang rgyal phyags rtags / tshe ring kra shis phyags rtags
17. rab rgyad phyags rgags/ rnam rgyal phyags stags/
18. tsam phyog phyags stags/ kham sum dbang dus phyags stags /
19. rten pa tshul khrim phyags stags / spol rgyab phyags stags /
20. gon kyab phyags rtags / lha sku phyags rtags /
21. tshe ring phyags rtags / tshe dbang phyags rtags /
22. pad ma dbang dus phyags rtags / rten dzin phyags rtags /

23. tshe ring rtan dzin phyags rtags /
24. gha ra phyags rtags /
25. chang spang bris mi kur sal

Left margin

1. cha spang
2. ges lo jo rtor brogs po zhug mis
- rgya gha phon tshogs phyag rtags (*different hand*) za yig rtags/
3. bris mi khing khing ka tshe dbang
- hri thar sha hi

Emendations

1. zla ba; tshes nyer; re gza' 2. mda' chang; chod tshig gan 3. bzhang don; don rtsa 4. 'khrugs 'dzings (?) phran bu byung rkyen; bar mi 5. ngos kyis byas; kyi gan rgya 6. bzhin nyes; chos khrims gnyis 7. gnang ba 8. rjes su; 'khrugs 'dzings (?); gan rgya nang bzhin 9. chod pa; ma tshad chos khrims 10. 'bul rgyu chod 11. gal srid nyes chad ma phul; rked pa martab 12. porkyok; bkal kyang; ngos man 13. rang blo sems rang thad kyi mthe 14. dmar po phyag 15. *tapsil* 16. phyag rtags 25. cha dpang; *left margin* 1. cha dpang 2. dge slong bya dur 'brog pa bzhugs mi rgya ga phun tshogs phyag rtags / *sāhi* yig

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